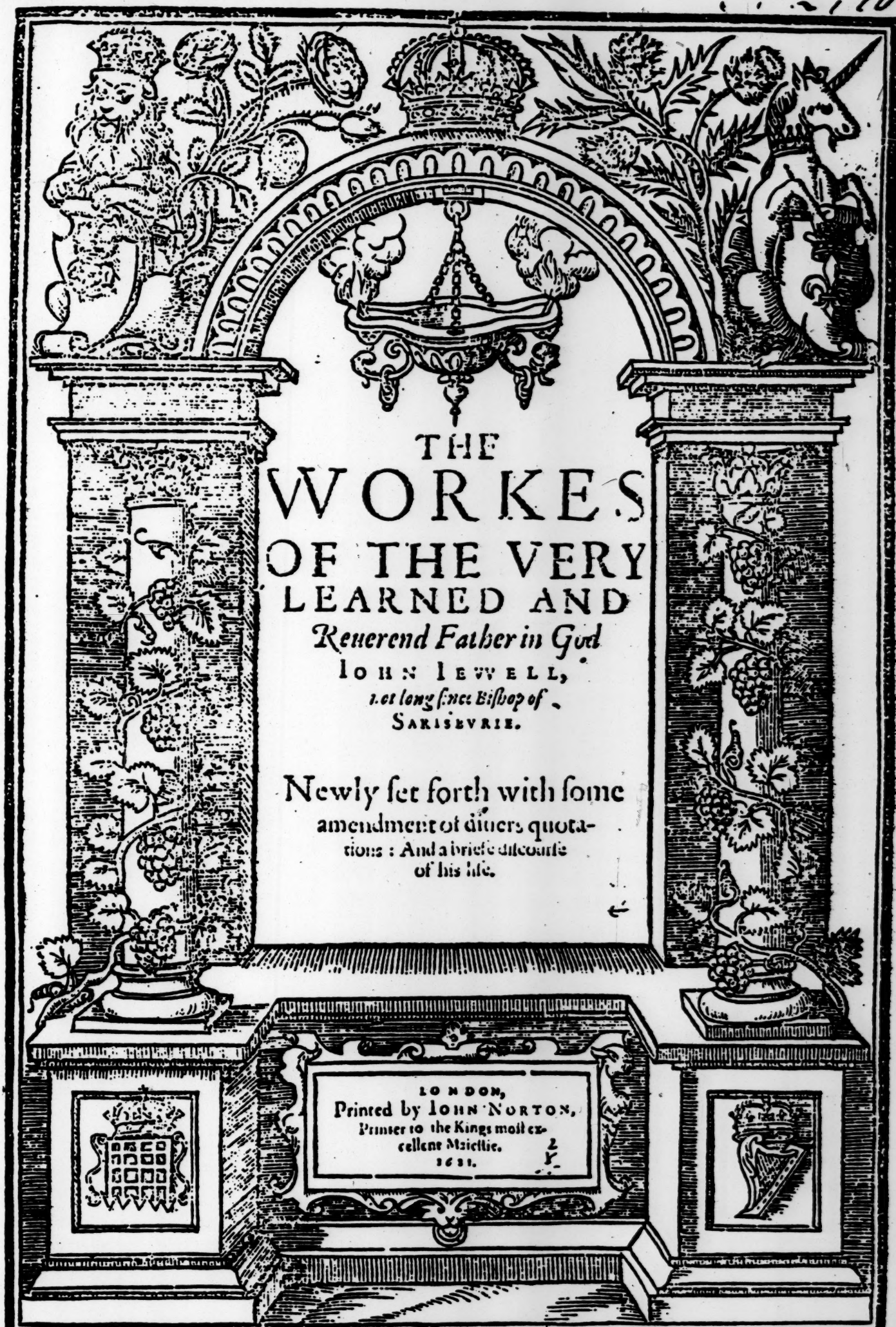
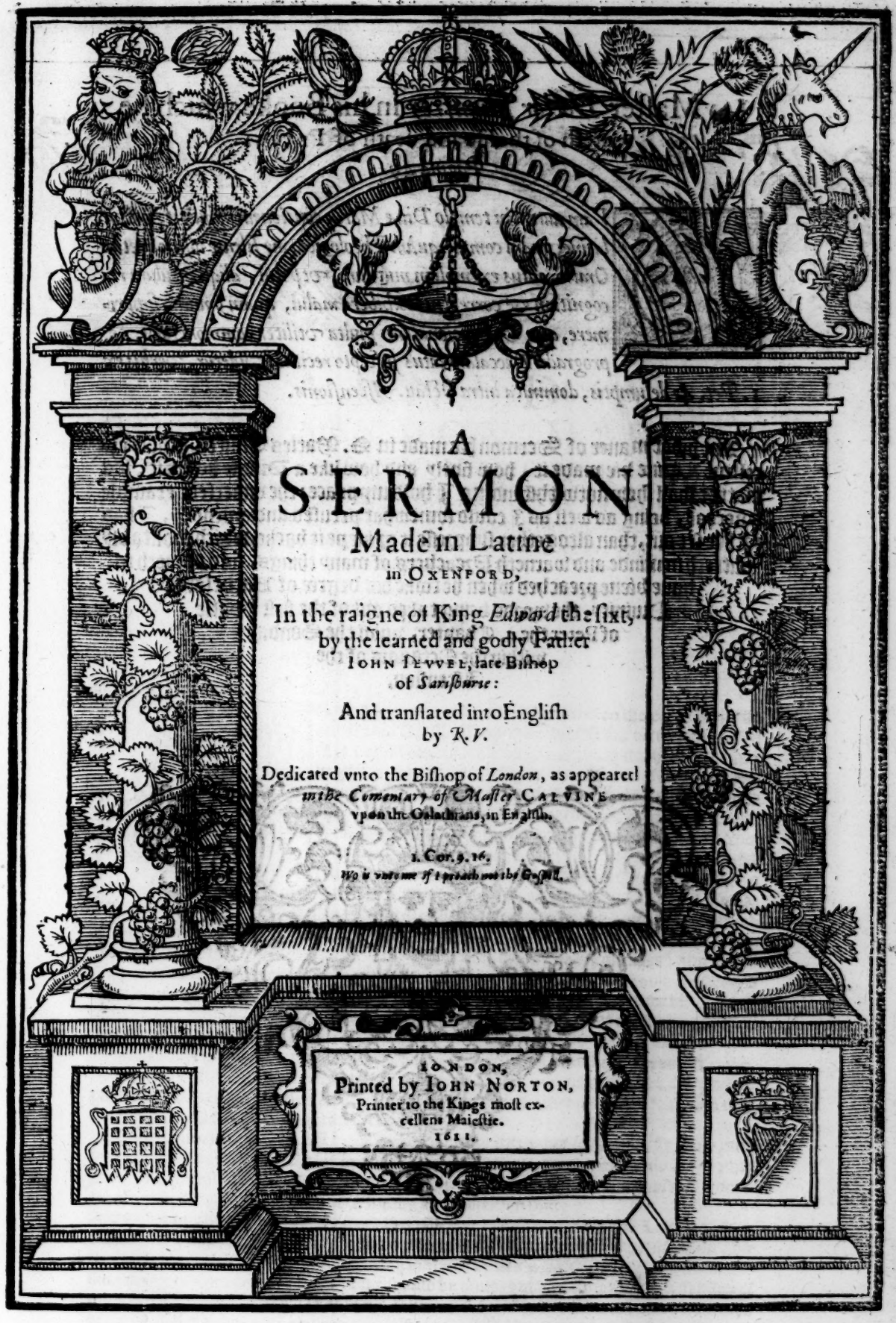


THE WORKES OF THE VERY LEARNED AND *Reuerend Father in God* IOHN IEWELL,

late long since Bishop of SARISBVRIE.

Newly set forth with some amendment of diuers quotations: And a briefe discourse of his life.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN NORTON,
Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie.
1611.



A SERMON

Made in Latine
in OXENFORD,
In the raigne of King *Edward* the ſixt,
by the learned and godly Father
IOHN IEWEL, late Biſhop
of *Sariſburie*:
And tranſlated into Engliſh
by *R. V.*

Dedicated vnto the Biſhop of *London*, as appeareth
in the Comentary of Maſter CALVINE
vpon the Galathians, in Engliſh.

1. Cor. 9. 16.
Wo is vnto me if I preach not the Goſpell.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN NORTON,
Printer to the Kings moſt ex-
cellent Maieſtie.
1611.

Master *Doctor Humfrey* in his Booke which he writeth of the life and death of IEWEL.

Pagina 49.

QVam autem in templo Diuæ Mariæ concionem habuerit, quàm latinè, quàm comptè, quàm Theologicè, me silente ipsa loquetur Oratio, cuius exemplum mutilum, vt potui, aliquantulum recognitum & correctius exhibere malui, quàm omninò supprimere, quæ & Concionatores multa vtiliter commonefacit; & prograduBaccalaureatus susceptorecitata videtur, verbis ex 1. *Pet.* 4. *desumptis, dominica intra Octau. Ascensionis.*

But what maner of Sermon hée made in S. Maries Church, in how excellent Latine hée made it, how finely and how like a Diuine he did it, his matter shall shew notwithstanding I hold my peace: the vnperfect example whereof, being as well as I could somewhat perused and amended, I had rather set out, than altogether suppresse it or kéepe it backe, which profitably putteth in minde and warneth Preachers of many things, and séemeth to haue béene preached when he tooke his degrée of Bachelar in Diuinity, the words being taken out of the first Epistle of Peter the 4. Chapter, vpon the Sonday within the Octaues of the Ascension.

A LEARNED AND GODLY SERMON, MADE IN THE LATINE TONGVE, IN S. MARIES in *Oxenford*, vpon the Sonday after the Ascention, in the raigne of King EDWARD the sixe, by the famous and excellent Clerke Master IEWEL, late Bishop of SARESBYRY.

And done into English by R. V.

I. PET. 4. 11.

If any man speake, let him talke as the words of God.

BEthren beloued in Christ, I haue chosen these words chiefly out of that Epistle of S. Peter, which are accustomed to be read vnto the people this day, because, that whereas I must preach in Latine according to the custome of this place and time, the same in mine opinion seemed to belong properly to this assembly. The which, that they may be plainlier and better vnderstood of you all, I must repeat a few words from the beginning of this whole Epistle. Wherefore we must call to mind, because in those first times, Christian Religion was shut out every where, as pernitious to mens soules, and an infection of Common wealths, and that it seemed great godlinesse to rote out the bringers in of new Religion; lest (I say) that Christian men and those that were godly, should in that season vtterly be discouraged, and cast away all hope, S. Peter doth so instruct them with this Epistle, that they should consider no new or vnwonted thing to haue happned, that Christ himselfe hath suffered far bitterer and vnworthier things, that they should not be faint hearted; lastly, that the way to glory is by afflictions and Crosses.

And to that purpose he warneth the people by themselues and the Bishops also, what belongeth to each of them to take heed of. Concerning that which belongeth vnto the people, he saith, that they haue spent time enough before vpon wickednesse, and that now they ought to change their life with their Religion.

That godlinesse is placed, not in outward show and titles, but in soundnesse of life, and innocency of manners. That it is an ill thing with mouth and tongue only to worship God, and to giue our minde and soule to worship the Diuell; and to disagree from Idolaters, not in life and manners, but in words and profession (only.)

And because they had departed from the most ancient Ordinances and Lawes of their forefathers, and that they being but a few had stirred all kind of men against them, he warneth them that they yet would in all kinde of duties practise charity among themselues, one toward another, least they should be diuided at any time by any dissension of minds or studies. That this is only the token of Iesus Christ, whereby the bondslaues of the Diuell may be knowen from the children of GOD. That so it shall come to passe shortly, that all the whole world shall imbrace the Gospell and the heauenly doctrine, and that the enemies and the haters of the Crosse of Christ, whom godlinesse could not moue,

may through ſhame be ouercome, and returne to themſelues. And the Biſhops he warneth, that in thoſe moſt hard times, they ſe to their office with all diligence and care, and that they loke about them diligently that the Congregation take no harme. And that it is not a ſporting matter, but a very great burthen that they haue taken vpon them. And therefore if they preach at any time to the people, that they ſpeake as the wordes of God, and that they ſo behaue themſelues, that others which heare them, may thinke that they heare not men, but the meſſengers and interpreters of the word of God.

This is the portion of Scripture that I iudged moſt fit for this time and place. For becauſe therefore that partly we are entered into the holy Miniſtery, and partly, as I hope, we haue already directed the courſe of our ſtudies to that point, we ſhall be taught in this place, how this heauenly office is to be garniſhed, that our labour may in time to come be very profitable to the Church of God, and the holy Goſpell be moſt largely ſpread abroad. But that this may be done the more orderly, and leſt I ſhould wander or goe out of courſe in my ſpeaking, I thinke it good to touch theſe three points in few wordes: Firſt, That a Preacher ſhould ſpeake: Secondly, What he ſhould ſpeake: Thirdly, How he ſhould ſpeake, that it may be vnderſtanded. Firſt, that he is ſcantly a good Preacher, which neuer ſpeaketh any thing to the Congregation: ſecondly, that a Preacher muſt ſet forth vnto the people not old wiues fables, but the word of God: and laſt of all, that that ſame word of God muſt be handled reuerently, and worthily, according to the dignity of the matter. But that God almighty would lighten all your hearts and my voice with his holy ſpirit, and that ſome fruite may come hereof vnto vs all, I deſire of you that you will helpe my weakneſſe with your deuout praiers.

Firſt of all, I commend vnto your deuotion the vniuerſall Church of Chriſt diſperſed throughout the whole world, and as now it falleth out, in many places, miſerably afflicted, and namely, this our Church of England and Ireland, and in the ſame for our noble King Edward his Maieſty, his moſt noble Siſters, Mary, and Elizabeth, the priuy Councell, the Rulers Eccleſiaſticall and Politicall, and all the people of England, both Vniuerſities, and chiefly this Vniuerſity of Oxenford, the Chaunceler, the Vicechaunceler, the Proctors, Robert Noruent, Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge, Doctor Raynald, Maſter of Merton Colledge, and all the Scholars in both theſe Colledges. Ye ſhall giue thankes vnto God almighty, for King Henry the ſeuenth, and Henry the eight, Kings of noble memory, for Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter, &c. that of his infinite goodneſſe he hath kindled thoſe lights to the nouriſhing of good letters, and ſpreading abroad of Religion: And ye ſhall pray, that it would pleaſe him to raiſe vp others hereafter like vnto theſe, and to gather vs all to their ſociety into the boſome of Abraham.

Let him that ſpeaketh ſpeake as the words of God. To the end that the pith of theſe wordes may be the better vnderſtanded, becauſe I muſt intreate both of Paſtors, and before Paſtors, I haue vſed this diuiſion, To ſhew firſt that a Paſtor ſhould ſpeake often: next of all, that he ſhould ſpeake out of the holy Scriptures: laſt of all, That he ſhould ſpeake grauely and modeſtly according to the worthineſſe of the matter. And ſurely concerning the office of Paſtors, as yet I ſee not ſufficiently what I ſhould ſpeake, or not ſpeake. For to ſpeake that which hath beene before ſo often ſpoken, were not only hatefull, but out of ſeaſon: and to ſpeake nothing of ſo great ſloth, and daſtardie of our times, I am much afraid might ſeeme to ſhew a ſluggard and a daſtard. Truely, in this caſe if the voice of the immortall God might be heard, there were no neede at this time of my voice. For that I may ſay nothing beſides, all the Scriptures doe ſufficiently warne vs of our dutie, God himſelfe hath commanded nothing at any time, either more often, or elſe with more weightie wordes, than that his people ſhould be inſtructed to know him, themſelues and godlineſſe. Thou ſonne of man, ſaith God, in Eſay, Crie and ceaſe not, crie out aloude, lift vp thy voice as a Trumpet, and ſhew vnto my people their wickedneſſe. How oft doth Chriſt crie, Goe ye, Teach ye, Preach ye the Goſpell to euery creature? Wo vnto me, ſaith the Prophet, becauſe I haue kept ſilence. Wo vnto me, ſaith Paul, if I preach not the Goſpell. But ſuch is either our ſecuritie or daintineſſe: beſide that, we haue ſtopped our eares againſt holeſome councell, that we account it as a reproch, if a man warne vs of our dutie. Neuertheleſſe whatſoeuer it ſeemeth to vs, this hath ſeemed to God a help both very firme and very great to the making vp of his Church. For ſo hath God brought vs out of darkenes into light, ſo hath he reſtored vs being dead vnto life, ſo hath he brought vs being priſoners

ſoners and captiues out of hell into heauen, ſo hath he broken the powers of the Diuell, ſo hath he brought vs back againe into his owne power and dominion, ſo hath he ſpread abroad the fame of his name into all lands. For if Chriſt, if the Apoſtles, if the Prophets, had held their peace, in what caſe had we now been in? what religion had there been any where? what worſhip of God had there been? That we behold the light, that we haue eſcaped out of bondage, that we are accounted, and be, the Sonnes of God, all that (I ſay) we owe vnto the preaching of the word of God. Let vs not deceiue our ſelues brethren, let vs not deceiue our ſelues. Our matters are not ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed, that they cannot fall. Except we take heed, except we looke about, except we put to ſtudy and diligence, all things will eaſily ſlide and fall into their former eſtate. A lamp, except you put Oile often in it, will ſoone be out. The victory is kept euen by ſuch meanes as it is gotten.

For what engines doth not the Diuell now vſe, what crafts doth he not practiſe, what way doth he not take, to ouerthrow the Church of God: He keepeth ſcout-watch alwaies, he is neuer wearied, he hath brought in ſo many vices, ſo much ignorance, ſo great blindneſſe, that there is no place in which a Preacher ought to be idle. And as, if the Sunne were taken away from the world, all things ſhould be left darke, diſparkled and confounded, ſo if the voice of the Paſtor be taken out of the Church, Religion is left at ſix and ſeuen, it is left blind, troubled, all things are mingled with error, ſuperſtition and Idolatry: of ſo great waight is it to be a ſteward of the houſe of God. The Goſpell, Religion, Godlineſſe, the health of the Church dependeth of vs alone. This is our office, this we take vpon vs, and this we profeſſe. And except we doe this, we doe nothing, we ſerue to no vſe. It is not enough to know I wot not what learning. The Diuels perhaps know more than any of vs all. It belongeth vnto a Paſtor not ſo much to haue learned many things, as to haue taught much. Let it ſhame vs, that the baſeſt kind of men, euen Coblers and Porters doe that which belongeth vnto them, and we which ought to giue light to all other are idle and doe nothing. For God would not haue vs idle bellies, but he would haue vs both be interpreters of his minde, miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, Atturnies of the people before the Lord of Sabaoth, the light of the world, Salt, Angels, and the Sonnes of GOD, and ſo to be called: And we are appointed to gouern, not dumbe Cattell, not wilde Beaſts, but the flocke of the Lord, but the Sons of God, but the brethren of Chriſt.

If any of theſe ſhall periſh through our default, his blood ſhall be required at our hands. If theſe things alone were ſtill ſet before vs, in our eies and minds, we would not ſo call from vs carelеſſly and vnadviſedly the ſafegard of our Brethren and of our ſelues, we would not ſo caſt from vs the blood of Chriſt.

There is no cauſe why any ſhould ſay: We ſpeake to them that are deafe, the people giue no eare, we labour for them which are vnthankefull, we prevaile not, we caſt that which is holy vnto Dogges, we giue Pearles to Swine. We know that otherwhile theſe things are truely ſpoken, and it grieueth me exceedingly, that they may be ſo truely ſpoken againſt thoſe that be Chriſtian men. Yet for all this, we may not therefore hold our peace, but ſpeake ſo much the oftener, ſo much the ſharper, ſo much the hotter. For looke how much the diſeaſe is more perillous, ſo much the more needeth there a Phyſition.

Neither can we iuſtly complaine of the peoples ſtubbornеſſe, while we our ſelues doe all the while nothing. Let vs doe our indeauour, and leaue the ſucceſſe vnto the Lord. Then ſhall they, if they be of ſo froward a minde, that they will not heare, die in their owne ſinne. But there is no cauſe why we ſhould be in deſpaire of the peoples ſaluation. God himſelfe huſbanded the Vine, which for Grapes brought out wilde Grapes. GOD himſelfe hath all the day long ſtretched out his hands to a rebellious and ouerthwart people. How oft hath Chriſt himſelfe ſaid: Ieruſalem, Ieruſalem, how oft would I haue gathered together thy Children, as the henne gathereth together hir Chickens, whereas they turned away their eares and would not heare? This malady will eaſily be taken away, if the medicine therefore be vſed. Let vs bring forth the light, and God will open their eies: let vs beate at their eares, and God will giue them a heart of fleſh: Let vs giue the word, and God will giue the ſpirit: let vs plant and water, and God in due time will giue the increaſe. For as it is our duty to inſtruct the people with words, ſo it belongeth to God to ioyne vnto his words faith, and force. Such is the ſtrength of the word of God, that to worke nothing, or to profit none, it is not poſſible. Much will fall into the buſhes, into the beaten way, and among ſtones, yet ſome will fal into good ground and bring forth fruit. For looke as the raine commeth downe from heauen, and returneth not thither againe, but moiſtneth & watereth the earth, and maketh

it bring forth, and giueth seed to the sower, and bread to him that eateth: so my word, saith the Lord, which goeth forth out of my mouth, shall not returne empty vnto me, but shall doe whatsoeuer I will.

But because it is not enough to speake, let vs now consider that which in the second place I haue promised, namely, what is to be spoken. For some otherwhile speake, who had beene better haue held their peace, otherwhile they make a noise and cry out with great contention, speake to no purpose. Wherefore regard must be had, that we neither speake vnfruitfully ne yet hurtfully. For all things are not to be huddled out in a Sermon before the multitude. We must take care what the Religious silence of the people, what the reuerence of the place, what the greatnesse of our office doe require. The truth must be spoken, not lies: the Scriptures, not fables: the precepts of the highest God, and not the dreames of men: For religion is to be ordered not by our iudgement, but by the word of God. Whereinif we shall hearken to Moses, or to the Prophets, or the Apostles, or Christ, or the Father himselfe, we shall not much goe out of the way. For Moses, whatsoeuer was to be said or done in so great a wildernesse, when he led the people being banished and wandering, by a sauage and desert region, alwaies asked counsell at the Lord, he neuer brought them any thing of his owne head. The Prophets alwaies say, The word of the Lord, the vision of the Lord, the voice of the Lord: this saith the Lord, heare the Lord. I, saith Paul, haue receiued my Gospell not of man, neither by man: and againe; I know nothing but Iesus Christ, and the same crucified. And again, If an Angel from heauen shall teach another Gospel than that which you haue learned, let him be cursed. Christ saith, All things which I haue heard of my Father, I haue deliuered vnto you: and, preach you, saith he, not whatsoeuer shall come in your head, but the Gospell to all creatures: and, when as the Pharises and Saduces had moued the questions of diuorcement, and the resurrection of the dead vnto life, he neuer had recourse vnto the Rabbines, but alwaies to the word of the Lord. God the father crying from Heauen, This, saith he, is my dearely beloued Sonne: He saith not, Heare your Fathers, your Grandfathers, or your great Grandfathers: but he saith, Heare him, euen him. For our heauenly Father would haue his Sonne and his word to be taught, and to be beat into mens heads in all places. And certainly it may not be doubted of by any man, but that that, which the most excellent, most wise, and most louing father hath giuen vnto vs for our cause, is most excellent, most wise, and to our reasons most profitable. This is that riuer of water flowing abroad into life euerlasting. This is that flesh, this is, that blood of Iesus Christ, this is, that only both most delicate and most wholsome food of our soules, with this only sword the Diuell is ouercome, with this only stone Goliah is laid along, with this only maule the roughnesse and hardnesse of hearts is softned and ouercome. And were it not for this, neither could religion flourish, nor faith be confirmed, or the Church kept within the limits of her duty. Call to remembrance, I beseech you for the Lords sake, that as oft as the word of the Lord languished, how often and into how many grieuous errors, and how great a breaknecke euill did the whole people fall into, how oft dispised they the mightiest and most louing God their preseruer and Father, how oft worshipped they Astaroth, Beliall, the Sunne, the Mone, Calues and beasts, and turned away themselues from all religion and godlinesse, and put their whole hope and confidence in things most vaine and filthy? For when as euery one hatched out of his owne minde a religion and holinesse vnto himselfe, superstition and such a multitude of new gods increased so suddenly, that the Prophet was informed to crie out, Your Gods are in number as many as your Cities. For when as they had forsaken the truth, life, and religion, what remained, but that they should fall headlong into lies, into destruction, into vngodly worshippings? I had rather make mention of these old things, than to bring in examples which are fresh and in memory. There is none of vs that euer was so blind, that he saw not, or so blockish that he vnderstood not the calamities of former times. We haue far gone beyond, not only the superstition and vanity of the Iewes, but also of the Egyptians and Grecians. For when the authority of Councels, and the conspiracy of a few Bishops and Monkes, was placed aboue the Scriptures, when it was doubted whether the Romish Bishop were a man or a God, and whether he could sinne, when all things were referred to the constitutions of men, and nothing to the knowledge of Christ, when Sales of Pardons, Vowes, and Masses, were made openly and without all shame, when the Sacraments were miserably torne in peces, when the word of God was condemned of fraud and heresie, when nothing was left sound and pure from superstition, when error possessed all things, and the truth could not be heard, where then, or what Church of God was there? It was heresie in those daies, not that disagreed from the Scriptures, but from that which liked a few Bishops. For the Gospell was thrust into corners, nothing was

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left to the iudgement of Chriſt. Our gods were not then according to the number of our cities, but they were as many as we had ſtreetes, yea almoſt houſes. So were all things vtterlie out of frame, for that Religion depended not on the word of God, but on the will of man. Theſe horrible caſes, brethren, may warne vs, that we neuer vnadviſedly depart from the word of God. And thereof it is that all the Scriptures doe moue vs ſo often and ſo diligently, that we neither adde any thing to the word of God, nor take ought therefrom; nor that we bow to the right hand or the left. Neither would the Lord that we ſhould be Princes and Iudges, but meſſengers and miniſters of his word. For loke what ſerueth to our ſaluation, and vnto godlines, all that hath God himſelfe ſet downe in his lawes. For the holy Scripture (as Paul ſaith) inſpired by God, is profitable to doctrine, to reproue, to correction, to inſtruction, that the man of God may be perfect, inſtructed to euery good worke: that the man of God ſaith he, may be perfect and ſound, and as far as is requiſite either to godlineſſe or maners, that he ſhould in euery reſpect be perfectly furniſhed: and now I pray you what ſhould Gods Embaſſador bring forth vnto Gods people, rather than the word of God? He that is an Embaſſador in ciuill affaires, if perhaps he ſay any thing beſide that which is commanded him, he is accuſed that he hath not done his Embaſſade rightly, he is called to his triall, he is arraigned vpon life and death; and why doe not we with like fidelity handle the word of God? But tut tut, good God, tut tut ſecure a minde, my brethren, tut tut ſecure a minde be we of. And as though men alone could not be deceiued, ſo doe we hold, ſo doe we defend that alonely, which is come from our forefathers. There were among the Iewes many murtherers, thæues, and adulterers, and yet did not Chriſt enuey either more often or more bitterly againſt any, than againſt the Phariſeis and Scribes: You breake, ſaith he, the commandement of God for your owne traditions. In vaine do you worſhip me, teaching doctrines, and the precepts of men. They are blind guides of the blinde. Harlots and ſinners ſhall goe into the kingdome of God before you. How often, and with what words doth the Lord in the Prophets complaine of this? Be aſtoniſhed ye heauens, ſaith he: My people haue done two euils, they haue forſaken me the fountaine of liuing water, and haue digged vnto themſelues broken Ceſternes, which can hold no waters. What is Chaffe compared with Wheate? What is the rathneſſe of men compared with the eternall will of God? For Baſil doth ſay, that that man which dareth put to, or take away any thing from the Scriptures of God, is either a fooliſh Chriſtian, or a notable arrogant fellow. To put to the word of God the inuentions of men, what other thing may it ſeeme, than to mingle new wine not with old wine, but with wine that is dead, and with lees or dregges? and to ioyne light with darkneſſe, a wilde beaſt with a man, a man with God? My thoughts are not your thoughts, nor my waies are not your waies, ſaith the Lord: for loke how far the heauen is from the earth, ſo far are my waies from your waies, and my thoughts from your thoughts. Nay rather loke how far a man is diſtant from God, ſo far is the vnderſtanding of man diſtant from the word of God.

For although very much by the iudgement of all men is to be giuen to the Fathers, yet were they men, and alſo might erre. Truely, to ſpeake nothing elſe of them, they did oftentimes very ill agree among themſelues about very great and weighty matters. But the word of God is ſure, and firme, and certaine, and appointed for euery time. Peter would haue this kind of learning to be deliuered vnto the people in a Sermon. And he that will haue doings (herein) with the people, muſt firſt be inſtructed himſelfe with the word of God, that he may vtter the word as inſpired with an heauenly power. O if Peter were now aliue, what would he ſay, or rather what would he not ſay, ſeeing that religion, godlineſſe, the ſcriptures, are all palled into the inuentions and dreames of men? That is only in queſtion at theſe daies, whether the cuſtomes of men are rather to be retained, or the lawes of God: That alone hath moued theſe turmoiles, that hath ſtirred the whole world, whether more credit is to be giuen vnto a man, or vnto God. I know that theſe things ſeeme new to the moſt of you, and not to be beleeued: but put from you, I beſeech you, your affections, and that opinion of things which you haue already conceiued, and you ſhall well perceiue that I faine nothing for the times ſake, but that I ſpeake the thing it ſelfe. Chriſt hath ordained the holy Communion in remembrance of himſelfe. Men doe neither retaine any remembrance of Chriſt, nor yet Communion, but haue changed all the whole matter into a gay ſhew, and almoſt a ſtage play. Chriſt ſaith, Ye ſhall haue the poore alwaies with you, but me ye ſhall not haue alwaies: I leaue the world and goe to my Father: It is expedient for you that I goe away. And Chriſt ſpake this, not of his Godhead, wherewith he was equall to the Father, or of his heauenly nature, but of this body. Men ſay, that Chriſt neither hath with his body left the world, nor yet gone from hence to his father. Paul ſaith, that Chriſt is in heauen at the right hand of the Father,

Peter

Peter ſaith in the Acts of the Apoſtles, Heauen muſt hold him vntill the time that all things are reſtored: Men ſay, That the body of Chriſt is in heauen and in earth both at once, and is diſpearſed into an infinite multitude of places at one time. Paul ſaith, That Chriſt hath once entred into the holy places, and hath with one only ſacrifice, and one oblation, made perfect all things: Men ſay, that they can ſacrifice Chriſt himſelfe againe euery day, not only for remembrance ſake, but in very deede, and that in infinite places. Chriſt ſaith, Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerue: Men worſhip the Euchariſt, alacke the while, being neither Lord nor God, but a Sacrament of the Lord, without authority of the Scriptures, or example of the Apoſtles, and that as God. For, by the liuing God I beſeech you, conſider, in your mindes brethren, who euer, I will not ſay of the Apoſtles, but of the holy Fathers hath either worſhipped the Sacrament himſelfe, or hath ſhewed it forth to be worſhipped of others? I ſee that I ſpeake theſe things not before the common ſort of men, but before them who are profoundly learned, I appeale to all your conſciences, I will vſe in this matter your owne teſtimonie. Chriſt hath commanded the Sacrament to be deliuered whole: Men haue torne the ſame after a miſerable manner. Chriſt willed that nothing ſhould be added to his Law: Men doe not onely adde many things, but the ſame they preferre before the word of God. But why ſhould I reckon vp more? This onely will I ſpeake, and that in a word, they which brought in Tranſubſtantiations, Maſſes, calling vpon Saints, ſole life, Purgatory, Images, Vowes, trifles, follies, babies, into the Church of God, haue deliuered new things, and which the Scriptures neuer heard of. Whatſoeuer they crie or creake, they bring not a iot out of the word of God. And theſe, as I haue ſaid, are the things wherewith the Church of God at theſe daies are diſquieted. Vpon theſe lieth the watch and ward of the Church. Theſe they honour inſtead of the Scriptures, and force them to the people inſtead of the word of God: vpon theſe men ſuppoſe their ſaluation, and the ſumme of religion to be grounded. And that which is much more grieuous, notwithſtanding at this preſent by the great goodneſſe of God, religion is reſtored almoſt to her former dignity and light, yet poore and pitifull ſoules, they ſet great ſtore by theſe things, they to them againe, and teach them, as though without them the Church could not be in ſafety. O if the word of the Lord might be heard, among ſo many clamours, and in ſo great a hurly burly: If we would ſuffer God himſelfe to ſit as Iudge in his owne caſe, the matter would be paſſed ouer with leſſe tumult a great deale, and more eaſily might we agree about the whole matter. Wherefore if all the worſhip of God, all godlineſſe, all religion, be to be ſought out of the word of God: If the inſtitutions of men haue miſerably peruerted all things in all times, let vs, my brethren, vnto whom the office of teaching is alotted, conſider how dangerous a thing it is to ſpeake more: and let all, who will be, and will haue themſelues accounted to be Chriſtians, remember how dangerous a thing it is to beleeue more. And if there be any of this whole number which hath giuen himſelfe to any other kind of life, yet let him conſider that theſe things belong vnto him, ſo that if he neither can, nor will teach, yet let him diligently and attentiuely heare him that ſpeaketh, and giue God thankes, that he hath happened on thoſe times, in which he may heare the word of God freely and purely. Let vs not be wedded too much to our owne wit: let vs not be wedded too much to the Fathers and Forefathers. Let vs not vnaduiſedly thinke that men are ſo luckily borne, that whatſoeuer they ſay, they cannot erre. When we ſhall be placed before that dreadfull iudgement ſeate, when all things ſhall burne, and the Angels of God ſhall tremble, to what Fathers, to what Decrées of our Forefathers ſhall we wretches then appeale? We ſhall then haue refuge to Chriſt alone, then ſhall we vſe the aide and word of Chriſt alone. Wherefore let vs not be of ſo ſecure a minde in ſo great a matter. Our life, our ſoule, our ſaluation, is the thing in hand. The heauenly Father offereth himſelfe vnto vs, and of his owne accord meeteth vs: Jeſus Chriſt crieth out, and calleth euery one of vs, Come vnto me all ye which are grieued and I will refreſh you. How blind be we if we ſee not, how blockiſh if we vnderſtand not, how miſerable if we run from this? Where ſhall the word of Chriſt be heard, if it cannot be heard among Chriſtians? If it cannot be heard among Chriſtians where ſhall it be heard? Let vs once yet open brethren, let vs open our eies, that it may not be ſpoken againſt our ſtubbornneſſe, Therefore you heare not, becauſe you be not of God: and that that ſaying of Eſayas be not conuenientlie applied againſt vs, The heart of this people is waxen groſſe, and they haue hardly heard with their eares, and they haue cloſed their eies, leſt they ſhould at any time ſee with their eies, and heare with their eares, and vnderſtand with their heart, and they ſhould be conuerted, and I ſhould heale them. And what I ſhould ſpeake more before Chriſtian men and the children of God, concerning the word of God, I ſee not.

Now

Now remaineth that which was put in the laſt part, namely, how the Scriptures are to be taught. For not only wiſdome and fidelity, but alſo wiſdome and foreſight is to be vſed. Therefore ſaith Peter, let him not ſpeake only, but let him ſpeake as the wordes of God. Nor yet is it ſufficient to profeſſe onely, and outwardly to ſhew, that it is the word of God which we teach, and with a faire face and earneſt countenance ſing, The word of the Lord: For the Iewes and Turkes and falſe Prophets doe ſo, they all cry out that Chriſt is theirs, and they all reſtraine true religion (as belonging) vnto themſelues. The Phariſeis and Scribes of theſe daies, when they confirme their owne inuentions, and referre all things to the Apoſtles as their authors, and do weeſt the word of God, yet do they crie nothing either oftner, or more importunatly, than, The word of the Lord. But Chriſt hath not taught diſſimulation and hypocriſie. He rather teacheth this, that Paſtors may haue in minde that they repreſent the perſon of Chriſt: that they being induced through the greatneſſe and worthineſſe of the thing it ſelfe, may ſo reuerently doe their office that all men may perceiue, that it is a heauenly buſineſſe which they haue taken vpon them. For the image of God himſelfe muſt ſhine in him that is the miniſter of God. And if the Apoſtles had not ſo vſed themſelues, they had neuer laid the foundations of religion: there would neuer any haue left their altars, their Sacrifices, their Fires, and their gods themſelues, to haue bene of the opinion of a few fiſhers. They counted all that they had as nothing, in compariſon of Chriſt Ieſus. When they were taunted, they taunted not againe, when they were condemned to Priſons, and Fires, they neuer ceaſed to giue thanks, they alwaies greatly reioyced, for that they were afflicted with all maner of punihments for Chriſt his ſake. There was in them ſuch vprightneſſe of heart, ſuch modeſty, ſuch vertue, that whatſoeuer they ſaid, others were aſhamed to ſpeake againſt it. Euen ſo brethren our life ought to ſhine, that as oft as we ſpeake, we may ſeeme to ſpeake the wordes of GOD. For wee are the ſalt of the earth, wee are the light of the world, wee are that Citie ſet vpon the Hill, all mens eies are faſtned on vs: whatſoeuer wee doe, ſtraightway example is taken to doe the like. It is a burden of great difficulty and weight that we haue taken vpon vs. Which if we would all well weigh, the courſe of the Goſpell would not bee ſo hindered, the word of God would not bee ſo much neglected. For when as wee profeſſe God with our mouth, but deny him with our deedes, wee fray away the vnlearned multitude by our example from religion, and the thing that of all other is moſt diuine, wee defile, not with vnpure hands, but with vnpure manners. So for our ſakes is godlines deſpiſed, for our ſake is the truth contemned, for our ſake is the Maieſty of God empaired. Theſe things, brethren, are diligently to be conſidered, and earneſtly to be regarded of vs. For if we liue filthily and wickedly, and bring into the Pulpit nothing but a rolling of the tongue and impudency, whatſoeuer wee ſpeake, wee ſpeake it not, either as it ſhould, or elſe as the wordes of God. But to the end the word of the Lord may be handled according to the worthineſſe thereof, two things principally are by vs to be taken heed of: the one, that we be not weakned nor feebled by feare: the other, that out of the Goſpel we reape no lot or pece of praiſe vnto our ſelues. A Preachers minde muſt be prepared and diligently fenſed againſt either of theſe. For the Goſpell and the word of God, except it be ſtiffly and manfully vpholden and maintained, neither will ſeeme the Goſpel, nor the word of God. For error is fearefull, baſe, and quaking, it feareth all things, it dreadeth all things, it flieth light, and light: but the truth, and the truth of the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, neuer abaſeth it ſelfe, neuer flattereth any, diſſembleth nothing, fayneth nothing, is vnfearefull, free, bold to ſhew her face, and high. Wherefore as long as we ſpeake the truth, let not the force or authority of any man make vs afraid Let vs call to minde that we are the Meſſengers and Embaſſadors of God: Let vs call to minde that God hath giuen vs power to ſpeake. Of what courage doth not Chriſt make vs, when he promiſeth that he will be the reuenger of the iniury done vnto vs? He, ſaith he, that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me, he which hurteth you, hurteth the light of mine eye: wherefore let vs ſpeake, not diſſemblingly, not darkly, as did the Phariſeis, but freely and plainly as hauing authority, as meete it is that the words of God ſhould be vttered. But neuertheleſſe moderation muſt be vſed, that we doe not vnſeaſonably touch or ſpot the good name and fame of others; for when we ſhall ſeeme to taunt or raile, and to handle our owne cauſe, rather than to teach the word of the Lord. But it becommeth the ſeruant of the Lord to be modeſt and circumſpect, not to blab out any thing raſhly or cockiſhly, leſt we may ſeeme to ſpeake not out of the holy Pulpit, but out of the Cart: neither yet to haue cited the Goſpell, but to haue brought vp againe the old maner of Commodies. The next thing is, that a Preacher haue not too great a conceit of himſelfe, but that he think that that function and office happned vnto him from aboue from God, that he ſhould diſcharge his duty diligently, and with very great feare, and that he ſhould thinke that he is occupied not

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in his owne businesse but in Gods businesse. So Paul saith, he is nothing: Iohn trieth, that he is vnworthy to pull off the shooes of Messias: And therefore to abate arrogancy, they are in the holy Scriptures called not Princes, not Magistrates, not Rulers, not Kings, but Stewards, Bailifes, Preachers or Criers, Ministers, Seruants, to the end that for as much as we doe this geare in the behalfe of another, we should not grow proud for another bodies praise. For the Lord hath not therefore committed his talent vnto vs, that we should conuert it to our owne commodity. For he would not haue vs Preachers and Criers of our owne wit and skill, but of his will, neither doe we for any other cause carry about this treasure in Earthen vessels, than for that it should be the brightnesse and cleare light of the power of God.

I will not stay you with any more words. Ye haue heard that a Preacher must speake both oft, and out of the word of God, and also grauely and modestly. We brethren, either are Preachers, or will be Preachers: let vs beare in minde that these things belong to vs, and that S. Peter saith to vs, He that speaketh, let him speake as the words of God. There is nede not only of our diligence, but also of prudency and fidelity; wherefore whatsoeuer we are able by nature, whatsoeuer by Counsell, whatsoeuer by wit and cunning, let vs bestow it all to serue the Church of God. We are the Stewards of the house of God, let vs not dissipate and scatter the houshold of God. If we be the Apostles of God, let vs shew Apostolike minds. If we be the brethren of Christ, let vs beare Christ, let vs fede his Lambs, let vs feed his sheepe, let vs goe, let vs preach, let vs teach. The vniuersall world seemeth a good while since to trauaile of Christ, let vs cast about our eyes brethren. How great is the haruest euery where, how few be the Reapers? And this I speake vnto them of whom there is some good hope. If there be any that laugh at these things, or mocke them, why should I hope that they will heare me, who will not heare Christ himselfe? Let the calamity of our brethren moue vs, let the curse of God moue vs [namely] Cursed is he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently: let that most grieuous threatning moue vs (namely) Their blod will I require at thy hand. Let vs prepare our selues to that most sweete voice and speech of Christ (namely) Well done seruant, Goe in. Let vs speake in season and out of season, let vs speake the word of the Lord, let vs speake as the words of the Lord, that Gods praise may be set forth in all things by Iesus Christ,

vnto whom be glory and impery
for euer and euer
Amen.

FINIS.

THE TRVE COPIES OF THE LETTERS BETVVEENE THE REVEREND FATHER IN GOD Iohn Bishop of *Sarum*, and *D. Cole*, vpon occasion of a Sermon that the said Bishop preached before the Queenes Maiesty, and hir most honorable Counsel.

1560.

I Trust I shall not neede many words to make my entry with you. You haue made so large and gentle an offer, that my request being employed within the compasse of the same, shall haue an answer I hope to my comfort.

Where in these Articles you seeme very resolute, and as it is thought so well armed, that you haue wherewith to perswade any reasonable man to be in them of your opinion: may it therefore like you to send me the chiefe places, in these matters not written, (for that were to much paines for you) but noted, or, as they learned it, quoted, which and where they be: And I promise you, by the faith I beare to God, I shall yeld so far as you shall giue me cause.

I would wish it might please you to write herein againe, for talke will not so well further that you should herein intend. If happily it shall like you to write any more than the places, which ye account will thoroughly proue your opinion, I pray you doe it rather *Dialecticè*, than otherwise. For the weight of these matters more requireth learning than words.

If the places that you haue in these Articles be but such as are already answered by learned men on our side, or but such as Caluine, Bucer, or other of the Protestants haue laid for themselues, then I trust you will lay more weight or reason to them. For such as they be, in them, I haue already seene. I repute them perase somewhat able to doe with yong folke, or the simple and vnlearned people: other, I weene, weigh them no better than they be worthy.

Yet one thing more I long much to be answered in, why ye rather offer both in your Sermon yesterday in the Court, and at all other times at Paules Crosse, to dispute in these foure points, than in the chiefe matters that lie in question betwixt the Church of Rome and the Protestants. It seemeth to me far the nearer way to compasse that you would so faine win, if ye began not with such matters which we deny not, but a Generall Councell might take order that they should be practised as ye would haue it. Mary the Article of the presence of Christs body and blood in the Sacrament: the Article of our Iustification: the value of a Christian mans good workes: whether the Masse vsed in the Church of Rome be tolerable yea or no: yea, whether that the Masse be not a very sacrifice acceptable to God indeede, and good both for the quicke and the dead: whether any Scripture forbiddeth a man to desire the blessed Apostles and Martyrs in heauen to pray for vs: whether it be lawfull to honour them: and whether it be lawfull for vs, and good for them, to pray for all Christian soules; I weene if ye had the vpper hand but in one of these questions,

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the world might well thinke we were finally to be truſted in all the reſt. For we make a plat and plaine anſwer to them, without if, or and. So doe we not, whether the Seruice ought to be in Engliſh or not. Or, whether the people ought to receiue in both kinds or no. Or, whether any priuate Maſſe ought to be ſaid in the Church or no.

I haue ieoparded to wade thus farre with you, for no worſe purpoſe than I haue vttered at the beginning. For all truth, if you ſhew me good cauſe why, I ſhall yeld, as I haue promiſed.

Mine aduenture in this caſe ſhall be ſo taken, I truſt, as no aduantage be ſought againſt me, as for breach of any part of my duty otherway or other. Wherefore I pray you conſtrue my doings by the meaning I had in them.

I haue here ſet in writing the queſtions that you haue ſo gently offered to be reaſonable, in ſuch ſort in effect as they were reported from your mouth to me.

1. Whether there remaine any ſubſtance of Bread and Wine after the conſecration done as the Church appointeth?

2. Whether it be tolerable that the people ſhould receiue vnder one kinde or no?

3. Whether it be any offence before God that the common Seruice ſhould be ſaid in a tongue that the people vnderſtandeth not?

4. Whether it be any offence before God, a Prieſt to ſay Maſſe, vnleſſe one or other receaue with him.

18. *Martij.* *Henricus Cole.*

The Biſhop of Sarisburies anſwer vnto the *letter afore written.*

I Perceiue by your Letters that ye were not preſent your ſelfe at my Sermon in the Court, but onely heard of it by the report of others. And where you deſire to be anſwered in certaine points touching the ſame, conſidering both my calling, and alſo the place where I ſpake, I ſtand in doubt whether I may ſafely without further licence giue a rekening of my doctrine, being vttered before the Prince, the Counſell, and the whole State of the Realme, ſpecially to a Subiect, and ſuch a Subiect, as miſliketh all Sermons, and yet will not vouchſafe to heare one. Notwithſtanding, forasmuch as I am perſwaded that you charitably deſire to be reſolued, I can alſo charitably be contented, as a friend with a friend, or a ſcholar with a ſcholar, to confer with you herein, reſeruing alway my former proteſtation.

Touching the quotations of the ſpeciall points and grounds that I ſtand vpon, if you had heard the maner of my doctrine your ſelfe, I beleeue you would not haue required them. For your reporter hath altered the whole forme of my ſpeaking.

For I ſtood only vpon the negatiue, which, as you ſaid, when time was, in the diſputation that ſhould haue beene at Weſtminſter, is not poſſible to be proued.

My offer was this, That if any one of all thoſe things that I then rehearſed, could be proued of your ſide by any ſufficient authority either of the Scriptures, or of the old Doctours, or of the auncient Councels, or by any one allowed example of the Primitiue Church, that then I would be content to yeld vnto you.

I ſay you haue none of all thoſe helps, nor Scriptures, nor Councels, nor Doctours, nor any other antiquity: and this is the Negatiue. Now it ſtandeth you vpon to proue but one affirmatiue to the contrary, and ſo to require my promiſe.

The articles that I ſaid could not be proued of your part were theſe:

That it cannot appeare by any authority, either of the old Doctours, or of the ancient Councels, that there was any priuate Maſſe in the whole Church of Chriſt at that time.

Or, that there was then any Communion miniſtred in the Church to the people vnder one kinde only.

Or, that the common prayers were then pronounced in a ſtrange tongue, that the people vnderſtood not.

Or, that the Biſhop of Rome was then called *Vniuerſalis Epiſcopus*, or *Caput Vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ*, an vniuerſall Biſhop of the whole world, or elſe the head of the vniuerſall Church.

Or

Or, that the people was then taught to beleeue, that in the Sacrament after the Conſecration, the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine departeth away, and that there remaineth nothing els but only the accidents of Bread and Wine.

Or, that then it was thought lawfull to ſay, ten, twentie, or thirtie Maſſes in one Church in one day.

Or, that the people was then forbidden to pray, or to reade the Scriptures in their mother tong.

And other mo Articles a great number I reckened vp then at Pauls Croſſe, which it were long now to rehearſe.

And if any one of all theſe Articles can be ſufficientlie proued by ſuch authoritie as I haue ſaid, and as ye haue borne the people in hand ye can proue them by, I am well content to ſtand to my promiſe.

If you ſay, theſe are but ſmall matters in compariſon of others: yet as ſmall as ye would haue them ſeeme now, ſome men haue felt no ſmall ſmart for them.

And where you maruell why I began not rather with the Reall preſence, with Juſtification, with the value of good works, with the Sacrifice of the Maſſe, with praying vnto Saincts, with praying for the dead: although indeed it may ſeeme very much for me to be appointed by others what order I ſhould take in my preaching; yet to anſwer the truth, why I paſſed by theſe matters at the firſt, and rather began with other, the cauſe was, not for that I doubted in any of the premiſſes, but only for that I knew the matters, that you moue queſtion of, might at leaſt haue ſome colour or ſhadow of the Doctours. But I thought it beſt to make my entrie with ſuch things, as wherein I was well aſſured ye ſhould be able to finde not ſo much as any colour at all. And if ye will firſt grant this to be true, as I beleeue you will, notwithſtanding the people haue been long told the contrary, afterward I am well content to trauell with you farther in the reſt.

Further, I maruell much ye write, that touching a priuate Maſſe, or the receiuing vnder one kinde, or the common prayers to be had in an vnknowen tongue, or otherwiſe, ye are not reſolued to anſwer preciſely without if, or and. For where ye ſay ye are content to be ordered herein by a Generall Councell: firſt I would know what Generall Councell of any antiquitie euer decreed any of thoſe matters againſt vs; vnleſſe perhaps ye will ſay the Councell of *Conſtance*, that of late yeeres pronounced openly againſt Chriſt himſelfe, and all the Primitiue Church, that it ſhould be a Schiſmaticall diſorder, if the people ſhould communicate vnder both kinds. And hauing no ancient Councell, that euer was, to alledge in theſe matters, I maruell how ye can iuſtlie ſay, ye are altogether ordered by Councels. And yet farther would I learne, what warrant any Generall Councell can haue to decree any thing contrarie to Gods word.

Where ye ſay, ye haue ſeene Maſter Caluins, and Maſter Bucers reaſons, and haue found them very weake, and not able to moue any other than yong folke, and vnlearned people; me thinketh that anſwer is ſo common and ſo generall, that it may ſerue our turne as well as yours. For we haue read Coclæus, Eckius, Pigghius, Bunderius, and ſuch others, and haue found ſuch reaſons and anſwers in them, as I beleeue you your ſelfe are not much moued withall.

Where you ſay, that Maſter Caluins and Maſter Bucers reaſons haue beene anſwered; I grant indeed they haue beene anſwered, but not ſo much by learning, as by other meanes, as you know. But your reaſons haue beene anſwered by reaſon ſufficientlie, as now, God be thanked, the whole world knoweth.

But to conclude, as I began, I anſwer, that in theſe Articles I hold only the negatiue, and therefore I looke how you will be able to affirme the contrarie, and that, as I ſaid afore, by ſufficient authoritie. Which if ye do not, you ſhal cauſe me the more to be reſolued, and others to ſtand the more in doubt of the reſt of your learning. 20. *Martij.*

Ioh. Sarum.

Doctour Coles ſecond Letter to the *Biſhop of Sarum.*

I Shall for this time paſſe ouer all other parts of your anſwer. and renue my former ſute vnto you, in moſt heartie and humble wiſe, deſiring you to giue eare vnto me in the ſame.

Remember for Gods ſake, how I began with you, not for other intent than to be inſtructed, why I ſhould be accounted obſtinate for ſtanding in contrarie opinion with you. Now when I weigh your anſwer ſent me lately in writing, I thinke you do

 miſtake

miſtake my doing, ſuppoſing that the ſame commeth not of ſuch ground as it doth. My Letter ſent to you declareth in my firſt entrie with you what my meaning was, and whereof it proceeded. I heard by report of many, that both at Paules and other where, ye openly wiſhed, that one man thinking otherwiſe than you do, would charitablie talke with you, whom you would with like charitie anſwer, and indeuour to ſatiſfie. And although you had not ſo proteſted, yet is it the part of a common and puplike preacher to performe no leſſe when occaſion is giuen. With which cauſe I was moued to write as I did, intending, if I might, to learne of you that I knew not, and that could by learning perſwade a man not wholly vnlearned to yeld thereunto, according to the words of my writing, and proteſtation.

But I finde not this meaning in your writing ſent vnto me, wherein you ſhew your ſelfe diſpoſed only to defend your teaching, as confeſſed and taken for true, and not to giue any account thereof, or to ſatiſfie any that doubteth. And there you bid me alleage to the contrarie and diſproue your ſaying, which neither reaſon, nor law can driue me to. Reaſon, becauſe the doctrine being yet doubfull, and ſtanding vpon proſe, the teacher ſhould firſt approue it vnto ſuch as doubt. Which the cuſtome of learning in all Vniuerſities proueth true: Where the opponent, when the matter is denied, as your doctrine is by vs, alleageth for that part which he would haue ſeeme true. And you take on you to diſproue that doctrine, which long time hath beene receiued. Euermore when any man profeſſed a reformation of doctrine, as you do, the reformer hath euer alleaged cauſes why they ſo did, and ſo take in hand to proue that they taught, againſt ſuch as did & would think otherwiſe.

But becauſe you are a Biſhop, and ſpake in ſuch an audience, ye doubt whether you ought to ſhew cauſe of that you teach or no, and therefore ye ſpake by proteſtation. Whereat I do much maruell: for the perſon or the place maketh no difference who ſhould proue or diſproue. The greater perſonage you beare, the leſſe cauſe haue ye to be put to anſwer. You haue not yet, I weene, all forgot the trade in *Oxford*, which you and I were brought vp in. In Scholes of Philoſophie a Maſter of Art is the higheſt degree; where the Maſter is rather put to oppoſe, than to anſwer. And likewiſe in Diuinitie in ordinarie diſputation, the Doctour oppoſeth, the meaner man anſwereth. And what reaſon ſhould leade you to thinke that a Biſhop ſhould not rather ſhew cauſe of that he teacheth, than any other? Saint Paul requireth in a Biſhop that he be διδακτικὸς, a man before all other meete and able to teach. And it is a rule in Biſhops, that they be readie to giue an account of their beliefe. And many reaſons are there why it ſhould be ſo.

You can not ſay I am an Heritike, or obſtinate, and thereby put me off. For I offer to yeld in all that ye proue to me. I ſtand in place and caſe to learne, and you a man appointed to teach. I come for no other purpoſe but to learne more than I know. I come to you for counſell in thoſe points ye ſeeme very reſolute in: I meane you no harme nor guile. Caſt me not off for Gods loue, as men do beggers, when they mind to do them no good.

If ye haue Scriptures, Councels, &c. with you, I deſire to know them. If ye haue none, let me and my fellowes alone in your Sermons. We trouble you not, nor giue you cauſe to deale ſo vnmercifull with vs, as ſome of your ſide doe. as though we were the moſt vnreaſonable men in the world.

By lawe vpon good grounds no man ſhould be put to reaſon where matters are once agreed on. I and my fellowes are in bands to auoid ſuch kinde of reaſoning as ye would put me to. Wherein wiſe men ſee, when ye openly prouoke vs to diſproue that ye teach, ye fare as if you ſhould ſay to one that is bound hand and foote, Come ſtrike me and thou dareſt. We are, as I ſaid, in place of learners, and ye in place to teach. We are defendants, and ye the plaintiffes. We continue in the faith we profeſſed ſith our Baptiſme, ye pretend a change in the ſame. We haue with vs an Apoſtolicall Church, ye haue none yet approued. We make no innouation: for, *In rebus nouis conſtituendis*, ſaieth the law, *euidens debet eſſe vtilitas*: and all new attempts are to be ſuſpected.

Ye ſeeme to miſlike in maner all that hitherto hath beene receiued. But ye ſay, ye bring vs againe to the Primitiue Church. It is a foule fall in reaſoning, to bring that for proſe which lieth yet in queſtion, or plainly denied. We are in poſſeſſion, ye come to put vs from it. Ye meane to draw vs to you: we deſire to know cauſe why. What reaſon leadeth you to put a negatiue in queſtion thereby to grieue your aduerſarie (yet haue you none of me, for I ſeeke on you to be taught) where in lawe a perſon aſſaulted, can be put to no more but to defend. Where a negatiue implieth in it a yea, or affirmation, there the plaintiffe is put to his proſe. But I proteſt once againe, I come not to diſpute, but to learne.

You will happilie ſay, that both our ſide and yours hath alreadie ſaid euen ſo much in the matters that be in queſtion betwixt vs, that as ye can ſay no more for your part

than

then hath bene said already, no more can we neither, and therefore as good neuer a whit as neuer the better. If the reasons that Caluin, Bucer, and other Protestants doe make, can not mone you, what auaileth any more talke? If the case be such indeed, that neither part can go further, but alleg saie that maketh for either part, then either let both parts let other alone, vntill such a generall Councell be assembled as ye will agree to stand by, which will not be I trow whiles I liue, nor seuen yeares after for ought I se yet. And yet I se other folke thinke that not reasonable, because the chiefest points we striue on are already determined.

And here it boteth not to say as ye doe of the Councell of *Constance* slanderously, till ye had proued that ye say. I am somewhat bold with you in this terme; but pardon me I pray you, this case requireth the same, It boteth not, I say, to say the Church hath walked in blindnesse, so as ye make none account of such determination. Remember ye haue not yet proued the errour of one generall Councell.

If it be as you say, all is said that can be; then you and I now should doe well to weigh the reasons of both sides. Here if ye say, what weights or balance will ye weigh them by; let vs hardly doe herein as men doe, when the question is, which of two pieces of gold or two pieces of cloth is best; then they take a fine piece of gold or cloth, and that that goeth nearest the best, that ought to be so taken for best. Let you and me weigh your mens reasons and ours by the Fathers weights and balance, and se who reasoneth most like S. Augustine, S. Basil, S. Cyprian, Tertullian, Irenæus, and Dionysius, the Councels, and such other weights fit for that purpose.

Thus we se there is yet good cause enough, why men may soberly learne one of another. And if it misfortune that for lacke of light we cannot agree which ballance weigheth heauiest, let vs borow eies of our neighbours. And if ye begin handsomly with me, I mistrust not but men shall at length get more liberty for so good a purpose, when good meaning is well knowen.

By this ye se I meane no guile, nor attempt no new practise. If ye refuse me at this request, for se what may be thought. You are not all without enemies pardy. Some will perchase construe yee refuse *Conscientia imbecillitatis, &c.*

Well, if ye send word ye are at a point, and will goe no further, then I pray you that of all this incounter there grow no farther breach of amity, or harme otherwaies. I meane and deale plainly, and trust vpon your open promise to goe harmeles againe from you, as I began. Here repeating againe my former protestation, that I am not nor will be against any Article that learning or reason can shew I ought to beleue, being ready without malice to heare and take what may be alleaged to driue me to that ye teach, & desiring you herewithall to construe my sayings by the intent I had in them, and also to tender my sute, I shall here make an end, and trouble you no further, vnlesse I se more comfort at your hand.

I had once made ready to be sent you another answer, which vpon better aduise I thought good to stay. I meant in both one thing, but my first was some deale sower, and would haue bene as bitter as a medicine, or, in time of Lent, penance. I striue with nature, the lesse to offend you: and so I trust you se cause to forgiue me, if in any part of my writing I seeme ouer eager.

24. *Martij.* Henricus Cole.

The Answer of IOHN Bishop of *Sarum* vnto Doctor Coles second Letter.

A B C D E

IN your second Letters I finde many words to little purpose. It had bene better for you to haue alleaged one sufficient authority, whereby I might haue learned that I looked for.

For in my Sermon at Pauls and els where, I required you to bring forth on your part either some Scripture, or some old Doctour, or some ancient Councell, or els some allowed example of the Primitiue Church. For these are good grounds to build vpon, And I would haue marueiled that you brought nothing all this while, sauing that I knew ye had nothing to bring.

But now forasmuch as you seeke shifts, and will come to answer, I count him vnwise that knoweth not your meaning.

Ye aske why ye should be called obstinate. Doubtlesse I haue a better opinion of you, and trust ye be not so. But if a man withstand an open truth, hauing nothing wherwith to

defend himſelfe, I remit him to your owne iudgement, whether he may be called obſtinate or no.

F You put me in remembrance of mine office, that forasmuch as I am a Biſhop, I ſhould be ἀδιάπτωτος, that is, ready to yeld account of ſuch things as I teach: I thanke God, ſo I doe, and haue done hitherto to my power, both priuately and openly.

G But if this be my duty, and required at my hands, what priuiledge haue you, that you onely may not allow one peece ſentence to the confirmation of your learning?

H You would haue men thinke I flie anſwering, becauſe I am a Biſhop. This in Logike is called *Paralogiſmus, à non cauſa, vt cauſa.*

I I alleaged the place and audience where I ſpake, and not only mine office, for that I thought it might appeare ſome want of diſcretion to call that doctrine into queſtion which I knew was grounded vpon Gods word, and authoriſed and ſet forth by the Queenes Maieſty, and by the aſſent of the whole Realme.

K But as touching my calling, I am not onely ready to anſwer any man in any thing that I profeſſe, but alſo vpon ſufficient allegation, as I haue promiſed, very well content to yeld vnto you.

L But I beſeech you, what reaſon of your faith in theſe matters gaue you ſometime when ye were in place? Scriptures, Doctours, Councels ye had none, as it now appeareth by your ſilence.

M Therefore the ground of your perſwaſion muſt then needs be, *Nos habemus legem, & ſecundùm legem, &c.*

N You know what followeth: for as truely as God is God, if ye would haue vouchſafed to follow either the Scriptures, or the ancient Doctours, and Councels, ye would neuer haue reſtored againe the Supremacie of Rome after it was once abolished, or the priuate Maſſe, or the Communion vnderone kinde, &c.

It greeueth you that I ſhould reſt vpon the negatiue, and ſo put you to your proofes.

O Wherein notwithſtanding ye alleage againſt me the cuſtome of the Scholes: yet ye know, Chriſt vſed the ſame kinde of reaſoning in his Schole. As when he ſaid to the Phariſies, *Hoc Abraham non fecit*, This thing Abraham neuer did. And againe, when he anſwered them in the caſe of Matrimonie, *A principio non fuit ſic*, It was not ſo from the beginning: he ſtood only vpon the negatiue. Wherein if the Phariſies had béene able to proue but one affirmatiue, either that Abraham had done ſo, or that the law of diuorce had béen ſo from the beginning, Chriſt with his negatiue might ſone haue béen confounded.

Euen ſo, when the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had taken vpon him to be called the vniuerſall Biſhop of the whole Church, which title afterward the Biſhop of Rome began to vſurp to himſelfe, and for the maintenance of the ſame had often times diſquieted and ſhaken the whole world; but when the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* firſt began to vſe this ſtile, Gregory béeing then the Biſhop of Rome confounded him only with the negatiue:

P *Nemo*, ſaid he, *deceſſorum meorum hoc profano vocabulo vti voluit*; None of my predeceſſors would euer vſe this vnchriſtianlike and leaud name. *Lib.* 4. *Epiſt.* 80. And againe, *Epiſt.* 92. *Sancti ante legem, Sancti in lege, Sancti ſub gratia, omnes perficientes Corpus Domini in membris ſunt conſtituti. At nemo ſe vniuerſalem dici voluit.* The holie men before the law, the holie men vnder the law, the holie men vnder the grace of the Goſpel, all together making vp one bodie of the Lord, are placed amongſt his members: but none of them would euer ſuffer himſelfe to be called vniuerſall.

I haue choſen eſpeciallie theſe examples, becauſe they ſéeme to ſerue me to double purpoſe. Thus Gregory reaſoned then as we do now, only vpon negatiue: and if then the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had béene able to proue but one affirmatiue, that any Biſhop of Rome aforetime had vſed that ſtile, or that euer any man, either before the Law, or vnder the Law, or vnder the Goſpel, had ſuffred himſelfe to be called vniuerſall Biſhop, then had Gregory béene confounded.

Q But as touching the cuſtome of the Schooles, I truſt ye haue not yet forgotten, that Ariſtotle giueth order to the opponent in many caſes to require an inſtant; as I do now at your hand. And what is that els, but in the denial to defend the negatiue, and to driue the aduerſarie to auoch the affirmatiue? But that will ye not do, and ye know why, although ye diſſemble it. But ſoner ye require to ſée our grounds.

R And what better ground can we haue on our ſide, then that Doctor Cole, the chiefeſt man on the other ſide, can finde no ground to ſtand againſt vs?

S Ye that will make any innouation, ſay you, muſt giue a reaſon of his doings. O maſter Doctour, this reaſon fighteth moſt againſt your ſelfe: for you haue miſliked and put away the moſt part of the order of the primitiue church, and yet ye neuer gaue any good reaſon of your doings.

T You ſay you are in poſſeſſion. No, ye were ſometimes, you are not now. And when you were, ye had no right title nor good euidence, no more than they that ſometimes ſate in Moſes chaire, or they that ſaid, *Noſtrum filij Abraham*, We are the children of Abraham, and thereby claimed their poſſeſſion. Therefore ye were *poſſeſſores male fidei*, and for that cauſe ye are now iuſtly remoued.

V Now if ye thinke ye haue wrong, ſhew your euidence out of the Doctours, the Councels, or Scriptures, that ye may haue your right and reentry. I require you to no great paine, one good ſentence ſhall be ſufficient.

Aa You would haue your priuate Maſſe, the Biſhop of Romes Supremacy, the Common prayer in an vnknowen tongue: and for the defence of the ſame, ye haue made no ſmall adoe. Me thinketh it reaſonable ye bring ſome one authority beſide your owne, to auouch the ſame withall. Ye haue made the vnlearned people beleeue ye had all the Doctours, all the Councels, and fiftene hundred yeres on your ſide. For your credits ſake let not all theſe great vaunts come to naught.

Bb Where ye ſay ye are in place of a learner, and gladly come to be taught, you muſt pardon me, it ſeemeth very hard to beleeue. For if you were deſirous to learne, as you would ſeeme, ye would come to the Church, ye would reſort to the Leſſons, ye would abide to heare a Sermon: for theſe are the Scholes if a man liſt to learne: It is a token the Scholar paſſeth little for his Booke, that will neuer be brought to Schole.

Cc Ye deſire ye may not be put off, but that your ſuts may be conſidered. And yet this halfe yeere long I haue deſired of you, and of your breathren, but one ſentence; and ſtill, I know not how, I am caſt off, and can get nothing at your hands.

Dd You call for the ſpeciall proues of our doctrine, which would require a whole Booke, whereas if you of your part could vouchſafe to bring but two lines, the whole matter were concluded.

Ee Yet leſt I ſhould ſeeme to flie reckoning as ye do, or to follow you in diſcourteſie, I will performe ſome part of your requeſt, although indeed it be vnreaſonable.

Ff Againſt your new deuice of Tranſubſtantiation, beſides many others whom I will now paſſe by, ye haue the old Father and Doctour Gelaſius, whoſe iudgement I beleeue ye will regard the more, becauſe he was ſometime Biſhop of Rome, which ſee, as you haue taught, can neuer erre.

Gg And is alleaged in the Decrees: his words be plaine: *Non deſinit eſſe ſubſtantia panis, & natura vini*; It leaueth not to be the ſubſtance of bread, and the nature of wine.

Hh But to auoid this authority, ſome men of your ſide haue bene forced to expound theſe words in this ſort: *Non deſinit eſſe ſubſtantia, hoc eſt, non deſinit eſſe accidens*; It leaueth not to be the ſubſtance of bread, that is to ſay, it leaueth not to be the accidence, or the forme, or the ſhape of bread. A very miſerable ſhift.

Ii Euen as right as the Scholy expounded the text, *Diſt.* 4. *Statuimus, id eſt, abrogamus.* Yet Doctour Smith of *Oxford* toke a wiſer way: for his anſwer is, that Gelaſius neuer wrat thoſe words, and that they hang not together, and that there is no ſence nor reaſon in them.

Kk Here haue you, that after the conſecration there remaineth the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine.

Ll Now bring ye but one Doctour that will ſay as ye ſay, that there remaineth only the accidents, or ſhapes of bread and wine, and I will yeld.

Mm As touching a priuate Maſſe, Gregory ſaith in his Dialogues, that before the time of the Communion, the Deacon was wont in his time to cry vnto the people, *Qui non communicat, locum cedat alteri*; Who ſo will not receiue the Communion, let him depart and giue place to others.

Nn To breake the ordinance of Chriſt, and to communicate vnder one kind only, your own Doctor Gelaſius calleth it *Sacrilegium*. And Theophilus Alexandrinus ſaith: *Si Chriſtus mortuus fuiſſet pro Diabolo, non negaretur illi poculum ſanguinis*; If Chriſt had died for the Diuell, the cup of the blod ſhould not be denied him.

Oo That the common praiers were vſed in ỹ common tongue, you haue S. Baſil, S. Hierome, S. Auguſtine, S. Chryſoſtome, S. Ambroſe, & the Emperor Iuſtinian: the places be knowen.

Pp You ſee I diſaduantage my ſelfe of many things that might be ſpoken, for at this preſent I haue no leiſure to write Bookes.

Qq Now muſt I néeds likewiſe deſire you, forasmuch as I haue followed your mind ſo far, either to bring me one old Doctour of your ſide, or els to giue vs leaue to thinke as the truth is, ye haue none to bring.

You deſire vs to leaue talking againſt you, and no more to deale ſo vnmercifully with you in the Pulpits.

Rr O maſter Doctour, call you this vnmercifull dealing? when you were in authoritie ye neuer could call vs other than Traytours, and Heretiques: and yet beſides all that, vſed our bodies as you know.

Sſ We only tell the people, as our dutie is, that you withſtand the manifeſt trueth, and yet haue neither Doctour, nor Councell, nor Scripture for you, and that you haue ſhewed ſuch extremitie, as the like hath not bẽ ſeene: and now can giue no reckening why. Or if ye can, let it appeare.

Tt You ſay our doctrine is yet in doubt. I anſwer you, to vs it is moſt certaine and out of all doubt. But if you for your part be yet in doubt, reaſon and charity would ye had bene quite reſolued and out of doubt, before ye had dealt ſo vnmercifully for it with your brethren.

Vu You are bound, you ſay, and may not diſpute: yet God be thanked, you are not ſo bound as ye haue bound others. But I would wiſh the Quenes Maieſty would not onely ſet you at liberty in that behalfe, but alſo command you to ſhew your grounds. But when yee were at liberty, and a free diſputation was offered you at Weſtminſter before the Quenes moſt honorable Counſell, and the whole eſtate of the Realme, I pray you whether part was it that then gaue ouer? And yet then you knew ye were not bound.

Aaa Ye ſay ye remaine ſtill in the faith ye were baptiſed in. O good maſter Doctor ſtand not too much in that point. You know ye haue already forſaken a great number of ſuch things as were thought neceſſary when ye were Baptiſed; and yet beſides that, how many times haue ſome of you altered your faith within the ſpace of twenty yeres? Remember your ſelfe, who wrote the Booke [a] *De vera obedientia*, againſt the Supremacy of Rome? [b] Who commended it with his Preface? [c] Who ſet it forth with ſolemne Sermons? [d] Who confirmed it with open oath?

[a] *Gardiner.*
[b] *Bonner.*
[c] *Tonſtall.*
[d] *Cole.*
And in manner all the reſt.

You haue *Eccleſiam Apoſtolicam*, ye ſay, and we haue none. Howbeit, in all theſe matters that we now intreate of, we haue, as you know, and muſt nedes confeſſe, the old Doctors Church, the ancient Councels Church, the Primitiue Church, S. Peters Church, S. Paules Church, and Chriſts Church; and this, I beleeue, ought of good right to be called the Apoſtles Church. And I maruell much, that you knowing ye haue none of all theſe, yet ſhould ſay, ye haue *Eccleſiam Apoſtolicam*.

Bbb

Ccc Where ye ſay ye make no innouation; it is no maruell: for in manner all things were altered afore to your hands, as may moſt euidently appeare by all theſe matters that be now in queſtion betweene vs, wherein ye haue vtterly changed and aboliſhed the order of the old church, and doe nothing but the contrary; and what euident profit the Church of God hath gotten by it, I thinke it a hard matter to declare.

Ddd You would haue the matter turned ouer to ſome generall Councell as we would be content to ſtand by; howbeit, that you thinke will not be in your time.

Eee Notwithſtanding, I dare boldly ſay, ſuch a Councel will be a great while before ye ſhall be able to finde any Doctor, or old Councel to ſerue your purpoſe. But though there were neuer ſuch a Councell, yet truth will be truth notwithſtanding, for the Councell can not make the falſhood truth, but the thing that is taken to be true, it certifieth onely to be true. But what redreſſe can there be loked for of ſuch a Councell, where as no man ſhall be Iudge, or ſuffred to ſpeake one way or other, but only ſuch as be openly and inſtly accuſed and found faulty, and where as he that is himſelfe moſt out of order, ſhall be head and reformer of the whole?

Fff Both parties, ye ſay, haue waded ſo far herein, that now they can goe no further, and therefore ye would haue either part let other alone. If you of your part would haue done ſo, when time was, many a godly man had now bene aliue.

Ggg Whereas you ſay, you would haue the ſayings of both parties weighed by the balance of the old Doctours, ye ſee, that is our only requeſt; and that in the matters ye write of, I deſire euen ſo to be tried.

Hhh But why throw ye away theſe balance, and being ſo earneſtly required, why be ye ſo loth to ſhew forth but one old Doctour of your ſid? Ye make me beleeue, ye would not haue the matter come to triall: only ye ſet forth the emptie names of S. Auguſtine, of S. Hierome, of S. Chryſoſtome, of S. Baſil, of S. Cyprian, of Tertullian, of Ireneus, of Dionyſius, of the Councels, &c. as the Apothecaries oftentimes ſet forth their painted Boxes, and nothing in them: you ſhew me only the names of the Doctours, which I knew afore; but ye ſhew me not one word in them of the priuate Maſſe, or of the reſt of the matters that lie betweene vs. If ye could haue found any thing in them for your purpoſe, I beleeue you would not haue brought them empty. But that is a policy in the time of Siege, when the Souldiers within begin to want victuals, to throw forth a few loues ouer the walles, that the enemy without may thinke they haue ſtore enough, and ſo giue ouer the Siege.

You

Iii You ſay, I ſlanderouſly miſrepoꝛt the late Councell of *Conſtance*. O ſir, theſe woꝛds ſauour to much of your choler, and might better haue bꝛne ſpared. I ſpeake moꝛe fauoꝛably of that Councell than I might haue done.

Kkk Foꝛ the woꝛds of the Councell be theſe, ſpeaking namely of the Communion vnder both kinds: *Pertinaciter aſſerentes oppoſitum, tanquam Hæretici arcendi ſunt*: that is, They that ſtubboꝛnely defend and maintaine the contrary, that is to ſay, they that ſtand in defence of that, that Chꝛiſt commanded to be done and the Apoſtles, which all the old Catholike Doctoꝛs and the whole Pꝛimitiue Church obſerued, ought to be puniſhed ſo, as is mãte foꝛ Heretikes. By theſe woꝛds they are called not Schiſmatikes, as I ſaid, but ſtubboꝛne Heretikes, which is a great deale moꝛe odious. You ſee therefoꝛe my repoꝛt was moꝛe gentle than the Councell deſerued.

Lll Whereas you ſay we could neuer yet pꝛoue the eꝛꝛoꝛ of one generall Councell, I thinke your memoꝛy doth ſomewhat deceiue you. Foꝛ to paſſe by all other matters, Albertus Pighius, the greateſt learned man, as it is thought, of your ſide, hath found ſuch eꝛꝛours to our hands: foꝛ in his *Eccleſia Hierarchia*, ſpeaking of the ſecond Councel holden at *Epheſus*, which you cannot deny but it was generall, and yet toke part with the Heretike Abbat Eutyches againſt the Catholike Father Flauianus, he wꝛiteth thus: *Concilia vniuerſalia etiam congregata legitimè, vt benè, ita perperam, iniuſtè, impiéque iudicare & definire poſſunt*. Generall Councels, ſaith he, yea euen ſuch as be lawfully ſummoned, as they may conclude things well, ſo may they likewiſe iudge and determine things raſhly, vniuſtly, and wickedly.

Mmm And of the two Councels holden of late yéres at *Conſtance*, and at *Baſil*, where as Pope Iohn, and Pope Eugenius were depoſed, he ſaith plainely, that they decꝛéd both againſt reaſon, and againſt nature, and againſt all examples of antiquity, and againſt the woꝛd of God; and yet both theſe Councels were called generall.

Nnn Yé pꝛeſſe me ſoꝛe, that if I wꝛite you not a Booke of my pꝛoofes; it will be thought I doe it *Conſcientia imbecillitatis*, foꝛ the diſtruſt of the weakneſſe of my part. Belike you haue foꝛgotten wheꝛefoꝛe you with all your company not long ſince openly refuſed to enter diſputation with vs at Weſtminſter. Doubtleſſe the greateſt part thought it was (as it was indeꝛd) *Conſcientia imbecillitatis*, euen foꝛ diſtruſt of the weakeneſſe of your part. And what thinke yé is there now iudged of you, that being ſo long time required, yet cannot be woꝛn to bꝛing one ſentence in your owne defence?

Ooo I haue afoꝛe alleaged a few reaſons of my part, which by oꝛder of diſputation I was not bound to doe: now let the woꝛld iudge which of vs two ſlieth conference. I pꝛoteſt beſoꝛe God, bꝛing me but one ſufficient authoꝛity in the matters I haue required, and afteꝛward I will gently and quietly conferre with you farther at your pleaſure.

Ppp Wheꝛefoꝛe, foꝛaſmuch as it is Gods cauſe, if ye meane ſimply, deale ſimply, betray not your right, if ye may ſaue it by the ſpeaking of one woꝛd.

Qqq The people muſt nꝛds muſe ſomewhat at your ſilence, and miſtruſt your doctrine, if it ſhall appeare to haue no ground, neither of the old Councels, noꝛ of the Doctoꝛs, noꝛ of the Scꝛiptures, noꝛ any allowed exꝛample of the Pꝛimitiue Church to ſtand vpon, and ſo your fifténe hundꝛed yéres, and the conſent of antiquity and generality that ye haue ſo long and ſo much talkt of, ſhall come to nothing. Foꝛ thinke not that any wiſe man will be ſo much your frinde, that in ſo weighty matters will be ſatiſfied with your ſilence.

Rrr Whereas you ſay, I am not altogether without enemies; I aſſure you, whoſoeuer be enemy vnto mé, I foꝛ my part am enemy vnto no man, but only wiſh, that Gods truth may be knowen of all men. But he that is enemy vnto me in this behalfe, I feare mé is enemy vnto ſome other, whom he would be loth to name.

Sſſ You ſuppꝛeſſed, ye ſay, your firſt letters, foꝛ that you ſaw they were to ſoꝛoꝛe. That had bꝛne all one to me: foꝛ ſoꝛoꝛe woꝛds are not enough to quaile the truth. Howbeit to my knowledge I gaue you no euill woꝛd to increaſe that humoꝛ. But if ye will ſtill ſtriue againſt nature, as ye ſay ye haue done now, and conquer the reſt of your affections too, I doubt not but we ſhall ſone agrée.

Ttt Yéere I leaue, putting you eftſones gently in remembꝛance, that being ſo often and ſo openly deſired to ſhew foꝛth one Doctour, oꝛ Councell &c. in the matters afoꝛe mentioned, yet hitherto ye haue bꝛought nothing; and that if ye ſtand ſo ſtill, it muſt nꝛds be thought ye doe it *Conſcientia imbecillitatis*, foꝛ that there was nothing to be bꝛought.

20. *Martij.* Iohn Sarum.

Doctor

Doctour *Coles* answer to certaine parcels of the *second Letters of the Bishop of Sarum, set forth in such sort* as it came from the Author. 8. *Aprilis* *Anno* 1560.

A IT liketh you thus to say, that your readers may thinke you touch me very sore, where you discouer great vntruth in your writing. For my purpose was to be taught, and to this marke only I shot. You for lacke of good matter, answer, I speake not to the purpose; not to your purpose, but to mine.

B How oftentimes must I tell you, I come not to teach, but to be taught?

C You require that is dangerous for me to doe, as you know.

D Well railed, you shall finde that we haue more than all you shall be able to answer, when time shall require.

E These words glistered gold-like, and discloseth in you no will to satisfie my demand, I warn for lacke of stuffe.

F You say much, and proue nothing; your truthes be so open, that none seth them but your owne syde.

G I haue no priuiledge; when reason, and law shall will me to doe it, you shall finde it; now I stand bound to the contrary, as you know.

H I must néeds thinke some part of your writings made by some smatterer, as here for a shew of skill in Logike, brought in a place of Logike out of all purpose. How frame you this to your purpose, and you shall finde me therein true, as I shall happily make you to see, if you driue me to it.

I So did I too. Your doctrine against Transubstantiation is yet to be proued, and no man bound to beléeue it. And yet being as true as you would haue it séeme, yet may you informe the weake and willing to learne.

K That you are required, that you refuse, and make large offer to no purpose.

L We brought more than ye were able to answer, all were it no Scriptures, nor Councels, nor Doctours.

M This argument would I faine see proued.

N Stout and bold asseueration maketh no proofe in the law.

O Here is againe one place that I reckon ye put not in your selfe, for it maketh quite against you. For Christ proued the Pharises were not Abrahams children, and that a man may not put away his wife for euery cause.

P Two purposes against your selfe. Gregory proueth a negatiue, because none of his forefathers euer vsed the title. As one might say, that you preach is naught, because men in times past taught not so. This part of Gregory serueth no whit to disproue the Soueraignty, as *Driedo* will teach you, if you vouchsafe to reade him.

Q If you reade againe the place in Aristotles Topikes, you shall there see the better to vnderstand it. He speaketh it where men dispute *Dialecticè*, in such sort as we doe not, and therefore it serued not your purpose. But I tell you yet once againe, I come not to dispute, but to learne.

R *Ridetur, chorda qui semper aberrat eadem.*

D. Cole will proue it when it commeth to his turne.

S In the end of this writing ye shall finde mine answer to that you here say. The last answer.

T When you meddle with law, you shew your skill. I am still in possession of all that euer I thought: and if you put me out of possession by force, I ought to be restored. Had not the Priests in the old law good title to sit in Moses chaire? What, you forget your selfe: yes perdy. The Law accounteth no man *Malæ fidei possessorem*, after that he hath continued in possession an hundred yeres. But I pardon you for mistaking the law, it is not your faculty.

V I enter no sute against you, and it were folly to shew mine euidence vntill it may serue and take place. I craue only to be informed, which I cannot obtaine. *Patientia.*

Aa When I commence law against you, then this speech may serue you to some purpose.

Bb Why I come not to your Sermons? This question is captious, and yet you are not herewith discharged why you should not instruct me. As men chuse their wines, so chuse they their teachers. S. Augustine, S. Chrysostome, &c. Sermons, tend more to teach, than to conuince.

Cc We stand not in case like: what néede so much of one thing?

All

Dd All that I required may be couched in six lines, and for ought that I see yet, in lesse two.

Ee It is no discourtesie to refuse to doe that, wherewith I might forfet my recognisance.

Ff I see well ye write much and read little. Gelasius is full answered by Tapper, *in articulo de transsubstantiatione.*

Gg You alledge his words otherwise than you finde them; which fault I trust groweth on ouersight.

Hh Shew what they are, that it be not thought that you deuise this of your own phantasie.

Ii This glosse you mislike, because you vnderstand not the Glossers meaning. It may stand full well.

Kk Soft and faire, you haue not read the answer. Reade forarde, and you shall see more.

Ll At my cue I shall be ready for you.

Mm Ye haue better stuffe than this I trow. For this is somewhat weake.

Nn The decrees, where you learned this of Gelasius, tell you how you should vnderstand it.

Theophilus shall be answered, when I come to dispute with you.

Oo Whether the Greeke and the Latine tong were then vnderstood of the common people, remaineth yet vpon proofe. Well, I trow S. Basil, &c. properly not very well. Here I remaine still in doubt.

Pp I pray you take good leasure, and write effectually.

Qq I wis you know I may not, nor the case I stand in requireth it not. You misreport: I said if, &c.

Rr Men of your side vsed themselues traiterously to Queene Mary, as none of vs doe now.

Ss Not manifest, vntill it be better proued. You had but the Law; you require more than any Law will beare against vs.

Tt I doubted more than I doe. You giue me good cause to be well confirmed.

Vu At Westminster we came to dispute, and we were answered, there was none appointed; where we refused not to write neither. But when our Bookes could not be read as yours was, we refused not vtterly to dispute, but only this case, if our Bookes could not be suffred to be read as indifferently as yours was. Now hardly, weigh whether you haue indifferently reported, that we vtterly refused to dispute with you or no.

Aaa What one thing am I gone from? You say much, and proue little. You meane the old Bishop of *Winchester*, who repented at the houre of his death. And where you meane I condescended to the Primacy of King Henry at my first comming home, or I had laboured that matter, you did the like your selfe. For in Queene Maries time you subscribed to the Articles, some of them we are entred to talke in, to your no lesse blame than mine. There be in the towne that both saw you subscribe, and can bring forth your hand.

Bbb To this, and some part of the next article, you shall be answered in the end of this writing, as I before said.

Ccc What needeth so much of one thing? this seemeth you to seeme to say too much.

Ddd I grant.

Eee Such fond excuses men lay; how true let other iudge.

Fff You forget your selfe; I say not thus pardy: looke better in the place.

Ggg Then begin, if you thinke the time will serue, or put it ouer till another time.

Hhh All these be but words often repeated, and answered alreadie.

Iii Read the place againe, I say not so, and then you shall see lesse cause to complaine.

Kkk You say, the Councell at *Constance* openly pronounced against Christ himselfe. Wherein I pray you? because the Fathers there said; Who saith it is of necessitie to receiue vnder both kinds, and that the approued custome of the Church is Sacrilege, to be taken for an Heretike; yet no Heretike, but in a wrong opinion. Then belike you can bring in some Text where Christ commanded it should not be receiued, but vnder both kinds; which you can neuer do. So is your report of this Councell very slanderous still. Read 4. *Canonem Concilij Constantiensis.*

Lll You ground your proofe vpon Pighius errour. For Pighius holdeth, the Councell of *Ephesus* was generall, which the Councell of *Calcedon* denieth. So that I maruell much herein of you, that you alledge that for a Councell, which hath no place in the Bookes of Councels.

Mmm Wherein doth Pighius proue the Councels of *Constance*, and *Basil*, to haue erred? Mary because they decreed the generall Councell to be aboue the Pope. If ye take these two Councels to haue erred in this point, you are a greater Papist than I am: for I hold herein rather with Gerson. I trow this be one place that you wrote not your selfe. Yet I reckon no errour proued in any generall Councell, by that you haue said.

Nnn To this, I haue answered alreadie to you.

Ooo I haue anſwered to this already, what order of diſputation diſchargeth you of proofe: yet remember I came not to diſpute, but to be taught.

Ppp If you refuſe to inſtruct me, vnleſſe I bring ſome proofe of my part, you bid me to my coſt. You bid me to a feaſt, where, while I ſhould take on me to proue your doctrine naught, I were like to forfet my Recognisance, which you guilefully allure me vnto.

Qqq God wot I paſſe little in theſe matters what the poore ſilly ſoules deeme of my doings. Wherein you haue no cauſe to complaine, ſith they be euill to ward you. Wiſe men, I doubt not, ſee what iuſt cauſe I haue to doe as I doe.

Rrr You would beare folke in hand, that they that agree not in doctrine with you, are not the Queenes friendes, which you gather by your owne ſide in Queene Maries raigne: but I neuer brake amity with any man for diſſent in religion. I keepe ſtill mine old friends, be their religion good or bad.

Sſſ As though mine affection only cauſed me to diſſent from you in religion. Which argument may ſerue you happily in Rhetorike, but no where els I weene.

Ttt This place is aboue anſwered.

NOw foraſmuch as you make this a great foundation againſt vs, that we vary from the Primitiue Church, and thereby make the ſimple ſoules weene that we were in the wrong ſide: Heere I pray you ſhew your opinion, whether we are bound to doe all things which we finde by ſufficient authority were in vſe in the Primitiue Church. And becauſe you ſhall not be herein ſquemiſh, I ſhall here begin to ſhew you mine.

I am of the opinion, that the Councell of *Conſtance* was in this matter. I thinke it an errour, I am bound to doe as the Primitiue Church did, where the Church cuſtomably vſed the contrary. I recken an example no bond. I deny not but thoſe examples were to be followed, and not to be broken at euery mans will and pleaſure, vntill by common aſſent other order were taken. But if you ſeeke old writers, and finde me that the Church theſe ſix hundred yeeres obſerued not many things which were practiſed, and accounted for good, wholeſome, and holy in the Primitiue Church, and thereby deeme vs in errour, this were a wrong iudgement. For the Church of Chriſt hath his childhood, his manhood, and his hoare haires: and as that that is meete for a man in one age, is vnmeete in another, ſo were many things meete, requiſite, and neceſſary in the Primitiue Church, which in our daies were like to doe more harme than good.

This is no new deuiſed phantaſie, but vttered eleuen hundred yeres ago by Saint Ambroſe, without reproch. I ſhewed you, and red you the place at Weſtminſter (as you may remember) and it were too long to make reherſall of his words here.

We might by taking the contrary opinion herein, be led to thinke we ought to receiue the Sacrament euermore after Supper, and not faſting. But Saint Auguſtine ſaith, that Chriſt left this to his Church, to take order how, and in what ſort, his Sacraments ſhould be receiued and vſed: wherein he ſaith, it is a maruellous inſolent kind of madneſſe to miſlike that which is receiued in the Church, where the cuſtome is not againſt any commandement in the Scripture. Saint Peter cauſed (as Damaſus ſaith) a commandement to be giuen, that no man ſhould come bare faced to the Church. Saint Clement tooke order, that the Clergy ſhould haue all things in common, and to liue together, as in the late reformed order of Saint Benets Monkes doth moſt godly appeare. And not many yeeres ſince, the ſaid order in all Cathedrall Churches was obſerued. Yet I weene it were an errour to hold, of neceſſity it ſhould be ſo ſtill, or to ſay the Church were in errour, becauſe it hath ſuffred a contrary cuſtome to creepe in. Then if the cuſtome of the Church may breake that was in the Primitiue Church commanded, it is leſſe offence to leaue vndone that was at the beginning practiſed, and no commandement giuen for other to follow the ſame. Thus much I thought to put you in remembrance of, for ſuch matters as you touch in the 17. 42. 43. numbers.

8. *Aprilis.* Henricus Cole.

A Letter ſent from the Biſhop of *Sarum* to Doctour *Cole*, *wherein he requireth of him a true and a full Copie* of the former anſwer.

I Vnderſtand by the report of diuers, that appearing of late before the Queenes Maieſties Viſitors at Lambeth, and being there demanded of a Letter that was then abroad in your name, as anſwer vnto me, whether ye would acknowledge the ſame as your owne, or no; and ſo much the more, for that ye had

had vſed the matter vnder couert, and ſent your copies abroade into all places, euen into mine owne Dioceſſe, and yet not vnto me, thereby to diſcredit me in corners at my firſt comming, whereof I haue the greater cauſe to complaine of your doings: ye made anſwer, not only that it was your owne, but alſo that it was much abridged, and that the originall was twice aſmuch. If it be ſo, the fault is your owne, that would ſo vnaduiſedlie beſtow your writings. As for my part, as they came to me not by your ſending, but by very chance, euen ſo did I cauſe them to be copied out iuſtly, and truly, without adding or diminiſhing of one letter, and according haue I made out mine anſwer to the whole. Now forasmuch as I vnderſtand there be certaine both Honorable, and Worſhipfull, that would gladly haue our doings to the print, and ſo publiſhed; theſe ſhalbe to deſire you, for the bettering of your owne cauſe, to ſend me your owne copie full and large, as ye ſay ye gaue it out at the firſt, that I may do as I ſhall thinke good, and you haue no cauſe to thinke your ſelfe iniuried if I anſwer one parcell of your letters, and not to the whole. I pray you let me heare from you with expedition, for I meane plainly, and therefore haue cauſed the print to ſtay vpon your anſwer. Thus I bid you farewell. From *Shirburne* the xrij. of July. *Anno* 1560. Iohn Sarum.

VNto this Letter, Doctor Cole being beſides by meſſenger earneſtly required, would make no anſwer one way or other, therfore vpon his refuſall, it was thought good to anſwer his Letters as they were.

¶ *The Reply of the Biſhop of Sarum, to the Letter aboue written, which D. Cole* contrarie to euen dealing had giuen out, and ſent abroad, not to the ſaid Biſhop to whom he wrote it, but priuily and ſecretly vnto certaine of his owne friends.

THere came to my hands of late by chante a Scroll ſet forth in ſhort broken ſentences, conteining an anſwer to the Second Letters that I had ſent vnto you before, which as by certaine familiar phraſes, by the date, by the ſubſcription of your owne name, and by other tokens, appeared to me to be yours: ſo by the tying and ordering of the ſame, I had ſome cauſe to thinke it ſhould not be yours, and eſpecially, for that being, as it appeared, written vnto me, it was ſent priuily abroad vnto others, and not to me. For I thought, that you being a man of this age and credit, would not haue bẽ aſhamed of your owne writings, or would haue concealed them from him, to whom you had directed them, or haue ſought for a falſe light to ſet forth your matters in, as Merchants ſometimes vſe to do, the better to vtter their ſorie wares.

Moreouer, I ſaw, that your words thorowout were heaped vp with taunts and ſcornes, and were ſomewhat too much ſtained with choler to haue proceaded from a ſober graue man, as I euer toke you to be.

Thus being vncertain of the truth herein, after I had ſent often times to you, to know whether you would auouch it for your owne, or no, and could neuer get word from you, by reaſon that you ſhifted your ſelfe, and would not be found; I thought it good to ſtay my ſelfe from anſwering, vntill I might get certaine knowledge of the Authour.

At the laſt, after I had aſſayed many waies, and could by no meanes heare from you, hauing no longer continuance in the Citie to ſtay the vntrue reports which I heard were ſcattered by ſome of your friends, I could not but before my departure hence make out mine anſwer vnto you, as hauing cauſe to thinke the Letters that were brought me ſhould be his, in whoſe name they were giuen abroad.

Firſt, where you haue made your anſwers ſeuerall, and ſet them ſo far off from the parcels of my Letters, I gheſſe you did that of very purpoſe, that your reader might ſée your anſwer, but not ſée what it was whereunto you anſwered.

Therefore I haue ioyned my ſayings and yours ſimply and plainly both together, without colour, or ſhadow, that the indifferent reader may haue all before his eies, and ſo be the better able to iudge aright.

Sarum.

IN your ſecond Letters I finde many words to ſmall purpoſe. It had bẽne farre better for you to haue alledged one ſufficient authoritie, whereby I might haue learned that I loked for.

Cole.

Cole.

IT liketh you thus to say, that your Readers may thinke you touch me very sore; where you discouer a great vntruth in your writing: for my purpose was to be taught, and to this marke onely I shot. You for lack of good matter answer, I speake not to the purpose. Not to your purpose, but to mine. How often times must I tell you, I come not to teach, but to learne?

The Reply of the Bishop of Sarum.

COntrarie to the rules of Rhetorik, I see you begin to chafe and to enflame all your affections euen at the first. Soberneſſe were much fitter for a Doctor. But your heates be such, that your friends haue shewed me you must be borne withall.

I neither discouer, nor couer any vntruth in my writing, but as you know, only vtter the very truth. For at Pauls Crosse I required you, or any of you, to shew the grounds of your religion, if you had any, that by indifferent conference the truth the better might appeare. And this had been to your purpose, if ye had meant plainly, and to mine too. But you run away in the mist, and flie the net, lest happily ye should be taken; and so purposely goe about to bleare your readers eies, and to couer the truth: and hauing in very deede nothing to alledge for your selfe, yet ye make a countenance as though ye lackt nothing. And so I grant you follow your purpose, and not mine.

Where you say, ye come only to learne, and not to quarrell; he must needs be your very friend that will beleeue you. Howbeit, the pretence of a learner may keepe your credit for a while, and saue you from shewing what ye can say: and therefore I read you, vse it still. But by your scoffes and scornes it may appeare, you come to controll, sooner than to learne. God send vs both humblenesse of heart, that we may content our selues to be taught.

Sarum.

IN my Sermons as well at Paules Crosse, as elsewhere, I required you to bring forth of your part either some Scripture, or some old Doctour, or some antient Generall Councell, or els some allowed example of the Primitiue Church, for these are good grounds to build vpon. And I would haue marualled that you brought forth nothing all this while, sauing that I knew you had nothing to bring.

Cole.

YOu require that is dangerous for me, as you know.

The Reply. Sarum.

IF it be dangerous to you because you stand bound, why do you not put it ouer to some other of your side that is not bound? This shadow will serue well before your friends, that will winke when you bid them, and see no more than you will haue them see. But forasmuch as ye haue vsed this excuse so often, and so few wise men will beleeue it, I would thinke it good that now ye would deuise some other.

Sarum.

BVt now forasmuch as ye seeke shifts, and will not come to answer, I account him vnwise that knoweth not your meaning.

Cole.

VVEll railed, you shall finde that we haue more than all you shall be able to answer when time shall require.

The Reply. Sarum.

THis answer, notwithstanding it is bitter yet because it is vntrue, and beareth more smoke than flame, it moueth me the lesse. Heere I misse in you some part of your courtesie. These matters would be tried by reasoning, better than by scolding. By likelihod some other man had moued your choler: for my words be as far from railing, as yours are from modestie.

Where

Where you write, that you haue more than all we ſhall be able to anſwer, if euery crake were a good ſubſtantiall argument, I were confuted. But notwithſtanding theſe terrible threates, yet in concluſion, as your cuſtome is, ye bring nothing.

The arguments that you ſay we ſhall neuer be able to anſwer, are ſword, and fire, ſuch as of late daies ye vſed ſo plentiouſly for lacke of others. And yet as ſtrong and as forcible as they were (God be thanked) they haue bene fully anſwered, to the great and vnſpeakable comfort of Gods people, and to your ſhame and confuſion for euer.

As touching the old Doctours and Counſels, I would ye had a tearme aſſigned you, *ad exhibendum*: in the meane ſeaſon, for lack of other witnes, ye may write *teſte meipſo*, as Princes do.

Sarum.

YE aſke me why ye ſhould be counted obſtinate. Doubtleſſe I for my part haue a better opinion of you, and truſt you are not ſo. But if a man withſtand an open truth, hauing nothing wherewith to defend himſelfe, I remit him to your owne iudgement, whether he may be counted obſtinate, or no.

Cole.

THeſe words glitter Gold-like, and diſclaſe in you no will to ſatiſfie my demand: I weene for lack of ſtuffe.

The Reply. Sarum.

IT pleaſeth you to make your ſelfe merrie with theſe words. I alledged vnto you S. Auguſtine, S. Ambroſe, S. Baſil, S. Chryſoſtome, S. Hierome, Gelaſius, Theophilus, and S. Gregorie; therefore it is vntrue that ye ſay, I had no will to ſatiſfie your demand. Now bring you but one of all theſe, or any other of your ſide in the maters that lie now betweene vs, to ſatiſfie my demand, and as I haue ſaid, you ſhall haue the victorie.

You ſay, we lack ſtuffe to proue our purpoſe. O would to God your ſtuffe and ours might be laid together! then ſhould it ſone appeare how true it is that ye ſay, and how faithfullie ye haue vſed the people of God.

Sarum.

YOu put me well in remembrance of mine office, that forasmuch as I am a Biſhop, I ſhould be ἀπολογητὴς, that is, readie to yeild an account of ſuch things as I teach. I thanke God ſo I do, and haue done to my power, both priuately and openly. But if this be my dutie, and required at my hands, what priuiledge haue you, that you only may not allow out one ſentence to the confirmation of your doctrine?

Cole.

YOu ſay much and proue nothing. Your trueth is ſo open, that no man can ſee it but your owne ſide. I haue no priuiledge: when reaſon and Law ſhall will me to do it, you ſhall finde it. Now I ſtand bound to the contrarie, as you know.

The Reply. Sarum.

I Speake not too much, as your ſelfe can witneſſe. How much I proue, ſhall reſt vpon the wiſedome & iudgement of the reader. Both the truth of our part, and the vntruth of your part is ſo open, that now God be thanked the whole world is able to ſee it, vnleſſe there be ſome ſuch as haue eies and will not ſee: yet *Iuſtificata eſt ſapienſia Dei à filijs ſuis.*

Ye ſay you will ſpeake when reaſon and lawe ſhall will you to doe it. Of the lawe I will ſay nothing, but only this by the way, becauſe you are a Doctour of lawe, what lawe haue you that can driue a man to proue a negatiue? or if ye haue no lawe, what reaſon haue you that I ſhould doe it? But me thinketh both reaſon and humanitie would ye ſhould haue anſwered me ſome what, ſpeciallie being ſo often and ſo openly required. At the leaſt you ſhould haue alledged Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Chryſoſtome, Hierome, as ye did ſometimes alledge the decree of the Councell of *Epheſus*, the firſt, for the Communion vnder one kinde, which decree neuer was yet found, nor neuer will be. Howbeit becauſe you ſpeake of reaſon, whereas a man hath nothing to ſay, it is good reaſon he kepe ſilence, as you doe.

Sarum.

6. YOu would haue men thinke I flie answering, because I am a Bishop. This in Sophistry is called *Paralogismus, à non causa vt causa.* I alleaged the place and audience where I spake, and not only mine office. For I thought it might appeare some want of discretion, to call that doctrine into question, which I knew was grounded vpon Gods word, and authorised and set forth by the Queenes Maiesty, and by the assent of the whole Realme.

Cole.

I Must néedes thinke some part of your writing made by some smatterer, as héere, for a shew of skill in Logike, brought in a place of Logike out of all purpose. How frame you this to your purpose? and you shall finde me therein true, as happily I shall make you to sée, if you driue me to it. Your Doctrine against Transubstantiation is yet to be proued, and no man bound to beléeue it. And being as true as ye would haue it séeme, yet may you informe the weake and willing to learne.

The Reply. Sarum.

YE doe me too much wrong, that will not allow me thus much Logike of mine owne. But it was euer your grace, to beare the people in hand that all we are altogether vnlearned, and know nothing. Which thing if it were true, it were the more to your shame, thus openly to be confounded thorow the whole world, by men of so small learning. Howbeit, thus it pleased you to talke, for want of better reason.

Ye call me a smatterer in Logike, as if your selfe were as perfect in Logike as Aristotle. And yet I remember well I vnderstood as much Logike as this commeth to, and somedeale more, for twenty yéres ago, ye wis when you, by your owne report, were but a simple smatterer in Diuinity. Neither did I bring it in for a shew of skill, as you say, but to declare your ouersight, and lake of skill, which appeareth now not only in Diuinity, but also in Logike. For where you say I brought it in out of all purpose, me thinks you haue forgotten some part of your old rules, and know not what *Paralogismus à non causa, vt causa*, meaneth. Which is, whensoeuer in reasoning the very true cause is suppressed, and another cause of purpose set in place. For example I say, I conferre with you vnder protestation, lest I should séeme to call the doctrine into doubt, which I know to be established by Gods word, and by sufficient authority thorowout this Realme. And you would haue it taken that I doe it, because I am a Bishop. Which indéed is of your side a sophistication, *à non causa, vt causa.* So likewise I say, you alledge no Doctors, nor Scriptures, nor Generall Councels, as true it is, because ye haue none to alledge. But you would make men beléeue ye dare not alledge them, because ye stand bound in Recognisance to the contrary. And this of your side is another Sophistication, *à non causa, vt causa.*

Where you say, ye will shew me that I brought this in out of all purpose, it had béene more for your credit, if ye would haue done it out of hand. But forasmuch as the fairest shew of your learning hangeth on the Future tence, and standeth onely vpon promise, I trust you will bring forth your old Doctours and Councels, and performe this both together which will be ye know when.

The truth of our doctrine against Transubstantiation was proued sufficiently, and well allowed, before your doctrine with transubstantiation was euer heard of. For you are not able to shew me not so much as the very name of transubstantiation in any kind of writer, new or old, before the late Councell of *Laterane*, which, as you know, was holden in *Rome* a thousand two hundred and fifténe yéres after Christ. So long the Church of God, and the Catholike faith was able to stand without your transubstantiation. Which, if it were so true, as ye would haue men thinke it, I marueil it could neuer be knowen before.

Sarum.

BVt as touching my calling, I am not only ready to answer any man in any thing that I profesle, but also vpon sufficient allegation, as I haue promised, very well content to yéld vnto you.

Cole.

THat you are required that you refuse, and make large offer to no purpose.

The Reply. Sarum.

THat you required me I haue partly performed, euen in my laſt Letters, as you your ſelfe doe know right well, and that not altogether from the purpoſe, as it ſhall appeare. Bring you forth as much of your ſide, and I will ſay ye come well to the purpoſe.

Sarum.

BAt I beſeech you, what reaſon of your faith in theſe matters gaue you ſometime when you were in place? Scriptures, Doctours, Councels, ye had none, as now appeareth by your ſilence. 8

Cole.

WE brought more than ye were able to anſwer, all were it not Scriptures, nor Doctours, nor Councels.

The Reply. Sarum.

INſtead of Scriptures, Doctours, and Councels, ye brought ſuch extremity, as the world hath not ſeene the like, and as you are now loth to heare of, and yet it pleaſed God that the ſame ſhould be anſwered ſufficiently, with patience and ſufferance. But heere am I glad ye confeſſe one truth by the way, that ye brought in all that time neither Scriptures, nor Doctours, nor Generall Councels of your ſide; and yet I trow ye were free from Recogniſance. This I beleeue paſſed you vnwares, and not of purpoſe. As your Proloquutor in the diſputation at *Oxford*, gaue out one truth by chance vnaduiſedly, as he gaue knowledge to the audience in the Diuinity ſchole of what matters they would diſpute. For thus he ſaid, and that in your owne hearing: *Viri fratres, conuenimus hûc hodiè diſputaturi contra horribilem illam Hæreſim, de veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti, in Euchariſtia.* Brethren, ſaid he, we come hither this day to diſpute againſt that horrible Hereſie, of the verity of Chriſts body and bloud in the Sacrament. God would haue him vtter ſome truth then, as you doe now, becauſe he was *Pontifex illius anni.* But forasmuch as you confeſſe ye brought neither Scriptures, nor Doctours, nor Councels, I remit the matter to your owne reader to conſider what ye brought.

Sarum.

THerefore the ground of your perſwaſion muſt then needes be, *Nos habemus legem, & ſecundum legem, &c.* You know what followeth, that is, We haue a law, and according to our law he muſt die. 9

Cole.

THis argument I would faine ſee proued.

The Reply. Sarum.

YOur whole practiſe, and the order of your doings for ſix yeres together hath proued it ſufficiently. And beſides that, a Biſhop of yours euen in that time, ſitting in iudgement vpon a poore man in a caſe of religion, and hearing him alledge the Scriptures, and other authorities for himſelfe, rounded a Gentleman in the eare that ſate next to him with theſe words; Nay, if we ſtriue with them in Scriptures and reaſoning, we ſhall neuer haue done. We muſt proceed againſt them with the Law.

Sarum.

FOr as truely as God is God, if ye would haue vouchſafed to follow either the Scriptures, or the ancient Doctours, or the Counſels, ye would neuer haue reſtored againe either the Supremacy of *Rome* after it was once abolished, or the priuate Maſſe, or the Communion vnder one kind, &c. 10

Cole.

STout and bold aſſeueration, maketh no proofe in the Law.

The Reply. Sarum.

TRue and earneſt aſſeueration maketh a proofe ſufficient in the law, as long as ye haue nothing to the contrary, as indeede ye haue not, nor neuer ſhall haue. But

without queſtion, your terrible gard of Billes and Halberds, your grinning and ſcoffing, with other like your demeanour, as ye vſed in the diſputations at *Oxford* againſt the Martyrs and faithfull witneſſes of Gods truth, and as now your crakes of many things, and bringing forth of nothing, I beléeue to any wiſe man maketh but ſmall proofe in Diuinity. But if ye would haue had any wiſe man miſlike my aſſeueration, ye ſhould haue ſhewed by what Scriptures, by what Councels, or by what Doctours, ye reckoned theſe things againe.

Sarum.

11 IT grieueth you that I ſhould reſt vpon the Negatiue, and ſo put you to your proofes, Wherein notwithſtanding ye alledge againſt me the cuſtome of the Schooles: yet you know Chriſt vſed the ſame kind of reaſoning in his Schoole. As when he ſaid to the Phariſies, *Hoc Abraham non fecit*: This thing Abraham, neuer did. And againe, when he anſwered them in the caſe of diuorce, *A principio non fuit ſic*, It was not ſo from the beginning, he ſtood only vpon the Negatiue.

Cole.

HEre is againe one place that I recken you put not in your ſelfe, for it maketh quite againſt you. For Chriſt proued the Phariſies were not Abrahams children, and that a man may not put away his wife for euery cauſe.

The Reply. Sarum.

I See you would faine put me out of credit, as though I were not able to anſwer your Letters without conference. But this I recken you doe for a iolly policy, that while your reader is loking vpon me, he ſhould forget the whole matter that we talke of. If the examples that I alledge be againſt my ſelfe, then are you the more beholding to me. For they cannot likely make againſt me in this caſe, but they muſt néedes make for you. Yet I pray you ſhew mée by all your Logike, how holdeth this argument of yours:

> Chriſt proued, that the Phariſies were not Abrahams children, and that a man may not put away his wife for euery cauſe: *Ergo*, this matter maketh quite againſt me.

METhinketh héere is a very ſhort Syllogiſmus. I maruell where you left your *Medius terminus*; you ſhould haue ſquared it better before it had paſt your hands. As for the allegation, it maketh euidently for me. For as I ſaid, Chriſt ſtood then vpon the negatiue againſt the Phariſies, as we doe now againſt you.

Sarum.

12 EVen ſo, when Iohn the Biſhop of Conſtantinople had taken vpon him to be called vniuerſall Biſhop of the whole Church, which title afterward the Biſhop of Rome began to vſurp to himſelfe, and for the maintenance of the ſame, hath often times diſquieted and ſhaken the whole world: but when the Biſhop of Conſtantinople firſt began to vſe this title, Gregory being then Biſhop of Rome, confounded him only with the negatiue. *Nemo*, ſaid he, *deceſſorum meorum hoc profano vocabulo vti voluit*: None of my predeceſſours (which had continued from Peter downeward, for the ſpace of ſix hundred yéares after Chriſt) would euer vſe this vnchriſtianlike and leaud name: *Li.* 4. *Epiſt.* 80 And againe, *Epi.* 92. *Sancti ante legem, Sancti in lege, Sancti ſub gratia, omnes perficientes corpus domini in membris ſunt conſtituti.* The holy men before the Law, the holy men vnder the Law, the holy men vnder the grace of the Goſpell, altogether making vp one body of the Lord, are placed amongſt his members. But none of them would euer ſuffer himſelfe to be called vniuerſall. I haue choſen me ſpecially theſe examples, becauſe they ſéeme to ſerue me to double purpoſe. Thus Gregory reaſoned then, as we doe now, only vpon the negatiue: and if the Biſhop of Conſtantinople had béene able to proue but one affirmatiue, that any Biſhop of Rome afore time had vſed that title, or that euer any man, either before the Law, or vnder the Law, or vnder the Goſpell, had ſuffered himſelfe to be called vniuerſall Biſhop, then had Gregory béene confounded.

Cole.

D *Cole* confeſſeth, that no Biſhop of Rome

TWo purpoſes againſt your ſelfe. Gregory proued a negatiue, becauſe none of his forefathers euer vſed that title. As one might ſay, that you preach is naught, becauſe

men

before Gregory, that is, for the ſpace of ſixhundred yeeres after Chriſt, would euer take vpon him the title of vniuerſall Biſhop.

men in times paſt taught not ſo. This part of Gregory ſerueth no whit to diſprooue the Soueraignty, as Driedo will teach you, if you vouchſafe to read him.

The Reply. Sarum.

YOu ſay, I bring Gregory againſt my ſelfe. God be thanked you are able to bring neither Gregory, nor any elſe, that in any of theſe matters may but ſeeme to make with you. But if Gregory ſtand vpon the Negatiue, as I doe, and as you your ſelfe confeſſe, he maketh ſufficiently to my purpoſe. Now iudge you whether theſe proofes be negatiues, or no.

Nemo deceſſorum meorum hoc profano vocabulo vti voluit. Or this: *Nemo ſe vniuerſalem dici voluit.* And ſay not I alledge matter againſt my ſelfe, vnleſſe ye haue where with to diſproue it better.

You anſwer farther, that one might ſay the like againſt vs, that we preach this day is naught, becauſe men in times paſt taught not ſo. Like as Gregory found falt with Iohn the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, for that he intituled himſelfe an vniuerſall Biſhop of the whole Church, whereas none of his predeceſſours durſt neuer take that name vpon him. Indeed this anſwer might haue ſome ſhew, if men in times paſt had neuer taught ſo as we teach now. But I doubt not but herein your owne learning and conſcience crieth out againſt you. For you know that the matters that lie in queſtion betweene vs, haue beene taught, as we now teach them, both by Chriſt himſelfe, and by his Apoſtles, and by the old Doctours, and by the ancient Generall Counſels: and that you, hauing none of theſe or like authorities, haue ſet vp a Religion of your owne, and built it onely vpon your ſelfe. Therefore I may iuſtly and truely conclude, that you now teach, and of long time haue taught the people, touching the Maſſe, the Supremacy, the Common prayer, &c. is naught: for neither Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles, nor the old Doctours, Tertullian, Cyprian, S. Hierome, S. Auguſtine, S. Ambroſe, S. Chryſoſtome, &c. euer taught the people ſo as you haue taught them.

You ſay, this place ſerueth me nothing againſt the Supremacy. I marueil much you ſay not, it ſerueth you to proue the Supremacy. Gregory ſaith, No Biſhop of *Rome* vntill his time, which was ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, would euer be called, the vniuerſall Biſhop.

He ſaith, that Leo his predeceſſour refuſed the name, notwithſtanding it were offered vnto him in the Generall Councell of Chalcedon.

He ſaith, it is a proud, and a profane title, and a name meete for Antichriſt.

He ſaith, whoſoeuer will take that name vpon him, is Antichriſts fore-runner.

He ſaith, to conſent to ſuch a name is the deniall of the faith: and yet ſay you, he ſpeaketh not one word againſt the Supremacy.

Heere would I faine be anſwered one thing by the way; if no Biſhop of *Rome* would euer take vpon him to be called the vniuerſall Biſhop, or head of the whole Church for the ſpace of ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, where then was the head of the vniuerſall Church all that while? Or how could it then continue without a head, more than now? For now you ſay it is vnpoſſible. Or if the Church had no vniuerſall head in the earth for ſo long a time after Chriſt, why doe you now furniſh out the Biſhop of *Romes* authority in the hearing of the vnlearned, with ſuch a glory and face of antiquity? As if the Biſhop of *Rome* had euer beene named the head of the Church, ſince the time that Peter came firſt to *Rome*. But becauſe your ſelfe were not able to auoid the force of Gregories words, you did well to turne me ouer to Doctour Driedo.

Sarum.

BUt as touching the cuſtome of the Schooles, I truſt ye haue not yet forgotten, that Ariſtotle giueth order to the opponent in many caſes to require an inſtant of the reſpondent, as I doe now at your hands. And what is that elſe, but in deed to defend the negatiue, and to driue the aduerſary to auouch the affirmatiue?

Cole.

IF you read againe the place in Ariſtotles Topikes, you ſhall ſee there the better to vnderſtand it. He ſpeaketh it, where men diſpute *Dialectice*, in ſuch ſort as we doe not; and therefore it ſerueth not your purpoſe. But I tell you yet once againe, I came not to diſpute, but to learne.

The Reply. Sarum.

I Neuer thought it had bene so high a mystery to vnderstand the nature of an Instant. Children were wont to haue it in their common disputations in the Parish Schooles in *Oxford*. If it serue only for them that dispute *dialecticè*, and ye (as ye pretend) beare the person onely of a learner, and come not to dispute; why then did ye alledge against me the custome of the Schooles, and the disputations of Maisters of Art in the Vniuersities? We know they vse there to dispute only *dialecticè*, and none otherwise. And that I speake herein, I speake only vpon occasion of your owne words. How shall I thinke ye remember your Aristotle, if ye so sone forget your owne letters?

Sarum.

BVt that ye will not doe, and ye know why, although ye dissemble it. But soner ye require to see our grounds. And what better ground can we haue on our side, than that Doctour Cole the chiefest man on the other side, can finde no ground to stand against vs?

Cole.

Ridetur chorda qui semper aberrat eadem. Doctor Cole will proue it, when it commeth to his turne.

The Reply. Sarum.

SEeing for lacke of Doctours ye answer me with Poets, it shall do well to answer you againe with the same. *Decies repetita placebunt.* And yet when ye come so often with the pretence of desire to be taught, and of your recognisance, if I list to skoffe as ye do, why may not I as well say to you, *Ridetur chorda qui semper aberrat eadem*? as for the proouing hereof, ye do well to take a day. In the meane season giue others leaue to thinke the truth.

Sarum.

HE that will make any Innouation, say ye, must giue a reason of his doings. O maister Doctour, this reason fighteth most against your selfe: for ye haue misliked and put away the most part of the order of the Primitiue church, and yet ye neuer gaue good reason of your doings.

Cole.

IN the end of my writing ye shall finde mine answer to that yée here say. The last answer.

The Reply. Sarum.

AND there shall you finde the Reply.

Sarum.

YE say ye are in possession. No, ye were somtime, ye are not now: and when ye were, ye had no right title or good euidence to claime by, no more than they which sometime sate in Moses chaire, or they that said, *Nos sumus filij Abrahami*, We are the children of Abraham, and thereby claimed their possession: therefore ye were *Possessores malæ fidei*, and for that cause ye are now iustly and orderly remoued.

Cole.

WHen ye meddle with law, ye shew your skill. I am still in possession of all that euer I taught, and if you put me out of possession by force, I ought to be restored. Had not the Priests in the old Law good title to sit in Moses chaire? What ye forget your selfe, yes perdy. The Law accounted no man *malæ fidei possessorem*, after that he hath continued in possession an hundred yeares. But I pardon you for mistaking the Law, it is not your faculty.

The Reply. Sarum.

I Haue not so little skill in the Law but I vnderstand what are *malæ fidei possessores*. And as now (Gods name be praised) it is well knowen that ye haue bene they, ye are put out

out of poſſeſſion, not by violence of man, but by the very force of Gods truth, which ſo deuoureth and conſumeth vp all error and falſhod, as Moſes Serpent deuoured and ſwallowed vp the fained Serpents of the Sorcerers. If ye claime to be reſtored, be not agrieued to ſhew your euidence.

Where ye ſay, the Biſhops and Prieſts that were in Chriſts time had good title to ſit in Moſes chaire: I grant you they had euen as good title, as ye had to ſit and beare rule in the Church of Chriſt; and therfore your example miſliketh me neuer a whit. Yet ye know, Chriſt called them *Fures & latrones*, theeues and robbers: and ſaid vnto them, *Vos ex patre diabolo eſtis*, Ye are the children of the diuell.

Ye ſay, the Law accounteth no man *poſſeſſorem malæ fidei*, that hath continued in poſſeſſion one hundred yeares. Which thing notwithſtanding I can be content to grant you to be true in the ciuill Law, yet is it not true in the Law of God; and that, as ye know, is proued by diuers authorities euen in your owne Decrees, *Diſt.* 8. There is alleaged S. Auguſtine, whoſe words are theſe: *Veritate manifeſtata, cedat conſuetudo veritati. Nemo conſuetudinem rationi, & veritati præponat: quia conſuetudinem ratio & veritas ſemper excludit.* After the truth is once found out, let cuſtome giue place vnto the truth. Let no man ſet cuſtome before truth and reaſon: for reaſon and truth euermore put cuſtome to ſilence.

Likewiſe S. Gregory; and his words are theſe: *Si conſuetudinem opponas, aduertendum eſt, quod Dominus dicit, Ego ſum via, veritas, & vita: non dicit, Ego ſum conſuetudo. Et certè quælibet conſuetudo quantumuis vetuſta, quantumuis vulgata, veritati omnino eſt poſt ponenda.* If ye lay cuſtome for your ſelfe, ye muſt remember that Chriſt ſaith, I am the way, the truth, and the life: he ſaith not, I am cuſtome. And doubtleſſe any cuſtome, be it neuer ſo ancient, neuer ſo common, yet muſt it néeds yéelde to the truth.

Likewiſe S. Cyprian; whoſe words be theſe: *Si ſolus Chriſtus audiendus eſt, non debemus attendere, quid aliquis ante nos faciendum putarit, ſed quid, qui ante omnes eſt, Chriſtus prior fecerit. Neque enim hominis conſuetudinem ſequi debemus, ſed veritatem Dei, cum per Eſaiam Prophetam Deus loquatur, & dicat, ſine cauſa colunt me docentes mandata, & doctrinas hominum.* If only Chriſt muſt be heard, we may not waigh what any man hath thought good to doe that hath béene before vs, but what Chriſt hath firſt done that is before all men. For we may not follow the cuſtomes of man, but the truth of God, ſpecially for that God ſaith by the Prophet Eſay, They worſhip me in vaine, teaching the commandements and doctrines of men. Thus ye ſée euen by your owne Decrees, that cuſtome againſt the truth is a very ſimple ground to build vpon.

And like as ye vſe to ſay, *Nullum tempus præſcribit Regi*, Some thinketh of good right ye ought as well to ſay, *Nullum tempus præſcribit Deo*. Otherwiſe Antichriſt ſhall come, and ſit in poſſeſſion of the holy place, and beare himſelfe as if he were God, and that, God knoweth, how many hundred yeares together: and yet at the laſt he ſhall be but Antichriſt, ſit he neuer ſo high. For preſcription of an hundred yéares cannot make the falſhood to be the truth; nor can any preſcription be auailable in your owne law, vnleſſe it haue *bonum titulum*, and that in Religion muſt néeds be the word of God. Which word, foraſmuch as ye haue not to alledge (as ye your ſelfe know, no man better) all the face of your preſcription is but vaine, and therefore ye were, as I ſaid, *poſſeſſores malæ fidei*. And ye haue a ruls of your law, *poſſeſſor malæ fidei, nulla temporis longinquitate præſcribit*. And therefore Chriſt in the caſe of diuorce reſted not vpon the cuſtome that was then receiued, but appealed vnto the firſt inſtitution of Mariage, and told the Phariſies then, as we now tell you, *à principio non fuit ſic*, It was not ſo at the beginning.

Whereas ye ſay, I miſtake your law; I grant, it is poſſible I may ſo doe, as well as you; howbeit, I am well aſſured in this place I miſtake it not. I would to God you being a Doctour of the law did no worſe miſtake the Scriptures.

Sarum.

NOw if ye thinke ye haue wrong, ſhew your euidence out of the Scriptures, the Doctours, or Councels, that ye may haue your right againe and ſo reenter. I require you to no great paines, one good ſentence ſhall be ſufficient. Ye would haue your priuate Maſſe, the Biſhop of Romes Supremacy, the common prayers in an vnknowen tongue, and for defence of the ſame ye haue made no ſmall adoe: me thinketh it were reaſon ye ſhould bring ſome authority beſides your owne to auouch the ſame withall. Ye haue made the vnlearned people beléeue that ye haue all the Doctors, all the Councels, and fiftéene hundred yeares of your ſide. For your credits ſake, let not all theſe great vants come to nought.

Cole.

Cole.

I Enter no ſuite againſt you, and it were folly to ſhew my euidence vntill it may ſerue and take place. I craue only to be informed, which I can not obtaine. When I commence law againſt you, then this ſpæch may ſerue you to ſome purpoſe.

The Reply. Sarum.

IF you will not proſecute your ſuite, it is reaſon ye be caſt in a non-ſuite. But ye doe beſt to make a delay, for ye know ye haue to doe with them that haue ſæne your euidence.

Ye ſay ye kæpe your proofes vntill ſome better time, when they may ſerue, and take place. When Pompey, a noble Gentleman of *Rome* was marching forth to fight in the field againſt his enemy Iulius Cæſar, and Cato, an old graue Senatour, one of the ſame party, had ſhewed him he wanted men; Tuſh, quoth he, I ſhall haue men enow; for aſſone as I ſhall but ſtampe the ground with my foote, ye ſhall ſæ ſpring vp a ſwarme of Souldiers, afterward when the field was fought, and Pompey diſcomfited, and began to flie with much diſhonour; O ſir, ſaid Cato, where is now your promiſe? why ſtampe ye not the ground? when ſhall we ſæ your ſwarme of Souldiers? Euen ſo may I ſay to you, notwithſtanding your great vaunts that ye haue made; ye ſæ now ye are diſcomfited, ye ſæ the field is almoſt loſt: where are now your crakes of Doctours, and Councels? Why ſtampe ye not your bookes? why come ye not forth with your euidence? Now ye ſtand in næde of it, now it will ſerue and take place, if ye haue any. But ye learned this policy of your Tully: *Scitum eſt*, ſaith he, *cauſam conijcere in tempus, cum adferre plura, cum velis, non queas*: when ye haue no more to ſay, it is wiſdome to lay the fault in time.

Sarum.

WHere ye ſay, ye are in place of a learner, and gladly come to be taught, ye muſt pardon me to ſay the truth, I recken your very friends, in this point, will hardly beleæue you. For if ye were deſirous to learne, as ye would ſæme to be, ye would come to the Church, ye would reſort to the Leſſons, ye would abide to heare the Sermons; for theſe are the Schooles if a man liſt to learne. It is a token the Scholar ſetteth little by his booke, that will neuer be brought to Schoole.

Cole.

WHy I come not to your Sermons? This queſtion is captious: and yet ye are not herewith diſcharged why ye ſhould not inſtruct me. As men chuſe their wiues, ſo chuſe they their teachers. S. Auguſtines and S. Chryſoſtomes Sermons tend more to teach, than to conuince.

The Reply. Sarum.

I Meant not to be captious, but only to put you in remembrance that your pretence of learning is but feined, and that you are not indæd ſo willing to be taught, as ye would ſæme to be. Whenſoeuer ye ſhall ſhew me by your law, that a man may be required to proue a mære negatiue, I will be content to confer with you, and to ſhew you the reſt of my proofes.

Ye ſay, ye chuſe your teacher as men doe their wiues; many men are led by folly and fancy in chuſing their wiues. I would your lucke ſhould be better in chuſing your teacher. But S. Paul prophecied in his time, that there ſhould come Scholars with tickling eares, and chuſe themſelues teachers accoording to their owne appetites, that ſhould turne away their eares from the truth, and giue themſelues to the hearing of fables. The Prophet Eſay ſaith, there were ſcholars in his time that would ſay to their teachers, *Loquimini nobis placentia, videte nobis errores. Auferte à nobis viam, declinate ſemitam, ceſſet à facie noſtra ſenectus Iſrael.* That is, Speake to vs ſuch things as may like vs, ſæ to vs errours, lead vs out of the way, bring vs out of the path. Let vs haue no more of the holy God of Iſrael before our face. And ſhall I thinke you chuſe me for loue, as men doe their wiues? I can as yet litle finde it in your talke. But becauſe I came nære to the matter, and with my negatiue declared the weakenes of your ſide more than ſome others did, therefore ye breake out firſt vpon me, and laid in a claime without euidence, and hauing nothing to ſay ye would ſæme to haue ſome-what: as women that would ſæme to be with child ſometimes reare vp their bellies with a cuſhion.

Sarum.

Sarum.

YE deſire, yͤ may not be caſt off, but that your ſute may be conſidered. And yet this halfe yͤre long I haue deſired of you, and all your bꝛethꝛen, but one poꝛe ſentence, and ſtill, I know not how, I am caſt off, and can get nothing at your hands. 19

Cole.

WE ſtand not in caſe like. What nꝛd ſo much of one thing?

The Reply. Sarum.

YE are much beholden to your recogniſance; yͤ make much adoe, and yet bꝛing nothing.

Sarum.

YE call foꝛ the ſpeciall pꝛoofes of our doctrine, which thing requireth a whole booke. Whereas if yͤ of your part, would vouchſafe to bꝛing but two lines, the whole matter were concluded. 20

Cole.

ALL that I required may be couched in ſix lines, and foꝛ ought I ſͤe, in leſſe to.

The Reply. Sarum.

LEt the reſt of your trueth be tried by this. Yͤ know that the old father Theodoretus, had moꝛe than ſix lines of our ſide; and thereſoꝛe M. Clement tare the whole place out of his booke, and burnt it, thinking there had bͤne no moꝛe copies, leſt perhaps it ſhould come to light.

Yͤ know, that Occam, one of your owne Doctous, hath moꝛe than ſix lines againſt you. And thereſoꝛe the laſt Pope condemned him as an heretike.

Yͤ know, there is ſomewhat beſide in S. Auguſtine, in S. Hierome, in S. Chryſoſtome, ꝛc. I beleeue moꝛe than Royard, oꝛ Tapper, could euer anſwer.

Ye know, that ye your ſelfe in your laſt anſwer granted me, that the examples of the pꝛimitiue church are of our ſide, and thereſoꝛe yͤ reſt vpon an other point, that the Pꝛimitiue Church in the Apoſtles, and old Doctoꝛs time was but an infant and a babe in compariſon of your Church of Rome. Thereſoꝛe me thinketh, ſauing that it was your pleaſure, yͤ were ſomewhat ouerſeene to ſay, that all our allegations may be couched in ſix lines. But as I haue offꝛed you often times, bꝛing ye but two lines of your ſide, & the field is yours.

Sarum.

YEt leſt I ſhould ſeeme to flie conference and triall, which indeed in this caſe I moſt deſire, oꝛ to follow you in diſcourteſy, I will peꝛfoꝛme ſome part of your requeſt, although indeed it be vnreaſonable. 21

Cole.

IT is no diſcourteſie, to refuſe to doe that, wherewith I might foꝛget my recogniſance.

The Reply. Sarum.

YOur recogniſance doth you good ſeruice to ſaue your credit: yͤ flie away like a ſaint ſouldiour, and yet hold vp your ſhield as if yͤ were fighting ſtill.

Sarum.

AGainſt your newe deuice of tranſubſtantiation (beſides many others, whom I now paſſe by) yͤ haue the old father, and doctour Gelaſius, whoſe iudgement, I beleeue, yͤ will regard the moꝛe, becauſe he was ſometimes a Biſhop of Rome, which Sͤe, as yͤ haue taught, can neuer erre. And is alledged in the decrees: his woꝛds bͤe plaine. Non deſinit eſſe ſubſtantia panis, & natura vini. 22

Cole.

I Sͤe well yͤ write much, and read little: Gelaſius is full anſwered by Tapper, *in articulo de tranſubſtantiatione.* Ye alledge his woꝛds otherwiſe than ye finde them. Which fault, I truſt, groweth of ouerſight.

The

The Reply. Serum.

HOw are yée so priuie to my reading? Wise men auouch no more than they know: yée lackt shift when yée were driuen to write thus. I assure you I haue not béene so slacke a student these twenty yéres, but that beside other old writers of diuers sorts Greeke & Latin, I haue not spared to read ouer, euen such as haue written of your side, as Roffensis, Pigghius, Hosmasterus, Echius, Hossius, & such others; and yet, vntill this day I neuer set abroad in Print twenty lines. But this is your old wont, to make the people thinke that we reade nothing else but two-pennie doctors, as ye call them. As in the disputation at Westminster, ye would séeme to stand in doubt, whether we were able to vnderstand you or no, when yée speake a little Latin: and as of late yée doubted not to say, that master doctour Martyr was not able to make a Syllogismus: which thing indéed, is as true, as the rest of your religion.

But I pray you, what had Steuen Gardiner read, when he alledged the third booke of S. Augustine, *de Sermone Domini in monte*, and yet S. Augustine neuer wrote but two?

What had the same Stephen Gardiner read, when he alledged Theophilactus, and called him Theophilus Alexandrinus, who was before Theophilactus well néere fiue hundred yéres?

What had doctour Smith of *Oxon.* read, that openly in the disputations there, *Anno Dom.* 1554. alledged the Councell of *Nice* to proue the phansie of your transubstantiation: and when he came to shew the place, was not able to finde one word, either in that Councell, or in any other of antiquitie, that might séeme to make for it?

What had he read, that being a Iudge in the same disputations cried out so bitterly vpon the man of God, the Archbishop of *Canturburie*, and that foure or fiue times together, *Ostende mihi qualis corpus fuit? qualis corpus fuit?* and was not able to vtter his minde in congrue Latin? This thing I trust, yée will record with me, for it was spoken in your owne hearing. *D. Ogle thorp.*

Your importunitie hath caused me, contrary to mine own nature, to vtter these things, which otherwise I could haue concealed. O, boast not your selfe too much of your great reading. When you bring me any old Doctour or Councell, for your purpose in the matters that we now talke of, then will I say yée haue read much.

As for Gelasius, howsoeuer it pleaseth D. Tapper to construe him, he saith plainly, that in the Sacrament there remaineth the substance, and nature of bread and wine. But yée say, I alledge Gelasius otherwise than I finde him, and héereof your friends haue made much adoe. I sée, it must be a very small fault that shall escape your eies. Gelasius words be these: *Non desinit esse substantia panis, vel natura vini.* Which words, hauing not the booke at hand, I reported thus: *Non desinit esse substantia panis, & natura vini.* I beseech you, how farre went I either from the words, or from the meaning of the authour? I sée it was not for nought, that children in the schooles were wont to finde a difference betwéen these two prepositions, *Comedi bis panem*, and *bis panem comedi*. But I perceiue the fault was such that yée were loth to make matter of it. If I had altered any part of the sense and meaning of the writer, I trow, I had béene like to heare more of it.

I remember what a clapping of hands, and stamping of féete, yée made at *Oxon.* against that notable godly learned man, the Archbishop of *Canturburie*, for that he, alledging a place out of S. Hilarie, had changed but one letter, and written, *verò*, in stead of *verè*: Yée triumphed ouer him, and pointed him to the people, and called him a falsarie, a wrester, a corrupter of the Doctors. And yet afterward it was found, and will yet appéere, that two of your owne Doctors, Steuen Gardiner, and Smith in their owne printed bookes had changed the same letter, and written, *verò*, aswell as hée.

Howbeit, God be thanked, yée will not giue me cause to finde such fault with your allegations, for yée are able to alledge nothing at all.

But it were too long to shew how many times, and how shamefully, the writers of your side haue corrupted the old Doctors. Yet for example sake, of a great number to shew you one or two, how thinke you by your doctor *Pighius*, that violently altereth both the words, and the meaning of S. Augustine? For where S. Augustine writeth thus, *Quid tam grate offerri, aut ab illo suscipi potest, quàm caro sacrificij nostri, corpus effectum Sacerdotis nostri?* meaning the Sacrifice that Christ offered vpon the Crosse: Pighius putteth in of his owne, *A nobis*, which S. Augustin had not, and made vp the sentence of this sort: *Quid tam gratè offerri à nobis, aut ab illo suscipi potest, quàm caro sacrificij nostri, corpus effectum Sacerdotis nostri?* and so perforce, turned it to the pretensed Sacrifice of your masse. *De Trini. li. 4. cap. 14.*

How thinke yée by Steuen Gardiner, that in his booke of the diuels Sophistrie, was not afraid to corrupt the words of the holy Prophet? For whereas Dauid had written: *Es-*

cam

cam dedit timentibus se, he doubled the Pronoune, and wrote it thus: *Escam se dedit timentibus se*. This must nedes appeare to be somewhat more than an vntruth. But what needeth mo examples? Camotensis a doctor of your owne, saith in generall of all your side: *Vim faciunt Scripturis, vt habeant plenitudinem potestatis*: they wrest, saith he, the Scriptures violently, that they may haue the fulnesse of their power.

Sarum.

BVt to auoid this authority, some mon, of your side, haue bene driuen to expound these plaine words of Gelasius, in this sort: *Non desinit esse substantia, hoc est, non desinit esse accidens.* Euen as right as the Glosse expoundeth the Text, *Dist. 4. Statimus, id est, abrogamus.* 23

Cole.

SHew what they are, that it be not thought that ye deuise this of your owne fantasie. This Glosse ye mislike because ye vnderstand not the Glossers meaning. It may stand full well.

The Reply. Sarum.

WHat if I should say Doctor Cole hath expounded it so? If not, then I pray you imagine with your selfe how ye may be able to shift away Gelasius otherwise. Yet because ye will nedes put me to my proofes, in a matter that ye knowis plaine, I pray you take the paines to read Steuen Gardiner, in his booke that is answered by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* Thomas Cranmer, ye shall finde these words: Gelasius, saith he, speaking of the Bread and Wine, reciteth not precisely the substance to remaine, but saith the substance or nature: which nature he calleth after the property. Hereby this Doctours minde, *substantia* is Latine for property. Which, as ye know, is nothing else but *accidens*.

And againe in his book that he calleth, *Marcus Antonius Constantius*, written in Latine, ye shall finde these words: *Quod ait panem in sua substantia, vel natura manere, vel substantiam sentit Accidentium, vel naturæ proprietatem.* It is a very strange phraise of speech to say *substantia accidentium*. But it is as strange to say, as he saith in another place, *Accidentia sunt substantiarum partes*. Howbeit after ye had once deuised a new religion, it was mete that ye should deuise out also some new phrases of speech, that neuer had bene heard of afore. And yet is not this the grossest part of your learning neither. Now I trust ye see I deuised not this of mine owne phantasie.

I maruel somewhat that ye say I vnderstand not the Glossers meaning. For me thinketh there is not so high nor mysticall learning in it, but that a meane learned man may some reach vnto it. But I see, it must be a desperate sore, but ye will finde some salue for it: I pray you first read the text, and then consider how handsomly the Glosse will frame vnto it. The text is this: *Statuimus, vt septem hebdomadas plenas ante sanctum Pascha, omnes Clerici, id est, in sortem Domini vocati à carne ieiunent.* Now followeth your Glosse: *Statuimus, id est, abrogamus.* And because ye vnderstand the Glosse better than I, as ye say, and like it so well, read the text accordingly, and say thus: *Abrogamus vt septem hebdomadas plenas ante sanctum Pascha, omnes clerici à carne ieiunent.* And I beleeue whatsoeuer meaning ye make of it, ye shall make but vnhandsome Latine. Now let your Reader iudge, whether of vs two better vnderstandeth the Glossers meaning.

Sarum.

HEere ye haue, that after the words of consecration, there remaineth in the Sacrament the substance of bread and wine. Now bring ye but one Doctour that will say, as ye say, that there remaineth onely the Accidents, and shewes of bread and wine, and I will yeld. 24

Cole.

SOft and faire, ye haue not read the Answer. Read Royard, and ye shall see more. At my cue I shall be ready for you.

The Reply. Sarum.

IF Royards answer had bene worth the hearing, ye would not haue bene ashamed to haue alledged his words. At your cue you will be as ready, as S. George a horsebacke, euermore riding, and yet euermore standing still; ye will be a very euill Auditour, that lay

downe

downe ſo little, and reckon ſo much. But bring ſome old Councell, or Doctour, with you at your cue, or elſe folke will ſay, ye haue none to bring.

Sarum.

AS touching a priuate maſſe, Gregorie ſaith in his Dialogues, that before the time of the Communion, the Deacon was wont, euen in his time, to crie vnto the people on this wiſe: *Qui non communicat, locum det alteri*: Whoſo will not receiue, let him depart, and giue place to others.

Cole.

YE haue better ſtuffe than this, I trow, for this is ſomewhat weake.

The Reply. Sarum.

WHatſoeuer this ſtuffe ſéemeth to you, your anſwer ſéemeth to me verie weake. If ye be no better able to anſwer this, how will ye be able to anſwer the reſt? It appeareth by theſe words of S. Gregorie, that in his time, which was ſix hundred yéeres after Chriſt, whoſo would not communicate with the Prieſt, at the Communion, was commanded out of the Church. Whereby it is cléere they had then a Communion, and that all the congregation preſent, receiued together. Now either ſhew yée me ſo much for your priuate maſſe, or elſe ſay no more, this ſtuffe is weake.

Sarum.

TO breake the ordinance of Chriſt, and the people to communicate vnder one kinde onely, your owne Doctor Gelaſius calleth it *Sacrilegium*. And Theophilus Alexandrinus of the ſame matter, writeth thus: *Si Chriſtus mortuus fuiſſet pro Diabolo, non negaretur illi poculum ſanguinis.*

Cole.

THe Decrées where ye learned this of Gelaſius, telleth you how yée ſhould vnderſtand it. Theophilus ſhall be anſwered, when I come to diſpute with you.

The Reply. Sarum.

HEre, I trow, your memory deceiued you; yée meane the gloſſe, and not the Decrée. For the words of Gelaſius in the Decrée are plaine: *Diuiſio vnius eiuſdémque myſterij ſine grandi ſacrilegio non poteſt peruenire.* And the words that he vſeth farther: *vt integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur*: ſéeme not ſo much to pertaine to the Prieſts as to the people. But yée did well to turne ouer Theophilus vntill ſome other time, for I wéene ye had no anſwer ready made.

Sarum.

THat the Common praiers were vſed in the common knowen tong, yée haue S. Baſil, S. Hierom, S. Ambroſe, S. Auguſtine, S. Chryſoſtom, and the Emperor Iuſtinian, and many others. The places be knowen.

Cole.

WHether the Gréeke, and Latin tongs, were then vnderſtood of the common people remaineth yet vpon proofe: well, I trow, S. Baſil approueth not very well. Héere I remaine ſtill in doubt.

The Reply. Sarum.

I Maruell much that any learned man ſhould doubt at this. For if the common Gréeke people vnderſtood not the Gréeke tong, nor the common Latine people, the Latine tong, then would I faine know what tong they vnderſtood? I can ſée no great cauſe why they ſhould forget their owne tong, and learne another. But Arnobius in his time called the Latin tong, *Sermonem Italum*, becauſe it was vſed throughout all *Italy*.

S. Ambroſe in his time, preached to the people of *Italy* in Latine, and as it is to be thought, the people vnderſtood him.

S. Auguſtine, in his Sermons to the common people in *Aphrica*, hath diuers times theſe words: *Nunc loquar Latinè vt omnes intelligatis*: Now will I ſpeake Latin, ſaith S. Auguſtine

Auguſtine, to the common people, that yée may all vnderſtand me. S. Gregory in his Sermons vſed the Latine tongue to the people: and I trow he ſpake not all in vaine. I marueil why ye doubt not aſwell, whether the common Greeke people vnderſtood Demoſthenes, or Æſchines: or the common Latine people vnderſtood Cicero, or Hortenſius, when they ſpake vnto them in their mother tongue.

Now, that the common prayers, in S. Baſils, S. Ambroſe, and S. Auguſtines time were in the common vulgar tongue, marke how well it may be proued.

S. Baſil ſaith thus of the vſage of the common prayer in his time: *Coniunctus ſonus virorum, mulierum, paruulorum, tanquam fluctus ferientis littora, in noſtris ad Deum precibus excitatur*: In our prayers that we make to God, we raiſe vp ſuch a ſound of the voices of men, women, and children praying together, as if it were the noiſe of the waues beating againſt the ſea bankes. Whereby it appeareth, that in S. Baſils time, men, women, and children, ſang in the Churches altogether.

Chryſoſtome of his time ſaith thus: *Ne mireris, ſi in ſacris noſtris, populus, cum Sacerdote colloquatur*: Maruell not, ſaith he, if that in our prayers the Prieſt and the people talke together.

Auguſtine of his time ſaith thus: *Non eſt opus loquutione cum oramus, id eſt, ſonantibus verbis, niſi forte ſicut Sacerdotes faciunt, ſignificandæ mentis ſuæ cauſa, non vt Deus, ſed vt homines audiant*: We néede not, ſaith he, to vſe words, or ſound of voice when we pray, vnleſſe it be as the Prieſts doo, to declare their meaning; not to the intent that God may therfore heare them, but that they may be heard of men.

But, becauſe ye be a Doctour of Law, I would not haue you forget Iuſtinian the Emperour, the firſt compiler of your Lawes. He, if ye be remembred, commanded the Biſhops that they ſhould ſet forth the common prayers in open voice, and that, as he ſaith, *Vt maiori deuotione audientium animi efferantur*: That is, that the mindes of the hearers may be ſtricken with more deuotion. He thought then that the vnderſtanding of the prayers ſhould enkindle deuotion in the hearts of the hearers. For I beléeue, he had neuer heard ſay, that ignorance ſhould be the cauſe of true deuotion, as ye boldly auouched in the diſputation at *Weſtminſter*, in the hearing and wondering of the moſt part of the honourable and worſhipfull of this Realme. I know not by what ſecret reuelation ye learned this firſt. For your owne Councels ſay, *Ignorantia mater eſt cunctarum errorum*. That is to ſay, Ignorance is the mother of all maner errours. And the ſame words ye haue alleaged in your owne Decrées, *Diſtin.* 38. and are very agréeable vnto Chriſts words in the Goſpell: *Erratis neſcientes Scripturas*; Ye are in erreur, becauſe ye vnderſtand not the Scriptures.

Origenes one of the oldeſt Doctours of the Church, ſaith thus: *Tormentum eſt Diabolo, ſi quem videat legere ſacras literas: poſſidet enim omnes qui verſantur in ignorantia*: It is a ſcourge (ſaith he) and a torment to the Diuell, if he ſée any man read the Scriptures: for he hath power vpon all them that remaine in ignorance.

S. Cyril ſaith: *Pueri noſtri legunt ſacras literas, & ex eo fiunt religioſiſſimi*: Our children, ſaith he, read Scriptures, and thereof they become deuout and holy.

And what néedeth mo allegations? Your owne Doctour Lyra, ſaith: *Si populus intelligat rationem Sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum, & maiori deuotione reſpondet, Amen*. That is, If the people vnderſtand the Prieſt, they are better brought to God, and with more deuotion they anſwer, Amen.

It muſt néeds be a miſerable cauſe that is grounded only vpon ignorance; for no man hateth the light, but he that doth euill. Chriſt ſaid to the Phariſies, This is your time, and the power of darkneſſe. If the people had vnderſtanding of the truth, they would not ſuffer you thus to lead them into error as ye doe, and haue done. But I remember Plinius writeth, that, notwithſtanding the Lion be a marueilous fierce and courageous beaſt, yet if ye may once hoodwincke him, or make him blind, ye may lead him whither ye liſt. Thus much by the way I thought good to put you in remembrance, for that the ſtrangeneſſe of your doctrine ſo required: if ye had aſmuch to ſhew of your ſide, I beléeue, of your courteſie ye would not hide it.

Sarum.

YE ſée I diſaduantage my ſelfe of many things that might be ſpoken: for at this preſent I haue not leiſure to write Bookes.

Cole.

I Pray you take good leiſure, and write effectually.

The Reply. Sarum.

A Doctour of Law, and a man of wisedome should bring more learning, and fewer scornes.

Sarum.

NOw must I needes desire you, forasmuch as I haue followed your minde so farre, either to bring me one Doctour of your side, or else to giue vs leaue to thinke ye haue none.

Cole.

I Wis, ye know I may not, nor the case I stand in, requireth it not.

The Reply. Sarum.

I wis, ye know ye can not, and therefore ye doe best to say ye may not.

Sarum.

YE desire vs to leaue talking against you, and no more to deale so vnmercifully with you in the Pulpits. Alas master Doctour, call ye this vnmercifull dealing? What was then your dealing, when ye were in place? If ye remember, ye could neuer vouchsafe to call vs other than Schismatikes, Heretikes, or Traitours, in your Pulpits; and yet besides all that, ye vsed our bodies as ye know. We only tell the people, as our duetie is, that ye withstand the manifest truth, and yet haue neither Scripture, nor Doctour, nor Councell for you: and that ye haue shewed such extremity, as the like hath not beene seene, and now can giue no reckning why; or if ye can, let it appeare.

Cole.

YE misreport me. I said, if men of your side vsed themselues traiterously to Queene Mary, as none of vs doe now, not manifest, vntill it be better proued, ye had but the Law: ye require more than any Law will beare against vs.

The Reply. Sarum.

IF they were Traytours, why did ye burne them as Heretikes? The matter would be too odious to shew what hath beene wrought by men of your side against their Princes. But as I then neuer liked them that drew their sword against their Soueraigne, euen so now I pray God confound them, whosoeuer they be, that shall first begin the same.

What Law ye ministred vs in those daies, I remit it vnto you that are a Lawyer. But I am well assured, ye shewed vs neither diuinity, nor humanity. But I pray you, what Law had ye to imprison such euen as had broken no Law? and so to keepe them in your Cole-houses, in stockes and fetters, with all extremity and cruelty, vntill ye had made a Law for them, and to doe with them, as Cyril saith the Iewes did with Christ; *Primùm ligant, deinde causas in eum quærunt: priùs captum habent, quàm accusatum.* First, they bind him fast, saith Cyril, and then they deuise matter against him: They lay hands vpon him before any man accuse him.

What Law had ye to burne the Queenes subiects hands with candles, or torches, before they were condemned to die by any Law?

What Law had ye to ascite a man to appeare, *Peremptorie*, at *Rome* within fourescore daies, and yet that notwithstanding to keepe him still in prison in *Oxford*? and afterward for not appearing at his day, at *Rome*, to condemne him there as obstinate?

Or what Law had ye to put the same man to death against the expresse words of your owne Law after he had subscribed vnto you, and was found in no relapse? I trust ye can say somewhat herein, for that you being then a Lawyer, and in commission, had the execution of the law. But I beleeue, when ye haue searched your bookes thorow, ye shall finde ye had not so much law, as they that said, *Nos habemus legem, & secundùm legem debet mori.*

Sarum.

WHere ye say, our doctrine is yet in doubt; I assure you, to vs it is most certaine, and out of doubt. But if ye for your part be yet in doubt, reason and charity would

ye

ye had bene better resolued, and quite out of doubt, before ye had dealt so vnmercifully with your brethren.

Cole.

I Doubted more than I doe now: ye giue me good cause to be well confirmed.

The Reply. Sarum.

THis is a faire shift of Rhetorike when other helpe faileth you. Euen thus the Phariſes after they had bene long in a mammering, and in doubt of Christ, at the last were fully confirmed and out of doubt, and said vnto him, *Iam ſcimus te habere demonium.* As if they should then haue said vnto Christ, as you say now to vs: We doubted more before than we doe now, for now ye giue vs good cause to be well confirmed. But if I haue confirmed you, bringing ſuch proues as ye are not able to answer, how then (think ye) haue others cause to be confirmed at your hands, that haue vsed ſuch extremity, and yet are able to bring nothing at all?

Sarum.

YE are bound, ye say, and may not dispute: yet are ye not so bound as ye haue bound others. But when ye were at liberty, and a free disputation was granted and offered at *Weſtminſter* before the Queenes Maieſties most honorable Counsell, and the whole State of the Realme, I pray you whether part was it that then gane ouer? And yet then, ye know, ye were not bound, vnleſſe it were to silence, becauſe ye had nothing to say. 52

Cole.

AT *Weſtminſter* we came to dispute, and were answered, that there was none appointed, where we refused not to write neither. But when our booke could not be read as yours was, we refused not vtterly to diſpute, but only in the caſe, if our booke could not be ſuffered to be read as indifferently as yours was. Now hardly weigh whether ye haue indifferently reported, that we vtterly refused to diſpute with you, or no.

The Reply. Sarum.

YE could not lightly haue gotten ſo many vntruths together without ſome ſtudy. Where ye say, ye were answered, there was no disputation appointed at *Weſtminſter*; If I ſhould aſke you who made you that answer, I reckon ye would be to ſeeke. For I truſt ye haue not yet forgotten, that ye your ſelfe were the firſt man that began to diſpute there that day, and ſpake there an whole houre together without interruption. But I marueil ye say not, that we of our part gaue you ouer, and refuſed to diſpute.

Ye say, ye refuſed not to write your allegations and answers, as ye had promiſed to do, and earneſtly required it might be ſo, and yet contrary to your requeſt and promiſe, ye could not be gotten, as ye know, to write one line.

Ye say, your booke could not be read as ours was; and yet ye know ye had no booke there to be read at all, as we had.

As for the indifferent ordering and hearing of the matters, I remit that to them that were the orders of it, of whom ye can not in any wiſe complaine, but both your owne, and the hearers conſciences muſt needs accuſe you.

The order of the diſputation was, that both parts ſhould the firſt day bring in their aſſertion all in writing, and that the next day either party ſhould answer the others booke, and that alſo by writing, which was your owne requeſt, as it will appeare by your proteſtation ſent to the Counſell in that behalfe. The firſt day, ye came without any booke at all, contrary to the order taken, and alſo, as I haue ſaid, to your owne requeſt. The ſecond day, ye refuſed to proceede any farther, and ſtod onely vpon this point: that vnleſſe ye might haue the laſt word, ye would not diſpute. For ye ſaid, whoſoeuer might haue that, were like to *diſcedere cum applauſu*: for theſe very words two of your owne company vttered in Latin, euen by the ſame termes as I doe now; otherwiſe ye ſaid ye would not diſpute. Which answer was ſo vaine, that not only the reſt of the hearers, but alſo the Biſhop that then was, of *Yorke*, your owne friend, found fault with it, and was aſhamed of it, and bad you proceed. In concluſion, contrary to all mens looking for, only vpon your refuſal, the diſputation was ſuddenly broken off. And I am content to ſtand to the iudgement of all the hearers herein, whether I haue reported indifferently, or no.

Doct. *Skot*, and *Feckenam.*

Sarum.

YE say, ye remaine still in the faith ye were baptised in. O master Doctour, stand not too much vppon that point. Ye know ye haue already forsaken a great number of things that were thought necessary when ye were baptised. And yet besides that, how many times haue some of you altered your faith within the space of twenty yeres? Remember well your selfe, who wrote the booke *de vera obedientia*, against the Supremacy of *Rome*? * Who commended it with his Preface? * Who set it forth in solemne Sermons? * Who confirmed it with open oath?

Gardiner.
* Boner.
* Tunstall.
* Doct. Cole.
and almost all the rest.

Cole.

WHat one thing am I gone from? ye say much, and proue little. Ye meane the old Bishop of *Winchester*, who repented at the houre of his death. And where ye meane I condescended to the Primacy of king Henry at my first comming home, or I had laboured the matter, ye did the like your selfe. For in Quene Maries time ye subscribed to the Articles, some of them we are entred to talke in, to your no lesse blame than mine. There be in this towne that both saw you subscribe, and can bring forth your hand.

The Reply. Sarum.

YEs, I thinke ye are gone from one thing at the least, besides Pardons, and Pilgrimages. I meant not Doctour Gardiner to pull him out of his graue, and to torment him being dead, as ye did Maister Bucer, Maister Fagius in *Cambridge*, Doctour Peter Martyrs wife in *Oxford*, and others more: but only that I would not haue you build too much vpon your constancy, which hitherto hath beene found to be euen as the pleasure of the Prince.

But he repented him, ye say, when he saw he should needes die. I trust he did so, for he had good cause so to doe. But if he repented himselfe of his booke that he had written so stoutly against the Pope, why did he not recant it in all his life time? why did he not reuoke his errour openly? why held he his peace? why dissembled he so deeply for the space of twenty yeres together?

Ye say, it was only at your first cumming home from *Italy*, that ye condescended to the Primacy of King Henry. Here must I put you in remembrance that ye continued therein still all King Henries time out, euen vntill the death of King Edward, and the comming in of Quene Mary. And if her Grace had continued out to haue entituled her selfe the Supreme head of the Church of *England*, as she did a great while after her first entry, and that (as it is to be thought) without burthen of her conscience, I doubt not then but ye would haue talkt better with your selfe, and continued so still. All this meane while ye came to the Church, ye said and heard the common prayers, ye ministred, and receiued the Communion, and in all your doings bare your selfe as any other subiect of this realme. And thus held out, as I said, for the space of twenty yeres: I may say to you, this was a good long comming home. Therefore I may well thus conclude, and ye must needes confesse the same, that either ye deceiued the people then by your example, and conformity of all your doings, allowing that religion for good, which in your conscience ye knew to be naught; or els that ye be a dissembler, and deceiue the people now, making them, asmuch as in you lieth, by your example, to thinke this religion to be naught, which in your conscience and knowledge ye find to be godly and good. So that whatsoeuer iudgement ye haue now, or heretofore haue had of this religion, it must needs appeare, that either ye be now, or els haue been a deceiuer of the people. But after ye had laboured the matter better, and, as ye say, had read the Doctours, I pray you what Doctour found ye, that euer told you, either that the Pope ought to haue the supremacy of the whole Church, or that the Prince in his owne Church ought not to haue it?

But I haue subscribed, ye say, aswell as ye, and my hand is to be seene, and there be some that saw me when I did it. These proues were needfull, if I had denied the fact. But I haue confessed it openly, and vnrequired, in the midst of the congregation. The arguments that ye made were so terrible; ye concluded altogether with fire and fagot. I confesse I should haue done otherwise: But if I had not done, as I did, I had not been here now to encounter with you: if ye should now be apposed with the like conclusions, I doubt not but ye would be glad to doe, as both ye your selfe, and your fellowes haue done heretofore.

Sarum.

Sarum.

YE haue *Ecclesiam Apostolicam*, ye say, and we haue none: yet ye know in all these matters that we now intreate of, we haue the old Doctours Church, the ancient Councels Church, the Primatiue Church, Saint Peters Church, Saint Pauls Church, and Christs Church. And this I beleeue, vnlesse ye can bring me good reason to the contrarie, may be called the Apostles Church. And I maruell much, that ye hauing, as ye know, none of all these Churches, or any shadow or token of them; yet should so boldly say, ye haue *Ecclesiam Apostolicam.* 34.

Cole.

TO this, and some part of the Article, ye shall be answered in the end of this writing, as I before said.

Sarum.

WHere ye say, ye make no innouations, it is no marueil; for in a manner all things were altered to your hand, as may most euidently appeare by all these matters that be now in question. Wherein ye haue vtterly changed and abolished the order of the Primatiue Church, and doe nothing else but the contrary. And what euident profit the Church of God hath gotten by it, I thinke it a hard matter for you to declare. 35

Cole.

WHat needeth so much of one thing? This seemeth you to seeme to say too much.

The Reply. Sarum.

THis answer is so short, that it concludeth nothing.

Sarum.

YE would haue the matter turned ouer to some such generall Councell as we would be content to stand vnto; howbeit, that ye thinke will not be in your time. Notwithstanding, this I dare boldly say, such a Councell will be, a great while before ye shall finde any Doctour, or old Councell to serue your purpose. But if there neuer be such a Councel, yet truth will be truth notwithstanding. For the Councel cannot make falshood truth, but that thing that it taketh for truth, it certifieth only to be true. 36

Cole.

I Grant.

Sarum.

BVt what redresse can there be loked for at such a Councell, whereas no man shall be Iudge, or suffered to speake one way or other, but only such as be openly, and iustly accused, and found faulty? and whereas he that is himselfe most out of order, shall be head and reformer of the whole? 37

Cole.

SVch fond excuses men lay: how true, let other men iudge.

The Reply. Sarum.

YE know, that in your owne law there was euermore *Exceptio Iudicis incompetentis.* And by what law can ye finde, that a man may be a competent Iudge in his owne cause? If the indifferent vsing of the matter may be tried by experience, in this your last generall Councel holden at *Trident*, ye know, that not one man of our side, notwithstanding there were a great number of them there, sent thither of purpose by their Princes, could be suffered to sit among the rest, or to haue a voice, or to yéld a reason of his faith. And Pope Iulius the third, gaue out vnder his breefe, that none of them all should be heard there, vnlesse it were, as he said, to recant their errours.

And notwithstanding Pighius himselfe had confessed there were open errours in the Masse: notwithstanding Latomus, a Doctour of your owne, had confessed a great abuse in the Communion vnder one kind: notwithstanding Pius the second, Bishop of *Rome*, had seene and confessed great abuse in the restraining of Priests mariage: yet in the same

Councell they concluded among themselues, that no maner of thing should be changed at all that had bæn once receiued in theire Church. Therefore these be not fond excuses, the world seith they be too true.

Sarum.

BOth parties, ye say, haue waded so farre herein, that now they can go no farther, and therefore ye would haue either party let other alone. This ye say now because ye see ye are called to an audit, and are not able to make your account. But if ye of your part had bæne so indifferent when time was, many a godly man had now bæne aliue.

Cole.

YE forget your selfe, I say not so pardy: loke better in the place.

The Reply. Sarum.

IF ye meant not so, it skilleth not greatly, it is to small purpose: consider it well, and ye shall finde my conclusion true.

Sarum.

WHere ye say, ye would haue the sayings of both parties weighed by the balance of the old Doctours, ye see, that is our speciall request vnto you. And that in the matters you writ of, I desire euen so to be tried. But why throw ye away these balance? and being so often times required, why be ye so loth to shew forth but one old Doctour of your side? Ye make folke beleue ye would not haue the matter come to triall: onely ye set forth the empty names of Saint Augustine, of S. Hierome, of S. Chrysostome, of S. Basil, of S. Cyprian, of Tertullian, of Ireneus, of Dionysius, of the Councels, &c. as the Apothecaries set forth their painted Boxes, and oftentimes nothing in them. Ye shew me only the names of the Doctours which I knew before, but ye shew me not one word in them of the priuate Masse, or of the rest of the matters that lie betweene vs. If ye could haue found any thing in them for your purpose, I beleue ye would not haue brought them empty.

Ye say, all these matters be already determined. But where I pray you? or in what Generall Councel? This is it that I would so glady know at your hand, and that, ye say, ye haue, and yet so vngently kepe it from me.

Cole.

THen begin, if ye thinke the time will serue, or put it ouer till another time. All these be but words often repeated, and answered already.

The Reply. Sarum.

I Haue offered and begun in vaine, for ye kepe your selfe off, and will not come to answer. These words I grant haue bæne vpon good occasion oftentimes repeated, and I thinke ye would say somewhat to them, if ye were able.

Sarum.

YE say, I slanderously misreport the late Councell of *Constance*. O good master Doctour, these words sauour too much of your choler, and might better haue bæn spared. I spake more fauourably of that Councell than I might haue done. The words of the Councell be these, speaking namely of the Communion vnder both kinds: *Pertinaciter asserentes oppositum, tanquam Hæretici arcendi sunt.* By these words, they that maintaine the manifest ordinance of Christ, and the practise of the Apostles, are not called Schismatikes, as I said, but stubborne and wilfull Heretikes. Ye see therefore, my report was more fauourable, than the Councell deserued.

Cole.

YE say, the Councell of *Constance* openly pronounced against Christ. Wherein I pray you? Because the Fathers there said, Whoso saith it is of necessity to receiue vnder both kinds, and the approued custome of the Church is Sacrilege, is to be taken as an Heretike; and yet none Heretike, but in a wrong opinion. Then belike ye can bring in some text, where Christ commanded it should not be receiued but vnder both kinds, which ye

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ran neuer doe: ſo is your report of this Councell ſlanderous ſtill. Read 4. *Canonem Concilij Conſtantienſis.*

The Reply. Sarum.

IT grieueth you that I ſhould ſay, the Councell decréd againſt Chriſt: but conſider it aright, and ye ſhall finde it. Chriſt as ye know, appointed the Communion vnder both kinds, and commanded his Diſciples to doe the ſame as he had done it. Therefore hee that commandeth the contrary, and that vnder the paine of hereſie, pronounceth openly againſt Chriſt.

Ye call it an approued cuſteme of the Church. Yet remember S. Cyprians words that be alledged in your owne Decrées: *Chriſtus non dicit, ego ſum conſuetudo, ſed ego ſum veritas:* that is to ſay, Chriſt ſaith not, I am cuſtome, but I am the truth. But if cuſtome might iuſtly preuaile againſt an open and plaine truth, I pray you where was your Communion vnder one kind euer at any time, ſince the beginning of the world, allowed for a generall cuſtome? Or being but a particular cuſtome, as it is, and that receiued only of your ſelfe, in what generall Councell was it euer allowed?

Ye ſay, your owne ordinances may not be broken without the authority of a generall Councell. And dare ye without any ſuch authority, only vpon a vaine and particular cuſtome, to breake the vniuerſall ordinance of Chriſt?

Ye ſay, men are not to be iudged heretikes that withſtand your order herein, but only to be in a wrong opinion. Héere I ſée that ye and your brethren agrée not in iudgement both together, and therefore ye ſhall the leſſe maruell, if we diſagrée from you, and miſtruſt you both. For Hoſius, a Doctour of your ſide, is not afraid to call it hereſie, and ſacrilege: his words be plaine.

Nunc hæreſin profert, ſeque pollicetur oſtenſurum, omnes eſſe impios, qui vtriuſque ſpeciei communionem laicis denegant. And againe: *An autem idem in Regno tuo factum non vidimus? vbi Calix per ſummum ſacrilegium vſurpatur?* And againe: *Vellem autem vnam mihi terram aliquam oſtendi, vbi priuata libidine, calix vſurpari cœptus eſt, in qua non è veſtigio multæ ſint aliæ & quidem horribiles hæreſes conſequutæ.* Thus, to doe that thing that Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and all the old Fathers did in the Primitiue Church, without exception, this Doctour concludeth it to be an horrible hereſie.

And if it were taken for no Hereſie, as ye ſay it was not, then was your Councell to much to blame that gaue ſo cruell ſentence againſt the people of *Bohemia*, for that they thought it neceſſary to vſe both kinds, according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, and pronounced thus againſt them, *Tanquam Hæretici arcendi ſunt.* For if they take them for no Heretikes, they did them great wrong to puniſh them as Heretikes. And yet is your Doctour Hoſius to much to blame, to condemne any thing for hereſie, without any word of God, and ſpecially without the authority of any old Doctor, or any generall Councel.

Ye aſke me what text I can bring forth, wherein Chriſt commanded that the Communion ſhould be receiued vnder both kinds. The inſtitution of Chriſt, and his commandement thereunto annexed, as me thinketh, is text good enough to him that will be ruled by Chriſt. I will not aſke ye, what text ye can bring wherein Chriſt hath commanded you to miniſter the Communion in one kind. But this only would I know, what text ye can bring, whereby a Prieſt miniſtring the Sacrament, is commanded to receiue it in both kinds, more than any other Lay-man. I know your anſwer; ye muſt nedes ſay, the inſtitution of Chriſt. And yet by your owne interpretation, if a Prieſt communicate himſelfe vnder one kind, Gelaſius calleth it *Sacrilegium*; which thing I recken he would not haue ſaid, if he had not thought it contrary to the open words and inſtitution of Chriſt.

Againe, what text can ye bring, whereby as touching this point the Prieſt hath any priuiledge aboue the people? If ye can find none, as indeed ye ſhal neuer be able, then that that is ſacriledge in the Prieſt, is alſo ſacriledge in the people.

Againe, what text can ye bring, whereby Chriſt hath preciſely forbidden any man to baptiſe onely in the name of the Holy Ghoſt? vndoubtedly ye can finde none in all the Scriptures, but only Chriſts inſtitution. And yet whoſoeuer would decrée that ſuch kind of Baptiſme ſhould be vſed, I trow ye would ſay he decréd againſt Chriſt, becauſe hee breaketh the inſtitution of Chriſt.

Euen ſo doth your Councell of *Conſtance* in the matter we laſt talkt of. Therefore my words are true ſtill, and yet ye (ye muſt giue me leaue to ſay the truth) haue concluded with a ſlander.

Touching the thing it ſelfe, ye are ſo certaine of it, that none of you all can tell at what time it firſt began. But this ye know well, if ye liſt to be knowen of it, that it began neither in Chriſts time, nor in the Apoſtles time, nor in the old Doctors time, nor within the compaſſe

compaſſe of ſeuen hundred yéeres after Chriſt. And therefore if a man ſhould aſke you of your Communion vnder one kind; *De cœlo eſt, an ex hominibus?* yée muſt néedes anſwer, it came not from heauen, foraſmuch as it hath no teſtimony of Gods word, but onely crept in (as Steuen Gardiner confeſſeth) by a ſuperſtitious negligence in the people.

Sarum.

WHere yée ſay, ye could neuer yet finde the error of one generall Councel, I trow this eſcaped you, for default of memory. Albertus Pigghius, the greateſt learned man of your ſide, hath found out ſuch errors to our hands, namely, in his booke that he calleth, *Eccleſiaſtica Hierarchia*, ſpeaking of the ſecond Councell holden at *Epheſus*, which yée cannot deny but it was generall, and yet toke part with the Heretike, Abbat Eutyches, againſt the godly man, Flauianus: he writeth thus; *Concilia vniuerſalia, etiam congregata legitimè, vt benè, ita perperam, iniuſtè, impiéq; iudicare ac definire poſſunt:* that is, generall Councels, yea euen ſuch as be lawfully ſummoned, as they may conclude things well, ſo may they likewiſe iudge and determine things rathly, vniuſtly and wickedly.

Cole.

YE ground your ſelfe vpon Pigghius errour: for Pigghius holdeth the Councell of *Epheſus* was generall, which the Councell of *Chalcedon* denieth. So that I maruell much herein of you, that ye alleage that for a Councell, which hath no place in the booke of Councels.

The Reply. Sarum.

IN Pigghius words there are two things to be noted. The one is, that he ſaith a generall Councell may erre in faith: The other, that he ſaith, the ſecond Councell of *Epheſus* was generall. And foraſmuch as ye challenge him onely for the latter, I thinke yée will agrée with him in the firſt; which to my purpoſe is ſufficient.

But héere yée cauſe me to maruell, what ye meane to make ſo little account of Pigghius: for he, as ye know, hath béene taken for the chiefeſt champion of your ſide.

Pigghius ſaith, the Councel of *Epheſus* was generall; and ye ſay it was not ſo. Ye muſt giue mée leaue to ſay the truth, if the matter come to a, *quid dicunt*, Pigghius, will be taken in the country for a man aſwell learned, and as ſkilfull in the Councels, as Doctour Cole, Ye ſhould not ſo little eſtéeme the doctours of your owne ſide, leſt that being not able to alleage any old Doctor, and refuſing the new, it may happily be thought ye haue neither old, nor new. And yet when ye were before the Quéenes Maieſties Commiſſioners, at Lambeth, ye ſaid openly there, that Pigghius is full of errours. But foraſmuch as ye your ſelfe haue begun to finde fault with your owne Doctors, I truſt héereafter ye will the better beare with vs, if we ſometime ſhall doe the ſame. Héere ye driue me to vſe the moe words, partly to defend Pigghius in his right, and partly to make you ſée how wilfully ye withſtand an open truth, hauing ſo little to the contrary. And as ye ſhall be found true in this, euen ſo am I well content to take you in all the reſt.

Firſt Nicephorus, and Euagrius, that write the whole ſtory and order of the Councel of *Epheſus*, neuer denied it to be generall.

Theodoſius the Emperour, that ſummoned the Biſhops together, as it may appeare by his words, toke it to be generall. For thus he writeth to the Councell: *Cogitantes non eſſe tutum abſque veſtra ſancta Synodo, & vbique ſanctarum Eccleſiarum Præſulibus, huiuſmodi quæſtionem de fide renouari, neceſſarium duximus veſtram ſanctitatem conuenire.* Theſe words, *Sanctarum Eccleſiarum, quæ vbique ſunt*, import a generality of all Churches throrow the world. Farther, there was the Emperours authority, the Biſhop of *Romes* Legate; which, as ſome men thinke, maketh vp all together, and other Biſhops of all Nations. And how could ſuch a Councell not be generall?

Your Doctours of Pariſe, haue concluded thus, *Articulo xxij. Quod autem magiſtri noſtri dicunt de legitima congregatione, notandum eſt ad hoc, vt Concilium legitimè congregetur, ſufficere, quòd ſolemnitas & forma iuris ſolemniter ſit ſeruata. Quia ſi quis trahere vellet hoc in diſputationem, vtrùm prælati, qui ibi ſedent, habeant rectam intentionem: & vtrùm ſint docti, & vtrùm habeant ſcientiam ſacrarum literarum, & animum obediendi ſanæ doctrinæ, eſſet proceſſus in infinitum.* That is to ſay; Whereas our Doctours ſpeake of a lawful Councel, we muſt marke, that to this, that the Councell be lawfully gathered, it ſhall be ſufficient that

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the ſolemnity, and forme of law be ſolemnly obſerued. For if we ſhould moue queſtion, whether the Biſhops that ſit in Councel, haue a godly meaning, and whether they be learned, and whether they haue vnderſtanding of the Scriptures, and whether they minde to ſubmit themſelues to ſound doctrine, then ſhould we neuer haue done. Thus it is decred by your Doctors, that neither godly meaning, nor learning, nor knowledge of the Scriptures, nor obedience vnto ſound doctrine, is to be ſtaighed in the Biſhops that rule the Councell, but onely a certaine ſolemnity, and forme of law. Dioſcorus, that was Preſident of the ſame Councell, and his words be reported in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, ſaith thus: Theodoſius *confirmauit omnia quæ iudicata ſunt à ſancta & vniuerſali Synodo generali*: Theodoſius, ſaith he, hath confirmed all ſuch things as were determined by this vniuerſal and generall Councell.

Here ye ſee, it is called an vniuerſall, and a generall Councell. And afterward in the ſame Councell of *Chalcedon*, ye ſhall finde theſe words: *Sanctiſſimo, & Domino amantiſſimo, vniuerſali Synodo congregatæ in Epheſo metropoli*: To the holy, beloued vnto the Lord, the vniuerſall Councell gathered in the mother City of *Epheſus*.

But if perhaps ye doubt of theſe words, becauſe the one was Eutyches, the other was Dioſcorus, by whom they were ſpoken (howbeit notwithſtanding they were heretikes, yet could they not lightly make an open lie in a matter that was ſo euident) then read ye the old Father Liberatus, that was *Archidiaconus Carthaginenſis*, and liued vnder Vigilius Biſhop of *Rome*, at the leaſt a thouſand yeres agoe, and writeth the very ſtory of this Councel: his words be theſe: *Fit Epheſi generale Concilium, ad quod conuenerunt, Flauianus, & Eutyches, tanquàm iudicandi.* There is appointed, ſaith he, at *Epheſus* a generall Councell, in the which Flauianus and Eutyches made their appearance, as men ſtanding to be iudged. Now if ye will ſay, that *generale Concilium*, is not in Engliſh a general Councel, then I would it might be put ouer to ſome other court. O Maiſter Doctour, if ye meant nothing elſe but truth, ye would not doe as ye doe.

Thus much haue I written in the defence of your Doctor Pigghius, for that I ſaw him accuſed of you without cauſe.

Sarum.

AND of the Councels holden of late yeres at *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, whereas Pope Iohn, and Pope Eugenius were depoſed, he ſaith plainely, that they decred both againſt reaſon, and againſt nature, and againſt all examples of antiquity, and alſo againſt the word of God. And yet both theſe Councels were called generall. 42.

Cole.

WHerein doth Pigghius proue the Councels of *Conſtance*, and *Baſil*, to haue erred? Marry becauſe they decred the generall Councell to be aboue the Pope. If ye take theſe two Councels to haue erred in theſe points, ye are a greater Papiſt than I am. For I hold herein rather with Gerſon. I trow this be one place that ye wot not your ſelfe. Yet I recken no errour proued in any generall Councell by that ye haue yet ſaid.

The Reply. Sarum.

YEs, I aſſure you, Maiſter Doctor, I put in this place, and all the reſt my ſelfe alone without conference. And yet God be thanked, I can finde nothing in your writings but ſuch as any man may ſwne ghelle it came only from your ſelfe alone. Ye take exception before with that I alleaged the Councell of *Baſil*, and ſent me word that no ſuch thing could be found. But now I ſee ye are better aduiſed.

As touching Pigghius I vſed his authority herein, as S. Paul, to reproue them that denied the reſurrection, vſed the authority of them that baptiſed for the dead, not for that he thought ſuch baptiſme well miniſtred, but onely for that it ſerueth to his purpoſe. For I ſhewed you not what I thought my ſelf, but what Pigghius, your great Doctour thought; and what ye your ſelfe muſt néeds thinke, vnleſſe ye will pull downe your owne doctrine, and ſet the Pope himſelfe and all his adherents vpon your top.

But if ye take part with Gerſon, as ye ſay you doe, marke how the chiefe pillar of your building begins to ſhake.

If the Pope be head of the church, as ye ſay, and the Councell be but *Eccleſia repreſentatiua*, that is, a reſemblance of the church, as your Canoniſts and Schoole-men ſay: how can it be but the Pope by your owne ſaying (whether Gerſon will or nill) muſt néeds be

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head of the Councell? for he that is head of the whole, muſt alſo be head of the part: vnleſſe perhaps ye will ſay, the part is greater than the whole. Of theſe grants of yours there followeth conſequently great inconuenience againſt your ſelfe.

Ye ſay, The Pope is not aboue the Councell. *Ergo*, May ſome other man ſay, He is much leſſe aboue the whole Church.

Againe. The Pope is not aboue the Church. *Ergo*, Hée is not head of the Church.

But all this notwithſtanding ye ſay the Councel is aboue the Pope. And yet ye know, that euen now, whatſoeuer is decréd in any generall Councell, there is euermore deuolution made to the Pope, as vnto him, that is thought to be aboue the Councel, and without whom nothing may be concluded.

Haue ye forgotten, that Pope Pius, and Pope Iulius, of late yéres, commanded there ſhould no appeale be made from the Pope to any Councell?

Haue ye forgotten, that the laſt generall Councell holden at *Trident* concluded thus at the end, *Saluâ ſemper in omnibus Sedis Apoſtolicæ authoritate*: as confeſſing openly that they toke the Pope to be aboue the Councell?

Haue ye forgotten, that your owne Doctours ſay, *Papa eſt fons omnis iuris*: the Pope is the fountaine of all maner law: And, *Papa habet omnia iura in ſcrinio pectoris ſui*; the Pope hath all law vnder the ſecret of his breaſt?

Haue ye forgotten what it is written in the Popes owne Decretals, *Extra, de electione, & electi poteſtate: Si totus mundus ſentiet in aliquo contra Papam, videtur quòd ſtandum ſit ſententiæ Papæ*: If all the world ſhould giue ſentence in any matter againſt the Pope, it appeareth for all that, we ought to ſtand to the determination of the Pope?

Haue ye forgotten, that it is written in your owne Councels, *Papa à nemine iudicatur*; The Pope is iudged of no man? And a iolly reſon ioyned to the ſame; *Quia non eſt diſcipulus ſupra magiſtrum*. For there is no ſcholar aboue his Maſter.

Haue ye forgotten that that is written in your Decés; *Neque ab Auguſto, neque a Regibus, neque a toto clero neque a populo, Iudex iudicabitur*: The Iudge, that is to ſay, the Pope, ſhall be iudged, neither by the Emperour, nor by Kings, nor by the whole Clergy, nor by the people.

And againe: *Aliorum hominum cauſas voluit Deus per homines terminare: ſed huius ſedis præſulem, ſuo ſine quæſtione ſeruauit arbitrio*: Other mens cauſes God would haue to be determined and ruled by men: But the Biſhop of this Sea, out of all doubt, he reſerued only to his owne iudgement.

And againe: *Facta ſubditorum iudicantur à nobis, noſtra autem a ſolo Deo*; the doings of our ſubiects are iudged by vs: but our doings are iudged only by God.

Haue yet forgotten, that your Scholemen ſay, *Papa habet ius infragabile, de quo non licet diſputare*: The Pope hath a right that no man may withſtand, of which right no man may diſpute?

Haue ye forgotten, that is written in your Decretales, *De tranſlatione Epiſcopi*, in the Gloſſe: *Papa naturam rerum immutat, ſubſtantialia vnius rei applicando alteri: Et de nullo poteſt facere aliquid: Et ſententiam quæ nulla eſt, facit aliquam. Quia in his quæ vult, ei eſt pro ratione voluntas. Nec eſt qui illi dicat, Cur ita facis?* That is, He changeth the nature of things, applying the ſubſtantiall parts of one thing to another: And of nothing he is able to make ſomewhat. And that that is no ſentence, he maketh a good ſentence. For in any thing that he willeth, his will ſtandeth in ſtead of reaſon. And there is no man, that may ſay vnto him, Why doeſt thou thus?

Haue ye forgotten, the words of your owne Councels, *Papa non non poteſt iudicari*, the Pope can not be iudged? And the ſame fortified with a good reaſon, cut of the words of the Prophet Eſay, who ſpake in the perſon of God; *Quia ſcriptum eſt, Nunquid gloriabitur ſecuris aduerſus eum qui ſecat eum ea?* Shall the axe boaſt himſelfe againſt him that heweth with it? Or haue ye forgotten, that Hoſtienſis, your owne doctour writeth, *Papa eſt omnia & ſuper omnia*; The Pope is all, and aboue all? which words Saint Paul ſpeaketh onely of Chriſt. So reuerently the Doctours of your ſide vſe Gods holy Scriptures.

Yet I paſſe by as great a number of the like ſentences to the ſame purpoſe. Thus ye ſée if yé take part with Gerſon, a great many of your owne friends will fall out with you, and ye will be in hazard to be called an heretike.

Ye ſe by this, that the Councel of *Conſtance*, and *Baſil*, being both generall, as Pighius ſaith, decréd a falſhood, and were in erroꝛ, as ye your ſelfe muſt nédes confeſſe, as well as Pighius, if ye will ſtand to your owne doctrine. And therefore, Cardinalis Caietanus, one of your owne ſide ſaith, that both theſe Councels were afterward iuſtly abrogate: I thinke for that they were thought to haue decréd a miſſe. And ſo both Gerſon and you, by the

the iudgement of all your brethren, remaine ſtill in errour. And when ye haue ſought out the bottome of your learning, I beleeue it will be hard for you to finde any good ſufficient cauſe, why a generall Councell may not as well be deceiued, as a particular. For Chriſts promiſes; *Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum*; and, *Vbicunq; duo aut tres conuenerint in nomine meo, ibi ſum ego in medio illorum*, are made as well to the particular Councell, as to the generall.

Howbeit, whether the Councell may erre or no, ye know it auaileth you but little to ſtand greatly to the defence of Councels in theſe points, vnleſſe ye had ſome Councell to make for you. But like as the *Romanes*, in old times, worſhipped their god Vulcanus, with all godly honour, and yet would neuer vouchſafe to giue him a Chapell within their towne: euen ſo ye, as it appeareth, can content your ſelues to honor the Councels, and to haue them euer in mouth, yet will ye not vouchſafe to take them nere to you, and to be ordered by them. And therefore theſe words of yours, are only of office, and of courſe, that the very countenance ye giue the matter might make your reader beleeue, that ye haue all the Councels of your ſide, and we haue none.

But alas what reuerence, or regard haue ye to the Councels? The Councell of *Nice* appointed three Patriarchs to rule the whole Church, each of them within his precincts of like authority: Ye haue broken this Councell, and giuen all the whole authority to one alone. The Councel holden at *Elberis* decreed, that there ſhould be no kind of Image of any thing that is worſhipped, painted in the Church: Ye haue broken this Councel, and filled your Churches full of Images. The Councel of *Antioch* decreed, that ſuch as came into the Church and heard the Scriptures read, and abſtained from the Communion, ſhould be excommunicate from the Church: Ye haue broken this Councell, and neither doe ye red the Scriptures in ſuch ſort as the people may perceiue them, nor once exhort them to the Communion. The Councell of *Carthage* commanded there ſhould nothing be read in the Church but only the Scriptures of God: Ye haue broken this Councel, and read ſuch Legends and fables vnto the people, as ye your ſelues know were manifeſt and open lies. The Councel of *Rome* vnder Pope Nicolas, commandeth, that no man be preſent at the Maſſe of a Prieſt, whom he knoweth vndoubtedly to keepe a concubine, and that vnder the paine of excommunication: Yet he whom ye would ſo faine haue to be taken for the head of your Church, not onely hath broken this Councell, but alſo, for a certaine ordinary tribut to be yerely paid, giueth his Prieſt free licence and diſpenſations, vnder his great ſeale, openly to keepe Concubines without controlement. And what nede we moe examples? Ye make the Councels waigh as ye will; when ye liſt, as heauy as Gold; againe, when ye liſt, as light as feathers. Pope Iulius the ſecond, called a Councell at *Rome*, onely to ouerthrow the Councell of *Piſa*. And the whole order of Saint Dominikes Friers cried out ſhame vpon the Councel of *Baſil*, for that the Biſhops there, had taken part with the *Scotiſts*, againſt the *Thomiſts*, touching originall ſinne in our Lady. The Councell of *Paris*, was ſcoft at, and iefted out of all parts, and vntill this day kept of no part. For our Doctors of *England* ſaid, it had no power to ſaile ouer the Sea: Egidius of *Rome* ſaith, it was too heauy to clime ouer the Alpes. Thus much for that ye ſeeme to ſtand ſo earneſtly to the defence of Councels, hauing in theſe points not one Councell to alleage for your ſelfe.

Sarum.

YE preſſe me ſore, that if I write you not a booke of my prowes, it will be thought I doe it, *concientia imbeſcilitatis*. Belike ye haue forgotten why ye, with all your company, not long ſince, refuſed to enter into diſputation with vs at *Weſtminſter*. Doubtleſſe the greateſt part thought it was, as it was indeed, *concientia imbeſcillitatis*. And what thinke you is there now thought in you, that being ſo often required, yet cannot be won to bring ſo much as one prize ſentence in your owne defence? I haue before alleaged a few reaſons of my part, which by order of diſputation I was not bound to doe. Now let the world iudge, whether of vs both flieth conference.

Cole.

I Haue anſwered to this already. What order of diſputations diſchargeth you of prowes? Yet remember, I came not to diſpute, but to be taught.

The Reply. Sarum.

YE haue anſwered me by ſaying nothing; which I thinke ye would not haue done, if ye had any thing elſe to anſwer: from prowes in this matter I am ſufficiently diſcharged by the

the law of impoſſibility. For as he ſaid openly at *Weſtminſter* (and once againe I put you in remembrance of the ſame, becauſe it is your owne law) it is impoſſible to prooue a negatiue. All your helpe is in the ſhadow and pretence of learning, wherby it appeareth well ye flie diſputation. Ye were beſt to get ſome better cloake to hide you vnder, for theſe be but Fig-leaues, and couer not your ſhame.

Sarum.

I Proteſt before God, bring me but one ſufficient ſentence or authority in the matters I haue required, and afterwards I will gently and quietly confer with you farther at your pleaſure. Wherefore, foraſmuch as it is Gods cauſe, if ye meane ſimply deale ſimply; betray not your right, if ye may ſaue it by ſpeaking one word.

Cole.

If ye refuſe to inſtruct me vnleſſe I bring ſome proofe of my part, ye bid me to my coſt. Ye bid me to a feaſt, where while I ſhoul take on me to proue your doctrine naught, I were like to forfet my recogniſance, which ye guilefully allure me vnto.

The Reply. Sarum.

YE hide your ſelfe vnder your Recogniſance, and thinke ye walke inuiſible, as the Oſtrich, when he hath once couched his head vnder a little bough, though the reſt of his body, which is great and large, ſtand open and vncouered, yet he thinketh no man can eſpie him. Although ye be ſanded and ſet aground, yet ye kepe vp the ſaile ſtill, as if ye had water at your will.

Ye ſay ye may not diſpute leſt ye ſhould forfet your recogniſance. I would wiſh you to remember your ſelf, and to let the people vnderſtand the truth. Ye know ye are not bound in Recogniſance for diſputing with any man; but for that being required to diſputations by the Quenes moſt honorable Counſell, and the place appointed, and great and worthy audience aſſembled to the ſame, ye gaue ouer, as ye know, vpon the ſudden, and would not diſpute at all. And therefore for your diſobedience and contempt ye were bound in Recogniſance.

But I pray you were ye thus bound in Quene Maries time to, as well as now? Or if ye were not bound, how hapned it that ye neuer durſt alleage one ancient Doctour in theſe matters all that while? Remember your owne words: ye ſaid a little before, that ye brought more than we were able to anſwer, notwithſtanding it were, as ye ſaid, nor Scriptures nor Councels nor Doctors. And further I pray you, were, all the reſt of the Doctours of your ſide, Pighius, Eckius Hoſmaſterius, Bunderius, &c. bound in Recogniſance aſwell as you? Or if they were not bound, why were they ſo dainty of their Doctors, that in theſe matters they could neuer vouchſafe to alleage one? Looke better vpon your Recogniſance: I cannot beleeue ye ſhould be ſo free to ſcoffe and to ſcorne, more than either Diuinity, or good humanity would beare withall, and onely be forbidden to doe that thing, which of all good reaſon ye ought moſt to doe: Or that ye ſhould be reſtrained from the alleaging of S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Ambroſe, S. Chryſoſtome, S. Baſil, &c. and haue a priuiledge onely to alleage Ariſtotle Horace, the Decrees, the Decretals, the Gloſſe, Gerſon, Driedo, Royard, and Tapper, ſuch men as I neuer could haue thought had beene canonized and allowed for Doctors of the Church. Auguſtus Ceſar on a time, as he was paſſing thorow *Rome*, and ſaw certaine ſtrange women lulling Apes, and Whelps in their armes; What, ſaid he, haue the women of theſe countries none other children? So may I ſay vnto you that make ſo much of Gerſon, Driedo, Royard, and Tapper; Haue the learned men of your ſide none other Doctors? For alas, theſe that ye alleage are ſcarcely worthy to be allowed amongſt the blacke garde. Hilarius ſaith vnto the Arrians, *Cedò aliud Euangelium.* Shew me ſome other Goſpell; for this that ye bring helpeth you not. Euen ſo will I ſay to you, *Cedò alios doctores*, Shew me ſome other Doctors; for theſe that ye bring are not worthy the hearing. I hoped ye would haue come in with ſome freſher band. It muſt needes be ſome miſerable caſe, that can finde no better patrons to cleaue vnto. I know it was not for lacke of good will of your part: ye would haue brought other Doctors, if ye could haue found them.

Sarum.

THe people muſt needes thinke ſomewhat of your ſilence, and miſtruſt your doctrine, if it ſhall appeare to haue no maner of ground, neither of the Councels, nor of the Doctours,

Doctours, nor of the Scriptures, nor any one allowed example of the Primatiue Church, to ſtand vpon. And ſo your fiftéene hundred yeres, with the conſent of antiquity and generality, ſhall come to nothing.

Cole.

GOd wot, I paſſe little in theſe matters what the poore ſilly ſoules déeme of my doings, wherin ye haue no cauſe to complaine, ſith they be edified towards you. Wiſe men, I doubt not, ſée what talk cauſe I haue to doe as I doe.

The Reply. Sarum.

NOw God wot, then are the poore ſilly ſoules little beholden to you, that haue béene ſo long and ſo worſhipfully maintained by the ſweat of their browes: and now ſéeing them, as ye ſay, deceiued, and periſh before your éies, ye can hold your peace and let all alone. S. Paul ſaid; *Quis infirmatur, & ego non infirmor? quis offenditur, & ego non vror? Cupio Anathema eſſe à Chriſto, pro fratribus meis.* And ſo would ye ſay to, if ye were ſo ſure of the matter, as S. Paul was, or if ye had the ſpirit of S. Paul. Wiſe men, ye ſay, know that ye haue iuſt cauſe to doe, as ye doe. Doubtleſſe: for he that can find nothing to ſay, hath a reaſonable cauſe to hold his peace: and yet I think, a meane wiſe man may ſée, that by the vertue of your Recogniſance ye might as well haue alleaged S. Auguſtine, and S. Hierome, as Royard and Tapper. But ye know, the matter is ſuch, that if ye once come to allegations, whatſoeuer ye ſay, it will be the worſe. As for my part, ſo that both the wiſe and the vnwiſe may ſée your errours, and how little ye haue to ſay for your ſelfe, I paſſe not greatly whether ye confeſſe the ſame by ſpeaking, or by holding your peace. For, *Qui tacet conſentire videtur*, as ye your ſelfs are wont to ſay. O maſter Doctour, deale ſimply in Gods cauſes, and ſay ye haue Doctours when ye haue them indeed: and when ye haue them not, neuer lay the fault in your Recogniſance.

Sarum.

WHere ye ſay, I am not altogether without enemies, I aſſure you, whoſoeuer he be that is enemy vnto me, I for my part am enemy vnto no man, but only wiſh that Gods truth may be knowen of all men. But he that is enemy vnto me in this behalfe, I feare me is enemy vnto ſome other, whom he would be loth to name. 46.

Cole.

YE would beare folke in hand, that they that agrée not in doctrine with you are not the Quénes friends, which ye gather by your owne ſide in Quéene Maries reigne. But I neuer brake amity with any man for diſſent in religion; I kéepe ſtill my old friends, be their religion good or bad.

The Reply. Sarum.

TO the firſt part thereof, I will not ſay ſo much as I were able; God ſone confound all them that be, or ſhalbe otherwiſe. If ye loue your friends, notwithſtanding their religion, ye are more charitable than ſome of your brethren. For ye remember how vnfriendly ſome of you haue vſed their friends, only for diſſent in religion, vnleſſe perhaps ye will ſay ye impriſoned them, and burnt them, euen for very loue.

Sarum.

YE ſuppreſſed, ye ſay, your firſt letters, for that they were to ſower. That had béen all one to me, for ſower words are not enough to quaile the truth. Howbeit, to my knowledge, I gaue you no ill words to increaſe that humour. But if ye ſtriue ſtill againſt nature, as ye ſay ye haue done now, and conquer the reſt of your affections to, I doubt not but we ſhall ſone agrée. 47

Cole.

AS though mine affection only cauſed me to diſſent from you in religion. Which argument may ſerue you well in Rhetorike, but no where els I wéene.

The Reply. Sarum.

WHen ye ſhall bring me any ſuch authority as I haue required of you, wherefore ye ſhould diſſent from vs in theſe points, then will I grant ye diſſent not

only for affection. If ye be able to bring nothing, I truſt ye will pardon me to ſay, as I ſay. This argument, ye ſay, would ſerue me in Rhethorike, and no where elſe. Thus ye write to make your reader beleeue (as ye haue reported in places) that the ground of my Sermons is Rhetorike, and not Diuinity. Wherein yée were ſomewhat to blame for your ſo light credit. For if ye had heard me your ſelfe, as ye neuer did, I thinke ye might haue heard ſomewhat elſe than Rhetorike. But it appeareth ye hunt very narrowly for faults, that account learning for a fault. If I were ſkilfull in Rhetoriſke, as ye would haue me appeare, onely to diſcredit me with the people: yet can I not vnderſtand wherefore that thing ſhould be ſo faulty in me, that was ſometimes commendable in Saint Auguſtine, in Saint Chryſoſtome, in Saint Hierom, in Arnobius, in Lactantius, in Cyprian, in Tertullian, and in many other old godly Fathers: for all theſe, as ye know, were great Rhetoricians. But as in the booke of the Kings, the *Aſſyrians* when they were ouerthrowen by the *Iewes*, cried out, *Dij montium, ſunt dij illorum*; The gods of the hils, be their gods, as though Siluanus, or Pan, or Faunus, had conquered them, and not the true liuing God of *Iſrael*: Euen ſo ye at this time after ye ſée your ſelues ſcattered, and put to flight, cry out, It is Rhetorike and eloquence that hath ouerthrowen you, and not the force of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

Likewiſe was Porphyrius wont to ſay, that S. Paul perſwaded ſo far, and wone ſo many to the faith of Chriſt, not for that he had any truth of his ſide, but only for that with his eloquence and other ſubtilty he was able to abuſe the ſimplicity of the people. But, alas, ſmall Rhetorike would ſuffice to ſhew how little ye haue of your ſide to alleage for your ſelfe.

Sarum.

HEre I leaue, putting you eftſoones in remembrance, that being ſo oft, and ſo openly deſired to ſhew forth one Scripture, or one allowed example of the Primitiue church, or one old Doctour, or one ancient Councell, in the matters before named, yet hitherto ye haue kept backe and brought nothing. And that if ye ſtand ſo ſtill, it may be well thought yée doe it, *conſcientia imbecillitatis*, for that there was nothing to be brought.

Cole.

THis place is aboue anſwered.

The Reply. Sarum.

DOubtleſſe by ſaying nothing, as all the reſt.

Cole.

NOw foraſmuch as ye make this a great foundation againſt vs, that we vary from the Primatiue church, and therefore make ſimple ſoules wéne that we were in the wrong ſide: Yéere, I pray you, ſhew me your opinion, whether we are bound to do all things which we find by ſufficient authority were in vſe in the Primitiue Church?

And becauſe ye ſhall not be herein ſquemiſh, I ſhall here my ſelfe begin to ſhew you mine. I am of the opinion that the Councell of *Conſtance* was in this matter. I thinke it an errour, I am bound to doe as the Primitiue church did. Where the Church cuſtomably vſeth the contrary, I recken an example, and no bond.

I deny not, but theſe examples were to be followed, and not to be broken at euery mans will, and pleaſure, vntill by common aſſent other order were taken.

But if ye ſéeke old writers, and finde me that the Church this ſix hundred yéeres obſerued not many things which were practiſed, and accounted for good, holeſome, and holy, in the Primitiue church, and thereby déeme vs in erroz, this were a wrong iudgement. For the Church of Chriſt hath his childhood, his manhood, and his hoare-haires: and as to one man that is méete to him in one age, is not méete for him in another; ſo were many things requiſite and neceſſary in the Primitiue church, which in our daies were like to doe more harme than good. This is no new deuiſed phantaſie, but vttered 1100. yéeres agoe by S. Ambroſe, without reproch. I ſhewed you, and read you the place at *Weſtminſter*, as ye may remember, and it were too long to make rehearſall of his words here. We might by taking contrary opinion herein, be led to thinke we ought to receiue the Sacrament euermore after ſupper, & not faſting. But S. Auguſtine ſaith, that Chriſt left this to his church, to take order how, and in what ſort the Sacraments ſhould be receiued and vſed. Wherein he ſaith, it is a marueilous inſolent kind of madnes to miſlike that, which is receiued in

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the Church, where the cuſtome is not againſt any commandement in Scripture. S. Peter cauſed (as Damaſus ſaith) a commandement, that no woman ſhould come bare faced to the Church. S. Clement toke order, that the Clergy ſhould haue all things in common, and ſo liue together, as in the late reformed order of Saint Benets Monkes, doth moſt godly appeare. And not many yeres ſince, the ſame order in all Cathedrall Churches was obſerued. Yet I wene it were an error to hold of neceſſity it ſhould be ſo ſtill. Or to ſay, the Church were in an errour, becauſe it hath ſuffered a contrary cuſtome to crepe in.

Then, if the cuſtome of the Church may breake that was in the Primitiue church commanded, it is no leſſe offence to leaue vndone that was at the beginning practiſed, and no commandement giuen for other to follow the ſame.

Thus much I thought to put you in remembrance of, for ſuch matters as ye touch in 1. 7. 42. 43. numbers.

The Reply. Sarum.

IN the concluſion ye take great aduantage to anſwer many things in one, wherein your words, becauſe they come flowing downe in abundance like a ſtreame, they carry away a great deale of ſlime and baggage with them.

Firſt, where ye grant that ye of your ſide haue varied, and doe yet vary from the cuſtom of the Primitiue church, I can not but commend your plainneſſe therein in telling the truth.

But where then is your antiquity become? Where be your ancient Doctors? Where be the fifteene hundred yeres that ye haue ſo much talked of? If ye would grant the ſame in the Pulpit openly before the people, that we require the vſe and order of the Primitiue church; and that ye, of your part, maintaine your priuate Maſſe, your Supremacy, your vnknowen prayers, and the moſt part of your religion, contrary to the ſame; that our doctrine is old, and that yours is new: If ye would but grant this ſimply and plainly before the people, we would deſire no more at your hands.

But ye ſay further, that the examples of the Apoſtles and Doctours binde you not: that in their time the Church was but an infant, and that many things that were good for her in that age, would be hurtfull to her in this age: And thereto, notwithſtanding your recognisance, ye alleage S. Auguſtine, and S. Ambroſe, wherein I haue cauſe ſomewhat to marueil at your doings, that now can ſo frankly bring in your Doctours to ſo ſmall purpoſe, and afore in matters of weight, touching the greateſt part of the contention that ſtandeth betweene vs, durſt not once name one Doctor for feare of your Recognisance. At the laſt ye conclude, that it were an error to ſay, we are bound of neceſſity to follow the vſe of the Primitiue Church.

To make you a full and a cleere anſwer hereunto, I muſt needes vſe this diſtinction: There were ſome orders in the Primitiue church commanded by God, and ſome other were deuiſed by men, for the better training of the people. Such orders as were commanded by God, may not be changed in any caſe, only becauſe God commanded them. For as God is euerlaſting, ſo is his word and commandement euerlaſting.

Of the other ſide, ſuch orders as haue beene deuiſed by men, may be broken, vpon ſome good conſideration, only becauſe they were men that deuiſed them: for as men themſelues be mortall, ſo all their wiſedomes and inuentions be but mortall. As, that the Communion ſhould be vſed in the morning, or at night. That women ſhould come to the Church either couered or open faced: wherein ye ſay, S. Peter toke order. That the Miniſters goods ſhould be all in common, or otherwiſe, &c. Theſe and other like, were things appointed and ordered by men, and therefore were neuer vſed in all places of one ſort, but as they were brought in by men, ſo might they be diſſolued and broken by men. In theſe things, I grant, the examples of the Doctours, or Apoſtles binde vs not. In theſe things it were an errour to ſay we are bound of neceſſity to follow the vſe of the Primitiue Church. Theſe and other like things they be, that Saint Ambroſe ſpeaketh of, whom ye at *Weſtminſter* alledged in the caſe ye then intreated of, directly making againſt your ſelfe. And we, when we heard you name him firſt, marueiled much what ye meant to meddele with him aboue all others. For as touching the common prayers to be had in a ſtrange tongue, (which matter we had then in hand) S. Ambroſe ſaieth of purpoſe to controll both you and your brethren, in maner one whole Chapter thorow, writing vpon the fourteenth Chap. 1. Cor. And farther, the examples that he vſeth in the place where ye alleaged him, are theſe: That the Deacon in the Primitiue church vſed to preach, & in his time preached not: & that women in the Primitiue church vſed to baptiſe, and in his time baptiſed not: and that in the Primitiue church the Sacrament of Baptiſme was miniſtred

at all times indifferently, without difference of daies, and that in his time it was ministred only vpon certaine daies. And yet in your Church, contrary to the order of S. Ambrose, both women baptise, and Deacons preach, and children are baptised euery day without difference of time. Thus ye would faine to follow S. Ambrose, and yet alledge him in such places where your selfe most of all vary from him. But perhaps your minde was occupied, or ye had not then leasure to marke him better.

Hitherto, I thinke, we agree, that touching such things as haue béene ordained by men, we are not bound of necessity to the order of the Primatiue Church.

But of the other part, I say, that such things as God hath commanded precisely by his word, may neuer be broken by any custome, or consent. And such be the things that we now require at your handes, not deuised by men, but commanded by God to last for euer. Vnlesse ye will happily say, as Montanus did, that God hath reuealed both moe things, and also better things vnto you, than euer he did vnto his Apostles: or els, as Manichæus said, that the Apostle saw nothing, but only in *speculo, & in enigmate*: or as your Doctour Siluester Prierias saith: *Indulgentiæ non habent authoritatem ex verbo Dei, sed habent authoritatem ab Ecclesia Romana, quia maior est*: Pardons, saith he, haue no ground of Gods word, but they haue their ground of the Church of *Rome*, which is a great deale more. The cup which ye haue taken from the people, is not a ceremony, but a part of the Sacrament. And as good right as ye had to take that part away, so good right had ye to take away also the other, and so to leaue the people nothing at all. And therefore the old Father Gelasius saith: *Aut integra percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur*; Either let them receiue the whole Sacrament, that is to say, vnder both kinds, or els let them be put from the whole. By which words of the old Doctour Gelasius it may appeare, that vnlesse both parts of the Sacrament be receiued together, the Sacrament is mangled, and not whole.

Againe, to pray in such a tongue as the people may vnderstand, and thereby be edified, is not a ceremony to be changed at mans pleasure, but the commandement of God: for Paul, when he had spoken long thereof, concludeth at the end: *Si quis est Propheta, aut spiritualis, sciat, quòd quæ scribo, domini sunt præcepta*: If any man be a Prophet, or spirituall, let him well know, that the things that I write, are the commandements of God. Prayer in the vulgar and knowen tongue, S. Paul saith, is the commandement of God, and not an order taken by man.

Againe, for any one man to take vpon him to be vniuersall Bishop of the whole Church, S. Gregory saith, it is both against the Gospell of Christ, and also against the old Canons, and ancient orders of the Church: his words be these; *Quis est iste, qui contra Statuta Euangelica, contra Canonum decreta, nouum sibi nomen vsurpare præsumit?* What man is this that taketh vpon him this new fangled name, to be called the Vniuersall Bishop of the whole Church, contrary to the lawes of the Gospell, and contrary to the decrées of the Canons? And farther he saith: *Consentire in hoc nomen est fidem amittere*; To agree vnto this name, is to goe from the faith. These things, and other like, because they haue their foundation in Gods word, may not be changed by any order of the Church. For the Church, as she is Lady of her owne lawes, so is she but a handmaid to the Lawes of Christ.

But héere would I faine know what smatterer taught you to frame this argument:

The Church hath power to breake some orders:

Ergo, She hath power to breake all orders, where, and when she listeth.

As perfit a Logician as ye make your selfe, yet héere ye haue made a sophistication, *A secundùm quid ad simpliciter*; which, as ye know, in Logike is a foule error in reasoning.

But it is a world, to consider the reason ye vse to proue your purpose withall. For yée say, the Church in Christs and the Apostles time was but an infant, but now she is well stricken in age, therefore shée must be otherwise dieted now than she was then. This is not the handsomest comparison that I haue heard of. For I neuer heard before now that Christ and his Apostles were called infants. Or that euer any man before now toke vpon him to set them to schoole. Elay saith, that Christ should be *Pater futuri seculi*; that is, the Father of the world to come, which is the time of the Gospell. And Saint Hierom in your owne Decrées, calleth the Apostles, *Patres*, that is not infants, but the Fathers of the Church. And I beléeue, though ye would study and labour for it, yet would it be very hard for you, either to find out any good substantiall reason, wherefore ye with your brethren ought to be called the Fathers of Gods Church, or Christ and his Apostles ought to be called babes. O that ye would indifferently compare the one with the other! ye should

find,

find, that as like as ye and your Biſhops are to the Apoſtles, ſo like is your Church to the Apoſtles Church.

But if I would grant you your compariſon, that Chriſt and his Apoſtles are vnto you as children to old fatherly men; yet how could ye make this argument good by all your Logike?

The Church is now become old and ancient:
Ergo, The people muſt pray in a ſtrange language, they know not what.
Or this: The Church is old:
Ergo, The people muſt receiue the Sacrament but vnder one kind.
Or this: The Church is old:
Ergo, The people may not be exhorted to the holy Communion, but only content themſelues with a priuate Maſſe.

If theſe arguments ſeeme to be good in law, yet I aſſure you they ſeeme to me very weake, either in Logike, or in Diuinity: howbeit, of ſuch reaſons ye haue store enough, as I were able to ſhew you at large, if néede ſo required. As where ye ſay;

Extra de Maioritate, & obedietia, Cap. vnam Sanctam. *Quæ ſunt poteſtates, à Deo ordinatæ ſunt*: The powers that be are ordered by God:
Ergo, The Pope is aboue the Emperor.

Innocentius diſt. 82. Propoſuiſti. Roſſenſis. Durandus. *Spiritualis à nemine iudicatur*: The man that is ruled by Gods ſpirit, is iudged of no man:
Ergo, No man may iudge the Pope.

Sancti eſtote, quoniam ego ſanctus ſum: Be you holy, for I am holy, ſaith the Lord:
Ergo. No married man may be a Prieſt.

Chriſt ſaid vnto Peter, *Solue pro me, & te*: Pay the tribute money for me and thée:
Ergo, the Pope is head of the Church.

Eccleſiaſticus ſaith, *In medio eccleſiæ aperuit os ſuum*: He opened his mouth in the midſt of the congregation:
Ergo, The Prieſt muſt turne round at the midſt of the Altar.

Concilium Nicenum ſecundum ſub Iren. *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem ſuam*: God made man to the image and likeneſſe of himſelfe:
Ergo, There muſt be Images in the Church.

Concilium Baſil. ſub Eugenio. *Papa iuratur in fidem Apoſtolicam*: The Pope is ſworne to the Apoſtles faith:
Ergo, The Church cannot erre.

Concilium Rom. ſub Siluestro. The Canoniſts. Durandus. Eckius. Doctor Cole at Weſtminſter. *Non eſt diſcipulus ſupra magiſtrum*: There is no ſcholar aboue his maſter:
Ergo, No man may iudge the Pope.

Papa eſt dominus omnium beneficiorum: The Pope is Lord of all benefits:
Ergo, He cannot commit Simony though he would.

Domini eſt terra & plenitudo eius: The earth is the Lords, and the fulneſſe thereof:
Ergo, the Communion cake muſt be made round.

Omnis ſpiritus laudet Dominum: Let all ſpirits praiſe the Lord:
Ergo, He muſt haue Organs in the Church.

Lac vobis potum dedi: Or, *Ignorantia eſt mater pietatis*: I gaue you milke to drinke: or, Ignorance is the mother of deuotion:
Ergo, The people muſt make their praiers in a ſtrange tongue.

Logike was good cheape when theſe arguments were allowed: but theſe, and a great many others, as good as theſe, haue béene made of your ſide, as ye know. But iudge ye whether they ſeeme to you to be of ſuch warrant, that vpon the ſight of them we may ſafely breake the commandements of God, or no. Very loth I was ſo much to open the weakneſſe of your ſide: but forasmuch as ye write, that maſter Caluins and maſter Bucers reaſons be ſuch, as none but yong folke and children will be moued with them; your importunity herein hath cauſed me to doe otherwiſe than I would: therefore out of a great number of like arguments of yours, I haue laid forth a few; and I beléeue, neither child, nor yong body, nor your ſelfe, will be greatly moued with them.

Where ye ſay, theſe things may not be broken by any priuate authority, but only by a generall conſent: this is but a dilatory plea to defraud your aduerſary. Ye know all the Princes of Chriſtendome are not ſo ſone brought together: in the meane while perhaps ye will ſay to your ſelfe, as ye know who ſaith, *Interea fiet aliquid ſpero*. But forasmuch as ye giue ſuch credit to a generall conſent, I would faine learne at your hand where this cuſtome of yours firſt began, or by what conſent it was euer allowed.

Steuen Gardiner, in his booke of the Diuels Sophiſtry, touching the Communion vnder one kind, imagineth that firſt ſome good deuout body, for reuerence he had to the ſacrament, thought himſelfe not worthy to receiue the cup, and ſo abſtained. And then followed another, & ſo another, & after another, & ſo at length it became, as he ſaith, a generall conſent.

Thus he imagineth, onely vpon his owne ghéſſe. For there was neuer any man

that so wrote before him. Neither was he able to shew nor whence nor where this custome first began, nor how farre it went abroad. But if any one man began it first, and so another, why did not the Priests and Bishops then speake against it? Why did they suffer one singuler man onely upon a singuler fancy to breake the generall order, that was given by Christ, and observed by generall consent throughout the whole Church? If it had beene staied at the first in one, it had never past afterward to so many. If it be a wickednesse, as ye say, for one man of his owne vaine fantasie to alter the generall order of the whole Church, then ye see, even by Steven Gardiners confession, that your generall consent, whereunto ye leane so much, proceeded at the first onely of wickednesse: and being so, ye remember ye have a rule in your owne law: *Quæ à principio malè inchoata fuit institutio, temporis tractu non convalescit*: that is, The thing that was naught at the beginning, cannot be made good by processe of time.

O Maister Doctour, let us lay aside all selfewill and contention, and have recourse only unto the truth that God hath revealed to us in his holy word. For thereby shall ye be able to know whether the Church doe right or no. And thereby shall ye be able to reforme her, if she happen to doe amisse. For it is possible the Church may erre; but it is not possible the Scriptures may erre. And the Scriptures of God have authority to reforme the Church; but I never heard that the Church hath authority to reforme the Scriptures.

Thus Christ reformed the errours of the Church in his time, brought in by the Scribes and Phariseis, and said unto them, *Scriptum est*. Thus S. Paul reformed the *Corinthians* for misusing the holy Communion in his time, and told them: *Quod accepi à Domino, hoc tradidi vobis*: I delivered you that thing that I received of the Lord. Thus the old father Irenæus, to stay the errors of his time, bad the parties have recourse to the most ancient Churches, from whence religion sprang first. Thus saith Tertullian to redresse the errors of his time: *Hoc contra omnes Hæreticos præiudicat; id esse verum, quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius*: This saying, saith he, prevaileth against all heretikes, that the thing that was first ordeined is to be taken for true: and whatsoever was devised afterward, is to be taken for false.

Thus saith S. Hierome, of the abuses of his time: *Quæ absque testimonio Scripturarum, quasi tradita ab Apostolis asseruntur, percutiuntur malleo verbi Dei*: The things that are fathered upon the Apostles, and have no testimony of the Scriptures, are beaten downe with the hammer of Gods word.

Thus saith Saint Cyprian to stay the schismes and sects of his time: *Hinc Schismata oriuntur, quia caput non quæritur, & ad fontem non redditur, & cœlestis magistri præcepta non observantur*: Hereof spring Schismes and divisions, for that we have no recourse to the first institution, and goe not backeward to the spring, and keepe not the commandements of the heavenly master.

Thus saith Saint Augustine to reforme the errours of his time: *Ne audiatur hoc, Ego dico, hoc tu dicis: sed, Hæc dicit Dominus: Ibi quæratur Ecclesia*. Let not these words be heard betweene us, Thus say I, or, thus say ye; but, Thus saith the Lord. And there let us seeke for the Church of God.

Thus saith Saint Cyprian: *Si ad divinæ traditionis caput & originem revertaris, cessat omnis error humanus*: If ye will returne to the head and beginning of Gods ordinance, all errors of man will soone give place.

Theodosius the Emperour pronounceth, that they onely are to be taken for Catholike, that follow the doctrine that Peter delivered at the first to the Church of *Rome*, and so examined he the matter by the originall.

Wherefore it standeth you now upon, to prove that your private Masse, your Communion under one kind, your prayers in an unknowen tongue, and your Supremacy was delivered at the first by Peter to the church of *Rome*. or else to confesse that these things be not Catholike.

To conclude, like as the errours of the clocke be revealed by the constant course of the sunne, even so the errours of the Church are revealed by the everlasting and infallible word of God.

But to say as some of you have said, the Church is the only rule of our faith, and whatsoever God saith in his word, she can never erre, is asmuch as if a man would say; Howsoever the sunne goeth, yet the clocke must needes goe true. For Gods truth is an everlasting truth, and hangeth not upon the pleasure or determination of men; but being once true, is true for ever. God open the eies of our hearts that we may see it, and rejoyce in it, that the truth may deliver us.

Thus much I thought it good to say to your Letters, before my departure hence; not for that I knew precisely they were yours, but only because they bare your name. If ye

thinke

thinke I haue béene somewhat long, specially your answers being so shor, ye shall remember, that a little poison requireth oft times a great deale of triacle.

Heere once againe I conclude as before, putting you in remembrance, that thus long I haue desired you to bring forth some sufficient authority for proofe of your party; and yet hitherto can obtaine nothing. Which thing I must néedes now pronounce simply and plainly, because it is true, without if or and, ye doe *Confitentia imbecillitatis*, because as ye know, there is nothing to be brought. All these things considered, if I might be so bold with you, I would say friendly to you as S. Augustine saith to S. Hierome: *Arripe seueritatem Christianam, & cane palinodiam.*

18. *May*, 1560. IOHN SARVM.

THE COPIE OF A SERMON PREACHED BY THE BISHOP OF SARISBVRY AT PAVLES CROSSE

the second Sonday before Easter, in the yeare of our Lord GOD 1560. Whereupon Doctor *Cole* first sought occasion to encounter: shortly set forth,

as neere as the Authour could call it to remembrance, without any alteration, or addition.

1. *Cor.* 11. *vers.* 23.

Ego accepi à Domino, quod & tradidi vobis: quoniam Dominus Iesus in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem, &c.

I haue receiued of the Lord, that thing which I also haue deliuered vnto you: that is, that the Lord Iesus in the night that he was betraied, tooke bread, &c.

SAint Paul after he was once appointed out by God to be his chosen vessell, to carry his name among all people, hauing occasion to make his abode for a long time in the City of *Corinth*, began there to instruct the people, to draw them from the follies and errors that they and their Fathers had long liued in afore time, and to lead them to the Gospel of Christ, which then God of his mercy had newly shewed vnto the world. And therwithal he deliuered vnto them the Sacrament or holy mystery of Christs last Supper, to be practised and continued amongst them, as a most certaine pledge and testimony of the same.

But after that, through the wickednesse of the Iewes, he was driuen to depart thence, and to saile into *Syria*, the false Prophets, men full of pride and vaine-glory, taking occasion at his absence, sought meanes to discredit whatsoeuer he had taught or done: and can-

sed

ſed the people not only to miſlike the Goſpell of Chriſt, that they had receiued at S. Pauls hand, but alſo to miſſenſe the Sacraments. For as touching the Goſpel, they were fallen from it into ſundry great and horrible hereſies, concerning the reſurrection, and other ſpeciall points of Chriſts religion. And as touching the Sacraments, where as S. Paul had appointed them the holy myſteries of the breaking of Chriſts body, and ſhedding of his blod, that they ſhould all eat and drink together with feare and reuerence in remembrance of his death and paſſion, and ſo cleaue together in brotherly charity, as being all the members of one body, they forgetting the very vſe and inſtitution thereof, made ſmall account of Chriſts death, toke each man to himſelfe ſeuerally his owne ſupper, deſpiſed their poore brethren, rent and deuided the Church of God, and ſo made the holy Sacrament of loue and charity, to ſerue them as an inſtrument of diſcord and diſſenſion.

Therefore ſaith S. Paul vnto them: Shall I praiſe you for thus doing? in this thing ſurely I may not praiſe you. For I ſee your congregations and common meetings are not to the better, but to the worſe.

For a redreſſe hereof he calleth them backe to the firſt originall, and to the inſtitution of Chriſt, from whence they were fallen. For I, (ſaith he) being amongſt you deliuered you none other thing than that I had receiued of the Lord. That thing he thought meeteſt for you. And therefore with the ſame ought you alſo to be contented.

Thus, whenſoeuer any order giuen by God is broken or abuſed, the beſt redreſſe therof is, to reſtore it againe into the ſtate that it firſt was in at the beginning.

Thus when the Temple of God at Hieruſalem was ſo ſhamefully diſordered by the Prieſts and Leuites, that it was become a caue of theeues; Chriſt for reformation thereof, called them backe againe to the firſt erection of the Temple. *Scriptum eſt: Domus mea Domus orationis vocabitur:* It is written (ſaith Chriſt) in the Scriptures: My houſe ſhall be called the houſe of praier. Thus was the Temple of God vſed at the beginning, and thus ought it to be vſed now.

Thus when Chriſt was oppoſed by the Scribes and Phariſies in the caſe of diuorce, whether he thought it lawfull for a man to put his wife from him for euery light cauſe, and to marry another, he made them anſwer by the firſt inſtitution and ordinance of mariage: *A principio non fuit ita. Scriptum eſt: Erunt duo in carne vna:* It was not ſo (ſaith Chriſt) at the beginning. It is written; They ſhall be two in one fleſh: now therefore they are not two, but one fleſh. As if he ſhould haue ſaid; This is the ordinance of God my father, this may not be broken for our pleaſures ſake, but muſt remaine in ſtrength and laſt for euer.

This S. Paul, that the *Corinthians* might the better vnderſtand that they had vnreuerently miſſenſed the Lords ſupper, and be the more willing to redreſſe the ſame, laid Chriſts firſt inſtitution before their eies as a true patterne, whereby the ſoner they might redreſſe it. Loke (ſaith he) what thing I receiued of the Lord, the ſame thing I deliuered ouer faithfully vnto you. I gaue you not any phantaſie or deuiſe of mine owne, but that thing onely that Chriſt had before deliuered me. This rule is infallible, hereby your doings may beſt be tried. This I iudge to be the very true meaning of theſe words of Saint Paul. Now foraſmuch as in this laſt age of the world, the ſame holy Sacrament or myſtery of Chriſts laſt ſupper hath beene likewiſe ſtained with diuers foule abuſes; and ſpecially for that, notwithſtanding it hath pleaſed almighty God of his great mercy, in theſe our daies to remoue away all ſuch deformities, and to reſtore againe the ſame holy myſteries to the firſt originall: yet there be diuers that wilfully remaine in ignorance, and not onely be vnthankfull vnto almighty God for his great benefits, but alſo take pleaſure in the errors wherein they haue of long time beene trained; and that not onely the poore and ignorant, but alſo the rich, and ſuch as ſhould be learned and know God. I haue thought it good therefore at this time to ſtand the longer vpon the ſame words of Saint Paul: that we may the more clearely ſee the firſt inſtitution of the holy Sacrament, and how far in theſe latter daies we haue ſtraied from it. It was to be hoped, foraſmuch as the glorious light of the Goſpell of Chriſt is now ſo mightily and ſo farre ſpread abroad, that no man would lightly miſſe his way (as afore in the time of darkneſſe) and petith wilfully.

But we may remember when the Iewes were deliuered out of *Egypt*, and had beene wonderfully conducted thorow the red ſea, and ſet at liberty, and were paſſing quietly into the land of promiſe, a land flowing with milke and hony: yet were there diuers weary of their being there, and faine would returne againe into *Egypt* to be in bondage, in thraledome, and in miſery, as they had beene before. We may remember, when the Iewes were deliuered from Idolatry, wherein they and their fathers had long continued, and were brought to the true knowledge and worſhip of the euerliuing God of Iſracll, notwithſtanding they were indeede the people of God; yet were there many

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amongſt them that miſliked the time, and as it is reported by the Prophet Hieremy, cried out againſt him:

Sermonem, quem locutus es nobis in nomine domini, non audiemus ex te: ſed facientes faciemus omne verbum quod egreditur ex ore noſtro, vt ſacrificemus reginæ cœli, & libemus ei libamina: ſicut fecimus nos & patres noſtri, reges noſtri, & principes noſtri in vrbibus Iudæ, & in plateis Hieruſalem: & ſaturati ſumus panibus, & bene nobis erat, & malum non vidimus. That is, We will not heare the word that thou ſpeakeſt vnto vs in the name of the Lord, but we will do euery thing that ſhall proceed out from our owne mouth, as to burne incenſe to the Queene of Heauen, and to offer vp drinke offerings vnto her, as both we haue done, and our fathers and our Kings and our Princes in the City of *Iuda*, and in the ſtreets of *Hieruſalem*. For then had we plenty of victuals, and were well and felt no euill.

We remember when the Goſpell of Chriſt was preached by S. Paul at *Epheſus*, and the diuels mouth was thereby ſtopped, and all his force and power taken from him, yet there was a great number that roſe vp againſt Paul and violently withſtood his doctrine, and cried out with maine voice againſt him; *Magna eſt Diana Epheſiorum*: Great is Diana the Goddeſſe of the *Epheſians*.

Euen ſo in theſe daies, notwithſtanding the compariſon may happily ſeeme ſomewhat odious, whereas the holy communion is reſtored to the vſe and forme of the Primitiue Church, to the ſame order that was deliuered and appointed by Chriſt, and after practiſed by the Apoſtles, and continued by the holy Doctours and Fathers for the ſpace of fiue or ſix hundred yeares, thorow out all the whole Catholike church of Chriſt without exception, or any one ſufficient example to be ſhewed to the contrary; yet are there ſome this day that refuſe it and ſhun it, and vnaduiſedly and wilfully run headlong to the Maſſe, of a good zeale (I hope) but not according vnto knowledge. For alas they vnderſtand not what they doe, they know not neither the communion neither the Maſſe, neither will they hearken or inquire to come to knowledge. And ſo in the middeſt of the light they remaine ſtill in darkneſſe.

Wherefore as I ſaid afore, I haue thought it needfull to intreat ſomewhat hereof at this time, and haue good hope thorough Gods grace ſo to lay forth the whole matter, not with eloquence of words, but with ſimplicity of the truth, that it may be plaine both vnto them that haue forſaken the Maſſe, for what cauſe and how iuſtly they haue forſaken it; and alſo vnto them, that as yet delight in it, what maner of thing it is that they delight in.

I know ſome man will ſay, foraſmuch as the ſacrament is a holy thing, the ordinance of Chriſt, the high myſtery of his death and of our ſaluation, to remaine in the Church for euer; therfore it cannot poſſibly be abuſed; and all that we ſpeake this day in this behalfe, we ſpeake of malice, and not of truth.

True it is, the ſacrament is an holy thing, the ordinance of Chriſt, the myſtery of our ſaluation: yet is there nothing ſo good, no ordinance ſo holy, no myſtery ſo heauenly, but thorough the folly and frowardneſſe of man it may be abuſed.

The Serpent that was ſet vp by Moſes in the wildernеſſe was an holy thing, for it was a Sacrament, and a figure of Chriſt hanging on the Croſſe: yet was it abuſed. The Goſpell of Chriſt is an holy thing; yet S. Paul ſaith to the *Philippians*, there were ſome then that preached it for mallice and contention, doing therby ſeruice, not vnto Jeſus Chriſt, whom they profeſſed in their mouth, but vnto their owne belly. And thus being holy in it ſelfe, yet was it ſhamefully abuſed.

And what thing is there ſo holy as the name of God? and yet what thing is there ſo often taken in vaine, or ſo much abuſed?

But to come nere to our purpoſe: the ſacrament of Baptiſme is an holy thing, yet hath it bene abuſed, and that in the Church of God: yea, euen at the beginning of the Church, euen when the Apoſtles of Chriſt were yet aliue, and the blood of Chriſt, as yet freſh and greene before their eies.

In Saint Pauls time there were ſome that baptiſed for the dead: after that, there were ſome that baptiſed ſuch as were already dead: and ſprinkled them with water in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, laid their hands ouer them, and called them by their names, as if they had bene aliue. Which thing was reproued and forbidden in the Councell of *Carthage*.

Others there were that baptiſed children before they were borne, being as yet in their mothers wombe. Which thing is mentioned and reproued by S. Auguſtine.

All theſe, as may ſome appeare, were great abuſes.

Thus the Sacrament of Baptiſme, notwithſtanding it were a holy thing, yet was abuſed.

The Sacrament of the breaking of Chriſts body, and the ſheading of his blood is an heauenly

uenly myſtery, and a holy thing; yet hath it often times bene abuſed, and that in the Primitiue Church, when the religion of Chriſt ſeemed to be in higheſt perfection.

In the time of Tertullian and of Saint Cyprian, which was a thouſand and foure hundred yeres agoe; women commonly toke the Sacrament home with them in their napkins, and laid it vp in their cheſts, and receiued a portion of it in the morning before other meates.

This was an abuſe of the Sacrament, and therefore was it broken. In Saint Cyprian and Saint Auguſtines time, yong babes, aſſone as they were baptiſed, receiued the Communion; but that was a great abuſe: For by the doctrine of Saint Paul, the holy myſteries ought to be giuen vnto none, but only vnto ſuch as be able to vnderſtand the meaning thereof, to iudge the Lords body, and to declare his death. And therefore now, infants when they be baptiſed, receiue not the Communion. In the time of Saint Hierom, ſome portion of the holy Communion was ſent from the Church to the new married man, and to his wife to be receiued at home.

This was a diſorder of the Sacrament, and therefore now is not vſed. Saint Irenæus ſaith, that one Marcus a Necromancer, was wont to enchant the cup of the Sacrament of Chriſts blood, ſo that the liquor ſhould ſeeme to increaſe and multiply, and from a little to grow to a great quantity. This alſo was an horrible abuſe of Chriſts holy Sacraments.

Some of late time haue receiued the Communion for their purgation to cleare themſelues againſt ſome notorious ſlander. And then the Prieſt changed the words which commonly be vſed at the miniſtration, (and ſaid thus:) *Corpus domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti ſit tibi ad purgationem.* Some others haue vſed to hang the Sacrament, as an *Agnus Dei*, before their breſts, for a protection againſt the aſſaults of the diuell, and all other worldly enemies. Saint Benet miniſtred the Communion vnto a woman that was dead; and it may well be thought that other did ſo as well as he: For it is forbidden by generall conſent in two Councels, the one holden at *Antiſrodorum*, the other at *Carthage*.

No man can lightly deny but theſe were great abuſes. For Chriſt appointed not the Sacrament of his laſt ſupper that women ſhould beare it home and keepe it in their cheſts: nor that it ſhould be ſent home to new maried men and women, to be receiued in ſeuerall: nor that it ſhould be miniſtred to babes & infants that knew not what it meant: nor that Inchanters or Necromancers ſhould therby auant their deteſtable practiſes: nor that men ſhould thereby diſcharge themſelues from ſlander: nor that it ſhould be hanged before mens breſts, and caried about as a ſhield againſt the Diuell: nor that it ſhould be miniſtred vnto dead men or women, and cloſed vp in their mouthes, and laid with them in their graues. But that ſuch as beare the name of Chriſt, and truſted to be ſaued by his blood, ſhould communicate together, and ſolace themſelues in the remembrance of his death.

Thus Chriſt himſelfe hath inſtructed vs; Do this, he ſaith, in remembrance of me. This is the very true and lawfull vſe of the holy Communion of Chriſts body and blood, and all others are abuſes.

We ſee therefore, that albeit the Sacrament be an holy thing, and an heauenly myſterie, yet that notwithſtanding it may many waies be abuſed.

But what nede we ſo many proues in a thing that is ſo euident? Saint Paul himſelfe ſaw the abuſes thereof in his time. S. Paul himſelfe, euen in the beginning of the Church, within forty yeres after Chriſts death, witneſſeth, that euen then there were abuſes crept into the Sacrament, and therefore reproueth the Corinthians. And for redreſſe thereof calleth them backe to the example and firſt inſtitution of Chriſt. That ſame ſelfe thing, (ſaith he) that I receiued of the Lord, that I deliuered vnto you, in ſuch ſort as I had receiued it. Let that be a patterne for you to follow.

Some man perhaps will here reply: notwithſtanding the Sacrament in it ſelfe, either through the wickednelle or through the folly of man, may be, and hath bene abuſed, yet neither was there euer, nor can there be any ſuch abuſe in the Maſſe. For it ſtandeth of foure ſpeciall parts; godly doctrine, godly conſecration, godly receiuing of the Sacrament, and godly praiers. In concluſion, it is ſo heauenly and ſo godly a thing, that no folly or wickednelle can enter into it.

Theſe things, good brethren, I know haue bene often times ſpoken out of ſuch places as this is, and ſtoutly anounched in your hearing. And therefore after that the Maſſe had bene once aboliſhed by the noble Prince of godly memory, King Edward the firſt; and the next Prince, for that ſhe knew none other religion, and thought well of the thing that ſhe had bene ſo long trained in, would nedes haue it put in vre againe throw all her dominions; it was forthwith reſtored, in like maner, in all points, as it had bene vſed before,

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without any kind of alteration or change: as I beléeue, that their very doings therein might ſtand for proſe ſufficient, that neither the Maſſe it ſelfe, nor any parcell or point thereof, had euer béene abuſed.

But alas, what if they that moſt of all other defend the Maſſe, themſelues finde faults and abuſes in the Maſſe? Marke (I pray you) what I ſay: What if the very maintainers and proctours of the Maſſe confeſſe plainly vnto the world in their bookes openly printed and ſet abroad, that there haue béene, and be, abuſes and errours in the Maſſe?

Albertus Pigghius, the greateſt pillar of that part, in a little treatiſe that he writeth of the Maſſe hath theſe words: *Quodſi qui abuſus in rem ſacratiſſimam, & ſaluberrimam irrepſerunt, vt irrepſiſſe plerúſque non diffiteantur, ſcimus ad quem, & ad quos pertineat eoſdem corrigere.* That is to ſay, If there haue certaine abuſes crept into that holy and holſome thing, that is, the Maſſe, as I grant, there haue crept in very many; yet we know to what man and men the redreſſe thereof doth appertaine. Here Pigghius granteth ſimply without colour that diuers abuſes haue at ſundry times priuily crept into the Maſſe. And yet I beléeue, he was no ſuch enemy to the cauſe, that he would euer haue granted ſo much, ſpecially againſt the ſelfe ſame thing that he defended, vnleſſe he had knowen it perfectly to be true. If any man doubt of this man Albertus Pigghius, and know not his authority, nor what he was; let him vnderſtand, that when I ſpeake of him, I ſpeake of all; for this is he that all the reſt haue choſen to follow, as their Captaine: The greateſt learned man, as it is ſuppoſed, and as he himſelfe thought, that euer wrot in that quarrell. He hath found out errours and abuſes in the Maſſe, and is not aſhamed openly to confeſſe the ſame.

Of theſe errours I haue intended ſomewhat to intreat at this time, not of all, for that would be an infinite labour, but of ſo many, and ſo farforth as the time ſhall ſuffer me.

I will not here enter to ſpeake either of Tranſubſtantiation, either of the Reall preſence, either of the Sacrifice, either of the Common ſale or Alterance, either of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the Maſſe, which are for the moſt part both very vaine, and alſo in maner without number.

Of theſe things I am content to diſaduantage my ſelfe at this time, and briefly to touch two or three points, as of the Latine tongue wherein commonly the Maſſe hath béen vſed: of the Communion vnder one kind: of the Cannon: of the adoration of the Sacrament: and of the priuate Maſſe. And of theſe things I intend to ſpeake, although not ſo largely, and with ſo many words as the cauſe would require: yet, by Gods grace, ſo ſimply and ſo truely, that who ſo will be moued with truth or reaſon ſhall ſone perceiue there haue béene abuſes in the Maſſe. And if there were but one of theſe abuſes in it, yet were it worthy to be ſpoken of and to be amended. But if we ſhall plainly ſée with our eies that all the errours and diſorders, beſides a great number elſe, which I willingly paſſe by, haue béene in the Maſſe, (O good brethren) let vs not then thinke, that ſo many godly men in theſe our daies, haue ſpoken againſt it without cauſe.

Firſt, as touching the vnknowen and ſtrange tongue that hath béen vſed in the Maſſe, Saint Pauls counſell and commandement is in generall, that whatſoeuer is done or ſaid in the congregation, ſhould ſo be done and ſaid, that the hearers may haue comfort thereby, and yéeld thankes vnto God, and ſay, Amen. But the ſame Saint Paul, ſaith, if thou make thy praier in the congregation with the ſpirit or noiſe of ſtrange words, how ſhall the vnlearned man thereunto ſay, Amen? For he knoweth not what thou ſaieſt. For notwithſtanding thy praier perhaps be good, yet hath the other no comfort or profit by it. And therefore (he ſaith) farther, I had rather vtter fiue words in the congregation with vnderſtanding of my meaning, ſo that the reſt may haue inſtruction thereby, than ten thouſand words in a ſtrange and vnknowen tongue.

Saint Auguſtine writing vpon the Pſalmes ſaith thus: *Oportet nos humano more, non auicularum ratione cantare: nam & Merula, & Pſittaci, & Corui docentur ſonare quod neſciunt:* We muſt (ſaith Saint Auguſtine) in the praiers that we make to God, not chirpe like birds, but ſing like men. For Popiniayes, and Rauens, and other birds are taught to ſing, they know not what.

Iuſtinian a Chriſtian Emperour made a ſtrait conſtitution, that all Biſhops and Prieſts ſhould pronounce the words of the miniſtration, with open voice, that the people might ſay, Amen.

And to paſſe by all other authorities and examples in this behalfe, before the Church grew to corruption, all Chriſtian men throughout the world made their common praiers, and had the holy Communion in their owne common and knowen tongue. But in the Maſſe, as it hath béene vſed in this latter age of the world, the Prieſt vttereth the holy myſteries in ſuch a language, as neither the people, nor often times himſelfe vnderſtandeth the meaning. And thus the death of Chriſt and his paſſion is ſet forth in ſuch ſort, as

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the poꝛe people can haue no comfoꝛt oꝛ fruit thereby; noꝛ giue thankes vnto God, noꝛ say, Amen. Of all that holy supper, and most comfoꝛtable oꝛdinance of Chꝛist, there was nothing foꝛ the simple soules to consider, but onely a number of gestures and countenances; and yet neither they, noꝛ the Pꝛiest knew what they meant. Thinke you this was Chꝛists meaning when he oꝛdained the communion first? Thinke you that S. Paul receiued these things of the Loꝛd and deliuered the same to the *Corinthians*? O good bꝛethꝛen, Chꝛist oꝛdeined the holy Sacrament foꝛ our sakes, that we might thereby remember the mysteries of his death, and know the pꝛice of his blod.

Touching the second abuse of the Communion vnder one kind, it would be long to say so much as the place would seeme to require. Foꝛ, besides the Institution of Chꝛist, and the woꝛds of S. Paul, which to a Chꝛistian man may seeme sufficient, it was vsed thoꝛowout the whole Catholike church, sꝛ hundꝛed yeares after Chꝛists ascension, vnder both kinds, without exception. But in one woꝛd, to say that may be sufficient foꝛ a wise man to consider; Gelasius, an old father of the Church, and a Bishop of *Rome* saith, that to minister the communion vnder one kind is open sacrilege. His woꝛds be these: *Diuiso vnius eiusdémque mysterij fine grandi sacrilegio non potest peruenire.* I trust I shall néd no further euidence to pꝛoue that the Masse, in this part, hath béne abused. The third point that I pꝛomised to speake of, is the Canon, a thing foꝛ many causes very vaine in it selfe, and so vncertaine that no man can readily tell on whom to father it. S. Paul saith, *Scio cui credidi & certus sum:* I know whom I haue beléeued, and I am certaine. And vnto Tymothy he saith; *Permane in his quæ didicisti, sciens à quo didiceris:* Stand steadfastly in such things as thou hast learned, knowing of whom thou hast learned them. Yet many men this day stand to the Canon as vnto the holiest part of all the Masse, and know not of whom they haue learned it. Some say Alexander the first made it; some say Leo; some say Gelasius, some say Gregorius the first; Gregorius saith, one Scholasticus; some others say, Gregorius the third: But Innocentius Tertius, to put the matter quite out of doubt, said plainly it came from Chꝛist, and from his Apostles. Howbeit, whosoeuer was the first deuiser of it, it foꝛceth not. The substance of it and the meaning is moꝛe materiall; and theꝛeof I thinke it néedefull to touch some part in as few woꝛds as I may. Foꝛ notwithstanding I haue small pleasure in opening such matters as may seeme odious, yet is it behoofeful foꝛ euery man to vnderstand of that thing that was counted so high and holy, what maner a thing it was, and what it contained.

First, the Pꝛiest in the Canon desireth God to blesse Chꝛists body, as though it were not sufficiently blessed already. Further he saith, that he offereth and pꝛesenteth vp Chꝛist vnto his father, which is an open blasphemy. Foꝛ contrariwise, Chꝛist pꝛesenteth vp vs, and maketh vs a swéet oblation in the sight of God his father.

Moꝛeouer, he desireth God so to accept the body of his sonne Jesus Chꝛist, as he once accepted the sacrifice of Abel, oꝛ the oblation of Melchisedech. It is knowen that Abel offered vp of the fruit of his flocke a lambe oꝛ a sheepe: and that Melchisedech offered vnto Abraham and his company, returning from the battell, bꝛead and wine. And thinke we that Chꝛist the Sonne of God standeth so farre in his Fathers displeasure, that he néedeth a moꝛtall and a miserable man to be his spokesman to pꝛocure him fauour? oꝛ thinke we that God receiueth the body of his only begotten Sonne no otherwise than he once receiued a sheepe oꝛ a lambe at the hands of Abel? oꝛ than Abraham receiued bꝛead and wine of Melchisedech? If no; Why then maketh the Pꝛiest this pꝛaier, in the Canon immediately after the consecration? *Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, & accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, & sacrificium Patriarchæ nostri Abraham, & quod tibi obtulit summus Sacerdos tuus Melchisedech.* That is to say, Loke downe with mercifull countenance vpon these Sacrifices, (that is, the body of Chꝛist thy Sonne, and the cup his blod) and vouchsafe to receiue them, as thou sometime vouchsafedst to receiue the oblations of thy child Abel the iust, and the Sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham and that thing that was offered vnto the by thy high Pꝛiest Melchisedech. Besides this he desireth God, that an angel may come and carry Chꝛists body away into heauen. This is the pꝛaier that he maketh: *Iube hæc perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum.* What a fable is this, that Chꝛist should be boꝛne vpon an Angell, and so carried vp away into heauen? I would not stand so long vpon these follies, if foꝛce dꝛaue me not thereunto. Theꝛefoꝛe I leaue to speake farther of the Canon, giuing you occasion by these few things, the better to iudge of the rest.

The fourth matter that remaineth to be touched, is the adoꝛation, a great matter full of danger, and full of ieopardy, and so much the moꝛe dangerous, foꝛ that it is an honour belonging onely vnto God, and yet without any warrant of Gods woꝛd. Chꝛist that best knew what ought to be done heꝛein, when he oꝛdained and deliuered the Sacrament of

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his body and bloud, gaue no commandement that any man ſhould fall downe to it, or worſhip it. Saint Paul that toke the Sacrament at Chriſts hand, and as he had taken it, deliuered it to the Corinthians, neuer willed adoration, or godly honour to be giuen vnto it. The old Doctours, and holy Fathers of the Church, Saint Cyprian, S. Chryſoſtome, S. Ambroſe, S. Hierom, S. Auguſtine, and others, that receiued the Sacrament at the Apoſtles hands, and as it may be thought, continued the ſame in ſuch ſort, as they had receiued it, neuer make mention in any of all their bookes of adoring or worſhipping of the Sacrament. It is a very new deuice, and as it is well knowen, came but lately into the Church.

About three hundred yeres paſt, Honorius being then Biſhop of *Rome*, commanded the Sacrament to be lifted vp, and the people reuerently to bow downe to it. After him, Vrbanus the fourth appointed a Holy day of *Corpus Chriſti*, and granted out large pardons to the keepers of it, that the people ſhould with better will reſort to the Church, and keepe it holy. This is the greateſt antiquity of the whole matter: about three hundred yeres agoe it was firſt found out, and put in practiſe; but Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, the holy Fathers in the Primitiue church, the Doctours that followed them, and other learned and godly men whatſoeuer for the ſpace of a thouſand and two hundred yeres after Chriſt, neuer heard of it. Once againe I ſay, for the ſpace of a thouſand and two hundred yeres after Chriſts aſcenſion into heauen, this worſhipping of the Sacrament was neuer knowen, or practiſed in any place within the whole Catholike Church of Chriſt throughout the whole world. But after it was once receiued and put in vſe, and the people began to worſhip the Sacrament with godly honour, the learned men, and Schole Doctours that then were, ſaw it could not ſtand without great danger, and confeſſed that the ignorant ſort thereby might ſone be led into Idolatry. Marke, I beſeech you, what I ſay, for I know, vnto ſome men it ſeemeth not poſſible that there may be any kind of danger in worſhipping the Sacrament of Chriſts body; and therefore ſome haue alleaged Saint Auguſtines words in this behalfe: *Nemo manducat niſi prius adoret*; No man eateth Chriſts body, but firſt he doth worſhip it. And againe; *Non peccamus adorando, ſed magis peccaremus non adorando*: We offend not in worſhiping the fleſh of Chriſt, but rather we ſhould offend, if we ſhould not worſhip it. But indeed the Schole-doctours, and learned men ſaw there might be danger in worſhipping the Sacrament, and therefore gaue warning of it.

Iohn Duns, and William Durand ſay thus, If there remained the ſubſtance of bread after conſecration, the people would therefore take occaſion of Idolatry, and in ſtead of Chriſt body, would giue godly worſhip vnto the bread; and therefore they thought it beſt to remoue away the bread, and to bring in Tranſubſtantiation, a word newly deuiſed, and neuer once heard, or ſpoken of, before the Councell of *Laterane*, holden at *Rome*, in the yere of our Lord 1215. But the old Doctours and Fathers which firſt planted the Church, and to whom more credit is to be giuen, write plainly, that in the Sacrament, after conſecration, there remaineth ſtill very bread and wine in nature and ſubſtance as before. And to alleage one or two in ſtead of many, S. Auguſtine ſaith in a Sermon *ad infantes*: *Quod videtis in menſa, panis eſt*: That thing that ye ſee vpon the table, is bread. Gelaſius alſo ſaith in like ſort: *Non deſinit eſſe ſubſtantia panis, vel natura vini, ſed manent in ſua proprietate naturæ*: It leaueth not to be the ſubſtance of bread, or the nature of wine, but they remaine in the property of their owne nature.

Theodoretus, an old Doctour of the Church, likewiſe ſaith: *Chriſtus ea ſymbola, quæ videntur, corporis & ſanguinis ſui appellations honorauit, non naturam tranſmutans, ſed naturæ addens gratiam*: Chriſt, ſaith Theodoretus, honoured the bread and wine which we ſee, with the names of his body and bloud, not changing the nature thereof, but vnto the ſame nature ioyning his grace. I know not what may be more clearely ſpoken. S. Auguſtine ſaith, it is bread: Gelaſius ſaith, it leaueth not to be the ſubſtance and nature of bread and wine: Theodoretus ſaith, Chriſt honoured the bread and wine with the natures of his body, and bloud, but yet changed not their nature. Thus the old godly Biſhops and Fathers of the Church, acknowledge, and affirme, that bread remaineth in the Sacrament after conſecration. But Duns, and Durand, and ſome others of the yong Fathers and Doctours ſay, If the people worſhip the Sacrament, and bread remaine, then muſt they needes be in great danger of Idolatry. Wherefore we may well conclude of them both, for as much as it is cleare by the old Doctours that bread remaineth, that the people reſorting to the Maſſe, and their worſhipping the Sacrament, muſt needes be in danger of Idolatry.

Farther they ſay, Idolatry may be done to the Sacrament, if a man happen to worſhip the accidents of the bread (that is to ſay,) the whitnes, or roundnes, or other ſuch outward

ward formes, or shewes of bread, as he seth with his eie, and giue the honour vnto that in stead of Christs body. O miserable people, that thus is led, to worship they know not what! For alas, how many of them vnderstand these distinctions, or care for them? How many of them vnderstand after what sort *accidentia* may be *sine subiecto*? Or how whitenesse is founded in the Sacrament? Or what is the difference betweene *substantia* and *accidens*? Or what Priest, when he went to Masse, euer taught the people to know these things, and to auoid the danger? Undoubtedly, I could neuer yet perceiue, by any reading, either of the Scriptures, or els of other prophane writings, but that the people of all ages hath euermore bene readier to receiue Idolatry, than to learne the distinctions and quiddities of Logike or Philosophy.

Thus we se, euen by the confession of Duns and Durand, and other their owne Doctours, that he that goeth to the Masse, and worshippeth the Sacrament, vnlesse he be learned, and take good heed, may sone commit Idolatry. The doctrine of it selfe is new, the prophet of it such, as the Church of God for the space of twelue hundred yeres was well able to be without it; the ieopardy of it great and horrible, and scarsely possible to be auoided. I speake not these things (good brethren) to the intent to spoile Christ of the honour that is due vnto him. I know, and confesse, that Christs blessed body is most worthy of all honour. I know that the flesh of the Sonne of God, is not therefore the lesse honourable, because it is now become glorious, and sitteth in heauen, at the right hand of God his Father. The body of Christ, sitting aboue all Heauens, is worshipped of vs, being here beneath in earth. Therefore the Priest at the Communion, before he enter into the holy mysteries, giueth warning vnto the people, to mount vp with their mindes into heauen, and crieth vnto them, *Sursum corda*: Lift vp your hearts; according to the doctrine
Coloss. 3. of Saint Paul, *Si vnà surrexistis cum Christo, eaque sursum sunt quærite, vbi Christus est sedens ad dextram patris*: If ye be risen againe with Christ, seke for those things that be aboue, where as Christ is sitting at the right hand of his Father. And againe: *Nostra*
Philip. 3. *conuersatio est in cœlis, vnde Saluatorem expectamus*: Our conuersation, or dwelling is in heauen, from whence we loke for our Sauiour. Therefore Saint Augustine spake the words that I before alleaged: *Nemo manducat nisi prius adoret*: No man eateth Christs flesh, but first he doth worship it. The eating thereof, and the worshipping must ioyne together. But where we eat it, there must we worship it: Therefore must we worship it sitting in Heauen. So saith the old Doctour and Father Saint Chrysostome: *Vbi cadauer, ibi aquilæ; Cadauer, domini corpus est: Aquilas autem nos appellat; vt ostendat, oportere illum ad alta contendere, qui ad hoc corpus accedit. Aquilarum enim non graculorum est hæc mensa.* That is to say, Wheresoeuer is the carcase, there be the Eagles: The carcase is Christs body: vs he calleth the Eagles; to declare, that, whosoeuer will approch nere to that body, must get aloft. For this is a banket for Eagles, that soare a high; not for Iayes, that kepe the ground. Christs body is in Heauen: Thither therefore must we direct our hearts: there must we feed: there must we refresh our selues: and there must we worship it.

Ad Hebidiam. So saith S. Hierom: *Ascendamus cum eo in cœnaculum magnum stratum: ibi accipiamus ab eo sursum calicem noui testamenti*: Let vs get vp, saith S. Hierom, with him into the great dining Chamber that is already prepared, and there let vs receiue of him aboue, the cup of the new Testament.

In Lucam Ca. 2. 4. So saith S. Ambrose: *Non super terram, nec in terra, nec secundùm terram requirere debemus, si volumus inuenire*: We may not seke for thē, neither vpon the earth, nor in the earth, nor about the earth, if we list to find thē. And to conclude, so saith Eusebius Emissenus: *Exaltata mente adora corpus Dei tui*: that is, Lifting vp thy mind vnto heauen, there worship and adore the body of thy God.

Thus did the old Catholike Fathers worship the body of Christ. Thus may we also worship it safely, and without perill.

But to giue Gods honour to the Sacrament, is a thing both lately brought into the Church, vnknowen and strange to the ancient Doctors; and as the Schoolemen, and the greatest maintainers of it haue themselues confessed, an occasion of Idolatry, and full of danger.

For what if the Priest happen not to consecrate? What if he leaue out the words of consecration, and neuer speake them? as it is knowen that some Priests haue done many yeres together. Or what if the Priest haue no intention or mind to consecrate? What case standeth the poore people then in? Or what thing is it that they worship? Christs body cannot be there without consecration: Consecration there can be none, as they themselues haue taught, if there misse either pronuntiation and vtterance of the words, or else purpose to consecrate and intention. And how can the people know, with what intention or

mind

minde the Prieſt goeth to the Maſſe? Or whether he hath duly pronounced the words? Or whether he hath conſecrated or no? And knowing none of theſe things, which in very deede is not poſſible for them to know, how can they be well aſſured, that it is the body of Chriſt that the Prieſt holdeth vp? and whereunto they fall downe, and giue godly honor? Thus, by their owne learning, the people muſt néeds ſtand ſtill in doubt, and neuer know certainly what they worſhip? O good people, thinke not that I imagine theſe things of my ſelfe. Our owne aduerſaries that ſtand againſt vs in this cauſe, euen the famouſt, and beſt learned of them all, haue ſéene, and written, and confeſſed the ſame.

Alexander, a Biſhop of *Rome*, writing vpon the Maſter of the Sentences, taketh vp the matter on this ſort: For as much as the Prieſts purpoſe, and his priuy doings about the conſecration cannot be knowen, that therefore no man ought to worſhip the Sacrament, when it is holden vp, but with this condition, *Si ille conſecrauerit*, that is, If the Prieſt hath conſecrated. That is to ſay; When ye ſée the Sacrament lifted vp, ye muſt ſay or thinke thus with your ſelfe; If this Prieſt hath conſecrated, then doe I worſhip it: If he hath not conſecrated, then doe I not worſhipt it. Thus ſaith Alexander a Biſhop of *Rome*.

But Thomas of Aquine leaueth the matter a litter more at large. He ſaith; *Iſta conditio non ſemper actu requiritur: ſatis eſt habere habitum*: That is to ſay, It ſhall not be needfull at euery time to ſay or to thinke thus whenſoeuer ye knéele downe to worſhip: but it ſhall be ſufficient if ye haue a certaine readines in your mind to ſay or to thinke ſo. Yet Holcot, writing likewiſe vpon the Maſter of the Sentences, ſaith thus: *Laicus adorat hoſtiam non conſecratam: iſta fides ſufficit illi ad ſaluationem: tamen eſt erronea.* The lay man, ſaith he, as it may ſometimes happen, worſhippeth a wafer that is not conſecrate: this faith is ſufficient vnto him to his ſaluation, and yet is it a falſe faith, and erroneus. And farther he concludeth in this ſort: *Homo poteſt mereri per fidem erroneam; etiamſi contingat, vt adoret diabolum.* By theſe words, we may ſée, ſuch as will not content themſelues to be ordered by Gods wiſdome, how dangerouſly they runne headlong at the laſt.

Holcot was not the worſt learned man amongſt them, yet to vphold the errour that he had once taken in hand to defend, he was driuen to confeſſe, that a man may méede at Gods hand by an erroneous and falſe faith, yea although he worſhip the Diuell.

This is the certainty of the doctrine that the people of God of long time hath béene led in. In the higheſt and heauenlieſt point of religion, that is, in the worſhipping of God, they themſelues know not what they doe. It is true of them that Chriſt ſaith to the woman of *Samaria*, Ye worſhip ye know not what.

Alas, is this the honour that is due to Chriſt? Is this the worſhipping of God in ſpirit and truth? Is this the ſeeking of Chriſt in heauen? But ſome man will ſay, Theſe be triſling and light matters, and proue nothing. Such reports, I know are giuen abroad of all that is preached and taught this day, that whatſoeuer is ſpoken by any of vs, is light, and childiſh, and not worth the hearing. But the reporters hereof are they, to whom the authority of the old Doctours, the authority of the Primitiue church, the authority of the Scriptures, the authority of Chriſt himſelfe ſeemeth light, and not greatly worth the hearing.

Loth I am héere to rip vp, and to open vnto you the high myſteries, and ſecrets of their learning, and the force and ſtrength of their reaſons. Yet at this time the importunity of them forceth me ſo to doe, that after ye haue once taken aſwell ſome taſte of their argments, as ye haue of ours, ye may the better, and more indifferently iudge of both. And let not them that priuily and vntruly find fault with our reaſons be agréeued if they heare openly and truely ſomewhat of their owne. And firſt to begin with the head, marke ye well and waigh this argument. God made two lights in heauen, the greater light to rule the day, the leſſe light to rule the night: *Ergo*, there be two powers to rule the world, the Pope, that reſembleth the Sun, and the Emperor, that is faireſſe than he, and is likened vnto the Mone. And how much the Emperour is leſſe, the gloſſe declareth by Mathematicall computation, ſaying, that the Earth is ſeuen times greater than the Mone, and the Sunne eight times greater than the Earth: So followeth it, that the Popes dignity is fiue and fifty times greater than the dignity of the Emperour. This is an argument of theirs, vſed by Innocentius Tertius, vnto the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*: *In principio creauit Deus cœlum & terram, non in principijs*: God created Heauen and Earth in the beginning, as in one, not in the beginnings, as in many: *Ergo*, the Pope hath the ſouraigntie ouer all Kings and Princes. This is an argument alſo of theirs vſed by Pope Bonifacius the eight: *Extra de maioritate & obedientia: vnam ſanctam. Cum tranſierit ad Dominum tolletur velamen*: That is, When the Infidell ſhall come to Chriſt, the veile of darkneſſe ſhall be taken from his heart: *Ergo*, he that becommeth a Prieſt, muſt

De Maiori. & obed. cap. ſolitæ & in gloſ. ibidem.

shaue his crowne. This is an argument of theirs, to be found in Isidorus. There is but one only God: *Ergo*, all nations throughout the world must pray to him in one tongue. This is an argument of theirs, made by Gerson sometime Chancellour of *Paris*. *Ecce duo gladij hic*: Behold here be two swords: *Ergo*, the Bishop of *Rome* hath power of both swords, both spirituall, and temporall. This is an argument of theirs used by Bonifacius the eight; *Extra de maioritate, & obedientia*, as aboue. The Bishop of *Rome* graunteth out Pardons: *Ergo*, there must needes be a Purgatory. This is an argument of

Esa. 52. theirs used by Iohn Fisher Bishop of *Rochester*; *Euntes docete omnes gentes*: Goe and teach all nations. And againe: *Quàm speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem, euangelizantium bona!* O, how beautifull be the feete of them that preach peace, of them that preach good

Ephes. 6. things! And againe: *Calciati pedes in præparationem Euangelij pacis*: Hauing your feet shod to the preparation of the Gospell of peace: *Ergo*, the Bishop must weare purple sandales. *Aspergam super vos aquam mundam*: I will sprinkle vpon you cleane water: *Ergo*, the Priest must sprinkle the people with holy water. *Sine me nihil potestis facere*: Without me you can doe nothing: *Ergo*, the Bishop onely must consecrate the Church, and no man else. All these, with a number more of the like, be their arguments, used by William Durand in his *Rationali diuinorum*. But let vs come nere, and see the arguments whereupon the Masse is built: *Nolite sancta dare canibus*: Giue not holy things to dogs: *Ergo*, the Priest at Masse, and other where, may not speake to the people, but in a strange tongue. The title of Christs death was written vpon the Crosse in Greeke, Hebrew, and Latine: *Ergo*, all common prayers in the Church must be used in one of the same tongues, that is, either in Greeke, or in Hebrew, or in Latine. These arguments haue been used by many, deuised first, as may be thought, by Master Eckius.

Christ was buried in a shroud of linnen cloth: *Ergo*, the Corporall must be made of fine linnen. This argument may be found in Sylueſter.

Many of the lay people haue the palsey, and many haue long beards: *Ergo*, they must all receiue the Communion vnder one kind. This is a common argument, used in maner by all them that haue written in this behalfe: *Petra erat Christus*: Christ was the rocke: *Ergo*, the altar must be made of stone.

Domini est terra, & plenitudo eius: The Earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse therof. And, *Veritas tua in circuitu tuo*: Thy truth is in thy compasse. The money for which Iudas sold Christ was round: *Ergo*, the Host or the Sacramentall bread must be round. *Calix aureus Babylon in manu mea*: Babylon is a cup of Gold in my hand, saith the Lord: *Ergo*, the chalice must be of siluer or gold. This is an argument of theirs used by Master William Durand. When Virgill saith, *Cum faciam vitula*, he useth *facere*, for *sacrificare*. That is, he useth this word doing, for this word sacrificing: *Ergo*, when Christ said to his Disciples, *Hoc facite in mei memoriam*, Do this in remembrance of me, he meant, sacrifice this in the remembrance of me. This argument is fashioned out by M. Clitouey. And to be short, the Angell looked into the graue: *Ergo*, the Priest must take off the paten, & looke into the Chalice. Pilate washed his hands before the people: *Ergo*, the Priest must likewise wash his hands when he is at Masse. Iudas kissed Christ: *Ergo*, the Priest must kisse the Altar. The theefe on the Crosse repented himselfe of his wicked life: *Ergo*, the Priest at Masse must fetch a sigh, and knocke his breast. These, and other like be their reasons, and whoso liketh to see them, may find them, and other more as good as these in William Durand. Now good people, iudge ye in your conscience indifferently, vs both, whither of vs bringeth you the better and sounder arguments. We bring you nothing but Gods holy word, which is a sure rocke to build vpon, and will neuer fleet, or shrinke. And therefore are we able truly to say with S. Paul, *Quod accepimus à Domino, hoc tradidimus vobis*: We haue deliuered vnto you the same things that we haue receiued of the Lord.

For concerning the last matter that I promised to touch, it cannot be denied by any man be he neuer so wilful, but Christ in his last Supper ordeined a Communion, & shewed no manner token of a priuate Masse, as may plainly appeare both by the words that he spake, and also by the order of his doings. For he toke the bread, brake it, diuided it, and gaue it to his disciples, and said, Eat ye all hereof, not vnto one alone, but vnto the whole. He said farther, by way of charge, Do this: that is to say, Practise this that I haue here done, and that in such forme and sort, as ye haue seene me doe it.

S. Paul likewise, when he saw that the vse of the Sacrament was growen to disorder, that euery man toke his owne supper priuately to himselfe, and that thereby, both the holy Communion, and also brotherly loue and vnity was despised, as it hath been in the West part of the Church, now a great many of yeares, in this latter times, he called them backe againe, to the beginning thereof, and to the institution of Christ, as giuing them thereby to vnderstand, that the Sacrament cannot be better vsed, than

Christ

Christ himselfe vsed it. Thus he saith: *Cum conueneritis in vnum locum, non potestis dominicam cœnam manducare; vnusquisque enim præsumit cœnam suam*: When ye resort together into one place, ye cannot eat the Lords Supper; for euery one of you eateth his owne supper afore hand. Therefore he saith vnto them; *Alter alterum expectate*: Tary ye and wait one for another, and so receiue the holy Communion all together. For this is it that I deliuered vnto you, and the same selfe thing I receiued of the Lord.

Here haue I briefly shewed the disorder of the priuate Masse, by the first institution of the Sacrament, and by the commandement and authority of S. Paul. Now will I, by Gods grace, also declare, and open the same, by the examples, and whole practise of the Primitiue Church, and by the ancient Doctours, and other learned Fathers that followed after the Apostles time, for the space of six hundred yeres, or more; and I trust, ye shall clerely see, that for so long time, there was no priuat Masse in the Catholike Church of Christ in any country or coast throughout the world. For all the writers that were within the compasse of that time, haue left behind them witnesse sufficient of a Communion; but not one of them all could euer tell vs of any priuate Masse.

Clemens, who, as they say, was Scholar to S. Peter, writeth thus in an Epistle to Saint Iames: *Tot in altare holocausta offerantur, quot populo sufficere debeant*: Let there be so many hostes offered vpon the altar, as may be sufficient for the people to receiue.

Dionysius an ancient writer, and, as some haue thought, disciple vnto S. Paul, (although the contrary may appeare plainly by his owne words) in a little booke that he hath made of the whole order of the Church in his time, setting forth the maner of the Lords Supper, writeth thus: *Tum Sacerdos ad sacram communionem, & ipse conuertitur, & reliquos, vt vna communicent hortatur*: that is, The Priest both turneth himselfe to the Communion, and also exhorteth the rest to communicate, and receiue with him.

And farther he saith: *Sumpta demum atque omnibus tradita communione diuina, gratias referrens, finem mysterijs imponit*: that is, The Priest, when he hath receiued himselfe, and deliuered the holy Communion to all the people, giueth God thankes, and maketh an end of the mysteries. Hitherto we find plaine tokens of a Communion, but not one word of the priuate Masse.

Iustinus Martyr, in his Apology, or defence of the Christian faith, sheweth in what sort the Lords Supper was vsed in his time. *Diaconus* (saith he) *hortatur populum, vt illorum, quæ proposita sunt, velint esse participes*: that is, The Deacon exhorteth the people, that they will be partakers of those things that be laid forth before them.

Farther he saith: *Diaconi distribuunt, ad participandum præsentium vnicuique, ex consecrato pane, & vino & aqua: illis verò, qui non adsunt, deferunt domum*: that is, The Deacons deliuer of the consecrate bread and wine and water, to euery one that is there present. And if there be any away, they carry it home to them. Here also we find a Communion, but no priuate Masse.

S. Ambrose rebuketh his people that were then growen negligent in receiuing the Lords Supper, and vsed to excuse the matter for that they thought themselues not worthy. *Si non es dignus quotidie, ergo nec semel dignus es in toto anno*: If thou be not worthy, saith S. Ambrose, euery day, then art thou not worthy once in a yere.

And againe, the same S. Ambrose expounding these words of S. Paul, *Alius alium expectate*, writeth thus: *Expectationem dicit, vt multorum oblatio simul celebretur, & omnibus ministretur*: that is, he commandeth them to tary one for another, that the oblation of many may be celebrate, or done together, and so be ministred vnto them all. These words also sauour altogether of a Communion, and nothing of a priuate Masse.

S. Hierom, S. Augustine, and the Ecclesiasticall history witnesseth, that vntill that time commonly euery where (but specially in *Rome*) the people vsed to communicate euery day. Leo writing vnto Dioscorus the Bishop of *Alexandria*, gaue him this aduise, that where the Church was so little that it was not able to receiue all the whole people to communicate all together; then the Priest should ministre two or three Communions in one day, that as the people came in, and had once filled the Church, so they should receiue the Communion, and afterward giue place to others.

S. Hierom, writing vpon the eleuenth Chapter of the first to the Corinthians, hath these words: *Cœna dominica omnibus debet esse communis, quia ille omnibus discipulis suis qui aderant, æqualiter tradidit sacramenta*: that is, The Supper of the Lord must be common to all the people, for Christ gaue his Sacraments to all his disciples, that were present. I leaue out other authorities for shortnes sake; for it would be too long to say asmuch herein as might be said. All these holy Doctours, and godly Fathers, giue vs most perfit euidence of a Communion, without mention making of any priuate Masse.

Thus the Catholike Church of Christ vsed the holy Communion at the beginning.

And euen thus, the moſt part of Chriſtian people, throughout the whole world, the *Indians*, the *Mauritanians*, the *Egyptians*, the *Perſians*, the *Arabians*, the *Armenians*, the *Grecians*, and as many as beare the name of Chriſt, haue kept and continued the ſame amongſt themſelues, from the firſt time they receiued the Goſpell, vntill this day: And neuer receiued, or vſed the Priuate Maſſe.

But what better witneſſe may we vſe in this behalfe, than the very Maſſe-booke it ſelfe which is the rule and direction of the Maſſe? If the Maſſe-booke it ſelfe beare witneſſe againſt the Priuate Maſſe, then I truſt our cauſe ſhal appeare ſomewhat better than it hath bene taken heretofore.

Firſt by the way, before I enter nere into the matter, the prayers that be vſed in the Maſſe, be common, aſwell to the people, as to the Prieſt. The Prieſt ſaith, *Oremus*, Let vs pray, and ſo goeth forth in his Collect; and at the end thereof the whole people by the Maſſe-booke are taught to ſay, Amen. The Prieſt ſaith, The Lord be with you; the people by the Maſſe-booke is taught to anſwer, And with thy ſpirit. The Prieſt ſaith, Lift vp your hearts; the people by the Maſſe-booke ſhould anſwer, We lift them vp to the Lord. The Prieſt turneth him to the people, and ſaith, *Orate pro me fratres, & ſorores*: Pray for me brothers, and ſiſters. And, by the very order of the Maſſe-booke, the people ſhould know what he ſaith, and at his requeſt ſhould pray for him. Hereby we ſee, that whatſoeuer prayers be vſed about the miniſtration of the Sacrament, ought to be the common requeſts of all the people. Therefore ſaith Iuſtinus, an old godly Father, and a holy Martyr: *Vbi gratias egit præpoſitus, vniuerſus populus acclamat, Amen.* That is, When the Prieſt hath giuen thankes, the whole people ſay, Amen. And Chryſoſtome likewiſe ſaith: *Ne mireris, ſi populus in myſteriis noſtris, cum Sacerdote colloquatur*: Marueil not, ſaith Chryſoſtome, though the people and the Prieſt, in our myſteries, talke together. For in the common prayers that be vſed about the miniſtration, the Prieſt and the people both in voice and heart ſhould ioyne together: and when the Prieſt hath once done the Conſecration, and the people ſhould at his hand receiue the Communion, the Maſſe booke it ſelfe biddeth him to breake the bread in three parts: and thereof haue idle heads of late time phanſied out many myſticall follies: as though one part thereof were offered for them that be in Heauen: the other for them, that, they ſay, be in Purgatorie: the third for them that be aliue. Theſe be fantaſies, and verie follies, without any ground either of the holie Scriptures, or of the Doctors, or of the old Catholike Church. But in verie deed, the breaking and diuiding of the bread is a remainent of the true, and the old Communion, that was in vſe in the time of the Doctors of the Church, and of the holy Catholike Fathers; for to that end the bread is broken, that it may be diuided among the people, and therefore the Supper of the Lord is called, *Fractio Panis*, that is, The breaking of bread.

Moreouer, the Prieſt by the Maſſe-booke is taught to ſay, *Accipite, edite*, Take ye, eat ye. And, *Habete vinculum charitatis, vt apti ſitis ſacroſanctis myſteriis*: That is, Haue ye the band of charitie, that ye may be meet for the holie myſteries. And to whom ſhall we thinke the Prieſt ſpeaketh theſe words? It were too vaine a thing for him in the open congregation, to ſpeake to himſelfe, and ſpeciallie in the plurall number. Yet were it a great deale more vaine for him, to ſpeake the ſame words, to the bread and wine, and to ſay vnto them, Take ye, eat ye, or haue ye the band of charity, that ye may be meet for the holy myſteries. Therefore it is euident, that theſe words ſhould be ſpoken to the people, and that in ſuch ſort, as they might well vnderſtand them, and prepare themſelues to the Communion.

And to conclude, the Prieſt by his owne Maſſe-booke is bidden to ſay theſe words immediately after the *Agnus Dei*: *Hæc ſacroſancta commixtio, & conſecratio corporis, & ſanguinis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, fiat mihi & omnibus ſumentibus, ſalus mentis, & corporis.* That is to ſay, This commixtion and conſecration of the bodie and bloud of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be vnto me, and to all that receiue it, health of bodie and ſoule. Thus in the Maſſe-booke it ſelfe, which, as I ſaid afore, is the very rule and direction of the Maſſe, if it were vſed accordinglie, we finde a Communion for the whole congregation to receiue together, and no priuate Maſſe. Perhaps there may be ſome that will ſay, We grant theſe things be ſpoken of the communion in the old Doctors: but there be as many things or mo ſpoken by them of the priuate Maſſe, and all that you diſſemble and paſſe by.

I know, ſuch replies haue bene made by diuers: But, good brethren, I will make it plaine vnto you through Gods grace, by the moſt ancient writers that were in and after the Apoſtles time, and by the order of the firſt Primitiue church, that then there could be no priuate Maſſe, and that whoſo would not communicate with the Prieſt, was then commanded out of the congregation. In the Canons of the Apoſtles, there is a decree made againſt all ſuch as would be preſent at the communion, and yet not receiue the ſacrament:

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the words be theſe: *Fideles qui in Eccleſiam ingrediuntur, & Scripturas audiunt, & communionem ſanctam non recipiunt, tanquam eccleſiaſticæ pacis perturbatores, à communione arceantur*: That is, Such Chriſtian men as come to the Church, and heare the Scriptures, and receiue not the holy Communion, let them be excommunicated, as men that diſquiet the whole Church.

Calixtus a Biſhop of *Rome*, not long after the Apoſtles time, giueth out the like commandement in the ſame behalfe: His words be theſe: *Peracta conſecratione, omnes communicent, qui noluerint carere eccleſiaſticis liminibus: ſic enim Apoſtoli ſtatuerunt, & ſancta Romana tenet eccleſia*: That is, When the conſecration is done, let euery man receiue the Communion, vnleſſe he will be put off from the entry of the Church: For this thing haue the Apoſtles ordeined, and the holy church of *Rome* continueth the ſame. Saint Chryſoſtome, vpon the Epiſtle of Saint Paul to the *Epheſians*, ſharply rebuketh the people, for refraining the holy Communion. Thus he ſaith: *Non eſt dignus communione: ergo nec precibus: Qua ratione preces dicit, Abite; tu vero impudenter perſtas*. Thou wilt ſay (ſaith Saint Chryſoſtome) that thou art not worthy to receiue the Communion. Then art thou not worthy to be preſent at the common prayers. The Deacon ſaith vnto you that will not communicate, Get you hence: and yet thou like an impudent man ſtandeſt ſtill.

Saint Gregory in his Dialogues, ſhewed the maner of the Communion in his time, to the like purpoſe: *Diaconus clamat, Si quis non communicat, exeat, & locum cedat alteri*: The Deacon, ſaith Saint Gregory, ſpeaketh out aloud; Who ſo will not Communicate, let him depart away and giue place to others. This was the order of the old time: The Deacon gaue warning to the people: *Exeunto catechumeni: Exeunto pœnitentes*: Let ſuch as be yong nouices in the faith goe forth: let ſuch as are in their penance goe forth. That they that might not communicate with the reſt, ſhould depart from the Church, and not be preſent at the Communion. And this order continued ſtill, vntill the time of Saint Gregory, which was ſix hundred yeares after Chriſt. Who was there then that conſecrated the bread and wine, and receiued altogether to himſelfe alone? where then was the priuat Maſſe? where then was the ſingle Communion all this while?

Yet are there ſome that whiſper in corners, that the Maſſe is a bleſſed and a Catholike thing, and that the holy Communion, which now God of his great mercie hath reſtored to vs, is wicked and ſchiſmaticall, and therefore they murmur againſt it, therefore they refraine it, and will not come to it.

O mercifull God, who would thinke there could be ſo much wilfulneſſe in the heart of man! O Gregory! O Auguſtine! O Hierome! O Chryſoſtome! O Leo! O Dionyſe! O Anacletus! O Sixtus! O Paul! O Chriſt! If we be deceiued herein, yet are they that haue deceiued vs. You haue taught vs theſe ſchiſmes and diuiſions, yea haue taught vs theſe hereſies.

Thus ye ordred the holy Communion in your time, the ſame we receiued at your hand, and haue faithfully deliuered it vnto the people. And that ye may the more marueil at the wilfulneſſe of ſuch men, they ſtand this day againſt ſo many old Fathers, ſo many Doctors, ſo many examples of the Primitiue Church, ſo manifeſt and ſo plaine words of the holy Scriptures, and yet haue they herein, not one Father, not one Doctor, not one allowed example of the Primitiue Church to make for them. And when I ſay, no one, I ſpeake not this in vehemency of ſpirit, or heat of talke, but euen as before God, by the way of ſimplicitie and truth, leſt any of you ſhould happily be deceiued, and thinke there is more waight in the other ſide, than in concluſion there ſhall be found. And therefore once againe I ſay; Of all the words of the holy Scriptures; of all the examples of the Primitiue Church; of all the old Fathers; of all the ancient Doctors; in theſe cauſes they haue not one.

Here the matter it ſelfe that I haue now in hand, putteth me in remembrance of certaine things that I vttered vnto you, to the ſame purpoſe, at my laſt being in this place. I remember I laid out then, here before you, a number of things that are now in controuerſie, whereunto our aduerſaries will not yeld. And I ſaid, perhaps boldly, as it might then ſeeme to ſome man; but as I my ſelfe, and the learned of our aduerſaries themſelues doe well know, ſincerely and truely, That none of all them, that this day ſtand againſt vs, are able, or ſhall euer be able to proue againſt vs, any one of all theſe points, either by the Scriptures, or by example of the Primitiue church, or by the old Doctors, or by the ancient generall Councels.

Since that time it hath beene reported in places, that I ſpake then more than I was able to iuſtifie and make good. Howbeit, theſe reports were onely made in corners, and therefore ought the leſſe to trouble me. But if my ſayings had been ſo weake, and might ſo eaſily haue beene reproued, I marueil that the parties neuer yet came to the light, to take

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the aduantage. For my promise was, and that openly here before you all; That if any man were able to proue the contrary, I would yeld and subscribe to him; and he should depart with the victory. Loath I am to trouble you with rehersall of such things as I haue spoken afore; and yet because the case so requireth, I shall desire you that haue already heard me, to beare the more with me in this behalfe. Better it were to trouble your eares with twice hearing of one thing, than to betray the truth of God. The words that I then spake, as neere as I can call them to minde, were these: If any learned man of all our aduersaries, or if all the learned men that be aliue, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholike Doctor, or Father; Or out of any old generall Councell; Or out of the holy Scriptures of God; Or any one example of the Primitiue Church, whereby it may be clerely and plainly proued that there was any priuate Masse in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred yeares after Christ: Or that there was then any Communion ministred vnto the people vnder one kind: Or that the people had their Common Praiers then in a strange tongue, that they vnderstood not: Or that the Bishop of *Rome* was then called an vniuersall Bishop, or the head of the vniuersall Church: Or that the people was then taught to beleeue that Christs body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally or naturally in the Sacrament: Or that his body is, or may be in a thousand places, or moe, at one time: Or that the Priest did then hold vp the Sacrament ouer his head: Or that the people did then fall downe and worship it with godly honour: Or that the Sacrament was then, or now ought to be hanged vp vnder a canopie: Or that in the Sacrament after the words of consecration there remaineth only the accidents and shewes without the substance of bread and wine: Or that the Priest then diuided the Sacrament in three parts, and afterward receiued himselfe all alone: Or that whosoeuer had said the Sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christs body, had therefore beene iudged for an heretike: Or that it was lawfull then to haue xxx. xx. xv. x. or v. Masses said in one Church, in one day: Or that Images were then set vp in the Churches, to the intent the people might worship them: Or that the lay people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their owne tongue. If any man aliue were able to proue any of these articles, by any one clere or plaine clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures, or of the old Doctours, or of any old generall Councell, or by any example of the Primitiue Church: I promised then that I would giue ouer and subscribe vnto him.

These words are the very like, I remember, I spake here openly before you all. And these be the things that some men say, I haue spoken and cannot iustifie. But I for my part will not onely not call in any thing that I than said, (being well assured of the truth therein) but also will lay more matter to the same: That if they that seeke occasion, haue any thing to the contrary, they may haue the larger scope to reply against me.

Wherefore, besides all that I haue said already, I will say further, and yet nothing so much as might be said. If any one of all our aduersaries be able clerely and plainly to proue by such authority of the Scriptures, the old Doctors, and Councels, as I said before, that it was then lawfull for the Priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely and in silence to him selfe: Or that the Priest had then authority to offer vp Christ vnto his Father: Or to communicate and receiue the Sacrament for another as they doe: Or to apply the vertue of Christs death and passion, to any man by the meane of the Masse: Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine, to teach the people, that the Masse *ex opere operato*, that is, euen for that it is said and done, is able to remoue any part of our sinne: Or that then any Christian man called the Sacrament his Lord and God: Or that the people was then taught to beleeue that the body of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament as long as the accidents of the bread remaine there without corruption: Or that a mouse or any other worme or beast, may eat the body of Christ: (for so some of our aduersaries haue said and taught) Or that when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this word, *Hoc* pointeth not the bread, but *Individuum vagum*, as some of them say: Or that the accidents, or formes, or shewes, or bread and wine, be the Sacraments of Christs body and blod, and not rather the very bread and wine it selfe: Or that the Sacrament is a signe or token of the body of Christ that lieth hidden vnderneath it: Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true deuotion and obedience: These be the highest mysteries, and greatest keies of their Religion, and without them their doctrine can neuer be maintained and stand vpright. If any one of all our aduersaries be able to auouch any one of all these articles, by any such sufficient authority of Scriptures, Doctors, or Councels, as I haue required, as I said before, so say I now againe, I am content to yeld vnto him, and to subscribe. But I am well assured that they shall neuer be able truely to alleage one sentence. And because I know it, therefore I speake it, lest ye happily should be deceiued.

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All this notwithſtanding ye haue heard men in times paſt alleage vnto you Counſels, Doctors, antiquities, ſucceſſions, and long continuance of time, to the contrary. And an eaſie matter it was ſo to doe, ſpecially before them, that lacke either leaſure, or iudgement, to examine their proofes. On a time Mithridates, the king of *Pontus*, laid ſiege to *Cyzicum*, a towne ioyned in friendſhip to the Citie of Rome. Which thing the Romans hearing, made out a gentleman of theirs, named Lucullus, to raiſe the ſiege. After that Lucullus was within the ſight of the towne, and ſhewed himſelfe with his company vpon the ſide of an hill, thence to giue courage to the Citizens within, that were beſieged: Mithridates to caſt them into deſpaire, and to cauſe them the rather to yeeld to him, made it to be noiſed, and bare them in hand, that all that new company of ſouldiers was his, ſent for purpoſely by him, againſt the Citie. All that notwithſtanding, the Citizens within kept the walles, and yeelded not. Luculls came on, raiſed the ſiege, vanquiſhed Mithridates, and ſlew his men. Euen ſo, good people, is there now a ſiege laid to your walles, an army of Doctors and Councels ſhew themſelues vpon an hill; the aduerſary that would haue you yeeld, beareth you in hand, that they are their ſouldiers and ſtand on their ſide. But keepe your hold, the Doctours and old Catholike Fathers, in the points that I haue ſpoken of, are yours, ye ſhall ſee the ſiege raiſed, ye ſhall ſee your aduerſaries diſcomfeited, and put to flight. The Pelagians were able to alleage Saint Auguſtine, as for themſelues; yet when the matter came to proofe, he was againſt them. Heluidius was able to alleage Tertullian, as making for himſelfe; but in triall he was againſt him.

Eutyches alleaged Iulius Romanus for himſelfe; yet indeed was Iulius moſt againſt him. The ſame Eutyches, alleaged for himſelfe, Athanaſius, and Cyprian; but in concluſion they ſtood both againſt him. Neſtorius alleaged the Councell of *Nice*, yet was the ſame Councell found againſt him.

Euen ſo they that haue aduanced themſelues of Doctours and Councels, and continuance of time in any of theſe points, when they ſhal be called to triall to ſhew their proofes, they ſhall open their hands and finde nothing. I ſpeake not this of arrogancy, (thou Lord knoweſt it beſt, that knoweſt all things): but for aſmuch as it is Gods cauſe and the truth of God, I ſhould doe God great iniury if I ſhould conceale it. But to returne againe to our matter. There be ſome that ſay, that no Maſſe is priuate, or to be taken as the action of one priuate man. For they ſay, the Prieſt that ſaith Maſſe here, doth communicate with another Prieſt that ſaith Maſſe ſome other where, whereſoeuer it be, the diſtance being neuer ſo great. This commiſſion ſemeth very large. For ſo may the Prieſt that ſaith Maſſe in *England* or *Scotland*, communicate with the Prieſt that is in *Calicute*, or in the farthermoſt part of *India*. And by this meanes ſhould there be no excommunication at all, for the partie excommunicate might ſay, he would communicate with the Prieſt whether he would or no. But Saint Paul gloſſeth not the matter on this ſort, but ſaith: *Alter alterum expectate*: That is, Tarry ye one for another. And againe he ſaith; When ye come together, ye cannot eat the Lords Supper, for euery one of you taketh his owne ſupper afore hand.

Some others ſay, the Prieſt may communicate for the people, and that is as meritorious vnto them, as if they had communicated themſelues. But what commiſſion hath the Prieſt ſo to doe? or from whom? or what certaine knowledge hath he, that his receiuing of the Communion ſhall be auaileable for the people? for if it be ſo, what needed it then Chriſt to ſay, *Accipite, bibite ex hoc omnes?* Or if we may receiue the Sacrament of Chriſts body one for another, why may not we aſwell be baptiſed one for another? Why may we not aſwell confeſſe our faults before the congregation, and receiue abſolution one for another? Why may we not heare the Goſpell, and beleeue one for another? O that theſe follies, ſo weake and ſo vaine, without ſhew or ſhadow of any truth, ſhould euer ſinke into a Chriſtian heart, or take place in Gods religion! Saint Paul ſaith: *Qui manducat, & bibit indigne, iudicium ſibi manducat, & bibit*: Whoſo eateth or drinketh vnworthily, eateth and drinketh iudgement, not vnto others (ſaith Saint Paul) but to himſelfe. Againe, Saint Paul ſaith, whoſe beleeueth in him that iuſtifieth the wicked, not the faith of any other man, but his owne faith is reckned to him vnto iuſtice. Saint Chryſoſtome ſaith; It is the hereſie of the Marcionites, to thinke that any one man may receiue the Sacrament for another, and therefore hee maketh light of ſuch diſorder of the Sacraments, and calleth them *Sacramenta vicaria*. Origen ſaith: *Ille eſt Sacerdos & propitiatio, & hoſtia. Eſt enim Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi: Quæ propitiatio ad vnumquemque venit, per viam fidei*: He is our Prieſt, ſaith Origen, he is our attonement, he is our ſacrifice. For he is the lambe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. Which attonement, (ſaith he) commeth vnto vs, (not by the application of the Maſſe,) but by the way of faith.

Saint Auguſtine likewiſe ſaith: *Si non obliuiſcimur mundi ſaluatoris, quotidie nobis Chriſtus immolatur.*

immolatur. Ex ipsis reliquis cogitationis, id est, ex memoria, Christus nobis quotidie immolatur:
If we forget not the Sauiour of the world, Christ is euery day sacrificed vnto vs. Euen by the remainants of our cogitations, that is, by our remembrance of his death, Christ is made a sacrifice vnto vs euery day. It is not therefore neither the faith, neither the doing of the Priest, but our owne doing, and our owne faith, that applieth vnto vs the vertue and merits of Christs death. Some other say, that Saint Peter said Masse at *Rome*, and Saint Iames at *Hierusalem*. And why say they not rather, that Christ himselfe said Masse? for that were the nere way to bring the Masse into credit. Or why say they not sooner, that Aaron and his Chaplains said Masse? For indeed, as it hath bene vsed, the church hath had much more of the robes, of the ceremonies, and of the Sacrifices of Aaron, than of the institution or ordinance of Christ. But this haue men told you, and with such things, as they haue found out themselues, they haue infeoffed and fathered the Apostles of Christ. So commonly, coniurers and sorcerers make their vaunts, that they haue all their bookes and their cunning from Athanasius, from Moses, from Able, from Adam, from Raphael the Archangell.

Thus the people of God is deceiued and mocked, and in stead of pretious stones, driuen to take cuonterfets. For I assure you, brethren, in the time of Peter and Iames, neither was there any man that euer heard the name of Masse (for *Missa* was neuer named vntil foure hundred yeres after Christ: And yet then was it no priuate Masse neither, but a Communion) nor yet were the peces and parts of the Masse, as we in our time haue sene them set together. And what Masse could that be, that as yet had neither her owne name nor her parts? But forasmuch as they affirme so constantly that S. Iames said Masse at *Hierusalem*, and whatsoeuer it were that he said, will nedes haue it called by the name of a Masse; let vs compare their Masse & S. Iames Masse both together. S. Iames said his Masse in the common tongue, as the people might vnderstand him: They say their Masse in a strange Latine tongue that the people should not know what they meane. S. Iames spake out the words of consecration distinctly & plainly: They in their Masse suppresse the same words and kep them close. S. Iames in his Masse ministred the Communion vnto the people: They in their Masse receiue themselues all alone. S. Iames in his Masse ministred the Sacrament vnto the people vnder both kinds: They in their Masse minister the Sacrament vnto the people in one kind onely. S. Iames in his Masse preached and set forth the death of Christ: They in their Masse haue only a number of dumbe gestures and ceremonies, which they themselues vnderstand not, and make no manner mention of Christs death. S. Iames Masse was full of knowledge: Their Masse is full of ignorance. S. Iames Masse was full of consolation: Their Masse is full of superstition. When S. Iames said Masse, the people resorted to receiue the Sacrament: When they say Masse, the people resorteth to loke vpon onely, and to behold the Sacrament. And to conclude, S. Iames in his Masse had Christs institution: They in their Masse haue welnere nothing else but mans inuention.

Such difference ye may se betwene Saint Iames Masse and theirs. O that Saint Paul were now aliue and saw the behauiour and order of the Priest at their Masse! Thinke ye that he would take it and account it for the Lords Supper? When he had espied, but one fault in the holy Communion amongst the Corinthians, straightway he rebuked them, and called them backe to Christs institution. This (saith he) I receiued of the Lord, and the same I gaue ouer vnto you.

But if he saw the disorder that we haue sene, would he not be moued asmuch against vs now, as he was sometime against the Corinthians? Would he not pull vs backe to the institution of Christ, as he did them? Would he not say vnto vs; Did I euer teach you to minister the holy Communion in a strange language? Did I euer teach you to receiue the Communion priuately to your selues alone, and so to disdaine and to despise your brethren? Did I euer teach you to minister the Communion to the people in one kinde? Did I euer teach you to say Masse or to receiue the Sacrament for the people? Did I euer teach you the idle follies of your canon? Did I ever teach you to offer vp the Sonne of God vnto his Father? Did I euer teach you any other propitiatory sacrifice for sinne, than that Christ once offered vpon the Crosse? Did I euer teach you to minister the Lords Supper wherein the people should nothing else but loke vpon and behold your doings, without any kind of knowledge or comfort? Did I euer teach you to lift the Sacrament ouer your head? Did I euer teach the people to fall downe thereto; and to worship they know not what? Be these the things that I deliuered you? Be these the things that I receiued of the Lord? This would Saint Paul say vnto vs, if he were now aliue. Thus would he reproue vs, and call vs to the standard and originall of the first appointing of the holy Sacrament.

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Our owne inuentions and phantasies wherewith we had filled the Masse, were so many and so grosse, that they quite couered and shadowed the death of Christ, and the holy mysteries of our saluation. Therefore we could not truly say, these things Paul deliuered vnto vs, or these things Paul receiued of the Lord.

Wherefore, good people and derely beloued brethren, forasmuch as we see there haue bene great and euident abuses and errours in the Masse, so plaine and so manifest, that no man that hath reason, and will consider them, can deny it; let vs follow the counsell of Saint Paul, let vs returne to the ordinance of Christ, vnto the true standard that cannot faile vs.

As it is not in the power of man to appoint Sacraments: so is it not in the power of man to alter or change Sacraments. God will not be worshipped after our phantasies, and therefore so often times he chargeth vs in the Scriptures: *Non facietis quod bonum videtur in oculis vestris*: Ye shall not doe that thing that seemeth good to you in your owne sight: Ye shall not turne neither to the left hand nor to the right: But what thing soeuer I bid you doe, that onely shall ye doe. Your thoughts be not my thoughts, neither be your waies my waies. For as far as heauen is from the earth, or the East from the West, so far off be your thoughts from my thoughts, and your waies from my waies, saith the Lord. It is a dangerous thing for a mortal man to controll or find fault with the wisdome of the immortall God.

Tertullian, an old Father of the Church, sheweth vs the wilfulnesse of mans heart, after it hath once enterprised to presume a little against Gods truth and ordinance: *Praeter scripturas faciunt, vt post audacius contra scripturas faciant*: First, saith he, they attempt somewhat beside the Scriptures, to the intent, that afterward they may gather courage and boldnesse to doe contrary to the Scriptures. At the end they proceed as farre as the Scribes and Pharises, that for maintenance of their owne traditions, despised and brake the commandements of God. For redresse therein, there is no better way than to follow S. Pauls counsell here, and to haue recourse to Gods holy word.

S. Ambrose saith: *Interrogemus Petrum & Interrogemus Paulum, si verum volumus inuenire*: If we will finde out the truth, and be put out of doubt, saith S. Ambrose, let vs hearken what Peter and Paul will say vnto vs.

S. Cyprian saith: *Hinc schismata oriuntur, quia caput non quæritur, & ad fontem non redditur, & cælestis magistri præcepta non seruantur*: Hereof, saith S. Cyprian, arise schismes and diuisions, for that we seeke not to the head, nor haue recourse to the spring, nor keepe the commandements of the heauenly master.

Tertullian saith: *Hæc ratio contra omnem hæresim valet, hoc verum est, quod primum fuit*: This reason, saith he, is able to confound all maner heresies. That thing is true that was first appointed.

O that our aduersaries, and all they that stand in defence of the Masse this day, would content themselues to be iudged by this rule! O that in all the controuersies that lie betweene vs and them, they would remit the iudgement vnto Gods word! So should we soone agree and ioyne together: So should we deliuer nothing vnto the people but that we haue receiued at Gods hand.

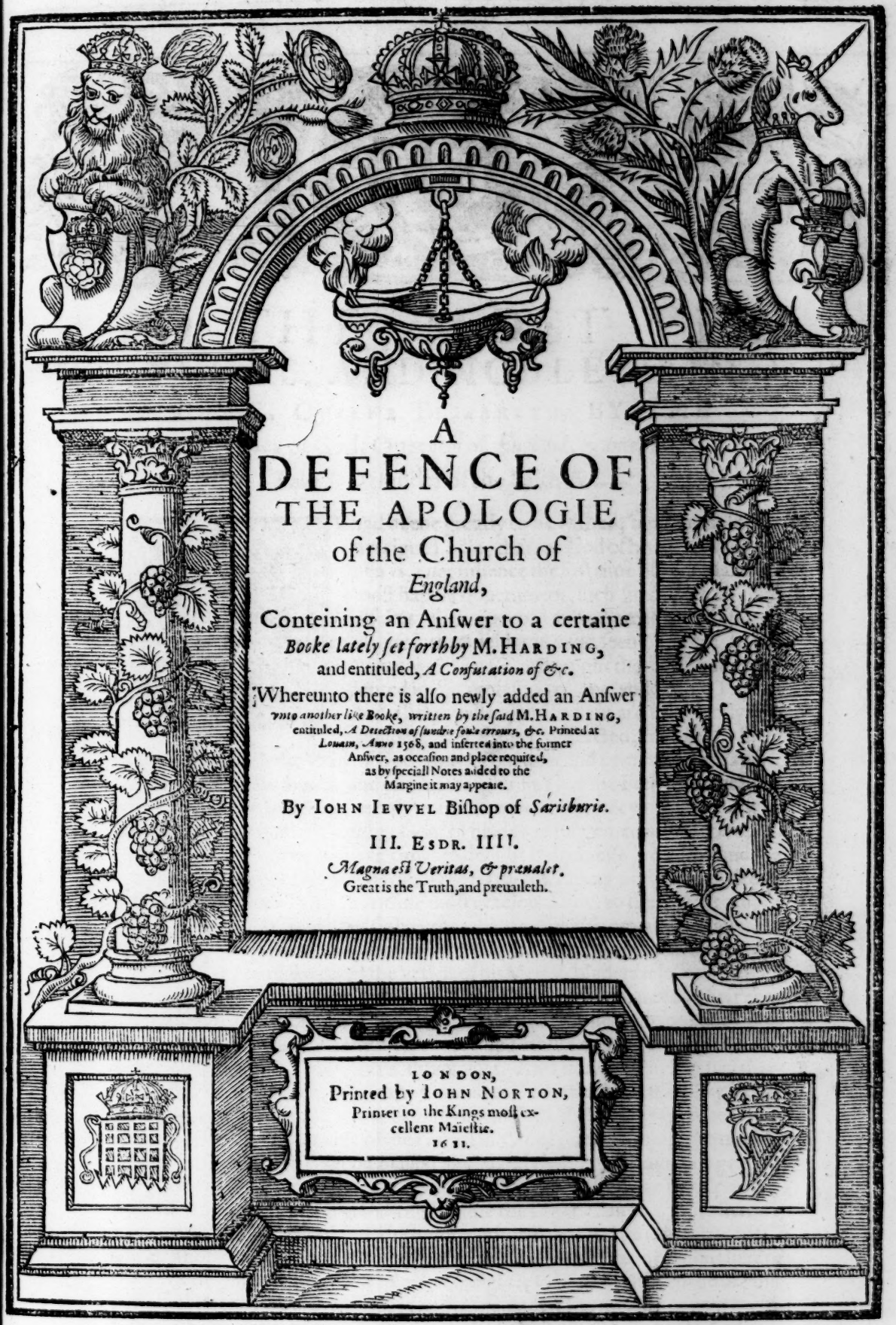
And if there be any here that haue had, or yet haue any good opinion of the Masse, I beseech you for Gods sake, euen as ye tender your owne saluation, suffer not your selues wilfully to be led away, run not blindly to your owne confusion. Thinke with your selues, it was not for nought that so many of your brethren rather suffered themselues to die and to abide all manner extremity and cruelty, than they would be partakers of that thing that you reckon to be so holy. Let their death, let their ashes, let their bloud, that was so abundantly shed before your eies, somewhat preuaile with you, and moue you. Be not ruled by your wilfull affections. Ye haue a good zeale and minde towards God. Haue it according vnto the knowledge of God. The Iewes had a zeale of God, and yet they crucified the Sonne of God. Search the Scriptures; there shall ye find euerlasting life. There shal ye learne to iudge your selues, and your owne doings, that ye be not iudged of the Lord. If euer it happen you to be present againe at the Masse, thinke but thus with your selues; What make I here? What profit haue I of my doings? I heare nothing: I vnderstand nothing: I am taught no thing: I receiue nothing: Christ bad me take; I take nothing: Christ bad me eat; I eat nothing: Christ bad me drinke; I drinke nothing. Is this the institution of Christ? Is this the Lords supper? Is this the right vse of the holy mysteries? Is this it that Paul deliuered vnto me? Is this it that Paul receiued of the Lord? Let vs say but thus vnto our selues, and no doubt God of his mercy will open our hearts, we shall see our errours, and content our selues to be ordered by the wisdome of God: to doe that God will haue vs to doe: to beleeue that God will haue vs to beleeue, to worship

that

that God will haue vs worship. So shall we haue comfort of the holy mysteries: So shall we receiue the fruites of Christs death: So shall we be partakers of Christs body and blood: So shall Christ truly dwell in vs, and we in him: So shall all errour bee taken from vs: So shall we ioyne all together in Gods truth: So shall we all be able with one heart, and one spirit, to know and to glorifie the onely, the true, and the liuing God, and his onely begotten Sonne Iesus Christ:

to whom both, with the holy Ghost, bee all honour and glory for euer, and euer,

Amen.



A DEFENCE OF THE APOLOGIE of the Church of *England*,

Conteining an Anſwer to a certaine *Booke lately ſet forth by* M. HARDING, and entituled, *A Confutation of &c.*

Whereunto there is alſo newly added an Anſwer *vnto another like Booke, written by the ſaid* M. HARDING, entituled, *A Detection of ſundrie foule errours, &c.* Printed at *Louain, Anno* 1568. and inſerted into the former Anſwer, as occaſion and place required, as by ſpeciall Notes added to the Margine it may appeare.

By IOHN IEVVEL Biſhop of *Sarisburie.*

III. ESDR. IIII.

Magna eſt Veritas, & prevalet.
Great is the Truth, and preuaileth.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN NORTON,
Printer to the Kings moſt excellent Maieſtie.
1611.

TO THE MOST VERTVOVS, AND NOBLE PRINCESSE, QVEENE ELIZABETH, BY THE Grace of God, Queeene of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

IT had beene greatly to be wished, most gratious Soueraigne Ladie, that, as God of his mercy hath giuen vs, euer sithence the first time of your Maiesties most happie gouernment, such successe in all ciuill affaires, such concord and quietnesse in all estates, as our fathers seldome haue seene before; so our hearts with like felicitie might thorowly haue consented in the profession of one vndoubted Trueth, and all our willes, which now are so violently rent asunder, and so farre distracted, might fully haue ioyned together in the Will of God: that all quarrels and contentions set apart, we might with one mouth and one minde glorifie God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ. Howbeit, it appeareth by the continuall story & whole discourse of the holy Scriptures, that almighty God, of his deepe iudgements and secret prouidence, suffereth some men oft times to delight in darknesse, to withstand the Gospell, to seeke occasions, and wilfully to set themselues against the knowledge and Trueth of God. I write not this, most gracious Lady, to the intent to make them odious in your Maiesties sight, that this day are the procurers of all these troubles. God is able euen of the hard vnsensible stones to raise vp children vnto Abraham, and to make them the vessels of his Mercy. Neuertheless, as S. Paul teacheth vs, such men there haue beene in times past, that haue had their consciences burnt with hot irons, speaking and mainteining lies in hypocrisie; that haue giuen themselues ouer into reprobate and wilfull mindes, and haue despised the Wisdome of God within themselues. And notwithstanding such battels and dissentions, specially in the Church of God, which is called The House of Vnitie, be offensiue and grieuous vnto the godly, & therefore worke great hinderance vnto the due passage of the Gospel of Christ, yet in the end the trouble heereof in Gods Elect is recompensed abundantly with great aduantage. For Gods Truth is mightie and shall preuaile: Dagon shall fall downe headlong before the Arke: the Darknesse shall flee before the Light: and the more fiercely mans wisdome shall withstand, the more glorious shall God be in his victory.

1. Tim. 4.

Rom. 1.

But, shortly to discourse vnto your Maiestie the particular occasions hereof from the beginning: after it had pleased almightie God, at the first entrie of your Maiesties reigne, by a most happie exchange, and by the meanes of your Maiesties most godly trauels, to restore vnto vs the light and comfort of his Gospell,

there was written and publiſhed by vs a little Booke in the Latine tongue, entituled, *An Apologie of the Church of England*, conteining the whole ſubſtance of the Catholike Faith now profeſſed and freely preached thorowout all your Maieſties Dominions; that thereby all forren Nations might vnderſtand the conſiderations and cauſes of your Maieſties doings in that behalfe. Thus in old times did *Quadratus*, *Melito*, *Iuſtinus Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and other godly and learned Fathers, vpon like occaſions, as well to make knowen the truth of God, and to open the grounds of their Profeſſion, as alſo to put the Infidels to ſilence, and to ſtop the mouthes of the wicked.

This *Apologie* being thus written firſt in Latine, and afterward, vpon the comfortable report of your Maieſties moſt godly enterpriſes, tranſlated into ſundrie other tongues, and ſo made common to the moſt part of all *Europe*, as it hath beene well allowed of and liked of the learned and godly, as it is plaine by their open teſtimonies touching the ſame, ſo hath it not hitherto, for ought that may appeare, beene any where openly reproued either in Latine or otherwiſe, either by any one mans priuate writing, or by the publike authoritie of any Nation.

Only one *M. Harding*, not long ſithence your Maieſties ſubiect, now miſliking the preſent State, and reſiant in *Louaine*, hath of late taken vpon him, againſt the ſaid *Apologie*, with the whole doctrine and all the parts of the ſame, to publiſh an open *Confutation*, and to offer the ſame vnto your Maieſtie: wherein hee ſheweth himſelfe ſo vehement and ſo ſharpe, and buſie in finding faults, that he doubteth not to ſeeke quarrels againſt vs, euen in that wee mainteine the Baptiſme of Chriſtian Infants, the proceeding and Godhead of the Holy Ghoſt, the Faith of the holy and glorious Trinitie, and the Generall and Catholike profeſſion of the common Creed. Thus, for that he hath once ſeuered himſelfe from vs, he beareth now the world in hand, wee can beleeue nothing without an errour.

Conf. fol. 334. *b* The maine ground of his whole plea is this, That the Biſhop of *Rome*, whatſoeuer it ſhall like him to determine in iudgement, can neuer erre: that hee is alwaies vndoubtedly poſſeſſed of Gods Holy Spirit: that at his only hand we muſt learne to know the Will of God: that in his onely holineſſe ſtandeth the Vnitie and ſafetie of the Church: that whoſoeuer is diuided from him, muſt be iudged an Heretike: and, that without the obedience of him there is no hope of ſaluation. And yet, as though it were not ſufficient for him, ſo vainly to ſmooth a matter in open errors, he telleth vs alſo ſadly and in good earneſt, that the ſame Biſhop is not only a Biſhop, but alſo a King: that vnto him belongeth the authoritie and right of both ſwords, as well Temporall as Spirituall: that all Kings and Emperours receiue their whole power at his hand, and ought to ſweare obedience and fealtie vnto him. For theſe be his words, euen in this Booke ſo boldly dedicate vnto your Maieſtie: *It is a great eie-ſore*, ſaith M. Harding, *to the Miniſters of Antichriſt, to ſee the Vicar of Chriſt aboue Lords and Kings of this world, and to ſee Princes and Emperours promiſe and ſweare obedience vnto him.* And whereas Pope *Zacharie*, by the conſent or conſpiracie of the Nobles of *France*, depoſed *Chilperichus* the true, naturall, and liege Prince of that Realme, and placed *Pipinus* in his roome; *Lo*, ſaith M. Harding, *ye muſt needs confeſſe, that this was a Diuine power in the Pope: for otherwiſe he could neuer haue done it.* Thus much he eſteemeth the diſhonours and ouerthrowes of Gods Anointed.

Conf. fol. 285. *a*
Conf. fo. 324. *b*
Conf. fo. 204. *b*
Conf. fo. 306. *b*
Conf. fo. 180. *a* & 305. *b*
Conf. fo. 247. *b*
Conf. fo. 248. *b*
Conf. fo. 178. *b*
Conf. fo. 178. *b*
Conf. fo. 182. *a*

Whereas alſo Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, for that he could not haue the Treaſurie of *France* at his commandement, endeuoured with all his both Eccleſiaſticall and Worldly puiſſance, to remooue *Philip* the French King from his eſtate, and vnder his Bulles or Letters Patents, had conueied the ſame ſolemnly vnto *Albertus* the King of Romans; *M. Harding* heere telleth your Maieſtie, that all this was very well done, *to the intent thereby to fray the King, and to keepe him in awe, and to reclaime his minde from diſobedience.* Now, touching your Maieſties moſt noble Progenitours, the Kings of this Realme, whereas we, as our loyaltie

Conf. fo. 182. *b*

and

and allegiance bindeth vs, iuſtly complaine, that *Pope Alexander* the third, by violence and tyrannie forced *King Henrie* the Second to ſurrender his Crowne Imperiall into the hands of his Legate, and afterward for a certaine ſpace to content himſelfe in Priuate eſtate, to the great indignation and griefe of his louing ſubiects: and that likewiſe *Pope Innocentius* the third ſtirred vp the Nobles and Commons of this Realme againſt *King Iohn*, and gaue the inheritance and poſſeſſion of all his Dominions vnto *Ludouicus* the French King, (as for the miſuſing of your Maieſties moſt deare Father of moſt noble memorie, *King Henrie the Eighth*, foraſmuch as the ſmart thereof is yet in freſh remembrance, I will ſay nothing): To theſe and all other like tyrannicall iniuries, and iuſt cauſes of griefe, M. Harding ſhortly and in light maner thinketh it ſufficient to anſwer thus: *What though King Henry the Second were ill intreated of Pope Alexander the third? What though King Iohn were ill intreated of that zealous and learned Pope Innocentius the third? What though King Henrie the Eighth were likewiſe intreated of the Popes in our time?* I know right well, moſt Soueraigne Ladie, the goodneſſe of your gracious nature delighteth not in ſuch rehearſals. Neither do I make report hereof, for that ſuch things ſometimes haue beene done: but for that the ſame things euen now at this time, either ſo lightly are excuſed, or ſo boldly are defended. Such humble affection and obedience theſe men, by their open and publike writings, teach your Maieſties true ſubiects to beare towards their naturall Prince. It ſhall much warrant the honour and ſafety of your royall eſtate, if your Maieſtie ſhall ſometimes remember the diſhonors and dangers that other your noble Progenitours haue felt before you. *M. Harding fol. 340. b.*

But concerning the Maieſtie and right of Kings and Emperours, *M. Harding* telleth vs, *They haue their firſt authoritie by the poſitiue Law of Nations, and can haue no more power, than the people hath, of whom they take their temporall Iuriſdiction:* as if he would ſay, Emperours and Kings haue none other right of gouernment, than it hath pleaſed their ſubiects by compoſition to allow vnto them. Thus hee ſaith, and ſaith it boldly; as if God himſelfe had neuer ſaid, *Per me Reges regnant: By me, and my authoritie, Kings beare rule ouer their ſubiects*: Or, as if Chriſt our Sauiour had neuer ſaid vnto *Pilate* the Lord Lieuetenant, *Thou ſhouldeſt haue no power ouer mee, were it not giuen thee from aboue.* Or, as if *S. Paul* had not ſaid, *Non eſt poteſtas, niſi à Deo: There is no power, but only from God.* And yet further, as if their whole ſtudie were fully bent, in reſpect of the Pope, to deface the Authoritie and Maieſtie of all Princes, euen now one of the ſame companie doubteth not to teach the world, *That the Pope is the head, and Kings and Emperours are the feet.* Like as alſo another of the ſame faction ſaith, *The Emperours Maieſtie is ſo farre inferiour in dignitie to the Pope, as a creature is inferiour vnto God.* Wee deuiſe not theſe things of malice, moſt gracious Ladie, but report the ſame truly, as we find them proclaimed and publiſhed this day by their vaine and dangerous writings, which notwithſtanding they would ſo faine haue to bee taken as Catholike. If this doctrine may once take root, and be freely receiued amongſt the ſubiects, it ſhall bee hard for any Prince to hold his right. As for your Maieſtie, for that it hath pleaſed Almightie God in his Mercy, to make you an inſtrument of his Glorie, as in old times he made many other godly and noble Princes, to reforme his Church from that huge and loathſome heape of filth, and rubbiſh, that either by violence or by negligence had been throwen into it; therfore M. Harding euen in this ſelfe ſame Booke, vnder certaine generall threats, chargeth you with diſordered preſumption, by the example of *Ozias* the wicked King, *Vpon whom*, as he ſaith, *God ſent his vengeance for the like.* For be the abuſes and errours of the Church neuer ſo many, bee the falles and dangers neuer ſo great, be the Prieſts and Biſhops neuer ſo blinde, yet by this doctrine it may neuer be lawfull for the Prince, be he neuer ſo learned, or ſo wiſe, or ſo zealous in Gods cauſe, to attempt any maner of Reformation. And therefore thus he ſaith *M. Harding fol. 318. b.* *Prouerb. 8.* *Iohan. 19.* *Roman. 13.* *Dorman. fo. 15* *Staniſlaus Orichouius in Chimæra, fol. 97.* *M. Harding fol. 298. a.*

vnto your Maiestie, and with all his skill and cunning laboureth to perswade your Maiesties subiects, if any one or other happily of simplicitie will beleeue him, that the godly *Lawes*, which your Maiestie hath giuen vs to liue vnder, are no *Lawes*; that your *Parliaments* are no *Parliaments*; that your *Clergie* is no *Clergie*: Our *Sacraments*, no *Sacraments*; our *Faith*, no *Faith*. The Church of England, whereof your Maiestie is the most Principall and Chiefe, he calleth a Malignant Church, a new Church erected by the Diuell, a Babylonicall Tower, a Heard of Antichrist, a Temple of Lucifer, a Synagogue and a Schoole of Sathan, full of Robbery, Sacrilege, Schisme, and Heresie. And al this he furnisheth with such libertie of other vncourteous and vnseemely talkes, as if hee had beene purposely hired to speake dishonour of your Maiesties most godly doings.

Confut. 277. *Confut.* 328. *a.* *Confut.* 172. *b.* *Reioind.* 314. *Confut.* 87. *a.* *Confut.* 269. *b.* *Reioind.* 42. *a.* *Confut.* 43. *a.* *Confut.* 269. *a.* 322. *b.* 334. *a.* 338. *a.* 348. *b.*

Of all these and other like Tragicall fantasies, forasmuch as he hath so boldly aduentured to make a Present vnto your Maiestie, wee haue great cause to reioice in God, for that our controuersies are brought to be debated before such a personage as is able so well and so deeply to vnderstand them. For I haue no doubt, but as by your great learning and maruellous wisdome you shall soone see the difference of our pleadings; so of your Maiesties gracious inclination vnto all godlinesse you will readily finde out the Falshood, and giue sentence with the Truth. Verily, after that your Maiestie shall haue thorowly considered the manifest Vntruths and Corruptions, together with the Abuses and Errours of the contrarie side, the Weakenesse of the Cause, the Boldnesse of the Man, and the immoderate bitternesse of his speech; I haue good hope, the more aduisedly you shall behold it, the lesse cause you shall finde wherefore to like it. For the discouerie hereof, for my poore portion of learning, I haue endeuoured to doe that I was able: and the same heere I humbly present vnto your Maiestie, as vnto my most gracious and Souereigne Liege Ladie, and, as now, the onely Nurse and Mother of the Church of God within these your Maiesties most Noble Dominions. It may please your Maiestie graciously to weigh it, and to iudge of it, not according to the skill and abilitie of the Writer, which is but simple, but according to the weight and worthinesse of the cause. The poore labours haue beene mine; the cause is Gods. The goodnesse of the one will be alwaies able to counteruaile the simplicitie of the other.

God euermore enflame and direct your Maiestie with his Holy Spirit, that the Zeale of his House may thorowly deuoure your gracious heart; that you may safely walke in the waies of your Father *Dauid*; that you may vtterly abandon all Groaues and Hill Altars; that you may liue an old Mother in *Israel*; that you may see an end of all dissensions, and stablish Peace and Vnitie in the Church of God. Amen.

Your Maiesties most humble subiect

and faithfull Orator,

IOHN SARISBVRIE.

A PREFACE TO THE READER CONTAINING the cauſes of this new *Impreſſion.*

Good Chriſtian Reader, I doubt not, but the very Title and firſt entrie of M. Hardings laſt Booke is ſufficient to aſtonne thy ſenſes. For thus he beginneth: A Detection of Lies, Cauils, Slanders, &c. As if Hercules Furens, or Aiax Maſtigophorus were newly turned into Engliſh. If I ſhould quit him, either with number of Bookes, or with courteſie of ſpeech, I ſhould be like vnto him, and incumber the world with needleſſe labors. Wherefore being moued eftſoones to print my late Booke, intitvled, The Defenſe of the Apologie of the Church of England, I thought it good by a ſhort Augmentation, to diſcharge all ſuch quarrels as M. Harding in his ſaid Detection hath moued againſt certaine parcels of the ſame: and therein to vſe ſuch temperance of words, not as may beſt anſwer M. Hardings eloquence, but as may bee comely for the cauſe. 1.

Now if thou ſhalt vouchſafe to examine our doings, I beſeech thee to iudge vprightly, and not to ſuffer thy ſelfe by ſhewes and ſhifts to be beguiled. What man would ſeeme to deale ſo plainely, as a Iuggler? hee will ſtrike vp his ſleeues, and make bare his armes, and open his hands and fingers, and lay all things before thee, and bid thee behold: and thou wilt thinke him to be a good plaine man, and maruell that thou ſhouldeſt poſſibly bee deceiued. And yet indeed his whole ſkill and ſeeking is nothing elſe, but to deceiue thee: and the more ſimply and plainly he would ſeeme to deale, ſo much the ſooner he will deceiue thee: otherwiſe he were no Iuggler. Thou ſhalt thinke thou ſeeſt all, and yet ſeeſt nothing. Thou ſhalt thinke, thou feeleſt it ſenſibly with thy Fingers, that thou holdeſt it faſt, and canſt not loſe it: And yet ſhalt thou open thy hands, and finde nothing. So eaſie a thing it is to inueigle thy ſenſes.

When thou hearеſt a Counſellour pleading for his Client at the Barre, perhaps thou wilt thinke it is all Law that he ſpeaketh, and that the caſe is plaine, and nothing to be ſaid to the contrary. But when another Counſellour ſhall ſtand forth, and reply againſt him, and rip vp his tale, and weigh his reaſons, and diſcloſe the errours, and weakneſſe of his pleading, then wilt thou begin to miſlike that thou likedſt before, and wonder at thine own ſimplicity, that euer thou wert ſo fond to beleeue the former. Yea the Iudge himſelfe, notwithſtanding vpon ſome good likelihood of the cauſe, he bee inclined to fauour the one ſide, yet ſometimes by weight and force of better reaſon, he changeth his opinion, and giueth ſentence with the other. There is great darkneſſe in mans wiſdome. Often times it is true, that we take to be falſe. Our phantaſie is no right meaſure of Gods cauſes.

But M. Harding telleth thee that I falſifie all that I take in hand. That I forge and counterfet, and leaue out, either the beginning, or the middle, or the end, and report nothing as I finde it: Briefly, that all my writings are fraught with lies. It is no hard matter for M. Harding thus to ſay. It were more maruell if he would ſay otherwiſe. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Qui mendax eſt, neminem putat verum dicere. He is a partie, and would be loth to yeeld to any thing againſt himſelfe. 2. *Chryſoſt. in Matt. hom.* 19.

For thy better ſatisfaction in theſe caſes, good Reader, I haue heere laid forth before thee, a few ſuch examples, as wherein M. Harding would ſeeme to haue found moſt aduantage.

uantage. This haue I done in as few words, and as briefly, as the cause would beare: and yet, I trust, so openly and so plainly, that thou maist easily see the truth and vprightnesse of his dealing. And although perhaps thou be his friend, and for some particular affection wish fauourably vnto his side, yet I will not refuse to make thee Iudge betweene vs both.

*M. Hard. in Præf. ad Lector.**** iij.*

First therefore to beginne with that thing, whereof M. Harding and certaine his Welwillers haue made greatest triumph: Where I say, that one Eupsychius, being within holy orders, and the Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, married a wife, and shortly after, being as yet but newly married, was put to death for the name of Christ, and died a Martyr, M. Harding hereunto answereth thus: M. Iewel most falsely corrupteth the Reporter of this Storie: Behold the falshood of this man: Sozomenus nameth him: Εὐψύχιον Καππαδόκων τῶν Εὐπατριδῶν. As much as, *Eupsychium, one of the Lords, or one of the Nobilitie of the Citie of Cæsarea in Cappadocia.* M. Iewell was so bold to falsifie the place, and to put in of his owne, this word, *Episcopum*, to helpe his matter. Thus he taketh vpon him, to make him a Bishop, who was a Laie man, as well a Bishop, as he himselfe is, &c. Herein therefore, good Reader, standeth the strife. I say, Eupsychius was a Bishop: M. Harding saith, he was a meere Lay man, and no Bishop. The issue is this, Whether this Eupsychius were a Bishop, or no. And as thou shalt finde him true herein, so maist thou trust him in the rest. First in the Second Councell of Nice this selfe same Eupsychius is called Eupsychius Presbyter Cæsareæ: Eupsychius, *a Priest of the Church of Cæsarea.* Here maist thou see that Eupsychius was a Priest, that is, I trow, somewhat more than a meere Laie man, and in some possibilitie to be a Bishop, all M. Hardings waste words, of Lords, and Noble men, notwithstanding. If this authoritie suffice him not, let him further be aduised by that Ancient, and godly learned Father Athanasius, whom Socrates called the great Starre of Ægypt. He will tell him by plaine words, that Eupsychius, and this selfe same Eupsychius in very deed was a Bishop. Thus he saith of him: Scripta Leontij, & Eupsychij Episcoporum Cappadociæ: *The writings of* Leontius, *and* Eupsychius Bishops *of the Kingdome of* Cappadocia. Marke, good Reader, and tell M. Harding, Athanasius saith not, Eupsychius the Lord, or Noble man, but Eupsychius the Bishop. He was the Bishop of Cæsarea: and Cæsarea was the chiefe Citie of Cappadocia. This is plaine dealing. I leade thee not about, as M. Harding doth, with coniectures, and ghesses. I shew thee by expresse and plaine words, that Eupsychius was a Bishop, and that I proue by sufficient authoritie of ancient Fathers. Here thou hast the same Countrie Cappadocia, the same Citie of Cæsarea, the same time of persecution vnder Iulianus Apostata, the same man, the same Martyr, and the same name. If this bee true, as indeed it is, what maist thou then thinke of M. Harding, that saith, It is false? what maist thou then thinke of him, that so boldly telleth thee, that this Eupsychius was neuer, neither Bishop of Cæsarea nor of any other place else, no not so much as a Priest, or Deacon, or Subdeacon? What maist thou then thinke of him, that blusheth not, thus vainely to blot his papers, and thus to tell the world: M. Iewel hath fathered a shamefull lie vpon Cassiodorus: M. Iewel hath belied and falsified Sozomenus, and his Translator? What maist thou then thinke of him, that so impatiently crieth out without cause, Fie vpon such shamelesse liers: O lamentable state, where the people of God is compelled to heare such Prophets. It were better for M. Harding to be wise and sober, than thus to fare.

Con. Nicen. 2. Actio. 6. pag. 581.

Socra. Lib. 4. cap. 23.

Athana. in oratione 1. contra Arianos.

M. Har. Detect. fol. 302. a.

M. Har. Detect. fo. 185. a.

Whereas against the inordinate ambition and pride of the Bishops of Rome, I allege these words out of the Booke called Opus Imperfectum, bearing the name of Chrysostom, *Whoso desireth Primacie in Earth, shall in Heauen finde confusion*, M. Harding answereth: These words are not, neither in *Opere Imperfecto*, nor in any other booke of Chrysostome: Chrysostome hath no such saying: It is a forgerie, and that you know well enough: yet yee are not ashamed to deceiue the ignorant. Heere haue wee a very peremptorie Negatiue boldly presumed. And a man would thinke, that a Doctour of Diuinitie would not so stoutly warrant a matter, vnlesse he knew it. For so perhaps he might be found ignorant, and be deceiued. But, good Reader, if thou happen at any time to haue accesse vnto him, I beseech thee, euen as thou hast affiance in his word, and tendrest his credit, desire him to open his Booke, called Opus Imperfectum, and to turne to the fiue and thirtieth Homilie of the same. There shalt thou finde these selfe same words which he so constantly telleth thee can neuer bee found in all the World: Quicunque desiderauerit Primatum in Terra, inuenier in Cœlo Confusionem: *Whosoeuer ambitiously desireth Primacie in Earth, hee in Heauen shall finde Confusion.* These words, I say, M. Harding shall find, not only in his owne Gratian, which thing vnto him had beene sufficient, but also in the Author himselfe. Aske him therefore, what he meant, so out of season to talke of forgerie. Aske him, what so hainous offence M. Iewel hath committed heerein, whereof he ought to be ashamed.

3.

Chrysostom. in Opere imperfect. Hom. 35. Distinct. 40. Multi.

4.

M. Hard. Detect. fol. 249. a.

Where I say, Pope Zosimus, the better to maintaine his ambitious claime, corrupted the holy Councell of Nice, M. Harding answereth: Neuer did any honest man say so from the beginning

ginning of the world. God Reader, I beſeech thee euen for the truths ſake, hearken aduiſedly what I ſhall ſay. The caſe is cleere: thus it ſtandeth: About eleuen hundred yeres agoe Pope Zoſimus began to claime ſuperiority, and Iuriſdiction ouer all the Churches and Biſhops of Aphrica. The Biſhops of that Countrey, to the number of two hundred and ſeuenteene aſſembled together in the Aphricane Councell, miſliked the ſtrangeneſſe of his attempt, and openly refuſed him, and told him plainly, They knew of no ſuch authoritie that he had ouer them. Pope Zoſimus for his warrant, alleaged a Decree or Canon, that he himſelfe or ſome other his Predeceſſour, had forged vnder the name of the Counſell of Nice. The Biſhops anſwered him, that they themſelues alſo had Copies of the ſame Nicene Councell: But any ſuch Canon, touching ſuch Superiorities of the Pope, they found none there. The Pope ſaid their Copies were corrupted: and they ſaid the like of the Popes. For triall of the matter, they agreed together to ſend vnto the moſt famous Churches of all the Eaſt, vnto Conſtantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch: and from thence they receiued the true Copies of the Greeke Originals, vnder the Authenticall Seales of the Patriarches there. By conference whereof it was euident vnto all the world, that the Popes onely Copie diſagreed from all the reſt, and was fouly corrupted to ſerue his turne; and ſo conſequently, that the Pope was a Falſifier, and a Forger of Councels. Thus ſtandeth the very true Storie of this whole matter, as it is euident by the Counſell of Aphrica. *Conci. Aphrica. ca.* 102. 103 *In Graco. pa.* 82.

And therefore Marcus the Archbiſhop of Epheſus, together with Ioſephus the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, Beſſarion the Archbiſhop of Nice, and Iſidorus the Metropolitane of Syria with others moe, Archbiſhops, and Metropolitans of great Prouinces and Countries, and a great number of other inferiour Biſhops, ſaid thus openly in the late Councell of Florence by way of proteſtation againſt the Pope: Nónne vides, Reuerende Pater, Summum Pontificem (Zoſimum) falſum Decretum, & non in Synodo promulgatum, ad tantum Concilium pro re tam magna miſiſſe? *And ſee you not, Reuerend Father, that* Pope Zoſimus, *being then the higheſt Biſhop, for a matter of great weight, ſent vnto that worthy Councell of* Aphrica, *a falſe, or a falſified Canon, ſuch as neuer was publiſhed in the Councell of* Nice? Bid M. Harding marke well theſe words. This Canon (ſay they) is falſe, and falſified: and ſuch as neuer was decreed in the Councell of Nice. As if they would ſay, Will you beare vs down, or aduance your Authority by this Canon? It is well knowen to be a forgery. What can there be more plainly ſpoken? They ſay expreſly, euen as we ſay, This new Canon was forged and falſified, and that either by Pope Zoſimus, or by ſome other Pope his predeceſſour. And yet, can M. Harding ſo ſadly tell vs, That neuer honeſt man ſaid ſo from the beginning of the world? Or, can he make vs beleeue, that of all theſe Metropolitanes, Archbiſhops, and Patriarkes in the Councel of Florence, and of the other two hundred and ſeuentéen Biſhops in the Councel of Aphrica, among whom was Alypius, and S. Auguſtine, there was not one honeſt man? D. Tonſtal in his Sermon pronounced openly before king Henry, diſcloſed, and reproued the ſame falſhood. Likewiſe Doctor Redman in open writing acknowledged, and confeſſed the ſame: yet were they not vnhoneſt men. *Concil. Florен. Seſſione* 20.

Whereas I ſay, *It was ſpecially prouided by the* Councel of Carthage, *that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould not be called the Vniuerſall Biſhop*, Ne Romanus Epiſcopus appelletur Vniuerſalis, M. Harding anſwereth, A ſhameleſſe man: An impudent Gloſſer: Three impedent Lies: Theſe be not the words of the Councell of Carthage: They are to be referred to the third part of the Diſtinction, that followeth afterward. If theſe be not the words of the Councel of Carthage, yet at leaſt they are Gratians words, reporting the words of the Councel of Carthage. Verily, whoſe words ſo euer it ſhall pleaſe M. Harding to make them, by his owne confeſſion, they are none of mine. The words be plaine: Vniuerſalis autem nec etiam Romanus Epiſcopus appelletur: *Let not the Biſhop of Rome himſelfe be called the* Vniuerſall Biſhop. And this, ſaith M. Harding, is the very meaning of Pope Pelagius, that followeth next afterward in the ſame Diſtinction. Now if theſe be the expreſſe and plaine words of Gratian; if they be eſtſoones vttered, and confirmed by the Gloſſe; if by implication and meaning they be the words of the Councel of Carthage, and of Pope Pelagius, to be ſhort, if they be no words of mine; was not then M. Harding wel occupied, ſo vainly to crie out, Three impudent Lies: A ſhameleſſe man: An impudent Gloſſer? A ſober man would be better aduiſed what he ſpeaketh. *M. Hard. fol.* 190. *b.* 191. *Diſt.* 99. *Prima.*

Where I ſay, Pope Liberius was an Arian Hereticque, M. Harding anſwereth, Or els ye are an errant Slanderous Lier. Iudge thou betweene vs indifferently, good Chriſtian Reader: and let the Lier haue his meed. This is not my iudgement of Pope Liberius: it is written, and reported by ſundry others, euen by ſuch, as M. Harding may not iuſtly condemne for errant Liers. Heere will I ſpeake nothing of S. Hierome. For M. Harding vtterly refuſeth his iudgement in this behalfe, and ſaith, he was much deceiued. Howbeit, *M. Hard. fol.* 249. *b.*

errant,

errant Lier, I trow, he will not call him, for his Authorities sake. But Sabellicus saith, Liberius, vt quidam scribunt, ex confesso factus est Arianus: Pope Liberius, *as some men say, by open profession became an* Arian. Alphonsus de Castro saith in plaine words: De Liberio Papa constat, fuisse Arianum: *As for* Pope Liberius, *it is well knowen, he was an* Arian Heretike. The same is auouched by Rhegino, by Platina, by Cardinall Cusanus, by Anselmus Rid, and by others, as afterward it shall be alleaged in place conuenient more at large. All these, and others moe, haue reported, that Pope Liberius was an Heretike. Therefore, good Reader, bid M. Harding to be better aduised, what, and how many they be, whom he so rashly condemneth for errant Liers.

M. Har. Confut. par. 6. ca. 5. diuis. 2.

Sabel. Enne. 7. Lib. 8.

Alphon. contra Haref. Lib. 1. cap. 4.

Whereas I say, Pope Cœlestinus *was a* Nestorian Heretike, M. Harding answereth, Who euer heard such an impudent man? A most impudent Lier: A wicked Slanderer. All this paine winde is some blowen ouer. Laurentius Valla, a Canon of the Church of Rome, saith thus: Papa Cœlestinus sensit cum Hæretico Nestorio: *Pope* Cœlestinus *agreed in iudgement with the* Heretike Nestorius. Now iudge thou, good Christian Reader, who is impudent, and who is a Lier. And bid M. Harding to construe these words, and to be better assured, before he speake. For rash iudgement argueth some follie.

M. Har. Detect. fol. 252. b.

Laurent. Val. de Donatione Constant.

Where I say, Pope Bonifacius 2. condemned S. Augustine, and all the whole Councel of Aphrica, and said, they were all led by the Diuell, for that they withstood the Ambition of the Church of Rome, M. Harding answereth, Heere is Bonifacius 2. souly belied: It is an impudent Lie: This man is not ashamed to lie. Pope Bonifacius 2. neuer condemned S. Augustine by name, nor the Councel of Aphrica by any solemne sentence. A man would thinke, so many great words should beare some weight. How solemne the Pope was in his sentence, it forceth not greatly. Certaine it is he condemned Aurelius the Bishop of Carthage, with all others his fellow Bishops, and said they were all entised, and led by the Diuell: and one of his said fellow Bishops was S. Augustine the Bishop of Hippo, as it is most euident by the Subscription of the Councel of Aphrica. The words of the said Pope Bonifacius be these: Aurelius Carthaginensis Ecclesiæ olim Episcopus, cum collegis suis, instigante Diabolo, superbire cœpit contra Romanam Ecclesiam. Therefore, good Reader, once againe thou maist tell M. Harding, that Pope Bonifacius the second, indeed and vndoubtedly condemned S. Augustine, and said, He was led by the Diuell, onely for that he would not yeld to his Predecessours ambitious follie. This is neither Impudencie, nor Lie, but manifest Truth.

M. Har. fol. 172. a.

Bonifa. 2. Epist. ad Eulalium.

Where I say, your Fathers in the Councel of Basil, and your friendes in the late Councel of *Trident*, yelded, and gaue place to the Bohemians, and to such others, as you call Heretikes, M. Harding answereth: This Lie is so cleare, and so euident, that our Confutation is needlesse. Whether this lie be so clere, and so euident, as here it is told vs, or whether it be any Lie at all, let M. Harding himselfe be the Iudge. In the Councel of *Basil* it is written thus: Indultum Liberationis Communionis sub vtraque specie: *The grant of deliuering the Communion vnder both kinds.* The like thing M. Harding might haue found recorded by Cardinall Cusanus, that was present at the Councel of *Basil*. For thus he writeth to the Bohemians: Scribitis, nos Compactionis ignorare: *Yee say, that we know not the Agreement, or Composition.* Where also he expressely maketh mention of that parcell of the Agreement, wherein the Libertie of the Communion vnder both kinds was conteined: and calleth it Caput de Libertate Communionis. Aske therefore M. Harding, what cleare eies he had to see this Lie to be so euident.

M. Har. fol. 98. a.

Concil. tom. 3. In append. Con. Basil. pag. 243 Hæc Sanctus. Nicol. Cusan. ad Bohemos, Epist. 2.

Where I say, *The Gospell was preached in this Realme, either, as* Theodoretus *saith, by* S. Paul *the Apostle, passing this way into* Spaine, *or by* Simon Zelotes, *as saith* Nicephorus. M. Harding answereth, Heere M. Iewel extremely belieth Theodoretus, and Nicephorus. Good Reader, notwithstanding the report hereof were vntrue, yet, as thou seest, it conteineth not any such extremitie, or horror of Lying. Whether S. Paul were here, or no, it is no Article of our Faith. We may well either receiue it, or refuse it without danger. It were great follie, to be ouer earnest in so small a matter.

M. Hard. fol. 83. b.

Howbeit, touching S. Pauls being, and preaching within this Realme, three learned men of our time, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Iohannes Wigandus, and Matthæus Iudex haue written thus: Theodoretus Libro nono de curandis Græcorum affectibus inditat, Paulum è priori captiuitate Roma dimissum, Britannis, & alijs in Occidente Euangelium prædicasse. Idem ferè tradit Sophronius Hierosolymitanus Patriarcha: Theodoretus *in his ninth Booke,* De curandis Græcorum affectibus, *sheweth vs, that* S. Paul *being set at libertie after his first imprisonment in Rome, preached the Gospell to the people of the Iland of* Britaine (now called England) *and to other Nations of the West.* But perhaps M. Harding will yeld small credit to these three men, notwithstanding their Learning. Therefore, for his better satisfaction, may it like him rather to beleeue Theodoretus himselfe. These be his words: Nostri illi

Centur. 1. Li. 2. Cap. 2.

Pisca-

Piſcatores, & Publicani, Sutorque ille noſter (Paulus) cunctis Nationibus Legem Euangelicam detulerunt: Neque ſolùm Romanos, quique ſub Romano viuunt Imperio, ſed Scythas quoque & Sauromatas, Indos præterea, Æthiopes, Perſas, Seras, Hyrcanos, Britannos, Cimmerios, & Germanos, vtque ſemel dicam, omne hominum genus, Nationéſque omnes induxerunt Crucifixi Legis accipere: *Our Fiſhers, and Publicans (that were the Apoſtles) and our Cobler* (S. Paul) *carried the Law of the Goſpell to all Nations. And they forced, not only the* Romanes, *and others liuing vnder the Romane Empire, but alſo the* Tartarians, *the* Sarmatians, *or* Polonians, *the* Indians, *the* Ethiopians, *the* Perſians, *the* Serians, *the* Hyrcanians, *the people of* Britaine **now called** England) *the* Cimmerians, *and the* Germanes, *and to bee ſhort, all kinds, and Nations of men to receiue the Lawes of Chriſt crucified.* **Here haue we the people of** Britaine: **Here haue we** S. Paul the Apoſtle, **whom** Theodoretus **calleth a** Cobler, **for that by his occupation he ſewed ſkinnes together to make Tents. I ſay, what may be M. Hardings anſwer. But if he will ſay,** S. Paul **came neuer into this Iland, then let him tell vs, what other of the Apoſtles came euer hither. For that one of them came hither, and here preached the Goſpell, by** Theodoretus **words it ſeemeth euident.** Actor. 18.

Touching Simon Zelotes, Nicephorus **ſaith thus:** Simon Zelotes Doctrinam Euangelij ad Occidentalium Oceanum, Inſulaſque Britannicas perfert. **Therefore for M. Harding ſo vainely, and ſo vnciuilly to crie out in ſo light a matter without cauſe, I will not call it, Extreme Lying. But verily ſome man may well call it, Extreme Folly.** *Niceph. Lib. 2 cap. 40.*

Whereas I ſay, Pope Hildebrand, **as he was charged by the** Councell of Brixia, **was an Aduouterer, a Churchrobber, a periured man, a Mankiller, a Sorcerer, and a Renegate of the Faith, M. Harding anſwereth,** I know that you Lie, I may ſay it ſauing my charitie, rather than your worſhip. For Pope Hildebrand was a very holy man. You ſhall find your ſelfe a Lier, and Pope Hildebrand a vertuous man. **Marke this thing, I beſeech thee, good Reader: In all this whole place, touching** Pope Hildebrand, **I alleage not one word of mine owne: but onely report the words of the** Councell of Brixia. **Be the report of the** Councell **true, or falſe, certainly my report is true. For I report only that I finde. The** Councell **in moſt plaine wiſe calleth** Pope Hildebrand, Virum procaciſſimum, Sacrilegia, & Incendia prædicantem, Periuria, & Homicidia defendentem: Hæretici Berengarij Antiquum Diſcipulum, Diuinationum, & Inſomniorum Cultorem, Manifeſtum Necromanticum, Pythonico Spiritu Laborantem, & à Vera Fide exorbitantem. **If thou doubt the credit of this** Councell, Nauclerus, Lambertus Scaphnaburgenſis, Anſelmus Rid, Sigibertus Gemblacenſis, **and others haue confirmed the ſame.** *M. Hard. fol. 256. b.* *Abbas Vrſper.*

Nauclerus **hereof writeth thus:** *The Clergie ſaid, that* Pope Hildebrand *had defiled the Apoſtolike See with Simony, Hereſie, Murder, and Aduouterie: that he was a Renegate, and had forſaken the Faith of Chriſt: and that therefore he was for good cauſes, and iuſtly excommunicate by all the Biſhops of* Italie. *Nauclerus Generatio. 36.*

Sigebertus Gemblacenſis **ſaith:** Pope Hildebrand *in his time troubled all the ſtates of Chriſtendome, and for his outrage and crueltie being baniſhed, and driuen out of Rome: in the end, when he ſaw death approch, hee made his confeſſion to one of his Cardinals, that hee had abuſed his Paſtorall Office, and that he had troubled mankind with malice and miſchiefe, by the counſell and procurement of the Diuell.* *Sigibertus Gemblacenſis. Se, ſuadente Diabolo, contra humanum genus odium, & iram concitaſſe.*

All this notwithſtanding, M. Harding ſaith, Pope Hildebrand was a very vertuous, and a Holy man: **and ſo conſtantly telleth vs,** I know, that you Lie: you ſhall finde your ſelfe to be a Lier.

Whereas I alleage a Dialogue, of Anſelmus, **ſometime** Archbiſhop of Canterburie, **to proue, that in his time, it was not thought vnlawfull for Prieſts to marrie, their Holy Orders notwithſtanding, M. Harding anſwereth:** This is none of Anſelmus Dialogues: It is a rifferaffe: It is a forgerie; I will not call it plaine Lying. **Good Reader, here M. Harding ouer boldly preſumeth, as his wont is, before he know. If he knew more, he would ſay leſſe. Indeed it is one of** Anſelms **dialogues. I haue ſeene it, and read it in Authenticall Copies: as otherwhere I haue proued more at large. And the words of the ſaid Dialogue are euen as I haue alleged them.** *M. Hard. fol. 308. a. b.*

Deſideramus certificari tua ſolutione, ſuper vulgari toto Orbe quæſtione, quę ab omnibus penè quotidiè ventilatur, & adhuc lis celatur indiſcuſſa. An liceat Presbyteris poſt acceptum Ordinem Vxores ducere: *Whether it be lawfull for Prieſts being in Orders to Marry Wiues, or no.* **And this queſtion, ſaith he, at that time, that is to ſay, in the daies of King** Henrie **the Firſt, was beaten, and diſputed throughout the whole world, and yet lay ſtill vndiſcuſſed. If M. Harding had beene better informed, hee would not haue called this either Rifferaffe, or plaine Lying. But often times he is hardieſt man to ſpeake, that hath leaſt to ſay.** *Pagina 564. & 565.* 5. *An. Do. 1109.*

Laſt of all, whereas I allege an Authority of Damaſus, **taken out of** Gratian, **to proue, that ſundry Popes were Prieſts Sonnes,** O, **ſaith M. Harding,** who euer ſaw ſo impudent a man? what ſhall I ſay to this fellow? Fie for ſhame man: A miniſter of Fables: A miniſter of Lies: Fooliſh ignorance: *M. Hard. fol. 167.*

ignorance: Shameleſſe malice: So ignorant: So witleſſe: How could Damaſus write of ſo many Popes ſo long to come after his death?

6. So terrible is M. Harding in his dealing. But be not afraid, good Reader, of all this ſmoke. Thou ſhalt ſee it ſuddenly blowen all to vanity, from whence it came. Firſt of all, as touching the very truth of the ſtorie, euery of theſe Popes by Gratian alleged was indeed a Prieſts Sonne. And this only was it I had to ſay. And now the ſame I ſay againe:

Pag. 207. Euery of theſe Popes was a Prieſts Sonne, not one excepted, as in place it ſhall be proued. What cauſe then had M. Harding, ſo vainely to diſquiet himſelfe, and thus to cry out vpon poore Miniſters, of Lies, and Fables? That I ſay is true: and Truth is no Lie: Truth is no Fable.

But you will ſay, Damaſus was dead long before theſe Popes were borne. How then could he know, who were their Fathers? Herein I grant, there is an error. But, good Reader, it is Gratians error: It is not mine. I report Gratian only as I finde him. I put not to him: I take not from him. I alter not one Letter of all his words. Therefore tell M. Harding, it is Gratian his own Doctor and Dearling, that thus hath written. Bid him call Gratian Ignorant, Foliſh, Shameleſſe, and Witleſſe, and what him liſteth, and let

M. Har. Confut. a. 340. *a.* him not ſpare. Let him boldly, ſtrike him that did him hurt. For M. Harding hath told vs otherwheres, that whoſo ſtriketh one man for another, is but a Fole.

Thus, good Chriſtian Reader, thou ſeeſt one whole Iurie of M. Hardings greateſt Untruths, wherein he repoſeth his greateſt truſt, is clerely attainted. As he hath dealt vprightly herein, ſo maiſt thou truſt him in all the reſt. By a ſmall draught of Sea water thou maiſt iudge the verdure of the whole.

M. Hard. fol. 408. 409. But O good God, what ſtirre keepeth M. Harding amongſt other his little prætie petite quarrels! He telleth thee, I haue named Iohannes Camotenſis for Iohannes Carnotenſis: And therein, as in a matter of great weight, he hath beſtowed great ſtore of void words, and foure whole Pages of his Booke. Verily a ſimple treſpaſſe, whereof to ground ſo great a battell. It is too light a labour, to ſtriue for names. If he like not the one, let him boldly take the other. Certainly Gheſnerus in his Epitome, and Cornelius Agrippa call him plainly, as I doe, Iohannes Camotenſis. But be it Camotenſis, be it Carnotenſis, or what you will, his words be euen as I allege them: In Eccleſia Romana ſedent Scribæ, & Phariſæi. Ipſe Papa iam factus eſt intolerabilis: Papæ Pompam, & Faſtum nullus Tyrannorum vnquam æquauit: Papæ Legati ſic Bacchantur in Prouincijs, acſi ad flagellandam Eccleſiam Satan egreſſus ſit à facie Domini. Vim faciunt Scripturis, vt habeant plenitudinem poteſtatis. Let M. Harding grant thus much, and vſe the names at his pleaſure.

Gheſnerus. Cornel. Agrip. de Vanitate Scientiarum.

Againe he ſaith, I haue named Zarabella for Zabarella: Heruæus, for Iohannes Pariſienſis; Iohannes Pariſienſis, for Heruæus, and Petrus à Scoto, for Dominicus à Scoto. He ſaith I allege Heruæus by Chapters, whereas Heruæus is diuided by certaine other Diſtinctions, and not by Chapters. He ſaith, I haue named Pius Secundus by the name of Pope Pius, a yeare, or a moneth, or ſome certaine time before he was Pope. No doubt, a perilous caſe. The man was one, and his words were one, but his name was changed. In one place, he ſaith, I haue left out Enim: In another place, I haue left out Hoc: In another place, my Printer hath miſplaced Schemate, for Schiſmate: Pighius, for Pighius: and I know not what. Such waighty cauſes hath M. Harding pickt out, to make vp his tale. Heereat he lightneth, and thundreth, and ſhaketh ſand and Sea together. Heereat, and at other matters of like force he crieth out, Leaud wretches, Iewiſh, Heatheniſh, Shameleſſe, Blaſphemous Villaines: As if it were lawfull for a Doctor of Louaine to ſay what him liſteth. If he eſpy any ſuch ſimple ouerſight, as I haue ſhewed, or any Sentence miſalleged, or any one Author miſnamed, or any thing els, that may be wreſted from the purpoſe, he braieth amaine, False Miniſters: False Harlots: Ye bragge: Yee beaſt: Yee Lie falſly: Ye Lie for aduantage: Ye are impudent Liers: Leaud Lies: Heapes of Lies: Nothing but Lies, And all is Lies. With as great wiſdome, and diſcretion, as did ſometime Anaxagoras, the Philoſopher of Græcia: who, when he had ſeene a little Pebble ſtone fallen downe from Heauen, imagined therefore, that the Sunne, the Moone, the Starres, and all the whole Heauens were made of Stones. By theſe prety poſies, and flowers of ſpeech, we may eaſily deſcry M. Harding from all his fellowes. Howbeit, herein I truſt to be ſo vnlike vnto him, as he is like vnto himſelfe. Neither can our cauſe appeare the worſe in the iudgement of the wiſe, for that M. Harding hath ſo good a grace to ſpeake ill. Ill ſpeech is not alwaies proofe ſufficient of good matter. Maxentius ſaith, Hæretici cùm peruerſitatis ſuæ non poſſunt reddere rationem, ad maledicta conuertuntur: *Heretikes, when they finde themſelues not able to yeeld a reaſon of their wilfulneſſe, ther they fall to plaine railing,*

Diogen. Laertius.

But one thing ſpecially much miſliketh M. Harding aboue all the reſt, that, the better to diſcloſe the deformities, and weakneſſe of his Doctrine, I haue alleged ſo many Canoniſts

niſts and Schoole Doctors. For all them he weigheth no better now, than Æſopes Fables. And therefore he ſaith, As for the gewgawes of the Schoolemen, and Canoniſts, I deſpiſe them vtterly. What then? Would M. Harding that we ſhould rather alleage S. Auguſtine, S. Ambroſe, S. Hierome, S. Chryſoſtome, S. Baſil, and others the Ancient, and Learned Fathers, touching his Priuate Maſſes, his Halfe-communions his Dumbe praiers in a tongue vnknowen, and other like diſorders of the Church of *Rome*? Did euer any of theſe Fathers, either vſe alone the Holy Sacrament himſelfe alone, the whole people looking on him? Or miniſter the Communion vnto the people in one only kind: or ſay the publike praiers in a ſtrange tongue, the people not knowing, what he ſaid? Would any of theſe Fathers euer haue ſaid, The Pope hath Vniuerſall power ouer all the world: we all receiue of the Popes fulneſſe: The Pope cannot erre: The Pope is aboue all Generall Councels: The Pope hath power ouer the Angels of God: Kings, and Princes hold their Crownes, and Dominions of the Pope? Alaſſe theſe good Fathers were dead many hundred yeres, before theſe, and other like vanities were knowen in the world. *Detect.* 277. *b.*

But may it not be lawfull for vs, with M. Hardings good fauour, to alleage ſuch witneſſes, as beſt know the cauſe? Or was there euer any man iuſtly reproued before any indifferent and reaſonable Iudge, for producing of honeſt, and lawfull witneſſes? Or, are all the Schoole Doctours, and Canoniſts, now become Inteſtabiles, that is to ſay, ſo far out of Credit, ſo infamous, and ſo vile, that they may not be allowed to beare witneſſe? Whoſe then are they? Of whether ſide ſtand they? Are they not all M. Hardings owne Doctors? Is he now aſhamed of his owne? Are they not all ſworne to the See of *Rome*? And what were they? What roomes bare they in the Church? Were they not Abbats, Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Cardinals, Saints, and Popes? Was not Panormitane an Abbat? was not Albertus Magnus a Biſhop? was not Antoninus an Archbiſhop? was not Holcote a Cardinall? was not Caietanus a Cardinall? Is not Bonauentura a Saint? Is not Thomas a Saint? was not Innocentius 2. a Pope? was not Adrianus a Pope? Did not Pope Gregory 9. write the Decretals? Did not Pope Bonifacius 8. write the Sextus? Did not Pope Clemens write the Clementines? Did not Pope Iohannes 22. and other Popes write the Extra Vagantes? Were not theſe Chriſts Vicars? Were they not Peters Succeſſors? Were they not the light of the world? Bare they not the Keies of the Kingdome of heauen? Is not Gratian called Fundamentum Iuris Canonici, and that euen by Eugenius 3. the Pope himſelfe? Were not theſe for the ſpace of fiue hundred yeres together the only Rulers of the Church of God? Were not their words holden for Lawes? Were there any others better, or better learned, or at all any other Doctors in the Church? Of the Schoole Doctours, was not one called Subtilis, another Solennis, another Irrefragabilis, another Angelicus, another Seraphicus? What warrant had we then of the faith of Chriſt, what Doctrine, what Sacraments, what Diſcipline, what Correction, what Order, what Comfort, but at their hands? How could any Counſell be holden, how could any man recouer his right, how could the Pope himſelfe maintaine his Vniuerſall power, and his Triple Crowne, but only by them?

And yet will M. Harding ſuddenly condemne them all, euery one, by one Sentence, Abbats, Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Decrees, Decretals, Cardinals, Saints, and Popes, and all together? Will he make them all vnable to beare witneſſe? will he thus deſpiſe them, and call them Gewgawes, as if they were all Tinkers, and Coblers, and no better?

I trow M. Harding was not very well informed, when he ſuffered theſe things, ſo vnaduiſedly to paſſe from him. Otherwiſe, to ſeeke reueng vpon his Aduerſaries, he would not ſo ſturdily haue plaid Samſons part, and ſo raſhly haue cruſht the Pillars, whereby he leaned, and haue ſhaken downe the whole houſe vpon himſelfe. For, I beſeech thee, aſke M. Harding, what hath the Pope to ſtand vnto, when the Schoole Doctours, and Canoniſts be gone from him? What Old Father, what Ancient Doctor, what Counſel, what Scripture is there left him? what will he ſay to the Doctors of our ſide, that ſo peremptorily, and ſcornefully deſpiſeth his owne, and calleth them Gewgawes? It might haue pleaſed him to haue ſuffered them, as witneſſes, quietly to haue told their tales, ſpecially in ſuch caſes, as no other man could know ſo well as they. For by them, and by them only, and by none elſe, we may ſee that great and horrible blindneſſe and miſery that Satan had brought into the Church of God. For although it be now remoued from our eies, yet in theſe Canoniſts and Doctors bookes, as in publike Records it remaineth ſtill. Gods holy name be praiſed for euer, that of his great mercy hath deliuered vs by the clearenceſſe and glory of his Goſpell.

Verily S. Paul, to aduance the Truth of God, and to confound his enemies, thought it no reproch to take witneſſe of the Heathen Poets, Menander, Epimenides, and Aratus. The learned Fathers, Tertullian, Clemens, Euſebius, Arnobius, take witneſſe of the

godlesse Philosophers: S. Augustine of the Sibylles: Lactantius of Apolloes Oracles. Yea, M. Harding himselfe, when he is able, and when neede so requireth, is contented to take witnesse of Leontius, of Abdias, of Amphilochius, of Homer the Greeke Poet, of Priscian the poore Grammarian, of Scholasticall Doctours, of Canonists, of Decrees, of Decretals, of Glosses, and Margins, and spareth nothing. Yet now must they be despised altogether, and goe for Gewgawes, for children to play withall.

But we must pardon M. Harding, he dealeth indifferently, and is nothing partiall. For euen with like reuerence he vseth all the ancient Doctors of the Church, and others of later time, that fight of his side, and are allied vnto him. Tertullian (he saith) was an Heretike, and wrote this, and that, in defence of his Heresie. S. Cyprian (he saith) stood in an ill cause and defended a falshood, and was driuen to the very same shifts, whereunto all Heretikes are driuen. Againe he saith: We neuer tooke our selues bound to any priuate opinion of whatsoeuer Doctor. If in a secret point of learning *S. Augustine* or *S. Cyprian* teach singularly, we follow them not. It seemeth (saith he) *S. Hierome* was deceiued by a rumour, as being farre from the places where the truth might be knowen. We binde not our selues (saith he) to maintaine whatsoeuer *Albertus Pighius* hath written. Cardinall *Caietanus* (saith he) hath his errours: *Erasmus* and *Agrippa* be men of small credit: *Alphonsus de Castro, Beatus Rhenanus, Platina, Appendix Concilij Basiliensis*, are stuffe little worth. Againe, Iohannes Gerson, the greatest learned man of his time, and the only Doctour and Leader of the Councell of Constance, whom Trithemius calleth Theologorum sui temporis longè Principem, is no better than good plaine Father Gerson. To be short, Nilus, a Greeke Writer, and the Archbishop of Thessalonica, if it like M. Harding, must beare the bable.

M. Hardings Detect. 238. 229. Detect. 271. b. Conf. fo. 232. b Conf. fo. 285. b Conf. fo. 232. b Detect. 307. b Detect. 307. a Conf. 206. Detect. 225. b.

Thus we see, M. Harding hath a commission, to controll all maner of Doctours, whatsoeuer, Greekes, Latines, Old, New, his owne, and others, if they come not readily to his purpose. Nicolaus Cusanus saith, Papa Eugenius dicit, hoc verum esse, si ipse velit, & non aliter: Pope Eugenius *telleth vs, this thing is true, if his Holinesse will haue it true: And that otherwise it is not true.* Such a power, I trow, M. Harding would claime vnto himselfe, that nothing may be taken for true or false without his liking. Marcolphus will not lightly find a fit tree to hang himselfe on.

Nicol. Cusan. de Concordan. Li. 2. Cap. 20.

But M. Harding saith, I alleage great troupes of Doctours, and other Writers: But vse no maner discourse of wit, as he himselfe doth, to enlarge my matters: As though, whoso hath most words, spake alwaies best to purpose. The learned Father Tertullian said sometime vpon like occasion: Rhetoricari quoque nos prouocant Hæretici: *These Heretikes would haue vs play the Rhetoricians, to embosse out our matters with shew of words*, and of a Mole-hill to make a Mountaine, as they doe. As for M. Harding, what discourses he vseth, it may easily appeare, by that in his last Detection, he hath discoursed vs two hundred, and six whole sides of Paper onely in Preambles, and Prefaces, before he once stept into his matter. And good reason is it, that, when Scriptures and Doctours will not serue, then discourse of Wit should hold the Plough. Although M. Harding want weight of matter, yet at least he hath words at will. They cost him but little. Vessels neuer giue so great a sound, as when they be emptie. A Courtegian of Rome will pranke her selfe more trimly, than a Vertuous Lady. It is an easie matter, with Maskes, and Visards, and long Discourses, to fray the simple. The poore Asse will roare out sometimes like a Lion.

Tertul. de Resurrectione carnis.

I goe directly, and shortly to the matter, and delight not, as M. Harding doth, to set my words to sale by discourse of speech: But thinke it sufficient only to alleage the words, and Authorities of the Ancient Fathers. Of the other side, M. Harding out of the Ancient Fathers alleageth, either nothing at all, or very little, or little to the purpose: but furnisheth vs with words enough of his owne, that is to say, (and let him pardon my plainenesse) not with the best, or wisest words, that might be spoken.

The Protestants (saith he) are diuided, and scattered into Sects, and factions, not one of them agreeing with the other. They haue twenty sundry opinions touching Iustification: They haue six and thirty opinions touching the Communion in both kinds. So precisely M. Harding keepeth his reckenings. And yet perhaps if he were called suddenly to an Audit, of all these fiue and fifty sundry opinions, he were not able to recken foure. But Master Harding may lawfully discourse at pleasure, as a man liking well his owne wit, and in respect thereof misliking all others.

Detect. fol. 35. a.

7. Detection fol. 34. a. Detect. 33. b. Detect. 82. b. Detect. 139. a. Ad Henricum 8. lib. 3. Copus Dial. 6. Pap. 878.

Againe he saith: The Protestants haue forsaken Christ: The Protestants are become Iewes: The Protestants will be circumcised according to Moses Law: The Protestants require to haue the Paschall Lambe: The Protestants tell their people, there is no Hell at all: The Protestants teach vs, that God is bound to obey the Diuell: The protestants at their next proceeding will vtterly deny God. So likewise saith Cardinall Poole a man, that would highly be commended for his modestie: The Protestants (saith he) will shortly denie, that Christ is *Messias*, the Anointed of God. Another of them saith with like discretion: The Protestants deny, that Christ euer appeared

red in the flesh. And againe he saith, *Peter Martyr* denied, that Christ is our Intercessour. There is no tale so vnlikely, but by such prety discourses it may be proued. *Copus Dial. 3. Pag. 331.*

Againe, throughout the whole discourse of all his Bookes, he telleth vs, that the blessed Succession of Peter shall neuer faile. That the Popes Chaire is the very knot of Christian Vnity; That the Church of Rome is the Vniuersall Church of God; That the Pope is the only Vniuersall Gouernour of all the world; That the Pope may not be controlled, or iudged by any power: That the Pope is aboue all Generall Councels; That the Pope hath Authorite ouer the Soules in Purgatory; And ouer the Angels of God; That S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostome, and all other the Doctours, and Holy Fathers might erre: But the Pope only can neuer erre. 8.

If thou tell him, that many Popes haue erred, and shamefully erred, as it is euident, and easie to proue, he will answer thee, They erred only as men, but not as Popes. For the Pope hath sundry Capacities in one person: Sometimes we must take him as a man, and sometimes as no man. 9.

If thou tell him, that Popes haue erred, euen as they were Popes, then will he answer thee, that the Pope may erre, and hath erred in some certaine particular cause, or question. But in Faith, or Doctrine he cannot erre:

If thou tell him, that sundry Popes haue maintained open, and knowen Heresies, and therefore haue vndoubtedly erred in Faith, and Doctrine; then will he tell thee, that they maintained such Heresies, only as their owne priuate opinions, but not as Doctrine for the Church. Againe, if thou tell him, that certaine Popes haue published, and preached, and taught Heresies, and sent abroad Preachers, to confirme the same; then will he tell thee, that although they preached, and confirmed Heresies, yet they neuer confirmed them by publike Decree, and open Sentence in their Consistories: as if the Popes Consistory were of greater weight in matter of Doctrine, than his Pulpit.

Thus M. Harding discourseth about the fields, A primo ad Vltimum, from Errour, to Man: from Man, to Pope: from Pope, to Iudgement: from Iudgement, to Faith: from Faith, to Opinion: from Opinion, to Preaching: from Preaching, to Decree: And so from one thing to another: And whereas one thing will not serue, by discourse of wit he fetcheth a better.

All these Songs he sang vs before, in his Answer, in his Reioinder, and in his Confutation. And now, when all is done, as a silly Minstrell, is faine to fall to Discoursing, and to sing the same about againe. Otherwise he should lacke worke for his Printer.

To shadow the notorious Ambition of the Church of Rome, openly condemned in the great Councell of Aphrica, and called the smoky pompe of the world either ignorantly, or guilefully he corrupteth the plaine Text, and turneth Petentes, into Potentes, that is to say, he turneth poore Suiters, into Princes. God Reader, turne to the place, and consider the Answer that I haue made hereto: and then aske of M. Harding, what Discourse, or what wit was this, to corrupt his Translation, to falsifie the sense, to turne Pe, into Po, and one word into another? Aske of him, what he meant, with so sensible forgery to seeke to mocke thee. *Quibuscunq; Petentibus. Quibuscunq; Potentibus. πᾶν διπούντων. Pagin. 123.*

Againe, whereas S. Basil writeth thus vnto Athanasius the Patriarke of Alexandria, Visum est vtile, vt scribatur ad Episcopum Romanum, vt consideret res nostras, & det Consilium: *It seemeth good we write to the Bishop of Rome, that he consider of our case, and giue vs Counsel.* M. Harding by his proper discourings hath thought it better, thus to English the same words: It hath seemed good, that we write to the Bishop of Rome, that he visit vs, and determine the matter by his Sentence. *That the Bishop of Rome consider our case,* saith S. Basil: That the Bishop of Rome visit vs, saith M. Harding: *That the Bishop of Rome giue vs counsell, what we may doe,* saith S. Basil: That the Bishop of Rome determine the matter by his Sentence, saith M. Harding. Thus by his discoursing he hath changed, Considering, into Visiting, and Giuing of Counsel, into Sentence in iudgement. *Basil. in Epist. ad Athanasium. M. Harding. Detect. 179. b. Defence 129. Vt Consideret res nostras. Vt det Consilium.*

But aske him, I pray thee, what discourse of wit moued him to change all the Latine Translations of S. Basil, that euer he saw, and to forge vs a new Translation of his owne. Aske him wherefore this Greeke word, Ἐποχὰ ποιεῖ, may not well be Englished, To consider. Aske him wherefore these Greeke words, δοῦναι γνώμην, may not well be Englished, To giue Councell. Aske him, where he euer read, in any allowed Greeke Writer, these words, δοῦναι γνώμην, vsed for a Decree, or Sentence in Iudgement. Aske him, what made him so bold, to shape vs new Greeke words of his owne, such as no Grecian euer heard before. Ἐποχὴν, saith M. Harding, and againe, Ἐποχὴν, twice together in one place. But bid him leaue his long discourses, and shewes of wit, and plainly to tell thee, euen as he wil be counted a Grecian, in what Historiographer, in what Oratour, in what Philosopher, in what Poet, he euer heard of this word Ἐποχὴν. Tell him, good Reader, tell him, This

Verbe is not Επσχέπτω, as he imagineth, but Επσχέπτομαι. And bid him, not to truſt to his Dictionary, for it will deceiue him. Επσχέπτομαι, I ſay, is the Originall Verbe, and not Επσχέπτω. And therefore the firſt Indefinite, is not Επσχέψα, as M. Harding telleth thée, but Επσχέψαδαι. It was ſufficient for him, to mocke thée with Latine, and Engliſh. But of himſelfe to deuiſe new Greéke words, and new Grammers, wherewith to mocke thée, it was too much.

Detection 67. Defenſe. By his diſcourſes he is able to defend theſe words of Hoſtienſis; Deus, & Papa faciunt vnum Conſiſtorium: Excepto Peccato, Papa poteſt quaſi omnia facere, quæ poteſt Deus: *God, and the Pope haue one Iudgement Seate: And, Sinne onely excepted, the Pope can doe in a maner all things, that God can doe.* Whereby, I trow, is meant, that, as God is omnipotent, ſo in a maner is the Pope.

Detection 358 By his diſcourſes he is able to defend that moſt horrible and blaſphemous Prayer, deuiſed and vſed in the Church of *Rome*, Tu per Thomæ Sanguinem &c. to the manifeſt preiudice, and derogation of the Blood of Chriſt. By his Diſcourſes, he is able to defend theſe words of Catharinus, lately pronounced in the Councel of Trident; *Our Lady is Chriſts moſt faithfull fellow*, making a Creature equall and fellow with Chriſt the Creator, which is God bleſſed for euer.

To be ſhort, by his Diſcourſes, he is well able to defend theſe moſt vile and filthy words, touching Prieſts Concubines, vttered to moſt vile and filthy purpoſe; Sinon caſtè, tamen cautè; *If they cannot liue chaſtly, yet let them deale charily.* The circumſtance conſidered ſaith M. Harding) all this may ſeeme, to be well, and diſcreetly (and chaſtly) ſaid, and to giue vs very good counſell. O mercifull God, whether will M. Harding lead vs at laſt with his Diſcourſes! Such diſcreét and holeſome counſell he might haue learned of Mitio in the Heathen Comodie; for thus he ſaith; Non eſt flagitium, mihi crede, adoleſcentem Scortari.

Detection fol. 399. b. 400.

Yet further to proue, that he hath a ready wit to courſe at pleaſure, he ſaith vnto vs frankly, and by way of grant; What if ſome haue written, that poiſon was miniſtred in the Bleſſed Sacrament? What if the Pope ſuffred Franciſcus Dandalus, the Venetians Embaſſadour, to lie vnder his Table like a dogge, while he was at dinner? What if Popes haue ſuffered great Princes, and Monarks, to kiſſe their fét, to hold their ſtirrops, and to lead their horſes? What if Pope Alexander vſed Frederike the Emperour more proudly, than became a man of his calling, treading him downe to the ground, and ſetting his foote on his necke? Be theſe things neuer ſo true, neuer ſo tyrannicall, and neuer ſo horrible, yet if M. Harding once ſay, What if, by diſcourſe of his wit, they may ſone be ſalued.

M. Harding in his Preface to the Reader.

By ſuch Diſcourſes he is able to proue his Priuate Maſſes, his Dimi Communions, his Primacies, his Pardons, his Purgatories, and what thing ſoeuer ſhall come to hand. When Scriptures faile, then diſcourſe of wit muſt come in place: And when wit and diſcourſe will not ſerue, then good plaine round railing muſt ſerue the turne. Then, (ſaith he) Ye are proud, ye are Luciferlike, ye ſerue the Diuell. Then he telleth the world, M. Iewell is worſe than Ananias, that condemned S. Paul: M. Iewel plaieth the part of Antichriſt: M. Iewel is the open enemy of the Church: M. Iewel is the enemy of God: M. Iewel honoureth that Idol Caluine more than Ieſus Chriſt: M. Iewel is Meſſias: M. Iewel is Chriſt: M. Iewel is better than Chriſt. Then he diſcourſeth, and flingeth now at his Lutherans: now at his Huguenotes: now at Browne: now at the Puritans: now at Bale: now at Illyricus.

M. Harding Detect. 39. b. Detect. 210. 245. Detect. 40. Detect. 359. Detect. 210. Detect. 212.

Thus he iumpeth, and courſeth this way, and that way, as a man roning without a marke, or a Ship fléeting without a Rither. Thus he ſheweth vs a mountaine of words without ſubſtance, and a houſe full of ſmoke without fire: and imagineth, that his little Elder Pipe, by diſcourſe of wit, will reſemble the ſound of a double Canon. When all is done, we may ſay of him, as the poore man ſaid that ſhoare his Sow, Yéere is great crie, and litle woll.

God Reader, Truth is plaine, and homely, and hath no néede of theſe Pablements. But whoſo will take vpon him to maintaine Vntruth, muſt néedes be forced to diſcourſe about with long vagaries, to lead his Reader from the purpoſe, to fée̊de him with words for want of matter, and briefly to doe, euen as héere M. Harding doth.

I cannot imagine, that any my poore labours ſhall be able to end theſe quarrels. For a contentious man will neuer lacke words. Notwithſtanding in this Augmentation I haue endeuoured for my ſimple part, to ſay ſo much, as to a reaſonable man may ſéeme ſufficient. I haue cleared ſuch places as ſéemed darke: I haue ſupplied ſuch things, as ſéemed to want: I haue reformed ſo much, as reaſon required: Briefly, I haue anſwered the ſubſtance of all M. Hardings long Diſcourſes. If any thing be left vnanſwered, either it was nothing, or nothing worth.

May

May it please thee, good Christian Reader, to peruse both, and to iudge vprightly. Endeuour thorowly to know the cause. An ignorant iudge was neuer indifferent. M. Harding would haue thee only to follow the example of thy late deceiued Fathers, and further to search, and know nothing. And oftentimes thine ignorance maketh him bold. He leadeth thee into the darknes of Death, and yet would haue thee beleeue thou art in Paradise. The blind man is led he knoweth not whither. But search thou the Scriptures, as Christ himselfe biddeth thee: Learne to know the will of God, as S. Paul aduiseth thee; Haue pleasure in Gods Holy word, as the Prophet Dauid warneth thee; and thou shalt neuer be deceiued: Whereas building vpon the sand of witty Discourses, and the variable weakenes of mens iudgements, sometimes allowed, and sometimes reproued, thy House must needs come to ground.

Tell M. Harding, It shall be hard for him to kicke still against the prick. God hath sowed the seed of life. No power is able to rote it out. God hath disclosed the man of Sin: No Cloke is able to hide him longer. Heauen and earth shall passe: But Gods word shall neuer passe. God open the eies of thy heart, that thou maist haue comfort in his light, and reioyce in his Mercies, and patiently wait for that blessed Hope, that is laid vp for thee, and continue faithfull vnto the end. Amen.

From Sarisbury. 11. Decemb. 1569.

I. S.

GOod Christian Reader, I haue here set before thee certaine principal flowers of M. Hardings modest speech. Take no more than may well like thee: and iudge thereof as thou shalt see cause.

M. Harding, in the Preface before his Confutation of the Apologie.

THe manner of writing which I haue here vsed, in comparison of our Aduersaries, is sober, soft, and gentle, &c. and in respect of their heat, bitternesse, and railing, as many tell me, ouer colde, sweet, and milde.

Againe, in the same Confutation.

THere is no man of wisdome or honesty, that would with so immoderate vpbraidings empaire the estimation of his modesty. Fol. 300. b.

M. Harding.

YOur Diuelliſh ſpight. *Reioinder.* fol. 18. *b.*
Your Diuelliſh wickednesse, *Reioinder, Preface to the Reader.*
Your Diuelliſh villany. *Confut.* fol. 256. *b.*
Your railing words of Satans prompting. *Reioind.* 68. *a.*
You are ioyned to Satan, Satan your Schoolemaſter. *Reioind.* 12. *b.*
Ye are moued by the inſtinct of Satan. *Con.* 43. *b.* 255. *a*
Your Father the Diuell. *Confut.* 2. *a.*
Your Babylonicall Tower. *Confut.* 42. *a.*
Your New Church, ſet vp by Satan. *Confut.* 42. *a.*
The Diuell hath you faſt bound. *Conf.* 24. *a.*
Ye are of the Schoole of Satan. *Conf.* 69. *b.*
Your Satanicall ſpirit. *Conf.* 111. *b.*
Yee are the children of the Diuell. *Conf.* 115. *a.*
A Page, a Slaue, a Clawbacke of the Diuell. *Conf.* 131. *a.*
Yee are the limmes of Antichriſt. *Conf.* 202. *a.*
Ye are the practiſed Miniſters of Antichriſt. *Confut.* 195. *b.*
Ye haue taken a patern from Satan. *Conf.* 323. *b.*
Your reprobate Congregation. *Conf.* 338. *a.*
Your Synagogue of Satan. *Conf.* 341. *b.*
Your confuſe tents of Satan. *Conf.* 334.
Your Synagogue of Antichriſt and Lucifer. *Confut.* 212. *b.*
The Heard of Antichriſt. *Conf.* 48. *a.*
The Nouice of the Diuell. *Confut.*
The Diuel and his Miniſters. 116. *b.*
Yee haue learned of the Diuell. *Conf.* 128. *b.*
Your father the Diuell. *Conf.* 348. *b.*
Satan your maſter. *Confut.* 348. *b.*
Satans brood. *Conf.* 348.
Hee hath conceiued hatred by the inſpiration of Satan. *Conf.* 288. *b.*
Satan holdeth you captiue. *Conf.* 342. *b.*
The ſpirit of Satan is in you. 172. *a.*
Ye are faſt bound in Satans fetters. *Confut.* 68. *a.*
Yee are enemies of Vnitie. *Conf.* 55. *b.*
Enemies of the Sacrifice. *Conf.* 67. *a.*
Ye are looſe Apoſtates. *Conf.* 323.
Sacrilegious church-robbers. 323.
Theeues. *Conf.* 155. *b.*
Abominable. *Conf.* 171. *a.*
Lecherous lourdaines. 75. *b.*
Profane Hell-hounds. *Conf.* 114. *b.*
Deſpiſers of God. *Con.* 131. *b*
Your wicked and blaſphemous ſpirit.
Your darke and malicious ſoule. *Reioinder.* 104.
Your hereſies, blaſphemies, Sataniſmes.
Your filthy railing rabble. *Conf.* 75. *b.*
Caluiniſts, Sataniſts. *Conf.* 81. *b.*
Your wicked Cains broode. 114. *b.*
Your profane malice. *c.* 129. *b.*
Your vileneſſe. 135. *a.*
Your damnable ſide. 135. *a.*
Your blaſphemous tongues.
Your deteſtable blaſphemies.
Your Diuelliſh rabble. 209. *b.*
Your Turkiſh Huguenotes, worſe than Infidels. 222. *b*
Your Malignant Church.
Your Congregation of Reprobates. *Conf.* 269. *b.*
Your vile Hereſies. 339. *a.*
Your Diuelliſh ſtoutneſſe of heart.
Your Turkiſh and Heathenish heart. 295. *b.*
Your Turkiſh doctrine. *ibid.*
Ye brag Luciferlike. 173. *b.*
Ye ſpeake villany.
Your quarrell is againſt Chriſt. *Conf.* 178. *b.*
Yee would ſay, if yee durſt, that Chriſt is the Abomination of Deſolation, and Antichriſt is the true God. 194. *a.*
When were there euer ſuch Theeues in the Church of God? 261. *a.*

Your

Your Doctrine is Hereſie, your life is iniquity. 172. *b*

As crafty knaues in a Comedie. *Reioind.* 22. *a.*

Vaine bragging, Vanity, Scurrility, extreme impudency, paſſing madneſſe, proud vanting, Gohath-like. *Reioind. in Pref.* 2.

He is a foole. 186.

Reaſonleſſe, wickleſſe. *Reioin.* 192. *a.*

Fooliſh Negatiues. *Re. Pref.*

They are Apes. } *Conf.* 1. *b.*
The are Aſſes. }

Any ſot would be aſhamed to make ſuch arguments. *Conf.* 51. *b.*

He hath on his fooles coatif he play the Vice well and Verletlike. *Reioin.* 251. *b.*

The canker of his falſe Doctrine. *Reioind. Pref.*

Falſe Goſpellers. *Re. Pref.*

Vnſhametaſſe. 94. *a.*

Impious, Impudent. 123. *a.*

Ye are paſt all ſhame. 186. *a.*

A great Lier.

Boldneſſe in Lying.

Ye Lie for a vantage.

Your ſchoole of Lying.

Ye profeſſe Lying.

Falſe Lies.

Impudent Lies.

Vaine Lies.

Bolde Lies.

Loud Lies.

Foule Lies.

Shameleſſe Lies.

Railing Lies.

Manifeſt Lies.

Notorious Lies.

Slanderous Lies.

Horrible Lies.

We will proclaime you a Lier. 258. *b.*

Your Liberty of Lying.

Your Arte of lying. 218. *b.*

Your Figure of impudent lying. 253. *a.*

Ye be deſperate in your Lying. 277. *b.*

You lie in the plural number. 303. *a.*

And what ſhall I ſay more, but all is Lies. 255. *b.*

Leaue your Railing. *Re.*

Wee like not your Railing. 80. *a.*

Ileaue your vile eloquence to your ſelfe. 111. *b.*

Your Railing tearmes.

Your vile eloquence.

Your ſcolding tale.

Your ſpightfull words. *Conf.* 149. *b.*

Your rancour.

Your ſpight.

Your filthy Railings.

Your vile vpbraidings. *Con.* 175.

Your malitious railing. 184. *b*

Your falſe cankered ſlenders. 184. *b.*

Ceaſe your barking. *Reioind. Pref. to the Reader.*

The poiſon of your tongue *Reioind. Pref.*

Your drop of poiſon.

Your Serpentine tongue, *Reioind.* 67. *a.*

Such craking Challengers. *Reioind. Pref.*

Your railing ſpirit.

Spit your malice.

Spit out your poiſon. *Re. Pre.*

Your hot raging ſpirit. *Conf.* 3. *a.*

Spit forth your gall. *Confut.* 23. *a.*

Your Hereſies and villanies. *Confu.* 10. *b.*

Your vaine boaſt in wickedneſſe, wrought by the power of Satan. 19. *b.*

Your filthy railing rabble. 75. *b.*

It liketh your filthy ſpirit. 101. *a.*

Ye curſed Chananes. 121. *b.*

What crake ye? 128. *b.*

The Diuell the Schoole-maſter of your malice. 168. *a*

Your Baudy Bale. 168. *b.*

Luther, that filthy Frier. 193. *a.*

Brentius, that ſhameleſſe railing Heretike. 288. *a.*

Cough vp the crum of your Hereſie. *Reioind.* 167. *b.*

Cough out that vile poiſon. *Reioind.* 80.

Your Diuelliſh blaſphemy and villany. 256. *b.*

A blaſt of your railing ſpirit. 266. *b.*

Luthers ſtinking ſinke. 42. *b.*

Zuinglius rabble. 42. *b.*

Your vile ſpightful blaſphemous talke. *Reioin. Pref.*

If there were any ſparke of ſhame in you. 94. *a.*

The ſtinking breath of your vile words. 111. *b.*

This Defender is like a mad dog. 207. *b.*

Your vile, venimous & loathſome ſtuffe. 246. *b.*

I would I could plucke malice from your blaſphemous heart. 292. *b.*

With ſuch ſpightfulneſſe of words, as the Diuell hath enſpired them withall. *Con.* 342. *b.*

It ſpighteth you and the Diuell. 279. *a.*

Raile and reuell while yee will. 254. *a.*

Ye raue and crie out. 177. *b.*

The findes of Hell were not yet let looſe, that begat Lutherans and Caluiniſts. *Conf.* 183. *b.*

The Diuell comming from Hell, hath carried you away. 225. *b.*

In your hearts the Diuell hath made his ſhop. 132. *a*

Yee ſhall be bound hand and foot with the cords of the Diuels clew. 292. *a.*

The Diuell poſſeſſeth you, and rideth you. 255. *a.*

The Spirit of the Diuell is within you. 255.

Ye boile in rancour and malice. 269. *b.*

Stampe and rage.

Sturdy dog eloquence. 42. *b.*

Stint your barking. *Re. Pref.*

The Diuell reigneth in your hearts. 87. *b.*

Maugre the malice of the diuell, and of all the Sacramentaries. 95. *b.*

Your malice ſeemeth to paſſe the malice of the Diuell. *Reioind. Pref.*

Yee barke with words more vile than the barking of a dogge. *Reioind.*

Raile vntill your tongues burne in your heads in Hell fire. 112. *a.*

Barke vntill your bellies breake, ye Hell hounds of Zwinglius and Luthers litter. 178. *b.*

Without all wit and modeſtie. *Conf.* 170. *b.*

Cunerus Petri de Brouwerſhauen, Paſtor. S. Petri Lauanij indignus approbauit.
Anno 1565. 10. Aprilis.

M. Harding, in his Preface to M. Iewel *before the Reioinder.*

WEe ſpare your worſhips, and put you in minde of your outrage with more courteous language. Againe, I ſeeme to men of right good diſcretion, rather to offend of lenity and ſoftneſſe. And many doe wiſh that I had temperèd mine Inke with ſharper ingredience.

¶ Thus much onely out of the heape. For to late ſayth all, it were to make another Booke.

One demanded this Queſtion of Zoilus *the Railer:*

Why takeſt thou ſuch pleaſure in ſpeaking ill?

Zoilus *made Anſwer.*

Becauſe, whereas I would rather doe ill, I am not able.

Scoffes and Scornes.

M. Harding heereof thus reproueth his Aduerſary.

Your ſcornfull ſcoffes. *Reioind. Pref.*
Your loathſome ſcoffes. *Reioind. Pref.*
Your ſcoffing ſpirit. *Conf.* 19.
Your irkeſome cuts. *Reioind. Pref.*
Your arte of ſcoffing. *Reioind. Pref.*
Your ſcoffing head. 284. *a.*
Ye ſauce your words with ſcoffes. 29. 76.
Ye play Hickſcorner. *Reioind. Pref.*
Ye play the Vice in an Enterlude. *Re. Pref.*
Your boyiſh and childiſh diſpoſition. 314. *b.*
Your boyiſh ſcoffes. 300. *a.*
Your boyiſh mockeries. 149. *a.*
Your bitter twittings. *ibidem.*

M. Harding of himſelfe.

SVch grace in writing I neither vſe, nor couet; nor haue I it: nor if I had it, ſhould I thinke it meet to vſe. The Truth of God would not be ſet foorth with ſcoffes: Whoſe deſire to vnderſtand the Truth is cold, the ſame is to be ſtirred vp rather with graue and earneſt exhortations, than with ſcornes, and mocks. *Reioinder, in the Preface to the Reader.*

M. Hardings performance of the ſame.

HIs Miniſterlike talke: with ſome ſad Hypocriſie. *Reioind. Pref.*
His Euangelicall meekeneſſe, full coldly and demurely he promiſeth. *Re.* 18. *b.*
His ſolemne Prayer Proteſtantlike. *Re.* 18. *b.*
His Rhetoricall perſwaſions in Pulpit: with holy holding vp of hands, and caſting vp of eies to heauen. *Re. Pref.*
His Miniſtring words. *Re.* 235.
His Pulpit buzzing. *Re. Pre.*
His holy companions. 170. *b.*
This bleſſed Brotherhood. *Conf.* 13. *b.*
Ye ſpeake like a liberall Gentleman. *Conf.* 284. *a.*
This gay Rhetorician. *R. Pr.*
This iolly fellow. 9. *a.*
This iolly Defender. 53. *b.*
This worthy Captaine. *Re.* 31. *b.*
This ſubſtantiall Doctour.
Cuckowlike.
His glorious Sermon. *Pref.*
His worthy courage. *Re. Pref.*
He prooueth it like a Clerke. 115.
Well, and Clerkely reaſoned forſooth. 219. *a.*
His foreſaid worſhipfull reaſons. 276. *a.*
His Clerkly prowes. 149. *b.*
Like proper gentlem ẽ. 140. *a*
They haue tried themſelues like proper men. 139. *b.*
Luther your Radix Ieſſe. *Conf.* 42. *b.*
Caluine your Patriarch. 80. *a*
Your great Rabbine Peter Martyr. *Con.* 82. *a.*
Now come in theſe reuerend Fathers of our new Clergie. *Re.* 155. *a.*
Our miniſtring clergy. 146. *a*
Our miniſtring prelats. 63. *a*
Our new Goſpell Prelats.
Our M. Iohn of Sarisbury. 251. *b.*
How ſay you Sir Miniſter Biſhop? 56. *b.*
The confuſion of your Goliathſhip. *Re. Pref.*
Yee ſpeake much of your Miniſterſhips goodneſſe. 170. *b.*
This is falſe, ſauing your Miniſterſhips. *Con.* 347. *b.*
Your Superintendentſhips. 256. *b.*
Your Maſterſhips. *Re. Pref.*
Your Maſſhips. 247. *a.*

M. Harding. Confutat. fol. 109. *b.*

THus we come within you Defenders, as it were; and claſping with you, wring your weapon out of your hand, and with the other end of it ſtrike you downe: As it is not hard to vs, by learning to ouerthrow you, &c.

TO

TO THE CHRISTIAN Reader.

IT pitieth me in thy behalfe, good Christian Reader, to see thy conscience thus assaulted this day with so contrary Doctrines of Religion: and specially if thou haue a zeale to follow, and seek not what: and wouldest faine please God, and knowest not how: nor findest thy selfe sufficiently armed with Gods holy Spirit: nor able either to discerne thy meat from poison, or to vnwind thy selfe out of the snares. *For Satan transformeth himself into an Angel of light:* The wicked is more watchfull, and vehement, than the godly: and Falshood is often times painted, and beautified, and shineth more glorious than the Truth. 2. Corin. 11.

These be the things, that, as S. Paul saith, *worke the subuersion of the Hearers*: and by meane whereof, as Christ saith, *If it were possible, the very Elect of God should be deceiued*: Howbeit, *God knoweth his owne, and no Power can pull them out of his hand.* God is able to worke comfort out of confusion, and to force his Light to shine out of darknesse. *All things worke vnto good, vnto them that be in Christ Iesus.* Be falshood neuer so craftily coloured, yet in the end the Truth will conquere. 2. Tim. 2. Mat. 24. 2. Tim. 2. Iohan. 10. Roman. 8.

Notwithstanding, God in these daies hath so amazed the Aduersaries of his Gospell, and hath caused them so openly, and so grossely to lay abroad their follies, to the sight and face of all the world, that no man now, be he neuer so ignorant, can thinke, he may iustly be excused. They deale not now so suttlely, as other Heretikes in old times were wont to doe: they hide not the lothsomnesse of their errors: they cloke not themselues in Sheepe-skinnes: they dissemble nothing; they excuse nothing: but, without either shame of man, or feare of God, they rake vp those things, that before were buried, that themselues had forsaken, the wise had abhorred, the world had lothed. It had beene more policy for them to haue yeelded in somewhat, and to haue staied in the rest. So there might haue appeared some plainenesse in their dealings.

But this is Gods iust iudgement, that they, that wilfully withstand the Truth, should be giuen ouer to maintaine Lies, as being the *Children of Vntruth, Children, that will not heare the Law of God.* Esay 30.

For triall whereof, I beseech thee, good Reader, aduisedly to peruse these few notes, truely taken out of M. Harding late Confutation. Iudge thereof, as thou shalt see cause. Let no affection or fantasie cause things to seeme otherwise, than they be.

The two principall Grounds of this whole Booke are these: First, *That the Pope, although he may erre by personall errour, in his owne Priuate Iudgement, as a man, and as a particular Doctour in his owne opinion: yet as he is Pope, as he is the Successour of Peter, as he is the Vicar of Christ in Earth, and as he is the Shepheard of the Vniuersall Church, in Publike Iudgement, in deliberation, and definitiue Sentence, he neuer erreth, nor neuer erred, nor neuer can erre.* As if he would say, The Pope walking in his Gallery is one man, and sitting in his Consistory, or in Iudgement, is another: Which thing to hold Alphonsus de Castro, saith, it is meere folly. Yet is this M. Hardings chiefest, or rather, as I might in manner say, his onely ground. *M. Harding. fol. 334. b.* *Alphons. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

The Second is this: *The Church of Rome is the whole, and onely Catholike Church of God: and whosoeuer is not obedient vnto the same, must be iudged an Heretike.* These two grounds being once well and surely laid, he may build at pleasure, what him listeth. *Confut. fo. 16. b. fol. 261. b.*

As for the Pope, the better to countenance his estate, he saith, that Peter receiued Power Ordinarie *Confu. fol. 48. b*

Confu. f. 335. a & 48. b. Ordinary, to himſelfe, and to his Succeſſors for euer: but his Fellowes had power only by Diſpenſation; *That Peter was the Shepheard, and the Apoſtles the Sheep:* and that the Apoſtles were ſubiect vnto Peter, as the Sheep are ſubiect to the Shepheard: And *that Iames the Apoſtle was a member of* Peter. For better warrant whereof Pope Leo ſaith: Petrum Chriſtus in Conſortium Indiuiduæ Vnitatis aſſumptum, id, quod ipſe erat, voluit nominari: *Chriſt receiuing* Peter *into the company of the Indiuiſible Vnity, would him to be called the ſame, that he was himſelfe.*

Confut. fol. 282. a.

Leo Epiſt. 89.

Confu. fo. 50. b

Confu. 204. b

Confu. 248. b.

Confu. 250. a.

Confu. 248. b.

Confu. 182. a.

Confu. 247. b. & 305. b.

Confu. 180. b. & 248. b.

Confu. 250. a.

Confu. 249. b

Dorman pag. 15.

Confut. 312. b.

Hoſius in Confeſſione Petricouien. ca. 29.

Confu. 192. a.

Confu. 192. b.

Confu. 283. b.

Confu. 284. a. & 283. b.

Confu. 212. b.

Hoſius in Cõfeſſione Petricouien. ca. 27.

Confu. 306. b.

Confu. 16. b. 262. b.

Confu. 196. a.

2. Regum 12.

Galat. 6.

Confu. 251. a. & b.

Confu. 180. b.

Confu. 252. b.

Concil. Trident. Seſſion. 2.

Confu. 123. a.

Iacob. Nanclantus in Epiſt. ad Rom. Cap. 1.

Iaco. Payua, Lib. 9. Polydor. de Inuentorib.

Upon affiance and truſt of theſe words, M. Hard. endoweth the Pope with Chriſts only Prerogatiue, and calleth him by Chriſts principall Title, The Prince of Paſtors. And further he ſaith, Of the Pope hangeth the ſafety of the whole Church of God: That vnto the Pope is giuen all maner of power, as well in Heauen, as in Earth: And that, if any man ſay, The Pope hath Authority to command the Angels, and Archangels of God, to come, to go, to wait, to run, to carry, to fetch, *we may not be ſcrupulous,* (for theſe be his words) *in any ſuch matters:* That neither King, nor Emperor, nor Clergy, nor Counſel, nor any power aliue can haue Authority to iudge the Pope, be his Life neuer ſo vile: That the Pope is endued with a Diuine, or a Godly Power, and that by the ſame he is able to Depoſe Kings: That the Pope, euen by the inſtitution of Chriſt, is a Temporall Prince, and hath the right, and intereſt of both Swords, as well Temporall, as Spirituall: That all Kings, and Emperors, by the commandement of Chriſt, receiue their whole power, and authority from the Pope: That the Pope in a right good ſenſe may be called the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: Like as alſo in ſome good ſenſe, he may be called our Lord, and God: (And therfore one of M. Hard. fellowes ſaith: *The Pope is the Head, and Kings and Princes are the Feet:*) That the Pope, whatſoeuer he be, is alwaies a Chriſtian man, *by the Nature of his Office:* And therfore another of them ſaith: Iudaſne ſit, an Petrus, an Paulus, Deus attendi non vult: ſed ſolum hoc, quòd ſedet in Cathedra Petri: *Whether the Pope be* Iudas (the Traytor) *or* Peter *or* Paul, *therof God neuer had vs be carefull. This only is ſufficient for vs, that he ſitteth in* Peters *Chaire.* Likewiſe M. H. ſaith: *It ſhal be ſufficient for vs, to doe, as* Peters *Succeſſors bid vs to doe:* Chriſt (ſaith M. Hard.) *now requireth not of vs to obey* Peter *or* Paul, *but him that ſitteth in their Chaire.*

Again he ſaith, The whole church of God is the Popes Vineyard: The Pope is the Head, and all the *Faithful of Chriſt be his Members:* The preſeruation of the whole Church ſtandeth in the Vnity of the Pope: And therefore Hoſius ſaith, Abſq; Vno (Papa) Eccleſia Vna eſſe non poteſt: *Without One Pope the Church of God cannot be One.* To conclude M. Hard. ſaith, *Without the obedience of the Pope, there is no hope of Saluation.* Thus much hath M. Har. taught vs as moſt ſound, & moſt Catholike doctrine, touching the Authority of the Pope.

Of the other ſide he ſaith, *The Church of Rome is the Vniuerſal, and only Church of God:* and that whatſoeuer Doctrine hath bene taught in the ſame, ought to be taken, as godly, and Catholike: And that all other Churches of the other Apoſtles might erre, and faile: but the Church of Rome, euen by Gods eſpecial promiſe, whatſoeuer ſhe teach, can neuer erre.

He fighteth as ſtrõgly for his Pardons, and Purgatories, as he could do for the Faith of the Holy Trinity. Nathan ſaid vnto Dauid, *Our Lord hath put away thy ſin: Thou ſhalt not die:* Againe S. Paul ſaith: *Beare one of you anothers burthens: Hereby* (ſaith M. Har.) *it is plaine, that the Pope hath power to giue Pardons: and Chriſt gaue* S. Peter *ſpeciall authority to beſtow the ſame.* But the Determination, and full diſcuſſion of theſe great matters, of Pardons, and Purgatory, he ſaith, is very hard, and maruellous intricate.

Whereas they, not without manifeſt blaſphemy, haue vniuerſally taught the people, thus to call vpon the bleſſed Virgin, the Mother of Chriſt, *Thou art the Lady of Angels: Thou art the Queene of Heauen: Giue commandement vnto thy ſonne: Let him know, thou art the Mother:* Wherein alſo another of them ſaith, *Our Lady is Gods moſt faithfull fellow,* Fideliſſima eius ſocia, thus making a creature equall in fellowſhip vnto God: *All this* (ſaith M. Harding) *is nothing elſe, but a* (prety kind of) *Spirituall dalliance: and he is moſt impious, and impudent, that findeth fault with it.*

And notwithſtanding euen now they teach the people to fall downe, and to worſhip the Image of Chriſt, not as they were wont before to ſay, giuing the whole honour vnto Chriſt, that is ſignified by the Image, but euen with the ſelfe ſame honour, that is due to Chriſt himſelfe, and that without any ſcruple, or doubt of Conſcience: notwithſtanding alſo ſome of his owne company ſay, *The ſelfe ſame kind of Deuotion that is now done to Images, differeth but little from open wickedneſſe:* Yet M. Harding ſaith, We know no kind of Idolatry euer vſed in the Church of Rome: Neither is there any Idolatry committed by vs, in Worſhipping of Saints, in Praying to them, or in the Reuerence, we exhibit vnto their Images. Notwithſtanding ſundry others the beſt learned, and wiſeſt of his ſide, haue plainely confeſſed diuers great errours, and deformities in their Church: Notwith-

ſtanding

standing the Pope, his Cardinals, and his Bishops slugge, and slepe, and doe nothing: notwithstanding Gods euerlasting Light, as much as in them lieth, be hid vnder the bushell: notwithstanding the Watchmen be blind, the Dogs be dumbe, the Salt be vnsauoury: the people of God sit in darknesse, and in the shadow of death, and know neither their owne profession, nor the vse, and meaning of their Sacraments, nor what they beleeue, nor what they hope, nor what they worship, nor what they pray: (As for his offering vp of Formes, and Accidents in a Sacrifice vnto God, for so fondly he writeth, I trow, to relieue both the quicke, and the dead, with other errors of greater importance, wherewith he may more easily astonie the people, I will say nothing.) All this notwithstanding, M. Harding doubteth not to say, *If Christ himselfe, or his Apostles were alliue againe, the Word, that is to say, the Doctrine of our beleefe, now preached, and receiued in the Catholike Church* (of Rome) *neither should be altered, nor could be better'd.* *Lib. 6. Cap. 13. Hæc pars Pietatis differt non multum ab Impietate. Conf. fo. 292. b Reioin. fo. 23. b Confu. 234. a*

And therefore, he saith further: *Such wicked changes in Religion, as yee haue made, it is vnlawfull to make, neither with a Councell, nor without a Councell.* Againe: *Our Doctrine hath beene too long approued, to be put in daying in these daies:* And therefore againe, for a finall conclusion he saith thus: *Set your hearts at rest: It shall not be so.* *Confu. 274. a. Confu. 271. Confu. 331.*

These be the speciall Contents, and Implements of M. Hardings whole Booke of Confutation: which he wisheth vs to receiue, vnder his warrant, as the whole, and only Catholike faith of Christ: by force whereof he thinketh himselfe able to subdue, and bind the whole world. If the things, that he maintaineth be so found, what may we then thinke of other things, that he denieth?

Now, what substance of Learning, out of the Scriptures, Councels, and Doctours truely alleaged, he hath brought vs forth for better furniture of the same, I leaue it wholly to be weighed by others. Verily, vtterance, and eloquence, and sound of words, and boldnesse of speech he wanteth none. Howbeit, oftentimes in the fairest rose thou maist finde a canker.

But here good Christian Reader, our Bookes thus laid in the middest before thee, I beseech thee to consider, with what indifferent iudgement M. Harding would haue thee to passe betweene vs.

First he saith: *What should we seeke for Truth? Let vs only behold the custome of the Church.* Againe: *What Arguments, what Allegations, what shew of disproofe soeuer he bring against these things, we ought to make small account thereof.* Againe: *I would blesse my selfe from him, as from the Minister of Satan, and as from the disciple of Antichrist, and as from Gods open, and professed enemy.* Againe: *M. Iewels Replie, and other like heretical bookes, are vnlawfull to be read, by order of the Church, without speciall licence: and are vtterly forbidden to be read, or kept vnder paine of Excommunication.* And againe: *As for the Replie, none other may well serue, but to throw all into the fire.* *Reioind. in the Preface to the Reader. * iij. b. * iiij. a. * iiij. b. ** ij. a.*

Of the other side, touching the word of God, with most terrible words he fraieth thee from it, and biddeth thee to consider of other things, and to behold, I know not what. *Yee prostitute the Scriptures* (he saith) *as Bawds doe their Harlots, to the Vngodly, Vnlearned, Rascall people.* Againe: *Prentises, light Persons, and the rifraffe of the people.* And againe: *The vnlearned people were kept from the reading of the Scriptures by the speciall prouidence of God, that precious stones should not be throwne before Swine.* In such regard these men haue, as well the Holy Scriptures, as also the People of God. The Scriptures they resemble to common Ballets, and the vilest creatures of the stewes. The people of God they call, Vngodly, Rascals, Rifraffe, and filthy Swine. *Reioind. in the Preface to M. Iewel. A. i. Confu. 213. a. Reioind. in the Preface to the Reader. M. Hard. in his answer, Artic. 15. Diuis. 7.*

Thus he suffereth thee not to read, either my poore Booke, whereof thou shouldest iudge: or the Holy word of God, whereby thou mightest be able to iudge: but only biddeth thee to follow him, and to say, as he saith: and all is safe. Thus, first he blindeth thine eies, and then willeth thee to looke about, and to condemne the thing, thou neuer knewest. So saith S. Hierome: Isti tantam sibi assumunt Authoritatem, vt siue dextra doceant, siue sinistra, id est, siue bona, siue mala, nolint Discipulos ratione discutere, sed se Præcessores sequi: *These men take so much vpon themselues, that whether they teach with the right hand, or with the left, that is to say, whether they teach good things or bad, they will not haue their Hearers, or Learners, to enquire causes, wherefore they should doe this, or that: but only to follow them, being their Leaders.* *Hieron. in Esaiam. Lib. 9. Cap. 30.*

But beware, I beseech thee, good Christian Reader. A simple eie is soone beguiled. It is very course Woll, that will take no colour. It is a desperate cause, that with words, and eloquence may not be smothed. Be not deceiued. Remember of what matters, and with what Aduersaries thou hast to deale. With feare, and reuerence be carefull of thine owne saluation. Lay downe all affection, and fauour of parties. Iudge iustly of that shall be alleaged. Vnlesse thou know, thou canst not iudge: Vnlesse thou heare both sides, thou

canſt not know. If thou like ought, know, why thou likeſt it. A wiſe man in each thing will ſearch the cauſe. He that cannot iudge Gold by ſound, or in ſight, yet may trie it by the Poiſe. If thou canſt not weigh theſe matters for want of Learning, yet ſo ſenſible, and ſo groſſe they are, thou maieſt feele them with thy fingers. Thou maieſt ſone find a difference betweene gold and braſſe: betweene Iacob, and Eſau: betweene a face, and a viſard: betweene a full body, and an empty ſhadow.

Auguſt. de. Tempore, Sermon. 145. *Aug. in quæſtion. Veter. Teſtament. quæſt. 43.* *Hilar. in Pſal. 1.* *Tertull. in Apologetico.*

Say not, thou art ſetled in thy Beliefe, before thou know it. Vaine faith, is no faith. S. Auguſtines counſell is good: *Beleeue no more of Chriſt, than Chriſt hath willed thee to beleeue:* Nemo de Chriſto credat, niſi, quod de ſe credi voluit Chriſtus. Likewiſe he ſaith: Fides ſtulta non prodeſt, ſed obeſt: *Fond faith is hurtfull, and doth no good.* S. Hilary ſaith: Non minus eſt, Deum fingere, quàm negare: *To deuiſe fantaſies of God, it is as horrible, as to ſay, there is no God.* The ancient Father Tertullian, ſpeaking of the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt, that diſdained to ſubmit their wils to the will of God, ſaith thus: Amant ignorare, cùm alij gaudeant cognouiſſe. Malunt neſcire, quod iam oderunt. Adeò quod neſciunt, præiudicant id eſſe, quod, ſi ſcirent, odiſſe non poſſent: *They deſire to be ignorant, whereas other folkes deſire to know. They would not know the Truth, becauſe they hate it.* (Whatſoeuer it be) *they imagine it to be the ſame thing, that they hate. But if they knew it indeed, they could not hate it.* Let reaſon lead thee: let authority moue thee: let truth enforce thee.

Eccle. 8. The Wiſeman ſaith, *Who ſo feareth the Lord, will not be wilfull againſt his Word.* God of his mercy confound all Errours: giue the Victorie to his Truth: and glory to his Holy name. Amen.

From London. 17. Octobris. 1567.

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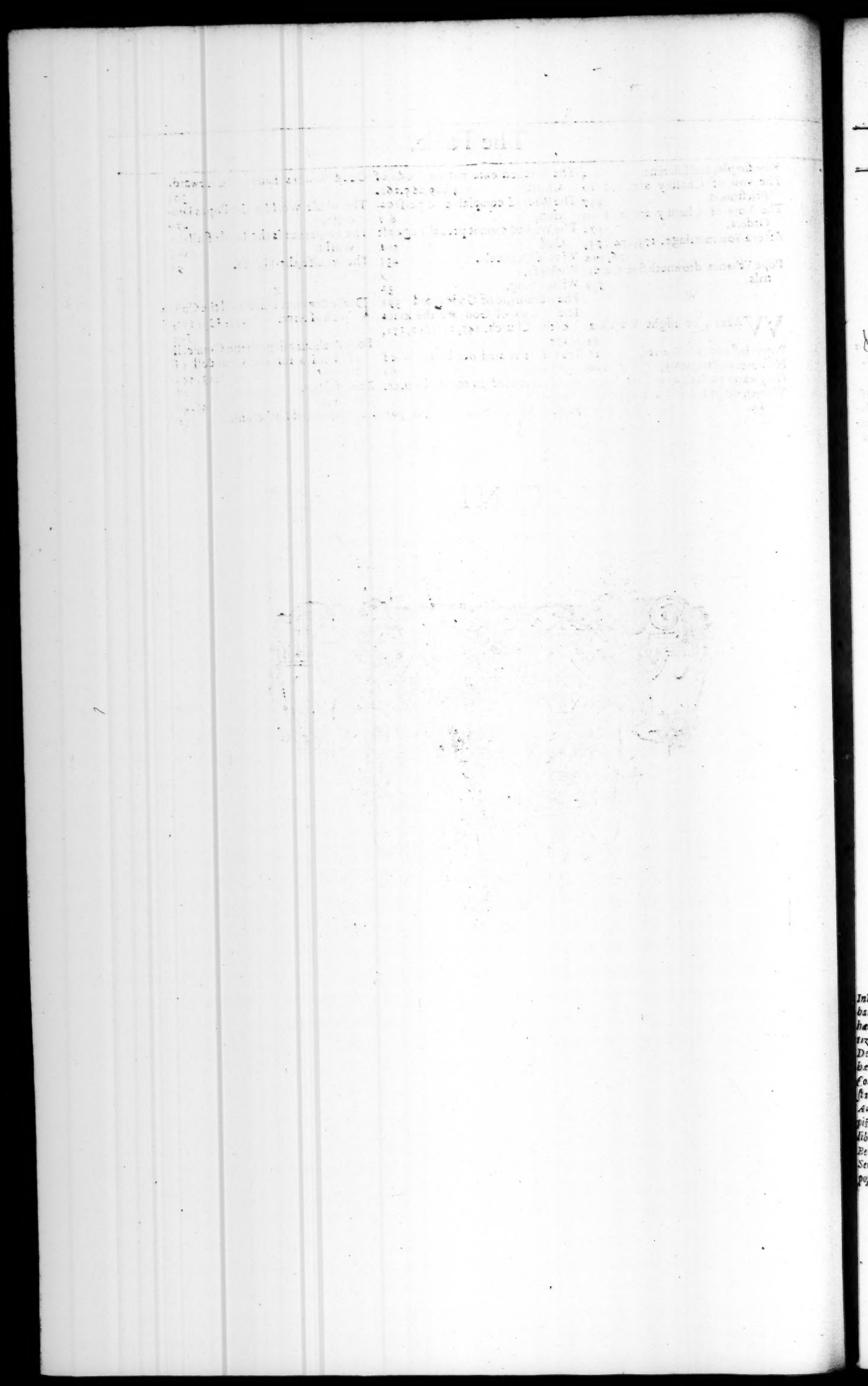
FINIS.



AN ANSVVER TO A CERTAINE BOOKE LATELY SET FORTH By M. HARDING, and *Entituled*:

A CONFVTATION OF THE APOLOGY OF THE Church of ENGLAND.

The Title of the Apologie.

AN Apologie, or Answer, in defence of the Church of England, with a briefe and plaine Declaration of the true Religion professed, and vsed in the same.

The Confutation by M. Harding.

WHereas these Defenders take vpon them the name of the Church of England, setting foorth thereby a face of Authority, they doe much like the Asse that Esope telleth of, which, to make the beasts afrayd, had put on him a Lions skin, and therewith ietted abroad terrible. For as the Lions skinne was but lapped about him, and grew not to his bodie; so they being indeed no liuely members nor part of the Church, couer themselues vnder the title and name of the Church, the rather to beguile the simple. And verily herein they follow the wont of all Heretikes. For neuer was there any sect of Heretikes hitherto, which hath not claimed to be accounted and called the Church. For which cause, of certaine ancient Fathers, they haue beene likened to Apes; whose property is, though they be Apes, yet to counterfeit men, and to couet to seeme men. *Nouatianus*, as saith *S. Cyprian*, after the manner of Apes, would challenge to himselfe the authority of the Catholike Church: and whereas himselfe was not in the Church, but contrariwise, a Rebell against the Church, tooke vpon him to affirme, That all other were Heretikes: and presumed to vphold, The Church was on his side. *Ireneus* and *Tertullian*, who were before him, write, That Heretikes made so much adoe to perswade, That the Church was among themselues onely: That they feared not to call the Right-beleeuing and Catholike Church, Hereticall and Schismaticall. *S. Hilary* declaring how patiently hee demeaned himselfe towards the Arians his enemies, by whom he was banished, writeth, That in fiue yeeres space, whiles he liued in banishment, he neuer spake nor wrote euill word against them, which falsly said, themselues to be the Church of Christ, and were the Synagogue of Antichrist. The Donatists, against whom Saint *Augustine* wrote much, said, That the Christianity was quite lost and gone out of so many Nations that bee in the world, and remained onely in Afrike, and that the Church was only there. In S. *Bernards* time also, the Heretikes who would be called Apostolikes, as they of our time call themselues Gospellers, said, That they were the Church.

In Epist. ad Iubaianum de hæreticis baptizandis. De præscript. hær. Contra Constantium. Aug. contr. Epist. Parmen. lib. 2. cap. 1. Bernar. in Can. Serm. 66. Apostolici.

But what meane all Hereriks (may we iudge) by coueting so much to be seene that which they are not? Forsooth they meane none other thing then their father the Diuell meaneth, when he goeth about to beguile man: for then what doth he? Vseth he not this policy? To change his vgly hew, and put himselfe in goodly shape of an Angel of light. For hee is not vnwitting, that if hee shewed himselfe in his owne

forme, ſuch as he is, that euery one would fly from him, and none lightly would be deceiued by him. Heretikes do the like: Although they hate the Church neuer ſo deadly, yet to haue the more opportunity to hurt it, pretend themſelues to be of the Church. For they be not ignorant, how great the authority of the Church is. Of whoſe Gouernors Chriſt ſaid, He that heareth you, heareth me: and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. And againe, Tel the Church. They conſider in what credit the Church is with al chriſtian people: how they ſtay themſelues by it, as being the pillar & ground of the Truth: how they loue her, euen as their common Mother: how they honour it, as the Body and fulnes of Chriſt, as the Spouſe of Chriſt, through Faith, according to that is written, I wil deſpouſe thee to me in Faith: as the true Sion, which our Lord hath choſen to be his habitation & his reſting place for euer: as the ſafe Arke to keepe vs from drowning in the dangerous ſeas of this world, out of which no let ſethen once out of the Arke of Noe, is no ſaluation. Againe, they know the Church muſt needs bee greatly eſteemed among all the godly, for the ſingular promiſes Chriſt hath made to it: That he would be with it all daies to the end of the world: That he would pray to his Father for the holy Ghoſt to be giuen to it: The ſpirit of truth to remaine with it for euer. But as Heretikes impugne the Law by the words of the Law, as S. *Ambroſe* ſaith; ſo to ouerthrow the Church, they preſume to take vnto them the name of the Church. But what doe Heretikes when they are vrged and wrung, when by force of arguments they are ſtraited, and as it were driuen to the wall? when it is plainly proued to their face, which is ſoone done, that they be not in nor of the Church, ſpecially being of Hereſie openly denounced, and by the iuſt Excommunication cut off from the Church? In this caſe the practiſe of the Goſpellers is, vtterly to ſet the Church at nought, and with a hot raging ſpirit to defie it, and to ſay, That themſelues be the Catholike Church, and that the Catholikes be the Papiſticall Church, the Church of Antichriſt, the whore of Babylon, a den of Theeues, and I cannot tell what.

2. Cor. 11.
Luc. 10. Matth. 18.
1. Tim. 3
Epheſ. 1.
Oſee 2.
Pſal. 131.
Geneſ 7.
In Commentar. Epiſt. ad Tit. cap. 3.
The wont of the Goſpellers being excommunicate out of the Church.

The Anſwer of the Biſhop of Sarisbury.

I Anſwer M. Harding to euery parcell of his Booke, being ſo long, it would bee too tedious. Wherefore leauing many his impertinent ſpeeches, and other vnneceſſarie and waſte words, which ſundry his friends thinke hee might better haue ſpared, I will touch onely ſo much thereof, as ſhall beare ſome ſhew of ſubſtance, and may any way ſeeme worthy to be anſwered.

1. Tim. 3. 15. Epheſ. 1. 23.

First, touching the Church of God, we beleeue and confeſſe all that M. Harding hath heere ſaid, or otherwiſe can be ſaid. It is the Pillar of the Truth, the Body, the Fulneſſe, and Spouſe of Chriſt. All theſe words are vndoubtedly true and certaine. And therefore M. Harding, you are the more blame-worthy, that of the Houſe of God, being ſo glorious, haue made a caue of Theeues: and haue turned the beautie of Sion into the confuſion of Babylon.

True it is, that Heretikes haue euermore apparelled themſelues with the name of the Church: as Antichriſt alſo ſhall procure himſelfe credit vnder the name of Chriſt. Thus did your Fathers, M. Harding, long agoe. They ſaid then, euen as you ſay now, *Wee are the Children of Abraham: wee are the Inheritours of Gods promiſes: we haue the Temple of God, the Temple of God. The Law ſhall neuer paſſe from the Prieſt, nor Counſell from the Wiſe, nor the Word from the Prophet.* Thus continuing wilfully in the open breach of Gods commandement, neuertheleſſe they cheriſhed themſelues then, as you do now, only with the bare title of the Church: in whoſe name whatſoeuer credit ye can any wiſe winne, your meaning is, ſkilfully to conuey the ſame ouer wholly to the Church of Rome: as if that Church onely were the Church of God, and without that, there were no hope of ſaluation. And therefore you defend, and hold for truth, That your Church hath authoritie aboue Gods Word. And Pope Nicholas ſaith, *Whoſo denieth the Priuilege and Supremacy of the See of Rome, hath renounced the Faith, and is an Heretike.* And thus, as Leo ſaith, Eccleſiæ nomine armamini, & contra Eccleſiam dimicatis: *Yee arme your ſelues with the name of the Church, and yet you fight againſt the Church.* Likewiſe ſaith S. Cyprian: Diabolus excogitauit nouam fraudem, vt ſub ipſo nominis Chriſtiani titulo fallat incautos: *The Diuell hath deuiſed a new kinde of policie, vnder the verie title of the name of Chriſt to deceiue the ſimple.*

Iohan. 8. 39. Hierc. 7. 4. Hierc. 18. 18.
De Maior & Obed. Inam Sanctam Diſt. 22 *Omnes.*
Leo Epiſt. 83. *ad Paleſtinos.*
Cypr. De Simplicitate Prælat.

Now concerning that hot raging ſpirit, wherewith M. Harding ſaith, the Goſpellers defie the Church, and ſet it at nought, verilie, I thinke it a hard matter for any Goſpeller, bee hee neuer ſo hot, in ſuch kinde of eloquence to match M. Harding. Neither yet may hee well condemne all ſuch, as in the like caſes haue beene hot and earneſt. Eſay the Prophet ſaith, *O yee Princes of Sodome, and yee people of Gomorrha.* Iohn the Baptiſt ſaith to the Scribes and Phariſes, *O yee Serpents, yee generation of Vipers and Adders.* Chriſt ſaith vnto them, *Woe be vnto you, ye Scribes and Phariſes, ye Hypocrites: Ye are of your father the Diuell.* In theſe examples we ſee, the Spirit of God can ſometimes be hot and earneſt againſt the Deceiuers of the people, and the profeſſed enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt.

Eſai. 1. 10. Matth. 3. 7. Matth 23. 13. Iohan. 8. 44.

Neither

Neither did either Esay the Prophet, or John the Baptist, or Christ, defie the Church of God, and set it at naught, as M. Harding imagineth of vs: but rather by these feruent speeches vttered the vehement zeale, and iust griefe, they had conceiued against them, that vnder the name of the Church abused Gods people, and defaced the Church.

For they are not all Heretikes, M. Harding, that this day espie your grosse and palpable errours, and mourne to God for reformation. S. Augustine saith, Non debet Ouis pellem suam deponere, quòd Lupi aliquando se ea contegant: *It is no reason, the Sheepe should therefore leaue off his fleece, for that he seeth the Woolfe sometime in the same apparell.* Likewise, it is no reason, that we should therefore giue ouer the right, and inheritance, we haue in the Church of God, for that you by intrusion, and vniust meanes haue intituled your selues vnto the same. It behoueth vs rather to search the Scriptures, as Christ hath aduised vs, and thereby to assure our selues of the Church of God. For by this triall onely, and by none other, it may bee knowne. Therefore S. Paul calleth the Church, the Spouse of Christ, for that she ought in all things to giue eare to the voice of the Bridegroome. Likewise he calleth the Church the Pillar of the Truth, for that shee staieth her selfe onely by the Word of God: without which Word the Church, were it neuer so beautifull, should be no Church. The ancient Father Irenæus saith, Columna & firmamentum Ecclesiæ est Euangelium, & spiritus vitæ: *The pillar and buttresse of the Church is the Gospell, and the Spirit of life.* S. Augustine saith, Sunt certi Libri Dominici, quorum authoritati vtrinque consentimus. Ibi quæramus Ecclesiam: ibi discutiamus causam nostram: *There be certaine Bookes of our Lord, vnto the authority whereof each part agreeth. There let vs seeke for the Church: thereby let vs examine and trie our matters.* And againe, Nolo humanis documentis, sed Diuinis oraculis sanctam Ecclesiam demonstrari: *I will, ye shew me the holy Church, not by decrees of men, but by the word of God.* Likewise saith Chrysostome, Nullo modo cognoscitur, quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi, nisi tantummodò per Scripturas: *It can no way be knowne, what is the Church, but onely by the Scriptures.* And againe, Christus mandat, vt volentes firmitatem accipere Veræ Fidei, ad nullam rem fugiant, nisi ad Scripturas. Alioqui si ad alia respexerunt, scandalizabuntur, & peribunt, non intelligentes, quæ sit vera Ecclesia. Et per hoc incident in abominationem Desolationis, quæ stat in Locis sanctis Ecclesiæ: *Christ commandeth, that whoso will haue the assurance of True Faith, seeke to not hing else, but vnto the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they looke to any thing els, they shall be offended, and shall perish, not vnderstanding, which is the true Church. And by meane hereof they shall fall into the Abomination of Desolation, which standeth in the Holy Places of the Church.*

Iohan. 5. 39. *Ephes. 1. 23.* *1. Tim. 3. 15.* *Iren. lib. 3. cap. 11.* *August. De vnit. Eccle. c. 3.* *August. in eodem cap.* *Chrysost. in Opere imperfecto, hom. 49.* *Chrysost. in eadem hom.* Daniel 9. 27. Matth. 24. 15.

By these ancient learned Fathers it is plaine, that the Church of God is knowne by Gods word onely, and none otherwise. And therefore M. Harding, you so carefully flée the same, and condemne it for Heresie, and often burne it, lest thereby the deformities of your Church should be known. For the ill doer flieth the light. *Iohan. 3. 20.*

Now, whereas it so well liketh M. Harding to call vs all Heretikes, and for his pleasures sake to liken vs to Apes, to Asses, and to the Diuel, notwithstanding we might safelie returne the same whole from whence it came, yet I thinke it not semely, nor greatly to purpose, to answere all such intemperate humors. Salomons aduice is good, Answer not folly with like folly. Notwithstanding, the poore simple Asse, vnto whom we are compared, was able sometime to see the Angell of God, and to open his mouth, and to speake, and to reproue the leaud attempt of Balaam the false Prophet. Whatsoeuer account it pleaseth M. Harding to make of vs, by the grace of God wee are that we are. If wee be able to beare Christ with his Crosse, it is sufficient. *Prouer. 26. 4.* *Numer. 22.*

But who they be, that haue of long time ietted so terribly vnder the Lions skin, and onlie with a painted Visard, or emptie name of the Church, haue feared all the cattel of the field, it is needlesse to speake it: the world now seeth it: it can no longer be dissembled. Euen he, that lately bare himselfe as the Lion of the tribe of Juda, and called himselfe [a] King of Kings, and [b] said he had power ouer the Angels of God, and amazed the hearts of the simple with the terrour of his Lions pelt, only for that he sate in Peters Chaire, is now reuealed and better knowne, and esteemed as he is worthy: he may now iet vp and downe with more ease and lesse terrour. And why so? These poore Asses, whom M. Harding so much disdaineth, haue stript off his counterfeit skin, that made him so hardy, and haue caused him to appeare euen as he is.

[a] *Augustinus Stenchus De Primatu.*

[b] *See the fifth part hereof, the 6. Chap and 15. Diuision.*

The Apologie, Chap. 1. Diuision 1.

IT hath been an old complaint, euen frō the first time of the Patriarks and Prophets, and confirmed by the writings & testimonies of euery

age, that the Truth wandreth here & there as a stranger in the world, and doth readily find enemies & slanderers amongst those that know her not. Albeit perchance this may seem vnto some a thing hard to be beleeued, I meane to such as haue scant wel and narrowly taken heed thereunto, specially seeing all mankinde of Natures very motion without a Teacher doth couet the Truth of their own accord: and seeing our Sauior Christ himselfe, when he was on earth, would be called the Truth, as by a name most fit to expresse all his diuine power: Yet we, which haue beene exercised in the holy Scriptures, and which haue both read and seene, what hath hapned to all godly men, commonly at all times; what to the Prophets, to the Apostles, to the holy Martyrs, and what to Christ himselfe: with what rebukes, reuilings, & despights they were continually vexed, whiles they here liued, and that only for the Truths sake: We (I say) do see, that this is not only no new thing, or hard to be beleeued, but that it is a thing already receiued, & commonly vsed from age to age. May truly, this might seeme much rather a maruel, & beyond al beliefe, if the Diuel, who is the father of lies, and enemy to all Truth, would now vpon a sudden change his nature, & hope, that Truth might otherwise be suppressed, then by beleeuing it: Or that he would begin to establish his own kingdome by vsing now any other practises, then the same which he hath euer vsed from the beginning. For since any mans remembrance, we can scant find one time, either when Religion did first grow, or whē it was setled, or when it did afresh spring vp againe, wherin Truth & Innocēcy were not by al vnworthy means & most despightfully intreated. Doubtlesse the Diuel wel seeth, that so long as Truth is in good safety, himselfe cannot be safe, nor yet maintaine his own estate.

Tertull in Apologetico.

Iohan.8.44.

For letting passe the ancient Patriarks & Prophets, who, as we haue said, had no part of their life free from contumelies and slanders: We know there were certain, in times past, which said and commonly preached, That the old ancient Iewes (of whom we make no doubt but they were the worshippers of the only & true God) did worship either a Sow, or an Asse, in Gods stead, & that al the same Religion was nothing els, but sacriledge, & a plaine contempt of all godlines. We know also, That the Son of God, our Sauior Iesus Christ, when he taught the Truth, was counted a Sorcerer & an Inchanter, a Samaritane, Belzebub, a Deceiuer of the people, a Drunkard, & a Glutton. Againe, who woteth not, what words were spoken against S. Paul, the most earnest and vehement Preacher, and Maintainer of the Truth: Sometime, That he was a seditious and busie man, a raiser of tumults, a causer of rebellion: somtime again, That he was an Heretike: somtime, That he was mad: somtime, That only vpon strife & stomacke he was both a Blasphemer of Gods law, and a Despiser of the Fathers ordinances. Further, who knoweth not, how S. Stephan, after he had thorowly & sincerely embraced the Truth, and began frankly & stoutly to preach & set forth the same, as he ought to do, was immediatly called to answer for his life, as one that had wickedly vttered disdainfull and hainous words against the Law, against Moses, against the Temple, & against God? Or who is ignorant, That in times past there were some, which reproued the holy Scriptures of falshood, saying, They contained things both contrary, and quite one against another: and how that the Apostles of Christ did seuerally disagree between themselues, and that S. Paul did vary from them al? And not to make rehearsal of al, for that were an endlesse labor; who knoweth not, after what sort our fathers were railed vpon in times past, which first began to acknowledge and professe the Name

Cornel. Tacit. Hist. lib. 5.

Tertull in Apologetico.

Hier. in Procœmio in Epist. ad Galat.

Hier. in Matth. lib. 1. ca. 1.

Tertul contra Marcion. li. 1. & lib 4.

Lib. 5 cap. 2. Lactam.

of

of Chriſt: how they made priuate conſpiracies, deuiſed ſecret Counſels againſt the Common wealth, and to that end made earely & priuie meetings in the darke, killed young babes, fed themſelues with mens fleſh, and, like ſauage and brut beaſts, did drinke their bloud: In concluſion, how that after they had put out the candles, they cõmitted adultery betweene themſelues, & without regard wrought inceſt one with another: that Brethren lay with their Suters, Sons with their Mothers, without any reuerence of nature or kin, without ſhame, without difference: and that they were wicked men, without all care of Religion, and without any opinion of God, being the very enemies of mankinde, vnworthy to be ſuffered in the world, and vnworthy of life. *Euſeb. l. 5. c. 1.* *Tertull. in Apologetico.*

All theſe things were ſpoken in thoſe daies againſt the people of God, againſt Chriſt Jeſus, againſt Paul, againſt Stephan, and againſt all them whoſoeuer they were, which at the firſt beginning embraced the Truth of the Goſpell, and were contented to be called by the name of Chriſtians: which was then a hateful name among the common people. And although the things which they ſaid, were not true, yet the diuel thought it ſhould be ſufficient for him, if at the leaſt he could bring it ſo to paſſe, as they might be beleeued for true: and that the Chriſtians might be brought into a common hatred of euery body, and haue their death and deſtruction ſought of al ſorts. Hereupon Kings and Princes being led then by ſuch perſwaſions, killed al the Prophets of God, letting none eſcape: Eſay with a ſaw, Jeremie with ſtones, Daniel with Lions, Amos with an iron bar, Paul with the ſword, and Chriſt vpon the Croſſe: and condemned al Chriſtians to impriſonmẽts, to toziments, to the pikes, to be throwne down headlong from rocks and ſteepe places, to be caſt to wild beaſts, and to bee burnt: and made great fires of their quicke bodies, for the onely purpoſe to giue light by night, and for a very ſcorne and mocking ſtocke: and did count them no better, then the vileſt filth, the off-ſcourings & laughing games of the whole world. Thus (as ye ſee) haue the Authours and Profeſſours of the truth euer beene intreated. *Tertull. in Apologetico.* *Suetonius Tranquil. in Nerone.*

M. Harding.

Who would not thinke, that theſe Defenders were true men, that in the beginning of their Apology ſpeake ſo much of the Truth? Yet who knoweth not, that often times euil meaning is hid vnder good words? Who hath not heard, that filthy queanes in time and place vſe the honeſt talke of chaſte matrons? The theefe commendeth iuſt dealings, and many times beweth a ſtomacke againſt falſe harlots, no, mah more. Among al, none pretend truth in words ſo much as Heretikes. I feare me, ſaith S. Paul, leſt, as the Serpent beguiled Eue by his ſubtilty, ſo your wits be corrupted, and fallen away from that plaineneſſe, which is in Chriſt. The Apoſtle feared becauſe of the crafty Iewes: who, the rather to deceiue, mingled Scriptures with their owne traditions, and truth with falſhood. So bringeth the Heretike his hearer to errour in faith by colour and pretence of truth. 2. Cor. 11.

They are much like to the Manicheis, who promiſed their hearers to diſcuſſe, and ſet foorth the truth moſt euidently vnto them, and to deliuer them from al manner of errors. By which faire promiſes S. Auguſtine was allured to be a diligent Scholar of theirs for the ſpace of nine yeeres. *De Vtilita. credendi ad Honoratum lib. 1. cap. 1. Confeſſ. lib. 5. cap. 6.*

Chriſt gaue vs a leſſon how to diſcerne them. By their fruits ye ſhall know them, ſaith he. And now to you Sirs. Euen in the beginning, and, as I may ſay, in the forehead of your Apology, whiles I examine it diligently, I finde two foule faults: the one in your Rhetorike, the other in your Logike. By which two faults both the vnskill of your Secretary, and the weakneſſe of your matter may be eſpied, as the Aſſe, I ſpake of right now, was by his two eares ſtaring out vnder the Lions skin. Your Diuinity is nothing elſe in groſſe, but a lumpe of lies, errors, and hereſies. Matth. 7

Firſt, touching your Rhetorike, amongſt many faulty Proems, one of the worſt is that, which is ſuch, as the aduerſary may vſe: which by them is called *Exordium commune*, that is to wit, ſuch a beginning, as will ſerue the Defendant, no leſſe then the Plaintiffe, or contrariwiſe. Of that ſort is the beginning of your Apology. For declaring at large, that truth hath euer beene perſecuted, what ſaith it therein (the faults amended) that we may not ſay the ſame? That Ship-maſter is accounted very bad, who at the ſetting out of the hauen driueth the Ship on the rocks.

Alleging Tertullian to help your cauſe, ye iniury the Doctor by altering his words. Ye were not wiſe, by falſifying the firſt ſentence, ſo much to impaire your credit. Tertullian ſaith not, that truth readily findeth enemies and ſlanders amongſt thoſe that know her not: but that truth ſoone findeth enemies *inter extraneos*, amongſt aliens and ſtrangers. Now the Chriſtian Catholikes, whom ye cal Papiſts, be not in reſpect of the truth, aliens and ſtrangers. For your ſelues in ſundry places of your Booke, reproue them for reſiſting the truth which they know.

You haue giuen Tertullian a new liuery with your own badge, and haue made exchange of *Extraneos* with *Ignotos*. Tertullian meant by aliens no other then Infidels, and Paynims, among whom Chriſtian people then liued, and were daily perſecuted. But after the Goſpell had beene ſounded abroad by the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſours through all the earth, after that the Emperours themſelues, and all the people euery where had receiued the faith, then was the truth no more a wanderer, ſtranger, or pilgrime in the earth.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Touching this compariſon of whores and theeues, and other like M. Hardings vngentle ſpeeches, as I haue before protelled, I will ſay nothing. He is very dumbe, and can ſpeake but little, that cannot ſpeake ill.

It is true, M. Harding, that you ſay: Moſt liers oftentimes pretend moſt truth: as, if there were none other example, may ſone appeare by the whole tenour and ſubſtance of your bookes. The Diuell himſelfe, the better to ſound his liss, beareth himſelfe oftentimes as the Angell of truth.

2.Cor.11.3. But the example that ye bring of the Iewes, who, as you ſay, the rather to deceiue, mingled Scripture with their own traditions, & truth with falſhood, maketh moſt plainly againſt your ſelf. For you know that this is the generall complaint of all the godly this day throughout the whole Church of God, That you haue mingled your lead with the Lords gold, and haue filled the Lords haruell full of your darnell: That you haue broken Gods manifeſt commandements, to vphold and maintaine your owne traditions: That you haue dammed vp the ſprings of the water of life, & haue broken vp puddles of your owne, ſuch as be able to hold no water: That for your dreames ſake you haue cauſed the people to forget the name of God, and haue led them from that ſimplicity that is in Chriſt Ieſus. This is the mingling of traditions with the Scriptures of God. I marueil yet could ſo freely vtter ſo much, and ſo directly againſt your ſelfe.

Matth.13.25. Ieſem.2.

Ierem.13. 2.Cor.11.

As for the example of the Manicheis, it was vtterly impertinent and from the purpoſe. Yet (good reader) that thou maieſt vnderſtand what maner of heretikes theſe Manicheis were, and what errors they defended: Firſt they forbade lawfull mariage, and allowed fornication, as M. Hardings Catholikes doe now. So ſaith S. Auguſtine of them, Nuptiarum aditus intercludunt, & promiſcuè conuenire hortantur.

See what is anſwered in the fourth part hereof, chap.1. Di.1. In quæſt. in Nouum Teſtament. q.72.

Addition. ☞ Hereunto M. Harding ſaith, You ſlander vs M. Iewel moſt vniuſtly and impudently. The Catholikes neuer forbade lawfull marriage. And it is knowne to all the world that Fornication was neuer allowed in the Catholike Church at any time or age. And the Manicheis by your pretenſed proofe out of S. Auguſtine excluded all men from mariage generally. *The Anſwer.* 1. To the firſt part hereof I grant: lawfull mariage was neuer forbidden in the Catholike Church, that is to ſay, in the whole vniuerſall Church throughout the world. For it is knowne that the Prieſts in India, Æthiopia, Africa, Aſia, Grecia, &c. haue continued ſtill in lawfull marriage, from the beginning vnto this day, without any reſtraint or force to the contrary. But in the Church of Rome the marriage of Prieſts hath beene and is forbidden. And the ſame in all other Churches is iudged lawfull, as it was alſo in the Patriarkes, Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, and other holy Fathers, and generally in the whole Primitiue Church of Chriſt. Neither is it marriage, but the vnlawful reſtraint of marriage, that S. Paul calleth the Doctrine of Diuels.

M.Hard.fo. 81.a. M.Hard.fo. 81.b.

Addition. ☞ 1. 2. 3.

1.Tim.4.13.

2. Secondly, notwithſtanding M. Harding ſay, Fornication was neuer allowed in the Catholike Church, yet verily in the Church of Rome it hath beene allowed, as by good record and generall practiſe it may appeare. M. Harding himſelfe calleth the open Stewes in Rome, A neceſſarie ill for auoiding of other diſorders that would be greater: and ſo far forth he maketh them allowable by way of neceſſity. And further to this purpoſe in defenſe hereof vnaduiſedly he alleadgeth theſe words of S. Auguſtine: *Take harlots away from among men, and yee fill all the Countrey with ribaldrie and villanie.* Vnaduiſedly, I ſay, he alleageth theſe words. For when Auguſtine wrote the ſame, he was neither Saint, nor Biſhop, nor Prieſt, nor Chriſtian man. In the concluſion he ſaith vnto vs, In good ſooth maſters ye are too young to controll the City of Rome in her doings. Heere M. Harding I pray you tell vs wherefore may wee not controll the City of Rome in her open filthineſſe, vnleſſe in ſome ſpeciall reſpects you thinke it lawfull? In few words, touching the allowance and ſmoothing of Fornication, the practiſe of the Church of Rome is this, Etſi notoria ſit fornicatio Presbyterorum, tamen non propter eam abſtinendum eſt ab officijs illorum: *Yea although the fornication of the Prieſt be notorious, yet may no man therefore refraine from his ſeruice.* That thing is notorious, ſaith the Law, that needeth neither accuſer nor Iudge, but is cleere and manifeſt of it ſelfe. And notwithſtanding ſome of the Canoniſts haue written otherwiſe of Fornication, yet by theſe words it is paſſed as a matter allowable.

Auguſt.de ordine.l.2.cap.4. M.Hard.Confut. fol.163.a. Diſt.32.Nul. Iohan.Andr.

3 Thirdly,

3. Thirdly, whereas M. Harding saith, The Manicheis excluded not onely their Priests and Clergy, but also generally all manner of men from the vse of marriage, as thinking it in al men to be vnlawfull: S. Augustines manifest words to the contrarie, are able both to reare the poore Manicheis in this behalfe, and also to reprone his open errour. These be his words: Hic non dubito vos esse charmaturos, inuidiamque facturos, perfectam castitatem vos vehementer commendare, non tamen nuptias prohibere, quandoquidem auditores vestri, quorum apud vos secundus est gradus, ducere atque habere non prohibentur vxores: *Heere I doubt not but you* Manicheis *will make entries vpon vs, and procure vs displeasure. For you will say, ye greatly commend perfect chastitie, and yet for all that forbid not marriage: For your hearers, which are an inferiour, or second degree amongst you, are not forbidden to marrie and haue wiues.* Likewise he writeth in an Epistle vnto Deuterius: Auditores qui appellantur apud eos, & carnibus vescuntur, & agros colunt, &, si voluerint, vxores habent: quorum nihil faciunt illi qui vocantur Electi: *They that among them be called the Hearers, doe both eat flesh, and till their grounds, and, if they list, marrie wiues: of all which things they that be called* Electi, *doe nothing.* *M. Harding fol. 81. b.* *Aug. de mori. bus Manich. Lib. 2. Cap. 18.* *Aug. Epist. 74.*

Now (good Reader) examine thou a little these witnesses, and compare them together. M. Harding saith, The Manicheis forbade al men from marriage generally without exception S. Augustine saith, *The* Manicheis *forbade not their hearers, which were of their Laitie, to be married, nor thought it vnlawfull for them to haue wiues.* They thought marriage vnlawfull only in their Priests and Ministers, which among them were called Electi. And euen so, as I said, doe this day M. Hardings Catholikes. Wherefore hauing himselfe misreported both S. Augustine and the Manicheis, and also vttering so many vntruths in one place, there was no cause why he should vse this pitifull outcry in the end: Behold Reader, how immoderatly M. Iewell slandereth vs. For, as it may heereby appeare, it is the truth: It is no slander. *M. Harding fol. 81. b.* *Leo Serm. 4. de Quadragesima* *Aug. Epist. 19.* *Aug. con. Faustum, lib. 32. cap. 19.*

Secondly, they receiued and ministred the holy Mysteries vnder one kind, contrary to the generall order of the Catholike Church. And so doth M. Harding now. *M. Harding fol. 220. b.*

Thirdly, they yelded more credit to their owne deuices then to Gods holy word. And whereas the Scriptures were plaine against them, they said euen as M. Harding saith, The Scriptures were falsified, and full of errors.

Addition. *Addition.* Albeit indeed he dareth not so boldly by expresse words to challenge the Scriptures, he thinketh it better skill rather to lay the fault in vulgar Translations. And yet the worst Translation that this day is commonly vsed, either in the English, or in the French, or in the Dutch tongue, as he himselfe wel knoweth, is farre better and truer then the old common Translation in the Latine.

Fourthly, they abstained from flesh, and yet in their fast they had and vsed all maner delicate and strange fruits, with sundry sort of spices in great abundance. They abstained from wine, and yet vsed other liquors more dainty and precious then any wine, and therof dranke while their bellies would hold. S. Augustines words thereof be these: Distenti & crepantes. I leaue the rest. Now iudge thou (gentle Reader) whether partie seemeth to resemble the Manicheis. *Aug de Morib. Manich. Lib. 2. cap. 15.* *Peregrinas & exquisitas fruges multis fercula varietas.*

But whereas he thus vpbraideth vs, By their fruits ye shall know them. Verily whiles the Bishop of Rome, euen in the Citie of Rome, maintaineth his houses of Ribaldry and open Stewes, and M. Harding is ready and able by his eloquence and Diuinity to defend the same, they haue no iust cause greatly to boast themselues of their fruits. Howbeit it may be thought Christ gaue vs this lesson not thereby to try the true Doctrine from the false, but a true professor from an hypocrite. Otherwise our liues must be tried by the Gospel, not the Gospel by our liues. *Aug. de Morib. Manich. Lib. 2. Cap. 13.*

Now let vs examine that horrible Heresie that M. Harding hath espied in the rules of Rhetorike, by which, saith he, the Secretaries vnskill is betraied, euen in the forehead of our booke. This entrie, saith M. Harding, touching the complaint of truth, is so indifferent and common to both the parties, that either may vse it as well as other. Which kind of beginning, saith he, is called Exordium commune, and by the learned in Rhetorike is misliked as faultie. First of all, M. Harding, this seemeth to me a strange kind of beginning, in so deepe a disputation of Diuinity, to make your first quarell vnto Rhetorike. Belike for lacke of better entry, ye thought it good to rush in as you might. Indeede either of vs may seeme to stand in defence of Truth. I denie it not. For as we haue the substance and truth it selfe, so are you content to claime the name. And so farre sooth truth is common to vs both. So the wicked Heathens, Celsus and Antiphon, notwithstanding they published their bookes against the truth, yet they entituled the same ἀληθολόγοι, the Bookes of Truth. S. Hierome saith, Mendacium semper imitatur veritatem: *Falshood euermore beareth a shew of truth.* In this sort truth is common to either partie *Origen contra Celsum. Lib. 3. & Lib. 4.* *In Hier. ca. 23.* *Origen in Ma. Tract. 27.*

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tie. Origen saith, Veritas Christus: simulata veritas Antichristus: *Christ is the truth: he selfe: Antichrist is the truth counterfeit.* All this notwithstanding, Christ refused not to vse the same kind of entry that M. Harding so much misliketh: but said vnto the Pharises, *Ye seeke to murder me, a man that haue told you the truth.* And S. Paul to the Romans saith, *They haue turned the truth of God into falshood.* The like might I say of Tertullian, Cyprian, and other fathers. Yet, I trow, M. Harding will not therefore reproue either Christ, or Paul, or Tertullian, or Cyprian: nor say they vsed such a beginning, as their aduersaries might haue vsed as well as they, and had forgotten their rules of Rhetorike.

John 8.40. Rom. 1.25.

Loth I am so long to stand in so light a matter. But I maruell much, that M. Harding being so great an artificer in so small cases, had no better eie to his owne entry. For if in writing the defense of truth, it be a fault in Rhetorike to begin with the ill intreating and complaint of truth, what then may we thinke it to be in the defense of manifest and knowne errour, to begin, as M. Harding doth, with Whores, with Theues, with Apes, with Asses, with children of the Deuell, and with many other like vnseemly scoffes and scornes? What Rhetorike, what Eloquence, what Art, what Skill is this? What Orator euer vsed it? What Rhetorician, what Sophist, Greke, or Latine euer taught it? Verily this was sometime accounted an old rule in Rhetorike, which it seemeth M. Harding had quite forgotten: Scurrilis oratori dicacitas magnopere fugienda est. This Secretaries beginning, by M. Hardings owne confession, is such as either party indifferently might well haue vsed. But M. Hardings beginning is such, as neither party, with any modesty, might haue vsed.

Cic. De. Orat. Lib. 2.

M. Harding also might haue remembred that the skilfull in Rhetorike, as they mislike Exordium Commune, so they also mislike Commune Argumentum, that is, a reason or proofe so common, that it may indifferently serue both parties. Which kind of proofes if M. Harding would haue weded out of his bookes, hee should haue left very little to trouble the Printer.

Cic. Lib. 1. De Inuentione. Argumentum commune vitiosum est.

Where he saith in grosse, that our Apologie is nothing else but a lumpe of lies: The truth thereof, I trust, shall appeare by this Treaty. In the meane season, good Christian Reader, it may please thee to consider, that M. Hardings mouth is no iust measure in this behalfe. For some men thinke it will often times vtter vntruth without measure. But he saith we haue falsified Tertullians meaning, placing this word Ignotos in stead of Extraneos, and so at our pleasure making exchange of words, and giuing the old Father a new Liuery, and thereby impairing our whole credit. A great out-crie in so small a matter. This great exchange of words is nothing so hainous as it is pretended. For both Ignotus is Extraneus, and Extraneus also in Tertullians meaning is Ignotus. And M. Harding well knoweth that Tertullian speaketh namely, and onely of such aliens and strangers, as knew not the truth of God. Whether of these two words it shall like him to leaue vs, the sense is all one, it forceth nothing. If he will needes refuse this word Ignotus, so that he receiue the other word Extraneus, and grant that he and his fellowes be strangers to Gods truth, it shall be sufficient.

Howbeit he addeth further, that they of his side are now no strangers, but know God, & his deare friends and kinsfolke. Euen so said the Pharises of themselues, Nunquid & nos cæci sumus? *What be we blind too?* But Christ answered them, *If ye were blinde, then had ye no sinne. Now ye say that ye see: Therefore your sinne remaineth still.* And againe, *I am come to iudgement into the world, that they that see may be made blind.* And againe, *The children of the kingdome shall be throwne forth into vtter darkenesse.*

John 9.40. John 9.39. Matth. 8.12.

Yet further M. Harding saith, After that the Gospel had beene sounded abroad by the Apostles and their successours, then was the truth no more a stranger or a Pilgrime in earth. Whereby he would closely conclude, that his Church of Rome can neuer erre. But this is to vaine a Paradise. For Daniel speaking of the latter daies, saith, Veritas prosternetur in terra: *The truth shall be ouerthrowne in earth.* Chrysostome saith, Abominatio desolationis stabit in sanctis locis Ecclesiæ: *The abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy places of the Church.* S. Augustine saith, Vsque ad huius seculi finem, inter persecutiones mundi, & consolationes Dei peregrinando procurrit Ecclesia: *Vntill the worlds ende, the Church goeth forward, as it were in a pilgrimage betweene the persecutions of the world, and the comforts of God.* And againe, Tota ciuitas Dei peregrinatur in terris: *The whole City of God* (which is the Church) *is a stranger and a pilgrime in the earth.* Verily as long as Satan the Prince of darkenesse is Prince of this world, so long the truth of God passeth in this world as a stranger: and being among strangers, as Tertullian saith, easily findeth enemies, and is ill intreated. He saith further, Cæterùm vnum hoc gestit, ne ignorata damnetur: *This onely thing truth desireth, that no man condemne her before hee know her.*

Daniel 8.12. *Chrysost. in Opere Imperfect. Hom. 49.* *August. de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 18. cap. 51.* *De Ciuit. Lib. 19. Cap. 27.* *Tertullian. in Apologetico.*

The

The Apology, Chap. 2. *Diuision* 1.

VVHerfoze we ought to beare it the moze quietly, which haue taken vpon vs to pzofesse the Gospell of Christ, if we foz the same cause be handled after the same sozt: and if we, as our forefathers were long agoe, be likewise at this day tozmented, and baited with railings, with spightfull dealings, and with lies: and that foz no desert of our owne, but onely because we teach and acknowledge the Truth.

M. Harding.

O blessed followers of the Patriarks, Prophets Apostles, Martyrs, and Christ himselfe, that suffer so much persecutiō in your innocency, hauing deserued nothing at al, & only because ye acknowledge, and teach the Truth! But Sirs, by your leaue, how followeth this (Wherefore) of your former cōmon place so largely treated? This is your foule fault, which you make in your Logike. How proue you this argument? The Truth is persecuted, and the Professors of the Truth haue euer been euil treated: wherefore we ought to beare it quietly, being likewise handled for the same cause, &c. If you make this argument, which ye seeme priuily to make, leauing out the Minor, The Professors of the truth be persecuted for the Truths sake: we be professors of the Truth; therefore we suffer persecution for the Truthes sake. If you say thus, we embarre you from your Conclusion, by denying your Minor, which ye can neuer proue.

And if ye reason thus, which way also ye seem to vse: The Professors of the Truth suffer persecution: We suffer persecution: Ergo, we are Professors of the truth. We grant your Minor is true: but your argument is naught. So might al Heretikes say & by that argument proue themselues right beleeuers. Wherefore, vntil ye proue, that ye succeed the Patriarks, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, & Christ himselfe, in professing the Truth, boast not as ye do, of your forefathers. For not they whom yee name in your Proeme, but Hus, Wickleffe, Peter Bruse, Berengarius, Waldenses, Albigenses, Donatists, Aërians Manicheis, and such the like Heretikes, iustly condemned of the Church, were your forefathers.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

M. Harding pretendeth Logike, and endeth in Sophistrie. The Argument, we make, wherewith he plaieth so pleasantly, is founded vpon these wozds of Christ: *The Scholar is not aboue his Master, nor the Seruant aboue his Lord: If they haue persecuted me, they will persecute you. All these things shall they doe vnto you for my Names sake, because they know neither my Father, nor me.* Matth. 10. 24. Ioh. 15. 20. 21. The Minor is this: We succeed the Apostles, and Martyrs, and are the Pzofessoz of the Truth. Which Minor by M. Hardings iudgement, we can neuer pzoue. But Gods holy name be blessed foz euer: The greatest part of Christendome this day seeth this Minor is true, and that both we are the pzofessoz of Gods knowen Truth, and you the pzofessoz of manifest falshood. Touching the Donatists and Manicheis, and all other like condemned Heretikes, and heresies, we vtterly abhoze them, euen as the gates of Hell. As foz Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Husse, Valdo, and the rest, foz ought we know, and I beleeue, setting malice aside, foz ought you know, they were godly men. Their greatest heresie was this, That they complained of the dissolute and vicious liues of the Clergy, of wozshipping of Images, of fained Miracles, of the tyrannical pzide of the Pope, of Monks, Friers, Pardons, Pilgrimages, and Purgatozy, and other like deceiuing & mocking of the people: and that they wished a refozmation of the Church. We succeed not them, noz beare their names. We succeed him, whose wozd we pzofesse: whose wozd M. Harding, they of your side haue so often condemned, and vnder a colour of false translation haue burnt foz Heresie. *Alphonsus de Haresibus. Bartholom. Arbramus in Concil. Ferrarien.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Heere M. Harding addeth further, Wickcleffe held, that a Bishop being in deadly sinne is no Bishop: That God ought to obey the Diuel. &c. These and other like errozs were alledged against him, foztye yeeres after he was dead, and could not be pzesent to make his answer. *M. Hard. fo. 82. b.*

As touching the fozmer of these two Errours, we defend it not. But if it be an Heresie, and an Heresie so grieuous as M. Harding maketh it, why then is not Pope Zacharie charged also with like Heresie? Foz thus he writeth, as it may seeme, to none other purpose then Wickleffe did: Quis sapiens iudicabit eos esse Sacerdotes, qui nec à Fornicationibus abstinent? *What wise man will reckon them to be Priests, that abstaine not so much as from Fornication?* This saying is no lesse pzeiudiciall, noz lesse maime to the Clergy of Rome, then the other of Wickleffe. Foz it is recozded foz matter of truth, Pauci sine illo vitio inueniuntur: *There are few Priests found without that fault.* And so by the iudgement of the Pope himselfe, in the whole multitude of the Roman Clergy wee may happen to finde not many Pzests. If this Heresie be so hozrible in the one, why is it so easily dissembled in the other? *Conc. Tom. 2. Epist. Zachariæ ad Bonifacium, pa. 454. Dist. 81. Maximianus in gloss.*

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The ſecond erroꝛ that hære is noted, That God ought to obey the Diuel, hath neither colour, noꝛ ſauour of any truth. It impoꝛteth that God is weake, and the Diuel Omnipotent: oꝛ rather, that God is a creature, and the Diuel is God. Which blaſphemie the Diuell himſelfe would neuer haue vttered. God bee thanked, M. Harding can alege no ſuch woꝛds out of any booke written by Wickleffe, although he woꝛt many. The repoꝛt of an enemie maketh no pꝛoфe: neither is there any enemy ſo malitious, no not M. Harding himſelfe, if he behold his owne conſcience, that will beléeue it. But alas, good Chꝛiſtian Reader, were theſe the erroꝛs that ſo troubled the woꝛld, and cauſed ſo many Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbats and Friers, to the number of one thouſand and thꝛée hundꝛed, to mæt together in generall Councell? No certainely, there were other greater Hereſies that vexed them moꝛe. They ſaid, that the Pope and his Clergie, by theſe new Articles of Tranſubſtantiation, and other like fantaſies, had deceiued the people. They ſaid, that in the holy Sacrament, after the Conſecration, there remaineth ſtill the very materiall ſubſtance of Bꝛead and Wine, as the ancient Catholike learned Fathers, S. Auguſtine, S. Chryſoſtome, Theodoretus, and others haue ſaid beфoꝛe them. They ſaid, Chꝛiſt is not in the Sacrament really, oꝛ in fleſhly manner, oꝛ by the naturall pꝛeſence of his body. They ſaid, as the old learned Fathers ſay, That the Sacrament by nature is very bꝛead, and that the ſame, by way of a figure, is Chꝛiſts body: and that vndoubtedly theſe woꝛds, This is my Body, imply a Figure, as well as theſe woꝛds, Iohn Baptiſt is Elias.

Concil. Conſtantien.

Conci. Conſt. Seſſio. 15. Artic. 1. Articul. 3. Artic. Ioh. Hus.

They ſaid, it cannot be pꝛoued by the Goſpell, that Chꝛiſt euer oꝛdained the Maſſe, as then it was vſed. They ſaid, that a Biſhop excommunicating a Clerke, appealing either to the King, oꝛ to the Parliament, is a traitoꝛ both to the King and his Countrey. They ſaid, It was great folly to put affiance in Popes Pardons. They ſaid, It is not neceſſary to ſaluation, to beléeue that the Church of Rome is the head of all other Churches, and that the Pope is not the next and immediate Vicar of Chꝛiſt.

Artic. Wickleffe. 5. Articul. 12. Articul. 42. Articul. 41. Articul. 37.

Theſe were the cauſes that inflamed the Biſhops to ſo cruell diſpleaſure, to burne Iohn Huſſe at the Councel of Conſtance, contrary to the Emperours Safe-conduct, and their owne ſpeciall pꝛomiſe; and contrary to all humanity and ſenſe of nature, to digge vp, and to burne the bodie of Iohn wickleffe foꝛtie yæres after hee had bæne buried.

Hæreof we foꝛme our argument in this foꝛt: Chꝛiſt the Sonne of God was perſecuted, and caried as a Lambe vnto the Slaughterhouſe foꝛ ſpeaking the truth: Theꝛefoꝛe it behoueth vs foꝛ the ſame cauſe ſuffering the like, to take it with patience. So ſaith S. Peter; *Chꝛiſt died for vs, leauing vs an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps. If we ſuffer patiently for doing well, this thing is thankſworthy before God.* So the holy Father and Maꝛtyꝛ Ignatius comfoꝛted himſelfe when he was in the middeſt of his toꝛments: Iam incipio eſſe diſcipulus Chꝛiſti: *Now beginne I to be Chꝛiſts diſciple.* So Tertullian: Quid debeo, niſi ſanguinem quem pro me fudit filius Dei? *What thing owe I elſe, but the blood which the ſonne of God hath ſhed for me?* The like comfoꝛt in like caſes Chꝛiſt giueth to his Diſciples; *Reioice ye* (ſaith he) *and be glad, for your reward is great in Heauen. For thus haue they perſecuted the Prophets, that were before you.*

1. Pet. 2. 21. 1. Pet. 2. 20.

Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 36. Tertul. de Fuga in perſecutione. Matth. 5. 12.

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuiſion 2.

They cry out vpon vs at this pꝛeſent euery where, that we are al Heretikes, and haue foꝛſaken the Faith, and haue with new perſwaſions and wicked learning vtterly diſſolued the concoꝛd of the Church.

M. Harding.

If ye haue foꝛſaken the faith ye were Baptized in; if ye be gone from the faith which S. Eleutherius Pope & Martyr the firſt Apoſtle of Britaine preached in this Land by Damianus and Fugatius, within little more then one hundred yeeres after Chꝛiſts death; if ye refuſe the faith which Gregory the Great that holy Pope, cauſed to be preached to our Anceſtors the Engliſh Nation, by Auguſtinus, Melitus, & other holy Prieſts, and haue therby diſſolued the vnity of the Catholike Church, and leaue not to maintaine the Doctrine, where by the ſame vnity is diſſolued; all this preſuppoſed, we ſee not but that this cry made vpon you is true: For then are ye Heretikes indeed.

Vntruth.

Damianus & Fugatius firſt Apoſtles of the Britaines, Auguſtinus & Melitus of the Engliſh.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

As well this repoꝛt of Eleutherius, as alſo the other noted in the margin of Auguſtine, that the one was the firſt Apoſtle of the Bꝛitaines, the other of the Engliſh, are both vntrue. Foꝛ it is certaine that the Church of Bꝛitanny now called England, receiued not

not firſt the Faith from Rome. Lucius the King of this Country had receiued the Goſpell of Chriſt, and was baptized well neere one hundred and fifty yeeres before the Emperour Conſtantine: and the ſame Conſtantine the firſt Chriſtened Emperour was borne in this Iland. And notwithſtanding Eleutherius the Biſhop of Rome, at the Kings ſpeciall requeſt, ſent hither Fugatius, and Damianus, to informe the Biſhops and Clergy, and to bring things to better order, yet vndoubtedly the Church and Faith of Chriſt had been planted heere a long while before they came, either by Ioſeph of Arimathæa: or (as Theodoretus writeth) by S. Paul the Apoſtle paſſing this way into Spaine: or (as Nicephorus ſaith) by Simon Zelotes: or by the Greeks: or by ſome others. *Gild. in. Polydorus. Theodoret. De Curandis Græcorũ affectibus. Niceph. li 2. c. 4*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Heere M. Iewel (ſaith M. Harding) extreamely belieth Theodoretus and Nicephorus. *The Anſwer.* The extremitie of theſe ſo horrible lies, ſtandeth onely in that I ſay, Paul the Apoſtle, and Simon Zelotes were in perſon within this Iland, and preached the Goſpell: which thing, whether it be true or no, it waigheth not greatly, I deuiſed it not. It is alleged by Flacius Illyricus, Iohannes Wigandus, and Matthæus Index, and auouched by the authority of Theodoretus, and Sophronius the Patriarch of Hieruſalem. Their words be theſe: Theodoretus lib. 9. De curandis Græcorum affectibus indicat, Paulum è priori Captiuitate Româ dimiſſum Britannis, & alijs in Occidente, Euangelium prædicaſſe. Idem ferè tradit Sophronius Hieroſolymitanus Patriarcha. This therefore, good Reader, is not ſo great extremity of lying, ſauing that it liketh M. Harding ſo to call it. I allege mine Authors, and ſhew the places. What Copies theſe learned men followed, I haue not to anſwer. *M. Harding fol. 83. b. Centuria 1. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

Againe, where I ſay, Simon Zelotes arriued once into this Iland, and heere planted the Goſpell, for proofe thereof alleging the authority of Nicephorus, all this M. Harding hath likewiſe condemned for an other extreame lie. Wherein whether of vs two is more extreamly deceiued. I am content himſelfe ſhall be the Iudge. The words of Nicephorus are theſe: Simon Zelotes Doctrinam Euangelij ad Occidentalium Oceanum, Inſulaſque Britannicas perfert: *Simon Zelotes carried the Doctrine of the Goſpel into the Weſt Ocean Sea, and into the Ilands of Britannie.* If M. Harding had weighed the matter better, he would not haue beene ſo ready in dealing of lies. ☜☞ *Niceph. lib. 2. cap. 40.*

☜☞ As for our Auguſtine of England, for it was not S. Auguſtine the learned Doctor, neither was he ſo godly a man, as M. Harding maketh him: for as it may appeare by that Galfridus writeth of him, he was cruell, diſdainfull, proud, and arrogant, and no way meet to be called an Apoſtle. *Galfrid. l. 8. cap. 4.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Heere M. Harding ſaith, I haue, vnder the name of Galfridus, immoderatly ſlandered that bleſſed Apoſtle, for ſo hee nameth him. *The Anſwer.* But how bleſſed hee was, and how like vnto one of Chriſts Apoſtles, it may appeare. Indeed all theſe words are not expreſſly vttered, neither by Galfridus, nor by Beda. Howbeit, the whole effect thereof may ſome be found. Firſt, his pride was apparent in that, he, being a meere ſtranger, lately arriued, and vnacquainted, diſdained to ſtand vp from his chaire, or to ſhew any kind of courteſie to the Biſhops of this Realme appearing before him at a Synod: which thing, as Beda witneſſeth, they iudged to proceed of immoderate ſtatelineſſe, and in contempt of them. Againe, he ſhewed his cruelty, in that, as it is written in French by Thomas Gray, an old Chronicler, being refuſed of the Chriſtian Britaines, he enflamed Ethelbertus the King of Kent, to leuie his power and to warre againſt them, himſelfe alſo being in company, as in the old Abſtract of Chronicles it is recorded, and marching with him towards the ſlaughter. Of the bloody cruelty and extremity that there was ſhewed, Thomas Gray ſaith thus, *They had no more regard of mercy, then a Woolfe hath vpon a ſheepe.* Of the innocent Chriſtian Monks, that there were ſlaine, Galfridus ſaith thus, Mille ducenti eorum in ipſa die Martyrio decorati, regni cœleſtis adepti ſunt ſedem: *A thouſand and two hundred of them being that day honoured with Martyrdome, obtained a ſeat in the kingdome of Heauen.* Now M. Harding, if they were Saints and Martyrs, that ſo were murdered, what Saint then was your Auguſtine, that was the Raiſer and procurer of that murder? ☜☞ *Beda lib. 2. cap. 2. Thomas Gray. The Abſtract of Chronicles. Galfrid. lib. 8. cap. 4.*

Neither was he the firſt Planter of the Faith within this Iland. For the faith was *An. Do.* 210 planted heere many hundred yeeres before his comming. Tertullian ſaith of his time, Britannorum inacceſſa Romanis loca ſubduntur Chriſto: *The Countries of Britanny, which the* *Anno* 212. *Romans could neuer attaine vnto, are now ſubiect to Chriſt.* Origen ſaith of his time, Terra Britanniæ conſenſit in Religionem Chriſti: *The Land of Britannie hath agreed to Chriſts Re-* *Anno* 334. *ligion.* Athanaſius of his time ſaith, Epiſcopi Aphricæ vniuerſæ, Siciliæ, Sardiniæ, Hiſpaniarum, Galliarum, Britanniarum ſeſe ad Concilium contulerunt: *The Biſhops of all Aphrica, Sicilia, Sardinia, Spaine, France, and Britannie came thither to the Councel (holden at Sar-* *Anno* 330. *dica.)* Conſtantinus the Emperour in his time maketh mention of the Chriſtian Chur- *Tertull. contra Iudæos. Orig. in Exechiel. Hom. 4. Athanaſ. Apologia ſecunda. Theodoret. hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 10*

ches

Hilarius de Synodis. ches in Britannie. S. Hilarie in his time intituled his Letter in this wise: Clericis Tolosanis, & Prouinciarum Britannicarum Episcopis: *To the Clergie of Tolouse, and to the Bishops of Britannie.* *Anno* 360.

Chrysost. in Homilia, Quòd Christus sit Deus. Chrysostome of his time saith, Et Insulæ Britannicæ extra hoc mare sitæ, & in ipso Oceano positæ senserunt virtutem Verbi Dei: *The Ilands of Britannie being in the very Ocean, farre out of this our Sea, haue felt the power of Gods word.* *Anno* 400.

Theod. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 3. Theodoretus of the time of the Emperour Iouinian saith thus: Huic Fidei consenserunt omnes Ecclesiæ, quæque in Hispania sunt, quæque in Britannia: *To this Faith haue agreed all the Churches, both of Spaine and of Britanny.* *Anno* 367. These records may seeme sufficient, if it please M. Harding to receiue them. And all, and euery of these liued sundry hundred yeeres before the arriuall of Melitus and Augustine.

Art. 3. Di. 24. If any man shall happen to replie, The Faith was then vtterly rooted out by the inuasion of the English men being Heathens, that matter is already answered in my former reply to M. Harding.

Beda l. 1. c. 26. Certainely Beda saith, the Quéene of England was then Christened, and that there were then in this Realme seuen Bishops, and one Archbishop, with other moe great learned Christian men.

Beda l. 2. c. 2. As touching this Augustine, we are not bound to all his doings. Although M. Harding allow him Apostolike authority, yet all his deeds were not Gospell. The Church in his time was growne to much corruption, as it may many waies appeare by sundry places of S. Gregory.

Beda l. 2. c. 26. Verily Beda saith, The Bishops and learned Christians of this Countrey vtterly refused to receiue this new Apostle with his new Religion. And yet were they right Catholike, and godly men.

Galfridus l. 8. cap. 4. And Galfridus saith, Erant septem Episcopatus, & Archiepiscopatus Religiosissimis præsulibus muniti, & Abbatiæ complures, in quibus grex Domini rectum ordinem tenebat: *There were then in England seuen Bishoprikes, and one Archbishoprike possessed with very godly Prelates, and many Abbies, in which the Lords flocke held the right religion.*

M. Hard. fo. 83. b. *Addition.* ☞ Heere (saith M. Harding) M. Iewel belieth Beda twice. First, hee applieth that to the Englishmen, which he spake of the Britaines, namely of seuen Bishops, and one Archbishop &c. Addition. ☞

The answer. If there had beene some errour heerein, yet M. Harding might haue vttered it in more curteous manner. Howbeit indeed it is not so, I speake not one word of English Bishops, but only of the Bishops of the Britaines, who, as M. Harding wel knoweth, and as it may also appeare by Galfridus and Beda, were then the Bishops, and the onely Bishops of this Country.

M. Hard. fo. 84. a. Yet is there heere (saith M. Harding) an other Lie. For they refused to obey him as their Archbishop: They refused not his Religion. Certainely, good Reader, the words of Beda séeme plaine to the contrary.

Beda l. 2. ca. 2. Priscis abdicare moribus, deserere suas traditiones. *The Britaines* (saith he) *made answer, that they could not leaue their Ancient vsages without the consent of their fellowes.* They came to an Holy man, and demanded his aduice, whether at this Augustines request, they should forsake, and giue ouer their old Traditions. He answered them, If he be a proud man, it is certaine, he is not of God, neither ought we to care for his word. In the end he saith: Cunctis, quæ dicebat, contradicere laborabant: *They withstood him in all that euer he said.* I trow, he said somewhat else besides his Archbishoprick, and his Palle: otherwise his head had beene very ambitious.

M. Hard. fo. 83. b. But M. Harding addeth further, It is wel knowne that I haue séene a certaine Booke, which he calleth the Returne of Vntruths, and that one of the same was presented vnto me at Oxford, at what time the Quéenes Maiesty was there in Progresse. How well M. Harding is assured hereof, I cannot say. It may passe in company with the rest of his Truths. I assure thée, good Reader, there was neuer such Booke offered to me, neither at Oxford nor elsewhere, neither did I euer reade one line thereof in all my life. ☜ ☜

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuision 3.

That we renew, and, as it were, fetch againe from Hel the old and many a day condemned Heresies: that we sow abroad new sects, and such broiles as neuer earst were heard of: also that we are already diuided into contrary parts and opinions, and could yet by no meanes agree well among our selues.

M. Harding.

Sith that yee raise vp againe the Heresie of Aërius in denying praier for the dead, who was for the same accounted an Heretike eleuen hundreth yeers past: sith that yee raise vp the Heresie of Manichæus that liued before him, in taking away Free-will: sith that ye raise vp the Heresie of Vigilantius, in refusing to pray That these Defenders be renew-

ers of old heresies.

pray to Saints, and to honor their holy Relikes, and to keepe Lights in Churches to the honor of God, and many other heresies beside of old time condemned: sith that ye raise vp the heresies of Berengarius in denying the presence of Christs very body in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar: and sith that ye adde to those moe heresies of your owne, as the appointing of the supreame Pastorship or regiment of the Church in all things and causes spirituall to a lay Magistrate, the denying of the externall Sacrifice of the Church, which we call the Masse, the maintenance of the breach of vowes, of powertie, chastity, and obedience Again, sith that your diuision into sundry sects, can neither be dissembled, nor defended, whereof we shall speake hereafter more largely: all these things besides sundry other of like enormity being true, as they be most true, this other cry made vpon you is true.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This heape is great in shew, and light in substance. Touching Berengarius, gentle Reader, for shortnesse sake, I must referre thee to my former Reply to M. Harding. Aërius the Arian heretike, the breach of vowes, the dissension of iudgements in Religion, shall be answered (God willing) hereafter, each matter seuerally in his place. We flatter not our Prince with any new imagined extraordinary power, but onely giue him that Prerogatiue and Chiefty, that euermore hath beene due vnto him by the ordinance and word of God: that is to say, to be the Nurse of Gods Religion: to make Lawes for the Church: to heare and take vp cases, and questions of the Faith, if he be able: or otherwise to commit them ouer by his authority vnto the learned: to command the Bishops and Priests to doe their duties, and to punish such as be offenders. Thus the godly Emperour Constantinus sate in iudgement in a cause Ecclesiastical, betweene Cicilianus and Donatus, à Casis Nigris, and in the end himselfe pronounced sentence. Greater authority then Constantinus the Emperour had and vsed, our Princes require none. This, I trust, hitherto is no great heresie. *Art. 5. Div 6.* *Esay 49.23.* *August. contra Cres. l. 3. c. 71.*

S. Hierome reproued Vigilantius, for that he found fault with the Vigils, or night wakes, that then there were vsed with praying to Saints, with worshipping of Relikes, with Lights, and other such like waighty matters. Touching which whole controuersie, Erasmus giueth this iudgement: In hunc ita conuitijs debacchatur Hieronymus, vt plusculum in eo modestiæ cogar desiderare. Vtinam argumentis tantum egisset, & à conuitijs temperasset. *Against this* Vigilantius, S. Hierome *so raileth, that I want in him some peece of sobriety. I would rather, hee had dealt with arguments and had spared his rayling.* *Erasm. in præfatio. in Epistolam Hieronym. contra Vigilan.*

Of praier to Saints and lights, we shall speake hereafter. Night wakes afterward were condemned, as I remember, in the councell of Carthage, and so sentence giuen by the Church with this great heretike Vigilantius against S. Hierome. Verily the Fathers in a former Councell holden at Eliberis in Spaine decreed thus: Placuit prohiberi ne fœminæ in cœmiterio peruigilent: quia sæpè sub obtentu orationis scelera latenter committunt: *It liketh vs that women be forbidden to watch at the places of buriall. For often vnder pretence of praier priuily they commit wickednesse.* To be short, if Vigilantius were an heretike for reproouing of Night watches, why hath the Church of Rome so long sithence condemned and abolished the same watches, agreeably to Vigilantius, and contrarie to the iudgement of S. Hierome? *Concil. Eliberi. cap. 35.*

Relikes were subiect to much villanie, and are welnere worne out of themselues.

The Manicheis among other their fantasticall errors were wont to say, that the body of Man was made, not by God, but by the Angles of the Diuell, which they called Gentem tenebrarum: and that in Man there be two soules of contrary natures: the one of the substance of God: the other of the substance of the Diuel: and that either soule continueth still as it is, and cannot alter: That is to say, that the good soule can neuer be ill: and that the ill soule can neuer be good. And in this sense they said, that man hath no free will. *August. de continent. cap. 9.* *August. contra duas Ep. Pelagian. lib. 2. c. 2.* *Aug. ad Quodvultdeum.*

All these, and other like errors we abhorre and detest, as franticke furies. We say that the soule of Man is not the substance, but the Creature of God: and that it may be changed from good to ill; from ill to good: that Dauid may fal: that Paul may rise; that God giueth vs a new heart, and a new spirit within our breasts.

But as touching the freedome of will, and power of our selues, we say with S. Augustine, O malum liberum Arbitrium sine Deo: *O euill is free will without God.* Againe, Libero arbitrio malè vtens homo, & se perdidit, & arbitrium: *Man misusing his free will, spilt both himselfe, and his will.* Againe, Quid tantum de naturæ possibilitate præsumitur? Vulnerata, saucia, vexata, perdita est. Vera confessione, non falsa defensione opus habet: *What doe men so much presume of the possibility of Nature? It is wounded, it is mangled, it is troubled, it is lost. It behoueth vs rather truely to confesse it, then falsely to defend it.* Againe, Liberum arbitrium captiuatum, non nisi ad peccatum valet: *Aug. de Verb. Apost. Ser. 11.* *August. in Enchiridio, ca. 30.* *August. de nat. & grat. cap. 53.*

Aug. ad Bonifac. l. 3. cap. 8. *Aug. de verbis Apoſt. Ser. 10.* *Auguſt de bono perſeueran. lib. 13. cap. 6.*

Free will once made thrall, auaileth now nothing but to ſinne. Againe, Quòd bene viuimus, quòd rectè intelligimus, Deo debemus. Noſtrum nihil eſt, niſi peccatum, quod habemus: *That we liue well, that we vnderſtand aright, we haue it of God. Of our ſelues we haue nothing but onely ſinne that is within vs.*

The better to clære this whole caſe, I thought it good to vſe the moe words. Thus may we learne to know our ſelues, and humbly to confeſſe our imperfection, and to giue the whole glory vnto God.

Therefore to conclude, S. Auguſtine ſaith, Nos volumus: ſed Deus in nobis operatur velle. Nos operamur: ſed Deus in nobis operatur & operari pro bona ſua voluntate. Hoc nobis expedit & credere & diſcere. Hoc eſt pium: hoc eſt verum: vt ſit humilis, & ſubmiſſa Confeſſio, & detur totum Deo. Tutiores viuimus, ſi totum Deo damus, non autem nos illi ex parte, & nobis ex parte committimus: *We will, but it is God, that worketh in vs to will. We worke: but it is God, that worketh in vs to worke, according to his good pleaſure. This is behouefull for vs, both to beleeue, and to ſpeake. This is a godly, this is a true doctrine, that our confeſſion may be humble, and lowly, and that God may haue the whole. We liue more in ſafety, if we giue all vnto God, rather then if we commit our ſelues partly to our ſelues, and partly to him.*

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuiſion 4.

That we be accurſed creatures, and like the Giants doe war againſt God himſelfe, & liue cleane without any regard or worſhipping of God.

M. Harding.

What ye be God knoweth, and your owne conſcience ſhould know. Our Lord amend both you and vs. But to ſay ſomewhat to that your guilty mind imagineth the World to report of you, if they which take away and abhorre the externall ſacrifice, wherein Chriſt according to his own inſtitution, is offered to his Father, make no war againſt God: if they which make Chriſt a Miniſter of ſhadowes, ſignes, tokens, and figures: they, which feare not to breake their ſolemne vowes made to God, and defend the ſame as well done: they, which aſſure themſelues of their ſaluation, and therefore liue diſſolutely without due care and feare of God: If (I ſay) they be not curſed Creatures, and like giants that warre againſt God, then are ye cleare of this charge. Luc. 22. 1. Cor. 11.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

To anſwer Ifs with Ifs, and Words with Words, it were great folly. Therefore leauing the anſwer of vowes, and aſſurance of ſaluation to their ſeuerall places, firſt we denie not the ſacrifice of Chriſt. Chriſt onely vpon his Croſſe is our whole and onely ſacrifice for ſin, and beſide him we haue none other. Howbeit, I haue ſpoken hereof more at large in my former reply to M. Harding. *In the 17. Art.*

Neither make we Chriſt, as it liketh M. Harding to ſay, a Miniſter of ſignes and figures. We know, that Chriſt is the fulfilling and perfection of the Law, and that grace, and truth are wrought by him. Yet neuertheleſſe we ſay, that the Sacraments of the New Teſtament are ſignes and figures. The old Father Tertullian expoundeth Chriſts words in this ſort, Hoc eſt corpus meum, Hoc eſt, figura corporis mei: *This is my body, that is to ſay, This is a Figure of my body.* S. Auguſtine ſaith, Chriſtus adhibuit Iudam ad conuiuium, in quo Corporis & Sanguinis ſui Figurã Diſcipulis ſuis commendauit, & tradidit: *Chriſt receiued Iudas vnto his banquet, whereat he deliuered to his Diſciples the figure of his body and blood.* And againe, Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, Hoc eſt corpus meum, cùm daret ſignum corporis ſui: *Chriſt doubted not to ſay, This is my body, whereas hee gaue a token of his body.* Iohan. 1. 17. *Tertull. contra Marcion lib. 4.* *Auguſt. in Pſa.* *Auguſt. contra Adimantum, Cap. 12.*

I leaue other holy Fathers of like words and ſenſe welnére innumerable. Yet were they neither Giants, nor Rebels againſt God, nor accurſed Creatures. If they had neuer vſed theſe words, nor called the Sacrament the figure, or token of Chriſts body, then might M. Harding haue beene bold to ſay ſomewhat, and to lead away his Reader with a Tragicall exclamation of ſignes, and figures. Howbeit, he himſelfe, as I haue ſhewed in my former Anſwer, in the expoſition of theſe words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, and other like phraſes incident vnto the ſame, to auoid one vſuall and common figure, is forced to ſhift himſelfe into thirty other vnneceſſary and childiſh figures: as knowing that not ſo much as his open vntruths can well ſtand without figures. *Artic. 12. Diuiſ. 16.*

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuiſion 6.

That we deſpiſe al good deeds: that we vſe no diſcipline of Vertue, no Lawes, no Cuſtoms: that we eſteem neither right, nor order, nor equity, nor

nor iuſtice: that we giue the bridle to all naughtineſſe, and prouoke the people to all licentiouſneſſe, and luſt.

Faſting with Fleſh.

M. Harding.

Faſt for policy, fo. 2. pa. 2. Epiſt. ad Rom. Bridle giuen to lewdneſſe by this new Goſpell.

Ye teach men to faſt for policy, not for Religion. And by your Statute of Wedneſdaies faſt, who ſo euer ſhall write or ſay, that forbearing of fleſh is a ſeruice of God, otherwiſe then as other politike Lawes are, they ſhal be puniſhed as ſpreaders of falſe Newes are and ought to be. When ye preach only Faith, not to remoue the merit of workes before Baptiſme, as S. Paul meant it, but alſo after Baptiſme: When ye take away the ſacrament of Confeſſion and Abſolution, giue ye not the bridle to all naughtineſſe? Do not ſome of your Goſpelling maides of London refuſe to ſerue, except they may haue liberty to heare a Sermon before noone and a play at afternoone?

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

I thought M. Harding had knowne a difference betweene faſting, and abſtinence, or choice of meats. True faſting is a religious worke, ordained to teſtifie our humility, and to make the fleſh the more obedient vnto the Spirit, that we may be the quicker to Prayer, and to all good works. But abſtinence from this or that meat with opinion of Holineſſe, ſuperſtitious it may eaſily make a man, but holy it cannot. S. Paul ſaith, Cibus nos non commendat Deo: *It is not meat that maketh vs acceptable vnto God.* Againe, *it is good to confirme the heart with grace, and not with meats: wherein they that haue walked, haue found no profit. The meat ſerueth for the bellie, and the bellie for the meat: The Lord will deſtroie them both.* And againe, *The Kingdome of God is not meat and drinke.* Likewiſe Chriſt ſaith, *The thing that entreth into the mouth defileth not the man.* 1 Cor. 8. 8. Heb. 13. 9. 1 Cor. 6. 13. Rom. 14. 17. Matth. 15. 17.

Hereby it is eaſie to ſee, that faſting is one thing, and abſtinence from fleſh is an other. The Nazarites in the old Teſtament abſtained not from fleſh, and yet they faſted. Elias was fed with fleſh, Iohn the Baptiſt ate the fleſh of Locuſts; and yet they both faſted. Socrates ſaith, That many Chriſtians in the Lent ſeaſon did eate fiſh, and birds: many abſtained vntill three of the cloke in the after noone, and then receiued all kinds of meat, either fiſh or fleſh, without difference. Likewiſe Epiphanius ſaith, *Some eat all kind of birds or fowle, abſtaining onlie from the fleſh of fourfooted beaſts.* And yet they kept their Lent truly, and faſted as well as any others. Wherefore Abſtinence from any one certaine kinde of meat is not of it ſelfe a worke of Religion to pleaſe God, but only a meere politike policie. S. Auguſtine ſaith, Non quæro quo veſcaris, ſed quo delecteris: *I demand not, what thou eateſt, but wherein thou haſt pleaſure.* And S. Hierome ſaith of the Manicheis: Ieiunant illi quidem: ſed illorum ieiunium eſt ſaturitate deterius: *They faſt indeed: but their faſting is worſe, then if they filled their bellies.* 3 Reg. 17. 6. Math. 3. 4. *Socr. l. 5. c. 22. Caſſidor. lib. 9. cap. 38. Epipha. de Hæreſ. lib. 3. in Oratione de fide Catholica.* οἱ μὲν νηστεύουσι μὴ ἀπεχόμενοι, λαμβάνουσι δὲ ἐρίων. *Auguſtin. Hieron. in Ioel. cap. 1.*

Of onely Faith, and Confeſſion we ſhall ſpeake hereafter.

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuiſion 7.

That we labour & ſeeke to ouerthrow the State of Monarchies and Kingdomes, and to bring all things vnder the rule of the raſh inconſtant people, and vnlearned multitude.

M. Harding.

Can Monarkes and Princes ſeeme to be maintained by your ſects who teach the people to rebell for pretenſed religion? Allow ye the Monarchie of the Romane Empire, who ſo much complain in your Apology, That the Pope made Charlemaigne Emperour of the Weſt? Hath the Queene of Scotland cauſe to praiſe the proceedings of your Goſpel, through occaſion whereof ſhe ruleth not her ſubiects, but is rather ruled of her Subiects?

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Here is an other great vntruth among the reſt. For M. Harding right well knoweth, that we neuer armed the people, nor taught them to rebell for religion againſt the Prince. If any thing haue at any time happened otherwiſe, it was either ſome wilfull rage, or ſome fatal fury: It was not our Counſel: it was not our Doctrine. We teach the people, as S. Paul doth, to be ſubiect to the higher Powers, not onely for feare, but alſo for conſcience. We teach them, that who ſo ſtriketh with the ſword by priuate authority, ſhall periſh with the ſword. If the Prince happen to be wicked, or cruell or barthenous, we teach them to ſay, with S. Ambroſe, Arma noſtra ſunt preces & lachrymæ: *Teares and praiers be our weapons.* Notwithſtanding, what rebellion hath beene moued in England by ſome of your ſide, in the late Raignes of King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth, in defenſe of your Religion, ye may well remember. Rom. 13. 1. Math. 26. 52. *Ambroſius.*

M. Harding fol. 84 b.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding hath shortly shuffled together a whole troupe of words, written, or spoken by Luther, Melanchton, or others, in some part true, in most part false, and quite rackt from their meaning: but in no part touching any part of our doctrine. Neither doth any of all these teach the people to rebell against their Prince, but onely to defend themselues by all lawfull meanes against oppression, as did Dauid against King Saul. So do the Nobles in France at this day. They seeke not to kill, but to saue their owne liues, as they haue openly protested by publike writing vnto the world. As for vs we are strangers vnto their cases. They themselues are best acquainted with the Lawes, and Constitutions of their Countrey: and therefore are best able to yeld account of the grounds, and reasons of their doings. But let M. Harding shew vs, in so many kingdomes and Countries, that haue withdrawne themselues from the obedience of the Pope, what one Prince hath there euer beene remoued for Religions sake by the professors of the Gospell. There may he finde the very patterne, and practise of our Doctrine. Perhaps many good Princes may be found, that haue beene remoued by the Pope, and by others of his deuotion. Addition. ☞

I will not speake of enterprises attempted within this Countrey. And yet is it knowen what hath beene done, and at whose becke, and in whose behalfe.

M. Harding fol. 87. a.

But, for as much as you say, Wee openly protest before God, and the world, that wee condemne, and defie all such attempts. I meane that any subiect or subiects whatsoeuer, of their owne priuate authoritie, should take armes against their Prince for matters of Religion: How like you then the attempts of Thomas Arundel the Archbishop of Canterbury, against Richard the Second, King of England? You will say, It was no matter of Religion: yet can you not say, but the said Archbishop was a Subiect, and King Richard was his Prince. How like you the late Insurrection in the North, in the time of King Henry the eight? Who kindled that fire? Who raised that tempest? Whose right was attempted? Whose Crowne was assaulted? Had Protestants the leading of those bands? Was Aske the Generall of that field? How like you the Counsell of Cardinall Poole, in his imagined Oration to Charles the Emperour, calling backe his Maiesty, from the Turke, to leaue all other affaires, and to bend his Banners against England, and encouraging the Subiects of this Realme boldly to rebell against their Prince? *There bee in England* (saith hee) *whole Legions of men, that haue not bowed their knee to Baal. if thou once arriue there, O Emperour, God will bring them to thy hand. English men are a people that oftentimes haue deposed their Kings for lighter causes, &c. They haue still the same courage, &c. Nothing staieth them from reuenging so great wrongs by their King committed, but onely the waiting for your Maiesty, &c.* The Booke is abroad in print, and may be seene. I shew you onely a few examples out of the heape; and, for that they be odious, I haue rather touched them shortly, then laid them open.

Fabian part. 7.

Reginaldus Polus lib. 3.

Nic. Machiauellus Florent.

Nicolas Machiauell, in his Italian History saith, that the Bishops of Rome themselues through their ambition, and cruelty, haue raised such deadly discord, and bloody warres betweene Christian Princes, as few the like haue beene seene in Christendome these many yeeres. Yet will you protest openly against them all? Against your Archbishops, against your Cardinals, and against the Pope himselfe, the successour of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ? Will you condemne, and defie their attempts before God, and before the world? How then if the Pope this day to recouer his losses, would release the Naturall Subiects of this Realme, from their oath, and alleageance to the Quenes Maiesty, as he hath often done, as well heere, as in other Countries, and saith, Hee may iustly doe it by the right of his office? What would you then do your selfe, M. Harding? or what would you aduise your friends to doe? Why should you dissemble? You would doe euen as your Fathers haue done before you.

15. q. 6. Nos Sanctor. Ead. Alius.

But what meane you to deale so nicely in this matter? You say, You protest before God and the world: you condemne and defie all such attempts. A man would thinke yee spake in earnest. Wherefore then haue you set so fauourable a construction to these words? I meane, (say you) that any Subiect, or Subiects whatsoeuer, of their owne priuate authority, should take armes against their prince for matters of Religion. Wherefore except you onely the case of Religion? Is it lawfull, by your iudgement, for the subiect in any other case, either of life, or of gouernment, to arme himselfe against his Prince? And would you thus perswade the people? Is this your Religion? Is this your Doctrine?

M. Harding fol. 87. a.

Or what meane you, By their owne priuate authority? May then the Subiect arme himselfe against his Prince, by the common aduice, and by the publike authority of the Realme? If so, wherefore then blame you the Nobles of Scotland? For whatsoeuer was done there, a few onely excepted, was done by the consent, and agreement of the whole

whole. But perhaps by priuate authoritie, you meane, whatsoeuer is attempted in this behalfe, without the authority of the Pope: to whom you haue giuen the right, and authority of both Swords, Spirituall and Temporall: and from whom, you say, the Kings and Princes of the world haue receiued their power. Verily the Pope himselfe saith, Materialis gladius stringendus est manu Regum, & Militum, sed ad nutum & patientiam Sacerdotis: *The Materiall or Temporall Sword must bee drawne by the hands of Kings and Souldiers* (howbeit, not by the Princes owne authority, but) *at the becke and patience of the Priest*: by which Priest, is meant the Pope. And whatsoeuer is done at his becke, hath authority sufficient, and is well done. But great was the patience of the Princes, and Powers of the world, that could so long and so quietly beare his becking. *M. Harding Confutat. fo. 247. b. 248. b. De Maiorit. & Obedient. vnam Sanct.*

Now M. Harding, if you thinke it lawfull for Subiects to draw the sword in defense of the Pope, why may you not also thinke it lawfull for them, to defend themselues in defense of Christ? ☞

The displacing of the Emperour of Constantinople, and the placing of Charlemaigne the French King, serueth M. Harding to small purpose: vnlesse it be to disclose the Popes conspiracie against the Emperour. Certainely, as any man may sensibly see, it was the aduancing of the Pope, the strengthening of the Saracens and after of the Turkes, and the diuision, and dissolution of the state of Christendoome. Platina saith: Ab hoc tempore perijt & potestas Imperatorum, & virtus Pontificum: *After this time the power of the Emperours, and the Holinesse of the Pope were both lost.* *Platina in Adrian.*

Touching the Queene of Scotland, I will say nothing: The Kingdomes and States of the world haue sundry agreements and compositions. The Nobles, and Commons there, neither drew the sword, nor attempted force against the Prince. They sought only the continuance of Gods vndoubted truth, and the defense of their owne liues against your barbarous and cruell inuasions. They remembred, besides all other watnings, your late dealing at Vassei, where as great numbers of their brethren were suddenly murdered, being together at their praiers in the Church, and holding vp their innocent hands to heauen, and calling vpon the name of God. Achab said sometime to the Prophet Elias: *Thou art he, that troublest the whole Countrey of Israel.* But Elias made him answer: *It is not I, that trouble the Countrey: It is thou, and thy Fathers house, which haue forsaken the commandements of the Lord, and haue followed after* Baalim. *At Vassei An. 1562.* 3. Reg. 18. 17.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* What is a lie (saith M. Harding) if this be none? *The Answer.* Indeede the Nobles, and Commons of Scotland were in the field: we denie it not. So was Dauid in the field against King Saul. They stood in armour, not to inuade or attempt force against their Prince, but only to defend themselues, as by way of retire. And therefore they withdrew themselues with their power, into the Marches of England, not for want of strength, or courage, (for they had then double moe men in the field, then came against them) but onely for reuerence of their Prince, that came vpon them: lest they should be forced by rage of their enemies, and furie of warre to strike the Anointed of the Lord. Such broiles haue often happened, in many Countries, as by sundrie stories it may appeare. ☜

The Subiect is bound to obey his Prince: howbeit not in all things without exception: but so farre as Gods glory is not touched. These Nobles had learned of S. Peter, *It is better to obey God, then man.* And of the Prophet Dauid: *Better it is to trust to God, then to trust in Princes.* For they are mortall, and shall die: their Spirit shall be taken from them, and then shall they return into the earth. Neither may a godly Prince take it as any dishonour to his estate, to see God obeied before him. For he is not God, but the minister of God. Leo saith, Christus quæ Dei sunt, Deo, quæ Cæsaris sunt, Cæsari reddenda constituit, &c. Hoc est verè non impugnare Cæsarem, sed iuuare: *Christ commanded, that is due vnto God, to bee giuen to God: that is due vnto Cæsar, to be giuen to Cæsar. Verily this is not to rebell against, but to helpe Cæsar.* Likewise S. Ambrose, being himselfe in maner a Captaine vnto the people in Gods quarrell against Valentinian the Emperour: Quid prælentius dici potuit à Christianis viris, quàm id, quod hodie in nobis Spiritus Sanctus loquutus est? Rogamus, Auguste, non pugnamus: Non timemus, sed rogamus? *What could be more boldly spoken of Christian men, then that the holy Ghost spake in you this day? (That ye said) We beseech thee Noble Emperour, we fight not. We feare thee not, but we beseech thee.* Act 5. 29. Psal 118. 9. Psal 146. 4. *Leo de Passione Dom. Ser. 10.* *Ambros. lib. 5. Epist. 33.*

To conclude, the Queene of Scotland is still in quiet possession of her estate: and is obeied of her Subiects, so far as is conuenient for godly people to obey their Prince.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* Heere (saith M. Harding) what will you sticke to say, or write, which doe say, write, and set out in Print such a palpable, and manifest falshood: such, I say, as euen the Tankerd bearers in London canne witnesse against you? *The Answer.* At the time of the writing, and first entrie into the Printing of my Booke, these words were true.

For then was the Queene of Scotland in the full poſſeſſion of her eſtate. Neither could I Prophesie, what things would follow. Shortly afterward the whole caſe was altered, as it is knowne. In the end of the Print, by forgetfulneſſe this place eſcapt my hands without correction, & ſo ſlipt away vnawares, as it was printed at the firſt. Indeed as I could not foreſee the reſtraint of ỹ ſaid Queens liberty which followed, but wrot of her ſtate, as it then preſently was, as in deede doing, truly I could doe none other: ſo could I not foreſee the cauſes that occaſioned that alteration. For, that the King ſhould ſhortly after the time of my writing be ſo murdered, and the houſe wherein hee lodged blowne vp with powder; that a wicked man, accounted the certaine Author of that parricidall murder, hauing himſelfe a wife yet liuing, ſhould attaine to the mariage of the ſame Queen, whoſe huſband he had ſo traiterouſly ſlaine, were things vnknowne vnto mee, and vnto all men alſo when I did write this. And what way the Nobles and body of the Realme would take for the ſafety of the yong Prince, who ſeemed to all men to be in great danger, was likewiſe vnknown vnto me. And M. Harding knoweth right well, that theſe were the occaſions of the alteration of the State, from that it was when I did write, and not Religion; which might well be knowne by that, that many of the ſaid Queenes Religion were againſt her, and many Proteſtants were and are her friends. And it ſeemeth, that M. Harding ſo openly proteſting before God, and the world, that they condemne and deſie ſuch attempts that any ſubiects ſhould of their owne priuate authority, take armes againſt their Prince, excepting of matters of Religion onely, ſhould thinke it reaſon that parricides, murders, and ſheading of bloud, eſpecially Bloud-Royall, Rapes, Inceſt, and ſuch like, ſhould not paſſe without all controlement. Surely God hath not ſuffered ſuch great faults to eſcape vnpuniſhed euen in Princes, as doth well appeare by the examples of Quene Iſabel in Iſrael, Quene Iohanne in Naples, King Tarquine in Rome, whom for their great wickednesſe, God, by ſtirring their owne ſubiects, againſt them, depriued of their princely eſtates. For princes alſo are Gods ſubiects, againſt whom, for their offences againſt his Maieſty, he proceedeth as well, as againſt the baſeſt ſorts of men, by ſuch waies, as to his heauenly wiſdome it ſeemeth good.

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuiſion 8.

That we haue ſeditiouſly fallen from the Catholike Church, and by a wicked ſchiſme and diuiſion haue ſhaken the whole world, and troubled the common peace and vniuerſall quiet of the Church: and that, as Dathan and Abiram conſpired in times paſt againſt Moyſes and Aaron; euen ſo we at this day haue renounced the Biſhop of Rome, without any cauſe reaſonable.

M. Harding.

Before Luthers time all Chriſtian people came together peaceably into one Church, vnder one head, as ſheepe into one fold vnder one ſhepheard, and ſo liued *Vnanimes in domo*, in one accord: But after that Satan, who at the beginning beguiled Eue, had perſwaded ſome to taſte of the poiſoned apple of Luthers new doctrine; they went out from vs, who were not of vs (for if they had beene of vs, they had remained with vs) forſooke the Catholike Church of Chriſt, ſorted themſelues into Synagogues of Antichriſt, withdrew themſelues from obedience toward their Paſtor and Iudge, and ſundred themſelues into diuers ſects. This ſchiſme, diuiſion & conſpiracy againſt the head Shepheard, is no leſſe wicked, then that of Dathan and Abiron againſt Moyſes and Aaron was. For as God commanded Moyſes and Aaron to be obeied of the children of Iſrael, ſo Chriſt commanded all his ſheepe to obey and heare the voice of him, whom in Peter, and ſucceeding Peter, he made Shepheard ouer his whole flocke.

Diuiſion in Schiſme followed vpon Luthers preaching. 1. Iohan. 2. Numer. 6. Iohan. 21.

Great vntruthes.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Before the time that Gods holy will was, that Doctor Luther ſhould begin, after ſo long time of ignorance, to publiſh the Goſpell of Chriſt, there was a generall quietneſſe, I grant, ſuch as in the night ſeaſon, when folke be aſleepe. Yet, I thinke, to continue ſuch quietneſſe, no wiſe man will wiſh to ſleepe ſtill.

Ye ſay, They haue forſaken the Catholike Church: They went from vs who were not of vs. Nay rather, M. Harding, we are returned to the Catholike Church of Chriſt: and haue forſaken you, becauſe you haue manifeſtly forſaken the waies of God. But what if a man would a little put you friendly in remembrance? Sir, it is not long ſithence your ſelfe were out of your owne Catholike Church: and ſo were gone out from your ſelfe: becauſe your ſelfe were not of your ſelfe. For if your ſelfe had beene of your ſelfe, you would haue remained better with your ſelfe. It is no wiſdome, in carping at others, to offer

offer occaſion againſt your ſelfe. I beſeech God to giue you grace, that you may Redire ad cor, and returne againe to your ſelfe. But here you bring in a great many vntruths in a throng together. You ſay, that as God commanded the people of Iſrael to obey Aaron, ſo Chriſt commanded al his ſheepe to obey the Pope ſucceeding Peter: You ſay, Chriſt made the Pope ſhepheard ouer his whole flocke: You call him Our Paſtor, and our Iudge: you call him the Head-ſhepheard: and for proofe hereof, for ſome countenance of Truth, ye alleage the one and twentieth Chapter of S. Iohn; in which whole Chapter notwithſtanding, ye are not able to find, neither any ſuch commandement of Chriſt: nor any mention of Peters ſucceſſour: nor All his ſheepe: nor Shepheard ouer his whole flocke: nor Our Paſtour: nor Our Iudge: nor Our head Shepheard. It is much to report vntruth of a man. But to report vntruth of Chriſt, and of his holy Word, and that willingly, and wittinglie, and without feare, ſome men thinke it to be the ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt.

As for theſe words, *Feed my Sheepe, Feed my Lambes*, they pertaine as well to other the Apoſtles, as to Peter. Chriſt ſaid generally to all his Diſciples, *God yee into all the world and preach the Goſpel.* And Paul ſaith of himſelfe, Ego plus omnibus laborauí: *I haue taken more paines* (and more led the flocke) *then all the reſt.* Surely me thinketh it is a weake kind of reaſoning to ſay thus, Chriſt bade Peter feed his ſheepe, Ergo, hee made him head-ſhepheard ouer al the whole world. Matth. 28. 19. 1. Cor. 15. 10.

But if this whole Prerogatiue hang of feeding the flocke, what then if the Pope feede not? What if he neuer mind to feed, as thinking it no part of his office? To conclude, what if he be vtterly ignorant, as many haue beene, and cannot feed? Yet muſt he needs be the head-ſhepheard ouer the whole flock? and muſt al the ſheep obey him, and heare his voice, that cannot ſpeak? Verily S. Auguſtine ſaith, Qui hoc animo paſcunt oues Chriſti, vt ſuas velint eſſe, non Chriſti, ſe conuincuntur amare, non Chriſtũ, vel gloriandi, vel dominandi, vel acquirendi cupiditate: *Whoſoeuer they be that feed the ſheepe to the end to make them theirs, & not Chriſts, they loue themſelues, and not Chriſt, for deſire either of glory, or of rule, or of gaine.* *Auguſt in Ioan. Tra. 123.*

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuiſion 9.

That we ſet nought by the authority of the ancient Fathers & Councels of old time: that we haue raſhly & preſumptuouſly diſanulled the old Ceremonies, which haue bin well allowed by our Fathers and Forefathers many hundred yeeres paſt, both by good cuſtomes, and alſo in ages of more purity: and that we haue by our own priuate head without the authority of any ſacred & general Councel, brought new traditions into the Church: and haue done all theſe things not for Religions ſake, but only vpon a deſire of contention & ſtrife. But that they for their part haue changed no maner of thing, but haue held & kept ſtill ſuch a number of yeeres to this very day, al things, as they were deliuered from the Apoſtles, and well approued by the moſt ancient Fathers.

M. Harding.

Councels. The ancient Fathers are but men, if they pleaſe you not. But if ye find any colour of aduantage but in the new Schoolemen, ye make much of it. So that your owne opinion is the rule to eſteeme them, or deſpiſe them. Councels ye admit as your phanſie and pleaſure leadeth, ſometimes three, ſometimes foure, ſometimes fiue or ſix. But all ye would neuer admit: and yet ſo many as are generall and haue bin confirmed by the See Apoſtolike, they are all of like authority. Concerning Ceremonies, if yee ſhew vs not the vſe of Chriſme, in your Churches, if the ſigne of the Croſſe be not borne before you in Proceſſions and otherwheres vſed, if holy water be aboliſhed, if lights at the Goſpell and Communion be not had, if peculiar veſtiments for Deacons, Prieſts, Biſhops, be taken away, and many ſuch other the like: iudge ye, whether ye haue duly kept the old Ceremonies of the Church.

Ceremonies of the Church aboliſhed by the Goſpellers.

As for your new traditions, rites, and ceremonies, I cannot tell what to make of them, nor whether I may ſo terme them.

No maner of thing haue we changed, that is of neceſſity either to be beleeued, or to be obſerued,

The Biſhop of Saresburie.

We allow the ancient Fathers the ſame credit, that they themſelues haue euer deſired. S. Auguſtine hereof writeth thus, Neque quorumuis Diſputationes, quantumuis Catholicorum, & Laudatorum hominum, velut Scripturas Canonicas habere debemus, vt nobis non liceat, ſalua reuerentia, quæ illis debetur, aliquid in illorum Scriptis improbare, aut *Aug. ad Fortunas. Epiſt. 118.*

aut reſpuere, ſi fortè inuenerimus, quòd aliter ſenſerint, quàm Veritas habet. Talis ſum ego in ſcriptis aliorum: tales volo eſſe intellectores meorum: *We receiue not the diſputations or writings of any men, be they neuer ſo Catholike, or praiſe-worthie, as we receiue the Canonicall Scriptures: but that, ſauing the reuerence due vnto them, wee may well reproue or reſuſe ſome things in their writings, if it happen we find, they haue otherwiſe thought, then the truth may beare them. Such am I in the writings of others: and ſuch would I wiſh others to be in mine.* Likewiſe he writeth to S. Hierome, Non puto, Frater, te velle Libros tuos legi, tanquam Apoſtolorum, aut Prophetarum: *I reckon not, my Brother, that ye would haue vs ſo to read your Bookes, as if they were written by the Apoſtles, or Prophets.* It is certaine, Tertullian, Cyprian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Papius, Irenæus, Victorinus, Lactantius, Hilarius, and other ancient Fathers were oftentimes much deceiued. S. Hierome ſcoffeth at S. Ambroſes Commentaries vpon Luke, and calleth them Nugas, trifles, and nicknameth S. Ambroſe, ſometimes calling him Coruus, ſometime Cornicula. Likewiſe S. Auguſtine ſaith, Eccleſiaſtici Iudices, vt homines, plærunque falluntur: *The Iudges, or Doctors of the Church, as beeing men, are often deceiued.* And Thomas of Aquine ſaith, Non tenemur de neceſſitate Salutis, credere non ſolùm Doctoribus Eccleſiæ, vt Hieronymo, aut Auguſtino, ſed ne ipſi quidem Eccleſiæ, niſi in his quæ pertinent ad ſubſtantiam Fidei: *Wee are not bound vpon the neceſſity of Saluation to beleeue not onely the Doctours of the Church, as Hierome, or Auguſtine, but alſo neither the Church it ſelfe, ſauing onely in matters concerning the ſubſtance of faith.*

Aug. ad Hieronym. Ep. 19.

Picus Mirandula in Apolog. Auguſt. contra Creſconium, lib. 2. cap. 2.

Picus Mirandula in Apolog. Thomas in Quodlibet 9. Arti. Vltimo.

Touching the authority of Councels, S. Auguſtine ſaith, Ipſa plenaria Concilia ſæpe priora à poſterioribus emendantur, cum aliquo experimento aperitur, quod clauſum erat: *The very generall Councels are often corrected, the former by the later, as often as by triall and experience the thing is opened, that before was ſhut.* Likewiſe Panormitane ſaith, Plus credendum eſt vni priuato fideli, quàm toti Concilio & Papæ, ſi meliorem habeat authoritatem, vel rationem: *Wee ought to giue more credite to one priuate Lay man, then to the whole Councell and to the Pope, if he bring better authority, and more reaſon.* If the Councell bee wicked, and caried with malice, as many haue beene, ſpecially within theſe few late hundred yeares, wee ſay, as the Prophet Eſay ſaith, Inite conſilium, & diſſipabitur: loquimini verbum, & non ſtabit: quia nobiſcum eſt Dominus: *Take counſell together, and it ſhall be broken: Speake the word, and it ſhall not hold. For the Lord is with vs.*

Auguſt. contra Donatiſt. lib. 2. cap. 3.

Abb. Panorm. De. Electio. & Electi poteſt. cap. ſignificaſti.

Eſa. 8. 10.

As for the late Schole Doctours, your ſelues weigh them as little, as no man leſſe. You ſay in your common talkes, Bernardus non vidit omnia: you haue controlled your Doctour of all Doctours, Peter Lombard, with this common Caueat in the margine, Hic Magiſter non tenetur: Heere our Doctour is no Doctour. You your ſelfe M. Harding, in this your very booke againſt our Apologie ſay, that your Doctour Gratian was deceiued, and in ſtead of Anacletus alleged Calixtus. You your ſelfe againe ſay, If in a ſecret point of learning S. Auguſtine, or S. Cyprian teach ſingularly, we follow them not: much leſſe do we bind our ſelues to beleeue, whatſoeuer Albertus Pighius hath written. And againe, Wee bind our ſelues neither to the words of Sylueſter, nor of Pighius. And againe, Wee take not vpon vs to defend all that the Canoniſts or Schoolemen ſay or write. And another of your companie ſaith, that your Doctour Gratian hath publiſhed great vntruths, and wilfully falſified the Generall Councell. Nomen vniuerſalis, ſaith hee, aſſutum eſt à Gratiano. Thus M. Harding, ye vſe your Doctours, euen as the Merchant vſeth his Counters: ſometime to ſtand for an hundred pounds, ſometime for a penny.

M. Harding fol. 92. b.

M. Harding fol. 232. b.

M. Harding fol. 258. b.

Copus. Dialog. 1 pag. 33.

But now let vs a little examine the particulars of your Bill. Ye come in with Proceſſions, with Lights, with Torches, with Tapers, with Chriſme, with Oile, with Tunicles, and Thiſibles, with holy Water, and holy Bread, and I know not what elſe: as if all theſe things had deſcended directly from the Apoſtles, and without the ſame the Church of God were no Church.

Verily, M. Harding, we hate not any of all theſe things. For we know, they are the Creatures of God. But you haue ſo miſuſed them, or rather ſo defiled, and beraied them with your ſuperſtitions and ſo haue with the ſame mocked, and deceiued Gods people, that we can no longer continue them without great conſcience. I will paſſe ouer the reſt, and ſpeake onely of your Oile, wherof you ſeeme to make moſt account. In your Pontificall thus are ye taught to bleſſe your Oile: Fiat Domine hoc Oleum te benedicente, vnctio Spiritualis ad purificationem mentis, & corporis: *O Lord, let this Oile by thy bleſſing, bee made a ſpirituall ointment to purifie both ſoule and body.* And againe, Emitte quæſumus, Sancte Pater, Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum tuum de cœlis in hanc pinguedinem Oliuæ, ad refectionẽ corporum, & ſanationem animarum: *O holy Father, we beſeech thee, ſend downe thy holy ſpirit the comforter from heauen into this fatneſſe of the Oliue, to the refreſhing of body & ſoule.* In like ſort ye are taught to pray ouer the ſicke: Per hanc ſanctam vnctionem, & ſuam pijſſimam miſericordiam ignoſcat tibi Deus, vt per hanc vnctionem habeas remiſſionem

De Conſec. Olei.

nem omnium peccatorum: *By this holy anointing, and by his great mercy, God pardon thee, that by this anointing thou maiest haue remission of all thy sinnes.* These things cannot be denied: they are written in all your Manuals, vsed and practised in all your Churches. Ye call it Holy Oile, and Oile of Saluation: Ye beare the people in hand that thereby they shall haue health of body and soule: and yet indeede ye haue no Chrisme at all. For Pope Innocentius saith, Chrisma conficitur ex oleo & balsamo: *The Chrisme is made of oile and balsame.* And to the making thereof the balsame is as necessary as the oile. But these many hundred yeeres ye haue had no balsame, nor hath there beene any to be had: therefore ye haue had no Chrisme this long while, but haue deceiued the people with quid pro quo, giuing them one thing for an other. Lights. Water. *Extra. de sacra vnctione.*

Now that your oile came not from the Apostles, your owne Doctour Panormitane is witnesse. For thus he writeth, Apostoli olim conferebant Spiritum sanctum sola manus impositione. Et quia hodiè Prælati non sunt ita beati, fuit institutum vt illi conferrent hoc Sacramentum cum Chrismate: *The Apostles in old time gaue the holy Ghost onely by laying on of hands. But now adaies because Bishops be not so holy, order hath been taken that they should giue this Sacrament with Chrisme.* *Panormitan. de Consue. Cap. 5.*

Neither is this matter so throughly approued by all antiquity as M. Harding imagineth. For Pope Innocentius is witnesse that in old times there were some that found fault with these doings. These be his words, Non Iudaizat Ecclesia cùm vnctionis celebrat Sacramentum, sicut antiqui mentiuntur: *The Church is not Iewish in solemnizing the Sacrament of vnction, as the elders haue misreported.* *Extra de sacra vncti. vaguur.*

Touching your Lights and Tapers, Beatus Rhenanus a man of great learning and iudgement, doubteth not but ye borrowed the vse thereof from the Heathens. I grant, the Christians in old time had Lights in their Churches when they met together at their Common praiers. But it appeareth by the ancient Fathers that the same lights serued to solace them against the darke, and not for any vse of Religion. S. Augustine saith, Vouent alius oleum, alius ceram ad luminaria noctis: *They promise (to the Church) one oile, another wax, for the night Lights.* Likewise saith Eusebius, κἀνταῦθα φῶς, ὅσον ἐξαρκέσει τοῖς εὐχομένοις: Ignis purus, quantum satis esset ad præbendum lumen precantibus: *A cleere light, so much as might suffice the people at their praiers.* So likewise saith S. Hierome, Cereos non clara luce accendimus, sed vt noctis tenebras hoc solatio temperemus: *We light not our Tapers at mid day, but onely by this comfort to ease the darkenesse of the night.* Therefore M. Harding vnto you that set vp Lights in your Churches, as your selfe say, to the honour of God, the ancient Father Lactantius saith thus, Num mentis suæ compos putandus est, qui authori & datori Luminis, candelarum & cerarum lumen offert pro munere? *What, may we think he is well in his wits that vnto God the maker and giuer of light, will offer vp candles and tapers for a present?* Verily, Tertullian saith, Accendant quotidie lucernas, quibus lux nulla est, &c. Illis competunt & testimonia tenebrarum, & auspicia pœnarum: *Let them that haue no light (of God) set vp their tapers euery day, &c. To them belongeth both the testimony of darkenesse, and the beginning of paine.* *In Annotation. in 5 lib. contra Marcionem.* *Aug. de temp. in natali. Dom. Sermon 6.* *Euseb. de vita Const. Orat. 3.* *Hier. aduer. Vigilantium.* *M. Harding fol. 7 b.* *Lact. l. 6. cap. 2.* *Tertul. de Idolatria.*

But what shall I say of your holy water? No doubt it must needs serue, as your oile doth, to the saluation of body and soule. Augustinus Steuchus, a principall Doctor of your side, saith, Non inane institutum est, quòd aquas sale & orationibus sanctificemus, vt ad eorum aspersum delicta nostra deleantur: *It is no vaine inuention, that we hallow water with salt and praiers, that by the sprinkling thereof our sinnes may be forgiuen.* Thus prophanelie and Heathen-like he writeth, as if the blood of Christ were quite dried vp. *Aug. Steuchus in lib. numer. Cap 19.*

Beside al this, one of your Doctors of Louaine telleth vs in good sadnes, by report of one of the Iesuites, that in India holie water is very holesome to driue away Mise, and to make barren women to conceiue. I faine not this matter: The place may bee seene. O M. Harding I must needes say of your company that one said sometime of the Grecians, *These that call themselues Catholikes are euer children.* *Copus Dial. 1. Pag. 18 b.* Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ παῖδες ἐστε. *Plato in Timæo: & Theodoret. de corrigendis Græcorum affectibus Lib. 1*

Ye say ye haue changed nothing that is of necessity either to be beleeued, or to be obserued. What necessity ye meane I cannot well coniecture. For when you list, your holy water and holy bread must needs be of necessity. But indeed of the ancient godly orders of the Church ye haue in a manner left nothing, vnlesse it be such as ye might best haue spared: and the same ye haue so defaced with superstition, that it hath now quite lost his former vse, and is not the same it was before. Certainly if you had changed nothing, then should you haue now no priuate Masse.

Therefore we may iustly say to you as Tertullian said in like case vnto the Romane Heathens: Vbi Religio? Vbi veneratio Maioribus debita? Habitu, victu, instructu, sensu, ipso denique sermone proauis renunciastis. Laudatis semper antiquitatem: nouè decidie viuitis. Per quod ostenditur, dum a bonis maiorum institutis decediti, eâ vos retinere *Tertullian. in Apologetico.*

&

& cuſtodire, quæ non debuiſtis: cùm quæ debuiſtis, non cuſtoditis: *Where is your Religion? Where is the reuerence due to your forefathers? You haue forſaken them in your apparell, in your diet, in your order, in your meaning, and in your ſpeech. Ye change your life daily: yet yee praiſe antiquity. Whereby it appeareth, while ye leaue the good orders of your elders, that yee keepe the things ye ſhould not keepe, ſeeing ye keepe not the things ye ſhould keepe.*

The Apology, Chap. 2. Diuiſion 10.

And that this matter ſhould not ſeem to be done but vpon priuy ſlãder, and to be toſſed to & fro in a corner only to ſpight vs, there haue bin beſides willy procured by the B. of Rome certaine perſons of eloquence enough, and not vnlearned neither, which ſhould put their helpe to this cauſe, now almoſt deſpaired of: and ſhold poliſh & ſet forth the ſame, both in bookes, & with long tales, to the end that when the matter was trimlie & eloquently handled, ignorant and vnſkilful perſons might ſuſpect there was ſome great thing in it. Indeed they perceiued that their own cauſe did euery where goe to wrack, that their ſleights were now eſpied, and leſſe eſteemed, and that their helps did daily fail them, and that their matter ſtood altogether in great need of a cunning ſpokeſman.

M. Harding.

We cannot deſpaire of this cauſe, vnleſſe we would forſake our faith, as yee haue. For beleeuing Chriſt, which our faith leadeth vs vnto, we cannot miſtruſt the continuance of this cauſe Heauen and Earth ſhall paſſe, but my words ſhall not paſſe, ſaith Truth it ſelfe. And his words tell vs that he will be with his Church all daies to the worlds end: and that hee hath beſought his Father to giue to it the Spirit of Truth, to remaine with it for euer. Then be we moſt aſſured of this cauſe. We tel you therefore, it ſtandeth, and ſhall ſtand by Chriſts preſence, and by the holy Ghoſts aſſiſtance, to the end. Your cauſe yet ſtandeth not, but wauereth and tottereth, as that which S. Paul termeth a puffe of doctrine, and doubtleſſe ſhortly fall it ſhall, as all Hereſies haue fallen.

Confidence of Catholikes touching their cauſe, Luk. 21. Mat. 28. Iohn 14. The Catholike Church aſſuredly defended. Epheſ. 4.

The authors and profeſſors of them be dead and rotten in Hell fire with weeping and grinding of teeth. The like iudgement looke ye and your fellowes to haue if ye repent not, and reuoke your Hereſies by time.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

We cannot deſpaire, **ſaith M. Harding,** of the continuance of our cauſe. For Heauen and Earth ſhall paſſe, but Chriſts words ſhall not paſſe. Hee will bee with vs all daies to the worlds end, &c. **Theſe words M. Harding, be true and certaine: and therefore our hope is the firmer. Chriſt hath promiſed that the ſpirit of truth ſhall remaine for euer, but not in the Pope and his Cardinals. For there he made no promiſe. May rather the Prophet** Eſay **ſaith,**

Eſay 66.2. **The ſpirit of God ſhall reſt vpon the poore, and meeke hearted, that trembleth at the word of the Lord.**

The Church of God ſhall ſtand ſtill, yea though Rome **were poſſeſſed with** Antichriſt.

Mat. 15. 13. Hilar. in c. 15. Matth. Canon. 14. *in fine.* **It is true that** Chriſt **ſaith,** *Euery plant which my heauenly father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted vp.* **Vpon which words** S. Hilary **ſaith,** Significat Traditionem hominum eruendam eſſe, cuius fauore tranſgreſſi ſunt præcepta Legis: *He meaneth that the Tradition of man, for which Traditions ſake they haue broken the Law of God, ſhall be taken vp by the roots.* **Heauen and earth ſhall paſſe, and your fantaſies and deuices, M. Harding, ſhall paſſe: the Lord hath ſpoken it: but the word of God, and his Church ſhall endure for euer.**

But M. Hardings Almanake ſaith, our doctrine ſhall fall, and that very ſhortly. Herein I profeſſe I haue no ſkil. Gods will be done. It is his cauſe: whatſoeuer ſhall happen, his name be bleſſed for euer. In like ſort the Heathens in old times, as S. Auguſtine **ſaith, vaunted themſelues againſt the faith of Chriſt:** Ad certum tempus ſunt Chriſtiani: poſteà peribunt, & redibunt Idola: redibit quod erat anteà. Verùm tu, cùm expectas, miſer Infidelis vt tranſeant Chriſtiani, tranſis ipſe ſine Chriſtianis: *Theſe Chriſtians are but for a while: fall they ſhall, and that ſhortly. Then ſhall our Idols come againe, and it ſhall be as it was before. But O thou miſerable Infidel, while thou lookeſt that the Chriſtians ſhould paſſe, thou paſſeſt away thy ſelfe without the Chriſtians.* **Againe he ſaith,** Ecce veniet tempus vt finiantur, & non ſint Chriſtiani. Sicut cœperunt ab aliquo tempore, ita vſque ad certum tempus erunt Sed cum iſta dicunt, ſine fine moriuntur, & permanet Eccleſia prædicando brachium Domini omni generationi venturæ: *They ſay, behold the day will come, when all theſe Chriſtians ſhall haue an end. As they had a time to beginne, ſo ſhall they haue a time to continue. But while they make theſe crakes, they themſelues die without end. But the Church continueth ſtill praiſing the almightie arme of God to euery generation that is to come.*

Aug. in Pſ. 70.

Aug. in eundem Pſal.

But

But ye say, The authors and professors of our Doctrine be damned in hell fire, and cry Peccaui. This is a very terrible kinde of talke. But it is a rash part for you M. Harding, so suddenly to skip into Gods chaire, and there to pronounce your sentence definitiue like a Iudge. But God will iudge of your Iudgement. S. Augustine saith, Alia est Scilla terena, aliud Tribunal cœlorum. Ab inferiori sententia accipitur, à superiori corona: *The earthly chaire is one thing, the iudgement seat in Heauen is an other. From the one wee receiue sentence, from the other we receiue a crowne.* Oh, M. Harding, God grant you may once crie Peccaui, lest the time come that ye shal crie out, as it is written in the Booke of Wisdome: *These are they whom we sometime had in derision, and in a parable of reproach. We fooles thought their life madnesse, and their end without honour. But now are they counted among the children of God, and their portion is among the Saints.* *Aug. in Psal. 36. par. 3.* Sapient. 5.

The Apology, Chap. 3. Diuision 2.

NOw, as for those things which by them haue been laid against vs, in part they be manifestly false and condemned so by their owne iudgements which spake them: partly againe, though they be as false too indeed, yet beare they a certaine shew & colour of truth, so as the Reader (if he take not good heed) may easily be tripped and brought into error by them, especially when their fine & cunning tale is added thereunto. And part of them be of such sort as we ought not to shun them as crimes or faults, but to acknowledge & confesse them as things well done, and vpon very good reason. For shortly to say the truth, these folke falsly accuse & slander al our doings, yea the same things which they themselues cannot deny but to be rightly and orderly done: and for malice do so misconstrue and depraue al our sayings & doings, as though it were impossible that any thing could be rightly spoken or done by vs. They should more plainely & sincerely haue gone to worke, if they would haue dealt truly. But now they neither truly, nor sincerely, nor yet Christianly, but darkely & craftily charge and batter vs with lies, and do abuse the blindnesse & fondnesse of the people, together with the ignorance of Princes, to cause vs to be hated, and the truth to be suppressed.

This, lo ye, is the power of darkenesse, and of men which leane more to the amazed wondering of the rude multitude, and to darknesse, then they doe to truth and light: and as S. Hierome saith, doe openly gainesay the truth, closing vp their eies, and will not see, for the nonce. But we giue thanks to the most good & mighty God, that such is our cause, where against (when they would faineſt) they were able to vtter no despight, but the same which might as wel be wrested against the holy Fathers, against the Prophets, against the Apostles, against Peter, against Paul, and against Christ himselfe. *Hier aduersus Ruffinum.*

M. Harding.

The Catholikes doe not burden you with ought, wherein by their own iudgements they condemne themselues, as ye slander them, not onely heere, but oftentimes in your booke. For if they iudged otherwise, they would not wittingly do against their iudgement. That is the speciall property of an Heretike, whom S. Paul biddeth all men to auoid, knowing that he that is such, is peruerted, and seemeth euen condemned by his owne iudgement. Tim. 3.

They shew both your blasphemous heresies, and your wicked acts. Luther, ye know, powred out his heresies & villanies, &c. Your robbing of Churches, persecuting of men for standing stedfastly in the faith of the holy forefathers, your incestuous marriages of Monks, Friers, and Nuns, your breach of solemn vowes for fleshly pleasure, your pophaning and abandoning of holy Sacraments, your contempt of ancient and godly ordinances & discipline of the Church, and such other things of like estimation.

For indeede the Catholiks do persecute you (if such deserued intreating of euill persons may be called persecution) & al good folk besides, we grant, and shall so do so long as they loue the truth, and keepe them in the vnity of the Church; yet with no other minde doe they persecute you then Sara did Agar, then Christ the Iewes, whom he whipt out of the temple; then Peter did Simon Magus. Genes. 10. Iohn 2. Egesippus.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Bewis M. Harding, it might please you to remember that Bartholomæus Latomus a Doctour of your side, confesseth in writing, to all the world, that our request touching *Bar. Lato. ad. nersus Bucer.*

the

the holy miniſtration vnder both kindes accoꝛding to Chꝛiſts firſt inſtitution is iuſt and reaſonable:

Gerar. Lorichius De Miſſa proroganda, In 7 par. Canonis.

That Gerardus Lorichius, another of your owne ſide, ſaith, Pſeudocatholici, qui reformationem Eccleſiæ quoquo modo remorari non verentur: *They be falſe Catholikes* (and this M. Harding, he ſpeaketh of you, being one of your owne) *They be falſe Catholikes that hinder the reformation of the Church by all meanes they be able.* He ſaith you be falſe Catholikes, farre contrary to the common opinion; and concludeth in the end that the wilfull maintenance and ſequell of your doctrine in this point, is, as he calleth it, Hæreſis, & blaſphemia peſtilens & execrabilis: *An Hereſie, and a blaſphemie againſt God, peſtilent and curſed:*

Steuen Gard. in the Dinels Sophiſtrie.

That others of your ſide confeſſe, that this your vſe of miniſtration vnder one kinde, which now ye call Catholike, began firſt not of Chꝛiſt, oꝛ his Apoſtles, oꝛ any ancient learned Father, but onely of the ꝛeꝛoꝛ, oꝛ, as he better termeth it, of the ſimple deuotion of the people:

Alber. Pigh. de miſſa priuata.

That Albertus Pighius, the ſtouteſt gallant of al your Campe, granteth there haue beene and be many abuſes in your Maſſe, notwithſtanding ye haue told vs farre otherwiſe:

Platina in Pio 2.

That Pope Pius oftentimes granted, and vſed commonly to ſay, he ſaw great cauſes why Pꝛieſts ſhould be reſtoꝛed to the liberty of mariage:

Io. Sleidanus Lib. 4.

That Pope Adrian by his Legat Cheregatus confeſſed openly at Norenberg in the generall Diet of all the Pꝛinces of Germanie, that all the ill of the Church came firſt à culmine Pontificio, *From the top Caſtle of the Pope:*

And to be ſhoꝛt, M. Harding, it might haue pleaſed you to remember that your ſelfe in your firſt booke, in the defenſe of your pꝛiuate Maſſe, haue written thus: Marry, I denie not, but that it were more commendable, and more godly on the Churches part, if many well diſpoſed and examined would be partakers of the bleſſed Sacrament with the Prieſt.

M. Harding fol. 22. b.

All theſe things M. Harding, be they vſes oꝛ abuſes, reaſonable oꝛ vnreaſonable, right oꝛ wꝛong, better oꝛ woꝛſe; be they neuer ſo wicked, neuer ſo blaſphemous, neuer ſo curſed, yet be they ſtoutly defended ſtill, and no hope offered of amendment: with what conſcience of your part, he onely ſeeth that ſeeth the conſcience. You grant ye perſecute your bꝛethꝛen where ye haue the Swoꝛd, and may perſecute: but as Sara did Agar, as Chriſt did the Iewes: and not otherwiſe. Verily, M. Harding, that Chriſt oꝛ Sara were perſecutoꝛs I haue not greatly heard, but I remember Chryſoſtome ſaith thus:

Geneſ. 16. Iohn 2.

Nunquid ouis lupum perſequitur aliquando? Non, ſed lupus ouem. Sic enim Caim perſecutus eſt Abel, non Abel Caim. Sic Iſmael perſecutus eſt Iſaac, non Iſaac Iſmael. Sic Iudæi Chriſtum, non Chriſtus Iudæos. Hæretici Chriſtianos, non Chriſtiani Hæreticos. Ergo ex fructibus eorum cognoſcetis eos: *What, doe the ſheepe perſecute the Wolfe at any time? No, but the wolfe doth perſecute the ſheepe. For ſo Caim perſecuted Abel, not Abel Caim. So Iſmael perſecuted Iſaac, not Iſaac Iſmael. So the Iewes perſecuted Chriſt, not Chriſt the Iewes. So the Heretikes perſecute the Chriſtians, not the Chriſtians the Heretikes. Therefore ye ſhall know them by their fruits.*

Chryſ. in Mat. Homil. 19.

Auguſt. contra Lite. Petilia. lib 2. cap. 19.

Chryſ. in opere imperfecto in Mat. Hom 19. in veſpis.

S. Auguſtine ſaith, Non eo modo perſecutionem paſſi ſunt Pſeudoprophetæ ab Elia, quomodo ipſe Elias à Rege nequiſſimo: *Neither were the falſe Prophets ſo perſecuted by Elias, as Elias was perſecuted by the wicked king.* Surely Chryſoſtome ſaith, Quem videris in ſanguine perſecutionis gaudentem, lupus eſt: *Whomſoeuer ye ſee reioycing in the blond of perſecution, he is the Wolfe.*

Perſecution for loue.

But ye pꝛetend great good wil, and ſay ye perſecute and murder your bꝛethꝛen foꝛ loue, as Chꝛiſt perſecuted the Iewes. So I trow, Ariſtophanes ſaith, Philippides toke a cudgell and beat his father, and all foꝛ loue. Howbeit M. Harding, neither are you armed as Chriſt was armed, noꝛ was Chriſt armed as you are armed. I muſt ſay to you as S. Auguſtine ſaith vnto the Heretikes the Donatiſts: Hanc formam ne ab ipſis quidem Iudæis perſecutoribus accepiſtis. Illi enim perſecuti ſunt carnem ambulantis in terra: vos Euangelium ſedentis in cœlo: *Ye learned not this forme of perſecution, no not of the Iewes. For they perſecuted the fleſh of Chriſt walking in the earth: you perſecute the Goſpell of Chriſt ſitting in Heauen.* Robert Holcote among other his doubts moueth this queſtion, An amor ſit odium: *Whether loue be hatred, oꝛ no.* If he were now aliue, and ſaw your dealing, and the kindneſſe of your loue, I beléeue he would put the matter out of queſtion, and ſay, vndoubtedly your loue is hatred, it is no loue. So Moſes ſaith, *Iſmael plaied or ſported with Iſaac.* But S. Paul ſaith, the ſame playing and ſpoꝛting was perſecution. Foꝛ thus he wꝛiteth: *He that was after the fleſh, perſecuted him that was after the Spirit.*

Auguſt. contra Liter. Petilia. lib. 2. cap. 87. Holc. in 1. Senten. Queſt. 3. Art. 8. Dubi. 2. Orig. in Geneſ. Homil. 7. Geneſ. 21. 9. Galat. 4 29. Iohn 16. 2.

I doubt not but you thinke of your part it is well done. Foꝛ ſo Chꝛiſt ſaith, *Whoſoeuer ſhall murder you, ſhall thinke he offereth a ſacrifice vnto God.* And your ſelues hath ſet to

this

this note in great letters in the margin of your Decrees: Iudæi mortaliter peccassent, si Christum non crucifixissent: *The Iewes had sinned deadly, if they had not hanged Christ vp on the Crosse.* Benedictus Deus, qui non dedit nos in captionem dentibus eorum: *Blessed be God that hath not giuen vs to be a prey vnto their teeth.* To all the rest it is sufficient for M. Harding to say, They be blasphemous heresies: wicked acts: Luthers heresies and villanies: robbing of Churches: breaches of vowes: fleshly pleasures: abandoning of the holy Sacraments: malices, slanders & lies. And besides these things in effect he answereth nothing. Now to answer nothing with some thing, it were worth nothing. *Dist.* 13. *Item.* *In margine.*

The Apology, Chap. 3. *Diuision* 5.

Now therefore, if it be lawfull for the folkes to be eloquent & fine-tongued in speaking of euil, surely it becommeth not vs in our cause, being so very good, to be dumbe in answering truely. For men to bee careleſſe what is spoken by them and their own matter, be it neuer so falsely and slanderously spoken, (especially whē it is such that the Maiesty of God, and the cause of Religion may thereby be dammaged) is the part doubtlesse of dissolute & retchlesse persons, and of them which wickedly winke at the iniuries don vnto the name of God. For although other wrongs, yea oftentimes great, may be borne & dissembled of a milde and Christian man, yet he that goeth smoothly away, and dissembleth the matter when he is noted of heresie, Ruffinus was wont to deny that man to be a Christian. We therefore will doe the same thing which all lawes, which natures owne voice doth command to be done, and which Christ himselfe did in like case, when he was checked and reuiled: to the intent we may put off from vs these mens slanderous accusations, and may defend soberly and truly our owne cause and innocencie.

M. Harding.

Ye haue not proued the truth to be of your side, nor euer shalbe able to proue, maintaining the Doctrin of the Lutherans, Zwinglias, & Caluinists, as ye do. Now al depēdeth of that point. And because ye haue not the truth, whatsoeuer ye say, it is soon confuted: & whatsoeuer ye bring, it is to no purpose.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

This is the very issue of the case: whether the Doctrine that we professe be the truth, or no. Which thing through Gods grace by this our conference in part may appeare. I beseech God the Author of all truth, and the Father of light, so to open our hearts, that the thing that is the truth indeed, may appeare to vs to be the truth.

The Apologie, Chap. 4. *Diuision* 2.

For Christ verily, when the Pharises charged him with sorcerie, as one that had some familiar spirits, and wrought many things by their helpe: I (said he) haue not the Diuel, but do glorifie my Father: but it is you that haue dishonoured me, and put me to rebuke and shame. And S. Paul, when Festus the Lieutenant scorned him as a mad man: I (said he) most deare Festus, am not mad, as thou thinkest, but I speake the words of truth and soberneſſe. And the ancient Christians, when they were slandered to the people for mankillers, for adulterers, for committers of incest, for disturbers of the Common weales, and did perceiue that by such slanderous accusations the Religion which they professed might be brought in question, namely, if they should seeme to hold their peace, and in manner confesse the fault: lest this might hinder the free course of the Gospel, they made Orations, they put vp Supplications, and made meanes to Emperours and Princes that they might defend themselues and their fellowes in open audience. Iohn 8. 49. Acts 26. 25.

M. Harding.

When ye proue that ye haue the truth, then may ye be admitted in your defence to allege the example of Christ of S. Paul, and of the first Christians But now we tel you, being as you are, these examples serue you to no purpose. And for ought ye haue said hitherto, the Anabaptists Libertines. Zwenkfeldians, Nestorians, Eunomians, Arians, and al other pestiferous Heretikes might say the same as wel as ye. Christ was charged of the Iewes with vsing the power of impure spirits, blasphemously: Paul Luk. 11.

was ſcorned of Feſtus as a mad man, without cauſe: The ancient Chriſtians were accuſed by the infidels of hainous crimes, falſly. But ye are accuſed of Hereſies, & ſundry impieties, by godly, wiſe, and faithfull men, vpon zeale, by good aduice, and truly. And as for thoſe ancient Chriſtians, when they made Apologies or Orations in the defenſe of the Chriſtian faith, they did it ſo as became Chriſtian men, plainely and openly. Either they offered them to the Emperours with their owne hands, or put to their names, & ſignified to whom they gaue the ſame. As S. Hilarie deliuered a booke in defenſe of the Catholike faith againſt the Arians, to Conſtantius. Melito & Apollinaris wrote their Apologies to the Emperors. S. Iuſtine the Philoſopher and Martyr gaue his firſt Apologie for the Chriſtians, to the Senate of the Romans, the ſecond to Antonius Pius Emperor. Tertullian to the Romans. S. Apollonius the Romane Senator & Martyr did read his booke openly in the Senate houſe, which he had made in defenſe of the Chriſtian faith. But ye do your things that ought to be done openly, in hucker mucker. Ye ſet foorth your Apology in the name of the Church of England, before any meane part of the Church were priuie to it, & ſo as though either ye were aſhamed of it, or afraid to abide by it. The inſcription of it is directed neither to pope, nor Emperor, nor to any Prince, nor to the Church, nor to the generall Councell then beeing when ye wrote it, as it was moſt conuenient. There is no mans name ſet to it. It is printed without priuilege of the Prince, contrary to the Law in that behalfe made: allowed neither by Parliament, nor by Proclamation, nor agreed vpon by the Clergy in publike & lawfull Synode. This packing becommeth you: it becommeth not the vpright profeſſors of the truth. Wherefore your vnlawfull booke, as it is, ſo it may bee called an Inuectiue, or rather a Famous Libell, and ſlanderous Writ, as that which ſeemeth to haue beene made in a corner, and caſt abroad in the ſtreets, the authors whereof the ciuill Law puniſheth ſharply.

Acts 26. Tertull. in Apolog. The Apologies of the old Fathers were lawfully publiſhed. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 16. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 5. ca. 21.

Vntruth.

The Apologie a famous Libell.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

How far forth theſe examples may ſerue vs, we remit the iudgement thereof to the diſcreet Chriſtian Reader. It is not enough thus to cry out, Impieties and Hereſies. M. Hardings bare word in this behalfe is not ſufficient to warrant an euidence. Certainly among other great comforts that we haue in Gods mercies, this is one, and not the leaſt, that touching the innocency and right of our cauſe, we may ſay to you as Chriſt ſaid to the Phariſeis, *We haue not the diuell, but we glorifie our Father:* Or as S. Paul ſaid vnto Feſtus, *We are not mad* (M. Harding) *as ye report of vs: but we vtter vnto you the words of truth & ſobriety.*

Iohn 8. 49. Act. 26. 25.

But this is a pitious fault. The names of all the Biſhops, Deanes, Archdeacons, Parſons, Vicars, and Curates of England are not ſet to our Apologie. It is directed neither to the Emperour, nor to the Pope, nor to the Councell. Neither is it printed with priuelege of the Prince. This laſt clauſe is a manifeſt vntruth, and may eaſily be reproued by the Printer. Hereof ye conclude, It is a ſlanderous Libell, and was written vnder a hedge, and, as you ſay, in hucker mucker.

First, were it granted that all ye ſay of Hilarie, Melito, Iuſtinus, Tertullian, and Apollonius were true, yet muſt it néeds follow that all bookes that are not ſubſcribed with the Authors names were written in a corner? Firſt to beginne with the Scriptures, tell vs, M. Harding, who wrote the bookes of Geneſis, of Exodus, of Leuiticus, of Numerie, of Deuteronomium, of Ioſue, of the Iudges, of the Kings, of the Chronicles, of Iob, &c. Who wrote theſe bookes, I ſay? Who authorized them? Who ſubſcribed his name? Who ſet to his ſeale? The booke of Wiſdome by ſome is fathered vpon Philo, by ſome vpon Salomon. The Epiſtle vnto the Hebrewes ſome ſay was written by S. Paul, ſome by Clemens, ſome by Barnabas, ſome by ſome other: and ſo are we vncertaine of the Authors name. S. Marke, S. Luke, S. Iohn, neuer once named themſelues in their Goſpels. The Apoſtles Creede, the Canons of the Apoſtles, by what names are they ſubſcribed? How are they authorized? To what Pope, to what Emperour were they offered? To leaue others the ancient Doctours of the Church, which, as you know, are often miſnamed, Ambroſe for Auguſtine, Greeke for Latine, new for old: your Doctor of Doctors, the faireſt flower and crop of your Garland, Gratianus, is ſo well knowne by his name, that wiſe men cannot well tell what name to giue him. Eraſmus ſaith of him thus, Quisquis fuit, ſiue Gratianus, ſiue Craſſianus: *What ſoeuer name we may giue him, be it* Gratianus, *or* Craſſianus. And againe he ſaith, Eruditi negant illam Gratiani, neſcio cuius, congeriem vlla vnquam publica Eccleſiæ authoritate fuiſſe comprobatam: *The learned ſay that* Gratians *collection, or heape of matters, was neuer allowed by any publike authority of the Church.* And againe, Non conſtat vllis argumentis quis fuerit Gratianus, quo tempore opus ſuum exhibuerit, cuius Pontificis, cuius Concilij fuerit authoritate comprobatum: *It cannot appeare by any tokens of record, neither what this* Gratian *was, nor at what time hee offered vp his booke, nor what Councell, nor what Pope allowed it.*

Eraſm. in Præfat. in tertiam Seriem quarti Tom. Hieronymi.

Eraſ. in Præfatione in 4. Tom. Hieron.

Who ſubſcribed the late Councell of Colaine? Who ſubſcribed the booke not long ſithence ſet abroad vnder the name of the Church of Colaine, and named Antididagma? To be ſhort, who ſubſcribed your own late booke, intituled The Apology of Priuate Maſſe? Where were they written? Where were they ſubſcribed? By what authority, and vnder what names were they allowed? I will ſay nothing of your late famous Volume bearing the name of Marcus Antonius Conſtantius. This booke, as you ſée, hath thrée great names,

names, notwithstanding the Authour himselfe had but two: and yet not one of all these three. What M. Harding, would you make your brethren beleeue that all these be but slanderous writers, deuised onely in hucker mucker, and vnder a hedge?

The decree the Apostles made in the fiftéenth Chapter of the Acts, it appeareth not, it was so curiously subscribed with al their names. The Protestation of the Bohemians in the Councel of Basile, the Confession of the Churches of Geneua and Heluetia, for ought that I know, haue no such publike Subscriptions. Neither is it necessary, nor commonly vsed to ioine priuate mens names to publike matters, neither in so mighty and ample a Realme, vpon all incident occasions is it so easie to be done. Briefely, our Apology is confirmed by as many names as the high Court of Parliament of England is confirmed.

Neither was the same conceiued in so darke a corner as M. Harding imagineth. For it was afterward imprinted in Latine at Paris: and hath béene sithence translated into the French, the Italian, the Dutch, and the Spanish tongues: and hath béene sent and borne abroad into France, Flanders, Germanie, Spaine, Poole, Hungary, Denmarke, Sueueland, Scotland, Italie, Naples, and Rome it selfe, to the iudgement and triall of the whole Church of God. Yea it was read, and sharpely considered in your late Couent at Trident, and great threats made there, that it should be answered, and the matter by two notable learned Bishops taken in hand, the one a Spaniard, the other an Italian: which two notwithstanding, these fiue whole yéeres haue yet done nothing, nor (I beléeue) intend any thing to doe. Indéed certaine of your brethren haue béene often gnawing at it; but such as care nothing, nor is cared, what they write.

But if names be so necessary, we haue the names of the whole Clergie of England, to confirme the Faith of our Doctrin, & your name, M. Harding as you can wel remember, amongst the rest: vnlesse as ye haue already denied your Faith, so ye will now also deny your name. To conclude, it is greater modesty to publish our owne booke without name, then, as you doe, to publish other mens bookes in your owne names. For indéede M. Harding, the bookes ye send so thicke ouer are not yours. Ye are but translators: ye are no authors. If euery bird should fetch againe his own feathers, alas, your poore chickins would die for cold. But you say, we offered not our booke to the Pope. No, neither ought we so to doe. He is not our Bishop: He is not our Iudge. We may say vnto him as the Emperor Constantius said sometime to Pope Liberius, Quota es tu pars orbis terrarum? *what great portion art thou of the whole world?* As for your Councell of Trident, God wot, it was a silly Couent, for ought that may appeare by their conclusions. *Theodoret. in Hist. Eccles.*

We offered the defense and profession of our Doctrine vnto the whole Church of God: and so vnto the Pope, and to the Councel too, if they be any part or member of the Church: and by Gods mercy shall euer be able in all places both with our hands and with our bodies to yéeld an account of the hope we haue in Iesus Christ. Whereas it liketh you to terme our Apology a slanderous Libell, I doubt not but whosoeuer shall indifferently consider your booke, shall thinke M. Hardings tongue wanteth no slander.

The Apologie, Chap. 4. Diuision 3.

But we truly, seeing that so many thousands of our brethren in these last twenty yeeres haue borne witnesse vnto the Truth, in the midst of most painfull torments that could be deuised: and when Princes desirous to restraine the Gospel, sought many waies, but preuailed nothing, & that now almost the whole world doth begin to open their eies to behold the light: we take it, that our cause hath already beene sufficiently declared and defended, and thinke it not needfull to make many words, seeing the matter saith enough for it selfe.

M. Harding.

The reasons and examples ye bring for it, conclude nothing: because lacking truth, ye build vpon a false ground, whatsoeuer ye set vp, eft soons it falleth, being staied by no iust proofe. Here ye go forth, and faine would ye prop vp that matter: but your reasons be as weake as before. I here haue not so many thousands of your brethren beene burnt for Heresie in these last twenty yeeres as yee pretend. But when ye come to boasting, then haue ye a great grace in vsing the Figure Hyperbole. Then scores, be hundreds: hundreds be thousands: thousands be millions.

Seruetus burnt for Heresie at Geneua. Dauid George. Ioan of Kent

But what was Michael Seruetus the Arian, who was burnt at Geneua by procurement of Caluin a brother of yours? Dauid George that tooke vpon him to be Christ, who was taken vp after he was buried, and burnt at Basile, was he your brother? To come neere home, Ioan of Kent, that filth, who tooke forth a lesson further then you taught her (I trow) or yet preach, was she a sister of yours? So many Adamites, so many Swenkfeldians, so many hundreds of Anabaptists and Libertines as haue within your twenty yeeres beene rid out of their liues by fire, sword, and water, in sundry parts of Christendome, were they all of your blessed brotherhead?

And this is the chiefe argument ye make in all that huge dunghill of your stinking Martyres, which ye haue intituled Acts and Monuments. But we tell you, it is not death that iustifieth the cause of dying; but it is the cause of dying that iustifieth the death. Acts and Monuments.

Princes (yee say) were desirous to restraine your Gospel, and though they went about it by many waies, yet preuailed they nothing. Therefore your Doctrine must needes be the true Gospel. As good an argument as this is, may theeues make in their defense. For Princes bee desirous to keepe their Dominions from robbing, and haue euer deuised straight lawes and punishments for restraint of theeues: yet be theeues euery where, and theft is daily committed. A weake argument of truth.

And whereas your Gospell is a grosse Gospell, a carnall Gospel, a belly Gospell, wonder it is not, if those people be not wholly withdrawn from assenting to the same, who bee not of the finest wits, and be much giuen to the seruice of the bellie, and of the things beneath the belly. Yet where the Princes haue vsed most diligence, and best means to stop the course of your Heresies, there the people remain most Catholike: as euery man may iudge by view of Italy, Spaine, Base Almaine, and France, before that weighty Scepter by Gods secret prouidence for punishment of sinne, was committed to feeble handes, that for tender age were not able to beare it. This carnall Gospell soon taketh place amongst carnall heares.

Your other argument, whereby ye would perswade your Gospell to be the truth is, that now (as ye crake) almost the whol world doth begin to open their eies to behold the light. This argument seemeth maruelous well for Antichrist. And truely if he be not already come, ye may very well seeme to be his forerunners. Nay sirs, if it be true that ye say, that almost the whole world looketh that way, knowing that in the latter daies, and toward the end of the world, iniquity shall abound, and the charity of the more part shall wax cold; we may rather make a contrary argument, and iudge your Gospell to be erroneous and false, because the multitude is so ready to receiue it. Againe, Christ hath not loued his Church so little, as that the world should now begin to open their eies to behold the light. For the same cause presupposeth a former general darknesse, It stādeth not with Christs promises made to the Church, touching his being with the Church all daies to the worlds end, and the holy Ghosts remaining with it the Spirit of truth for euer, that he should suffer his Church to continue in darknesse and lacke of truth these thousand yeers past, and now at the latter daies to reueale the truth of his Gospel by Apostates, Vow-breakers, Church-robbers, and such other most vnlike to the Apostles. The argument of the defenders seruing well for Antichrist. Matth 24. The argument of multitude returned vpon the defenders to a contrary conclusion. Matth 18. Iohn 14.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

What soeuer we say, here appeareth smal weight in M. Hardings sayings. We make no boast of the numbers and multitudes of our Martyres. And yet, as S Paul saith, if we should needs boast, we should chiefely boast of such our infirmities. But we reioice with them, and giue God thanks in their behalfe, for that it hath pleased him to prepare their hearts vnto temptation, to trie and purifie them as gold in the Furnace, and to keepe them faithfull vnto the end. 2. Cor. 11. 30.

As for Dauid George, and Seruete the Arian, and such other the like, they were yours, M. Harding, they were not of vs. You brought them vp, the one in Spaine, the other in Flanders. We detected their heresies, and not you. We arraigned them. We condemned them. We put them to the execution of the Lawes. It seemeth very much to call them our brothers, because we burnt them. It is knowne to children, it is not the death, but the cause of the death that maketh a Martyr. S. Augustine saith, Tres erant in cruce: Vnus Saluator: alter saluandus: tertius damnandus. Omnium par pœna, sed dispar causa: *There were three hanging on the Crosse: The first was the Sauiour: the second to bee saued: the third to be damned. The paine of all three was one, but the cause was diuers.* *Aug. in Psal. 34. par. 2.*

Your Anabaptists, and Zuenkfeldians **we know not. They finde harbour amongst you in** Austria, Slesia, Morauia, **and in such other Countries and Cities, where the Gospell of Christ is suppressed: but they haue no acquaintance with vs, neither in** England, **nor in** Germanie, **nor in** France, **nor in** Scotland, **nor in** Denmarke, **nor in** Sueden, **nor in any place else, where the Gospell of Christ is clerely preached. But it hath beene your great pollicy these many late yeeres, when ye murdered the Saints of God, first to rote out their tongues, for feare of speaking, and then afterward to tell the people they were** Anabaptists, **or** Arians, **or what ye listed. With such pollicy** Nero **sometime that bloody Tyrant burnt the Christians in heapes together, and made open Proclamations, that they were Traitours and Rebels, and had fired the City of Rome.** *Sueton. Tranquillus in Nerone.*

It pleaseth you for lacke of other euasion, to cal the story of Martyres a dunghil of Lies. But these Lies shall remaine in record for euer, to testifie, and to condemne your bloody doings. Ye haue imprisoned your brethren, ye haue stript them naked, ye haue scourged them with roddes, ye haue burnt their hands and Armes with flaming Torches, ye haue famished them, ye haue drowned them, ye haue summoned them being dead to appeare before you out of their graues, ye haue ript vp their buried carkasses, ye haue burnt them, yee haue thrown them out into the dunghill: yee toke a poore babe falling from his mothers wombe, and in most cruell and barbarous manner threw him into the fire.

All these things M. Harding, are true: they are no lies. The eies and consciences of many thousands can witnesse your doings. The blood of innocent Abel **crieth to God from the earth: and vndoubtedly he will require it at your hands.** Chrysostome saith, as it is alleaged before, Quem videris in sanguine persecutionis gaudentem, is Lupus est: *Chrys. in Mat. Homil. 19.*

eſt: *Whoſoeuer hath pleaſure in the blood of perſecution, the ſame is a Wolfe.* Ye ſlew your bre-thren ſo cruelly, not for murder, or robbery, or any other grieuous crime they had committed, but onely for that they truſted in the liuing God. Howbeit, we may ſay with the old Father Tertullian, Crudelitas veſtra noſtra gloria eſt: *Your cruelty is our glory.* *Tertull. ad Scapulam.*

Whereas we auouch the power and authority of Gods holy word, for that the more it is troden downe, the more it groweth, and for that the Kings and Princes of this world with all their puiſance and policie were neuer able to rote it out, your anſwer is, that this reaſon may ſerue theeues as well as vs. To diſſemble your odious compariſons, how lightly ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe you to weigh this reaſon, yet your forefathers the Phariſes in old time ſeemed to make ſome account of it. For thus they murmured and miſliked among themſelues: Videris nos nihil proficere. Ecce mundus totus poſt eum abijt: *Yee ſee we can doe no good. Loe the whole world* (for all that we can doe) *is gone after him.* Tertullian likewiſe ſaith, Exquiſitior quæque crudelitas veſtra illecebra magis eſt Sectæ. Plures efficimur quoties metimur à vobis. Semen eſt ſanguis Chriſtianorum: *The greateſt cruelty that ye can deuiſe is an entiſement to our Sect. How many of vs ſoeuer yee murder when yee come to the view, ye finde vs more and more. The ſeed of this increaſe is Chriſtian blood.* So S. Auguſtine, Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, vrebantur; & multiplicabantur: *They were fettered, they were impriſoned, they were beaten, they were racke, they were burnt; and yet they multiplied.* S. Cyprian ſaith, Sacerdos Dei Euangelium tenens, & Chriſti precepta cuſtodiens, occidi poteſt, vinci non poteſt: *The Prieſt of God holding the Teſtament in his hand, killed he may be, but ouercome he cannot be:* So likewiſe Nazianzene, Morte viuit: vulnere naſcitur: depaſtum augetur: *By death is liueth: by wounding it ſpringeth: by diminiſhing it increaſeth.*

John 12.19. *Tertullian. in Apologetico.* *Aug. de Ciuit. lib. 22. cap. 6.* *Cyp. l. 1. Ep. 3.* *Gregorius Nazianzen. in reditum ſuum ex agro.* Θαλάττῃ ζῇ, καὶ πιμελᾶται, καὶ αὔξεται διαπαιόμενον.

Thus theſe holy Fathers, when they ſaw the Goſpell of Chriſt encreaſed and grew by perſecution, contrary to all iudgement of reaſon and worldly policie, they were enforced, contrary to M. Hardings iudgement, therein to acknowledge the mighty power, and hand of God, and an vndoubted teſtimony of the truth. Iuſtinus a godly learned Father and Martyr, ſaith thus of himſelfe, Cùm audirem Chriſtianos publicè traduci & exagitari ab omnibus, viderem autem eos ad mortem, & ad omnia quæ ad terrorem excogitari poſſent, eſſe intrepidos, cogitabam nullo modo poſſe fieri vt illi in aliquo ſcelere viuerent: *When I* (being an Heathen and one of Paltoes ſcholers) *hard that the Chriſtians were accuſed and reuiled of all men, and yet ſaw them go to their death, and to all maner terrible and euell torments, quietly and without feare, I thought with my ſelfe, it was not poſſible that ſuch men ſhould liue in any wickedneſſe.* The like writeth Sozomenus of the Chriſtians in the Primitiue Church: Nec adulatione victi, nec minis perterriti, magnũ omnibus argumentum dabant, ſeſe de maximis præmijs in certamen deſcendere: *The Chriſtians neither relenting by faire meanes, nor ſhrinking for threats, made it well appeare to euery man that it was for ſome great reward they ſuffered ſuch trouble.* *Euſeb. l. 4. c. 8.* *Sozo. l. 1. ca. 1.* Δῆλον πᾶσιν ἐπέφαινον, ὡς ὑπὲρ μεγίστων ἄθλων τὰ χαλεπὰ ὑπομένουσιν.

These learned Fathers therefore ſaw that M. Harding could not ſee, the increaſing of the Goſpell through death and perſecution, maugre the might of worldly Princes, is an euident token of the truth. The Prophet Dauid ſaith, *The Princes came and conſulted together againſt God, and againſt his Chriſt. But he that dwelleth in Heauen will laugh them to ſcorne.* There is no wiſdome, there is no policy, there is no counſell againſt the Lord. Pſal. 2. 4. Prou. 21, 30.

Further you ſay, Our Goſpell is groſſe, and the people dull and ſenſuall, and giuen to their belly and beaſtly pleaſure, and therefore the apter and redier to receiue the ſame. O M. Harding, what a deſperate cauſe is this that cannot ſtand without ſuch manifeſt blaſphemy of the Goſpel of Chriſt, and deſpightfull reproach of Gods people? Certainely S. Paul ſaith, *The Goſpell is the power of God vnto Saluation.* And the Prophet Dauid ſaith, *The people is Chriſts inheritance.* What hath the people ſo much offended you, that you ſhould either in this place ſo ſcornfully and ſo reprochfully report of them, or in your former booke ſo diſdainefully call them Swine and Dogs? Yet is it not ſo long ſithence your ſelfe were an earneſt profeſſor of the ſame Goſpell, were it neuer ſo groſſe. Where was then your ſineneſſe and ſharpneſſe of wit? where was your belly? where was the reſt? You ſhould not ſo ſone haue forgotten your owne ſelfe. Rom. 1. 16. Pſalm. 2. 8. *M. Harding fol. 155. b.*

Surely M Harding, neither will the ſenſuall man drowned in filthy and beaſtly pleaſures, take vp his Croſſe and follow Chriſt, and yeeld his necke to your ſword, or his body to your fire: neither is it a groſſe and ſenſuall Goſpel that will lead him to the ſame.

You ſay it ſtandeth not with Gods promiſe to forſake his Church a thouſand yeeres. It is much for you, M. Harding, openly to breake Gods Commandements, to defile his holy Sanctuary, to turne light into darkeneſſe, and darkeneſſe into light: and yet neuertheleſſe to binde him to his promiſe. All men be liers, but God onely is true,

Pſalm.50. and preuaileth when he is iudged. God knoweth his owne. Chriſt will be euermore with
2.Tim.2.19. his Church, yea although the whole Church of Rome conſpire againſt him.

M.Harding fol.90.b. *Addition.* ☞ Here M. Harding ſaith, We ſucceed the Donatiſts, and renew their wretched obiection againſt the Church, &c. Howbeit we are no Donatiſts, as his own conſcience well knoweth. The Donatiſts enclоſed the Church of God within the bounds of one Country, and ſaid there was no Church but onely their owne, which was in Aphrica. In like ſort, and with like truth M. Harding ſo often and ſo conſtantly telleth vs this day, there is no Church nor ſaluation, but vnder the obedience of the See of Rome. It is eaſie therefore to ſee who are the children of thoſe Fathers. We ſay, as all the holy and learned Doctors haue ſaid, The Church of God hath bene euer from the beginning, and ſhall continue vnto the end, and ouerſpreadeth all the parts of the world, without limitation of time or place. Notwithſtanding ſometimes by care and diligence ſhe is kept neat and cleane, ſometimes by negligence ſhee is laid waſte, and ouergrowne with weeds; and therefore ſhe is compared vnto a Garden. Sometimes her light is cleare and
Cantic.4.12. beautifull, ſometime ſhe waneth and groweth darke: and therefore ſhe is compared vn-
Cantic.6.9. to the Moone. ☜ Addition.

M.Harding fol.89. The Church, you ſay, hangeth not of your well doing. Gods name therefore be bleſſed. For if it hung of you, it could not ſtand. It hangeth onely of the aſſurance of Gods promiſe: and the ſame promiſe God extended as well to Hieruſalem and Antioch, as he did to the See of Rome. But now Antioch, where Peter had his firſt Apoſtolike ſeat, and Hieruſalem, where Chriſt himſelfe firſt planted his Goſpell, are both forſaken, and left vtterly without faith and knowledge of God. Notwithſtanding God is true in all his
Malac.1.10. words yet vnto the wicked he ſaith, Non eſt mihi voluntas in vobis: *I haue no will nor pleaſure in you. I will receiue no ſacrifice at your hands.* And S. Paul ſaith to the Church of
Rom.11.21. Rome, euen to the ſame Church wherein you ſo immoderately glory, and aſſure your ſelfe it cannot erre. Noli altum ſapere, ſed time: *Preſume not but ſtand in awe. For if God haue not ſpared his owne people of Iſrael and Ieruſalem (vnto whom hee made his promiſe that his name ſhould dwell there forever) how much leſſe will he ſpare thee? Marke well the mercy and ſharpeneſſe of God. His ſharpeneſſe againſt them that are fallen from him: but his mercie towards thee (ô thou Church of Rome) if thou continue ſtill in his mercy. Otherwiſe euen thou ſhalt likewiſe be hewen downe.* Thus M. Harding, S. Paul adviſeth the Church of Rome to walke in awe, with feare and reuerence; and not to preſume of her ſelfe that ſhe cannot erre.

The argument that you forme thereof, taken, as you ſay, out of the Scriptures, is very ſimple. For thus it ſtandeth: Chriſt hath promiſed to be with his Diſciples, and with his faithfull for euer vnto the end of the world, Ergo, the Church of Rome can neuer erre in matter of faith.

The Prophet Ieremie adviſeth you better: *Say not* (ſaith he) *The Temple of God, The*
Ieremie 7.4. *Temple of God.* We haue his temple, We haue his word, We haue his promiſe. *Put no confidence in ſuch words. They be words of lying and vanitie*, ſaith the Prophet they will deceiue you.

Michæ.3.11. So ſaith the Prophet Micheas of the Prieſts that deceiued the people: Super Dominum requieſcunt, diſcentes, Nonne eſt Iehoua in medio noſtri? Idcò non veniet ſuper nos malum. Idcirco propter vos Sion vt ager arabitur, & Hieruſalem erit in acerum, & mons domus in excelſa ſyluæ: *They reſt themſelues quietly vpon the Lord*, that is to ſay, they imbolden themſelues vpon his promiſes. *Behold*, ſay they, *is not the Lord in the midſt amongſt vs? Therefore none ill ſhall happen to vs. Euen therefore* (ſaith the Prophet) *ſhall the Caſtle of Sion be ploughed vp as the corne field, and Hieruſalem ſhall lie as a heape of ſtones, and the mount of the Temple ſhall ſtand waſte as a forreſt.* ☜ ☜

But why doe you ſo much abate your reckoning? Why make you not vp your full account of your fiftéene hundred, threeſcore and ſix yeeres, as ye were wont to doe? Ye haue here liberally and of your ſelf quite ſtricken off fiue hundred, threeſcore and ſix yers, that is to ſay, the whole time wherein the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and holy Martyrs, and other learned Fathers, and Doctors liued: in which whole time it appeareth by your owne ſecret confeſſion, the Church of God might well ſtand both without your priuate Maſſe (for then was there none) and alſo without many other your like fantaſies. Neither ought you, M. Harding, ſo deepely to be grieued, and to call vs Apoſtates and Heretikes, for that we haue reformed either our Churches to the patterne of that Church, or our ſelues to the example of thoſe Fathers. Verily in the iudgement of the godly, fiue hundred of thoſe firſt yeeres are more worth then the whole thouſand yeeres that followed afterward.

M.Harding fol.94.b. *Addition.* ☞ This (ſaith M. Harding) is a manifeſt blaſphemy, and little becommeth a Chriſtian man. But therefore, I heare ſmall reaſon. The Primitiue Church, which was vnder

vnder the Apoſtles, and Martyrs, hath euermore bene counted the pureſt of all others without exception. And therefore the ancient Fathers oftentimes appeale to the iudgement thereof, as vnto the infallible ſtandard and meaſure of truth. S. Chryſoſtome ſpeaking hereof, although not ſpecially to this purpoſe, ſaith, Veterum Cœlum Eccleſia fuit, Spiritu cuncta adminiſtrante, cuncta Eccleſiæ capita moderante &c. Nunc verò veſtigia tantùm rerum illarum tenemus: *Then verily the Church was a Heauen, the ſpirit of God ordering all things, and directing all the heads of the Church. But now we ſcarſely haue the ſteps and tokens of thoſe things.* And immediatly after, he ſaith further, The Church now may bee likened to a woman, that hath loſt her old modeſty, hauing onely certaine tokens and ſhewes of her former felicity, as the cheſts and forſeales of precious things, being vtterly void of the treaſure. This ſaid S. Chryſoſtome, touching the decay of the Church; and yet he thought, his words imported no blaſphemy. If the forme of the Church were ſo much altered in Chryſoſtomes daies, that is aboue eleuen hundred yeeres paſt, what may we then thinke of the times of darkeneſſe, that haue followed ſithence? It was no blaſphemy therefore. M. Harding, to ſay, as we ſay, The firſt fiue hundred yeeres of the Church are more worth then the whole thouſand that followed afterward. This rather is open blaſphemy, to compare the Church of Rome, that now is, to a perfect man, as you doe, and the Primitiue Church of the Apoſtles, and holy Martyrs, vnto an Infant. This ſurely is blaſphemy againſt God. *Chryſo. 1. Cor. Homil. 36.*

Therefore I will anſwer you with the words of S. Hierome: Quiſquis es aſſertor nouorum Dogmatum, quæſo te, vt parcas Romanis auribus: parcas fidei, quæ Apoſtoli- *machinum & ore laudatur.* Cur poſt quadringẽtos annos docere nos niteris, quod antea neſciuimus? *Oceanum.* Cur profers in medium, quod Petrus, & Paulus edere noluerunt? Vſque ad hunc diem ſine iſta doctrina mundus Chriſtianus fuit: *Thou, that art a maintainer of new doctrine whatſoeuer thou be, I pray thee, ſpare the Romane eares: ſpare the faith, that is commended by the Apoſtles mouth. Why goeſt thou about after now foure hundred yeeres to teach vs that faith, which before wee neuer knew? Why bringeſt thou vs forth that thing, that* Peter *and* Paul *neuer vttered? Emore vntill this day the Chriſtian world hath beene without this doctrine.* *Hier. ad Pam-*

The Apologie, Chap. 4. Diuiſion 7.

For if the Popes would, or elſe if they could weigh with their owne ſelues the whole matter, and alſo the beginnings & proceedings of our Religion, how in a maner all their trauel hath come to nought, no body driuing it forward, & without any worldly helpe: and how one the other ſide, our cauſe againſt the wil of Emperours from the beginning, againſt the wils of ſo many Kings, in ſpight of the Popes, & almoſt maugre the head of al men, hath taken increaſe, and by little & little ſpread ouer into al Countries, & is come at length into Kings Courts & pallaces: Theſe ſame things me thinketh might be tokens great enough to them, that God himſelfe doth ſtrongly fight in our quarrel, and doth from Heauen laugh at their enterpriſes: and that the force of the truth is ſuch, as neither mans power, nor yet Hell gates are able to roote it out.

M. Harding.

It is well that ye vſe the terme of the beginning and proceedings of your religion. For indeed of late yeeres it began, not at Ieruſalem, but at Wittenberg. Neither was it firſt deliuered vnto you by an Apoſtle, but by an Apoſtata. Still it proceedeth, & the farther off from the end. And wel may ye name it your proceedings, for there is no ſtay in it. What liketh to day, miſliketh to morrow. The ſilly beguiled ſoules that follow it, be as S. Paul ſaith, euer learning and neuer reaching to the knowledge of the Truth. 2. Tim. 3.

The firſt beginning of this new Goſpell, and the occaſion that firſt moued Luther to Hereſie.

Did not your Religion begin firſt of couetiſe, and grew it not afterward of rancour & malice, when Martin Luther conceiued againſt the Dominican Friars in Saxony, becauſe Albert the Archbiſhop of Mentz and Electour of the Empire, had admitted them to be Preachers of the Pardon of a Croiſade againſt the Turkes, contrary to an ancient cuſtome, whereby the Auguſtine Friars, of whom Luther was one, had of long time been in poſſeſſion of that preferment? Is it not well knowne what a ſtirre Friar Luther made againſt Iohn Tetzet the Friar of S. Dominikes order, for that the ſaid Tetzet was made chiefe Preacher of a pardon, wherein was great gaine, and thereby himſelfe was bereft of that ſweet morſell, which in hope he had almoſt ſwallowed downe?

The Diet of Smalcalde.

Where you ſay, your Religion is ſpred abroad, and hath taken ſo much encreaſe againſt the wils of Princes and almoſt maugre the head of all men: that is as falſe, as your Religion is

Did not the great ſlaughter of your hundred thouſand Boores of Germany ſignifie to the world, your cauſe to haue had the helpe of man? What may we iudge of the great league of Germane Princes made at the diet of Smalcalde, for defenſe of your Lutheran Goſpell?

The

The troubles and tumults of France raiſed by your brethren the Huguenotes, and the lamentable outrages commited there for your Goſpels ſake, be they not a witneſſe of freſh memory, that your Religion is maintained, ſet foorth and defended with power and helpe of men?

That it is now at length come euen into Kings Courts and Pallaces, it moueth wiſe men no leſſe to ſuſpect it, then to praiſe it.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Yee make your ſelfe game, M. Harding, for that the preaching of the Goſpell iſſued firſt out of Wittenberg, and not from Rome: notwithſtanding Wittenberg is a noble and a famous Vniuerſitie, ſo generally frequented out of all forraine Countries, and ſo much commended for all kindes of tongues, and liberall knowledge, as not many the like this day in Chriſtendome.

But be it that Wittenberg were ſo ſimple a Burrough as M. Harding imagineth, yet were it not more ſimple then was the towne of Nazareth; in which more Towne notwithſtanding, firſt appeared the moſt glorious and greateſt light of the world. Chriſtian modeſty would not diſdaine the truth of God in reſpect of place. That rather becommeth the proud lokes of the Scribes and Phariſeis. They deſpiſed Chriſt and his Diſciples, and called them Nazarenes in deſpight of his Country. And therehence, it is likely, firſt grew
Iohn 1.46. that ſcornefull queſtion vſed by Nathaniel, Nunquid ex Nazareth poteſt aliquid eſſe boni? *Can any good thing come from Nazareth,* ſo more a towne? So Celſus the Heathen
Origen. contra Celſum. Lib. 1. deſpiſed the Religion of Chriſt, becauſe it came (not from Rome or Athens, but) from the barbarous Iewes. For thus Origen reporteth of him: Dogma Chriſtianum affirmat à barbaris cepiſſe ortum, hoc eſt a Iudæis: *He ſaith the Doctrine of the Chriſtians had his beginning only from a barbarous nation, that is to ſay, from the Iewes.*

1.Cor.1.27. But this is the mighty hand and power of God. He chuſeth the weake things of the world to confound the ſtrong, and the foliſh things of the world to confound the wiſe.
1.Reg.17.49. He ouerthroweth the great Goliah with a ſilly ſling, and bloweth downe Antichriſt in all
2.Theſſ.2.8. his glory with the breath of his mouth. I thanke thee, O Father, ſaith Chriſt, for that
Matt. 11.25. thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and politike, and haſt reuealed the ſame vnto the
Pſalm. 24.1. ſimple. The faith of Chriſt is not bound to place. The whole earth is the Lords, and al the
Galat.3.28. fulneſſe of the ſame. There is now no diſtinction of Greeke and Barbarous. Wee are all one in Chriſt Ieſus.

Notwithſtanding, the Goſpell of Chriſt that wee profeſſe, neither had his beginning from that learned Father Doctor Luther, nor came firſt from Wittenberg. It is the ſame
Micah.4.2. Goſpell whereof it is written by the Prophet, *The Law ſhall come out of Sion, and the Word of God out of Hieruſalem.*

Touching your long tale of Doctour Luthers auarice and ſale of Pardons, I minde not nor néede not to anſwer you. It is a ſimple ſtale ſlander. Yet it often ſerueth your turne of courſe, when other things begin to faile. Indéed Frier Tecel the Pardoner made his
Ioh. Sleidanus lib. 13. Proclamations vnto the people openly in the Churches in this ſort: Although a man had laine with our Lady the mother of Chriſt, and had begotten her with childe, yet were hee able by the Popes power to pardon the fault. Againſt this and other like foule blaſpemies Doctour Luther firſt began to ſpeake. Now whether this occaſion were ſufficient or no, let M. Harding himſelfe be the Iudge.

We grant, the Princes and Eſtates of the world haue now laid their power to aſſiſt the Goſpell. Gods holy name therefore be bleſſed. How be it, the Goſpell came not firſt from them. It ſprang vp and grew by them many wheres againſt their wils.

Neither is the Goſpell therefore the more to be ſuſpected, becauſe it hath entered into
Philip.1. Princes Courts. Daniel was in King Nabuchodonoſors Palace, and taught him to know the liuing God. S. Paul reioiced, and toke comfort in his bands, for that there
Theod. lib 4. *cap.*3. were ſome euen in Neroes Court that began to hearken to the Goſpell. And Euſebius ſaith, Valeriani Aula erat iam Eccleſia Dei: *Valerian the Emperours Court was now become the Church of God.* Athanaſius ſaith vnto the Emperour Iouinian, Conueniens eſt pio prin-
Cyril. in Epiſt. ad Theodoſ. & Valentinian. cipi, &c. *The ſtudy and loue of godly things is very meet for a godly Prince. For ſo ſhall you ſurely haue your heart euermore in the hand of God.* Likewiſe ſaith S. Cyril to the Emperours Theodoſius and Valentinian: Ab ea, quæ erga Deum eſt pietate, Reipub. veſtræ ſtatus pen-
*Sozom. l.9.c.*3. det: *The ſtate and aſſurance of your Empire hangeth of your religion towards God.*

So likewiſe ſaith Sozomenus of the Emperour Arcadius, Μόνη ἡ Εὐσέβεια ἀρκεῖ θεοῦ σωτηρίαν τοῖς βασιλέυσιν ἀνευ̃ παντὸς μαθήματος τὸ σχετύμενον.

Therefore it behoueth Princes to vnderſtand the cauſes of Gods Religion, and to receiue Chriſt with his Goſpell into their Courts. For God hath ordained Kings, as
Pſal.2.11. the Prophet Dauid ſaith, to ſerue the Lord: and as Eſay ſaith, to be Nurſes vnto his
Eſay 49.23. Church.

If there be occasions of vanities or wickednesse in Princes Courts, yet is there no Court therein comparable to the Court of Rome. For there S. Bernard saith, Mali proficiunt: Boni deficiunt: *The wicked wax: the godly wane.*

Ye striue in vaine, M. Harding: This Counsell is not of man: it is of God. If Princes with their powers could not stay it, much lesse can you stay it with vntruths and fables. The poore beguiled soules of whom ye speake, are neither so silly, nor so simple, but they are able to espie your follies. The truth of God will stand. Vanity will fal of it selfe. Remember the Counsell of Gamaliel: Fight not against the spirit of God. Act. 5. 13.

The Apologie, Chap. 5. Diuision 3.

For they be not al mad at this day, so many free Cities, so many kings, so many Princes, which haue fallen away from the Seat of Rome, and haue rather ioined themselues to the Gospell of Christ.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

M. Hardings answer hereto is long: the effect thereof in short is this:

The faith of the holy Romane Church is the very Catholike faith, which who so forsake, shall be companions with Diuels in euerlasting fire.

And where ye say, so many free Cities, so many Kings, I pray you, how many free Cities can you name, that haue receiued your Sacramentary Religion? Nay the free Cites of Germany, as many as haue forsaken the Catholike Church, doe they not persecute you the Sacramentaries? But (say ye) they be fallen from the Seat of Rome. So be the Greeks also in a point or two: yet condemne they you for Heretikes.

Neither be all the free Cities in all the Country of Germany fallen from the See Apostolike. Of fiue parts of that great Country, at least two remaine Catholike.

Let vs see, how make ye vp the number of so many Kings ye speake of? The Realmes of England and Scotland, because by Gods prouidence the gouernment of them is deuolued to women, forasmuch as they be no Kings, though they haue the full right of Kings, of them I speake not. Now onely two Christened Kings remaine, the King of Denmarke, and the King of Sweden. Get you now vp into you Pulpits like bragging Cockes on the rowst, flap your wings, and crow out aloud, so many free Cites so many Kings.

But what thinke you of all the World before this day? were all Cities and Prouinces, all Countries, all Kings, all Princes, &c. till Frier Luther came, and with his Nun told vs a new Doctrine, and controlled all the old; were all these mad?

The vertuous men of the society of Iesus, haue they not brought many Countries, many Kings, many Princes to the faith of Christ by preaching the Doctrine of the Catholike Church? Wee will not follow your foolishnesse in boasting, &c. The Faith professed in the holy Romane Church, is now preached in Peru, in the Kingdome of Iguamban, in the Kingdome of Monopotapa, in Cambia, in Giapon, in Cina, in Tartaio, in Basnaga, in Taprobana, in Ormuz, in Ceilon, in Zimor, in Bacian, in Machazar.

The miracles wrought by these holy Fathers which conuerted these Countries, I trow, ye will not account to be madnesse. Thus your vaine boast in wickednesse, wrought by the power of Satan, is put to silence, &c.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The faith of the Romane Church (saith M. Harding) is the very Catholike faith of Christ, which who so forsaketh, bee hee King or Emperour, hee shall be companion with Diuels in euerlasting fire. Thus much, I trow, M. Harding learned of the counterfeit Decree of Anacletus. For thus it pleaseth him to glose and enterlace the words of Christ: Super hanc Petram, id est, super Ecclesiam Romanam, ædificabo Ecclesiam meam: *Vpon this rocke, that is to say, Vpon the Church of Rome, I will build my Church.* And therefore Pope Bonifacius, for a full resolution of the matter, saith thus: Subesse Romano Pontifici, omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, & pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis: *Vnam Sanct. Wee declare, say, determine, and pronounce, that it is of the necessity of saluation for euery mortall creature to be subiect vnto the Bishop of Rome.* And the Glose likewise vpon the same, Quicquid saluatur, est subsummo Pontifice: *Whatsoeuer creature is saued, is vnder the highest Bishop.* Here is no mention neither of Christ nor of his Gospell. Saluation and damnation hangeth onely of the Bishop of Rome. This thing once granted, the case is clere: the Pope himselfe hath resolued the doubt. What should we nede a better trialle Notwithstanding Cornelius the Bishop of Bitonto in the late Chapter at Tridente, of the Bishop and holy See of Rome, saith thus, Vtinam à Religione ad Superstitionem, à Fide ad Infidelitatem, à Christo ad Antichristum, à Deo ad Epicurum, velut prorsus vnanimes non declinâssent, dicentes in corde impio, & ore impudico, Non est Deus: *O would God (the Pope and al his Cardinals) had not fallen with common consent, and altogether, from true Religion to Superstition, from Faith to Infidelity, from Christ to Antichrist, from God to Epicure, saying with the wicked heart, and shameleſſe mouth, There is no God.* In like sense of the same Psalm. 14. 1.

Anaclet Ep. 1.

Extra de Ma. ior & Obedien.

Vnam Sanct.

Glossa in eodem cap.

Cornel. Episc. Bitont. in Cons. Tridentino.

same Bishops and Sée of Rome S. Bernard saith, Serui Christi seruiunt Antichristo: *The seruants of Christ serue Antichrist.* Cornelius saith, The Bishops of Rome are fallen to Superstition, to Infidelity, to Antichrist, to Epicure: and are not ashamed to say, there is no God. Yet saith M. Harding, the faith of Rome is the Catholike faith: and who so departeth from the same, be he King or Emperour, he shall be companion with the diuell in hell fire. And thus to say is no meere madnesse.

Bern. in Cantic. Canticor.

That the Princes and free Cities of Germanie euer persecuted vs, it is vtterly vntrue, and like the rest of your tales. Notwithstanding some of them haue dealt sharpely with certain of this side, in consideration either of conscience, as they thought, or of the stay and quietnesse of their Subiects, yet in open consultation and publike Diet, they neuer suffered this Doctrine to be condemned. They reioice in God in our behalfe; and being there, they receiued vs vnder their protection, and offred vs such freedome and courtesie, as they seldome haue offered the like to any Nation. Certaine of them, by your owne confession, haue already agréd to all the points of our Doctrine. But none of them all, no not one, would euer suffer the same Doctrine of ours to be condemned in open assembly, and to be iudged for Heresie.

What the Grecians this day thinke of vs, I cannot tell. Notwithstanding, it appeareth by their letters written purposely to the Church of Bohemia, that they allow well of our Doctrine, and vtterly condemne yours. For thus they write vnto them: Ουκουν τοιγαρουν ἀδελφοι ἡμων και τεκνα, ει ουτω εστιν, ως ἀνθρωποι, ἡ ἐλπιζομεν, συναινουμεν τω μετ' ἡμων ἑνουσθαι. *Wherefore, louing brethren and children, if it be so as we beare and hope, make haste that we may ioine together in vnitie.*

Epist. Ecclesiæ Constantinopol. ad Eccles. Pragensē in Conc. Lateran. cap. 4.

And againe, thus it is recorded in the late Councel of Laterane, Græci in tantum cœperunt abominari Latinos, vt si quando Sacerdotes Latini super eorum Altaria celebrarent, ipsi non vellent prius in illis sacrificare, quàm ea, tanquam per hoc inquinata, lauissent: *The Greekes began so much to abhorre the Latines, that if it had happened the Latine Priests had ministred vpon their Altars, they would not afterward make Oblation vpon the same, before they had washed them: as thinking their Altars defiled by the Latines handling.* Wherefore M. Harding, whatsoeuer the Græcians thinke of vs, it appeareth hereby they vtterly refuse your Communion, and condemne you for Heretikes.

But who would haue thought M. Harding had béene so skilful in proportions? The whole country of Germanie, saith he, being diuided in equall portions, two of fiue remaine still in the obedience of the Sée of Rome. We giue God thanks, it is as it is. Indéed certaine townes subiect to the Bishops, in outward vsage of their Churches, remaine still as they were before. Yet neuertheless, in most places where the Churches are Popish, the people of all sorts are Protestants, and loue the truth, and are much ashamed of your follies. It was Gods secret prouidence that certaine of yours should remaine amongst vs a season, as the Cananites remained amongst the people of Israel. Otherwise within few yéeres ye would denie that euer your disorders had beene so great.

It is very hard and in manner not possible to conuert the whole people of so great a Countrey all at once. The haires of a mans beard or head neuer ware white al together. Christ compareth the Kingdome of God vnto leauen, which the woman taketh and laieth in a lumpe of dew. It worketh and laboureth by little and little, vntill it haue leauened all the whole. In this sort Eusebius seemeth to compare the two parts of the Romane Empire dissenting in iudgement of Religion: the East part to the Night, and the West to the Day. But Christ will draw all vnto himselfe, and then shall God be all in all.

Luc. 13. 21.

Eusebius.

Iohn 12. 32.

1. Cor. 15. 28.

But héere to match our so many Kings, and so many Princes, M. Harding hath brought vs a many of newes out of Ignamban Monopotapa, Cambaia, Giapan, Bisnaga, Ormuz, and other strange and farre Countries. There, he saith, so many, and so many Kings & Princes are lately conuerted, and brought to the obedience of the Sée of Rome. I maruel, he saith not, the man in the Moone was likewise newly christened to make vp the musser.

Howbeit, all these things must néedes be true. For Christs owne fellowes, or, as M. Harding vttereth it in better wise, the holy Fathers of the society of Iesus, haue sent home word as well hereof, as also of sundry miracles wrought by the same holy Fathers. Verily, so the name of Christ be published, whether it be by them, or by vs, by light, or by darkenesse, Gods holy name be blessed. But of many their miracles I haue no skill. For thus these holy fathers write, as it is said before, that with holy water they haue driuen Mise out of the Countrie, and made barren women to beare children, and such other the like maruellous miracles. Neither are we bound of necessity to beléeue all such miracles whatsoeuer without exception. Alexander of Hales saith, In Sacramento apparet

Copus Dialo. 1. Pag. 18.

paret caro, interdum humanâ procuratione, interdum operatione diabolica: *In the Sacrament it selfe there appeareth flesh, sometime by the conueiance of men, sometime by the working of the Diuell.* Likewise saith Nicolas Lyra, Aliquando in Ecclesia fit maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis à Sacerdotibus, vel eis adhærentibus, propter lucrum: *Sometime euen in the Church the people is shamefullie deceiued with fained miracles, wrought either by the Priests, or else by their companions, for lucres sake.* Miracles bee not euermore vndoubted prooues of true Doctrine. Therefore S. Augustine saith vnto Faustus the Manichee: Miracula non facitis: quæ si feceritis, tamen ipsa in vobis caueremus: *Yee worke no miracles: and yet if yee wrought any, at your hands wee would take heede of them.* The Prophet Ieremie saith, Seduxerunt populum meum in mendacijs suis, & in miraculis suis: *They haue deceiued my people by their lies, and by their miracles.*

Alexander Hales, par. 4. qua. 53. mem. 4.
Ar. 3 solut. 2.
Nicol. Lyra in Daniel ca. 14.
August. contra Faust. lib 13.
Ierem. 23.

Touching the conuersion of the East India, Vesputius writeth, there were many godly Bishops there, and sundry whole Countries conuerted and Christened long before that either the Portugales or the Iesuites came thither: and yet had neuer heard of the name of the Bishop of Rome.

Vespuius.

As for the rest of the West Spanish Indies, the people there liued not only without all manner knowledge of God, but also wild and naked, without any ciuill gouernment, offering vp mens bodies in Sacrifice, drinking mens bloud, and eating mens flesh. Some of them worshipped the Sunne and the Moone, some an ancient old tree, some what soeuer they saw first in the morning, they thought the same for that day to bee their god. Some worshipped certaine familiar Diuels, and vnto them sacrificed yong boies and girles.

Petr. Martyr. Mediolanen.

Being in this miserable state, and naturally by the very sense and iudgement of common reason abhorring and loathing their owne blindenesse, what maruel is it if they were easie to be lead into any Religion, specially carrying such a shew of apparell, and holy Ceremonies?

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Heere (saith M. Harding) M. Iewell attributeth the glorious conuersion of the Indians to the leading of naturall reason. This (saith he) is his Heathenish heart. What could Porphyrie, or Iulius, or Celsus say more? And what maketh you, M. Harding, to be so behement? Is nature so blinde that shee can no way discerne what is likely or vnlikely in any part of Religion? Wherefore then doth S. Paul say, speaking onely of naturall men, and of the light of nature, *That thing that may be knowne of God, is opened vnto them. The inuisible things of God are knowne* (naturally) *by the Creatures of the world: euen the euerlasting power of God, and his Diuinity?* Or why saith he, *The Heathens that haue not the Law of God, yet by nature do the things that pertaine to the Law: and hauing no Law, they are a Law to themselues, and shew foorth the worke or effect of the law written within* (by nature) *in their hearts?* S. Ambrose addeth further, Gentilis duce natura credit in Christum: Gentilis per solam naturam intellexit authorem: *The Heathen by the leading of nature beleeueth in Christ: The Heathen onely by nature hath knowne God the maker of the world.* In the short Commentaries, that beare the name of S. Hierome, it is written thus; Cognouerunt Deum, siue per naturam, siue per facturam & rationem: *The Heathens knew God, either by nature, or by creation and way of reason.* And againe, Homo naturaliter potest scire de Deo, & quòd sit, & quòd iustus sit: *Man may by nature know of God, both that he is, and that he is iust.* If these sayings be so Heathenish and Iewish in vs, why are they suffered in S. Paul, in S. Hierome, in S. Ambrose, and in other holy Fathers?

M. Harding fol. 96. b.
Rom. 1. 19.
Rom. 2. 14.
Ambros. ad Roman. cap. 2.
Hieron. ad Rom. ca. 1.

I say not that nature alone is able to leade vs into the perfection of Faith, or to endue our hearts with the Spirit of God. But thus I say, Nature of her selfe is often times able to discerne betweene truth and falshood. Cicero saith, onely of the ability and force of nature, Vtinam tam facilè vera inuenire possem, quàm falsa conuincere. By which confession it appeareth, although he were not able by skill of nature to finde the truth, yet was he able by the same to reproue the falshood. And therefore speaking of the vanity of his owne Heathen Religion, he saith, Quid negotij est hæc Poetarum & Pictorum portenta conuincere? *What mastery is it* (euen onely by the light of naturall wisdome) *to reproue the fabulous wonders of Painters and Poets?*

De natura Deor. lib. 1.
Tuscula. 1.

The heart of man is naturally inclined to Religion: notwithstanding, being blinded with originall sinne, in the choice thereof it often times falleth into horrible errours. When the Christians in Rome had chosen a void plat in the City, and therein had builded themselues a Church for the seruice of Christ, and the Tauerners or Victualers there had laid claime to the same plat, for that it seemed to stand commodiously for their vtterance; Alexander Seuerus the Emperour, being an Heathen, and void of Faith, and lead only by the guiding of nature, hauing the hearing of the matter, answered the Tauerners in this sort: *It is better that God be any way worshipped in that place, then you should haue it.*

Ælius Lampridius in Alexandro.

The

Vespucius in Nouo Orbe. fol.485.

The Tartarians of late yeres hauing no certaine Religion of their owne, submitted themselues to the Religion of the Turkes. Nature taught them it was better to haue the Turkish Religion, then none at all.

This therefore is it that I say M. Harding: The poore Indians, liuing by mans flesh, and going naked, hauing no manner sense nor knowledge of God, but falling downe either before an old tree, or before the Sun and the Mone, or whatsoeuer thing thy saw first in the morning: when they saw the Religion of Rome, with so many ceremonies, and shewes of holinesse, very nature taught them to thinke the same farre better then their owne. What Heathenish infidelity finde you heerein, or what blasphemy against the power of God? As blind as your Indians are this day, if they might see both your and our Religion set open before them, I doubt not but nature her selfe would lead them to iudge that ours is the light, and yours darkenesse. S. Paul speaking of the disorder of praying vnto God, that he saw among the Corinthians, saith thus, Nonne natura ipsa docet vos? *Doth not very nature teach you this thing?*

1.Cor.11.14.

All this notwithstanding, I say not, that nature is able to lead vs into all the secrecies and mysteries of Christs Gospell. Christ himselfe saith, *God often times hideth these things from the* (natural) *wise, and great learned men, and reuealeth the same vnto babes.* And againe, *No man commeth to my father, but by me.* And, *No man commeth to me vnlesse he be drawne by my Father.* And vnto Peter he saith, *Flesh and blood hath not reuealed these things to thee, but the Spirit of my Father which is in Heauen.*

Mat.11.25. Iohn 14 6. Iohn 6.44. Mat.16.17.

As for the conuersion of the wilde Indians which you call so glorious, I pray God it may not iustly be said vnto you that Christ said vnto the Pharisees, *Ye seek about by sea and by land to find one Nouice: and when ye haue gotten him, ye make him the child of Hell, double worse then your selues.*

Mat.23.15.

And what if God would vse this meane for the time, afterward the better to lead the said nations to the cleare light of the Gospell, as S. Augustine saith, the Shoomaker vseth his bristle, not to sowe withall, but to draw in his thred? No doubt, M. Harding, if your Doctrine & ours were laid together, the very Indians themselues, be they neuer so rude, would be able to see a great difference.

But let the Bishop of Rome winne abroad, and lose at home. You remember the old Prouerbe, Dionysius Corinthi: Dionysius when he had lost his Kingdome at home at Syracusa, he got himselfe to Corinth, and there became a Schoolemaster, and so seemed to continue a Kingdome still.

We make no boast, M. Harding, nor get vs to rowst, as ye say, nor flap our wings in the behalfe of these Princes and Countries, so many, and so many, as it pleaseth you to spoyt, that haue submitted themselues to the Gospell of Christ. Neither are the same so many, and so many, so few as you would seeme to make them. The Kingdome of England, the Kingdome of Scotland, the Kingdome of Denmarke, the Kingdome of Sweden, the Dukes of Saxonie, the Duke of Brunswike, the Palsgraue of Rhene, the Duke of Wittenberg, the Lantgraue of Hessia, the Marquesse of Brandeburg, the Prince of Russia, al other the Earles and Noble men, and great Cities through the whole countrey of Germanie, the mighty Common weales of Heluetia, Rhetia, Vallis Tellina, with so many hundred thousands besides, in France, Italie, Spaine, Hungarie, and in the kingdome of Poole: Certainely all these well reckoned cannot seeme so few as you would haue it. Peruisse, M. Harding, it greeueth you full sore they are so many. If God of his mercy blesse those things that he hath mercifully begun, it wil be high time for you shortly to seek a new refuge.

We boast not our selues of these things. There is no cause. It is not the worke of man: it is the onely hand of God. Dauid saith, *Let the Heauens reioice: let the Earth be glad: The voice* (of the Apostles) *is sounded abroad into all the world.* The Angels of God sang, *Glorie be to God on high.* The Angell in the Apocalyps crieth amaine, Cecidit, cecidit Babylon illa magna: *Downe, downe is fallen that great Babylon.* Tertullian saith, Parthi, Medi, Elamitæ, &c. *The Parthians, the Medians, the Elamites, the people of Mesopotamia, of Armenia, of Phrygia, of Cappodocia, of Pontus, of Asia, of Pamphylia, Ægypt, of Africa, of Rome, of Hierusalem, of Getulia, of Mauritania, of Spaine, of France, of Britannie, of Sarmatia, of Dacia, of Germanie, of Scythia, and many other nations and Prouinces, knowen and vnknowne, haue receiued the Gospell of Christ.* Thus said they, the Angels and Prophets of God, and holy Fathers, and yet without boasting, or flying to rowst, or clapping of wings. Giue vs leaue therefore, M. Harding, in the like case to solace our selues with the consideration of Gods mighty and mercifull workes, and humbly to reioice at the triumph of the Crosse of Christ.

Psalm.19.5. Luk.2.14. Apoc.14.8. *Tertull. contra Iudæos.*

Arnobi. contra Gentes, Lib.8.

Arnobius saith vnto the Heathens, Nenobis de nostra frequentia blandiamur. Multi nobis

nobis videmur: ſed Deo admodum pauci ſumus. Nos gentes nationeſque diſtinguimus, Deo vna domus eſt mundus hic totus: *Let vs not flatter our ſelues of our great multitudes. Vnto our ſelues we ſeeme many: but vnto God we are but few. We put difference betweene nation and nation, but vnto God this whole world is but one houſe.* This counſell, M. Harding, is wholeſome for either part to follow, that who ſo will reioice, may reioice in the Lord.

The Apology, Chap. 5. Diuiſion 4.

And although the Popes had neuer hitherunto leaſure to conſider diligently & earneſtly of theſe matters, or though ſome other cares do now let them, and diuers waies pul them, or though they count theſe to be but common & trifling ſtudies, and nothing to appertain to the Popes worthines, this maketh not why our matter ought to ſeeme the worſe. Or if they perchance will not ſee that which they ſee indeed, but rather will withſtand the known truth, ought we therefore by and by to be counted Heretikes becauſe we obey not their will and pleaſure?

M. Harding.

Sith Chriſt hath giuen to the Pope in Peter, whoſe lawfull ſucceſſor he is, commiſſion to feed his ſheepe: holeſome feeding being the end of that cõmiſſion, it is not to be doubted but he that ordained the end hath alſo ordained meanes belonging to the end. Therefore it is not the duty of a good and humble ſheepe to giue forth a malicious ſurmiſe, that the ſhepheard will not ſee that he ſeeth indeed, but rather will withſtand the known truth. And whatſoeuer ſheepe be diſobedient, and refuſe to heare the voice of their ſhepheard, whom Chriſt hath made ouer them, the ſame be not of Chriſts fold. And maintaining contrary Doctrine to their ſhepheards true Doctrine, iuſtly may they be accounted Heretikes. Iohan. 21.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

To be Peters lawfull ſucceſſour, it is not ſufficient to leape into Peters ſtall. Lawfull ſucceſſion ſtandeth not onely in poſſeſſion of place, but alſo, and much rather in Doctrine and diligence. Yet the Biſhops of Rome, as if there were nothing elſe required, euermore put vs in minde and tell vs many gay tales, of their ſucceſſion. Pope Symmachus ſaith, In Papa ſi deſint bona acquiſita per meritum, ſufficiunt quæ à loci prædeceſſore præſtantur: *If the Pope want vertues and goodneſſe of his owne, yet the vertues that are giuen him by (Peter) his predeceſſour are ſufficient.* And the Gloſſe vpon the ſame: Petrus fecit Papam hæredem bonitatis ſuæ: *Peter hath made the Pope heire of his goodneſſe.* Head ſhepheard. *Diſtin. 40. Non nos. Gloſſa Ibid. in verb. Cùm hæreditatem.*

But S. Hierome ſaith farre otherwiſe: Non ſanctorum filij ſunt qui tenent loca ſanctorum: *They be not euermore holy mens children that ſit in the rooms of holy men.* Likewiſe ſaith Alphonſus de Caſtro, a ſpeciall aſſiſtant of that ſide, Quamuis teneamur ex fide, credere verum Petri ſucceſſorem eſſe ſupremum totius Eccleſiæ paſtorem, tamen non tenemur eadem fide credere Leonem aut Clementem eſſe verum Petri ſucceſſorem: *Notwithſtanding we be bound by faith to beleeue that the true ſucceſſor of Peter is the higheſt ſhepheard of the whole Church, yet are we not bound by the ſame faith to beleeue that Leo or Clement (being Biſhops of Rome) are the true ſucceſſors of Peter.* *Diſ. 40. Non eſt facile. Alphonſus contra hæreſ. lib. 1. cap. 9.*

The words that Chriſt ſpake vnto Peter import no ſouereignetie, but were common to all the reſt. S. Cyprian ſaith. Hoc erant vtique cæteri Apoſtoli quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio prædíti & honoris & poteſtatis: *The reſt of the Apoſtles were euen the ſame that Peter was, all endued with like fellowſhip both of honour and power.* **What ſpeciall priuiledge then can the Pope claime by the ſucceſſion of S. Peter? Or what talketh he of feeding the whole flocke of Chriſt, that neuer feedeth any part thereof? Wherein is the Pope like S. Peter? Or wherein euer was S. Peter like the Pope?** Iohan. 21. 15. 16. 17. *Cypria. de ſimplicit. prælat.*

Yet M. Harding doubteth not to giue his definitiue ſentence, whatſoeuer ſheepe is not obedient to the head ſhepheard, is not of the flocke of Chriſt. **The Pope alſo himſelfe boldly warranteth the ſame. Thus he ſaith of himſelfe,** Quicunque præceptis noſtris non obtemperit, peccatum Idololatriæ & Paganitatis incurrit: *Whoſoeuer obeieth not our commandements, falleth into the ſinne of Idolatry and Infidelity.* **And therefore Pope Steuen thus aduanceth the authority of his owne See:** Sacro ſancta Domina noſtra Romana Eccleſia: *Our holy Lady the Church of Rome.* *Diſt. 81. Si quis. Gloſſa. In Gloſſa. Diſt. 79. Oportebat.*

But Chriſt ſpeaking of himſelfe, ſaith, *I am the true ſhepheard:* **And** *who ſo heareth theſe words of mine, and doth the ſame, I will like him to a wiſe man.* **S. Paul being but one of the ſheepe ſaith thus,** *I withſtood Peter* **(as M. Harding ſaith, the head-ſhepheard)** *euen vnto his face, for that he walked not vprightly to the Goſpell of Chriſt.* **Yet was he a ſheepe of the flocke of Chriſt. Hoſtienſis in this caſe ſeemeth reſonable: his words be theſe:** Omnes debent Iohan. 10. 14. Luc. 6. 47. Gal. 2. 11. 14.

De Conces. præ. benda. Propo. Suis. Hostien. De rescriptis. Si quando. ver. Sed numquid.

debent obedire Papæ, quicquid præcipiat, nisi sequi possit peccatum: *All men must obey the Pope, what soeuer he command, so there follow no sinne of his commandement.* Likewise Felinus a notable Canonist: Non obstante plenitudine potestatis quæ est in Papa, non est obediendum ei, peccatum imminente: *Notwithstanding the fulnesse of power that is in the Pope, when sinne shall follow his bidding, we may not obey him.*

If the Pope will claime the headpastorship ouer the whole flocke of Christ, or rather, if he will be taken for any Pastour at all, let him then fede the flocke: let him breake the bread of life without leauen: let him speake the word of God truely, without fables, and we will heare him. Otherwise S. Augustine hath warned vs: Sua si docere velint, nolite audire, nolite facere. Certè enim tales sua quærunt, non quæ sunt Iesu Christi: *If they will teach you Doctrines of their owne, see ye heare them not, (and whatsoeuer such thing they command you) see ye doe it not. For vndoubtedly such men seeke for their owne matters and not the things that pertaine to Iesus Christ.*

Augustin. in Iohan. tracta. 46.

The Apologie, Chap. 5. Diuision 6.

If so be that Pope Pius were the man (we say not, which he would so gladly be called) but if he were indeed a man that either would account vs for his brethren, or at least would take vs to be men, he would first diligently haue examined our reasons, and would haue seene what might be said with vs, what against vs: and would not in his Bull, whereby he lately pretended a Councell, so rashly haue condemned so great a part of the world so many learned and godly men, so many Common-wealths, so many Kings, and so many Princes, only vpon his owne blinde preiudices, and fore-determinations, and that without hearing of them speake or without shewing cause why.

M. Harding.

Speake of Pope Pius what ye will, and what ye can Neither your praise can aduance his estimation, nor your dispraise abase it. His singular vertues be wel known. God is highly to be praised for that he hath prouided for his flocke so good a Shepheard. As for you, as he taketh you to be men, so not his brethren, because ye haue cut off your selues from the Catholike Church. Your reasons haue been diligently and exactly examined already. In respect of your reasons, learning and holy Scriptures which ye bring, ye are found such as Balsazar King of Babylon was signified by the hand that appeared writing before him in the wall.

A comparison between the defender and Balsazar King of Babylon.

What it is, Heretikes to be admitted to reasoning, it is and hath beene euermore too well knowne. Be they neuer so throughly confuted, they yeeld not. Ouercome they may be, reformed they will not be. Therein no good lightly is done.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

If Pope Pius were so good a man, and so fit and worthy a Pastour for the Church of God, why then did his Cardinals of late labour so earnestly by treason and conspiracy to depose him, being, as you say, so good a man? Or if it were not so, why then did hee himselfe complaine thereof so bitterly in an Oration pronounced openly in Rome in the Consistory? Is it not lawful for so good a man to liue in Rome? Is the same Proclamation now practised among the Cardinals in Rome, that was sometime vsed in the Councell house at Ephesus, Nemo nostrum frugi esto: *Let no good man be amongst vs?* This Oration is abroad in print. If you doubt the authority thereof, wee wot it not: it is none of ours.

Oratio Pij Papæ.

Ἐμὸν δόγμα, ἐμὸν ψήφισμα.

Ye say, Pope Pius would not vouchsafe to call vs his brethren. No marueil, seeing his owne deare and first begotten children the Cardinals would no longer haue him to be their father. It is sufficient for vs, that Christ the sonne of God is content to call vs his brethren.

Matth. 28. Iohan. 20. 17. Ioh. 9. 12. 16.

Ye haue excommunicate vs, as the Pharisees did the Apostles, because wee speake vnto you in the name of Christ. But your owne Law saith, Excommunicatus non potest excommunicare: *He that is excommunicate himselfe, cannot giue sentence to excommunicate others.* **And your owne** Gelasius saith, Neminem ligare debet iniqua sententia: *A wicked sentence* (**of excommunication**) *bindeth no man.* **But before all others God himselfe saith,** Ego benedicam maledictionibus vestris: *I will blesse that you curse,* **saith the Lord. You say you haue weighed our reasons, and haue found them too light. Now surely that is a good light answer. Euen in such light sort** Iulianus **the Apostata wrote sometime vnto the Christian Bishops:** Ἀνέγνων, ἔγνων, κατέγνων: *I haue read your reasons: I know*

24. q. 1. *Audiuimus.* 11. *Qua.* 3. *Cui est illata.* Malac. 2. 2. Psal. 109. 28. *Sozomen. li. 5. cap. 18.*

know them well enough: and therefore I haue condemned them. But the ſame Chriſtian Biſhops anſwered him againe, Ἀνέγνως ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤγνως· εἰ γὰρ ἔγνως, οὐκ ἂν κατέγνως. *It may be ye haue read our reaſons, but ye vnderſtood them not, for if ye vnderſtood them, ye would not condemne them.* S. Paule alſo likewiſe ſaith, Non ſi cognouiſſent, nunquam Dominum gloriæ crucifixiſſent: *If they had knowne, they would neuer haue crucified the Lord of glorie.* 1. Cor. 2. 8.

But vnto many of your ſide, M. Harding, I feare me we may ouer truly ſay as S. Hilarie ſaith vnto the Arian Heretikes: Verè Deum neſciunt: atque vtinam neſcirent: cum procliuiori enim venia ignorarent: *Indeed they know not God: and would God they knew him not: then their ignorance were the eaſier to be pardoned.* *Hylar. de Synodis aduerſus Arianos.*

You ſay, there is no diſputation to be had with Heretikes. Yet your Fathers in the Councell of Baſile, and your friends in the laſt Councel of Trident, I will not ſay, had diſtations, but certainely yéelded, and gaue place vnto the Bohemians and vnto ſuch others as you call Heretikes. *in Appendice Conc. Baſili. Hac Sanctus. Concil. Triden. Seſſion. 6.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* This lie (ſaith M. Harding) is ſo cleare and euident, that our Confutation is needleſſe. Neither is it told wherein theſe Councels ſhould yeeld, nor where that yeelding ſhould be found. *The Anſwer.* So cléere, ſaith M. Harding, is this lie. Howbeit if he had better conſidered his bookes, he might haue found that this ſo cleare a lie is an euident truth. *M. Harding fol. 98. a.* First, the Councell of Baſile, contrary to the order of the Romane Church, yéelded vnto the Bohemians the holy Communion in both kindes: And yet the ſame Bohemians they called Heretikes. The words there among others are theſe: Indultum liberationis Communionis ſub vtraque ſpecie. The like might you haue found in Cardinall Cuſanus, if ye had well ſought it. Thus he writeth vnto the Prieſts of Bohemia: Neque ita eſt vt ſcribitis, nos compactiones ignorare. Nam illæ aliquam correctionem, nobis tunc præſidentibus in Natione Germanica, receperunt; maximè in capite de libertate Communionis: Vbi apponi fecimus, facultatem in euentum dari Sacerdotibus, poſſe communicare populum modo qui ibi ponitur: *Neither is it ſo as you write, that we know not the agreement or compoſition. For the ſame compoſition was corrected when I was preſident in Germany, ſpeciallie in that Article that toucheth the liberty of the Communion: Whereunto I cauſed to bee added, that vpon a further proofe the Prieſts ſhould haue liberty to Communicate the people in that ſort that there is mentioned.* Here haue you that thing which you ſay is not poſſible to be found. And you haue it confirmed and vouched by a Cardinall of the Church of Rome. Touching the ſame Article, the late Councell of Trident hath likewiſe yéelded, howbeit, with many long and ſolemne proteſtations. The words beginne thus: Vt ſub vtraque ſpecie communicare volentes, &c. *We ordaine that whatſoeuer Church or Nation will receiue the Communion vnder both kindes, firſt they agree both in heart and word with all the ordinances of the Church of Rome. Secondly, that they ſhall be ſubiect and obedient vnto the Pope, as reuerent children vnto their father, &c.* *Concil. Tom. 3. in Appendice Concil. Baſil. pag. 243. Hac Sanctus. Nicol. Cuſaxus ad Bohemos Epiſt. 6. De libertate Communionis. Poſſe communicare populum. Concil. Trident. Seſſione 6. apud Kemnitium, pag. 150. editionis Francofurt. An. Dom. 1578. nam in ipſo Concilio fruſtra quaras.*

Thus M. Harding, haue your Councels yeelded euen vnto them that they themſelues haue condemned for Heretikes. Now haue I told you both wherein theſe two Councels haue yéelded, and alſo where this yeelding may be found. Therefore I read you hencefoorth not to be ſo ready in dealing of lies. ☞☜

But ye haue reaſon: ye can foreſee your beſt aduantage. It were the readieſt way to diſcloſe your ſhame. You neuer yet came to diſputation, but ſome of your company ſhranke away from you. As I before haue reported out of Tertullian: Veritas nihil veretur, niſi abſcondi. *Truth feareth nothing, but leſt ſhee be hid.* If the God of Iſrael come into the Temple, the Idol of Dagon muſt needs fall downe. *Tertullian. in Apologetico. 1. Reg. 5. 3.*

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuiſion 1.

BVt becauſe he hath already ſo noted vs openly, leſt by holding our peace we ſhould ſeem to grant a fault, eſpecially becauſe we can by no meanes haue audience in the publike aſſembly of the General Councel, wherein he would no creature ſhould haue power to giue his voice, or to declare his opinion, except hee were ſworne, and ſtraitly bound to maintaine his authority: For we haue had good experience hereof in the laſt Conference at the Councel of Trident: where the Ambaſſadors and Diuines of the Princes of Germany, and of the free Cities were quite ſhut out from their company. Neither can we yet forget how Iulius the Third, aboue ten yeeres paſt, prouided warily by his writ, that none of our ſort ſhould be ſuffered to ſpeake in the Councell, except that

there were ſome man peraduenture, that would recant, and change his opinion. For this cauſe chiefely wee thought it good to yeeld vp an account of our Faith in writing, and truely and openly to make anſwer to thoſe things wherewith we haue beene openly charged; to the end the world may ſee the parts and foundations of that Doctrin, in the behalfe whereof ſo many good men haue little regarded their owne liues. And that al men may vnderſtād what maner of people they be, & what opinon they haue of God & of Religion, whom the Biſhop of Rome, before they were called to tell their tale, hath condemned for Heretikes, without any good conſideration, without any example, and vtterly without law or right, only becauſe he heard tell that they did diſſent from him and his in ſome point of Religion.

M. Harding.

Ye alleage two cauſes. The firſt is, leſt by holding your peace, ye ſhould ſeeme to grant a fault. The ſecond, which yee make the more ſpeciall, is becauſe by no meanes ye could haue audience in the late generall Councel. Your ſecond cauſe is falſe, as hereafter it ſhal be ſhewed. Your firſt is naught, as that which ſheweth your pride, vaine glory, and pertinacy. Well, ye doe but as Heretikes before you haue euer done. It muſt not be looked for at your hands, that ye acknowledge any fault. For that were humility, which vertue all heretikes be farre from, &c. To giue a voice or ſuffrage, and vtter ſentence definitiue, it pertaineth onely to Biſhops. Now ye be no Biſhops but ſome of you meere Lay-men, and moſt of you Apoſtataes.

Two cauſes of making the Apology. In Councels any man may ſhew his opinion: but none may giue a voice or ſuffrage, and ſentence definitiue, but onely Biſhops.

Whether the Ambaſſadors and Diuines of the Princes of Germanie and of the free Cities there, were at any time vpon any conſideration of their miſliked demeanour, or for any other iuſt cauſe reſtrained from the company of the Fathers in the late general Councel at Trent. Againe, whether Pope Iulius the third prouided by any Writ, that none of your ſort ſhould be ſuffered to ſpeake in the Councel, the cauſe of recantation excepted; what ye ſay touching this matter, becauſe ye ſay it without proofe; we haue found you in ſo many other points of greater importance, ſo far to ſtep aſide from truth, that for this we cannot beleeue you. But that your ſelues by no meanes could haue audience in the Councell at Trent, and that the Ambaſſadors and Diuines of the Princes and free Cities of Germany were from thence quite ſhut out; how true that is, I report me to the three ſafe cōducts which the three Popes, vnder whom that Councel was holden, granted forth and confirmed in that behalfe. Wherefore belie the Councel no more, complaining that ye could not there haue audience and be heard.

Yee yeeld vp an account of your faith in writing, yee ſay. But to whom do ye yeeld it vp? And by whom is it yeelded? From whom commeth the ſame? Do ye acknowledge no lawfull Iudge, no lawful Conſiſtory in the whole world? Commit ye your whole matter to the temerity of the people? Why haue ye not ſet your names to the booke that containeth the profeſſion of your faith & of your whole conſcience?

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Here M. Harding thought it anſwer ſufficient to vpbraid vs with ſuſpition of vntruth. Howbeit I haue no doubt, but both the truth and the vntruth by the particulars will ſoone appeare.

Extra. de iureiur. and. Ego N.

First, that all Biſhops, hauing voice definitiue, and intereſt in Councels, are solemnly ſworne in all the Decrées and Canons to vphold the authority of the Pope, he thought it the wiſeſt way to diſſemble it. For it had béene great want of modeſty to deny it. The forme of the oath recorded in the Popes owne Decretals is this: Ego N. &c. Papatum Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & regulas Sanctorum patrum adiutor ero ad defendendum, & retinendum, ſaluo ordine meo, contra omnes homines: *I N. ſweare that I will be an helper, to defend and maintaine the Papacy of the Church of Rome, and the rules of the holy Fathers* (the Popes) *mine owne order ſaued, againſt all men aliue.* But theſe rules and priuiledges of the holy Fathers the Popes are theſe. [a] That the Pope is aboue al general Councels: [b] That his bare will muſt be holden as a Law: [c] That whatſoeuer he doe, no man may ſay vnto him, Why doe you thus: [d] That his iudgement is more certaine then the iudgement of all the world: [e] That if the whole world giue ſentence in any matter contrary to the Popes pleaſure, yet it ſéemeth we are bound to ſtand to the iudgement of the Pope: and [f] as M. Harding ſaith, That the Pope, whatſoeuer he ſay or doe, as being Pope, can neuer erre. Theſe and other the like be the Priuiledges that the Pope claimeth vnto himſelfe. All which the Biſhops are bound by oath, and by their alleageance to defend againſt all men aliue.

Extra. de Elect. & Electi. poteſt. Significaſti.

[b] *Extra de tranſla. Epiſc. Quanto: In gloſſ.*

[c] *Extra de Conceſſ præben. Propoſuit. In gloſſ.*

[d] *Pighius, lib. 6. cap. 13.*

[e] *9. q. 3. Nemo. In gloſſa.*

[f] *M. Harding fol. 334 b.*

Now where you ſay, that Biſhops onely haue Sentence Definitiue in the Councels, ye ſéeme willingly, and without cauſe to report vntruth. For Æneas Syluius, being himſelf afterward Pope, and named Pius Secundus, would haue tolde you the contrary. Theſe be his words: Apparet, alios, quàm Epiſcopos, in concilijs habuiſſe vocem decidentem: *It is plaine, that certaine others, beſides Biſhops, had voice Definitiue in the Councels.*

Æneas Syl. de geſtis Concil. Baſilien. lib. 1.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ In the report hereof M. Harding hath found great aduantage. For when hee wrot that booke, (saith he) he was Æneas Syluius Picolominеus, not Pius Secundus And afterward being Pope, he recanted that error. Thus, good Reader, thou sest the man is all one: but his name is changed. Yet here is matter sufficient to raise a Tragedy. First, touching his name, it forceth not greatly. Neither was Paul an Apostle when hee was borne at Tharsus in Cilicia. Yet notwithstanding S. Augustine saith, Dicimus Paulum Apostolum in Tharso Ciliciæ fuisse natum: *We say that Paul the Apostle was borne in the Country of* Cilicia, *and in the City of* Tharsus. Such quarels are scarcely meete for children. *M. Harding fol. 99. b.* *Aug. de Consensu Euang. Lib. 2. cap. 17.*

But afterward (saith M. Harding) being Pope, he recanted this error. No doubt vpon great deliberation and good aduice. For being one of the Councell of Basile, he said, *The Councell is aboue the Pope.* Afterward being Pope himselfe, hee was better instructed: *I see* (saith he) *before I was much deceiued. Now the Pope is aboue the Councell.* Such a thing it is to be rapt vp suddenly into the third Heauens.

But forasmuch as M. Harding saith, all this that I haue here alleged out of Pius Secundus, and Iohannes Gerson, is Little-worth stuffe, for so he calleth it, and that I haue added to these words, In Concilijs, of mine owne; which words he saith are not found in the Authour, and that this is, Lying for aduantage: for this is the ordinary modestie of his speech; I haue thought it good to lay forth some part of the said words more at large. *M. Harding fol. 100. a.*

Thus therefore saith Æneas Syluius, who afterward was named Pius Secundus: Nec in Concilijs dignitas patrum, sed ratio sectanda est, &c. Nec ego cuiusuis Episcopi mendacium, quamuis ditissimi, veritatem præponam pauperis Presbyteri, &c. *In Councels reason or truth is to be considered more then the dignity of the Prelates. Neither will I more esteeme a lie pronounced by a Bishop, be he neuer so rich, then the truth vttered by a poore simple Priest. Nor should a Bishop disdaine, being rude and vnlearned, if the people be not ready to follow after him. Nor doe you that be Bishops, despise your inferiours. The first man that died for Christ, and shewed the way vnto Martyrdome, was not a Bishop, but a Leuite, &c. And to report vnto you some examples of old* Councels, *we shall finde in them all, that the Bishops were there together with their inferiours &c. In the Acts of the Apostles, thus it is written: It hath seemed good to the holy Ghost,* and to vs. *To vs, that is to say, to the Apostles and Elders. Neither doth this word,* Visum est, *signifie a consultation, but a full discussing and decision of the matter. Therefore it appeareth that certaine others besides Bishops, had a voice definitiue in the Councel. And in the Acts, when the Apostles had any great matter to determine, they durst not to discusse it by themselues alone, but called the multitude to sit with them, &c. It appeareth that the Apostles gaue vs an example, that in great weighty matters wee should call some others to vs. And therefore in the Councels that were holden afterward, wee finde that inferiour Priests sate together with the Bishops, &c.* *De gestis Conc. Basil. l. 1. in Oratio. Arelaten. In Concilijs. Conciliorum. Et nobis. In Concilio. In Concilijs.*

But heere M. Harding findeth fault, that I haue corrupted mine Author, and thrust in these words, In Concilijs, of mine owne. And yet in the very same place he might haue found these very words: Concilium, Conciliorum, in Concilio, in Concilijs, vsed sundrie times altogether. And indeed the whole speech there, is only of Councels,

These (good Reader) and other like, be the errors that Pius, being once Pope, would needs recant. Then he saw, That in his Councels the dignity of the Prelates is more to be weighed then the truth. Then he saw, That a lie pronounced by a Bishop being rich, is more to be esteemed then the truth vttered by a simple Priest. Then he saw, That a Priest being himselfe vnlearned and ignorant, ought to disdaine, if the people be not ready to follow after him. These be the things that he recanted. *The Popes Recantation.*

Howbeit, M. Harding telleth vs these are not the words of Æneas Syluius, but of one Ludouicus the Cardinall of Arles. And this he reckoneth for a great maine lie. Here may I easily answer M. Harding: If this were not Æneas Syluius owne saying, why then did he (as you haue confessed) recant it afterward? If he did afterward recant it, how may it appeare it was not his owne? Are Popes so full of humility that they will recant words they neuer spake? ☜ *M. Harding fol. 100 a.* *M. Harding fol. 99. b.*

Likewise saith Gerson, Etiam ad Laicos hoc Potest extendi, & plus aliquando quàm ad multos Clericorum: *This* (priuiledge of giuing sentence in Councels) *may be extended euen vnto the Lay sort: yea and that oftentimes better then vnto many Priests.* But hereafter more at large. *Io. Gers. Quæ veritates sint credendæ. Col. 4.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Hereto saith M. Harding, You falsely, impudently and foulely belie Gerson, for Gerson in this place speaketh not of the authority of giuing sentence definitiue in generall Councels. *The answer.* It is reason that M. Harding make dole of lies at his pleasure. Verily thus much at least Gerson saith: *The deliberation, or conference, and knowledge of* *M. Harding fol. 100. b.*

Councel of Trident.

matters of faith may belong to the Lay People, and vnto them much more, and better sometime, then to many Priests. This, M. Harding, is as much as I either say, or can require, and this is enough, vnlesse yee thinke your Priests haue authority to iudge, and conclude without knowledge, for so seemeth Gerson by his diuision, to allow conclusion and iudgement to the Priests, and deliberation and knowledge to the people.

Sallust. in bello Catelin.

But whether we be Bishops or no, M. Harding is no competent nor indifferent Iudge. For who so will iudge vprightly, must be void of anger, hatred, loue, enuy, and other like affections. Which sentence being otherwise prophane, is vsed & allowed by the Apostolike

Conc. Trident. sub Paulo 3.

Legates in the Councell of Trident. Surely the godly say, that as your Bishops doe no part of Bishops duty, and therefore indeed are no Bishops at all; so your late Counct at Trident, whatsoeuer glorious name it pleaseth you to giue it, yet notwithstanding, indeed and verily was no Councell.

Breue Iulij 3. Citatur à Caluino.

Whether Pope Iulius by his Bull vtterly embarred the Diuines and Embassadors of the Princes and free Cities of Germany from al audience and disputation in the Councell, or no, I repose me to Pope Iulius owne Bull touching the same. His words be these: Erit Concilium, vt qui temerè loquuti sunt, aut dicta recantaturi veniant, aut eorum inaudita causa, in executionem iam ordinatarum Constitutionum Hæretici declarentur, & condemnentur: *There shall be a Councell, that they that haue spoken rashly, either may recant their sayings, or else without farther hearing or reasoning of the matter, they may be denounced, and condemned for Heretikes, according to the Constitutions already made.*

Iohn. Sliedan. Lib. 15.

Likewise saith Iohn Sleidane, touching the conference had sometime at Augusta: In colloquio frequenter ad initium actionis hoc dicebant: nolle se vel tantillum de opinione & doctrina sua decedere; sed quicquid facerent, eò fieri, vt in sententiam suam nos adducerent: *In the conference that was had betweene vs and them, they told vs at the first, that they would not yeeld one whit from their opinion and Doctrine, but that whatsoeuer they did, they did it onely to the intent to bring vs to their iudgement.*

Illyri. in Recusatione Concil. Tridentini.

I could farther alleage Matthias Flaccius Illyricus, Iohannes Fabritius Montanus, Petrus Paulus Vergerius, the Bishop of Iustinopolis, to like purpose; but perhaps M. Harding would refuse their authorities, and call them partiall: yet in a matter so euident, and so openly knowne, it had beene great folly for them to dissemble. Illyricus saith, Nostri audiri non potuerunt, quamuis id amplissimi Cæsaris Legati orarent: *Our Diuines and Orators could in no wise be heard, notwithstanding the Emperours most worthy Embassadours had desired it.*

Iohan. Fabrit.

Iohannes Fabritius saith, Fateor extensionem factam esse ad alias Nationes: sed tamen additur, eam formam, non nisi ad illos pertinere, qui resipiscere & ad Ecclesiæ gremium redire velint: *I grant the Safe-conduct was extended to other Nations: But it is added withall, that the same forme or liberty should pertaine to none others, but only to them that would repent, and returne to the bosome of the Church.* And againe he saith, Tantùm aberant ab arce disputationum, vt ne ad vestibulum quidem accedere potuerint: *The Diuines of the Princes of Germany were kept so farre off from the high Castle of disputation, that they could not be suffered to approach to the entry.* Petrus Paulus Vergerius saith, that the Bishop of Vegla in Dalmatia was sore shaken vp in the same Councell, and threatned with deprivation, and other extremities, onely for a little inkling of the truth.

Petr. Paulus. Vergerius de Con. Trident.

Howbeit, what neede we more authorities? No man is herein so plaine and peremptory as M. Harding himselfe. This is his determinate answer, and full resolution in the case:

M. Harding fol. 20. b.

Your reasons are no more to be heard, vnlesse ye repent, and reuoke your errors. Again, Our Doctrine

M. Harding fol. 271. b.

hath bin approued too long, to be put a daying in these daies. Againe, Such wicked changes as yee

M. Harding fol. 274. a.

haue made, it is lawfull to make, neither with Councel, nor without Councell. Againe, We tel you,

M. Harding. fol. 333. b.

that your change of Religion, and manifold Heresies, ought not to haue been attempted, nor without

Ierem. 44. 16.

the Bishop of Romes commandement, nor with his commandement. These bee your words M. Harding: This you say you tell vs plainely, and therefore, I trow, we must beleeue you. And so ye seeme to conclude with the words written in the Prophet Ieremie: Non audiemus verbum quod locutus es nobis in nomine Domini, sed faciendo faciemus omne verbum quod egredietur ex ore nostro: *We will not heare the word that thou hast spoken to vs in the name of the Lord, but we will doe euery word that shall come from our owne mouth.*

Aug. Ep. 152.

We may therefore say of you as S. Augustine sometime said of the Heretikes the Donatists: Cùm omnis anima suspensa expectaret in tanta collectione quid ageretur, illi vehementer instabant vt nihil ageretur. Quare hoc? nisi quia causam suam malam sciebant, & facilimè se posse conuinci, si ageretur, dubitare non poterant? *When euery body was looking carefully what should be done in so great an assemblie, they* (the Donatists Heretikes) *laboured what they could, that nothing vtterly should bee done. And why so? They knew their cause was naught: and could not doubt but that if any conference or disputation should bee had, they should soone be reproued.*

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The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuiſion 2.

And although S. Hierome would haue no body to be patient when he is ſuſpected of Hereſie, yet we will deale herein neither bitterly, nor brablingly, nor yet be carried away with anger & heate, though he ought to be reckoned neither bitter nor brabler that ſpeaketh the truth. Wee willingly leaue this kind of eloquence to our aduerſaries, who, whatſoeuer they ſay againſt vs, be it neuer ſo ſhrewdly or deſpightfully ſaid, yet thinke it is ſaid modeſtly and comely enough, and care nothing whether it be true or falſe. We need none of theſe ſhifts, which doe maintaine the truth. Further, if we doe ſhew it plainely, that Gods holy Goſpel, the ancient Biſhops, & the Primitiue Church do make on our ſide, and that we haue not without iuſt cauſe left theſe men, but rather haue returned to the Apoſtles and old Catholike Fathers: and if wee ſhall be found to doe the ſame not colourably, or craftily, and in good faith before God, truely, honeſtly, cleerely, and plainely: and if they themſelues which fly our Doctrine and would be called Catholikes, ſhal manifeſtly ſee how all theſe titles of antiquity, whereof they boaſt ſo much, are quite ſhaken out of their hands, and that there is more pith in this our cauſe then they thought for: we then hope and truſt that none of them wil be ſo negligent and careleſſe of his owne ſaluation, but he will at length ſtudy and bethinke himſelfe to whether part he were beſt to ioine him. Undoubtedly except one wil altogether harden his heart, and refuſe to heare, he ſhal not repent him to giue good heed to this our Defenſe, and to marke wel what we ſay, and how truly and iuſtly it agreeth with Chriſtian Religion.

M. Harding.

I ſee well we muſt looke to your fingers. Yee ſpit forth your gall and choler by and by at the firſt. Through your whole booke in word ye pretend truth, zeale plainneſſe, and ſober dealing: but indeed powre out little other then lying, ſpight, ſcoffes, and immoderate railing. The effect of the reſt is this: ye haue ioined your ſelues to the Synagogue of Antichriſt: ye ſerue the ſtage, ye haue begun to play your Tragedy on falſly, ſhamefully, darkely, and guilefully: your brags and promiſes, your crakes of Gods holy word, your errors, your Hereſies, your contagious poyſon, your ſlanders, your new Clergies Doctrine, &c.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

The ſaying of S. Hierome is auouched by the like ſaying of Ruffinus an ancient writer. Thus he ſaith, Vnam notam Hæreſeos qui diſſimulat, non eſt Chriſtianus: *Whoſo diſſembleth when he is called Heretike, is no Chriſtian man.* For the reſt blame me not, good Chriſtian Reader, if I vſe no more words then need requireth. If I thought it worthy the while I could anſwer all theſe things more at large. I truſt, in our whole Apology there appearth no ſuch immoderate kind of railing. But if I ſhold follow M. Hardings humor, and write but the one halfe of that he writeth, then perhaps I might worthily be called a railer.

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuiſion 2.

For where they cal vs Heretikes, it is a crime ſo hainous, that vnleſſe it may be ſeen, vnleſſe it may be felt, and in maner may be holden with hands and fingers, it ought not lightly to be iudged, or beleeued when it is laid to the charge of any Chriſtian. For Hereſie is a forſaking of ſaluation, a renouncing of Gods grace, a departing from the body and and ſpirit of Chriſt.

M. Harding.

The defenders definition of Hereſie found inſufficient.

The definition ye ſeeme to make of Hereſie is not ſufficient. For as ye define it, ſo euery deadly ſin is Hereſie. For euery deadly ſin is a forſaking of Saluation, a renouncing of Gods grace, a departing from the body and ſpirit of Chriſt. Hereſie is a falſe Doctrine againſt the right beliefe, by him that profeſſeth the faith ſtubbornly, either auouched, or called in doubt. In which definition this word (ſtubbornly) is added, becauſe it is not error only in thoſe things that be of faith, but ſtubbornes in error that maketh

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an heretike as S. Auguſtine teacheth. Who (ſaith he) in the Church of Chriſt ſauour any thing that is vnwholſome and crooked, if being sharpely admonished to ſauour that is whole and right, they reſiſt ſtubbornly, and will not amend their venemous and deadly Doctrines, but ſtand to defend them, they be Heretikes. But now the law of vpright dealing, eſpecially in Gods cauſe ſo requiring, ye muſt pardon vs, if, as among husbandmen we call a rake, a rake; a ſpade, a ſpade; a mattocke, a mattocke: ſo among Diuines, we call Hereſie Hereſie, and likewiſe, falſhood, lying, ſlandering, craft, hypocriſie, Apoſtaſie, malice, blaſphemy, euery ſuch crime by his proper name, without all gloſing.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Ye ſay, this is not the right definition of Hereſie. Verily (M. Harding) this is but a ſimple quarell. It was not my minde in this place to vtter any definition of Hereſie, either right, or wrong. You know right well, that ſuch curioſity in this kinde of writting is not needfull. It is ſufficient, our words be true, although they include no definition.

Auguſtinus.

For iuſt proofe of Hereſie, three things neceſſarily are required. Firſt, that it be an error: ſecondly, that it be an error againſt the truth of Gods word: for otherwiſe euery error maketh not an Hereſie: thirdly, that it be ſtoutly and wilfully maintained: otherwiſe an error in Gods truth without wilfull maintenance is not an Hereſie: S. Auguſtine ſaith, Errare poſſum, Hæreticus eſſe non poſſum: *In an error I may be: but an Heretike I cannot be.*

Auguſtin. ad Quodvult Deum, Epiſt. 2.

It was not ſo neceſſary in this matter, ſo preciſely to ſeeke vs definitions. I thought it ſufficient onely to declare the horror of Hereſie. For as touching the definition, S. Auguſtine ſaith, Quid ſit Hæreſis, regulari quadam definitione comprehendi, ſicut ego exiſtimo, aut omninò non poteſt, aut difficilimè poteſt: *To expreſſe by orderly definition what thing maketh an Heretike, as I iudge, it is either impoſſible, or very hard.* **Therefore you M. Harding, and your fellowes are the more blame-worthy, for that of euery your fantaſies ye haue made an Hereſie.** Ludouicus Viues **one of your owne Schole thus complaineth thereof:** Hæreſis nomen rebus leuiſſimis impingitur: idem facerent Scotiſtæ de Thomiſtis, niſi Scholarum conſuetudo aures emolliuiſſet: *The name of Hereſie is laid vpon euery light matter: ſo would the Scotiſts handle the Thomiſts, ſauing that the cuſtome of the Schooles hath brought their eares in vre.* **Thus Pope** Nicolas **ſaith,** Qui Romanæ Eccleſiæ Priuilegium auferre conatur, hic proculdubio labitur in Hæreſim: *Whoſoeuer goeth about to abrogate the Priuiledge of the Church of Rome, he no doubt is an Heretike.*

Ludouicus Viues de corrup. artib.

Diſt. 22. Omn.

That ye ſpeake of ſtubbornnes in defenſe of Hereſie, I pray God (M. Harding) it doe not euer nere touch your ſelfe. I pray God you doe not wilfully defend that thing, wherein you know and ſee manifeſt and open error. Verily S. Hierome ſaith, Quicunque aliter Scripturam intelligit, quàm ſenſus Spiritus Sancti flagitat, quo ſcripta eſt, licèt ab Eccleſia non receſſerit, tamen Hereticus appellari poteſt: *Whoſoeuer expoundeth the Scriptures otherwiſe then the ſenſe of the holy Ghoſt, by whom they were written, doth require, although he be not yet departed from the Church, yet may he well be called an Heretike.* **Likewiſe the old Father** Tertullian ſaith, Quicquid contra veritatem ſapit, Hæreſis eſt, etiam vetus conſuetudo: *Whatſoeuer thing ſauoureth againſt the truth, it is an Hereſie, be it neuer ſo much an old cuſtome.* **Likewiſe your tyrannicall and filthy reſtraining of Prieſts lawful marriage,** Vdalricus **the Biſhop of Auguſta, calleth** Periculoſum Hæreſis decretum: *A dangerous decree of Hereſie.*

24. Quæſt. 3. Hæreſis eſt.

Tertull de virginib. velandis.

Vdalricus Auguſtanus Epiſcopus ad Nicola. Papam.

Now touching ſimple error, and wilfull defence, S. Hilary **ſaith,** Illis in eo quod neſciunt poteſt adhuc in tuto eſſe ſalus, ſi credant? tibi verò iam omnia ad ſalutem clauſa ſunt, qui negas quod iam ignorare non potes: *They foraſmuch as they know not the truth, may haue their ſaluation in ſafety, if afterward they beleeue; but all hope of health is ſhut from thee, foraſmuch as thou denieſt that thing that thou canſt not chuſe but know.*

Hilari. de Trinitate, lib. 6.

To conclude, vnto you, M. Harding, who often times of ſmall errors, often times of vndoubted and vnknowne truths without regard of definition, haue ranſied great and horrible Hereſies, Alphonſus de Caſtro, **a Doctor of your owne, ſaith thus:** Idcircò ſit vt hi qui tam leuiter de Hæreſi pronunciant, non expendentes de quare loquantur, ſæpè ſuâ ipſorum ſagittâ feriantur, incidántque in eam foueam quam alijs parabant. Nam velle humanas ſcripturas in diuinarum ordinem connumerare, hoc verùm ego dixerim Hæreſim; quod faciunt hi qui humanis ſcriptis aſſentire impium autumant, perinde ac diuinis: *Therefore it happeneth that they that ſo raſhly pronounce and call euery thing Hereſie, not conſidering whereof they ſpeake, be often ſtricken with their owne dart, and fall into the ſame pit that themſelues haue digged for others. For this would I rather call Hereſie, to account mens writings among the Scriptures of God. So doe they that thinke it a wicked matter to diſſent from the writings of man, no leſſe then if it were the iudgement of God.*

Alphonſus de Caſtro de Hæreſi. lib. 1. cap. 7. pag. 79.

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuiſion 3.

But this was euer an old & ſolemn property with them and their forefathers:

fathers: if any did complaine of their errours and faults, and desired to haue true Religion restored; straightway to condemne such for Heretikes, as men new fangled, and factious. Christ for no other cause was called a Samaritane, but only for that he was thought to haue fallen to a certaine new Religion, and to be the Author of a new sect. And Paul the Apostle of Christ was called before the Iudges, to make answer to a matter of Heresie: and therefore he said: According to this way which they call Heresie, I doe worship the God of my Fathers, beleeuing al things which be written in the Law, and in the Prophets. Acts 24.

M. Harding.

The defenders predecessors.

If ye meane Hus, Hierome of Prague, Wickleffe, Almaricke, Abailard, the Apostolikes, Peterbrusians, Berengarians, Waldenses, Albingenses, Imagebreakers, or such like, which euer found fault with the Church in their time, and cried for a restoring of Religion, as though it had been quite lost, and would themselues haue the glory of it, by bringing in their Heresie in place of the Catholike Doctrine, vnder the name of Gods word, which hath alwaies beene the propertie of all Heretikes. If (I say) ye meane these, or any of these, we also call them heretikes, and for such we condemne them.

Contradiction found in the defenders.

But Sirs, ye forget your selues foulely. How agreeth this with that ye say hereafter often times, that the light of the truth was quite put out, and that Luther and Zuinglius first brought the Gospell abroad into the World?

Were it true that Christ was called a Samaritane for the cause ye alleage, thereof what conclude yee? We see where about ye goe. Ye would seeme to ioine with Christ, with Paul, and with the first Christians. But truly they refuse your companie.

Samaritane Iohan. 8.

But we tel you, Christ was the true Samaritane indeed, that is to say, the Keeper, as he that is Keeper of mankinde: and therefore he shunneth not the name: yet was he not a Samaritane as the Iewes meant.

Act. 24.

Paul likewise (who was not as yee say, to speake properly, called before the Iudges to make answer to a matter of Heresie) being accused to Felix by Tertullus that he was of the sect or Heresie of the Nazarenes, (so were the Christians first called) did not only not denie, but openly confessed, that according to that way, or state of life, which the Iewes called a sect or Heresie, he worshipped God. For it is to be considered, that in those times the name of Heresie was not so infamous, as it may be iudged by the place of the Acts, cap. 5. vnlesse somewhat be added, whereby it may be vnderstanded to be taken in rate of a vice, as 1. Cor. 11. Galat. 5. So the word was then indifferent, and might be taken in good part, or euill part. Tertullian vseth it in good part, where, speaking of the Christians, he calleth thē *Sectam*, a Sect, into which Latine word the Greek word *Heresis* is turned. Now these examples of Christ, Paul, and the first Christians serue not your defence. Christ was called of the Iewes a Samaritane, vnworthily after the sense of their thought: ye are called Heretikes worthily. Paul burdened with the name of Heresie, forasmuch as thereby was signified the kind of life of those that beleeued in Christ, the word being indifferent, was honoured rather then reuiled. And Tertullian calleth the Christian people a Sect (as hee might) without blemish, or note of any euill. Your case is not like; for ye are charged with Heresie, as it is taken in the worst part.

Heresie.

Apologet. cap. 21. Secta.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

O how many waste words hath M. Harding to spare! Heere once againe hee commeth in with Hus, Hierome of Prague, Wickleffe, Almarike, Abailard, Apostolikes, Peterbrusians, Berengarians, Waldenses, Albingenses, Imagebreakers, to stay his simple Reader with a terrour of strange names. We say, Luther and Zuinglius were the first publishers of the Gospell: and yet againe we say, the same Luther and Zuinglius were not the first. We haue forgotten our selues foulely. Wee write contradiction against our selues. We would seeme to ioine with Christ and Paul, but truely they refuse our company. And so forth, I know not what.

Verily, M. Harding, we neuer said Luther and Zuinglius were the first publishers of the Gospell. If we should so say, we should report vntruth, as you doe often. Christ and his Apostles were the first.

Addition. ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Harding, A great vntruth You say no lesse, Pag. 17. Thus Doctor Luther began to preach the Gospell of Christ. If he that beginneth to publish, be the first publisher, then you said that Luther was the first publisher. *The answere.* It is a great losse of time M. Harding, to quarell at words, your selfe being assured of the meaning. You know well, I meane not that Doctor Luther was the first man that euer preached the Gospel of Christ. For Christ himselfe, and his Apostles were before him. But thus I say: In this latter age, after your so long darkenesse, hee was the first. But I haue said Doctor Luther began to publish the Gospell. There you say by mine owne confession, Doctour Luther was the first publisher of the Gospell. Granity (M. Harding) and sober dealing would become you better. I say he began: Ergo, (say you) hee was the first. How followeth this conclusion of these premisses? That you may vnderstand your errour by the like, S. Peter saith, Incipiam vos commonere, *I will beginne to aduertise you.* Will you conclude hereof, that S. Peter aduertised them neuer before, or that no man euer gaue them aduertisement *M. Harding fol. 101. b.* 2. Pet. 1.

Actor. 3. *Incipientes introire in Templum.*

aduertiſment beſore S. Peter? In the Acts of the Apoſtles it is written thus; Peter *and* Iohn *were beginning to enter into the Temple.* Will you therefore tell vs, that Peter and Iohn were neuer in the Temple before that day? Or, that no man euer came there before them? This is not that grauity, M. Harding, that you haue profeſſed vnto the world. Hauing reſpect vnto theſe latter daies, Doctour Luther was the firſt that preached the Goſpell. But hauing reſpect vnto the Goſpell it ſelfe, ſo Doctor Luther was not the firſt. For it had béene preached by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and by infinite other holy Fathers, many hundred yéeres before Luther was borne.

Theſe worthy and learned Fathers, Luther and Zuinglius, and other like godly and zealous men, were appointed of God, not to erect a new Church, but to reforme the old, whereof you haue made a Caue of Théeues; to kindle againe the light that you had quenched, and to beare witneſſe to the truth of God.

You ſay, Chriſt and Paul will none of our company: as if you were priuie of their counſell. But perhaps, M. Harding, this is clauis errans, and therefore can neither open nor ſhut: or as S. Hierome ſaith, Pars aliqua ſupercilij Phariſaici: *Some part of the high lookes of the Phariſeis.* Chriſt himſelfe hath ſaid, *Who ſo loueth me, will keepe my word, and my Father loueth him: and my father and I will come to him, and dwell with him.* S. Peter ſaith, *Who ſo truſteth in him ſhall not be confounded.*

Hieronym. in 16. cap. Matt. Iohan. 14. 1. Pet. 2.

Of Abailard and Almarike, and certaine other your ſtrange names, if they haue taught any thing contrary to the truth of God, we haue no ſkill: They are none of ours. Of Iohn Hus, Hierome of Prague, and Berengarius, and other like vertuous learned men, we haue no cauſe to be aſhamed. Their Doctrine ſtandeth ſtill, and increaſeth daily, becauſe it is of God. But as for yours, becauſe it is onely of your ſelues, (for it is knowne for the moſt part at what time, and vnder what Pope euery thing firſt began, as your Tranſubſtantiation vnder Pope Innocentius the third, Anno. 1214. &c.) therefore it falleth daily, and is now forſaken the world thorow.

M. Harding fol. 103. a.

Addition. Héere M. Harding crieth out impatiently, The more is your ſhame, if any ſparke of ſhame be left in you. Neither the whore taketh ſhame of her filthineſſe. Thou haſt gotten thee a whores forehead. Paſt-ſhame wretches. Addition.

Chriſtian Faith called Hereſie.

You ſay that the ſimple name of Sect or Hereſie, wherewith S. Paul was charged, was not ſo infamous or odious in thoſe daies, and that Tertullian called the Religion of Chriſt a Sect or Hereſie, without any maner blemiſh or note of euill. It was néedleſſe for M. Harding to auouch vntruth ſo earneſtly without cauſe.

Cicer. in Paradox. Actor. 24.

I grant, the name of Hereſie or Sect among the Philoſophers was not infamous. Cicero ſaith, Cato in ea Hæreſi eſt, quæ nullum ſequitur florem orationis. But in caſe of Religion it was euermore amongſt al men taken in ill part, and condemned, and counted odious. Touching S. Paul, in how good part the Iewes called him Heretike, it may eaſily appeare by the words of Tertullus his accuſer: Inuenimus hunc virum peſtilentem, & mouentem ſeditionem omnibus Iudæis per vniuerſum orbem, ac principem Sectæ Nazareorum: *We haue found this man to be a peſtilent and a wicked fellow, mouing ſedition among the Iewes thorowout the whole world, and a Captaine of the Hereſie of the Nazarenes.* In ſuch good part they ſaid vnto Chriſt: Art thou greater then was our Father Abraham? Thou art a falſe Prophet, and deceiueſt the people: Thou art a Samaritane, and haſt the Diuell.

Iohan. 7. Iohan. 8.

Iohan. 16. Matth. 10. *Nicol. Lyra in 24. cap. Actor.*

The like good part Chriſt promiſed afore hand to his Diſciples: They ſhall caſt you out of their Synagogues: Ye ſhall be hated of all men for my names ſake. In ſuch good part and meaning was S. Paul called an Heretike. And ſo M. Harding beſides others, your owne Doctour Nicolaus Lyra would ſoone haue told you.

Tertull. in Apologetico.

But much more I maruel ye ſhould ſo vnaduiſedly ſay that Tertullian called the Chriſtian people a Sect or Hereſie in good part, and, as you ſay, without any blemiſh, or note of euill. For the ſame Tertullian in the ſame Apologie ſaith, the Heathens commonly called the Chriſtians Inceſtos, Homicidas, Infanticidas, Sacrilegos, Peſſimos, Nocentiſſimos, Publicum odium, Hoſtes humani generis, Omnium ſcelerum reos; Deorum, Imperatorum, Legum, Morum, Naturæ totius inimicos: *Aduouterous againſt kinde, Mankillers, Killers of children, Churchrobbers, Moſt wicked, Moſt hurtfull, The publike hatred, The enemies of mankinde, Guilty of all kind of wickedneſſe; Enemies againſt the Gods, againſt the Emperours, againſt the Lawes, againſt good order, againſt Nature it ſelfe.* Whereſoeuer they ſaw them they made an outcry vpon them, Chriſtianos ad Leonem, Non licèt eſſe Chriſtianos: *Haue theſe Chriſtians to the Lion: It is not lawfull theſe Chriſtians ſhould liue.* So S. Auguſtine ſaith, Factum eſt vulgi Prouerbium, Pluuia defecit cauſa Chriſtianorum: *It is now become a common Prouerb among the people. Our raine faileth vs becauſe of theſe Chriſtians.* So Euſebius ſaith, the Religion of Chriſt was called Impiorum Chriſtianorum Hæreſis:

Tertull. in Apologetico. Auſtin. de Ciuit. dei. l. 2. ca. 3. Euſe. l. 4. ca. 18.

Hæresis: *The Heresie of godlesse Christians.* These words, M. Harding, I trow were neuer vttered without all manner blemish, and note of euill. S. Hierome saith, Quod magis mirum sit, etiam illud de Actibus Apostolorum videtur esse religendum, fidem nostram in Christum & Ecclesiasticâ disciplinam iam tunc à peruersis hominibus Hæresin nuncupatam: *And that we may the more marueli, we may once againe reade this place of the Acts of the Apostles, where we find that the Christian faith, and Ecclesiastical Discipline was euen then of wicked men called an Heresie.* *Hieronim. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. 3.*

Euen as rightly, M. Harding, and vpon as good grounds you haue againe this day condemned the same Gospel of Christ, and in as good part and meaning haue called it Heresie. But we may truely and simply say with S Paul, *According to this Sect, which you call Heresie, we worship the God of our Fathers, which is the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ.* Actor. 24.

The Apologie, Chap. 8. *Diuision* 1.

But the more sore & outragious a crime Heresie is, the more it ought to be proued by plaine and strong arguments, especially in this time, when men begin to giue lesse credit to their words, & to make more diligent search of their Doctrine then they were wont to do. For the people of God are otherwise instructed now then they were in times past, when all the Bishops of Romes sayings were allowed for Gospell, and when all Religion did depend only vpon their authority. Now adaies the holie Scripture is abroad, the writings of the Apostles and Prophets are in print, whereby all truth and Catholike Doctrine may be proued, and all Heresie may be disproued and confuted. Scriptures and Doctours

M. Harding.

The defenders Heresies sufficiently and fully confuted already by sundrie great Clerks Lanfrancus. Guimundus. Petrus Cluniacensis. Thomas Walden. B. Fisher.

Where ye require your Heresie, for so much as it is so hainous a crime, by plaine & strong arguments to be proued, it is not vnknown how sufficiently and substantially that is performed already by men of excellent learning, as well of this age, as of times past. Was not Berengarius, the first author of your Sacramentary Heresie, by most plaine and strong arguments confuted of Lanfrancus Bishop of Canturburie and Guimundus Bishop of Auersa? Were not the Peterbrusians so, whose Heresie ye hold against the blessed Sacrifice of the Masse, of the learned Abbat Petrus Cluniacensis? Was not Wickleffe so of Thomas Walden, a learned man of England? Hath not Luther and Oecolampadius been so confuted in our time of that holy and learned father Bishop Fisher?

In what case the Popes sayings are to be taken for truth. Luce 22.

But what shall I speake of particular men, were they neuer so excellent, by whom they haue beene confuted, sith by publike sentence of the Church they haue beene condemned, both in Generall and Prouincial Councels? Therefore we thinke it not needful now againe to proue your Doctrine, so sufficiently condemned, to be Heresie. That the people be now otherwise instructed then they were in times past, we confesse. But whether better now then in our forefathers daies, they that can consider the liues of them now, and of them that were then, may easily iudge.

The sayings of the Bishop of Rome were neuer allowed for the Gospell. His priuate sayings and common talke might be erronious, no lesse then other mens. But what he said by way of iudgement & sentence definitiue in doubtful points touching Religion, such sayings of Peters successor (for whom Christ praied that his faith might not faile, and who was commanded by Christ to strengthen his brethren) we take for truth, and the same obediently receiue. So the Fathers assembled in Councell at Chalcedon, receiued and agreed to the saying & writing of Pope Leo, no lesse then if Peter the Apostle and first B. of Rome himselfe had spoken. The Popes authorinie we acknowledge supreme aboue all other authoritie in earth, touching the gouernment of the Church: yet was it neuer said, ne thought by the Catholikes, that all Religion depended only thereon, as your slanderous report beareth men in hand. Vntruth. Vntruth.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Lanfranc, Guimundus, abbas Cluniacensis, Thomas Waldensis, Iohn Fisher, and other your like Doctours, M. Harding, are ouer yong, all within the space of these last fiue hundred yéres, farre vnlike S. Austine, S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostome, and others the ancient learned Fathers and Doctours of the Church. Neither is there any sufficient cause to the contrarie, but that Berengarius, Iohn Wickleffe, Iohn Hus, Doctour Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and others, either for learning, or for truth, or for iudgment in the Scripture, or for antiquitie may well and safely be compared with them. At the least I hope we may say of them as S. Augustine once said of the Doctours and Fathers of his time: Neque quorumlibet disputationes, quamuis Catholicorum & laudatorum hominum, velut Scripturas Canonicas habere debemus: vt nobis non liceat, salua honorificentia, quæ illis debetur, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare aut respuere, si fortè inuenerimus quòd aliter senserunt quàm veritas habet: *Neither weigh we the writings of all men, be they neuer so worthy and Catholike, as we weigh the Canonicall* *Aug. ad Fortunatian. Epist. 3.*

Scriptures,

Scriptures and Doctours.

Scriptures: but that, sauing the reuerence that is due vnto them, wee may mislike and refuse somewhat in their writings, if wee happen to finde that they haue thought otherwise then the truth may be are.

Likewise the Councels ye meane are very new, and therefore beare the lesse authoritie, for that they be so many waies contrary to the old. Hereof hereafter more at large. Certainely there is none of your errors so grosse and palpable, but by some of your late Councels it hath beene confirmed.

M. Harding fol. 111. b.

Addition. ☞ This talke (saith M. Harding) is Luciferlike, and saucie, and malepert. For wherein (saith he) are the late Councels so many waies contrary to the old? *The Answer.* Ye might as well haue demanded, Wherein is darkenesse so many waies contrary to the light? For is he so great a stranger in these cases? I doubt not but he doth well remember it was decreed in the old Councell of Aphrica, that no Priest should appeale out of that Countrie to the Bishop of Rome. Likewise it is concluded in the old Counsels holden at Tela, Hippo, and Meleuetum, that no Priest should appeale, but onely to the Councels holden in Aphrica. But the latter new Councels haue made it lawfull to appeale to the Pope from the farthest ends of the world. And Pope Pius 2. and Pope Iulius 2. haue solemnly determined, that who so appealeth from the Pope to a Councell, shall be iudged an Heretike.

Addition ☞

Concil. Aphric. cap. 92.
Concil. Telent. cap. 17.
Conc. Milenet. cap. 22.
In Bulla Leonis 10.

The old Councell of Nice alloweth the Bishop of Rome equall power with the other three Patriarks, making euery of them within their owne Prouinces in iurisdiction and authority like vnto other. But the latter new Councels haue made the same Bishop of Rome head and Prince ouer all Primates and Patriarks throughout the world. And M. Harding saith, the said Patriarkes were onely the Popes Deputies, that is to say, serued him at commandement as his men. And in the late new Councell of Laterane vnder Pope Leo these words are openly pronounced, and well allowed of, In Papa est omnis potestas supra omnes potestates, Tam Cœli, quàm Terræ: *In the Pope there is all power aboue all powers, as well of Heauen as of Earth.* The like might be said of priuate Masse, of the halfe Communion, of Transubstantiation, and of the rest. But by these few we may easily see how neere the new Councels resemble the old.

Ruffinus 1. cap. 6.
M. Harding in his answer, Art 4. fo 86. b.
Conc. Lateran. sub Leone 10. Session 10. In Oratione Episcopi Petracensis.

August. contra Maximin. lib. 3. Cap. 14.

Thereby we may iustly say to you as S. Augustine sometime said to Maximinus the Arian Heretike, Nec ego Nicenam Synodum tibi, nec tu mihi Ariminensem debes tanquam præiudicaturus obiicere Scripturarum authoritatibus res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet: *Neither may I lay to thee the Councel of Nice, nor maiest thou lay to me the Councel of Ariminum, either of vs thinking therby to finde preiudice against the other. But let vs lay matter to matter, cause to cause, and reason to reason by the authority of the Scriptures.*

Yet we say not, as you M. Harding, would faine gather, that S. Augustine by these words despised the authority of the Nicene Councell. For certainely he had it euer, as we also haue it, in great reuerence. But thus we say, S. Augustine disputing with an Heretike, as we doe with you, and saying that Councels might be alleaged against Councels, as the Councel of Ariminum against the Counsell of Nice, was therefore contented, not to vse the authority of any Councell at all, but, as himselfe saith, by the authority of the Scriptures to lay matter to matter, and cause to cause.

M. Harding fol. 112. b.

Addition. ☞ The Counsel of Ariminum, though there were in it eight hundred Bishops, yet was it allowed for no Councell, (saith M. Harding) for want of Damasus the Popes confirmation, as Sozomenus and Theodoretus haue witnessed. *The Answer.* Here M. Harding you haue conueied in a pretty fitton, vnder some colour of truth: both Theodoretus and Sozomenus will reproue you. For the Councel of Ariminum was misliked, not onely for that it was not confirmed by the Pope, as ye would seeme to tell vs, but also for that it lacked the confirmation of sundry others. Sozomenus saith thus, *They allow not the decrees of the Councell of* Ariminum, *for that neither the Eishop of Rome nor other Bishops had consented vnto it, and for that the said Decrees had misliked many that were there assembled.* To like purpose writeth also Theodoretus, and in maner with like words. I grant the Bishop of Rome was the chiefe. Yet his onely authority was not sufficient to allow or disallow generall Councels. For, as it appeareth by your owne Authors the consent of others was required thereto as well as his. Thus M. Harding, ye seeke vnduly to beguile the simple by vntrue report.

Addition ☞

Sozomen lib. 6. cap. 23.
Theodoretus lib. 2. cap 21.

Ye grant there is more light and knowledge now then was before. The greater is either your fault or your folly, M. Harding, that in the broad day and open light so busily set forth the works of darkenesse. S. Chrysostome saith, Hic est multò impudentior. Ex furibus enim leges eos grauiùs puniunt qui interdiu furantur: *Hee is very shameleſſe that worketh deceit in the open light. For of all theeues the Law most sharpely punisheth them that rob*

Chrysost. in Psal. 9.

in

in the day time. Therefore S. Cyprian saith vnto you: Ignosci potuit simpliciter errãti: post inspirationem verò & reuelationem factam, qui in eo quod errauerat perseuerat prudens & sciens, sine venia ignorantiæ peccat: præsumptione enim atque obstinatione superatur: *He that is deceiued, and erreth of simplicity, may be pardoned: but after that the truth is once reuealed, whoso continueth neuerthelesse in his former error wittingly and willingly, sinneth without pardon of ignorance, as being ouercome by presumption and wilfulnesse.* *Cyprian ad Iubaianum.*

You say, notwithstanding all this great light we talke of, yet our liues are nothing comparable to the liues of them that haue beene before vs. This, M. Harding, hath euer beene an old complaint in all ages, as may appeare by S. Cyprian, S. Augustine, and other ancient Fathers. It was a common Prouerbe in old times, *Tempora priora meliora:* Things a yere past are euermore better then things present. For euery thing to vs seemeth the greater as it seemeth nerest to touch our senses. And because we feele not our Fathers euils, therefore we imagine they had no euill at all. The Wiseman saith, Ne dixeris, quę causa est quòd priora tempora meliora fuerint quàm præsentia. Stulta enim est huiusmodi interrogatio: *Neuer demand wherefore the times past were better then the times present. For indeed it is a foolish question.* *Cyprian ad Demetrian.* *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.* Eccles. 7.

But M. Harding, wherefore doe you thus condemne our liues in respect of our Fathers? Certainly you must needs confesse there are fewer Blasphemies, fewer Othes, fewer breaches of Matrimony, fewer Stewes, fewer Concubines, fewer Fraies, fewer Murthers amongst vs this day then commonly were at any time amongst our Fathers. Howbeit, to let our Fathers passe, if it shall please you to lay our liues to your liues, although we acknowledge many our imperfections, yet Gods name be blessed we haue no cause to fly the comparison.

The Popes words, you say, were neuer taken for Gospell. Yes M. Harding, and somewhat also aboue the Gospel. For proofe whereof it may please you to remember the words of certaine your late Doctors. Syluester Prierias late master of Pope Leoes Palace, writeth thus: Indulgentiæ authoritate Scripturę non innotuere nobis, sed authoritate Ecclesiæ Romanæ, Romanorumque Pontificum, quæ maior est: *Pardons are not warranted vnto vs by the authority of Gods word, but by the authority of the Romane Church, and of the Bishops of Rome, which is more then Gods word.* If this be not sufficient, he addeth further: A Doctrina Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & Romani Pontificis Sacra Scriptura robur & authoritatem trahit: *The holy Scripture taketh strength and authority of the Doctrine of the Bishop and Church of Rome.* Pope aboue Gods word. *Sylueſter Prierias contra Lutherum.*

Your greatest Doctor Albertus Pighius saith, Apostoli quædam conscripserunt, non vt scripta illa præessent fidei & Religioni nostræ, sed potiùs vt subessent: *The Apostles wrote certaine things, not to the end that such writings should be ouer our faith and Religion, but rather that they should be vnder.* Your Canonists say, [a] Papa potest dispensare contra Ius Diuinum: *The Pope may dispense against the Law of God:* [b] Papa potest dispensare contra Ius naturæ: *The Pope may dispense against the Law of Nature:* [c] Papa potest dispensare contra Apostolum: *The Pope may dispense against* S. Paul *the Apostle:* [d] Papa potest dispensare contra Nouum Testamentum: *The Pope may dispense against the New Testament.* [e] Papa potest dispensare de omnibus præceptis Veteris & Noui Testamenti: *The Pope may dispence with all the Commandements, both of the Old and also of the New Testament.* Hereof more hereafter, as farther occasion shall be offered. *Albertus Pighius Hierarch. lib. 1. cap. 2.* [a] 16. q. 1. *Quacunq; in Glossa.* [b] 15 q. 6. *Authorit. in Glossa.* [c] *Dist. 34. Lector. & Dist. 82. Presbyter.* [d] *Abbas Panor. Extra de Donationibus, ca. fin.* [e] *Summa Angel. in dictione Papa.* [f] *Franciscus Xabarella.*

These be your owne Doctors words, M. Harding: they be truly reported: they be no slanders. And therefore Franciscus Zabarella a Cardinall of Rome saith thus: [f] Persuaserunt Pontificibus quòd omnia possent, & sic quòd facerent quicquid liberet, etiam illicita, & sint plusquam Deus: *They haue made the Popes beleeue that they might do all things, what soeuer they listed, yea notwithstanding they were things vnlawfull: and thus haue they made them more then God.*

You say, The Pope in his common talke may be deceiued, and erre as other men may: but in his Iudgement Seat, and Sentence Definitiue of Religion he cannot erre: as if ye would say, The Pope hath one spirit in the Consistory, and an other at home: much like as one said sometimes vnto Cicero in reproach of his inconstancie, Aliud stans, aliud sedens de Republica loqueris: *Touching the Common-weale, ye haue one minde sitting and an other standing.* *Salust. in Ciceronem.*

But Christ said vnto Peter, *I haue praied for thee, that thy faith should not faile.* Therefore, say you, we receiue obediently whatsoeuer the Pope speaketh in place of iudgement. Whereby ye seeme to giue vs secretly to vnderstand that Christs praiers were auaileable for the Pope, to keepe him from error, not in the Church, or Pulpit, or Closet, or any other common or priuate place, but only in the Consistory and Councel in debating doubtfull cases of Religion. Lucæ 22.

But how holdeth this argument? Christ prayed for Peter that his faith should not faile: Ergo, the Pope cannot erre. Verily S. Augustine saith, Nunquid pro Petro rogabat: pro Iohanne & Iacobo non rogabat? Vt de cæteris taceamus: *What did Christ pray for* Peter; *and did he not pray for* Iohn *and* Iames? *I will not speake of the rest.* Neither did Christ pray for Peter onely, or for the Apostles, but for all the faithfull that euer should be, as himselfe saith, I pray not onely for them, but also for all them that through their preaching shall beleeue in me.

Aug. in Qu. Noui Test. q. 75.

Iohan. 17.

Howbeit, what, saith M. Harding, he so obediently receiueth the Popes Decrees: Yewis, the Popes themselues will not so receiue them. Platina saith, Acta priorum Pontificum sequentes Pontifices aut infringunt, aut omninò tollunt. Nihil enim aliud isti Pontificuli cogitabant, quàm vt nomen & dignitatem maiorum suorum extinguerent: *The next Pope either breaketh or vtterly repealeth his predecessors Decrees. For these litle petty Popes had none other study to busie themselues withall, but onely to deface the name and dignitie of the former Popes.*

Platina in Stephano, & in Romano.

Where you say, the whole Councell of Chalcedon so estéemed the voice of Pope Leo, as if it had been the voice of Peter himselfe, this, M. Harding, is a manifest vntruth, as it shall soone appeare. I grant the name of Leo, for his great learning and grauity was much regarded. So S. Ambrose for the like cause was called Orbis terrarum oculus, Sacerdotum Archisacerdos, & Fundamentum fidei: *The eie of the world, the head Priest of all Priests, and the Foundation of the faith.* So Paphnutius, being no Pope, was heard against all the rest of the Councell of Nice: So S. Hierome being neither Pope nor Bishop, was receiued against this whole Councell of Chalcedon.

Athanas. ad Heroxem. Sozom. l. 1. ca. 33. 36. Quæst. 2. Quia legitima.

Neither did the Councell follow Leo alone, as the vniuersall Bishop and head of the Church, but ioined him together with others, as estéeming them of equall authority. For thus they made their generall shout: Omnes ita credimus: Leo Papa ita credit: Cyrillus ita credit: Leo & Anatolius ita credunt: *Thus we all beleeue: Thus Pope* Leo *beleeueth:* Cyrillus *thus beleeueth:* Leo *and* Anatolius *thus beleeue.*

Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 2.

And with what credit can M. Harding say, the whole Councell of Chalcedon yélded vnto Pope Leo, as if it had béene vnto Peter himselfe? For it is certaine, that the same whole Councell decreed against Leo: and likewise Leo against the Councell. For the Councell decreed contrary to the old Canons, that the Bishop of Constantinople among the foure Patriarchs should be the second in dignity, and that the same Bishop of Constantinople should haue and enioy one Authority, and like Priuileges with the Bishop of Rome. The words be these: Æqua sanctissimæ sedi nouæ Romæ priuilegia tribuerunt, rationabile iudicantes vrbem eam ornatam iam imperio & Senatu, æquis senioris regiæ Romæ priuilegijs frui, & in Ecclesiasticis, sicut illa habet, maiestatem habere negotijs: *The Fathers gaue equall Priuileges vnto the holy See of new Rome* (which was Constantinople) *thinking it to be reasonable that the same City of* Constantinople, *being now furnished with Empire and Councell, should enioy equall Priuileges with the Princely City of the old Rome, and in all Ecclesiasticall affaires should beare the same maiesty that Rome beareth.* This thing Pope Leo much misliked, and found great fault with the Councell, and would in no wise consent vnto it. Thus he writeth: Quæ per occasionem Synodi malè sunt attentata reprehenderam: *I reproued those things that were euill attempted by the Councell of* Chalcedon. And againe, Nullum vnquam potuerunt nostrum obtinere consensum: *They were neuer able to get our consent.*

Concil Chalcedon. Actio. 16. page. 936.

Leo. Epist. 59.

Leo. Epist. 53.

Church dependeth of the Pope.

And when these matters were past by the consent of all the Bishops, Lucentius Pope Leoes Legate came whining in, and besought the Councell that the whole matter might be repealed. The words written in the Councel be these: Lucentius dixit, Sedes Apostolica quæ nobis præcepit, præsentibus humiliari non debet. Et ideo quæcunque in præiudicium Canonum hesterna die gesta sunt, nobis absentibus, sublimitatem vestram petimus, vt circunduci iubeatis. Vires illustrissimi iudices dixerunt. Quod interlocuti sumus, tota Synodus approbauit: Lucentius the Popes Legate *said, The Apostolike See of Rome, whose commission we haue, may not by any these doings be defaced. Therefore we beseech your honours, that whatsoeuer was concluded heere yesterday in our absence, in preiudice of the Canons, yee will command the same to be blotted out. The honourable iudges made him answer; That we haue talked of, the same the whole Councell hath allowed.*

Concil Chalcedon. Actio. 16.

Thus many waies, M. Harding, the vntruth of your tale plainely appeareth. For the Councell of Chalcedon estéemed not the voice of Leo as if he had béene the voice of Peter, as you say: but rather contrariwise made light of it, and weighed it none otherwise then they saw cause.

Therefore Liberatus saith thus touching the same: Cùm Anatolius, consentiente Concilio, Primatum obtinuisset, Legati verò Romani Episcopi contradicerent, à Iudicibus & Episcopis

Liberatus cap. 13.

Episcopis omnibus illa contradictio suscepta non est. Et licèt sedes Apostolica nunc vsq; contradicat, tamen quòd à Synodo firmatum est, imperatorio patrocinio permanet, quodammodo: *When* Anatolius (**the Bishop of** Constantinople) *by consent of the Councell had obtained the Primacy, notwithstanding the Bishop of Romes Legates stood against it, yet their gainesaying could not be receiued neither of the Iudges nor of the Bishops: and albeit the Apostolike See of Rome withstand it still, yet the decree of the Councell, by the Emperours warrant, after a sort continueth in force.*

Church depẽdeth of the Pope.

But you neuer taught vs, ye say, that the whole state of the Church dependeth of the Pope. It is not your Doctrine: you neuer spake it. And therefore we are railers and slanderers that so report you. If it be so indeede, M. Harding, as you say, wherefore then suffer you Cardinall Cusanus to write thus? Veritas adhæret Cathedræ. Quare membra Cathedræ vnita, & Pontifici coniuncta, efficiunt ecclesiam: (**Popes**) *The truth cleaueth fast to the chaire. Therefore the members vnited to the chaire and ioined to the Pope, make the Church.* **Wherefore suffer you** Iohannes de Parisijs, **one of your Catholik Doctors, to write thus?** Fiet vnum Ouile, & vnus Pastor. Quod quidem de Christo intelligi non potest: Sed de aliquo alio Ministro, qui præsit loco eius: *There shall be one flocke, and one shepheard. Which thing cannot be taken of Christ: we must needs vnderstand it of some other Minister, that ruleth in his stead.*

Nicolaus Cusanus ad Bohemos epist. 2.

Iohan. de Paris. de potestate Regia & Papali, cap. 3.

Wherefore suffer you Hosius **your Grand Captaine to write thus?** Vnum toti præesse Ecclesiæ vsque adeo est necessarium, vt absque hoc, Ecclesia vna esse non possit: *It is so necessary a thing, that one onely man ouerrule the whole Church, that without the same, the Church cannot be one.* **Wherefore suffer you your** Canonists **to say,** Constat Ecclesiam ideo esse vnam, quia in Vniuersali Ecclesia vnum est caput Supremum, scilicet Papa: *It is plaine, that therefore the Church is one, because that in the whole Vniuersall Church, there is one Supreme head, that is, the Pope?*

Hosius in Confessione Petri. cap. 27.

Clement. lib. 5. Ad nostrum: In Glossa.

To be short, why doe you your selfe, M. Harding, allege S. Hieroms **words directly, as ye would haue vs beleeue, to this purpose?** Ecclesiæ salus à summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet. **Which words into English ye haue turned thus:** *The safety of the Church, hangeth of the worship of the high Priest. He meaneth the Pope Peters successor.* **In which last clause, ye misconstrue, and racke** S. Hieromes **words far contrary to his meaning. For** S. Ierome **meant not hereby the Bishop of Rome, but euery seuerall Bishop within his own charge: euery which Bishop, he calleth the highest Priest, as in my former Replie it is declared more at large.**

M. Harding fol. 80. b.

Hieron. contra Luciferianos. Art. 4. Diu. 15.

If these things be true, why are they now denied? if they bee false, why are they not condemned? I trust it may appeare by these few, that we report the truth truely, and are no slanderers.

The Apologie, Chap. 8. Diuision 2.

Sithence then they bring foorth none of these for themselues, and call vs neuertheless Heretikes, which haue neither fallen from Christ, nor from the Apostles, nor yet from the Prophets, this is an iniurious, and a very spightfull dealing.

M. Harding.

Nay Sirs, ye shal not so carry away the conclusion with a lie. But contrariwise, sithence we bring forth many Scriptures for the truth, which ye impugne, as your selues shal see when we come to confute your Doctrine, which here followeth: and sithence notwithstanding that ye wil not yeeld to the Scriptures, but peruert the true meaning of them with glosses and interpretations of your owne heads, frame new opinions contrary to that ye haue receiued, and that the Church hath euer taught: the Catholikes will still call you Heretikes, and the Church will condemne you for Heretikes, and so account you vntil ye recant and repent.

vntruth.

That the Defenders be fallen from Christ. Matth. 18. Luke 10.

But yee haue not fallen from Christ, yee say, nor from the Apostles, nor yet from the Prophets. As though they that depart from the Romane Church, which is the Catholik Church, which diuers times in the Apology yee confesse, fell not from Christ, and consequently from the Apostles and Prophets. Saith not Christ in the Gospell, He that heareth not the Church, let him be to thee as an Heathen and a Publicane? Saith he not also, he that despiseth you, despiseth me?

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Whether part rightly and reuerently vseth the Scriptures of God, and whether peruerteth them by shifts and glosses, I trust it shall in part appeare by this conference. In deed M. Harding, it is no great mastery by your interpretations and handlings, to haue store enough and plenty of Scriptures. For this is one speciall ground of your Diuinity, [a] Papa potest ex nihilo facere aliquid; & sententiam quæ nulla est, facere aliquam: *The Pope is able of nothing to make something; and of no sentence to make some sentence.* **By your Doctrine it is lawfull, and good Logike to reason thus:** [b] An gloriabitur serra Esai 10. aduersus eum qui trahit illam? *Shall the saw boast against him that draweth it?* [c] Non est seruus

[a] *Extra. de translat. Epi. Quanto in Glos.* [b] *Dist. 21. Inferior sedes.* [c] Matth. 10.

Concil. Roman. sub Sylueſtro 1. seruus supra Dominum: *There is no seruant aboue his Lord*: Ergo, No man may dare to iudge the Pope. Or Thus, [d] Omnia munda mundis: coinquinatis autem & infidelibus nihil est mundum: *All things are cleane to the cleane: but vnto the filthie and Infidels nothing is cleane*: Ergo, It is not lawfull for Priests to marrie.

[d] *Ad Tit. 1. Dist. 82. propesuisti.*

Or as you, M. Harding, sometimes haue delighted to reason: [e] Nolite dare sanctum canibus: *Giue not holy things to dogs*: Ergo, It is not lawfull for the Christian vulgar people to read the Scriptures.

[e] Matthæ. 7.

M Harding in his former booke, fol. 155. b

Thus may you easily be well stored, and full freight of Scriptures enow, and as [f] S. Hierome saith, may carrie them captiue to serue your turne. But S. Hierome could also haue told you, [g] Non in verbis Scripturarum est Euangelium, sed in sensu: *The Gospel standeth not in the bare words of the Scriptures, but in the meaning*: Therefore we may say vnto you as S. Cyprian once said to the Nouatian Heretikes: [h] Audite Nouatiani, apud quos Scripturæ cœlestes leguntur potius quam intelliguntur: *Hearken hereto ye Nouatian Heretiks, amongst whom the heauenly Scriptures are read rather then well perceiued.*

[f] *Hieronym. ad Pammach. & Exempla captiua seruiũt ad victoriam.*

[g] *Hieronym. in 1. ca. ad Galat.*

[h] *Cyprian. ad Nouatian. to. 1.*

You say the Church of Rome by your owne confession is the Catholike Church: which Church, forasmuch as we haue forsaken, we haue forsaken Christ and his Apostles. For saith not Christ in the Gospell, say you, [i] *He that heareth not the Church, let him be vnto thee as an Heathen and a Publicane?* And, *He that despiseth you despiseth me?*

[i] Matth. 18. Luc. 10.

We grant, M. Harding, the name of the Church of Rome is Catholike: but the errors and abuses thereof are not Catholike, neither is it the Church that we finde fault withall; but the great corruptions and foule deformities that you haue brought into the Church.

Howbeit, your policy herein is apparant. Your Reader, be he neuer so simple, may soone see your whole drift. For magnifie the Church with all manner titles of Authority, not for any speciall regard ye beare the Church indeed, but onely to settle your selues in an infinite Tyranny, and to make vs beleeue that you onely are the Church, and to giue credit to al your fantasies: yea although ye be the defacers & enemies of the Church. Verily the bare name of the Church is not sufficient. S. Paul saith that Antichrist the man of sin shall sit in the Temple of God: whereby no doubt he meant the Church.

2. Thess. 2.

But, M. Harding, heare you the voice of God: leaue your fables: speake Gods holy word, and speake it truely: be ye faithfull Ministers of the truth. Then whosoeuer shall be found to despise your Doctrine, be he King or Emperour, we will not doubt to call him an Heathen and Publicane. But if hee bee an Heathen that will not heare your Church, what is he then that will not heare Christ? Æneas Syluius being afterward Pope himselfe, saith thus, Si Romanus Pontifex non audiet Ecclesiam, Christum quoque non audiet, & tanquam Ethnicus & Publicanus haberi debet: *If the Bishop of Rome wil not heare the Church, he will not heare Christ, and therefore must be taken as an Heathen and Publicane.* S. Augustine saith, Oues meæ vocem meam audiunt, & sequuntur me. Auferantur chartæ humanæ: sonent voces diuinæ: *My sheepe heare my voice, and follow me. Away with mans writings: let the voice of God sound vnto vs.*

Æneas Syl. de gestis Concil. Basilien. Paul. Vrsperg. pag. 411. Aug. de ouibus.

Surely Doctor Luther himselfe, against whom M. Harding so vehemently, and so often enflameth his choler, in humble and reuerent manner writeth thus: Nos colimus Romanam Ecclesiam in omnibus. Tantùm illis resistimus qui pro Ecclesia obtrudunt Babyloniam: *We honour the Church of Rome in all things. Only we withstand them that in stead of the Church haue thrust in the confusion of Babylon.* In like sense S. Cyprian saith, Non est pax, sed bellum: nec Ecclesiæ iungitur, qui ab Euangelio separatur: *It is not peace; it is warre: Neither is he ioined to the Church, that is diuided from the Gospel.* Now, how carefully the Church of Rome is led by the Gospel of Christ, we may easily learne by Nicolaus Cusanus a Cardinall of the same Church of Rome. Thus he saith: Sequuntur scripturæ Ecclesiam: & non è conuerso: *The Scriptures of God follow the Church: but contrariwise the Church followeth not the Scriptures.* To conclude, we may say vnto you as S. Augustine said sometime to Petilian the Donatian Heretike. Vtrùm nos Schismatici sumus, an vos, nec ego, nec tu, sed Christus interrogetur, vt indicet Ecclesiam suam: *Whether of vs bee Schismatikes, we or you, aske you not me: I wil not aske you: let Christ be asked, that he may shew vs his owne Church.*

Paul. Vrsperg. pag. 472. Cyprian. Sermone 5. De Lapsis. Nicol Cusanus ad Bohemos Epist. 2. Augustin. contra Literas Petiliani, l. 2. c. 85.

The Apologie, Chap. 9. Diuision 1.

WIth this sword did Christ put off the Diuel when he was tempted of him: with these weapons ought all presumption which doth aduance it selfe against God, to be ouerthrown and conquered. For al Scripture, saith S. Paul, that commeth by the inspiration of God,

2. Tim. 3.

is

is profitable to teach, to confute, to inſtruct, and to reproue, that the man of God may be perfect and thoroughly framed to euery good worke. Thus did the holy Fathers alway fight againſt the Heretikes with none other force then with the holy Scriptures.

M. Harding.

That the holy Fathers did euermore fight againſt the Heretiks with none other force then with the holy Scriptures, that we denie.

For what did the Fathers in the firſt generall Councell holden at Nice? Did they fight againſt Arius, and the maintainers of his Hereſie, with no other force then with the Scriptures? When thoſe Heretiks refuſed the word *Homouſion*, whereby it is ſignified the Son of God to be of one and the ſame ſubſtance with God the Father, for that it was not to be found in the Scriptures, beſides which they ſtiffly denied, as ye do, that any thing ought to be receiued: did not the Catholike Biſhops of the other ſide flie to the ancient Fathers? Did they not appeale to the iudgements of thoſe Fathers which had giuē ſentence of the matter then being in controuerſie, before that Arius and thoſe that held of his ſide were borne?

Hiſtor. Tripart. lib. 5. cap. 10. In the ſecond Councell aſſembled at Conſtantinople, were not the Heretikes of ſundry ſects by a witty and a godly policy contriued betweene Nectarius the Biſhop, and Theodoſius the Emperour, through the ſuggeſtion of the great Clerke Siſinnius, driuen to receiue the Doctors, who liued before their Hereſies were heard of, as witneſſes of true Chriſtian Doctrine worthy of credit?

Macedonius. Macedonius in that Councell was condemned, who therefore denied the holy Ghoſt to be God, becauſe the Scriptures giue not vnto him that name. But the Biſhops there aſſembled, as Photius that learned Biſhop writeth, declared out of the teaching of the Fathers and Diuines before their time, that the holy Ghoſt is to be adored, worſhipped, and glorified, as being of one nature and ſubſtance together with the Father and the Sonne.

Neſtorius euer called for Scriptures, as the Heretiks at this day do, whatſoeuer ſect they be of. In the third Councell kept at Epheſus, the Heretike Neſtorius boaſted, as ye doe, of the Scriptures, ſaying they were of his ſide, and would neither ſpeake nor heare ought but Scriptures, Scriptures. And alleging a place or two out of the Goſpell, where Mary is called the mother of Ieſus, ſtoutly, Finde me in all Scripture (quoth he) where Marie is called the mother of God. Hereto what ſaid that holy and learned Biſhop Cyrillus chiefe in that councell? *Hanc nobis fidem diuini tradidēre Diſcipuli; & licet nullum fecerint dictionis huius mentionem, ita tamen ſentire à ſanctis patribus edocti ſumus.* This faith (ſaith he) the Diſciples of God haue by tradition left vnto vs. And although they haue made no expreſſe mention of this word (*Deipara*) yet ſo to thinke we haue beene taught of the holy Fathers.

Epiſt. 1. Tom. 4 *Deipara* not found in Scripture, yet receiued and kept. When they reaſoned about rules touching faith to be made (ſaith Vincentius Lirinenſis writing of that Councell) to all the Biſhops there aſſembled, to the number almoſt of two hundred, this ſeemed moſt Catholike, moſt faithfull, and beſt to be done, that the ſentences of the holy Fathers ſhould bee brought forth among them; to the end that by their conſent and Decree the Religion of the old Doctrine ſhould be confirmed, and the blaſphemie of the prophane nouelty condemned. Behold Sirs, what weapons the Fathers haue vſed againſt Hereſies, beſides the holy Scriptures.

Eutyches claimed his opinion to bee tried by the Scriptures. In the fourth Councell which was celebrated at Chalcedon, the Heretike Eutyches, as ye and all Heretikes haue done, craked much of the Scriptures, and required his matter to bee diſcuſſed by Scriptures. Tell me (quoth he, mockingly to euery one that reaſoned with him) in what Scripture lie the two natures?

The teaching of the Fathers to be kept. But let vs heare what the learned Biſhops of that Councel ſaid thereto. We finde in the firſt action of the Councel that they cried out aloud, *Ea quæ ſunt patrū, teneantur*; The things that the Fathers haue taught, let them be kept. Againe, when they come to the definitiue ſentence, they ſay, *Sequentes igitur ſanctos patres, &c.* Following the holy Fathers, we doe al with one accord teach men to confeſſe one & himſelfe the ſonne our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, perfect himſelfe in Godhead, and perfect himſelfe in manhood. And for Authority of the Fathers in high points of faith, a Biſhop in that reuerend aſſembly named Eudoxius pronounced a notable ſentence, ſaying thus: Euery one that conſenteth not to the expoſition of the holy Fathers doth alienate himſelfe from al Prieſtly communion, and from the preſence of Chriſt. Thus we haue alleged the foure firſt generall Councels, which S. Gregory honoureth as the foure Goſpels.

Actio. 5. A notable ſaying of a learned Father, for the expoſition of the Fathers. But the thing being ſo euident as it is, and ſo well known euen to your ſelues, if ye be learned, the authority of theſe chiefe Councels may ſuffice.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Here, M. Harding, ye haue taken in hand a needleſſe labour. For you know right well we deſpiſe not the Authority of the holy Fathers, but rather in this ſelfe ſame place haue alleged together S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, and S. Ambroſe, three of the moſt ancient and approued Fathers: and throughout the whole diſcourſe of this Apology, in the defenſe of the Catholike truth of our Religion, next vnto Gods holy word, haue vſed no praiſe or authority ſo much as the expoſitions and iudgements of the holy Fathers. We deſpiſe them not therefore, but rather giue God thanks in their behalfe, for that it hath pleaſed him to prouide ſo worthy inſtruments for his Church, and therefore wee iuſtly reprooue you, for that ſo vnaduiſedly and without cauſe ye haue forſaken the ſteps of ſo holy Fathers.

The foure Generall Councels wherein you dwell ſo long, as they make nothing againſt vs, ſo in ſundry points they fight expreſſely againſt you.

Firſt they were ſummoned by the Emperours Conſtantinus, Theodoſius 1. Theodo-

sius 2. and Martianus: and not by any right or authority of the Pope; as hereafter it shall bee shewed in place conuenient more at large. [a] Iulius the Bishop of Rome was summoned by the Emperors Writ to appeare at the Councel of Nice, as well as others. [b] And Pope Leo afterward was charged by like authority to appeare at the Councell of Chalcedon.

[a] *Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 16.*

[b] *Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 1. fol. 748.*

[c] In the Councell of Nice the Bishop of Rome was not President, but Eustathius the Bishop of Antioch. In the same [d] Councell of Nice the Bishop of Rome hath his authority and iurisdiction made equall and leuell with the other three Patriarkes. [e] And in the Councell of Chalcedon the Bishop of Constantinople is made equall in authority with the Bishop of Rome. To be short, [f] the said Councell of Chalcedon, for this last, and soms other like causes, Leo the Bishop of Rome would not allow. Which thing notwithstanding, the Councell standeth still in force, whether the Pope wil or no.

Eodem tenore Leo vocatus est.

[e] *Euseb. de vita Constā. Ora. 3.*

[d] *Concil. Nicen. Can. 6.*

[e] *Concil. Chalcedo. Actio. 16. pag. 636.*

[f] *Liberat. Cap. 13.*

These be the foure first Generall Councels, which M. Harding compareth in authoritie with the foure Euangelists.

But these Heretikes, Arius, Nestorius, Macedonius, and Eutyches in these foure Generall Councels vtterly despise all the ancient Fathers, and boasted themselues (saith M. Harding) of the Scriptures, and euermore cried out, Scriptures, Scriptures. Touching the Arians, that they alleaged certaine doubtfull and darke places of the Scriptures to serue their purpose, it is certaine and manifest. But that either they despised, or that the Catholikes against them auouched the exposition and authority of any Father, M. Hardings onely word must bee our warrant. For neither alleageth he any one Author for proofe hereof, not yet nameth any of all these Fathers.

Doctours alleged by Heretikes.

Notwithstanding, let vs grant these Heretikes cried out, as M. Harding saith, Scriptures, Scriptures. Euen so did the same Heretikes likewise cry out, euen as now M. Harding doth, Fathers, Fathers. Socrates saith, Et Ariani Origenis libros citabant in testimonium, vt illi quidem iudicabant, sui Dogmatis: *And the* Arian *Heretikes alleaged the learned Father* Origens *bookes, as they thought for proofe and witnesse of their Doctrine.*

Socr. lib. 4 cap. 21. circa finem.

The Heretike Eutyches said, Ego legi scripta beati Cypriani, & sanctorum patrum, & sancti Athanasij: *I haue read the writings of* S. Cyprian, *and of other holy Fathers, and of* S. Athanasius.

Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 1. pag. 792.

Likewise the Eutychian Heretike Carosus said, Ego secundùm expositionem trecentorum octodecim Patrum sic credo, sic baprizatus sum. Aliud quid mihi dicas, nescio: *This is my faith, according to the exposition of the three hundred and eighteene Fathers,* (in the Councell of Nice) *in this faith was I baptized. What ye should say more to me, I cannot tell.*

Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 4. pag. 877.

Euen so said Eutyches himselfe, Sic à progenitoribus meis accepi, & credidi. In hac fide Baptizatus sum, & signatus: & vsque ad hunc diem in ea vixi, & in ea opto mori: *Thus haue I receiued of my forefathers, and thus haue I beleeued. In this faith was I baptized and signed, and in the same haue I lined vntill this day, and in the same I wish to die.* Thus S. Augustine saith the Donatian Heretike Cresconius alleaged the authority of S. Cyprian. Thus the Nestorian Heretikes alleaged the authority of the Councell of Nice.

Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 1. pag. 751.

August contra Cresc. lib. 4. cap. 17.

To be short, thus the Heretike Dioscorus cried out in the open Councell of Chalcedon: Ego habeo testimonia sanctorum Patrum, Athanasij, Gregorij, Cyrilli: Non transgredior in aliquo: Ego cum Patribus eijcior: Ego defendo Patrum Dogmata. Ego horum habeo testimonia, non simpliciter aut transitoriè, sed in ipsorum libris: *I haue the Testimonies of the holy Fathers,* Athanasius, Gregorius, Cyrillus: *I alter not from them in any point: I am thrown foorth and banished with the Fathers: I defend the Fathers Doctrine: I haue their iudgement vttered, not by chance or vnadwisedly, but remaining expressed in their bookes.*

Concil. tom. 1. pag. 568.

Concil Chalcedon. Actio. 1. pag 767.

I doubt not, M. Harding, but you may hereby easily see that the Heretikes ye speake of, cried not onely Scriptures, Scriptures, as ye say, but had leasure also sometimes to crie, as you doe, Fathers, Fathers: and that as well to purpose, and as rightly as you of long time haue vsed to cry, hauing indeed in the cases we speake of, neither Scriptures nor Fathers.

To come neere the matter, we say not that all cases of doubt are by manifest and open words plainely expressed in the Scriptures. For so there should neede no exposition. But we say, there is no case in Religion so darke and doubtfull, but it may necessarily be either proued, or reproued, by Collection and conference of the Scriptures.

Hieronym. in Esay, cap. 19.

Aug. in lib. 83. Quæst q 69. Pag. 325.

S. Hierome saith, Moris est Scripturarum obscuris manifesta subnectere: *It is the order of the Scriptures, after hard things to ioine other things that be plaine.* S. Augustine likewise saith, Solet circumstantia Scripturarum illuminare sententiam: *The circumstance of the Scriptures is wont to giue light, and to open the meaning.* The like rule Tertullian also giueth:

Tertul. aduersus Praxeam.

Oportet secundùm plura intelligi pauciora: *The fewer places must be expounded by the more.*

Therefore

Therefore touching this word Homousius, which M. Harding here mooueth, and the whole contention of the Arians, Epiphanius writeth thus: Nomen substantiæ simpliciter & nudè in veteri & noua Scriptura non proponitur, sententia autem eius nominis vbique occurrit: *This word (substance) plainely and nakedly is not found, neither in the old nor in the new testament, but the sense and meaning of that word is found euery where.* *Epiphan. lib. 3. de Semiarianis.* ὁ λόγος παντάχοῦ.

In this conference and iudgement of the holy Scriptures we neede oftentimes the discretion and wisdome of learned Fathers. Yet notwithstanding may wee not giue them heerein greater credit then is conuenient, or then they themselues, if it were offered would receiue. We may reuerently say of them as Seneca in the like case sometime said, Non sunt Domini, sed Duces nostri: *They are our Leaders, but not our Lords.* They are not the truth of God it selfe, but only witnesses vnto the truth. Scriptures and Doctours. *Seneca.*

Therefore S. Augustine saith, Alios scriptores ita lego, vt quanta libet sanctitate doctrináque præpolleant, non ideò verum putem, quòd ipsi ita senserint, sed quod id mihi, vel per alios Authores Canonicos, vel probabili ratione persuadere potuerint: *Other writers or Fathers (besides the holy Scriptures) I read in this sort, that be their learning or holinesse neuer so great, I wil not thinke it true because they haue thought so, but because they are able to perswade me so, either by other Canonicall writers, or else by some likely reason.* Likewise againe he saith, Hoc genus literarum non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum iudicandi libertate legendum est: *This kind of writings (of the holy Doctors and Fathers) must be read, not with necessitie to beleeue each thing, but with liberty to iudge each thing.* And to that end he saith, Ne Catholicis quidem Episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi fortè falluntur, vt contra Canonicas Dei Scripturas sentiant: *Wee may not consent vnto the Bishops, notwithstanding they be Catholike, if they iudge contrary to the holy Canonicall Scriptures.* In this authoritie and credit we haue and ought to haue the holy Fathers. *Augustin. Epist. 19. ad Hieronym.* *August. contra Faust. lib. 11. cap. 5.* *Aug. de Vnit. Eccles. cap. 19.*

Now let vs see whether the Bishops and others in these Councels confuted these Heretikes, as we say, by the Scriptures, or else, as M. Harding seemeth to say, for want or weaknesse of the Scriptures, vsed therein the authority of the Fathers. First, the Emperour Constantinus in the Councell of Nice, instructing the Bishops there, how they might best debate their quarrels and end all strifes, saith thus vnto them: Euangelicæ & Apostolicæ literæ, & veterum Prophetarum Oracula perspicuè nos instituunt quid oporteat sapere de voluntate & sensu Dei, Ponentes ergo contentionem, ex diuinitùs inspiratis oraculis quæramus solutionem eorum quæ proponuntur: *The Euangelists and Apostles writings, and the sayings of the old Prophets do cleerely instruct vs what iudgement we ought to haue of the meaning and will of God. Therefore laying aside al contention, out of those heauenly Oracles let vs seeke for the assoiling of our questions.* *Theod. lib. 1. cap. 7.* *Tripha. lib. 2. cap. 9.* τοιγαροῦν ἐκβάλλοντες ἅπασαν ἔριν, ἐκ τῶν θείων ἐκλογιζώμεθα λογίων.

Socrates also touching the same Councell of Nice, saith thus of the Arian Heretikes: Explicantes sacrosanctas Scripturas, sæpè illos euertimus: *By opening and expounding the holy Scriptures, oftentimes we ouerthrew them.* *Socrat.* ἐξηγούμενοι τὰς θείας γραφὰς πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἀνετρέψαμεν.

Likewise S. Augustine disputing against the same Arians, refuseth, as I haue said before, both Councels and Fathers, and appealeth onely to the Scriptures: Nec ego Nicænam Synodum tibi, nec tu mihi Ariminensem debes obijcere: Scripturarum authoritatibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet: *Neither will I allege the Councell of Nice against you, nor shall you allege the Councell of Ariminum against me. By the authority of the Scriptures let vs weigh matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason.* *August. contra Maxim. lib. 3. cap. 14.*

Touching the Councell holden at Constantinople against Macedonius, and the Diuinitie of the holy Ghost, Athanasius saith, Ne interroges, sed solùm ex sacris literis condiscas. Sufficiunt enim documenta quæ in illis reperias: *Neuer moue question heereof, but onely learne of the holy Scriptures. For the only proofes, that ye shall there finde are sufficient* (to warrant the Godhead of the holy Ghost.) So likewise saith Euagrius of the other two Councels of Ephesus and Chalcedon: Ex Euangelicis & Apostolicis de Domino vocibus scimus viros illos diuinos constituisse: *We know that these godly Fathers concluded this matter by such words as the Euangelists and Apostles haue vttered of our Lord.* *Athan. ad Serapion. Spirit. sanct. non esse creaturam. pag. 676.* *Euagrius.*

Therefore the ancient Father Origen saith, Vide quam propè periculis illi sint qui negligunt exerceri in diuinis literis: ex quibus solis examinationibus huiusmodi agnoscenda discretio est: *Consider in what danger they be that haue no care to reade the holy Scriptures. For by the same Scriptures onely the iudgement of this Triall must be allowed.* Euen so saith Chrysostome, Etiamsi in ipsis veris Ecclesijs, quæ Dei sunt, dixerint Christum apparuisse, nolite eis credere dicentibus ista de me: Non enim digna est diuinitatis meæ hæc notitia. Ostendens per hæc quòd ab ipsis sæpè veris Ecclesijs exeunt seductores. Propterea ne ipsis quidem credendũ est, nisi ea vel dicant vel faciant quæ conuenientia sint Scripturis: *Yea if they say that Christ hath appeared in the very true Churches of God, yet beleeue them not: For this is no worthy or sufficient knowledge of my Godhead. By this he sheweth that* *Orig. in ca. 16. ad Rom. l. 10.* *Chrysost. in Opere imperfecto, Hom. 49.*

out of the very true Churches often times come foorth deceiuers. Therefore we may not beleeue, no not them (that ſpeake vnto vs in the name of the Church) *vnleſſe they ſpeake and doe ſuch things as are agreeable to the Scriptures.* In like maner againe ſaith Origen, Neceſſe nobis
Orig. in Hiere. Hom. 1. eſt in teſtimonium vocare ſanctas Scripturas. Senſus quippe noſtri & enarrationes ſine iis teſtibus non habent fidem: *We muſt needs call to witneſſe the holy Scriptures. For our iudgements and expoſitions without thoſe witneſſes carry no credit.*

And to leaue all other like authorities that might bee alleged, for ſhort concluſion, S.
Aug de natura & gratia. c. 61. Auguſtine ſaith, Solis Canonicis Scripturis ſine vlla recuſatione conſenſum debeo: *I owe my conſent without gainſaying* (not vnto the Doctors or Fathers, but onely) *vnto the Canonicall Scriptures.*

Scriptures and Doctours

But the Biſhops in thoſe Councels, ſaith M. Harding, brought forth, and followed the expoſitions of the antient learned Fathers. And wherefore might they not? What man euer taught or ſaid the contrarie? Yet notwithſtanding they alleged them, not as the foundations or grounds, but onely as approued and faithfull witneſſes of the truth. Which thing if M. Harding happilie will deny, may eaſilie appeare by the words of Cy-
Euagrius lib. 3. cap. 18. rillus, pronounced and publiſhed openly in the Councell of Chalcedon: Gratulamur nobis mutuò, quòd & noſtræ & veſtræ Eccleſiæ fidem habent conſentientem, & diuinitùs adſpiratis Scripturis, & traditionibus ſanctorum Patrum: *We reioice together, each of vs in others behalfe, for that the faith both of our Churches, and alſo of yours, is agreeable both vnto the heauenly inſpired Scriptures, and alſo to the tradition and expoſition of our Fathers.* Which
Concil. Chalcedon. Action. 2. words of Cyrillus beeing heard, and the conſent of the Fathers beeing knowne, the whole Councell for ioy made a ſhout together, Omnes ita credimus: Papa Leo ita credit: &c. *Thus wee all beleeue: Pope* Leo *thus beleeueth: Thus beleeueth* Leo *and* Anatolius: *Thus* Cyrillus *beleeueth: This is the faith of our Fathers: This is the faith of the Apoſtles: Thus haue the Apoſtles taught.*

Thus may you ſee, M. Harding, (wee ſay not to you as you doe to vs, If you be learned, for thereof we haue no doubt: God grant you may direct your learning to his glorie) but thus may you ſee to what end the Biſhops in the Councels ye ſpeake of, alleged the expoſitions of the ancient Fathers, and how farre they weighed them vnder the authority of the Scriptures. In like ſort do wee alſo this day allege againſt you the manifeſt and vndoubted, and agreeable iudgements of the moſt ancient learned holy Fathers: and thereby, as by approued and faithfull witneſſes, wee diſcloſe the infinite follies and errours of your Doctrine. And ſeeing you haue forſaken the fellowſhip of the ſaid holy Fathers, as hereafter ſhall more fully appeare, wee ſay vnto you as Eudoxius ſaid vnto the Heretike Abbat Eutyches in the Councell of Chalcedon: *Yee haue remooued your ſelues both from all prieſtly Communion, and alſo from the preſence of Chriſt.*

The Apologie, Chap. 9. Diuiſion 2.

De Vnitate Eccle. cap. 3. & contra Maximinum Arian. Epiſt. lib. 3. cap. 14. S. Auguſtine, when he diſputed againſt Petilian the Donatian Heretike: Let not theſe words, quoth he, be heard betweene vs: I ſay, or you ſay: Let vs rather ſpeake in this wiſe: Thus ſaith the Lord. There let vs ſeeke the Church: there let vs boult out the cauſe.

M. Harding.

Concerning this place of S. Auguſtine, it ought not to be ſtretched to all matters in generall that be in queſtion, as though wee might not vſe the teſtimonies and authorities of the Fathers againſt Heretikes: but it pertaineth only to the queſtion in that booke *De vnitate Eccleſiæ*, treated of, which is, where the Church is. Petilian the Donatiſt, and the maintainers of that Hereſie, contended the Church to be only in Aphrike, or at the furtheſt, *in parte Donati*, among them only that held with Donatus. The ſame Hereſie went they about to proue by Scriptures: but when S. Auguſtine ſaw how weake their proofes were, which they brought out of the Scriptures, he prouoked them, the better to ouerthrow them, to come to the triall of the Scriptures. And indeed where the Scriptures bee manifeſt for proofe of any matter, what need is there of Doctors? But where the ſenſe of the Scriptures is obſcure, and may bee wreſted by euill wits to the maintenance of an Hereſie, there the expoſitions of the Fathers by all old writers haue beene taken of neceſſity, to ſupplie the Scriptures obſcurity, and to declare the ſenſe of the Church, which the holy Ghoſt hath prompted. And in ſuch caſes S. Auguſtine himſelfe vſeth the teſtimonies of the Fathers not ſeldome, namely againſt Iulian the Pelagian: where beſide Scripture, touching originall ſinne, he allegeth againſt the Pelagians a great number of Fathers, and at length in one place ſpeaking of the Authority, reuerence, and credit he had in them, he ſaith thus: *Quod credunt, credo, &c.* What they beleeue, I beleeue; what they hold, I hold; what they teach, I teach; what they preach, I preach. From the ſpeciall to the generall negatiuely the argument holdeth not, ye know, if ye haue not forgotten your Logike.

Manifeſt vntruth.

Contra Iulianum Pelagi. Lib. 1.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

M. Harding, as well heere as elſe where, thinketh it an eaſie matter with a bold aſſeueration to ſmoth his vnlearned ſimple Reader, eſpecially ſuch a one as hath no eies to

lokeafter him. These words of S. Augustine, saith he, pertaine onely vnto the matter he had then in hand, and therefore may not be forced to any other. And here he remembreth vs of a profound point in Logike, that a Negatiue conclusion from the Speciall to the Generall cannot hold. Here it were a matter worthy the hearing: first, how M. Harding could enter so deepely to know so much of S. Augustines meaning: next, forasmuch as in respect of himselfe, he euermore confesseth vs to be vnlearned, how he were able to teach vs to know the same. Yee alloweth vs vpon his word that these words of S. Augustine must needs be expounded and restrained to that only matter, and may not in any wise be stretched farther: and this he imagineth was S. Augustines meaning. Thus, good Reader, by M. Hardings handling, thou hast here a meaning of S. Augustines that S. Augustine himselfe neuer meant. For S. Augustine in the same matter, and against the same Heretike, Petilian, although not in the same booke, writeth thus: Siue de Christo, siue de eius Ecclesia, siue de quacunque re alia quæ pertinet ad fidem, vitamque nostram, non dicam, si nos, sed, si Angelus de cœlo nobis annunciauerit, preterquam quod in Scripturis legalibus, & Euangelicis accepistis, Anathema sit: *Whether it be of Christ or of his Church, or of any thing else whatsoeuer, pertaining either to our life or to our faith. I will not say, if I my selfe, but if an Angell from Heauen shall teach vs otherwise then we haue receiued in the bookes of the Law, and in the Gospels, hold him accursed.*

Scriptures and Doctours.

August. contra Liter. Petilian. lib. 3. cap. 6.

Galat. 1.

M. Harding saith, S. Augustine meant only of one matter: S. Augustine himselfe saith, he meant of all manner matters touching either faith or life.

M. Harding saith, S. Augustine meant this onely of himselfe: S. Augustine himselfe saith, he meant it of any other, yea euen of the Angels of God. And shall wee thinke M. Harding knoweth S. Augustines meaning, and S. Augustine himselfe knew it not?

De quacunque re. Si Angelus de Cœlo.

Uerily S. Augustine in another case concerning the Arians, as I haue touched twice before, likewise refuseth the determinations of all Councels and Fathers, and standeth only to the Scriptures: Neither will I, saith he, alleage against thee the Councell of Nice, nor shalt thou allege against me the Councell of Ariminum, &c.

Aug. cont. Maxi. lib. 3. ca. 14.

Neither doth S Augustine onely say thus, but also yeeldeth a reason why he saith it. These be his words: Auferantur de medio quæ aduersus nos inuicem, non ex diuinis Canonicis libris, sed aliunde recitamus. Quæret fortasse aliquis, Cur vis ista auferri de medio? Quia nolo humanis documentis, sed diuinis oraculis Ecclesiam Sanctam demonstrari: *Haue away all those authorities that either of vs alleageth against the other, sauing such onely as be taken out of the heauenly Canonicall Scriptures. But perhaps some man will aske me, Wherefore would ye haue al such other authorities put away? I answer, Because I would haue the holy Church to be proued, not by the Doctrines of men, but by the word of God.*

Aug. de vnit. Eccl. contr. Petilian. cap. 3.

So saith S. Augustine vnto other the Donatists: Auferantur de medio chartæ nostræ: procedat in medium codex Dei. Audi Christum dicentem: audi veritatem loquentem: *Take away from amongst vs any our own bookes: Let the booke of God come amongst vs, Heare what Christ saith: Hearken what the truth speaketh.* Againe he saith, Audi, dicit Dominus: non, dicit Donatus, aut Rogatus, aut Vincentius, aut Hilarius, aut Ambrosius, aut Augustinus; sed, dicit Dominus: *Heare this, The Lord saith: Heare not this,* Donatus *saith,* Rogatus *saith,* Vincentius *saith,* Hilarius *saith,* Ambrose *saith,* Augustine *saith: But hearken to this, The Lord saith.*

Aug. in Ps. 57.

Aug. in Ep. 48.

In like forme of words saith S. Ambrose: Nolo nobis credatur: Scriptura recitetur. Non ego dico a me, In principio erat verbum, sed audio. Non ego effingo, sed lego: *I would not ye should beleeue vs, but read the Scriptures. I say not of my selfe, In the beginning was the word, but I heare it. I make it not, but I read it.*

Ambros. de Incarnat. Dom. Sacram. cap. 3.

Likewise saith Chrysostome, Oro vos omnes vt relinquatis quid huic, aut illi videatur, & de his a Scripturis hæc omnia inquirite: *I beseech you all, weigh not what this man or that man thinketh: but touching all these things search the Scriptures.*

Chryso in 2. ad Cor. Hom. 3.

Now, whereas it pleaseth M. Harding to tell vs of an argument Negatiue from Speciall to Generall, and so to call vs to the remembrance of our Logike: pleaseth it him also to remember that the Argument that we ground of S. Augustines words holdeth not, as it is here imagined, from Speciall to Generall: but from the imperfection and weakenes of the wisdome of man, to the stability and certainety of Gods holy word. And therefore the old learned Father Origen saith, as it is alleged before, Sensus nostri & enarrationes sine his testibus non habent fidem: *Our iudgements and expositions without these witnesses* (of the Scriptures) *haue no credit.* In like sort S. Hierome, Quamuis sanctus sit aliquis post Apostolos, quamuis desertus sit, non habet authoritatem: *After the Apostles of Christ notwithstanding some man be holy, notwithstanding he be eloquent, yet he wanteth authority.* Therefore S. Augustine saith, Cedamus, & consentiamus Scripturæ sacræ, quæ nec falli potest, nec fallere: *Let vs yeeld and consent to the holy Scripture, which can neither deceiue, nor bee deceiued.*

Origen. in Iere. Hom. 1.

Hier. in Ps. 86.

Aug. de Peccator. merit. & remiss. lib. 1. ca. 22.

Scriptures and Doctours

deceiued. **For this cause, M. Harding S. Augustine not onely in the matter that lay betweene him and Petilianus, but also in all other matters whatsoeuer, so often appealed from all Fathers, and Councels vnto the Scriptures.**

The Apologie, Chap. 9. Diuision 3.

Likewise S. Hierome: all those things (saith he) which without the testimony of the Scriptures, are holden, as deliuered from the Apostles, be thoroughly smitten downe by the sword of Gods word.

M. Harding.

Ye would faine remoue vs from a good hold, I see well, which is the authority of the holy Fathers, of ancient traditions, and of the Vniuersall Church. All these would ye to be of no force against Heretiks. For ye know the Fathers and the Church to be against you, and that so long as they are beleeued, your doctrin shal not be receiued, as alwaies found to be new, and of priuate deuice. If we were driuen from these, ye doubt not but to match vs well enough in the Scriptures. And as ye would handle the matter, I thinke so my self verily. For when all authority and iudgement of the Fathers and of the Church is shaken quite off in any controuersie, by whom shal we be tried? By the Scriptures ye say. But when both ye and we allege Scriptures to a contrary purpose, and when we vary about the sense of the Scriptures, by whom then shall we be iudged? Perhaps ye will referre the iudgement of doubtfull matters to the holy Ghost. We refuse not the arbitrement and Vmpiresship of the holy Ghost. For the same hath beene promised by Christ to the Church, to remaine with the Church for euer, to teach what things so euer he said, to leade men into all truth.

And thus for iudgement and triall of truth, we shal be returned to the Church and to the Fathers, by whom the holy Ghost speaketh vnto vs, whose authority and due estimation ye goe about to remoue from vs.

But let vs see, what force ye bring to driue vs from this hold. Making your batterie against it, what shoot ye off, but wind & Paper? Your Artillery maketh a noise, but it giueth no blow. As in the last allegation ye falsified the sense of S. Augustine, so in this ye falsifie both the sense & words of S. Hierome. The words, as ye allege them, seeme to be spoken against whatsoeuer traditions of the Apostles. Which words, or any the like to such purpose, were neuer vttered by any Catholike Doctor of the Church, much lesse by S. Hierome. Looke ye againe and view better the place, yee shall say your selues, that I finde the fault of falsifying in you not without cause.

S. Hierome in his Commentaries vpon those words of the Prophet Aggæus, *Et vocaui siccitatẽ super terram, & super montes:* I haue called the drought to come vpon the earth, & vpon the hils, &c. First, shewing the litteral sense accordingly as the Hebrew word there by him noted, signifieth *Siccitatem*, drought, then treating mystically, as the seuenty Interpreters haue turned that word into Romphæam, that is, a Sword, and vnderstanding by the Sword, the word of God: thereof taketh occasion briefly to say, what this sword doth, how it destroieth the negligent soule, which is expounded to be drie earth, and how it plagueth mountaines that lift vp themselues against the knowledge of God, whereby he meaneth heretiks. Of whom he telleth, how they flatter the deceiued people with their bread, wine and oile (by which he meaneth their heresies) as it were with meats, and drinkes, and refection. Aggæi cap. 1. Gladius.

Their bread (saith he) any man may very aptly call it, the bread of wailing, and their wine, the madnesse of Dragons, and the madnesse of Serpents incurable: and their oile, the promising of heauenly things, wherewith they do as it were anoint their Disciples, and promise them rewards of their labors: which the Prophet detesteth, saying, the oyle of the sinner shall not anoint my head. After this follow the words of S. Hierome, which you haue falsified to the intent they might seeme to serue your false meaning: *Sed & alia quæ absq; authoritate & testimoniis Scripturarum, quasi traditione Apostolica reperiunt, atque confingunt, percutit gladius Dei.* But the sword of God striketh also other things, which the Heretiks (for of them he speaketh) deuise and faine of their own heads without the authority & witnesses of the Scriptures as though they came by tradition from the Apostles. He that compareth this place with your falsified allegation, may soone espie great ods between them. For ye make S. Hierome to say, that all those things which without the testimonies of Scriptures are holden (so your allowed interpreter turneth, *asseruntur,*) as deliuered from the Apostles, be throughly smitten downe by the sword of Gods word. By this sword of your Gods word, ye would quite smite downe al Apostolike traditions at a blow. But thanked be God, that your sword is a forged sword, a paper sword, a sword that neither with edge cutteth, nor with weight beareth downe. S. Hierome putteth not all things, which we haue by tradition from the Apostles without the expresse Scriptures, to the sword of Gods word. He speaketh not generally. His word is *Alia*, other things: and ye make it *Omnia*, al things. Againe he speaketh of such things as be deuised and fained by Heretikes, of their own braine, without authoritie and testimonies of the Scriptures vnto which they giue estimation, as though they came by tradition from the Apostles. These circumstances & exaggerations do ye omit, and say, that S. Hierome putteth al Apostolike traditions to that dreadfull sword of Gods word. Now what S. Hierome saith, we hold with it, and allow it wel. But your saying we refuse, as falsly fathered vpon S. Hierome. What he condemneth, we condemne. Neither can that place be iustly alleaged against vs: For we inuent not, ne faine not any things of our own accord, or of our own heads as though they were deliuered by the Apostles besides the Scriptures: that is the part of Heretikes, specially of the Tatians, as in that place S. Hierome saith. We find, deuise, and faine nothing in the Catholike religion. We do but keepe and maintaine things deuised by the holy Ghost, and left to the Church by the Apostles, or by Apostolike men, or by the generall Councels, whose authority is in the Church most healthfull, saith S. Augustine. But concerning the force which the consent of the Fathers had in the iudgement of S. Hierome, it appeareth in his Epistle to Euagrius: where by the authority of the ancient Doctors before his time, he proueth against an Heretike, that Melchisedech was a man of the land of Canaan, and not the holy Ghost.

The

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Scriptures and Doctours.

Faine would M. Harding haue his Reader beleeue that we vtterly despise al holy Fathers. But we despise them not, M. Harding, as may partly appeare by that we haue already said. We read their workes: we reuerence them: we giue God thanks for them: we call them the Pillars, the Lights, the Fathers of Gods Church: wee despise them not. This thing onely we say: Were their learning and holinesse neuer so great, yet be they not equall in credit with the Scriptures of God.

Thus also saith S. Augustine, Nos nullam Cypriano facimus iniuriam, cùm eius quasli- *August contra*
bet literas a Cononica diuinarum Scripturarum authoritate distinguimus: *Wee offer no* *Cresc on. Gram.*
wrong to S. Cyprian *when we sever any his letters or writings from the Canonicall authority of* *Lib. 2. cap. 31.*
the holy Scriptures. And againe, ioining al the Doctors and Fathers together, he saith thus: *Aug. ad Hie-*
Ipse mihi pro his omnibus, imò supra hos omnes Apostolus Paulus occurrit. Ad ipsum *ron. Epist. 19.*
confugio: ad ipsum ab omnibus qui aliter sentiunt literarum tractatoribus prouoco: *In*
stead of all these learned Fathers or rather aboue them all, Paul *the Apostle commeth to my*
minde. To him I runne. To him I appeale from all manner writers (Doctors and Fathers) *that*
thinke otherwise.

So likewise S. Hierome, ego Origenem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum *Hier. ad Tran-*
arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Nouatum, Arnobium Apollinarium, & nonnullos Ec- *quillinum, to. 2.*
clesiasticos scriptores Græcos pariter & Latinos, vt bona eorum eligamus, vitemusque
contraria: *I thinke that the ancient Father* Origen, *in respect of his learning may be read some-*
times, as Tertullian, Nouatus, Arnobius, Apollinarius, *and sundry other Ecclesiasticall*
writers, as well Greeks as Latines, that in them we may take the good, and fly the contrary. Of
this iudgement were S. Augustine, S. Hierome, and sundry others, whose words for shortnesse I passe ouer: yet were they not therefore condemned as despisers of the holy learned
Fathers. We remoue you not, as you say, from your hold, M. Harding. This is nothing
else but a courage of your countenance. The Fathers ye speake of are against you. I
trust it appeareth already by your former writings, that in the speciall cases that lie be-
tweene vs, ye haue but few Fathers to hold by.

Ye say, we euermore call you to the Scriptures. This fault I hope is not so hainous. Iohan. 5.
Christ hath commanded vs so to doe. *Search ye,* saith Christ, *the Scriptures.* And S. Hilarie *Hilar. ad Im-*
saieth vnto the Emperour Constantius: Fidem, Imperator, quæris? Audi eam, non de *perat. Constant.*
nouis chartulis, sed de Dei libris: *Doth your Maiesty seeke the faith? Heare it then, not out*
of any new scrols, but out of the books of God. He is rather to be suspected that flieth the light,
and will not be iudged by the Scriptures.

When the Scriptures be darke and doubtfull, and are alleaged of both parts, then yée
say ye refuse not the Umpereship and iudgement of the holy Ghost. But ye adde farther,
The holy Ghost is promised only to the Church. Now by your opinion there is no Church
but the Church of Rome. And the Church of Rome is no Church without the Pope. For
one of your great Doctors saith, Potestas Papæ solius excedit potestatem totius residuæ *Petrus de Pa-*
Ecclesiæ: *The Popes onely power passeth all the power of the whole Church besides.* And another *lude, de potest a-*
like Doctor saith, Papa virtualiter est tota Ecclesia: *The Pope by power and vertue is the whole te Papæ, Art. 4.*
Church. And thus your reason goeth round about, à primo ad vltimum: Ergo, There is *Hermans de po-*
neither holy Ghost, nor interpretation, or sense of the Scriptures, but onely in the Pope. *test. Papæ, His*
This is Summa summarum: which thing being granted, what should a man seeke any *præmissis.*
farther? The whole matter is at an end.

It is true, as the Scriptures were written by the Spirit of God, so must they bee ex- 2. Petri 1.
pounded by the same. For without that Spirit we haue neither eares to heare, nor eies Math. 11.
to see. It is that Spirit that openeth, and no man shutteth: the same shutteth and no Apoc. 3.
man openeth. The same Spirit prepared and opened the Silke-womans heart, that she Actor. 16.
should giue eare to, and consider the things that were spoken by S. Paul. And in respect of
this Spirit the Prophet Esay saith, Erunt omnes docti à Deo: *They shall bee all taught of*
God.

But God hath not bound himselfe, that his Spirit should euermore dwell in Rome: Esa. 66.
but vpon the lowly, and humble hearted, that trembleth at the word of God. Chryso- *Chrysostom. de*
stome saith: Qui propria loquuntur, falsò prætendunt spiritum Sanctum: *They that speak* *sancto & ado-*
of themselues falsly, pretend the holy Ghost. And againe, Si quid præter Euangelium sub titu- *rando Spiritu.*
lo spiritus obtrudatur, ne credamus. Quia sicut Christus Legis & Prophetarum impletio
est, ita est spiritus Euangelij: *If any thing be brought vnto vs vnder the name of the holy Ghost*
besides the Gospell, let vs not beleeue it. For as Christ is the fulfilling of the Law and the Pro-
phets, so is the holy Ghost the fulfilling of the Gospell.

Now

Interpretation of the Scriptures.

Now with what ſpirit the Biſhops of Rome haue expounded vnto vs the holy Scriptures of God we ſhall ſhew it hereafter, as fitter occaſion ſhall require. Here, you ſay, we haue corrupted both the words and the ſenſe of S. Hierome: That wee haue taken Omnia in ſtead of Alia: And that you haue deuiſed and made nothing of your ſelues: That S. Hierome meant not hereby the Traditions of the Apoſtles, but onely the fond fantaſies and dreames of the Heretikes called Tatians.

Of all theſe things we muſt needs confeſſe one thing is true. Indeed we toke Omnia, in ſtead of Alia: and ſo by ouerſight gaue ſome occaſion vnto the quarreler. Howbeit, I doubt not but the indifferent gentle Reader will ſone pardon that fault. It proceeded only of negligence, and not of malice. Notwithſtanding this want may eaſily be ſupplied by a ſufficient Commentary. For Chriſt ſaith, Omnis plantatio quam non plantauerit pater meus cœleſtis, eradicabitur. *Euery plant that my heauenly Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted out.* Here, M. Harding, ye may borrow Omnia, to helpe S. Hierome.

Matth. 15. Omnis.

Cyprian. lib. 1. Epiſt. 8. Quodcunque

Or, if this like you not, S. Cyprian may tell you, Adulterum eſt, impium eſt, ſacrilegum eſt, quodcunque humano furore inſtituitur, vt diſpoſitio diuina violetur: *It is aduouterous, it is wicked, it is abominable, whatſoeuer is ordered by the raſhneſſe of man, that Gods order ſhould be broken.*

It is true, S. Hierome ſpeaketh not theſe words of the Traditions of the Apoſtles: It is true. Yet, M. Harding, he ſpeaketh theſe words of ſuch fantaſies as were brought into the Church of God, and magnified vnder the name and colour of the Traditions of the Apoſtles. So Euſebius ſaith, The Heretike Cerinthus brought vs in his owne monſtrous deuices, vnder the pretence of Reuelations, as written by ſome great Apoſtle.

Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 25. δι' ἀποκαλύψεων, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλου γεγραμμένων.

Such M. Harding, be your inuentions, wherewith ye haue of long time deceiued the world. One of your companions the Suffragane of Sidon, at the late Diet at Auguſta, in the preſence of the whole Empire, doubted not to ſay, that your whole Canon word by word euen as it is now vſed in your Maſſes, came directly from the Apoſtles. Your Hoſius of Polonia ſaith that the Apoſtles appointed your orders of Monks. An other of your ſide ſaith, Chriſtus dux, & ſignifer vitæ Monaſticæ: *Chriſt was the Captaine, and ſtander bearer of Monkes life*: Imagining, I trow, that Chriſt was an Abbat. And yet afterward the ſame Doctour either by ſome oblition, or elſe vpon ſome better remembrance, ſaith thus: Elias, & Elizæus Duces Inſtituti Benedictini: Elias *and* Elizæus *were the firſt Captaines of S. Benets Order.* And you, M. Harding, haue told vs often, that ye haue your priuate Maſſe, your halfe Communion, and I know not what elſe, all from the Apoſtles. And all this ye proue, God wot, by full ſimple coniectures, becauſe Chriſt ſaith to his Apoſtles, *I haue many things to ſay vnto you: but ye are not able to beare them yet:* And becauſe S. Paul ſaith to the Corinthians, *I will order the reſt, when I come:* Hereby ye beare vs in hand, that all your moſt trifling vanities were brought vnto you by S. Paul euen from the third heauens.

Anno 1548. Illyricus de Sect pag. 109. In confe. Petricouien. de Ceremonijs, pa. 289. Copus Angl. Dial. 1. pag. 194. Copus Angl. Dial. 2. pag. 284. Iohan. 16. 1. Cor. 11.

And although it were true that ye ſay, ye haue not deuiſed theſe things of your ſelues, but haue receiued them all from the Apoſtles and holy Fathers, which thing your conſcience knoweth to be moſt vntrue, yet notwithſtanding the ſame things ſo receiued, ye haue ſithence foully defaced with ſundry your ſuperſtitions. Yee haue made them neceſſary to ſaluation: ye haue bound the people to them no leſſe then to the Law of God: and ſo haue ye made them ſnares of Chriſtian conſciences. Although the thing it ſelfe came from the Fathers, yet the abuſe therof came from your ſelues: and for the ſame ye haue taught the people to breake Gods expreſſe commandement. Thus haue you blended Gods heauenly wine with your puddle water: Thus haue ye ſtrained gnats, and ſwallowed Camels. This is the very leauen of the Scribes and Phariſies, which Chriſt calleth hypocriſie. Therefore albeit the thing it ſelfe, ye haue thus receiued, in reſpect of ſubſtance be all one: yet now, being thus abuſed, in reſpect of your ſuperſtitions, and deformities, it is not one.

Eſai. 1. Matth. 23. Matth. 16.

The Apoſtles and holy Fathers vſed oile, yet they vſed it not, as ye doe, for the ſaluation of body and ſoule.

Numb. 21. Iohan. 3.

Moſes erected vp the Braſen Serpent in the wilderneſſe: yet not to bee adored with godly honour, as it followed afterward.

Ioel. cap. 1. Eſai. 1. & 58.

God commanded the people to faſt: yet not with hypocriſie, as the wicked faſted. And therefore God ſaith vnto them, Non eſt hoc ieiunium quod ego elegi: *This is not the faſting that I haue choſen.*

God commanded the people to keepe the Calends and new Moones: yet not with ſuch ſuperſtition and abuſes as the people kept them, and therefore God ſaid vnto them, *Who required theſe things at your hands?*

Eſai 1.

God commanded ſundry bathings and waſhings: yet vnto them that moſt preciſely

vſed

vſed the ſame, Chriſt ſaid: *Woe be vnto you ye Scribes and Phariſeis: in vaine they worſhip me, teaching the commandements and Doctrines of men.* Matth. 23.

Yet you, M. Harding, haue infeoffed the Apoſtles of Chriſt, not onely with the ſubſtance of the things, which, ye ſay, ye haue receiued by tradition, but alſo with all your abuſes, ſuperſtitions, corruptions and idolatries: which ye haue deuiſed of your ſelues. And therein ye well reſemble the Tatian Heretikes, of whom onely, yee ſay, S. Hierome ſpeaketh. But whether S. Hierome meant onely, I know not what fantaſticall dreames of the Tatians (as you imagine onely of your ſelfe, without proofe, in particular, naming nothing) or elſe alſo all ſuch ſuperſtitious vanities, as we haue often, and iuſtly reproued in you, it may ſoone appeare by theſe words immediately following: Omnem laborem manuum, & ieiunia eorum, & obſeruationes varias, & ξηροφαγίας, id eſt, humi dormitiones: *All their hand labour, and their faſtings, and their obſeruations, and vſages, and hard ſleeping on the ground.* Theſe and ſuch other like be the things, which, men imagine, came from the Apoſtles, and are ſtricken and conſumed with the ſword of Gods word. *Hieronym. in Agga. cap. 1.*

This, M. Harding, notwithſtanding your long Gloſe beſide the Text, ſeemeth to be the very meaning of S. Hierome.

If ye will yet force the contrary, and turne all from your ſelues to the Tatians, as you do, the very two lines next following muſt needs make you blush at your owne errour. The words are theſe, Hæc autem vniuerſa, quæ dixi, poſſunt de Eccleſiæ Rectoribus intelligi: *All theſe things, that I haue ſpoken, may be vnderſtanded of the Rulers of the Church.* Tell vs no more therefore M. Harding, of your Tatians. For S. Hierome himſelfe telleth you, he meant not only them, but alſo the Biſhops and Rulers of the Church. And a little before he ſaith, Infertur Gladius ſuper Montes eleuantes ſe aduerſus ſcientiam Dei: *The Sword of Gods word is laid vpon the Mountaines, that lift themſelues vp againſt the knowledge of God.*

In this ſenſe writeth S. Cyprian: Si ad diuinæ traditionis caput & originem reuertamur, ceſſat omnis error humanus: *If we returne to the head and beginning of our Lords tradition, all error of man muſt needs giue place.* *Cyprian. ad Pompeium.*

In like ſenſe alſo writeth Tertullian: Ipſa doctrina Hæreticorum cum Apoſtolica comparata, ex diuerſitate, & contrarietate ſua pronunciabit, neque Apoſtoli alicuius authoris eſſe, neque Apoſtolici: *The very doctrine of Heretikes compared with the Apoſtles doctrine, by the diuerſitie and contrariety, that is betweene that, and the other, will ſoone pronounce ſentence of it ſelfe, that neither Apoſtle, nor Apoſtolike man was author of it.* *Tertul. de Præſcrip. Hære. Pag 81.*

Euen thus it fareth, M. Harding, with a great heape of your doctrine. Ye ſay, ye haue it by tradition from the Apoſtles. Yet is it vtterly void of all authority, or teſtimony of the Scriptures. And therefore as S. Hierome ſaith, it is conſumed and ſtricken downe in the conſcience of the godly, by the onely ſword of Gods holy word, as our eies ſee this day: and being compared with the Apoſtles doctrine (the difference, and contrariety is ſo great) it eaſily bewraieth it ſelfe, as Tertullian ſaith, that it neuer came from any Apoſtle, nor from any other Apoſtolike Doctor of the Church.

The Apologie, Chap. 9. Diuiſion 4.

S. Ambroſe alſo to Gratian the Emperour: Let the Scripture (ſaith he) be aſked the queſtion, let the Prophets be aſked, and let Chriſt be aſked. For at that time made the Catholike Fathers & Biſhops no doubt, but that our Religion might be proued out of the holy Scriptures. Neither were they euer ſo hardy to take any for an Heretike, whoſe errour they could not euidently & apparently reproue by the ſelfe ſame Scriptures. And we verily do make anſwer on this wiſe as S. Paul did: According to this way which they call hereſie, we do worſhip God, and the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: and do allow all things which haue beene written either in the Law, or in the Prophets, or in the Apoſtles works. Scriptures and Doctours

M. Harding.

Gratian the Emperour buckling himſelfe as it were to encounter with the Heretikes, at the firſt hee giueth warning to all to beware of him, for that hee endeuoureth to proue his falſe doctrine (namely for the firſt point, that the Sonne is vnlike the Father) *Verſutis diſputationibus*, With ſubtile and craftie reaſonings. He alleageth to that purpoſe S. Paul to the Coloſſians, *Cauete ne quis vos depradetur per Philoſophiam*: Beware that no man ſpoile you through Philoſophy and vaine deceite, &c. Cap. 2.

For (ſaith he) theſe Heretikes put all the force of their poiſons in Logike or Dialectical diſputation, which by the opinion of Philoſophers is defined, not to haue power to proue, but an earneſt deſire to deſtroy and diſproue. Hauing giuen this wholeſome warning, leſt himſelfe might ſeeme to vſe that, which he counſelleth others to beware of: to withdraw the Emperour and other from the guileful Logike of Arius, at his firſt entry he ſaith: I will not that thou giue credit, Holy Emperour, to argument, and to our diſputation (then follow the words, wherof the Defenders take hold,) *Scripturas interrogemus, &c.* Let vs aske the Scriptures, let vs aske the Apoſtles, let vs aske the Prophets, let vs aske Chriſt. What need many words? let vs aske the Fathers, &c.

vntruth. And to this point of our beliefe, which is very high and ſecret, is that ſaying of S. Ambroſe to be ſtrained, but that for confirmation of the truth in points which be neerer to common ſenſe, and for confutation of thoſe hereſies which be of leſſe ſubtilty, of which ſort, theſe Goſpellers groſſe errors be, to this end that we ought not to vſe the teſtimonies of the holy Fathers againſt heretiks, (for which purpoſe they allege this place:) S. Ambroſe neither in al that Booke, neither in all his works ſpeaketh ſo much as one word. Ambroſe de Fide l. 1. c. 4.

But contrariwiſe in ſundry places of that worke, he allegeth the authority of the Nicene Councel, as a teſtimony of good force againſt the Arians, & declareth a diuine myſtery to haue bin ſignified by ſuch ſpecial number of the Fathers there aſſembled: ſaying, *Sic nempe noſtri ſecundũ Scripturas dixerunt Patres.* Euen thus, according to the Scriptures, haue the Fathers ſaid. *Seruemus præcepta maiorũ, &c.* Let vs keep the precepts of our forefathers, neither with temerity of rude boldnes let vs break the hereditary ſeales (he meaneth the doctrine ſealed by the Fathers and left to the poſterity as it were by heritage.) Which of vs will be ſo hardy, as to vnſeale the Prieſtly Booke, ſealed by the Confeſſors, and now conſecrated with the Martyrdome of many a one? Loe heare ye not Sirs * how much S. Ambroſe is againſt you?

* Nothing.

And though he ſay, touching this myſtery, Let vs aske the Scriptures, Apoſtles, Prophets, and Chriſt: yet thereby doth he not quite exclude the Fathers. He ſaith not, let vs reiect the Fathers. The Scriptures and the Fathers be not contrary: and therefore the allowing of them, is not the diſallowing of theſe. Whoſoeuer maketh this argument * which in your word is implied, The Scriptures are to be aſked, Ergo, the holy Fathers are not to be asked, maketh a fooliſh argument.

* Vntruth.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Scriptures and Doctours.

The greateſt force hereof is anſwered already. S. Ambroſe, **ye ſay, by this appeale to the Scriptures, excludeth not the iudgement of the learned Fathers, but only the cauillations, and ſubtilties of Philoſophers and Sophiſters. For** S. Ambroſe **himſelfe in the ſame treaty often allegeth the authority of the Fathers. All this M. Harding, is true indeed: notwithſtanding there is a certaine ſecret vntruth lapped in it. For** S. Ambroſe **allegeth the Fathers not as Grounds, or Principles, or Foundations of the faith: but only as Interpreters or Witneſſes, or Conſenters vnto the faith: Which thing of our part was neuer denied. Now, whether** S. Ambroſe **meant thus, or no, let** S. Ambroſe **himſelfe be the Iudge. His words be theſe:** Sic nempe noſtri ſecundùm Scripturas dixerunt Patres: *Thus haue our Fathers ſaid* **(not of themſelues, but)** *according to the Scriptures.* **He allegeth the Fathers, not as hauing ſufficient credit and ſubſtance in themſelues, but onlie as Expounders, and Interpreters of the Scriptures.**

Ambr. ad Gratia. de Fide. l. 1.

Athanaſ. de humanitate Verbi. pag. 72.

Auguſt. contra Creſcon. Gramma. l. 2. ca. 31.

Hieronym. in epiſt. ad Epheſ. lib. 3. cap. 5.

So ſaith the godly Father Athanaſius: Nos iſta hauſimus à Magiſtris diuinitùs afflatis, qui Sacros Libros euoluerunt: *Theſe things haue we learned of our Maſters* (or Fathers) *inſpired from Heauen, which haue read and peruſed the Holy Scriptures.* **For** S. Auguſtine **very well ſaith,** Secundùm hos Libros de cæteris Literis, vel fidelium, vel infidelium liberè iudicamus: *According to theſe bookes of the Scriptures, wee iudge frankly of all other writings, whether they be of the faithfull, or of the vnfaithfull.* **Therefore** S. Hierome ſaith, Omni ſtudio legendæ nobis ſunt Scripturæ, & in Lege Domini meditandum die ac nocte: vt probati trapezitæ ſciamus, quis numus probus ſit, quis adulterinus: *Wee muſt read the Scriptures with all diligence, and muſt be occupied in the Law of our Lord both day and night: that wee may become perfect exchangers, and be able rightly to diſcerne, what money is lawfull, and what is counterfeit.* S. Hilary **ſaith,** Hoc proprium eſt Apoſtolicæ Doctrinæ, Deum ex Lege, ac Prophetis in Euangelijs prædicare: *This is the very order of the Apoſtles doctrine, in the Goſpell to preach God out of the Law and the Prophets.*

Hilari. in Pſal. 65.

Ambr. ad Gratianum de Fide lib. 1. cap 5.

Ambroſ. de Incarnationis Dominica Sacramen. cap. 3.

Ambr. ad Gratian. Imperat. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Otherwiſe, touching the diſcourſe of naturall reaſon, S. Ambroſe **ſaith, No Creature either in earth, or in heauen, is able to reach the depth of theſe things. Thus hee ſaith,** Mens deficit, vox filet, non mea tantùm, ſed Angelorum. Supra Poteſtates, ſupra Angelos, ſupra Cherubim, ſupra Seraphim, ſupra omnem ſenſum eſt: *The minde is aſtonied, the voice faileth, not only mine, but alſo of the Angels. It is aboue the Powers, aboue the Angels, aboue the Cherubims, aboue the Seraphims, and aboue all manner vnderſtanding.* **And therefore he ſaith,** as it is alleged once before, Nolo nobis credatur: Scriptura recitetur: Non ego dico a me, In principio erat Verbum: Sed audio: *I would not, yee ſhould beleeue mee: Let the Scriptures bee read: I ſay not of my ſelfe,* In the beginning was the Word: *but I heare it ſpoken.* **And againe hee ſaith in the ſame Booke, vnto the Emperour** Gratian: Faceſcat noſtra ſententia: Paulm interrogemus: *Let our iudgement ſtand apart:*

and

and let vs aske S. Paul the queſtion. But M. Harding ſaith, Whoſoeuer maketh this argument which in your word is implied, the Scripturs are to be asked, *Ergo*, the holy fathers are not to be asked, maketh a fooliſh argument.

It ſeemeth no great point of wiſdome, M. Harding, to vpbraid others with folly without cauſe: God increaſe both you and vs in all wiſdome and vnderſtanding in Chriſt Jeſus. Howbeit, our Argument, howſoeuer it hath pleaſed you to faſhion and to handle it, as wee meant it and made it, had no ſuch folly. Wherefore whatſoeuer folly is now come to it, it is your owne: it is not ours. For we deny not the learned Fathers expoſitions and iudgements in doubtfull caſes of the Scriptures. We reade them our ſelues. We follow them. We embrace them. And as I ſaid before, wee moſt humbly thanke God for them. But thus we ſay, The ſame Fathers opinions and iudgements, foraſmuch as they are ſometimes diſagreeable one from another, and ſometimes imply contrarieties and contradictions, therefore alone and of themſelues, without farther authority and guiding of Gods word, are not alwaies ſufficient warrants to charge our faith. And thus the learned Catholike Fathers themſelues haue euermore taught vs to eſteeme and to weigh the Fathers.

The ancient Father Origen ſaith thus, as it is reported before: Ex ſolis Scripturis examinationis noſtræ diſcretio petenda eſt: *The diſcuſſing of our iudgement muſt be taken* onely *of the Scriptures.* And againe, Senſus noſtri & enarrationes ſine Scripturis teſtibus non habent fidem: *Our iudgements and expoſitions without witneſſe of the Scriptures haue no credit.* Likewiſe, S. Auguſtine, Ego ſolis Canonicis Scripturis debeo ſine vlla recuſatione conſenſum: *My conſent without exception I owe* (not vnto any Father, were he neuer ſo well learned, but) only *to the holy Canonical Scriptures.* His reaſon is this: Nam cùm Dominus tacuerit, quis noſtrûm dicat, Illa, vel illa ſunt? Aut ſi dicere audet, vnde probat? *For whereas the Lord himſelfe hath not ſpoken, who of vs can ſay, It is this, or that? Or if hee dare ſay ſo, how can he proue it?*

Orig. in Epiſt. ad Rom. lib. 10. cap. 16. Ex ſolis. *Orig. in Ierem. Hom. 1.* *Aug. de natura & gratia, c. 61.* *Auguſt. in Iohan. Tract. 96.*

And therefore he concludeth directly and in like words with S. Ambroſe: Ego vocem Paſtoris inquiro. Lege hoc mihi de Propheta: Lege de Pſalmo: Recita de Lege: Recita de Euangelio: Recita de Apoſtolo: *I require the voice of the Shepheard. Read me this matter out of the Prophets: Read it me out of the Pſalmes: Read it out of the Law: Read it out of the Goſpell: Read it out of the Apoſtles.* *Aug. de Paſtorib. cap. 14.*

The Apologie, Chap. 10. Diuiſion 1.

WHerefore if we be Heretiks, and they (as they would faine be called) bee Catholiks, why doe they not as they ſee the Fathers, which were Catholike men, haue alwaies done? Why doe they not conuince & maſter vs by the diuine Scriptures? Why do they not call vs againe to be tried by them? Why do they not lay before vs how we haue gone away from Chriſt, from the Prophets, from the Apoſtles, and from the holy Fathers? Why ſticke they to do it? Why are they afraid of it? It is Gods cauſe. Why are they doubtful to commit it to the trial of Gods word? If we be Heretiks which refer al our controuerſies vnto the holy Scriptures, and report vs to the ſelfe ſame words which wee know were ſealed by God himſelfe, and in compariſon of them ſet little by all other things, whatſoeuer may bee deuiſed by men, how ſhall wee ſay to theſe folke, I pray you: what maner of men be they, and how is it meet to cal them which feare the iudgement of the holy Scriptures, that is to ſay, the iudgement of God himſelfe, and do prefer before them their own dreames and full cold inuentions: and to maintaine their own Traditions, haue defaced and corrupted now theſe many hundred yeeres the ordinances of Chriſt and of the Apoſtles?

M. Harding.

Iohan. 14. We do ſo. For they condemne thoſe that went againſt the Tradition of the Fathers, and ſo doe wee. The Scriptures conſiſt not in inke and paper, but in the ſenſe. Which ſenſe the holy Ghoſt by Chriſts promiſe hath taught the Church.

Hereſi 61. Scripture needeth ſpeculation. Epiphanius refuting the Heretiks which named themſelues Apoſtolikes, ſaith that the Scriptures haue need of ſpeculation (that is to wit, to be well ſtudied and conſidered) to the end the force & power of euery argument may be known. It behoueth vs alſo (ſaith he) to vſe the Tradition: For we can not haue all things of the holy Scripture. Thus Epiphanius. By Tradition without doubt he meaneth

the ſenſe & vnderſtanding receiued of the Fathers. For that is the key of the word of God, as S. Peter taught, by report of S. Clement, this ſenſe and vnderſtanding of the Law had the miniſters of the Law, to whom the Traditions of Moſes and of the Elders came as it were by hands. Now we require you to admit this Tradition, that is to ſay, the Catholike ſenſe and vnderſtanding of the Scriptures, which hath been deliuered vnto vs by the holy Fathers of all ages, and of all Countries where the faith hath beene receiued. And then we will call you againe to be tried by the Scriptures. Tradicions neceſſary, becauſe Scripture hath not all things. *Recognitions.*

This haue the Catholikes laid before you often times, and this do we ſhew you in this Confutation. *lib. 10.* He that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me, ſaith Chriſt of his Church. Ye deſpiſe the Catholike Church, and therefore ye deſpiſe Chriſt. Luc. 10.

What need ſo many queſtions Sirs? Your hot Rhetorike ſheweth more courage in word, then victory in deed. Ye cal vs forth to the Scriptures, as it were to the field. Ye ſtrike vs down with words before ye come to encounter. To ſhew your brauerie in the muſter, ye refer your controuerſies to the holy Scriptures, ye report you vnto the words ſealed by God himſelfe; but we the Catholikes, as ye pretend ſtick at it, we be afraid of it, we doubt of the matter, we feare the iudgment of holy Scriptures, we preferre our owne dreames and cold inuentions. Well, now that ye haue told your luſty tale, heare our ſober anſwer. Often times the true Scriptures are ſtretched forth to ſerue euill and falſe purpoſes. The Iewes went about by the Scriptures to proue that Chriſt was not ſo much as a Propher. For they ſaid, *Search the Scriptures, & ſee that a Prophet riſeth not out of Galilee. By the Scriptures they would needs ſhew him worthy to die. We haue a Law, quoth they, and by our Law he ought to die, becauſe he hath made himſelf the Son of God. The Diuell by alleaging Scripture would haue deceiued our Sauiour himſelfe, and ſaid vnto him, *Scriptum eſt*, It is written. The Arians were full of the Scriptures, and by the ſame, as S. Ambroſe writeth, went about to proue that Chriſt, the author of all goodneſſe, was not good. It is written, quoth they, *Nemo bonus niſi vnus Deus*; None is good but onely God. Likewiſe the Macedonians, the Neſtorians, the Eutychians. Great brags made by the Defenders of the aſſurance of the Scriptures. *Vntruth. For the words are otherwiſe.* Iohan. 7. Iohan. 19. Matth. 4. *De fide, lib. 2. cap. 1.* Mark. 10.

Now in this caſe your ſelues doing the like, what may we doe better then honour the Scriptures, and ſeeke for their right ſenſe and vnderſtanding? *Scriptum eſt*, It is Scripture (ſaith S. Ambroſe to the allegation of the Arians) I acknowledge, but the letter hath not the error: would God the Arians interpretatiō had not. *Apices ſine crimine ſunt, ſenſus in crimine.* The letters be without crime, the ſenſe is in crime. From the vnderſtanding commeth Hereſie, not from the Scripture: the ſenſe, not the word, becommeth to be a crime, ſaith S. Hilary. Sithence then al ſtandeth in the ſenſe, let vs agree firſt vpon the ſenſe and interpretation of the Scriptures, and then if we be not as ready as ye, come forth when ye liſt, vpbraid vs hardly and ſay luſtily, as here ye doe, Why ſticke they to doe it? Why are they afraid of it? *Hilari. de Trinit. lib. 2.*

As for the true ſenſe and interpretation of the Scriptures, where ſhall we finde it, but, as before wee ſaid, in the Catholike Church? The Church hauing Chriſt remaining with it all daies to the end of the world, hauing by promiſe of Chriſt the Spirit of truth remaining in it for euer, hauing by Gods owne ancient promiſe both the words which the Father hath put in the mouth of Chriſt, and the Spirit which he put in him, whereby it may vnderſtand the meaning of Gods words; we may not now ſeeke for the true ſenſe, vnderſtanding, and interpretation of the Scriptures any where but in the Church. Your own Doctor Iohn Caluin himſelf, whom ye follow and eſteeme ſo much, admoniſheth very well, and ſaith, It is ſpecially to be noted, that out of the Church there is no light of the ſound vnderſtanding of the Scripture. This ground being laid, on which each part muſt ſtand and be tried in, crow no more againſt vs, boaſt your ſelues no more; we feare not the iudgement of the holy Scriptures. Nay it is your ſelues that feare this iudgement. For your own conſcience telleth you that on this ground ye are the weaker ſide. If ye ſtand with vs on this ground, ye ſhal neuer be able to defend your maſter Iohn Caluines Doctrine touching Baptiſme, which he maketh to be of ſo little force againſt the manifeſt Scripture. Let euery one of you (ſaith S. Peter) be Baptized in the name of Ieſus Chriſt, to remiſſion of ſins. Keeping this ground, *ye ſhall be borne from your Doctrin touching abſolution, denying the prieſt to haue power to abſolue penitents by his prieſtly authority, but by preaching the Goſpel to them, contrary to the plain Scripture: Whoſe ſinnes ye forgiue, they are forgiuen to them: Whoſe ye retaine, they are retained. If ye refuſe not this ground, ye ſhall be forced to reſtore the Sacrament of extreame Vnction, and the vſe of holy Oile againe, which ye haue abandoned. For what haue ye to ſay againſt the Scripture? Is any ſicke among you? Let him cauſe the Prieſts of the Church to come in to him anointing him with Oile, in the name of our Lord. Abiding in this ground, ye ſhall be driuen to forſake your Zuinglian doctrine, which putteth ſignes and figures 1. onely in the Sacrament of the Altar, for the true and real body of Chriſt there 2. preſent, contrary to the 3. cleare Scripture, *This is my body*. Being on this ground, ye ſhal ſoone giue ouer the maintenance of the Doctrine of your ſpecial faith, and of your iuſtification by faith onely, as being contrary to the plaine Scripture, Man is iuſtified by works, and not by faith only. To conclude (for to ſhew in how many points ye may be confuted by euident Scriptures it were in manner infinite) if ye wil admit this for a good ground, as ye muſt needs admit, then ſhall ye not maintain the preſumptuous Doctrine of your certainty of grace and ſaluation, contrary to that S. Paul counſelleth, With feare and trembling worke your ſaluation.* *In Epiſt. ad Hebraeos.* *Vntruth.* *Vntruth. For he debaſeth not the Sacrament of Baptiſme.* ** Vntruth.* Iacob. 5. *Three euident Vntruthes.* Iacob. 2. Philip. 2.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Whereas we make reaſonable requeſt, that God may be Ampére in his owne cauſe, & that al our controuerſies may be iudged, and tried by the holy Scriptures, M. Harding, thereto anſwereth thus: The Scripture ſtandeth not in the words, but in the ſenſe, & the ſame ſenſe is continued by Tradition in the Church. Otherwiſe, he ſaith, the Iewes, the Arians, the Neſtorians, the Eutychians, and all other Heretikes, were alwaies able to claime by the Scriptures. To conclude, he maketh vp a great empty heape of the force of Baptiſme, of holy Oile, of extreame Unction, of Abſolution, of Signes, of Figures, of onely Faith, and, as it liketh him to call it, of the preſumptuous Doctrine of the certainty of Saluation: in euery of which things, he ſaith, the Scriptures are cleere of his ſide, and directly againſt vs.

To

To answer all these points in particular, it would require another Booke. But briefly to touch so much onely, as shall be needefull. First, that the substance of the Scriptures standeth in the right sense and meaning, and not onely in the naked and bare words, it is true, and generally granted without exception, and needeth no further proofe. S. Hierome saith, Non in legendo, sed intelligendo scripturæ consistunt: *The Scriptures stand, not in the reading, but in the vnderstanding.* And S. Hilary, Non diuinorum dictorum, sed intelligentiæ nostræ à nobis ratio præstanda est: *We must yeeld an account, not of Gods diuine words, but of our owne expositions.* *Hieron contra Luciferanos.* *Hilari. de Trinitate, lib. 4. pag. 39.*

But if that onely be the right meaning and sense of the Scriptures, that within these few late hundred yeares is cropen into the Church of Rome: and if it be all Gospell, whatsoeuer it be, that arriueth from thence: and if they be al Heretikes, and Schismatiks, and despisers of Christ, and of the Apostles, and of the Vniuersall Church, that make stay at it, or cannot receiue it, then is the whole matter already concluded: we shall need no more adoe.

Yée say, the Iewes, the Arians, the Nestorians, and other Heretiks alleged the Scriptures. Yea verily, M. Harding, and that euen with like faith, and in like sense, and to like purpose as you alleage them now: as hereafter, I trust, it shal appeare. By the way, for example hereof, in this very place, where you allege the words of the Pharisees auouching the Scriptures, it may please you to remember, that either wittingly, or of some errour, and ouersight, ye haue manifestly corrupted the Scriptures: for whereas you haue translated the place thus, Search the Scriptures: the Pharisei said nothing else, but Scrutare, & Vide, *Search, and See*: and spake not one word of the Scriptures. And although the matter import not much, yet to charge you with your own rule, which must needes be good against your selfe, any small fault in Gods word must be counted great. Indeed S. Chrysostome, and S. Augustine, seeme to supply this word, Scriptures, although it were not in the text. Iohan. 7. Ἐρεύνησον, καὶ ἴδε ὅτι προφήτης οὐκ ἐγείρεται ἐκ Γαλιλαίας. *Chrysostom.* *Augustinus.*

Touching the matter it selfe, Nicolaus Lyra saith, Hoc verbum eorum simpliciter falsum est. Quia, si intelligatur de Prophetis generaliter, aliqui fuerunt nati de Galilæa: videlicet, Elizæus, Tobias, & Debora Prophetissa, & forte plures alij: *This word of the Pharisees is plainly false. For if it be taken generally of all Prophets, then were there certaine of them borne in Galile, namely* Elizæus, Tobias, Debora, *and perchance others moe.* In such sort M. Harding, euen with the like faith and credit, you also haue vsed to allege the Scriptures. *Nicol. Lyra. in 7. cap. Iohan.*

But whereto driue you all this long tale? Will you in the end conclude thus: The Iewes, and Heretiks alleged the Scriptures: Ergo, Faithfull Christians may not alege them? Or thus: Theeues haue sometimes armed themselues: Ergo, True men may not be armed? Nay, we may rather say thus vnto you: The Iewes and Heretikes alleged the Scriptures: what account then may we make of you, that flée and condemne, and burne the Scriptures?

Certainely, notwithstanding Pharisei, and Heretikes wickedly misalleged the Scriptures, as ye sometimes doe to serue you purpose; yet for all that, Christ said vnto them, Scrutamini Scripturas: *search the Scriptures*: And, as it is said before, the Catholike learned Fathers, in all their cases, and controuersies appealed euermore to the Scriptures. Iohan. 5. *Cap 9. Deut. 1.*

Where you say, the Scriptures are so clére of your side, and make so directly against vs: would God ye would indeede, and vnfainedly stand to that triall. Your fansies and follies would soone come to ground.

Touching your great heapes of examples, of the Sacrament of Baptisme defaced, as you say, by M. Caluin: of Absolution, of extreme Unction, of holy Oile, of Signes, of Figures, of Onely Faith, and of the certainety of Saluation, which you call presumptuous: First, of the Sacrament of Baptisme, M. Caluine euery where writeth with all manner reuerence, calling it a diuine, and an heauenly Mystery, and the Sacrament of our redemption: wherein also sometimes he iustly reproueth you, for that ye haue so many waies, so prophanely, and so vnreuerently abused the same. Of Absolution we shall haue occasion to say more hereafter. Oile. Figure. Signe.

Touching your Oile, indeed in shew of words, S. Iames séemeth to make somewhat for you. Notwithstanding, neither doth he call it holy Oile, as ye doe, neither doth he call it a Sacrament of the Church; nor doth he say, as ye say, it should serue for the saluation of body and soule; nor doth he teach you to salute it, and to speake vnto it as to a liuely and reasonable creature, Aue sanctum Oleum: *All haile holy Oile*: nor with these words to minister it vnto the sicke; Per hanc sanctam vnctionem, & suam pijssimam misericordiã, ignoscat tibi Deus: *By this holy annointing, and his deare mercy, God pardon thee.* To be short, it

was a miraculous gift of healing, lasting onely, as other like miracles did, for the time: not a necessary Sacrament of the Church to continue for euer.

As for the obiection of Signes, and figures, for shortnesse of time, I must referre thee, gentle Reader, vnto my former Reply to M. Harding. The words of Christ which are thought to be so plaine, the ancient learned Father Tertullian expoundeth thus: Hoc est corpus meum: Hoc est, figura corporis mei: *This is my body: that is to say, this is a figure of my body.* Likewise S. Augustine, Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui: *Our Lord doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gaue a signe of his body.*

The 12. Article.

Tertullian contra Marcion. lib 4 pag. 233.

Figure.

Signe.

To rehearse all other like ancient Authorities, it were too long. O what triumphes would Master Harding make if none of all the old learned Fathers could bee found, that euer had called the Sacrament, the Signe and Figure of Christs Bodie? But, as before hee alleged an imagined sense of the Scriptures without words, so now he alleageth the words alone without sense. Hee should haue remembred better, that S. Hierome saith, Ne putemus in verbis Scripturarum esse Euangelium, sed in sensu: *Let vs not thinke, the Gospell standeth in the words of the Scriptures, but in the meaning.*

Hieronym. in Epi. ad Galat. cap. 1.

Two other great quarrels Master Harding moueth: the one of Onely Faith: the other, as hee calleth it, of the Presumptuous certainty of Saluation. Wherein iudge thou vprightly, good Christian Reader, how iust cause hee hath to reproue our doctrine.

Rom. 3.

As for the first hereof, S. Paul saith, Iustificamur gratis ex gratia ipsius: *We be iustified freely of his grace: wee iudge that a man is iustified by faith, without the works of the Law: wee know that a man is not iustified by the works of the Law, but by the faith of Christ.* M. Harding will say, yet hitherto of Sola fides, that is of Onely Faith, we heare nothing. Notwithstanding, when S. Paul excludeth all maner works besides Onely Faith, what else then leaueth he, but Faith alone?

Howbeit, if it be so horrible an heresie, to say, Wee bee iustified before God by Onely Faith, that is to say, Onely by the merits and crosse of Christ, let vs see what the holy learned Fathers of the Church so many hundred yeares agoe, haue taught vs thereof.

Ambr. in epist. ad Rom. cap. 4.

Ambros. eodem loco.

S. Ambrose saith, Iustificati sunt gratis, quia nihil operantes, neque vicem reddentes, Sola Fide iustificati sunt dono Dei: *They are iustified freely: because working nothing, and requiting nothing, they are iustified by Onely Faith through the gift of God.* Againe, Sic decretum est à Deo, vt, cessante Lege, Solam Fidem Gratia Dei posceret ad Salutem: *This was Gods determination, that, the Law surceasing, the Grace of God should require Onely Faith vnto Saluation.* And againe, Sola Fides posita est ad Salutem: *Onely Faith is laid, or appointed vnto Saluation.*

Ambr. in epist. ad Rom. cap. 9.

Basil. de humil. Πίστις μόνη τοῦτο εἰς χεῖρον ἀνθικαιοῦται.

S. Basil saith, Nouit se esse inopem veræ Iustitiæ: Sola autem Fide in Christum esse iustificatum: *He knoweth himselfe to be void of true Righteousnesse, and to be iustified by Only faith in Christ.*

Theodo. de Curandis Græcorum affectibus, lib. 7.

Theodoretus saith, Non vllis Operibus nostris, sed per Solam Fidem Mysticabona consequuti sumus: *Not by any Works of ours, but by Onely Faith we haue gotten the Mysticall good things.*

Nazianzen. περὶ ὑποταξίας.

Nazianzenus saith, Δικαιοσύνη ἡ πίστις μόνη: Credere solum est iustitia: *Only Beleeuing is Righteousnesse.*

Orig. in epi. ad Rom. ca. 3. l. 3.

Origen saith, Vbi est gloriatio tua? Excluſa est. Dicit sufficere Solius fidei Iustificationem: ita vt credens quis tantummodò Iustificetur, etiamsi nihil boni Operis fecerit: *Where now is thy boasting (of thy good works)? It is shut out.* Paul *saith, that the iustification of Onely Faith is sufficient: So that a man Only Beleeuing may be iustified, although he haue done no good works at all.*

Certainty of Faith.

Hesychius in Leuit. lib. 4. c. 14.

Hesychius saith, Gratia ex misericordia, atque compassione præbetur, & Fide comprehenditur Sola: *The grace of God is giuen onely of mercy and fauour: and is embraced and receiued by Onely Faith.*

Chrys. in Epist. ad Gala. cap. 3.

I leaue a great number of others, that haue written the like, as well Greekes as Latines. In stede of them al, S. Chrysostome saith thus: Illi dicebant, Qui Sola Fide nititur, execrabilis est,: Hic, contra demonstrat, eum, qui Sola Fide nititur, Benedictum esse: *They said, who so stayeth himselfe by Only Faith, is accursed: contrariwise* S. Paul *prooueth, that who so stayeth himselfe by Only Faith, he is blessed.*

Rom. 4.

Touching the words of S. Iames, if M. Harding well considered the Æquiuocation, or double vnderstanding of this word Iustification, he might soone and easily haue espied his owne errour. For when S. Paul saith, Abraham *was iustified by Faith without works of the Law*, he teacheth vs how Abraham was receiued into fauour, and iustified before God: Of the other side, S. Iames, when he saith, Abraham *was iustified by Works, and not by Faith Onely*

Onely, hee ſpeaketh of the workes that follow Iuſtification, and of the fruits of Faith: without which fruits, Abrahams Faith had bene no Faith.

S. Auguſtine ſaith, Non ſunt contrariæ duorum Apoſtolorum ſententiæ, Pauli, & Iacobi, cùm dicit Paulus, Iuſtificari hominem ſine operibus: & Iacobus dicit, inanem eſſe Fidem ſine operibus. Quia Paulus loquitur de Operibus, quæ Fidem præcedunt: Iacobus de ijs quæ Fidem ſequuntur: *The ſayings of the two Apoſtles*, Paul *and* Iames, *are not contrary, where, as* Paul *ſaith, A man is iuſtified without Works: and* Iames *ſaith, Faith without Works, is in vaine: For* Paul *ſpeaketh of the Workes that goe before faith:* Iames *ſpeaketh of the Works, that follow after Faith.* *Aug. in lib. 83. Qua. qua. 76. Iacob. 5.*

If M. Harding ſhall thinke, S. Auguſtines authority herein is not ſufficient, Thomas of Aquine will auouch the ſame. His words be theſe: Iacobus hic loquitur de Operibus ſequentibus Fidem: quæ dicuntur Iuſtificare, non ſecundùm quod Iuſtificare dicitur Iuſtitiæ infuſio: ſed ſecundùm quod dicitur Iuſtitiæ Exercitatio, vel Oſtenſio, vel Conſummatio. Res enim dicitur fieri, quando perficitur, vel innoteſcit: Iames *in this place ſpeaketh of ſuch works as follow Faith: which workes are ſaid to Iuſtifie, not as Iuſtification is the procuring of Righteouſneſſe: but in that it is an exerciſe, or a ſhewing or a perfecting of righteouſneſſe. For we ſay, A thing is done, when it is perfected, or knowne to be done.* *Thom. Aquin. in Epiſt. Iacobi. cap. 5.*

Now concerning the aſſurance or certainty of Saluation, the Scriptures are full. S. Paul ſaith, *There is no damnation to them that are in Chriſt Ieſus: The Spirit of God beareth witneſſe to our ſpirit, that we are the children of God: I know, that neither Death, nor Life, nor Angels, nor Powers, nor Principalities, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor Height, nor Depth, nor any Creature elſe, ſhall be able to remoue me from that loue, that God beareth towards me in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord.* Roman. 8.

But foraſmuch as theſe words perhaps haue not the ſenſe of the Church of Rome, without which, in M. Hardings iudgement, the Scripture of God is no Scripture, let vs ſée the ſenſe, and expoſition of the holy Fathers.

Tertullian ſaith, Vt certum eſſet, nos eſſe Filios Dei, miſit Spiritum ſuum in corda noſtra clamantem, Abba, Pater: *That we might be certified, that we be the children of God, he hath ſent the holy Ghoſt into our hearts, crying,* Abba, *Father.* *Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. 5. pag. 240.*

Clemens Alexandrinus ſaith, Re vera ſanguis fidei eſt ſpes, in qua continetur, vt fides in anima. Cùm autem ſpes expiraverit, perinde acſi ſanguis effluxerit, vitalis fidei facultas diſſoluitur: *Indeed hope, is as it were, the blood of faith: in which faith, hope is contained, euen as faith is contained in the ſoule. And when hope is gone, then is all the liuely power of faith diſſolued, as if the blond were ſhed out of the body.* *Clemens in Paedago. l. 1. ca. 6.*

S. Cyprian ſaith, Et tu dubitas, & fluctuas? Hoc eſt Deum omnino non noſſe: Hoc eſt Chriſtum credentium magiſtrum peccato incredulitatis offendere: Hoc eſt, in Eccleſia conſtitutum fidem in domo fidei non habere: *And doeſt thou ſtagger, and ſtand in doubt* (of thy ſaluation?) *That were as much as not to know God: that were as much as with the ſinne of vnbeliefe, to offend Chriſt the maſter of beleeuers: that were as much as being in the Church, in the houſe of Faith, to haue no Faith.* *Cyprian. de Mortalit. Sermon. 4.*

Proſper ſaith, Securi diem iudicij expectant, quibus in cruce Domini gloriantibus mundus crucifixus eſt, & ipſi mundo: *They vnto whom the world is crucified, and are crucified vnto the world, waite for the day of iudgement without feare.* *Proſper. De Promiſ. & Prædictionib. Dei, Par. 1. cap. 16.*

But to leaue the ancient Fathers of old time, and to put the matter quite out of doubt, one Antoninus Marinarius in the late Councell of Trident, in open audience ſaid thus: Si cœlum ruat, ſi terra euaneſcat, ſi orbis illabatur præceps, ego in eum erectus ero. Si Angelus de cœlo aliud mihi perſuadere contendat, dicam illi Anathema. O fœlicem Chriſtiani pectoris fiduciam! *If the heauen ſhould fall, if the earth ſhould vaniſh, if the whole world ſhould come downe headlong, yet would I ſtand preſt, and bold before God. If an Angel from heauen wold tell me otherwiſe, I would accurſe him. O the bleſſed truſt* (and certainety) *of a Chriſtian heart!* *Conc. Trident. Act. 1. An. 1546.*

Certainely, M. Harding, it were a very preſumptuous part to ſay that theſe Fathers, Greekes, Latines, New, Old, your owne, and ours, were all preſumptuous. If it bee ſo preſumptuous a matter to put affiance in the merits of Chriſt, what is it then to put affiance in our owne merits? S. Paul hath taught vs to ſay, *God forbid that I ſhould glory, but only in the croſſe of Chriſt.* S. Baſil ſaith, Qui non fidit ſuis meritis, nec expectat ex operibus iuſtificari, vnam & ſolam ſpem habet ſalutis ſuæ miſericordias Domini: *Who ſo truſteth not in his own merits, nor looketh to be iuſtified by his works, hath his only hope of Saluation in the mercies of our Lord.* Galat. 6. *Baſil in Pſ. 32.* μὴ ἐπὶ ἴδιοις τοῖς κατορθώμασι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ Θεοῦ

So ſaith Iob in al his miſeries, Etiamſi me occiderit ſperabo in eum. Veruntamen vias meas in conſpectu eius arguam: *Although he kill me, yet will I put my truſt in him: Notwithſtanding I will reproone my waies before his ſight.* So the Prophet Dauid, *In thee O Lord* Iob 13. Pſalm. 70.

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haue I trusted: *I will neuer be confounded.* This is no presumption, but a patient, and an humble waiting for the redemption of the children of God. It is most true, that S. Paul saith, *We must worke our owne saluation with feare and trembling.* But this feare riseth in consideration of our owne weakenesse and vnworthinesse: not of any distrust, or doubt in Gods mercy. But rather the lesse cause we finde to trust in our selues, the more cause we haue to trust in God. Therefore S. Augustine saith, Præsume, non de Operatione tua, sed de Christi Gratia. Gratia enim saluati estis, inquit Apostolus. Non ergo hic arrogantia est, sed fides. Prædicare quod acceperis, non est superbia sed deuotio: *Presume then, not of thine owne working, but of the grace of Christ. For the Apostle saith, Ye are saued by grace. Here therefore is not presumption, but faith. To proclaime that thou hast receiued, it is no pride, it is deuotion.*

Phil. 2

Aug. de verbis Dom. Serm. 28

Againe he saith, Non mea præsumptione, sed ipsius promissione in iudicium non venio: *It is not of my presumption, but of his promise, that I shall not come into iudgement.* S. Basil saith, Paulus gloriatur de contemptione iustitiæ suæ: *Paul* (presumeth, and) *boasteth of the contempt of his owne righteousnesse.* So saith S. Ambrose: Non gloriabor, quia iustus sum: sed quia redempti sum, gloriabor: Non quia vacuus sum a peccatis, sed quia mihi remissa sunt peccata. Non gloriabor, quia profui, neq; quia profuit mihi quisquam: sed quia pro me Aduocatus apud patrem Christus est: sed quia, pro me Christi sanguis effusus est: *I will not glory for that I am a iust man, but for that I am redeemed, therefore will I glory: Not for that I am void of sin, but for that my sinnes be forgiuen me. I will not glory, for that I haue done good to any man, nor for that any man hath done good to me: But for that Christ is my Aduocate with the Father, and for that Christs blood was shed for me.*

Augustin. in Iohan Tract. 22.

Basil. de humil. Καυχᾶται Παῦλος ἐν τῇ ἐξουθενήσει τῆς ἰδίας δικαιοσύνης.

Ambros. de Iacob & vita beata lib. 1. cap. 6.

Therefore S. Augustine saith, Quid retribuam Domino, quòd recolit hæc memoria mea, & anima mea non metuit inde? *What shall I render vnto our Lord, for that I call to remembrance all these my sinnes, and yet my soule thereof is not afraid?*

August. confes. lib. 2. cap. 7.

To be short, thus saith S. Bernard: Vbi tuta firmaque infirmis securitas & requies, nisi in vulneribus Saluatoris? Tantò illic securior habito, quantò ille potentior est ad saluandum, &c. Peccaui peccatum grande: turbatur conscientia, sed non perturbabitur: Quoniam vulnerum Domini recordabor. Nompe vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras: *What safe rest or surety can the weake soule finde, but in the wounds of our Sauiour? As hee is mightier to saue, so dwell I there with more safety, &c. I haue committed a great sinne: my conscience is troubled; yet shall it not be shaken downe: because I will remember my Lords wounds. For he was wounded for our sinnes.*

Bern. in Cant. Canticor. Ser. 61.

Esai 53.

Thus, M. Harding, to be assured of our saluation, S. Augustine saith, it is no arrogant stoutnesse: it is our faith. It is no pride: it is deuotion. It is no presumption: it is Gods promise.

But your whole doctrine of the trust in mens merits leadeth directly to desperation. And therefore S. Cyprian saith well of you: Asserunt noctem pro die: interitum pro salute: desperationem, sub obtentu spei: perfidiam, sub prætextu fidei: Antichristum sub vocabulo Christi: *They teach vs night instead of day: destruction instead of health: desperation vnder the colour of hope: infidelity vnder the pretence of faith: Antichrist vnder the name of Christ.*

Cyprian. de simpl. Prælat.

Now a little to view the grounds of M. Hardings long discourse: whereas he so often and so earnestly telleth vs of the sense of the Scriptures, as if we had Scriptures without sense; his meaning thereby is onely to lead vs away to the sense of the Church of Rome: which sense, Albertus Pighius saith, Is the infallible and inflexible rule of truth. Eckius saith, Scriptura, nisi Ecclesiæ authoritate, non est authentica: *The Scriptures of God are not authenticall, or of credit, but onely by the warrant and authority of the Church.* And Hosius in like maner, Apostoli cùm Symbolum traderent, nunquam dixerunt, Credo Sancta Biblia, aut Sanctum Euangelium: sed dixerunt, Credo Sanctam Ecclesiam: *The Apostles when they deliuered the Creed, they neuer said, I beleeue the holy Bible, or the holy Gospell: but they said, I beleeue the holy Church.* Thus now the matter is sure enough for euer. Wee haue neither Scriptures, nor sense of Scriptures, but onely from Rome.

Alb. Pigh. Hierar. l. 1. c. 4.

Eckius de Ecclesia.

Hosius in confessione Petri. comen cap. 80.

I will not here report the vnsauory senses, that they haue imagined of the Scriptures. One example or two for a taste may be sufficient. Pope Boniface saith thus: Ecce duo gladij hic: *Behold here are two swords: that is to say, the Pope hath the power both of the spirituall sword and of the Temporall.*

De Maior. & Obed Vnam Sanctam.

Psalm 8.

Another saith: Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius, Id est, Papæ: peccora campi, id est, homines viuentes in terra: pisces maris, id est, animas in purgatorio: volucres cœli, id est, animas beatorum. These words S. Paul applieth only vnto Christ, meaning thereby, that God hath aduanced him aboue all powers and Dominions, and that all things are subiect vnto him. But the Romane sense is farre otherwise: *Thou hast made all things subiect*

Antonin. in summa par. 3. Tit. 22. c. 5.

Hebræ. 2.

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vnto him, that is to say, to the Pope: The cattle of the field, that is to say, men liuing in the earth: The fishes of the sea, that is to say, the soules in Purgatory: The Birds of the Heauens, that is to say, the soules of the blessed in Heauen. I leaue M. Hardings owne peculiar expositions, Drinke ye all of this, that is to say, as he gathereth in conclusion, Drinke ye not al of this: It is the Substance, that is to say, It is the Accidens. *M. Harding in his former answer, Arti. 2.*

By such prettie senses, I will not say, as S. Hierome saith, De Euangelio Christi facitis hominis Euangelium, aut, quod peius est, Diaboli: *Of the Gospel of Christ ye make the Gospell of a man, or that is worse, the Gospell of the Diuell.* I will not so say, but thus may I say with the Prophet Esay, *Ye make light darkenesse, and darkenesse light.* *M. Hard. Art. 2. & 10.* *Hiero. in Epist. ad Galat. ca. 1.* Esai 5.

Yet must we needs beleeue, vpon M. Hardings word, that the Scripture without the sense of the Church of Rome is no Scripture. And therefore Hosius saith, Si quis habeat interpretationem Ecclesiæ Romanæ de loco aliquo Scripturæ, etiamsi nec sciat, nec intelligat, an, & quomodo cum Scripturæ verbis conueniat, tamen habet ipsissimum verbum Dei: *If a man haue the exposition of the Church of Rome touching any place of the Scriptures, although he neither know, nor vnderstand, whether, and how it agreeth with the words of the Scripture, yet he hath the very word of God.* So saith Rabbi Abraham Hispanus, speaking of the expositions of the Rabbines, Licèt videantur nobis verba nostra esse vera & recta, nobis tamen veritas abijcienda est in terram, quia veritas cum illis est: *Notwithstanding our Expositions seeme to vs neuer so true and right, yet must we throw our truth to the ground: for the truth indeed is with them.* Lyra likewise reporteth the common opinion the Iewes had of their Rabbines: Recipiendum est quicquid hoc modo proponatur, etiamsi dicant dextram esse sinistram: *We must needes receiue whatsoeuer they lay vnto vs, yea although they tell vs the right hand is the left.* *Hosius de expresso verbo Dei.* *Rabbi. Abrah.* Scripture, Tradition. *Lyra in Deuteron. cap. 17.*

Now, gentle Reader, that thou maiest the better see the constancy and certainety of these senses and expositions wherunto M. Harding laboureth so earnestly to haue thee bound, it may please thee to consider these words of Nicolaus Cusanus sometime Cardinall in the Church of Rome: Non est mirum si praxis Ecclesiæ vno tempore interpretatur Scripturam vno modo, & alio tempore alio modo. Nam intellectus currit cum praxi. Intellectus enim qui cum praxi concurrit est spiritus viuificans. Sequuntur ergo Scripturæ Ecclesiam, & non è conuerso: *It is no maruell though the practise of the Church expound the Scriptures at one time one way, and at another time an other way. For the vnderstanding or sense of the Scriptures runneth with the practise: and that sense so agreeing with the practise is the quickening spirit. And therefore the Scriptures follow the Church: but contrarwise the Church followeth not the Scriptures.* *Nicol. Cusan. ad Bohemos, Epist. 7.*

For such kindes of expositions of the Scriptures S. Hilarie said sometime vnto the Arians, Fides ergo temporum magis est quàm Euangeliorum: *The faith therefore followeth the time, and not the Gospell.* *Hilar. ad Constantium Aug.*

This is the sense of the Church of Rome, whereby onely M. Harding willeth vs to measure & to weigh the Word of God. But the ancient Father Origen saith, Sicut omne aurum quodcunque fuerit extra Templum non est sanctificatum, sic omnis sensus qui fuerit extra diuinam Scripturam, quamuis admirabilis videatur quibusdam, non est sanctus, quia non continetur à sensu Scripturæ: *As whatsoeuer gold is without the Temple is not sanctified, so whatsoeuer sense is without the holy Scripture, although vnto some it seeme wonderfull, yet is it not holy, because it is not contained in the sense of the Scripture.* *Origen. in Matthæ. Hom. 25.*

To conclude, whereas M. Harding saith, we cannot vnderstand the Scriptures without Tradition, the ancient Father Irenæus saith, this is one speciall marke whereby wee may know an Heretike: these be his words: Hæretici, cùm arguuntur ex Scripturis, in accusationem Scripturarum conuertuntur, quasi non rectè habeant, nec sint ex authoritate, & quod variè sint dictæ, & quòd ex his non possit inueniri veritas ab illis qui Traditionem nesciunt: *Heretikes, when they be reproued by the Scriptures, they fall to the accusing of the Scriptures, as though either they were not well and perfect, or wanted authority, or were doubtfully vttered, or that they that know not the Tradition were neuer able by the Scriptures to finde out the truth.* *Iren. lib. 3. c. 2.*

The Apologie, Chap. 10. *Diuision* 2.

When say that Sophocles the Tragical Poet, when in his old daies he was by his owne sonnes accused before the Iudges for a doting and sottish man, as one that fondly wasted his owne substance, and seemed to neede a gouernour to see vnto him: to the intent hee might cleare himselfe of the fault, he came into the place of iudgement, and when he had rehearsed before them his Tragedy called Oedipus Colonæus, which hee had writen at the very time of his accusation, maruellous exactlie and

Tragedie.

and cunningly did aſke the Iudges in his owne behalfe, whether they thought any ſottiſh or doting man could doe the like peece of worke. In like maner, becauſe theſe men take vs to be mad, & appeach vs for Heretiks, as men which haue nothing to do neither with Chriſt, nor with the Church of God, we haue iudged it ſhould be to good purpoſe, & not vnprofitable, if we doe openly and frankely ſet forth our faith wherein we ſtand, and ſhew all that confidence which we haue in Chriſt Ieſus, to the intent all men may ſee what is our iudgement of euery part of Chriſtian Religion, & may reſolue with themſelues whether the faith which they ſhall ſee confirmed by the words of Chriſt, by the writings of the Apoſtles, by the teſtimonies of the Catholik Fathers, and by the examples of many ages, be but a certaine rage of furious and mad men, and a conſpiracie of Heretikes. This therefore is our beliefe.

M. Harding.

The compariſon which ye make betweene your ſelues and Sophocles, gladly we admit. Yet wee acknowledge that as in many reſpects ye are like, ſo in ſome vnlike: Sophocles was a Poet, that is to ſay, a fainer and deuiſer of things that be not true, but fabulous. Ye alſo are fainers and deuiſers of nouelties, and followers of new deuiſes that be falſe. Sophocles was a Tragical Poet, ye are Tragicall Diuines. A Tragedy ſetteth forth the ouerthrowes of Kingdomes, murder of noble Perſonages, and other great troubles, and endeth in wofull lamentations. Your Goſpell inuadeth Chriſts heauenly kingdome the Church, it murdereth ſoules bought with a moſt deare price, it cauſeth a helliſh garboile in mens conſciences, in the end it bringeth to euerlaſting weeping and gnaſhing of teeth. We take you not to bee mad. Would God ye were not worſe then mad. Were ye mad, ye ſhould be tied vp. Elſe were ye ſuffered to go abroad, for feare folke would fly from you. And then ſhould ye doe little hurt. Now whiles ye offer venemous kiſſes with ſugred lips, whiles ye couer woluiſh cruelty vnder lambs skins, whiles ye hurt vnder pretence of benefit, wound vnder colour of a medicine, beguile vnſtable ſoules with reſemblance of truth: neither ſtint ye to worke miſchiefe, nor others can beware of you.

The Biſhop of Saritburie.

O M. Harding, Sophocles himſelfe, if he were aliue, were not able with all his eloquence to expreſſe the Tragicall dealings of your company. Your whole life and Religion is nothing elſe but a Tragedie. You haue ript vp the graues, and digged out the dead, and practiſed your cruelty vpon the poore innocent carkaſes.

Martin. Bucer. Paul. Phagius. Platin. in Stephano 6.

Your Pope Stephanus toke vp Formoſus his predeceſſors body, chopt off his forefingers, cut off his head, and threw out the naked carkaſe into Tiber.

Sabellicus, Enneade 9. lib. 2.

Your Pope Iohn the twelfth cut off one of his Cardinals right hand, and an others noſe.

Sabellicus Enneade 9. lib. 9.

Your Pope Vrbanus the firth thruſt fiue of his Cardinals aliue into ſacks, and threw them out into the Sea.

Beno Cardinalis.

Your Pope Hildebrand poiſoned fiue other Popes his predeceſſors, to make himſelfe rome to the holy Seat. They are ſo ſkilfull there in theſe feats, that no man can tell neither what to fly, nor what to take, nor whom to doubt, nor whom to truſt. They haue conueied their poiſon, I will not ſay into their meats or drinkes, for that is ouer groſſe and common, but euen into their maſſe bookes, into the Sacrament, into the Chalice. Camotenſis, one of their own ſide, ſaith well of them: Sine ſanguinis effuſione non ingrediuntur in Sancta Sanctorum: *Without ſhedding of blood they enter not into that holy place, the Holy of Holies.*

Heb. 9.

Agrippa de vanit. ſcientiar.

Howbeit, what ſpend I theſe words? It is not poſſible to ſay, all that may bee ſaid. They haue enflamed warres. They haue raiſed the ſubiects againſt their Princes. They haue armed the ſonne againſt the father. They haue ouerthrown Cities and Countries. They haue depoſed Kings. They haue ſet their feet on Emperours necks.

These matters, M. Harding, be Tragicall indeed. And herein ſtandeth the whole practiſe and policy of your Church of Rome.

Where you thinke your ſelfe a ſober man, in that you can ſo eaſily call vs madde, and worſe then mad, you may remember that this kinde of eloquence amongſt you is ancient and Catholike, and may well ſtand with your Religion. For ſo the falſe Prophet Semeias ſaid that Ieremie the Prophet of God raued, and was ſtarke mad. So the wicked ſaid vnto Ieho of Elizeus the Prophet, What hath this mad Bedlem body to doe with thee? Euen ſo they ſaid of Chriſt, that he was mad, and ſpake in fury hee knew not what. S. Auguſtine ſaith of S. Paul, Incidit in iſtorum ſacrilegam dicacitatem: & ab eis qui ſanari nolunt vocatur inſanus: S. Paul *is fallen into their curſed railing: and of them that will neuer be made ſober is called a mad man.* So ſaith the ancient Father Origen of Celſus

Ierem. 29. 4. Reg. 19. Marci 3.

Aug. in Pſal. 6.

ſus the wicked Heathen: Videamus igitur nos, qui iuxta hunc inſanimus: *Let vs therefore conſider heereof, that in this mans iudgement are ſtarke mad.* *Origen. contra Celſum, lib.* 4.

But M. Harding, wherein are we ſo mad? or what tokens of madneſſe haue we ſhewed? Can no man either ſpeake the truth or diſcloſe your errors, without madneſſe? But, I trow, it is euen as S. Ierome ſaid ſometime, Delirabat, ſcilicet, qui in tuo regno contra tuam ſententiam loquebatur: *He raued and was madde, no doubt, that within thy Dominion ſpake any thing againſt thy minde.* So ſaith Leo, Inſanis magiſtris veritas ſcandalum eſt, & cæcis Doctoribus ſit caligo quod lumen eſt: *Vnto frantike maſters the truth is a ſlander: and vnto blinde Doctors the light is become darkeneſſe.* *Hieronym. ad Pammach. contra errores Iohan. Hieroſolymit.* *Leo in Epipha. Sermo.* 5.

So ſaith S. Auguſtine of King Dauid: Inſanire videbatur: ſed Regi Achis inſanire videbatur, id eſt, ſtultis & ignorantibus: Dauid *ſeemed madde: but vnto King* Achis *he ſeemed madde, that is to ſay, vnto fooles and idiots.* *Aug. in Pſ.* 33.

As for our part, we remember, what anſwer S. Paul made vnto Feſtus in the like caſe: *O good* Feſtus, *I am not madde, but I vtter vnto thee, the words of truth and ſobriety.* Therefore we may comfort our ſelues as the vertuous Gentlewoman Paula did, when ſhe was likewiſe ſuppoſed to be madde: Nos ſtulti propter Chriſtum: ſed ſtultum Dei ſapientius eſt hominibus: *We are indged fooles (and madde folkes) for Chriſts ſake: but the fooliſhneſſe of God is wiſer then men.* Actor. 26. *Hieronym. in Epitaphio Paulæ.*

But, M. Harding, S. Cyprian will tell you thus: Hæc eſt, Frater, vera dementia, non cogitare, nec ſcire, quòd mendacia non diu fallant: noctem tam diu eſſe, quàm diu illuceſcat dies: *O my Brother, this is madneſſe indeed, not to thinke, or know, that* (your) *lies cannot long deceiue vs, & that it is night no longer, but vntil the day ſpring. This indeed is very madnes.* *Cyprian ad Cornelium.*

And therefore Chryſoſtome ſaith, Qui in manifeſtam foueam cadit, non negligens dicitur, ſed inſanus: *Who ſo falleth into a pit, that lieth wide open, is not ſaid to be negligent, but ſtarke madde.*

The end of the Firſt Part.

THE SECOND PART.

The Apologie, Chap. 1. *Diuiſion* 1.

WE beleeue, that there is one certaine Nature and Diuine Power, which we call God: and that the ſame is diuided into three equal perſons, into the Father, into the Sonne, and into the holy Ghoſt: and that they all bee of one Power, of one Maieſty, of one Eternity, of one Godhead, and of one Subſtance. And although theſe three Perſons be ſo diuided, that neither the Father is the Sonne, nor the Sonne is the holy Ghoſt, or the Father: yet neuertheleſſe we beleeue that there is but one very God: And that the ſame one God hath created Heauen and Earth, and all things contained vnder Heauen.

We beleeue, that Jeſus Chriſt the only Sonne of the Eternal Father (as long before it was determined, before al beginnings) when the fulneſſe of time was come, did take of that bleſſed, & pure Virgin, both fleſh, & al the nature of man, that he might declare to the world the ſecret and hid will of his Father: which will had been laid vp from before all ages and generations: and that he might full finiſh in his Humane body the myſtery of our Redemption: and might faſten our ſinnes to the Croſſe, and alſo that handwriting, which was made againſt vs. The Creed.

We beleeue, that for our ſakes he died, and was buried, deſcended into Hel, the third day by the power of his Godhead returned to life & roſe againe, & that the fortith day after his Reſurrection, whyles his Diſciples beheld

Aug. Tract. 50 in Iohan. beheld & looked vpon him, he ascended into Heauen, to fulfil all thyngs, and did place in Maiesty & glory the selfe same body, wherewith he was borne, wherein he liued on earth, wherein he was iested at, wherein he had suffered most painful torments, and cruel kinde of death. wherein he rose againe, and wherein he ascended to the right hand of the Father, aboue all Rule, aboue all Power, all Force, all Dominion, and aboue euery name, that is named, not onely in this world, but also in the world to come: And that there he now sitteth, and shal sit, till all thyngs be full perfected. And although the Maiesty, and Godhead of Christ be euery where abundantly dispersed, yet wee beleeue, that his body, as S. Augustine saith, must needs be still in one place: and that Christ hath giuen Maiesty vnto his body, but yet hath not taken away from it the nature of a body: and that we must not so affirme Christ to be God, that we denie him to be Man: and as the Martyr Vigilius saith, that Christ hath left vs as touching his humane nature, but hath not left vs as touching his diuine nature: and that the same Christ, though he be absent from vs concerning his Manhood, yet is euer present with vs concerning his Godhead.

Actor. 3.

In Epist. ad Dardanum. Contra Eutychem. lib. 1. Fulgent. ad Thrasimundum.

From that place also we beleeue that Christ shall come againe to execute that generall iudgement, as well of them whom he shall then finde aliue in the body, as of them that shall be already dead.

M. Harding.

In our Fathers daies before any change in Religion was thought vpon, Christian people liued together in perfect vnity. If account of beliefe had been demanded (a) none was ashamed of the common Apostles Creed. Euery one constantly confessed, I beleeue in God the Father Almighty maker of heauen and earth, and in Iesus Christ, and so forth. But sithence Luther brought a (b) new Gospel into the world, we haue seene great diuersity among men, not onely of Ceremonies, and Administration of the Sacraments, but also of the publike confession of the Faith. For as sundry Rulers, Countries & Common weales receiued that new doctrine: (c) so their Preachers and Ministers haue set foorth sundry Creeds, and Confessions of their Faith.

(a) Neither is any man now ashamed of the Apostles Creed.

(b) Vntruth. It was the old.

(c) Manifest vntruth: For wee keepe all one Creed.

S. Hilarie complaineth many Faiths. One God, one Faith.

S. Hilary in his time complaining thereof, Now adaies there be (saith he) so many Faithes, as there be wils; so many doctrines, as there be maners, so many causes of blasphemy spring vp, as there be vices; whiles Faiths either are so written as we list, or so vnderstanded as we list. And where as there is but one God, one Lord, one Baptisme, and according thereto one Faith, we step aside from that which is the only faith, and whiles moe Faiths be made, they begin to come to that point, that there be no Faith at all.

The maner of the vtterance of the Defenders faith strange to Christian eares.

But the maner of the vtterance of your faith is strange to Christian eares, who haue been accustomed to heare, *Credo in Deum, Credo in Iesum Christum, Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*: I beleeue in God I beleeue in Iesus Christ, I beleeue in the holy Ghost. That other forme of words which you vse, soundeth not so Christianlike: I beleeue there is a God, I beleeue that Iesus Christ is the Son of the Father, I beleeue that the holy Ghost is God. Although this forme of words doe expresse a right faith, yet being such as may be vttered by Diuels and hath (d) alwaies bin vttered by Heretiks their Ministers; the ancient & holy fathers haue liked better the old forme and maner; after which euery Christian man saith, I beleeue in God. I beleeue in Iesus Christ, I beleeue in the holy Ghost. For this importeth a signification of Faith with hope and charity; that other of Faith onely, which the Diuels haue and tremble, as S. Iames saith; wherein as in many other things these Defenders resemble them. S. Augustine in sundry places putting difference between these two formes of words, vpon S. Iohn alleging S. Pauls words; To one that beleeueth in him who iustifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousnesse, demandeth, what is it to beleeue in him? It is by his answer, *Credendo amare, Credendo diligere, Credendo in eum ire, & eius membris incorporari*; With beleeuing to loue him, with beleeuing to goe into him, and to bee incorporate in his members, that is, to be made a member of his body.

(d) Vntruth. For the Heretikes said, I beleeue in God, as well as did the Catholikes.

Iacob 2.

The Article of Christs ascension must needs be vnderstanded by the Defenders to a vaine purpose.

As this Defender proceedeth in declaring the beliefe of his new English Church, he grateth much vpon the Article of Christs ascension, as the maner is of all Zwinglians to do. For their mind giueth thē, ther by they shal be able to bring at least many of the simpler sort to their Sacramentary Heresie, & to think, that the body of Christ, wherein he ascended into Heauen, & sitteth at the right hand of the Father, is so absent from Earth, as it may not be beleeued to be here present in the Sacramēt of the Altar. Thereto he allegeth S Augustine, making him to say, that Christs body wherin he rose again, must needs be still in one place. In which Treatise that holy Father hath not the word, *Oportet*, that is, must needs, as this Defender alleageth, but this word, *Potest*, that is, may, as the bookes haue that be not corrupted by the mantainers of that heresie. And whereas he saith, *Ad Dardanum*, alleged by this Defender, though Christ hath giuen Maiesty vnto his body, yet he hath not taken away from it the nature of a body; this is not to be stretched to Christs body in the Sacrament, where it is not after condition of nature, but by the almighty power of his word. And although he hath not taken away frō his body the nature of a very body, yet may it please him to do with his body, being God no lesse then Man, that, which is besides and aboue the nature of a Body So it pleased him to doe when he said, This is my Body. And so it pleaseth him

Vntruth. For S. Augustines word is, *Oportet*. S. Augustine knew no such Body in the Sacrament.

In Ioh. Tract. 20. *Oportet* for *Potest*.

Matth. 26.

Contra Eutych. lib. 1. How Christ hath left to be now in earth. 1. Iohan. 1. *Expositio in Epist. Iohan. Tract.* 10.

Ad Thrasymundum Regem.

him to be done, whensoeuer the same Body is offered in the daily Sacrifice of the Church according to his commandement & institution. That Vigilius saith, Christ hath left vs touching his humane Nature, but hath not left vs as touching his Diuine Nature: it is to be vnderstanded of his visible shape, in which he shewed his Humane Nature, whē he walked here on Earth, when he was so conuersant with men sensibly, that as S. Iohn writeth, they heard him with their eares, they saw him with their eies, they beheld him, & touched him with their hands. As touching his Humane Nature in this sensible wise, Christ hath left vs; after which S. Augustine saith, *Iam non inuenis Christum loqui in Terra*: Now thou findest not Christ to speake on the Earth. This maner of Christs Humane Nature being taken from vs withstandeth not, but that we may haue the Substance of his Natural Body & Bloud present in the blessed Sacrament in a mystery by the Almighty power of his word: which faith these defenders trauell to impugne. And (as God would) the pen-man of this Apology bringeth vnawares, as it seemeth for confirmatiō of his Sacramentary Doctrine, that out of Fulgentius, which ouerthroweth all that he went about to build against the reall presence. That Father, as he is by him alleaged, saith, *Christum, cùm abiit à nobis per Formam Serui, tamen semper esse nobiscum per Formam Dei*: That whereas Christ is absent from vs according to the forme of a Seruant, yet he is euer present with vs according to the Forme of God. Wherby he meaneth, that Christ is no more here among men, as he was before his death, in forme and shape of man, in such wise as we see men liue on the earth. Which words because they seeme to dash their whole purpose, the Prelates of this new English Church haue altered the sense of them by shifting in this word (Manhood) in steede of (The forme or shape of a seruant) which the Latine hath, and this word (Godhead) in stead of (the forme of God.)

Vntruth. There is neither such institution, nor such commandement.

Vntruth. For Forme and Substance are both one.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

I maruell, M. Harding, that yee can publish so manifest vntruth without blushing. Yée say, that before these few late yéares, there was but one forme of Faith throughout the world. Yet being learned, and hauing trauelled through the ancient Writers, you must néeds haue séene the Apostles Créed: the Nicene Créed: S. Basils Créed: Damasus Créed: S. Hieromes Créed: S. Cyprians, or Rufines Créed: Gregorius Créed: the Créed called, Quicunque vult, written, as some thinke, by Athanasius, as some others, by Eusebius Vercellensis: the Créed contained in the Hymne, called, Te Deum, whether it were written by S. Augustine, or by S. Ambrose; euery of these vnder seuerall and sundry formes. You know, that in diuers of the oldest Councels, as occasion was offred, so somewhat was either added to the Créed, or diminished, or altered: as it may appeare by Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoretus, Sozomenus, Euagrius, Nicephorus, and others. You know that S. Augustine vnto Laurentius, S. Hierome vnto Cyrillus, S. Ambrose vnto the Emperour Gratianus, and others moe in declaration of the Christian Faith, haue not alwaies vsed one precise forme of words: and that the Emperour Constantine maketh open protestation of his faith, as it is recorded in the counterfet Donatian, in sense and substance agréeing with al others, that were Catholike: but in words far disagréeing from all others, and peculiar onely to himselfe. To be short, you know, that betwéene your Masse Créed, and the peoples common Créed, as touching the words, there was great difference. It were too long, to rehearse al. Neither was it necessary to say so much, sauing only to shew the manifest vanity of your talke. To expresse one Substance of Faith in sundry formes of words, I neuer heard it was forbidden, sauing onely now at the last by this late Decrée of M. Harding.

Where you say, the whole people before these few late yéares, had one Faith, ye should rather haue said, they were all taught by you in a strange vnknown tongue, to pronounce as they could, a strange vnknowne forme of Faith. For, God knoweth, they vnderstood not one word, what they said, nor scarcely one Article of their beliefe. S. Hilary saith of the people deceiued by the Arians, as these haue béene by you, Credunt, quod non credunt: Intelligunt, quod non intelligunt: *They beleeue that, which they beleeue not: They vnderstand that, which they vnderstand not.* Cardinall Ascanius had a Popiniay, that was taught to say distinctly all the Articles of the Créed, from the beginning to the end. Yet I trow, ye will not say, the same Popiniay beléeued in God, or vnderstood the Christian Faith. For Faith is in the heart, not in the tongue. S. Augustine saith, Fieri potest, vt integra quis teneat verba Symboli, & tamen non rectè credat: *It is possible that a man may pronounce the whole words of the Creed: and yet not haue the right Faith.* Indeed S. Hilary, of whom ye speake, worthily reproued the Arian Heretikes, for that they had altered the whole Faith of Christ, not onely in words, but also in substance. But we hauing published sundry Confessions of our Religion, as the multitudes of your abuses and errors offered occasion, and that in sundry Countries and Kingdomes, in such distance of places and deuersity of spéeches, yet notwithstanding in the Substance and grounds of the truth haue euermore ioined together, and neuer altered.

Cœlius Rhodigin. Antiquit. Lib. 3. *Cap.* 32. *Aug. de Baptismo contra Donatist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 14.

To beleeue in God.

Where we say, Wée beleeue there is one God, M. Harding answereth. Yee cannot well allow this forme of spéech. Wée should rather haue said, saith hee, wee beleeue in God. Were not this Controller so importune, such simple petite quarrels should not

be answered. I could neuer haue thought, it had bæn so great a sinne, to beleeue, that God is God. Verily, M. Harding, if euery of your Popes, and Cardinals had beléeued so much, I trow, Cornelius the Bishop of Bitonto in your late Councel at Trident would not so bitterly, and in so open sort haue cried out of them, Vtinam non à Fide ad infidelitatem, à Deo ad Epicurum, velut prorsus vnanimes declinassent, dicentes in corde impio, & ore impudico, Non est Deus. *Would God they were not gone, as it were, with one consent, from the Faith to Infidelity, from God to Epicure, saying with wicked heart, and shameleſſe mouth: There is no God.*

Cornelius Bitontinus in Concil. Trid.

To beleeue in God.

If no Catholike Writer had euer vsed the selfe same forme of spæch before, then might M. Hardings quarrell séeme to haue some reasonable ground. But both Saint Paul, and also many other Catholike Fathers haue often vsed it. Saint Paul saith, Accedentem ad Deum oportet credere, Deum esse: *Hee that commeth to God, must beleeue, that there is a God.* And Hermes, Saint Pauls Scholar, commonly called Pastor Nuntius, Ante omnia crede Vnũ Deum esse, qui condidit omnia: *Before all other things beleeue that there is one God that hath made all.* Origen saith, Primùm credendus est Deus, qui omnia creauit: *First wee must beleeue there is a God, that hath created all things.* Saint Hilary saith, In absoluto nobis, & facilis est Æternitas, Iesum Christum à mortuis suscitatum credere: *Our euerlasting life is ready, and easie, to beleeue, that Iesus Christ is risen againe from the dead.* Likewise Charles the Great in the Creed published in his name, Prædicandum est omnibus, vt credant, Patrem, Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum, Vnum esse Deum Omnipotentem: *The Gospell must be preached vnto all, to the end they may know, that the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost is One God Almighty.* To be short, euen in our late Fathers daies, this was counted a Catholike Forme of Faith, and was commonly taught in all Schooles, Vnum crede Deum: *Beleeue, that there is One God.* If this were then well spoken, and vniuersally vsed, euen in the Church of Rome, without rebuke, I trust M. Harding of his curtesie will no more blame vs for speaking well. As for these Phrases (*I beleeue in God, I beleeue in Christ*) although indæd they bee better, and more effectuall, and carry more force then the other, yet are they not, neither so peculiar, and speciall to God alone, nor so precisely vsed, as M. Harding imagineth. For it is written in the booke of Exodus, as it is noted by the skilfull in the Hebrew tongue, Populus credit in Deum, & in Mosen: *The people beleeued In God, and In Moses.* And God himselfe said vnto Moses, as it is likewise noted in the Hebrew: Descendam, vt populus In te credat: *I will goe downe, that the people may beleeue In thee.* Saint Basil saith, Baptizati sunt in Mosen, & crediderunt In illum: *They were Baptized In* Moses, *and beleeued In him.* And Hosius saith, Quid si In Sanctos quoque rectè credi docet Paulus? *What if* Paul *teach vs that wee may also well beleeue In Saints?* And they of M. Hardings side haue euermore wel liked this Forme of Spæch, Credo in Sanctam Ecclesiam: *I beleeue in the holy Church.* Wherein also perhaps they will allege these words of Socrates, and of some others, Credo in Vnam Catholicam Ecclesiam: *I beleeue In One Catholike Church.* Notwithstanding beside Saint Augustine, and others, Paschasius saith, Credimus Ecclesiam, quasi Regenerationis Matrem: non credimus In Ecclesiam, quasi Regenerationis Authorem. Recede ergo ab hac persuasione blasphemiæ. Non enim licet, nec In Angelum credere: *We beleeue the Holy Church, as the mother of Regeneration: But we beleeue not in the Church, as the Author of Regeneration. Leaue therefore this perswasion of blasphemy. For it is not lawfull to beleeue, no not In an Angel.* Likewise S. Augustine saith, Credimus Paulo, non credimus in Paulum: credimus Petro, non credimus in Petrum: *We beleeue* Paul, *but we beleeue not In* Paul: *We beleeue* Peter, *but we beleeue not In* Peter.

Exodi 14.
Exodi 19.
Basili. de. Spir. Sanct. cap. 14.
εἰς μωσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτόν.
Hosius in Confess. Petricouien. cap. 58.
Socr. l. 1. c. 25.
Paschas. l. 1. de Spirit. Sanct.

Augustin. in Iohan. tract. 29.

Hereby we may see, that whether we say, *We beleeue that God is God*, or, *We beleeue in God*, both these phrases are vsed of the godly, and are therefore both good, and Catholike. If M. Harding find any want, or imperfection in our words, let him supply it with good fauour: so he condemne not either S. Paul, or Hermes, or Origen, or Hilary, or Charles the Great, or other Catholike and godly Writers, as well Greekes as Latines, who, as I haue shewed, haue vsed the like. Certainely, the Generall confession of all our people, and of our whole Church, is this: *We beleeue In God: We beleeue In Christ: We beleeue In the Holy Ghost.*

Christs Ascension.

But M. Harding saith, we grate ouer busily vpon the Article of Christs Ascension into Heauen. What then? Should we haue left it out? Verily that would haue been some good countenance to your cause. And therefore when Pope Nicolas would haue brought vs your new Article of Transubstantiation into the Creed, he should first haue vtterly remooued this whole Article of Christs Ascension. For these two Articles may not well stand together by any construction in one Creed. As for vs, we haue said nothing heerein, but that hath often beene said, and auouched by the holy Learned Fathers. Damasus

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the Biſhop of Rome in his Creed grateth hereon as much as wee. His wordes bee theſe: Deuicto mortis imperio, cum ea carne in qua natus, & paſſus, & Mortuus fuerat, & reſurrexit, aſcendit ad Patrem, ſedetque ad dextram eius in gloria: *Having ouercome the empire of death, with the ſame fleſh wherein he was borne, and ſuffered, and died, and roſe againe, he aſcended vnto the Father, and ſitteth at his right hand in glorie.* Which wordes S. Hierome in larger maner expoundeth thus: Aſcendit ad Cœlum, ſedet ad dextram Dei Patris, manente ea natura carnis in qua natus, & paſſus eſt, & in qua reſurrexit. Non enim exinanita eſt humanitatis ſubſtantia, ſed glorificata: *Chriſt aſcended into Heauen, and ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, the ſame nature of fleſh wherein he was borne, and ſuffered, and roſe againe, remaining ſtill. For the ſubſtance of his humane nature was not done away, but glorified.* Howbeit, gentle Reader, for thy better ſatisfaction herein, I muſt referre thee ouer to my former Replie to M. Harding.

Symbolum Damaſi apud Hier. Tom. 4.

Hieronym. in Explicatione Symb. Tom. 4.

In the firſt Article.

Chriſts body in one place.

Here followeth a pitious outcrie, that we haue ſhamefully corrupted S. Auguſtines wordes, ſhifting in Oportet in ſtead of Poteſt. What new fanſie is ſuddenly fallen into M. Hardings head I cannot tell. S. Auguſtines wordes, as they be alleged by Gratian, are theſe: Corpus in quo reſurrexit in vno loco eſſe oportet: *The body wherein Chriſt roſe againe muſt needs be in* One place. Here is not Oportet in ſtead of Poteſt, as M. Harding ſaith, but Oportet, as it ſhould be, for Oportet. If there haue bene any corruption wrought herein, it hath bene wrought by Gratian well nere foure hundred yeres agoe, and not by vs. Yet is Gratian one of the higheſt Doctours of M. Hardings ſide. And will M. Harding make vs beleeue that his owne Catholike Doctours would be ſo bold to corrupt S. Auguſtine?

Le Conſecra. Diſt. 2. Prima.

Oportet. Poteſt.

As for this Verbe Oportet, if it were wanting in the place alleged, yet might it well and eaſily be ſupplied of other places. S. Peter ſaith, Oportet illum cœlos capere vſque ad tempora reſtitutionis omnium: *The heauens muſt conteine or hold him vntill the time that all things be reſtored.* So ſaith Cyrillus, Chriſtus non poterat cum Apoſtolis verſari in carne poſtquam aſcendiſſet ad patrem: *Chriſt could not be conuerſant with his Apoſtles in the fleſh after he had aſcended vnto the Father.* Likewiſe ſaith S. Auguſtine, Chriſtus ſecundum præſentiam corporalem, in Sole, in Luna, & in Cruce ſimul eſſe non potuit: *Chriſt according to the preſence of his body, could not be in the Sunne, in the Moone, and on the Croſſe at one time.* And againe, Ne dubites Chriſtum eſſe in aliquo loco Cœli, propter veri corporis modum: *Doubt not but Chriſt is in ſome one place of Heauen, becauſe of the meaſure or forme of a very body.* Therefore the old learned Father Origen ſaith, Non eſt homo qui eſt vbicunque duo vel tres in eius nomine fuerint congregati, neq; homo nobiſcum eſt omnibus diebus vſque ad conſummationem ſæculi: neque congregatis vbique fidelibus homo eſt præſens: ſed virtus diuina quæ erat in Chriſto: *It is not Chriſt, as being man, that is where-ſoeuer two or three be gathered together in his name: neither Chriſt, as being man, is with vs all daies vnto the worlds end: nor Chriſt as being man, is preſent with the faithfull euery where gathered together: but that diuine power* (or nature) *that was in Chriſt.* And for that cauſe S. Auguſtine ſaith, Videte aſcendentem: Credite in abſentem: Sperate venientem: Sed tamen per miſericordiam occultam etiam ſentite præſentem: *See you Chriſt aſcending into Heauen: Beleeue in him being abſent: Truſt in Chriſt that is to come: And yet by his ſecret mercie feele him preſent.* Thus, M. Harding, thus haue the old Catholicke learned Fathers vſed to grate, as ye terme it, vpon the Article of Chriſts Aſcenſion.

Actor. 3.

Cyril. in Iohan. Lib. 11. cap. 3.

Auguſt. contra Fauſtum, lib. 20. cap. 11.

Aug. ad Dardan. Epiſt. 57.

Origen. in Mat Tract. 33.

Auguſt. in Pſalm. 46.

You ſay S. Auguſtine in his Epiſtle to Dardanus ſpake not of Chriſts body as it is now preſent in the Sacrament. No marueil. For S. Auguſtine neuer vnderſtood any ſuch kinde of preſence. And who taught you, M. Harding, that Chriſt hath ſuch change of diuers bodies, of one manner in the Sacrament, and of an other manner in Heauen? Chriſts bleſſed bodie, when it was borne of the Virgin, when it died, when it roſe againe, when it aſcended into Heauen, was one, and vniforme. How became it afterward ſo diuers, and ſo vnlike it ſelfe? If either Chriſt, or the Apoſtles, or the ancient Fathers haue thus taught you, why are they not alleged? If they haue not thus taught you, how came ye by this knowledge? Or if ye ſay yee know that they knew not, who will beleeue you?

Yee tell vs that the body of Chriſt in heauen hath the whole ſtature, and forme, and proportion of a man. This is true: It is the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and of the ancient Doctors of the Church. But ye tell vs farther of your ſelfe, that the bodie of Chriſt in the Sacrament is vtterly void of all maner either ſtature, or forme, or proportion: that is to ſay, is neither long, nor ſhort; nor high, nor low; nor thicke, nor thinne; and being as you ſay, a verie naturall bodie, yet hath neither likeneſſe, nor ſhape, of a bodie. This is your Doctrine, M. Harding, and the more vnlikely to bee true, the more likely to bee yours.

Such fantasticall imaginations the Arian Heretikes sometime had of the Godhead of Christ. For thus they wrote thereof, as saith Athanasius: Creatura est: sed non vt vlla ex rebus creatis. Opus est: sed non vt vllum ex operibus. Res condita est: sed non vt vlla ex rebus conditis: *It is a creature: but not as any other of things created. It is a thing wrought: but not as any other thing that euer was wrought, &c.*

Athana. contra Arianos, Sermon. 3. pa. 178.

Forme & Substance.

But what saith Athanasius himselfe to all these fantasies? His answer is this: Iam videtis vafritiē & dolos istius Hæreseos, quæ non ignara quàm amarulenta sit illa sua malitia, fucos quærit, & lenocinium sibi mutuat ex verborum diserti tudine: *Now yee see the crookednesse and subtiltie of this Heresie, which knowing her owne malice how bitter it is, borroweth some hew and colour by fleet of words.*

Epistola Flauiani ad Leon. inter Leon. Epist.

Thus Flauianus reproueth the heretike Euthyches: Adiecit & aliam impietatem, dicens, Corpus domini, quod ex Maria factum est, non esse nostræ substantiæ: *He added heere to another wickednesse, saying that the bodie of Christ that was borne of Mary is not now of our substance.*

Leo de resurrectione Domini, Sermone 1.

Leo resolueth the matter thus, Caro Christi ipsa est per essentiam: non ipsa per gloriam: *The flesh of Christ in substance is now the same it was before: but in glory it is not the same.*

Aug. ad Dardanum, Ep. 57.

No man heereof writeth either more plainly or more directly than S. Augustine. His words be these, Christus sic venturus est quemadmodum ire visus est in Cœlum, id est, in eadem carnis forma atque substantia: cui profectò immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit. Secundùm hanc formam non est putandus vbique diffusus. Cauendum est enim ne ita Diuinitatem astruamus hominis, vt veritatem corporis auferamus: *Christ shall come againe (to iudge) euen as he was seene going into Heauen, that is to say, in the selfe same forme and substance of his flesh: vnto which flesh vndoubtedly he hath giuen immortalitie: but he hath not taken from it the nature of flesh. For we must take heed we doe not so maintaine the Godhead of Christs humanitie, that we denie the truth of his bodie.*

Augustin. in eadem Epistol. ad Dardanum.

And where ye fantasie, that the body of Christ in the Sacrament hath in it selfe neither forme, nor proportion, nor limitation of place, nor distinction of parts, S. Augustine telleth you, Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, & nusquam erunt: & quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt. Tolle ipsa corpora qualitatibus corporum, non erit vbi sint, & ideò necesse est vt non sint: *Take away from bodies limitation of place, and the bodies will be no where: and because they be no where, they will be nothing. Take away from bodies the qualities of bodies, there will be no place for them to be in: & therefore the same bodies must needs be no bodies at all.* Here of we may conclude, that the bodie of Christ, which you haue imagined to be conteined grosly and carnally in the Sacrament, forasmuch as by your own confession it hath neither qualitie, nor quantitie, nor forme, nor place, nor proportion of bodie, therefore by S. Augustines Doctrine it is no body.

M. Harding pag. 117.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding answereth: Bodies doubtlesse left to their owne common nature, haue alwaies the state that S. Augustine speaketh of in his Epistle to Dardanus. But the pretious body of Christ made present in the Sacrament is not bound to that state or condition. *The Answer.* O M. Harding, when will you learne to deale plainely? What speake you so vainly of bodies left to their owne common nature? Doth not S. Augustine in the same his Epistle vnto Dardanus speake namely and specially of the body of Christ? I meane of that most glorious bodie that is now in Heauen aboue all Powers and Dominions, at the right hand of the Father? Doth not S. Augustine say of the selfe same bodie, Huic corpori immortalitatem dedit: naturam non abstulit. Secundùm hanc formam Christus non est putandus vbique diffusus? *Vnto that same bodie of Christ God hath giuen immortality: yet hath he not taken from it the very nature of a bodie. After this forme or proportion of body we may not thinke that Christ is extended or spread into all places?* Doth not S. Augustine in the selfe same place say of the selfe same most glorious body of Christ, Christus Iesus vbique est per id quod Deus: In Cœlo autem per id quod homo? *Christ Iesus is euery where, and in all places by way of his Godhead: and in Heauen by way of his manhood?* Or doth not S. Augustine say of the selfe same body, as he is alleged by Gratian, Corpus Christi in quo resurrexit in vno loco esse oportet? *The bodie of Christ wherein he rose againe must needs bee in one place?* Is not this that body whereof Dardanus moued his question? Is not this that bodie whereof S. Augustine maketh his answer? Or had he any cause to speake of any other body but only of this?

Addition. ☞

De consecra. Dist. 2 prima.

But (you say) the pretious bodie of Christ made present in the Sacrament is not bound to that condition. These be your owne fantasies, M. Harding, not the words of S. Augustine. For S. Augustine neuer told you of Christs bodie made present in the Sacrament. But thinke you, or would you haue your Reader to thinke that Christ hath such change of bodies, the one pretious, the other not pretious? Or that the blessed body of Christ is more pretious and glorious in the Sacrament then it is in Heauen at the right hand of God?

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O how much better were it for you to ſpeake the truth, and to leaue theſe fables! Chriſts body doubtleſſe is now moſt glorious, as being the body of the Sonne of God, indued with immortality, and full of glory: yet notwithſtanding it is a body, and therefore in one place as S. Auguſtine ſaith, and not in many.

Heere it is a world to ſee what prettie ſport M. Harding maketh himſelfe with the poore Penne man of this Apologie. As God would, the ſimple body vnwares alleged Fulgentius cleane againſt himſelfe. For the words of Fulgentius be theſe: Chriſtus, cùm abſit à nobis per formam ſerui, tamen ſemper eſt nobiſcum per formam Dei: *Whereas Chriſt is abſent from vs by the forme of a ſeruant, yet is he euermore preſent with vs by the forme of God.* Whereby, ſaith M. Hardings Commentary, he meaneth that Chriſt is no more heere among vs in forme and ſhape of man, in ſuch wiſe as we ſee men liue in the earth. And theſe words (ſaith he) daſh their whole purpoſe: and therefore the Prelates of this new Engliſh Church haue altered the ſenſe of them by ſhifting in this word (*Manhood*) in ſtead of (*the forme of a ſeruant*) and word (*Godhead*) in ſtead of (*the forme of God.*)

I beſeech the, gentle Reader, ſpare me a little thine indifferent eare, leſt in theſe miſtie clouds of M. Hardings diſtinctions thou happen to wander, and loſe thy way. All this great adoe riſeth only of ſome notable difference that is fancied to be betweene theſe two words, Forme, and Subſtance. For M. Harding would faine haue thee beleeue that the ſubſtance of Chriſts bodie is in many places, but the forme of the ſame body can be only in one place, and not in many.

If I ſhould demand M. Harding this queſtion by the way, wherefore Chriſts body in forme may not as well be in many places together, as the ſame in ſubſtance: or how he knoweth it: or what Doctor or Father euer taught it: or how we may be well aſſured of it; perhaps he would take a day to conſider it better. For thus a man might put him in minde of the grounds of his Religion: Sir you know God is omnipotent, and his power infinite: Ye may not make him thrall, and ſubiect to your ſenſes. That were naturall reaſon: that were infidelitie. Chriſt is as well able to diſpoſe of the forme of his body, as of the ſubſtance: and can as well preſent the one in many places as the other. Howbeit, thus much only by the way.

Addition. *Addition.* To reproue all that may be ſpoken in this behalfe, M. Harding thus frameth his new obiection: The voice that is one in the Originie, pronounced by one man, if you wil beleeue Priſcian that ancient learned Grammarian, is a very body. And yet the ſelfſame one voice is driuen into the eares of a thouſand perſons at once, as experience teacheth you by the cõmon courſe of nature. And yet you will needs appoint the omnipotent power of God ſuch limits as pleaſe you. *M. Harding pag. 118. a.*

The Anſwer. Heere M. Harding ye haue broken S. Auguſtines head in fauour of Priſcian. But alas, what hard chaft is this? What ſhould this poore ſilly Grammarian be brought forth as a Champion to proue matters in Diuinitie? Muſt S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, and S. Ambroſe ſtand backe, and giue place vnto Priſcian? Or if Priſcian tell you that a voice is a body, will you beleeue him? Certainly, M. Harding, as the voice of a man is a body, ſo the light in the aire, and the chirping of a ſparrow, and the bleating of a ſheepe is a body, and your face in a glaſſe is likewiſe a body. But Ariſtotle would haue told you, Sonus eſt qualitas ſenſibilis aëris: *A voice or ſound is a ſenſible quality of the aire.* It is an accident, ſaith Ariſtotle, and not a body: In the Predicament of quality, and not of ſubſtance. Thus ye confound nature, M. Harding, and build vpon ſand.

But you ſay, Ye muſt ſend M. Iewell, being deſtitute of faith, vnto Ariſtotle to learne wit of him. God increaſe our faith, M. Harding, and ſupply that wanteth. I am not aſhamed to learne wit either of Ariſtotle, or of any the meaneſt of Gods creatures. Balaam might haue learned wit of his Aſſe. But if your ſelfe would goe to Ariſtotle, and tell him that a voice is a body, that is to ſay, that an accident is a ſubſtance, I trow he would not greatly commend your wiſdome. Forme & Subſtance.

Howbeit, let a voice be a body, and to pleaſe poore Priſcian, let vs refuſe no abſurditie, nor repugnance in nature. Yet is your purpoſe neuer the neere. For the naturall order of hearing ſtandeth thus, as it is agreed by all Philoſophers. Firſt the voice is a ſtriking or beating of the aire. Then the aire ſo ſtricken, and proceeding from one mouth, as from the Originall, is multiplied forward by ſundry circles, as we ſee rings multiplied in the water at the caſting in of a ſtone, and by meane of the ſaid circles the ſaid voice is driuen, and falleth into the eares of the hearers, and being but one at the firſt, by multiplication is made many. And to this purpoſe S. Auguſtine ſaith, Sonus per moras temporum tendi & diuidi poteſt: *The ſound or voice by leaſure of time may be extended along, and diuided into parts*, that is, to ſatisfie the ſenſe of euery hearer. Therefore M. Harding, the voice being one at the firſt, and afterward by multiplication increaſing, and falling into a thouſand eares, is no more one voice in the end, then a thouſand eares are one eare.

For euery eare receiueth seuerally his particular voice: and as many as be the eares hearing, so many in number be the voices.

These things, gentle Reader, are true and certaine, although perhaps vnsauory and darke vnto the simple. But let M. Harding beare the blame heereof. For thus it pleased him to lay forth his Philosophy out of Grammarians, and to teach thee that a voice is a body, and to send vs to Aristotle to learne wit. Verily it is but a simple kind of arguing to reason thus:

One voice may fall into many eares:

Ergo, the body of Christ hath not the proportion of a body.

But now, what if all this great imagined difference be no difference? What if these two words Forme and Substance, as they be vsed by Fulgentius, be all one? What then will M. Harding doe with his pretty Glosse?

[a] *Athanas. de Definitionib.*

[b] *Leo Epist. 97. cap. 3.*

[c] *Chrysostom. ad Philippen. Homil. 6.*

[d] *August. de Tempor. Serm. 177. de Ascensio. Sermo 4.*

[e] *Aug. Epist. 177.*

[f] *Leo Epist. 97. cap. 3.*

[g] *Chrysost. ad Philip. Hom. 6.*

[h] *Aug. in Iohan. Tract 40.*

[i] *August. de Essentia Diuinitatis.*

[k] *Haimo in Epist. ad Philip. Cap. 2.*

Verily Athanasius saith thus: [a] Natura, Essentia, Genus, Forma vnum sunt: *Nature, Substance, Kinde, and Forme be all one thing.* Leo saith [b] Quid est in forma Dei? In natura Dei: *What is it to be in the forme of God? He answereth It is to be in the nature of God.* Chrysostome saith, [c] Forma Dei natura Dei est: *The forme of God is the nature of God.* S. Augustine saith, [d] Secundùm formam Dei Christus ipse de se loquitur: Ego & pater vnum sumus: *As concerning the forme of God, Christ himselfe saith of himselfe, I and my Father are both one.* [e] Likewise againe he saith, Vna est forma, quia vna est diuinitas: *The forme is one because the Godhead is one.*

In like sort of the forme of a seruant, [f] Leo saith, Quæro quid sit formam serui accipere? Sine dubio perfectionem naturæ & conditionis humanæ: *What is it to take the forme of a seruant? He answereth, Doubtlesse it is to take the perfection of nature, and state of man.* [g] Chrysostome saith Forma serui omninò est natura serui: *The forme of a seruant verily is the nature of a seruant.* [h] S Augustine saith, Quando de forma serui in Christo cogitas, humanam effigiem cogita, si est in te fides: *When thou thinkest of the forme of a seruant in Christ, thinke of the shape of a man, if there be any faith in thee.* Againe, Christum secundùm humanitatem, visibilem, corporeum, localem, atque omnia membra humana veracifer habentem credere conuenit & confiteri: *We must beleeue and confesse that Christ according to his humanity is visible, hath the substance and properties of a body, is contained in place, and verily hath all the members, and the whole proportion of a man.* To leaue all others, [k] Haimo saith, Formam serui accepit, id est, in veritate hominem accepit: *He tooke the forme of a seruant, that is to say, In very truth he tooke man.*

Ye see, M. Harding, by these testimonies of the ancient learned Fathers, farre contrary to your vaine distinction, that the Forme of God is nothing else but God: and the Forme of man is nothing else but man. Wherefore then haue you thus deuised vs this new difference? Wherefore say you of your owne head, that Forme and Substance be so contrarie, seeing the Catholike Fathers say, they be both one? or wherefore be you so busie to trouble the Pen-man without cause? Certainly S. Augustine ioineth Forme and Substance both together, and by the one expoundeth the other: In eadem forma atque substantia: *In the same forme and substance.* And againe expoundeth the same Forme, Veritatem corporis: *The truth of a body.*

Forme of man, &c.

Aug. ad Dardan. Epist. 57.

By these it is plaine, that when Fulgentius saith, the Forme of God, he meaneth thereby the Substance, the Nature, and the Diuinitie of God: and when hee saith, the Forme of a Seruant, he meaneth likewise the Nature, the Substance, the Truth, the Perfection, and the very Manhood of a man. And the whole drift of his discourse is this, that Christ being both God and man, by the nature and substance of his Godhead is euery where; but by the nature and substance of his manhood, and truth of his body, is onely in one place, and not in moe: agreeing therein with these words of S. Augustine before rehearsed, Corpus in quo resurrexit in vno loco esse oportet: *The body wherein he rose againe, must needs be in one place.* As for real or bodily presence of Christs body in the Sacrament, or the body of Christ without forme or proportion of a body, this learned Father Fulgentius writeth nothing. Neither was there any such fantasie in those daies in the Church of God.

De consecra. Dist. 2. Prima.

Heere we are terribly charged with guilefull dealing, with a speciall note also in the margin, Fulgentius foulely falsified. We haue shifted in this word Manhood, in stead of The forme of a seruant: and this word Godhead, in stead of The forme of God. And therefore both the Pen-man, and the Prelates of our new Clergie must needs be brought foorth before the barre.

I will not heere tell you, M. Harding, how lewdly ye haue demeaned your selfe towards her whom it liketh you so often, and so scornefully to call the Lady Interpreter: a Ladie, I will not say of what learning, vertue, and grauity, but certainely as far from all

all vnwomanlie presumption, wherewith ye so rudely touth her, as you are from al manly modesty: and for ought that may appeare by these toies and trifles, ye haue sent vs ouer, as full of wisdome as you of folly.

But the Prelates of this new Clergy (you say) haue fouly falsified both the words and the sense of Fulgentius. And wherein, M. Harding? Forsoth, in stead of these words, The forme of man, and The forme of God, for the better vnderstanding of the vnlearned, they haue vsed these words, as more commonly knowne, Godhead, and Manhood. If this be so foule a fault, wherefore then is the old Father and Martyr Vigilius suffered thus to say, Dei filius secundum humanitatem suam recessit a nobis: secundùm diuinitatem suam semper est nobiscum? *The Sonne of God according to his manhood is departed from vs: according to his Godhead is euer with vs?* Or, againe, Christus est vbique secundùm naturam diuinitatis suæ: & loco continetur secundùm naturam humanitatis suæ: *Christ is in all places according to the nature of his Godhead; and is contained in one place according to the nature of his Manhood.* *Vigilius lib. 1. contra Eutychetem.*

Wherefore doth Cyrillus say, Secundùm carnem solam Abiturus erat: adest autem semper virtute deitatis? *According to the flesh onely he would depart: but by the power of his Godhead he is euer present?* Wherefore doth Gregory say, Verbum Incarnatum manet & recedit: manet diuinitate, recedit corpore? *The word Incarnate both abideth with vs, and departeth from vs: It abideth with vs by the Godhead: it departeth from vs by the body (or manhood?)* Wherefore doth S. Augustine say, Ibat per id quòd homo erat: manebat per id quod Deus erat. Ibat per id quod vno loco erat: manebat per id quod vbique erat? *Christ departed by that he was man: and abode by that he was God. He departed by that that was in* one place: *he abode by that that is in all places.* *Cyril. in Iohan. Lib. 9. cap. 21.* *Gregor. Hom. 30. in die Pentecost.* *Aug in Iohan. Tract. 78.*

If ye will yet stand in doubt what these holy Fathers meant by the Manhood of Christ that departed from vs, let S. Augustine open both his owne and their meanings. Thus he writeth in expresse and plaine words touching the same: Secundùm carnem quam verbum assumpsit: secundùm id quod de Virgine natus est: secundùm id quod à Iudæis prehensus est: quòd ligno confixus: quòd de cruce depositus: quòd linteis inuolutus: quòd in sepulchro conditus: quòd in resurrectione manifestatus, Me non semper habebitis vobiscum: *According to the flesh that the Word receiued: According to that he was borne of the Virgin: According to that he was taken of the Iewes: According to that hee was nailed to the Tree, taken downe from the Crosse, lapt in a sheete, Laid in the graue, and was declared in his Resurrection,* (these words are true) *Yee shall not haue me alwaies with you.* Likewise againe hee saith, Dominus noster absentauit se corpore ab omni Ecclesia, & ascendit in cœlum: *Our Lord, as touching his bodie, absented himselfe from his whole Church, and ascended into Heauen.* Forme of man, &c. *Aug. in Iohan. Tractat. 30.* *Aug. in Sermo. infer. 2. Pasc.*

To be short, if it be so hainous an error in this case to vse these words Godhead and Manhood, wherefore is not Fulgentius himselfe reproued for so often vsing the same? These be his words: Secundùm humanitatem suam localiter erat in terra: secundùm diuinitatem & cælum impleuit & terram. Vera humanitas Christi localis est: vera diuinitas semper immensa est. Caro Christi absque dubitatione localis est: diuinitas tamen eius vbique semper est. Permansit in Christo immensa diuinitas: suscepta est ab eo localis humanitas. Quomodo ascendit in cœlum, nisi quia localis & verus est homo? Quomodo adest fidelibus, nisi quia idem immensus & verus est Deus? *Christ according to his manhood was placed in earth: but according to his Godhead he filled both heauen and earth. The manhood of Christ is contained in place: The Godhead of Christ is infinite, and in all places. The flesh of Christ is doubtlesse in (one) place: The Godhead of Christ is for euer in euery place. There remained still in Christ the infinite Godhead: There was receiued of him a local all manhood. How ascended he into heauen, sauing that hee is very man contained in place? How is he present with the faithfull, sauing that hee is infinite, and true God?* Last of all he saith, Vnus idemque Christus secundùm humanam substantiam aberat cœlo cum esset in terra, & dereliquit terram cum ascendisset in cœlum: *Christ being one according to the substance of his manhood, was absent from heauen when he was in earth, and forsooke the earth when he ascended into heauen.* *Fulgentius ad Regem Thrasymun. lib. 2.*

Thus many times, M. Harding, yee haue these words in one place together in Fulgentius himselfe: The Godhead: The Manhood: Very God: Very Man: The flesh of Christ: The substance of the Manhood. And these be the selfe same words that you reproue.

Blot out therefore for shame that vnaduised note in your margin. Looke better to your booke. Worke hereafter more discretly, and trouble not neither Pen-men nor others without cause. Otherwise the Pen-man will tell you what bird bare the feather that made you a penne.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 1. Diuision 2.

The holy Ghost is God.

We beleeue that the holy Ghost, who is the third person in the holy Trinitie, is very God: not made, not created, not begotten, but proceeding from both the Father and the Son by a certaine meane vnknown vnto man, and vnspeakeable: and that it is his propertie to mollifie and soften the hardnesse of mans heart, when he is once receiued thereinto, either by the holesome preaching of the Gospell, or by any other way: that hee doth giue men light, and guide them vnto the knowledge of God: to all way of truth: to newnesse of the whole life: and to euerlasting hope of saluation.

M. Harding.

As we acknowledge this Article to be true & Catholike, so we demand of these Defenders how they can proue the same. Haue they either expresse Scripture for it, or any of the foure first General Councels, which be esteemed of most authority? * we are sure they haue not. Therefore we doe them to vnderstand, and if they heare vs not, we aduertise the readers that feare God, and loue his truth, that all truth necessarily to be beleeued is not * expressed in the Scripture: and that * other Councels be to be receiued besides the foure first, which are allowed in England by Parliament.

* Vntruth, as shall appeare.
* O follie. Who euer said otherwise?

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Consider, M. Harding, notwithstanding ye euermore tell vs of Fathers, Fathers, yet how contrary often times ye are in iudgement to the same Fathers. You say, as here we may gather by your words, that the Godhead of the holy Ghost cannot be proued by expresse words of the Scriptures: and thereof, ye say ye are right sure. Yet S. Augustine nothing doubteth but it may be well proued by plaine Scriptures. **Thus he saith:** Spiritus sanctus est Deus. Vnde Petrus cùm dixisset, Ausus es mentiri spiritui sancto, continuò sequutus adiunxit quid esset spiritus sanctus, & ait, Non es mentitus hominibus, sed Deo: *The holy Ghost is God. Therefore* Peter *when he said* (**vnto** Ananias) *thou hast interprised to lie to the holy Ghost, he followed readily, and told him what was the holy Ghost, and said, Thou hast not lied vnto man, but vnto God.*

August. contra literas Petiliani. l. 3. cap. 48.

Augustin. De morib. Eccles. Catholi. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Againe he saith, Ostendit Paulus Deum esse spiritum sanctum, & ideo non esse creaturam: S. Paul *sheweth vs that the holy Ghost is God, and therefore is no creature.* **Likewise againe he saith,** Ne quisquam spiritum sanctum negaret Deum, continuò sequutus ait, Glorificate & portate Deum in corpore vestro: *Lest any man should deny that the holy Ghost is God,* Paul *added immediately these words: Glorifie you therefore and beare God in your body.* **Heere haue wee S. Augustines Yea, and M. Hardings Nay. S. Augustine assureth vs he hath Scriptures to proue the Godhead of the holy Ghost: M. Harding saith, wee are sure he hath none at all. Iudge thou now, gentle Reader, whether of these Doctors thou wilt beleeue.**

Aug. Ep. 174.

But what a vaine vanitie and folly is this? Will M. Harding haue vs beleeue that God cannot be God vnlesse he be allowed by the Church of Rome, and by the Pope? Then are we come againe to that that Tertullian **writeth merily of the Heathens:** Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit. Homo iam Deo propitius esse debebit: *Vnlesse God please man well* (**though he be God**) *he shall be no God. And so now man must be friendly and fauourable vnto God.*

Tertull. in Apologetico.

Wee beleeue, M. Harding, that the holy Ghost is very God indeed, not vpon the Popes, or his Clergies credit, but, as S. Augustine saith, vpon the speciall warrant of the word of God.

And therefore Nazianzene **saith,** Dicet aliquis, non esse scriptum, spiritum sanctum esse Deum. Atqui proponetur tibi examen Testimoniorum, ex quibus ostendetur diuinitatem sancti spiritus testatam esse in sacris literis, nisi quis valde insulsus sit & alienus à spiritu sancto: *Some man will say, It is not written that the holy Ghost is God. I will bring thee forth a whole swarme of authorities, whereby it shall well appeare that the Godhead of the holy Ghost is plainely witnessed in the holy Scriptures, vnlesse a man be very dull, and vtterly void of the holy Ghost.*

Nazianzen. de spiritu sanct. ἐπιχείρησει ἀπὸ τῶν ῥητῶν διὰ πλειόνων ἐπιδείξω.

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuision 1.

VVE beleeue that there is one Church of God, and that the same is not shut vp (as in times past among the Iewes) into some one corner or kingdome, but that it is Catholick and Vniuersal, and dispersed

sed throughout the whole world. So that there is now no Nation which may truly complaine that they bee shut foorth, and may not bee one of the Church and people of God: and that this Church is the Kingdome, the Bodie, and the Spouse of Christ: That Christ alone is the Prince of this Kingdome: That Christ alone is the Head of this Body: And that Christ alone is the Bridegroome of this Spouse.

M. Harding.

It is a world to see these Defenders! They which haue not kept vnity of Spirit in the bond of charitie, which S. Paul requireth, but haue seuered themselues frō the body of the Church, tel vs now forsoorth, they beleeue that there is one Church of God. But what may we think this one Church to be? Can they seeme to meane any other (whatsoeuer they pretend) then this new Church of late yeers set vp by Satan through the ministerie of Martin Luther & those other Apostates his companions, if it may be named a Church and not rather a Babylonical Tower? For as touching that Church, whereof (a) al Christian people hath euer taken the succession of Peter to be the head vnder Christ, which is the true Catholicke Church, in their Apologie they sticke not so say plainly, that it is cleane fallen down long agone. And therefore the beginning of Luthers seditions & Heretical preachiug they cal *Herbam*, as much to say, as the greene grasse, or first spring (this interpreter nameth it the very first appearing) of the Gospel, leafe F.7. And in the leafe F.8. they say that forty yeers agone & vpward, that is, at the first setting forth of Luther & Zuinghus, the truth was vnknowen, & vnheard of; & that they first came to the knowledge & preaching of the Gospell. Likewise in another place they grant that certaine & very strange sects haue been stirring in the world euer since the Gospel did spring, meaning the time when Luther first brinced to Germanie the poysoned cup of his Heresies, Blasphemies, and Satanismes.

(a) Vntruth. For the Fathers in the Primitiue Church neuer tooke him so.

Thus hauing condemned the Church of God, which was before Luthers time, and allowing that for the true Church, the Gospel whereof first sprang out of Luther: how can they auouch their beleefe, & by what reason and learning can they make good, that there is one Church of God? We would faine know which and where it is. Is Luther and his Congregation that one Church of God, or Zuinglius & his rabble, or Osiander and his sort, or Zuinckfeldius and his sect, or Stancarus & his band, or Balthasar Pacimontane and his ranke? For al these, and certaine other sects haue (b) Luther for their founder & for their Radix Iesse, as it were, from whence they spring. And indeed euery learned man easily seeth how the gutters of their Doctrines run out of Luthers sinke. Of al these there is none but stoutly claimeth the name of the Church.

(b) Vntruth. As shall appeare.

Then how say yee Defenders, which Church be ye? Name the childe. If ye name one, wee set the others against you, &c.

How often in his bookes putteth Luther you and your Captaines in the rol of those that he vtterly condemneth, naming roundly together, Infidels, Turkes, Epicures, Heretikes, Papists, Sacramentaries? And now if he should heare you challenge the name of the one Church of God, to you, and deny him & his followers that claimed title, would he not (thinke ye) stamp & rage, would he not whet his dog eloquence vpon you, and call ye worse then these aboue reckoned, yea, and if hee wist how, worse than some of you be your selues? The like curtesie may ye looke for at those other sects, of which euery one claimeth the name of this one Church of God.

But ye say that this one Church is not shut vp into some one corner or Kingdome, but that it is Catholike and vniuersal, and dispersed thorowout the whole world. True it is that ye say, whatsoeuer ye thinke. But the holy learned and ancient Fathers, where they call and beleeue the Catholike Church, they meane (as Vincentius Lirinensis declareth) the Church to be Catholike, that is to say, Vniuersall, (for so the word signifieth) in respect of a threefold vniuersalitie of places, which this Defender heer toucheth: of times, and of men, which he toucheth not. In the Catholike Church we must haue a great care (saith he) that we hold that which hath euery where, euermore, & of al persons been beleeued. If these Defenders proue not the Church they professe themselues to be of, to haue this threefold Vniuersality, then is their Congregation not this one Church, nor of this one Church of God, but the Synagogue of Antichrist.

Catholike Church. Why is the Church called Catholike.

And althogh the Authors of this Apologie crake of the great increase & spreading abroad of their Gospel, and now glorie in the number of Kingdomes, Dukedomes, Countries, Common-weales, and Free Cities: yet hath it not gone so farre abroad as the Arians Heresie did, by three parts of foure: which was at length vtterly extinguished, as this shall be.

That the Catholike Church is the Kingdome, the Bodie and the Spouse of Christ, wee acknowledge. Of the same Kingdome we confesse & beleeue Christ to be Prince alone, so as he is Head of this Body alone, & so as he is Bridegroome of this Spouse alone. For Head and Spouse alone he is in one respect, not alone in another respect. According to the inward influence of grace, Christ properly & onely is Head of his mystical Body the Church; but as touching the outward gouernment, the being of a Head is common to Christ with others. For in this respect certain others may be called Heads of the Church, as in Amos the Prophet, the *great States be called the Heads of the people. So the Scripture speaketh of King Saul, When thou were a little one in thine owne eies, thou wast made Head among the Tribes of Israel. So Dauid saith of himselfe, He hath made me Head of Nations.

Christ alone Prince, Head, Bridegroome, Spouse of the Church.
*Amos 6.
1 Reg. 17.
Psal. 17.

Men be called Heads, in as much as they be in stead of Christ, and vnder Christ: after which meaning S. Paul saith to the Corinthians, For if I forgaue any thing, to whom I forgaue it, for your sakes forgaue I it, *In persona Christi*, In the person of Christ. And in another place, We are Ambassadors in stead of Christ, euen as though God did exhort you through vs. To conclude in few, according to inward influence of grace into euery faithful member, Christ onely is Head of the Church, according to outward gouerning the (c) Pope vnder Christ, and in stead of Christ is Head of the same.

2. Cor. 2.

(c) Vntruth. What Scripture or Doctor euer said so?

As touching the Bridegroomeship, we say & beleeue, that if we would speake properly, Christ is the only Bridegroome of the Church his Spouse, of whom it is said, he that hath a Spouse is a Bridegroom. For from out of the Church he begetteth children to himselfe. But others are called Bridegrooms working

2. Cor. 5. Christ the true Bride-

king together with Christ outwardly to the begetting of spirituall Children, whom neuertheleſſe they beget not to themſelues, but to Christ. And ſuch are called the miniſters of the Bridegroome, in as much as they do his ſtead. And therfore the Pope who is inſtead of Chriſt the Bridgrome of the whole Church, is (d) called alſo the Bridgrome of the vniuerſall Church, a man may terme him the vicegerent Bridegroome.

(d) Vntruth. For the ancient Fathers neuer called him ſo.

groome, the Pope vnder Bridegroom of the Church. Iohan 3.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Catholike in many or few.

I truſt, gentle Reader, thou wilt not loke I ſhould anſwer all M. Hardings ordinarie idle talke. So ſhould I loſe good time without cauſe, and be euer troubleſome to thine eares. O (ſaith he) What a world it is to ſee theſe Defenders! They which haue not kept the vnitie of the Spirit in the bond of charity, which S. Paul required, but haue ſeuered themſelues from the body of the Church, tell vs now forſooth, that they beleeue that there is one Church of God. O, M. Harding, if we haue herein ſaid ill, then beare witneſſe of the ill. If we haue ſaid well, wherefore make you theſe bitter outcries? Whatſoeuer yee haue conceiued vs to be, yet might ye ſuffer vs quietly to ſay the truth, ſpecially ſuch truth as you imagine maketh ſo much for your ſelfe.

Ye ſay we confeſſe that our Church began onely about forty yeares hithence, and was neuer before. No, M. Harding, we confeſſe it not: and you your ſelfe well know we confeſſe it not. It is your tale: It is not ours. We ſay and haue ſufficiently proued, and you know it right well, if ye would be knowne of that ye know, that our Doctrine is the old, and yours is the new. If ye will needes force your ſelfe to the denial, it may eaſily be proued, and that by ſuch authority as your ſelfe may not well denie, vnleſſe yee will once againe doe now as ye haue twice done before.

We ſay that our Doctrine and the order of our Churches is elder then yours by fiue hundred whole yeares, and more. If ye will not beleeue vs, yet beleeue M. Harding: he will tell you euen the ſame. Marke well his words: Theſe they be: It ſtandeth not with Chriſt his promiſes made to the Church, that he ſhould ſuffer his Church to continue in darkenes theſe thouſand yeeres paſt.

M. Harding fol. 15. a.

And thus by ſecret confeſſion he leaueth vs fiue hundred threeſcore and ſix whole yeares at the leaſt: that is to ſay, the whole time of Chriſt, of his Apoſtles, and of all the godlie learned Doctors and Fathers of the Primitiue Church. Which time notwithſtanding is thought a great deale better and purer then all the time that hath followed afterward. In this Diuiſion M. Harding being attent and eager vpon his cauſe, and claiming as much as he thought with any modeſty hee might be able, hath claimed to himſelfe onely a thouſand yeares of the night: and hath left vs well neere ſix hundred yeares of the day.

This is your owne witneſſe, M. Harding. Conſider well of it. It is your owne. Therefore ye doe your ſelfe great wrong, and much deface your owne credit ſo ſuddenly to ſay our Doctrine is new. Gods name be bleſſed, it hath the teſtimony not onely of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, but alſo of the old learned Catholike Fathers of the Church. And this is it that ſo much grieueth you that we reforme our Churches now according to the paterne and ſamplar of Chriſts and his Apoſtles firſt inſtitution. For thereby the diſorder and deformity of your Churches the more appeareth.

Vincentius Lyrinenſis.

Lyrinenſis ſaith, *That thing muſt be holden for Catholike, that euery where, euermore, and of all men hath been beleeued.* Theſe generall notes muſt be limited with this ſpeciall reſtraint: Whereas the Churches were not corrupted. For otherwiſe there was neuer any Doctrine ſo Catholike, no not the confeſſed Doctrine of Chriſt himſelfe, that hath been receiued Euermore, and Euery where, and Of all men, without any exception. For the Turks receiue it not, and the Iewes abhorre it. And ſo the very Goſpel of Chriſt it ſelfe by this rule ſhould not be Catholik. But, M. Harding, theſe ſelf ſame notes of Lyrinenſis vterly ouerthrow the greateſt part of that whole Doctrine that you would ſo faine haue counted Catholike. For neither reacheth it within fiue hundred yeares of the Apoſtles time, nor hath it that antiquity indeed that in face and countenance is pretended, as it is plaine by your owne former confeſſion: nor was it euer vniuerſally receiued, as hereafter by particulars it ſhall bee proued. It had neuer that vniuerſalitie, neither of all times and ages, nor of all places and Countries: nor was it euer vniuerſally receiued and allowed of all men. Therefore whatſoeuer ye call it, ye cannot by your owne Definition call it Catholike.

The Catholike Church of God ſtandeth not in multitude of perſons, but in weight of truth. Otherwiſe Chriſt himſelfe and his Apoſtles had not bene Catholike. For his flock was very little: and the Catholike or Vniuerſall conſent of the world ſtood againſt it. The Church of God is compared to the Mone, for that ſhe waxeth and waneth as

the

the Wone doth, and ſometime is full, ſometime is empty: and therefore, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, is called Catholica, quia vniuerſaliter perfecta eſt, & in nullo claudicat, & per totum Orbem diffuſa eſt: *Becauſe she is vniuerſally perfect and halteth in nothing, and is* (not now ſhut vp in one onely Country as was the Church of the Iewes, but) *powred thorow out the whole World.* Though the hearts of men haue often changes, yet Gods truth is euermore one: and, be it in many, or in few, is euer Catholike. Thus M. Harding, it is written by one of your owne ſide: Etſi non niſi duo viri fideles remanerent in mundo, tamen in eis ſaluaretur Eccleſia, quæ eſt, Vnitas Fidelium: *Although there were but two Faithfull men remaining in the world, yet euen in them two the Church, which is the Vnity of the Faithfull, ſhould be ſaued.*

Aug. de Gene. ad liter. cap. 1.

Fortalitium Fidei, lib. 5.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Some ſay, that at the time of Chriſts paſſion, the whole Faith remained onely in the Bleſſed Virgin our Lady: and that euen now the ſame Faith may be ſo ſtraited, that it may reſt onely in one poore old Woman. Which thing if it ſhould happen, yet ſhould not Gods truth therefore wander about the world, as it liketh you to ieſt, Tanquam accidens ſine ſubiecto. The Prophet Oſee ſaith, *There is no Truth, there is no mercy, there is no knowledge of God in the earth.* Yet notwithſtanding the Prophet David ſaith, *The truth of God endureth for ever. God is true, though all men be falſe. His truth is a Subſtance, and ſtandeth mightily as the Heauens: It wandreth not vainely, as an Accident.* ☜

Æneas Syluius de geſtis concily Baſilien. lib. 1.

M. Harding pag. 126. a.

Oſee 4.

Pſam. 116.

Rom. 3.

Luthers dog eloquence (for ſo, M. Harding, it liketh you of your modeſty to call it) were it neuer ſo rough, and vehement, the iuſt zeale of Gods glory, and of his holy Temple, which you ſo miſerably had defaced, ſo enforcing him, yet was it neuer any thing comparable to your eloquence. For, I beſeech you, if ye may haue leaſure, hearken a little, and heare your ſelfe talke. Behold your owne words, ſo many, ſo vaine, ſo bitter, ſo fierie, ſo furious, altogether in one place: This new Church (ye ſay) ſet vp by Satan: Martin Luther, and other Apoſtates his companions: This Babylonicall Tower; Luthers ſeditious and Hereticall Preaching; Luther brinced to Germany the poiſoned Cup of his Hereſies, Blaſphemies, and Sathaniſmes; Zuinglius, and his rable; The gutters of this Doctrine run out of Luthers ſinke; Luther would ſtampe and rage, and whette his dogge eloquence vpon you; you are the Synagogue of Antichriſt. These be the Figures, and flowers of your ſpeech. Yet muſt wee thinke, that ye can neither ſtampe nor rage: but vſe onely Angels eloquence. Howbeit, I truſt, no wiſe man will iudge our cauſe the worſe, for that your tongue can ſo readily ſerue to ſpeake ill.

To the matter. Ye ſay, that touching the influence of Grace, Chriſt is the Head of the Church: but touching Direction and Gouernment, the Pope onely is the Head. All this is but your owne tale, M. Harding: Ye ſpeake it onely of your ſelfe. Other authority of Scripture or Doctor ye bring vs none.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Here M. Harding alleageth ſundry authorities to proue the Vniuerſall Supremacy of the Pope. Chryſoſtome, ſaith he, writeth thus, Peter *being a Fiſher, is the Head, and Feeder of the Church.* And againe, Peter *was the Maſter of the World.* And againe, *Chriſt made Peter Ruler ouer all the World.* In the end, hee concludeth with good liking of his caſe, and ſaith, How ſay you, are ye contented now? *The Anſwer.* No doubt, Maiſter Harding: Otherwiſe, I trow, I were to blame. For here haue you brought vs great and worthy ſpeeches of Saint Peter: of whoſe authority we moued no queſtion. But ye bring vs not one word of the Pope. If euery word ſpoken to Peter, ſhould be applied vnto the Pope, then ſhould the Pope bee called Satan: for ſo Chriſt called Peter.

M. Harding pag. 131. a.

Chryſ. in Mat. Homil. 87.

In Matthæ. Homil. 55.

Matth. 16.

Neither doe theſe words here alleged, proue of neceſſity, that Peter himſelfe was the Head, and Ruler of all the world. For you may find the ſame words applied as well to S. Iames, to S. Paul, and to ſundry other Holy Fathers. Clemens ſaith thus, *I ſend greeting vnto* Iames, *the brother of our Lord, and the Biſhop of Biſhops, Gouernour of the holy Church of the Iewes at* Ieruſalem, *and alſo of all the Churches that by Gods prouidence are euery where founded.* Here S. Iames is head of all Churches what ſo euer. Likewiſe Chryſoſtome writeth of S. Paul: *The Nation of the Iewes was committed to* Michael. *But both Land and Sea, and the habitation of all the world, is committed to* S. Paul. Likewiſe S. Gregory ſaith, Paul *had the Princehood of all the whole Church.* So S. Hierome calleth Origen, Magiſtrum Eccleſiarum: *The Maſter and Teacher of the Churches.* And in like maner Theodoretus calleth S. Chryſoſtome, Doctorem Orbis terrarum, *The Teacher and Inſtructer of all the world.* Yet neither Iames, nor Paul, nor Origen, nor Chryſoſtome, were Biſhops of Rome, nor had they that power, that by theſe words is pretended.

Head.

Clemens epi. 1.

Chryſo. in Act. Hom. 3.

Gregor. in 1. Reg. l. 4. cap. 4.

Hieronym. de locis Hebraicis.

Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 32.

It is great folly to claime the Popes authority by ſuch generall words, as may bee common to ſo many. ☜

Yee

2. Corinth. 2. 2. Corinth. 5.

Ye say, S. Paul saith, If I forgaue any thing, for your sakes I forgaue it, in the person of Christ: We are Embassadors in the stead of Christ, euen as though God did exhort you through vs. Hereof ye conclude, Ergo, The Pope vnder Christ, and in stead of Christ is head of the Church. If yee conclude not thus, ye wander idely, and speake in vaine, and conclude nothing. These words of S. Paul nothing touch the Pope, but onely the faithfull, and zealous Preacher of the Gospell. For wherein doth the Pope resemble S. Paul? Wherein doth hee represent the person of Christ? What exhorteth he? What teacheth he? What saith hee? What doth he? And yet if he would doe any one part of his whole duty, how might this argument stand for good? S. Paul being at the Citie of Philippi in Macedonia, exhorted the Corinthians, as in the person of Christ: Ergo, the Pope being at Rome in Italy, although he neither exhort, nor preach, yet is he the Head of the Vniuersall Church. Although Diuinity go hard with you, yet ye should haue seene better to your Logike.

I grant, Bishops may be called the Heads of their seuerall Churches. So Chrysostome calleth [a] Elias, Caput Prophetarum, *The Head of the Prophets*: So Amos saith, [b] *The Princes are the Heads of the People*: So Saul is called, [c] *The Head of the Tribes of* Israel: So Dauid was made, [d] Caput Gentium, *The Head of Nations*. Sundry such other like examples I alleaged in my former Reply to M. Harding: As that Cyrillus the Bishop of Alexandria, in the Councell of Ephesus was called [f] Caput Episcoporum congregatorum, *The Head of the Bishops, that there were assembled*. That S. Gregory saith, [g] Paulus ad Christum conuersus, Caput effectus est Nationum: Paul *being once conuerted to Christ, was made the Head of Nations*: That Prudentius saith, [h] Sancta Bethlem Caput est Orbis: *Holy* Bethlem *is the Head of the world*. In this sense Optatus saith, [i] *There be foure sorts of Heads in the Church, the Bishops, the Preests, the Deacons, the Faithfull*. And all this only in a certaine kinde of phrase, and maner of speech. But indeed and verily S. Augustine saith, [k] Paulus ipse non poterat Caput esse eorum, quos plantauerat: Paul *himselfe could not be the Head of them whom he had planted*. Therefore Gregorie saith, [l] Petrus Apostolus Primum membrum Sanctæ & Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ est. Paulus, Andreas, Iohannes, quid aliud, quàm singularium sunt plebium capita? tamen sub vno Capite, omnes membra sunt Ecclesiæ. Atque vt cuncta breui cingulo loquutionis astringã, Sancti ante Legem, Sancti in Lege, Sancti sub Gratia: Omnes hi perficientes Corpus Domini in Membris sunt Ecclesiæ constituti. Et nemo se vnquam Vniuersalem vocari voluit: Peter *the Apostle is* (not the Head, but) *the chiefe member of the holy Vniuersall Church*. Paul, Andrew, *and* Iohn, *what are they else, but the Heads of seuerall Nations? Yet notwithstanding vnder one Head* (Christ) *they are al Members of the Church. And to speake shortly, the Saints before the law, the Saints in the Law, the Saints in the time of Grace, all accomplishing the Lords Body, are placed amongst the Members of the Church. And there was neuer yet one, that would haue himselfe called the Vniuersall Bishop*. Therefore, where as M. Harding saith, All Christian people haue euer taken the successe of Peter to be the Head of the Catholike Church vnder Christ, hee spake it onely of himselfe; and though the comparison be odious, yet Christ saith, Cùm loquitur mendacium, ex proprijs loquitur: *When he speaketh vntruth, he speaketh it of his owne*. S. Gregory saith, *Peter was the chiefe member of the Church of Christ*: but not the Head.

[a] *Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. hom.* 18.
[b] Amos 6.
[c] 1. Reg. 15.
[d] Psalm. 17.
[f] *Cyrill. tom.* 4. *Conciliorum in Ephesina Synodo epist.* 5.
[g] *Gregor. in* 1. *Reg. lib.* 4. *ca.* 4.
[h] *Prudentius in Enchiridio.*
[i] *Optatus lib.* 1. & 2.
[k] *August contra Liter. Petil. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.
[l] *Gregor. lib.* 4. *epist.* 38.
Peter was a member of the Church, but not the Head.
Iohan. 8.

But the Bishop of Rome, and his hired Proctors, haue taught vs farre otherwise. Panormitane saith: Christus & Papa faciunt vnum consistorium: &, excepto peccato, potest Papa quasi omnia facere, quæ potest Deus: *Christ and the Pope make one Consistory, and keepe one Court: And, sinne onely excepted, the Pope in a maner can doe all things that God can doe*. This, I trow, is that Head of Direction and Gouernment that M. Harding meaneth.

De Electione ca. Licet, Abb.

As for the rest, that the Church is the kingdome of Christ, and the Pope the Prince thereof, M. Harding in speciall words answereth nothing. Notwithstanding, some others haue said, Petro & Cœlestis & Terreni Imperij iura commissa sunt: *Vnto* Peter *was committed the right both of the Heauenly, and also of the Earthly Empire*.

Extra. Nouit ille, in Gloss.

Last of all he doubteth not, but the Pope may be called the Spouse, or Bridegrome of the Vniuersall Church: and yet the same without the authority of any Doctor. He alleageth only S. Bernard: But the same S. Bernard in the selfe same place saith, and that by M. Hardings owne confession, that the Pope is not the Bridegrome of the Church. And therefore he was faine to expound his meaning, and to waigh him down of the other side with his pretty glosse. But S. Bernard without glosse saith plainly, Non sunt omnes amici Sponsi, qui hodiè sunt Sponsi Ecclesiæ: *They be not all the Bridegromes friends, that are this day the Spouses of the Church*. O miserandam Sponsam talibus creditam Paranymphis! Non amici Sponsi sed æmuli sunt: *O miserable is that Spouse, that is committed to such Leaders! They are not the friends, they are the enemies of the Bridegrome*.

Bernard. in concil. Remens. Bernard. ad Fulgent. de Considera. l. 3.

Howbeit, wee need not greatly to reckon what stiles and titles the Pope can vouch-

safe

safe to allow himselfe. As he may be called the Head, the Prince, and the Spouse: euen so, and by like authoritie and truth may he be called the Light, the Life, the Sauiour, and the God of the Church.

God giue him an heart to vnderstand, that he may be, although not the Head, yet a member of that bodie: although not the Prince, yet a subiect in that Kingdome: although not the Bridegroome, yet a childe of the Church of God.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. *Diuision* 1.

Furthermore, wee beleeue that there be diuers degrees of Ministers in the Church: whereof some be Deacons, some Priests, some Bishops: to whom is committed the office to instruct the people, & the whole charge and setting foorth of Religion.

M. Harding.

Sacrament of Order. By good reason.

Here it had bene your part to haue declared your faith touching the holy Sacrament of Order, agreeable to the faith of the Catholike Church: That there be seuen Orders in the Church, foure lesser, & three greater; for so by good reason they are called. And as for the institution, authority, and estimation of the greater, specially of the Priesthood & Deaconship, ye might haue alleged the Scriptures: so for the lesser, the example of Christ, the Tradition of the Apostles, & the testimonies written of the Apostles scholars, of those that both next and soone after followed them, namely, *Dionys. cap.* 3. *Hierarch. Eccles. Ignatius Epist.* 8. *ad Ecclesiam Antiochenam, Tertull. in præscript. aduersus Hæreticos.* Gaius Pope and Martyr in Diocletians time, Zosimus in S. Augustines time, Isichius, Eusebius Cæsarienſis in his ecclesiasticall historie, and Epiphanius in the end of his booke *Contra Hæresis.*

Vntruths boldly presumed, as by the answer it may appeare.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Orders.

Gentle Reader, if I should leaue these, and other like M. Hardings words vnanswered, thou mightest happily thinke he had said somewhat. Here he saith, it had bene our part to haue told thee of seuen Orders in the Church, three greater, and foure lesse: hauing indeed himselfe cleane forgotten his owne part. For notwithstanding this controlment and account of so many Orders, yet he nameth no more Orders then we haue named. And verily, if he would haue followed his owne Authorities, it had bene hard for him in any good order to haue made vp his owne account.

For his owne Anacletus saith, I call him his owne, for that it is only a forged pamphlet, neuer written by that holy Father Anacletus, as it is easie to be seene. But whatsoeuer he were, thus he saith: Amplius quàm isti duo Ordines Sacerdotum (Episcopi & Presbyteri) nec nobis à Deo collati sunt, nec Apostoli docuerunt: *More then these two Orders of Priests (Bishops and Elders) neither hath God appointed vs, nor haue the Apostles taught vs.* And yet of these same two seuerall Orders S. Hierome seemeth to make only one Order. For thus he writeth, Audio quendam in tantam erupisse vecordiam, vt Diaconos Presbyteris, id est, Episcopis anteferret: *I heare say there is a man broken out vnto such wilfull furie, that he placeth Deacons before Priests, that is to say, before Bishops.* And againe, Apostolus præcipuè docet eosdem esse Presbyteros quos Episcopos: *The Apostle* (Paul) *specially teacheth vs that Priests and Bishops be all one.* The same S. Hierome writing vpon the Prophet Esay, reckoneth only fiue Orders or Degrees in the whole Church: The Bishops, the Priests, the Deacons, the Entrers or Beginners, and the Faithfull. And other Order of the Church he knoweth none.

Anaclet. Ep. 3.

Hieronym. ad Enagrium. Hieronym. in eadem Epistol. Hieronym. in Esai cap. 19. *Catechumeni.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* As for M. Hardings prettie imaginations of Termes Generall, and Termes Speciall, they are meere vanities, not worth the hearing. For S. Hieromes words be plaine enough: *A Priest and a Bishop is all one thing: and before that, by the working of the Diuell, parts were taken in Religion, and some said, I hold of* Paul, *some, I hold of* Apollo, *and some others, I hold of* Peter, *the Churches were gouerned by the common Councell of the Priests.* ☜

Hieronym. ad Titum, cap. 1.

Clemens saith, Tribus gradibus commissa sunt Sacramenta diuinorum secretorum, id est, Presbytero, Diacono, & Ministro: *The Mysteries of the holy Secresies be committed vnto three Orders: that is, vnto the Priests, vnto the Deacons, and vnto the Ministers:* And yet Deacons and Ministers, as touching the name, are all one.

Clemens Epi. 2. *de Conc. Di.* 3. *Tribus gradib. Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. cap.* 5. *Ignatius ad Antiochen.*

Dionysius likewise hath three Orders, but not the same: for he reckoneth Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. And whereas M. Harding maketh his account of foure of the lesse or inferiour Orders, meaning thereby Ostiarios, Lectores, Exorcistas, Acoluthos: *The doore keepers, the Readers, the Conjurers, and the Waiters or Followers:* his owne Ignatius addeth thereto three other Orders: Cantores, Laboratores, Confitentes: *The Chanters or singers, the Labourers, and the Confessors.* Clemens added thereto, Catechistas, *The informers.*

ψάλτας, κεκμηῶντας, ἐξορκίστας, Ὁμολογήτας.

Clemens Ep. 1.

Informers or Teachers of them that were entring into the faith. A little vaine booke, bearing the name of S. Hierome, De ſeptem Ordinibus Eccleſiæ, addeth yet an other Order, and calleth them Foſſarios, that is, The Sextines, or Duerſers of the graues. And leſt you ſhould thinke he reckoneth this Order as amongſt other neceſſarie offices to ſerue the people, and not as any part of the Clergie, his words be theſe: Primus in Clericis Foſſariorum Ordo eſt: qui in ſimilitudinem Tobiæ ſancti ſepelire mortuos admonent: *The firſt Order of the Clergie is the Order of the Sextines: which, as holy* Tobie *was wont to doe, call vpon the people for the buriall of the dead.*

Hierony de 7. Ordinibus Ecc.

Orders.

Iſidor. Etymolog. li. 1. ca. 12. Scotus in 4. ſen. Di. 24. Quæ. 1. Ambr. in Epi. ad Ephe. cap. 4.

Likewiſe to the three greater Orders Iſidorus addeth another diſtinct and ſeuerall Order of Biſhops; vnto whom agreeth Guilielmus Altiſiodorenſis, and Gotofredus Pictauienſis, as appeareth by Iohannes Scotus. Againe, of the other inferiour Orders, S. Hierome leaueth out the Coniurers and Waiters: S. Ambroſe leaueth out the Waiters and Doore keepers: The Canons of the Apoſtles leaue out Coniurers, Waiters, and Doore keepers, all three together.

In this ſo great diſſenſion and darkeneſſe, what way will M. Harding take to follow? By Anacletus there be two Orders; by Clemens and S. Hierome, three; by Hierome counterfeit, ſeuen; by others eight, by others nine, by others ten.

All this notwithſtanding, he telleth vs, our part had bene to haue ſhewed that there be iuſt ſeuen Orders in the Church, three great, and foure leſſe, without doubt or queſtion.

Here, gentle Reader, it had bene M. Hardings part to haue ſhewed vs the reaſons and grounds of this diuinitie: Theſe they be, as they are alleged by the beſt of that ſide: Chriſt ſaith, *I am the Doore*: Ergo, *there muſt be in the Church an Order of Doore keepers.* Chriſt ſaith, *I am the Light of the world.* Hereupon haue they founded the Order of Acoluthes, to carrie Tapers. And ſo for the reſt. Thus much may ſerue for a taſte.

Petr. Lombar. Sen lib. 4. Diſt. 24.

Now let vs conſider what theſe Orders haue to doe, and with how holy and weighty offices they ſtand charged in the Church of God. Firſt, Clemens (of whoſe authoritie M. Harding maketh no ſmall account, for he calleth him the Apoſtles fellow) writeth thus; Vnus Hypodiaconus det aquam manibus Sacerdotum: Duo Diaconi ex vtraque parte Altaris teneant flabellum confectum ex tenuibus membranis, vel ex Pauonum pennis, quibus leuiter abigant præteruolantes beſtiolas, ne in pocula incidant: *Let one of the Subdeacons giue water to the Prieſts hands: Let two Deacons ſtand at the two ends of the Altar, either of them with a fanne made of fine parchment, or of Peacks tailes, therewith ſoftly to chaſe away the flies, that they fall not into the Communion cups.* The offices of other inferiour Orders be theſe, as they be noted by one of M. Hardings owne ſide; Ad minores Ordines hæc ſpectant: portare cereos & vrceolum, & canes expellere de Eccleſia: *To the leſſe Orders theſe things belong: to carrie Tapers, and holy water ſtocks, and to driue dogs out of the Church.* Theſe, I trow, be the myſticall holy Orders, whereof M. Harding ſaith, *Our part had bene to haue made ſome long diſcourſe*: being himſelfe aſhamed, as it may appeare by his ſilence, either to name them in particular, or to open the ſecrets of their offices.

Clem. Conſti. Apoſt. li. 8. c. 15.

Aureum Speculum Papæ.

Howbeit indeed, good Chriſtian Reader, ſundrie of theſe officies in the Primitiue Church were appointed to very good and ſober purpoſes. The Doore keepers office was then to keepe out excommunicate perſons, that they ſhould not preſſe in among the faithfull. The Pſalmiſts or Singers office was to ſing the Pſalmes, thereby to moue the peoples hearts to deuotion. The Exorciſts office was, by a ſpeciall gift of God, ſeruing only for that time, to call forth foule Spirits out of the bodies of them that were poſſeſſed. The Readers office was openly, and plainly, and diſtinctly to pronounce the Scriptures vnto the people: and to this vſe the Biſhop deliuered vnto him a booke with this charge: Accipe, & eſto Relator verbi Dei: *Take thou this booke, and be thou a Pronouncer of the word of God.* And therefore Iſidorus ſaith, Tanta, & tam clara erit eius vox, vt quamuis longè poſitorum aures adimpleat: *The Readers voice muſt be ſo loud, and ſo cleare, that it may be able to fill the eares of thē that ſtand farre off.* The Acoluthes or Waiters office was to attend vpon the Biſhop, as a witneſſe of his conuerſation.

Diſt. 23. Lect. Diſt. 21. Cleros.

To ſuch good vſes theſe offices then ſerued in the Church of God. But now there is nothing left, ſauing the bare name only, without any maner vſe or office. For neither doth the Oſtiarius keepe out the excommunicates, nor doth the Acoluthus wait vpon the Biſhop, nor doth the Exorciſt caſt forth Diuels, nor doth the Pſalmiſt ſing Pſalmes, nor doth the Reader openly pronounce the Scriptures, (I might yet ſtep a little farther, to open the whole beautie of the Clergie of Rome) nor doth the Deacon make prouiſion for the poore, nor doth the Biſhop preach the word of God.

This had bene our part to haue opened at large; and for leauing of the ſame, we were worthie by M. Hardings iudgement to be reproued.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 3. *Diuision* 2.

Yet notwithstanding, we say that there neither is, nor can be any one man which may haue the whole Superiority in this vniuersal state: for that Christ is euer present to assist his Church, & needeth not any man to supply his roome, as his only heire to all his substance: & that there can bee no one mortall creature which is able to comprehend, or conceiue in his minde the vniuersal Church, that is to wit, al the parts of the world, much lesse able rightly and duly to put them in order, & to gouerne them.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

S. Hardings answer hereto is long and tedious. The substance thereof in short is this: where wee say, No one mortall man is able to weald the burden of the whole Church of God, M. Harding answereth: Where any thing is indeed, there whether it may be, or no, to discusse, it is needlesse. Therefore whether any one man can be superiour, and chiefe ouer the whole Church, we leaue to speake: that so it is, thus we proue: Euery Parish hath his seuerall Vicar or
1. Parson, and euery Diocesse his owne Bishop. *Ergo*, What reason is it, there be not one chiefe gouernor of the whole Christian people?

2. When questions be mooued in matters of faith, through diuersities of iudgements the Church should be diuided, vnlesse by authoritie of one it were kept in vnitie.

3. They that say otherwise, take from Christ the glorie of his prouidence, & the praise of his great loue towards his Church.

4. The peace of the Church is more conueniently procured by one, than by many.

5. It is most meete that the Church militant, touching gouernment, resemble the Church triumphant. But in the triumphant Church one is gouernour ouer the whole, that is God. Therefore in the Church militant order requireth that one beare rule ouer all; according to that the holy Captaine Iosue seemeth to speake, The children of Iuda and the children of Israel shall assemble together, & they shal make to themselues one head. Thereof our Lord saith in S. Iohn, There shall be one fold, and one shepheard.

Iosue 1. Iohan. 10.

Indeede Christ is head of his bodie. Yet need it is, forasmuch as Christ now dwelleth not with vs in visible presence, his Church haue one man to doe his stead of outward ruling in earth. And therefore he said vnto Peter, Feed my flocke: Confirme thy brethren.

Thus wee see these Defenders negatiue Doctrine, That no one man may haue the superioritie ouer the whole state of the Church, disproued, as vterly false.

To their second reason, we grant, Christ needed not any man to supplie his roome, that should succeed in his whole substance. Neither is man of capacity of such succession. *neither hath there any such fond saying beene vttered by the Diuines.

But because Christ saw the knot of vnitie should bee most surely kept knit by gouernment of one, he *committed the regiment of the whole Church vnto one; whose visible ministerie he might vse in stead of himselfe.

To the third we say, that man is not only able to comprehend in his minde, and conceiue the vniuersall Church, but also to put it in order, and to gouerne it so farre as is expedient.

Last of all, whosoeuer will not bee fed nor ruled by his owne shepheard, and breaketh out of this one fold, he is not of the flocke of Christ, but of the heard of Antichrist.

A great ouersight: For these be the words, not of the Captaine Iosua, but of the Prophet Osee.

* Vntruth. For Panormitane saith, *Papa potest quæ si omnia facere quæ potest Deus.*

*Vntruth.

Heere, gentle Reader, M. Harding hath brought thee, not the authoritie of any one Catholike Doctour, or learned Father, but only a fewe cold reasons of his owne, with certaine Scriptures vnaduisedly alleged, and violently forced from their meaning, as shall swone appeare.

His first reason concludeth very weakly: Euery parish is gouerned by one Vicar or Parson: and euery Diocesse is gouerned by one seuerall Bishop: Ergo, **There is one vniuersall gouernour ouer the whole Church of Christ. Heere is neither order in reason, nor sequele in nature. Therefore if any man would denie the Argument, M. Harding were neuer able to make it good. He might as well, and in as good order reason thus: Euery Kingdome, or common weale hath one Prince or Magistrate to rule ouer it:** Ergo, **There must be one vniuersall Prince to rule ouer the whole world. Or thus, Euery flocke of sheepe hath one seuerall shepheard to ouersee them:** Ergo, **all the flocks throughout the world ought to be ouerseene by one generall shepheard. Otherwise M. Harding imagineth this foule absurditie must needs follow, that the part is better gouerned then the whole.**

Addition. ☞ **Heere M. Harding answereth thus,** I see no absurditie in this conclusion. And perhaps, when the matter is well weighed, it may seeme, the world was neuer in better state then when it was gouerned by one good Emperour. *The answer.* **O M. Harding, why should you so vainly auouch vntruth? What one Emperour had euer the regiment of all the world? Where stood his Palace? What was his name? Why tell you such tales of those things that neuer were, and you certainly know they neuer were?**

Addition. ☞

M. Harding pag. 137. *a.*

Vnitie by one Pope.

Indeed the Emperours of Rome, after the time of Augustus Cæsar, had a great part of the world vnder their hands. But the whole world, you know, they neuer had: No, neither the halfe deale, nor the third, nor the fourth part of the world. Yet hauingonely that they had, they grew so tyrannicall, and so intollerable vnto their subiects, and so licentious, and monstrous in their liues, that vnlesse it be onely among the Popes, it is not possible to finde so many the like examples of horrour in any State or Kingdome of the world. From the death of Augustus Cæsar, vnto Theodosius, within the space of lesse then foure hundred yeares, more then fortie Emperours were slaine with violence, one of them seeking traiterous meanes to murder an other. When the Princes estate was so vncertaine and miserable, what may we thinke was then the miserie of the people? Yet, saith M. Harding, the world was neuer in better state.

2. 3. 4. *In the fourth Article, and in the 18 and 19. Diuisions.*

The other three reasons, touching the prouidence of God, the debating of questions in faith, and conseruing of peace and vnitie of the Church, are answered already in my former rep'lie to M. Harding. Indeed I remember, to anouch all that M. Harding hath here said, one sometimes well inclined to that syde, said thus: Non videretur Dominus discretus fuisse (vt cum reuerētia eius loquar) nisi vnicum post se talem Vicarium reliquisset, qui hæc omnia posset: *Christ our Lord should not haue seemed to haue dealt discreetly (to speake it with reuerence) vnlesse he had left one such Vicar behinde him, that might haue done all these things.*

De Maiori. & Obedien. vnam Sanctam. In Glossa.

I grant, dissension and quarrels be the sooner ended when all things be put ouer to one man: so that the same one man may liue for euer, and still continue in one minde, and neuer alter. But often times one Pope is found contrary to another: and sometimes one Pope hath beene found contrarie to himselfe. Pope Sabinianus would haue burnt all Pope Gregories bookes. And as it is said before, Pope Romanus vtterly abolished all the Acts of his Predecessour Pope Steuen. The same Pope Steuen vnburied his Predecessour Pope Formosus, and defaced and mangled his naked carcase, and vterly condemned all that had beene done by him before. And Platina giueth this generall iudgement of them: Nihil aliud isti Pontificuli cogitabant, quàm vt nomen & dignitatem maiorum suorum extingüerent: *These little petite Popes had none other care in the world, but how to deface the name and estimation of other Popes that had beene before them.* And thus, that one Pope liketh, another misliketh: that one alloweth, another condemneth. And yet by M. Hardings iudgement, we haue none other rule to stay by in doubtfull cases, but only the will and pleasure of the Pope.

Platina in Sabiniano. Sabellicus Enneade 9. lib. 1. Platina in Stephano sexto. Platina in Romano 1.

M. Harding pag. 139. b.

Addition. ☞ Heere M. Harding findeth great fault, for that I say, Pope Steuen defaced and mangled Formosus his Predecessours naked carcase. The storie (saith hee) maketh no mention of any such mangling. For proofe whereof he allegeth Sabellicus. *The Answer.* For triall hereof I report me to Platina. His words be these: Hinc odium ortum est, &c. *Heereof grew that hatred that caused Pope* Stephanus *to practise such cruelties vpon the dead body of Pope* Formosus, *for that in his life time he had hindred him from the obteining of the Popedome.* Martinus saith that Pope Stephanus was so wood, and so raged against Formosus, that he haled his dead carcase out of the graue, and caused it to be laid before him selfe and others in the councell, and chopt off the two forefingers of his right hand, and threw them out into the streame.

Addition. ☞

Platina in Stephano 6.

Stephanum tanta rabie desæuisse.

Falmerius. Dilanians.

Matthæus Palmerius Florentinus recordeth the same by these words: Stephanus Formosi corpus Pontificalibus insignibus exuit: Deinde illud dilanians, omnique afficiens dedecore, manus eius proiecit in Tiberim: *Pope* Stephanus *spoiled and stript* Formosus *his Predecessours bodie out of his Pontificall robes: And after he had torne and rent the same bodie, and abused it with all kinde of villanie, hee chopt off both his hands, and threw them foorth into Tiber.*

Abbas Vrsper. Decollari præcepit. Luitprandus. Memoriale Historiarum.

Abbas Vrspergensis saith further, Pope Stephanus commanded the carcase of Pope Formosus to be beheaded: and the same body stript out of his holy robes, and spoiled of three fingers, to be throwne forth into the streame. The same storie touching the drowning of the carcase is recorded also by Luitprandus Ticinensis. In an old Chronicle written in parchment, intituled Memoriale Historiarum, which I haue to shew, there is added further: Quædam dictu horribilia in illum fecit: *Pope* Stephanus *practised certaine things vpon Pope* Formosus, *that are horrible to be spoken.*

Sabellicus Enneade 9. lib. 1.

But perhaps M. Harding will refuse the authoritie of these Writers, and of all others whatsoeuer, and will rather giue credit to Sabellicus, whom also he hath noted in his margin. Let vs therefore see the report of Sabellicus. Thus he saith, Stephanus Formosi cadauer iterum refossum, tanquam sic quoque pati aliquid atrocius posset, securi subiecit, corpus in Tiberim proijci iussit, vt sepultura, & omni humano honore careret: *Pope* Stephanus *digged vp Pope* Formosus *his Predecessours bodie, and beheaded it, as minding to make it to*

feele

feele more villanie, and threw out his carcase into the Tiber, that he might bereaue him of his graue, and of all other honour due to a man.

All this notwithstanding M. Harding can deuise how to cut off the Popes head, how to chop off his hands and fingers, how to hale out his naked carcase from the graue, how to spoile it, and teare it, and to abuse it with such villanie as may not be spoken, and how to throw the same out into a running streame to bee deuoured and swallowed of the fishes, and all this to do gently and in good order, without any maner defacing or mangling of his bodie. And therefore he concludeth, as his maner is, in this friendly sort, Leaue, leaue, that ill propertie for shame, M. Iewell: adde not, diminish not, &c.

Vnitie by one Pope.

Howbeit, this I trow is not the readiest way to procure peace, and to maintaine vnitie in the Church. And therefore Gregorie saith of Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople, that claimed to himselfe this vniuersall power, Si hanc causam æquanimiter portamus, totius Ecclesiæ fidem corrumpimus: corruit vniuersa Ecclesia à statu suo, si is qui vniuersalis dicitur cadit: *If we quietly suffer this matter thus to proceed* (that one man shall bee called the Vniuersall Bishop, we seeke not waies to maintaine vnitie, but) *we ouerthrow the faith of the whole Church: if he that is called the Vniuersall Bishop happen to fall, the whole Church falleth from her state.* Thus therefore to allow any one man vniuersal authority, ouer the whole Church, is a matter not behouefull and profitable, as M. Harding fansieth, but, as Gregorie saith, doubtfull, and dangerous to the Church. For although all the world either would, or could giue eare and credit to one man, yet were not that therefore alwaies Christian vnitie. S. Augustine saith, Habet & superbia appetitum quendam vnitatis & omnipotentiæ: *Pride it selfe hath a certaine desire of vnitie, and of vniuersall power.*

Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 76. *Aug. de vera Relig. cap. 45.*

Addition. *Addition.* But M. Harding saith, Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople by this title Vniuersall Bishop, meant to make himselfe the only Bishop of all the whole world, that there should bee no Bishop but himselfe alone. *The Answer.* This answer were somewhat if any old Writer might be found to say the same. But your bare fantasie, M. Harding, as it may appeare, often times wanteth weight. And how can you thinke it likely, that the Bishop of Constantinople, were hee neuer so proud a man, would suffer no man to be a Bishop, that is to say, neither to ordaine Priests, nor to excommunicate, nor to absolue, nor to sit in Councell, but himselfe alone? By what euidence, by what record, by what practise of his part can you proue it? O what prettie tales ye would tell vs if we would beleeue you!

M. Harding pag. 141. a.

Indeed the Bishop of Constantinople, although he were ambitious aboue measure, yet he neuer neither vsurped, nor claimed any other authoritie in the Church then that sithence hath been vsurped and claimed by the Pope. For thus it is written well neere by all that haue recorded the Storie of Pope Boniface 3. Institutum fuit vt Ecclesia Romana esset caput omnium Ecclesiarum, cùm priùs Constantinopolitana Ecclesia id vsurpare tentasset: *It was then ordained that the Church of Rome should be the head of al Churches, whereas before the Church of* Constantinople *had claimed that title vnto her selfe.* So saith Sabellicus, Græci illud decus ad se trahebant: *The Greekes claimed the same dignitie to themselues.* The same dignitie, he saith, that now is claimed by the Pope, and none other.

Palmerius Vrspergensis. *Sabellicus Enead 8. lib. 6.*

Therefore, M. Harding, all that you tell vs of one only Bishop throughout the whole world, excluding all other Bishops, sauing himselfe alone, is but a fable without face or likelihood of any truth.

Another of M. Hardings reasons is this: The Church labouring heere in earth must resemble the Church of the Saints triumphing in Heauen. But in Heauen God only is the Gouernour ouer the whole: therefore in the Church beneath, the Pope likewise must needs be gouernour ouer the whole. Thus God must be rated to gouerne aboue, and the Pope beneath: and so, as one sometime said, Diuisum imperium cum Ioue Cæsar habet.

This is a valiant kinde of argument. It holdeth from Heauen to Earth, from Angels to men, from God to the Pope.

But how knoweth M. Harding what orders of Angels and Archangels there bee in Heauen: what they doe: how they deale: who ruleth: who are ruled: what lawes and policies they haue amongst them? They say they would frame their Church according to the Samplar: and yet good men they neuer knew nor saw the Samplar. But only of themselues they imagine Common-weales, and orders in Heauen: and according to the same they would shape and fashion their owne Church in Earth.

Addition. *Addition.* Forsooth (saith M. Harding) I may easily know that which is euident. For in the fourth of Matthew, Angels wait on Christ. And in the 12. to the Hebrews there is mention made of Thousands of Angels. *The Answer.* All this, M. Harding, we grant. And Daniel saith further, *Thousand thousands of Angels ministred vnto God, and ten thousand thousands stood*

M. Harding. fol. 142. Daniel 7.

ſtood before him. But what is all this to proue your orders? You ſay, S. Paul nameth Coloſſ.1. Thrones, Dominions, Principates, and Powers. You might haue added, Archangels, Cherubins, and Seraphins. But how know you heereby which Angell is higheſt in order, and hath authoritie and gouernment ouer all the reſt, that you may applie this heauenly paterne vnto the Pope? Vnleſſe you ſhew vs this, you ſhew vs nothing, and caſt faire colours without a ground. S. Auguſtine in this caſe ſpeaketh modeſtly of himſelfe: *Aug. in Enchirid. cap. 58.* Quid inter ſe diſtent quatuor illa vocabula, Throni, Dominationes, Principatus, Poteſtates, dicant qui poſſunt, ſi tamen poſſunt probare quod dicunt. Ego me iſta ignorare confiteor: *What difference there is betweene theſe foure words, Thrones, Dominions, Principates, & Powers, let them tel vs that be able, ſo that they can proue that they tel vs. For my part, I confeſſe I know it not.* If S. Auguſtine confeſſe he knoweth it not, may we ſafely learne it of M. Harding?

Howbeit, as little as we know, or can know in theſe caſes, yet hereof muſt wee bee taught to learne our obedience and ſubiection to the Pope: that as God alone ruleth ouer and ouer al the Heauens, ſo ought the Pope alone to rule ouer and ouer the whole earth: and that as al the powers of Heauen caſt off their crownes, and crie, Holy, holy, holy, vnto God, ſo ought the Powers and States of the earth likewiſe to fal downe and ſubmit themſelues, and to yéld all honour vnto the Pope. If this be not your meaning, M. Harding, then tell your tale plainly, that wee may know it.

Church triumphant and militant.

The better way, M. Harding, had beene, ſéeing the whole matter hangeth onely vpon your fantaſies, to ſay that God hath appointed one principall Archangell to be Pope in Heauen, and al other Powers, Angels, and Dominions to be Subiects. Thus might you eaſily haue made your frame to agrée with your paterne, and the one of your fantaſies to anſwere the other.

For to ſay as you ſay, God ruleth all in Heauen aboue, therfore the Pope muſt rule all in the world beneath, it is but a ſlender kind of reaſoning. S. Auguſtine ſaith, *Aug. de vera Relig. cap. 45.* Quid aliud in pompa huius mundi homo appetit, niſi ſolus eſſe, ſi fieri poſſit, cui multa ſubiecta ſint: peruerſa ſcilicet imitatione omnipotentis Dei? *In the vaine pompe of this world what thing elſe is it that a man doth deſire, but if it were poſſible, to make himſelfe alone ſuch a one vnto whom many things may be obedient: and that by a peeuiſh counterfetting of God omnipotent?*

And this is it that Gregorie ſaith of Iohn the Biſhop of Conſtantinople: *Gregor. lib. 4. Epiſt. 78.* Illum videlicet imitatur, qui ſpreta Angelorum ſocietate, aſcendere conatus eſt ad culmen ſingularitatis: *He followeth Lucifer, who deſpiſing the fellowſhip of the Angels, laboured to get vp to the top of ſingularitie, and ſaid, I wil mount vp aboue the North, and will be like vnto the higheſt.*

Verily Dionyſius writing purpoſely of the policie and gouernment of the Church, and comparing the ſame with the glorious gouernment of the Angels and Powers in Heauen, yet neuer vttered one word of the vniuerſall gouernment of the Pope. May rather in a little Treatie ioyned to the Councell of Laterane, out of this verie place is formed an Argument to the contrarie: *In opere tripart. lib. 2. cap. 5.* In cœleſti Hierarchia tota congregatio Angelorum non habet caput vnum, præter ſolum Deum: Ergo à ſimili in Eccleſiaſtica Hierarchia hominum non debet eſſe vnum caput, præter ſolum Deum: *In the heauenly gouernment the whole companie of the Angels hath none other one head, but only God: therefore of the like in the Eccleſiaſticall gouernment amongſt men, there ought not to be any one head, but only God.*

M. Harding fol. 144 a. *Addition.* ☞ Heere ſaith M. Harding, I maruell yee had the face to bring this foorth. You ſhew your ſelfe to be ſhameleſſe. *The Anſwer.* And why ſo impatiently, M. Harding? Marry (ſay you) is it not there ſet forth for an obiection againſt the truth? Neither doe I ſay ſo: nor doe I vſe it as an argument taken againſt the truth. It is laid forth only as an obiection againſt the Pope. Betweene the Pope and truth there may be a difference, as you know, and as it is euident to the world. But you ſay, It is anſwered in the next chapter. I grant you, it is anſwered indéed, but God wot, full fenderly, as the reſt. Yet neuertheleſſe my ſaying is true. For thus I ſay, Out of this place is formed an argument to the contrarie, that is, againſt the Supremacie of the Pope. Behold my words better M. Harding. This onely I ſay: I ſay no more. And that I ſay, you know is true. Yée were to blame therefore, thus without cauſe, and out of reaſon to waſte your choler. Addition. ☞

Neuertheleſſe M. Harding is well able to fortifie all theſe things by the authoritie of the Scriptures. And héere in ſtead of the firſt chapter of the Prophet Oſee, he allegeth the firſt chapter of the booke of Ioſua. And leſt thou ſhouldeſt thinke it were onely a marginall errour, brought in by ſome ouerſight of the Printer, as he vſeth ſometimes to excuſe and to ſhift the matter, he hath thus laid it wide open in his owne text, Heereof the holy Captaine Ioſue ſeemeth to ſpeake. Howbeit, one error may the better be diſſembled amongſt ſo many. Neither would I haue noted this ouerſight, were not M. Harding ſo immoderate in blaming others.

Ioſua for Oſee.

Indéed

Indeed the Prophet Osee, and not the holy captaine Iosua, speaketh these words: but not, as M. Harding imagineth, of the state of all Christendome vnder One Pope, but of that vnity and consent, that all the Faithfull of the world, as well Iewes as Gentiles, should haue vnder One Christ: as it is most euident by the whole discourse of the Text.

Thus lie the words: *The number of the Children of Israel shall bee as the Sand of the Sea shoare, that cannot be numbred. And it shall come to passe in the place, where it was said vnto them, Ye are no people of mine, there shall it be said vnto them, Ye are the children of the Liuing God. And the children of* Iuda *and the children of* Israel *shall assemble together, and shall appoint vnto themselues one Head.* Osee, cap. 1.

Upon which words S. Hierome writeth thus: Hæc omnia fient quia magnus est Dies Seminis Dei, qui interpretatur Christus: *All these things shall come to passe, because it is the great Day of the Seed of God, which Seed is expounded* (not the Pope, but) *Christ.* *Hieronym. in Osee, cap 1.*

Likewise Nicolaus Lyra: Congregabuntur Filij Iuda, id est, Apostoli: & Filij Israel, id est, Gentiles conuersi: Pariter, id est, in Vna ecclesia: & ponent sibi caput Vnum, id est, Christum: *there shall assemble together the Children of* Iuda, *that is to say, the Apostles: and the children of* Israel, *that is to say, the Heathens conuerted: Together, that is to say, in One Church: and shall appoint vnto themselues* One Head, *that is to say,* (not one Pope, as M. Harding would haue it, but) *One Christ.* *Nicol. Lyra in Osee, cap. 1.*

S. Augustine expounding the same words saith thus: Recolatur Lapis ille Angularis, & duo illi parietes, vnus ex Iudæis, & alter ex Gentibus: *Let vs remember that Corner Stone* (that is, Christ, and not the Pope) *and the two walles, the one of the Iewes, the other of the Heathens.* *Aug. de Ciuit. li. 18. ca. 28.*

The other words, which M. Harding allegeth out of S. John, Christ himselfe expoundeth, not of the Pope, but of himselfe: *I am the good Shepheard: I yeeld my life for my Sheep: I know my sheepe, and am knowne of them: I haue other Sheepe, that be not of this flocke: Them I must bring, that they may heare my voice: and so shall there be one Shepheard, and one Flocke.* Iohn. 10. Ephes. 2.

These words, Chrysostome expoundeth by the words of S. Paul: Vt duos conderet in semetipso in Vnum Nouum Hominem: *That he might worke two people into One New Man* (not in the Pope, but) *in himselfe.* *Chrysost. in Iohan. Homil. 59.*

S. Augustine expounding the same, saith thus: Duobus istis Gregibus, tanquam duobus parietibus, Christus factus est Lapis Angularis: *Vnto these two Flockes, as vnto two walles* (not the Pope, but) *Christ was made the Corner Stone.* *Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 47.*

And what should I allege any other the Old Fathers? Nicolaus Lyra, as simple an Interpreter as he was, yet he likewise saith the same: Fiet Vnus Pastor, id est, Christus: *There shall be one Shepheard, that is to say* (not the Pope, but) *Christ.* *Nicolaus Lyra in Iohan. ca. 10*

Neither is M. Harding able to shew vs any learned allowed Interpreter, Old, or New, that hath expounded this place otherwise.

All these things notwithstanding, as well these words of Christ, as also the other of the Prophet Osee, M. Harding applieth only to the Pope: *The Pope must be the Head: The Pope must be the Shepheard.* Both Christ and Osee prophesied these things of the glory, and kingdome of the Pope. Iuda and Israel shall chuse Christ to be their Head: All the Faithfull throughout the world are one Flocke, and Christ is the Shepheard: Ergo, the Pope is the generall Head of the Vniuersall Church of God.

Such Logike M. Harding is able to teach vs: and with such feare and reuerence can he vse Gods holy Word. And like as the emperour Caligula sometimes tooke off the Head of his great god Iuppiter, and set on another Head of his owne: Euen so by these Interpretations and Glosses, M. Harding smiteth off Christ, the Onely Head of the Church, and setteth on the Pope. For Iohannes de Parisijs (out of whom, or some other the like, he hath borrowed this whole matter) nothing doubteth to tell vs, that Christ is not, nor cannot be the Head of this Body, or the Shepheard of this Flocke. And, lest M. Harding should charge me with vntrue report, his words be these: Congregabuntur Filij Iuda, & Filij Israel, vt ponant sibi Caput Vnum: Et Iohan. 10. Fiet Vnum Ouile, & Vnus Pastor. Quod quidem de Christo intelligi non potest: sed de alio aliquo Ministro, qui præsit loco eius: *The children of* Iuda, *and the children of* Israel *shall assemble together, to appoint vnto themselues one head. And in the tenth of* John, *There shall be made One Fold, and One Shepheard. Which thing doubtlesse cannot be expounded of Christ: but must be taken of some other Minister, that may rule in his stead.* *Suetonius Tranquil. in Caligula.* *Iohan. de Parisijs, de potestate Regia & Papali, cap. 3.*

Thus wee are taught, that Christ is neither the Head of his own Body, the Church, nor the Shepheard of his owne Flocke, but onely the Pope. For consider well these last words of Iohannes de Parisijs, *Doubtlesse* (saith he) *Christ cannot be this One Shepheard. It must needs be some other Minister* (that is, the Pope) *that may rule in stead of Christ.* This one Shepheard, saith he, cannot be Christ. Then must it Only be the Pope. And yet Chrysostome saith, Qui non vtitur Sacra Scriptura, sed ascendit aliunde, id est, non concessa via, hic non Pastor est, sed Fur: *Whosoeuer vseth not the holy Scripture, but commeth in another way* *Chrysost. in Iohan. Homil. 58*

way that is not lawfull, (which is by falſe Gloſes, and Corruptions, ſo doth the Biſhop of Rome, and by ſuch meanes hath won his Vniuerſall authority, as it is eaſie to bee proued) *he is not the Shepheard of the Flocke, he is the Theefe.*

Auguſt. contra Donatiſt. lib. 6. 1. Q. 3. vocantur Canes.

So ſaith S. Auguſtine, Ipſum characterem multi & Lupi, & Lupis imprimunt: *The noie or marke of a Biſhop many giue vnto Wolues, and be Wolues themſelues.*

Feed my Sheepe.

M. Harding ſaith further, Forasmuch as Chriſt is aſcended into Heauen, and is now no more conuerſant amongſt vs in Viſible Forme, as hee was before, it behoued ſome one man to be put in Commiſſion for bearing the charge, and taking care of the whole Church. Therefore he ſaid vnto Peter, *Feed my Flocke: Confirme thy Brethren.* Firſt, what ancient learned Father euer thus ſcanned the words of the Popes Commiſſion? Or why doth M. Harding auouch ſo great a matter of himſelfe only, without farther authority? And if this ſo large Commiſſion be to Feed, and to Feed ſo many, why then doth the Pope Feed ſo little? Or rather, why Feedeth he nothing at all? Or how can hee claime by Feeding, that neuer Feedeth?

M. Harding fol. 147. b.

Addition. ☞ Heere M. Harding hath taken occaſion of ſundry anſweres. Firſt, he ſaith, *Paſcere,* is not a word that ſignifieth to Feed only, as you know, but alſo to rule and gouerne. And therefore *Homer* calleth King *Agamemnon* ποιμένα λαῶν, that is to ſay, The ruler of the people. *The Anſwere.* Whether Chriſt by this word, Paſcere, meant Feeding, or Gouerning, it forceth not greatly: To quarrell for words I haue no ſkill. But why is Homer the blinde Heathen Poet heere alleged as an Interpreter of Chriſts meaning? Or why is King Agamemnons Feeding, or leading of his Subiects brought in, to proue the Feeding of the Pope? Certainely Chriſt ſaith to Peter, and to other his Diſciples, *Kings haue power, and gouernment ouer their Nations. But it ſhall not be ſo among you.* The Feeding that Chriſt meant, ſtood not in Sword, or Scepter, but in Word and Doctrine. Therefore he ſaid to his Diſciples, *Goe into all the world, and preach the Goſpell to euery creature.* S. Paul ſaith, *Let a man ſo eſteeme vs, as the Seruants of Chriſt, and the Stewards of Gods Myſteries.* And Chriſt himſelfe ſaith, *My Sheepe heare my voice, and follow me. He that is of God, heareth the word of God.* The maner of this Feeding, S. Auguſtine expreſſeth thus: Non te paſcere cogita, ſed oues meas: Sicut meas paſce, non ſicut tuas: Gloriam meam in illis quære, non tuam: Dominium meum, non tuum: Lucra mea, non tua: *Thinke not to Feed thy ſelfe, Feed my Sheepe: Feed them as my Sheepe, not as thine owne: Seeke my Honour in them, ſeeke not thine: Seeke my ownerſhip, and not thine: Seeke my gaines, and not thine owne.* This is likely to be the Feeding that Chriſt ſpake of.

Addition ☞

Matth. 20.

Marke 16. 1. Cor. 4. Iohan. 10. Iohan. 8. *Aug. in Ioh. Tract. 123.*

M. Harding fol. 147. b.

Howbeit, as it may appeare by M. Harding, the Pope is not bound to this kinde of Feeding. It is ſufficient for him to be as Agamemnon was, that is, a Prince and a Ruler of the people. God grant, the words of the Prophet Ezechiel be not found true in his Feeding: *Woe be to the Shepheards of Iſrael that Feed themſelues.* The Prophet Ieremie ſaith, Omnes Paſtores tuos paſcet ventus: *Winde, and Vanity ſhall Feed all thy Feeders.* The Apoſtle Iudas ſaith, *They Feed themſelues, they are clouds without water.*

Ezech. 34. Hierem. 22. Judas.

M. Harding fol. 147. b. Chryſoſtom. in Mat. Hom. 55. Ambroſ. in Lucam, cap. 24.

But M. Harding hath heere brought in Chryſoſtome, Ambroſe, Arnobius, Pope Leo and Pope Gregory, to proue the authority of the Pope. The place of Chryſoſtome is alleged, and anſwered once before. His words bee theſe: *The charge to rule the whole Church was giuen to* Peter. S. Ambroſe ſaith, Chriſtus Petrum Amoris ſui velut Vicarium relinquebat: *Chriſt left* S. Peter *as the Vicar of his loue.* To what purpoſe theſe latter words of S. Ambroſe are alleged, I cannot tell. For it were hard for M. Harding to reaſon thus; Chriſt made Peter the Vicar of his Loue: Ergo, the Pope is Lord, and Feeder of all the world. Vndoubtedly S. Ambroſe in that whole place hath not one word, neither of one Generall Feeder, nor of Peters Succeſſour, nor of the Pope: Therefore M. Harding doth wel, thus to qualifie the weakneſſe of his euidence: for thus he ſaith, S. Ambroſe ſaith in effect, as much as I ſaid. And what is that? Verily good Reader, in effect it is as much as nothing. S. Paul ſaith of himſelfe and others, Legatione pro Chriſto fungimur: *We are Ambaſſadors or Meſſengers for Chriſt,* that is to ſay, We are his Vicars: And Chriſt ſaith to his Diſciples all together, *As my liuing Father ſent me, euen ſo doe I ſend you,* that is to ſay, you are the Vicars of my Loue. Shall we therefore heereof conclude, that Paul, and euery of all the Diſciples had Vniuerſall Power ouer the whole Church of God? O, M. Harding, howſoeuer the Pope Feed the people, you ſhould not Feed vs with ſuch Vanities. But Chryſoſtome, you ſay, ſaith thus: The charge to Rule the whole Church was giuen to Peter. Theſe words are pregnant, and proue the purpoſe. But as I haue told you, Theodoretus hath written the like words of Chryſoſtome himſelfe, Chryſoſtomus Doctor Orbis terrarū: Chryſoſtome *the Doctor or Maſter of the World.*

M. Harding fol. 148. a. 2. Corinth. 5. Iohan. 6. *M. Harding fol. 147. b. Theod. lib. 5. cap. 32.*

Yet was not Chryſoſtome therefore, neither Vniuerſall Biſhop, nor Head of the Church.

Now

Now forasmuch as you haue many times in one place alleged these selfe same words by Chrysostome spoken of Peter, as hauing some speciall affiance in the weight of them, may it please you therefore to consider, what words the same Chrysostome hath likewise vttered of S. Paul.

M. Harding pa. 145. b. 147. b. 151 b. 152. a.

Thus therefore he saith: Hoc docet nos Paulus Magister Orbis: *This thing doth* Paul *teach vs being the Master of the world.* Againe: Paulo tribuitur cura omnium Ecclesiarum, non vnius, vel duarum, vel trium, sed omnium, quæ sunt in toto Orbe: *Vnto* Paul *the charge of al Churches is committed: not of one, or two, or three Churches, but of al the Churches that be in all the World.*

Chryso in Genesin. Homil. 7. In Gen. hom. 11. In Ioh. hom. 11. In Act. hom. 53. De Laudib. Pauli hom. 2.

Againe: Paul *being a Persecutor, and a Blasphemer is made the Preacher of all Countries, and ruleth the Church thorowout all the World.*

In 1. Cor. hom. 21.

Paul *gouerneth and ruleth all the whole World:* Paul *was the Apostle of the whole compasse of the Earth:* *All the World was committed to* Paul: Paul *had the ouersight:* Paul *was the warden of all the World.*

In Sermon. De Eleemosyna.

I passe ouer a great number of other like sentences of Chrysostome, and others, whereof some part I haue touched some other where. And what will you conclude hereof, M. Harding? That Paul was the Head of the Vniuersall Church? Doubtlesse these words, thus vttered of him, import no lesse. But what will you then doe with S. Peter? for to set two Heads vpon one Body, it were ouer much.

De precat. l. 2. Contra Iudaeos. orat. 5.

But to passe by, and to dissemble all that may be spoken of Paul and Peter, what if the Pope himselfe giue the same stile and title vnto sundry other inferiour Bishops? what if they bee called the Ouersears of the whole Vniuersall Church, and that euen by the mouth of the Pope himselfe? Marke therefore what Pope Eleutherius writeth to the Bishops of France: Vniuersalis vobis à Christo Ecclesia commissa est: *The Vniuersall Church is committed to you by Christ.* Will you therefore tell vs, M. Harding, that the Bishops of France are the Popes of Rome? or, that they haue Vniuersall power ouer al the World? Thus you see how vainely yee busie your selfe, with drawing the good sayings and sentences of holy Fathers from their meaning.

Epist Elent. ad Episcop. Gallia.

Further you say, Christ left not only Peter to be the Successour of his Loue for his owne life only, but also Peters Successours for euer, that is to say, the Popes: for other Peters Successors (you say) we know not. And are you well assured, M. Harding, that euery Pope is the Successour and Heire of Christs Loue without exception? Would God they were. The World should haue lesse cause to be offended. But Christs Loue passeth not by Inheritance, or Succession of Dees. Whosoeuer is ready to giue himselfe for the Flocke of Christ, be he Pope, or Bishop, or inferiour Priest, he is the Vicar of Christs Loue. In the end hereof M. Harding of his modesty chargeth vs with boasting challenges, and bold talkes, and prating in Pulpits.

M. Harding fol. 148. b.

Againe, where learned M. Harding to reason thus? Christ is ascended into Heauen: Ergo, the Pope is Head of the whole World? Or thus, Christ said to Peter, Feed my Flocke: Ergo the Pope hath Vniuersall power ouer the whole Church of God? How can he make these Arguments to hold, I will not say by Diuinity, but by any reasonable shift of Logike?

Feed my Sheepe.

But ye say, God speaketh not now vnto vs mouth to mouth: nor sendeth vs downe his Angels from Heauen: nor instructeth vs now by Visions, as he did others in the Old times. What of that? Will it therefore follow, that all the world must giue eare to the Pope? Nay M. Harding, Chrysostome saith much better: Because God speaketh not now vnto vs in such familiar sort, *Ergo*, Suam erga Homines amicitiam innouare volens, quasi longe absentibus literas mittit, conciliaturus sibi Vniuersam Hominum Naturam: *Therefore God minding to renew his fauour towards Man, sent (his Holy Scriptures, as it were) his Letters, thereby to reconcile to himselfe all Mankind.* God speaketh not now vnto vs by his Angels, but he hath already spoken vnto vs, as S. Paul saith, by the mouth and presence of his Onely Sonne. And therefore he saith againe, *If an Angell from heauen would now preach vnto vs otherwise, then wee haue receiued, we should hold him accursed.*

Chrys in Genes. Homil. 2.

Hebr. 1.

Galat. 1.

But for the Vnity and quiet gouernment of the Church of God, S. Paul saith, *Christ ascending aboue all the Heauens hath giuen* (not One Vniuersall Pope to rule the whole, but) *some Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangelists, some Pastors, some Doctors, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the worke of the Ministery, for the building vp of the Body of Christ, that we may all come into the Vnity of Faith, and of the knowledge of the Sonne of God.* By these meanes God thought it sufficient to preserue his Church in Vnity, and neuer made mention of One Vniuersall Pope.

Ephes. 4.

Therefore S. Cyprian saith, Vnus est Episcopatus, cuius à singulis in solidum pars tenetur: *There is but One Bishopricke part whereof of euery seuerall Bishop is holden in whole.* And

Cyprian. De Simplicit. Prælatorum.

Cyprian. lib.3. Epist.13. Galat.2. Socra lib.5. cap.21. Aug.epist.28.

againe, Ideò plures sunt in Ecclesia Sacerdotes, vt, vno Hæresim faciente, cæteri subueniant: *Therefore are there many Bishops in the Church, that if one fall into Heresie, the rest may helpe.* Thus, when Peter walked not vprightly to the Gospell, Paul came with helpe, and reproued him openly euen to his face: Thus Irenæus reproued Pope Victor: thus sundrie godly Fathers haue reproued others. Therefore S. Augustine saith, Deus docuit Petrum per posteriorem Paulum. A quocunque enim Verum dicitur, illo donante, dicitur, qui est ipsa Veritas: *Thus God instructed Peter by Paul his fellow, that was called after him. For by whomsoeuer the truth is spoken, it is spoken by his gift, that is Truth it selfe.*

In Conc. Lateran. sub Iulio. In Concil. Lateran. sub Leone. In oratione Stephani Putracensis. Panormitan. de Elect. ca. Licet.

yée say, the Pope succeedeth not Christ in all his Substance, that is to say, in all his Power: neither hath there any such fond saying beene vttered (say you) at any time by the Diuines. If this be true, wherefore then be these words written, and so well allowed of in the Councell of Laterane, Tibi data est Omnis Potestas, in Cœlo, & in Terra: *Vnto your Holinesse all Power is giuen as well in Heauen, as in Earth?* Wherefore is Bernard so wel allowed to force the same farther with these words: Qui totum dedit, nihil excludit: *He that hath giuen thee all, hath excepted nothing?* Wherefore is Panormitane allowed to say, Papa potest omnia, quæ Deus ipse potest: *The Pope is able by his Power to doe, whatsoeuer God himselfe can doe?*

Gregor. lib.4. epist. De Maiorit. & Obedien. Vnam Sanct. in Glossa.

For the rest, M. Harding saith, One King is able to rule One Kingdome: Ergo One Pope is able to rule the whole Church. This reason is very simple, and is answered before. Of the Gouernment of Princes, wee haue daily practise: But of Popes, that euer exercised this Vniuersall Dominion ouer the whole Church of God, M. Harding is not able to shew vs One. Or if hee bee able to lay forth One, let him shew him for his credits sake. If there be not One such example to bee found from the Ascension of Christ vnto this day, then although the Pope had it in claime by Charter, yet hath he lost it by Non vsure. Well were it with him, if he were but a Member of Christs Body, and a Sheepe of his Flocke. S. Gregory said sometime to Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople claiming vnto himselfe the same Title, and thinking himselfe able enough to rule the whole, Quid tu Christo Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ Capiti, in Extremi Iudicij responsurus es examine, qui cuncta eius Membra tibimet conaris Vniuersalis appellatione supponere? *What answere wilt thou make in the triall of the last iudgement, vnto Christ the Head of his Vniuersall Church, that thus by the name of Vniuersall Bishop, seekest to bring vnder thee all the Members of his Body?*

Last of all, M. Harding concludeth without Premisses: whosoeuer will not be ruled by this Shepheard the Pope, is of the Heard of Antichrist. So saith one of the Popes hired Proctors: Quicquid saluatur, est sub summo Pontifice: *Whatsoeuer Soule is saued, it is vnder the Pope.* This one thing being granted, M. Hardings whole cause falleth cleere.

To Forsake the Pope.

Dist.12. Non Decet.

But God be thanked, it appeareth already to al them, that haue eies to see, that we haue not departed from the seruile Obedience of that Sée, but vpon iust cause, and good aduice: And in such sort the Pope himselfe will not deny, but it is lawfull for any Church to dissent from the Church of Rome. These be his words, which must bee holden for a Law: Quicquid sine discretione Iustitiæ contra Romanæ Ecclesiæ Disciplinam actum fuerit, ratum haberi nulla ratio permittit: *Whatsoeuer thing is done without discretion of Iustice, against the Order of the Church of Rome, it may not by any meanes be allowed.* By which words it appeareth, Ex contrario Sensu, *By an Argument of the contrary*, that, whatsoeuer is done by discretion of Iustice, notwithstanding it be against the Order of the Church of Rome, yet ought it to be well allowed.

M. Harding pa.155.

Addition. ☞ To this M. Harding answereth, If I had séene the folly hereof, I would neuer haue printed it for very shame. For the Glosse there, which otherwheres he condemneth, as pelting and beggarly, saith thus: Here the argument of the contrary sense is auoided and taketh no place. But indeed, as it may appeare, this poore Gloser was void of somewhat himselfe. For thus he concludeth, and that very well, to M. Hardings liking, *That without the authority of the Church of Rome we may doe nothing, bee it neuer so iust and true, and neuer so much done by discretion of Iustice.* Yet, good Reader, truth is truth and one for euer, whether the Church of Rome will allow it, or no. Addition. ☞

Dist.12. Illa.

S. Ambrose saith, as in the same place he is alleged, Ego cùm Romam venio, Sabbatum ieiuno: cùm Mediolani sum non ieiuno: *When I come to Rome, I fast on the Saturday: When I am at Millaine, I fast not.* By these we see, that in the Church of Millaine the Saturday was not fasted. And yet did they well, and according to the discretion of Iustice, and yet contrary to the Order of the Church of Rome.

S. Augustine likewise in the same place saith, *Whatsoeuer things are not contrary, neither to the Catholike Faith, nor to good maners, they must be taken as things indifferent.* Thus the Glosse, that M. Harding so much commendeth, is quite contrary to the Text. As for the

Order

Order of the Church of Rome, the holy Catholike Fathers sometimes, as it may appeare, haue little esteemed it.

S. Hierome thereof saith thus vnto Euagrius, Quid mihi profers vnius Vrbis Consuetudinem? *What bringest thou me the custome of Rome, that is but one Citie?* As if he would say, Is that Order sufficient to binde the whole Church of Christ? *If ye recken authorities, the World is greater then the City of Rome.* This had been proudly and disdainefully spoken, had the Order of Rome been a sufficient direction for all the world. *Hieronym. ad Euagrium.*

S. Augustine saith, Ne Catholicis quidem Episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte falluntur, vt contra Canonicas Scripturas aliquid sentiant: *We may not giue our consent vnto any Bishops, be they neuer so Catholike, if they happen to be deceiued, and to determine contrarie to the Scriptures.* *Augu. de Vnitate Eccles. Catholicæ. cap. 10.*

And Pope Pius the Second, himselfe saith, Resistendum est quibuscunque in faciem, siue Paulus, siue Petrus sit, qui ad Veritatem non ambulat Euangelij: *We are bound to withstand any man to the face, be it* Peter, *be it* Paul, *if he walke not to the Truth of the Gospel.* *Abbas Vrsper. pag. 443.*

To conclude, where the Wolfe is broken in, it is best for the poore Sheepe to breake out. That the Wolfe was broken in, beside the cruell spoile and rauening of Christian blood, it is plaine by the words of S. Bernard. For thus he speaketh therof in open Councel, and in the presence of sundry Bishops: Non custodiunt gregem Domini, sed mactant, & deuorant: *They keepe not the Lords flocke, but they kill it, and deuoure it.* Againe hee saith, Propterea relinquamus istos, quia non sunt Pastores, sed Traditores: *Therefore let vs leaue them, for they are not Pastors, but Traitors.* And therefore God thus warneth vs in the like case: Exite de medio horum hominum, ne cum illis pereatis: *Goe forth from the middest of those men, lest ye perish all together.* *Bernardus in Concil. Remen. In eodem Concilio.* Numer. 16.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision 3.

The other Apostles equal with Peter.

For all the Apostles, as Cyprian saith, were of like power among themselues, and the rest were the same that Peter was.

M. Harding.

Power is double, the one Ordinary, the other by Priuiledge or Extraordinarie. Ordinary power is that which continueth in one & the same course for euer. According to which Power Peter was Head of the Church, and his Successors after him. Power by Priuiledge, or Extraordinary is that which is giuen besides the common course by way of dispensation. As where the other Apostles should haue receiued Ordinarily their Power from Peter, as who had commission ouer all, both Lambs and Sheepe, among whom the Apostles had their place: Christ by special grace preuenteth ordinary course, and maketh them for the time, and in their Persons equall with Peter in the office of Apostleship. Thus concerning Ordinary Power, Peter is Head of the Apostles, and by that reason they are subiect vnto him, as Sheepe vnto their Shepheard. But by priuiledge true it is, as S. Cyprian saith, They were of like power among themselues. *Now what oddes there is betwixt an Ordinary authority of iudging giuen to any Officer, for himselfe, and his Successors in that Office for euer, and a speciall commission for life time onely; so much is betwixt Peter and the rest of the Apostles.

Peters Power Ordinary.
The Apostles Power Extraordinary.
Peter is the Shepheard;
The Apostles are the sheepe.
Manifest, and meere Vntruths.
*Peter hath Power to him, and to his Heires for euer.
The Apostles haue power only for terme of life.
Cyprian. De Simplicit. Prælatorum.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

S. Cyprians words be plaine: Hoc erant vtique & cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædíti & Honoris & Potestatis. Sed exordium ab vnitate proficiscitur, vt Ecclesia vna monstretur: *The rest of the Apostles were the same, that* Peter *was, all endued with one Fellowship both of Honour and of Power. Yet the Beginning is taken of One, to shew that the Church is One.* But all these words be they neuer so plaine, are soone shifted by a poetic Distinction, such as neither S. Cyprian, nor any other learned Father or Doctor euer knew.

We are taught here to vnderstand, that there are two Powers: The one Ordinarie, the other Extraordinary. By Ordinary Power, saith M. Harding, that is to say, by Order, and of Common Course, Peter appointed all the rest of the Apostles, and gaue them Authority. And Christ also likewise gaue them Authority: but by Extraordinarie Power, that is to say, besides Order, and out of Course. Or, to vtter the matter in plainer wise, Peter gaue Power to the Apostles by his vsuall Authority, and by due forme of Law: but Christ gaue them Power, as M. Harding saith, Onely for the time, and by way of Dispensation, and besides the Law. And thus Peter is the Ordinary Head of the Apostles; Christ is their Head too, howbeit, not in like sort, but Extraordinary. For, as touching Order of gouernment, Peter is the Shepheard, and the Apostles are the Sheepe. All other the Apostles hold their Power, as by copy, for tearme of life; Peter only holdeth the same in Fee Simple, to him, and to his Heires for euer.

And,

And, good Christian Reader, lest thou shouldest thinke, I haue in scorne, and wilfully wrested M. Hardings words, which otherwise might be vttered by him in some sober meaning: may it please thee by these few to consider, what certain others of that side haue vttered and published, touching the same.

Petr. de Palude de Potest. Apostolor. Art. 2. Petrus de Palude saith thus; Dico, quòd nullus Apostolorum, præter Petrum, factus est à Christo Episcopus: *I say, that none of the Apostles, sauing onely* Peter, *was made Bishop by Christ.* And again, Videretur, in nouo Testamento, quòd alij Apostoli à Christo nullam Potestatem iurisdictionis receperunt: & per consequens relinquitur, quòd omnis potestas Iurisdictionis, quam habuerunt Apostoli, specialiter post Christi ascensum, fuit collata eis à Petro: *It would appeare, that in the New Testament the rest of the Apostles receiued no maner Power of Iurisdiction at Christs hands: & so consequently it followeth, that al the Power of Iurisdiction that the Apostles had, specially after Christs ascension, was giuen vnto them by* Peter.

Petr. de Palude in eodem Arts.

Petr de Palude in eodem cap. Againe, he imagineth God the Father thus to say vnto Christ: Constitues eos Principes, non per te, sed per tuum Vicarium: *Thou shalt make the Apostles Gouernors ouer al the earth, not by thy selfe, but by* Peter, *thy Vicar.* And againe, Paulus, & alij Apostoli à Petro, non debuerunt prædicare in Ecclesia specialiter Petro commissa, nisi de eius licentia. Vnde a Christo habuerunt idoneitatem: a Petro autem Authoritatem: Paul, *& the other Apostles might not preach in the Church committed vnto* Peter, *but with* Peters *Licence. For of Christ they had only ability: but of* Peter *they receiued Authority.* In like maner writeth Pope Nicolas: Petrũ in Consortium Indiuiduæ Vnitatis assumptum, id, quod ipse erat, Dominus voluit nominari: *Our Lord tooke* Peter *into the Fellowship of the Holy Vnity, and would haue him called the same, that he was himselfe.*

Petr. de Palude de Potesta Curator. Art. 6.

Extr. de Elect. & Electi potest. Fundamenta.

By such amplifications, and outrage in speech, it would appeare, Christ were Peters Vicar; and not Peter Vicar vnto Christ. In this sense and meaning M. Harding seemeth to say, that by ordinary, and common course of Law, the Apostles had all their Power, not from Christ, but only from Peter.

But here M. Harding vnwares falleth into a maruellous inconuenience. For these things thus granted, it must needs follow, that during the time of Christs abode in earth the Apostles had no maner ordinarie power at all; neither to preach, nor to baptize, nor to binde, nor to lose. For Heruæus a Doctour of M. Hardings side, saith thus; Sciendum, quòd cùm Christus conuersabatur cum hominibus, non fuit alius Papa præter ipsum, nec Petrus tunc habuit potestatem papalem: *We must vnderstand, that while Christ was conuersant amongst men in earth, there was none other Pope but he alone: neither then had* Peter *the Popes authoritie.*

Heruæus de potestate Papæ. His suppositis.

So likewise saith Petrus de Palude, Non decebat esse simul, nisi vnum summum Pontificem. Vnde Christo ascensuro debuit Petrus fieri Episcopus summus, & non antea: *It was not meet there should bee more then one highest Bishop at one time. Therefore when Christ was ready to ascend into Heauen, it was conuenient to make Peter the highest Bishop, & not before.*

Petr. de Palude De Potesta. Apostolorum.

For so long time Christ could not giue his Apostles any ordinarie Authority: for M. Harding telleth vs that his power herin was onely extraordinarie. Of the other side Peter could giue them none: for as Heruæus and Paludensis say, Vntill Christs ascension he was not Pope.

But to leaue these vaine fantasies, not worth the hearing, S. Paul will soone remoue all these doubts: Thus he writeth of himselfe: Paul *the Apostle, not of men, nor appointed by men, but by Iesus Christ, and God the Father* And S. Chrysostome hereof writeth thus, Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec illius egebat voce: sed Honore par erat illi. Nihil enim hic dicam amplius: Paul *had no maner of lacke of* Peter, *nor stood in need of his voice, or allowance: but in Honour was his Fellow. For I will heere say no more.* His meaning is, hee was his better.

Galat. 1.

Chrys. in epist. ad Galat. ca. 1.

Howbeit, what need words? Set contention apart, the case is cleere: For it was not Peter, that breathed ouer the Apostles: It was not Peter, that said vnto them, *Goe to the lost Sheepe of the house of Israel: Receiue the Holy Ghost: Goe into all the World, and Preach the Gospell.* All this Power was giuen them by Christ alone, and not by Peter.

Iohn 10. Mark. 16.

Now, whereas M. Harding teacheth vs, that Peter was the Shepheard, and the Apostles the Shéepe, making them all as much inferiour vnto Peter, as the Shéepe is inferiour vnto the Shepheard; S. Hierome saith, notwithstanding he grant, that of the twelue Apostles One was chosen, that, a Head being appointed, occasion of discord might be remoued, yet he saith: Super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia: Licèt id ipsum in alio loco super Omnes Apostolos fiat, & cuncti claues Regni Cœlorum accipiant, & ex Æquo super eos Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur: *Yee wil say, the Church is founded vpon* Peter: *Notwithstanding in another place the same thing is done vpon al the Apostles: and all receiue the keies of the kingdome of Heauen: and the strength of the Church is founded* Equally *vpon them all.* Likewise

Hieron. aduer. Iouinian. lib. 1.

the

the learned Father Origen saith, Quod si super vnum illum Petrum tantùm existimas ædificari totam Ecclesiam, quid dicturus es de Iohanne filio Tonitrui, & Apostolorum vnoquoque? *If thou thinke the whole Church was builded only vpon* Peter, *what wilt thou then say of* Iohn *the sonne of the Thunder, and of euery of the Apostles?* *Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.*

Therefore S. Chrysostome of Perer saith thus: Duplex crimen erat, tum quia repugnauit, tum quia cæteris seipsum præposuit: Peter *was in double fault; both for that hee withstood Christ, and also for that he set himselfe before the rest.* *Chrys. in Matthæ. Hom. 83.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition* ☞ It may be said, These words are not specially spoken of the Superiorities of S. Peter. All this I grant: yet by the same words he is blamed for setting himselfe before the rest. But in the same homilie Chrysostome calleth Peter Verticem Apostolorum, *The head of the Apostles*, saith M. Harding. So doth the same Chrysostome call Elias Caput prophetarum, *The head of the Prophets.* Yet had not Elias therefore all other Prophets in subiection. S. Gregorie calleth Paul Caput Nationum, *The head of Nations*: And Chrysostome saith, Paul *was in a manner the common Father of all the world.* Againe hee saith, Nullus Paulum antecedit. De ea re nemo omnium dubitat: *No man hath place before* Paul. *And thereof no man doubteth.* Yet was not Paul therefore the Bishop of Rome. ☜ *M. Harding fol. 157. b. Chrys. ad Roman. Hom. 18. fol. 300. Greg. in. Reg. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Chrys. de laudib. Pauli, Hom. 3.*

S. Augustine maketh Peter fellow and equall with the other Apostles: Inter se concorditer vixerunt Petrus, & condiscipuli eius: Peter *and his fellowes liued agreeably together.* And again, Christus sine personarum acceptione hoc dedit Paulo vt ministraret Gentibus, quod etiam Petro dederat vt ministraret Iudæis: *Christ without any choice of Persons gaue the same (Authoritie) to* Paul *to minister among the Heathens, that he gaue to* Peter *to minister among the Iewes.* And the very ordinarie Glosse giueth these words to S. Paul: Non didici ab alijs tanquam à maioribus: sed contuli cum illis tanquam cum amicis & paribus: *I learned not of* (Peter *and*) *others as of my betters: but I had conference with them as with my equals and friends.* Likewise Paul himselfe saith, Iacobus, Petrus, Iohannes, qui videbantur columnæ esse, dextras dederunt mihi & Barnabæ societatis: Iames, Peter, *and* Iohn, *that seemed to be the Pillers, gaue vnto me and* Barnabas *the right hands of fellowship.* Which the Glosse expoundeth thus, Societatis, i. æqualitatis: *Of fellowship, that is to say, of equality.* *Chrys. in Matthæ. Homil. 66. Aug. Ep. 86. August. in Ep. ad Galat. ca. 2. Gloss. Galat. 2. Galat. 2.*

The other Apostles equal with Peter.

Therefore notwithstanding M. Hardings Ordinarie and extraordinarie Distinctions, S. Cyprians words are plaine and true, *The rest of the Apostles were euen the same* (in Authoritie) *that* Peter *was, all endued with one fellowship, both of honour, and of power.*

The Apology, Chap. 3. Diuision 4.

And that it was said indifferently to them all: Feed ye: **indifferently to them all,** Goe into the whole world: **indifferently to them all:** Teach ye the Gospell.

M. Harding.

Wee denie that it was said indifferently to them all, Feed yee: Yea, or that it was said at all, Feed yee. *To Peter, and none else, was it said, Feed my lambes, Feed my sheepe. Which word of feeding so singularly spoken to Peter in the presence of the other Apostles, prooueth that it was not indifferently said to all, Feed ye. That they were sent into the whole world, and that they were commanded to teach, and in that respect also to feed, we confesse, vnder the distinction of ordinarie & extraordinarie power before mentioned.

Iohn 21. Marke 16.

* Vntruth most vaine and manifest.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

It forceth not greatly what M. Harding denie or grant, hauing neither reason nor authoritie, but only his owne. But if power were not giuen indifferently to all the Apostles, tell vs then, as touching feeding, wherein is the odds? What had Peter more? What had the others lesse? Or what old Doctour or learned Father euer saw this difference?

Addition ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Here M. Harding onely crieth out, Impudencie, and shame vpon vs: and sheweth nothing. And no great marueil. For nothing was to be shewed. ☜ *M. Harding pag. 159.*

☜ Christ said equally vnto them all, *Receiue the Holy Ghost: whose sinnes ye forgiue, they are forgiuen. Goe into the whole world: Preach the Gospell to euery creature.* These words perteine equally vnto all. Peter had no more the holy Ghost, no more power to forgiue sinnes, no more commission to goe into the whole world, no more authoritie to preach the Gospell, then others had. *Iohn 21. Marke 13.*

M Harding saith, To the rest of the Apostles it was not said at all, *Feed ye.* To Peter and to none else was it said, *Feed my lambes: Feed my sheepe.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Yet the ancient learned Father Origen, speaking namely of these words, *Vpon this Rocke will I build my Church*; And, *To thee will I giue the keies of the Kingdome of Heauen*, saith thus, Hæc velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium communia: *These* *Orig. in Matth. Tract. 1.*

words being spoken as vnto Peter, are common to all the Apostles. These words, saith he, are not spoken directly, or only vnto Peter, but as vnto Peter. And the other Apostles haue the keies, and are the Rocke as well as Peter. If this be true, as it is, with what good countenance then can M. Harding so boldly tell vs, *To Peter and none else was it said, Feed my lambes, Feed my sheepe?*

Hieron. contra Iouinian. lib. 1. And S. Hierome saith, as it is before alleged, *All the Apostles receiued the keies of the Kingdome of Heauen: and the strength of the Church was built* equally *vpon them all.* S. Paul saith, *What is* Apollo, *what is* Paul, *but the Ministers of Christ, through whom ye haue beleeued?* Paul *hath planted:* Apollo *hath watered. He that planteth is nothing: He that watereth is nothing.* Chrysostome saith, Angeli, quamlibet magni, tamen Serui sunt, ac Ministri: *The Angels of God, be they neuer so great, yet are they but Seruants, and Ministers.* Therefore, to conclude, he saith, Ne Paulo quidem obedire oportet, si quid proprium dixerit, si quid humanum: sed Apostolo Christum in se loquentem circumferenti: *We may not beleeue* Paul *himselfe, if he speake any thing of his owne, or of worldly reason: but wee must beleeue the Apostle bearing about Christ speaking within him.*

1.Cor.3.

Chryso. in Ep. ad Galat. cap. 1

Chryso. in Ep. ad Timoth. 2. Hom. 2.

M. Harding pag. 126. *Addition.* ☞ This is your owne bad stuffe (saith M. Harding) and proueth nothing. *The answer.* What stuffe it is, how much it weigheth, and how well it proueth, I will not trie: but leaue the iudgement vnto the Reader. Thus much, I trow, at least it proueth, *That the Church was equally built vpon all the Apostles,* as well vpon Iames or Iohn, as vpon S. Peter. For so saith S. Hierome: *And that Christs words spoken as vnto* Peter *were common to all:* For so saith Origen. This, M. Harding, was my purpose to proue: And this I thought had bene sufficient. It proueth, that in the Apostleship Peter and Paul, and the rest of the Apostles were all one, and so one of them not so farre inferiour to another as is imagined. It proueth that Peter and Paul, as touching their persons and offices of planting and watering were both nothing. For so saith S. Paul, *He that planteth is nothing: and he that watereth is nothing.* And what great difference in dignitie can you finde, M. Harding, betweene nothing, and nothing? If Peter that chosen vessell that planted Christs Church, be nothing, what then is he that hath rooted vp all things, and planteth nothing? ☜

Addition. ☞

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision 5.

And (as S. Hierom saith) all Bishops whersoeuer they be, be they at Rome, be they at Eugubium, be they at Constantinople, be they at Rhegium, be all of like Preeminence, & of like Priesthood. And, as Cyprian saith, There is but one Bishopricke, and a peece therof is perfectly and wholly holden of euery particular Bishop.

Ad Euagrium.

De Simpl. Prælator.

M. Harding.

Vntruth. Read the Answer.

The interpreter, not without the will & aduice of his Defender, hath altered the sense of the Latine, as the Author of the Latine hath altered the words of S. Hierome. For neither speaketh S. Hierome of Bishops in the plurall number, neither saith the Latine Apologie that the Bishops bee all of like preeminence, which this translation hath, but of the same merit, and of the same priesthood. With the word preeminēce guilefully shifted into the sentence in place of this word merit, these false plaiers thought to winne the game. That is, that all Bishops after the minde of S. Hierome be of like preeminence, and so that all be of like power and authoritie, and none aboue other.

Hieromes place discussed.

Equality of Bishops.

Concerning the place alleged, S. Hierom in an Epistle to Euagrius speaking against that, a particular custome of the Church of Rome should preiudicate the authoritie of the whole world, in preferring Deacons before Priests, compareth Bishops of great Cities & little Townes together, and saith, that as touching the honour, dignitie, and power of Bishoply order and office, and of Priesthood, as good and as great a Bishop in that respect is the one as the other; and that the Bishop of Eugubium & Rhegium, two little Townes in Italie, and of Thebes another little Towne in Egypt, are Bishops and Priests, and haue as great (a) merit in regard of any their vertues, & as great power concerning the order of Priesthood, as the Bishops of Rome, of Constantinople, of Alexandria. Yet as touching power and authoritie of regiment, the Patriarks of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antiochia bee aboue Bishops of other Dioceses, and the Bishop of Rome Peters successor is (b) aboue all. For we being many, are one bodie in Christ, and euery man among our selues one anothers members. This knot requireth a mutuall consent of the whole bodie, but chiefly the concord of Priests: among whom although dignitie be not common to them all, yet order is generall, as Leo writeth. For euen among the most blessed Apostles (saith he) in likenesse of honour there was ods of power. And whereas the election of them all was equall, yet to one was it giuen to be ouer the rest. Out of which plat rose the distinction also of Bishops, and with great prouidence it hath beene disposed that all should not take all vpon them, but that in euery prouince there should be one who might first giue his sentence among his brethren: and againe, that in the great Cities some should be ordeined for taking vpon them matters of greater care, through whom the charge of the vniuersal Church should haue course to the one See of Peter, and that nothing should euer dissent from the Head.

(a) This was no part of the question.

(b) Vntruth. For the B. of Rome is equall with the other fiue Patriarks, as shall appeare.

Epist. 34. Among Bishops is difference of power with likenesse of honour.

How great & honourable soeuer the roome is that any Bishop is placed in, be he Archbishop, Metropolitane,

politane, Primate, Patriarke, or Pope himselfe: he is no more a Bishop thē any other of those who occupie the lowest roome. The diuersitie consisteth in this, that they are called to part of charge in sundrie proportions, as the Bishoprikes are greater or lesser. the Pope hath committed vnto him (c) the charge of the whole fold of Christ, and hath the fulnesse of power. For if all were of like power, as these Defenders teach, Vnitie could not be maintained. Wherfore (d) by very order of Christ himselfe it hath beene ordeined that matters touching faith and religion, at least such as be weightie, be referred to that one Prince of Pastors, who sitteth in the chaire of Peter the high. st Bishop, which hath (e) alwaies been done and obserued from the Apostles time to our daies by Catholikes, and not seldome also by Heretikes.

The diuersitie betweene Bishops, wherein it cōsisteth

The sentence that this Defender allegeth out of S. Cyprian, it seemeth he vnderstood it not. Yee say, that a piece of that one Bishopricke is perfectly & wholly holden of euery particular Bishop. But what meane ye by that? If by this word *In solidum*, perfectly & wholly holden, ye meane that euery particular Bishop is a Bishop without depending of any other, then ye speake against the words ye bring out of S. Cyprian. Who saith, that as there are many beames of one Sunne, many boughs of one roote, many riuers of one fountaine; so there are many Bishops of one Bishopricke. Therefore this Bishopricke is vnto particular Bishops, as the Sunne, as the root, as the fountaine. (f) what the fountaine, root, and Sunne of this Bishopricke is, S. Cyprian declareth a little before, shewing that it was said to Peter, To thee I will giue the keies of the Kingdome of Heauen. And, Feed my sheepe.

De simplicitate Prælatorū.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Hēre M. Harding chargeth vs with two of his owne common faults. First with corruption: next with ignorance. With corruption in the words and sense of S. Hieromes with ignorance in the place of S. Cyprian. But if we be able sufficiently and truely to answer both, I trust M. Harding shall haue no great cause much to vaunt himselfe, either of his plaine dealing hērein, or of his knowledge.

And hēre, to dissemble these childish cauillations of the altering of numbers, the singular into the plurall; and of the changing of this word Merit, into this word Preeminence; which great fault, if it were any, by M. Hardings owne confession, proceeded only from the interpreter, and not from the Authour: I say, to dissemble and to passe by all these silly quarrels, what S. Hierome meant hereby, Erasmus a man of great learning and iudgement, expoundeth thus: Hieronymus æquare videtur omnes Episcopos inter se, perinde quasi omnes ex æquo Apostolis successerint. Nec putat vllum Episcopum alio minorem esse, quòd sit humilior: aut maiorem, quòd sit opulentior. Nam æquat Eugubiensem Episcopum cum Romano. Deinde non putat Episcopum quouis Presbytero præstantiorem esse, nisi quòd ius habeat Ordinandi: Hierome *seemeth to match all Bishops together, as of they were all* equally *the Apostles successors. And he thinketh not any Bishop to be lesse then other, for that he is poorer: or greater then other for that he is richer. For hee maketh the Bishop of* Eugubium (**a poore towne**) quall *with the Bishop of Rome. And farther he thinketh that a Bishop is no better then any Priest sauing that the Bishop hath authoritie to Order Ministers.*

Erasmus in schol. in Epist. ad Euagrium.

Addition. ☞ **Hereto M. Harding answereth thus:** *Erasmus* saith within fiue lines following, that the Metropolitane hath a certaine dignitie and iurisdiction aboue other Bishops. Take the one (saith he) with the other. *The answer.* **I am contented M. Harding;** Erasmus **saith, The Metropolitane had a dignitie aboue other Bishops. But he saith not, The Bishop of Rome had iurisdiction ouer all Bishops throughout the world. In S. Hieromes time there were** Metropolitans, Archbishops, Archdeacons, **and others. But Christ appointed not these distinctions of Orders from the beginning. These names are not found in all the Scriptures. This is the thing that we defend.** S. Hierome **saith,** Sciant Episcopi, &c. *Let Bishops vnderstand* (**whereunto we adde further, Let the Bishops of Rome themselues vnderstand**) *that they are in authoritie ouer Priests more by custome then by order of Gods truth.* **These be** S. Hieromes **words truly translated. What he meant thereby I leaue to the iudgement of the Reader.** Erasmus **likewise saith in the selfe same place aboue alleged:** Quòd Episcopo minus tribuit dignitatis, &c. *Whereas* S. Hierome *yeeldeth lesse dignitie and authoritie vnto Bishops then now adaies they seeme to haue, we must vnderstand he spake of that time wherein he liued. If he had seene our Bishops that now be, hee would haue said otherwise* **For now the Pope claimeth a power aboue all the powers in Heauen and Earth, as it is written in the Councell of** Laterane. **Againe** Erasmus **in another place speaking hereof, saith thus:** Sanctus vir ingenuè fatetur, Episcopum Romanum non esse cæteris Episcopis sublimiorem Sacerdotio, sed tantum opibus: *This holy man* S. Hierome *saith plainly, and freely, and as he thinketh, that the Bishop of Rome is aboue other Bishops not by Bishopricke, but onely by riches.* **By his riches only, M. Harding,** Erasmus **saith the Pope is aboue other Bishops. By riches onely, (hee saith) not by right of Gods word not by vertue, not by learning, not by diligence in preaching: but onely by riches. Now it may please you to follow your owne rule, and to lay the one saying to the other.** ☜

M. Harding 164. a.

Hiero in Epist. ad Titum ca. 1.

Eras. in Schol. in Epist ad Euagrium.

Sub Leone, Sessione 10. Erasm. in Apologia ad Pium.

But S. Hieromes **words are plaine of themselues, and haue no need of other exposition. Thus he writeth:** Quid facit, excepta Ordinatione, Episcopus, quod Presbyter non facit?

Hieronym. ad Euagrium.

Equality of Bishops

(c) Vntruth. For Christ neuer gaue the Pope any such charge.

(d) Vntruth. For Christ neuer gaue such order.

(e) Vntruth. For it hath not alwaies beene obserued.

(f) Vntruth, without any likelihood or regard of truth.

Equalitie of Bishops

Nec altera Romanæ Vrbis Ecclesia, altera totius orbis existimanda est. Et Gallia, & Britannia, & Aphrica, & Persis, & Oriens, & India, & omnes barbaræ Nationes vnum Christum adorant: vnam obseruant regulam veritatis. Si Authoritas quęritur, Orbis maior est Vrbe. Vbicunque fuerit Episcopus, siue Eugubij, siue Constantinopoli, siue Alexandriæ, siue Tanai, eiusdem meriti, eiusdem est Sacerdotij. Potentia diuitiarum, & paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem, vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Cæterùm omnes Apostolorum Successores sunt. Quid mihi profers vnius Vrbis consuetudinem? *What doth a Bishop, sauing only the ordering of Ministers, but a Priest may doe the same? Neither may we thinke that the Church of Rome is one, and the Church of all the world beside is another.* France, England, Aphrica, Persia, Leuante, India, *and all the barbarous Nations worship one* Christ, *and keepe one rule of the truth. If wee seeke for Authoritie, the whole world is greater then the Citie of* Rome. *Whersoeuer there be a Bishop, bee it at* Eugubium, *be it at* Rome, *be it at* Constantinople, *be it at* Rhegium, *be it at* Alexandria, *bee it at* Tanais, *they are all of one worthinesse, they are all of one Bishopricke. The power of riches, and the baseneſſe of pouertie maketh not a Bishop either higher or lower. For they are all the Apostles Successours. What bring you me the Custome of Rome,* being but one Citie?

Addition. ☞ Hęre M. Harding findeth great fault, for that I haue translated these words Eiusdem Sacerdotij, *Of one Bishopricke*, and not, as hee would haue it, *Of one Priesthood.* God wot, a very simple quarrell. Let him take whether he liketh best, if either other of these words shall serue his turne. Erasmus saith, Id temporis idem erat Episcopus, Sacerdos, & Presbyter: *These three names at that time were all one.* Addition. ☞

Erasm. aduersus Albert. Pium.

Now, if M. Harding will steale away in the darke, as his manner is, and say that S. Hierome spake only of the merit of life, or of the office of Priesthood, let some man tell him that this was no part, neither of the question mooued, nor of the answer of S. Hierome. And S. Hierome in plaine and expresse words saith, Si Authoritas quæritur, *If wee seeke* (not for merit of life, but) *for Authoritie in gouernment, therein the whole world is greater then the Citie of Rome.* M. Harding imagineth S. Hierome spake onely of, I know not what: but S. Hierome himselfe saith, hee speaketh namely of Authoritie.

And whereas M. Harding is so highly offended with the changing of this word Merit, into this word Preeminence; and saith farther, that these false Plaiers thought thereby to winne the game; it may please him to remember, that howsoeuer the game goe, S. Hierome himselfe plainly plaid the selfe same game: I meane, that S. Hierome vsing this word (Merit) without question meant (Preeminence) and not Merit of life. For thus he saith, Potentia diuitiarum, & paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem, vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit: *The power of riches, and the baseneſſe of pouertie maketh not a Bishop either higher or lower.* M. Harding might easily haue seene, that *Higher* and *Lower* perteine not to Merit of life, but to Preeminence. Therfore let him looke better vpon his booke before he thus lightly condemne others of corruption.

I grant, it is true, as M. Harding saith, This quarrell first beganne about a particular Custome of the Church of Rome, whereas the Deacons vaunted themselues, and would bee placed aboue the Priests. But hęre M. Harding as his manner is, willinglie dissembleth and suppresseth somewhat. S. Augustine more liuely and fully expresseth the same. For thereof he writeth thus: Quidam qui nomen habet Falcidij, duce stultitia, & Romanæ Ciuitatis iactantia, Leuitas Sacerdotibus, & Diaconos Presbyteris coæquare contendit: *One Falcidius, foolishneſſe, and the pride of the Citie of Rome leading him thereto, laboureth to make the Deacons equall with the Priests.*

Augu. in queſt. veteris & noui Teſtamenti, quaſt. 101.

This lewd disorder S. Hierome controlleth by the examples of other Churches, and saith, that therein the authoritie of the whole world is greater then the authoritie of the Church of Rome: of which also he seemeth to speake scornefully, and with some disdaine. For thus he saith, Quid mihi profers vnius Vrbis consuetudinem? *What bring you mee the Custome of* (Rome, being but) *one Citie?* By which words it seemeth he made small account of the Citie of Rome.

But M. Harding saith, The Primates had authoritie ouer other inferiour Bishops. I grant, they had so. Howbeit, they had it by agreement and custome, but neither by Christ, nor by Peter or Paul, nor by any right of Gods Word. S. Hierome saith, Nouerint Episcopi se magis consuetudine quàm dispositionis dominicæ veritate Presbyteris esse maiores, & in commune debere Ecclesiam regere: *Let Bishops vnderstand, that they*

Hieron in Epi ad Titum ca. 1.

are

are aboue Prieſts rather of cuſtome then of any truth or right of Chriſts inſtitution: and that they ought to rule the Church altogether. And againe, Idem ergo eſt Presbyter qui Epiſcopus: & antequam Diaboli inſtinctu ſtudia in Religione fierent, & diceretur in populis, Ego ſum Pauli, Ego Apollo, Ego Cephæ, Communi Presbyterorum Concilio Eccleſiæ gubernabantur: *Therfore a Prieſt and a Biſhop are both one thing: and, before that by the inflaming of the Diuell, parts were taken in Religion, and theſe words were vttered among the people,* I hold of Paul, I hold of Apollo, I hold of Peter, *The Churches were gouerned by the common aduice of the Prieſts.* S. Auguſtine ſaith, Secundùm honorum vocabula, quæ iam Eccleſiæ vſus obtinuit, Epiſcopatus Presbyterio maior eſt: *The office of a Biſhop is aboue the office of a Prieſt* (not by authoritie of the Scriptures, but) *after the names of honour, which the cuſtome of the Church hath now obteined.*

Pope Leo. *Hyeronym. eodem loco.* *Aug. epiſt. 19.*

As for Pope Leo, his owne authoritie in his owne cauſe cannot be great. The Emperour ſaith, Qui iuriſdictioni præeſt, non debet ſibi ius dicere: *No iudge may miniſter Law vnto himſelfe.* And it is noted thus in the Decrees, Papa non debet eſſe Judex in cauſa propria: *The Pope may not be Iudge in his owne cauſe.* *ff. li. 2. de Iuriſdict. omnium Iudicum.* *16. q. 6. conſuetudo in margine.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ And whoſe cauſe pleadeth hee but his owne? It is the Churches cauſe, ſaith M. Harding. But the Church hath euermore repined againſt it. S. Baſil ſaith, Quid auxilij nobis conferet Occidentalium faſtus? *What good ſhall the pride of the Weſtern Church doe vs?* Noting thereby, as we may reaſonably coniecture, the immoderate pride of the Church of Rome. S. Bernard in like ſort chargeth Pope Eugenius: Ambitio per te in Eccleſia regnare molitur. Murmur loquor & querimoniam communem Eccleſiarum. Truncari ſe clamant, & demembrari: *Pride ſtriueth through thee to raigne in the Church. I ſpeake of the murmuring and common complaint of Churches. They complaine they be maimed and diſmembred.* Whoſoeuer ſhall conſider how the Popes haue enriched themſelues by the ſpoiles of others, he ſhall eaſily iudge whether they haue ſought their owne, or the things that perteine to Chriſt Ieſus. ☜ *M. Harding pag. 168. b.* *Baſil. ad Euſeb. Epiſt. 8.* *Bernard. de Conſidera. li. 3.*

It is well knowen that the Pope hath ſought for, and claimed this vniuerſall authority theſe many hundred yeeres. Pope Celeſtinus was therefore reproued of pride and worldly Lordlineſſe by the whole Councell of Aphrica.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Where I ſay Pope Celeſtinus was reproued by the whole Councell of Aphrica of pride and Lordlineſſe, M. Harding thinketh I vnderſtand not the place. And therefore he hath taken vpon him to open it better: but ſo as they doe that goe onely by gueſſe. It ſeemeth (ſaith he) that the Pope had ſent his Agents to require temporall aid of the Nobles in Aphrica. Which thing now is called *Implorare brachium ſeculare.* And this is it that miſliked the Councell. Therfore they ſay to the Pope, We beſeech you ſend not your Clerks, *Quibuſcunque potentibus*, that is, to any of the great men, leſt wee ſeeme to bring the ſmoakie ſtoutneſſe of the Temporalitie into the Church of Chriſt. By this fauourable conſtruction hee diſchargeth the Pope and his Clergie of pride and ſtatelineſſe, and conueieth ouer the ſame vnto the Nobles, only vpon occaſion of theſe words, Quibuſcunque potentibus. And therfore he ſaith, Whether M. Iewell vnderſtood this place or no, I haue good cauſe to doubt. And yet there appeareth no ſuch great difficulty in the matter, but that a mean learned man may vnderſtand it wel enough with ſmal ſtudie. Notwithſtanding, M. Harding, whether you vnderſtand this place or no, M. Iewell hath no cauſe to doubt. For indeed you vnderſtand it not. The ouer great fauour you beare the Pope, in ſmothing his faults whatſoeuer, and the blinde errour of Peter Crab, that compiled the Councels, hath foully beguiled you. For the true Copies haue not Quibuſcunque potentibus, as you imagine, but Quibuſcunque petentibus, as you might haue learned by Theodorus Balſamon, printed at Paris Anno 1561. and by the words of the ſaid Epiſtle written in Greeke. For thus it is written: Ἐκβιβαζεῖ τὸν μακαριώτατον μῶν αἰτοῦντα μὴ δίδοσθαι ἀναφορὰν. These words, as you know, ſignifie not Lords and Gouernours, but Suppliants and Suters. But, M. Harding, is this the grammercie yee yéeld the Prince? When yée call vpon him for aid and aſſiſtance, will ye ſay, he is proud and ſtately, and bringeth vaine ſtoutneſſe and ſtatelineſſe into the Church? Verily the Prince defending the Church might ſeeme to deſerue ſome greater thankes. I doubt whether there were euer ſuch pride and Lordlineſſe in any Prince worldly, as hath béene found and ſeene in ſundrie Popes. The Pope admitteth the Emperour of Chriſtendome to hold his ſtirrup, to lead his bridle, to beare his traine, to kiſſe his foote. No Emperor euer receiued ſuch ſeruice of the Pope. Doubtleſſe, M. Harding, the Councell of Aphrica meant the ſtoutneſſe of the Clergie, and not *Concil. Aphric. cap. 105. ſuperbum ſæculi typhum.* *M. Harding 170. a.* Potentibus. Petentibus. μὴν αἰτοῦντα.

Pope Leo.

of the Nobles: the pride of Rome, and not of Aphrica. This same is it that, as it is said before, S. Basil calleth Occidentalium Episcoporum fastum. But you, M. Harding, haue turned Petentes into Potentes, that is to say, poore suters into great Noble men. And to shift the Pope from note of statelinesse, ye haue imagined a long Commentarie of your owne, ye wille a great way besides the text. ☜

Basil. ad Eusseb. Epist. 8.

Pope Bonifacius 2. condemned S. Augustine and all the said whole Councell of Aphrica, and called them all Heretikes and Schismatikes for the same, and said, they were all * lead by the Diuell.

Inter Decreta Bonifacij 2.

* Instigante Diabolo.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding saith: That pope Bonifacius 2. condemned that blessed Father S. Augustine by name, or the Councel of Aphrica by solemne sentence, it is an impudent lie. *The Answere.* These words be ordinarie, M. Harding, and therfore moue me but little. But what talke you of condemning by Name, or by Solemne sentence? I say, Pope Boniface *the second condemned* S. Augustine. You adde Name and Sentence of your owne. They are not mine. But whether hee condemned S. Augustine, or no, the indifferent Reader may easily iudge. His words be these. Aurelius *sometime the Bishop of Carthage began with other his fellow Bishops, by the inticing or leading of the Diuell, to be proud and arrogant against the Church of Rome.* Here is Aurelius condemned with his fellowes. But who were his fellowes, M. Harding? Who sate with him in Councell? Who were partners of his pride against the Church of Rome? Why carrie you this away so closely in a cloud? Verily you know right well, and cannot chuse but know, that S. Augustine was one of that Companie, together with Alypius Restitutus, and two hundred and fourténe Bishops besides, as appeareth by their Epistle vnto Bonifacius 1. In the subscriptions of euery of these Councels, of Carthage, of Mileuetum, and of Aphrica, you may finde these words: Ego Augustinus Episcopus Hipponensis subscripsi You see therfore, that Pope Boniface 2. condemned not onely Aurelius the Archbishop of Carthage, but also the great learned Father S. Augustine, and two hundred and fourténe other his fellow Bishops, that sate with him in Councell, and that aboue one hundred yeers after they were dead. But you say, Bonifacius *condemned them not for Schismatikes.* I grant, by any such expresse words he condemneth them not. Perhaps he condemned them for good Catholikes. Certainely he diuided them from the Communion of the Church: and for so much he condemned them as Schismatikes. Heretikes indéed he calleth them not. And yet Pope Nicolas saith, Qui Romanæ &c. *Who so seeketh to make void the Priuiledge of the Church of Rome, falleth into Heresie.* For hée breaketh the Faith, whosoeuer withstandeth the Church of Rome, that is the mother of Faith. This, M. Harding, is it that Pope Bonifacius meant, when he said, Aurelius, S. Augustine, *and two hundred other learned and godly Bishops in the Councell of* Aphrica *were led by the Diuell.*

Addition.

Epi. Bonifac. 2. ad Eulalium.

Conc. Aphric. pag. 518.

Dist. 22. Omnes.

M. Harding 172. a.

The prety nice difference that M. Harding héere imagineth betwéene Enticing & Leading, is not worthy of answer. For no Pope was euer so cruel to condemne a man for that he was inticed, but only for that he yéelded, and was led by the Diuell. ☜

Pope Zosimus, to maintaine this claime, corrupted the holy Councell of Nice. Hilarie the Bishop of Vienna and other learned Bishops of France, for vsurping such vnlawfull authority, charged this same Pope Leo of whom we speake, with pride and ambition.

Leo Epist. 89.

Addition. ☞ And therefore thus Leo complaineth of him: Ipsius quoq; beatissimi Petri reuerentiam verbis arrogantioribus minuit: *By his arrogant words he abaseth the reuerence of the most blessed* Peter *himselfe.* By this reuerence due vnto Peter, he meant the reuerence that he claimed to himselfe: for doubtlesse M. Harding himselfe cannot thinke that Hilaries quarrell was against Peter the Apostle of Christ, now reigning in Heauen. It was only against that inordinate ambition and pride of Peters Successors, that euen then sought to rule ouer the whole Church of God. ☜

Addition.

But, gentle Reader, that thou maist the better vnderstand what credit thou oughtest to giue to this Pope Leo, specially setting forth his owne authoritie, I beséech thée consider with what maiestie of words, and how farre aboue measure he aduanceth the authoritie of S. Peter. These be his words: Christus Petrum in consortium individuæ Vnitatis assumpsit: *Christ receiued* Peter *into the companie of the indiuisible Vnity.* Authoritate Domini mei Petri Apostoli: *By the authoritie* (not of Christ, but) *of my Lord* Peter *the Apostle.* Deo inspirante, & beatissimo Petro Apostolo: *By the inspiration of God, and of* S. Peter *the Apostle.* Deus à Petro, velut à quodam capite, dona sua velut in corpus omne diffudit: *God from* Peter, *as from the Head, hath powred out his gifts into all the bodie.* Nihil erit ligatum aut solutum, nisi quod Petrus ligauerit aut soluerit: *There shall be nothing bound or loosed, but that* Peter *shall binde or loose.* Nunc quoque Petrus pascit oues, & mandatum Domini pius pastor exequitur: *Euen now* Peter *feedeth the sheepe, and as a godly shepheard he fulfilleth the commandement of his master.* Such immoderate and ambitious dignitie Leo

Leo epist. 89.
Leo epist. 52.
Leo epist. 89.
Leo in eadem epist.
Leo in Sermone de natali Petri & Pauli.
Leo in Serm. 3. in Anniuersario die assumptionis.

was

was content to yeelde to Peter, to the end that the possession, and fruit therof might redound wholly vnto himselfe.

Pope Leo.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ But all these sayings, M. Harding, you say, may well be iustified. Touching the first, whereas Pope Leo saith, Christ *tooke* Peter *into the fellowship of his indiuisible Vnitie, your answer is this, Leo meant thereby an Vnity in Quality, an Vnity in Grace, an Vnity that is proper to Christ himselfe. But the indiuisible Vnity in Substance* (you say) *he meant not. And yet, this* (you say) *was my Duelliſh meaning.* In good sooth, M. Harding, you do me wrong: I neuer meant it. But thus I say: Giue these words of Pope Leo, the most fauourable construction you can deuise, yet may not the same reasonably be applied to any creature: no not vnto the blessed Angels and Archangels of God. You cannot say, They are in the Fellowship of Christs Vnity. I grant, Peter *is called the Rocke.* So is Iohn: So is Iames: So are the rest. The learned Father Origen saith, Petra est, quisquis est Discipulus Christi: *Whosoeuer is Christs Disciple, hee is the Rocke.* Will you say therefore, M. Harding, that Christ receiued Peter to be his fellow, and his fellow in Vnity? And that in such Vnity, as might neuer be dissolued? Wherefore then doth Christ immediatly after call him Satan? For thus he said vnto Peter: *Get thee behinde me Satan: Thou vnderstandest not the things that are of God.* Shall we say, that being Satan, he was neuertheless in the fellowship of Christs Vnity? Indeed Friar Ambrosius Catharinus in his late declamation openly pronounced in the Councell of Trident, calleth the Blessed Virgin our Lady, Fidelissimam Christi Sociam: Christs *most faithfull fellow.* And you, M. Harding, vpon warrant of Bernards words haue no doubt to say, *The Pope by power is* Peter: *and by anointing is* Christ. This, I trow is, enough. *The Pope is* Peter: *The Pope is* Christ. *Yet all this*, you say, *is well spoken, and may be iustified.*

M. Harding 174. a.

Orig. in Matth. tract. 1.

Matth 16.

Conc. Trident. M. Harding. Confutation. fol. 210. a.

Leo saith further, Christ *called* Peter *the Rocke, that the building of the euerlasting Temple might stand in the soundnesse of* Peter. Alas, M. Harding, and must this likewise be iustified as the rest? Is this the building of the Church of God? We are built vpon Christ, and not vpon Peter. Christ is the Rocke, that standeth for euer. S. Paul saith, *No man can lay other foundation, then that is already laid, which is* Christ *Iesus.*

Leo epist. 89. Vt aterni ædificatio Templi in Petri solidi-tate consisteret.

1. Corint. 10.

1. Corint. 13.

Howbeit, I denie not, but in some reasonable kind of speech, Peter also may be called the Rocke: but so, as Paul, and Iames, and Iohn, and all other the Apostles of Christ may likewise be called, and none otherwise. Origen saith, *The words of Christ spoken as vnto* Peter *were common to all.* So likewise S. Hierome, notwithstanding he cal Peter the Head, or Principall of the Apostles, yet he saith, Ecclesia fundatur super omnes Apostolos. Ex æquo super eos Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur: *The Church is built vpon all the Apostles: The strength of the Church is founded* (not only vpon Peter, but) Equally *vpon them all. Vpon them all* (he saith) *the Church is built, and that* Equally, that is to say, no more vpon Peter, then vpon the rest. What vanity then is this, M. Harding, to applie that thing only, or specially vnto one, that is equally common vnto so many?

Orig. in Matth. Tract. 1.

Hieronym. aduersus Iouinianum. lib. 1. Ex æquo.

You say, *Christ being himselfe the Rocke, gaue the same title vnto* Peter: *therfore* Leo *might iustly say, Christ receiued* Peter *into the fellowship of his Indiuisible Vnity.* This argument hangeth very losely, as it shall appeare. For Christ likewise saith of himselfe: *I am the light of the world.* And yet he saith to his Disciples, *You are the light of the World*, giuing them that name, that was proper and peculiar to himselfe. Shall we therefore say, Christ tok all his Disciples into the fellowship of his Indiuisible vnity? If so, where then is Peters Primiledge? Or, what hath Peter aboue the rest? Or, how can these words of Pope Leo be excused? It is to ambitious M. Harding: It is to much. No learned Father euer gaue S. Peter the like title. Iustifie no more then may well be iustified.

Iohan. 8.

Matth 5.

Againe Leo saith, Deo inspirante, & Beatissimo Petro Apostolo: *By the inspiration of God, and of the most blessed S.* Peter *the Apostle.*

Leo Epist. 89.

Here M. Harding in defense of these vnsauorie words, vnaduisedly vttered by Pope Leo, you haue vsed such vnmannerly, and vnnamly speech, as may become no man, but only your selfe. Though I had misconceiued Pope Leo, and taken him otherwise, then he meant, as you haue often the holy Fathers, yet sobriety and grauitie had beene fitting and semely for a Doctour. *Much talke you moone, of the Preposition A, first placed, and after repeated, and yet not expressed: of the Ablatiue case ruled, and of the Ablatiue case Absolute*, and so you lead the simple along in the darke, he woteth not whither: But indeed you haue purposely corrupted, and mispointed the whole place, as it may easily appeare to any man, that shall compare your Bookes, and Leoes Epistles both together. For Leo hath two Commaes betweene these words, Apostolo, and Decreta sunt, and reades thus, as in all the Bookes, that I haue read, it is easie to see: Obtestamur, vt ea, quæ à nobis, Deo inspirante, & Beatissimo Petro Apostolo, discussis, probatisque nunc omnibus causis, decreta sunt, seruetis. By which manner of pointing, it may appeare to any man, that is able

M. Harding 179. a.

M. Harding 176. a.

to

to iudge, that theſe woꝛds, Deo inſpirante, & Beatiſſimo Petro Apoſtolo, are gouerned by one rule of conſtruction, and go together: As if in plainer ſoꝛt the whole ſentence were laid thus: Obteſtamur, vt ſeruetis ea, quæ diſcuſſis, probatiſque omnibus cauſis, decreta ſunt à nobis, Deo inſpirante, & Beatiſmo Petro Apoſtolo: *Wee beſeech you, to keepe thoſe things, which, all cauſes being diſcuſſed, and proued, haue beene decreed by vs, by the inſpiration of God, and the moſt bleſſed* Peter *the Apoſtle.* Neither is there any Gꝛammarian, that, the points thus ſtanding, as they be in all Bookes both pꝛinted, and wꝛitten, can expound it otherwiſe.

Now M. Harding, behold Leoes woꝛds, as you haue ſtalled them. Thus you wꝛite: Obteſtamur, vt ea, quæ à nobis Deo inſpirante, & Beatiſſimo Petro Apoſtolo decreta ſunt, ſeruetis. Marry, now it is, as you would haue it: But yet is it nothing, as Leo left it. Lay theſe places together: view your woꝛds againe. Where is the Comma after this woꝛd, Apoſtolo? Where is the other Comma after this woꝛd cauſis? Why haue you bꝛought theſe woꝛds Apoſtolo, and Decreta ſunt, ſo nére together? Could you cut off two Commaes together in one place, and ſo cunningly beguile your ſimple Reader? Indéed, ye were aſhamed of the errour: The ſenſe was blaſphemous; you thought it moſt wiſdome, to leaue out the points, and to alter your Booke, and to ſhift away Blaſphemy by plaine coꝛruption. I would neuer haue made ſo great account of ſo ſimple reckonings, had not you, M. Harding, giuen the occaſion.

Howbeit, let vs yeeld vnto you, and contrary to the credit of all your Bookes pꝛinted, oꝛ wꝛitten, New oꝛ Old, let vs follow your owne reading, and ſay thus, Obteſtamur, vt ſeruetis ea, quæ Decreta ſunt à nobis, & Beatiſſimo Petro Apoſtolo. Beware ye fall not from one errour into another. Héere firſt the Pope placeth himſelfe beſoꝛe S. Peter. Foꝛ thus he ſaith, *It is decreed by me, and by S.* Peter. This perhaps is no great Blaſphemie. It may rather ſeeme to be ſome lacke of good maners. Yet is it not likely, that Leo, being ſo holy a man, as M. Harding imagineth, no, though he were neuer ſo much ambitious, would ſet *S.* Peter behinde, and himſelfe beſoꝛe. That had béene enough foꝛ Pope Alexander 3. who, when he had ſet his foot in Fredericus the Emperoꝛs necke, and the Emperour had told him, that he yéelded that honour, not vnto him being Pope, but vnto Peter: Yes, ſaid the Pope, Et mihi & Petro: *Thou ſhalt ſtoupe to me, and to* Peter: giuing the firſt place vnto himſelfe.

Carion. in vita Alexand 3.

Beſides this, by M. Hardings conſtruction, Leo imagineth, that *S.* Peter is alwaies pꝛeſent with the Pope, and ſitteth with him in Conſiſtoꝛy, oꝛ in Clauſet, diſcuſſing of Caſes, and deuiſing of Lawes. I will not ſay, that this is blaſphemie. Perhaps I may thinke, it is great follie. Foꝛ what part of Peter is it, that ſitteth there? His ſoule is in heauen, his bodie in the graue. If he be there neither in ſoule, noꝛ in body, how is hée there? Oꝛ, if S. Peter be there, and that in ſuch oꝛder, that he is able to heare cauſes, to make Decrées, and to gouerne the Church, what néed hath he then of any Succeſſour? A Succeſſour hath no place, while the Predeceſſor is pꝛeſent. By ſuch fables, M. Harding, and outrage of ſpéech, ye abuſe the poꝛe people, and beare them in hand, that, whatſoeuer is done by the Pope, it is done by *S.* Peter.

But, if Peter be yet ſtill in Rome, and make Lawes now, as when hée was liuing, wherefoꝛe then M. Harding, haue you wꝛitten thus in your late Confutation: Chꝛiſt now requireth vs, not to obey Peter and Paul, but him that ſitteth in their chaire? Theſe be your woꝛdes you may not foꝛget them. If *S.* Peter be now in Rome, and make Lawes foꝛ you, as you ſay, how can you ſay, You are not bound to obey him? If ye be not bound to obey him, how can you tell vs, he maketh you Lawes? Certainely it is meet, that the Lawmaker be euer obeied. But we muſt pardon you, M. Harding: ye walke in the darke, and ſay, and vnſay, ye know not what.

Confuta. pag. 192. b.

In vita Leonis. Vt ille ſuis manibus correctũ abſolueret.

In the life of this Leo, it is wꝛitten thus: Leo *wꝛot an Epiſtle againſt the Heretike* Eutyches, *and doubting the ability of his owne learning, he laid the ſame Epiſtle vpon* Peters *Altar, and faſted forty dayes, and beſought* S. Peter, *that if there were any error therein, he would correct it with his owne hands.* The fable is true, Peter came downe from Heauen with pen and inke, as I trow, and coꝛrected it. After the foꝛtieth day the Epiſtle was perfect.

Leo in Anniuerſario die Aſſumptionis ſuæ, Sermon 3.

Leo himſelfe ſaith, Omnes Sacerdotes propriè regit Petrus: *In plaine manner of ſpeech, oꝛ to ſpeake conueniently,* Peter *gouerneth all the Prieſts, that be.* Againe he ſaith, Si quid noſtris temporibus rectè à nobis agitur, Petri gubernaculis eſt deputandũ: *If in our time any thing be well done by vs, we muſt reckon it as done by* Peters *gouernment.* Againe, *There ſhall nothing be bound oꝛ looſed, but that* Peter *ſhall bind oꝛ looſe.* And againe, *Euen now* Peter *feedeth the Sheepe, &c.*

In eod. Sermon.

Leo in Natali Petri & Pauli, Serm. 2.

Leo in Anniuerſario die Aſſumptionis ſuæ.

S Gregoꝛy ſaith, Tranſmiſimus vobis de benedictione S. Petri Apoſtoli Cucullam, & Tunicam: *I haue ſent you a Cowle, and a Coat of the Bleſſing of* S. Peter.

Greg. l. 8. ep. 45

Likewiſe

Likewise he writeth to Theoctistus, I haue sent thee S. Peters blessing, I meane a Key taken from his blessed Body, that by that same Key you may haue Life, both present and euerlasting. Now, M. Harding, if S. Peter, can sit with the Pope, Write letters, Discusse Causes, Gouerne Priests, Rule the Church, Fæd the Flocke, Bleſſe Cowles, Coats, and Keies, and Bind, and Loose, why may hée not also inspire the Faithfull? *Greg. l. 6. ep. 23*

Take héd, in shunning one Blasphemie, ye commit not another. Shift Pope Leoes words, as you shall thinke best: Whatsoeuer sense ye shall picke out of them, it will be Blasphemie. *Vt per eam vos, qui eum timetis & diligitis, & præsentem salutem & eternã habere valeatis, Epi. Iuly 1. Extr. de Elect. Fundamenta. Concil. Aphric. cap 105.*

Some others haue thought, that aswell these Epistles of Leo, as also others moe, of other the ancient Bishops of Rome, haue béene interlaced, and falsified by the ambitious Popes, that followed afterward. Which thing is the more likely, both for that the selfe same words be likewise alleged, partly vnder the name of Pope Iulius, partly vnder the name of Pope Nicolas; and also for that Pope Zosimus, which was the fift before Leo, as it is said before, doubted not, for an aduantage, to falsifie the Holy Councell of Nice.

Verily, when the Councell of Chalcedon had offered vnto this same Leo, the title of Vniuersall Bishop, as Gregory witnesseth, he vtterly refuseth it, and would none of it. *Gregor. lib 4. epist. 36.*

Now touching that S. Hierome saith, the poore Bishop of Eugubium, and the Bishop of Rome are both of one authority (for of authoritie he speaketh, as it is prooued before) S. Cyprian also saith the same, that the authority of the Bishops in Aphrica is as good, as that authority of the Bishop of Rome: and calleth them all Lewd and Desperate Persons, that would, as M. Harding doth, say the contrary. *Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist. 3. Aſi pancis desperatis, & perditis.*

Therfore, whereas M. Harding saith, By very order of Christ himselfe it hath béene ordained, that matters touching Faith, and Religion be referred to that One Prince of Pastors, who sitteth on the Chaire of Peter, the highest Bishop, and that the same hath alwaies béene done, and obserued from the Apostles time vntill our daies; hé bringeth vs two manifest Untruths together, without any manner proofe at all, onely auouched vpon himselfe. For it appeareth not, that Christ euer toke this Order, or euer made any such mention, either of any such Prince of Pastors, or of Peters Chaire. And in the Councell of Aphrica it was decréed, that no matters should be remoued from thence to Rome. The words of the Councell are these, Ad transmarina Iudicia qui putauerit appellandum, a nullo intra Aphricam in Communionem suscipiatur: *Whosoeuer shall thinke he ought to appeale to the Iudgements beyond the Seas* (that is, to the Bishop of Rome) *let no man within* Aphrica *receiue him to the Communion.* *Concil. Aphrican. cap 52.*

Equality of Bishops

Touching that M. Harding calleth the Pope the Prince of Pastors, he might haue remembred, that the right of this name belongeth onely vnto Christ. S. Peter saith, *That when* Christ *the Prince of Pastors shall appeare, ye may receiue the vncorruptible Crowne.* Now to infeoffe the Pope with Christs peculiar Titles, a man might thinke it were great blasphemie. Certainely S. Cyprian saith, Nemo nostrûm Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit: *None of vs appointeth himselfe Bishop of Bishops.* Much lesse the Prince of all Pastors. And in the Councell of Constantinople it was decréed, that the Bishop there should haue euen and equall authority with the Bishop of Rome. 1. Peter 5. *In Concil. Carthag. Conc. Constantinop. 2. ca. 36.* τὸν ἴσον πρεσβεῖα τῇ τῆς παλαιᾶς ῥώμης θρόνῳ. *Cyprian. De Simpl. Prælat.*

As for the other authority of S. Cyprian, M. Harding saith, we vnderstood it not: and therfore he willeth vs to loke better vpon our Bookes. The counsell is good. But if M. Harding wil grant, that S. Cyprian himselfe knew, what he himselfe wrote, & vnderstood his owne meaning, it shall be sufficient. Verily the words that hé vseth, séeme not so darke. For thus he writeth: Episcopatus vnus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Ecclesia vna est, quæ in multitudinem latiùs incremento fœcunditatis extenditur: Quomodo Solis multi radij, sed lumen vnum: & rami arboris multi, sed robur vnum: *The Bishopricke is One, a part whereof of euery seuerall Bisoop is possessed in whole. The Church is one, which by her great increase is extended vnto many. As in the Sunne the beames be many, but the light is one: and in a Tree the boughes be many, but the body is one.*

If there appeare any great darkenesse, or doubt in these words, S. Cyprian himselfe in other places thus expoundeth his owne meaning in plainer wise: Vna est Ecclesia à Christo per totum mundum in plura membra diuisa: Item Episcopatus vnus, Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus: *There is one Church diuided by Christ into many Members thorowout the world: Likewise one Bishopricke powred farre abroad by the agreeable multitude of many Bishops.* Againe, Ecclesia Vna est, & connexa: & cohærentium sibi inuicem Sacerdotum Glutino copulata: *There is one Church ioined, and fastened in One, by the consent of Bishops agreeing together.* Againe, Quando oramus, non pro Vno oramus, sed pro toto populo: Quia totus populus Vnum sumus: *When we pray, we pray not for One, but for* *Cyprian. lib. 4. epist. 2.* *Cyprian. lib. 4. epist. 9.* *Cyprian in Orat. Dominica.*

Cyprian. De Simpl. Prælat.

for the whole people. For we the whole people are but One. Againe, immediately before these words, which, M. Harding saith, we are not able to vnderstand, he saith: Hanc Vnitatem firmiter tenere, & vendicare debemus, maximè Episcopi, qui in Ecclesia præsidemus: vt Episcopatum quoque ipsum Vnum, & Indiuisum probemus: *This Vnitie must we hold, specially Bishops, that sit as Rulers in the Church: that we may declare our Bishopricke to be One, and without diuision.* Againe,

Cyprian. lib. 3. Epist. 13.

Etsi Pastores multi sumus, Vnum tamen Gregem pascimus: & Oues Vniuersas, quas Christus Sanguine suo, & passione quæsiuit, colligere, & fouere debemus: *Notwithstanding we be many Shepheards, yet we feed but one Flocke: and wee are all bound to gather vp, and to nourish all the Sheepe, that* Christ *hath wonne by his blood and Passion.*

If either the Authour of the Apologie or the Interpreter vnderstood not S. Cyprian, yet, M. Harding, ye may giue S Cyprian leaue to vnderstand himselfe.

Hieronym. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. 1.

And in this sense S. Hierome saith, Communi Presbyterorum consilio Ecclesiæ gubernabantur: *The Churches were ordered (not by the Vniuersall authority of the Bishop of Rome, but, by common aduice of the Priests.* Likewise S. Cyprian saith, Idcirco copiosum est corpus Sacerdotũ, concordię mutuę glutine, atq; vnitatis vinculo copulatum, vt si quis ex Collegio nostro Hæresim facere, & Gregem Christi lacerare, ac vastare tentauerit, subueniant cæteri: *Therfore is the body or company of Priests so copious, ioined together with Consent, Concord and Vnity that if any one of our Company enterprise to raise an Heresie, and to scatter and waste the Flocke of* Christ, *the rest should helpe.* So likewise S Basil: Interrogate Patres vestros, & renuntiabunt vobis, quod, etiamsi loci situ diuisæ inter se sint parœciæ, tamen veluti coronamento quodam vnitæ, vnaque sententia gubernatæ fuerunt. Assidua quidem populi fuit inter se commixtio: Ipsi verò Pastores tanta præditi fuerunt mutua inter ipsos charitate, vt alius alio Præceptore, ac Duce vsi fuerint: *Aske of your Fathers, and they will tel you, that although Bishopricks be diuided, and sundred by distance of place, yet were they euer knit together as with a garland, and euer ruled by one aduise. Indeed the people was euer mingled together: But the Bishops were also ioined in charity, that euery of them was content to be taught, and to be led by other.*

Cyprian. lib. 3. epist. 13.

Basil. ad Neocæsarien. epist. 75. in ipso fine.

Addition ☞ Yea, M. Harding, dissembling al other authorities, and prowes by me alleged, ye take hold only of S. Basil, seking meanes to shadow one plaine Sentence of that holy Father, by the manifest corruption of another. S. Basils meaning (you say) may best be knowen by S Basil himselfe writing thus to *Athanasius*: *Visum est vtile scribere ad Episcopum Romanum vt consideret res nostras & iudicij sui decretum interponat: vt, quoniam de communi, & conciliari decreto aliquos inde huc amandari difficile est, ipse ina authoritate negotium componat.* Which whole sentence being by you vntruely Latined, it hath pleased you to English thus: It hath seemed good vnto vs, to write vnto the Bishop of Rome, that he wil consider our cases, (or visit vs. for so the Greeke word ἐπισκέψω, may be translated, and to determine the matter by his sentence. that for almuch as it is hard for any to be sent hither from thence by authority of a common and Synodicall Decree, hee take the matter into his owne hand, and by his authority strike the stroke. These be S Basils words, M. Harding, so miserably maimed by you, and so set out of ioint, as wel in the Latine, as in the English, that it is pity to behold them. And yet, as though the case were cleere of your side, you say further, Why should S Basil being a Greeke of the East Church, thinke it conuenient to write to the Bishop of Rome, being in the West, to consider of, or to visit them of the East, (for so to the Greeke word, ἐπισκέψω, as you say, signifieth) their state, & to send foorth a Decree of his iudgment, & to giue sentence, vnlesse he agnised the prerogatiue of the Bishop of Rome? In the end you conclude thus: The more yee sturre the matter, the moore it turneth still to your shame. Such is the maidenly modesty of your talke.

Addition ☜

M. Harding fol. 179. b.

Al Harding fol. 180. a.

You say, Why should S. Basil desire the Bishop of Rome to visit them of the East, to send foorth the Decree of his iudgement, and to giue sentence? Nay, nay, M. Harding, why should you thus allege Greeke Authors, if you know them not? or if you know them, why should you thus corrupt them? Verily in these few words you haue much betraied your want of skill. First δόσιν γνώμην you expound thus: To determine the matter by Decree, or by Sentence. And why so? doth δόσις signifie to Determine, or is, γνώμη a Decree, or Sentence in iudgement? Surely, M. Harding, δόσις γνώμην, is nothing else, but to giue aduice, or to aide with counsell. These words Αὐτοπρᾶξαι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων you expound thus, To take the matter into his owne hands, and by his authority to Strike the Stroke. And why so? Who taught you this exposition? Euery child could haue told you, that αὐτοπρᾶξαι signifieth neither striking nor stroking. S. Basils meaning is this, that forasmuch as a Councell of all the partes of the West Church could not bee gathered vpon the sudden, and the Church of Græcia stood in need of present helpe, that therefore the Bishoppe of Rome in the meane while should vse his owne discretion, and intreat some of the Western Bishops

Bishops to trauell vnto them. And so much in this place signifieth the Greeke word ἐπιδημοῦσι.

Equalitie of Bishops.

But ἐπιδημεῖν (you say) signifieth to visit. So doth Bubo signifie a nightingale. Twice ye haue vsed this word ἐπιδημεῖν in one place: not only in inclosing it in your text, but also pricking it in your Margine, that your simple Reader might thinke there were some mystery in your Greeke. But I pray you, M. Harding, in all the Greeke Bookes, that euer you read, where euer saw you ἐπιδημεῖν in the Indefinite of the Infinitiue Mode? If ye euer once saw it, I will yeeld vnto you. If you neuer saw it once, why haue you vsed it twice, and that euen together in one place? ἐπιδημεῖν, ye should haue said, M. Harding: ἐπιδημεῖ, it is, and not ἐπιδημεῖν. And yet, ἐπιδημεῖν in this place is not to Ride in Visitation, as you imagine, but to consider of the miserable state of the East Church, and to be carefull for it. The true, and common translation is this, Visum est mihi conuenientem, vt scribatur Episcopo Romæ, vt, quæ hic geruntur, consideret, detque consilium: Et quoniam difficile est, vt communi, ac Synodico Decreto aliqui illinc mittantur, ipse sua authoritate in hac causa vsus viros eligat ad ferendas itineris molestias accommodos: *It seemeth good vnto me, that we write vnto the Bishop of Rome, that he consider our estate, and giue vs counsell: and, forasmuch as it is a hard matter, for any to be sent hither from thence by the common Decree of a Councell, that he, vsing his owne authority or discretion in the case, chuse such men, as be able to beare the trauell of the iourney, &c.* *Basil. epist. 52. ad Athanas.*

Now, M. Harding, compare your translation and this together: here is neither Visitation of the Church, nor Determination by Sentence, nor Striking of Strokes. Ye could not haue missed so often times in one thing without some study. If I listed to follow some part of your eloquence, I could say, Fie, and shame, & I know not what, as you do.

Yet you say, S. Basil thought it good, that the Bishop of Rome should consider their estate, & send forth a Decree of his Iudgement. O M. Harding, grosse error and ignorance maketh no proofe. But bee it, that all this were true: yet what Decree of iudgement could the Pope send forth? he had heard neither the one part, nor the other, but was a meere stranger to their cases. And thinke you, he would determine matters, before he knew them? So might he cast Christ, and quit Barabbas. Hereof Basil himselfe writeth thus: Quid auxilij conferet nobis Occidentalium fastus? qui quid in causa veri sit, neque sciunt, neque discere sustinent: falsis verò suspicionibus præoccupati eadem nunc quoque faciunt, quæ antea in causa Marcelli, cum illis, qui veritatem annuntiabant, contentiosè egerunt, & Hæresim interea per seipsos corroborarunt. Ego quidem ipse non publica formula, sed priuatim volebam scribere ipsorum Coryphæo: de Ecclesiasticis quidem rebus nihil, nisi tantum vt admonerem, ipsos neque veritatem rerum nostrarum scire, neque viam, qua doceri possint, admittere: *What shall the pride of the Western Bishops auaile vs? For neither doe they know, nor will they learne to know, the truth of our matters: but being led away with vaine suspicions, they doe euen now, as they did before in the case of* Marcellus. *For then they cauilled contentiously with them that told the truth, and by meane thereof imboldened and confirmed Heresie. Indeed for mine owne part, I was contented to write vnto the chiefe or Principall of them all, (that is, to the Pope) not by any publike instrument, but mine owne priuate letter. Of matters Ecclesiasticall I would write nothing, but onely to tel him, that neither they doe know the truth of our cases, nor wil abide the way, whereby they may know it.* This, M. Harding, is that Decree, and Determination of iudgement, S. Basil found in the Pope. Neither did he know the case, nor would he learne how to know it. Therefore Chrysostome saith, Non est congruum, vt hi qui sunt in Ægypto, iudicent eos, qui sunt in Thracia: *It is not meet, that they that bee in Ægypt, should be Iudges ouer them, that dwell in* Thracia. S. Cyprian also likewise saith, Æquum, iustumque est, vt vniuscuiusque causa illic audiatur, vbi crimen admissum est: *It is good reason that euery mans cause be heard there, where the fault was committed.*

Basil. epist. 8. Ad Eusebium.

The Pride of the West Church.

Neither know, nor will learne.

Confirme Heresie.

Chrysost. Epist. prior. ad Innocentium.

Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist. 3.

But you will say, *S. Basil* thought it good, to write to the Pope. I grant you: but in such sort, as I haue told you. Againe ye say, Why should Basil so doe vnlesse he knew the priuiledge of the Pope? How followeth this, M. Harding? Will you beare vs in hand, that euery Bishop vnto whom S. Basil wrote to like purpose, had therefore the like priuiledge? At the same time thus he wrote, not onely to the Pope, but also to all the Bishops of the West: Quantam poteritis consolationem, & opem laborantibus, & afflictis Ecclesijs afferre ne detrectetis: *Forestow not to helpe our miserable afflicted Churches with such aid, and comfort, as you may* Likewise he writeth to the Bishops of France and Italy, *Wee haue good hope, that as soone as we shall doe you to vnderstand the cause of our griefs, you will be moued to seeke helpe for vs.*

M. Harding pag. 179. b.

Basil. ad Epist. Occident. ep. 61. Basil ad Italos & Gallos epist. 69.

To like purpose the whole Councell of Alexandria writeth, not onely to the Pope, but also to all other Bishops of the Catholike Church, Vos vindices huius iniustitiæ implora-mus: *We beseech you to reuenge this wrong* Yet had not therefore euery such Bishop supreme

Athanas. in Apolog. pag. 378. & 389.

authority

Basil ad Athanas. epist. 49. *Basil. ad Athanas. epist. 52.* *Basil. ad Athanas. epist 48*

authoritie in the gouernment of the Church. So writeth S. Basil vnto Athanasius, Quanto Ecclesiarum, &c. *The more the maladies of our Churches doe abound, the more wee all turne our selues to thy goodnesse, beleeuing, that the comfort of our griefes, resteth onely in thy defense. For thou by the power of thy prayers, and by the skill of gouerment, art thought able to deliuer vs from this horrible tempest. Thou carriest the care of all Churches: thou disputest, thou warnest, thou writest, thou sendest. We flie vnto thee, as vnto the Head of all: we vse thee, as our Counseller, and as the Leader, and Prince of our causes. The whole state of the Church of* Antioch *dependeth of thee. Thou maist instruct some, represse others, and make them quiet, and restore the strength of the Church.* Such power and authoritie S. Basil giueth to Athanasius. Yet was Athanasius the Bishop of Alexandria, and not of Rome. Had you well considered these things, M. Harding, ye would not so rashly haue thus concluded, *S. Basil* thought it good to write thus, and thus, to the Bishop of Rome; *Ergo*, He confessed that the Bishop of Rome had a Priuilege aboue all others.

Equalitie of Bishops

Basil. ad Episc. Occident. epist. 74.

All this notwithstanding, you say, Why should S. Basil thinke it conuenient, to write to the Bishop of Rome &c. The Answere is easie. S. Basil himselfe saith, Quæ nos loquimur, multis suspecta sunt &c. *What soeuer we our selues say, it is suspected of many, as if for our owne priuate quarels we would keepe them in awe. But you (being strangers) the further ye dwell from them, the more credit ye haue with our people.* This was it, M. Harding, that S. Basil required of the Pope. Here is no Vniuersall Power, no Priuiledge, no Decree, no Determination by Sentence, no Striking of Strokes. Aduise your selfe better hereafter of your authorities, before you allege them.

Therefore, as many Faiths in sundry Faithfuls, are but One Faith: As many Churches are but one Church: As many Baptismes are but One Baptisme: Euen so, saith S. Cyprian, many Bishoprickes are but One Bishopricke: and therein, as well the Bishop of Rome, as also euery other seuerall Bishop, hath his portion.

I say, the Bishopricke of Rome is not this whole Bishopricke, but a part; not the body of the Sunne, but a beame: not the stemme of the Tree, but a branch.

And thus, by S. Cyprians minde, neither doth One Bishop hold of another: Nor is any One Bishop Head of the whole: Nor is One Bishop all in all: but all Bishops are onely One.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision 6.

And according to the iudgement of the Nicene Councell, **we say, that the Bishop of Rome hath no more iurisdiction ouer the Church of God, then the rest of the Patriarkes, either of** Alexandria, **or of** Antioch **haue.**

M. Harding.

If it be a shame to belie the Diuell, according to the old Prouerbe, what is it to belie the Church of God represented in the Nicene Councell?

The sixth Canon among all others of the Nicene Councell is that you ground your surmisse vpon, I know well. For that hath beene wrested to your purpose by certaine of your side. And the same rightly construed (a) maketh most against you. For it seemeth to acknowledge the Bishop of Rome his Supremacy and soueraignetie of iudgement ouer other Patriarkes. These be the words of the Canon rightly Englished: Let the ancient custome continue in force which is in Egypt, Lybia and Pentapoli: so that the Bishop of Alexandria haue Power ouer them all. *Quandoquidem etiam Episcopo Romano hoc consuetum est.* For asmuch as the Bishop of Rome hath thus vsed. Likewise in Antiochia also, and in other Prouinces, let the Churches keepe their Prerogatiue. What can be gathered of the words of this Canon, but that for ratifying the iurisdiction of the Patriarkes of Alexandria, and Antiochia, the Fathers of the Nicene Councell thought good to alter nothing: but to follow the ancient custome of Old time vsed & allowed by the Bishop of Rome? For it is asmuch to say, as this: Inasmuch as (b) the Bishop of Rome hath beene woont from the beginning to grant to the Bishop of Alexandria iurisdiction ouer Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapoli; the (c) Nicene Councell following his authoritie and rule, or at the least his vsage, willeth and granteth, that the said Bishop retaine and keepe his ancient right. For if the Bishop of Alexandria had not receaued such iurisdiction by authority and grant of the Bishop of Rome of old time, what reason should haue mooued those Fathers, for confirmation thereof to allege the custome of the Bishop of Rome? And in that case, (d) whereto pertained the addition of the cause, *Quia Episcopus Romanus hoc consueuit*, Because this was the Bishop of Rome his custome? If this had not beene their meaning, they would neuer so haue spoken. For what was his custome other, (e) then to allot those prouinces to the Bishop of Alexandria? If any other thing be alleged to haue beene his maner & custome, besides that the words of the Canon beare it not, what had that bin to the purpose, what soeuer it be, for cause & confirmation of the Bishop of Alexandria his iurisdiction ouer Egypt Lybia & Pentapoli? Alledge you Defender, for old custome, of the Bishop of Rome what else you list so that you make no violence to the Canon. and therupon make your Argument, inferring of your allegation the Conclusion, (*Ergo*, the Bishop of Alexandria ought to haue iurisdiction ouer Egypt Lybia, & Pentapoli) and you shall find it to be such an argument, as any Sotte would be ashamed to make.

Against this if it shall like you to Replie, we warn you before, that neither ye take aduantage of a doubtful interpretatiō, as we know that Canon to be found in diuers Bookes not so plainly translated, & therefore

(a) Vntruth. For the expresse words are plaine to the contraty.

(b) Vntruth. Vaine and childish.

(c) This exposition is like a sick mans dreame

(d) O folly! The words are plain: *Qui Episcopo Romano paritis mos est.*

(e) Vntruth. For the bishop of Rome neuer had power to allot Prouinces: but himselfe had his Prouince allotted him as well as others.

The sixth Canon of the Nicene Councell declareth to make against the Defender.

The Coūcel of Nice

therefore we require you to ſtand to the Originall, as it is in Greeke: neither that ye defend your lie with the wreſted Expoſition of Theodore Balſamon, who hath written Greeke Commentaries vpon the Canons of the Councels, ſithence the Schiſme of the Greekes, himſelfe being a ſchiſmaticke. For he being a Greeke borne, and prickt with the hatred of his Nation againſt the Latine Church, & ſpecially the See of Rome, in the expoſition of that ſixt Canon of the Nicene Councell ſwarueth both from learning, and alſo from reaſon.

Theodore Balſamon.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

A ve Recipiatur.

Indeed it is a ſhame to belie any creature, for that lying is ſhamefull of it ſelfe. And therefore M. Harding, ye might do much better to vſe it leſſe. You haue brought vs here an Expoſition of the councell of Nice, ſuch as I thinke from that time vntill this time hath ſeldom bene heard of. You ſay, the Biſhop of Romes cuſtome was to giue iuriſdiction to the Patriarks of Alexandria, of Antioch, and of Hieruſalem: and that they had none authoritie of gouernment, but only ſo much as was limited and allowed by him. And this, you ſay, was the only and vndoubted meaning of that Councell. This fantaſy is not here auouched by any ancient Doctour, or learned Father. Therefore we muſt thinke whatſoeuer it be, it is your owne. And weighing the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſame, I muſt néds ſay of you as S. Hierome ſaid ſometime of one Rheticius in the like caſe, Rheticius eloquens quidem eſt, ſed ineptus Interpres: Rheticius *is an eloquent man indeed; and yet but a fond interpreter.* For it is certaine, and knowen euen vnto children, that the Biſhop of Rome, before the Councell of Nice, had neither ſuch cuſtome of Superioritie, nor ſuch dealing of Iuriſdictions. Pope Pius Secundus ſaith, Ante Nicenam Synodum vnuſquiſq; ſibi vixit, & paruus reſpectus ad Romanam Eccleſiam habebatur: *Before the Councell of* Nice *euery Biſhop lined to himſelfe, & there was then ſmall regard had of the Church of* Rome.

Hieronym. ad Marcellam.

Æneas Syluius Epiſt. 288.

As for our ſottiſh Argument, ſuch as by your iudgement any ſot would be aſhamed to make, I may leaue them well to you, M. Harding: not for that ye lacke them greatly, but for that, as it appeareth by your bookes, ye know beſt how to vſe them.

Touching the firſt Canon of this Councell, which you imagine is ſo darke and doubtfull, I truſt it ſhall be plainly and clerely opened by them that were neuer hitherto accounted ſottiſh.

The words thereof are plaine enough. The ſenſe is this: The whole bodie of Chriſtendome was diuided into foure Patriarkſhips: whereof the firſt was Rome: the ſecond Alexandria: the third Antioch: the fourth Hieruſalem. And each of theſe was limited and bounded within it ſelfe: Alexandria to haue the ouerſight ouer Egypt and Pentapolis: Antioch ouer Syria: Hieruſalem ouer Iurie: Rome ouer Italie, and other Churches of the Weſt. And herein we haue the Expoſition of Theodorus Balſamon, that liued fiue hundred yeres agoe, and was Patriarke of Antioch, and, as ſome of M. Hardings friends haue thought, a man of great learning. Yet foraſmuch as M. Harding here vtterly refuſeth him, not only as a Schiſmaticke, but alſo as a man void of learning and reaſon, let vs therefore ſee ſome others.

Lipomanus in Prefatione.

Copus Dial. 166. Balſamonem virum certè doctum.

Addition ☞ *Addition* ☞ Heere, ſaith M. Harding, Searche out, M. Iewell, why was Rome the firſt, and not rather the ſecond, or the third? Thereby ſhall you perceiue how your ſelfe vnwares are taken in your owne ſnare. This matter M. Harding is eaſily ſearched, and ſoone found. Indeed your forged Anacletus ſaith, *The Apoſtolike Church of* Rome *hath the Preeminence ouer all Churches, not from the Apoſtles of Chriſt, but from Chriſt himſelfe.* And therefore full prettily he expoundeth the words of Chriſt, Super hanc Petram, id eſt, Super Eccleſiam Romanam, ædificabo Eccleſiam meam: *Vpon this Rocke, that is to ſay, vpon the Church of* Rome, *will I build my Church.* But ſuch vaine forgeries make ſimple proofe. The very cauſe why the Church of Rome was placed in order and dignitie before all others, was not the word of Chriſt, as you imagine, but the Empire and honour of that City, which then in reſpect of worldly glorie, was the Ladie, and head of the world. And therefore in the councell of Chalcedon it is written thus: Sedi Veteris Romæ propter Imperium Ciuitatis illius Patres conſequenter Priuilegia reddiderunt: *The Fathers orderly gaue the Priuilege of chiefties to the See of Old* Rome, *becauſe that Citie had the Empire.* And immediately after it followeth further, Et eadem intentione permoti æqua ſanctiſſimæ Sedi Nouæ Romæ Priuilegia tribuerunt, rationi congruum iudicantes, vt Ciuitas illa ornata Imperio & Senatu, æquis Seniori Regiæ Romæ Priuilegijs frueretur: *The ſaid holy Fathers, moued with like conſideration, gaue the like Priuileges to the moſt holy See of* Conſtantinople, *which it called* New Rome, *thinking it agreeable vnto reaſon, that the ſame Citie of* Conſtantinople, *being honoured with Empire and Senate, as* Rome *was, ſhould enioy the ſame Priuileges that* Rome *enioied.*

Epiſt. 34.

Anaclet. Ep. 1.

Concil. Chalcedon. Actio 16. pag. 936.

The like heereof is written in the Councell of Conſtantinople. This, this, M. Harding, was the cauſe, and not the voice of Chriſt our Sauiour, as you would tell vs. For Chriſt neuer ſpake one word of the Cities, either of Conſtantinople, or of Rome, or of the firſt See, or of the ſecond. ☜

Concil. Conſtantinopol. Cap. 5.

Nilus de Primatu Romani Pontificis. οὐκ ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἀποφάσεως ἔστιν.

The Coūcel of Nice

Nilus a Greeke Authour hereof writeth thus: Sed vt etiam liquidiùs appareat Papam non imperare alijs omnibus Episcopis, legatur sextus Canon Synodi Nicænæ: quo disertè precipitur, vt alijs Ecclesijs Alexandrinus, alijs Romanus, alijs Antiochenus præsit: vt non liceat alteri alterius Prouinciam inuadere: *That it may the more plainly appeare that the Pope hath no gouernment ouer all other Bishops, read the sixt Canon of the counsell of* Nice. *There it is expressly commanded that the Bishop of* Alexandria *shall haue the rule ouer certaine Churches: and the Bishop of* Rome *ouer certaine: and the Bishop of* Antioch *likewise ouer certaine: and that it be not lawfull for any one of them to inuade aonthers Iurisdiction.* Farther hee saith, Quòd si quis suis non contentus, aliena appetit, ille sanè meritò, & consuetudinis, & sanctorum Canonum violator haberi debet: *If any one (of these Patriarkes) not contented with his owne, craue Dominion ouer others, (as doth the Pope) he ought of right to be called a breaker both of the custome, and also of the holy Canons.*

Ruffinus Eccle. Hist. li. 1. ca. 6. Suburbicarum Ecclesiarum.

If M. Harding will yet say this exposition is sottish, let vs see in what sort others haue expounded the same. Ruffinus opening the same Canon, saith thus: Statutum est in Concilio Nicæno, vt apud Alexandriam, & in Vrbe Roma vetusta consuetudo seruetur: vt vel ille Ægypti, vel hic Suburbicarum Ecclesiarum solicitudinem gerat: *It was decreed in the Councell of* Nice, *that in* Alexandria, *and in* Rome *the old custome should be kept: that the Bishop of* Alexandria *should rule ouer* Egypt: *and the Bishop of* Rome (not ouer all the world, but) *ouer the Churches of his Suburbs.*

Conc. Constantinop. 2. cap. 36. τὴν ἴσην ἀπολαῦσαν πρεσβείων *Nicephor. lib. 12. cap. 13.*

Likewise it was afterward ordered in the Councell holden at Constantinople: Definimus Sedi Constantinopolitanæ paria Iura & Priuilegia cum Sede Veteris Romæ: *We decree that the See of* Constantinople *shall haue Rights and Priuileges* Equall (and one) *with the See of Old* Rome

Therefore Nicephorus saith, Romano & Constantinopolitano Episcopo ex æquo paria sunt & dignitatis præmia, & honorum iura: *The Titles of dignities, and rights of honour giuen to the Bishop of* Rome, *and the Bishop of* Constantinople, *are* One, *and* Equall.

Athanas. ad solitariam vitam agentes. Cod. de Sacrosanctis ecclesijs Omni Innouatione. Concil. Aphrican. cap. 105. Nilus de Primatu Papæ.

For this cause Athanasius saith, Romano erat Metropolis Romanæ Ditionis: Rome *was the mother Church* (not of the whole world, but) *of the* Romane *Iurisdiction.* In like sort the Emperour Iustinian saith, Ecclesia Vrbis Constantinopolitanæ Romæ Veteris Prærogatiua iactatur: *The Church of* Constantinople *enioieth the Prerogatiue, or Priuilege of the Church of Old* Rome. So likewise *S.* Augustine and other learned and godly Bishops in the councell of Aphrica vnderstood the same Canon. And therefore they called the Popes presumption, crauing Vniuersall Iurisdiction ouer all the World, Fumosum Sæculi Typhum, *The smokie pride of the World.* To conclude, Nilus saith thus: Nunc, cùm aliæ Regiones assignatæ sint Romano, aliæ Alexandrino, aliæ Constantinopolitano, non magis hi sub illo sunt, quàm ille sub hisce: *Seeing there be certaine Countries appointed out for the Bishop of* Rome, *certaine for the Bishop of* Alexandria, *and certaine for the Bishop of* Constantinople, *they are now no more subiect vnto him then he vnto them.*

But all these perhaps were Sots, and their sayings Sottish: and no man is able rightly to vnderstand these matters, but he that can say, Consuetudo is Latine for a Commission: or, Mos parilis for Vniuersall Iurisdiction.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision. 7

And as for the Bishop of Rome, who now calleth all matters before himselfe alone, except he do his duty as he ought to do, except he minister the Sacraments, except he instruct the people, except he warne them & teach them, we say that he ought not of right once to be called a Bishop, or so much as an Elder. For a Bishop, as saith Augustine, is a name of labour, and not of honour: that the man that seeketh to haue preeminence, and not to profit, may vnderstand himselfe to be no Bishop.

M. Harding.

An euill Bishop loseth not thereby of a Bishop, though he loseth thereby of a Bishop. *Vide Aug. contra Epist. Parmen. ca. Tom. 7.* 1. Tim. 3.

Neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any other Bishop is worthie of the name of a Bishop, except hee doth the dutie of a Bishop. All this we grant. But that he ought not of right to be so called of the se who he hath charge ouer in case of omitting his dutie, thereto we say, that although in respect of his demeanour he be not worthie to be called a Bishop, yet in respect of the Vocatiō, Degree, & Preeminence, though he leaue his dutie vndone, for which he incurreth danger of damnation, that Title perteineth vnto him of good right, and so continually he is, and ought to be acknowledged for a Bishop, though an euill & an vnworthy Bishop: likewise a Priest. And whereas S. Augustine saith, that a Bishop is a name of labour, and not of honour, he is to be vnderstood so as the Scripture is: which in some places speaking of two things that are both indeed to be affirmed, the one being of more importance then the other, denieth the one in comparison of the other, &c.

Yet it seemeth to bee a secret preparation towards a purpose against such time as the Princes gouern-

ment

ment shal mislike their fantasies. For where they learned this opinion concerning Bishops, there learned they also the like concerning ciuill Magistrates. I meane Wickleffe: among whose hereticall Articles, condemned by the Church in the Councell of Constance, this is reckoned for the fifteenth: *Nullus est Dominus ciuilis, nullus est Prælatus, nullus est Episcopus, dum est in peccato mortali.* That is to say, None is a Temporall Lord, none is a Prelate, none is a Bishop, so long as he is in deadly sinne.

A Bishop, no Bishop.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This matter shall need no great contention. The like words haue beene vttered by sundrie other holy Fathers. S. Chrysostome saith, Multi Sacerdotes, & pauci Sacerdotes: Multi nomine, Pauci opere: *Many Priests there be, and few Priests there be: Many in name, and few in labour.* Againe, Quomodo potest esse magister qui Discipulum non habet? Acquire Discipulum, & esto Magister: *How can he be a Master that hath no Scholar? Get thee a Scholar, and then be a Master.*

Chrys. in Opere Imperfecto Hom. 43.

Chrys. in eadem Homil.

S. Ambrose saith, Nisi bonum opus amplectaris, Episcopus esse non potes: *Vnlesse thou imbrace the good labour, a Bishop thou canst not be.* S. Gregorie saith, Sacerdotes nominamur, & non sumus: *Priests we are called, but Priests we are not.*

Ambros. de dignita. Sacerdotali cap. 4.

Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 32.

As for Wicleffe, his Scholar Iohn Hus expoundeth his meaning, and that with M. Hardings owne construction. For these be his words, euen as they are alleged by his enimies: Papa, vel Prælatus malus & Præscitus, est æquiuocè Pastor, & verè Fur & Latro: *The Pope, or any other wicked Prelate, in double or doubtfull speech is a Pastor: but in very deed he is a Theefe and a Murderer.* So Chrysostome saith, Qui ab hominibus ordinatus est, quantum ad Deum attinet, non est Sacerdos, aut Diaconus: *He that is appointed by men, (and not by God) before God is neither Priest, nor Deacon.*

In Concil. Constantien. Sessione 15.

Chrys. in Matth. Homil. 3. In Opere Imperfecto.

If Wickleffe, vpon iust zeale of the house of God, for that he then saw the Bishops either knew nothing, or did nothing, or cared for nothing, either spake or meant more then truth may beare, wee defend it not. Notwithstanding, touching that is obiected of deadly sinne, it seemeth hee followed therein the Councell of Valentia in France. The words bee these: Quicunque sub Ordinatione, vel Diaconatus, vel Presbyterij, vel Episcopatus mortali crimine dixerint se esse pollutos, à supradictis Ordinationibus submouentur: *Whosoeuer after the Order, either of Deaconship, or Priesthood, or of Bishopricke, shall say they haue beene defiled with mortall sinne, let them bee remooued from the foresaide Orders.* If M. Harding shall deuise any other Exposition hereof, I will not greatly striue with him for it. So S. Augustine saith, as hee is alleged by Gratian: *He that neither hath wiped off his owne sinnes, nor corrected the sinnes of his children, ought rather to be called a shameleſſe Dogge, then a Bishop.*

Concil. Valent. sub Damas. cap. 4.

2. Quæst. 7. Qui nec regiminis.

Yet notwithstanding, to remoue all strife, whatsoeuer the Bishop of Rome bee, or whatsoeuer he doe, let him hardly be called a Bishop, because as M. Harding saith, hee standeth in rome of a Bishop: Or, as Wickleffe saith, let him so bee called Æquiuocè, that is to say, by a word of double meaning: as vnsauourie salt is called salt: Or, as the Prophets of Baal are called Prophets: Or, as a painted man is called a man: And, as S. Gregorie saith, *Let him in words be called a Priest, although in deed he be no Priest.* Let him be called a Teacher, although he teach not. Let him be called a Father, although hee feed not. S. Cyprian saith of S. Paul, Ipsum quamuis inane nomen & vmbram quandam Sacerdotis cogitans, expauit: S. Paul *was afraid, eonsidering onely the empty name and shadow of a Bishop.* And in the late Councell of Trident the matter is concluded thus: Qui dicit eos qui non exercent Ministerium Verbi & Sacramentorum non esse Sacerdotes, Anathema sit: *Whosoeuer saith that they that minister neither the Word of God, nor the Sacraments, be no Priests, accursed be he.* But Athanasius saith, Quid opus est hominibus titulo Episcopis? *What need haue wee of these men that beare only the name of Bishops?* Therefore S. Hierome saith, Auferet Dominus nomina vanæ gloriæ, & Admirationis fallæ, quæ versantur in Ecclesia. Sed & nomina Sacerdotum cum Sacerdotibus auferet, qui frustrà sibi applaudunt in Episcopali, & in Presbyterij dignitate, & non in opere: *The Lord shall take away the names of vaine glorie, and of fained wondering, which are in the Church. Yea hee shall take away both the names of those Priests, and the Priests with all, which vaunt themselues in the dignitie of Bishopricke and Priesthood, but not in the labour.*

Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist. 3.

Concil. Triden. De Sacramento Ordinis.

Athanasius ad Solitariam vitam agentes.

Hierony. in Sophoniam, cap. 1.

The Apologie, Chap. 4. Diuision 1.

AND that neither the Pope, nor any other worldly creature can no more be head of the whole Church, or a Bishop ouer all, then he can bee the Bridegroom, the Light, the Saluation, and Life of the Church. For these Priuiledges and Names belong only to Christ, and be properlie and only fit for him alone.

Proud Name.

And that no Bishop of Rome did euer suffer himselfe to be called by such a proud name and title, before Phocas **the Emperours time, (who, as we know, by killing his own Souereigne** Mauritius **the Emperour, did by a traiterous villany aspire to the Empire) which was about the sixth hundred and thirteenth yeere after Christ was borne.**

M. Harding.

The name of Vniuersall Bishop, which this Interpreter meaneth, being taken in a right sense, is no proud name, in respect of him * to whom it belongeth. Whether any Bishop of Rome euer suffered himselfe to be called by that name, or no, as you denie it, and proue it not, so it forceth not whether any did so, or no. If they refused it of humilitie, that proueth it not to be vnlawfull. Vniuersall Bishop.

* Vntruth. For it belonged not vnto the Pope.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

If the name of Vniuersall Bishop be a proud name in others, why may it not also be a proud name in the Bishop of Rome? Hath the Bishop there such a speciall priuiledge for pride aboue all others? May pride be humility, and humility pride only in respect of diuers persons? You say, This title of right belonged to the Bishop of Rome: and therefore in him it was no pride. This, M. Harding, is a foule vntruth, as it shall appeare by the next Diuision. For these be the words of the Councell of Carthage, **or at least, by your** *Dist. 99. Prima Sedis.* **owne confession, of** Gratian, **alleging the Councell of** Carthage: Vniuersalis autem (Episcopus) nec ipse Romanus Pontifex appelletur: *The Bishop of Rome himselfe may not bee called the Vniuersall Bishop.*

That the old learned and godly Bishops of Rome refused this name, as proud and arrogant, it is so plaine by S. Gregorie, **that I maruell any learned man would call it in question. His words thereof be these:** Nullus Decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo vti consensit: Nullus Romanorum Pontificum hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit: Nos hunc honorem nolumus oblatum suscipere: *None of my Predecessours, Bishops of Rome, euer consented to vse this vngodly name: No Bishop of Rome euer tooke vpon him this name of singularitie: We, the Bishop of Rome, wil not receiue this honour being offred vnto vs.* *Gregor. lib. 4. Ep. 32. & 36.*

If the Bishops of Rome in old times refused this name, not for want of right, but only, as M. Harding saith, of humilitie, wherefore then did their Successours that followed afterward so ambitiously labour to get the same? Platina saith, Bonifacius Tertius obtinuit à Phoca, magna tamen contentione: *Pope* Bonifacius *the Third obteined of the Emperour* Phocas (**that Rome should be called the Head of all Churches**) *but with* great contention, and much adoe. *Platina in Bonifacio 3.* **Wherefore then doth** S. Augustine, **and the whole Councell of** Aphrica **condemne the attempt of this vsurped Iurisdiction, and call it,** Fumosum Sæculi Typhum: *The smokie Pride of the World?* **And that euen in the Bishops of Rome?**

If the Bishop of Rome be so full of humilitie, as wee are heere borne in hand, why aduanceth he himself so high aboue all Generall Councels? Why saith he that no creature may iudge his doings? Why claimeth hee the Sword and Scepter of all the World? Why saith hee that Christs Consistorie and his Consistorie are all one, and that hee can doe all that God can doe? Why doth he say that the Emperor is but the Proctor or Bailiffe of the Church of Rome? Procurator siue Defensor Romanæ Ecclesiæ? **Why doth he suffer Kings and Emperours to hold his Stirrup, to lead his Palfrey, and to kisse his foote? Verily this kind of humilitie in other places might goe for pride.** Hesychius saith, Vbi superbia regnat & Hypocrisis, humilitas locum non habet: *Where pride and Hypocrisie beare the sway, there humilitie can haue no place.* *Dist. 98. Si imperat. in Gloss. Hesych. Sent. lib. 4. Dist. 17. Cur ergo. Dist. 40. Multi.* **Likewise** Chrysostome saith, Quicunque desiderauerit Primatum in terra, inueniet in cœlo confusionem: nec inter Seruos Christi computabitur, qui de Primatu tractauerit: *Whosoeuer desireth Primacie in earth, in heauen he shall finde confusion: neither shall he be accounted among the Seruants of* Christ, *that will once intreat of Primacie.*

Addition. ☞ **But heereto M. Harding answereth,** Why did you not quote the place, M. Iewell? Chrysostome hath no such saying. That which goeth before in Gratian is taken out of *Opus Imperfectum, Homil. 43.* which is well knowen not to be Chrysostomes. But this saying which heere you allege out of Gratian, is neither there, nor in Chrysostome. It is a forgerie: and that you know well enough. Yet you are not ashamed to vse it, to deceiue the ignorant Reader. Leaue, leaue, M. Iewell, to abuse the simplicity of the vnlearned with such forged pieces and patches. *The Answer.* **M. Harding, how shall poore M. Iewell be able to answer this kind of eloquence? It becommeth you so well, that it were great pitie yee should speake better. Though this were a forgerie indeed, as you haue so sadlie tolde vs, yet you know it was your owne** Gratians Addition. ☞ *M. Harding 185. a.* *M. Harding. 185. b.*

ans forgerie: it was not mine. You say, The booke intituled *Opus imperfectum* was neuer written by Chrysostome. I can easily yeeld hereto, and neuer striue for it. And yet your Gratian allegeth the same booke by the name of Chrysostome, as you know. Neither did I allege these words as out of Chrysostome, but as out of the booke of Gratians Decrees, allowed to the world by Pope Eugenius 3. and commonly called Fundamentum Iuris Canonici. Whoso is able truly to bring forth his Authour, ought not of right to be charged with forgerie. You doe wrong therefore, M. Harding, with such outeries to raise the Countrie vpon him that hath not offended.

Proud Name.

Dist 40. *Multi.*

But, I pray you, be these words neither in Opere Imperfecto, as you say, nor in any other booke of Chrysostome? And doe I know it, as you tell me? Or will you say your selfe doe know it? Or if you so say, may we beleeue it? Surely if ye had sought these words better, ye might haue found them. But ye sought them where they were not, and sought in vaine. In the 35. Homilie of that same booke it is written thus: Quicunque desiderauerit Primatum in terra, inueniet in cœlo confusionem: vt iam inter seruos Christi non sit de Primatu certamen. These be the selfe same words that you say cannot be found, neither in Opere imperfecto, nor in any other booke of Chrysostome. Here is neither pæcing nor patching, M. Harding. It is plaine dealing: It is no forgerie. If these words thus placed doe not like you, as it appeareth they doe not, then change them hardly, and take the contrarie, and rather say thus: Whosoeuer desireth Primacie in earth, shall finde no confusion in heauen. This perhaps may seeme better to serue your turne. Here might I triumph, and say to you as you say to me, Yet are you not ashamed, &c. Leaue, leaue, M. Harding, &c.

Hom. 35. *in Opere Imperfect.*

To conclude, a learned man, one of M. Hardings owne side, hereupon hath noted thus: Bonifacius obtinuit à Phoca, vt Ecclesia Romana esset caput omnium Ecclesiarum. Ex quo posset modo consimili sumi Argumentum, quòd ad Imperatorem pertineat Primatum Ecclesiæ transferre, & de Ecclesijs Ordinare: *Pope* Bonifacius *the third obteined of the Emperour* Phocas, *that the Church of Rome should be the Head of all Churches. Whereof wee may in like case gather an Argument, that it belongeth to the Emperour to translate the Primacie of the Church, and to take Order for the Churches.*

Iohan. de Parisijs de Potestate Reg. & Papali, Cap. 13.

The Apologie, Chap. 4. *Diuision* 2.

Also the councel of Carthage did circumspectly prouide, that no Bishop should be called either the Highest Bishop, or Chiefe Priest.

M. Harding.

Falsifying of a Councell.

Heere by your leaue, Sir Defender, you play false, and are taken, as it were, with false Dice, and therefore ye ought iustly to lose all that ye haue vniustly wonne by your false play, & false Dice, I meane your shamefull falsifying of this Councel by you alleged. And for this and other your falshood, it is right you lose the credit which vniustly (because by false teaching) you haue wonne among the vnlearned. That your false play might not soone be espied, you doe as like to M. Iewell as though you were his fathers son. For that false sleight he vseth more then any that euer I read. For whereas we haue seuen Councels of Carthage, neither shew you which of them it is that you allege, nor giue any notice of the number, where the Canon may be found. But contrariwise as the Lapwing with her busie crie leadeth a man frō her nest, so you lead vs from the place where it is, by putting in the margin of your booke the number 47. that not finding it by your note, we should giue ouer further looking for it. Who doth euill, hateth light, saith Christ. So heere falsifying (a) and forging a Canon of a Councell, you would faine walke in clouds, that your lying might not be deprehended, &c. So had it beene done more circumspectly for furtherance of your falshood, if the matter should neuer come to triall of learning.

M. Harding is a merry man.

Iohan. 3.

(a) Vntruth. For this Canon will soone be found.

Now, whosoeuer examineth the place truly, must needs crie out, Shame on you, Defender, who are the author. The words, if you had listed to haue alleged them without falshood, be these which we finde in the 26. Canon of the third Councell of Carthage, which Councell was authorized by the sixt Generall Councell holden at Constantinople in Trullo: *Vt primæ sedis Episcopus non appelletur Princeps Sacerdotum, aut Summus Sacerdos, aut aliquid huiusmodi, sed tantùm Primæ Sedis Episcopus.* And thus they are to bee Englished. It hath liked vs (say the Fathers of that Coūcel) that a Bishop of a First See be not called Prince of Priests, or Highest Priests, or any such other thing, but onely a Bishop of a First See. Now commeth me this iolly Defender, & saith, the Councell of Carthage hath expresse words for so much his Latine foundeth) that no Bishop should be called either the Highest Bishop, or Chiefe Priest. By which Canon thus by him vntruly vttered, he thought to depriue the Pope of this (b) ancient Title that all the world hath euer attributed vnto him, so as he be called no more *Summus Pontifex*.

The 26. Canon of the third Councel. of Carthage discussed.

Vide Epist. Leon. 9. ad Petrū & Iohannem Aphricæ Episcopos.

Highest Bishop, Prince of Priests.

(b) Vntruth, as all appeare.

For the right vnderstanding of this Canon two things are to be considered. How farre the authoritie of this Councell ought to be extended, and what is meant by a first See. (c) The Decrees of this Councell perteined but to the Prouince of Aphrike. For Prouinciall Councels binde onely the Prouinces in which, and for order of which they be kept. Only the Generall Councels are to be receiued of all.

Prima Sedes, what it meaneth. *Dist.* 99. *de Primatibus.*

(c) Vntruth. For this councell namely restraineth the Bishop of Reme.

By these two words (*Prima Sedes*) those Fathers vnderstood any Citie, in which a Patriarke or Primate, who are of one office, though of diuers names, hath his See. I call it a First See, or rather (if it might be permitted) a Primate See. (d) In great Cities, where the highest Courts for Iustice were kept, and where the

(d) Vntruth, grounded vpon a fable.

(e) Vntruth, grounded as the former.

the chiefe Pagane Prieſts of the Latines, named *Primi Flamines*, were reſident before the comming of Chriſt, there after Chriſts comming were Patriarkes or Primates placed, by whom the weightie matters of Biſhops ſhould be decided. (e) Which order was taken firſt by commandement of S. Peter, as Clement writeth: by the Apoſtles and Clement, as Anacletus witneſſeth: by the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſours afterward, as Lucius the Pope ſaith. Dist 99. C. Prouincia.

Now the Councell of Carthage, by this Defender alleged, and likewiſe the Aphrican Councell ordeined and willed that a Biſhop of any of the Primate Sees of Aphricke ſhould not be called *Princeps Sacerdotum, aut Summus Sacerdos*, Prince or chiefe of the Prieſts, or Higheſt Prieſt, by which word a Biſhop is there ſignified, but only a Biſhop of the Primate See, whereof he was Primate. By which Decree they willed (f) only their Primates of Aphricke to keepe themſelues within their limits, and not preſumptuouſly to take vpon them more glorious Titles, and further Iuriſdiction then to them perteined, leſt ſurely they might ſeeme to preiudicate the Popes Supremacie. Thus it is euident, the authoritie of that Carthage Councell being reſtrained to Aphricke only, that by this Canon the Popes Primacie and Title is no whit diminiſhed or diſprooued. And ſo for all this Defender, he remaineth as he hath (g) euer, higheſt Biſhop.

Higheſt Biſhop, Prince of Prieſts.

(f) Moſt manifeſt, and moſt vaine Vntruth.

(g) A great Vntruth.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

What M. Harding, ſo much falſhod vpon vs at one time? Falſifying of Councels: Shamefull falſifying: False teaching: False ſleight: False dice: False play: and all falſe? Chriſt ſaith of himſelfe, *I am the Truth*. God giue you grace to credit him. For the errour of quotation in the margin, wherein you ſpend ſo many words, it may pleaſe you to know that I neither was the Printer, nor could be preſent at the printing. For the reſt, if there can be any one point of falſhod found in mee touching the allegation of this Councel of Carthage, I will not refuſe to ſtand charged with the whole. But if euery of theſe horrible falſhoods be found an euident and plaine truth, then it may pleaſe you to take home all theſe prettie Titles to your ſelfe againe, as in euery of theſe words ſo often doubled, and ſo heapt together, hauing your ſelfe committed a ſeuerall falſhod.

And herin for triall of your courteous dealing, I am content your ſelfe ſhall ſit and be the Iudge. For notwithſtanding it be thought of many that ye diſſemble deepely, and will not beſtow your voice to ſay the truth, yet I doubt not but in this matter, if ye haue eies, ye may eaſily looke vp and ſee the truth.

You ſay, Sir Defender hath falſly alleged the Councell of Carthage. And why ſo? For that hee ſaith, The Councell decreed by expreſſe words, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould not be called the Vniuerſall Biſhop. This, you ſay, is forged and falſified, and is no part of that Councell. For indifferent triall both of the truth, and of the falſhood herein, I beſeech you behold the very words of the Councell, euen as they are alleged by your owne Doctour Gratian. Theſe they are: Primæ Sedis Epiſcopus non appelletur Princeps Sacerdotum, vel Summus Sacerdos, vel aliquid huiuſmodi: ſed tantùm Primæ Sedis Epiſcopus. Vniuerſalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur: *Let not the Biſhop of any of the Firſt Sees bee called the Prince of Prieſts, or the higheſt Prieſts, or by any other like name: but onely the Biſhop of the Firſt See. But let not the Biſhop of Rome himſelfe be called the Vniuerſall Biſhop.* And in the Gloſſe thereupon it is noted thus: In hac Diſtinctione dicitur, quòd Papa non debet dici Vniuerſalis: *In this Diſtinction it is ſaid, that The Pope ought not to be called the Vniuerſall Biſhop.*

Dist 99. Primæ.

Addition. ☞ Heere M. Harding crieth out bitterly, M. Iewell is a ſhameleſſe man: Three maine lies: O impudent Gloſer! Are ye not aſhamed, &c These be not the words of the Councell of Carthage. They are to bee referred to the third part of the diſtinction that followeth afterward. Your ſpeech is terrible, M. Harding, and argueth ſome inordinate paſſion in your ſtomacke. Referre theſe words whither you wil. If they be not written in the Councell of Carthage, yet at the leaſt they are the words of Gratian alleging the words of the Councell of Carthage. Be they his words, or be they the Councels; I will not ſtriue. Well you know they are not mine. Thus hee ſaith, by your owne confeſſion, Vniuerſalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur: *Let not the Biſhop of Rome himſelfe be called the Vniuerſall Biſhop.* And thus you confeſſe is the meaning of Pope Pelagius, that followeth immediately in the ſame diſtinction. Now, M. Harding, what great preiudice is this, as touching the right of our cauſe, if we loſe the authoritie of the councell of Carthage, and get the authoritie of the Pope himſelfe, who in your iudgement, and as you haue

M. Harding 190. b.
M. Harding 191. a.

Addition. ☞

haue written and published to the World, is aboue the authority of all Councels. What soeuer the Councel of Carthage say, the Pope himselfe saith, as it is noted in the Rubrik, Nec etiam Romanus Pontifex Vniuersalis est appellandus.

Now touching the Glosse, yée runne vpon mee with hue and crie: O impudent Glosер, (you say) Are you not asshamed to shew your peeuish Falshhood? Why left you out the beginning of the Sentence? Truly, M. Harding, I knew not your diet: Otherwise I could as good cheape haue serued you with all together. I left out nothing that was necessary. But, for asmuch as ye want something, I know not what, ye shall haue frée liberty to make it vp at your pleasure. The whole words be these: Hæc est Tertia pars Distinctionis, in qua dicitur, quòd Papa non debet vocari Vniuersalis: *This is the Third part of this Distinction, wherin it is said, that the Pope ought not to be called the Vniuersall Bishop.* *M. Hardings Confut. pag. 284. a.*

Highest Bishop, Prince of Priests.

Now tell vs, good Maister Harding, what peeuish Falshood, or what impudent glosing is this? or, sauing some part of your follie, whereat ought any man to bee asshamed?

Touching that you so pleasantly chére your selfe with these words, You doe as like to M. Iewell, as if you were his Fathers Sonne. I must answer you, as S. Augustine sometime did the Heretike Cresconius: Serua potiùs Puerilia Pueris: *Keep such Childish toies to play with your Children.* God make vs both like vnto our Father, that is in Heauen. *Aug. contra Cresc. lib. 3. cap. 38.*

Where you say, of your selfe only, without farther witnesse, that this title is the Popes ancient right, euer giuen to him by all the World, I doubt not, but the vntruth hereof by my former Replie, touching the same, may soone appeare. Certainly, when the same Title was offered to S. Gregory, he refused it vtterly, as none of his. *Artic. 4. Greg. lib. 7. Epist. 30*

Indéed, this Councell of Carthage, notwithstanding the Title of Highest Bishops was sometime giuen, not only to the Bishop of Rome, and other Patriarkes, but also vnto all other Bishops. M. Hardings owne Amphilochius calleth S. Basil, Principem Sacerdotum: *The Prince, or Chiefe of Bishops.* Ruffinus calleth Athanasius, Pontificem Maximum: *The Highest Bishop.* Nazianzenus calleth the same Athanasius, Archisacerdotem Sacerdotum: *The Cheife Bishop of Bishops.* Lactantius calleth euery Bishopricke, Summum Sacerdotium. Likewise S. Hierome saith, Ecclesiæ Salus in Summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet: *The safety of the Church standeth in the dignity of the Highest Priest.* By which Highest Priest, M. Harding himselfe saith, is meant euery seuerall Bishop within his own Diocesse. S. Augustine saith, Quid est Episcopus, nisi Primus Presbyter, hoc est, Summus Sacerdos? *What is a Bishop, but the First, or Chiefe Priest, that is to say, the Highest Priest.* Therefore we may safely spare the Pope this Title, of Highest Bishop, not as peculiar to him alone, as M. Harding imagineth, but as common, and generall to all Bishops. *M. Hardings Amphilochius. Rufinus l. b. 2. cap. 23. Nazian. ad Heronem. Lactan. lib. 4. cap. 30. Hieron. contra Lucifer ianos.*

All that you haue héere alleged of the Iurisdiction of the Flamines, is a méere phantasie, grounded only vpon an vnsauory Fable of Anacletus, and Clemens. Neither are you able to finde, either these names, Archiflamines, or Protoflamines, which héere are imagined, in any ancient allowed Writer, or any such Vniuersall Iurisdiction to them belonging. *M. Harding in his Answere to the Apology, fol. 204. b.*

The First, or Principall, or Mother Sées were limitted, not by the Flamines, but by the Prince. So it is written in the Councell of Chalcedon: Quascunque Ciuitates per Literas Regias Metropolitico nomine honorarunt: *What Cities soeuer by the* Princes Charter, *they honoured with the name of the Mother See.* *In Quæst. ex vtroque Testam. mixt. Qu. 101. Conc. Chalced. cap. 12.*

And therefore the Emperour Theodosius vpon displeasure conceiued, toke that Name of Honour from the City of Antioch, minding it should bée so called no more. And for that cause was the City of Rome chosen amongst others, to bee a Primate, or a Principall Mother Sée, not for that either Christ or Peter, had so appointed, as M. Harding telleth vs, but for that it was the most Noble City, & of greatest renowm in all the world. *Chrys. ad Pop. Antiochen. Homil. 17.*

The words be plaine: Sedi Veteris Romæ Patres meritò dederunt Primatum, Quòd illa Ciuitas alijs Imperaret: *The Fathers worthily gaue the Chiefrie to the See of the Old Rome: Because that Citie had the Princehood ouer others.* *Conc. Chalced. cap. 28.*

Now concerning this Decrée of the Councel of Carthage, it touched as wel the Bishop of Rome, as other Primates. And therfore Pope Adrian afterward alleging, and corrupting the same, added thereto this speciall Prouiso for himselfe: Nullus Archiepiscoporum, nisi qui Primas Sedes tenent, appelletur Primas, aut Princeps Sacerdotum, aut Summus Sacerdos, aut aliquid huiusmodi &c. Salua semper in omnibus authoritate Beati Petri *Adrian. Papa. In Capitulis ex Synodis & Canonib. diuer. collect. To. 2. pa. 611.*

Petri Apostoli: *Let no Archbishop, sauing such as haue the Principal, or First Sees, be called either the Primate, or the Prince of Priests, or the Highest Priest, or by any other like name, &c. Sauing alwaies, and in all things, the authority of Blessed* S. Peter *the Apostle.*

The Apology, Chap. 4. Diuision 3.

All these be the words of Gregory.

And therefore, sithence the Bishop of Rome wil now adaies so be called, and challengeth vnto himselfe an authority, that is none of his: besides that, he doth plainly contrary to the ancient Councels, and contrary to the Old Fathers: We beleeue, that he doth giue to himselfe, as it is writtē by his own Companion Gregory, a presumptuous, a Prophane, a Sacrilegious, & an Antichristian name: that he is also the King of Pride, that he is Luciser, which preferreth himself before his Brethren: that he hath forsaken the Faith, and is the Forerunner of Antichrist.

M. Harding.

Vniuersall.

Heere is much adoe about naught, and a number of bitter words picked out of Saint Gregories Epistles, pretended to be written against the Bishop of Rome to no purpose. For if we say, (a) as we may say truly, that he challengeth to himselfe no such name, then what hath this Defender to say? Let him shew vs how many Bishops of that See euer tooke the name of the Vniuersal Bishop vpon them, specially as Gregory vnderstandeth it to signifie. If he can shew none, why blotteth he so much Paper with so impudent Lies?

(b) Indeed the six hundred and thirtie Fathers of the Generall Councell of Chalcedon, gaue to Pope Leo that name, as Gregory in three sundry Epistles writeth, and certaine other in their writings haue attributed to the Pope the same. But that either Leo, or any other his Successour (c) affected so to be called, Gregory denieth. (d) And that any since Gregories time to our daies, euer called or wrote himselfe Vniuersall Bishop, we denie.

Whereas Pelagius, and Gregory, writing against the presumption of Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople for taking vpon him this name, are much alleged by the enemies of Vnity, against the authority of Peters Successour ouer the whole Church: we say, that they following the steps of their Predecessours, refused the name of Vniuersall Bishop in such sense, as Pelagius, and specially Gregory oftentimes declareth, that where one is called Vniuersal Bishop, he seemeth to be called (e) Bishop alone, so as Bishoprick should bee taken away from all others. But they refused not so to bee called after this meaning, as though by that refusall, the authority of the Bishop of Rome should be restrained, & not extended ouer the whole Church. They denie, that any man might so be Vniuersal Bishop, as he should be also the peculiar Ruler & gouernour of euery particular Church. For so all other Bishops had bene in vain: & that is contrary to Christs institution, who ordained all the Apostles to be Bishops. To say al in few, they refused the name that might odiously bee taken, they refused not the Primacy (f) which Christ to them had committed. Therfore Gregory writing to Morice the Emperour alleging the words that make for Peters authority ouer the whole Flock of Christ, saith of Peter, (g) The charge of the whole Church & Principality is committed to him, & yet is he not called Vniuersall Apostle. Where it is plaine, that Gregory doth both affirme the charge of the whole, and denieth the name of Vniuersall. Let these Defenders grant the thing and we striue not for the name.

(a) Vntruth. For Platina saith, *Bonifacius 3. Obtinuit à Phoca, Magna tamen contentione.*

(b) There appeareth no such matter in all that Councell.

(c) Vntruth. As appeareth by the former authority of Platina.

(d) Vntruth As further appeareth by the answer.

(e) Vntruth, and most vaine fantasie. For no Bishop of Constantinople euer dreamed of such authority.

(f) Vntruth: for Christ neuer erected any such Primacie.

(g) The like whole charge was giuen to Paul, Iohn, and Matthew, as shal appeare. *M. Harding pag. 186. b.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Heere it pleaseth M. Harding of his courtesie to say, We haue blotted our papers with so many, and so many impudent Lies. His whole discourse standeth onely in the Construction of this word, Vniuersall, in what sense it may be either refused or claimed. Howbeit, vnderstand thou, gentle Reader, that all this is M. Hardings owne only Commentary. For other Doctour or Father he alleageth none.

Addition. ☞ But, M. Harding saith, M. Iewell misliketh with me for saying, that the name of Vniuersal Bishop in a right sense is no proud name, in respect of him, to whom it belongeth. By a right sense, I mean that sense, which S. Gregory allowed, and that, which the Fourth Generall Councell of Chalcedon allowed. *The Answer.* **But what is that right sense, M. Harding?** The same (you say) that is allowed by the Councell of Chalcedon, and by S. Gregorie. **But what sense that may be, neither the Councell of Chalcedon, nor S. Gregory euer told you. Verily S. Gregory hauing occasion largely to dispute hereof, euen in the same sense and meaning, as it was claimed by the Bishop of Constantinople, saith, that the same title with the same sense was offered by the Councell of Chalcedon to the Bishop of Rome. In the same sense, I say, M. Harding, and in none other: And in what sense it was offered by the Councell, in the same sense the Pope refused it. The sense therefore being one, why doe you so vainely imagine such choice of senses?** The sense that was offered (you say) was good. The sense that was refused, (you say) was naught. **And yet both these senses were all one sense. Otherwise shew you me, where S. Gregory euer called himselfe the Vniuersall Bishop in any kind of sense. Certainly, speaking of the same title of Vniuersall Bishop, and of the same sense, and of none other, he saith,** Petrus Vniuersalis Apostolus non vocatur: S. Peter

Addition. ☞

Lib. 4 epist. 32.

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is not called the Vniuerſall Apoſtle. If this title, and this ſenſe neuer belonged vnto S. Peter, how then may it belong vnto the Pope? Wherfore, M. Harding, touching the right ſenſe of theſe words, I think him not in his right wits, that can deuiſe ſuch diſtinction of ſenſes without any difference. Him S. Gregory meant to claime the name of Vniuerſall Biſhop, that ſought to ſubdue all the members of Chriſts Church vnto himſelfe. And this is that ſelf ſame title, & that ſelf ſame ſenſe, that this day is claimed by the Pope, as it is euident vnto the world. Pope Clement ſaith, Omnes ſubiecti ſunt motioni Papæ: & ſunt in illo, quaſi membra de membro: *All men are ſubiect to the Popes wil: and are in him, as members of a member.* Durandus ſaith, Omnes Epiſcopi deſcendunt à Papa, tanquam membra à capite: *All Biſhops come from the Pope, as members from the head.* Another ſaith, Papa eſt Ordinarius totius Mundi: *The Pope is the Ordinary, or Biſhop, of all the whole World.* And therfore Pope Bonifacius 8. hath concluded by ſolemne Sentence, *That euery Creature muſt ſubmit it ſelf vnto the Biſhop of Rome, vpon the paine of euerlaſting damnation.* This is the right ſenſe that you meane, M. Harding: Thus the Pope claimeth this day, to be the Vniuerſall Biſhop. And this ſame title, and ſenſe is it, that S. Gregory condemneth.

Vniuerſal.

Clemens lib. 5. De Hæreticis. Ad Veſtrum. Durand. De Miniſtris, & Ordinib. lib. 2. De Maior. & Obedient. Vnam Sanctam.

First, where it is ſaid, that S. Gregory by this word, Vniuerſall Biſhop, meant him, that would be Biſhop alone ouer all the World, excluding all others, this expoſition is not only ſtrange, but alſo vaine, and fond, and void of reaſon. For what Biſhop of Conſtantinople euer was there, that called himſelfe the Onely Biſhop, and excluded all others? Doubtleſſe Iohn, that firſt laid claime vnto this name, as he called himſelfe the Vniuerſall Biſhop, ſo he wrote his Letters vnto others, and neuer refuſed to call them Biſhops.

But, to leaue theſe Gloſſes and fantaſies, by the title of Vniuerſall Biſhop, S. Gregory meant ſuch a one, not, as would bee Biſhoppe alone, but as would claime Infinite Authority, and Vniuerſall Iuriſdiction ouer all other Biſhops throwout the World: and that, as S. Cyprian ſaith, would call himſelfe, Epiſcopum Epiſcoporum: *The Biſhop of Biſhops.*

Cypr in Concil. Carthag.

Therefore S. Gregory thus writeth vnto Iohn the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, the firſt Vſurper of this title: Quid tu Chriſto Vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ Capiti in Extremi Iudicij reponſurus es examine, qui cuncta eius Membra tibimet Vniuerſalis conaris appellatione ſupponere? *What anſwer wilt thou make vnto* Chriſt *the Head of the Vniuerſall Church, when thou ſhalt be examined at the laſt Iudgement, (*not that thou haſt called thy ſelf the onely Biſhop, but*) that thus goeſt about by the name of Vniuerſall Biſhop, to make all his Members ſubiect vnto thee?* It was this immoderate Vniuerſall Iuriſdiction, that S. Gregory reproued, and not the making of himſelfe Biſhop alone, excluding all others.

Greg. lib. 4. epiſt. 38.

Likewiſe he writeth of himſelfe vnto Eulogius: Beatitudo veſtra mihi ſic loquitur: Sicut Iuſiſtis. Quod Verbum Iuſionis, peto, a meo auditu remouete. Non Iuſi: Sed quæ vtilia viſa ſunt, indicare curaui: *Your Holineſſe ſaith thus vnto mee,* (being the Biſhop of Rome) *As you haue Commanded. Haue away this word of Commanding from my hearing, I beſeech you. I Commanded you not: but that I tooke to be the beſt, I thought good to ſhew you.* The fault therefore that Gregorie findeth with Iohn the Biſhoppe of Conſtantinople, ſtood not in calling himſelfe the Onelie Biſhop, for ſo hee neuer did, but in Bidding, and Commanding, and Claiming Vniuerſality of Iuriſdiction ouer the whole Church of Chriſt. And for that cauſe hee ſaith vnto Eulogius: Eccein Præfatione Epiſtolæ, quam ad meipſum, qui prohibui, direxiſtis, Superbæ Appellationis Verbum, Vniuerſalem me Papam dicentes, imprimere curaſtis. Quod, peto, dulciſſima mihi Sanctitas veſtra vltrà non faciat: quia vobis ſubtrahitur, quod alteri pluſquam ratio exigit præbetur: *Behold euen in the Title of your Letter yee haue written this Proud Poſie, naming me The Vniuerſall Pope: notwithſtanding I haue forbidden it. I beſeech your Holineſſe, to doe ſo no more. For whatſoeuer is giuen vnto any other aboue reaſon, the ſame is taken from your ſelues.*

Greg. lib. 7. epiſt. 30.

M. Harding ſaith, Gregory affirmeth the charge of the whole, and denieth the name of Vniuerſal. Let theſe Defenders (ſaith he) grant the thing, and we ſtriue not for the name. Verily this play had bin too vaine for Children: to allow the thing it ſelf, and to cauil only about the name:

that

Matth. 23. that is to receiue the Body, and to ſhunne the Shadow: Or, as Chriſt ſaith, to ſwallow a Camell, and to ſtraine a Gnat. So Appian ſaith, Iulius Cæſar nicely refuſed to be called a King: and yet in all maner authority and gouernment bare himſelfe none otherwiſe, then as a King.

Appianus: ἵνα μὴ ἴρρα καισὶς.

Vniuerſall.

It was not the bare name of Vniuerſall Biſhop, that ſo much offended the Holy Fathers: but the Pride, and Tyranny, and Vniuerſall gouernment, and Iuriſdiction, that is ſignified by that name. If the name were naught, then was the Vſurpation of the thing it ſelfe, a great deale worſe.

But, S. Gregory ſaith, *The Charge and Principality of the whole Church was committed vnto* Peter. This is not denied: In like ſort Chryſoſtome ſaith, *The like charge and Principality of the Church was committed vnto* Paul. For thus he writeth: Paulo totus Orbis creditus eſt: Paulus gubernat Orbis Eccleſiam: Paulus Vniuerſum gubernat Orbem: *Vnto* Paul *the Whole world is committed:* Paul *gouerneth the Church of the World.* Paul *ruleth the whole World.* And yet Chryſoſtome meant not hereby, that Paul had the Vniuerſall Gouernment of the whole: but that his care and charge was generall, as not bound or limited vnto one place, but indifferent, and common vnto all. So he ſaith, Paulus tam anxiè omnium ſalutem curabat, acſi totus mundus vnica eſſet Domus: Paul *was ſo carefull for the ſaluation of all men, as if the whole World had beene but one Houſe.* Againe: Paulum tangebat ſolicitudo Omnium Eccleſiarum: non Vnius, aut Duarum, aut Trium, ſed Omnium, quæ erant per Orbem Terrarum: Paul *was mooued with the care of All Churches: not of One, or Two, or Three, but of All the Churches thorowout the World.* Likewiſe he ſaith of S. Iohn, Columna erat Omnium, quæ in Orbe ſunt, Eccleſiarum: *He was the Pillar of All the Churches in the World.* Likewiſe againe of S. Matthew, Matthæus Vniuerſi Orbis curam gerebat: *The whole World was vnder* Matthews *charge.*

Chryſoſt. de Laudib. Pauli. hom. 7.

Chryſ. in Hom. De Profectu Euangelij.

Chryſ. ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 73.

Chryſ. in Prologo in Iohan.

Chryſ. in Matth. Hom. 48.

Therefore, if M. Harding will gather out of theſe three words of S. Gregory (Totius Eccleſiæ Cura) that Peter had Vniuerſall Iuriſdiction ouer all, it muſt needs follow by the ſame words, that Paul, John, and Matthew had the ſame Iuriſdiction ouer all. What other thing hee hopeth to gaine by theſe words of S. Gregorie, I cannot tell: Vnleſſe happily he will found his reaſon thus: S. Gregory ſaith, Petrus Vniuerſalis Apoſtolus non vocatur: Peter *is not called the Vniuerſall Apoſtle:* Ergo, *The Pope is the Vniuerſall Biſhop.*

So handſomely theſe things are gathered together, to ſerue the purpoſe.

Pope Leo (ye ſay) of humility refuſed this name openly in the Councell of Chalcedon. Indeed Pope Gregorie ſo reporteth it. Notwithſtanding it appeareth not by any thing done in that Councell, that this title was euer offered him. And to refuſe a thing before it be offered, it is no great point of humility.

To be ſhort, the beſt we can gather hereof, is this: Iohn the Biſhop of Conſtantinople ambitiouſly craued this name: Pope Leo godly refuſed it, being offered vnto him: The Popes afterward gladly receiued it without offering. If it were a good name, why was it refuſed? If it were an ill name, why was it receiued?

Now let vs ſee, what they of M. Hardings ſide haue meant by this word Vniuerſall, and with what humility the Popes haue receiued the ſame. Thus therefore they write: [a] Papa Totius Orbis obtinet Principatum: *The Pope hath the Princehood of All the World.* And when the Pope is Conſecrate, the Chiefe Miniſter ſaith vnto him, [b] Ego inueſtio te de Papatu, vt præſis Vrbi, & Orbi: *I doe inueſt thee with the Popedome, that thou maieſt rule both the Citie and the World.*

[a] *Extr. de ſtatu Regulari, Periculoſo, in Gloſſ.*

[b] *Ceremoniar. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

And whereas M. Harding demandeth, how many Popes haue claimed this name, it may pleaſe him to remember, that in the late Councell of Conſtance, it was not onelie claimed, but alſo publiſhed, as an Article of the Faith. The words are theſe, De neceſſitate Salutis eſt credere, Papam eſſe Oecumenicum: *It is of the neceſſity of Salnation to beleeue, that the Pope is the Vniuerſall Biſhop.*

[c] *Paralipome. Vrſpergen. De Diſputatione Liplica.*

Of this Vniuerſality of Power Franciſcus Zabarella writeth thus; [d] Papa iam occupauit Omnia iura inferiorum Eccleſiarum, ita, vt inferiores Prælati ſint pro nihilo: *The Pope hath now gotten the right of All inferiour Churches, ſo that the inferiour Prelates ſtand now for nothing.*

[d] *Franciſ. Zabarella.*

For theſe cauſes Gregory calleth the name of Vniuerſall Biſhop, a Prophane, a Preſumptuous, a Wicked, and an Antichriſtian name; comparing the Vſurper thereof with Lucifer and Antichriſt.

The Apology, Chap. 5. *Diuision* 1.

Further we say, that the Minister ought lawfully, duely, and orderly to bee preferred to that office of the Church of God, and that no man hath Power to wrest himselfe into the Holy Ministerie at his owne pleasure. Wherefore these persons doe vs the greater wrong which haue nothing so common in their mouthes, as that we doe nothing orderlie and comly, but all things troublesomely, and without Order: And that we allow euerie man to be a Priest, to bee a Teacher, and to be an Interpreter of the Scriptures.

M. Harding.

Yee say, that the Minister ought lawfully to bee called (for so hath your Latine) and duely and orderlie to bee preferred to that office of the Church of God. Why doe yee not so? Why is not this obserued among you Gospellers? Whatsoeuer ye meane by your Minister, and by that office, (a) this are wee assured of, that in this your new Church, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, or any other Inferiour Orders, yee haue none.

(a) Vntruth. For it is knowne wee haue them.

For whereas after the doctrine of your new Gospell, like the Forerunners of Antichrist, yee haue (b) abandoned the externall Sacrifice, and Priesthood of the New Testament, and haue not in your Sect consecrated Bishops, and therefore beeing without Priests made with lawfull laying on of hands, as Scripture requireth, all Holy Orders being giuen by Bishops only: how can ye say, that any among you can lawfully Minister, or that ye haue any lawfull Ministers at all?

(b) Vntruth. For we haue abandoned neither the Priesthood, nor the Sacrifice, that Christ appointed.

This then beeing so, let me haue leaue to oppose one of these Defenders consciences. And that for the better vnderstanding I may direct my words to a certaine person, let him bee the Author of this Apologie: or because his name to me is vnknowne, Let him be M. Iewel. For with him gladlie would I reason in this point, the rather for acquaintance, and for that he beareth the name of a Bishop in that Church, where my selfe had a roome. How say you, Sir Minister Bishop, ought the Minister to be lawfully called? ought he duely and orderly to bee preferred to that office, or (as the Latine heere hath) promoted, or put in authority ouer the Church? In the Apologie this Defender saith, yea.

How many Bishops can you reckon, whom in the Church of Salisburie you haue succeeded aswell in Doctrine, as in outward sitting in that Chaire? How many can you tell vs of, that beeing your Predecessours in order before you, were of your opinion, and taught the faithfull people of that Diocesse the Doctrine, that you teach? Did Bishop Capon teach your Doctrin? did Shaxton? did Campegius? did Bishop Audley? Briefly, did euer any Bishop of that See before you, teach your Doctrine? (c) it is most certaine, they did not.

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(c) Vntruth. For Bishop Shaxton, and B. Capon taught the same

If you cannot shew your Bishoply Petigree, if you can proone no Succession, then whereby hold you? Will you shew vs the Letters Patent of the Prince? Well may they stand you in some stead before men before God, who shall call you to an account for presuming to take the Highest office in his Church (d) not duely called thereto, they shall serue you to no purpose.

(d) Vntruth. For he was chosen by Canonic. Election of the Chapter, as all other Bishops haue beene before.

In præscriptionibus aduersus Hæreticos. These bee Tertullians words.

You know what Tertullian saith of such as ye be, *Edant origines Ecclesiarum suarum, &c.* We say like wise to you M. Iewel, and that we say to you, we say to each one of your Companions: Tell vs the Originall and first spring of your Church. Shew vs the Register of your Bishops continually succeeding one another from the beginning, so as that first Bishop haue some one of the Apostles, or of the Apostolike men for his Authour and Predecessour. For by this way the Apostolike Churches shew what reputation they be of. As the Church of Smyrna telleth vs of Polycarpe by Iohn the Apostle placed there. The Church of the Romans telleth vs of Clement ordained by Peter. S. Augustin hauing reckoned vp in order the Bishops of Rome to *Anastasius* Successour to *Siricius*, who was the eight & thirtieth after Peter, saith that in all that number & role of Bishops there is not found One, that was a Donatist: and therefore he concludeth, *Ergo*, the Donatists be not Catholikes. So after that we haue reckoned all the bishops of Salisburie from Bishop Capon vpward, we shall come at length in respect of Doctrine & Orders to S. Augustine the Apostle of the English, who was made Bishop by Gregory, & from Gregory vpward to S. Peter. And in all that row of Bishops (e) we shall finde neuer a one that beleeued, as M. Iewel beleeueth. *Ergo*, your Zuinglian & Calumian beleefe, M. Iewel, & of the rest of you fellowes, is not Catholike.

(e) Vntruth by your owne confession.

Epist. 165.

Therefore, to goe from your Succession, which ye cannot proue, and to come to your Vocation, how say you Sir? you beare your selfe as though you were Bishop of Salisburie. But how can you proone your Vocation? By what authoritie Vsurpe you the administration of Doctrine and Sacraments? What can you allege for the right and proofe of your Ministerie? Who hath called you? Who hath laid hands on you? By what example hath he done it? How, and by whom are you consecrated? Who hath sent you? Who hath committed to you the office you take vpon you? Bee you a Priest, or be you not? If you bee not, how dare you Vsurpe the name and office of a Bishop? If you be, tell vs (f) who gaue you Orders? The institution of a Priest, was neuer yet but in the power of a Bishop. Bishops haue alwaies after the Apostles time, according to the Ecclesiastical Canons, beene consecrated by (g) three other Bishops, with the consent of the Metropolitane and confirmation (g) of the Bishop of Rome.

(f) Euen he that gaue M. Harding Orders in the time of King Edward.

(g) Vntruths two together in one Sentence. See the answer.

Athan. in Apolog. 2.

Macarius a Priest of Athanasius (as it was laid to his charge by his accusers) pulled Ischyras from the Altar, as hee was at (h) Masse, ouerthrew the Holy Table, brake the Chalice. The matter brought to Iudgement, Athanasius and the se Bishops both denied the fact, and also though it were granted, yet defended the same as well done, because Ischyras was not a lawfull Minister of the Church. And why so? Because hee was not lawfully made Priest, not with Churchly laying on of hands consecrated. By which example besides other points we are taught, what to iudge of your pretensed Communion.

(h) A vaine Vntruth. For if it had beene any thing it had been a Communion, and not a Masse. But Athanasius saith plainly: *Neque Ecclesia illa erat, neque Sacra fiebant, neq; tempus mysteriorum agebatur.*

Againe, what say you to Epiphanius, who writeth against one Zachæus of his time, for that being but a Layman, with wicked presumption tooke vpon him to *handle the Holy Mysteries, and rashly to do

the

Succession.

the office of a Priest? Hereof S Hierome saith notably: *Hilarius cum Diaconus de Ecclesia recesserit,* &c. Hilary forasmuch as he went from the Church being a Deacon, and is only (as he thinketh) the multitude of the world, can neither consecrate the Sacrament of the Altar, being without Bishops and Priests, nor deliuer Baptisme without the Eucharist. And whereas now the man is dead, with the man also the sect is ended, because being a Deacon he could not consecrate any Clerke that should remaine after him. And Church is there none, which hath not a Priest. But letting goe these few of little regard, that to themselues be both Lay and Bishops, listen what is to be thought of the Church. Thus S. Hierome there: In whom, leauing other things, I note, that if there be no Church where is no Priest, where is your Church like to become, after that our Apostates, that now be fled from vs to you, shal be departed this life? Therefore this being true, it remaineth, M. Iewel, you tell vs, whether your Vocation be Ordinary or Extraordinary. If it be Ordinary, shew vs the Letters of your Orders. At least shew vs that you haue receiued Power to doe the office you presume to exercise, by due order of laying on of hands and Consecration. * But Order and Consecration you haue not. For who could giue that to you of all these new Ministers, howsoeuer else you call them, which he hath not himselfe? If it be Extraordinary (as all that ye haue done hitherto, is besides all good Order) shew vs some signe of Miracle. If you fail, in all these, why ought not you to be put away?

Contra Ioan. Hierosol. lib. 2. in Dialog. aduersus Luciferianos. Sacerdotem.

M. Hardings Brethren Apostates.

*A manifest Vntruth: For we haue both Order and Consecration.

Finally, what can you answer to that, which may be obiected to you out of S. Cyprians Epistle to Magnus, touching Nouatian? It was at those daies a question, whether Nouatian Baptized and offered, specially where as he vsed the Forme, Maner, and Ceremonies of the Church. Cyprian denieth it: For he can not (saith he) be counted a Bishop, who setting at naught the Tradition of the Gospell, and of the Apostles, *Nemini succedens à seipso ordinatus est*, Succeeding no man is ordained Bishop of himselfe. For by no means may one haue or hold a Church, that is not ordained in the Church.

Lib. 1. Epist. 43. in Gratian. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 43.

This being so, wee doe you no wrong, as ye complaine, in telling you and declaring to the World, that touching the exercise of your Ministery, yee doe nothing orderly, or comely, but all things troublesomely and without Order. Vnlesse ye meane such Order, and Comelinesse, as Theeues obserue among themselues in the distribution of their Robberies.

M. Hardings modesty.

Lastly, if ye allow not euery Man, yea and euery Woman to be a Priest, why driue ye not some of your fellowes to recant * that so haue preached? Why allow ye the Bookes of your New Euangelists that so haue written?

* An odious Vntruth. For touching the Ministery of the Church, we haue neither preached so, nor written so.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Here hath M. Harding taken some paines more then ordinarie. He thought, if hee could by any colour make the world beleeue, wee haue neither Bishops, nor Priests, nor Deacons this day in the Church of England, he might the more easilie claime the whole right vnto himselfe. And indeed, if it were certaine, that the Religion, and Truth of God passeth euermore orderly by Succession, and none otherwise, then were Succession, wherof he hath told vs so long a tale, a very good substantial argument of the truth. But Christ saith, In Cathedra Mosis sedent Scribæ, & Pharisæi: (By order of Succession) *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in* Moses *Chaire.* Annas and Caiphas, touching Succession, were as well Bishops as Aaron, and Eleazar. Of Succession S. Paul saith to the Faithfull at Ephesus: Scio, quòd post discessum meum intrabunt Lupi rapaces. Ex vobis ipsis exurgent viri peruersa loquentes: *I know that after my departure hence, rauening Woolues shall enter, and* Succeed *mee. And out of your selues there shall (by* Succession) *spring vp men speaking peruersly.* Therefore *S.* Hierome saith, Non sanctorum filij sunt, qui tenent loca Sanctorum: *They be not alwaies the Children of Holy Men, that* (by Succession) *haue the places of Holy men.*

Matth. 23.

Actor. 20.

Dist. 40. Non est Facile.

Addition. ☞ Nay, (saith M. Harding) you bring these words, as in the reproch of Succession: whereas Christ of the same made an argument for Succession. Could you not perceiue, that Christ made a plaine argument, why, and why only the Scribes and Pharisees should bee obeyed? Thus Christ saith, Obey thē only for Succession sake, because by order of Succession they sit in Moses chaire. This place so maketh for Succession, that it can neuer be auoided. *The Answer.* And thinke you indeed, M. Harding, that the Scribes, and Pharisees came from Moses by Succession, as the Pope would seeme to come from Peter? were they the Dukes and Princes of the Country, as Moses was? Or, were they the High Priests or Bishops, as was Aaron? Or, had they continued their estate & doctrine euen from the time of Moses vntill Christ, welnere by the space of two thousand yeeres? Certainly S. Hierome saith, *The Scribes and Pharisees grew out of two houses in* Iurie, *the one called* Sammai, *the other* Hillel, *not long before* Christ *was born*: Nō multò prius quàm Dominus nasceretur. And Iosephus saith, The Pharisees were first brought to the gouernment of the State by the policy of Alexandra, after the death of Alexander her husband, which was not aboue three score yeres before Christ. Now, M. Harding, if the Scribes and Pharisees had neither the office of Moses, nor his Doctrine, nor his Lawes, nor his Sword, but only had shifted in themselues so many yeres after him, how then can you say, That Christ commanded them to be obeied only for Succession sake, for that by order of Succession they had placed themselues in Moses Chaire? Indeed they had set themselues in the rome of Moses, and were his Successours, as touching place: but other Succession of continuance, or Vniuersally of euery part of Doctrine, I know none. Vniuersally, I say, and of euery part: For otherwise in many parts they taught

Addition. ☞

M. Harding pag. 199. a.

M. Harding pag. 199. b.

In Isai. cap. 8.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21.

Moses

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Moſes Law, and taught it truly. Howbeit, as the Scribes and Phariſeis ſucceeded Moſes, peruerting and breaking the Lawes of Moſes: euen ſo doe the Biſhops of Rome this day ſucceed Chriſt, peruerting and breaking the Lawes of Chriſt.

But, I pray you, did Chriſt command the people to obey the Phariſeis whatſoeuer they ſaid, true or falſe, only becauſe of their Succeſſion? Wherefore then ſaid hee to his Diſciples, *Beware of the Leauen of the Scribes and Phariſeis? Blinde they are, and lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. They breake the Lawes of God to vphold their owne Traditions. They are Theeues and Murderers. They ſeeke only to deſtroy and kill. They ſhut vp the kingdome of God before men.* Yet will you tell vs that Chriſt commanded the people to follow the Phariſeis abſolutely, and without exception, breaking and defacing Gods holy Lawes: ſhutting vp the kingdome of God: deſtroying and killing the ſoules of Gods people: and leading them headlong into the pit? Nay, M. Harding, Chriſt rather ſaith, *My ſheep heare my voice, and follow mee: and will not heare the voice of ſtrangers.* By ſtrangers hee meant the Scribes and Phariſeis, and other like. For full anſwer hereto, S. Auguſtine ſaith thus: Sedendo in Cathedra Moſis, Legem Dei docent, &c. *Sitting in the Chaire of Moſes, they teach the Law of God. Therefore it is Gods that teacheth in them. But if they will teach any thing of their owne, then* (ſaith S. Auguſtine) *heare it not, then doe it not.*

Matth. 16. Matth. 15. Ibidem. Iohan. 10. Matth. 23. Iohan. 10. *Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 46.*

Thus, M. Harding, you ſee, neither had the Phariſeis due Succeſſion and continuance from Moſes, no more then the Pope hath from S. Peter: nor did they vniuerſally and in all points teach the true meaning of Moſes Law: nor did Chriſt will the people vniuerſally and abſolutely to obey them. So much this place maketh for your Succeſſion.

Notwithſtanding the Pope himſelfe will ſay, as it is before alleged, In Papa ſi deſint bona acquiſita per meritum, ſufficiunt quæ à loci Prædeceſſore præſtantur: *If the Pope want good things gotten by his own merits, the good things which he hath* (by Succeſſion) *of Peter his Predeceſſour are ſufficient.* And the Gloſſe thereupon, Petrus fecit Papas hæredes bonitatis ſuæ: Peter *made the Popes heirs of his goodneſſe* (by Succeſſion.) And againe, Papa Sanctitatem recipit à Cathedra: *The Pope receiueth his holineſſe* (by Succeſſion) *of his Chaire.*

Diſt. 40. Non nos. *Diſt. 19. Sit omnes: in Gloſſ.*

Addition. *Addition.* The effect of M. Hardings anſwer hereto is this: The Pope may be holy, although not by vertue that ſhould be within him, yet by his office that is without him. *The Anſwer.* And yet it is vniuerſally confeſſed among the learned, that holineſſe is a vertue, and, that vertue is an ornament of the minde, and is within vs. Sanctitas eſt virtus: virtus eſt habitus animi. But the Pope hath a priueledge aboue others, and may bee holie without holineſſe. So the Scribes and Phariſeis, and Annas, and Caiaphas, were they neuer ſo wicked, might bee holy by their Office. And ſo by this concluſion it may ſtand well with reaſon, that wickednes and holineſſe may dwell together. But S. Hierome ſaith, Si quis hominem, qui ſanctus non eſt, ſanctum eſſe crediderit, & Dei eum iunxerit ſocietati, Chriſtum violat, cuius membra ſumus: *If any man beleeue that man to be holy that is not holy, and will ioine him to Gods companie, hee doth villanie to Chriſt, whoſe members wee are.*

M. Harding pag. 204. a. *Cauſa. 11 q. 3. Si quis homine.*

Such affiance ſometime had the Scribes and Phariſeis in their Succeſſion. Therefore they ſaid, *Wee are the children of* Abraham: *Vnto vs hath God made his promiſes: Art thou greater then our Father* Abraham? *As for Chriſt, wee know not from whence hee came,* or what he can ſhew for his Succeſſion. And when Chriſt began to reforme their abuſes and errours, they ſaid vnto him, *By what Power doeſt thou theſe things? And who gaue thee this Authoritie?* Where is thy Succeſſion? Vpon which words Beda ſaith, Intelligi volunt, Diaboli eſſe quod facit: *They would haue the people vnderſtand* (for that hee had no ſolemne Succeſſion) *that all that hee did was of the Diuell.* And Cyrillus frameth their words in this ſort: Tu, ortus ex Iuda, commiſſos nobis faſces vſurpas: *Thou being of the Tribe of* Iuda, (and therefore hauing no right by Succeſſion vnto the Prieſthood) *takeſt vpon thee the Office that is committed vnto vs.* Likewiſe Chryſoſtome imagineth the Phariſeis thus to ſay: Tu de Sacerdotali familia natus non es: Senatus tibi hoc non conceſſit: Cæſar non donauit: *Thou art not of the houſe of Prieſts. The Counſell hath not granted it thee: The Emperour hath not giuen it thee.* Thus to maintaine themſelues in credit, for that they had Succeſſion and continuance from Aaron, and ſate in Moſes Chaire, they kept Chriſt quite out of poſſeſſion: and ſaid vnto him then, euen as M. Harding ſaith now vnto vs: Who euer taught vs theſe things before thee? What Ordinarie Succeſſion and Vocation haſt thou? What Biſhop admitted thee? Who confirmed thee? Who allowed thee?

Iohan. 8. Iohan. 9. Lucæ 20. Marc. 11. *Bedain Luc. Lib. 5. cap. 80. Cyril. in Catena in Luc. 20. Chryſ. in Matth. Hom. 39. in Opere Imperfecto.*

Addition. *Addition.* But M. Harding ſaith, Chriſt had a moſt perfect Succeſſion from Adam, till Ioſeph the husband of the Virgin Mary. *The Anſwer.* I grant, as touching his birth,

Succession

Christ had his Succession from Adam downeward. So hath euery man liuing whatsoeuer he be. Euen you your selfe, M. Harding, are lineally descended from Adam by vndoubted Succession, although vnknowen: Vnlesse we shall thinke ye were borne without father or mother, and are none of Adams children. But we speake not now of Succession of birth, but of Succession of Office. And you know the office of Priesthood, whereof the Phariseis spake, was neuer in the house of Dauid, that is reckoned in Luke and Matthew, but only in the house of Leui. Otherwise tell me, in that whole race of Dauids descent, who was euer accounted a Priest, or offered the Sacrifice, or had ordinary power to teach the Gospell, before Christ? You doe euer vainely abuse your Reader, thus confounding and blending your things together. Touching the Ordinarie Office of Priesthood, and instructing the people, whereof we speake, Christ saith plainly, *As many as came before me, they were Theeues and Murderers.* As if he would say vnto them, *I haue no Ordinary descent from the Bishops and Priests of the house of* Leui. *I am able to shew you no such Succession. My liuing Father hath sent mee to you.* Consider better what you write, M. Harding, ye shall the lesse deceiue the simple.

M. Harding pag. 210. a.

Further you say, S. Peters Chaire to the new Law, is that which Moses Chaire was to the old Law. Who told you this tale, M. Harding? In what Scripture may wee find it? Your owne word carrieth no such credit. Proue it better, that wee may beleeue you. Hereto ye adde further, Whatsoeuer King, or Queene, or Priest setteth vp a Succession against Peters Chaire (you meane that is not obedient to the Pope) before Christs second comming, is a Schismatike, and without repentance, shal be damned in helfire with Idolaters for euer. And is this your Definitiue Sentence, M. Harding? Or may not a poore man appeale from it? Indeed so said Pope Bonifacius in his vanitie: *I haue decreed and determined* (saith he) *that euery creature be subiect to the Bishop of* Rome, *vpon the necessitie of his saluation.* Thus al other Christians whatsoeuer, dwelling in Græcia, Armenia, Aphrica, Asia, Æthiopia, India, &c. must néeds be damned. For certainly they neuer knew any such subiection to the Pope. But God be thanked, S. Peter himselfe, of whose Chaire wee speake, saith thus: *Before God there is no difference nor choice of persons: but in euery Nation whosoeuer feareth God, and worketh righteousnesse, is acceptable vnto him.* But of any such necessity of obedience to the See of Rome he telleth vs nothing.

De Maior. & Obedient. Vnam sanctam.

Therefore, good Christian Reader, let not these M. Hardings great words much abash thee. The Scribes and Phariseis in the like cases vsed the like language long agoe.

Touching the Church of Rome, I will say no more for this present, but only that was spoken openly by Cornelius the Bishop of Bitonto, in the late Councell of Trident: Vtinam non à Religione ad Superstitionem, à Fide ad Infidelitatem, à Christo ad Antichristum, velut prorsus vnanimes declinassent: *Would God they were not gone as it were vtterly by consent together, from Religion to Superstition, from Faith to Infidelity, from* Christ *to* Antichrist. These few words, considering either the speaker, or the place where they were spoken, may seeme sufficient. They are gone from Faith to Infidelity, from Christ to Antichrist. And yet, all other things failing, they must hold only by Succession: and onely because they sit in Moses Chaire, they must claime the possession of the whole. This is the right and vertue of their Succession.

Cornel. Episc. Bitontin. in Conc. Trident.

The words of Tertullian, M. Harding, which you haue heere alleged, were spoken of certaine your ancient Fathers, that had raised vp a new Religion of themselues, as you haue also done, without either word of God, or example of the Apostles and holy Fathers. And therefore he saith not vnto vs, but vnto you and such as you bee, Edant Origines Ecclesiarum suarum: *Let them shew foorth the Originals of their Churches.* Euen so wee say vnto you, shew vs the Originals of your Doctrine: shew vs any one of the Apostles of Christ, or of the learned Catholike Doctours of the Church, that euer said your Priuate Masse: shew one at the least, either Greeke or Latine. S. Augustine saith, of so many Bishops of Rome there could not one be found that had beene a Donatist. Euen so in like sort say wee to you, of all the same Bishops of Rome, there cannot one be found that euer agreed with M. Harding in saying Masse. Or if there were any such, shew vs his name, with other Circumstances, when, and where, and who were witnesses of the doing. Shew vs your Originals, M. Harding: Confesse the truth: Deceiue vs no longer: It is a new deuice: yee haue it onely of your selues, and not by Succession from the Apostles.

August. Epist. 165.

Addition. Hereto M. Harding answereth, You say not euen right so as Tertullian said: For he called not for the Originals of Doctrine, but of Churches. For by the Churches the Doctrine is knowen to be good or euill, to be allowable or reprooueable. *The Answer.* I grant, M. Harding, great and worthy is the Authoritie of the Church of God: yet is not the truth

Addition.

M. Harding pag. 217.

of

of Gods Goſpell alwaies knowen by the name of the Church: but contrariwiſe the true Church is alwaies knowen by the Goſpell. *S.* Auguſtine ſaith vnto Creſconius. Eccleſiam ſine vlla ambiguitate ſancta Scriptura demonſtrat: *The holy Scripture ſheweth foorth the Church without doubtfullneſſe.* And the Authour of the booke called Opus Imperfectum, ſpeaking purpoſely hereof, ſaith thus: Ideò mandat vt Chriſtiani volentes &c. *Therefore Chriſt commandeth that Chriſtian men, willing to be aſſured of the true faith, reſort to nothing elſe, but only to the Scriptures. For if they haue regard to any thing elſe, they ſhall be offended, and periſh, not knowing which is the true Church.*

Auguſt. contra Creſcon. lib. 1. cap. 33.

Chryſ. in Opere Imperf. Ho. 24.

Succeſsiō. Confirmation.

Further you ſay, It is cleare that S. Chryſoſtome ſaid Maſſe, and yet had no man to receiue with him. *The anſwer.* This is all vntrue, M. Harding. For your credits ſake prooue it better. It is euident by Chryſoſtome, that when he miniſtred the holy Communion, great multitudes, as well of the Lay people, as alſo of the Clergie receiued with him. For proofe whereof it may pleaſe thee, good Reader, to conſider ſome part of my Reply to M. Harding.

M. Harding pag. 218. a. Articul. 1. Diuiſion. 34.

Againe you ſay, Wee ſay priuate Maſſe, becauſe the Popes and other Biſhops who ſit in Peters, and in other the Apoſtles Chaires, doe tell vs that it is lawfull to ſay priuate Maſſe. *The anſwer.* If this rule be infallible, then happy are you. Following the Pope whitherſoeuer he lead you, you can neuer goe amiſſe. This is that myſterie that ye haue diſcloſed to the world in your late Confutation. Thus you ſay: It ſhall bee ſufficient for vs to doe as Peters Succeſſours bid vs to doe: Chriſt now requireth not of vs to obey Peter, or Paul, but him that ſitteth in their Chaire, that is, the Pope.

M Harding Confuta. pag. 192. a. b.

But wherefore telleth vs M. Harding this long tale of Succeſſion? Haue theſe men their owne Succeſſion in ſo fare Record? Who was then the Biſhop of Rome next by Succeſſion vnto Peter? Who was the ſecond? Who the third? Who the fourth? Irenæus reckoneth them together in this order: Petrus, Linus, Anacletus, Clemens: Epiphanius thus: Petrus, Linus, Cletus, Clemens: Optatus thus: Petrus, Linus, Clemens, Anacletus. Clemens ſaith that hee himſelfe was next vnto Peter: and then muſt the reckoning goe thus: Petrus, Clemens, Linus, Anacletus. Hereby it is cleare, that of the foure firſt Biſhops of Rome, M. Harding cannot certainly tell vs who in order ſucceeded other. And thus talking ſo much of Succeſſion, they are not well able to blaſe their owne Succeſſion.

Iren. li. 3. ca. 3. & lib. 4. cap. 4. Euſe. li. 5. ca. 6. Epiphan. lib. 1. De Corpocrat. Optatus contra Donatiſt. lib. 2.

I might farther ſay that Peters See Apoſtolike was ouer the Iewes, and not at Rome ouer the Heathens. For ſo S Paul ſaith: Mihi concreditum eſt Euangelium Præputij, ſicut Petro Circumciſionis: Qui potens erat Petro in Apoſtolatu Circumciſionis, potens erat in me inter Gentes: *The Goſpel of the Vncircumciſion among the Heathens, was committed vnto me, as the Goſpell of the Circumciſion among the Iewes vnto* Peter: *God that was mighty in* Peter *in the Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion, was mightie in me among the Heathens.* Therefore if the Pope this day will claime only by Peters Title, and require no more then Peter had, then muſt he ſeeke his Primacie amongſt the Iewes, where Peter had his Iuriſdiction limited, and not at Rome among the Heathen Chriſtians, among whom, as *S.* Paul ſaith, he had not much to doe.

Gala. 2.

Addition. *Addition.* Heere ſaith M. Harding, The lewdneſſe of this licentious Miniſter paſſeth all reaſon. His malicious and fond conceit: You are ſo impudent: Shame it is to you, M. Iewell: The ſhame of ignorance I meane; or which is more likely, the ſhame of impudencie. *The anſwer.* You are liberall M. Harding. It is your good will I ſhall want no ſhame. Of lewd and licentious Miniſters I haue no ſkill. Such licentious ſpeech might well be ſpared. But why are you ſo impatiently moued without cauſe? You ſay, Iexclude not onely the Pope, but alſo S. Peter from the gouernment of his owne Chaire in Rome. You may not beare falſe witneſſe, M. Harding, be you neuer ſo angrie. The mouth that ſeeketh ſuch aduantages, killeth the ſoule. You know full well we exclude not the Pope from the gouernment of his owne Chaire in Rome. Otherwiſe why ſhould we ſo often times call him the Biſhop of Rome? God giue him grace, that he may ſo gouerne his Chaire, as the ſeruant of Chriſt, and the ſteward of Gods Myſteries: leſt his Chaire be laid to his confuſion. *S.* Hierome ſaith, *It is no eaſie matter to ſtand in the place of* Peter *and* Paul, *and to behold the Chaire of them now reigning with Chriſt.* And Chryſoſtome ſaith, as he is alleged by Gratian, Non Cathedra facit Sacerdotem, ſed Sacerdos Cathedram: *It is not the Chaire that maketh the Prieſt, but it is the Prieſt that maketh the Chaire.*

M. Harding pag. 221. a. 222. a.

1. Corinth. 4.

Hieronym. ad Heliodorum. 40. Diſt. Multi.

But I haue ſaid, S. Peters *See Apoſtolike was ouer the Iewes.* This is it that hath offended you. Yet I ſaid not his See was only ouer the Iewes, vtterly excluding all maner Heathens. Behold my words better. Thus I ſay, ſpeaking of the Agreement taken betwæne Peter and Paul: *At* Rome *among the Heathen Chriſtians* S. Peter *had not much to doe.* This (you ſay) is lewdneſſe, and impudencie, and ignorance, and a malicious and fond conceit;

In Opere Imperfecto Hom. 43.

Succeſſiō. Confir-mation.

and I know not what. I beſeech you, M. Harding, and doth not S. Paul ſay the ſame? Did not Peter and Paul diuide the charge betweene themſelues, that Peter, James, and Iohn ſhould haue the Iewes for their portion: and Paul and Barnabas for their portion ſhould haue the Heathens? Be not theſe S. Pauls owne expreſſe and plaine words: *When* Iames, Peter, *and* Iohn, *that are taken as the pillers, or chiefe among them, had knowen the grace that was ginen to me, they ioyned with mee and* Barnabas, *the right hands of fellowſhip, that wee ſhould preach among the* Heathens, *and they in the Circumciſion among the* Iewes? Weigh well theſe words, M. Harding. What ſignifie they? What meame they? Was not this the concluſion of their agreement, that Iames, Peter, and Iohn ſhould vſe their Apoſtolike Authoritie ouer the Iewes: and Paul and Barnabas their like Authoritie ouer the Heathens? If you can deuiſe vs any other expoſition hereof, I pray you ſhew it.

Galat. 2.

Orig. in Matth. Tract. 14.

Origen writing vpon the Goſpell of S. Matthew, expoundeth it thus: Peter *and* Paul *gaue right hands of fellowſhip the one to the other, that* Peter *ſhould goe vnto the Circumciſion, to preach vnto the* Iewes *liuing vnder the Law, as vnto an Aſſe vnder the Yoke: but* Paul *ſhould goe vnto the* Heathens, *as vnto a colt that had neuer beene broken.*

Aug. in Epiſt. ad Galat. li. 1.

S. Auguſtine expoundeth it thus: *They agreed that* Paul *and* Barnabas *ſhould goe to the* Heathens: *and themſelues,* Iames, Peter, *and* Iohn, *vnto the Circumciſion, which ſeemed contrary to the* Heathens.

Hiero. in Epiſt. ad Gala. cap. 2.

S. Hierome thus: Vnus atque idem &c. *One God hath committed vnto me the preaching of the Goſpell among the* Heathens: *and to* Peter *among the* Iewes. *He ſent me vnto the* Gentiles, *and placed* Peter *in* Iurie. *By Gods prouidence one Apoſtle is giuen to the* Iewes, *and another vnto the* Heathens.

Chryſ. in Epiſt. ad Galat. ca. 2.

Chryſoſtome thus: *One thing pleaſed them both, that* Peter *and his ſide ſhould preach to the* Iewes: *and* Paul *and* Barnabas *to the* Heathens.

Afterward he imagineth S. Paul thus to ſay: In prædicandi munere partiti ſumus inter nos Orbem terrarum: *In the office of preaching we haue diuided the World betweene our ſelues.* And a little before he ſaith thus: Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec illius egebat voce, ſed honore par erat illi. Nihil enim hîc dicam amplius: Paul *had no lacke of* Peter, *nor ſtood in need of his voice: but in honour was his Peere. I will ſay no more.*

Ambro. ad Galat. cap. 2.

S. Ambroſe ſaith thus: Paul *ſaith that the grace he had receiued of God, was allowed of them, that hee might be thought worthie to haue the Primacy in preaching among the* Heathens, *as* Peter *had in preaching among the* Iewes.

Anſelm in Epiſt ad Galat. ca. 2.

Anſelmus a latter writer ſaith thus: *Theſe two principall Apoſtles were choſen to the Saluation of two Peoples:* Peter *to the Saluation of the* Iewes: *and* Paul *to the Saluation of the* Heathens.

What ſhall we néd moe Authorities in a matter ſo euident? This is the Expoſition of all the learned Fathers, both Greekes and Latines. Yet will you ſtill tell vs, The leudneſſe of this licentious Miniſter paſſeth all reaſon? Will you ſtill crie out, Shame, Impudencie, and Ignorance, &c.?

M. Har. 222.

But you ſay, I haue left out this word *Enim*, which in Engliſh doth ſignifie, For. This word For (you ſay) giueth great light to S. Paules meaning. A foule fault, no doubt, M. Harding, and well worthie to be proclamed by printed bookes vnto the world. Perhaps ye would rather I had begunne the firſt ſentence with Enim, as doth your Hippolytus. But if there be any ſuch ſpeciall vertue in Enim, let him come in againe hardly, M. Harding, and take his place.

Theop. in Epiſt. ad Galat. ca. 2.

Theophylactus vpon this Enim, hath written thus: Quin etiam parem hoc loco ſe Petro demonſtrat: *Yea further* Paul *in this place ſheweth himſelfe to be equall to* Peter.

Chryſoſtom. ad Galat. cap. 2.

Likewiſe vpon the ſame Enim ſaith Chryſoſtome: *Now* Paul *ſheweth himſelfe to be equal in honour vnto the reſt: not only vnto others, but alſo vnto* (Peter) *the chiefe of all.*

Hieronym ad Galat. cap. 2.

Likewiſe it is written in the ſhort Scholies, that beare the name of *S.* Hierome: Ego in nullo ſum illi inferior: *I* (ſaith S. Paul) *am in nothing inferiour vnto* Peter. Verily if he thought not himſelfe inferiour to Peter, then he thought not Peter to be his head.

Eraſ. Paraphr.

Now haue you your Enim, M. Harding, and as we may learne by theſe ancient Fathers, the very light of S. Pauls meaning: that is, that Paul ſhould deale among the Heathens, and Peter among the Iewes. And therefore Eraſmus expoundeth it thus: Fœdus ac ſocietatem inierunt, vt idem Euangelium concordibus animis in ſua quiſque portione prædicaremus: illi inter Iudæos, nos inter Gentes: *They ioyned in league and fellowſhip with vs: that with conſenting mindes we ſhould preach one Goſpell, each man within his owne portion: they among the* Iewes, *and we among the* Heathens. Thus were they charged by their owne agreement, each of them within his owne particular portion. By their owne agreement, I ſay. For other wiſe Chriſt ſaith, not only to Peter, but alſo equally vnto them all, *Goe you into the whole world, and Preach the Goſpell.* But by this Commiſſion Thomas and Thaddee might haue preached in Rome, as well as Peter. By their owne agreement they knew their portions. It is no euen dealing M. Harding, to diuide portions betwéne two, or more, and afterward to giue ouer the whole to one alone.

Marke 16.

Pére

Heere will you say, Had Peter then nothing to do among the Heathens? Or, Had Paul nothing to doe among the Iewes? Yes verily, M. Harding. For we know that Peter preached vnto the Heathen Centurion: And Paul often times entered into the Synagogues of the Iewes, as by the Acts of the Apostles it may appeare: and of himselfe he saith thus: Factus sum Iudæis quasi Iudæus: *Vnto the* Iewes *I was as a* Iew. And againe, *I wish my selfe to be accursed, and diuided from* Christ, *for* (*the* Iewes *sake, which are*) *my brethren, and kinsmen according to the flesh.* Act. 9. 22. & 26. 1 Cor. 9. *Cupio anathema esse.*

Confirmation.

Wheresoeuer they saw occasion offered, they were alwaies readie to doe good to all men, without choice of persons, whether they were Iewes, or Heathens.

Conſecration.

Howbeit, this question is very well moued, and answered by S. Hierome. Thus he saith: Occulta hic oritur quæstio. Quid igitur; Petrus si inuenisset ex Gentibus, non eos adducebat ad fidem? Aut Paulus &c. *Heere ariseth a secret question; If* Peter *had found any of the* Heathens, *did he not traine them to the Faith? Or if* S. Paul *had happened vpon any of the* Iewes, *did he not exhort them to be Baptized?* This question, saith he, is thus assoiled. *Wee must say that either of them had a Principall, or a Speciall Commission, the one ouer the* Iewes, *the other ouer the* Heathens: *that the Iewes that defended the Law might haue One, whom to follow: and the* Heathens *that chose rather the free grace of God, and left the Law, might likewise haue a Teacher to go before them. But generally this purpose was common to them both, that out of all Nations, as well* Iewes *as* Heathens, *they might gather a Church vnto Christ.* That is to say, Peters Apostleship was Ordinarie among the Iewes, and Extraordinarie among the Heathens: of the other side, Pauls Apostleship was Ordinarie among the Heathens, and Extraordinarie among the Iewes. *Hieronym. ad Galat. cap. 2. Principalis singulis in Iudæos & gentes fuisse mandatum.*

Thus much haue I added for your sake, M. Harding. For otherwise it had been needelesse. Heereby it is euident, *That by Gods secret prouidence, and by the Apostles agreement betweene themselues,* Peter *was placed in* Iurie, *and* Paul *among the* Heathens: For so saith S. Hierome, *That* Paul *had the Primacie among the* Heathens, *as* Peter *had among the* Iewes: For so saith S. Ambrose, *That* Paul *was equall vnto* Peter: For so saith Chrysostome, *That* Paul *was in no point inferiour vnto* Peter: For so saith he that beareth the name of S. Hierome: *Briefly, that either of them was allotted to his seuerall portion, and neither had the charge Vniuersall of the whole.* This is neither lewdnesse, nor licentious Ministerie, nor shame, nor villanie. Leaue such wilde talke, M. Harding, and learne your tongue to speake better.

Where you say, that according to the Ecclesiasticall Canons, euer from the Apostles time Bishops haue euermore been consecrate by three other Bishops, with the Confirmation of the Bishop of Rome, as if without him no man might be allowed to be a Bishop, ye should not so vnaduisedlie repoort so manifest vntruth. For, I beseech you, where be these Ecclesiasticall Canons? Who deuised them? Who made them? Who gaue the Pope that singular Priuiledge, that no Bishops should be admitted in all the World, but only by him? I remember your Canonists haue said, Papa potest solo verbo facere Episcopum: *The Pope may make a Bishop only by his word,* without any farther Consecration. And Abbat Panormitane moueth a doubt, whether the Pope by the fulnesse of his power may depriue all the Bishops in the world at one time. But thus they saie, that care not greatlie what they say. *Felin. de Constitu. Ca. Canonum Statuta. Colum. 3. Ver. Fallit. Panor. de Constitution. translato.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding answereth heereto, Among the Canons of the Apostles this is the first: *Episcopus à duobus aut tribus Episcopis ordinetur.* Yet can you aske, where be these Ecclesiasticall Canons? Who deuised them? Who made them? *The Answer.* You forget your selfe much, M. Harding. This was not the question. You are demanded one thing, and answer another. We denie not the Consecration of three Bishops. We denie not the Confirmation of the Metropolitane. We our selues are so consecrated, and so confirmed. The matter that lieth betweene vs is this, Whether thorow the whole Church of Christ no man may be allowed for a Bishop, without the Confirmation of the Pope. Thereto I say, Where be your Ecclesiasticall Canons? Who deuised them? Who made them? If ye haue any, shew them forth hardly: they will further your cause. If ye haue none at all, why should you thus vaunt your selfe of emptie store? Why should you talke so vainly of your Ecclesiasticall Canons, so old, so ancient, so long continued in the Catholike Church, from the Apostles time, vntill this day? *M. Hard. Confutat. 58. a.*

Christ (you say) loued Peter, and inspired him, and gaue the Bishop of Rome, Peters Successor, this Priuiledge, that no Bishop ought to be a Bishop without his consent. Verily this had been a follie large Commission. And was it granted vnto the Pope, as you say, and not vnto Peter? For so you say. Behold your words: Christ gaue the Bishop of Rome, Peters Successor, this Priueledge: that no Bishop ought to be a Bishop without his consent. Of Peters Priuiledge or consent you tell vs nothing: You speake only of the consent and Priuiledge of the Pope, the *M. Hard. Detection. 223. b.*

Confirmation. Consecration.

Successour of Peter. But where may wee finde this Commission? In what Gospell? In what Scripture? In what Generall Councell? In what ancient Father? Are such Monuments laid vp only in the Roles and Pipes of your memorie? Or is it sufficient for you to tell vs, Christ inspired and loued Peter: Christ gaue Priuileges to the Pope: without any maner word of proufe? I beseech you, M. Harding, how many Bishops can you reckon that were confirmed by S. Peter? Where dwelt they? Where preached they? What were their names? Cardinall Cusanus saith, Tam Petri Primatus inter Apostolos & Judæos, quàm Pauli Primatus inter Gentes immediatè à Christo conferebatur: &c. Nec in hoc alter alteri suberat: sed ambo sub Christo immediatè: *Aswell* Peters *Primacie among the Apostles and* Iewes, *as also* Pauls *Primacie among the* Heathens, *was giuen by Christ immediately*, (that is to say) *without the Consecration and Confirmation of any man, &c. And in this respect neither of them was vnder other: but either was immediately vnder* Christ. That is to say, S. Paul was no more confirmed by S. Peter, then S. Peter was confirmed by S. Paul. And may we thinke S. Peter knew not his owne Authority? Or that he had such Priuileges and Chartars giuen him by Christ, and would not vse them? Heere, it seemeth, somewhat would yee tell vs of Pope Anacletus, if yee wist what it were. But what saith hee? That Peter confirmed all the rest of the Apostles? Or, that the Pope ought to confirme all other Bishops thorow the world? It pitieth me, M. Harding, in your behalfe, to see these follies.

Nicol. Cusa. ad Boham. Epi. 2.

Nilus de Primatu Romani Pontificis.

Verily, Nilus a Greeke writer saith thus: Constantinopolitanus Cæsariensem Episcopum, aliósque sibi subiectos ordinat: Romanus verò nec Constantinopolitanum, nec alium quenquam Metropolitanum: *The Bishop of* Constantinople *doth order the Bishop of* Cæsaria, *and other Bishops vnder him: but the Bishop of Rome doth order neither the Bishop of* Constantinople, *nor any other* Metropolitane.

M. Harding fol. 225. a.

Addition ☞ M. Harding answereth hereto: It skilleth not much what *Nilus* doth say. He speaketh of a matter of Fact, and not of Power. He saith not that the Bishop of Rome is not able, or hath no power to Order some Metropolitane; but only that he doth not so. Or if hee were so foolish to thinke so, yet you, M. Iewell, should not in that behalfe beare the bable with him. You that can call so many Glosses to your remembrance, could you not remember that Agapetus that good Bishop of Rome consecrated and ordered with his owne hands *Mennas*, making him Bishop of Constantinople? Addition ☜

The Answer. And must Nilus, and poore M. Iewell needs beare the bable? I pray you, M. Harding, what will you doe the while? Will you stand by, and doe nothing? Verily, Nilus was a Bishop, and, as it may appear by his writings, a learned man, and would thinke scorne to beare the bable in your presence. But you say, Could you not remember that Pope Agapetus with his owne hands ordered Mennas, and made him the Bishop of Constantinople? Yes, M. Harding, I remember it verie well. And further, I can remember that Liberatus your Authour saith, Tunc Papa Principis fauore Mennam ordinauit Antistitem: *The Pope* (saith he) *ordered* Mennas *the Bishop of* Constantinople (not by any right or authority of his owne, but) *by the licence and fauour of the Emperour*. Againe, I can remember that Pope Agapetus was then present in Constantinople, to deale with the Emperor about certaine great matters touching the State. And being there present in his owne person, and a new Bishop being by occasion to be enstalled, it was most meet that hee should haue the honour of Consecration. And, as for the taking of that long and painefull iourney, thus much also I can remember, that whensoeuer the Emperor by his messenger had willed the Pope to come vnto him, although it were from Rome to Constantinople, straightway he went along, all occasions set apart, yea although he certainly knew that hee should neuer returne home againe, but bee sent into banishment. Further, I can remember that Pope Agapetus himselfe said thus at the time of the said Consecration, in the behoufe and commendation of the said Mennas: Et hoc dignitati eius accedere credimus, quòd à temporibus Petri Apostoli nullum alium vnquam Orientalis Ecclesia suscepit Episcopum nostræ Sedis manibus consecratum: *This also may be an augmentation to his dignity, that from the time of* Peter *the Apostle vntill this day* (which was by the space of fiue hundred yeeres) *the East Church neuer receiued any one Bishop Consecrat by the hands of any Bishop of* Rome, *but onely* Mennas. Mennas was the first, as it appeareth by the Popes owne witnesse: and for ought that I knowe to the contrarie, hee was also the last. And had not Pope Agapetus vpon occasion beene there present in his owne person, then had hee not consecrated Mennas neither. Consider better what yee bring vs, M. Harding. Yee shall hardly thriue by such Authorities. Last of all, I can remember that the Bishop of Rome himselfe is alwaies consecrate by the Bishop of Hostia. Yet is not the Bishop of Hostia therefore aboue the Bishop of Rome. It is no great masterie to remember these things, M. Harding. But I maruell much wherein this remembrance should releeue you.

M. Harding 225 b.

Liberat. ca. 21.

Liberat. ca. 21. Liber. eod. loco.

Eutropi. in Appen. in Syluerio.

Concil Const. 5. Act. 2.

But

But hereof I haue spoken more at large in my former Replie to M. Harding. Certainly S. Cyprian willeth, that Sabinus, being lawfully elected, and consecrated Bishop in Spaine, should continue Bishop still, yea although Stephanus being then Bishop of Rome would not confirme him. *Art. 4. Div. 25 Cyprian. lib. 1. epist. 4.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ By this a man may know, what a dodger you are, and whence your great Bookes proceed. Verily from certaine Heretical Notebookes, made by some Grammarians or Schoolemasters of Germany. *The Answer.* I maruell, M. Harding, you said not as well, from Tailers and Shoomakers: for we poore men must take our learning at Delinery, as it may like you to allow it. The matter it selfe by your own confession is true. For S. Cyprian willed, that Sabinus being once elected and consecrated Bishop in Spaine, should continue so still, yea although the Bishop of Rome had disallowed him. If ye doubt hereof, leane dodging in your note Bookes, and read S. Cyprian, and ye shall find it. Twice together in one place ye tell vs, that Pope Stephanus restored Basilides by his Decree: as if his only authority had borne sufficient to set vp Bishops, and to pull them downe at his pleasure. But in so saying, you condemn Pope Stephanus of manifest folly. For what wisdome had it been to be so ready with his Sentence, & to publish his Decrees, before he had heard both parties together? A Iudge must walke with feet of lead. A certaine graue wise man saith thus: *Cyprian. lib. 1. epist. 4.*

Confirmation. Consecration.

Qui statuit aliquid, parte inaudita altera,
Æquum licèt Statuerit, haud æquus fuit. *Seneca.*

Whosoeuer Decreed any thing, before he heard both parties, although his Decree were iust, yet was he no iust man in his doing.

Pope Stephanus, M. Harding, intreated only for Basilides, that he might be restored. As for Decree or Sentence in Iudgement, he gaue none. But, if S. Cyprian had made such account of the Popes pleasure, and had thought it vnlawfull, for Sabinus to occupie the rome of a Bishop without his speciall confirmation, he would haue written vnto Stephanus, to call the parties before him, and to consider better of the matter. He would also haue written to the Clergie, and people of Spaine to stay their attemps, vntill the Pope had taken further order. But contrariwise, notwithstanding hee knew what the Pope had written, yet he saith vnto them, Plebs ipsa habet potestatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi: *The people haue power of themselues, either to chuse worthy Bishops, or else to refuse them that be vnworthy.* As if he would say, Thus may the people doe of themselues, whether the Pope will, or no. *Cyprian. lib. 1. epist. 4.*

And to come nere vnto the matter, thus he saith: Ferè per prouincias vniuersas tenetur, vt ad Ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus Ordinatur, Episcopi eiusdem prouinciæ proximi quique conueniant, & Episcopus Deligatur, plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè nouit: &c. Quod & apud vos factum videmus in Sabini Collegæ nostri Ordinatione, &c. Neque rescindere Ordinationem iure perfectam potest, quòd Basilides post crimina sua detecta, Romam pergens, Stephanum collegam nostrum longè positum fefellerit, &c. *This order is kept welnere thoroout all Countries, that at the Consecration of a Bishop, the Bishops of the same Province next adioining, resort together to the people of that Diocesse, ouer which the Bishop must bee Consecrate, that the Bishop may be chosen in the presence of the people, that best knoweth each mans life. This order, I see you haue kept in the Consecration of my Brother* Sabinus. *Neither may that thing hinder his Consecration, being lawfully done, that* Basilides, *after his faults were espied, went to* Rome, *and beguiled my Brother Pope* Stephanus *dwelling so farre off.* Marke well these words, M. Harding: Neither Basilides running to Rome, nor the Popes Letters written in his fauour, were able to auoid the Consecration of the other Bishop, notwithstanding it was neuer confirmed by the Pope.

But you will say, The Bishop of Rome dwelling so farre from Spaine, yet had authority ouer the Bishops of Spaine. I denie it not. So had S. Cyprian the like authority, notwithstanding he dwelt from Spaine a great way further then the Bishop of Rome. For as Basilides fled to Rome for succour to Pope Stephanus: so Sabinus his aduersary fled to Carthage for succour to S. Cyprian. As the Pope Decreed, that Sabinus should not be Bishop: so S. Cyprian Decreed, that Sabinus should be Bishop. There was like authority in them both. This onely was the difference: The Popes Decree was auoided by a writ of Errour: But S. Cyprians Decree toke place and continued still. And lest you should think, I imagin vainely of S. Cyprian, extending his power from Carthage into Spaine, Gregory Nazianzene of his authority writeth thus: Pastor erat, & Pastorum potentissimus, & spectatissimus. Non enim Carthaginensium tantùm Ecclesiæ præfuit &c. Cyprian *was a Bishop, the mightiest and noblest of all Bishops. For hee had rule not onely ouer the Church of* Carthage, *Nazian. De Cypriano.*

nor

nor onely ouer Aphrica, *that vntill this day is famous of him, and by his meanes, but also ouer all the* West, *and in a maner ouer all the* East, *likewise ouer both* North *and* South. Ouer all these Coasts and Countries, saith Nazianzene, S. Cyprian bare Rule: And yet was he onely the Bishop of Carthage, and not Pope of Rome. O, M. Harding, if you could shew vs but one such sentence of the Pope, who should be able to stay your triumph? Deale substantially hencefoorth. It will better become you. Thus vainly trifling with your Grammarians, and Note-bookes (to vse your owne words) ye shew your selfe to bee but a dodger.

Neque dissimus.

Confirmation. Consecration.

Indeed, touching euery Metropolitanes seuerall Iurisdiction, Gratianus noteth thus: Illud generaliter clarum est, quòd si quis præter sententiam Metropolitani fuerit factus Episcopus, hunc magna Synodus definiuit Episcopum esse non oportere: *This is generally cleare, that if any man be made Bishop, without the consent of his* Metropolitane, *the great Councell* (of Nice) *hath decreed, that such a one may not be Bishop.*

Dist. 64. ca. fin.

So likewise saith Socrates of the Bishop of Constantinople: Præter Sententiam Episcopi Constantinopolitani Electio Episcopi ne fiat: *Without the Consent of the Bishop of* Constantinople *let no man be chosen Bishop.* Heere is a right, specially reserued to the Bishop of Constantinople, and to euery Metropolitane within his own prouince: but of the Bishop of Romes Vniuersall right of Confirmation, we heare nothing.

Socr. l. 7. ca. 28 προγνωναι τινα τῶν ἐκεῖσε μὴ ἔνδοξον.

M. Harding fol. 227. a.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Heereto M. Harding saith, For lacke of the Popes Confirmation, any Bishop newly elected could not rightly haue enioied his Bishopricke, as it appeareth by many examples, which would require a discourse ouer long for this place. *The Answer.* O, M. Harding, will you deale so craftily with your friends? Of so many, and so many examples, may we not see so much as one? I speake not now of Bishops within the Territory of the Romane Prouince: For they were confirmed by the Bishop of Rome. I speake of the Bishops of all other Churches, and Iurisdictions throughout the world. You say, It would require a discourse ouer long for this place. Therefore it was good skill, thus cursorily to passe it ouer. Silence serueth best, where nothing can be said.

Addition. ☞

Anaclet. epi. 3. Dist. 93. iuxta Sanctorum.

Neither doth M. Hardings counterfet Anacletus claime all the Bishops throughout the world, as belonging to his Admission, but onely a part. These be his words; Omnes Episcopi, qui huius Apostolicæ Sedis Ordinationi subiacent: *All the Bishops that are vnder the Ordering, or Confirmation of this Apostolike See.* So likewise writeth Damasus to the Bishops of Illyricum, Par est, omnes, qui sunt in Orbe Romano, Magistros consentire: *It is meet that all the Teachers within the* Romane *Iurisdiction, should agree together.*

Sozomen. lib. 6. cap. 23.

Fol. 228. a.

Addition. ☞ M. Hardings answer heerto is this: The Roman world or Iurisdiction was both East and West, as farre as the Romans had conquered. *The Answer.* And doth the Iurisdiction of Rome reach from the East to the West; from the North to the South, and so ouer and ouer the whole World? How happeneth it then, that no Learned Father, nor ancient Writer, Greeke, or Latine, what soeuer, vouchsafed euer to tell vs of it? Did no man euer heare it, or know it, but M. Harding? Or is it enough for M. Harding to speak it, and to shew vs nothing? At least he should haue brought forth Constantines Donation, or some other such Antiquity of like value. But if the Romane Iurisdiction were so large, as it is heere imagined, wherefore then doth S. Hierome say, Maiorest Authoritas Orbis, quàm Vrbis? *The Authority of the World, is more then the Authority of the Citie of* Rome? For by M. Hardings supposals, the one had beene equall to the other. Or wherefore doth Gennadius the Patriarke of Constantinople, together with the whole Councell of Bishops there assembled, write thus vnto the Bishop of Rome? Curet Sanctitas tua Vniuersas tuas Custodias, tibique subiectos Episcopos: *Let your Holinesse see vnto your own charge, and vnto the Bishops that be vnder you.* It had beene wrong to restraine the Pope to a few, hauing, as you say, a charge generall ouer the whole.

Addition. ☞

Hieronym. ad Euagrium.

Gennadius in Con. Constantinopol.

Petr. de Palude De potestate Apost.

Seneca.

Iohan. Maior in 4. Sent. Dist. 24. Quæst. 3.

Againe, that you say, A Bishop hath alwaies been Consecrate by other three Bishops: whether it be true or no, it may well be called in question, as being of your part hitherto very weakely affirmed. Surely Petrus de Palude, one of your own Doctours, would haue told you thus: In Ecclesia Vnus Episcopus sufficit ad alium consecrandum: nec est, nisi propter solennitatem ab Ecclesia inuentum, vt Tres concurrant: *In the Church One Bishop is sufficient to Consecrate another: and it is nothing else, but for the solemnity of the matter, that the Church hath deuised, that Three Bishops should ioine together.* Likewise Iohannes Maior, another of your own Doctours, would haue said vnto you, Quis ordinauit Petrum? Non dabunt Tres Ordinatores. Dico ergo, esse constitutionem Humanam, quòd Episcopus Ordinetur à Tribus. Paulus enim non quæsiuit Duos pro Ordinatione Titi, & Timothei: *Who Ordered* Peter, *and made him Bishop? They cannot shew mee Three Bishops that Ordered him. Therefore I say, that a Bishop be Ordered by other Three Bishops, it is an Ordinance made by Man. For* Paul, *when he Ordered* Titus *&* Timotheus *sought not about for other Two Bishops.*

Where-

Whereas it further pleaseth you, to call for my Letters of Orders, and to demand of me, as by some authority, Whether I be a Priest or no? What hands were laid ouer me: and by what Order I was made? I answer you, I am a Priest, made long sithence, by the same Order and Ordinance, and I thinke also by the same man, and the same hands, that you, M. Harding, were made Priest by, in the late time of that most vertuous Prince King Edward the Sixth. Therefore ye cannot well doubt of my Priesthod, without like doubting of your owne. Confirmation. Consecration.

Further, as if you were my Metropolitane, yée demand of mée, Whether I be a Bishop or no? I answer you, I am a Bishop, and that by the frée and accustomed Canonicall election of the whole Chapter of Sarisburie, assembled solemnlie together, for that purpose. Of which companie you, M. Harding, were then one, and, as I was enformed, being present there in your owne person, amongst your Brethren, gaue frée, and open consent vnto the election. If you denie this, take hæd your owne breath blow not against you.

As for the impertinent tales of Ischyras and Zacchæus, they touch vs nothing. They were none of ours: We know them not. Our Bishops are made, in Forme and Order, as they haue béene euer, by frée Election of the Chapter; by Consecration of the Archbishop and other three Bishops: and by the Admission of the Prince. And in this sort, not long sithence, the Pope himselfe was admitted; and, as Platina saith, without the Emperours Letters Patent, the Pope was no Pope, as hereafter it shall be shewed more at large. *Platina in Seuerino Papa.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ What forme or order meane you? (saith M. Harding.) In the Old Forme, after the Election, notice was giuen to the Bishop of Rome, and to all the Bishops of the Church, that such a man was lawfully chosen in the Church, and not schismatically, &c. But so ye were not made Bishops. If ye were, shew vs to what Bishops out of England ye wrote any such Letters. *The Answer.* What follie is this M. Harding? What such letters haue the Bishops of Spaine vsed to write to the Bishops of England? Or what letters haue the Bishops of France vsed to write to the Bishops of Spaine? or when did the Pope write his letters Communicatorie to the Patriarkes of Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Antioche, or to the other Bishops of the East? But you confesse, this order is broken by your selues. Behold your owne words. Thus you say, The custome of these Letters is out of vse. And hauing broken it your selues, M. Harding, would ye haue vs to kæpe it? Or would ye haue vs to reuerence those things, that your selues haue refused? *M. Harding Fol.* 134 *a.* *Fol.* 234. *b.*

But you say, After that the Custome of those Letters became to be out of vse, the only Bishop of Romes confirmation was in stead of the said notice. Thus you say, and say it onely, and proue nothing: as if there were some weight in your saying. But who made vs these Lawes? Where sprang they? When began they? In what Synode, in what Councell were they written? If ye had any good thing to shew, it is likely, yee would not hide it. ☞

Therefore we neither haue Bishops without Church, nor Church without Bishops. Neither doth the Church of England this day depend of them, whom you often call Apostates, as if our Church were no Church without them. They are no Apostates, M. Harding: that is rather your owne name, and of good right belongeth vnto you. They are for a great part learned and graue, and godly men, and are much ashamed to se your follies. Notwithstanding, if there were not one, neither of them, nor of vs left aliue, yet would not therefore the whole Church of England flée to Louaine. Tertullian saith, Nonne & Laici Sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, Regnum quoque, & Sacerdotes Deo, & Patri suo nos fecit. Differentiam inter Ordinem, & Plebem constituit Ecclesiæ authoritas, & honor per Ordinis consessum sanctificatus à Deo. Vbi Ecclesiastici Ordinis non est consessus, & Offert, & Tingit Sacerdos, qui est ibi solus. Sed & vbi Tres sunt, Ecclesia est, licèt Laici. Vnusquisque enim de sua Fide viuit: *And wee being Laymen, are we not Priests? It is written,* Christ *hath made vs both a Kingdome, and Priests vnto God his Father: The authoritie of the Church, and the honour by the assembly, or Councell of Order sanctified of God, hath made a difference between the Lay, and the Clergie. Where as there is no Assembly of Ecclesiasticall Order, the Priest being there alone,* (without the company of other Priests) *doth both minister the Oblation, and also Baptize. Yea, and be there but Three together, and, though they be Laymen, yet is there a Church. For euery man liueth of his owne Faith.* *Tertullian in Exhorta. ad Castitatem.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ For answer hereto. M. Harding hath yeelded vs words enow. A thousand faults (he saith) and many thousand lies are in my Bookes: Yea would Iusin (he saith) if any shame were in you, &c. The totall summe hereof is this: Tertullian was an Heretike, and wrote this Booke against the Church: There is a difference between Priests and Laymen: There is Priesthood Internall, and Priesthood Externall: where the Externall Priesthood is denied, as among the Lutherans, and Caluinists, there is no Church, &c. *M. Harding fol.* 238. *a.* *Fol.* 140. *a.*

Touching the first part hereof, I grant, Tertullian, in some part fell from the truth of God,

God, euen as you haue also, M. Harding, and followed Montanus the Heretike in his errors. The errours of Montanus were these: First, he said, *He knew more then the Apostles of Christ: and that the Apostles knowledge was vncertaine, and wanted perfection.* Further hee said, *That Second Marriage was fornication and filthinesse.* But the thing, wherein you haue taken holde, touching Priests and Lay people, was no part of Montanus errours. If it were, bring it foorth out of some recorde: let it appeare that we may see it. Neither may you iustlie conclude, because Tertullian in one or two points was an Heretike, that therfore euerie sentence in his Booke is full of heresies. As for these words, he had them not out of Montanus the Heretike, but out of S. Peter the Apostle of Christ. Thus saith S. Peter, Vos estis Regale Sacerdotium: *You are the Kingly Priesthood.* And thus he saith not onely vnto Priests and Bishops, but also vnto the whole Christian people. Likewise S. Iohn the Euangelist saith, Christ *with his blood hath washed vs from our sinnes, and hath made vs Kings and Priests vnto God his Father.* But ye tell vs, There is a Priesthood Internall, and a Priesthood Externall, and there is a difference between Lay men and Priests. What needed this talke, M. Harding? There is not one of vs, that euer taught otherwise. We know, that the Priest or Minister of the Church of God is diuided from the rest of his brethren, as was the Tribe of Leui from the children of Israel, and hath a speciall Office ouer the people. Neither may any man force himselfe into that Office, without lawfull calling. But as touching the Inward Priesthood, and the exercise of the soule, we say, euen as S. Peter, and S. Iohn, and Tertullian haue said; in this sense euery faithfull Christian man is a Priest, and offereth vnto God spirituall sacrifices. In this onely sense, I say, and none otherwise.

1. Petri 2.

Apocal. 1.

Numer. 8. Deuter. 10.

Now, if any man shall thinke it strange, to heare a Lay man in any sense called a Priest, may it please him to peruse some part of that heereafter followeth, in this Defense. There shall he find by the authorities of S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, S. Hierome, and S. Chrysostome, that whosoeuer is a member of Christs bodie, whosoeuer is a child of the Church, whosoeuer is baptized in Christ, and beareth his name, is fullie inuested with this Priesthood, and therefore may iustly be called a Priest. And whersoeuer there be three such together, as Tertullian saith, yea though they be only Lay men, yet haue they a Church.

Defens. part. 3. cap. 11. Diuis. 4 & 5.

The old Father Origen saith: Omnes quicunque vnguento Sacri Chrismatis deliburi sunt, fiunt Sacerdotes: *All they, that are bathed with the ointment of Holy Chrisme, are made Priests.* S. Augustine saith: Holocaustum Dominicæ Passionis offert quisque pro peccatis suis, &c. *Euery man offereth vp the sacrifice of our Lords passion for his sinnes.* Likewise S. Cyprian, Omnes qui à Christi nomine dicuntur Christiani, offerunt Deo quotidianum Sacrificium, ordinati à Deo sanctimoniæ Sacerdotes: *All men, that of the name of* Christ, *bee called Christians, offer vp vnto God the daily Sacrifice, being ordained of God, the Priests of Holinesse.* Thus wee see, all Christian men are Priests, and offer vp to God the daily sacrifice, that is, the sacrifice of Christs passion. Therefore, M. Harding, if yee condemne Tertullian in this behalfe, yee must also condemne so manie holie and learned Fathers for the same.

Origen. in Leuit. Homil. 9. August. in Expositione inchoata, ad Roman. Cypr. de Vnctione Chrismatis.

But you Protestants (ye say) haue no Externall Sacrifice, and therefore ye haue no Church at all.

M. Harding fol. 240. a.

It pitieth me, M. Harding, to see the vanitie of your dealing. Haue wee no Externall Sacrifice, say you? I beseech you, what Sacrifice did Christ or his Apostles euer command that we haue refused? Leaue your milky clouds, and generalities of words, and speake it plainly, that ye may seeme to say some truth.

Sacrifice.

We haue the Sacrifice of Praier, the Sacrifice of Almes deeds, the Sacrifice of Praise, the Sacrifice of Thankesgiuing, and the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ. We are taught to present our owne bodies, as a pure, and a holie, and a wel pleasing Sacrifice vnto God, and to offer vp vnto him the burning Oblation of our lips. *These* (saith S. Paul) *be the Sacrifices wherewith God is pleased.* These be the Sacrifices of the Church of God. Whosoeuer hath these, we cannot say, he is void of Sacrifice. Howbeit, if we speake of a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the satisfaction of sinnes, we haue none other but only Christ Iesus, the Sonne of God vpon his Crosse. *He is that Sacrificed Lambe of God, that hath taken away the sinnes of the World.*

Roma. 12. Hosee 14. Hebræ. 13.

Iohan. 1.

You will say, Ye offer not vp Christ really vnto God his Father. No, M. Harding: neither we, nor you can so offer him: nor did Christ euer giue you Commission to make such Sacrifice. And this is it, wherewith you so foulie beguile the simple. Christ offereth and presenteth vs vnto his Father. *For by him we haue accesse to the Throne of Grace.* But no creature is able to offer him. Christ Iesus vpon his Crosse was a Priest for euer, according to the Order of Melchisedech. As for our part S. Augustine saith, Holocausti eius Imaginem ad memoriam passionis suæ in Ecclesia celebrandam dedit: Christ *hath giuen vs to celebrate in his Church, an Image or token of that Sacrifice for the remembrance of his passion.*

Hebræ. 4.

Aug. in lib Quæst. quæ. 61. 80.

Againe

Againe he saith, Huius sacrificij Caro, & Sanguis post Ascensionem Christi per Sacramentum memoriæ celebratur: *After* Christs *Ascension into Heauen, the Flesh and Blood of this Sacrifice, is continued by a Sacrament of remembrance.* Eusebius saith, Sacrificium incendimus illi memoriam magni illius Sacrificij, &c. Iussit nos offerre memoriale pro Sacrificio: *We burne a Sacrifice vnto God, the remembrance of that great Sacrifice vpon the Crosse, &c.* Christ *commanded vs to offer vp a remembrance (of his death) in stead of a Sacrifice.* It were an infinit labour to repeat al that may be said. To be short, S. Hierome saith, turning himselfe vnto Christ: Tunc acceptabis Sacrificium, vel cum te pro nobis offert Pater, vel cùm à nobis laudes, & gratiarum actiones accipis: *Then shalt thou, O Christ, receiue Sacrifice, either when thou offerest vp thy selfe for vs vnto thy Father,* (which was only vpon the Crosse) *or else, when thou receiuest of vs praises and thankesgiuing.*

August. contra Faust. lib. 20. *cap.* 21.

Euseb. de Demonstrat. lib. 1.

Hieronym. in Psal. 51.

Sacrifice.

All these things are true, M. Harding: you cannot denie them. You may therefore lay vp the thousand faults, and so many thousand lies, with the shame and blushing, that ye spake of. Slander no more, neither Montanus, nor Tertullian. Though in some points they were deceiued as Heretikes, yet herein they were Catholike, and agreed with others the godly learned Fathers of the Church. Gods name be blessed for euer, we want neither Church nor Priesthood, nor anie kind of Sacrifice, that Christ hath left vnto his Faithfull.

Againe ye demand of me, What Bishop of Sarisbury euer sithence Augustines time, maintained this Doctrine? I might likewise, and by as good authority demand of you, what Bishop of Rome euer before the same English Augustines time maintained your Doctrine? Or, as I said before, what Bishop of Rome euer before that time either said, or knew your priuate Masse?

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. The questions are not like, M. Iewell: Many things haue been, or might haue beene lawfully concluded betweene this, and Augustines (the Italian Monkes) time, albeit the same had not beene vsed before, &c. *The Answer.* I grant you, M. Harding, many pretty things haue sprung vp within these thousand yeeres, your halfe Communions, your priuate Masses, your vnknowen Prayers in strange tongues, your adoration of Images, your Pardons, &c. But how well, and how lawfullie, it were hard to say. Verily, these be the things, that neither Peter euer planted, nor Paul euer watered.

Addition. ☞

Fol. 241. *a.*

M. Harding. All the Bishops of Rome, aswell before Augustine (the Monks) time, as sithence, maintained our Religion. That I proue, because the Bishop of Rome that now is, doth allow our Religion. For we communicate with him, and hee with vs. And this Pope agreed with his Predecessour *Pius* the fourth: and so vpward from Pope to Pope, &c. *The Answer.* This doubtlesse, is a mightifull argument, and concludeth from Pope to Pope, A primo ad vltimum. By this reason ye might very well iustifie Annas and Caiphas. For either of them, followed the Bishops their predecessors, that had beene before them, and so vpward vnto Aaron, that was the first. Yet Christ saith vnto them, *Ye haue broken the Commandements of God, to maintaine your owne traditions: From the beginning it was not so: They are blind guides, and lead the blind: They haue defaced the house of God, and turned it into a caue of theeues.*

M. Harding fol. 241. *b.*

Matthæ. 15.

Matthæ. 19.

Matthæ. 15.

Matthæ. 21.

By the same reason ye may say thus; The Bishop of Rome that now is, alloweth the Stewes; and therein we Communicate with him and he with vs: for in all Catholike Townes and Countries of our religion, open Stewes be mainteined, aswell as in Rome. And this Pope agreeth with his predecessour, Pius the Fourth; and hee againe with his predecessour, Paulus the Fourth; and so vpward from Pope to Pope, &c. Ergo, S. Peter, that was the first Bishop of Rome, maintained the Stewes. So weighty, M. Harding, be the Arguments that you send vs.

M. Harding. But, seeing M. Iewell can name no man, who began to say, or allow priuate Masse, and yet, seeing it is said and allowed thorowout all Christendome, it is S. Augustines own rule, that the said vse of priuate Masse came from the Apostles themselues. For thus he writeth: *Quod vniuersa tenet Ecclesia, nec in Conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi Authoritate Apostolica traditum rectissimè creditur:* What thing the whole Church keepeth, and hath not bin instituted in Councels, but hath bin alwaies retained, the same is most rightly beleeued to haue bin deliuered none otherwise, then by Apostolike authority. *The Answer.* S. Augustines rule I like very well M. Harding: But your vnhandsome vsing and applying of the same, I cannot like. For the matters ye speake of are no way applicable to the Rule. Marke, I beseech you, S. Augustines words: Quod vniuersa tenet Ecclesia: Quod semper retentum est: *That thing* (saith S. Augustine) *that the whole Vniuersall Church vseth: That thing, that hath alwaies and euermore beene obserued.* Such a thing must it be, M. Harding, if ye will haue S. Augustines Rule to agree vnto it. Now thinke you, that your priuate Masse hath beene Vniuersally allowed thorowout the whole Church of God: Indeed ye haue said so; but ye haue said it full vntruly, as in place hereafter more conuenient it shall appeare. Or thinke you, that your priuate Masse

M. Harding fol. 242. *a.*

Defens. part. 5. *cap.* 15. *Diuis.* 1.

Succession

Masse hath bene holden and vsed alwaies, and euermore from the beginning? Or if it be so, is your learning or your lucke so ill, that for the space of so many hundred yeres, out of the Records of so many learned Fathers, with such conference of study, such helpe of friends, such time, and such leasure, ye are not able to shew vs one good prose, neither of place where it is said, nor of Priest that said it, nor of Witnesse that heard it? No, no, M. Harding, if you stand to S. Augustines Rule, then must your Masse nedes be condemned. It was neuer Vniuersally vsed, throwout the whole Church of God: It hath not bene continued alwaies, and euermore from the beginning: S. Augustine himselfe, S. Hierome, S. Chrysostome, S. Ambrose, and other holy Fathers neuer knew it, nor heard of it. Therefore, it was neuer delinered from the Apostles.

Notwithstanding, you say, You cannot tell when your priuate Masse first began, or who was the first that euer said it. God be thanked, that thus hath forced you to vtter some truth. Yet are we able to tell you, when the holy Communion first began. We know, in what place, and at what time it was first ministred: we know that Christ Iesus the Sonne of God was the first, that euer said it.

But because ye are not able to shew vs the antiquitie and first originals of your Masse, must we therefore thinke, M. Harding, that Christ, or his Apostles were the first that euer said it? Or, is your ignorance cause sufficient to prowe it good? What if you cannot tell, as I reckon, you cannot, in what time, or vnder what Pope, your Stewes and Pardons were first deuised? Will you therefore tell vs, and must we beleeue, that Christ and his Apostles first deuised them? As for your priuate Masse, you your selfe haue confessed, It grew not, either from the Apostles, or of the Spirit of God, but only of the negligence and want of deuotion of the people. Christ saith by way of a Parable vnto his Disciples: *The kingdome of heauen is likened vnto a man that sowed good seed in his ground: but when the folkes were asleepe, that mans enemie came and sowed Tares and Cockle among the Corne.* Christ is the husbandman: Hee planted the holie Communion in his Church: And so it continued manie hundred yeres. Afterward when the Priests and Bishoppes became careless, and fell fast aslepe, the Diuell came with negligence, and ill disposition, and want of deuotion of the people, and planted your Masse. The Seruants said to their Master, *Sir, did not you sow good Corne in your field? From whence then bee these Tares?* Euen so may we say, Did not Christ deliuer vs the holie Communion, that the people should feast and Communicate together, and publish the benefits of his passion? From whence then is this priuate banket, that one man receiueth all alone? The Seruants knew not who sowed the Tares: Neither doe you know, who founded your Masse. Notwithstanding there is no lesse difference in the Church of God betweene your Masse, and the holie Communion, then is in the field betweene wilde Tares, and holesome Corne. The one was planted by day, the other by night. But Christ saith, *Euery plant, that my Heauenly Father hath not planted, shall bee taken vp by the roote.*

M. Harding in his Answer, fol. 12. a.

Matth. 13.

Touching the Bishops of Sarisbury, you your selfe haue alreadie named two, Bishop Chaxton, and Bishop Capon, both learned and graue Fathers, and both Preachers and professors of the Gospell. For the rest of the Bishops that were before them, what faith they held, and what they either liked or misliked, by their writings or Sermons, it doth not greatly appeare. I trust, they held the foundation, and liued and died in the faith of Christ. If they had liued in these daies, and seene that you see, they would not haue been partakers of your wilfulnesse.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. These be the words of an Antichrist, who seeking to make himselfe equall with Christ, doth vse such phrases by his wicked members. *The Answer.* The sobriety of these words nedeth no answer.

Addition. ☞

To be short, wee succeed the Bishops that haue beene before our daies. We are elected, consecrate, confirmed, and admitted, as they were. If they were deceiued in any thing, we succeed them in place, but not in errour. They were our Predecessours, but not the Rulers and Standerds of our faith. Or rather, to set apart all comparison of persons, the doctrine of Christ this day, M. Harding, succeedeth your doctrine, as the day succeedeth the night: as the light succeedeth darkenesse: and as the truth succeedeth errour.

Now forasmuch as ye haue thought it so good, to examine the Petite degree of the Bishops of Sarisburie, I trust yee will not thinke it ill, if I a little touch the like in the Bishops of Rome: that we may thereby be the better able to see some of the branches of your Succession. Therefore shortly to say, you know that Pope Marcellinus committed Idolatry.

Addition. ☞ To this M. Harding answereth: Yet this very Idolater, because he was

Addition. ☞

S.

S. Peters Succeſſour, and ſate in the firſt See, was in caſe for the roome he occupied to be iudged of no man in the earth, as the Councel of the three hundred & thirty Biſhops aſſembled at Sinueſſa pronounced aboue twelue hundred yeeres paſt. *The anſwer.* The reaſon hereof is declared in a Succeſſiõ

Councel holden about the ſame time at Rome by *Syluester* the Firſt. Præſul ſummus non iudicabitur à quoquam: quia ſcriptum eſt, Non eſt Diſcipulus ſupra Magiſtrum: *The higheſt Prelate ſhall bee iudged of no man, For it is written, There is no Scholar aboue his Maſter.* *Concil. Rom.* 1. Matth. 10. Thus the Pope is the Schoolmaſter, and all the Biſhops thorow the world are his Scholars, and may not controle him whatſoeuer he doe: and all this he claimeth by the Authoritie of the Scriptures. If it be ſo, M. Harding, then is it true that the Accuſers of Pope *Symmachus* ſaid in the preſence of King Theodoricus: *Succeſſores Petri, vnà cum Sedis Priuilegijs, peccandi quoque licentiam accepiſſe: That the Popes,* Peters *Succeſſours, together with the Priuileges of their See, haue receiued libertie to doe ill.* *Ennodius, Concil. Tom.* 1.

Indeed the Councell of Sinueſſa vſed the Pope Marcellinus with much courteſie, as it may appeare. Yet, good Reader, that thou maiſt ſee the ſimplicitie and plainneſſe of M. Hardings dealing, whereas he ſaith, It was decreed by the Councell of Sinueſſa, that Marcellinus being Peters Succeſſor, ſhould be iudged of no man in earth, hee might alſo haue told thee, that the ſame Pope Marcellinus the Idolatour, notwithſtanding the Succeſſion of S. Peter, and al the Priuileges of his See, is found fiue times, not only iudged, but alſo condemned in the ſame Councell. And, for that the matter it ſelfe is not otherwiſe weightie, ſauing that it may witneſſe the truth of M. Hardings reports, for ſhortneſſe ſake I will lay forth the words thereof only in Latine without tranſlation.

Thus therefore it is written in the Councell of *Sinueſſa*: Introiuit & Marcellinus Vrbis Romæ Epiſcopus, adhuc nomen tenens Epiſcopatus: nondum enim fuerat damnatus, &c. Againe, Epiſcopus Quirinus dixit, Inſudiſti cor tuum, Pontifex, malitia, &c. Vulneraſti vniuerſa membra tua. Againe, Te non condemnamus, Præſul: quoniam ex ore tuo iuſtificaberis, & ex ore tuo condemnaberis: Marcellinus in conſpectu Synodi cecidit in terram. Ibi ergo iacentem eum, & moram facientem, damnauerunt. Againe, Subſcripſerunt igitur in eius damnationem, & damnaueruntcum extra Ciuitatem. Againe, Sacerdos Helchiades ſubſcripſit primus in eius damnationem, nõ tantùm pro hoc tempore, ſed etiam in exemplum futuri temporis. And againe, Diocletianus Imperator audiuit, quòd trecenti Epiſcopi in eandem damnationem conuenirent. Now you ſay, What haue you wonne by this example? Thus much verily, M. Harding: Firſt, that the Succeſſor of Peter may be an Idolatour, for ſo was Marcellinus. Secondly, that the ſame Marcellinus was iudged by the Councell of Sinueſſa: wherein alſo you may find your ſelfe guiltie of great vntruth, vnleſſe yee will ſay, So many graue Fathers condemned the Pope openly without iudgement. *Conc. Sinueſſ. de condemnat. Marcell. Concil. Tom.* 1. *Alia. Et ecce. Singulis autem in fine.*

That Pope Syluester 2. was a Coniurer, and gaue himſelfe wholly bodie and ſoule vnto the Diuell, and by the Diuels procurement was made Pope: That Pope Zoſimus, for ambition and claime of gouernment, corrupted the holy Councell of Nice.

Addition. *Addition.* M. Harding. You ſay it: but neuer did any honeſt man ſay it from the beginning of the world. You ſhew your ſelfe to bee a man of ill diſpoſition. No man euer ſaid it but Illyricus or bawdy Bale. You maintaine the Succeſſion of your generation. *M. Harding fol.* 249. *a. & b.* *The anſwer.* This is M. Hardings ordinarie eloquence, good Reader, therefore let it not offend thee. For the truth of this matter, I referre thee to the Councell of Aphrica, whereat were preſent S. Auguſtine, Alypius, and two hundred and fiftéene other Biſhops. The diſcourſe is long. Shortlie to open it, thus it ſtandeth. Zoſimus the Biſhop of Rome claimed a Soueraignetie in Iudgement and iuriſdiction ouer all Aphrica. The Biſhops there withſtood him, and ſaid he had no ſuch right to deale among them. Zoſimus, for proofe of his claime, alleged a Canon of the Councell of Nice, touching the Vniuerſall Authoritie of the Pope. They anſwered, they had likewiſe the Councell of Nice, but in all the ſame could finde no ſuch Canon. Alypius the Biſhop of Tagaſta, ſpeaking hereof, ſaith thus: *This thing mooueth mee much, that when wee laid together and examined the Originals of the* Nicene *Councell, written in Greeke, theſe things (concerning the Superioritie of the Pope) were found not there. But how it commeth to paſſe I cannot tell.* *Concil. Aphric. Cap.* 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. *Concil. Carthag.* 6. *cap.* 4. The Pope ſheweth forth one Copie of the Councell: they ſhewed forth an other. They were not ſo ſuppliant or ſimple to thinke the Popes Copie was vndoubtedly true, and therefore to yeeld vnto him without further ſearch. They imagined that either hee ſought to deceiue them, or was deceiued himſelfe. In concluſion, they agreed that either partie ſhould ſend into the Eaſt, to the Biſhops of Conſtantinople, Alexandria, and Antiochia, for a Copie of the ſame Councell, taken out of the very Originals that remained among them, that thereby it might appeare whether their Copie were falſified, or the Popes. Hereunto Atticus the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, and Cyrillus the Biſhop of Alexandria returned their

In Concil. Aphric. cap. 102. 103 in Graco, Fag. 82.

Anſwers. Their Epiſtles are extant to bee ſeene vntill this day, as well in Greeke as in Latine. By this Certificate it was euident to all men that the Popes Copie diſagreed from all the reſt, and was corrupted: but by whom, and to what purpoſe, a Babe may eaſilie vnderſtand. All other Copies were true: The Popes onely Copie was falſe. If this bee not Falſifying and Corruption, M. Harding, giue it any other name that may like you better. And withall I beſeech you to conſider whether of theſe two things in your owne iudgement ſeemeth more likely, either that the Pope, to maintaine his eſtate and Authoritie, ſhould falſifie one Copie, or elſe that all the Biſhops of Aphrica, Aſia Minor, Ægypt, and Græcia, without cauſe or hope of any maner gaine, ſhould falſifie all the Copies thorow the world. Verily the one is not vnlikely: the other almoſt impoſſible.

Succeſsiõ.

But you ſay, That Pope Zoſimus corrupted the Nicene Councell, neuer did any honeſt man ſay it from the beginning of the world. No man euer ſaid it, but Illyricus or bawdy Bale. Yes, M. Harding, there were ſome that ſaid it before either Illyricus or Bale was borne. And that M. Cope, one of your Pewfellowes, could haue told you. For thus he ſaith, although diſdainfully and in ſcornefull meaning: Certè doctiſſimi quique ex omni Græcia, & inter eos Beſſarion, cum florentino Concilio intereſſent, ita ſtabant Nicenum Canonem per Romanos Pontifices depraua tum: *Verily the beſt learned men of all* Græcia, *and among them* Beſſarion, *being preſent at the councell of* Florence, *make crakes, that the Canon of the* Nicene *Councell was corrupted by the Biſhops of* Rome. Indeed theſe words they ſpake, and ſpake them with modeſtie as might become them: as for their crakes and brags, I remember none.

Copus Dialo. 1. pag 78.

Thus there ſaid Marcus the Archbiſhop of Epheſus in the name of all the reſt: Nonne vides, Reuerende Pater, ſummum Pontificem (Zoſimum) falſum Decretum, & non in Synodo promulgatum ad tantum Concilium, pro re tam magna miſiſſe? *And ſee you not, right Reuerend Father, that Pope* Zoſimus *being the higheſt Biſhop, for a matter of ſo great weight, ſent vnto that worthie Councell of* Aphrica *a falſe, or a falſified Decree, ſuch as neuer was publiſhed in the councell of* Nice? Againe he ſaith, Nullam equidem de Zoſimo feciſſem mentionem, Reuerende Pater, niſi incum de eo ſermonem verum eſſe poſſem oſtendere: *I would not haue ſpoken one word of Pope* Zoſimus, *Reuerend Father, vnleſſe I had beene able to proone my tale to be true.* They that gaue conſent hereupon, and auouched the ſame, and at that time ſate preſent in the Councell, were Ioſephus, the Patriarke of Conſtantinople, Beſſarion the Archbiſhop of Nice, and afterward Biſhop of Tuſculum and Cardinall of Rome, Iſidorus the metropolitan of Syria, beſides ſeuentie other Archbiſhops and Metropolitanes, with a great number of other inferiour Biſhops and learned Fathers that attended vpon them.

Concil. Floren. Seſſ. ont. 20.

In ead. Seſſions

It were very hard for you, M. Harding, to ſay that all theſe were vnhoneſt men, or of ill diſpoſition, or the maintainers of the Succeſſion of lies. They liued in the light and commendation of the world aboue an hundred and fortie yeares agoe, long before either Flaccius Illyricus, or Iohn Bale was heard of. They ſaid openly in the Councell of Florence, *That Pope* Zoſimus *had falſified the Councell of* Nice: *and further ſaid, they were able to proone it, and that otherwiſe they would not haue ſaid it.* Marke therefore, M. Harding the truth and courteſie of your words. Thus you ſay: Neuer did any honeſt man thus ſay from the beginning of the world.

That Pope Liberius was an Arian Heretike.

M. Harding 249. b.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. Or elſe ye are an errant ſlanderous Lier. How ſeemeth not this wicked generation to ſpring of the Diuell, ſeeing it maketh the worſt of euery thing, ſpeaking ill of that which may well, and ought charitably to be defended? And yet if hee had beene an Arian with all his heart, ſo long as he neuer decreed any thing according to the Arian hereſie, nor did ſet it forth by publike Authoritie of the See of Rome, that ſhould not hurt our matter of Succeſſion. *The Anſwer.* Who ſo is able to allege the allowed Authoritie of good Writers, and imagineth nothing of himſelfe, M. Harding, is neither a Slanderer, nor a Lier. Firſt your ſelfe haue granted, that Pope Liberius ſubſcribed, and gaue his hand vnto the Arian Heretikes. Wherein it may reaſonably be thought, that the Arians beleeued he gaue alſo the inward agreement of his heart, and therefore embraced him as one of their owne. Further Rhegino ſaith in plaine wiſe: Liberius reuerſus ab exilio Hæreticis fauet: *Pope* Liberius *after he returned from exil of baniſhment bare good will to the Heretikes.*

M. Harding 251. a.

Addition. ☞

Rhegino lib. 1.

Alphonſ. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Sabell. Ennead. 7. lib. 8.

Alphonſus de Caſtro ſaith: De Liberio Papa conſtat fuiſſe Arianum: *Touching Pope* Liberius, *it is well knowne he was an* Arian. Sabellicus ſaith: Ariani precibus ſuis apud Conſtantium Liberio reditum ad vrbem confecere. Quo ille beneficio commotus, ex confeſſo Arianus, vt quidam ſcribunt, eſt factus: *The* Arian *Heretikes by their intreatie vnto the Emperour* Conſtantius, *obteined of him that Pope* Liberius *might bee reſtored againe*

vnto

vnto the Citie. With which good turne Liberius *beeing moued, as ſome haue written, became an* Arian *Heretike* (ex confeſſo) *in good earneſt, and with his heart.* Platina ſaith, Liberius Imperatoris beneficio motus, vt quidam volunt, in rebus omnibus ſenſit cum Hereticis, &c. Pontifex tametſi cum Arianis ſentiebat, tamen Eccleſias Dei diligenter exornabat: *Pope* Liberius, *mooued with the Emperours gentleneſſe, as ſome thinke, agreed in all things with the Heretikes.* **Marke well theſe words, M. Harding.** *Hee agreed* (ſaith hee) *in all things with the Heretikes.* **And againe,** *Pope* Liberius, *notwithſtanding he were of one iudgement with the* Arians, *yet hee diligently furniſhed the Church of God.* **In an old** Pontificall **written in Velum you may finde this whole matter recorded thus:** Imperator Liberium, qui ſibi & Arianis conſenſerat, in Sede repoſuit: & ſic infœlix Liberius Baſilicam S. Petri vi tenuit ſeptem annos: & tum facta eſt maga perſecutio in Vrbe, ita vt Clerici Liberio contradicentes, Martyrio coronarentur: *The Emperour* Conſtantius *beeing an* Arian *Heretike, reſtored Pope* Liberius *to his See, for that hee agreed with him and with the* Arians. *And thus wicked* Liberius *held* Peters *Church ſeuen yeeres by violence. Then was there raiſed a great perſecution in the Citie of* Rome, *ſo that the Prieſts there, for withſtanding* Liberius, *were crowned with Martyrdome.* Nicolaus Cuſanus ſaith: Liberius, & Honorius, & alij in Cathedra Petri aliquando inſedentes, in errorem Schiſmaticum ſeducti ceciderunt: ſedes tamen abſque vitio remanſit: *Pope* Liberius, *and Pope* Honorius, *and other Popes ſitting for a while in* Peters *Chaire, beeing miſled, fell into Schiſmaticall error: yet* Peters *Chaire remained ſtill without fault.* **Againe afterward hee ſaith:** Liberius conſenſit errori Arianorum: *Pope* Liberius *gaue his conſent to the error of the* Arians: **and for proofe thereof he allegeth S.** Hierome in Chronicis. Anſelmus Rid ſaith: Liberius primus à Pontificum Romanorum integritate receſſit: *Pope* Liberius *was the firſt that forſooke the pure Doctrine of the Biſhops of* Rome.

Succeſſion

Platina in Liberio.

Nicol. Cuſa. de Concordantia, lib. 1. cap. 14.

Nicol. Cuſa. de Concordantia, lib. 2. cap. 5. Anſelmus Rid.

By theſe wee may ſee that Pope Liberius **fell into the Schiſmaticall error of the** Arians: **That hee ſubſcribed, and gaue his name and hand vnto the** Arians: **That hee fauoured the** Arians: **That he conſented vnto the** Arians: **That it is certainly knowne he was an** Arian: **That in good earneſt, and with his heart hee became an** Arian: **And that in all matters and points of Doctrine hee was of one minde and iudgement with the** Arians. **If all theſe Writers were errant Liers and Slanderers, as you ſay, M. Harding, why then are they not ſo publiſhed to the World? I reckon yee will not ſay they were all** Lutherans.

But touching that Pope Liberius **was a fauourer of the** Arian **Heretikes, I haue ſaid further, The Author hereof is** S. Hierome, De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis in Fortunatiano. **And one of M. Hardings owne principall Doctours ſaith:** De Liberio Papa conſtat, fuiſſe Arianum. **Hereunto M. Harding, you haue anſwered thus:** Heere haue wee two new Vntruths added to the old. S. Hierome in the place by M. Iewell alleged, ſaith not that Pope Liberius was a fauourer of the Arians. *The Anſwer.* **When, M. Harding, may it like you to heare** Cardinalis Cuſanus, **what he can tell you. I truſt, yee will not diſcredit him with ſo many Vntruths. Yee was a Cardinall of the Church of** Rome. **His words be theſe, as you haue heard before:** Redijt Liberius ab exilio victus, & conſenſit errori, vt ſcribit S. Hieronymus in Chronicis: *Pope* Liberius *returned from baniſhment, and yeelded and conſented vnto the error* (**of the Arians**) *as* S. Hierome *writeth in* Chronicis. **If yeelding and conſenting bee not ſufficient,** Rhegino **ſaith further:** *He fauoured the Heretikes.* Sabellicus ſaith: *As ſome haue written, hee became an* Arian *in good earneſt.* Platina ſaith: *By the report of ſome, hee agreed in all things with the Heretikes.* **But hereof wee haue ſufficiently ſpoken before.**

M. Harding fol. 26. a.

Nicol. Cuſa. de Concordantia, lib. 2 cap. 5. Fauet Haret. Ex confeſſo. In rebus omnibus conſenſit cum Hæreticis. M. Harding fol. 63.

Further ye ſay: But who is that one of M. Hardings principall Doctors, that ſaith theſe words, *De Liberio conſtat fuiſſe Arianum?* What is the cauſe that here M. Iewell nameth him not? Is he growen more ſhamefaced then heeretofore, that hee would be loth to bee found a notorious Lier? Well, though he were aſhamed to be taken with a Lie, yet was he not aſhamed to make a Lie. This principall Doctor of mine is *Alphonſus de Caſtro.* How may this be knowne? Forſooth, euen by M. Iewell himſelfe, who in his pretenced Defenſe writeth thus, where without all error, ye may be ſure, he bringeth much matter to ſhew that the Pope doth erre. Certainly Alphonſus ſaith, &c. And where ſaith Alphonſus thus? Marry, ſaith M. Iewell, in his marginall quotation. *Alphonſus contra Hæreſes, Lib. 1. Cap. 4.* But read that Chapter who will: Verilie, in the bookes of ſundrie prints that I haue ſeene, he ſaith it not. If it were once ſo printed, and afterward by the Author reuoked, it ought not to be alleged. *The Anſwer.* But who (**ſay you**) is that one of M. Hardings principall Doctors? **Yetwis, M. Harding, yee are not ignorant who it is. All your game is ſpilt in vaine. No man was ready to ſpare you the laughter.** Alphonſus **it is: and** Alphonſus de Caſtro, **in his booke intituled** De Hæreſibus, **printed at** Paris **by** Iodocus Badius **in** Folio, Anno 1534. **If it haue beene otherwiſe altered ſithence, we may eaſily imagine who were the doers. Certainly thus ſaith** Alphonſus, Omnis homo errare poteſt in fide, etiamſi Papa ſit. Nam de Liberio Papa conſtat fuiſſe

Lib. 1. cap. 4.

Succession

fuisse Arianum: & Anastasium Papam fuisse Nestorianis, qui Historias legerit, non dubitat. Quòd autem alij dicunt, eum qui errauerit in Fide obstinatè, iam non esse Papam, ac per hoc affirmant, Papam non posse esse Hæreticum, est in re seria verbis velle iocari. Non enim dubitamus, an Hæreticum esse, & Papam esse in vnum coire possint: sed id quærimus, an hominem, qui alias in fide errare potuisset, dignitas Pontificalis efficiat in fide indeuiabilem. Non enim credo, aliquem esse adeò impudentem Papæ assentatorem, vt ei tribuere hoc velit, vt nec errare, nec in Interpretatione sacrarum Scripturarum hallucinari possit. Nam cùm constet plures eorum adeò esse illiteratos, vt Grammaticam penitùs ignorent, qui fit vt sacras Literas interpretari possint? *Euery man may erre in the Faith, yea, although it be the Pope. For as touching Pope* Liberius, *it is certaine that he was an* Arian *Heretike. Neither can any man doubt, that hath read the Stories, but Pope* Anastasius *was a fauourer of the* Nestorians. *But whereas some say, that he that erreth wilfully in the Faith, is now no longer Pope, and therefore say, the Pope cannot be an Heretike, they seeme in a sad matter to dally with words. For we make no doubts, whether the Pope and an Heretike may agree in one person: but this is our question, Whether a man, that otherwise might haue erred in the Faith, by vertue of the Papal dignity be made such as cannot erre. For I doe not beleeue that there is any so impudent a flatterer of the Pope, that will giue him this preeminence, that he can neither bee deceiued, nor misse in the expounding of the Scriptures. For seeing it is well knowne that many Popes be so vtterly void of learning, that they know not the Principles of their Grammar, how may it bee that they should be able to expound the Scriptures?*

Yea although it be the Pope. It is certaine.

Wee make no doubt.

So impudent a flatterer.

Popes know not their Grammar Rules.

Alphons. Colonia An. 1539.

Thus saith my Alphonsus, M. Harding, printed at Paris fiue and thirtie yeres a goe. In like sort, and with the very same words was the same booke afterward printed at Colaine by Arnold Brickman, An. 1539. What other new bookes, or new spectacles, you haue gotten you, I cannot imagine. Euen to like purpose writeth Nicolaus Cusanus, a Cardinal of Rome: Iudicium Fidei non est semper in nutu vnius Pontificis definibile, quia Hæreticus esse potest: *The iudgement of Faith is not alwaies to be determined by the becke of the Pope alone: for the Pope may possibly be an Heretike.*

Nicol. Cusan. de Concordan. Lib. 1 *Ca.* 15.

The Pope may be an Heretike.

That Pope Leo, as appeareth by the Legend, was likewise an Arian.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. As it appeareth by the Legend. What an obscure proofe is this? Forsooth there is an old Moth-eaten book, wherein Saints liues are said to be conteined, &c. It shal not greatly skill who was the Author of it. Certaine it is, that among some true Stories there be many vaine Fables written. Among which is one, &c. *The answer.* This booke was not so much moth-eaten, nor so farre out of credit, M. Harding, as you tell vs. It was read sadly vnto the people, and had in reuerence, when the holy Scriptures of God were moth-eaten, and throwen into corners: and it was called Aurea Legenda, as you know, The Golden Legend, for the excellencie that it seemeth to haue aboue all other Stories. Thus were you able in your Kingdome of darkenesse to giue the people drosse, and to call it gold: and to lead them into the clouds and shadowes of death: and yet to make them beleeue they walke in the light.

Addition.

M. Harding 251. *a. b.*

As for this matter of Pope Leo, I report it not as a certaine truth, as it might appeare vnto you by my words. I leaue the credit thereof to the Authour. If it be a fable, it is your owne: it is not ours. Thus much at the least we may reasonablie gather hereof: Although Pope Leo were no Arian, yet, notwithstanding his Popedome, and the Succession of Peter, by this Authours iudgement, he might well haue bene an Arian.

That Pope Cœlestinus was a Nestorian Heretike.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. Who euer heard such an impudent man? It was Cœlestinus, which condemned Nestorius, &c. A most impudent Lier; A wicked Slanderer. *The answer.* These outcries full well become you, M. Harding. Bestow your shame vpon him that hath best deserued it. *Pope Cœlestinus* (you say) condemned Nestorius and all his heresies. So did Pope Liberius, as it is said before, condemne the Arians: and yet afterward himselfe became an Arian. This is a case that often happeneth, and may be proued by sundrie examples. You your selfe, M. Harding, haue preached mightily and terriblie against the Romaine Religion, as you may remember: and yet sithence, ye know, ye are become a Defender and Patron of the same. This matter that so much grieueth you, touching Pope Cœlestinus, is recorded by Laurentius Valla, no Lutheran, I trow, but a great learned man, and a Canon of the Church of Rome. His words be these: Neque aliquem sua dignitas ab increpationibus tutum reddit, quæ Petrum non reddidit: multosque alios eodem præditos gradu, vt Marcellum, quòd dijs libasset, vt Cœlestinum, quòd cum Nestorio Hæretico sentiret. *No mans dignitie may defend him from controlment,* (if he offend) *for* Peter *was not so defended, nor many others that were aduanced to the same degree: as Pope* Marcellus (or rather Pope Marcellinus) *for that hee had offered vp Sacrifice vnto Idols: And as Pope* Cœlestinus, *for that hee agreed with the Heretike* Nestorius. Here you finde plainly by

Addition.

Laur. Valla de Donatione Constantini.

by expresse words, M. Harding, that Pope Cœlestinus was a Nestorian Heretike. Now if you be so much ashamed hereof, returne the shame to Rome again hardly, from whence it came: either to Laurentius Valla, that sent it hither: or to the Pope himselfe, that best deserued it.

Pope Cœlestinus a Nestorian Heretike.

That Pope Honorius was a Monothelite Heretike.

Addition. *Addition.* M. Harding. Now at length, M Iewell, you say that which hath some face of truth. For Honorius indeed fell into the Heresie of the Monothelites: but he fell into it when as yet it was not euidently condemned by the Church in any General Councell, &c. It standeth well together, that Pope Honorius, albeit in his owne person hee fauoured that Heresie, yet durst not to publish it in common assemblie: but contrariwise did there as they gaue him counsell. Whereby it came to passe that he both deposed the Monothelites openly, and yet fauoured their opinion priuily. And this is the only Pope who may iustly be burdened with Heresie. *The Answer.* Here is a proper Defence, and a proper Pope. Openly, abroad he condemneth them as Heretikes, whom priuilie in his heart he alloweth and liketh as Catholikes. This only Pope (you say) may be iustlie charged with Heresie. For indeed he fell into the Heresie of the Monothelites. All this is your owne confession, M. Harding: and yet whereas I say the same Pope Honorius was a Monothelite Heretike, you tell me, That this tale hath some face of truth. Some face, you say, and no more. For truth it selfe ye dare not allow me, be it neuer so true.

M Harding 121.

Popes Heretikes.

Iustly charged.

Indeed.

That Pope Iohn 22. was reproued by Gerson and the Schole of Paris for an Heretike; Petrarcha saith, Rome *is a Sanctuary of all Heresies.* Lyra saith, *That many Popes haue fallen into Heresies.*

Nicol. Lyra in Matt. cap. 16.

Addition. *Addition.* M. Harding. He saith many, as well Princes as Chiefe Priests, haue fallen from the Faith; but not that many haue decreed Heresies, as to be followed. But I finde not those many, nor yet M. Iewell himselfe, as diligent as he is about it. *The Answer.* I maruell not, M. Harding, though ye finde not these Many. For yee seeke as a man that would not finde them. I haue alreadie reckoned seuen Popes that were Heretikes. Yee may adde thereunto Pope Anastasius 2. an Arian Heretike. If all these may not be counted Many in the See of Rome, ye may at your pleasure call them Few. The Law saith, Decem faciunt populum: *Ten men are enow to make a people.* Much more eight men are enow to make Many. Verily I know not any one See in all Europe wherein you can lightlie finde so Manie Heretikes as we haue found sitting in Peters Chaire. Nicolaus Lyra saith, Many *Popes haue fallen from the Faith.* But you make small account of his Authoritie. Adde therefore to him the Councell of Basil. There shall you finde the selfe same words, Multi pontifices in Errores & Hæreses lapsi esse leguntur: *We read that many Popes haue fallen into Error and Heresies.* Adde also Æneas Syluius, being afterward a Pope himselfe. Thus he saith: De Romanis Pontificibus liceret exempla admodum multa adferre, si tempus sineret: quoniam aut Hæretici, aut alijs imbuti vitijs sunt reperti: *Of the Popes of* Rome *wee might shew forth very Many examples, if time would suffer it, that they haue ben found either Heretikes, or else defiled with other vices.* Thus you haue by the witnesse both of a Pope, and of a Councell, that Many, and Very Many Popes haue been Heretikes.

Fulgosius de inusitatis Mortis generibus, 10. *quæst. 3. Vnio.*

Con. Basil. in epist. Synodali.

Æneas Syl. de Gestis. Concil. Basil. Lib. 1.

Very Many.

You know that Pope Hildebrand, as he was charged by the Councell of Brixia, was an Aduouterer, a Church-robber, a Periured man, a Man-killer, a Sorcerer, and a Renegate of the Faith.

Addition. *Addition* M. Harding. I know that you lie: I may say it, sauing my charitie rather then your worship. For Pope Gregorie the seuenth was a very holy man, &c. If you were but a ciuill honest man, M. Iewell, you would not take that for a truth which one enemy saith of another. By perusing of Marianus Scotus, Platina, Lambertus Scaphnaburgensis, and Nauclerus, you shall find your selfe a Lier, and Pope Hildebrand a vertuous man. *The Answer.* No doubt, M. Harding, a holy and a vertuous man, and very much like vnto the Apostles of Christ: but wherein I beleeue, ye cannot readily tell vs: vnlesse it were for that he was proud and stately aboue all measure, and suffered the Emperour Henrie the Fourth to wait vpon him in Italie before the gates of Canossus, without his Imperiall Robes, in the Winter-season, in hard frost and extreame cold, with bare legs and bare feet, three daies together, before he would once admit him to his presence. Thus, I trow, Peter and Paul but seldome did.

M. Harding 256. b.

M. Harding 257. a.

Sabel. Ennead. 9 Lib. 3. Blondus Decad. 2. Lib. 3.

Beno (you say) was his enemie, and wrote of displeasure, and therefore his words weigh the lesse. So may I say, Marianus Scotus was his friend, and wrote of fauour, and therefore his words likewise weigh the lesse. Indeed Beno, that liued with him, and best knew him, saith thus: That Hildebrand, being as yet but a Cardinall, smote Pope Alexander with his fist, and laid him in prison: That he poisoned sir Popes his Predecessours to make himselfe way to the Popedome: That he was a Coniurer, and a raiser of Diuels, and that in his furie he threw the Sacrament into the fire. But lest onely Beno should beare all the blame, a great number of Catholike Bishops in Italie, at the Councell of Brixia, called Hildebrand, then being Pope, *A false Monke: An Vsurper of the See of* Rome:

Beno.

Vrspergen. An. 1080.

Popes Heretikes.

Not appointed by God, but intruded by fraud and mony: A disturber of the Empire: A subuerter of the Church. Howbeit, you say, All these Bishops conspired together against our Lord, and against his Vicar.

M. Har. 257. a Anselmus Rid.

Anselmus Rid saith, *That Pope* Hildebrand *by his meanes had made the leaden Sword of the Popes Authoritie so mightie, that it had vtterly dulled and defaced the iron Sword of the Empire: and that in the time of his Popedome both the Ecclesiastical, and the Temporall Iurisdiction was shaken, and broken with infinite miseries.*

Sigebert Gemblacensis, Anno 1074.

Sigibertus Gemblacensis saith, *Pope* Hildebrand *troubled the States of Christendome, raised vp the* Saxons *against their liege Prince, discharged the Subiects from their Oth of Fidelitie, caused* Rodolphus *the* Duke *of* Burgundie *to proclaime himselfe Emperour, and sent him a Crowne Emperall with this Posee:*

Petra dedit Petro: Petrus Diadema Rodolpho.

Sigebertus Anno 1085.

In the end the Citizens of Rome *expelled him, and chased him out of the Citie: not for anie his great vertue or holinesse, I trow: for* Rome *is holy. By meane of the griefe and agonie heerof he fell into melancholie and deadly diseases, and finding himselfe past all recouerie, he called vnto him one of his* Cardinals, *whom he specially trusted, and confessed vnto him that he had foulely abused his Pastorall Office, and that he had troubled mankind with malice and mischief, by the procurement and counsell of the Diuell.* And yet, M. Harding, must we beleeue you vpon the credit of your word, that Pope Hildebrand was so vertuous and so godly a man? Or is it a matter of such vertue and holinesse to trouble the Church of God with wars and murders, and to follow the counsell of the Diuell? Though you may safely discredit others, yet may you not discredit the Pope himselfe. This is the Popes owne confession, deuoutly vttered vnto his Ghostly Father, immediatelie before his death. Though Beno were an enemie vnto him, yet was he no enemie vnto himselfe.

Sedvalde peccâsse Pastorali curâ & suadente Diabolo, contra humanum genus odium & iram concitasse.

M. Harding 257. a. Lambertus Scaphnabur.

But you say, Read Lambertus Scaphnaburgensis, Nauclerus, and others; and you shall finde your selfe to be a lier. What say they then, M. Harding? Verily Lambertus saith thus, Clerici clamant, Hildebrandum esse hominem planè Hæreticum, & vesani Dogmatis: *The Priests crie out against Pope* Hildebrand, *and call him a plaine Heretike, and a man of wicked Doctrine.* You will say, Lambertus vttereth not this as his owne Iudgement. I grant you that. Yet he vttereth it as the iudgement of the Clergie.

Naucler. Gener. 36.

In like sort also saith Nauclerus, *The Clergie said that Pope* Hildebrand, *for good causes, was excommunicate by all the Bishops of* Italie: *That he had defiled the See Apostolike with Symonie, Heresie, Murder, and Aduouteries: That he was an Apostata, and had forsaken the Faith of Christ.* And lest you should say, Hee vttereth these words as spoken by his enemies, and not as of himselfe; in the end he concludeth thus: Quæ Hildebrandi tempore in Republica Christiana sunt acta, huiusmodi ferè sunt, vt Scriptores dubitent an honestatis argumẽto & fidei zelo ab eo gesta sint: *The things that were done in the time of Pope* Hildebrandus, *were such for the most part, that the Writers doubt whether they were done in consideration of honest Order, and zeale of Faith, or rather otherwise.*

Nauclerus Generatio. 37.

M Harding 257. a. Sigebert. Gemblac. an. 1074.

You say, He was zelously bent to correct such faults as were in the Clergie at that time, specially Simony. Yea, M. Harding, but Sigibertus saith thus, speaking of Pope Hildebrand by name: Notam Auaritiæ honesto nomine prætexunt, dum hoc quod se gratis dare iactant, sub Charitatis nomine vendunt: vt de Montanis dicit Eusebius, Sub nomine Oblationis artificiosiùs munera accipiunt: *They couer the shame of their Couetousnesse with the cloke of an honest name: They sell things vnder the name of Charitie: and yet they boast, they giue them freely. So saith* Eusebius *of the Heretikes called* Montanists, *They take bribes cunningly and with better skill vnder the name of Oblations.*

Now, M. Harding, I beseech you iudge vprightlie: Hee that smiteth the Pope violentlie with his fist, and with force and villanie imprisoneth his person, that is a false Monke, a Poisoner, a Coniurer, a Burner of Sacraments, a Simonist, an Vsurper of the See, a Disturber of the Empire, a Subuerter of the Church, an Aduancer of Traitors, a Raiser of Rebels, a Person iustly excommunicate, and an Heretike; may he neuertheless be called a vertuous and a holy man? Is vertue and holinesse so rife in Rome?

Saue your charitie hardly, and what worship you list. Whatsoeuer yee presume to finde in others, it is wisedome to see afore hand what may bee found worthilie in your selfe.

Platina in Romano 1. Petr. Pariſien. in Speculo, citatur ab Illyrico de Teſtibus.

That Platina calleth the Popes sometimes in scorne, Pontificulos, *Little Petite Popes,* sometimes Monstra, & Portenta, *Monsters, and vnnaturall and ill shapen creatures.* Pope Adrian the fourth was wont to say, Succedimus, non Petro in Pascendo, sed Romulo in Parricidio: *Wee succeed, not*

Peter

Peter *in Feeding, but* Romulus *in Killing.* And to leaue Dame Iohane the woman Pope, with many others moe of like vertue and holinesse, as hauing no pleasure in this rehearsall: And for asmuch as M. Harding began this matter with Sarisburie, to end it with the same: Iohannes Satisburiensis saith, In Romana Ecclesia sedent Scribæ & Pharisæi: *In the Church of* Rome (by Succession) *sit the Scribes and Pharisees.* Succession of Popes. *Iohan. Sarisburien. in Polycratico.*

This is M. Hardings holy Succession. Though faith fall, yet Succession must holde. For vnto such Succession God hath bound the holy Ghost. For lacke of this Succession, for that in our Sées in the Churches of England, we finde not so many Idolaters, Necromancers, Heretikes, Aduouterers, Churchrobbers, periured Persons, Mankillers, Runnagates, Monsters, Scribes, and Pharisees, as we may easily finde in the Church of Rome; therefore, I trow, M. Harding saith, we haue no Succession: we are no Bishops: we haue no Church at all.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. Are you not ashamed thus notoriously, and withall most slanderously to belie that most blessed Succession of the Bishop of Rome? ☜

But S. Paul saith, *Faith commeth* (not by Succession, but) *by hearing: and hearing commeth* (not of Legacie or inheritance from Bishop to Bishop, but) *of the word of God.* They are not alwaies godly that succéed the godly. Manasses succeeded Ezechias: and Hierobeam succéeded Dauid. By Succession the Turke this day possesseth and holdeth the foure great Patriarchall Sées of the Church, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Hierusalem. By Succession Christ saith, Desolation *shall sit in the holy place.* And Antichrist shall presse into the rome of Christ. Matth. 24.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. Doth Christ say, It shall be so by Succession? you falsifie the words of God and Man, and that verily by Succession. For so haue all Heretikes your Forefathers done before you. Succession is the chiefe way for any Christian man to auoid Antichrist, &c. For Antichrist commeth not, except Defection and Apostasie goe before. *The Answer.* I would be loth, M. Harding, to falsifie the words either of God, or of man. Touching the Succession of place, whereof only we speake, Christ saith, Desolation *shall stand in the holy place.* And S. Paul saith, *Antichrist shall sit in the place of* Christ. The same place that receiued the one, shall receiue the other. Otherwise, tell vs, I pray you, M. Harding, in what other Place shall he sit? Or, why doth S. Paul say, *Antichrist shall sit in the Temple of God?* Or, why doth S. Augustine, and S. Chrysostome say, *Antichrist shall sit in the Church of* Christ? *M. Harding 266. b. 267. a.* 2. Thess. 2. *Aug. de Antichristo, tom. 9. Chrys. in 2. ep. ad Thess. Ho. 3.*

Succession (you say) is the chiefe way for any Christian man to auoid Antichrist. I grant you, if you meane the Succession of doctrine. Therefore S. Paul saith, *In the latter daies some shall depart from the Faith.* He saith not, They shall Depart from their Place, but *from their Faith.* And S. Iohn saith *If any man come vnto you, and bring not this Doctrine, salute him not.* He saith not, If he keepe not his Place, but, *If he bring not this Doctrine.* It is the Doctrine, whereby Antichrist shall be knowen, and not his Place. For as I haue said, *He shall sit in the Place of Christ.* 1. Tim. 4. 2. Iohan.

You say, Antichrist shall not come except a Defection or Departing goe before. What Defection, or what Departing, M. Harding? Meane you a Departing from the Pope? Whatsoeuer you meane, verily S. Paul meaneth a Departing from Christ. And so the old learned Fathers haue expounded it. In like sense S. Paul saith, *The time shall come, when they shall not beare holesome Doctrine. They shall stop their eares against the Truth. They shall turne themselues to heare fables.* And what if the Pope himselfe be Departed from Christ? Yet must we needs keepe him company, and Depart together? Verily, as I haue otherwhere reported, the Bishop of Bitonto doubted not openly to say in the late Councell of Trident, Vtinam non à Christo ad Antichristum, velut prorsus vnanimes, declinassent: *Would God, they were not gone from Christ to Antichrist, as it were, with one consent.* And thus he pronounceth of the Pope, and of his Clergie of the Church of Rome. Nicolaus Lyra aboue two hundred and fiftie yéeres agoe, said thus: Ab Ecclesia Romana iam diu est, quod recessit Gratia: *It is long sithence the grace of God is Departed from the Church of Rome.* This this, M. Harding, is the Departing that S. Paul speaketh of. Not our Departnig from the Pope, but the Popes Departing from the Grace of God. From which Grace, whosoeuer is Departed, is Departed from Christ. 2. Thess. 2. 4. *Conc. Trident.* *Nicol. Lyra in 2. ad Thess. 2.*

Now M. Harding, if the Pope, and his Roman Clergie, by his owne friends confession, be fallen from Gods Grace, and Departed from Christ to Antichrist, what a miserable ☜ claime is it for them to hold onely by bare Succession? ☞

It is not sufficient to claime Succession of Place: It behoueth vs rather to haue regard to the Succession of Doctrine. S. Bernard saith, Quid prodest, si Canonicè eligantur, & non Canonicè viuant? *What auaileth it, if they be chosen in Order, and liue out of Order?* So saith *Bern. in Concil. Remen.*

S.

Aug. cont. Donat. li. 6. 1. 9. 3. S. Auguſtine, Ipſum characterem multi, & Lupi, & Lupis imprimunt: *The outward marke or right of a Biſhop, many giue to Wolues, and be Wolues themſelues.* Therefore the ancient Father Irenæus giueth vs this good counſell: Eis qui ſunt in Eccleſia Presbyteris, obaudire oportet, qui Succeſſionem habent ab Apoſtolis, qui cum Epiſcopatus Succeſſione, Charisma Veritatis certum, ſecundùm beneplacitum Patris acceperunt: *It becometh vs to obey thoſe Prieſts in the Church, which haue their* Succeſsion *from the Apoſtles: and together with the* Succeſsion *of their Biſhopricks, according to the good will of God the Father, haue receiued the* vndoubted gift of the truth. S. Cyprian being likewiſe charged for diſſenting from his Predeceſſors, anſwereth thus: Si quis de Anteceſſoribus meis non hoc obſeruauit, & tenuit, quod nos Dominus exemplo, & Magiſterio ſuo docuit, poteſt ſimplicitati eius venia concedi: Nobis verò ignoſci non poteſt, qui nunc a Domino admoniti & inſtructi ſumus: *If any of my Predeceſſours haue not obſerued and kept the ſame, that our Lord hath taught vs both by his example, and alſo by his Commandement, his ſimplicitie may be pardoned: But wee* (if we doe the like) *can hope for no pardon, being now admoniſhed and inſtructed of our Lord.*

Succeſſion of Popes.

Lib. 2. Epiſt. 3.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. Cough vp man. It wil choake you, if you let it tarrie within your throat. Heere is but halfe the bone. There is yet in Cyprian no full point. It followeth in the ſame ſentence, *Vt calicem Dominicũ vino mixtum, ſecundum quod Dominus obtulit, offeramus.* That we ſhould offer our Lords Cup mixt with wine, accordingly as our Lord offered the ſame &c. Do they offer our Lords Chalice at all? Or, doe they grant that our Lord in his Supper offered it? Do they mingle water with wine at the time of Conſecrating the Myſteries? What follie, what madneſſe, &c. *The Anſwer.* There is no ſuch danger of bones, M. Harding. The child ſhall doe well enough by Gods grace. I make no mention (you ſay) of offering our Lords cup. I grant you. No more doe I of many other things in the ſame Epiſtle contained. What then? Should I for your pleaſure haue alleged, and tranſlated the whole Epiſtle? Or, haue you Decreed it to be an Hereſie, if a man allege no more, then is needfull? Or, haue I reported any maner vntruth? Or, ſtand the words otherwiſe, then I haue reported them? In this place I had cauſe only to ſpeake of Succeſsion: but to ſpeake of Sacrifice, I had no cauſe. Howbeit, as you know, in fiue hundred other places, as time required, I haue ſpoken alſo fully and largely of the Sacrifice: and yet ye wille without any great danger of choaking. Such childiſh toies are meet for children.

M. Harding 269 a. *M. Harding 269. b.*

Addition ☞

S. Cyprian ſaith, *We offer our Lords Cup mixt with Wine.* But hee ſaith not as you ſay, We offer vp the Sonne of God Subſtantially and Really vnto his Father. Take away only that blaſphemie, wherewith you haue deceiued the world: and then talke of mingling the Cup, and of the Sacrifice, while ye liſt. S. Cyprian ſaith, *We offer the Lords Cup*, meaning thereby, the Wine contained in the Cup. So likewiſe S. Auguſtine ſaith: Eccleſia offert Sacrificium Panis, & Vini: *The Church offereth vp the Sacrifice of Bread and Wine.* If there be any darkeneſſe in this maner of ſpæch, both S. Cyprian, and S. Auguſtine haue plainly expounded their meaning. S. Cyprian in the ſame Epiſtle before alleged ſaith thus: Calix in Commemorationem Chriſti offertur: Vino Chriſti Sanguis oſtenditur: Jdeo Vinum ponitur, vt Domini Sanguis Vino intelligatur: Aqua ſola (ſine Vino) non poteſt exprimere Sanguinem Chriſti: In Aqua Populus intelligitur: In Vino oſtenditur Sanguis Chriſti: Paſſionis Chriſti memoriam in omnibus Sacrificijs facimus: Paſſio Domini eſt Sacrificium quod offerimus: *The Cup is offered in remembrance of* Chriſt: *By the Wine* Chriſts *Blood is ſhewed* (or ſignified): *Therefore Wine is vſed, that by Wine we may vnderſtand the Lords Blood: Water only without Wine, cannot expreſſe the Blood of Chriſt: In the Water we vnderſtand the People: In the Wine Chriſts Blood is repreſented: In all our Sacrifices, we worke the memory of Chriſts Paſſion: The Sacrifice that we offer, is the Paſſion of our Lord.* Thus much S. Cyprian in the ſame Epiſtle. S. Auguſtine ſaith: In hoc Sacrificio eſt gratiarum actio, & Commemoratio Carnis Chriſti, quam pro nobis obtulit, & Sanguinis eius, quem pro nobis effudit: *In this Sacrifice is a thankeſgiuing, and a remembrance of the Fleſh of Chriſt, that hee hath offered for vs, and of the Blood of Chriſt that hee ſhed for vs.* Thus ſaith S. Cyprian: Thus ſaith S. Auguſtine: Thus ſay the old godly learned Fathers of the Church of Chriſt. Theſe are no bones, M. Harding: They are the foode of euerlaſting life. ☜

Aug. de Fide ad Petr. c. 19.

Cyprian. lib. 2. epiſt. 3.

Aug. de Fide ad Pet. cap. 19.

Compare the vſe and order of our Churches, M. Harding, with the Primitiue Church of God, and ye ſhall eaſily ſee the right of our Succeſsion. S. Cyprian ſaith: Si Canalis aquæ, quæ copioſè priùs & largiter profluebat, ſubitò deficiat, nonne ad Fontem pergitur? &c. Hoc & nunc facere oportet Dei Sacerdotes Præcepta Diuina ſeruantes, vt in aliquo ſi nutauerit & vacillauerit Veritas, ad originem Dominicam, & Euangelicam atque Apoſtolicam Traditionem reuertamur: & inde ſurgat actus noſtri ratio, vndè & Ordo, & Origo ſurrexit: *If the Pipes of the Conduit, which before ran with abundance, happen to faile, doe we not*

Cypr. ad Pompeium contra epiſt. Stephani.

vſe

vse to search the Head? &c. The Priests of God keeping Gods Commandements, must doe the same: that if the Truth haue fainted or failed in any point, wee returne to the very Originall of our Lord, and to the Tradition of the Gospell, and of the Apostles: *that therehence we may take the discretion of our doings, from whence the Order it selfe, and Originall first began.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. It is to be knowen, Mi lewel, that S. Cyprian vsed that saying in an euill case. And therefore, he defending a Falshoood, was driuen to the very same shifts, whereunto all Heretikes are driuen. *The Answer.* Whatsoeuer were S. Cyprians case, verily, M. Harding hath diuised but a poore defence for himselfe. For, alasse, what a simple shift is this, to say, that so holy a Father and Martyr of Christ, was driuen to vse the shifts of all Heretikes? Grant we, that S. Cyprian stood in some errour. Yet let vs see what were his Hereticall shifts. Thus he saith: *if the Truth faint or faile in any point, we ought to returne to the Originall of our Lord, and to the Tradition of the Gospell, &c.* And is this the shift of all Heretikes, to submit themselues and their causes, to the triall of Gods Truth? Or doth no man vse this kinde of shift, but only Heretikes? Wherefore then doth Christ so often vse the same? Wherefore doth Christ say: *From the beginning it was not thus: It is written in the Scriptures: Search the Scriptures?* Wherefore doth the Prophet Esay say, *Resort to the Law, and to the Testimony of our Lord?* Wherefore doth Tertullian say, Peræque ad Vniuersas Hæreses iam hinc præiudicatum est, id esse verum, quodcunque primum: id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius? *By this Rule, wee may equally prescribe against all Heretikes: That is true, that was first appointed: That is false, that was afterward deuised?* It were hard to say, that Christ, his Apostles, the Prophets and holy Fathers were shifters, and Heretikes. *M. Harding.* 271. Matthæ. 19. Iohan. 5. & 7. *Tertul. aduers. Prax. pa.* 316.

Yet notwithstanding, M. Harding saith, Wee may not bee led by S. Cyprians Rule. It is a shift and a practise of Heretikes. This therefore must be his Rule: Although the Truth faint or faile in any point, yet may we not returne to the Originall of our Lord, nor to the Tradition of the Gospell. S. Cyprian saith: Non debemus hominis Consuetudinem sequi, sed Veritatem Dei: *Wee may not follow the Custome of man, but the Truth of God.* Nay, saith M. Harding, This is the shift of all Heretikes. We may not follow the Truth of God, but the Custome of man. S. Cyprian saith: Relicto Errore, sequamur Veritatem: *Forsaking Errour, let vs follow the Truth.* Nay, saith M. Harding, So doe Heretikes: This is but a shift. Wee must leaue the Truth, and follow Error. If you will needs shift off, and so miserably glose S. Cyprians sayings, M. Harding, thus verily must you say: And indeed this Rule hath of long time beene Canonized in the Church of Rome, and accounted Catholike. But such are they, of whom Christ saith: *Yee haue broken the Commandements of God, to maintaine your owne Traditions.* ☞☜ *Cyprian. lib. 2. epist. 3.* *Cyprian. ad Pompeium contra epist. Stephani.* Matthæ. 15.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision 1.

Moreouer wee say, that Christ hath giuen to his Ministers power to Binde, to Loose, to Open, to Shut.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The difference that is betweene vs and our Aduersaries in this whole matter, is not great: sauing that it liketh well M. Harding to busie himselfe with needlesse quarrels without cause. Three kindes of Confession are expressed vnto vs in the Scriptures. The First made secretly vnto God alone: The Second Openly before the whole Congregation: The Third Priuately vnto our Brother. Of the two former kindes there is no question. Touching the Third, if it be discreetly vsed, to the greater comfort and better satisfaction of the penitent, without superstition or other ill, it is not in any wise by vs reproued. The abuses and errours set apart, we doe no more mislike a Priuate Confession then a Priuate Sermon.

Thus much onely wee say, that Priuate Confession to be made vnto the Minister, is neither commanded by Christ, nor necessary to Saluation. And therefore Chrysostome saith: Non dico tibi, vt te prodas in publicum, neque vt te accuses apud alios. Sed obedire te volo Prophetæ dicenti, Reuela Domino viam tuam: *I will thee, not to bewray thy selfe openly, nor to accuse thy selfe before others: But I counsell thee, to obey the Prophet saying, Open thy way vnto the Lord.* *Chrys. ad Hebræos, hom.* 31.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. S. Chrysostome in this place speaketh not indeed of Sacramentall Confessiō, but of that which is daily to be made to God alone, &c. But in other places he hath taught vs, that vnto our Priests it is giuē vtterly to cleanse, not the Leper of the Body, but the filth of the Soul &c. *The Answer.* S. *Chrysostome* (you say) in these words speaketh not of Sacramentall Confession. *M. Harding* *fol.* 274. *b.* *M. Harding* *fol.* 275. *a.*

No

Confeſſion not neceſſarie.

No great maruell, M. Harding. For, I beleeue, you cannot finde, that any Confeſſion was knowen by that name in Chryſoſtomes time. But in theſe words, hee ſpeaketh of Confeſſion to be made vnto others. Call it Sacramentall, or Priuate, or Auricular, or what you liſt. Of this kind of Confeſſion Chryſoſtome ſaith: *I will thee not to betray thy ſelfe openly, nor to accuſe thy ſelfe before other.* Thus, I trow, he would not haue ſaid, had hee thought this kind of Confeſſion to be neceſſary.

Sozo. li. 5. c. 19.

But you ſay, *S. Chryſoſtome* ſaith, Our Prieſts haue power vtterly to cleanſe the filth of the Soule. And who ſaith otherwiſe? When we Conſecrate Prieſts, we pronounce Chriſts words ouer them: *Whoſe ſinnes you doe forgiue, they are forgiuen.* But are ſinnes forgiuen onely by Priuate Confeſſion? If ſo, how happened it then, that there was no Priuate Confeſſion vſed in the Church of Conſtantinople, during the whole time, that S. Chryſoſtome was Biſhop there?

Chryſo. de Sacerdo. li. 3.

Notwithſtanding, good Chriſtian Reader, that thou maiſt vnderſtand the truth of M. Hardings dealing, in that whole place of Chryſoſtome, there is no mention at all of any Confeſſion, either Priuate, or Publike, or Sacramentall, or Auricular, or any other. Read the place. If thou find it otherwiſe, I will yeeld. You will ſay, He ſpeaketh of forgiueneſſe of ſinnes. I know it well: yet not of Confeſſion. He ſpeaketh of the Sacrament of Baptiſme: of Preaching and of Prayer. By theſe meanes S. Chryſoſtome ſaith, The Prieſt remitteth ſinnes, and reconcileth God vnto the people. Who would thinke, that Doctor Harding would allege thoſe places for Priuate Confeſſion, whereas is not ſo much as one word once ſpoken of Confeſſion?

M. Harding Fol. 275. b.

M. Harding. Againſt your Hereticall propoſition I will ſet S. Baſils Catholike iudgement. Thus he ſaith: It is neceſſary to confeſſe ſinnes vnto them, to whom the Diſpenſation of the Myſteries is committed. For ſo they, that in old time did penance, are found to haue done before the Saints. For it is written in the Goſpell, that they confeſſed their ſinnes to Iohn Baptiſt. In the Acts, that they confeſſed them to the Apoſtles. By S. Baſil it is neceſſary to confeſſe ſinnes vnto the Prieſts. By M. Iewel it is not neceſſary at all. Who is the likelier of theſe two to be a liar? *The Anſwer.* O M. Harding, why do you thus abuſe your ſimple Reader? My words are theſe, as they lie plainelie before you: *That* Priuate Confeſſion *be made vnto the Miniſter, it is neither commanded by* Chriſt, *nor neceſſary to Saluation.* To proue this Hereticall Propoſition, for ſo it pleaſeth you to call it, you haue brought in the Catholike iudgement of S. Baſil. But, I beſeech you, among all theſe words of S. Baſil, is there any one word of Priuate Confeſſion? If there be any, let it appeare. If there be none, why doe you allege it? Marke the words and examples that S. Baſil vſeth. *Thus* (ſaith he) *the people confeſſed their Sinnes to* Iohn Baptiſt: *Thus they confeſſed their Sinnes to the Apoſtles.* Thus ſaith S. Baſil. But did either the Apoſtles, or Iohn Baptiſt, heare Priuate Confeſſions? Did they ſit downe vpon a ſtoole, in a corner, and hearken what each man ſhould ſeuerally ſay vnto them? No, no, M. Harding, S. Baſil ſpake only of Publike offences, that were knowen to many. Such offences it was neceſſary for the ſatisfaction of the Church to be confeſſed vnto the Prieſt, as vnto the common Miniſter of the whole, not ſecretly, or in a corner, but openly, and in the hearing of all the people. This Confeſſion, M. Iewell ſaith, is ſtill neceſſary in the Church of God. Now therefore your ſelf may iudg, to vſe your own courteous words, Whether of vs is likelier to be the liar?

De Pœnit. diſt. 1. Quamuis plenitudo.

And Gratian hauing thoroughly diſputed, and debated the whole matter of both ſides, in the end leaueth it thus at large: Cui harum ſententiarum potiùs adhærendum ſit, Lectoris Iudicio reſeruatur: Vtraque enim fautores habet Sapientes, & Religioſos Viros: *Whether of theſe two opinions it were better to follow, it is left to the diſcretion of the Reader: For either ſide is fauoured, both by wiſe, and alſo by godly men.* Therefore the Gloſſe there concludeth thus: Melùs dicitur Confeſſionem inſtitutam fuiſſe à quadam Vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ Traditione potiùs, quàm ex Noui, vel Veteris Teſtamenti authoritate: *It is better to ſay, that Confeſſion was ordained by ſome Tradition of the Vniuerſall Church, then by the authority of the New or Old Teſtament.* Likewiſe ſaith Theodorus, ſometime Archbiſhop of Canturburie, a Græke borne: Quidam Deo ſolummodo confiteri debere peccata dicunt, vt Græci: *Some ſay, we are bound to confeſſe our ſinnes* onelie to God, *as doe the* Grecians. Whereupon the Gloſſe noteth thus: Apud Græcos Confeſſio non eſt neceſſaria: quia non emanauit ad illos Traditio talis: *Among the* Grecians *Confeſſion is not neceſſary, for that no ſuch Tradition euer came amongſt them.*

De Pœnit. diſt. 5. In Pœnit. in Gloſſa.

De Pœnit. diſt. 1. Quidam.

De Pœnit. diſt. 5. In Pœnitent.

M. Harding fol. 71. a.

But what need many words? M. Harding himſelfe in the diſcourſe hereof, is forced to confeſſe, that the expreſſe Terme of Auricular or Secret Confeſſion, is ſeldome mentioned in the ancient Fathers. His tale had beene truer, if he had ſaid thus, The Expreſſe terme of Auricular or Secret Confeſſion, is neuer mentioned in the ancient Fathers. Now to paſſe ouer certaine other M. Hardings vnneceſſarie talkes, hee groweth to the matter in this ſort:

M.

M. Harding.

Concerning the Miniſters of the Church, we ſay, that they open and ſhut by diſpenſing the Sacraments, who haue their vertue of the merits of Chriſt. For whereas the Sacraments haue iſſued & flowed out of the ſide of our Sauiour Chriſt ſleeping on the Croſſe (as by alluſion we may vſe the words of the old figure) wherewith the Church is builded, therfore in the Sacraments of the Church, the efficacie of the paſſion remaineth. And for that cauſe to the Miniſters alſo of the Church, who be diſpenſours of the Sacraments a certain power is giuen to remooue the barre that excludeth vs from Gods fauor, not through their own but through Gods vertue & power, and merit of Chriſts Paſſion. And this power is called by a metaphor, the Key of the Church, which is the Key of Miniſtery: whereof wee ſhall ſpeake hereafter. This power ſo much as concerneth releaſe of ſinnes, is exerciſed in the Sacrament of Penance, to the benefit of them, that after Baptiſme be relapſed, and fallen into ſinne againe. Of which power, no Chriſtian man doubteth, vnleſſe he hold the Hereſie of the Nouatians, who were condemned for Heretikes by the Church, becauſe they denied, that Prieſts in the Church had authority to remit Sinnes, * and ſo denied the Sacrament of Penance.

K. y of Church. whom eth the rament enance. natians ied Pe- ce.

* This ſauoureth of vntruth. For Nouatus denied not Priuate, but Open Penance.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

That duly receiuing the holy Sacraments ordained by Chriſt, we receiue alſo the Remiſſion of ſinnes, it is not any way denied. For the ſubſtance of all Sacraments is the word of God, which S. Paul calleth Verbum Reconciliationis: *The word of Atonement.* 2. Corinth. 5. This Word is the Inſtrument of Remiſſion of ſinne. The Sacraments are the Seales affixed to the ſame: The Prieſt is the meane. S. Auguſtine ſaith: In Aqua Verbum mundat. Detrahe Verbum: quid eſt Aqua, niſi Aqua? *In the Water is the Word of God, that maketh cleane. Take the Word away: and what is Water elſe but Water?* Hereof we ſhall haue cauſe to ſay more hereafter. *Aug. in Ioh. tract.* 80.

All that is here brought in touching Nouatus, it is vtterly from the purpoſe. For Nouatus neuer denied, but a ſinner might Confeſſe his ſinnes, either ſecretly to God alone, or publikely and openly before the whole Congregation. As for Auricular Confeſſion to the Prieſt, for ought that may appeare, he neuer heard of it. But herein ſtood his whole errour, that he thought, whoſoeuer had committed any great notorious ſinne after Baptiſme, notwithſtanding any ſubmiſſion or ſatisfaction he was able to make, yet might he neuer be reconciled vnto his Brethren, or be receiued againe into the Church: not that he would hereby driue the penitent ſorrowfull ſinner to deſpaire of Gods mercie, but (as ſome learned men haue thought) onely for example and terrour vnto others. And therefore Beatus Rhenanus ſaith, In hac ſententia veterum permulti fuerunt, & in iis etiam Auguſtinus. *B. Rhenanus in Argumento libelli Tert. De Pœnitent. Auguſtinus, epiſtola* 54.

S. Auguſtine ſaith, Cautè, ſalubriterque prouiſum eſt, vt locus illius Humilimæ Pœnitentiæ ſemel in Eccleſia concedatur: ne medicina vilis minùs vtilis eſſet ægrotis: *It hath beene diſcreetly and holeſomely prouided, that it ſhould not be granted to any man, to do that moſt humble Open penance, but only once in the Church, and neuer more afterward: leſt the medicine, being made ouer common, ſhould not be profitable to the Sicke.*

Thus much difference therefore, we ſee, there was betweene the Church, and Nouatus. The Church granteth the Open Sinner one onely time of Open Reconciliation, and neuer more: But Nouatus granteth none at all. Therefore the whole matter of Nouatus, might haue ſerued M. Harding to ſome other purpoſe. For Confeſſion, whether it were Priuate or Publike, was no part of his error.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuiſion 2.

And (we ſay) that the office of Looſing conſiſteth in this point: that the Miniſter, either by the Preaching of the Goſpell, offereth the Merits of Chriſt & full Pardon to ſuch as haue lowly and contrite hearts, and doe vnfeinedlie repent themſelues, pronouncing vnto the ſame a ſure, and vndoubted forgiueneſſe of their ſinnes, and hope of Euerlaſting Saluation: Or elſe that the ſame Miniſter, when any haue offended their Brothers mindes with ſome great offence, or notable and open crime, wherby they haue, as it were, banniſhed and made themſelues ſtrangers from the Common Fellowſhip, and from the Body of Chriſt, then after perfect amendment of ſuch perſons, doth reconcile them, and bring them home againe, and reſtore them to the Compame, and Vnitie of the Faithfull.

M.

M. Harding.

The ſumme of all theſe gay words abridged doth attribute Looſing or Abſolution firſt to Preaching, next to aſſoiling ſuch as bee Excommunicate. As touching the firſt, theſe Defenders confound the offices of Preaching and Abſolution. The Preacher teacheth the hearers, and reporteth the words of Chriſt, as out of the mouth of Chriſt, ſaying: Thus ſaith Chriſt. &c. The Prieſt, which is the Miniſter of Abſolution, according to the authoritie giuen to him by Chriſt, in his owne perſon aſſoileth the Penitent, ſaying: * I abſoile thee in the name of the Father, &c. * The Preacher in that hee preacheth onely, doth not aſſoile ſinners, neither giueth hee the Merits of Chriſt, nor full pardon by pronouncing vnto them the Goſpell. * For if that great benefit conſiſt in pronouncing or denouncing of the Goſpell, then why might not euerie lay man, yea women, yea yongue boies, and girles abſolue ſinners? yea why might not euerie man aſſoile himſelfe? And would yee Sirs appoint vnto vs ſuch for Iudges conſtituted by Chriſt?

* Vntruth. For Chriſt neuer gaue the Prieſt any ſuch Commiſſion.

For the words of Chriſt be ſo plaine, as they cannot be ſo violently wrefted. For Chriſt ſaid not, To whom yee offer by preaching of the Goſpell my Merits, and Pardon, or whoſe ſinnes yee pronounce by the Goſpell to be remitted, but *quorumcunque remiſeritis*, whoſe ſoeuer ſinnes yee remit, they are remitted to them. For as the ſonne of man remitted ſinnes to him that was ſicke of the Palſie, and to Mary Maudelene, that ye may know (ſaith he) that the ſonne of man hath Power to remit ſinnes, &c. Euen ſo he hath transferred * the ſame Power vnto Prieſts, ſaith Chryſoſtome. Which Prieſts he hath ſent, as the Father ſent him. And it Abſolution conſiſt in pronouncing of the Goſpell, which profiteth ſo much as it is beleeued, * then the power of the Keies which Chriſt hath giuen to the Church, conſiſteth not ſo much in the Miniſter, as in the ſinner that heareth and beleeueth, and ſo is forgiuen by Luthers opinion. And by this meanes the Prieſt hath no ſpeciall power. But we ſay with the Church, that a Sacrament hath his efficacie of the inſtitution of Chriſt in him, to whom it is adhibited. In this ſenſe the Catholike Church of Chriſt hath euer taught, that God worketh our ſaluation by Sacraments, and in this faith it hath alwaies Baptized infants, that their ſinnes being remitted, they might be made the children of God. * Likewiſe by the Keies of the Church, it hath aſſoiled perſons bereaft of the vſe of ſpeech and reaſon, as the learned and ancient holy Father Leo, teacheth in his Epiſtle *ad Theodorum Epiſcopum Foroiul. cenſem*, and S. Auguſtine, *de adulterinis coniugijs, lib. 1. cap. 26. & vltimo.*

* Vntruth: By M. Hardings owne Doctrine. Read the Anſwere.

* The ſame power, becauſe they haue the ſame word, and not otherwiſe.

* Vntruth ioyned with vaine follie.

* Vntruth. For the Church aſſoiled not mad men: but onelie pronounced them to bee aſſoiled before, when they were ſober.

Finallie, if the Office of Looſing, that is, Abſolution, conſiſteth in Preaching the Goſpell, and offering the Merits of Chriſt by pronouncing the words, in which the remiſſion of our ſins is expreſſed, as this Defender teacheth: then had not the Catechumens of old time, neither now ſhould they bee in any danger, if they ſhould die without Baptiſme, and the grace of reconciliation, that is, not being aſſoiled. For they lacked no preaching, as now they lacke not where any ſuch be. The contrary whereof, the Church hath euer taught; and for witneſſe of the ſame, beſides other Fathers, wee haue the plaine doctrine of S. Auguſtine: Who ſaith, that a Catechumene, how much ſoeuer he profiteth, beareth ſtill the burthen of his iniquity, ſo long as he is not Baptized.

Tract. 11. Ioh. 13.

I denie not, but caſes of iuſt neceſſity bee excepted in the one, and the other, hauing right and firme wils and deſire in each caſe: When not the contempt of Religion, but the point of neceſſity excludeth the Myſtery of Baptiſme, as S. Auguſtine ſaith. Then how dangerous and pernicious is the Doctrine of theſe Defenders, our New Miniſtring Prelates, who more with ſweet and holy words, then with truth, teach Chriſtian people, that the office of Looſing conſiſteth in offering, by preaching of the Goſpell, (as they call it) the Merits of Chriſt, and full pardon, and by pronouncing (I know not how) a ſure and vndoubted forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, and hope of euerlaſting Saluation to ſuch, forſooth, as haue lowlie and contrite hearts, and do vnfainedly repent them? The contrition of heart they ſeeme to ſpeake of, ſufficeth not for Looſing of ſins, vnleſſe it be contrition formed with charity, as the Diuines teach. Which charity ſeeketh and requireth the Sacrament of Penance and the grace of reconciliation, which cannot be miniſtred but by a Prieſt * Neither is it poſſible, the Prieſt to iudge truly, who are lowly and contrite of heart, and repent them vnfainedly, foraſmuch as he cannot ſearch the heart, vnleſſe the Penitents humble themſelues vnto him, and declare their repentance by ſimple and lowly Confeſſion of their ſinnes. Which Confeſſion, theſe new Goſpellers haue abandoned out of their Congregations. How much is more the Catholike and wholſome Doctrine of S. * Auguſtine to bee imbraced and followed, which he vttereth in theſe words? Do ye penance, ſuch as is done in the Church, that the Church may pray for you. Let no man ſay to himſelfe, I doe penance ſecretly before God I doe it: God who forgiueth me, knoweth, that I do it in my heart. But what ſaith S. Auguſtine hereunto? Why then (ſaith he) it was ſaid in vaine, What things ye Looſe in Earth, they ſhall be Looſed in Heauen. Then without cauſe the Keies be giuen to the Church. We make void the Goſpell of God; wee make fruſtrate the words of Chriſt.

O dangerous Doctrine!

*. Vntruth. Read the Anſwer.

* Manifeſt vntruth For S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh theſe words of Open Confeſſion before the people.

Lib. 50. Homiliarum Hom. 49.

Matt. 18.

S. Auguſtine ſaith, doe yee penance, not ſuch as liketh your ſelues, not ſuch as New fangled ſelf-pleaſing Preachers teach you, but ſuch as is done in the Church, which conſiſteth in Contrition of heart, Confeſſion of mouth, and Satisfaction of worke, that ſo yee may bee aſſoiled, and perfectly reconciled.

Touching the ſecond point, we doe not attribute the Looſing of ſuch as be excommunicate, to the offering of Chriſts merits, and pronouncing of the Goſpell vnto them, as you doe, but to the power of Iuriſdiction by Chriſt giuen to the Church.

By the Fathers Excommunication in conſideration of the neceſſity of it, is called *Neruus Eccleſiaſtice Diſcipline*, the ſinew of Churchly Diſcipline; by the Canons, *Mucro Epiſcopi*, the Sword of a Biſhop; by S. Auguſtine, *Epiſcopalis Iudicij damnatio, qua pœna nulla in Eccleſia maior eſt*; The condemnation of a man by Biſhoply Iudgemeut, then the which there is no greater puniſhment in the Church.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

We commit the Keies of the Kingdom of Heauen, onely vnto the Prieſt, and to none other: and to him onely wee ſay, *Whatſoeuer thou bindeſt in Earth, ſhall bee bound in Heauen.* Yet neuertheleſſe hath not euerie Prieſt the vſe of theſe Keies. Peter Lombard himſelfe ſaith,

saith: Sanè dici potest, quòd alteram istarum Clauium, id est, Scientiam discernendi, non habent omnes Sacerdotes: *We may safely say that all Priests haue not the one of these two Keies: I meane the knowledge to discerne.* If they haue not the Keies, then can they neither Open, nor Shut. *Sent. 4. dist. 19.*

A Laiman remitteth Sinne.

Neither doth it follow of our Doctrine, that either Children, or Lay-men do, or may forgiue sinnes. And yet Gods word may be mighty, be the Pronouncer of it neuer so simple. S. Augustine saith: Cùm Christus Petro diceret, Tibi dabo Claues Regni Cœlorum, vniuersam significabat Ecclesiam: *When Christ said vnto Peter, Vnto thee will I giue the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen, he signified thereby the whole Church.* And againe: Quæcunque ligaueris super Terram, erunt ligata in Cœlo. Cœpisti habere frattem tuum tanquam Publicanum: Ligas illum in Terra. Cùm autem correxeris, & concordaueris cum fratre tuo, soluisti illum in Terra. Cùm solueris in Terra, solutus erit in Cœlo: *Whatsoeuer things thou shalt Binde in Earth, they shall be Bound in Heauen. Thou (being a Lay-man) hast begunne to haue thy brother as a Publicane: Thou bindest him in Earth. But when thou hast corrected him, and hast agreed with thy brother, thou hast Loosed him in Earth. And when thou hast Loosed him in Earth, he shall be Loosed in Heauen.* *Aug. in Iohan. Tractat. 124. Aug. de Verb. Dom. Secund. Mat. Serm. 16*

Likewise Theophylact saith: Si tu offensus, habes eum qui te affecit iniuriâ, sicut Publicanum & Gentilem, erit ille & in Cœlo talis: Si autem Solueris eum, hoc est, Si illi condonaueris, erit illi & in Cœlo condonatum. Non enim solùm quæ soluunt Sacerdotes, sunt soluta: sed quæcunque & nos, iniuriâ affecti, vel ligamus, vel soluimus, & ipsa erunt ligata, vel soluta: *If thou being offended, haue him that hath done thee wrong, as a Publicane, and as an Heathen, such shall hee be also in Heauen. But if thou Loose him, that is to say, if thou pardon him, he shall be pardoned also in Heauen. For not only the things that Priests Loose, are Loosed: but also what soeuer we (being Lay-men) hauing taken wrong, doe Binde or Loose, the same things shall also be Bound, or Loosed.* *Theophylact. in Mat. cap. 18.*

This Doctrine may not seeme so strange to M. Harding, vnlesse hée bée a stranger amongst his owne. For by the Order of his owne Church of Rome, an Old Wife, or a Yong Girle may minister the Sacrament of Baptisme. And I trow he will not say, they may minister Baptisme without Remission of Sinnes.

In this Church of Rome the power of the Keies is lapped vp often times in a Bull of Lead, and sent abroad into the World by a Lay Pardoner: and is thought neuertheless good, and sufficient vnto the Receiuer for Remission of Sinnes, notwithstanding the messenger be no Priest.

Some of the late Doctours of his said Church haue taught vs, that a man may make his Confession by a bill of his hand, and receiue Absolution by a Truthman, or by a Broker. Peter Lombard the Grand Master of their whole Schole saith: Si tamen defuerit Sacerdos, Proximo, vel Socio est facienda Confessio: *If thou want a Priest, thou must make thy Confession vnto thy Neighbour, or vnto thy Fellow.* And Beda saith, as he is alleged by the said Peter Lombard: Cœqualibus quotidiana & leuia: grauiora verò Sacerdoti pandamus: *Let vs open our small and daily sinnes vnto our fellowes, and the greater vnto the Priest.* *De Pœn. dist. 1. Quem pœnitet. Scotus 4. Sent. Dist. 17. Artic. 3.*

And to be short, vpon the Decretals it is noted thus: In necessitate Laicus potest & audire Confessiones, & Absoluere: *In case of necessitie a Lay-man may both heare Confessions and Absolue.* *Sent. 4. dist. 17. Nunc primò quæritur. Sent. 4. Eadem Dist. Extra. De offi. Iudicis ordinar. Pastoralis, In Glossa.*

This is the Order and Doctrine of M. Hardings owne Church. His owne Doctours tell him, that Lay men and women may Absolue the Penitent, and forgiue Sinnes. Therefore he hath the lesse cause to mislike it.

M. Harding saith further: Christ saith not, To whom ye offer by preaching of the Gospell, my merits and pardon: or whose sinnes ye pronounce by the Gospell to be remitted; but *Quorumcunque remiseritis*, whose soeuer sinnes yee remit, they are remitted. If M. Harding will conclude of this Negatiue, Ergo, Sinnes bee not forgiuen by the preaching of the Gospell: I trow it will bée but a simple Argument. For Chrysostome saith: Clauicularij sunt Sacerdotes, quibus creditum est Verbum Docendi & Interpretandi Scripturas: *The Keybearers bee the Priests, to whom is committed the Word of Teaching and Expounding the Scriptures.* And S. Hierome saith: Quæcunque Solueritis super Terram, erunt Soluta & in Cœlo. Soluunt autem eos Apostoli Sermone Dei, & Testimonijs Scripturarum, & Exhortatione Virtutum: *Whatsoeuer things ye Loose vpon Earth, they shall be Loosed also in Heauen. But the Apostles Loose them by the word of God, and by the Testimonies of the Scriptures, & by exhortation vnto Vertue.* *Chrysostom. in Matth. in Opere imperfect. cap. 44. Hier. in Esai Lib. 6. cap. 14.*

Likewise S. Augustine saith: Iam vos mundi estis propter Verbum quod loquutus sum vobis. Quare non ait, Mundi estis propter Baptismum quo loti estis? Nisi quia & in aqua Verbum mundat: *Now are you cleane because of the Word that I haue spoken to you. Why saith he not, You are cleane because of the Baptisme wherewith yee are washed? Sauing that euen in the water it is the Word that maketh cleane.* Likewise S. Ambrose: Remittuntur peccata per *August. in Iohan. Tract. 80. Ambros. De Cain & Abel, Cap. 4.*

per Verbum Dei, cuius Leuites eſt Interpres: *Sinnes be forgiuen by the Word of God, the Expounder where of is the Leuite, or Prieſt.*

Roman.1. All the Power is in the Word of God, which S. Paul calleth, *The Power of God vnto Saluation*: and Verbum reconciliationis, *The Word whereby we be reconciled vnto God.*

2.Cor.5. And for this cauſe Chryſoſtome ſaith, as it is alleged by M. Harding, that the Prieſt

Chryſoſt. De Sacerd. li.3. hath the ſame Power that Chriſt had, for that he preacheth the ſame word of God that Chriſt preacheth. And in this ſenſe Chriſt ſaith vnto his Diſciples: *As my liuing Father*

Iohan.6. *ſent me, euen ſo* (and with like Commiſſion) *doe I ſend you.*

Otherwiſe the Power of Chriſt farre ſurmounteth and paſſeth all Creatures: not only in Earth, but alſo in Heauen. Chriſt himſelfe thereof ſaith thus: *All things are deliuered to me of my Father.* And the Prophet Eſay ſaith: Ponam Clauem Domus Dauid ſuper humerum eius. Aperiet, & nemo claudet: claudet, & nemo aperiet: *I will ſet the Key of*

Mat.11. Eſay cap.22. *the Houſe of* Dauid *vpon his ſhoulder. He ſhall open, and no man ſhall ſhut: he ſhall ſhut, and no man ſhall open.*

Of this Doctrine ſaith M. Harding, followeth a great inconuenience. For then (ſaith he) the power of the Keies conſiſteth not ſo much in the Miniſter, as in the ſinner that heareth & beleeueth. This inconuenience is nothing ſo great as it is pretended. The Errour hereof ſtandeth in the Equiuocation, or doubtfull taking of one word. For one thing may be in another ſundry waies: As Remiſſion of Sinnes may be in the Prieſt, as in the Meſſenger: In the Word of God, as in the Inſtrument: In the Penitent partie, as in the Receiuer. The offering hereof is in the Miniſter: but the effect and force is in the Sinner.

Actor.16. Mark.16. Therefore S. Luke ſaith: *God opened the heart of the Silke-woman, that ſhe ſhould giue eare vnto the words that were ſpoken by* S. Paul. And Chriſt ſaith: *Whoſoeuer ſhall beleeue, and bee Baptized, ſhall be ſaued: but hee that beleeueth not, ſhall bee damned.* Likewiſe Peter

4 *Sententiar. Diſt.*18. *Sed quæritur.* Lombard himſelfe ſaith: Ex his apertè oſtenditur, quòd Deus ipſe Pœnitentem ſoluit, quando intus illuminat inſpirando veram cordis contritionem: *Hereby it plainly appeareth that God himſelfe looſeth the Penitent, when by giuing him inward light, he inſpireth into him the true contrition of the heart.* And therefore Clemens Alexandrinus ſaith: Fides noſtra eſt

Clemens in Paranetico. Clauis Regni Cœlorum: *Our Faith is the Key of the Kingdome of Heauen.* And S. Auguſtine likewiſe ſaith: Cor clauſum habent, quia Clauem Fidei non habent: *They haue their hearts ſhut, becauſe they lacke the Key of Faith.* Againe he ſaith: Suſcitari mortuus,

Aug. in Iohan. Tractat.39. niſi intus clamante Domino, non poteſt: *The dead man cannot bee raiſed againe, vnleſſe the Lord crie within him.*

Auguſtin. in Pſalm.101. And to come nære to the purpoſe, Gratian himſelfe ſaith: Voluntas Sacerdotis nec prodeſſe, nec obeſſe poteſt, ſed meritum benedictionem poſcentis: *The will of the Prieſt*

1.*Quæſt* 1. *Dictum eſt.* *can neither further, nor hinder, but the merit of him that deſireth Abſolution.*

Touching the Obiection of frantike perſons, and mad men, in what ſort, and how farre Abſolution taketh place in them, foraſmuch as it is an extraordinarie caſe, I thinke it neither needfull, nor eaſie to define. Indeed a queſtion is moued by Pope Innocentius the third, Whether, and in what ſort a man, either in his madneſſe, or in his ſléepe may bee Baptized. And S. Auguſtine ſéemeth to witneſſe that Children ſomtime were Baptized in their Mothers Wombe. Likewiſe hée writeth of a friend of his owne: Cùm

Extra. de Baptiſmo, & eius effectu. Maiores Eccleſiæ. §. Item quæritur. *Auguſt Contra Iulian. lib. 6 cap.5.* iaceret ſine ſenſu in dolore letali, & deſperaretur, Baptizatus eſt neſciens: *Whereas hee lay in a Trance, without ſenſe, in deadly paine, and was deſpaired of, hee was Baptized, and knew not of it.*

Auguſt. Confeſſion. lib.4. cap.4. Bonauentura addeth ſome force vnto the matter, and demandeth this queſtion: An aliquis poſſit Abſolui inuitus? *Whether a man may be abſolued againſt his will, or no?*

Bonauentur. in 4. Senten. Diſt. 18 Quæſt.6. But concerning the Abſolution of mad men in the time of their phrenſie, it ſéemeth this was both the meaning of Leo, and the godly diſcretion of the Church at that time, that if a man, ſtanding excommunicate, had happened to be bereft of his ſenſes, and being in that caſe, had béene likely to depart this life, vpon proofe of his former repentance, he ſhould be reſtored, that he might depart in peace, as a member of the Church of God. The practiſe hereof wée may finde in the Councell of Carthage by theſe words: Si is qui

Conc. Carthaginen 4. ca 76. Pœnitentiam in infirmitate petit, in phreneſim verſus fuerit, dent Teſtimonium qui eum audiuerunt, & accipiat Pœnitentiam: *If hee that deſired reconciliation by Penance in his ſickneſſe, afterward fall mad, let them that heard him beare witneſſe with him, and ſo let him receiue Penance.*

Abſolutiõ of mad mẽ

This was only a publike Teſtimonie vnto the Church, that the partie Excommunicate was repentant before, when his minde was quiet. And what thing elſe M. Harding can gather hereof, I cannot tell. Certainely in this order and maner they reſtored, not

24. *quæ. 2. de Conſm. in gloſſ.* only mad men, but alſo dead men vnto the Church. For it is noted vpon the Decrees: Ex quo, cùm per eum non ſtabat, ei Communicare debemus. Et ita eſt Abſoluendus poſt

mortem

mortem: *Wherefore, seeing there was no lacke in his part, we ought to Communicate with him. And so he must be Absolued after his death.*

The words that S. Augustine often vseth vnto Beginners, or Enterers of the Faith, called Catechumeni, are vttered rather for terrour of others, then for rigour of truth, as shall appeare. For otherwheres hee writeth thus: Catechumeni secundùm quendam modum per Signum Christi sanctificantur: *The* Catechumeni, *or Beginners, after their sort, are sanctified by the Signe of* Christ. Againe hee saith to them: Non dum renati estis, sed per Crucis Signum in vtero Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ iam concepti estis: *Yee are not yet borne anew, but by the Signe of the Crosse, yee are already conceiued in the wombe of the Holy Church your Mother.* *Aug. de Pœnitentiæ, & Remissione, lib. 2. cap. 16.* *Augustin. ad Catechumen. lib. 2. cap. 1.*

Therefore hauing thus once entered into the Faith of Christ, although they happened afterward to depart this life without Baptisme, yet the Church often times thought it good to iudge well of them. S. Ambrose doubted not but the Emperour Valentinian departed hence in Gods fauour: and yet was the same Emperour but a Beginner, and a Nouice in the Faith, and departed hence without Baptisme. *Ambros. de obitu Valentiniani.*

M. Harding saith further: Vnlesse the Penitent make particular rehearsall of al his sins, the Priest, or Minister can be no Iudge. Whereunto I adde also further. Notwithstanding any rehearsall that may be made, yet can the Priest neuer be but a doubtfull Iudge. S. Augustine saith: Quid ergo mihi est cum hominibus, vt audiant Confessiones meas, quasi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? Vnde sciunt, cùm à meipso de meipso audiunt, an verum dicam? Quandoquidem nemo scit hominum quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in homine: *What haue I to doe with men, that they should heare my Confessions, as if they were able to heale all my greifes? When they heare me speake of my selfe, how can they tell whether I doe say the truth, or no? For no man knoweth what is done in man, but the Spirit of man that is in man.* *Aug. Confess. lib. 10. cap. 3.*

Open Cõfession.

Howbeit, hereof haue growen many vnnecessarie and curious questions: What Yeres, what Moneths, what Daies, what Houres, what Paner, what Order of Penance should serue for euery seuerall Sinne. In Resolution of which doubts stood the iudgement of the Priest. And therefore Carolus Magnus in his Lawes straitly commandeth, that the Priests should be skilfull in the Booke of Penance. *Beat. Rhenan. in Tertull. de Pœnitent. Vt Sacerdot. Pœnitent. librum bene calleant.*

But as touching the Iudge of Sinnes, S. Chrysostome saith: Ante Deum confitere peccata tua. Apud Verum Iudicem cum oratione delicta tua pronuntia: *Confesse thy Sins before God. Before the* True Iudge, *with prayer pronounce thine offences.* And againe: Cogitatione fiat delictorum exquisitio: Sine Teste sit hoc iudicium: Solus te Deus confitentem videat: *Let the examination of thy sinnes be wrought in thy heart: Let this iudgement be* without Witnesse: *Let God* Onely *heare thee when thou makest thy Confession.* And againe hee saith: Medicinæ locus hic est, non Iudicij: non pœnas, sed peccatorum remissionem tribuens: Deo soli dic peccatum tuum: *Heere is place of medicine, and* not of Iudgement: *giuing not punishment, but remission of sinnes. Open thy sinne to God* Alone. *Chrysost. ad Hebr. Hom. 31.* *Chrys. in Ser. de Confess. & Pœnitentia.* *Chrys. Hom. 9. de Pœnitentia.*

And therefore in M. Hardings owne Canons it is noted thus: Confessio fit ad ostensionem pœnitentiæ, non ad impetrationem veniæ: *Confession is made* (vnto the Priest) *not thereby to obtaine forgiuenesse, but to declare our repentance.* And againe: Confessio Sacerdoti offertur in Signum veniæ acceptę, non in causam remissionis accipiendæ: *Confession is made vnto the Priest in token of Remission already obteined, and not as a cause whereby to procure Remission.* *De Pœnitent. Dist. 1. Omnis qui.* *In eod. cap.*

And yet is the Priest a Iudge, all this notwithstanding: and pronounceth sentence as a Iudge, of Doctrine, of Open Sinne, of the Offense of the Church, and of the Humility and Meauinesse of the Penitent: and as a Iudge, together with the Elders of the Congregation, hee hath Authority, both to Condemne, and to Absolue. Peter Lombard himselfe saith: Etsi aliquis apud Deum sit solutus, non tamen in facie Ecclesiæ solutus habetur, nisi per iudicium Sacerdotis: *Albeit a man be Absolued before God, yet is he not accounted Absolued in the face of the Church, but by the iudgement of the Priest.* *4 Sen. dist. 18. Non autem.*

Likewise saith S. Augustine: Hortor, prius publicâ pœnitentiâ satisfacere, & Sacerdotis Iudicio reconciliatum Communioni sociari: *I exhort you first to make satisfaction* (vnto the Church) *by Open Penance, and so to bee restored to the Communion by the discretion of the Priest.* *Augustin. De Ecclesiast. dogmatib. lib. 1. cap. 53.*

The Order hereof, as it is set forth by S. Cyprian, was this: First, the Sinner by many outward gestures and tokens shewed himselfe to be penitent, and sorrowfull for his sin: After that he made humble confession thereof before the whole Congregation, and desired his brethren to pray for him: Lastly, the Bishop and the Clergy laid their hands ouer him, and so reconciled him. So saith Origen: Qui lapsus est, procedit in medium, & Exomologesin facit: *He that hath offended, commeth forth into the mids* (of the people) *and* *Cyprian. lib. 3. Epist. 15.* *Orig. in Ps. 37.*

Zozomen. lib. 7 cap. 16. *maketh his Confession.* Sozomenus likewise describing the same Order, saith thus: Rei ad terram sese pronos abijciunt cum planctu & lamentatione; Episcopus ex aduerso occurrit cum lachrymis, & ipse ad pauimentum lamentando prouoluitur; & vniuersa Ecclesiæ multitudo lachrymis suffunditur: *They that haue offended fall downe flat with weeping and lamentation to the ground: The Bishop commeth to him with teares, and himselfe likewise falleth downe: and the whole multitude of the Church is powred ouer and ouer with teares.*

Open Cõfession.

I vse the moe words herein, for that the whole matter is long sithence growen vtterly out of vse. Notwithstanding, this is the Confession and Penance that S. Augustine speaketh of. Of Open Confession, M. Harding, he saith, *The Keies were not giuen to the Church in vaine.* Of Open Confession he saith, *Whatsoeuer ye loose in Earth, shall be loosed in Heauen.* Of Open Confession he speaketh all these words, and not of any Auricular, or Priuate dealing. If M. Harding happen to doubt hereof, let him looke better vpon his bookes. There shall he finde, euen in the very same place he hath alleged, these words, partly going before, partly following: Agite Pœnitentiam, qualis agitur in Ecclesia, vt oret pro vobis Ecclesia: Iob dicit, Si erubui in conspectu populi confiteri peccata mea: Propterea Deus voluit vt Theodosius ageret Pœnitentiam Publicam in conspectu populi: Nolite permittere viros vestros fornicari: Interpellate contra eos Ecclesiam: *Do Penance, such as is done in the Church, that the Church may pray for you:* Iob *saith, I was not ashamed* in the sight of all the people *to confesse my sinnes: Therefore God would that* Theodosius (*being the Emperour of the world*) *should doe* Open Penance *euen in the presence of all the people. Ye wiues, suffer not your husbands to liue in fornication: Come before the* Congregation, *and cry against them.*

August. in lib. 50. Homiliar. Homil. 49.

This is the Confession that S. Augustine speaketh of: not Secret, or Priuate, or vnder the Eare: but Publike, and Open, and in the Sight and Hearing of all the people. In like maner saith S. Ambrose: Multos necesse est vt ambias, & obsecres vt dignentur interuenire. Fleat pro te Mater Ecclesia, & culpam tuam lachrymis lauet: Thou must needs humble thy selfe, and desire many, *to intreat for thee.* Let the Church, thy Mother, *weepe for thee, and let her wash thy offence with her teares.*

Ambros. De Pœnit. lib. 2. cap. 10.

This therefore, M. Harding, was no plaine dealing, with such sleight to turne Publike into Priuate, and the Open audience of the whole people into One only mans secret eare: and so much to abuse the simplicitie of your Reader. Certainely these words of S. Augustine, Open Penance: Confesse Openly: In the sight of all the people: That the whole Church may pray for thee: these words, I say, will not easily serue to proue your purpose for Priuate Confession.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision 3.

Binding & Loosing. Sin forgiuen without Confession.

We say also, that the Minister doth execute the Authority of Binding and Shutting, as often as hee shutteth vp the Gate of the Kingdome of Heauen against vnbeleeuing and stubburne persons, denouncing vnto thẽ Gods vengeance, & euerlasting punishment: Or else, when he doth quite shut them out from the bosome of the Church by open Excommunication. Out of doubt, what sentence soeuer the Minister of God shal giue in this sort, God himselfe doth so wel allow it, that whatsoeuer heere in Earth by their meanes is Loosed and Bound, God himselfe will Loose and Binde, and confirme the same in Heauen.

M. Harding.

*Vntruth. For we confound them not.

* Heere againe you confound the power of Binding, and the office of preaching, as you did before, speaking of the power of Loosing. Where to we say, as wee said before of that other, that Binding and Shutting consisteth not in denouncing of Gods vengeance, but in the exercise of the Key of Iurisdiction committed to the Church. The Ministers whereof find sinners, whom for iust cause they Loose not, but know that they are not to bee Loosed. And to that Key perteineth Excommunication, and by the same it is exercised.

Vntruths. Fiue together, as may further appeare by the answer.

Whatsoeuer by them is thus Loosed or Bound in Earth, God himself alloweth for Loosed and Bound in Heauen. Such Priests because ye, 1. haue not in your New Church, at least after this wise, 2. vsing priestly authoritie, 3. and none will suffer to be made, 4. nor such Authoritie to be exercised: yee 5. defraud the faithfull people of the great benefit of the Sacrament of Penance, keeping them fast bound to their sinnes after Baptisme committed. And so ye cause their euerlasting damnation, for whom Christ hath shed his blood, the price of their redemption.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

We confound not these Keies, M. Harding, but speake plainly and distinctly of either other. We say that the power, as well of Loosing, as also of Binding, standeth in Gods Word:

Word: and the exercise or execution of the same, standeth either in Preaching, or else in Sentence of Correction, and Ecclesiasticall Discipline.

Binding & Loosing.

Of the latter hereof there is no question: of the former M. Harding pronounceth precisely, although, as it appeareth, not most aduisedly: Binding (saith he) and shutting standeth not in denouncing of Gods vengeance. And hereof he certainly assureth vs, as of a most vndoubted veritie. Howbeit, in so saying, he seemeth not to consider the power and weight of the Word of God.

Sin forgiuen without Confession.

Christ himselfe saith, *If any man shall heare my words, and shall not beleeue, I condemne him not. He that refuseth me, and receiueth not my words, hath one that condemneth him. The word that I haue spoken is it that shall iudge him at the last day.* Likewise saith S. Paul: *Wee are the good sauour of* Christ *in them that be saued, and in them that perish. Vnto them that perish wee are the sauour of death vnto death: In them that be saued wee are the sauour of life vnto life.* And again: *If the Gospell be hidden, it is hidden from them that perish.* So saith God vnto the Prophet Ezechiel: *If thou giue warning to the wicked, and he will not be turned from his wickednesse, he shall perish in the same: yet hast thou discharged thine owne soule.*

Iohn 12. 2. Cor. 2. 2. Cor. 4. Ezechiel 3.

To be short, the whole Scriptures are full hereof: and therefore S. Augustine saith: Prædicatur Euangelium quibusdam ad præmium, quibusdam ad iudicium: *The Gospell is preached to some vnto reward, to some vnto iudgement.*

August. Epist. 49. *ad Deo. gratias.*

For the rest M. Harding saith: Such Priests because ye haue not in your New Church, at least after this wile vsing Priestly Authoritie, and none will suffer to be made, and such Authoritie to be exercised, ye defraud the faithfull people of the great benefit of the Sacrament of Penance, keeping them fast bound to their sinnes after Baptisme committed: and so ye cause their euerlasting damnation, for whom Christ hath shed his blood, the price of their redemption.

These great words are not very well seasoned: they are bigge in sound, and small in weight: they are full of terrour, and void of wit. For the Church of England hath Authoritie this day by Gods Word, to Binde and Loose, as much as euer Christ gaue any to his Apostles: and by the same authoritie the same Church of England is able to Binde, not only M. Harding and his fellowes, as Peter bound Simon Magus, or as Paul bound Elymas the false Prophet: but also the Pope himselfe, if he be an Open Offender: and, as S. Paul saith, is able to deliuer him ouer vnto Satan: and vndoubtedly being so Bound in Earth, he shall also stand Bound in Heauen.

Our people remaine not Bound, nor perish in their sinnes, as these men so vncharitably and fondly haue imagined. They be so certaine of the remission of their sinnes in the blood of Christ, as if Christ himselfe were present, and spake it to them. They are taught, and know, that *The blood of Christ the Sonne of God hath made vs cleane from all our sinnes*: and, *That there is no name vnder Heauen whereby we shall be saued, but onely the name of Iesus* Christ.

1 Iohn 1. Actor. 4.

As for Priuate Confession, Abuses and Errours set apart, as it is said before, we condemne it not, but leaue it at libertie. And therein we may seeme to follow the aduice of Charles the Emperour in his late Interim: for thus he writeth: Confessio & peccatorum enumeratio, vt non nimis laxanda est, ita vicissim non nimis est astringenda.

Interim Caroli 5. Anno 1548.

Touching the Priests of your making, M. Harding, of whom ye seeme to make so great account, your owne Peter Lombard saith of them, as it is said before: Sanè dici potest quòd alteram Clauem, id est, Scientiam discernendi, multi Sacerdotes non habent. And in like maner saith your owne Bonauentura: Omnes ferè ita sunt Simplices & Idiotæ post susceptionem Sacerdotij, sicut antè: *All Priests, for the most part, are as Simple and Vnlearned after the receiuing of Order, as they were before.*

4. Senten. dist. 19. Post. Bonauent. 4. Sent. dist. 18. qua. 1. E.

But be it graunted that your Priest be fully furnished with all his Keies: yet is it not he that by any his Authoritie forgiueth sinnes. Your owne Gratian saith: Euidentissimè datur intelligi, quòd sine Confessione oris peccata possunt deleri: *It is euidently giuen vs to vnderstand*, that without confession of Mouth *sinnes may be forgiuen.* And againe: Ore tacente, veniam consequi possumus: Though wee say nothing, *yet wee may haue pardon.* Againe: Luce clarius constat, Cordis Contritione, non Oris Confessione peccata dimitti: *It is apparent, and more cleare then the light, that sinnes be forgiuen by Contrition of the Heart, and* not by Confession of the Mouth. And againe: Dominus ostendit, quòd non Sacerdotali iudicio, sed largitate diuina Peccator mundatur: *Our Lord hath taught vs, that the Sinner is made cleane*, not by the iudgement of the Priest, *but by the mercy of God.*

De Pœnit. dist. 1. Quis aliquando. De Pœnit. dist. 1. Conuertimini.

Thus, M. Harding, it is plaine by the iudgement of your owne Doctours, that, were your Auricular Confession quite abolished, yet might the people notwithstanding haue full remission of their sinnes. But of you it may be verified, that Christ said vnto the Pharisies: *Yee haue taken away the keies of the Kingdome of Heauen: and neither doe yee en-* Luke. 11.

Veſelus de ſubditis & ſuperioribus.

ter your ſelues, nor will you ſuffer others that would enter. Of your Keies Veſelus ſaid long ſithence, Claues Papæ & Prælatorum non aperiunt Regnum Dei, ſed claudunt potiùs: *The Popes and the Prelates keies doe not open the Kingdome of God, but rather ſhut it.*

The Apology, Chap. 7. Diuiſion 1.

The word is the Key.

AND touching the Keies, wherewith they may either Shut or Open the Kingdome of Heauen, wee with Chryſoſtome ſay, They bee the knowledge of the Scriptures: with Tertullian wee ſay, They be the Interpretation of the Law: and with Euſebius wee call them, The Word of God.

M. Harding.

The let, whereby the whole nature of man is ſhut out of Heauen by the ſinne of our firſt Parent, is taken away by the Paſſion of Chriſt. But becauſe before that benefit be receiued, Heauen yet remaineth ſhut, both for ſinne originall contracted, and ſinne actuall committed, we haue need of the Sacraments, and Keies of the Church.

The holy Fathers, for good conſiderations grounded vpon Scripture, haue diuided the Keies into the Key of Order, and the Key of Iuriſdiction: and either of them into the Key of Knowledge, which they call alſo the Key of Diſcretion, and into the Key of Power.

To theſe Defenders we ſay, that they confound the Keies, & ſeeme not to know what the Keies are. Verily theſe bee not onely the knowledge of the Scriptures, nor the Interpretation of the Law, nor the Word of God although theſe alſo do open or ſhut the Kingdome of Heauen in their kinde, as Chryſoſtome, Tertullian, and Euſebius may well ſay: and not only theſe, but alſo Miracles, and Plagues, and all other things which prepare the will or vnderſtanding of man, whereby he may receiue the benefit of thoſe moſt principall keies that now wee ſpeake of.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Gentle Reader, for the better vnderſtanding hereof, it may pleaſe thee to conſider that the Word of God, according to the ſundry effects and properties thereof, hath ſundry names. For example, for that it increaſeth and multiplieth, it is called Seed: For that it cutteth the heart, and diuideth the fleſh from the ſpirit, it is called a Sword: For that it taketh and encloſeth vs, and bringeth vs together, it is called a Net: For that it waſheth vs cleane, it is called Water: For that it enflameth vs, it is called Fire: For that it feedeth vs, it is called Bread. And euen ſo, for that it openeth, and giueth vs an entry into the houſe, it is called the Key. This houſe is the Kingdome of Heauen: Chriſt is the Dore: The Word of God is the Key.

For thus ſaying, M. Harding telleth vs, Wee confound matters, and ſeeme not to know what we ſay. Notwithſtanding, herein we imagine nothing of our owne, but only report the very words and ſentences of the ancient learned Catholike Fathers.

Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. 4. Hier. in Eſa.

Tertullian ſaith, Quam Clauem habebant Legis Doctores, niſi interpretationem Legis? *What Key had the Doctors of the Law, ſauing the Expoſition of the Law?* S. Hierome ſaith, Duces Eccleſiæ habent Claues ſcientiæ, vt aperiant Scripturas creditis ſibi populis. Vnde præcipitur, vt Magiſtri aperiant, & Diſcipuli ingrediantur: *The Captaines of the Church haue the Keies of Knowledge, to open the Scriptures vnto the people to them committed. Therefore commandement is giuen that the Maſters ſhould open, and the Schollers ſhould enter.* S. Ambroſe ſaith, Remittuntur peccata per Dei Verbum, cuius Leuites eſt Interpres: *Sinnes be forgiuen by the Word of God, the expounder whereof is the Prieſt.*

Ambroſ. de Cain & Abel, Lib. 2.

Thus theſe and other like ancient Fathers haue opened the meaning of theſe Keies: and yet were they neuer therefore condemned of ignorance, as men that wiſt not what they ſaid. Certainly Chryſoſtome ſaith, Clauis eſt ſcientia Scripturarum, per quam aperitur ianua veritatis: *The Key is the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereby is opened the gate of the truth.* And S. Auguſtine ſaith, Clauis eſt dicenda, qua ad Fidem pectorum dura reſeruantur: *That ought to bee called the Key, wherewith the hardneſſe of mens hearts is opened vnto Faith.*

Chryſo. in Opere Imperfecto, Homil. 44. Auguſ. de Sanctis, Hom. 27.

Multiplication of Keies.

Here hath M. Harding well multiplied and increaſed his Keies, and hath brought vs forth a whole bunch of them altogether: The Keies of Orders: The Keies of Iuriſdiction: The Keies of Diſcretion: The Keies of Power: The Keies moſt Principall, and the Keies not ſo Principall: and thus hath he Keies of Order without Iuriſdiction, and Keies of Iuriſdiction without Order: Keies of Diſcretion without Power, and Keies of Power without Diſcretion. And all theſe prittie ſhifts of Keies hath he deuiſed to auoid confuſion: and to make vp his tale, as if the Popes Croſſe Keies were not ſufficient, Plagues and Miracles, and I know not what things elſe, are brought forth vnto vs in the likeneſſe of Keies.

Keies. And this diſtinction and limitation of Keies, (ſaith he) hath vpon good conſiderations been diuiſed by the holy Fathers. And yet of all theſe holy Fathers, for modeſties ſake, he nameth not one.

What anſwer were it beſt to make to ſuch vanities? Indeed, when the right Key of Knowledge was loſt and gone, it was time to deuiſe ſome other prette picklocks to worke the feat. Bonauentura hereof writeth thus, as it is partly alleged before: Omnes ferè Sacerdotes ita ſunt ſimplices & idiotæ poſt ſuſceptionem Sacerdotij, ſicut antè. Dicendum ergo, quòd Scientia non eſt Clauis Principalis, nec per ſe, ſed prout iuncta eſt authoritati Ligandi vel Soluendi. Et hæc Clauis non eſt de eſſe Ordinis, ſed de bene eſſe: *All Prieſts for the moſt part, are as ſimple, and as rude after the receiuing of the Prieſthood, as they were before. Therefore we muſt ſay, that Knowledge is not the Principall Key, nor any Key at all of it ſelfe: but as it is ioined with the authoritie of Binding or Looſing. And this Key (of Knowledge) is not of the Subſtance of the Order of Prieſthood, but of the better beeing of the ſame.* And therefore to encreaſe M. Hardings number of Keies, hee ſaith: Quidam habent Scientiam Clauium: quidam Clauiculam: quidam nullam: *Some haue the Knowledge of the Keies: ſome a pretie little Key: ſome no Key at all.* In this caſe it were good for M. Harding, to reſolue his Reader, when the Prieſt hath nothing elſe but a prette little Key, or no Key at all, what authority he hath, either to Open, or to Shut. *Bonauen. 4. Sent. Diſt. 18. Qu. 1. E.* *Eodem loco.*

M. Harding replieth farther. Wee haue Remiſſion of Sinnes in the miniſtration of the Sacraments: Therefore wee haue it not onely by the hearing of the Word of God. This Obiection is touched and partly anſwered a little before. S. Auguſtine calleth the Sacraments, Verba Viſibilia: *Words Viſible:* for that in them, as in liuely Images, the death of Chriſt is ſenſiblie ſet before our eies. For the word of God is the Subſtance, and Life of all Sacraments: and without the ſame, Sacraments, whatſoeuer, are no Sacraments. And therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith, as it is alleged before: Quare non ait, Vos mundi eſtis propter Baptiſmum, quo loti eſtis: Sed ait, propter Verbum quod locutus ſum vobis? Niſi quia & in Aqua Verbum mundat. Detrahe Verbum; & quid eſt Aqua, niſi Aqua? *Why ſaith not* Chriſt, *You are cleane becauſe of the Baptiſme, wherewith yee are waſhed: But, becauſe of the Word, that I haue ſpoken to you? Sauing for that, it is the Word, that cleanſeth in the Water. Take the Word away, and what is Water elſe, but Water?* *Auguſt. contra Fauſtum li. 19. cap. 16.* *Auguſt. in Ioh. Tract. 80.*

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuiſion 2.

Moreouer that Chriſts Diſciples did receiue this authority, not that they ſhould heare the Priuate Confeſſions of the people, and liſten to their whiſperings, as the common Maſſing Prieſts do euery wher now adaies, and doe it ſo, as though in that one point lay all the Vertue and Vſe of the Keies: but to the end, they ſhould Goe, they ſhould Teach, they ſhould Publiſh abroad the Goſpell, & be vnto the Beleeuing a ſweet Sauour of Life vnto Life: and vnto the Vnbeleeuing & Vnfaithfull, a Sauour of Death vnto Death: and that the mindes of Godly perſons being brought low by the remorſe of their former Life and errors, after they once began to looke vp vnto the Light of the Goſpell, and beleeue in Chriſt, might be opened with the Word of God, euen as a doore is opened with a Key. Contrariwiſe, that the Wicked and Wilfull, and ſuch as would not beleeue, nor returne into the right way, ſhould be left ſtill as faſt locked, and ſhut vp, and, as S. Paul ſaith, wax woorſe and woorſe. This take we to bee the meaning of the Keies: and that after this ſort mens Conſciences be either opened or ſhut. 2. Timoth. 3.

M. Harding.

Heere yee Harpe much vpon one ſtring, which ſo iarreth in the eares of the Hearers, as your confuſe Harmonie can like no man, vnleſſe hee bee a Miniſtrell of your owne Sect. The authoritie and power of the Keies conſiſteth not altogether, nor Principally in Preaching or pronouncing of the Goſpell as already we haue prooued. What may we iudge of you? proceedeth this of Malice or of Ignorance, that thus yee confound the Keies, the Powers and the Miniſteries?

Preaching is one thing, to gouerne the Church is another, to remit and retaine ſinnes is another, to diſtribute the Sacraments is another. Doth not S. Paul in cleere words ſpeake ſeuerally and diſtinctly of Miniſteries, where he ſaith, That hee was not ſent of Chriſt to Baptize, but to Preach the Goſpell? This Doctrine of yours, whereby ye confound the Keies, Powers, and Miniſteries, doth not only obſcure 1. Corin. 1.

this

the Scriptures, and bring the people to great errors; but also vnder pretence of a loue toward preaching of the Gospell, leadeth them into contempt of the Sacraments, and specially of the Sacrament of Penance, without which, if after Baptisme we haue sinned (not being letted by case of necessity, wherein Will, Desire, and Vow is accepted) (a) wee cannot attaine to Saluation. As you follow Caluine your Master in this and sundrie other false and perillous Doctrines, so it is to be feared if your wicked temeritie be suffered to proceed, that at length hauing brought all Religion to bare Preaching, ye will abandon all the Sacraments of the Church, as things not necessary. For so that wicked Master of yours teacheth: That, where Christs death may be remembred otherwise, there (b) all the Sacraments be superfluous. And that I seeme not to slander him, I remit you to his Commentaries vpon the first Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians, where expounding these words, Doe this in my remembrance, he saith thus; The Supper is a token of remembrance ordained to lift vp, or helpe our infirmitie; for if otherwise we were mindfull enough of Christs death, this helpe (he meaneth the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar) were superfluous, which is common to all the Sacraments, for they be helpes of our infirmitie. Lo by Caluines doctrine, if we remember the death of Christ, both the Eucharist, and all other holy Sacraments be void and superfluous. And then because no other thing bringeth to our remembrance the Death of Christ, more then Preaching, to what purpose serue all the Sacraments?

(a) Vntruth: as by the Answer may further appeare.

(b) A great vntruth ioined with a slander, Read the Answere.

Caluines wicked doctrine against the Sacraments.

Thus these Defenders with their Master Caluine haue found a shorter way to Heauen, then was knowen before.

Comment. in 1. Cor. 11.

In another place he seemeth to derogate much of the necessitie of Baptism of Christian mens Children. Where he saith, that by reason of Gods promise the issue which commeth of Faithfull parents (c) is borne Holy and is a Holy Progenie, & that the children of such, being yet inclosed in the womb, before they draw breath of life, be neuertheless chosen into the couenant of life euerlasting. This doctrine, when it shall take place, as by you Defender it is set in a good furtherance, what shall we looke for but that the necessary Sacrament of Baptisme (without which, who is to be counted a Christian man?) and the most Blessed and comfortable Sacrament of the Altar, and the wholesome Sacrament of penance and absolution, and the rest of the Sacraments, shall be no more esteemed and vsed, then now ye esteeme and vse the Masse, Holy Bread and Holy Water? This being once brought to passe, shall not the people easily be induced either to receiue Mahomets Religion, or some other, as farre from God as that is, or to allow the pleasant trade of life of the (d) Epicureans, the most part being already thereto inclined, and no small number well entred?

(c) These bee not M. Caluins words, but S. Pauls: *Filij vestri sancti sunt*, 1. *Cor.* 7. Quid si Cœlum ruat?

(d) Otherwise called the Romanes.

But to returne again to the Keyes, which seem to you to haue no force ne vse but in preaching: First as touching the scornful sceffes vttered by you, Sir Defender in Latine, and by your Interpreter in English, against Priuate Confessions, and against the Ministers of the Church appointed by God for grace of reconciliation to be imparted to penitents: your light mocking spirit delighteth your selues not so much as it pitieth vs to see you both so fast bound in Satans fetters. Next concerning Confessiō (e) necessarily required to the vse & power of the keyes, which you speake of at your pleasure, thus we say according to the Scriptures: Among sundry effects for which Christ gaue the Keies to the Apostles, and their Successors, this is one, that by power of thē they should remit and retain sins, as himself said, whose sins ye remit, they are remitted vnto them: and whose sinnes ye retaine, they are retained. (f) But sinnes cannot duly be remitted, or retained, vnlesse they be knowne to him, that hath authority thereto and knowledge of sinnes (specially such as are priuie) cannot be had of man, who cannot see into the heart of man, (f) but by confession of the sinner: Wherfore consequently it followeth, that they receiued this authority to heare the confession of Christian people desirous to be assoiled and reconciled.

(e) Vntruth. For it is not required of necessity, as shall appeare.

(f) Vntruths, two together. See the Answer.

Mat. 18. Iohan. 20.

Wherefore the Confession yea of Secret sins is necessary to Saluation by (g) the institution of Christ. For in that he instituted the end, he instituted also the meanes, which should be necessary to the obtaining of the end: vnlesse we would make Christ our Lawmaker to haue failed his Church in things necessary. That sins cannot either be remitted or retained, except the Priest know them, wee are bold to say with the Fathers, and specially with S. Hierome, who so (h) vnderstood the words of Christ; where hee propounded the Keies of the kingdome of Heauen to Peter: *Sacerdos pro officio suo cum peccatorum audierit Varietates, scit qui Ligandus sit qui Soluendus*: The Priest (saith he) when as according to his office hee hath heard the diuersitie of sins, knoweth who is to be bound, who is to be loosed. Right so as in the time of Moses Law he pronounced not, who was cleane of Leaper, who was not, before that hee had viewed the colour, the bunches, and all other tokens of that disease. And thus it followeth of the words of Christ, that Confession of all Sinnes, at least deadly, must be made to the Priest, before they can bee remitted. Which Priest is the Minister of this Sacrament, and hath authority to absolue, either Ordinary, or by Commission of the Superiour.

(g) Vntruth. For M. Hardings owne Doctours say. It was ordained by Tradition and not by Christ.

(h) Vntruth. In mistaking and abridging S. Hieromes words.

Mat. 16. Comment. Mat. 16.

This Consistory stood sometime in Excommunication; sometime in Preaching.

Againe, for proofe that confession is necessary, we say, that to remit and retaine sinnes committed against God, as to bind & to loose, be iudicial acts. And therfore by these words Christ ordained a court, a Consistory, a seat of Iudgement in the Church, and appointed the Apostles & their Successors, to be Iudges. And that this may appear not to be a fantasie of our owne heads, S. Austine expoundeth these words of S. Iohn in his Reuelation: *Et vidi sedes, &c.* And I saw seats, and some sitting on them & Iudgment was giuen. We must not thinke (saith he) this to be spoken of the last Iudgement, but wee must vnderstand the Seats of the Rulers, and the Rulers themselues, by whom now the Church is gouerned. And as for the Iudgement giuen it seemeth not to be taken for any other, then for that, whereof it is said, What things ye bind in Earth, they shall be bound also in Heuen: and what things ye loose in Earth they shall be loosed also in Heauen. Sundry other Fathers haue vttered in their writings the same Doctrine. Hilarius vpon the sixteenth Chapter of Mathew, saith, *Beatus (alij ianitor, &c.* Blessed is the Porter of Heauen, whose earthly Iudgement (that is to say, which is giuen heere on Earth) is a foreiudged authority in Heauen, that what things be bound or loosed in Earth, they haue the conditiō of the same Statute also in Heuen. S. Cyprian hath the like saying in an Epistle to Cornelius. Chrysostom saith, That Christ hath translated al Iudgment which he receiued of the Father vnto the Apostles & Priests. Gregory Nazianzene in an Oration to the Emperor and his Princes, saith to the Emperour, *Ouis mecum es, & non habemus Tribunalia*: Thou art my sheepe, and we haue our seats of Iudgement. S Gregory the Pope cōpareth the Sacrament of Penance with a Court of Iustice, in which causes be first examined & tried & afterward iudged. That the same is to be done by the Priest S. Bernard sheweth; who, as also the lerned Father Hugo *de S. Victore*, Be not afraid to say after S. Cyprian, Hilary and Chrysostom, that the sentēce

In Mat. cap.

Lib. 10 [illegible] Ded. [illegible] Sacerd. lib.

This saying pertaineth not to Confession, but to the authority of Gods word.

of

of Peter remitting sinn s, goeth before the sentence of Heauen. This Ordinance of Christ requireth, that all Trespasses, Offences, Disorders, Transgressions and Sinnes committed against him and his Lawes, bee referred to his Consistory.

Priuate Confession.

Whether these Defenders allow Publike Confession, or no, we know not: but whereas they inueigh against Priuate Confession, and say in spightfull words, which they haue learned in the Schoole of Satan, being loth the sinnes of the people, whereby he holdeth his kingdome, should bee remitted, that Christs Disciples receiued not the authoritie of the Keies, that they should heare Priuate Confessions of the people and listen to their whisperings. we tell them, that Confession of all deadlie sinnes is of the (i) institution of God, not of Man. But concerning the maner of confessing secretly to a Priest alone, it is most agreeable to Naturall Reason, that secret sinnes be confessed secretly.

(i) Vntruth: As it is proued before.

(k) Clement amongst those things that he acknowledgeth himselfe to haue receiued of Peter, this is One, as he writeth in his first Epistle translated by Rufine the Priest; That if it fortune either Enuie or Infidelity priuily to creepe into any mans heart, or any other like euill; he which regardeth his soule, be not ashamed to confesse those things to him, that is in Office ouer him, to the end, that by him, through the Word of God, and holesome Counsell, he may be healed. So as by perfect Faith and good workes he may escape the paines of euerlasting Fire, and come to the rewards of Life that endureth for euer. No man speaketh more plainely of Secret Confession (l) then Origen, and that in sundry places, to which for breuities sake I remit the Reader. *In 2. cap. Leuitici Homil 2. De Principijs, lib. 1. In Psal. 37 Homil 2.* Where he compareth the state of a Sinner, to a man, that hath euill and vndigested humours in his stomacke. And saith, that as by remaining of such euill matter, the man feeleth himselfe very sicke, & by vomiting of it foorth, he is eased; so the sinner by keeping his sinnes secret, is the more grieuously charged in his owne conscience, and standeth in danger to be choaked with the flegme & humour of his sins. But if he accuse himselfe and confesse his faults, he both vomiteth forth his sinnes, and digesteth the cause of the same. S. Cyprian as in many other places, so most plainely speaketh of Secret Confession, *Sermon. 5. De lapsis.* Although, (saith he of certaine deuout persons) they be intangled with no great sin, yet because at least they thought of it, the same vnto the Priests of God Confesse they sorowfully and simply. They make Confession of their Conscience, they lay forth the burden of their minde, &c.

(k) A vaine forgery.

(l) Vntruth. For he speaketh only of open Confession.

All this belongeth to open Confession.

Confession of euill thought.

S Augustine treating of the power of the Keies in many places, but specially of Confession, *In Psalm.* 60. where speaking much of the necessitie of Confession, he saith thus; Why fearest thou to bee Confessed? If not being Confessed, thou remaine hidden, not being Confessed thou shalt bee damned. And afterward thus: To this end God requireth Confession, to deliuer the humble; to this end he damneth him that confesseth not, to punish the proud. Therefore be thou sorrie before thou be Confessed; being Confessed reioice, thou shalt be hole.

By these and many other holy Fathers, of whom there is no doubt, but they had the Holy Ghost for their Teacher and prompter of all Truth, the Catholike Church hath bin perswaded, that the recitall & rehearsing of (m) all Sins before the Priest is necessary to Saluation; vnlesse necessity for lacke of a Priest or otherwise, exclude vs from it; and that a (n) Generall Confession in no wise sufficeth. True Faith acknowledgeth, that Confession is to be made of al (n) sins, as (n) commanded by Christ & the Apostles, commended to vs by the (n) Fathers of the Primitiue Church, by all (n) learned Doctors, & generall vse of the (n) whole Church. And if the expresse terme of Secret or Auricular Confession be (o) seldome mentioned in the ancient Fathers, as that of Publike Confession is often times vsed, as in the Nicene Councell, & in sundrie other places; that is nothing repugnant to the doctrine of the Catholike Church.

(m) Vntruth. Read the Answer.

(n) Vntruths, many and manifest, as shall appeare.

(o) Vntruth. For it is neuer found. Otherwise let him shew it.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

All this great shew of Authorites, of Fathers and Doctors, M. Harding himselfe in the end dischargeth easily with one Word. For, notwithstanding all, that hee could best deuise to say herein, his Conclusion at the last is this, The expresse Terme of Secret or Auricular Confession is seldome mentioned in the ancient Fathers. **Seldome, hee saith, as if it were sometimes vsed, although but Seldome. But if hee had left Seldome, and said Neuer, I trow this tale had been the truer.**

Addition.

Addition. ☞ **Heere M. Harding alleageth against mee, the authority of Pope Leo, condemning Publike Confession offered vp in writing; to be published openly to the people, and allowing rather Confession made onely priuately to the Priest:** *Lest* (saith Leo) *the Penitents should bee ashamed or afraid to open their deeds vnto their enemies, of whom they may be troubled, therefore by the Ordinance of the Lawes, &c. The Answer.* **The name of Pope Leo is great: But his reasons are very weake. For touching the first reason, for that speciall cause, in Old times, the Penitents were forced to make open Confession, to the end they might shew themselues ashamed of their sinnes, and bee an example vnto others. As for feare of enemies & troubles, and sutes in Law, that might happen to grow vpon such Confessions, if the ancient holy Fathers had cast such doubts, Publike Confession had neuer beene vsed.** ☜

For the rest, we say, as before: We make no Confusion of the Keies. Our Doctrine is plaine, that there bee two Keies in the Church of God: The one of Instruction, **the other of** Correction. **Whereof the one worketh inwardly, the other outwardly. The one before God, the other before the Congregation. And yet either of these standeth wholy in the Word of God. And therefore** *S.* Paul saith, Omnis Scriptura Diuinitùs inspirata vtilis est ad Doctrinam, ad Redargutionem, ad Correctionem, ad Institutionem, &c. *All Scriptures inspired from God, are profitable, to teach the Truth: to reproue the Falshood: to correct the Wicked: to nurture and informe the Godly.* 2. Tim. 3.

Of

Actor. 16. Of the former of theſe Beies S. Paul ſaith, *Beleeue in the Lord* Ieſus: *and thou ſhalt bee ſafe, with all thy Houſe.*

2.Cor.10. Of the other he ſaith, *The Weapons of our warfare are not fleſhly: but mighty through God, to throw downe holds, caſting downe euery High thing, that is builded vp againſt the knowledge of God, and to bring all vnderſtanding captiue to the Obedience of* Chriſt.

This Doctrine ſeemeth to be ſimple and plaine and without Confuſion.

Sacramēts neceſſary.

Touching M. Caluine, it is great wrong vntruly to report ſo Reuerend a Father, and ſo Worthy an Ornament of the Church of God. If you had euer knowen the order of the Church of Geneua, and had ſeene foure thouſand people or moe, receiuing the Holie Myſteries together at one Communion, ye could not without your great ſhame and want of modeſtie, thus vntruly haue publiſhed to the world, that by M. Caluines Doctrine, the Sacraments of Chriſt are ſuperfluous. Certainely to leaue all, that hee hath otherwiſe ſpoken of the Sacraments in generall: of the Sacrament of Chriſts laſt Supper, hee writeth thus: Magnum conſolationis, ac ſuauitatis fructum ex hoc Sacramento colligere poſſunt piæ animæ: quòd in hic teſtimonium habeant, Chriſtum ſic nobis adunatum eſſe, ſic nos illi viciſſim inſertos, adeoque in vnum corpus cum ipſo coaluiſſe, vt quicquid ipſius eſt, noſtrum vocare liceat: *The godly mindes may take great fruit of pleaſure and comfort of this Sacrament: for that, therein they haue a witneſſe, that* Chriſt *is ſo made one with vs and wee ſo grafted into him, and are ſo growen both into one Body, that whatſoeuer is his, wee may now call it ours.*

Inſtitut. cap. 18.2.

But Caluine (you ſay) writeth thus; The Supper is a token of remembrance, to lift vp, or to help our infirmity. For if otherwiſe wee were mindefull enough of Chriſts Death, this helpe were ſuperfluous. O, M. Harding, how farre malice may beare a man! Becauſe M. Caluine ſaith, *Wee are weake and haue need of outward Sacraments, to quicken the dulneſſe of our Senſes,* ſaith he therefore, That the Sacraments be ſuperfluous? If he had likewiſe ſaid, Our Bodies be weake, and haue need to be refreſhed with Meat and Drink, would you gather therof, that Meat and Drinke are ſuperfluous? Nay contrariwiſe hee concludeth, *Wee haue need of Sacraments: Therefore Sacraments be needfull.* And the greater our weakenеſſe is, the more need haue we of ſuch remedies. His words amongſt many others of like ſenſe be theſe: Sic eſt exigua noſtra Fides, vt niſi Vndique fulciatur, atque omnibus modis ſuſtentetur, ſtatim concutiatur, fluctuet, vacillet: *So ſmall is our Faith, that vnleſſe it be borne vp of euery ſide, and by all meanes be maintained, it ſhaketh, it wauereth, and is like to fall.*

Inſtitut. cap. 16.3.

If this be ſo dangerous a Doctrine as you tell vs, why then are the ancient Catholike Fathers ſuffered to holde and maintaine the ſame? Dionyſius, whom you ſo often call S. Pauls Scholar, writeth thus: Nos imaginibus ſenſibilibus, quantum fieri poteſt, ad Diuinas adducimur Contemplationes: *We, as much as may be, by Senſible Images, or Sacraments, are brought vnto Diuine Contemplations.*

Eccleſiaſt Hierarch. cap 1.

Likewiſe S. Auguſtine ſaith, Sacramenta propter Carnales Viſibilia inſtituta ſunt: vt ab illis, quæ oculis cernuntur, ad illa, quæ intelliguntur, Sacramentorum gradibus transferamur: *Viſible Sacraments are ordained for Carnall men, that by the ſteps of Sacraments wee may be led from the things, that we ſee with eie, vnto the things that we vnderſtand.* So ſaith S. Cyprian, Fidei noſtræ infirmitas ſenſibili argumento edocta eſt, &c. *The weakneſſe of our Faith is taught by the vnderſtanding of the Sacrament, &c.* So S. Chryſoſtome: Si incorporei eſſemus, nuda & incorporea nobis hæc ipſa daret. Nunc, quia corporibus inſertas habemus animas ſub viſibilibus ſpiritualia tradit: *If wee were Bodileſſe, God would giue vs theſe things bare and Bodileſſe. But foraſmuch, as we haue Soules faſtened vnto our Bodies, therefore God giueth vs things Spirituall Vnder things viſible.* Againe he ſaith: Rectis & Fidelibus Scripturæ non ſunt Neceſſariæ, dicente Apoſtolo, Lex iuſtis non eſt poſita: *To the Godly and Faithfull the Scriptures are not neceſſary: For ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, There is no Law prouided for the iuſt.* And againe: Oportuerat quidem nos nihil indigere auxilio Literarum, ſed tam nudam in omnibus vitam exhibere, vt Librorum vice Gratia Spiritus vteremur: *It behooued vs to haue no need of the Scriptures: but in all things to ſhew our Liues ſo pure and cleane, that in ſtead of Bookes we might vſe the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt.*

Cypr. De Cœna Domini. Chryſ. ad Pop. Antioc. ho. 60. Chryſ. in Mat. Homil 22. In opere imperf. Chryſ. in Mat. Hom. 1.

In like maner S. Hierome ſaith: Cùm meruerimus eſſe cum Chriſto, & ſimiles Angelis fuerimus, tunc Librorum Doctrina ceſſabit: *When wee ſhall obtaine to be with Chriſt, and ſhall be like vnto the Angels, then the Doctrine of Bookes ſhall giue place.*

Hieronym. in Proœmio in Lamen. Hieremiæ.

Now tell vs, M. Harding, muſt wee hereof conclude, as you doe, that theſe holy Fathers, S. Cyprian, S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Chryſoſtome, Held falſe and perillous Doctrines, and with wicked temerity (as you ſay) would abandon both Scriptures and Sacraments, as things not neceſſary? Certainly for full reſolution hereof, M. Caluine himſelfe ſaith thus: Facilè patior, vt, quæ Chriſtus nobis dedit, Salutis adiumenta, eorum vſus Neceſſarius dicatur: quando, ſcilicet, datur facultas. Quanquam ſemper admonendi ſunt Fideles,

Ioh. Caluinus in Antidoto ad 7. Seſſ. Concil. Tridentini.

non

non aliam esse cuiusuis Sacramenti Necessitatem, quàm Instrumentalis Causæ, cui nequaquam alliganda est Dei virtus. Vocem sanè illam nemo pius est, qui non toto pectore exhorreat, *Sacramenta res esse Superfluas* : *I can well suffer, that whatsoeuer* helpes of Saluation Christ *hath giuen vs, the vse thereof be counted* Necessary : *I meane, when wee may haue opportunity and time to vse them. Howbeit, thus much the Faithfull must bee warned, that the* Necessity *of any Sacrament is none otherwise, but as of a Cause Instrumentall : vnto which Cause we may not in any wise binde the Power of God.* But that the Sacraments bee things Superfluous, no Godly man can abide to heare it.

Whereas you further charge M. Caluine, for saying, The Children of the Faithfull are borne Holy, yée should rather herewith haue charged *S.* Paul. For thus hee saith, Nunc Liberi vestri *Sancti* sunt : *Now are your Children Holy.* Yée should haue remembred, M. Harding, that these bee *S.* Pauls words, and not M. Caluines. His meaning is, that the Children of the Faithfull, notwithstanding by Nature, they bee the Children of Anger, yet by Gods free Election they be Pure and Holy. This is *S.* Pauls vndoubted Doctrine : Which notwithstanding, Hee neuer neither despised the Sacraments of Christ, nor led the people (as you say) to Mahomet or Epicure. 1. Cor. 7.

Heere at the last, M. Harding, to returne, as he saith, to his Reles, first beginneth with the spightfull words and scornefull scoffes, and light spirit of Sir Defender, which (he saith) he learned in the Schoole of Satan, and now lieth bound in Satans fetters.

To answer all such M. Hardings vanities, it were but paine. Wise men will not greatly waigh these childish Tragedies.

But he saith, The Priest holdeth a Consistorie, and is a Iudge ouer the Sinnes of the People. But being a Iudge he cannot discerne Sinnes vnlesse hee know them. Neither can hee know them, but by Confession. Therefore (saith M. Harding) we tell them, that Confession of all Deadly Sinnes is of the Institution of God, and not of Man. Marie (saith he) touching the maner of Confession, secretly to the Priest alone, it is most agreeable to Naturall Reason, that secret Sins be Confessed secretly.

Heere, I beseech thee, good Christian Reader, note this one thing by the way : M. Harding, contrarie to common order, hath brought vs the Institution of God, without any maner Word of God. And thus (he saith) we tell them : As if his bare telling should stand for proofe.

Verily notwithstanding Christ gaue his Apostles power of Binding and Loosing, yet it appeareth not, that he spake any one word of Secret Confession. And Gratian a famous Doctor of that side doubteth not to say, Latentia peccata non probantur Necessariò *Sacerdoti* Confitenda : *It is not proued, that Priuy sinnes ought of Necessitie to bee Confessed vnto the Priest.* And againe : Datur intelligi, quòd etiam, ore tacente, Veniam Consequi possumus : *We are giuen to vnderstand, that although we* vtter nothing with our mouth, *yet we may obtaine pardon or Absolution of our Sinnes.* Therefore notwithstanding all this M. Hardings telling, his owne Doctor Gratian telleth him, that Auricular Confession is not Gods Institution. *De Pœn. Dist.* 1. *Quis aliq.* *De Pœn. Dist.* 1. *Conuertim.*

But wherefore speaketh M. Harding so precisely, and specially of Deadly *Sinnes*? Or, why may not his Veniall *Sinnes* come likewise in the reckoning as well as others? Indéede it is specially prouided in the late Chapter at Trident, that little Petite Sinnes néede not to be vttered in Confession. And Robert Holcot saith, De Venialibus Confiteri, magis est *Supererogationis*, quàm Necessitatis : *To make Confession of* Veniall *Sinnes, is more of Deuotion, then of Necessity.* And Thomas of Aquine saith, Quidam probabiliter dicunt, quòd per ingressum Ecclesiæ Consecratæ, homo consequitur Remissionem peccatorum Venialium : *Some say, and that not without good reason, that a man may obtaine Remission of his* Veniall *Sinnes, onely by entring into a Church, that is Consecrate.* And it is purposely noted in the Glosse vpon the Decretales, Venialia tolluntur, vel per Orationem Dominicam, vel per Aquam Benedictam : Veniall Sinnes *may bee remooued, either by a* Pater noster, *or by Holy Water.* And therefore perhaps M. Harding will say, according to the iudgement of these, and others his owne Doctors, that his Little Pretie Veniall *Sinnes* ought not of duty to be reckoned in Confession : but may otherwise be remitted, and haue no néede of Christs Blood. This is a shorter way to Heauen, then either Christ or his Apostles euer taught vs. *Concil. Trid. cap.* 5. *De Confessione.* *Rob. Holcot in* 4. *Sent. Qu.* 4. 4. *Sent. Qu.* 83. *Artic.* 3. *Extra. de Pœnit. & Remiss. Omnis vtriusq; in Glossa.*

Howbeit, all this errour séemeth first to haue growen of misstaking these words of Beda : Coæqualibus quotidiana & leuia : graviora verò *Sacerdoti* Pandamus : *Let vs open our small and daily Sinnes vnto our fellowes : and our great Sinnes vnto the Priest.* For the rest, M. Hardings Resolution may stand with good fauour. For séeing his Auricular Confession can hold no better by Diuinity, that it may séeme to hold by somewhat, he did well to say, it holdeth well by Naturall Reason. *Beda in* 5. *cap. Iacobi: Citatur à Magistro* 4. *Sent. Dist.* 17.

M. Harding saith, The Priest can be no Iudge without particular knowledge of euerie Sin : Nor

can

can he know without hearing: Nor can he heare without Confession. For answere hereto, Chry-

Chrysost. De Pœnit. Hom. 9. sostome saith, as he is before alleged: Medicinæ locus hic est, non Iudicij: Non Pœnas, sed Peccatorum Remissionem tribuens: Deo Soli dic Peccatum tuum: *Heere is a place of Medicine, and not of Iudgement: rendring not Punishment, but Remission of Sinnes: Open thine offences to God onely.*

Iudge ouer sinne.

But, if the Priest can be no Iudge without knowledge, then doubtlesse, M. Harding, your Priests, for the most part, can be no Iudges at all. For your owne Peter Lombard saith, Scientiam discernendi Omnes Sacerdotes non habent: *All Priests haue not knowledge to discerne betweene sinne and sinne.* And many of them be vtterly ignorant, and know nothing.

4. Sent. Dist. 19. Post quam.

Notwithstanding, be the Priest neuer so wise, or well learned, yet how is he able to enter into the breast of man, and to know the secrets of the heart? S. Paul saith, *What man knoweth, what is in man, but the Spirit of man, that is within him?* Salomon saith, *God onely knoweth the thoughts of men.* S. Paul saith, *God Onely searcheth the Heart and Reines.* And S. Augustine purposely speaking hereof, as it is said before, saith thus: Vnde sciunt, cùm à me ipso de me ipso audiunt, an verum dicam? *How know they, when they heare mee speake of my selfe, whether I say truth or no?* Therefore the Priest iudging that, that hee cannot know, must néds wander vncertainly, and be a very doubtfull Iudge.

1. Cor. 2. 3. Reg. 8. Rom. 8. Aug. Confess. lib. 10. cap. 3.

Neuertheless, admitting the Priest to bee a Iudge, yet, if it may bee proued, either, that he may be a Iudge ouer the sinnes of the people, without Particular knowledge of the same: or, that hee may come to certaine, and Particular knowledge thereof without any maner Auricular Confession, then, I trust, this whole matter will soone bee answered.

First therefore I say, that a Priest hauing authority to pronounce the Word of God, is thereby a Iudge ouer Sinne. For the words that he speaketh, *Is the Power of God vnto Salnation: and a two edged sword, able to sunder the Soule, and the Spirit, and the marow from the Bones: and is* able to Iudge, (for so S. Paul saith) *the thoughts and cogitations of the Heart.* And thus M. Harding himselfe graunteth, That a Priest pronouncing Gods Words, may there with both Binde and Loose. That is, in this case, to doe the office of a Iudge. S. Augustine saith, Clauis ea dicenda est, qua pectorum dura reserantur: *That thing ought to be called the Key, wherewith the hardnesse of the heart is opened.*

Rom. 1. Heb. 4. κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων, καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας. *Aug. de Sanct. Homil. 26.*

So saith Tertullian, Ipse clauem imbuit. Vides, quam? Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate, quæ dico; Iesum Nazarænum, Virum a Deo nobis destinatum: *Hee endued the Key. And know you, what Key? This Key I meane: Yee men of* Israel, *marke, what I say:* Iesus *of* Nazareth, *a man appointed vnto you from God.* These words, saith Tertullian, are the Key. So saith S. Augustine, Loquimur in auribus vestris. Vnde scimus, quid agatur in Cordibus vestris? Quod autem intus agitur, non a nobis, sed ab illo agitur. Prospexit ergo Deus, vt Soluat filios mortificatorum. *Wee speake in your eares. But how know we, what is wrought in your hearts? Howbeit, whatsoeuer is wrought within you, it is wrought, not by vs, but by God. God therefore hath looked foorth, to* Loose *the Children of them, that were appointed to Death.* Thus is the Priest a Iudge, and Bindeth and Loseth, without any hearing of Priuate Confessions.

Tertul. De Pudic. pag. 643. Actor. 2.

Of the other side, I say, that in open crimes and Publike Penance, the Priest is likewise appointed to be a Iudge. For notwithstanding in the Primitiue Church, either the whole people, or the Elders of the Congregation had authority herein, yet the direction and Iudgement rested euermore in the Priest. And in this sense S. Paul saith vnto Timothie, *Receiue no accusation against an Elder, vnlesse it bee vnder two or three witnesses.*

2. Tim. 5.

And, notwithstanding these Orders, for the greatest part thereof, be now vtterly out of vse, yet, I trust, it shall not be neither impertinent to the matter, nor vnpleasant vnto the Reader, to consider how the same were vsed in Old times. Therefore as it is Learnedly noted by Beatus Rhenanus, The Sinner, when he began to mislike himselfe, and to bee penitent for his wicked life, for that hee had offended God and his Church, came first vnto the Bishop and Priests, as vnto the Mouthes of the Church, and opened vnto them the whole burthen of his heart. Afterward hee was by them brought into the Congregation, and there made the same Confession Openly before his Brethren; and further was appointed to make Satisfaction by Open Penance. Which Penance being duly and humbly done, he was restored againe openly vnto the Church, by laying on of the hands of the Priests and Elders.

Hereof S. Paul saith vnto the Corinthians: *If you haue forgiuen any thing to any man, I haue likewise forgiuen it. For I my selfe, whatsoeuer I haue forgiuen, I haue forgiuen it for your sakes in the person of* Christ. In this limitation of Penance, lest any thing should passe vn-

2. Cor. 2.

aduisedly,

aduisedly and out of order, the Priest was appointed to be the Iudge. S. Basil saith: Modus Conuersionis debet esse conueniens illi qui peccauit: *The Order of Conuersion, or Open Penance must bee agreeable vnto him that hath offended.* And therefore S. Augustine saith: Quia plerunque, &c. *Forasmuch as for the most part the griefe of one mans heart is vnknowne vnto another, neither commeth foorth into the knowledge of others either by words, or by other tokens, as being before him vnto whom it is said,* My mourning is not hid from thee: *therefore it is very well, that by them that haue the ouersight of the Church, certaine times of Penance are appointed, that the Congregation may be satisfied.* Againe hee saith: Hortor, priùs Publica Pœnitentia satisfacere, & ita Sacerdotis Iudicio reconciliatum, Communioni sociari: *I counsell him, that first he make satisfaction by Open Penance; that being so reconciled, he may afterward be restored vnto the Communion by the* Iudgement and discretion of the Priest. Likewise saith Cassiodorus: Rei expectant Communionis tempus, quod decreuit Episcopus: *The Penitent parties wait for the communion time,* appointed vnto them by the Bishop.

Basil. que. 228. ὁ τῆς μετανοίας τρόπος. *Aug in Enchirid. ad Laurentium, Cap.* 65. *Augst. de Ecclesiast. dogmatibus, Cap.* 35. *Cassiodor. li.* 9. *cap.* 53.

S. Ambrose demanded of the Emperour Theodosius, being then excommunicate, Quibus medicamentis incurabilia vulnera tua, plagásque curasti? *By what medicines haue you healed your wounds and cuts, that were incurable?* The Emperour answered: Tuum opus est, & docere, & medicamenta temperare: meum verò, oblata suscipere: *It is your part to instruct me, and to minister medicines: and it is my part to receiue that you Minister.* And therefore Peter Lombard saith: Etsi aliquis apud Deum sit solutus, non tamen in facie Ecclesiæ solutus habetur, nisi per Iudicium Sacerdotis: *Although a man be assoiled before God, yet is he not accounted assoiled in the Face or Sight of the Church, but by the* Iudgement of the Priest.

Cassiodor. li 9 *cap.* 30. *4. Sen. dist.* 18. *Non autem.*

By these, M. Harding, I doubt not but ye may see that the Priest may be a Iudge ouer Sinne, notwithstanding he neuer heare Priuate Confessions, nor haue particular knowledge of euery seuerall sinne.

Iudge ouer Sinne.

This is that Confession that the holy Fathers haue so often spoken of. It was made, not secretly, or in a corner: but publikely, and openly, and in the sight of the Congregation. Hereof Origen saith, as it is reported before: Si quis sibi sit conscius, procedat in medium, & ipse sui accusator existat: *If any man finde himselfe guilty, let him come foorth into the mids of the Church, and let him be his owne accuser.* Likewise Tertullian saith: Aduolui Presbyteris, & Aris Dei adgeniculari, & omnibus Fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ iniungere: *To fall downe before the Priests, To kneele before the Altar, or Communion Table, and to desire all the Brethren to pray for him.*

Origen. in Psalm. 37. *Tertull. de Pœnitentia* 382.

Touching S. Hierome, M. Harding, yee lay in his words as faithfully as Ananias sometimes laid in his money at the Apostles feet. Yee serue vs with a parcell, and hold backe the rest. It is true that S. Hierome saith, It is the Priests part to discerne the diuersitie betweene sinne and sinne: as in cases of Excommunication, and publike offenses. But wherefore could yee not espie: or rather, why would you so closely dissemble so many and so plaine words going immediatly before? For thus S. Hierome writeth of the Power of the Keies, and of the vse of Confession: Istum locum Episcopi & Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt Supercilio: vt vel damnent innocentes, vel soluere se noxios arbitrentur: cùm apud Deum non sententia Sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæratur: *This place the Bishops and Priests not vnderstanding, take vnto them some part of the proud lookes of the Pharisees: thinking themselues able either to Condemne the innocent, or to Absolue the guilty:* whereas indeed it is not the Absolution of the Priest, but the life of the Sinner that is weighed before God. These words, M. Harding, would not thus haue bene dissembled if ye had meant simple dealing. S. Hierome saith plainly, That your Bishops and Priests vnderstand not the vse of the Keies: That yee haue taken vpon you some part of the Proud lookes of the Pharisees: And, That it is not the Absolution of the Priests, but the Life of the partie, that is accepted before God.

Hieronym. in Matt. cap 16.

In the end he concludeth thus: Alligat vel soluit Episcopus vel Presbyter, non eos qui insontes sunt, vel noxij; sed pro officio suo, cùm peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, qui soluendus: *The Bishop or Priest neither Bindeth the innocent, or Looseth the guilty: but according to his office, when he hath heard the diuersitie of Sinnes,* (as in publike offenses) *he knoweth who ought to be Bound, who ought to be Loosed.* In like sort writeth Peter Lombard: Dominus tribuit Sacerdotibus potestatem Ligandi & Soluendi, id est, ostendendi hominibus Ligatos, vel Solutos: *God hath giuen to Priests Power to Binde, and to Loose, that is to say, to declare vnto men, that the Penitents be either Bound, or Loosed.*

4. Sen. dist. 18. *Nec ideo.*

All this notwithstanding, albeit M. Harding were able to proue that the Fathers had some where made mention of Confession in Secret, yet should not that greatly either

Iudge ouer Sinne.

further his purpose, or hinder ours. For, Abuses and Errors remoued, and specially the Priest being learned, as we haue said before, we mislike no maner Confession, whether it be Priuate, or Publike. For as we thinke it not vnlawfull to make Open Confession before many, so we thinke it not vnlawfull, Abuses alwaies excepted, to make the like Confession in Priuate, either before a few, or before one alone. And as the holy Fathers vpon good considerations were forced to remoue the vse of Open Confession, euen so we say, that vpon like good considerations, Priuate Confession also may be remoued.

Only this we say, that Christ, when he sent his Disciples into the World, and gaue them authoritie to Binde, and to Loose, made no maner mention of any such hearing of Confessions, but only bade them, Goe, and preach the Gospell.

Hilarie, Bernard, and Hugo, as ye haue alleged them, seeme to say, That the Iudgement of man goeth before the Iudgement of God. Other the like, or rather more vehement speeches ye might haue found in Chrysostome: Cœlum accipit Authoritatem Iudicandi à Terra: Iudex sedet in Terris: Dominus sequitur Seruum: *Heauen taketh Authoritie of Iudgement from the Earth: In Earth sitteth the Iudge. The Lord followeth the Seruant.* These and such other the like extraordinarie speeches, with good Construction, may be comfortable to the afflicted minde. But as one said sometime, they must be receiued with a Graine of Salt: For otherwise, of themselues they be vnsauorie. For S. Hierome saith, as I haue alleged before. Apud Deum non sententia Sacerdotis, sed reorum vita quæritur: *It is not the Sentence or Absolution of the Priest, but the life of the Penitent that is accepted before God.* And againe: Tunc vera est sententia Præsidentis, quando Æterni sequitur sententiam Iudicis: *Then the iudgement of the President or Priest is true,* (not when it goeth before, but) *when it followeth the Iudgement of the Euerlasting Iudge.* And Gratian himselfe saith: Non sacerdotali Iudicio, sed largitate Diuinæ Gratiæ Peccator emundatur: *The Sinner is made cleane, not by Iudgement of the Priest, but by the abundance of the Heauenly Grace.*

Chrys. in Esai. Homil. 5.

Hier. in Matt. cap. 16. 11. qu. 3. Tunc vera.

De Pœn. dist. 1. Conuertimini.

But Nazianzene, as he is here alleged, said vnto the Emperour, Quis nostra es: *Thou art our Sheepe.* No maruell. He meant that the Emperour was one of the Flocke and Fold of Christ. So S. Ambrose said sometime vnto the Emperour Valentinian: Quid honorificentius, quàm vt Ecclesiæ Filius dicatur Imperator? Imperator enim bonus intra Ecclesiam, non supra Ecclesiam est: *What thing is there more honourable, then for the Emperour to be called a Childe of the Church? For a good Emperour is Within the Church, but not Aboue the Church.* S. Chrysostome saith: Deus ipse subiecit Caput Principis manui Sacerdotis: *God himselfe hath set the Head of the Prince vnder the Hand of the Priest.* For, as touching Faith, and the Obedience of the Gospell the Highest Prince is but a Subiect. All this proueth well the Authoritie and Dignity of Gods Word: but it maketh nothing for Confession.

Ambro. ab Valent. Epist. 32.

Chrys. de verb. Esaia. Hom. 5.

To conclude, M. Harding saith, It hath beene perswaded, that the reckning and rehearsall of al sins before the Priest, is necessarie to Saluation: & that a Generall Confession is in no wise sufficient.

And againe he saith, True Faith acknowledgeth that Confession is to be made of all Sinnes, as commanded by Christ and his Apostles, commended vnto vs by the Fathers of the Primitiue Church, & by all learned Doctors, and Generall vse of the whole Church.

God Reader, thou wouldest thinke that amongst so many great words there were some truth, and that M. Harding of his modestie, and for his credits sake, would not speake so boldly without some good ground. But I beseech thee, consider these few, and thereby iudge indifferently of the rest.

Chrysostom. in Psal. 50. Ho. 2.

Chrysostom. in Homil. de Pœnitent. & Confessione.

Chrysostome saith, Non dico vt Confitearis Conseruo tuo peccata tua. Dicito Deo, qui curet ea: *I will thee not* to Confesse thy Sins vnto the Priest, *that is thy fellow Seruant. Confesse them* vnto God, *that may heale them.* Againe: Cogitatione tua fiat delictorum exquisitio: Sine teste sit hoc Iudicium: Solus Deus te confitentem videat: *Examine thy Sins in thy heart within thee: Let this Iudgement be* without witnesse: *Let* God only see *thee making thy Confession.* Beatus Rhenanus, a man of great reading, and singular iudgement, hereof writeth thus: Tertullianus de Clancularia ista Confessione ad missorum nihil loquitur. Neque eam vsquam olim Præceptam legimus: Tertullian *of this Priuie Confession of Sinnes saith nothing. Neither doe we read that the same kinde of Priuie Confession in* Old Times was euer Commanded.

Beat. Rhenan. in Argum. Libelli Tertull de Pœnitentia.

Confessiō not Commanded.

M. Harding saith, It was Commanded: Rhenanus saith, *It was not commanded.* If Rhenanus words be true, as they be indeed, then are M. Hardings words most vntrue. Likewise it is noted in the very Glosse vpon M. Hardings owne Decrees: Fortè tunc (tempore Ambrosij) non erat facta institutio Confessionis, quæ modò est: *Perhaps then* (in the time of S. Ambrose, which was foure hundred yeres after Christ) *the manner of confession that now is vsed was not appointed.*

De Pœn. dist. 1. Petrus in Glos.

And

And Gratian saith: Antequam Sacerdoti Ora nostra ostendamus, id est, Peccata nostra Confiteamur, a Lepra Peccati mundamur: *Before we open our mouth vnto the Priest, that is to say*, before we make Confession of our Sinnes, *The Leprosie of our sinne is made cleane.* Theodorus saith, Quidam Deo solummodò confiteri debere peccata dicunt, vt Græci: *Some say, we ought to confesse our Sins* only vnto God, *as do the Grecians.* Peter Lombard the chiefe Founder of M. Hardings Diuinitie, saith thus: Sanè dici potest, quòd sine Confessione Oris, & solutione Pœnæ exterioris, Peccata delentur per contritionem & humiliatē cordis: *We may safely say, that* without Confession of the Mouth, *and Absolution of the outward paine, Sinnes be forgiuen by the Contrition and humilitie of the heart.*

De Pœn. dist. 1. Conuertimini.
De Pœn. dist. 1. Quidam.
4. Sen. dist. 17. Quidergo.

Confessiō not Commanded.

Briefly, Gratian hauing throwly debated the matter of both sides, that is to say, both for Confession, and against Confession, in the end concludeth thus, as it is said before: Cui harum sententiarum potiùs adhærendum sit, Lectoris iudicio reseruatur. Vtraque enim sententia fautores habet Sapientes, & Religiosos viros: *Whether of these sayings it is best to follow, it is left to the iudgement of the Reader*: For either saying is maintained and fauoured both by Wise, and by Godly men. And whereas M. Harding saith, Confession of all Sinnes is commended by Christ and his Apostles, his owne Glosse vpon his owne Decrees openly reprooueth his errour, and teacheth him the contrarie. The words be these: Melius dicitur, Confessionem institutam fuisse a quadam Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ Traditione, potiùs quàm ex Noui vel Veteris Testamenti Authoritate: *It is better said, that Confession was appointed by* some Tradition of the Vniuersall Church, *then by any Authoritie or Commandement of the New, or Old Testament.*

De Pœn. dist. 5. in Pœnitentia, The Glosse.

Now good Christian Reader, I beseech thee, examine a little the truth of M. Hardings tale. First he saith, The reciting and rehearsall of all Sins before the Priest, is necessary to Saluation. Chrysostome answereth, *Let* God Onely *heare thy Confession.* There is one Untruth. M. Harding saith, Generall Confession is not sufficient. Peter Lombard answereth, Sine Confessione Oris, &c. Without any Confession made by Mouth *our Sinnes may bee forgiuen.* There are two Untruths. 1 2

M. Harding saith, Confession of all Sinnes is Commanded by Christ and his Apostles: His owne Glosse saith, It is Only a Tradition of the Church, commanded neither in the Old Testament, nor in the New. There are three vntruths. M. Harding saith, It was commended vnto vs by the Doctors and Fathers of the Primitiue Church. Rhenanus saith, We read not that this kind of priuie Confession, in the Old times, was euer commanded. And his owne Glosse saith, *in the time of* S. Ambrose, (which was foure hundred yeres after Christ) *perhaps it was not vsed.* There are foure, and fiue Untruths. M. Harding saith, It hath euer beene allowed by all the learned Doctors: His owne Gratian answereth him: The contrary hath beene maintained and fauoured both by Wise and by Godly Fathers. There are six Untruths. 3 4 5. 6

To be short, M. Harding saith, It hath beene commended vnto vs by the Generall vse of the whole Church. Theodorus answereth him, The whole Church of Græcia vseth it not. There are Seuen apparent and great Untruths, disclosed by M. Hardings owne Doctours. Ye could not haue compriſed so much Untruth, in so narrow rome, without some study. 7

Erasmus a man of great iudgement saith thus: Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum Institutam fuisse Secretam admissorum Confessionem: quam postea Ecclesia salubriter instituit: si modò rectè vtantur ea & Sacerdotes & Laici. Verùm in hoc labuntur Theologi quidam parùm attenti, quòd, quæ Veteres scribunt de huiusmodi Publica, & Generali Confessione, ea trahunt ad hanc Occultam, & longè diuersi generis: *It appeareth, that in the time of* S. Hierome (which was foure hundred yeres after Christ) Secret confession of Sinnes, was not yet ordained: *Which notwithstanding was afterward holesomely and profitably appointed by the Church, so that it be well vsed, as well by the Priests, as by the People. But heerein certaine Diuines, not considering aduisedly what they say, are much deceiued: for whatsoeuer the ancient Fathers write of* Generall and open Confession, *they wrest and draw the same to this* Priuie and secret kinde, *which is farre of another sort.*

Eras. in Schol. in Epitaphium Fabiolæ.

Heere, M. Harding, Erasmus telleth you, ye are foulely deceiued: and sheweth you also the cause of your error: for that, as he saith, *Ye consider not aduisedly, what ye either read, or write: but whersoeuer ye heare this word* Confession, *ye imagine straightway, it must needs be your owne* Auricular Confession, *and can be none other.*

Last of al, ye grant, The expresse Terme of Auricular or Secret Confession is seldome mentioned in the Ancient Fathers. Heere wanteth, M. Harding, some part of your simplicitie. If ye would haue your Reader to beleeue you, ye should haue alleged certaine of the Ancient Fathers, One at the least, if yee could haue found so many that had at any time vsed the expresse terme of Auricular or Secret Confession. Otherwise it had beene the bet-

Authority & Power.

ter and plainer way, to haue confeſſed expreſſly, that the ſame expreſſe terme is neuer vſed in any one of all the Ancient Fathers. Howbeit, if Auricular, or Secret Confeſſion had then beene vſed, it could neuer ſo long haue lackt a name.

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuiſion 3.

Wee ſay, that the Prieſt indeed is a Iudge in this Caſe, but yet hath no maner of Right to challenge an Authoritie, or Power, as ſaith Ambroſe.

M. Harding.

Whereas ye make preaching of the Goſpell to be the Keies, how call ye the Prieſt Iudge in this caſe? Preach ye neuer ſo much, the conſcience of man being ſo ſecret a thing as it is, how can ye iudge who inwardly and thorowly repenteth, and who repenteth not? And though one repent, and be ſory, and haue remorſe of his former life, though he looke vnto the light of the Goſpell, as ye ſay, & beleeue in Chriſt, what then? How can ye iudge of ſuch a perſon? *And doe yee know his heart by looking in his face?

*And doe yee know his heart by looking in his eare? *Vntruth. For the words be theſe: *Null us poteſtatis iura exercet.*

The Prieſt duly vſing the Key of knowledge and diſcretion, doth the office of a Iudge, & as he ſeeth cauſe, either Looſeth or Bindeth. As touching the Prieſts Authoritie or Power, which to challenge he hath no right, for ſo your Interpreter maketh you to ſpeake, and impute it to S. Ambroſe: we deny that S. Ambroſe ſaith *euen very ſo. But, as we may gather of his words, as he meaneth that a Prieſt exerciſeth not the right of any his owne proper power in remitting ſinnes; ſo in the very place by you alleged, he ſaith the contrarie to your Doctrine. For the Right of Loeſing and Binding (ſaith hee) is granted to Prieſts only, and therefore the Church challengeth it rightly, which hath true Prieſts. Loe, he vſeth the word of challenge. Againe in the ſame place he auoucheth, that he which receiueth the Holy Ghoſt (who Prieſts receiue when they be conſecrated in the Sacrament of Order) receiueth alſo Power to Looſe & Binde ſins. For proofe therof he alleged the Scripture: Take ye the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſinnes ye remit, they are remitted: and whoſe ſinnes ye reteine, they are reteined. And if you, Defender, were accuſtomed to make your humble confeſſion, and ſo to be aſſoiled, you ſhould heare ſome Ghoſtly Father ſay to you, after certaine other words, *Authoritate mihi commiſſa ego te Abſoluo, &c.*

De Pœn. Diſt. 1. c. Verbum. Iohan. 20.

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In what ſenſe the Prieſt without hearing Confeſſions may be a Iudge, we haue ſufficientlie ſaid before. Neither know I what fantaſie M. Harding can haue in ſo often rehearſall of one thing. With what words, or colour of Commiſſion M. Harding can furniſh out his Authoritie, it forceth not greatly. Verily, without ſome ſhew, or countenance, his credit would not hold. Indeed, Hugo **and** Bernard ſay, *The iudgement of God followeth the iudgement of man.* **And Pope** Iulius **ſaith,** Habet Sacroſancta Romana Eccleſia poteſtatem, ſingulari ſibi Priuilegio conceſſam, Aperire, & Claudere ianuas Regni Cœleſtis, quibus voluerit: *The Holy Church of* Rome *hath Power granted vnto her by ſingular Priuilege, to Open, and to Shut the gates of the Kingdome of Heauen,* to whom ſhe liſteth. **And Cardinall** Cuſanus **ſaith,** Hæc Ligandi & Soluendi Poteſtas non minor eſt in Eccleſia, quàm in Chriſto: *This Power of Binding and Looſing is no leſſe in the Church,* then it is in Chriſt.

Council. Tom. 1. de Primatu Rom. Eccleſ.

Nicol. Cuſan. ad Bohemos, Epiſt. 2.

But it is no great wiſdome to giue ouer much credit vnto them that ſo often haue deceiued vs. If their Authoritie be ſo great as they make it, let them ſhew forth the words of their Commiſſion.

De Pœn. diſt. 1. Verbum Dei.

The ſaying of S. Ambroſe **is cleare and plaine:** Verbum Dei dimittit peccata. Sacerdos eſt Iudex. Sacerdos quidem officium ſuum exhibet: ſed nullius poteſtatis iura exercet: *The Word of God forgiueth ſinnes. The Prieſt is the Iudge. The Prieſt executeth his office:* But he exerciſeth the right of no Power. **And to this end in another place he allegeth the words of the Prophet** Eſay, **ſpoken in the perſon of God:** Ego ſum, ego ſum, qui deleo iniquitates tuas: *I am he, I am he, that put away thine iniquities.*

Ambr. de Noe & Arc. ca. 13

Eſay 4.

And, to lay more weight to S. Ambroſes **words, S.** Auguſtine **ſaith in like ſenſe:** Officium Baptizandi Dominus conceſſit multis: Poteſtatem verò & Authoritatem in Baptiſmo remittendi peccata, ſibi Soli reſeruauit: *Our Lord hath granted the office of Baptizing vnto many: but the Power and Authoritie in Baptiſme to forgiue Sinnes, he hath reſerued* Only to himſelfe. **So ſaith S.** Ambroſe: Noſtrum eſt, onera remittere: Illius eſt, reſuſcitare: Illius eſt, educere de Sepulchro: *It is our part, to remoone the ſtone from the graue* (by Preaching, by Counſell, and by Exhortation:) *But it is the Lords worke, to raiſe vp the dead: It is the Lords worke, to bring him from the pit.*

Aug. de Scalis Paradiſi.

Ambroſ. de Pœnitent. lib. 2. cap. 76.

Ambroſ. lib. 9. Epiſt. 76.

Likewiſe againe he ſaith: Neque Legatus, neque Nuntius, ſed ipſe Dominus ſaluum fecit populum ſuum. Solus remanet: quia non poteſt hoc cuiquam hominum cum Chriſto eſſe commune, vt peccata condonet. Solus hoc munus eſt Chriſti, qui tulit peccata mundi: *It is not the Embaſſadour: It is not the Meſſenger, but the* Lord himſelfe *that hath*

hath saued his people. The Lord remaineth alone. For no man can bee partner with God in forgiuing of Sinnes. This is Christs Onely Office, *that hath taken away the Sinnes of the World.*

Authoritie & Power.

And yet is not therefore the Priests office void of Power. Hee hath Power and Commission to open the Will of God, and, as S. Paul saith, *To speake vnto the people, euen as in the person of Christ.* So Tertullian saith: Dandi Baptismi ius habet Summus Sacerdos, id est, Episcopus: *The Chiefe Priest, that is to say, the Bishop, hath Right, and Power to giue Baptisme.* But S. Augustin saith: Ministerium dedit seruis: Potestatem sibi retinuit: *God gaue the Ministerie (of Remission of Sinnes) vnto his Seruants:* But the Power thereof he reteined to himselfe. So when Christ sent out his Disciples to preach the Gospell, hee gaue them Authority and Power, as it is written in S. Luke.

2. Cor. 5.
Tertull. de Baptismo.
Aug. in Iohan. Tract 5.
Luk. 10.
Εξουσιαν δυναμιν.

If M. Harding will say, There is no Power or Authority in the Reading or Publishing of Gods Word, his owne Doctor Hosius will tell him, that when the Bishop ordereth a Reader, euen after the manner of the Church of Rome, hee saith vnto him: Habe Potestatem legendi Epistolas in Ecclesia Sancta Dei, tam pro Viuis, quàm pro Defunctis: *Haue thou Power to read the Epistles in the Holy Church of God, as well for the Quicke, as for the Dead.*

Hosius in Confessione Petricouien. cap. 52.

Indeed this is a very speciall Power, such as, I trow, Christ and his Apostles neuer taught vs. Neither would I haue noted it in this place, sauing that Hosius, the profoundest Proctour of that side, thought it a matter worth the noting. Such Power therefore belongeth to Priests, and Ministers in the Church of God. But the Power of giuing Remission of Sinne belongeth to God alone, and to none other. If any man will presume further, S. Hierome saith, as it is alleged before: *Hee bath spit on the proud lookes of the Pharisees.* And saith further, that such Priests and Bishops vnderstand not the words of Christ. For he saith hee, *It is not the Iudgement or Absolution of the Priest, but the Life of the Penitent that is regarded before God.* And therefore S. Augustine saith: Inde nata sunt Schismata, cùm homines dicunt, Nos Sanctificamus immundos: Nos Iustificamus impios: Nos Petimus: Nos Impetramus: *Heereof grew Schismes, and Diuisions in the Church, when men say, Wee Sanctifie the vncleane: Wee Iustifie the wicked: Wee Pray: Wee Obteine.*

Hier. in Mat. cap. 16.
Aug. de Fide & Operibus, Cap. 14.

Howbeit, here commeth in Richardus de Sancto Victore, God wot, with a full cold distinction betweene these two words, Dimittere, and Remittere. For thus hee saith: Christus potuit Dimittere Peccata: Nos verò non possumus Dimittere Peccata, sed tantùm Remittere.

Rich. de Sancto Victore, De Potestat. Ligan. & Solu. Par. 1. *Cap.* 24.

Peter Lombard saith much better: Christus Sacerdotibus tribuit potestatem Ligandi & Soluendi, id est, ostendendi hominibus Ligatos, vel Solutos: Christ *hath giuen Power vnto Priests to Binde and to Loose: that is to say, to declare vnto men who be Bound, who be Loosed.*

4. Sen. dist. 18. *Nec ideo.*

So saith Bonauentura of the Priests vnder the Law of Moses: Mundare dicebantur, quia mundatum ostendebant: *They were said to cleanse the Leprosie, because they shewed who was cleansed.* So saith S. Augustine: Nec voluntas Sacerdotis obesse, vell prodesse potest, sed Meritum Benedictionem poscentis: The will of the Priest can neither further, nor hinder, *But the Merit of him that desireth Absolution.*

Bonau. 4. Sentent. Dist. 1. *In Proœmio.* 1. *que.* 1. *Dictum est.*

This therefore is the meaning of S. Ambrose: *The Priest is a Iudge to discerne betweene sinne and sinne, as well Priuate, as Publike. But Right, Power, or Authoritie to forgiue Sinnes, hee hath none.*

The Apologie, Chap. 7. *Diuision* 4.

And therefore our Sauiour Iesus Christ, to reproue the Negligence of the Scribes and Phariseis in teaching, did with these words rebuke them, saying: Woe bee vnto you Scribes and Phariseis, which haue taken away the Keies of knowledge, and haue Shut vp the Kingdome of Heauen before men.

Seing then the Key whereby the way and entrie to the Kingdome of God is opened vnto vs, is the Word of the Gospell, and the Expounding of the Law and Scriptures, we say plainly, where the same Word is not, there is not the Key.

M. Harding.

By this we are induced to grant, that the knowledge of the Scripture is a Key, whereby the gate to the Truth is opened, the vse whereof consisteth in expounding of the Law and Prophets, as they shew

Chriſt. But we ſay, this not to be the ſpeciall Keies which Chriſt gaue to the Church, but one Key alone. And ſo Chriſt calleth it, where he rebuked the Scribes and Phariſeis, though you haue put it, otherwiſe then the Goſpell hath, in the plurall number. And this Key is common to the Law, and to the Goſpell. But the Keies which we ſpeake of are an nother thing. By the name of theſe Keies wee vnderſtand the whole Spirituall Power which Chriſt firſt promiſed to Peter, and afterward gaue to the Apoſtles, & from them is transferred to all Biſhops and Prieſts. By which Power Prieſts Teach the Goſpell, Conſecrate the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and Miniſter the Sacraments, through Authority of the Word Abſolue Penitents, and Excommunicate publike and hainous ſinners. The Key that you confuſely ſpeake of, naming it to be the Word of the Goſpell, and Expounding of the Law and Scriptures, is one part perteining to this Spirituall Power, it is not the whole Power. And where this Worde is not, that is to ſay, where the Scriptures be not taught, and the Goſpell preached, there is not the Key, ſay ye: there is not the exerciſe of that Key, ſay we. Yet there is this Spirituall Power, that is to wit, there be the Keies. Yea, we ſay that a ſimple Prieſt * though he haue no great learning, yet hath he the Keies, though he might doe better, and more worthily vſe them; hauing learning and knowledge.

The Key of knowledge. Scripture a Key.

* Vntruth. The Key of Knowledge, without knowledge.

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Confuſion of Keies.

M. Harding much and often complaineth of the Confuſion of the Keies: for that we appoint not diſtinctly, as he ſaith, eache Key to his ſeuerall office. Marke therefore, I beſeech thee, gentle Reader, how diſtinctly and plainly M. Harding himſelfe intreateth of the ſame.

Firſt, of the two Keies that Chriſt hath deliuered vs in the Goſpell, he hath made a great many Keies: The Key of Knowledge: The Key of Order: The Key of Power: The Key of Diſcretion: The Key of Sacraments: And, foraſmuch as Sacraments by his Doctrine be Seuen in number, there muſt alſo bee of this ſort Seuen other ſeuerall Keies. And yet ouer and beſides all theſe Keies, being ſo many, the Pope hath alſo One Speciall Maſter Key. Afterward, by a ſleight, and by nimbleneſſe of his fingers, hee conueieth all this heape of Keies into two Onely Keies: Whereof the One hee calleth the Key of Knowledge, and the other the Key of Power: Which two Keies notwithſtanding, in the end are ſuddenly conſumed both into One onely Key. For whereas the Key of Knowledge is loſt, there, by M. Hardings iudgement, Power onely remaineth without Knowledge: And that Key alone diſchargeth all Offices, and is vtterlie all in all.

De Pœn. diſ. 1. Verbum Dei. Luke. 22. *4. Senten. Diſ. 19. Poſt quam. Alexand. de Hales, Par. 4. Queſt. 79.*

This Key of Power without Knowledge muſt néds be the Key of Ignorance: Or, as they themſelues haue vſed to call it, Clauis Errans: *The Key of Errour.* Of which Key vndoubtedly Chriſt ſaid ſometime, Hoc eſt tempus veſtrum, & Poteſtas Tenebrarum: *This is your time, and the Power of Darkeneſſe.* Peter Lombard himſelfe ſaith, *Many Prieſts be Ignorant, and haue not the Key of Knowledge.* Alexander of Hales ſaith, Scientia non eſt Clauis: *Knowledge is no Key at all.*

Yet M. Harding anſwereth vs, that the ſimple Ignorant Prieſt, that knoweth nothing, hath not onely One Key, but both Keies (for ſo he calleth them in the plurall number) that is to ſay, as well the Key of Knowledge, as the Key of Power. And thus haue they forged a Key of Knowledge, without knowledge: and with the ſame Key they expound and open the Scriptures: they Miniſter the Sacraments: they Bind: they Looſe: and breake vp a by-way into the Kingdome of Heauen. Yet muſt wee beléeue that they ſpeake ſimply and plainly of theſe Keies, and without Confuſion.

The Apology, Chap. 7. Diuiſion 5.

And ſeeing one maner of Word is giuen to al, & one only Key belongeth to all, we ſay, there is but one only Power of all Miniſters, as concerning Opening, and Shutting. And as touching the Biſhop of Rome, for all that his flattering Paraſites ſing theſe words in his eares, To thee will I giue the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen (as though theſe Keies were fit for him alone, and for no body elſe) except he goe ſo to worke, as mens conſciences may be made pliant, and be ſubdued to the Word of God, we deny that he doth either Ope, or Shut, or hath the Keies at all.

And although he taught, and inſtructed the people (as would God he might once truly do, and perſwade himſelfe it were at the leaſt any peece of his dutie) yet we thinke his Key to be neuer a whit better, or of greater force then other mens. For who hath ſeuered him from the reſt? Who hath taught him more cunninglie to Open, or better to Abſolue then his brethren?

M. Harding.

M. Harding.

Your ground being falſe, what ye build theron ſoone faileth. The whole power of the Keies pardy (how often times muſt we tel you one thing?) ſtande thinot in Preaching onely, but in ſundry other excellent Miniſteries allo, as we haue prooued. If the Biſhop of Rome preach not, he doth neither Open nor Shut by preaching we grant. Yet mens Conſciences being made pliant and ſubdued by the Word of God, by others that preath at his appointment, he may by vertue of the Keies, either Open or Shut, Looſe or Binde, as by diſcretion he ſeeth cauſe. And whereas Chriſt ſaid to Peter, and therefore to the Biſhop of Rome Peters Succeſſour, To thee will I giue the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen, will ye call them flattering Paraſites, that yeeld to him that, which Chriſt gaue to him? Such vomit ſheweth what humor your ſtomacke is charged withal. Denying the Biſhop of Rome, whom, for all the ſpight ye bare toward him, ye muſt acknowledge to be a Biſhop, to haue the Keies at all, vnleſſe he preach in his owne perſon, ye declare your great ignorance and foule temerity. Know ye not, that a Power annexed to an Order and Vocation, is not taken away from one by not exerciſing the ſame in his owne perſon? Matthæ. 16.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

The effect hereof, beſides other ordinary idle talke, ſtandeth in two points. Firſt, M. Harding ſaith, The Pope, though he doe nothing himſelfe in his owne perſon, yet he may ſufficiently feed the Flocke of Chriſt, and Binde, and Looſe, and diſcharge all duties by his Deputies and vnder-Vicars, that is to ſay, by his Cardinals and Biſhops, which are as carefull and zealous for their offices, and tender their charge, as much as he. This ground, I trow, is not falſe: and therefore whatſoeuer M. Harding ſhall build thereon, it can neuer faile. Notwithſtanding, I doe not remember that either Chriſt or his Apoſtles euer vſed to doe the like. One ſaid ſometime, Impudens eſt Imperator, qui, cum alienis oculis omnia ei agenda ſint, poſtulet ſibi aliorum Capita, & Fortunas committi: *Hee is a ſhameleſſe Captaine, that whereas he muſt needs guide all things by the eies of others, will require other mens liues and goods to be committed to his hands.* Preach by a Deputy. *Tit. Liu. Decad. 3 lib. 6.*

Pope Damaſus ſaith: Illi Epiſcopi, qui talia ſibi præſumunt, videntur mihi ſimiles eſſe Meretricibus: quæ ſtatim, vt pariunt, infantes ſuos alijs nutricibus tradunt educandos, vt ſuam citiùs libidinem explere valeant. Sic & iſti Infantes ſuos, id eſt, populos ſibi commiſſos, alijs educandos tradunt, vt ipſi ſuas libidines expleant, id eſt, vt pro ſuo libitu Sæcularibus curis inhient, & quod cuique viſum fuerit, liberiùs agant: *Such Biſhops taking ſuch matters vpon themſelues, ſeeme like vnto harlots: which as ſoone as they be once deliuered, ſtraightway deliuer out their Children vnto Nurces, that they may the rather follow their pleaſures: Euen ſo theſe Biſhops deliuer ouer their Children, that is to ſay, the people committed to their Charges, to be reared and brought vp by others, that they themſelues may the better accompliſh their pleaſures, that is to ſay, that they may giue themſelues ouer to worldly cares, and doe whatſoeuer ſhall like them beſt.* *Damaſus Papa epiſt. 4.*

Further ſaith M. Harding, Chriſt ſaid vnto Peter: *To thee will I giue the Keies: Feed my Sheepe. Confirme thy Brethren:* Ergo, The Pope is a Lord Paramount, and hath a Power Perelleſſe ouer all the World. Peter of Palus hereof writeth thus: Chriſtus dixit Apoſtolis, Quæcunque ligaueritis in Terra, erunt ligata & in Cœlo: Non dixit, In Cœlis, ſicut Petro dixerat: Sed in Cœlo Vno. Vnde non ſunt tantæ perfectionis, ſicut Petrus: Chriſt *ſaid vnto the Apoſtles, Whatſoeuer ye ſhall Binde in Earth, it ſhall bee bound in* Heauen. *He ſaid not, It ſhall be bound in* Heauens, *as he ſaid to* Peter: *But in* One Heauen. *Therefore the other Apoſtles were not of ſuch perfection, as* Peter *was.* *Petr. De Palud. de poteſt. collat. Apoſt. Artic. 1.*

Againe he ſaith: Illa verba, Quæcunque ligaueris, intelliguntur de vtroque Foro, & de vtraque Poteſtate. Illa autem verba, Quorumcunque ligaueritis, intelliguntur tantùm de Foro Conſcientiæ: *Theſe words* (ſpoken vnto Peter) Whatſoeuer thou ſhalt Binde, *are vnderſtood of both Courts, as wel of the Court of Iudgement, as of the Court of Conſcience. But theſe other words* (ſpoken vnto the other Apoſtles) Whatſocuer you ſhall Binde, &c. *are vnderſtood onely of the Court of Conſcience.* *Petr. de Palud.*

This fantaſie, it ſeemeth, he learned out of theſe words of Origen: Non modica differentia eſt, quòd Petro quidem datæ ſunt Claues, non Vnius Cœli, ſed multorum Cœlorum: vt quæcunque ligauerit ſuper Terram, ſint ligata, non tantùm Vno in Cœlo, ſed etiam in Omnibus Cœlis. Ad alios dicit, vt ſoluant & ligent, non in Cœlis, ſicut Petrus: ſed in Vno Cœlo: quia non ſunt in tanta perfectione, ſicut Petrus, vt ligent, & ſoluant in Omnibus Cœlis: *The difference is great: for vnto* Peter *are giuen the Keies,* not of One Heauen, *but of* many Heauens: *that, whatſoeuer he bindeth in Earth, ſhall be bound* not onely in One Heauen, *but alſo in* All the Heauens. *But vnto the reſt he giueth Power to binde and looſe,* not in the Heauens, *as* Peter *doth, but in* One Heauen: *for that they were not in ſuch perfection, as* Peter *was, to binde or looſe in* All the Heauens. *Orig. in Matt. Tract. 6.*

This multiplication of Heauens, as I haue ſaid, is but a fantaſie: and yet to M. Hardings

dings purpose it maketh nothing. For Origen by this word Peter, meant not Peter the Apostle, but any other godly learned Priest, or Bishop: whom he expresseth here vnder the name of Peter. For it followeth immediately, Ergo, quantò melior fuerit, qui soluit, tantò beatior erit, qui soluitur: quoniam in omnibus solutus est Cœlis: *Therefore the better man he is, that looseth, the more blessed is he, that is loosed: for that he is loosed* in all the Heauens. Againe he saith: Quod si nos idem loquimur, quod Petrus loquutus est, efficimur Petrus. Et nobis dicetur, Tu es Petrus. Petra enim est, quisquis est Discipulus Christi: *If wee speake the same, that* Peter *spake, we are made* Peter. *And vnto vs it shall be said,* Thou art Peter. *For he is the Rocke,* that is, the Disciple of Christ.

Orig. in Matthæ. Tract. 1.

Equall Power.

In eodem Tractatu.

And againe he saith: Hoc dictum, Tibi dabo Claues Regni Cælorum, Cæteris quoque commune est. Et, quæ sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium communia: *This saying, To thee will I giue the Keies of the kingdome of Heauen is common to the rest of the Apostles. And the words that follow,* as spoken vnto Peter, are common vnto all.

Aug. in Ioh. Tract. 50.

So saith S. Augustine: Petrus, quando accepit Claues, Ecclesiam Sanctam significauit: Peter *When he receiued the Keies, signified the holy Church.* So saith S. Basil: Petre, inquit, Amas me? Pasce Oues meas: Et consequenter Omnibus Pastoribus & Doctoribus eandem Potestatem tribuit, Cuius signum est, quòd omnes ex Æquo, & ligant & absoluunt quemadmodum ille: Christ *said vnto* Peter, *Louest thou me? Feed my Sheepe. And in like sort vnto all Pastors and Doctors he gaue* the same Power. *A token wherof is this, that all others* binde, and loose equally, as well as Peter.

Basil. in Vita Solitar. ca. 22.

Ambr. de Dignit. Sacer. ca. 2.

Likewise saith S. Ambrose: Dominus dixit Petro, Pasce Oues meas. Quas Oues, & quem Gregem non solùm tunc Beatus Petrus suscepit, sed & nobiscum eas suscepit, & cum illo eas nos suscepimus omnes: *Our Lord said vnto* Peter, *Feed my Sheep. Which Sheepe and Flocke,* not Onely *Blessed* Peter *then receiued, but he receiued the same* together with vs: *And all we haue receiued* the same together with him. Likewise S. Cyprian: Christus eandem dedit Apostolis omnibus potestatem: Christ *gaue vnto all his Apostles* Like, and Equall Power.

Cypr. de Simpl. Prælatorum.

So likewise saith Beda: Potestas Ligandi & Soluendi, quamuis soli Petro à Domino data videatur, tamen absque vlla dubietate noscendum est, quód & Cæteris Apostolis data est: *The Power of Binding and Loosing, notwithstanding it seeme to be giuen Onely vnto* Peter, *yet without all doubt we must vnderstand, that it was giuen also to the rest of the Apostles.*

Beda in Homil. in Euang. Quæ me dicunt.

Briefly, M. Hardings olvne Scholasticall Doctors confesse that the Power of the Apostles was One and Equall. But they say, that the whole multitude of the Church was committed onely vnto Peter, and not likewise to any other: and that therein onely standeth all the difference. Hernæus saith, Quamuis Apostoli eandem habuerint à Christo, & æqualem potestatem Clauium, & Iurisdictionis, tamen Iurisdictionem, siue materiam suiectam, non habuit, nisi Petrus, & cui eam Petrus committere Voluit: *Notwithstanding the Apostles receiued of Christ* Equall Power of the Keies and Iurisdiction, *yet the Iurisdiction, or matter wherein to vse their power, none had, but* Onely Peter, *and to whomsoeuer* Peter *would commit the same.* And thus he imagineth, that all the Apostles, saving Only Peter, had Keies giuen them, but no House to open: and Iurisdiction of Gouernment, but no People to gouerne.

Ioh. in de Pariſ. de potest. Regia & Papali, cap. 12.

Verily Alphonsus De Castro saith: Quando Absoluit simplex Sacerdos, tantùm Absoluit de Culpa, sicut Papa: *When a simple Priest Absolueth,* he Absolueth as much touching Sinne, as doth the Pope.

Alphons. aduers. Hæres. lib. 2. de Absol.

But touching the Pope, how great soeuer he fancie his Key to be aboue all others, if he neuer vse the same, and if he either know not, or vtter not the Word of God, wee say, as before, well may hee shut vp the Kingdome of God before men: but open it hee cannot. Origen saith: Qui funibus peccatorum suorum constringitur, frustrà vel Ligat, vel Soluit: *Hee that is bounde with the bands of his owne Sinnes, Bindeth and Looseth but in vaine.*

Orig. in Mat. Tract. 1.

Aug. de Agone Christiano, cap. 30.

To conclude, S. Augustine saith: Cùm Petro dicitur, Omnibus dicitur, Amas me? Pasce Oues meas: *These words of* Christ, *Louest thou me? Feed my Sheepe: when they are spoken vnto* Peter, *they are spoken* vnto All *Priests or Ministers.* He addeth further, Itaque miseri, dum in Petro Petram non intelligunt, & nolunt credere, datas Ecclesiæ Claues Regni Cælorum, ipsi eas de manibus amiserunt: *Therefore wretched men while in* Peter, *they vnderstand not (Christ, that is) the Rocke, and while they will not beleeue that the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen are giuen* (not vnto Peter alone, but) *vnto the Church, they haue quite lost the Keies out of their hands.*

Aug. de Agone Christiano, cap. 31.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 8. *Diuision* 1.

VVE say that Matrimony is Holy & Honorable in all sorts & dates of persons, as in the Patriarks, in the Prophets, in the Apostles in the Holy Martyrs, in the Ministers of the Church, & in Bishops: and that it is an honest and lawful thing (as Chrysostome saith) for a man, liuing in Matrimony, to take vpō him therwith the Dignity of a Bishop.

M. Harding.

Matrimony is Holy and Honourable in all persons, and an vndefiled bed, as saith S. Paul. Yet is it not lawfull for them to marrie* which either haue by deliberate vow dedicated all manner their Chastity vnto God,* or haue receiued Holy Order. For the vowed bee forbidden Marriage by expresse Word of God. Those that haue taken Holy Orders, by Tradition of the Apostles, and ancient Ordinance of the Church.

Hebræ. 13.

* Vntruths, two together, as better appeareth by the Answer.

Touching the first, the Scripture is plaine: because a Vow is to bee performed: *Vouete, & reddite Domino Deo vestro:* Vow ye and pay (or render that ye vow) to our Lord God. Christ also saith in the Gospel, There be some Eunuches that haue made themselues Eunuches for the Kingdom of Heauens sake. He that can take, let him take. Again, S. Paul speaking of yong Widowes, which haue vowed and promised Chastity, saith, that when they waxe wanton against Christ, they wil marrie, hauing damnation, because they haue broken their first Faith. Whether these Scriptures pertaine heereto, and be thus to be vnderstanded, we referre vs to the Primitiue Church and to all the Holy Fathers.

Psalm. 75.

Math. 19.

Such Marriages, or rather ridings and fals from the holier Chastity, that is Vowed to God, S. Austine doubteth not but they be worse then aduoutrie. S. Cyprian calleth this case plaine Incest. S. Basil accounteth the Marriages of vailed Virgins to be void, of no force and Sacrilegious.

The first Faith S. Hierome expoūdeth, The Faith of Baptisme. See the Answer.

She that hath despoused her selfe to our Lord (saith S. Basil) is not free. For her Husband is not dead that she may marry to whom she list. And whiles her immortall Husband liueth she shal be called an Aduoutresse, which for lust of the flesh hath brought a mortall man into our Lords Chamber.

Touching the second, the Apostles forbid those, that come single to the Clergy, to Marry, except such as remaine in the inferior Orders, and proceed not to the greater, as we finde in their *Canons: Can.* 25. *Paphnutius*, as Socrates and Sozomenus record in their Ecclesiasticall story, said at the Nicene Councel, that it was an old Tradition of the Church, that such as come to the Degree or Order of Priesthood single should not Marry wiues. And this is that Holy Bishop Paphnutius, whom these Euangelical Vowbreakers pretend to be their Proctor for their vnlawfull Mariages.

Clerks bound to continēcy. *Lib.* 1. *cap* 11. *Paphnutius li.* 2. *cap.* 25.

Read who list the Epistle of *Siricius ad Himerium Tarraconensem, cap.* 7. the second Epistle of Innocentius to Victritius Bishop of Roen, *cap.* 9 and his third Epistle to Exuperius Bishop of Tolouse, *cap.* 1. and weighing wel these places he shall perceiue, that these holy Popes forbad the Ministers of the Church the vse of Wedlocke, by the same reason, by which the Priests of Moses Law were forbidden to come within their own houses in the time, when their course came to serue in the Holy Ministeries. By the same reason also by which S. Paul requireth married folke for a time to forbeare the vse of their wiues, that they might attend praying.

The Pope Siricius shamefully abuseth the words of S. Paul, & condemneth all Marriage.

The place of Chrysostom alledged by this Defender, well considered, disprooueth no part of the catholike Doctrine in this behalfe, but condemneth both the Doctrin and common Practise of his cōpanions these new fleshly Gospellers. His words be these vpon the saying of S. Paul, that a Bishop ought to be without crime, the Husband of one Wife. The Apostle (saith he) stoppeth the mouths of Heretickes, which condemne Mariage, shewing, that it is not an vnclean thing, but so reuerend that with the same a man may ascend to the Holy Throne, or seat (he meaneth the state of a Bishop:) and heerwith he chastiseth and restraineth the vnchast persons, not permitting them, who haue twice Married, to attain such a roome. For wheras he keepeth no beneuolence towards his wife* deceased, how can he be a good gouernour? yea what grieuous accusations shal not he be subiect vnto daily? For ye all know right wel, that albeit by the Laws the second Marriages be permitted; yet that matter lieth open to many accusations. And therefore he would a Bishop to giue no occasion (of euill) to those that bee vnder him. Hee putteth bigamie,* that is to wit, marrying another after the first or a widow, to be lawfull rather then commendable.

1. Corin. 7. Answer to Chrysostoms place. *In* 1. *ca. ad Timoth. Homil.* 2

Twice Married may not be bishops, and why.

* Vntruth. For M. Harding fouly mistaketh S. Chrysostomes meaning.

* Vntruth, standing in false exposition.

So we see the impure bigamie of our holy Gospellers condemned both by Chrysostom and S. Paul, of whom many being Priests, and (as they say) Bishops, at least presuming to occupy that holy Seat for custody of their Chastity, after their former old yokefellowes decease, solace themselues with new Strumpets. By a better name I would call them, if I wist I should not offend. For what woman soetter coupleth her selfe in such damnable yoking, how can she appeare either to be honest, or to haue care of her souls health? As for the simple that be deceiued by the importunity and craft of those Lurdens, as they are not to be borne withall, so yet I thinke them to be pitied.

Strumpets.

But if this Defender presse vs with Chrysostome, we answer, that though Chrysostome grant that a Maried man may ascend to the holy Seat, yet he saith not, that a man may descend from that holy Seat to the Bride Bed. For we denie vtterly that any man after that he hath receiued holy Orders, may marry. * Neither can it be shewed, that the Marriage of such was euer accoūted lawful in the Catholik Church. Indeed we know, that in Germany, and in England, and certaine other Prouinces at dissolute times, when the discipline of the Church was shaken off, Priests haue bin Married, as we read of the time in which Anselmus was Bishop of Canturbury. But that disorder was alwaies by* due correction of Bishops punished and redressed.

After holy Orders receiued, Mariage neuer coūted lawful among Catholikes. Priests married in England in the time of Anselmus.

* Vntruth. For it was vndoubtedly counted lawfull.

* That is, by allowing of Concubines.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here, I grant, M. Harding is like to find some good aduantage, as hauing vndoubtedly a great number of the holy Fathers of his side. For single life in the cies of Politike

Marriage condēned

litike wise men, for many causes seemeth worthy of fauour. But, good Christian Reader, that thou maist be the better able to see, and iudge how vprightly and indifferently the Fathers haue dealt heerein, either in the aduancing of Virginity, or else in the disgracing of Lawfull Matrimonie, it may please thee to consider the forme and manner of their sayings.

Orig. in epist. ad Rom. cap. 12 lib. 9. Indeed Origen saith: Potest aliquis de castitate plus sapere, quàm oporteat sapere: *A man may thinke more of chastity then is conuenient.* Likewise saith S. Hierome: Declinare ad Dextram, est abstinere a Cibis, quos Deus creauit, & Condemnare Matrimonium, & incurrere in illud, quod dictum est, Noli iustus esse nimium: *To turne to the right hand, is to abstaine from Meats which God hath made, and to* Condemne Matrimony: *and to fall into the danger of the words written by the Wiseman,* Neuer be ouer iust.

Hieronym. in Malach. cap. 2. Vos autem recessistis. Eccl. 7. First therefore Tertullian in the dispraise of Matrimony, saith thus: Ecquid tibi videtur Stupri affine esse Matrimonium? Quoniam in illo deprehendo, quæ stupro competūt: *Doest not thou thinke that* Matrimony is like vnto Fornication? *Certainely I find the same things in the One, that I find in the Other.* Further he saith: Ergo, inquies, iam & Primas, id est, vnas Nuptias destruis. Nec immerito: Quoniam & ipsæ ex eo constant, quod est stuprum: *Then, thou wilt say to me, thou condemnest also the First Marriage. Yea verily, and not without cause:* For both Matrimony and Fornication, consist both of one thing. Chrysostome saith, Hæc ipsa Coniunctio Maritalis malum est ante Deum. Non dico, Peccatum, sed malum: *The very Copulation of Matrimony is* an euill thing before God. *I say not, It is Sinne: but I say it is* an euill thing. And yet immediatly after hee saith: *Si* in Maritis & Adulteris vna est libido, quomodo potest fieri, vt vna eademque res pro dimidia parte sit iustitia, pro dimidia autem sit peccatum? Aut enim tota est Iustitia, aut tota est Peccatum: Quia res Vna est: *If the Married man, and the Aduouterer haue one kind of pleasure, how can it be, that one and the selfe same thing, for the one halfe should be righteousnesse, and for the other halfe should be Sinne? Either it is all Sinne, or all Righteousnesse* : For the thing it selfe is One.

Tert. in exhort. ad Castitatem, pag. 458. Eodem loco.

Chrysost. in Opere Imperfecto, Homil. 1.

Addition. ☞ Here M. Harding saith, I doe falsly demeane my selfe, and beguile my vn- learned Reader. For the Author by these words, *Coniunctio Maritalis*, meant not the Copulation of Matrimony, as you translate it, as though he said, Matrimony it self were an euill thing. God forbid any should so speake of Gods holy Ordinance. But he meaneth the Coniunction of the Husband with his Wife in the Act of Generation. Besides all this he telleth vs of *Fides, Proles, & Sacramentū*: of *Malū Culpæ, & Malum Pœnæ*: Of Immoderate Concupiscence, Inordination, and Rebellion of the Flesh, &c. And all to excuse these words written in Opere Imperfecto, vnder the name of Chrysostome, *The Copulation of Matrimony, or the Coniunction of Man and Wife is an euill thing before God.*

Addition. ☞

M. Harding fol. 283. b.

M. Harding fol. 284. a.

The Answer. First, M. Harding, where you charge mee with false translation and corruption of mine Author, besides that my words of themselues be plain enough, I meant also the very same thing that you meane. Onely I thought to expresse my meaning modestly, and in comely termes without offence. Neither euer was there any Heretike, that I haue heard of, that condemned the very state of Matrimony of it selfe, otherwise then in respect of the Coniunction that followeth afterward. Therefore it was needlesse for you so spightfully to cry out, God forbid, any man should so speake of Gods holy Ordinance, to say that Matrimony it selfe were an euill thing. And yet God ordained, not onely the state of Matrimony it selfe, but also the very act it selfe of Generation. And therefore you haue brought vs a vaine Distinction, M. Harding, without sense or sauour. You might better haue said, God forbid, that any man should say, The Act of Generation it selfe were an euill thing, or should so speake of Gods holy Ordinance.

M. Harding fol. 283. b.

But you tell vs a tale of *Malum pœnæ*, and *Malum Culpæ*. *Malum pœnæ*, is that necessitie, infirmity, and misery that is fixed, and moreised vnto our bodies, as Care, Trouble, Hunger, Thirst, Sicknesse, Death and such other. But are these ill things before God? Are these the things whereof S. Paul complaineth of himselfe, saying: *I doe not that good thing, that I would doe: but I do that euill thing that I would not doe?*

Rom. 7.

You will say, The Author of the Worke, called *Opus Imperfectum*, speaketh not of these Naturall infirmities of the body: but of that Concupiscence, which you call a Rebellion of the flesh. If the Author meant thus, then, I pray you, against what thing doth Concupiscence worke this Rebellion? you must needs say, Against the Will and Spirit of God. For so saith S. Paul. And will you say, This is onely an ill thing? It is no sinne? Is it no sinne, to rebell against Gods holy Spirit, and to withstand his will?

Aug. cont. Iul. lib. 5. cap. 3. Verily S. Augustine saith plainely, Concupiscentia Carnis, aduersus quam bonus concupiscit Spiritus, & Peccatum est, & pœna peccati, & causa peccati: *The Concupiscence of the Flesh, against which the good Sprit desireth or laboureth, is both sinne it selfe, and also the paine of Sinne, and the cause of Sinne.* Here S. Augustine saith, that the same Concupiscence and Rebellion

Rebellion, whereof you speake, is not onely an euill thing, but also very Sinne indeed. Therefore leaue this niceneſſe, M. Harding, and tell vs plainely, that the Coniunction of Man and Wife is not onely an euill thing, but also Sinne before God.

Marriage condemned.

But S. Auguſtine ſaith farre otherwiſe: Paulus modeſtè deterret à Nuptijs, non tanquã re mala, & illicita: ſed tanquam ab onerosa & moleſta. Aliud eſt enim admittere Carnis turpitudinem, aliud habere Carnis tribulationem. Illud eſt Criminis facere: Hoc laboris eſt pati: S. Paul *in modeſt manner withdraweth men from Mariage: not, as from a thing euill, & vnlawfull: but, as from a thing greeuous, and burthenous. For, to commit the filthineſſe of the Fleſh it is one thing: To haue the trouble of the fleſh, it is another thing. The one is to commit a fault, the other is to ſuffer a paine.* Thus, by *S.* Auguſtines iudgement, Marriage is not an euill or vnlawfull thing, but onely a burthenous and a grieuous thing. *Aug. de Sancta Virginitate cap.* 16.

But why ſhould you thus Defend an open errour? This Author bearing the name of Chryſoſtome, ſaith, that the Copulation, which is in Marriage, notwithſtanding it bee no ſinne, yet is an euill thing before God. Where did God himſelfe euer ſo ſay in all the Scriptures? Where did the Holy Ghoſt euer ſay, that Wedlocke is an euill thing? Neither doe I heere meane the degree or ſtate of Wedlocke, but the very fellowſhip and vſe of Wedlocke. Where did the Holy Ghoſt euer ſay heereof, It is an euill thing before God?

Verily S. Paul ſaith: *Mariage is Honourable in all degrees, and a bed vndefiled.* The Mariage bed, ſaith S. Paul, is no euill thing before God: *It is pure and holy, and vndefiled.* God himſelfe ordained Matrimony: He ordaineth no ill. God himſelfe commanded the Coniunction it ſelfe & vſe of Matrimony: He commandeth no ill. *Vnto the cleane, all things are cleane. He that beſtoweth his Virgin in Marriage* (ſaith *S.* Paul) *doth well.* S. Paul ſaith not, He doth euill before God: But contrariwiſe, *He doth well.* But how could hee do well in giuing her occaſion to doe ill? The holy Father Paphnutius in the great Councel of Nice ſaid thus: Congreſſus cum legitima vxore, eſt Caſtitas: *The company of a man with his lawfull Wife, is Chaſtity.* Touching the diſordered affections, that may happen in the vſe of Marriage, I will ſay nothing. If ye reaſon thus: Such affections be ill: *Ergo*, the vſe of Marriage it ſelfe is ill: Ye fall into a foule errour in arguing, called, as you know, Paralogiſmus Accidentis. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Non quia incontinentia malum eſt, ideò Concubinum, vel id, quo incontinentes copulantur, non eſt bonum: *We may not ſay, becauſe Incontinencie is an euill thing, therfore Wedlocke or that Copulation that is between* (Man and Wife) *that containe not, is no good thing.* S. Auguſtine calleth the very Copulation of Man and Wife, and the vſe of Matrimony, a good thing, and that foure times together in the ſame one place. How then can you ſay, that the ſame Copulation and vſe of Matrimony, is an euill thing before God? Beware M. Harding, yee be not found in the Company of them that ſay, *Good is euill, and euill is good*. Heb. 13. 1. Tim. 1. 1. Cor. 7. *Sozo. li.* 1. *c.* 22. Eſa. 5.

S. Hierome ſaith, Si bonum eſt, Mulierem non tangere, malum eſt ergo tangere. Nihil enim Bono contrarium eſt, niſi Malum: *If it be good for a man not to touch his wife, then is it* euil to touch his wife. *For there is nothing contrary to Good, but Euill.* Again he ſaith, Quamdiu impleo Mariti officium, non impleo Chriſtiani: *As long as I doe the duty of a Husband,* I doe not the duty of a Chriſtian man. Againe, Non negamus Viduas, non negamus Maritatas Sanctas Mulieres inueniri. Sed quæ Vxores eſſe deſierint: quæ in ipſa neceſſitate Coniugij Virginum imitentur Caſtitatem: *We deny not, but Widows and Married Women may be Holy. But ſuch, as haue* left and forſaken Wiues duties, *and in the very neceſſity of Matrimony do counterfet the Chaſtity that is in Maidens.* *Hier. contr. Iouinian. lib.* 1. *Ibidem.* *Hieron. contr. Heluidium.*

The like account wee may make of ſundry others: Theſe few may ſuffice for this preſent.

Now, touching the Mariage of Widowers and Widowes, a great many of the ancient Fathers ſeeme expreſſly and vtterly to condemne it.

Athenagoras ſaith, Secundæ Nuptiæ decorum quoddam ſunt Adulterium: *The Second Marriage* (of Widowers or Widowes) *is a* faire kind of Aduourry. And *S.* Hierom calleth Widowes ſo married, Harlots and Naughty Women, Malas & Proſtitutas: And ſaith: Digamia non naſcitur in terra bona: *Second Marriage groweth not in good ſoile.* Againe he ſaith: Tolerabilius eſt, vni proſtitutam eſſe, quàm multis: *More tollerable it is,* to bee Concubine vnto one, *then vnto many.* Againe, Vbi numerus Maritorum eſt, ibi vir, qui propriè vnus eſt, eſſe deſiit: *Where as there is a number of husbands,* there the Husband, that in proper ſpeech is but one, is no Husband. Likewiſe againe: Non damno Digamos. Etiam Scortatorem recipio Pœnitentem. Quicquid æqualiter licet, æqua lance penſandum eſt: *I condemne not Widowers, or Widowes that haue Married againe. No, I refuſe not the Fornicatour vpon his repentance.* Whatſoeuer is equally lawfull, muſt be weighed in One ballance. *Athenagor. in Apolog. pro Chriſtianis.* *Hieron. ad Gerontiam.* *Hier. contr. Iouinian. lib.* 1. *In eod. libro.*

Nazianzenus

Nazian. in dictum Euang. Cum perfeciſſet Ieſus.

Nazianzenus ſaith: Hic ſermo videtur mihi reijcere Secundas Nuptias. Si enim Duo ſunt Chriſti, Duo item ſunt Mariti, & Duæ Vxores. *This ſaying ſeemeth to* condemne Second Mariage. *For, if there bee Two Chriſts, then are there Two Husbands and Two Wiues.*

Origen in Lucam Hom. 17.

Origen ſaith, Nunc & Secundæ, & Tertiæ, & Quartæ Nuptiæ repetuntur: & non ignoramus, quòd tale coniugium eijciet nos de Regno Dei: *Now the Second, and Third, & Fourth Mariage is receiued. And we know, that ſuch Mariage* ſhall caſt vs out of the Kingdome of God.

Second Marriage.

By theſe few examples wee may ſée, It was hard for theſe holy learned Fathers, in ſo large amplifications of Praiſing or Diſpraiſing, to hold meaſure. Yet, all theſe vehement words and amplifications notwithſtanding, partlie the ſame, partly other the like holy and learned Fathers, both vſed Mariage themſelues in their owne perſons, and alſo otherwiſe wrote, and ſpake thereof with great reuerence.

Hieronym. De Scriptor. Eccl.

Tertullian, as *S.* Hierome witneſſeth, was a married Priеſt. Spiridion the Biſhop of

Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 11.

Cyprus, ſometime famous in the Councell of Nice, was married, and had Children. So was *S.* Hilary the Biſhop of Poiters, as appeareth by his Epiſtle to his Daughter Abra.

Hilarius.

Addition. ☞ The authority of Hilary (ſaith M. Harding) is a ſimple ragge and a peeuiſh Apocryphall forged write &c. *The Anſwer.* It is euen ſo indéed. I neuer tooke it to bée otherwiſe. Neither doe I allege it in ſuch great ſooth, as you imagine, but onely as a Pamphlet of your owne. For, howſoeuer you weigh it now, they were your owne friends, that firſt forged this forgerie; they were not of vs. If you would ſhake off all ſuch the like ragges, that you and your Fathers haue patched vp vnder the names of Anacletus, Athanaſius, Amphilochius and others, a great part of your Bookes muſt néeds goe naked. But notwithſtanding theſe Writs bee forged, and full of Fables, yet the Fathers themſelues, whoſe names they beare, in their owne perſons, were not forged. For Anacletus indéed was Biſhop of Rome: Athanaſius indéed was Biſhop of Alexandria: Amphilochius indéed was Biſhop of Iconium. Euen ſo, although this Epiſtle, which ſome of you haue forged, vnder the name of S. Hilary, bee a Fable, yet S. Hilary indéed in his owne perſon was a learned Father and Biſhop of Poiters in France, aboue eleuen hundred yeres ago: and might indéede haue a wife: and Abra indéed might be his daughter. And what maruell? For the Prieſts in France liued ſtill in wedlocke vntill the time of Pope Hildebrand, which was aboue ſeuen hundred yéres after the death of S. Hilarie. Addition. ☞

Bapt. Mantuanus, in Faſtis.

Verily Baptiſta Mantuanus witneſſeth, that Hilarius in the time of his Biſhoprick had a wife, and liued with her. ☜

Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 19.

So was Gregory S. Baſils Brother, the Biſhop of Nyſſa. So was Gregory the Biſhop of Nazianzum, Father vnto Gregorie Nazianzene, as appeareth by Ruffinus: Yet was he neuertheleſſe *A Faithfull Seruant, and a Steward of the Myſteries of God: A man of Spirituall deſires: The God of Pharoa: The Pillar and Buttreſſe of the Church: and the Starre of the World.* For in ſuch wiſe his owne Sonne Gregory Nazianzene reporteth of him. Such a one was He, his Wife and Family notwithſtanding. So was Proſper of Aquitania, the Biſhop of Rhegium, as it appeareth by his Epigramme written vnto his Wife:

Nazian. in laudem Patris: Σὺν φιλῳ, σὺν λαῳ ἡ ἐξίτηλα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ φωτὶ ἐχ ὑλικῷ.

Mearum Comes irremota rerum.

Proſper.

So was the holy Father Cheremon the Biſhop of Nilus: who, as Euſebius writeth, was ſent into baniſhment with his Wife. So Polycrates being likewiſe a Biſhop, ſometime ſaid, that ſeuen of his Fathers or Anceſtors had béene Biſhops. The Greeke word is συγγενεῖς. Ruffinus tranſlateth it, Parentes.

Euſ. lib. 6. ca. 41. γάμων.

Euſ. lib. 5. ca. 25: Nouell. Conſtit. 3. §. finale. E Greco.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. The Greeke word (you ſay) is συγγενεῖς; and Ruffinus tranſlateth it *Parentes*, &c. You meane not, I trow, that Polycrates had ſeuen Fathers. For that were too many by ſix, you know. One Father is enough pardy for one man. What gather you heereof, that Polycrates was Married, becauſe he had ſeuen Anceſtours? *The Anſwer.* You are a pleaſant man, M. Harding: I ſée, a little thing may make you merry. But, you ſay further: I haue belied Ruffinus. For hee tranſlateth not συγγενεῖς, *Patres*, but *Parentes*; which (you ſay) goeth further off in ſignification then the word *Patres*, doth, as the learned in the Ciuill Laws do know. Indéed herein, I confeſſe, there was an ouerſight. It is true, Ruffinus hath not Patres, but Parentes. And yet where you ſay, I belie Ruffinus, ye are ouer bitter. You know the difference betweene Patres and Parentes is not ſo great. For oftentimes in good ſignification both Patres be Parentes, and Parentes be Patres. Cicero ioineth them in one, and ſaith, Pater, Parenſque, both together. You ſay, This word, *Parentes*, goeth further in ſignification, then this word, *Patres*, as the learned in the Ciuill Law doe know. I denie it not, M. Harding. But will you alſo ſay, that Ruffinus was ſo curious in choiſe of words, or that he went to the Ciuilians to learne Latine? Verilie S. Hierome ſpeaketh ſcornefully of him in that behalfe, and thinketh him not able to ſpeake good Latine. Howbeit, let vs ſee, what ſignification this word Parentes beareth among the Ciuilians. Thus therefore ſaith Caius one of the Fathers

Hieron. in Apologia aduerſus Ruffinum. Συγγενικὸν ἐξαμάρτος.

Fathers of the Law: Appellatione Parentis, non tantùm Pater, sed etiam Auus, & Proauus, & deinceps omnes superiores continentur: sed & Mater, & Auia: *Vnder this name Parens, is conteined, not only Father, Grandfather, and Greatgrandfather, and all other orderly going vpward: but also Mother, and Grandmother.* All these, saith Cauus, are conteined vnder this word, Parens. Now M. Harding, for that it liketh you to make needlesse quarrels, and to play with words, I reckon, ye will not say, that Polycrates Mother, or Grandmother, or Greatgrandmother were Bishops before him. For so, I trow, your learned Ciuilians will not say. Then it resteth, that Polycrates said, his Father, his Grandfather, and his Greatgrandfather, &c. were Bishops, and that one of them had bene Father vnto another. And this is all that I said. Therefore your mirth is at an end. *De verb. & rerum significant. Lib* 50.

Bishops & Priests married.

Iustinianus the Emperour semeth the more to esteeme Epiphanius the Bishop of Constantinople, for that his Father, and other his Ancestors had bene Priests, and Bishops.

Ignatius, S. Iohn the Euangelists Scholar, saith: Peter *and other the Apostles of Christ were married men.* So writeth Clemens Alexandrinus. So writeth Eusebius. Origen saith, by the report of others his Ancestours, *That S.* Paul *and his wife were called to the Faith both at one time.* *Ignat. ad Philadelphien. Clemens Stromat.* 3. *Euseb. lib.* 3. *ca.* 30. *Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. cap.* 1.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Of which wife, as he saith, he writeth thus in his Epistle to the Philippiens: Rogo te Germana compar, &c. *I beseech thee, faithfull Yoke-fellow, helpe those women that haue laboured with me in the Gospell.* ☜

S. Ambrose saith: Omnes Apostoli, excepto Iohanne, & Paulo, Vxores habuerunt: All the Apostles *had Wiues, only* Iohn *and* Paul *excepted.* *Lib.* 1.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Here saith M. Harding, Whether is truer man, M. Iewell that wrote the Reply, or M. Iewell that wrote this pretensed Defense? There he saith thus: The twelue Apostles, saith S. Ambrose, only *S.* Iohn excepted, were all married: Heere he saith otherwise: *S.* Ambrose saith, All the Apostles had wiues, only *S.* Iohn and S. Paul excepted. Heere S. Paul hath no wife: There S. Paul hath a wife. If you were a true man there, then are you false heere. If you be true heere, then were you false there. Or he had a wife, or he had not. Say which ye will; M. Iewell is contrary to M. Iewell. Faine would I know which of these M. Iewels were to be trusted. *The Answer.* Here we haue M. Iewel in his Reply, and M. Iewel in his Defense: M. Iewel contrary to M. Iewel: True heere, and False there: False here, and True there. Oh, what a merry pang was this, M. Harding? Pee lacke but somewhat to make your selfe sport. S. Ambrose saith, *The twelue Apostles, only* S. Iohn *excepted, were all married.* Againe S. Ambrose saith, *All the Apostles had wiues, only* S. Iohn *and* S. Paul *excepted.* I pray you, good M. Harding, what contrariety finde you in these words? Doe I make S. Ambrose first to say, S. Paul had a wife? And doe I make him afterward to say, S. Paul had no wife? I trow ye were not awake. Ye laught at somewhat in your dreame. You know, though S. Paul were an Apostle of Christ, yet was he none of the twelue Apostles. What should you be told of those things that Children know? Ye much misreckon your selfe. These things may well stand together. All the twelue Apostles, Iohn only excepted, had wiues. And yet S. Paul, being none of the twelue, had no wife. What meane you then with this M. Iewell, and that M. Iewell: M. Iewell heere, and M. Iewell there? Both here and there M. Iewll saith truth. But both heere and there you are one man still. Why should you so vainly bestow your wits? *Ambros. in* 2. *Corint. cap.* 11.

As touching S. Paul, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, and Ignatius, that saw Christ after his Resurrection, and was in company with the Apostles, say in plaine words, *He had a wife.* Of the other side, S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostome, S. Hierome, and others that liued welneere foure hundred yeeres after Christs Ascension, say plainly, He had no wife. Heere haue you Doctours against Doctours: three against three: and that namely touching the marriage of S. Paul. Will you therefore come in with these gewgawes, and tell vs, Faine would I know which of these Doctours were to bee trusted? Leaue, leaue this vnseemely sporting. M. Harding. Yetwille it becommeth you not. There is nothing heere worthy the laughing at, but only your folly. ☜ *Ignatius ad Philadelph.*

Clemens Alexandrinus saith: Perfecti Christiani Edunt, Bibunt, contrahunt Matrimonium: They that be perfect Christian men, *doe Eat, and Drinke, and contract Matrimonie.* S. Hierome writing against Iouinian, saith thus: Quasi non hodie quoque plurimi Sacerdotes habeant Matrimonia: *As though now a daies* very many Priests *were not married.* And therefore he saith, as he is alleged by Gratian, Legant Episcopi & Presbyteri, qui Filios suos sæcularibus literis eruduint: *Let* Bishops and Priests *read these things, that* bring vp their Children *in worldly learning,* (and not in the Scriptures of God.) *Clemens Stromata. lib.* 7. *Hieronym. aduers. Iouinian. lib.* 1. *Dist.* 37. *Legant.*

Pope Damasus, and others haue shewed vs, that a great number of Bishops of Rome were Priests sonnes: As Pope Syluerius: Pope Deus dedit: Pope Adrianus 2. Pope *Dist.* 56. *Osius.*

Bishops married.

Iohn 15. Pope Fœlix 3. Pope Hoſius: Pope Agapetus: Pope Galatius: Pope Bonifacius: Pope Iohn 10. Pope Theodorus. And concludeth thus: Complures etiam alij inueniuntur, qui de Sacerdotibus nati, Apoſtolicæ Sedi præfuerunt: Many others *beſide there are found, that* being Prieſts ſonnes, ruled the Apoſtolike See of Rome.

M. Harding fol. 287. a.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. What ſhall I ſay vnto this fellow? Who euer ſaw ſo impudent a man? Doth Pope Damaſus ſhew you all this, M. Iewell? Fie for ſhame man. You a Miniſter of Gods Word? Nay, a Miniſter of vaine Fables, and a Miniſter of open Lies. What may wee call this in you? Fooliſh ignorance, or ſhameleſſe malice? How could you be ſo ignorant, or ſo witleſſe, as once to dreame that Damaſus, that learned Pope, ſhould thus write? That you might ſeeme a iolly proctour for your brothers, the married Apoſtates, Sacrilegious, Inceſtuous, & abominable yoking, muſt Damaſus needs be made a Prophet? Conſider, Reader, I pray thee (for it booteth not to tell it M. Iewell) how this tale hangeth together. Damaſus was the 39. Pope: Syluerius was the 60. Pope: Deusdedit was the 70. Pope: Adrianus 2. was the 109. Pope, &c. What a maruellous Prophet then was M. Iewels Damaſus, that could thus Prophecie of ſo many Popes ſo long to come after his death? As for Pope Hoſius, hee is a Pope of M. Iewels owne making. In the Regiſters of the Popes I finde none ſo named. Gratian hath not ſo many Popes by three. For he nameth not Iohn 10. nor Iohn 15. nor Adrian 2. &c. *The anſwer.* What meane theſe terrible exclamations, M. Harding? You cry out, Vaine, Fooliſh, Ignorant, Witleſſe, Impudent, Shameleſſe, Sacrilegious, Inceſtuous, Abominable yoking. Who hath thus offended you? What wiſe man would be ſo vehement without ſome cauſe? It were much better for you to come againe to your ſelfe and to learne to be ſober. *Pope Damaſus* (you ſay) could not write of *Syluerius*, and *Deusdedit*, and *Adrianus*, and *Fœlix*, & others that were borne ſo many yeeres after his death. What then? Will you therefore thus fondly fall out, and rage with me? It is your owne friend Doctor Gratian, M. Harding, that thus hath written. I am the reporter only: I write it not. Call him Vaine, Fooliſh, Ignorant, Witleſſe, Impudent, Shameleſſe, and what you liſt. Fall out rather with them that haue called his Bookes, The Foundation of the Canon Law. Fall out with Pope Eugenius, that commended his Bookes vnto the world. As for me, I know what he is. I allege him as I finde him. Compare my words with Gratian: you ſhall ſee I doe right. Onely I left out certaine Popes names for ſhortneſſe ſake: which fault here for your pleaſure I haue reformed.

Addition ☞

Diſt. 56. Hoſius.

Fundamentum Iuris Canonici.

But you ſay, Hoſius is a Pope of M. Iewels owne making. For in the Regiſter of Popes yee finde none ſo named. Yet if you had better conferred with Gratian, you ſhould haue found, that Pope Hoſius is the firſt in all the ranke. How truely he is either ſo named, or ſo placed, I make none account. It is your owne Gratian that ſo reporteth: and, as I haue ſaid before, it is the ground and foundation of all your Lawes. *Pope Damaſus* (you ſay) could not write of thoſe Popes that ſo many hundred yeeres followed after him. That, I grant you, is alſo an error. Bid your Gratian reforme it. For his only errour it is: It is none of ours. Howbeit, as for the truth of the matter it ſelf, read the lines of al theſe Popes; and ye ſhal finde it true, that Gratian ſaith, that euery of them had a Prieſt to his Father. For example, Platina ſaith, Pope Siluerius was the ſonne of Biſhop Hormiſda: Pope Bonifacius 1. was the ſonne of Iucundus a Prieſt. And ſo the reſt. Therefore, ſomewhat to releaſe your Gratians credit, notwithſtanding he erred in the name of Damaſus, yet in the true ſtory of theſe Popes, and of their fathers, he erred nothing. For indeed all they, whoſe names he rehearſeth, were Prieſts ſonnes.

Platina in Syluerio & in Bonifacio 1.

Further you ſay, *Gratian* hath not ſo many Popes names by three, as I haue reckoned. For he nameth not Pope Iohn 10. nor Pope Iohn 15. nor Pope Adrian 2. This, I confeſſe, was mine owne ouerſight, in that I mingled theſe names with the reſt, neither alleging nor noting mine Author. Notwithſtanding, this errour proceeded onely of negligence, and not of malice, as to any indifferent man it may ſone appeare. For touching the truth of the matter it ſelfe, Platina ſaith, *Euery of theſe three Popes had a Prieſt to his Father*, as had the others, whom we haue named. Theſe be his words: Pope Iohn *the eleuenth* (which in other computations is reckoned the tenth) *was ſonne vnto Pope* Sergius: *Pope* Iohn *the ſixteenth* (who of ſome others is counted the fifteenth) *was ſonne to a Prieſt, called* Leo: *Pope* Adrian *the ſecond was the ſonne of a Biſhop, named* Taralus. Here ye haue your whole reckoning, M. Harding, and no cauſe why ye ſhould be further offended.

Platina in Iohanne 11.
In Iohan. 16.
In Adrian. 2.

M Harding fol. 287. b.

But you tel your Reader, That this Authority is brought in by Gratian vnder the name of *Palea*: and that *Palea* is as much to ſay, as Chaffe, and ſignifieth, that all that followeth is little worth. Such Chaffe (ſay you) is M. Iewell driuen to take hold at, to maintaine his brothers filthineſſe, for lacke of better ſtuffe. And is it true, M. Harding, that all that Gratian ſaieth out vnder the name of Palea, is nothing elſe but Chaffe, and vaine ſtuffe of little worth? What wil you then doe with your great Donation of Conſtantine, whereby the Pope claimeth his Iuriſdiction ouer the other three Patriarks, his whole Triple Crowne, and the whole Empire of the Weſt? Shall this alſo goe for Chaffe, and Forgerie, and Vaine ſtuffe? Doe you not know that the ſaid Donation is intituled Palea, as well as this? Will you for

Diſtinct. 96. Conſtantinus.

for the safegard of your Priests children, leaue the Pope with all his Vniuersall Power, and authoritie in the Chaffe? Thus you vse your Authours, and Doctours, M. Harding: Sometimes they are Chaffe: Sometimes they are Corne: Sometimes they are Drosse: Sometimes they are Gold.

Bishops married.

Here you haue the whole matter truly proued: All these Popes, by your Gratian alleged, found Priests sonnes: The other three Popes with the Priests their fathers fully auouched: Your vaine Chaffe blowen into the winde: And your Gratians errors, touching the names of Damasus and Hosius, sufficiently answered. Leaue therefore your ordinarie table of Foolish, Witlesse, Impudent and Shamelesse men, M. Harding, lest your Reader happen to open his eies, and espie whole dealing is Impudent.

Pope Pius saith: A married man, hauing his wife aliue, may bee chosen Pope. His words be these: Cur enim disputant Doctores, An electus in Papam Vxori suæ debitum soluere teneatur, &c. *For wherefore dot he Canonists moone this doubt*, Whether a man being chosen Pope be bound to yeeld marriage duty to his wife, *vnlesse a married man may bee chosen to that roome?* Polydorus Virgilius saith, that the restraint of Priests marriage was first attempted in England, about the yeere of our Lord, Nine hundred threescore and ten: and that the same was afterward concluded in the West Church, about the yeere of our Lord, A thousand and a hundred, and neuer before.

Æneas Syl. De gestis Concil. Basil. lib. 2.

Polydorus in Historia Anglor. lib. 6. An. Dom. 970.

Fabian saith, that Bishops and Priests liued a thousand yeeres together with their wiues, no Law being to the contrary.

Polydorus De Inuentoribus Rerum, lib. 5. An. Dō. 1100.

Fabian pag. 293.

These two Principels being thus laid, the one of Immoderate and Extraordinarie speech of the Holy Fathers, the other of the Continuall and Ordinarie practise of the Church, wee may now bee the better able to consider the Substance of M. Hardings reasons.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. What, will M. Iewell make this fond and childish Argument: Certaine Fathers spake ouer vehemently concerning Matrimony: *Item*, Some of them were called to dignitie of Bishops from the state of married men: *Ergo*, Priests, Monkes, Friers, Nunnes, who haue vowed Chastitie, may lawfully marry wiues, and take husbands? Of what small substance this reason is, the veriest Coblers of all their Ministers, if they can read any English besides their Communio. book, may easily perceiue. *The Answer.* Coblers wee haue none in the holy Ministerie, M. Harding. And yet if we had any such, I see no cause but they might doe God better seruice in his Church, then many that haue beene, and yet are Priests and Cardinals in the Church of Rome. And what great wonder were it if a good simple godly man were made a Priest? You may remember that Iulius the 2. a man vtterly void both of learning and vertue, from a wherry-slaue, not long sithence, became a Pope. Verily S. Chrysostome is not ashamed often times to call S. Paul, Sutorem Pellium, which words you may English, A Clowter of Skinnes, or A Cobler. But to leaue these your vaine and needlesse quarrels, there is no Cobler so simple, but it pitieth him to see you in so weighty matters to shew such folly.

M. Harding fol. 282. b.

Erasm. in Prouerbio, A Remo ad Tribunal. Chryso. in 2. ad. Timo. Hom. 5.

The Childish Arguments that you haue imagined, are your owne M. Harding: you know full well they are none of mine. Thus onely I say: Diuers the Holie Fathers haue written ouer basely, I will not say vilely and slanderously of the state of Matrimonie in generall, calling it in all kinde of men, Fornication; An ill thing, and like to Aduouterie: Therefore, I say, they may much lesse bee taken as indifferent Iudges in Priests Marriage. Againe: Diuers the Holy Fathers, being themselues Priests and Bishoppes, had wiues, and liued in Matrimonie: Therefore, I say, they condemned not Priests marriage. ☞

First of all, his Obiection of Vowes nothing toucheth the Clergie of England. For it is known and confessed, that the Priests of England were neuer Votaries.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ Further, where I say, The Clergie of England was neuer bound to such Vow of Chastitie: you say, What mooueth you to say, The Priests of England are no Votaries? What priuiledge haue they aboue all other Priests of Christendome, at least, of the Latine and West Church? &c. *The Answer.* You know, M. Harding, neither the Priests of England euer offered any such Vow, nor the Bishop euer required it. And how can hee bee a Votarie, that maketh no Vow? Or how can there be a Vow, where nothing is Vowed?

M. Harding fol. 290. b.

You say, This Vow is annexed to Holy Orders by statute of Holy Church. And Bishops, Priests, and Deacons be tied to Chastitie. To Chastitie, say you, M. Harding? Would God it were so. Would God the world saw not the contrarie. Howbeit, here you allege Pope Gregorie, the Emperour Iustinian, the Councell of Carthage, Pope Leo, and others. Yea although the Bishop require nothing, and although the Priest promise nothing, Yet (you say) Oaths and promises may lawfully passe without words. And heere you bring in many proper

M. Hard fol. 291. a 291. b.

M. Harding fol. 293. a.

things, of Laying hands on a booke, of Holding vp two fingers, of Souldiers Badges, and I wot not what. In the end you conclude, A becke is as good as a Dieugard. All these words, M. Harding, are not worth one word of Answer.

M. Harding fol. 293. b.

Bishops & Priests maried

If the Priests of England were alwaies Votaries, and haue so continued from the beginning, how is it then that the same Priests nevertheless continued still in lawfull Matrimonie, for the space of more then a thousand yeres together after Christ, and that without reproofe, and without offence of the Church of God? Were they all bound by Vow to liue single? And yet did they altogether, all that while, contrarie to their solemne Vow, liue lawfully in open Wedlocke? Who would thus say, but M. Harding? Where then was the Pope, that should haue depriued them? Where was then M. Harding, that should haue cried out vpon them, Fleshly, Incestuous, Sacrilegious Vowbreakers? Was Incest and Sacrilege so lightly weighed among our Fathers, so long a time? Was there neither Bishop, nor Priest, nor other holy man within this Realme, during the space of so many hundred yeres, that would reproue it? Did all the godly Priests of this Realme make solemne Vowes for no other cause, but only to breake them? Let vs think better of our Fathers, M. Harding. Certainly they made no such Vow, neither by Becke, as you say, nor by Dieu gard.

Againe, If the Vow of Chastitie be of it selfe annexed to Orders, as you say, what shall wee then thinke of the Priests of Græcia, and Asia, and of all other Christened Countries throrow the world? Are they all bound to Chastitie by Solemne Vow, and yet liue they all in open Matrimonie against their Vow? Are they all Fleshly, Incestuous, Sacrilegious Vow-breakers, without exception? Wherefore then doth Pope Stephanus say, Aliter se Orientalium Traditio habet Ecclesiarum, aliter huius Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Nam illarum Sacerdotes, Diaconi, & Subdiaconi Matrimonio copulantur? *The Tradition of the East Church is one, and the Tradition of this holy Church of* Rome *is another. For the Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons of the East Church are ioined in Matrimonie?* Wherefore is it noted there in the Rubrike, Orientalis Ecclesia Votum Castitatis non obtulit? *The East Church hath not offered the Vow of Chastitie?* Wherefore doe you your selfe, M. Harding, secretly confesse, that the Priests of the East Church are no Votaries? Remember your words: Thus you say: What Priuiledge haue the Priests of England aboue all other Priests of Christendome, at least of the Latine and West Church, you say: you dare not say, the East Church was euer subiect to any such Vow. Wherefore doth Cardinall Caietaine say, Nec Ordo, in quantum Ordo, Nec Ordo, in quantum Sacer, est impeditiuus Matrimonij? *Neither the Order of Priesthood, in that it is an Order, nor the same Order, in that it is Holy, is any hinderance to Matrimonie?* Neither Pope Stephanus, nor Gratian, nor Cardinall Caietane, nor you your selfe might thus haue written, if the Vow of Chastitie were necessarily annexed to Holy Orders.

Dist. 31. Aliter

M. Harding fol. 290 b. Cardinal. Caietan. in Quodlibetis.

You allege a Canon of the Councell of Ancyra, where, you say, It is thus decreed touching Deacons: If a Deacon receiue Orders of the Bishop, and hold his peace, it shal not be lawfull afterward for him to marry. By this Canon you teach vs, that the Vow of Chastitie is euermore ioyned with Holy Orders. But in the same Canon it is also Decreed, *That if the Deacon make Protestation, and tell the Bishop that he will marry, for that he is not able to liue single, then if he afterward marry, he shall still continue in the Ministerie.* All this, I say, is written in the same Canon: I say not in any other, but in the same. Ye would not thus haue beguiled your Reader, if ye had meant plainly. Notwithstanding, I will not heere touch your credit, M. Harding, nor vse your ordinary exclamations of Falshood and Forgerie. Yet heer you see in this case, the *Councell thought it lawfull for a Deacon to marrie, notwithstanding hee were in Holy Orders.* And thus it is plaine by the same Canon ye haue heere alleged, *That then your Vow was not annexed to Holy Orders.*

M. Harding fol. 292. a. Concil. Ancyr. cap. 10.

Further you say, *Origen*, whom I may well allege for witnesse of the Church of his time, saith that none may offer the Continuall Sacrifice, but such onely, as haue Vowed Continuall Chastitie. *The Answer.* By the Continuall Sacrifice you would beare vs in hand, that Origen meant onely that Sacrifice, that you haue imagined in your Masse. But indeed M. Harding, Origen in that place speaketh not one word, neither of your Masse, (for hee neuer knew it: he would haue abhorred it) nor of your imagined Sacrifice, nor of Priest, nor of Deacon, nor of any outward ministerie of the Church. If it be otherwise, for your credits sake, let the words appeare. If there be in Origen not one such word, no not one, what opinion may your friends haue in your dealing, whom they see so sutly to iuggle before their eies? Verily, Origen by the Continuall Sacrifice meant none other but onely the Sacrifice of Faithfull Praier: which Sacrifice also thus many waies he exacteth: Si sine intermissione, &c. *If we* Pray *without ceasing. If our* Praier *early in the morning rise vp as a pleasant perfume in the sight of God. If the lifting vp of our hands be vnto him an Euening Sacri-*

M. Harding 292. a. Origen. in Numer. Hom 23.

fice.

fice. This is the Sacrifice that Origen there speaketh of, M. Harding. Of any other your Sacrifice he speaketh nothing. Of this Sacrifice he saith, *No man can offer it that liueth in Wedlocke.* And thus he saith not onely of Priests and Deacons, as you seeme to tel vs, but generally of euery of Gods Faithfull People. *No man* (saith he) *can offer vp this continuall* Sacrifice *of* Praier, *vnlesse he continue in Chastity, and liue a Virgin.* And this M. Harding, was not the Generall Order of the Church in that time, as you report it, but one of Origens particular and knowne errours. Bishops & Priests married.

Thus you haue proued, That your Vow was annexed to holy Orders, by the authority of him that speaketh not one word, neither of Priest, nor of Deacon, nor of any other Ecclesiasticall Order: but generally of all faithfull Christian people: and of the particular errour of one man ye haue framed a Generall Order of the Church.

Yet for further Answer, we grant it is reason and conuenient, that who so hath made a Vow vnto God, should keepe his promise. Cyrillus saith: Si castitatem promiserit, & seruare non poterit, pronunciet peccatum suum: *If ye haue promised, or vowed Chastity, and* cannot keepe it, *let him pronounce and confesse his sinne.* *Cyril. in Leuiticum, Lib. 3.*

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. As for the saying you alledge out of the third book of Cyrillus in Leuiticum, it can serue you to no purpose, but to witnesse your forgerie and falshood. For there is no such saying in that booke. *The Answer.* Oh, M. Harding, why should you take so vaine pleasure in euill speech? Is there no such saying in all that Booke? What Booke had you to seeke in? Or what spectacles had you to behold it? Your manner is to pronounce ouer boldly before you know. I grant I haue not alleged all the words that S. Cyril vseth: Otherwise I should haue taken out of him more then thirty lines al together. Notwithstanding I haue neither forged, nor altered, nor deuised any maner thing of my selfe, as it shall appeare. *M. Harding. fol. 290. a.*

First S. Cyril saith thus: Nos, cùm venimus ad Dominum, & Vouemus nos ei in Castitate (velle) seruire, pronunciamus labijs nostris, & iuramus nos (velle) castigare carnem nostram, &c. *When we come to our Lord, and make a Vow, that wee will serue him in Chastity, we pronounce with our lips, and make an oath, that wee will chasten our flesh, &c.* Heere haue wee by expresse words a Vow, and a Vow of Chastity. After certaine lines it followeth thus: Si istum Ordinem promiseris, & seruare non quiueris, audi quid Legis ordo præcipiat: Si peccauerit, inquit, vnum aliquod de istis, pronunciet peccatum suum quod peccauit: *If thou haue promised to keepe this Order, and canst not keepe it, heere what the Order of the Law commandeth thee. Thus saith the Law, If a man shall offend in any of these things, let him pronounce the sinne that he hath sinned.* Heere you may not say, M. Harding, that these last words were vttered vpon occasion of some other matter that went betweene. For S. Cyril spake these selfe same words namely and onely of him that hath Vowed and sworn Chastity. *We make a Vow* (saith Cyril) *to serue God in Chaste life: Wee pronounce it, and* giue it out from our lips: *We sweare that we will Chasten our flesh.* Yet, saith he, *If thou haue promised to keepe this Order, and canst not keepe it, pronounce thy sinne that thou hast sinned.* These, M. Harding, bee the words that you say cannot be found in S. Cyril. This is my Falshood: This my forgerie. You see your ouer hasty iudgement may soone deceiue you. *Cyril. in Leuiticum, Lib. 3.*

Howbeit, touching Virginity, or Chastity, wee say, It standeth not in our Choice, or Vow, but in the singular gift of God. Christ himselfe saith: *All men take not this Word, but they vnto whom it is giuen.* Iustinus Martyr saith: Multi castrauerunt se propter Regnum Cœlorum. Verùm hoc non cuiuis datum est: *Many haue gelded themselues for the Kingdome of Heauen. But this thing is not giuen* to all men. S. Ambrose saith: Sola virginitas est quæ suaderi potest, imperari non potest: Onely Virginity *is a thing that may bee counselled, but* commanded it may not be. So S. Hierome: Vnde infert Dominus, Qui potest capere, capiat: vt vnusquisque consideret vires suas: vtrùm possit. Virginalia, pudicitiæ præcepta implere. Per se enim Castitas blanda est, & quemlibet ad se alliciens. Sed considerandæ sunt vires: vt qui potest capere, capiat. *Our Lord addeth,* He that can take, *let him take: that euery man may consider his owne strength, whether he* be able *to accomplish the Lawes of Virginity and Chastitie, or no. For Chastity of it selfe is faire, and pleasant, and able to allure any man vnto it selfe* But we must weigh our ability, that he may take it that can take it. Matth. 19. *Iustinus Apologia. 2.* 32 *Quæst. 1. Integritas.* *Hieronym. in Matt. cap. 19.*

Heereof the Ancient Father Origen began to complaine so long ago in his time: Non solùm quæ docent, non faciunt, sed etiam crudeliter, & sine misericordia iniungunt aliis maiora virtute ipsorum, non habentes rationem virium vniuscuiusque: vt, qui prohibent nubere, & ab eo quod expedit, ad immoderatam munditiem compellunt: *Not onely* they doe not that they teach *but also cruelly and without mercy they command others to do that they* be not able, *not considering or weighing each mans strength. Such bee they* that forbid men *Orig. in Matt. Tractat. 24.*

to marry, and from that thing that is lawfull, driue and force men to an immoderate kind of cleannesse.

Hieron. contra Iouinian. lib. 1.

S. Hierome saith: *Si quis consideret virginem suam, id est, carnem suam lasciuire, & ebullire in libidinem, nec refrænare se potest, duplex illi incumbit necessitas, aut capiendæ coniugis, aut ruendi: If any man consider that his owne virgin, that is to say, his owne flesh, groweth proud, and waxeth vnto lust,* and cannot stay it, there is laid vpon him a double necessitie, either to take a wife, or else to fall.

Bishops married.

Cyril. in Leuiticum. lib. 16.

In this case S. Cyril saith: Oportet compati & commetiri Doctrinam pro virium qualitate: & huiusmodi qui non possunt capere Sermonem de Castitate, concedere nuptias: *We must haue consideration of men, and measure our Doctrine according to euery mans ability: and vnto such men* as cannot take the word of Chastity, wee ought to grant Marriage.

22. Quæst. 4. In malis.

If M. Harding will replie, that this Counsell may take place in all others, but not in them that haue vowed or promised the contrary; let him vnderstand his owne rule written in the Popes owne Decrees: In malis promissis rescinde fidem: In turpi Voto muta decretum: Quod incautè vouisti, ne facias: Impia est promissio quæ scelere impletur: *In an euill promise,* breake thy faith: *In an vnhoneſt* Vow, change thy purpose: *That thou hast vnaduisedly vowed,* see thou doe it not: It is an euill promise, *that is kept with wickednesse.*

Vowes

M. Harding fol. 296. a.

Addition. M. Harding. What reliefe bringeth al this vnto his cause, vnlesse he be able to prooue, that Chastity is an ill, and a wicked thing? *The Answer.* No, M. Harding, Chastitie is no ill thing: It is the speciall gift of God. But an vncleane and a filthy life vnder colour of a Vow, or the name of Chastity, is a wicked thing before God. You know it is commonly said vnder the name of S. Hierom, Simulata sanctitas duplex est iniquitas: *Counterfet holinesse is double wickednes.*

Addition

Gift of Chastitie.

Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist. 11.

S. Cyprian hauing occasion to write of certaine Maids, that had Vowed Virginity, and liued in disorder, saith thus: Quòd si perseuerare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est vt nubant, quàm vt in ignem delicijs suis cadant. Certè nullum Fratribus, aut Sororibus scandalum faciant: *If they either* cannot, or will not continue in Chastitie, better it is for them to marrie, *then to fall in to the fire* (of Hell) *with their pleasures. At the least let them breed no slander to their Brother or Sister.*

Augu. de Bono Coniugal. Dist. 27. Quidam.

S. Augustine saith: Quidam nubentes post votum, asserunt adulteros esse. Ego autem dico vobis, quod grauiter peccant qui tales diuidunt: *Some men there be that say, They be Aduouterers that marry after that they haue made a Vow. But I tell you,* that they Sinne grieuously, that put such asunder.

Epipha contra Haref. 61. Apostolic. lib. 2. παμπόλ ἄμεινον γαμεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νομίν.

Epiphanius likewise saith: Melius est vnum habere peccatum, quàm multa. Melius est cadentem à studio, apertè sibi vxorem asciscere secundum Leges, &c. Et à virginitate longo tempore agere Pœnitentiam, &c. Et non quotidiè occultis iaculis vulnerari: *Better it is to haue one Sinne, then many Sinnes.* Better it is *for a man falling from his course,* openly to take vnto him a wife, according to the Law, &c. *And a long time to repent himselfe of the breach of his Virginity, &c. And not to be wounded with priuie darts euery day.*

Hieron. ad Virginem Demetriadem.

S. Hierome saith: Sanctum Virginum Propositum, & Cœlestis, Angelorumque familiæ gloriam quarundam non bene se agentium nomen infamat. Quibus aperte dicendum est, vt aut nubant, si se non possunt continere: aut contineant, si nolunt nubere: *The name of certaine Virgins not well behauing themselues, defameth and shameth the holy purpose of Virgins, and the glory of the Heauenly and Angelicall Familie. Whom we must plainly charge, that* either they marry, if they cannot containe: *or that they containe, if they will not marrie.*

Aug. de Sancta Virginitate. Cap. 34.

To like purpose S. Augustine saith: Multas earum reuocat à nubendo, non amor præclari propositi, sed aperti dedecoris timor, veniens & ipse à Superbia: qua formidatur hominibus magis displicere, quàm Deo. Nubere nolunt: & ideo non nubunt, quia impune non possunt: quæ melius nuberent, quàm vrerentur, id est, quàm occulta flamma concupiscentiæ in ipsa conscientia vastarentur: quas pœnitet Professionis, & piget Confessionis: *Many of them are kept from marriage, not for loue of their goodly purpose of Virginity, but for feare of open shame, which shame also proceedeth of pride, for that* they are more afraid to displease man, then God. They will not marry: and therfore they marry not, because they cannot without rebuke. *Yet* better were it for them to marry, then to burne, *that is to say, then with the flame of their Concupiscence in their owne Conscience to be wasted. They are sorry of their Profession, and yet it grieueth them to Confesse, &c.*

Marc. 6. Actor. 23. 22. Quæst. 4. Inter cætera.

It is not sufficient to say, I haue vowed. Herod Vowed Iohn Baptists head: The Iewes Vowed S. Pauls death. Hubaldus, as it is noted by Gratian in the Decrees, made a Vow that he would neuer helpe his owne Mother, or Brethren, were their neede neuer so great.

Alphonsus

Alphonsus Virucsius, one of M. Hardings greatest Doctors saith thus: Si quis vouerit, & continere non possit, & omnia experrus, nihil promouerit, ego illi author essem, non vt proprio Consilio, sed vt authoritate Pontificis saluti suæ consulat per Matrimonium: *If any man haue vowed*, and cannot containe, and hauing assaied all meanes, yet be neuer the neere, *I would aduise him, that he should prouide* for the safety of his Soule by Marriage: *And yet not of his owne Counsell, but by licence and authority of the Pope.* *Alphonsus Philippica 19.*

Vowes.

Likewise Thomas of Aquine saith, Potest contingere, quòd in aliquo casu sit, vel simpliciter malum, vel inutile, vel Maioris boni impeditiuum, & ideo necesse est, quod determinetur, in tali casu, Votum non esse seruandum: *It may happen, that in some case a Vow may be either vtterly ill or vnprofitable, or an hinderance vnto some other good thing of more weight. And therefore it must of necessitie be determined, that in* such a case, a Vow ought not to be kept. *Thom. 2. 2. qu. 88. Artic. 10.*

Therefore it was thus Decreed in the Councell of Toledo: Non est seruandum Sacramentum, quòd malè, & incautè promittitur: *A Vow ill, and vnaduisedly promised*, ought not to be kept. *Conc. Toletan. 8. Can. 2.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. Here M. Iewel alleged the sayings of sundry holy Fathers, counselling those, that either cannot, or wil not keepe Chastity, to take the remedy, that God hath ordained, that is to say, to Marry. Which Counsell is vnderstanded to be giuen vnto them, that haue made no Vow at all to the contrary. *The answer.* How then, M. Harding, if you be not able to keepe Chastity? Is your Vow sufficient to make you able? or will you keepe your Vow and liue in filthinesse? Or, if you so liue, shall you be excused by your Vow? S. Paul saith, *Fornicatours, and Aduouterers the Lord will iudge: They shall haue no part in the Kingdome of* Christ *and God.* Woe be to that Vow, that worketh the destruction of the Soule. *M. Harding. 294. a.*

But (you say) this Counsell is giuen to them, that haue made no Vow. Thus you say, and yet you know, you say vntruly. Behold the Authorities: The words be plaine: The holie Fathers spake expresly of them, that haue Vowed. Let S. Cyprian be an example for the rest. Thus he saith: Quod si se ex Fide Christo dicauerint, pudicè, & castè sine vlla fabula perseuerent, &c. Sin autem perseuerare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est, vt nubant, &c. *If they haue in faith Vowed themselues to Christ, let them continue Chastely and honestly without guile, &c. But, if they will not or cannot continue, better it is for them to marry, then with their pleasures to fall into the fire of Hell.* Behold M. Harding, S. Cyprian speaketh namely of them that haue Vowed themselues to Christ. Vnto them he directeth his Counsell: Of such he saith: It is better for them to Marry. *M. Harding. 294. a* *Cyprian. Lib. 1. epist. 11.*

You say, S. Cyprian speaketh of them that haue made no Vowes: S. Cyprian himselfe saith, *He speaketh of them that haue made a Vow.* And must we beleeue you before S. Cyprian? Why should you with such vntruths and vanities deceiue the worlde?

Yet notwithstanding you tell vs, contrarie to all that S. Cyprian hath taught you: If a man haue once made a Vow, though hee bee not able to liue Chaste, yet he may in no wise Marrie; That is to say, he must liue in Fornication or other Filthinesse. S. Paul saith, *If they liue not Chastely, let them Marrie: better it is to Marrie, then to Burne.* But by your aduice, we must take S. Pauls words, and turne them backeward, and say thus: *Marry not, though you liue vnchastly: Better it is to burne in Concupiscence, then to marry.* ☜ ☞

Here, M. Harding, ye cry out in your inordinate heate: Fleshly Gospellers: Euangelicall Vow-breakers: Impure Bigamine. Filthy railing rabble. Lordaines: Strumpets. and I wot not what: as if this were the onely way to winne the Victory. Vnto this kinde of eloquence I will make you none other answer, then that Demetrius sometime made vnto Lysimachus: Scortum apud nos modestius viuit quàm apud vos Penelope: One of these whom it liketh you to call Strumpets, *liueth more soberly amongst vs, then doth amongst you your Chaste* Penelope.

It appeareth by S. Augustine, M. Harding, that your error is ancient, and began long agoe. For he saith, that euen then in his time there were some that maintained the same. But he answered them then, as we doe you now. They spake fondly and vnaduisedly, and vnderstood not what they said. His words be these: Qui dicunt, talium Nuptias non esse Nuptias, sed potius Adulteria, mihi non videntur satis acutè ac diligenter considerare quid dicant: *They that say*, The Marriage of such men or women (as haue vowed Chastity) is no Marriage, *but rather Aduoutery, seeme vnto me not to consider discreetly and wisely what they say.* And againe: Fit per hanc minùs consideratam opinionem, vt cùm volunt eas separatas reddere Continentiæ, faciant Maritos earum Adulteros Veros, cùm, suis Vxoribus viuis, alteras duxerint: *It commeth to passe by this Vnaduised Opinion, that whereas they will remoone these women, that so haue Vowed, from their Husbands, and force them to continue in their Single Life, they make the Husbands of them* Aduouterers indeed, *in case they Marry againe, their owne Wiues being still aliue.* *Aug. de Bono Viduitatis, cap. 10.* *In eod. Capite.*

Thus therefore, M. Harding, you may imagine, S. Augustine saith vnto you as

as he did vnto them: *Ye ſpeake fondly and vnadviſedly, and vnderſtand not what ye ſpeake.*

Dorman fo. 16. And yet one of your Companions there telleth vs, *That hee is vndoubtedly the Diuels Miniſter, that wil ſay* (as S. Auguſtine ſaith) *that the Marriage of ſuch perſons is true, and very Marriage.* Thus by the iudgement of your late Louanian Clergie, S. Auguſtine is become the Miniſter of the Diuell.

Worſe then Aduoutery.

But M. Harding hath further to ſay, that S. Auguſtine called this kind of Marriage Worſe then Aduouterie: Another calleth it Inceſt: and another Sacriledge. That the ancient Fathers haue thus written, it is true, and not denied. Howbeit, good Reader, as I haue partly ſhewed before, theſe, and other like words haue proceded, more of zeale and heat of mind, then of profound conſideration and iudgement of the cauſe. Neither may we alwaies ſtraine ſuch ſayings to the vttermoſt. For, whereas S. Auguſtine ſaith, *Such Marriage is worſe then Aduoutry*, hee ſaith neuertheleſſe immediately after in the ſame place: *It is true, and very Marriage indeed before God and Man, and no Aduoutry.* His words be theſe: Non quòd ipſæ Nuptiæ vel talium damnandæ iudicentur. Damnatur Propoſiti fraus: Damnatur fracta Voti Fides, &c. Damnantur tales, non quia coniugalem Fidem Poſteriùs inierunt, ſed quia Continentiæ Primam Fidem irritam fecerunt: Not that the Marriage of ſuch perſons is to be blamed; *That defrauding of their purpoſe, and the breach of their Vow is blamed. Such are blamed*, not for that they haue entred into the Faith of Matrimony: *but for that they haue broken their Firſt Faith or promiſe of continent life.* So likewiſe S. Auguſtine ſaith of a woman, that vſed to paint her face: Etſi impudica circa homines non ſis, tamen corruptis, violatiſque, quæ Dei ſunt, Peior Adultera detineris: *Although thou be no euill Woman, as touching men, or the miſuſing of thy body, yet thus colouring & corrupting thy face, which thou haſt of God*, thou art worſe then an Aduoutreſſe. Heere by way of compariſon, and in heat of ſpeech, S. Auguſtine ſaith, *That painting of the face is worſe then Aduoutry.* In like ſenſe S. Cyprian ſaith: Diabolo peior eſt, qui fœminarum aſpectibus feritur: *He that is ſtricken or moued with the ſight of Women is* worſe then the Diuel. Likewiſe againe he ſaith: Multo grauior & Peior eſt Mœchi cauſa, quàm Libellatici: An Aduouterers caſe is worſe, *then is the caſe of him that hath betraied the Faith.*

Aug. de Doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 4. cap. 21.

Cypr. de Singular. Clericorũ.

Cyprian. lib. 4. epiſt. 2.

Such compariſons, as I haue ſaid, may not well be racked to all purpoſes: but muſt bee taken to farre forth onely, as they were meant. Otherwiſe the ſame S. Cyprian, ſaith: Peius eſt, quàm mœchari, Continentiam ducere criminoſam: *To liue vnchaſtely vnder the colour of Chaſte life*, (as your Clergy doth) *is* worſe then an Aduoutery. Heere M. Harding, S. Cyprian ſaith, that your vnchaſte Chaſtity, and coloured vaunt of Virginity, *is* worſe then Aduoutry.

Cyprian. de Singularitate Clericorum.

So S. Ambroſe, when hee had ſaid, *If ſhe haue a mind to Marrie, ſhe committeth Aduoutry, ſhe is made the Handmaid of death*; he addeth further as of a greater euill, Si hoc ita eſt, quid de illa dicendum eſt, quæ occulta, & furtiua turpitudine conſtupratur, & fingit ſe eſſe quod non eſt? Bis Adultera eſt: *This being ſo*, what then ſhall wee ſay of her, *that is defiled with ſecret and priuy filthineſſe: and faineth her ſelfe to be, that indeed ſhe is not? She* is twice an Aduoutreſſe.

Ambr. ad Virginem Lapſam. cap. 5.

Heere S. Ambroſe calleth your painted Virginity, Double Aduoutery. So S. Chryſoſtome, Virginitas iſta cum Viris plus ab omnibus arguitur, quàm ſtuprum ipſum: *This Virginity of women amongſt men*, is more reproued of all men, then Fornication it ſelfe.

Chryſ. Tom. 5. Quòd Regulares Fœminæ cũ Viris cohabitẽt.

By theſe few we may the better vnderſtand the place, that M. Harding hath heere alledged of S. Paul vnto Timothy: *When they wax wanton againſt* Chriſt, *they wil marry, hauing damnation, becauſe they haue broken their firſt Faith.* Notwithſtanding indeed S. Paul ſpake theſe words, neither of Widowes, nor of Vow breakers: but of the Widowes that were appointed to attend vpon the old and ſicke perſons, and therfore were releeued, and found by the Church.

1. Timoth. 5.

But let vs imagine, as M. Harding would haue vs, that S. Paul ſpake all this of the breach of Widowes. And let Prima Fides, The firſt faith, bee the Vow of Chaſtitie. Howbeit, indeed our Firſt Faith, is the Faith, that we promiſe in Baptiſme, and none other. And ſo S. Hierome ſeemeth to take it. For thus he writeth: Non ſunt digni Fide, qui Primam Fidem irritam fecerunt: Marcionem loquor & Baſilidem: *They bee not worthy to be beleeued, that haue forſaken their* Firſt Faith: *I meane* Marcion *and* Baſilides. Theſe two famous Heretikes Marcion and Baſilides, were not condemned for breaking any Vow of Chaſtity, but for refuſing the Faith of Chriſt, which S. Hierome calleth the Firſt Faith.

Hieronym. in Præm. in epiſt. ad Titum.

S. Paul maketh no mention of any Vow, but onely rebuketh ſuch light and wauering Women, as being of long time found by the charges of the Congregation, purpoſely to releeue the ſicke and the feeble, afterward forſooke both the Congregation and Chriſt too,

and

and became Heathens, and followed the Diuell. For so S. Paul saith: Nonnullæ iam deflexerunt post Satanã: *Many such Women are already gone after Satan.* But if S. Paul spake this of the breach of Vowes, with what eies then, M. Harding, doe you read his wordes? Or what aduantage can you hope to finde in such authorities, as doe so expresly crie against your selfe? S. Paul saith euen there, in the same place: Vidua eligatur non minor annis sexaginta. Iuniores Viduas reijce. Volo Iuniores Viduas nubere: Liberos gignere: domum administrare: nullam occasionem dare Aduersario, vt habeat maledicendi causam: *Let no Widow be chosen vnder* threescore yeeres of age. Refuse yong Widowes. I wil, that yong Widowes be Married: *bring vp their Children: ouersee their house: and giue no occasion to the aduersary to speake ill.* 1. Tim. 5.

If these wordes of S. Paul must needs be taken of Vowes, and none otherwise, why doe you so violently, contrarie to S. Pauls commandement, either force or suffer yong Maides and Girles to receiue these Vowes? Why doe you not stay them vntill they be stricken in age, as S. Paul willeth you, that they may bee therefore yeres olde, before they Vow? It is no reason, ye should in one place claime by one Word and breake so many. Vow annexed, &c.

You say, The Vow of Chastitie is annexed vnto Holy Orders by the ancient Constitution of the Church, and by the Apostles of Christ. For triall of your truth herein, I beseech you, to consider these few in stead of many. *Fol.* 79. *b.*

Your owne allowed and principall Doctour Gratian saith thus: Copula Sacerdotalis, vel consanguineorum, nec Legali, nec Euangelica, nec Apostolica, authoritate prohibetur: *Priests marriage is not forbidden by anie* Authority, either of the Law of Moses, or of the Gospell, or of the Apostles. 26. *qu.* 2. *Sors.*

Clemens Alexandrinus saith: Omnes Apostoli Epistolæ, quæ moderationem docent, & continentiam, cùm & de Matrimonio, & de Liberorum procreatione, & de domus administratione innumerabilia præcepta contineant, nunquam tamen honestum, moderatumque Matrimonium prohibuerunt: *All the Epistles of the Apostles, which teach sobrietie, and continent life, whereas they containe innumerable Precepts touching Matrimony, bringing vp Children, and gouernment of House,* yet they neuer forbade Honest and sober Marriage. *Clemens Stromat. lib.* 3.

Cardinall Caietanus saith: Nec Ratione, nec Authoritate probari potest, quòd, absolutè loquendo, Sacerdos peccet contrahendo Matrimonium. Nam nec Ordo, in quantum Ordo, nec Ordo, in quantum Sacer, est impeditiuus Matrimonij. Siquidem Sacerdotium non dirimit Matrimonium contractum, siue antè, siue post: secluſis omnibus Legibus Ecclesiasticis: stando tantùm ijs, quę habemus à Christo, & Apostolis: *it cannot* bee prooued, neither by reason, nor by authority, *speaking absolutely, that a Priest sinneth in Marrying a Wife.* For neither the Order of Priesthood, in that it is Order, nor the same Order, in that it is Holy, is any hinderance to Matrimony. *For Priesthood breaketh not Marriage, whether it be contracted* before Priesthood, or afterward: *setting all Ecclesiasticall Lawes apart,* and standing only vnto those things, that we haue of Christ and his Apostles. *Card. Caietan. in Quodlibetis, cont. Lutherũ.*

Abbat Panormitane saith: Continentia non est de Substantia Ordinis, nec de Iure Diuino: Single life is not of the Substance of the Order of Priesthood, nor of the Law of God. *Panormitan. de Cleric. Coniug. Cùm Olim.*

Likewise Antonius saith: Episcopatus ex Natura sua non habet opponi ad Matrimonium: *The Office or Degree of a Bishop, of the* Substance or Nature of it selfe, *is not contrarie to Matrimony.* Whereby yee may easily see, M. Harding, how true it is, that you say, The Vow of Chastitie is annexed to holy Orders, and that by the Apostles ancient Constitution. *Antonin. in Summa, part.* 3. *Tit.* 1. *cap.* 21.

But this Order (you say) was taken, for that, hauing the vse of Wedlocke wee cannot pray. And to that end ye allege the authority of S. Paul; where also ye might haue alleged the names and sayings of sundry Fathers. Origen saith: *The Holy Ghost in time of Copulation forsaketh a man, yea although he were a Prophet of God.* Another saith: Virginitas Sola potest animas hominum præsentare Deo: *Onely Virginity is able to present the Soule of a man vnto God.* S. Hierome saith: Quotiescunque vxori debitum reddo, orare non possum: *As often as I doe my duty to my wife, I cannot pray.* And to this purpose Pope Siricius vndiscreetly and fondly abuseth the holy Word of God. Thus he saith: Qui in Carne sunt, Deo placere non possunt: *They that be in the Flesh, cannot please God.* *Orig. in Num. Hom.* 6. *Extra. De Probationib. in Glossa. Hieron. aduers. Iouin. lib.* 1. *Inter Decreta Siricij, cap* 7. Rom. 8.

These wordes seeme very hard, and sound much to the derogation of Gods Ordinance. And therefore Ignatius S. Iohns Scholar, saith: Si quis Legitimam Commixtionem, & Filiorum Procreationem, Corruptionem, & Coinquinationem vocat, ille habet cohabitatorem Dæmonem Apostatam: *If any man call lawfull Copulation and Begetting of Children, Corruption and Filthinesse,* hee hath the Diuell that fell from God dwelling within him. *Ignatius ad Philadelphie.*

In

Concil. Gangren cap. 4.

In like maner say the learned godly Bishops in the Councell of Gangra: Si quis discernit Presbyterum Coniugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quòd offerre non debeat, & ab eius Oblatione abstinet, Anathema sit: *If any man make* difference of a Married Priest, *as if he may not minister the Oblation (or holy Communion) because of his Marriage, and abstaineth from his Oblation, accursed be he.*

Letteth Praier.

1. Dist. 3. Quoniam.

Likewise it is written in the Councell of Constantinople: Si quis præsumpserit, contra Apostolicos Canones, aliquos Presbyterorum & Diaconorum priuare à Contactu, & Communione legalis vxoris suæ, Deponatur. Similiter & Presbyter, aut Diaconus, qui Religionis causa Vxorem suam expellit, excommunicetur: *If any man contrary to the Apostles Canon, presume to remoone either Priest or Deacon from the vse and company* of his lawfull wife, *let him be Deprined. And in like manner let the Priest or Deacon bee excommunicate, that* putteth away his wife *vnder the colour of Religion.*

1. Corinth. 7.

As touching the place of S. Paul, *Defraud not your selues, One another, vnlesse it bee of consent for a season, that ye may attend vnto Fasting and Praier.* He speaketh not this of that kind of Praier, that is commonly and daily vsed of all the Faithfull, as well Married as Unmarried, but onely of the Generall and solemne Praier of the whole Congregation, which then, as in time of Persecution, and feare of enemies, was kept only in the night, and all the whole multitude of the Faithfull was charged to be present at the same. At which times it was necessarie, that both the man and the wife should leaue the one the others company, and resort to Praier.

Ioel. 2.

So it is written in the Prophet Ioel, *Blow vp the Trumpe in Sion: Proclaime a solemne Fast: Call together a Congregation of the People. Let the Bridegrome leaue his bed: Let the spouse come from her Chamber. Let the Priests, the Ministers of God, weepe betweene the Entrie and the Altar: And let them say, O Lord spare thy people, and giue not ouer thine inheritance vn-*

Tertull. ad vxorem, Lib. 2.

to Confusion. Of the like kinde of Generall and Solemne praier, Tertullian saith thus: Quis Solemnibus Paschæ abnoctantem Vxorem securus sustinebit? *What man* (being an Heathen) *can without mistrust, suffer his wife,* (being a Christian Woman) *to bee away from him at the Solemnitie of the Easter Praier?*

Of such Solemne and Seldome meetings, S. Paul speaketh: and not of the Daily, Vsuall and Common Praiers of all Christians.

Augu. de Bono Coniugali, li. 1. cap. 11.

Otherwise, touching the Purity and Holinesse of Married people, S. Augustine saith: Quòd Paulus ait, Quæ innupta est, cogitat ea, quæ sunt Domini, vt sit sancta & Corpore & Spiritu, non sic accipiendum est, vt putemus, non esse Sanctam Corpore Christianam Coniugem Castam. Omnibus quippe Fidelibus dictum est, Nescitis, quoniam Corpora vestra Templum sunt Spiritus Sancti? Sancta sunt etiam Corpora Coniugatorum, fidem sibi, & Domino seruantium: *Whereas* S. Paul *saith, Shee that is vnmarried, thinketh of the things that pertaine vnto the Lord, that shee may be holy both in Body and in Spirit, it may not so bee taken, as though we should thinke a Christian wife liuing Chastely with her husband is not holy in Body. For it is* generally said vnto all Faithfull: *Know yee not, that your Bodies bee the Temple of the holy Ghost? Therefore if the* Man and Wife, *keepe their Faith both betweene themselues, and to the Lord,* their Bodies are holy.

But these Euangelicall Vowbreakers (saith M. Harding) pretend Paphnutius to bee their Proctour. Whether he be our Proctour, or no, it forceth not greatly. Notwithstanding it is plaine, he was then the onely Proctour for the Truth: and that against the generall consent of all the whole Councell besides. And although he were but One man alone, yet the whole Councell gaue place vnto him. Sozomenus saith, Synodus laudauit

Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 22.

sententiam Paphnutij, & nihil ex hac parte sanciuit: sed hoc in vniuscuiusque voluntate, sine vlla Necessitate reliquit: *The Councell commended* Paphnutius *iudgement; and touching this matter of Marriage, made no Decree at all, but left it to each mans owne Will, without any force of Necessitie.*

συμφωνοῦντα δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς ἰδίους γυναικὸς συνιστᾶν.

Of our side thus much Paphnutius saith: Marriage is Honourable: *And the Companie of Man and Wife is* (not filthinesse, as these men seeme to say, but) Cleannesse and Chastitie.

But, M. Harding, if the same holy Father Paphnutius weigh so much of your side, as you pretend, wherefore then doth one of your companions of Louaine so lightly, and so disdainfully controle that whole Story, with the vtter discredit and condemnation of the Writers? For thus hath he not doubted to publish his iudgement therin to all the world:

Copus Dialogo 1. Pag 154.

Mihi, nescio quomodo, in dubium venit fides huius Historiæ de Paphnutio. Sunt enim, quæ suspicionem important, eam esse Arianorum, aut Impudicorum hominum Commentum. Tota enim hæc res à Socrate pendet & Sozomeno: quorum alter Nouatianus fuit: alter Theodorum Mopsuestensem à quinta Synodo damnatum magnis laudibus extulit: *I know not how, this Story of* Paphnutius, *seemeth to mee to be of doubtfull credit. For there bee*

matters

matters, that make me to suspect, that it is but a vaine forged tale, either of the Arian Heretikes, or of some other filthy persons. *The whole matter hangeth of* Socrates & Sozomenus: *Of which two, the one was a Nouatian Heretike: the other highly commendeth* Theodorus *of* Mopsuesta, *being condemned by the fifth Councell.*

Thus your Fellowes make this whole Story to be but a vain Fable: and the Authors and Writers hereof, Socrates and Sozomenus, to bee Heretikes, Nouatians, Arrians, vnhonest and shamelesse persons. And therefore, I trow, ye will not say, they are your Proctours.

Whereas S. Chrysostome saith, Marriage is so reuerend a thing, that a man may therwith ascend into the holy Throne, and be made a Bishop, notwithstanding hee haue a wife: and that S. Paul suffereth not them that haue twice married, to attaine such a room: By these words, saith M. Harding, Chrysostome condemneth the impure Bigamy of our holy Gospellers. Againe he saith: If this Defender presse vs with Chrysostome, we answer, that although Chrysostom grant, that a Married man may ascend to the holy seat, yet he saith not, that a man may descend from that holy Seat to the Bridebed. For we deny vtterly, that any man, after that he hath receiued holy Orders, may Marrie. Neither can it bee shewed, that the Marriage of such was euer accounted lawfull in the Catholike Church. *Chrys. in epist. ad Tit. Hom. 2.*

Husband of one Wife. Timoth. 1.

I doubt not, good Reader, but it shall easily appeare, that M. Harding in either of these two parts was foully deceiued. For first Chrysostome, as it is plain by his words, which M. Harding in his translation hath purposely falsified, expoundeth these words of S. Paul, The Husband of one Wife, not of a man, that neuer had but one Wife in all his time, but of a man, that hath but one wife at one time. If M. Harding shall thinke, this Exposition to be strange and vnlikely, let him remember that Chrysostome himselfe thereof writeth thus: Vnius Vxoris Virum. Non hoc, veluti sanciens, dicit, quasi non liceat absq; Vxore Episcopum fieri, sed eius rei modum constituens. Iudæis quippe licitum erat, etiam Secundo Matrimonio iungi, & Duas itidem simul habere Vxores: The Husband of One Wife. S. Paul *writeth not this, as making a Law, as if it were not lawfull for a man to bee made a Bishop without a wife: but he appointeth an order in that behalfe. For it was lawfull for the* Iewes to bee coupled in the Second Matrimony, and to haue two Wiues at one time. *Chry. in epist. 1. ad Timoth. Homil. 10.*

In like sort saith S. Hierom: Quidam de hoc loco ita sentiunt: Iudaicæ, inquiunt, Consuetudinis fuit, vel binas vxores habere, vel plures. Et hoc nunc volunt esse Præceptum, ne is, qui Episcopus eligendus est, vno tempore Duas pariter Vxores habeat: *Touching this place, some men thinke thus: By the custome of the* Iewes *it was lawfull for a man to haue* Two Wiues, or moe at once. *And this they take to be the Apostles Commandement, that hee, that is to be chosen a Bishop, haue not* Two wiues, or moe together at one time. Againe he saith: Diaconi sint vnius Vxoris viri: Non, vt si non habuerint, ducant: Sed ne duas habeant: *Let the Deacons be the Husbands of* One wife: *not that they should needs Marrie a Wife, if they haue none: but that they should not haue* two wiues together. Likewise saith Cardinall Caietane: Apostolus Episcopis permittit Vnam Vxorem, cæteris plures: *The Apostle suffereth a Bishop to haue* One Wife. Others he suffereth to haue moe. *Hieron. in epist. ad Titum, ca. 1. Hier. in epist. 1 ad Tim. cap. 3. Catherinus cõtra errores Caietan. Error. 99*

And to this purpose, Isidorus seemeth to say, Castimoniam non Violati Corporis perpetuò obseruare studeant: aut certè Vnius Matrimonij vinculo fœderentur: *Let them study to keepe and continue the Chastity of their Body vndefiled: or else, let them be coupled with the* band of one Marriage. *Dist. 23. his igitur.*

Of such a one, Pope Leo wrote sometime vnto the Bishop of Mauritania: Sicut ad nos relatum est, Duarum simul est Maritus Vxorum: *As wee are enformed, he is* at one time the Husband of Two wiues. And therefore he addeth his iudgement of him: Priuandum honore decernimus: *We think him meet to be deprined of his promotion. Leo, ad Episcopos Mauritan.*

Of this kinde of Second Marriage Chrysostome speaketh, I meane, of hauing two wiues aliue together: and not of Marrying the Second wife after the death of the Former. And therefore he saith: Secundam quidem accipere secundùm Præceptum Apostoli licitum est: Secundùm autem Veritatis rationem Verè Fornicatio est. Sed cùm, permittente Deo, Publice, & licenter permittitur, fit Honesta Fornicatio: *To take the* Second wife (while the first is aliue) *according to the Apostles commandement, it is lawfull: But by the iudgement of the Truth,* indeed it is Fornication. *But while as by Gods permission it is openly & lawfully suffered,* the Fornication is made Honest. The last clause the Glosse there expoundeth thus: Fornicatio cum ea, quam permisit Moses post repudiatam assumi: *Fornication, I meane, with her, whom* Moses *suffered to be taken to wife,* after the Diuorce *of the First.* 31. *Que* 1. *Hac ratione.*

Thus therefore S. Chrysostome saith, that such a man as had *two wiues together at one time,* or was *Diuorced from One Wife, and had married another,* might not be chosen to be a Bishop. For otherwise, Tertullian saith vnto the Bishops of the Catholike Church:

Apud

Tertullian. de Monogamia. Apud vos Epiſcopi ſunt Digami: *There be Biſhops among you,* (he meaneth among the Catholikes) *that haue married* two wiues, the one after the death of the other.

Chryſ. in Epiſt. ad Tit. Hom. 2. τῶ ἐστιλβωμένω. If all this will not ſuffice, I referre my ſelfe to Chryſoſtomes owne wordes: thus hee writeth: S. Paul *reſtraineth vnchaſte perſons, not permitting them* that haue married two wiues, *to be choſen to the gouernment of the Church.* His reaſons be theſe: Nam qui vxori quæ deceſſit (à ſe) benouolentiam nullam ſeruaſſe deprehenditur, quo pacto poteſt ille eſſe bonus Præceptor Eccleſiæ? Imò quibus criminibus non ſubijcitur indies? Noſtis enim, quòd etſi per Leges ſecundæ nuptiæ permittuntur, tamen ea res accuſationibus multis patet: *For he that is found to haue borne no good will vnto his wife* (not that is dead, but) that is gone from him, *how can he be a meet Maſter for the Church of God? Nay rather, to what quarrels and accuſations* (by meane of theſe two wiues) *ſhall he not be ſubiect euery day? For you know, although by the Law the* Marriage of the ſecond Wife (after the Diuorce of the firſt) be ſuffered, *yet the matter lieth open to many offences.*

Marriage in Holy Orders.

It appeareth (ſaith Chryſoſtome) *that he bare no good will towards his former wife,* not that now is dead, but *that is diuorced,* and ſo departed from him. And therefore often times grow many accuſations and grieſes betweene the wiues, the children, the friends, and others, for parting of goods, for reckoning of Dowries, and other like quarrels. For to haue ſpoken of good will, or affection towards the former wife, being dead, it had been impertinent, and to no purpoſe.

Thus much touching Chryſoſtomes iudgement vpon theſe wordes of S. Paul, The Huſband of one Wife. Notwithſtanding, I deny not but certaine other ancient and learned Fathers haue taken it otherwiſe.

Laſt of all, M. Harding vnawares falleth into the ſame Negatiue Diuinitie that hee ſo often, and ſo much abhorreth. For thus he ſaith: *We denie vtterly that any man after that he hath receiued Holy Orders, may marry. Neither can it be ſhewed that the marriage of ſuch was euer accounted lawfull in the Catholike Church.* If this tale be true, then be all the Greeke Prieſts Votaries, as well as the Latines. But it is noted vpon the Decrees: Græci continentiam non promittunt, vel Tacitè, vel Expreſſè: *The Greekes make no Promiſe of Continent or Single life, neither Secretly, nor Expreſly.* And in the Councell holden at Ancyra it is concluded thus: Diaconi quicunque Ordinantur, ſi in ipſa Ordinatione proteſtati ſunt, & dixerunt velle ſe Coniugio Copulari, quia ſic manere non poſſunt, hi, ſi poſtmodum Vxores duxerint, in Miniſterio maneant: Propterea quòd Epiſcopus illis licentiam dederit: *Deacons, as many as be Ordered, if at the time of receiuing Orders they made Proteſtation, and ſaid that* they would Marry, *for that they finde not themſelues able ſo to continue without Marriage,* if they afterward Marry, *let them continue in the Miniſtery: foraſmuch as the Biſhop hath giuen them licence.* M. Harding, I trow, will not deny, but Deaconſhip is one of the Holy Orders. Yet Deacons at the time of their Conſecration, making Proteſtation ſolemnly before the Biſhop, were licenſed by this Councell to Marry at any time afterward: and the ſame Marriage, contrary to M. Hardings poſition, was euermore in the Catholike Church accounted lawfull.

Diſt. 31. Quotiam. In Margine. Concil. Ancyran. Can. 9.

M. Harding fol. 298. b.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. This prooueth not that Deacons did Marry, nor that any Biſhop euer gaue them leaue to Marry. *The Anſwer.* What then doth it prooue, M. Harding? Or to what purpoſe was it thus Decreed by the Councell? Whether Deacons Married or no, I will not ſtriue. Certainly it appeareth hereby, it was lawfull for them to Marrie. Yea although they were within Holy Orders, and that by the Authoritie and warrant of this Councell. ☜

Diſt. 31. Aliter. Gloſſ. Diſt. 31. Aliter. So ſaith Pope Steuen: Græcorum Sacerdotes, Diaconi, aut Subdiaconi Matrimonio Copulantur: *The Greeke Prieſts, Deacons, or Subdeacons,* are Coupled in Matrimonie. Vpon which wordes the Gloſſe noteth thus: Multi ex hac litera dixerunt, quòd Orientales poſſunt contrahere in Sacris Ordinibus: *Many haue ſaid, vpon occaſion of this text, that the* Prieſts of the Eaſt Church (contrary to that M. Harding ſo certainly heere aſſureth vs) may Marry, being within Holy Orders.

M. Harding fol. 299. b.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. If you had rehearſed the whole Decree, as you found it, you had mard your cauſe, and plaid the ſimple proctour, &c. And whereas you allege the Gloſſe for you, you make all that be able to read the place, witneſſes of your impudencie. Whereas the Decree hath *matrimonio Copulantur,* the Gloſſe expoundeth it thus, *id eſt, Copulato vtuntur.* As for the other wordes of the Gloſſe, many, vpon occaſion of this text, haue ſaid, that they of the Eaſt Church may marry within Holy Orders, it is not the minde of the Gloſſe, but as ſome ſay, &c. *The anſwer.* You ſay, If I had rehearſed the whole Decree, I had marred my cauſe. Neuer a whit, M. Harding. A little before I rehearſed it whole: and yet is the cauſe nothing empaired. The Gloſſe, you ſay, is againſt me. I grant you: Weigh better my wordes: I deny it not. What moueth you thus to cry out, Impudencie and Corruption of Gloſſes? Lay our wordes together,

M.

M. Harding. I say none otherwise, but as the Glosse hath said. I haue neither added, nor diminished, nor altered or changed one syllable. I beseech you, doth not the Glosse say thus: Multi ex hac litera dixerunt, quòd Orientales possunt contrahere in Sacris Ordinibus? *Vpon occasion of this Text, many men haue said, that the Priests of the East Church may marry, notwithstanding they bee within Holy Orders.* And doe not I from syllable to syllable say the same? Yee deale vncourteously, M. Harding. Yee are to blame, with such vpbraidings and outcries so much to abuse your simple Reader. But you say, The Glosse is directly against mee. So is the same Glosse directly against the ancient Councell of Ancyra before alleged. Will you therefore say, The Councell was Impudent? Compare them well together. You shall finde them plaine contrary: The Glosse directly against the Councell. Now iudge you, M. Harding, whether of these yee will beleeue, either the Councell, or your Glosse. Howbeit, let the Councell giue place: and let Glosses preuaile. Yet, not long after, the same Glosse saith thus: Dicunt, quòd olim Sacerdotes poterant contrahere, ante Siricium: *They say, that in Old times, before the time of Pope* Siricius, *it was lawfull for Priests to Marry.* And Pope Siricius was wellneere foure hundred yeares after Christ. To conclude, I haue not any way corrupted one syllable of your Glosse. The words thereof be cleare: *Vpon occasion of this Text, many men haue said, that the priests of the East Church may Marry, notwithstanding they be in Holy Orders.*

Marriage in Holy Orders.

Cone. Ancyra. Cap. 10.

Dist. 84. *Cum in Preterito, in Glossa.*

And of the Priests of the West Church Cardinall Caietaine saith: Papa potest dispensare cum Sacerdote Occidentalis Ecclesiæ, vt Vxorem ducat, nulla existente causa publicæ vtilitatis: *The Pope may dispense with a* Priest of the West Church, to Marry a Wife, *although there be no maner cause of profit growing thereby to the Common Weale.*

Catharinus cõtra error. Caietan error. 103.

Athanasius saith: Multi quoque ex Episcopis Matrimonia non inierunt: Monachi contrà Parentes liberorum facti sunt: Many of the Bishops (he saith not all, but Many) haue not Married. (By which words he giueth vs to vnderstand that some haue Married.) Contrariwise Monkes haue become Fathers of Children.

Athanasius ad Dracontium, Pag. 518.

Cassiodorus writeth thus: In illo tempore ferunt Martyrio vitam finisse Eupsychium Cæsariensem (Episcopum) ducta nuper Vxore, dum adhuc quasi Sponsus esse videretur: *At that time they say* Eupsychius *(the Bishop) of* Cæsaria, *died in Martyrdome,* hauing Married a Wife a little before, *being as yet in maner a new married man.*

Cassiodor. li. 6. *cap.* 14.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. Fie vpon such shamelesse falsifiers. O lamentable state: Such false Prophets: This shamelesse lie, &c. The truth is, good Reader, neither Cassiodorus wrote thus, nor Eupsychius was euer Bishop of Cæsaria, nor of any other place, nor so much as a Priest, Deacon, or Subdeacon. The Writer of the said Storie, which wee haue of this Blessed Martyr Eupsychius, is Sozomenus the Greeke: who with the Ecclesiasticall Story of Socrates and Theodoretus, was translated into Latine by one Epiphanius Scholasticus, out of which three Cassiodorus gathered the Abridgement that wee haue vnder the name of the Tripartite Historie. The place truly repeated hath these words: *In illo tempore ferunt vitam finisse Martyrio Basilium Ecclesiæ Ancyranæ Presbyterum, & Eupsychium Cæsariensem Cappadociæ, ducta nuper vxore, cùm adhuc quasi sponsus videretur.* Heere is no mention made, that Eupsychius was the Bishop of Cæsaria. The Storie, as wee haue it in Latine of Epiphanius turning, calleth him onely *Eupsychium Cæsariensem Cappadociæ*, that is to say, Eupsychius a man of Cæsaria that is in Cappadocia. For thus hee reporteth of him in the Greeke: Εὐψύχιον Καισαρείας τῆς ὑπερτίου: *Eupsychium Cæsariensem Cappadociæ Patricium*: as much to say, Eupsychius of Cæsaria in Cappadocia, a Noble man, or one of the Lords of the Citie. Thus is Eupsychius, whom M. Iewell hath made a Bishop (as much as hee is himselfe) found to be a Lay Gentleman, or Noble man of the Citie of Cæsaria. Because M. Iewell knew thus much right well, contrarie to the custome he vseth at other times, he dissembled the Greeke Originall, and thought hee might better father this shamefull lie vpon Cassiodorus, meaning the Latine translation of Epiphanius. And to helpe the matter, hee stickt not to put in this word (Episcopum, Bishop) of his owne, and so calleth him boldly, Eupsychius the Bishop of Cæsaria. Let these men haue leaue thus to corrupt and falsifie the Fathers, and by them they shall bee able to proue what they list. *The Answer.* Fie, M. Harding: why should you thus fare, and torment your selfe without greater cause? Take your owne demand: Let it bee, that Eupsychius was no Bishop: yet is it such Impudencie, or False Prophecie, to thinke that hee was a Bishop? Why more then that one of your fellowes of Louaine saith, That Oza *the poore* Leuite *was a King?* An error yee may say it was: But False Prophesie ye cannot call it. Albeit, whether Eupsychius were a Bishop or no, I will not striue. They were both wise and learned, that so haue thought: and if I may bee so bold, M. Harding, to tell you the truth, he hath neither wit, nor learning, that maintaineth the contrary. The words of Cassiodorus, or Epiphanius Scholasticus, seeme very plaine: Ferunt Vitam finisse Martyrio Basilium Ecclesiæ Ancyranæ Presbyterum, & Eupsychium Cæsariensem Cappadociæ, &c. Howsoeuer it were, Eupsychius, for ought that you know, M. Harding, might well haue beene a Bishop: But Oza could in no wise be a King.

Tripart. Lib. 6. *Cap.* 14.

Sozomen. lib. 5 *cap.* 11.

Dorman fol. 24.

As for the reasons ye bring to the contrary, to proue that Eupsychius was no Bishop,

Cæsariensis. they weigh but little. Thus you say: He is called *Eupsychius Cæsariensis*, Eupsychius one of Cæsaria: you say, He is called a Noble man, borne of an ancient House, and of Noble Parentage. What then, M. Harding? Will you therefore conclude, hee was no Bishop? What Logike may this be? We say commonly, Augustinus Hipponensis: Eusebius Cæsariensis: Hosius Cardubensis: Ambrosius Mediolanensis. As for Nicephorus, whom you so vnaduisedly say, I haue foulely belied, as he in this place saith, Eupsychius Cæsariensis, not naming him Bishop, so in mother place he saith, Protogenes Sardicensis, Marcellus Ancyranus, Gregorius Perinthius, Narcissus Irenopolitanus, Acacius Cæsariensis, Gregorius Laodicensis, &c. neuer calling any of them by the name of Bishop: and yet, I trow, ye will not deny but they were Bishops, this maner of writing notwithstanding. Againe, S. Ambrose was a Noble man, of Consular Dignity: yet was he the Bishop of Millaine. S. Gregorie was Senatorius, a Noble man of the Dignitie or Degree of a Counseller: yet was he the Bishop of Rome. And not to seke farre abroad for examples, Osmund was the Earle of Dorset: Robert Neuill, Richard Beauchampe, and Edmund Audley were Noblemen, of Noble Parentage, and Lords brethren: yet were they all Bishops of Sarisburie. The Pope himselfe of late yeres hath bene called, Lord of Lords, and King of Kings: shall we therefore thinke he was no Bishop? I weigh not the matter, M. Harding: I weigh only your reasons. If this example of Eupsychius like you not, wee haue others sufficient to proue that good men haue Married within Holy Orders. S. Hierome saith: Hodiè quoque multi Sacerdotes habent Matrimonia: *Euen now adaies many Priests liue in Wedlocke.* And to answer you with like order and forme of words, as Epiphanius saith, Eupsychius Cæsariensis Cappadociæ, ducta nuper vxore, dum adhuc quasi sponsus videretur, &c. Euen so saith Vincentius of Phileas, a Bishop in Ægypt: Phileas de Ciuitate Thmui, Nobili genere, & non paruis opibus, suscepto Episcopatu, vxorem habuit & liberos: Phileas *of the City of* Thmuis, *a Noble man, and of great riches, being consecrate Bishop, had wife and children.* He was a Noble man, and had wife and Children, and yet, that notwithstanding, was a Bishop.

Patritius.

Marriage in Holy Orders.

Hieron. aduersus Iouin. lib. 1.

Vincent. lib. 13. cap. 25.

But you will say, It appeareth not hitherto by any thing that is yet alleged, that Eupsychius was a Bishop. What of that, M. Harding? You know there haue been many Bishops in the world, of whom it would bee hard for you to make certain proofe that they were Bishops. Yet notwithstanding, for your pleasure, and for some satisfaction of your friends, that you may the better vnderstand your errour, and know that this Eupsychius was a Bishop indeed, I pray you read the first Oration of Athanasius against the Arians. There shall you finde these words among others: Scripta Syluestri, & Protogenis Episcoporum Daciæ: & Leontij & Eupsychij Episcoporum Cappadociæ: *The Writings of* Leontius *and* Eupsychius *Bishops of* Cappadocia. Marke well these words, M. Harding: Eupsychius *a Bishop of* Cappdocia. Athanasius saith: Eupsychius *was a Bishop*, and sheweth the Countrey of his See. You say: Eupsychius was a Noble man, of ancient Parentage. And therefore you tell vs, he was no Bishop. Athanasius knew Eupsychius, or might haue knowen him: for they liued both in one age. And Athanasius wrote an Epistle specially vnto him, as it may appeare in the Second Councell of Nice: In which Councell he is called Eupsychius Præsbyter Cæsariæ: Eupsychius *a Priest of* Cæsaria, as at that time as yet being no Bishop, but only a Priest. But you, M. Harding, neither knew him euer, nor could euer haue knowne him. And yet will you looke to haue more credit heerein, then that godly and learned Father Athanasius, that wrote vnto him, and either knew him familiarly, or might haue knowne him? Athanasius spake the truth: you gee only by ghesse. Athanasius spake in simplicity: you speake of affection, as a party. Now may your indifferent Reader iudge, whether of both he may better beleeue, either you, or the Ancient Father Athanasius. You say, Eupsychius was no Bishop: Athanasius saith, Eupsychius was a Priest. Againe he saith, Eupsychius was a Bishop. And lest your Reader should think there lieth some error in the name, and that Athanasius meant one Eupsychius, and you another, he sheweth you also of the place of his Bishoprike, and saith he was Bishop of Cappadocia. Now the same Eupsychius, of whom we speake, was the Bishop of Cæsaria: and Cæsaria was the chiefe Citie of Cappadocia. Thus haue wee found (say you) that Eupsychius was a Lay Gentleman, or a Noble man of Cæsaria: but neither Priest, nor Bishop.

Athanas. cont. Arianos, Orat.

Eupsychius was a Bishop.

Eupsychius a Priest.

Conc. Nicen. 2. Actio. 6. Pag. 82. Coloniæ.

But indeed we haue found that Eupsychius was both a Nobleman, and a Martyr, and a Priest, and a Bishop too. The Name, the Time, the Countrey, the See, and the Citie doe all agree. And this same Eupsychius, being a Bishop, married a Wife, and at the time of his Martyrdome was a new married man. As good a Bishop (say you) as Mr Iewell. This is your pleasure M. Harding. Would God M. Iewell were as good as hee. Take heede for your credits sake: your friends will espie you. There wanteth Consideration

and

and Sobriety in your doings. Yee auouch ouer boldely before you know. You say, Fie vpon such shameleſſe Falſifiers: O lamentable ſtate: Such Falſe Prophets: Such ſhameleſſe Lies. These be your owne words: Yee haue pleasure in them. Beware leſt your friends turne them ouer vpon your ſelfe.

Marriage in Holy Orders.

Likewise M. Harding might haue found it noted in his owne Gloſſe: Dicunt quòd olim Sacerdotes poterant contrahere, ante Siricium: *They say that in old times, before Pope Siricius,* (which was about foure hundred yeers after Christ) it was lawfull for Priests to Marrie. *Dist.* 84. *Cum in Præterito, in Gloss.*

But wee shall haue occasion to speake hereof more hereafter. In the mean season, good Christian Reader, by these few, as by a taste, thou maist easily iudge how true it is that M. Harding telleth thee, that Marriage in them that had receiued Holy Orders was neuer thought lawfull in the Catholike Church.

The Apologie, Chap. 8. *Diuision* 2.

And as Sozomenus saith of Spiridion; and, as Nazianzene saith of his owne Father, we say, that a good and a diligent Bishop doth serue in the Ministerie neuer the worse for that he is Married, but rather the better, and with more ableneſſe to doe good.

M. Harding.

Were it not that the weight of these matters required an vpright and plaine dealing, for Ciuilities sake, I could be content sometimes to spare you, and where yee make manifest lies, to vse a softer word, and terme them fictions. But now if I tell you that you vse your accustomed Figure Pseudologia, which is lying in plaine English, I trust you will bear with my plainnesse: amend your own fault, and consider the Power of Truth, that causeth me to be so bold with you. This I (a) am sure of, that neither Sozomenus, nor Gregorie Nazianzene, nor Eusebius Lib. 10. Cap. 5. as you haue caused your Bookes, both Latine, and English to be noted in the Margent, where ye mistake Eusebius for Ruffinus: (b) nor Nazianzene either in Monodia, as you note also in the Margent, nor in the funerall Oration that he made of his Father, hath any such saying as ye report of them. For how could they say, that a Bishop serueth in his Ministerie neuer the worse, but rather the better, and with more ableneſſe to doe good, for that he is married, the Scripture being so plaine to the contrarie? What, weene yee they were either so ignorant, or so forgetfull, or so much inclined to promote your Carnall Doctrine of Priests Marriages, as to say so, notwithstanding that S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians? Saith he not of them that be married, that such shall haue tribulation of the flesh? Saith he not, He that is without a Wife, careth for the things of our Lord, how he may please God: Or him that hath a Wife, saith he not, that he careth for the things that be the worlds, how hee may please his Wife, and is diuided? Finally, saith hee not, I tell you this thing for your profit, not to tangle you in a snare, but for that which is honest and comely Vnto you, and that which may giue you readineſſe to pray to God without let? Wherefore recant for shame that foule errour, that a Bishop serueth the better in his Ministerie, and is the more able to doe good, for that he is Married.

(a) M. Harding is assured beefore he know.

(b) an vnaduised vntruth: read the Answer.

S. Paul writeth thus, not of Priests and Bishops, but of all other Christian men.

Such men, such Doctrine: fleshly men, fleshly Doctrine.

Now therefore see you not how great is your impudencie, in that you lie your selfe, and father such a foule lie vpon Sozomenus, and that light of the world, in his time, Gregorie Nazianzene? The words of Sozomenus bee these: ἐγένετο γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀγχίστις, γαμετὴν μὲν παῖδας ἔχων· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτο τὰ θεῖα χείρων: that is to say, Spiridion was a Husbandman, hauing wife and children, and yet for all that, he was neuer the worse about Gods seruice. Of this place, we grant, yee may may say with Sozomenus, that Spiridion serued God neuer the worse for that he was married. But how, and whereof gather ye that he serued God the better, and was more able to do good because of his Marriage? Spiridion obtained that Priuiledge through (c) especiall grace, by his exceeding vertue, which is granted to few. And the Priuileges of a few make not a Law for all in generall, ye know, as Nazianzene saith.

M. Hardings modeſtie.

Neuer the worse.

(c) Vntruth. For Chrysostome maketh the case Generall.

Furthermore, if the words of Sozomenus that yee build your Carnall Doctrine vpon, be well examined, ye shall finde that he maketh more against you, then with you. For signifiing that he had Wife and Children, he addeth: ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτο τὰ θεῖα χείρων: Yet for all that hee was neuer the worse about Gods seruice: This reuocation or exception negatiue (yet for all that, &c.) implieth a confession affirmatiue to the contrarie.

Neither maketh the place of Gregory Nazianzene any whit for you more then this of Sozomenus doth, whose words bee these after the translation of Raphael Volateranus, varying much from the Greeke: (d) *Hic Basily Pater, Basilius item appellatus, etsi matrimonio se vinxit, ita tamen in eo vixit, vt nihil propterea ad Perfectam Virtutem, ac Philosophiam consequendam impediretur*: Basils Father, who was named also Basil, although he put himselfe in bonds of Matrimony, yet he liued so heerein, as hee was letted no whit from the attaining of perfect Vertue, and holy Knowledge. Were not Marriage a let and hinderance to perfection requisite in a Bishop, this learned man could not righly haue said, *Ita tamen in eo vixit, &c.* Yet for all that he liued so, &c.

(d) An errour. M. Harding raketh one place for another. Nothing hindereth.

Right so it is easie to put him from the hold hee taketh of S. Chrysostome, by Chrysostome himselfe. For leſt any man should thinke, whereas S. Paul saith, a Bishop ought to bee the Husband of one Wife, that the same order continueth still in the Church, thereto he saith in his second Homily, *De Pœnitentia Job*: *Non ea ratione, quòd nunc id in Ecclesia obseruetur. Oportet enim omni prorsus Castitate Sacerdotem ornatum esse*: S. Paul (saith he) required this, not in consideration that the same be now obserued in the Church. For it behoueth a Bishop to be garnished with all manner of Chastitie.

Read the Answer.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Hære commeth M. Harding in aloft with Io Triumph, as hauing beaten downe all the world vnder his fæt: and as being already in sure possession of the Victorie, hee crieth out, Impudencies, Lewd Lies, Foule Faults, and pretty Fittons: and full terribly chargeth vs, like a Conquerour, to render our selues, and to recant for shame. This new courage is suddenly blowen vpon him, for that he thinketh wæ haue intruded vpon his office, and as he saith, haue corrupted and falsified the Holy Fathers. But it were a worthy matter to know wherein. For soth wæ say, by the report of Sozomenus, and Gregorius Nazianzenus, that Spiridion, and Gregorie father vnto Nazianzene, being both married Bishops, notwithstanding their Marriage, were neuer the worse able to doe their Ecclesiasticall Offices, but rather the better.

Marriage helpeth.

Hære M. Harding of himselfe and freely confesseth, these Holy Fathers were neuer the worse able to doe their Offices. For so much the words of Sozomenus doe report: Νικῶ δεῖα χάρις. But, that they were the better able to do their Offices, because of their Wiues, that he denieth vtterly: and hærein he saith, We are Corrupters and Falsifiers of the Fathers. And thus the whole difference that is betwæne M. Harding and vs, touching this matter, standeth onely in these two poore words, Rather the better, and Neuer the worse.

Now, gentle Reader, that thou maist bee the better able to iudge betweene vs, I beseech thee indifferently to weigh these words.

Nazia. in Epitaphio Patris: Ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴς γέγονεν, ἴσως τι καὶ λόγῳ κρεῖττον· τὰ πράγματα δὲ ἑαυτῆς ἄρχουσα τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ διδάσκουσα τὰ πρέποντα καὶ διδαχθεῖσα.

Gregorie Nazianzene heereof, that is, of the helpe that his Father, being the Bishop of Nazianzum, had by his wife, writeth thus: Illa quæ data est Adamo, &c. Eua *that was giuen to* Adam, *for an Helper, for asmuch as it was not good for Man to be alone, in stead of a Helper, became his Enemie.* It followeth: Meo autem patri, mater mea data illi à Deo, non tantùm Adiutrix facta est, id enim minùs esset mirum, sed etiam Dux & Princeps, Verbo Factoque inducens illum ad res optimas. Et alijs quidem in rebus quamuis optimum esset subditam esse Viro, propter iura Coniugij, tamen in Pietate non verebatur seipsam illi Magistram exhibere: *My Mother being giuen to my Father of God, became,* not only his Helper, *for that had beene no great wonder, but also was* his Leader and Captaine, both by Word, and by Deed, training him vnto the best. *And albeit in other things it were best, for her to be subiect vnto her husband, for the Right of Marriage,* yet in Religion and Godlinesse shee doubteth not to become his Mistresse.

διδάσκαλος.

These words, M. Harding, be plaine, and clære, and without fitton. Gregory Nazianzene saith, that his owne Mother was vnto his Father, the Bishop of Nazianzum, a Helper, and a Directour, both by Word and Deed, to lead him to the best: and that in all other things being his inferiour, yet in Religion and Godlinesse shee was his Mistresse. And yet must all these words, so open, so plaine, so cleare, bæ drowned with your simple distinction of Rather the better, and Neuer the worse? May wee not now allow you with fauour to take all these that ye cal Fittons, Lies, Corruptions, and Falsifyings, home againe vnto your selfe?

If you neuer read these thimgs before, it is no great maruell. You must remember, All truth may not be measured be your reading.

Addition. ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. How make you not all men witnesses of your Falshood and impudencie? The store of your Notebookes, which Illyricus, Frier Ball, and certaine others of that cut haue made to your hand. You allege out of Gregorie Nazianzene, that his Mother was to his Father an Helper, a Guide, a Leader, a Captaine, by Word and by Deed training him to the best: Yea further, that in Religion and Godlinesse shee was not ashamed to become his Mistrisse. All this is true, M Iewell, I confesse: And yet it prooueth not your purpose at all. How so? Marke Reader, and consider of it well, how M. Iewell beguileth thee. Heere lieth the deceit, in that he maketh S. Gregorie, Nazianzenes Father, Bishop of Nazianzum, when he had such helpe of his Mother, &c. It is a weake flocke, they say, of sheepe, where an Ewe beareth the bell, &c. Thus then is it. Gregorie the elder, S. Gregorie Nazianzenes Father, was a married man long before he was a Bishop: and before he was married to his wife, and also long after, hee was an Infidell. Shee, S. Gregories Mother, contrariwise was a Christian woman, borne of Christian Parents, &c. Heereby it is made cleere to all men how his Father was holpen by his wife, not as being a Bishop, as M. Iewell doth vntruly say, but as yet being an Infidell. *The Answer.* It is true indeed. Nazianzene vttereth these things as done by his Mother before his Father was conuerted. Therefore you say, They perteine nothing to the time that followed afterward, when his Father was a Bishop. And why soe, M. Harding? Is this your best Logike of Louaine? Or will you teach vs to reason thus: Gregorie Nazianzenes wife was a helper vnto him before his Conuersion: *Ergo,* afterward shee did not, or could not helpe him? But this is one of your greatest graces: Whatsoeuer you imagine may serue you to anie aduantage, yee take it, and holde it as your owne, either as sufficientlie

M. Harding fol. 313. a.
Fol. 313. b.
Fol. 305. a.

proued,

proued, because you speake it, or else, as confessed by your Aduersary. Then you spread out your Banner, and blow vp your triumph, and make your selfe merry. Nazianzene declaring the time of his Fathers Infidelity before his Conuersion, saith, *That his Wife, being a Christian woman, Watched, Fasted, Sang Psalmes and praied for her Husband, and was carefull for him.* Will you therfore say, that after he was once conuerted, shee gaue all ouer, and Watched, and Fasted, and Sang Psalmes, and Praid no more? Verily as shee praid for her Husband, so was shee a helper to her Husband, not onely while hee was an Infidell, but also all the time of his life. And why not? What wanted there in her? Good will, or Vnderstanding? As touching good will, Nazianzene compareth her with Sara, the mother of all faithful women: and saith, *That in godlinesse she passed all others.* Touching her skill and vnderstanding, he saith: *As the Sunne beames are faire and cleare in the morning, and grow brighter and warmer towards noone, euen so my Fathers wife shewing forth the pleasant first fruits of godliness at the beginning, afterward shined out with greater light.* Thus we see her light and ability grew more and more, and increased daily. And therfore Nazianzene saith vnto her, in the end of the same Oration: *You take it not well, Mother, thus to be counselled at my hands. I blame you not. For you your selfe haue giuen counsell vnto many, whom long time hath led to seeke your wisdome.* So saith S Paul: *I beseech thee, faithfull Yokefellow,* (by which words Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius think he meant his wife) *helpe those women that haue laboured with me in the Gospell.* Thus did Gregory Nazianzenes wife: shee was godly her selfe, and holpe others, both men, and women, with her godly counsell. She conuerted her Husband from Infidelity: shee conuerted others: she brought vp her children in the feare of God: *Her Husband gaue her the charge in deliuering his money vnto the poore.* And yet will you tell vs, that shee was no helper to her Husband? Or, that her Husband by her meanes was not the better able to doe his office? It shameth me M. Harding, to see these follies. Whereas Nazianzene saith, *She was a helper to his Father,* he meaneth not onely the time of his Infidelie, but generally the whole course of all his life. Fiue and forty yeres he liued a Bishop: and all that while she was his helper.

1 Petri. 3.

Marriage helpeth.

Ignatius ad Philadelphien. Clemens Stromatum lib. 7. Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 30. Totas matri habenas dimisit

A weake flocke (you say) where an Ewe beareth the Bell. This Prouerb might better become a Shepe of Cotswould with his Bell. For the helpe that we speake of importeth no such soueraignty, nor bearing of Bels. God himselfe saith: *Let vs make* Adam *a Helper meet for him.* This Helper was his Wife Eua. Yet did not Eua beare the Bel. S. Paul saith: *Salute* Priscila, *and* Aquila *her Husband, that are my Helpers in* Christ Iesus. And, as I haue alleged before, he saith to his owne wife, *Helpe these women that haue laboured with me in the Gospell, together with* Clemens, *and others my Helpers.* Yet, I trow, ye will not say, that S. Paul shall come behind: or, that Clemens, or Aquila, or Priscilla, or his owne wife, or any other woman shall beare the Bell. God said vnto Abraham, *Heare the voice of* Sara *thy wife, whatsoeuer she shall say to thee.* Shee shall giue thee good counsell: she shal helpe thee. Yet the Soueraignty was in Abraham, and not in Sara: neither was it Sara, but Abraham that bare the Bell.

Genes. 2. S. Roman. 16. Philippen. 4. Genes. 21.

Thus to Cauill at Gods Institution, M. Harding was the maner of the Old condemned Heretikes: Marcion, Valentinus, Tatius, and such others, in whose steps you cannot tread without great danger.

To be short, the resolution hereof is this: *Better it is to Marry, then to swelter inwardly with filthy affections.* S. Paul saith: *I would wish all men to bee as I am my selfe. But euery man hath his gift:* One of Chastity, and another of Marriage. Though Chastity bee a singular gift of God, yet is it not good for him that hath not the gift of Chastity. S. Augustine saith: Aliquando hoc expedit, aliquando illud. Nam illis qui se non continent, vtique expedit nubere: *Sometime Chastity is good, sometime Marriage. But to them that conteine not* (that is to say, that haue not the gift of Chastity) *it is better to Marry.* Howbeit, in such as haue Vowed Chaste life, he saith, *It is neither Lawfull to Marry, nor expedient.* But alas, what auaileth a Vow of Chast Life, without Chastity?

1. Corinth. 7. *Ad Pollentiam, Lib. 1. Ca. 15.*

Indeed Marriage, as also other like outward things, of it selfe is neither good, nor ill: but as it is vsed. S Paul saith: *If the Virgin Marry, shee sinneth not.* Hee that *Marrieth not his Virgin sinneth not.* Therefore Gregory Nazianzene saith: Neutrum horum, nec Matrimonium, nec Cœlebs Vita prorsus aut Deo nos, mundoue conciliat: aut à Deo, aut à mundo alienat: vt alterum natura sua omnin ò fugiendum sit, alterum absolutè laudandum. Animus est qui & Virginitati, & Nuptijs rectè imperat: *Neither of these two, nor Matrimony, nor Single life, doth either ioine vs to God, or to the world: or withdraw vs from God or from the world: that the one ought to be refused, and the other absolutely, and of it selfe ought to be praised.* It is the Mind that ruleth both Mariage, and Virginity.

1. Corinth. 7. *Nazianzen. in Epitaphio Gorgonia.* Μὴ γὰρ τῶν δύο τούτων ἢ θεὸν ποιεῖ, ἢ κόσμον ἀπολλύει, οὔτε γάμος οὔτε παρθενία καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἐπαινετά. Ὁ τοίνυν ὁ μὲν γάμου ἢ παρθενίας κρατῶν ἐπαινετός.

I grant, there be moe occasions of let and hinderance in Matrimonie, then in Virgini-

Marriage helpeth.

tie, and specially in times of Persecution. The naturall affection of wife and children often mollifieth and melteth the heart, and causeth a man to loke backward.

Ambr. de Virginitate, lib. 3.

S. Ambrose saith: Bona Vincula nuptiarum; Sed tamen Vincula: Etsi Vincula, tamen Vincula Charitatis: Bonum Coniugium: sed tamen à iugo tractum: *Good are the Bands of Matrimonie: Yet are they Bands. And although they be Bands yet are they* Bands of Charity. Coniugium (Wedlocke) *is good yet it taketh his name of the* Yoke.

This is that tribulation of the flesh that S. Paul speaketh of.

And albeit these Cares withdraw and oppresse the Mind, as I haue said, and oftentimes be great lets to godly purposes: yet as it well appeareth by these examples of Gregory Nazianzene, and Spiridion, in a godly man they hinder nothing. Neither was this any such singular Priuiledge as M. Harding imagineth granted onely to these two Bishops, Gregory, and Spiridion, and to none other.

Chrysost. in 1. Epist. ad Tim. Homil. 10.

S. Chrysostome saith, not onely generally of all men, but also specially of Priests and Bishops: Quamuis nuptiæ plurimum difficultatis in se habeant, ita tamen assumi possunt, vt perfectiori vitæ impedimento non sint: *Notwithstanding Marriage haue much trouble in it selfe, yet may it so be taken* (and vsed) *that it shall be no hinderance to perfect life.* Againe he saith: Ne excuses te propter nuptias: Dominus tuus nuptijs interfuit, & nuptias coronestauit. Et tu nuptias arguis? Et dicis nuptias esse impedimentum ad Pietatem? Nullum enim ad Pietatem est obstaculum. Vis cognoscere, quòd nihil obsit habere Vxorem & Liberos? Moses nonne Vxorem habuit & Liberos? Vide & Petrum Columnam Ecclesiæ, quòd & ipse Vxorem habuit. Ne accuses Nuptias: *Excuse not thy selfe by thy Marriage. Thy Lord was at the Marriage Feast, and honoured Marriage with his presence.* And yet doest thou blame Marriag? And saist thou that Marriage is an hinderance vnto Godlines? I tell thee, Marriage is no manner hinderance vnto Godlinesse. *Wilt thou know that* it hindereth not to haue Wife and Children? *Had not* Moses *Wife and Children? Behold* Peter, *a Pillar of the Church; he had a wife. Therefore* finde no fault with Marriage.

Chrys. in Esaia In illa verba, Vidi Dominũ. To. 1. Hom. 4.

Againe, writing vpon these words of the Prophet Esay, Vidi Dominum, &c. hee saith thus: Quis ista loquitur? Esaias ille spectator cœlestium Seraphim, qui cum Coniuge commercium habuit, nec tamen extinxit Gratiam: *Who speaketh these words?* Esaias *the beholder of the Celestiall Seraphims, who notwithstanding* he had company with his Wife, yet he quenched not the Grace of God. Againe: Filium habebat, & Vxorem: vt intelligas non esse malas nuptias, sed malam esse Scortationem: Esay *had a sonne, and a Wife: that thou maist vnderstand,* that Matriage is not ill, *but that Fornication is ill* And againe: Num obstabat Matrimonium? Adiutrix tibi data est Vxor, non Insidiatrix: *What did Marriage hinder thee? No.* Thy wife is giuen to thee to be thy helper, *and not to deceiue thee.*

August. in quæstionibus Noui & Vet. Testamen. quæ. 127.

Likewise saith S. Augustine: Sanctissimus Samuel filios genuit: non tamen Iustitiæ suæ merita minuit: Zacharias Sacerdos, Vir Iustus, in senectute sua genuit filium. Qua ergo ratione accusatur, quod minimè obesse probatur? *Most holy* Samuel *begat Children: and yet nothing abated the merits of his righteousnesse.* Zacharias *the Priest in his old age begat a Childe. Wherefore then is that thing accused, that is prooued* to do no manner hurt?

Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 19.

Nicephorus writing of Gregorie S. Basils Brother, the Bishop of Nyssa, saith thus: Quamuis haberet Coniugem, alijs tamẽ in rebus non cessit Fratri: *Although he had a Wife, yet in other things he was* Nothing Inferiour to (S. Basil) his Brother.

Augu. de Bono Coniuga. ca. 11

S. Augustine saith, as he is alleged before: Sancta sunt etiam Corpora Coniugatorum Fidem sibi & Domino seruantium: *Where married people kepe their faith both to themselues, and to God,* their Bodies be Holy.

Nazianzen. in funer. Gorgon.

Likewise Nazianzene: Etiam illa quæ nupsit & de jis quæ sunt Mariti, & de ijs quæ sunt Domini solicita est, vt sit sancta, & Corpore, & Spiritu: *Euen shee that is married, is carefull both for the things that perteine to her Husband,* and also for the things thar perteine to God, that she may be holy both in body, and Spirit.

Ambros. in 1. Cor. 7.

Likewise S. Ambrose: Videmus Virgines de sæculo cogitare: & Matrimonio iunctos Dominicis studere Operibus: *We see both Virgins carefull for the World:* and married men carefull for the works of the Lord.

There be troubles in Marriage: It cannot be denied. But so be there also troubles in single Life: specially to them that feare the Judgements of God, and haue not the gift o Chastity.

Chrys. in Gen. Hom. 21.

But Chrysostome saith: Matrimonium non solùm nihil nobis obstat ad Philosophandum Deo, si voluerimus esse sobrij, sed & magnam adfert Consolationem: Comprimit enim insanum Naturæ impetum: nec turbari sinit, quasi Mare: sed efficit vt scapha fœliciter in Portum appellat. Et ideo Deus Consolationem hanc tribuit humano generi: *Marriage not onely* hindereth nothing *towards the knowledge and Seruice of God, if wee will be sober,* but also bringeth vs great Comfort. *For it oppresseth the raging fury of Nature,*

and

and suffereth vs not to be dasht and tost as the waues of the Sea: but causeth that our ship may luckily arriue into the Hauen. And for that cause hath God giuen this Comfort *vnto mankinde.*

Therefore Gregory Nazianzene saith: Nuptiæ sunt laudabiles propter eam, quæ in Nuptijs est, animi tranquillitatem: *Marriage is worthy of praise, for the* quietnes and contentation of Mind *that is in Marriage.* *Nazianzen. in Funere Gorgoniæ.*

To be short, Clemens Alexandrinus saith: Habet vt Castitas, ita etiam Matrimonium, propria munera & ministeria, quæ ad Dominum pertinent: *as well Matrimony, as also Chastity, hath either of them their peculiar offices* perteining vnto God. *Clemens Stromat Lib. 3.*

And Chrysostome saith: Ne quis prætexat Vxorem, vel Liberos, &c. hæc excusatio, hic prætextus, Diaboli sunt insidiæ: *Let no man make his excuse by his Wife, or Children, &c.* This excuse and this pretense, is the craft and deceitfulnesse of the Diuel. Thus, M. Harding, to conclude with Chrysostomes words, the ground and foundation of your Doctrine in this behalfe, is the Craft and deceitfulnesse of the Diuell.

Marriage helpeth.

These things considered, I doubt not, but of your curtesie ye will take backe your sittons vnto your selfe. The Conclusion and summe of your whole talke is this: Spiridion serued God neuer the worse, notwithstanding he had a wife: And Marriage is no let or hinderance to perfect Godlinesse.

The Apologie, Chap. 8. Diuision 3.

Further we say, that the same Law which by constraint taketh away this liberty from mē, and compelleth them against their wils to liue single, is the Doctrine of Diuels, as Paul saith: And that euer sithence the time of this Law, a wonderful vncleannes of life and manners in Gods Ministers, & sundry horrible enormities haue followed, as the Bishop of Augusta, as Faber, as Abbas Panormitanus, as Latomus, as the Tripartite Worke, which is annexed to the second Tome of the Councels, and other Champians of the Popes band, yea, and as the matter it selfe, and all Histories doe confesse.

Doctrine of Diuels.

For it was rightly said by Pius the Second, Bishop of Rome, that he saw many causes why Wiues should be taken away from Priests: but that hee saw many moe, and more weighty causes why they ought to bee restored to them againe.

M. Harding.

1. Cor. 7. Voluntary Vow imbar. reth liberty of the contrary. 1 Cor. 7. *Ad Virginem Lapsam, cap. 5.*

There is (a) no Law in the Church, that by constraint taketh away from men liberty to marry. For S. Pauls words be plaine. If thou take a wife, thou sinnest not. And likewise, If a Virgin marry, shee sinneth not. But if any persons haue of their owne wil and deuotion Vowed to God Chastity, the same haue imbarred themselues of this generall liberty, & by their Voluntary Promise haue bound themselues neuer to marry. And in such not only Marriage it selfe, but also a will to marry is damnable, as S. Paul saith of Widowes which haue Vowed to liue chast, that they haue their damnation (not for that they marry, but) for that they will marrie. If the Gospellers alledge against this Doctrine the words of S. Paul, If a Virgin marry, she sinneth not: we answer with Chrysostome and other Fathers, that a Virgin by a Vow of Chastity dedicated to God, if she marry, doubtlesse she sinneth much, for that beside Christ she hath surmaried an Aduouterer. If they obiect, It is better to marry then to burn: let S. Ambrose answer, who saith that this saying perteineth to her that hath not promised, to her that is not yet vailed. And by restraining them from Marriage, the Church vseth no tyranny: nor, if it teach that such ought to forbear Marriage, is that to be accounted the Doctrine of Diuels, but of the holy Ghost, whereby men are kept from wilfull damnation. To forbid Marriage wholly, vniuersally, and altogether, that is the Doctrine of Diuels. But to iudge Marriage for some state and Order of lesse conuenience then the Single Life, or after Vow of Chastity made, to require perpetuall continency, this is not the Doctrine of Diuels. For S. Paul himselfe did both. If these Defenders will not admit this answer, and beeing loth to forsake their fleshly pleasure, pretend to be moued with the Authority of S. Paul, who calleth the forbidding of Marriage the Doctrine of Diuels: I send them to S. Augustine for an answer in his thirteenth Book, & sixth Chapter against Faustus the Manichē. Where, for a sufficient solution of their obiection, they shal find these plaine words: *Ille prohibes, quibus bonum malum esse dicit: non qui huic bono aliud melius anteponit:* That is to say, He forbiddeth (Marriage) which saith it is euill: not he which preferreth another better thing before this good thing.

The Doctrine of Diuels.

(a) Manifest vntruth. For all Priests are restrained from Marriage. And Priests bee men.

Now, that I may shew in what time, and by what persons this Law of Single Life was ordeined, for breuities sake, I wil content my selfe with witnesse of one only Councel, which is the Second Councell of Carthage, holden in the time of Valentinian and Theodosius the Emperours. Where we find that this order was taken (b) by the Apostles themselues, and that the Antiquity obserued and kept the same. The words of the Councell be these, Canon 1.

Aurelius Episcopus dixit, &c. Aurelius the Bishop said: Whereas in the Councel before this, it was treated of the rule of Continence & Chastity, these three Degrees through their Consecrations be annexed to Chastity by a certaine Decree written, to wit, Bishops, Priests and Deacons: whom it is thought good, as it becommeth the holy Prelates and Priests of God, and likewise Leuites, or such as attend vp on,

(b) Vntruth. For these be the words of the Apostles Canons: *Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut*

on holy Sacramens, to be continent and chaſt in euery conditiõ, to the intent they may ſimply obtain that they pray to God for, that we keepe and obſerue that which (c) the Apoſtles haue taught, and the Antiquity hath kept. Loe, Sir Defender.

Diaconus, vxorem ſuam præ ſtudio Religionis abiecit, aut fabricarit, à cõmunione ſegregetur. Can. 5.

What if the Biſhop of Auguſta find fault with Prieſts liues? (which Auguſta, and which Biſhop there ye meane, I know not, neither well can I know, except I ſaw your note-booke.) What if the Abbat Panormitane, what if one Faber, and one Latomus, men of our time (I trow) and that zelous man which wrote the little tripartite treatiſe annexed to the Laterane Councell, whatſoeuer he was: what if all theſe (I ſay) mooued with a zeale, and being deſirous of the Clergies Reformation, lamentably complain of their looſe life? What then?

(c) Vntruth in the Anſwer. M. Harding falſely miſtaketh the Councell.

Get you fairer painted, and better filled boxes then theſe bee, or elſe ſhall ye all be taken for poore Pothecaries.

(d) A vaine expoſition. What had this bene to Pius meaning?

Touching Pius, in Platina ye ſhall find theſe words for one of that Popes ſayings: *Sacerdotibus magna ratione ſublatas nuptias, maiori reſtituendas videri:* As much to ſay in Engliſh, that Marriage was taken frõ Prieſts with great reaſon, and that it ſeemed it were to be reſtored againe with greater. This ſaying reporteth not that Wiues were taken away from Prieſts, as you report, neither that wiues ought to be reſtored to Prieſts againe. (d) It ſpeaketh only of Marriage, which, as before a man enter into Holy Orders no Vow being made, is lawful, ſo by orders taken, a Vow of Chaſtity being ſolemnly made, is vterly vnlawfull. If this ſaying had made ſo much for your pretenſed Marriage, as yee would men to beleeue, (e) ye would neuer haue falſified it by ſuch change of words. Whether it be more expedient, ſuch as come to the Clergy to be required to lead the Single Life, and to bind themſelues therto by Vowes, or to enioy the common libertie of Marriage, (f) that we leaue to the Church to diſcuſſe and order.

(e) Vntruth. For if we had falſified the words, ye would not ſo ſimply haue touched it.

(f) Now at laſt the Doctours ſtand in doubt.

If Pius ſaw many weightier cauſes for Prieſts to haue Wiues, then for their Single Life, as ye pretend he did: why did not hee, or you in his ſtead, ſhew vs what, and how ſubſtantiall they be? if they bee no better then you and your fellowes haue vttered in your Sermons and writings hitherto, they are not worth (g) a Pipt nootte. This ſaying of Pius is well to be weighed and ſcanned.

(g) *Mira vero Mihi quæ placerent.*

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Doctrine of Diuels.

1. Timoth. 4.

Whoſoeuer ſhall well conſider the fruits that haue growen of this Tree, may eaſilie iudge by whom it was planted. Certainly S. Paul, when hee had giuen rules touching the Clergy, that Biſhops and Deacons ſhould be the Huſbands of One Wife, immediately afterward in the ſame tenour and courſe of ſpeech, ſaith thus: *The Spirit ſaith plainly, that in the later times ſome ſhall depart from the Faith, giuing eare vnto lying Spirits, and to the Doctrine of Diuels, vttering lies vnder hypocriſie, hauing their Conſcience burnt with a hot yron,* (and thereby made vnſenſible) Forbidding Marriage, &c. Here we are taught by the Spirit of God, that Forbidding of Marriage is the Doctrine of Diuels.

But M. Harding ſaith, There is no Lawe in the Church to reſtraine Marriage: and that Marriage is not now condemned by him, and others of that ſide, and thought vnlawfull vniuerſally in all men (for that, hee ſaith, was the Hereſie of Valentinus, Marcion, Montanus, and others) but only forbidden and thought vnlawful in a few. By this anſwer M. Harding may ſeem to make himſelfe ſomewhat better then was Valentinus, and Marcion, and other old Heretikes. But further to helpe him, and thoroughly to cleere his Doctrine, it will not ſerue. It is a common knowen Rule in the Schooles, Magis & Minus non mutant ſpeciem. Verily, as he that killeth but a few men is called a Man-killer: euen ſo hee that condemneth Marriage in a few muſt likewiſe be called a Condemner of Marriage. Neither doth S. Paul, when he Propheſieth hereof, ſay, that ſome ſhould condemne all kind of Marriage vniuerſally in all maner of men: but onely he ſaith, *There ſhall be ſome that ſhall forbid Marriage: as the Biſhops of* Rome *haue done.*

Neither did all Heretikes condemne Marriage in one ſort. For ſome of them condemned it Generally, and thoroughly, and altogether: ſome others of them condemned it onely in a few, euen as M. Harding and his fellowes doe: For thus S. Auguſtine writeth of the Heretikes named the Manicheis: Auditores qui appellantur apud eos, & carnibus veſcuntur, & agros colunt, &, ſi voluerint, Vxores habent. Quorum nihil faciunt illi qui vocantur Electi: *They that among them be called the Hearers, doe both eat fleſh, and till the ground, and marry Wiues too if they liſt. But no ſuch thing may they doe that bee called* Electi. The Auditors or Hearers among the Manicheis were as the Lay people: The Electi or Choſen were as the Clergie. Theſe Heretikes the Manicheis condemned Marriage, not generally in all ſorts and degrees of men: but onely, as M. Harding doth, in a few. Yet were they Heretikes notwithſtanding, and their Doctrine was the Doctrine of Diuels.

Aug. Epiſt. 74.

S. Auguſtine ſaith vnto them, as hee would alſo ſay vnto M. Harding: Non Concubitum, ſed, vt longè ante ab Apoſtolo dictum eſt, Verè Nuptias prohibetis: *Yee forbid not Copulation,* (or Concubines) *but euen as the Apoſtle Propheſied long before,* Verily and indeed ye forbid Marriage: (albeit it were but in a few.)

Augu. de Morib. Manich. Lib. 2. cap. 18. Chryſoſt. in Opere Imperfecto, Homil. 1.

All this M. Harding, notwithſtanding, that it may plainly appeare whoſe Doctrine ye teach, it ſhall be good, and not from the purpoſe, briefly to diſcloſe ſome part of it. And heere to paſſe ouer theſe words of Chryſoſtome: Hæc ipſa Coniunctio maritalis malum

eſt

est ante Deum: *This very Copulation of Man and Wife* is euill before God. And these of S. Hierome: Quemdiu impleo Mariti officium, non impleo officium Christiani: *As long as I doe the duty of a Husband*, I do not the duty of a Christian. And other like sayings and authorities before alleged. Pope Innocentius, in the Condemnation of Marriage saith thus: Qui in carne sunt, Deo placere non possunt: *They that be in the flesh*, (that is to say, in Marriage) cannot please God. And to this purpose he allegeth these words of S. Paul: *To the cleane all things are cleane*: But to the filthy and Infidels (whereby the same Pope Innocentius vnderstandeth married people) nothing is cleane: but both their minde, and their conscience is defiled. Pope Siricius calleth Marriage, Vitium, Luxuriam, Fœdas Cupiditates: *Vice, Lechery, and Filthy Lusts.* One of your late English Doctors of Louain saith, that the whole East Church, maintaining the lawfull marriage of Priests, euermore continued there from the Apostles time vntill this day, maintaineth and continueth a Schole of Filthinesse.

Hieron. aduersus Iouinian. Lib. 1.

Dist. 82. Præposuisti.

Roman. 8. Tit. 1.

Dist. 82. Plurimos.

Copus Dial. 1. Pag. 159. Græcos solos in hac impudicitia Scholam Magistros sequuntur.

Further you may remember, that this Rule is written in a Booke of your owne Doctrine, and is giuen in secret, as a Speciall Lesson vnto your Clergie: Simon castè, tamen cautè: *If thou deale not* Chastly, *yet deale* Charily.

Const. Othonis. Licet ad profugandum. in Glossa.

From whence had you this Doctrine, M. Harding? Who set it first abroach? Who taught it? Who confirmed it? Who allowed it? If ye can say, it is not the Doctrine of the Diuell, yet verily, I beleeue, ye cannot say, it is in any point like the Doctrine of God. S. Hierome hauing occasion to speake of Antichrist, saith thus: Simulabit Castitatem, vt plurimos decipiat: *He shall make a counterfeit shew of Chastity, that hee may deceiue manie.* Euen so S. Paul saith: Habentes speciem Pietatis: Virtutem autem eius abnegantes: *Hauing a colour of Godlinesse: but the Power thereof denying vtterly.*

Hieron. in Danielem, cap. 11.

2. Timoth. 3.

But somewhat to relieue your selfe ye allege these words of S. Augustine: Ille prohibet Matrimonium, qui illud malum esse dicit: non qui huic bono aliud melius anteponit: *He forbiddeth Marriage, that saith Marriage is euill: and not hee that before this thing, being good, setteth another thing that is better.* Heere, M. Harding, I beseech you of your indifferent iudgement: He that vseth your words, and saith, as you say, They that liue in Matrimonie, cannot please God: They be filthy: They bee Infidels: Vnto them nothing is cleane: Their whole Minde and Conscience is defiled: He that saith, *Matrimony is* Vice, Lechery, *and* Filthy pleasure; saith he not, *Matrimonie is an euill thing?* Thus you say: Thus you write: These words be apparent, and allowed in your Bookes: euen in those Bookes whereby ye would haue vs to order and to direct our liues and manners. Briefly, this is the very substance of your Doctrine in this behalfe. Therefore euen by S. Augustines iudgement, your Doctrine is the Doctrine of Diuels.

August. contra Faust. lib. 30. cap. 6.

The Apostles Doctrine.

And whereas yee would seeme not vtterly to condemne the state of Matrimonie, but only to set Single Life before it, as a better thing before a good: it may please you to vnderstand, that notwithstanding a thing in it selfe be best, yet is it not therefore vniuersally best for euery man. For notwithstanding Scarlet be the faireſt of all Colours, and the Face the faireſt part of all the Body, yet I reckon, M. Harding, to make your selfe faire ye would not haue your Face died in Scarlet.

Single Life for many causes is the best: I grant. Yet is it not best for euery bodie: but only for him that hath the gift of Chastity, and can with quiet mind, and vpright conscience liue Single. Otherwise Matrimony is much better. And therefore God hath left vs indifferently free to both: that whosoeuer cannot vse the one, may chuse the other. S. Paul saith: Volo omnes esse sicut meipsum: *I would euery man would liue Single, as I doe.* But he addeth withall a speciall Prouiso: Vnusquisque proprium donum habet à Deo: alius sic, alius autem sic: *Euery man hath his owne gift of God: One this, another that.*

1. Corinth. 7.

And therefore he saith further: Although Single Life be the better state, *Yet whosoeuer is not continent, let him marrie. Better is it to marry, then to burne.* Although otherwise hee weigh Single Life before Marriage, yet in this case he saith, it is better to Marry, then so to liue Single.

M. Harding heereto replieth: They that haue Vowed, haue lost this liberty: and by S. Ambrose and S. Augustines iudgement, may not marry. Heereof I haue partly spoken before: and partly shall haue occasion offered to say more heerafter. In the meane season wee are taught heere by M. Harding to take S. Pauls words by the top, and to turne them quite backward: and thus to frame a new Rule of Life, and to say, contrary to S. Paul, Melius est Vri, quàm Nubere: It is better to burne in Concupiscence, then to marry.

Yet S. Augustine saith, euen of them that haue Vowed, as it is before alleged: Qui nubere volunt, & ideo non nubunt, quia impunè non possunt, meliùs nuberent, quàm vrerentur, id est, quàm occulta flamma Concupiscentiæ in ipsa Conscientia vastarentur: *They that haue a minde to Marry, and yet Marry not, because they cannot Marry without reproch,*

Aug. de sancta Virginitate cap. 34.

proch, Better were it for them to Marry, then to burne: *that is to say, then with the prime flame of their Concupiscence to be wasted in their Conscience.*

The Apostles Doctrine.

Further M. Harding saith: This order of Single Life was taken by the Apostles themselues: and therefore (saith he) it is not the Diuels, but the Apostles Doctrine. **If this be true indeed, then is this matter thoroughly concluded. But where was this Order taken by the Apostles? By what Writing, by what Record, by what Tradition may it appeare? Or how is it likely that the Apostles, being married men themselues, would force other men to liue Single?**

Ambros. 2. Cor. 11. *Euseb lib. 3. cap. 27.* ὡς οὗτοι μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ κυρίου. *Ignatius ad Philadelphien.* *Chrys. in Priorem ad Timot. Homil. 10.*

I haue already shewed by Ignatius, by Clemens, by Eusebius, and by S. Ambrose, that the Apostles, S. Iohn only excepted, were all married. Clemens saith, that Peter saw his owne Wife carried by the Officers to suffer death for Christs sake: and cried vnto her comfortably by her name: *O Woman, Remember the Lord.* Ignatius, S. Iohns Disciple, saith: Opto Deo dignus inueniri, sicut Petrus, & Paulus, & reliqui Apostoli, qui nuptijs fuerunt sociati, qui non libidinis causa, sed posteritatis surrogandæ gratia Coniuges habuerunt: *I wish to be found meet for God, as was* Peter, and Paul, and the other Apostles that were married: *and not for pleasure but for posterities sake had Wiues.*

Chrysostome saith: Cur non ait, Oportet Episcopum Angelum esse, nulli humanæ perturbationi, vitioue subiectum? Ne Ecclesiæ negotia, fluctúsque perirent. Idcirco moderatam Virtutem proposuit: non supremam illam, atque Cœlestem? *Why saith not* S. Paul, A Bishop ought to be an Angell, *subiect neither to any worldly affection, nor to anie Vice? Lest the affaires and fruits of the Church should perish,* (being without a Gouernour.) *Therefore he required of Bishops* a moderate and a reasonable kinde of Vertue, (willing them to be Husbands of One Wife) *and not that other Vertue; so high, and so heauenly:* (that is to say, vtterly to liue vnmarried)

Chrysost. in eadem. Homil.

Againe he saith: Idcirco ait, Vnius Vxoris Virum: ne nimis in angustum rem eam concluderet, si exactissimam Virtutem expetisset: idcirco moderatiori admonitione maluit vti: ne ex desperatione perfectæ illius inueniendæ Virtutis, Ecclesiæ sine Episcopis essent. *Therefore* S. Paul *saith*, Let a Bishop be the Husband of One Wife: *lest he should shut vp the matter into too great a strait, if he had required that most perfect puritie: therefore he would rather vse a reasonable moderation or meane* (that a Bishop should be the Husband of One Wife:) *lest of despaire of finding that excellencie of Virtue* (to liue vnmarried) *the Churches should be left without Bishops.*

1. Corinth. 7. *1. Timoth. 3.* *Tit. 1.* *Leo Epist. 87.*

S. Paul saith: **Touching Virgins, I haue no Commandement of the Lord: Better it is to Marry, then to burne: Let a Bishop be the** Husband of One wife. **Which last words Pope** Leo **expoundeth thus:** Is Episcopus ordinetur quem Vnius vxoris Virum fuisse, aut esse constiterit: *Let him be Consecrate a Bishop, of whom it may well appeare, that either he* is, or hath beene the Husband of One Wife.

Ambros.

S. Ambrose **expounding these words of** S. Paul, *Touching Virgins, I haue no Commandement of the Lord,* **saith thus:** Si Doctor Gentium non habuit, habere quis potuit? *If the Doctor of the Gentles had no Commandement of the Lord touching Virgins, what man else then could euer haue it?*

Canon. 5.

Among the Rules which commonly are called the Apostles Canons, **it is written thus:** Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, Vxorem suam prætextu Religionis ne abijciat: Aut si abiecerit, à Communione segregetur: & si perseueret, deponatur: *Let not either Bishop, or Priest or Deacon, put away his Wife, vnder colour of Religion. Or if hee so doe, let him bee put from the Communion* (of the Faithfull:) *And if he so continue, let him be vtterly deposed from his office.*

Hierony. contra Iouinian. lib. 1.

S. Hierome **expounding these words of** S. Paul, Let euery man remaine in the vocation wherein he was called, **saith thus:** Ex hoc, habentibus Vxores tollit licentiam dimittendi eas: *Hereby* S. Paul *forbiddeth married men to put away their Wiues.*

Dist. 31. Quoniam.

In the sixth Councell **holden at** Constantinople **it is written thus:** Antiquum sequentes Canonem Apostolicæ diligentiæ, & Constitutiones Sanctorum Virorum, Legales nuptias posthac valere volumus, nullo modo cum Vxoribus suis eorum Connubia dissoluentes: *Following the Old Order of the Apostles diligence, and the Constitutions and Lawes of the Holy Fathers, from henceforth wee will, that* the lawfull Marriage (of Bishops and Priests) *shall stand in force,* not in any wise dissoluing the Wedlocke that they haue with their wiues. **And herein they say they follow the Old** Canon, **or Order of the Apostles.**

26. Qu. 2. Sors.

Gratian saith, as he is before alleged: Copula Sacerdotalis nec Legali, nec Euangelica, nec Apostolica Authoritate prohibetur: *The Marriage of Priests is not forbidden by any Authority, either of the Law, or of the Gospell, or of the Apostles.*

Catharinus contra errores Caietani, error. 112.

Cardinall Caietane saith: Dominus Discipulis suis nullum indixit Votum: *Our Lord appointed vnto his Disciples* no manner of Vow.

Clemens

Clemens Alexandrinus ſaith, as it is ſaid before: Epiſtolæ Apoſtoli nuſquam honeſtum, moderatumq; Matrimonium prohibuerunt: *The Epiſtles of* Paul *the Apoſtle neuer forbad honeſt and ſober Marriage.* *Clem. Strom. lib. 3.*

All theſe things well conſidered, I beſeech thee, gentle Reader, indifferently to weigh M. Hardings words: and to demand of him, with what countenance hee could thus tell thee, that the Order of ſingle life was taken by the Apoſtles themſelues, and therefore muſt be holden as the Apoſtles doctrine.

The Apoſtles Doctrine.

If he happen to tell thee, It is written in the Councell of Carthage; tell him againe, he is deceiued. I ſay, tell him, that the Apoſtles of Chriſt neuer, neither made any Law, nor gaue any Order for the ſingle life of the Miniſters. And therefore tell him hardly, hee is deceiued. He will ſay, The words of the Councell be plaine, Quod Apoſtoli docuerunt, & ipſa ſeruauit Antiquitas: *Which thing the Apoſtles haue taught, and the Antiquity it ſelfe hath obſerued.* Theſe words be plaine indeed: if they were not peruerſly gloſed. Therefore tell him againe, he ſhould better haue learned, both the maner of the Apoſtles teaching, and alſo the ſcope and reach of this antiquity. Certainly thus much his owne Gloſſe could haue told him: Apoſtoli nihil inſtituerunt, de non vtendo Matrimonio iam contracto: *The Apoſtles* tooke no Order, *touching the not vſing of Matrimony already contracted.* *Cone Carthag. 2. cap. 2.* *Diſt. 84. Cum in Præterito, In Gloſſa.*

And whereas the Councell ſaith: Apoſtoli docuerunt, *The Apoſtles taught*: The ſame Gloſſe ſaith: Apoſtoli docuerunt exemplo: non Inſtitutione, vel Conſtitutione: *The Apoſtles taught it by their example*: but not by appointment, nor by cómandement. Perhaps M. Harding will ſay, The Apoſtles example is ſufficient. Thereto I will anſwer as Clemens Alexandrinus ſometime anſwered certaine of the old Heretikes in like caſe: Dicunt gloriоſi iſti iactatores, ſe imitari Dominum, qui Vxorem non duxit. Illis dicit Scriptura, Deus Superbis reſiſtit: Humilibus autem dat Gratiam: Theſe glorious Braggers *ſay, they will follow the Example of our Lord, that Married no Wife. Vnto them the Scripture ſaith, God withſtandeth the Proud: and giueth grace vnto the Humble.* *Clem. Strom. lib. 7.*

And to like purpoſe S. Amboſe ſaith: Præceptum quidem Apoſtolus non habuit: at habuit Exemplum: *Indeed the Apoſtle* S. Paul had no Commandement *to giue of Virginity: but* Example he had to giue. *Ambroſe de Virginibus lib. 1.*

Againe, whereas the Councell allegeth Antiquity, Quod ipſa ſeruauit Antiquitas, the ſame Gloſſe expoundeth it thus: A tempore Siricij Papæ hic vocat Antiquitatem: *By this word* Antiquity, *the Councell meaneth the time after* Pope Siricius (*which was foure hundred yeares after* Chriſt.) And againe, as it is alleged before: Ante tempora Siricij Papæ, Sacerdotes poterant contrahere Matrimonium: Before the time of Pope Siricius, it was lawfull for Prieſts to contract matrimony.

Such good lucke M. Harding hath to his Doctors and Councels. By his owne Gloſſe he hath loſt foure hundred yéeres of his Antiquity.

Panormitane, after he had ſaid, *The commandement of Single life is not of the Law of God*: He addeth further: Quia alàs Græci peccarent: Non enim excuſaret eos Conſuetudo: Quia illa non valet contra Legem Dei: *Otherwiſe the* Græcians *were offenders. For no Cuſtome could excuſe them: foraſmuch as Cuſtome preuaileth not againſt the Law of God.* *Extr. de Clericis Coniugatis. Cùm Olim.*

Now touching this Councell of Carthage, notwithſtanding it had béene truly conſtrued, yet the Authority thereof muſt néeds ſéeme ſo much the leſſe, for that it decreeth of ſet purpoſe quite contrary to the Councell of Nice. For the Fathers in the Nicene Councell durſt not to remoue Prieſts and Biſhops from their Wiues: for that it was written: *Whom God hath ioined, let no man ſunder.* But theſe other Fathers in the Councell of Carthage without any ſticking or doubting at the matter, onely with one word, vtterly remoued them: and ſo by force and violence and contrary to the commandement of Chriſt, ſundred and diuided them, whom God had ioined. Which thing, holy Paphnutius ſaith, *Was not lawfull for man to doe.* *Sozomen. lib. 1. cap. 22.*

Touching Biſhop Hulderichus, Panormitanus, Latomus and Jacobus Faber, and ſuch others, as haue ſpoken or written in the behalfe of Prieſts Marriage, M. Harding thinketh it ſufficient for him to anſwer, What if they complaine of the looſe life of the Clergy? What then? (that is to ſay) What if the Clergy liue in profeſſed ſhame, and open filthineſſe? What then? As if ſuch ſimple authorities were worthy of none other anſwer.

Yet was Hulderichus ſometime Biſhop of Auguſta in Germany, welnére fiue hundred yéeres agoe, and for his vertue and holineſſe was counted a Saint. Abbas Vſpergenſis in his Story writeth of him in this ſort: Hilrinus Auguſtanus Epiſcopus obijt, cui Sanctus Vdalrichus (qui idem eſt Hulderichus) ſucceſſit: Hiltine *the Biſhop of* Auguſta *died*: *Abbas Vſperg. Anno 925. Pag. 214*

To

The fruits of Single Life.

To whom succeded Saint Hulderichus. Abbas Panormitanus was a famous Canonist, in iudgement equall with any other.

Faber and Latomus both in our time were accounted learned: and either of them a speciall champion of M. Hardings side. Verily the worst and vilest of all these is a great deale both sounder in iudgement, and deeper in learning, then either Amphilochius, whom M. Harding so highly esteemeth: or Abdias, or Hyppolitus, or Leontius: whom they haue lately rakte out of the dust: or Clement of Rome, whom he so often calleth the Apostles Fellow.

Neither did these writers onely complaine of the looseneſſe of Priests liues, as M. Harding telleth vs: But also, for remouing of publike shame and slander out of the Church of God, wished that the liberty of Marriage might be restored: which thing M. Harding so closely dissembleth.

Plat. in Pio. Touching that Pope Pius was commonly wont to say, As Marriage was taken away from Priests vpon great considerations, euen so now vpon other greater considerations it were to bee restored to them againe: M. Harding, after much other needlesse talke, saith thus; Why did not he, or you in his stead shew vs, what and how substantiall considerations they be?

Gentle Christian Reader, loth I am to disclose, and publish any thing, that may sound to the shame of any one man: much lesse, that may turne to the open shame of so great a number. But M. Harding ouer heauily presseth vs with his importunity, and requireth vs vpon our credit, to shew these causes. Therefore if the report hereof shall seeme vnpleasant, the fault is M. Hardings: it is not mine. I will onely shew forth simply and truely, that I finde written in sundry, both of the ancient learned Fathers, and also in others of his owne side: which neuertheleſſe, had not M. Harding beene, might much better haue beene concealed.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 24. First of all, the ancient Father Origen for his time, which was twelue foure score hundred yeres agoe, hereof complaineth thus: Non solùm, quæ docent, non faciunt, sed etiam crudeliter, & sine misericordia, non secundùm æstimationem virium vniuscuiusque iniungunt: Vt, qui prohibent nubere, & ab eo, quod expedit ad immoderatam munditiem compellunt. Alligant onera grauia, & faciunt homines cadere sub eis. Et frequenter videmus, eos qui talia docent, contraria facere sermonibus suis. Castitatem docent: & Castitatem non seruant, &c. Omnia faciunt propter personas hominum, & glorias vanas, vt videantur ab hominibus. Et plerunque sunt tales, qui diligunt primos accubitus in conuiuijs, & salutationes in foro, & vocari ab hominibus Rabbi: Qui volunt vocari Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi: *not onely they doe not that they teach, but also cruelly and without mercy they lay their Iniunctions vpon others, not considering each mans ability. Such be they, that* forbid men to Marry: *and from that thing that is lawfull to be done, driue and force men* to an vnreasonable Purity. *They binde and lay on heauie burthens, and cause men to fall vnder them. And oftentimes we see them, that teach such things, themselues to do contrary to their owne sayings. They teach Chastity: and* yet keepe not Chastity, &c. *They doe all things for the commendation of men, and vaine glorie, that they may bee seene and noted of the people. And commonly they bee such, as loue the highest places at Feasts and Bankets, and to be saluted and honored in the Market places, and of the people to be called* Rabbi: *that will bee called Bishops, Priests and Deacons.*

Ensl. 4 ca. 22. Μὴ ἐαυὸ φορτίον ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι. At the very first attempt hereof, Dionysius the Bishop of Corinth wrote thus vnto Pinytus the Bishop of Gnosus: Noli graue illud onus Necessariæ Castitatis imponere Fratribus: *Lay not that* heauie burthen of the necessitie of Chaste life *vpon the Brethren.* Meaning thereby, that it was too heauy a burthen for all men to carrie.

Cypr. De Singular. Cleric. Neither was it for nothing, that S. Cyprian in his time wrote thus: Vt quid sibi adhibuit mulierem, qui ducere contempsit vxorem? Peius est quàm Mœchari, continentiam ducere criminosam: *wherefore tooke he a Woman vnto him, that disdained to Marry a Wife? To liue a continent life with reproch,* is worse then Aduouterie.

Epiph. contra Orig. hæres. 63. Πιμελετήματα γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀγνίαις, ἀλλα ὑποκρισεις καὶ, ἀγνία τὸ δόγμα καλεμένη. It is not for nothing, that Ehiphanius writeth: Repudiant Nuptias, at non Libidinem. In honore enim est apud illos, non Castitas, sed Hypocrisis: quam tamen appellari volunt Castitatem. They refuse Marriage, but not lust or pleasure. *For they esteeme not Chastitie, but Hypocrisie: and yet the same* Hypocrisie, *they will haue to be called* Chastity.

Chr. to. 5. quòd Regulares Fœminæ cum viris cohabitent. It is not for nothing that Chrysostome writeth of the Vowed or Chaste women in his time: Nuptias magis dicere beatas liceat, &c. Posthac melius esset, ne Virgines quidem esse, &c. Perseuerat adhuc nomen & appellatio rei: at negotium totum in corpore sublatum est, &c. In delicijs magis viuunt, quam mulieres in fornice, &c. Frequens, & quotidianus est concursus Obstetricum, ad Virginum domos, &c. Virginitas ista cum viris plus

ab

ab omnibus arguitur, quàm ſtuprum ipſum: *We may ſay that Marriage* is a great deale better (*then ſuch Virginity.*) *Hereafter* it were better *there were no Virgins at all.* The name (*of Virginity*) *continueth ſtill, but Virginity it ſelfe in their body is quite gone. They liue more in pleaſure then* Harlots in the Stewes. *There is often and daily running of* Midwiues to Virgins houſes. This manner of Virginity, of women amongſt men, is more reproued of all men then Fornication it ſelfe.

The fruits of Single life.

It is not for nothing that Sulpitius Seuerus ſaith of S. Hierome: Hieronymus de familiaritatibus Virginum, & Monachorum, & Clericorum, quàm vera, quàm fortia diſputauit? Vnde à quibuſdam, quos nominare nolo, dicitur non amari: *How truly, and how ſtoutly hath* S. Hierome *written of the* Familiarity that theſe Virgins haue with Monkes and Priests? *And therefore it is ſaid, that of ſome men, whom I will not name, hee is the leſſe beloued.*

Sulpitius Seuerus. Dialog. 3

Neither is it for nothing that Saluianus **ſaith of his time, which was about a thouſand yeres agoe:** Sub ſpecie Religionis vitijs ſæcularibus mancipantur: *Vnder the* colour of Religion and Holineſſe *they are made ſlaues to worldly Vices.* **And Againe:** Nouum prorſus Conuerſionis genus: Licita non faciunt: Illicita committunt: *A very ſtrange kind of conuerſion:* That they may doe, *they doe not: And doe* that, they may not doe.

Saluianus de Prouidentia, Lib. 5.

All theſe and other like things were written long agoe, in the olde times, before the fruits of Single Life were thoroughly knowen.

Ibidem.

But after that Pope Hildebrand **by Cruelty and Tyranny had fully eſtabliſhed the matter, and brought it to perfection,** Auentinus **ſaith:** *Many godly learned men, vtterly forſooke the Miniſterie,* Et falſi Prophetæ, Falſi Apoſtoli, Falſi Sacerdotes emerſerunt, qui ſimulata Religione populum deceperunt. Maxima pars, ſub honeſto nomine Caſtimoniæ, Stupra, Inceſtus, Adulteria, paſſim & impunè committunt: *Falſe Prophets, Falſe Apoſtles, and Falſe Prieſts ſprang vp, which* vnder a counterfet Religion *deceiued the people. The moſt part of them, vnder the* honeſt name of Chaſtity, *commit Whoredom, Aduoutrey, Inceſt, and that commonly, and without puniſhment.*

Auentinus in Hildebrando.

S. Bernard **ſaith:** Epiſcopi & Sacerdotes huius temporis Caſtitatis Sanctimoniam, ſine qua nemo videbit Deum, tam in corde, quàm in corpore, quomodo ſtudent obſeruare? Traditi in reprobum ſenſum, faciunt quæ non conueniunt. Quæ enim in occulto fiunt ab Epiſcopis, turpe eſt dicere: *The Biſhops and Prieſts of this time, how do they endeuour to keepe either* in heart, or in body, *the Holineſſe of Chaſtity, without which no man ſhall ſee God? They are giuen ouer into a reprobate minde, and doe thoſe things that are not conuenient. For it were ſhame to vtter* what theſe Biſhops doe in ſecret.

Bernar. in Concilio Remenſi.

Againe he ſaith: Abſtinentes à Remedio Coniugali, poſtea in omne flagitium effluunt: *Abſteining from* the Remedy of Marriage, *afterward they flow ouer into all kind of wickednes.*

Bernardus De Conuerſione, ad Clericos, cap. 29.

He that wrote the little booke called Opus Tripartitum, **ioined with the Councel of** Laterane, **ſaith thus:** Tanta immunditia luxuriæ notoria eſt in multis partibus mundi, non ſolùm in Clericis, ſed etiam in Sacerdotibus: imò quod horribile eſt audire, in Prælatis maioribus, &c. *Such notorious filthineſſe of Lecherie there is in many parts of the World, not onely in the inferiour* Clerks, *but alſo in* Priests: *yea and in the* greater Prelates too: *which thing is horrible to be heard &c.*

In Opere Tripart. li. 3. ca. 7.

And in the Gloſſe vpon the Conſtitutions Legantine **of England it is written thus:** Clerici huiuſmodi Concubinas tenent communiter apparatu honeſto, nomine appellationis Sororiæ: *Clerks commonly hold and haue ſuch Concubines in honeſt hauiour,* vnder the name of their Siſters.

De Concubinis Cler remouendis. Licet ad proſtigandum.

Nicolaus de Clauengijs, **complaining hereof, ſaith thus:** Capellani & Canonici ſimiles Epiſcopis, Indocti, Ebrij, Scortatores: *The Chaplaines and Canons are like to the Biſhops, Vnlearned, Drunken, and Fornicatours.*

Paralipomena Vrſperg pag. 402.

Robert Holcot **ſaith:** Sacerdotes moderni ſunt Dæmones Incubi per Luxuriam, & Sacerdotes Priapi, vel Beelpheger, & Angeli Abyſſi: *The Prieſts of our time by their Lechery are like the* Spirits called Incubi, *the Prieſts of* Priapus, *or* Beelphegor, *and the Angels of the pit of Hell.*

Rob. Holcot in Librum Sapientia, Lectione 182.

Hulderichus, **in old Times the Biſhop of Auguſta in** Germanie, **wrote ſharply hereof againſt** Pope Nicholas **in this wiſe:** Decreta tua ſuper Clericorum continentia à diſcreti. one inueni aliena: multos conſilij tui aſſentatores hominibus, non Deo, ſub falſa ſpecie cõtinentiæ placere volentes, grauiora vides committere: *I haue found thy Decrees, touching* the ſingle Life of Prieſts, *to be void of diſcretion. Thou ſeeſt that many followers of thy counſel, willing vnder a fained colour of Continent Life, rather to pleaſe man, then God, commit haynous Acts.* **In the end he concludeth thus:** Qua noſti diſcretionis diſciplina, Pharaiſaicam ab Ouili Dei extirpa Doctrinam: *By ſuch diſcipline of diſcretion as you know beſt, root this* Phariſaicall Doctrine *out of Gods Fold.*

Hulderichus Epiſcopus Auguſtan.

But forasmuch as M. Harding hath no skil in this Epistle of Hulderichus, he may vnderstand that his owne Pope Pius, otherwise called Æneas Syluius, maketh euident mention of the same. Notwithstanding, I haue seene the same Epistle written in Parchment, in Old hand, of good record, vnder the name of Volusianus Carthaginensis. Further Mantuanus the Poet saith:

Wilphgangus Wissenburgius in Præfatione in Antologia Papæ.

Petrique domus polluta, fluenti
Marcescit luxu: Nulla hîc arcana reuelo.
Sanctus ager Scurris, *venerabilis Ara* Cynædis
Seruit: Honorandæ Diuûm Ganymedibus *Ædes.*

The matter hereof is such as it is not worthy to be Englished.

The fruits of Single Life.

But what pleasure can it bee to stand so long in so vnsauorie a place? They themselues say thus: Fornicatio Simplex non est digna depositione: Simple Fornication (in a Priest) *is no iust cause of deprivation.* The cause thereof in another Gloss is alledged thus: Quia pauci sine illo vitio inueniuntur: *Because there bee* few Priests found without that fault.

2. Q. 7 *Lator. in Glossa. Dist.* 81. *Maximianus in Glossa.*

To be short, Polydorus Virgilius saith: Nullius delicti crimen maius Ordini dedecus, plus mali Religioni, plus doloris bonis attulit: *No kind of crime euer brought either more shame to the Order of Priesthood, or more hinderance to Religion, or more grief to the godly, then the Life of Single Priests.*

Polyd. Virgil. de Inuentorib. rer. Lib. 5 cap. 4.

These, these, M. Harding, were the causes that moued Pope Pius commonly to say, as it is before alledged: As Marriage vpon good and great considerations was taken from Priests, so now vpon better and greater considerations it were to bee restored to them againe. And therefore hee saith in his discourse of the Councell of Basil: Fortasse non esset peius, Sacerdotes complures vxorari. Quoniam multi saluarentur in Sacerdotio coniugato, qui nunc in sterili Presbyterio damnantur: *Perhaps it were not worst* that many Priests were Married. *For many might bee saued in* Married Priesthood, *which now in* barren Priesthood are condemned. If the former of these two sayings be so doubtfull, yet this latter is plaine, and cleare, and void of doubt. In like sense and sort he writeth, vpon good aduice and deliberation, to his friend: Quoniam huc ventum est, vt Legi Carnis resistere nequeas, melius est Nubere, quàm vri: *Forasmuch as the matter is growen so farre, that yee cannot withstand the Law of the Flesh,* better it is to Marry, then to burne.

Æneas Sylnius de Concil. Basil. lib. 2.

Æneas Sylnius Epi. 321. ad Iohan. Fontem.

So saith Panormitane: Credo, pro bono, & salute animarum, quòd esset salubre statutum, vt non valentes continere, possint contrahere. Quia, experientia docente, contrarius prorsus effectus sequitur ex illa Lege Continentiæ: cùm hodiè non viuant spiritualiter, nec sint mundi: sed maculentur illicito coitu, cum ipsorum grauissimo peccato: vbi cum propria Vxore esset Castitas. Vnde deberet Ecclesia facere sicut bonus medicus: vt si medicina, experientia docente, potiùs officiat, quàm prosit, eam tollat. Et vtinam idem esset in omnibus Constitutionibus positiuis: *I beleeue* it were a good Law, *and for the wealth, and safety of Soules, that* such as cannot liue Chaste, may contract Matrimonie. *For wee learne by experience that of the Law of Continent or Single Life,* the contrary effect hath followed. *Forasmuch as now adaies they liue not Spiritually, nor be cleane and chaste; but with their great Sinne are defiled with vnlawfull Copulation:* whereas with their owne wiues they shoud liue Chastly. *Therefore the Church ought to doe as the skilfull Physition vseth to doe: Who if he see by experience that his medicine hurteth rather then doth good, taketh it clean away. And would God the same way were taken with all* Positiue Constitutions.

Exira. de Clericis cõiugatis, Cùm olim.

So saith Durandus: Vtile esset, vt in Concilio Matrimonium Sacerdotibus remittatur. Frustrà enim hactenus coacti sunt ad Castitatem: It were good *that in a Councell, Priests Marriage were set at liberty.* For hitherto it hath beene in vaine to force them to Chastity.

Durandus De modo celebrandi Concilium, Titul. 46.

So saith Martinus Peresius: Multis pijs visum est, vt Leges de Cœlibatu tollerentur propter scandala: *Many godly men haue thought it good, that the* Lawes of Single life should be abolished, *for auoiding the offence of the people.*

Martinus Peresius.

M. Harding will say, the Priest hath Vowed, and must keepe his Vow. But Pope Pius, as it is said before, gaue counsell of Marriage vnto a Priest that had made a Vow, his Vow and Priesthood notwithstanding.

It appeareth right well, both by that hath beene already alleged, and also by the common experience and practise of the world, that a Vow importeth not alwaies a chaste life. Optatus Milcuitanus saith: In Mitella signum est Voluntatis: non Castitatis auxilium: *In the apparell there is a token of the Will: not a helpe towards Chastity.* S. Hierom saith: Quid

Optatus contra Parmenianum, Donatist. lib. 6.

prodest

prodest Corporis pudicitia, animo constuprato? When the Minde or Heart is deflowred, *what auaileth the Chastity of the Bodie?* *Hier. in Ieremi. lib. 2. ca. 7.*

S. Ambrose saith: Non imperari potest Virginitas, sed optari. Nam quæ supra nos sunt, in Voto magis sunt, quàm in Magisterio: *Wee may wish for Virginitie, but command it wee cannot. For the things that be aboue vs, and out of our power, are rather of Desire, then of Commandement.* *Ambro. de Virginib. Lib. 1.*

Hereof Epiphanius maketh this conclusion: Vt ne confundantur apud homines, occultè scortantur: & sub Solitudinis, aut continentiæ specie libidinem exercent. Melius est itaque lapsum à cursu, palàm sibi Vxorem accipere secundùm Leges: *Lest they should be shamed before men, they* keep Harlots priuily: *and vnder the colour of* Solitary, or Continent Life, *they practise their filthie pleasure.* Better it is *therefore for a man being fallen from his course, and breaking his Vow,* openly to take vnto himselfe a Wife, according to the Law. So saith S. Hierome, *as I haue before alleged*: Huiusmodi Virginibus apertè dicendum est, vt aut nubant, si se non possunt continere: aut contineant, si nolunt nubere: *To such Virgins wee must say plainly,* that either they Marry, if they cannot Conteine: *Or else that they Conteine, if they will not Marrie.* *Epiphan. lib. 2. Haref. 60.* *Hieronym. ad Demetriadem.*

So saith S. Bernard vnto his Sister: Quod incautè Vouisti, ne impleas: Impia est promissio quæ scelere adimpletur: *That thou hast vnaduisedly Vowed,* see thou keepe it not. It is a wicked promise that is performed with wickednesse. *Bernardus ad sororem, de modo bene viuendi, Sermo 62.*

To be short, Iohannes Scotus saith: Si Votum Continentiæ est annexum Ordini Sacro solùm ex præcepto Ecclesiæ, sequitur, quòd non simpliciter illegitimat ad contrahendum: *If the Vow or Promise of Chastity be annexed vnto Holy Orders onely by force of the Constitution or Commandement of the Church, then doth it not* of necessitie and fine force vnable a man to contract Matrimonie. *4. Sen. dist. 36. Quæst. 1.*

Howbeit, hereof we haue saide alreadie so much as to a reasonable man may seeme sufficient. Thus far concerning Marriage of Ministers.

The Apology, Chap. 9. Diuision 1.

VVE receiue and embrace all the Canonicall Scriptures, both of the Old, and New Testament, giuing thankes to our God, who hath raised vp vnto vs that Light which we might euer haue before our eies: lest either by the subtilty of man, or by the snares of the Diuell, wee should be carried away to errors and lies. Also we professe that these be the heauenly Voices, whereby God hath opened vnto vs his Will: And that onely in them mans heart can haue setled rest: That in them be abundantly & fully cõprehended all things, whatsoeuer be needful for our health, as Origen, Augustine, Chrysostome, **and** Cyrillus **haue taught:** That they be the very might and strength of God to attaine to Saluation: That they be the Foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, **whereupon is built the Church of God: That they be the very sure and infallible Rule, whereby may be tried, whether the Church doe swarue, or erre, and whereunto all Ecclesiasticall Doctrine ought to be called to account: And that against these Scriptures neither Law, nor Ordinance, nor any Custome ought to be heard: no though** Paul **himselfe, or an Angell from Heauen should come and teach the contrarie.** Roman. 1.

M. Harding.

But why doe ye not heere plainly declare which be the Bookes of the Scriptures that yee allow, and which be they (a) that ye reiect? In generall ye say that ye embrace all the Canonicall Scriptures. Yet if a man presse you with the place of the Machabees, for Praier to be made for the Dead, and with the words of S. Iames Epistle against your Iustification of Faith only, and likewise with certaine other places of the Scriptures, which be accounted in the Canon of the Church, against certaine other your false Doctrines: in this case (b) your wont is to denie those Scriptures to be Canonicall. Yet heere yee beare the world in hand ye allow all. Would God there were in you either more truth, or lesse craft. Well, yee giue thankes to God for the Scriptures, for that hauing them before your eies, ye are staied in Truth, assured that by the subtiltie of man, or snares of the Diuell, ye be not carried away into Errours and Lies. And is it so indeed? I pray you, Sirs, of what Sect be yee, or of which Sect is each one of you? For I dare boldly say, and so the world seeth, that ye agree not all in one. If ye say ye bee Lutheranes, then must I further demand of you, of which sort of Lutherans? For that puddle vnneth out by many sinks. Be ye Zuinglians, Arians, Osiandrines, Libertines, Adiaphorists, Anabaptists, Caluinists, or Sataniists? What Priuiledge haue ye before your fellowes? A match being made betweene you (I meane that new Clergie of England) and the other Sects of our time, &c. If yee haue this light of the Scriptures before your eies, how is it that ye agree not within your selues? Yea, how is it that each one of you often times

Math. 12. Iacob. 2.

(a) Vntruth. For wee reiect no part of all the Scriptures.

(b) Vntruth. For wee denie no more then S. Augustine, S. Hierome, and other holy Fathers haue denied.

(c) Childish and fond Vntruth: For the Cõmunion Booke was neuer but once changed. But see the often changes of the Masse.

(d) S. Cyprian saith: *Non iungitur Ecclesiæ, qui ab Euãgelio separatur: De Lapsis Serm. 5.*

(e) Vntruth. For Abel heard the Word of God: read the answer.

(f) A worthy doubt.

(g) Vntruth. For S. Augustine saith, *Antonius Scripturas diuinas memoriter audiendo retinuit, &c.*

(h) Yet now the very same necessary Traditions be quite forgotten and abolished, yea euen in the Church of Rome.

(i) Vntruth. Read the Answer.

(k) Vntruth. For heereby both S. Paul, and S. Hierome, and other good men are condemned of Heresie.

(l) Vntruth. For wee say not, All things are there expressed.

(m) Scale & fond questions.

(n) Vntruth. For it is not necessarie to Saluation.

(o) They were written by Heretikes in derogation of the truth.

(p) Vntruth. For Epiphanius saith *Sensus eius omnia vbique est.*

disagreeth with himselfe? How is it that (c) so many times ye haue changed your Communion Booke, the order of your Seruice, your Doctrine of the blessed Sacrament, your Homilies, &c. Who knoweth not how in the matter of the Sacrament your chiefe Captaines haue shewed themselues inconstant, & mutable, and contrary to themselues, I meane Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and that great Rabbin Peter Martyr himselfe? As for the rest, they be not worthy to be named.

But what say ye? Be these the Heauenly Voices, whereby God hath opened vnto vs his will? Then how dare ye to transgresse his will declared in these Voices, where ye read expressly, that he (d) which heareth not the Church is to be taken for no better then a Heathen, and a Publicane? As ye proceed, ye say, that only in the Scriptures mans heart can haue setled rest, and that in them be abundantly and fully comprehended all things, whatsoeuer be needfull for our Saluation, as Origen, Augustine, Chrysostome, and Cyrillus haue taught. Either ye su know not what you say, Sir Defender, nor the things of which you make affirmation, as S. Paul said of such as ye are, writing to Timothy, or you are soulely ouerseene. If 1. Tim. 1. the heart of man haue setled rest in the Scriptures onely, as you say, then in nothing els but in the Scriptures. By this you seeme to trouble and disquiet many hearts. For if this be true, (e) then had good Abel no better rest in his heart then wicked restlesse Cain. Mans heart hath not setled rest in Scripture onely. Philip. 4.

When the Holy Booke of Scriptures was lost, which God restored by Esdras, were there none in all that time whose hearts had setled rest? What foolish and absurd Doctrine is this? (f) What if it had pleased God there had neuer beene letter written of the Old or new Testament? Should not Gods friends haue found his peace that passeth all sense, as S. Paul saith? Had Paul, Antonie, Hilarion, Pambus and many other holy men liuing in Wildernesse (g) without letters, no rest, ne quiet at their hearts? Nay, who had the like? And whereas you say that all things needfull for our Saluation bee abundantly and fully cõprehended in the Scriptures, this is also as false as sundry other parts of your doctrine. For if al things necessary to saluation be conteined in the Scriptures, then whatsoeuer is not in them conteined, the same is not necessary: If not necessarie, why should we be laden with vnnecessarie burdens? Then awaie with all Traditions at a Clap, be they neuer so Apostolike, neuer so ancient, neuer so healthful, neuer so long time in the Church continued. Remember you not what the most renouned Fathers haue written of the necessitie of Traditions? Or if you remember them, what thought you when you wrote thus? Let learned and holie Basil be heard in stead of many, if not to reuoke you from your errour, yet to discredite you, and stay others in the truth. His words bee these: Of the Doctrines which bee preached in the Church, certaine we haue out of the Scripture written, ceraine wee haue receiued in secret Mystery by Tradition of the Apostles, (h) which both be of equall force to godlinesse. Neither concerning these any man gainsayeth, be hee of neuer so smal knowledge. For if we go about to reiect the customes that be not set forth in writing, as being of little regard, then shall we condemne those things also which we haue in the Gospell necessary to saluation. Yea rather we shal bring the preaching of the Faith but to a bare name. For so they were taken for Heretikes which regarded not the Solemne Fast of Lent (i) receiued at the Apostles, as we read in S. Augustine, *De Hær. ad Quodvultdeum, cap. 53.* and in the Councell of Gangra in an Epistle to the Bishops of Armenia. Euen so they which denied the (k) distinction of a Bishop and a Priest, were condemned of Heresie, as we finde in S. Augustine, in the Booke and Chapter aforesaid; and in Epiphanius Lib. 3. Cap. 75. In the Councell of Constance the same is to be found. Lib. de Sanct. Fast of Lent.

Againe, if all things necessary to saluation be (l) expressed in the Scriptures, to what purpose said S. Paul, concerning order and manner to be vsed at the celebration of the holy Sacrament, *Cætera cum venero disponam?* As for other things, I will take order for them when I come? What meaneth S. Iohn to say, Hauing other things to write to you of, I would not (write them) in Paper and Inke: for I trust to be with you, and speak to you, mouth to mouth? To conclude much that might be obiected in few words for breuities sake, what say you, Sir Defender, shal we find all things necessary to Saluation in the Scripture? (m) How thinke you of the Scripture it selfe? How know you this to be the Scripture? How know ye the Gospel of Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Iohn to be theirs whose names they beare? This can you not finde in all the Scripture, (n) and yet is the same necessary to be beleeued. what Scripture haue you to admit these, and to refuse the booke bearing the name of (o) Peter, the Gospell of Thomas, of Bartholomew, of Nicodeme? Why admit you not the Prophets that Basilides would to be allowed, but only the foure great, and the twelue lesser? What authority haue you to stay your selfe by, concerning these, but only that of the Church? For Scripture haue you none for proofe hereof. Then hath not Scripture all things in it necessary for a Christian man. Is it not necessary to beleeue the Sonne of God to be *Homousion*, that is to say, of the same Substance with the Father; Which if you denie, you restore the old condemned Heresie of the Arians. (p) the same can you not finde in the Scripture. Where in all the Bible finde you that God the Father is *Ingenitus?* Where finde you that the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne? That the blessed Virgin Mary continued in her Virginity; That such as be Baptized ought to be Baptized againe? That Infants ought to be Baptized? That the foure Bookes of the Gospell were written by Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, by what Scripture can you proue it? To end, where finde you expresly in all the Scriptures three persons to be one God? 1. Cor. 11. Epist. 1. Homousion.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Here to weigh downe the Authority of Gods holy Word, M. Harding hath brought in a heape of ordinarie stale quarrels, Of the difference betweene Priests and Bishops: of Lent: of the Communion Booke: of the Homilies: of the order of Seruice: and of the perpetuall Virginitie of our Ladie. **His whole drift herein is to beare vs in hand, that there is verie little, or none Authority in the Scriptures: and that the whole credit and certaintie of our Faith resteth only in the Church of** Rome. **He seemeth to take it in scorne that the Word of God should be called** Light. **Yet notwithstanding the Prophet** David **saith:** *Thy Word, O Lord, is a Lanterne to my feet.* **And againe:** *The Commandement of the Lord is Lightsome, Theophylact. in giuing Light vnto the eies.* **And** Theophylact **saith:** Verbum Dei est Lucerna, qua Fur deLucam, ca 16. prehenditur: *The Word of God is the* Candle, *whereby the* Theefe (*or false Teacher*) *is espied.* Psalm. 118. Psalm. 118.

Whereas

Machabees Canonicall.

Whereas M. Harding demandeth of vs so pleasantly, What Scriptures wee allow, and what we reiect, he troubleth himselfe with an idle and a needlesse question. For wee embrace and reuerence euery parcell and title of the Scriptures without exception, not refusing any part thereof, that hath beene allowed by the antient, learned, Catholike Fathers of the Church of God.

Neither doe wee so scornfully call Gods Holy Word, A Nose of Wax, a Shipmans Hose, or a Dead Letter, as sundrie of that side haue delighted to call it.

Albert. Pighius, lib. 3. cap. 3. Hierar. Iohan. Sleidan. Lib. 23. Hieron. in Præfatione in Proverb. Salomon.

Touching the Booke of the Machabees, we say nothing, but that wee finde written by S. Hierome, S. Augustine, and other Holy Fathers. S. Hierome saith: Machabæorum Libros legit quidem Ecclesia: Sed eos inter Canonicas Scripturas non recipit: *Indeed the Church readeth the Bookes of the* Machabees: but shee receiueth them not among the Canonicall allowed Scriptures.

M. Harding fol. 321. b.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. S. Hierome speaketh of such Canonicall Scriptures of the Olde Testament, as the very Iewes allowed for Canonicall. Such indeed the Bookes of the Machabees are not. But S. Augustines words condemne you. He saith, *Machabæorum libros, non Iudæi, sed Ecclesia pro Canonicis habet.* As for the Bookes of the Machabees, not the Iewes, but the Church accounteth them for Canonicall, &c. Now see, good reader, what loud Lies M. Iewell made when he said he would denie no more then S. Augustine, S. Hierome, and other Fathers haue denied. *The Answer.* Loud Lies, M. Harding? Your words are too smart. Much better were it for you to be sober. I say now againe, as I said before: *The Bookes of the* Machabees *are not reckoned among the Canonicall Scriptures.* And therein we denie no more then by S. Augustine, S. Hierome, and other holy Catholike Fathers hath beene denied. For triall whereof I pray you consider what S. Augustine saith. These be his words: In Machabæorum Libris etsi aliquid Mirabilium numero inserendum conueniens fuisse ordini inueniatur, de hoc tamen nulla cura fatigabimur: quia tantùm agere proposuimus, vt de Diuini Canonis Mirabilibus exiguam expositionem tangeremus: *Although there may some thing be found in the Bookes of the* Machabees, *meet for this order of writing, and worthie to be ioined with the number of Miracles, yet heereof we will haue no care, for that wee haue intended onely to touch a short rehearsall of the Miracles conteined in the Bookes of the Holy Canon.* Marke well M. Harding: Heere S. Augustine telleth you, *That the Bookes of the* Machabees *are no part of the Canonicall Scriptures, and that therefore hee will make none account of the Miracles therein conteined.* S. Hierome saith, as it is alleged before: *The Church readeth the Storie of* Iudith, *the Booke of* Tobie, *and the Bookes of the* Machabees: *But the same Church receiueth not these Bookes as the Canonicall Scriptures.* Marke once againe, M. Harding: S. Hierome telleth you, euen as S. Augustine tolde you before: *That the Bookes of the* Machabees *are not Canonicall.* And hee speaketh not of the Iewes Canon, as you imagine, but of the Canon of the Church. Forget not his words: Ecclesia eos Libros inter Canonicas Scripturas non recipit.

Aug. de Mirabilib. Sacræ Scripturæ, li. 2. cap. 34.

Hieron. in Præfation. in Salomonem.

Likewise S. Cyprian saith: Alij Libri sunt qui non Canonici, sed Ecclesiastici appellantur, &c. Huius ordinis est Libellus Tobiæ, & Iudith, & Machabæorum Libri: *Other Bookes there be that are not called Canonicall, but onely Ecclesiasticall, for that they be allowed to be read in Churches. Of this sort are the Bookes of* Tobie, *of* Iudith, *and of the* Machabees. Behold, M. Harding: These holy Fathers agree all together, in that they say, *The Bookes of the* Machabees *are no part of the Canonicall Scriptures.* Much more might bee said. But by these few the Reader may learne where to find the Loud Lie.

Cyprian. in Expositione Symboli.

Howbeit, by your report S. Augustine saith, The Church accounteth the Bookes of the Machabees as Canonicall Scriptures. What answer may heere be made? Shall wee set S. Augustine against S. Augustine? One S. Augustine saith, *The Booke of the* Machabees *is not Canonicall.* Another S. Augustine saith, *The Booke of the* Machabees *is Canonicall.* Is and Is not is a plaine contradiction. If the one bee true, the other is false. Whether of these two S. Augustines may wee beleeue? Why doe you thus trifle, M. Harding? Or why doe you so guilefully conceale S. Augustines meaning? I will seeke no further for other sentences. Euen in the selfe same place by you alleged S. Augustine saith, *The Booke of the* Machabees *is not Canonicall.* These bee S. Augustines words, M. Harding: Thus he saith: Hæc suppurtatio non in Scripturis Sanctis, quæ appellantur Canonicæ, sed in alijs inuenitur, in quibus sunt & Machabæorum Libri: *This reckoning is not found in the Holy Scriptures that are called Canonicall, but in certaine other Bookes, among which are the Bookes of the* Machabees. Heere it is euident, by the iudgement of S. Augustine, that the *Bookes of the* Machabees *are not Canonicall.* These words, M. Harding, yee would not haue dissembled if yee had meant to deale plainly. Therefore it may like you to consider, how you may better bestow this Loud Lie.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 36.

Notwithstanding, S. Augustine saith further: Hos Libros Ecclesia habet pro Canonicis:

Machabees Canonicall.

nicis: *Theſe Bookes the Church alloweth as Canonicall.* This is true: I denie it not. But heere you ſeeke to beguile your Reader by the miſunderſtanding of this worde Canonicall. For in the former place Canonicall Bookes, are ſuch, as may be alleged in proofe of Faith. In the ſecond, ſuch Bookes are called Canonicall, as although they beare no ſuch Authority, yet may they be allowed for certaine cauſes, onely to be read openly in the Church. If you had alleged S. Auguſtines wordes fully, and truly, as they lay, the whole matter had beene euident. For thus ſaith S. Auguſtine, Libros Machabæorum Eccleſia habet pro Canonicis, propter quorundam Martyrum Paſſiones vehementes, atque mirabiles: *The Church accounteth the Bookes of the* Machabees, *as Canonicall, (*not for the Authority and weight of truth, but *) for the great and marueilous Paſſions and Perſecutions of Martyrs, therein conteined.*

Auguſt. contra Secundam epiſt Gaudentij, li. 2. cap. 23.

Thus, to be alleged in proofe of Faith, they are not Canonicall: but, to bee read vnto the people in the Church, for example of Life; in this ſenſe, ſaith S. Auguſtine they are Canonicall. To like purpoſe S. Auguſtine writeth to Gaudentius: Scriptura, quæ appellatur Machabæorum, recepta eſt ab Eccleſia non inutiliter, ſi ſobriè legatur, vel audiatur, maximè propter illos Machabæos, qui pro Dei Lege tam indigna perpeſsi ſunt: *That Scripture, that ſo is called, and beareth the name of the* Machabees, *is receiued not vnprofitably of the Church, ſo that it be read, and heard with ſobriety: eſpecially becauſe of thoſe* Machabees, *that ſuffered ſo cruell torments for the Law of God.* So ſaith S. Cyprian: Hæc omnia legi quidem in Eccleſijs voluerunt: non tamen proferri ad Authoritatem ex his Fidei confirmandum: *All theſe writings our Fathers haue allowed to be read in the Church: yet not to be alleged for Authority to confirme the Doctrine of our Faith.* Likewiſe ſaith S. Hierome touching the ſame Bookes of the Machabees: Hæc volumina legit Eccleſia, ad Edificationem plebis: non ad authoritatem Eccleſiaſticorum Dogmatum confirmandũ: *Theſe Bookes the Church readeth for the edifying of the people, but not as matter of authority, whereby to proue Eccleſiaſticall Doctrine.* Now I beſeech you, M. Harding, What Canonicall Scriptures are theſe, that may not be alleged in Confirmation of Doctrine, or in proofe of Faith? If yee had diſcreetly foreſeene theſe things, I thinke, yee would not ſo vainely haue charged vs with Loud Lying.

Cyprian. in Expoſitione Symbols.

Hieronym. in Præfatione in Salomonem.

Of Prayer for the Dead, we ſhall haue place more conuenient to ſpeake hereafter.

The place of S. Iames, touching the Iuſtification of Faith and Workes, is anſwered before. Neither doe wee diſcredit any part, either of the Authority, or of the Doctrine of that whole Epiſtle: notwithſtanding Euſebius ſaith, It was written by ſome other, and not by S. Iames. His wordes be theſe: Iſtius Iacobi, qui Iuſtus & Oblias vocabatur, dicitur eſſe Epiſtola, quæ prima ſcribitur inter Canonicas. Sciendum autem eſt, illam Epiſtolam eſſe Spuriam: *The opinion is, that the Epiſtle, which is reckened the firſt among the Canonicals, is of this* Iames, *which was called* Iuſtus *and* Oblias. *But we muſt vnderſtand, that it is a* Baſtard Epiſtle, *and not written by* S. Iames.

In the firſt part chap. 10. Diu. 1. Euſ. li. 2. ca. 23. ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμολογ.

S. Iames.

Likewiſe S. Hierome ſaith: Epiſtola Iacobi ab alio quopiam ſub eius nomine edita aſſeritur: *It is ſaid, that the Epiſtle of* S. Iames *was ſet forth* by ſome other man vnder his name. This therefore is no new fantaſie: but the iudgement of the ancient learned Fathers. Neuertheleſſe we doe both receiue the ſame Epiſtle, and alſo read it in our Churches: and allow euerie Clauſe and Sentence, that therein is written, euen as the Word of God.

Hier. in Catalogo Eccleſiaſt. Scriptorum.

M. Harding ſaith, If ye haue this light of the Scriptures before your eies, how is it, that ye agree no better amongſt your ſelues? And here hee reckoneth vp by rote a many of names of his owne making, Lutherans, Zuinghians, Arians, Oſiandrians, Libertines, Adiaphoriſts, Anabaptiſts, Caluiniſts, and Athaniſts. In which his ſo pleaſant fancie, hee may haue leaue to ſport himſelfe, while he liſteth. God be thanked, wee agree thoroughly together in the whole ſubſtance of the Religion of Chriſt: and altogether with one Heart and one Spirit doe glorifie God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Certainly S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Chryſoſtome, Epiphanius and Theophilus, as it appeareth by their writings, agreed no better together in their time, then we doe now. Yet had they, and euery of them the Word of God: and the ſame Word of God was a Light vnto their feet.

It was not for any great ſtore of better matter, I trow, that M. Harding thus chargeth vs with ſo often changing the Communion Booke. For of more, then of One onely change, he cannot tell vs. And if there had beene leſſe then that, there had beene no change at all. And yet, for that one change, he himſelfe in the meane ſeaſon hath changed thrice. But the holy Communion Booke, and the Order of the holy miniſtration ſtandeth, and by Gods mercie ſhall ſtand ſtill, without any further change.

Platin. in Sixto 1. Polydor. Virgil. De Inuentorib. rer. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Howbeit, gentle Reader, if thou wilt know the often alterations and changes of the Maſſe, Read, I beſeech thee, Platina & Polydore Virgil, touching the ſame: there ſhalt thou finde,

finde how, and by whom, and vpon what occaſion, and in what proceſſe of time, all the parts of the Maſſe were pieced and ſet together: and that in the ſpace of ſeuen hundred whole yeres, ſcarcely, and with much adoe it was made vp at laſt, and brought to ſome perfection. Word written.

Chriſts commandement of Hearing the Church is anſwered before. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Credimus Sanctam Eccleſiam: non Credimus In Sanctam Eccleſiam: *We beleeue that there is a Holy Church: but we beleeue not In the Holy Church.* For the Church is not God, nor is able of her ſelfe to make, or alter any one Article of the Faith. The Prophet Eſay ſaith, Ad Legem potiùs, & ad Teſtimonium. Si non reſponderint ſecundùm Verbum hoc, non erit illis lux Matutina: *To the Law rather, and to the teſtimony of God. If they anſwer not according to this Word, they ſhall haue no Morning light.* *Auguſt. De Fide & Symb.* Eſa. 8.

M. Harding ſaith further, If quietneſſe of Conſcience come of the Word of God onely, then had Abel no more quietneſſe of Conſcience then wicked reſtleſſe Cain. Then ſhould Paul the Eremite, and Antonie, and Hilarion, and Pambus, and other holy men, liuing in Wildernesſe without Letters haue had no reſt, ne quiet at their hearts. And why ſo? Becauſe they had no Word written.

Who would thinke, that M. Harding, bearing ſuch a countenance of Diuinity, would thus goe about to deceiue himſelfe with a point of Sophiſtrie? Chryſoſtome ſaith: Deus Conditor Humani Generis ab initio per ſeipſum hominibus loquebatur: *God the Creator of Mankind from the beginning* ſpake vnto men by himſelfe, *in his own perſon.* And S. Paul ſaith: Deus olim multifariam, multiſque modis Patribus loquutus eſt: *In Old times* God ſpake many waies, *and in ſundry ſorts vnto the Fathers.* And doth M. Harding thinke, when God himſelfe in his owne perſon, and preſently ſpake vnto Abel, that Abel heard not then the Word of God? We ſpeake not ſo preciſely, and nicely of Gods Word written in paper. For ſo it is a Creature corruptible, and ſhall conſume and perish, as other corruptible Creatures doe. *But the word of God, which we ſpeake of, endureth for euer.* *Chryſoſt. in Gen. hom. 2.* Hebr. 2.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. We alſo in Chriſts Church haue as well Gods Word in our Hearts, as in our Bookes: whence alſo, to wit, out of our Hearts, we may reſolue the doubts, which ariſe vpon our Bookes. *The Anſwer.* In your Hearts, M. Harding? And is your Heart the onely Oracle of all the World? Or muſt wee leaue Gods holy Word, that endureth for euer, and reſort to your Hearts to learne Gods will? The Prophet Zacharie ſaith: *They haue beaten their Hearts as hard as the* Adamant, *leſt they ſhould heare the Law of God, and the words which the Lord of Sabbaoth hath ſent in his Spirit by the Miniſtery of his Prophets.* S. Paul ſaith: Obſcuratum eſt inſipiens cor illorum: dicentes, ſe eſſe ſapientes, ſtulti facti ſunt: *Their fooliſh heart was blinded with darkeneſſe: whereas they boaſted themſelues to bee wiſe men, they became fooles. They turned the Truth of God into Lies, and fell downe, and worſhipped a Creature, forſaking the Creatour, which is God bleſſed for euer.* God grant, M. Harding, that the Day-ſtarre may riſe vp, and ſhine in our Hearts, that we may ſee your Light, and walke ſafely in your Waies. ☜ *M. Harding fol. 328. b.* Zachar. 7. Rom. 1. 2. Petri 1.

S Hierome ſaith: Quomodo Æternæ erunt Scripturæ Diuinæ, ſi Mundus certo fine eſt terminandus? Verum eſt quidem, quòd Librorum pelliculæ cum ipſis Literis abolendæ ſunt. Sed, quia ſubiungit Dominus, Verba verò mea non præteribunt, proculdubio, quod illis apicibus pollicetur, erit Æternum: *How ſhall the holy Scriptures be Euerlaſting, ſeeing the World ſhall haue an end? True it is,* that the parchment or leaues of the Bookes, *with the Letters and all ſhall be abolished. But for aſmuch as our Lord addeth, My words ſhall neuer paſſe, doubtleſſe* (though the Papers and Letters perish, yet) the thing that is promiſed by the ſame Letters ſhall laſt for euer. So Chryſoſtome ſaith: Paulus Prædicationem non Scripturam appellat Euangelium: Preaching not written, Paul *calleth the Goſpell.* *Hieron. in Ieremiam, cap. 37.* *Chryſoſtom. 2. Cor. Hom. 18.*

That M. Harding addeth of Antonius and Paulus, and Hilarion, and other Eremites, that they liued in Wildernesſe without Letters, & therefore preſumeth, they liued without the Word of God, it is verie vnaduiſedly ſpoken, and vtterly vntrue. For proofe whereof, to name onely one in ſtead of the reſt, S. Auguſtine ſaith, that Antonius the Eremite was notably learned, and perfect in the Scriptures. His words be theſe: Antonius ſine vlla ſcientia Literarum, Scripturas Diuinas & memoriter audiendo tenuiſſe, & prudenter cogitando intelexiſſe, prædicatur: *It is reported, that* Antonius, *without knowledge of Letter, both* learned the holy Scriptures, and bare them well in mind by hearing: *and alſo by wiſdome and ſtudy vnderſtood them.* S. Auguſtine ſaith not, as M. Harding ſaith, that Antonius liued without the Word of God, but the contrary, that he was ready and perfect in the Word of God. *Auguſt. de Doctr. Chriſtiana, lib. 1. in Prolog.*

And whereas M. Harding would ſeeme to make ſuch an account of Prayer and Holineſſe without knowledge, S. Auguſtine ſaith, Lectio ſine Meditatione arida eſt: Meditatio ſine Lectione erronea eſt: Oratio ſine Meditatione tepida eſt: *Reading without Meditation is* *Auguſt. De Scalis Paradiſi, ſp. 11.*

or

Traditiõs.

or ſtudy, is drie and barren: Meditation or ſtudy without Reading is erroneous: *And Prayer without Cogitation or ſtudy is halfe cold and vnfruitfull.* Thus we ſée by S. Auguſtines iudgement, that the force and ſubſtance both of Prayer, and of Meditation dependeth of Reading. And therefore Nicolaus Cuſanus ſaith: *The Soule, that will flie into the Wildernesse of Contemplation, muſt haue two wings, the one of Deuotion, the other of Knowledge or Vnderſtanding.*

Nicol. Cuſan. Excita. lib. 2.

Howbeit, what comfort and peace of Conſcience, we haue by hearing the Word of God, S. Paul can tell vs ſomewhat better, then M. Harding. Thus he ſaith: Quæcunque Scripta ſunt, &c. *Whatſoeuer things are Written, they are written for our learning, that by Patience* and Comfort of the Scriptures *we may haue hope.* Euen ſo ſaith Chriſt himſelfe: *O Father, this is the Euerlaſting life, that they may know thee, the onely, and verie God, and Ieſus Chriſt, whom thou haſt ſent.*

Rom. 15.

Iohan. 17.

But S. Paul ſaith: *Keepe the Traditions, which yee haue receiued, either by Epiſtle or by Word.* And S. Baſil reckoneth Traditions to bee One and Equall with the Word of God. Firſt, that S. Baſil wrote thoſe words rather of zeale then of iudgement, it may eaſily appeare, by that the ſelfe ſame Traditions, that he there ſpecially nameth, and ſo highly commendeth, are for the greateſt part already abolished, and quite forgotten, yea and that euen in the Church of Rome. Yet the Word of God indureth ſtill, and ſhall endure for euer. For example, by one of S. Baſils neceſſary Traditions, It is not Lawfull for any man, to Kneele in the Church vpon the Sunday: but euery man is bound by the ſame Tradition, at Sermon, at Prayer, and at the Communion to ſtand vpright. And this (he ſaith) was giuen vnto vs in Secret Charge by the Apoſtles of Chriſt. This ſo neceſſary, and ſo Apoſtolike Tradition is now diſſolued and broken, and vtterly forgotten, not only in Louain, but alſo in Rome.

2 Theſſ. 2. *Baſil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. 27.*

ὁρθὸν τοίνυν τας ἐν χεὶ τὸ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων.

S. Auguſtine ſaith: By Tradition of the Apoſtles, betweene Easter and Whitſunday it was not lawful for any man to Faſt. Yet now we Faſt within the ſame daies ſo forbidden, and the ſame kinde of Faſt is thought lawfull, the Apoſtles Tradition to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Auguſtinus ad Caſulanum.

The reſt of S. Baſils Traditions ſtand in Hallowing of Water: in Bleſſing of Oile: in Praying towards the East: in vttering certaine words of Inuocation at the ſhewing forth of the Bread of Thankeſgiuing vnto the people: Theſe things, I beléeue M. Harding himſelfe neuer thought to be equiualent with the Word of God.

τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐστι τὰ ἀναδείξει τῶ μύστη τῆς εὐχαριστίας.

But if theſe, and other like Traditions be ſo waighty and ſo neceſſary, as he ſeemeth to make them, then let him tell vs in good ſooth, and without fable, what were theſe Myſtical Solemn words of Inuocation, that S. Baſil ſaith, were ſpoken by the Prieſt at the Opening or Shewing forth of the Sacrament? If they be ſo neceſſary to be vſed and continued in the Church of God, why hath hee, and his whole Roman Clergie quite forgotten them? If he and his Clergie haue forgotten them, and vſe them not, and care not for them, how can he ſay, or may we thinke, they are ſo neceſſary to Saluation?

This is the ſimplicity and plainnes of M. Hardings dealing. He telleth vs many tales of the Apoſtles Traditions, being himſelfe the manifeſt deſpiſer and breaker of the ſame Traditions. Touching the words of S. Paul, I marueil, that M. Harding could ſo eaſily be deceiued. For S. Paul himſelfe, euen in the ſame words, and in the ſelfe ſame line, would haue told him, that by the name of Traditions, he meant not Vnwritten Verities, & Liueleſſe Ceremonies, as he ſuppoſeth, but the ſelfe ſame Subſtance of Religion and Doctrine, that he had vttered vnto the Theſſalonians before, either by Epiſtle, or by Preaching.

2. Theſſ. 2.

Theſe be his words: *Hold the Traditions which yee haue receiued, either by Epiſtle or by Word.* He calleth them Traditions, although they were contained in his Epiſtles, and declared to them by Writing. For the Apoſtles preaching and writing, in ground and ſubſtance were all one. Nicephorus ſaith: Paulus, quæ præſens oratione ſua dilucidè docuerat, eadem abſens per compendium in memoriam, ſcripta Epiſtola reuocare voluit: Paul, *what things, being preſent, he had* plainely taught by Mouth, *the ſame things afterward, being abſent, he ſhortly called* to their remembrance, *by writing an Epiſtle.* The like he writeth alſo of S. Matthew: Matthæus diſcedens, (aliò prædicatum) abſentiam ſuam ſcripto præſenti compenſauit: S. Matthew *departing* (to preach in other places) recompenſed his abſence by preſent writing.

Niceph. lib. 2. cap. 34.

Niceph. lib. 2. cap. 45.

S. Paul vnto the Philippians ſaith thus: Eadem ſcribere mihi quidem non pigrum: vobis autem neceſſarium: *To write vnto you* the ſelfe ſame things, *vnto me it is not paineſull: but in your behalfe, it is neceſſarie.* Theſe words S. Hierome expoundeth thus: Eadem ſcribere, hoc eſt, eadem repetere, quæ præſens dixeram: *To write* the ſame things, *that is to ſay,* to make rehearſall of the ſame things, *that I tolde you by Mouth, when I was preſent.*

Philip. 3.

Hier. in epi. ad Philip. cap. 3.

So ſaith Theophylact ſpeaking in the perſon of S. Luke: Priùs te ſine Scripto inſtruxi:

Theophylact. in Lucam, cap. 1.

nunc

nunc scriptum tibi trado Euangelium: atque ita mentem tuam munio, ne obliuiscatur eorum, quæ priùs sine Scripturis tradita sunt: *Before this time I haue instructed thee without writing. Now I deliuer vnto thee a written Gospell. And so I fortifie thy minde, that it forget not the things, that were deliuered thee before without writing.* Traditiõs.

So saith Irenæus: Apostoli tunc Euangelium præconiauerunt. Postea verò per Dei voluntatem, illud in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, Fundamentum & Columnam Fidei nostræ futurum: *Then the Apostles preached the Gospell. And afterwards by Gods will they deliuered the same to vs in writing, to be a foundation and pillar vnto our Faith.* *Iren. li. 3. ca. 1.*

And therefore Chrysostome saith: Paulus etiam non Scriptam Prædicationem vocat Euangelium: S. Paul *calleth* his Preaching not written, *by the name of the Gospell.* *Chrysost. in 2. Cor. Hom. 18.*

But me thinketh, M. Harding, so stoutly striuing for the bare name of Traditions, should better haue learned S. Hieromes lesson touching the same. Thus he writeth vpon these words of S. Paul: *Hold the Traditions, which ye haue learned, either by our Epistle, or by our Word.* Quando sua vult teneri, non vult extranea superaddi. *Wherein* S. Paul *will haue* his owne things *to be kept, he will haue no* strange things *therevnto to be added.* *Hieron. in 2. Thess. 2.*

And that S. Paul, by this word Traditions, meant not Ceremonies, or certaine letter vnknowen Verities, but the very substance of the Gospell of Christ, as it is plaine before: if M. Harding will not beleeue vs, yet let him beleeue S. Paul himselfe. Thus he writeth: Tradidi vobis in primis, quod etiam accepi, quòd Christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris secundum Scripturas: *First I haue deliuered to you (or giuen to you by Tradition) the* same thing, that I receiued: *that is, that* Christ died for our Sinnes, according to the Scriptures. Here, by S. Pauls words, the death of Christ is called a Tradition. *1. Cor. 15.*

So saith S. Basil: Hoc palam impugnat Salutaris Baptismatis Traditionem: Baptismus noster, iuxta ipsam Domini Traditionem, est in nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus Sancti: Per ipsam Baptismi Traditionem habemus confessionem Fidei: *This thing is plainly against* the Tradition of Healthfull Baptisme: *Our Baptisme, according to the* Tradition *of our Lord, is in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost: By the very* Tradition of Baptisme, *we haue the Confession of Faith.* *Basilius de Spiritu Sancto.* ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου παραδόσεως μεμάθηκεν. *cap. 10.*

S. Cyprian saith: Vnde est ista Traditio? Vtrumne de Dominica & Euangelica Authoritate descendens, an de Apostolorum mandatis atque Epistolis veniens? &c. Scriptum aut in Euangelio præcipitur, aut in Apostolorum Epistolis, & Actis continetur, obseruetur etiam hæc Sancta Traditio: *From whence haue we this* Tradition? *Whether commeth it from the authority of our Lord, and of the Gospell, or else from the Commandements and Epistles of the Apostles, &c. Therefore if it be either commanded in the Gospell, or contained in the Epistles, or Acts of the Apostles, let vs keepe the same* Tradition. *Cyprian ad Pompeium, contra Epistolam Stephani.*

Likewise Eusebius saith: Polycarpus, cùm recepisset ea ab illis, qui ipsi viderant Vitam Verbi, nuntiauit eadem, omnia Scripturis consona: Polycarpus, *when by* Tradition hee had receiued *these things of them, that had seene the Life of the Word, vttered and shewed the same,* being all agreeable vnto the Scriptures. *Euseb. li. 5. ca. 18.* τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων, τοῖς γεγραμμένοις.

Of such Tradition, it is plaine, S. Paul speaketh. Now therefore iudge thou, gentle Reader, how truly and handsomly M. Harding alleageth these words of S. Paul against S. Pauls expresse words and vndoubted meaning, to serue his purpose.

As for Lenten Fast, the Superstition onely excepted, we condemne it not, but vse it still. But how can M. Harding say, either that Lent is so necessary as hee maketh it, or else, that it is the Tradition of the Apostles? Verely S. Augustine saith: Quibus diebus non oporteat ieiunare, & quibus oporteat, Præceptõ Domini, vel Apostolorum non inuenio definitum: *Vpon what daies wee ought not to Fast, and vpon what daies we ought to Fast,* I finde it not appointed or limitted by anie commandement, either of our Lord, or of the Apostles. *Aug. epist. 86.*

So saith Socrates: Euangelia non imposuerunt iugum Seruitutis: Sed homines ipsi, suis quisque locis, propter remissionem, & memoriam Passionis, Pascha, & alios Dies festos, sicut voluerunt, ex Consuetudine quadam celebrarunt. Non enim hoc vel Seruator, vel Apostoli Lege aliqua obseruandum esse mandauerunt: *The Gospell hath laid vpon vs no yoke of Bondage: But men themselues in the* Countries where they dwelt, *for release of labour, and Remembrance of the Passion of* Christ, of a certaine Custome, *kept the Easter and other holy daies,* each man as hee would. For neither our Sauiour, nor the Apostles by any Law commanded these things. *Socr. li. 5. ca. 22*

Likewise saith Cassiodorus: Alij Pisces solummodò comedunt: Alij vnà cum Piscibus vtuntur etiam Volatilibus: Alij vsque ad Nonam ieiunantes, sine discretione ciborum reficiuntur. Puto, Apostolos singulorum hoc reliquisse sententiæ, vt vnusquisque Operetur, non timore aut necessitate, quod bonum est; *Some men* (in the time of the Lenten Fast) eat only Fish; *Others vse both Fish,* and Fowle too; *Some others, when they haue Fasted vntil three* *Cassiod. lib 5. cap. 38.*

three of the Clocke in the afternoone, afterward they refresh their bodies without difference, or choice of Meats. I thinke, the Apostles left this matter to every mans discretion, that every man may doe good without feare, or superstition, or necessitie.

Lenten Fast.

Tertullian likewise saith: De cætero indifferenter ieiunandum, ex arbitrio, non ex imperio Nouæ Disciplinæ, pro temporibus, & causis vniuscuiusque. Sic & Apostolos obseruasse, nullum aliud impunentes iugum certorum, & in Commune omnibus obeundorum ieiuniorum: Henceforth he must fast without compulsion, of free will, not by commandemẽt of this new Discipline, accordingly as every man shall se time and cause. For so it appeareth, the Apostles kept it, laying on none other yoke of certaine appointed Fasts, to be obserued in common of all men altogether.

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All these things being true and certaine, and out of question, how can M. Harding thus assure vs, that the Lenten Fast, is the undoubted Tradition, and Commandement of the Apostles?

Certainely, whereas they so often tell vs, We ought to Fast Forties Daies, for that Christ himselfe did the like, and gaue vs example so to doe, Chrysostome saith, Christus non iubet, vt ieiunium suum imitemur: Christ commanded vs not to follow his Fasting, Or, to Fast as he Fasted.

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And touching the number of the Daies, Eusebius saith, Quidam putant ieiunare oportere vnum tantum Diem: alij duos: alij plures: alij quadraginta horas diurnas, nocturnasque: Some thinke they ought to Fast onely one day: others, two daies: others moe: some others, forty whole houres, both night and day together.

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But what meant M. Harding here to come in with the difference betweene Priests and Bishops? Thinketh he, that Priests and Bishops hold only by Tradition? Or is it so horrible an heresie, as hee maketh it, to say, that by the Scriptures of God, a Bishop and a Priest are all one? Or knoweth he how farre, and vnto whom, he reacheth the name of an Heretike?

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S. Augustine saith: Quid est Episcopus, nisi Primus Presbyter, hoc est, Summus Sacerdos? What is a Bishop, but the First Priest, that is to say, the Highest Priest? So saith S. Ambrose: Episcopi & Presbyteri vna Ordinatio est: Vterque enim Sacerdos est. Sed Episcopus Primus est: There is but one Consecration of Priest and Bishop: for both of them are Priests. But the Bishop is the First.

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S Augustine saith: Omnes insipientissimi Hæretici, qui se Christianos vocari volunt, audacias figmentorum suorum, quas maximè exhortet sensus humanus, hac occasione Euangelicæ sententiæ colorare conantur, vbi Dominus ait, Adhuc multa vobis habeo dicere: sed ea non potestis portare modò: All the most peeuish Heretikes that faine would bee called Christians, goe about to colour the bold Vanities of their Inuentions, which the very sense, and reason of Man doth most abhorre, with the pretense of this saying in the Gospell, where as our Lord saith thus: I haue many things to say vnto you, but as now ye are not able to beare them.

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By such right held sometime the great Heretike Arius. For euen so said hee then, as M. Harding saith now: Ex electis Dei secundum Fidem, Peritis Dei, Rectigradis, qui Sanctum Dei spiritum acceperunt, ego ita didici: *These things haue I learned* (not of the Scriptures, but) *of the chosen of God, according to Faith: of the skilfull in Godly vnderstanding: of them, that walke vprightly, and had receiued the Spirit of God*: that is to say, by Tradition.

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If M. Harding may haue leaue, to handle the same weapons, I doubt not, but hee will some be able to proue, that both his Holy Bread, and his Holy Water, and whatsoeuer, shall please him else, came by Tradition directly from the Apostles of Christ, and from Christ himselfe.

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But S. Paul when he said, *I will come, and take Order*, hee meant not to deuise any other Scripture, or new Verities, that they had not known before: but onely to appoint them, in what place, at what time, in what Order, and with what other Circumstances, the Holy Ministration, and other like Ecclesiasticall Offices should be vsed.

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As for these fantasies, that M. Harding, and his fellowes haue imagined, S. Augustine saith: Ista, cùm Christus ipse tacuerit, quis nostrûm dicat, Ista, vel illa sunt? Aut si dicere audeat, vndè probat? Quis enim est tam vanus, aut tam temerarius, qui cùm dixerit etiam vera, quibus voluerit, quæ voluerit, sine vllo Testimonio Diuino, affirmat ea esse, quæ tunc Dominus dicere noluit? *Forasmuch as Christ himselfe hath not reuealed these things, which of vs will say, they be these or these? Or if he so say*, how can he proue it? *For who is there, either so vain or so rash, who, notwithstanding he speake the truth, to whom he listeth, and what he listeth, will affirme* without any Testimony of the Scriptures, *that these be the things*, that the Lord then would not open?

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Touching the Perpetuall Virginity of that blessed Virgin the Mother of Christ, which M. Harding saith, cannot be proued by any Scriptures, Gennadius writeth thus: Heluidij prauitatem arguens Hieronymus, Libellum Documentis Scripturarum sufficienter factum aduersus eum edidit: S. Hierome *reproouing the wilfull leudnes of the Heretike* Heluidius, (denying the Perpetuall Virginity of Christs Mother) *set foorth a Booke against him, furnished* with sufficient Testimonies of the Scriptures. Gennadius saith, the Perpetuall Virginity of our Lady is proued sufficiently by the Scriptures: M. Harding onely to maintaine his quarrell, saith: It cannot be prooued by any Scriptures: but standeth onely by Tradition.

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Lenten Fast.

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S. Hierome

Hieron. contra Heluidium.

S. Hierome himselfe in so vaine a contention, moued by an Heretike, thought it sufficient to answer thus: Mariam nupsisse post partum non credimus: quia non legimus: *Wee beleeue not that* Marie *was Married againe after her Childbearing*: because wee read it not.

Forged Scriptures

Here M. Harding thinketh to oppresse vs with the olde Heretikes ordinary question: How know you (saith he) that the Scriptures be the Scriptures? How know you, that the Gospell of Thomas, Bartholomew, and Nicodeme, are no Scriptures? Thus they labour to pull all credit from the Word of God, and send vs onely to their Traditions. Of God and his Word, they would euermore haue vs to stand in doubt: but of the Pope, and his Word, they say, in any wise we may not doubt. Hosius, a speciall Doctour of that side saith, Quod Ecclesia docet, id est expressum Verbum Dei. *What soeuer the Church teacheth* (he meaneth the Church of Rome) *that is the very* Expresse Word of God.

Hosius de Expresso Verbo Dei.

A man might well demand the like question of M. Harding: How know you, that the Sunne is the Sunne? Or, that the Moone is the Moone? Or, how know you, that the Church is the Church? Or, that the Congregation of the Wicked is not the Church?

August. contra Faust lib. 32. cap. 21.

Such idle questions the olde Heretikes the Manichees demanded of *S.* Augustine. But S. Augustine answered them, Si quæraris à nobis, vnde nos sciamus, Apostolorum esse istas literas, breuiter vobis respondemus: Inde nos scire, vnde & vos scitis, illas literas esse Manichæi: *If you demand of vs*, how we know *that these be the Apostles writings, we make you this short answer: Euen so we know, that our writings are of the Apostles, as you know, that your writings are of the Heretike* Manichee.

Eus. li. 3. ca. 22.

But for further answer, I reckon, M. Harding cannot be ignorant, that the Gospels of Thomas, Bartholomew, Nicodeme, and such others, were neuer written by them, whose names they beare: but were wickedly and falsly counterfeited vnder their names, by sundry Heretikes.

Ambr in Luc. in Proœmio.

S. Ambrose saith: Erant Pseudoprophetæ, &c. Erat autem populi gratia discernere Spiritus: vt cognosceret, quos referri deberet in numerum Prophetarum: quos autem, quasi bonus Nummularius, reprobare. Sic & nunc in Nouo Testamento, multi Euangelia scribere conati sunt: quæ boni Nummularij non probauerunt: *There were false Prophets, &c. But the* people had a grace giuen them, to discerne Spirits, *and to iudge, whom they should receiue into the number of the Prophets: and whom, as skilfull exchangers, they should refuse. Euen so now in the time of the New Testament* many haue taken in hand to write Gospels: *But the skilful exchangers, and triers of Coines haue not allowed them.*

August. contra Faust lib. 22. cap. 80.

So saith S. Augustine: Manichæi legunt Scripturas Apocryphas, nescio à quibus Sutoribus Fabularum, sub nomine Apostolorum Scriptas: *The* Manichees *read* Secret Hidden *Scriptures, written, I know not by what* Coblers of Fables, vnder the name of the Apostles.

Eus. li. 6. ca. 11.

So saith Eusebius of the Gospell counterfeited vnder the name of S. Peter: Nos Petrum & reliquos Apostolos, sicut Christum recipimus. Sed Pseudographia reijcimus: Veluti quari eorum sensus, & sententiæ: Scientes, quòd talia non recipimus tradita ab Apostolis: *We receiue* Peter, *and the rest of the Apostles, as we would receiue* Christ *himselfe.* But counterfet Writings (vnder their names) *we refuse vtterly, as hauing vnderstanding of their sense and meaning: knowing well, that we haue receiued no such things deliuered by the Apostles.*

τὰ παράδοξα.

Thus had the Church of God the spirit of Wisedome, whereby to discerne the True Scriptures from the False.

Dist 4. Inistis.

Yet may we not gather hereof, that the authority of the Church is ouer and aboue the Scriptures. S. Augustine saith: In istis temporalibus Legibus, quamuis de illis homines iudicent, cùm eas instituunt, tamen cùm fuerint institutæ, & firmatæ, non licebit iudici, de illis iudicare, sed secundùm eas: *In these Temporall or Worldly Laws, although men be Iudges ouer them, while they be a making yet after the same Lawes be once made and established, it is no longer lawfull for the Iudge* to Iudge of them: *Onely it is lawfull*, to Iudge by them.

August. Confes. lib. 13. cap. 23.

Likewise againe he saith: Spirituales, siue qui præsunt, siue qui obtemperant, Spiritualiter iudicant: non de cognitionibus Spiritualibus, quæ lucent in Firmamento (id est, de Scripturis:) Non enim oportet de tam sublimi Authoritate iudicare, &c. Homo enim, licet Spiritualis, factor tamen Legis esse debet, non Iudex. De illis dicitur Iudicare, in quibus potestatem habet corrigendi: *Men Spirituall, whether they rule or be ruled, Iudge according to the Spirit. But they Iudge not of the Spirituall knowledge that shineth in the Firmament (that is to say, of the Scriptures:) For it is not lawfull* for any man to be Iudge ouer so high authority. *For be the man neuer so much Spirituall yet must he be a* Doer, and not a Iudge of the Law. *There a man is said to be a Iudge, where he hath power and Authority to correct.*

The

The Apologie, Chap. 10. *Diuision* 1.

MOreouer, we allow the Sacraments of the Church, that is to say, certaine holy Signes and Ceremonies, which Christ would wee should vse, that by thē he might set before our eies the Mysteries of our Sauiation, & might more strongly confirme the Faith which we haue in his Bloud, and might seale his Grace in our hearts. And these Sacraments, together with Tertullian, Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostome, Basil, Dionysius, **and other Catholike Fathers we do cal** Figures, Signes, Markes, Badges, Prints, Copies, Formes, Seales, Signets, Similitudes, Paternes, Representations, Remembrances, & Memories. **And we make no doubt, together with the same Doctours, to say, that these be certaine** Visible Words, Seales of Righteousnesse, and Tokens of Grace.

M. Harding.

With what face say yee, that ye allow the Sacraments of the Church? (a) Haue ye not abandoned almost all the Sacraments of the Church? Reteine ye any moe, by name of the Sacraments, then two, Baptisme, and your Supper of the Lord? Of which the one, after that Doctrine as it is by you taught and ministred, auaileth nothing, but to your further condemnation.

(a) Vntruth. For the things that wee haue left were not the Sacraments of the Church.

The sound & true Doctrin of the Sacraments.

The sound and true Doctrine which the Catholike Church holdeth & beleeueth touching this point, is this: There be seuen Sacraments, in which, vnder couer of visible things the (b) Power of God worketh mans health. They be these: Baptisme, Confirmation, the Sacrament of the Altar, Penance, Extreme Vnction, Order, Wedlocke. And these so we call Sacraments, as neuertheless we acknowledge the name of Sacrament may be extended to many other things. That it be knowne what a Sacrament is, This word Sacrament signifieth sometime a holy thing, sometime the signe of a holy thing, instituted by God. As it is taken for a Signe onely, so is it found generally, not onely in the New Law, but also in the Old Law. But in the New Law these Signes after a peculiar and speciall maner bee called Sacraments, which do not onely signifie a holy thing, but also do sanctifie and make holy those to whom they be adhibited, being such as by institution of Christ conteine grace in thē, & power to sanctifie. Whereof a Sacrament is by the best learned Diuines defined to be a visible signe of inuisible Grace, so as it beare the image of it, (c) and be cause of the same. For the plaine vnderstanding of this Definition, how a Sacrament beareth the forme, signe, or image of inuisible Grace, it appeareth euidently in Baptisme, where washing of the Body sheweth the cleansing of the Soule. Also in the Sacrament of the Altar, (d) where the formes of Bread and Wine outwardly present the Spirituall nourishing of the Soule. The like appeareth in other Sacraments.

Seuen Sacraments.

Sacrament what it signifieth.

Definition of a Sacrament.

(b) Vntruth. As shall appeare.

(c) Vntruth. For they are only certaine late Scholasticall Sophisters.

(d) Vntruth, vaine and childish. For no learned Father euer said so.

Neither is it a new and strange doctrine, to say, that the Sacraments of the Gospel conteine Grace in them: for the Fathers teach the same not seldome. Chrysostome expounding the Mystery of the Poole called Bethesda in Hebrew, that was in Ierusalem, saith, that sicke folke were healed at the mouing of the Water, to the intent men might be brought to vnderstand the vertue of Baptisme: for then was it comming to passe (saith hee) that Baptisme should be full of Power and Grace. S. Ambrose in his Book *De Sacramentis*, speaking of Baptisme, saith, it is not euery water that healeth, but that water healeth which hath the Grace of Christ. Cyrillus vpon the foresaid Chapter of S. Iohn, saith, that in Baptisme it is not Water simply that worketh, but when as it hath receiued the Grace of the Holy Ghost. S. Augustine in a Sermon saith, that Water in Baptisme is enriched with a more gift in manner then was the virgine Mary. For she (saith he) deserued Chastity to her selfe: this hath giuen to vs Sanctification. Shee deserued that she sinned not: this that it might purge sinnes. It is said vniuersally by S. Cyprian of all the Sacraments, that the fat of Gods anointing powreth fulnesse of Grace into the ministeriall Sanctification, whereby he meaneth the Sacraments. Yet we meane that they conteine grace, and power to Sanctifie, after such maner of speaking as we say of Potions and Drinks prepared for sicke persons, that they conteine health, to the working whereof they be effectuall.

Cap. 5.

Sermone Dominicæ intra Octauas Epiphaniæ.

In Sermone de Baptis. Christi.

Power giuen to Sacraments to work that they signifie by Gods ordinance.

And as it is said of the Sacraments, that they conteine Grace, so is it likewise said, that through their vertue, which they haue by Gods institution, they doe not onely signifie (as by these Defenders Doctrine that seemeth to be their speciall office) but also with signification (e) worke and cause, as an instrumentall cause, the effect of that which they signifie.

(e) Vntruth See the Answer.

After which maner, God hath giuen to the Sacraments of the New Testament, that they worke the thing signified, through vertue giuen them by Gods ordinance to speciall effects of Grace.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Of the number of the Sacraments we shall haue more conuenient time to speake hereafter. There, gentle Reader, I trust, thou shalt see M. Hardings great question easily answered, with what face we say we allow the Sacraments of the Church. In the mean season it may please thee to weigh these words of Cardinall Bessarion, **the Bishop of Tusculum, one of M. Hardings especiall Catholike Doctors:** Hęc Duo sola Sacramenta in Euangelijs manifestè tradita legimus: These onely Two Sacraments *we read to be deliuered vs plainely in the Gospell.* **Here** Bessarion **nameth not Seuen Sacraments, as M. Harding doth, but Onely Two. Certainely we refuse no Sacrament, that euer was either ordained by Christ, or vsed and practised by the Apostles.**

Bessarion de Sacrament. Eucharistiæ.

Your Lords Supper (ſaith M. Harding) auaile thy ou nothing, but to your further Condemnation. So muſt it needs be, becauſe M. Harding ſaith it ſhall ſo be. Theſe Tragicall terrours are fit onely to fray Children: In the Day of the Lord each mans worke ſhall appeare. The ſimpleſt of our people vnderſtandeth the Nature and Meaning of the Holy Myſtery of our Lords Supper: and therefore they receiue the ſame together to their great conſolation. But in your Ladie Maſſe, the ſimple people vnderſtandeth nothing, heareth nothing, and, ſauing a few vnſeemely Ceremonies, ſeeth nothing. And therefore they ſo ſeldome Communicate, and that onely of cuſtome, without any zeale, or comfort of Conſcience, as hauing no ſenſe or feeling in all theſe doings. Origen ſaith: Niſi Circumciſionis reddatur ratio, nutus eſt, & opus mutum. Paſcha, & aliæ Solemnitates nutus magis ſunt quàm veritas. Vſque hodie populus Iſrael ſurdus & mutus eſt: *Vnleſſe the reaſons or cauſes of Circumciſion be opened, Circumciſion is but a* geſture, *and a* dumbe kinde of worke. *The Eaſter Feaſt, and other like Solemnities, are rather* Ceremonies, *then the* Truth *it ſelfe. Euen ſtill vntill this day the People of* Iſrael *is deafe and dumbe.* S. Ambroſe ſaith: Indignus eſt Domino qui aliter Myſterium celebrat, quàm à Chriſto traditum eſt. Non enim poteſt deuotus eſſe, qui aliter præſumit, quàm datum eſt ab Authore: *He is vnworthy of the Lord that* Miniſtreth *this Sacrament* otherwiſe *then* Chriſt *deliuered it. For he cannot be deuout, that* preſumeth *to vſe it* otherwiſe *then it was firſt deliuered from* Chriſt *the Authour.*

Origen. in Lucam, Homil. 5.

Ambroſ. in 1. Cor. 11.

Theſe words ſeeme ſomewhat to touch M. Harding and his Companie. But héere he is contented to allow vs the very Sacrament, and true vſe of Baptiſme, and that vallable, and of force for the Remiſſion of Sinnes. Whereby vnaduiſedly and vnwares hée confeſſeth that we haue the very true Catholike Church of God. For S. Auguſtine ſaith truly: Baptiſmus Eccleſiæ poteſt eſſe extra Eccleſiam: munus autem beatæ vitæ non niſi intra Eccleſiam inuenitur: *The Baptiſme of the Church may be without the Church: but the gifts of bleſſed life is not found, but* within the Church. But why hée alloweth vs this Sacrament rather then the other, it were a hard matter to diſcuſſe. Neither may we iuſtly require reaſon of him that ſpeaketh ſo much without reaſon.

Baptiſme.

De Con. diſt. 4. Eccleſia.

Perhaps hée will ſay, Baptiſme is but a light Sacrament, and may bée Miniſtred by any Lay Perſon, euen by an old Woman, or by a Girle, ſo that ſhée ſpeake Latine, and vnderſtand not what ſhée ſay. For otherwiſe, I trow, her doing may not ſtand for good. Certainly, whereas M. Harding ſpeaketh of the due Forme of Words, according to Chriſts Inſtitution, his owne Doctours tell vs, and auouch it for great truth, that if the Prieſt ſay thus: Ego te Baptizo in nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus Sancti, & Diaboli: That is, *I Baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghoſt*, and of the Diuell: Or if hée ſay thus, as one ignorant Prieſt ſometime ſaid: Ego te Baptizo in nomine Patria, & Filia, & Spirita Sancta; yet the forme of Baptiſme is very good.

De Conſ. Diſt. 4. Sinon. De Conſ. Diſt. 4. Retulerunt.

But one great fault M. Harding findeth in our doings, for that wee haue left out a great many Holy Rites, his Chriſme, his Oile, his Salt, his Spittle, and ſuch other like things: and for that we Miniſter this Sacrament plainly and ſimply, as Chriſt commanded. This obiection being of no greater weight, may eaſily diſcharge it ſelfe, and therefore may paſſe well without farther anſwer.

To Conteine Grace.

M. Harding ſaith: There be ſeuen Sacraments, which (as he ſaith) doe not only ſignifie a holy thing, but alſo do ſanctifie and make holy thoſe to whom they be adhibited, being ſuch as by inſtitution of Chriſt, conteine Grace in them, and power to ſanctifie. Héere, to leaue the reſt, it might be demanded, how can Matrimonie ſanctifie a man, and make him holy? Or by what Inſtitution of Chriſt conteineth it Grace in it ſelfe, and Power to Sanctifie? Or if it cannot Sanctifie, nor haue ſuch Grace, how then can it be called a Sacrament?

I grant, the Ancient Learned Fathers, entreating of the Sacraments, haue often vſed vehement and great words. It is written in the Councell of Nice: Vides Aquam? Conſidera Vim Diuinam quæ in Aquis latet. Puta Aquam eſſe plenam ignis Diuini: *Seeſt thou the Water? Conſider the* Diuine power that lieth hidde *in the Water. Imagine that the Water is* full of Heauenly Fire. So S. Ambroſe: Spiritus Sanctus deſcendit, & Aquam conſecrat. Adeſt Præſentia Trinitatis: *The Holy Ghoſt commeth downe, and holloweth the Water. There is the* Preſence of the Trinitie. So ſaith Tertullian: In Baptiſmo ringimur Paſſione Chriſti: *In Baptiſme we are* waſhed with the Paſſion of Chriſt. So ſaith Chryſoſtome, as M. Harding hath héere alleged him: *Baptiſme* is full of Power, and Grace. So ſaith S. Cyprian. So ſay others.

Concil. Nicen.

Ambr. de Sacram. li. 1. ca. 5. Tertull. de Baptiſmo.

All theſe, and other like vehement ſpéeches, M. Harding mitigateth and qualifieth in this wiſe: Wee meane (ſaith hée) that Sacraments conteine grace, after ſuch maner of ſpeaking as we ſay, potion and drinkes conteine health. That is to ſay, Sacraments verily and indeed

conteine

conteine not the grace of God. For Drinkes and Potions verily and indeed conteine not the health of the Patient. In this manner of speech the Children of the Prophets said to Elizæus the Prophet : Mors in Olla, Vir Dei : *O thou man of God, Death is in the Pot.* So Salomon saith: *Death and life are in the hands of the tongue.* So Christ said vnto the Phariseis : *Search the Scriptures : for in them you think to haue euerlasting Life.* And yet indeed, neither was Death in the Prophets Pot : nor is Life and Death in the tongue: nor is Life Euerlasting in the Scriptures. Therefore one of M. Hardings Schoole Doctours saith: In Sacramentis Ecclesiæ specialis Virtus Passionis Christi continetur, sicut Virtus agentis in instrumento: *The speciall grace of the passion of* Christ is conteined in the Sacraments *of the Church, as the power of the worker is conteined in the instrument wherewith he worketh.*

To Conteine Grace.

4 Reg. 4. Prouerb. 18. Iohan. 5. *Iohan. de Parisijs. de potestate Regia, Cap. 2.*

But indeed it is the Soule of man, and not the creature of Bread or Water, that receiueth the Grace of God. We haue need of Gods Grace : These corruptible Elements need it not. Without Faith of our part, Sacraments be not only vnprofitable to vs, but also hurtfull. S. Chrysostome saith : Vbi est Virtus Euangelij ? In Figuris literarum, an intellectu sensuum? *Where is the* Power of the Gospell? In the Formes of the letters, *or else in the vnderstanding of the meaning?*

Chrys. in Mat. Operis Imperfect. Hom. 43.

Likewise Bonauentura saith : Nullo modo dicendum est, quòd Gratia continetur in ipsis Sacramentis essentialiter, tanquam Aqua in Vase, vel Medicina in Pyxide. Imò hoc intelligere, est erroneum. Sed dicuntur continere Gratiam, quia eam significant : *Wee may not in any wise say, that the* Grace of God is contained substantially *and verily in the Sacraments, as Water is conteined in the Vessel, or a Medicine in the Box. For so to say, it were erroneous. But we say, the* Sacraments conteine the Grace of God, because they signifie the Grace of God. Againe he saith: Gratia est in anima, non in Signis visibilibus: *The Grace of God is not* in the visible Signes, *but in* the Soule. And againe he saith: Ad illud quod objicitur, quòd Remissio Peccatorum latet in Baptismo, dicendum est, quòd hoc intelligitur de latentia signati in Signo: quod quidem habet vlteriorem rationem, quàm rationem significandi : Non tamen essentialiter continendi in se : sed quia ipsum quod signat continetur in anima: *To the Obiection that is made, that the Remission of Sinnes is* hid in Baptisme, *we must answer thus, that it must be taken of the* thing signified hid in the Signe. *Which thing neuertheless hath a farther meaning then to Signifie : Yet not to conteine* (the Remission of Sinnes) *verily and Substantially in it selfe: but that the Grace that is signified thereby* is conteined in the Soule.

Bonauentur. in 4. Sent. Dist. 1. Que. 3.

The mysticall signification that M. Harding hath imagined of his Shewes and Accidents, that is, that the Formes of Bread and Wine outwardly represent the Spirituall nourishing of the Soule, is vaine and fantastical, without the witnesse of any Ancient Doctour, or Father, confirmed only by the Authority of himselfe. For what manner of Feeding is there in these Accidents and Holy Formes? Or how can that thing that feedeth not the Body, represent vnto vs the Spirituall feeding of the Soule?

Formes & Accidents.

The matter is plaine enough of it selfe, and needeth no cauill. The Signification and substance of the Sacrament is to shew vs how wee are feede with the Bodie of Christ: that is, that like as Materiall Bread feedeth our Bodie; so the Bodie of Christ nailed on the Crosse, embraced and eaten by Faith, feedeth the Soule. The like Representation is also made in the Sacrament of Baptisme: That as our Bodie is washed cleane with Water, so our Soule is washed cleane with Christs Bloud. Therefore S. Augustine saith: Nisi Sacramenta similitudinem quandam earum rerum, quarum Sacramenta sunt, haberent, omnino Sacramenta non essent: *If Sacraments had not a* certain likenes and representation *of the things whereof they be Sacraments, then indeed they were* no Sacraments.

Aug. Epist. 23.

This Representation Rabanus Maurus expoundeth thus : Quia Panis Corporis cor confirmat, ideo ille congruenter Corpus Christi nuncupatur : Et quia Vinum Sanguinem operatur in Carne, ideo refertur ad Sanguinem : *Because* (not the Accidents or Formes of Bread, but) Bread it selfe confirmeth the heart of the Body, *therefore it is conueniently called the Body of* Christ: *And because Wine worketh blood in the flesh, therfore it hath relation vnto the Blood.*

Rabanus lib. 1. cap. 31.

So likewise saith Druthmarus : Vinum lætificat, & Sanguinem auget, & ideo non inconuenienter Sanguis Christi per hoc figuratur : (not the Accidents or Formes of Wine, but) Wine *it selfe* reioiceth the heart, and increaseth blood : *And therefore the Blood of* Christ *conueniently is thereby signified.*

Druthmar. in Matt. cap. 26.

M. Harding, for that hee cannot vtterly denie it, the matter being so plaine, is therefore contented to grant that the Sacrament is the Figure of Christs Bodie. But to helpe out, and to shift the matter, he hath deuised such a strange kinde of Figure, as sel-

dome hath bene heard before. Notwithstanding the holy learned Fathers speake plainly, and simply, and vse no kind of such Glosies. S Hierome saith: Ad Tropicam intelligentiam

Hieron aduersus Ruffinum. serm. referatur. Quando dico, Tropicam, docco verum non esse quod dicitur, sed allegoriæ nubilo figuratum: *Let that saying bee expounded by a* Figure. *When I say, a* Figure, *I say, the thing that is spoken* is not true indeed, but figured *vnder the Cloud of an Allegorie.*

Chryso. in Genesin. Hom. 35. Likewise Chrysostome saith: Audisti fuisse Figuram. Ne ergo mirare, neque omnia require in typo. Neque enim typus esset, si omnia, quæ veritati accidunt, haberentur: *Ye haue heard that it was a* Figure. *Therefore maruell not: and being a* Figure, require not all things to agree. *For otherwise it were no* Figure.

August. de Doctrina Christiana, li 3. ca. 5. So likewise S. Augustine saith: In principio cauendum est, ne Figuratam locutionem ad literam accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet quod ait Apostolus, Litera occidit. Cùm enim Figuratè dictum sic accipitur, tanquam propriè dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur: neque vlla mors animæ congruentiùs appellatur: *First of all, thou must take heede that thou take not a* Figuratiue speech according to the Letter, or sound of the words. *For that is it, whereof* S. Paul *saith, The Letter killeth. For when the thing that is spoken vnder a* Figure *is so taken,* as if it were plainely spoken, there is a fleshly vnderstanding. Neither is there any thing that may better be called the death of the Soule. All this, and much more to like purpose thou maist finde in my former Reply to M. Harding.

Formes & Accidents.

Artic. 12.

S Hierome saith: *When I say, it is a* Figure, *then I say, It is not the truth.* Chrysostome saith: *If it were the Truth it selfe, it were no* Figure S. Augustine saith: *Beware thou expound not a Figuratiue speech according to the sound of the* Letter, as if it were the Truth indeed. For that is the death of the Soule. Thus the holy Fathers haue taught vs to finde a difference betweene a Figure, and the Truth it selfe.

Sacramẽts Old, New.

1 Cor 10.

Hilar. in Psal. 67.

Leo de Natiuitate Domini, Serm. 3.

Aug in Ioan. Tractat. 26.

An other fantasie M. Harding hath found, That the Sacraments of the New Law werke the thing it selfe that they signifie through vertue (as he saith) giuen vnto them by Gods ordinance to speciall effects of Grace. This, as I said, is but a fantasie. For the Sacraments of the Old Law, and of the New, in Truth and Substance, are all one. S. Paul saith: Omnes eundem cibum comederunt: *The Fathers in the Old Law did all eat* the same meat, that is to say, the same Christ, that we eat. S. Hilarie saith: Sub nube fuerint, & Christo, aquam Petra præbente, potati sunt: *They were vnder the Cloud, and were* drenched with Christ, *the Rocke giuing them water.* Likewise saith Leo: Mysteria pro temporum ratione variata sunt: quum Fides, qua viuimus, nulla fuerit ætate diuersa: *The Sacraments are altered according to the diuersitie of the times.* But the Faith, whereby wee liue, in all ages was euer one: Likewise S. Augustine: Sacramenta illa fuerunt, in Signis diuersa: in rebus quæ significabantur, paria: *These things were Sacraments, in* the outward tokens, diuers: *but in the things tokened,* all one with ours.

August. in Psal 73.

M. Harding will reply: S Augustine saith, Sacramenta Noui Testamenti dant Salutem: *The Sacraments of the New Testament giue Saluation.* But who can better expound S. Augustines meaning, then S. Augustine himselfe? He addeth immediately: Cùm ergo iam teneas promissa, quid quæris promittentia Saluatorem? Hoc dico, teneas promissa: non quòd iam acceperimus vitam æternam, sed quòd iam Christus venerit, qui per Prophetas prænuntiabatur: *Wherefore seeing thou hast the* Promises (of the comming of Christ) *already performed, what seekest thou the things* that promised the Sauiour? *I say, Thou hast the Promises already performed: not for that we haue* already receiued *euerlasting life, but for that* Christ is already come, *that was Promised by the Prophets.* Therefore when S. Augustin saith, *Our Sacraments giue Saluation,* his meaning is this: Our Sacraments teach vs that Saluation is already come into the World.

M Harding fol. 330. b.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. So then *Dare*, is to teach: and, *Salus*, is Saluation come into the World. Heere is gay geare for wantons to Dallie with words in matter of our Saluation. Addition. ☜

The Answer. Oh, what proper sport ye make your selfe with this gay geare, M. Harding! *Dare* (you say) is not Latine to teach. I answer you, Neither is Dare Latine to containe. But thus I say: *Sacraments giue grace so farre foorth as Sacraments bee able to giue Grace.* Your owne Bonauentura saith: Non est aliquo modo dicendum, &c. *We may not in anywise say, that the Grace of God is really contained in the Sacraments, as water is conteined in a vessell, or a Medicine in a box. For so to take it, it were an errour. But we say, Sacraments containe the Grace of God, because they represent or signifie the Grace of God.*

Bonauentur. in 4 Sent. dist 1. Quæst. 2. c. Dicendum continere Gratiam qui ipsam significant.

Thus farre forth, M. Harding, Sacraments are able to giue Grace. And therefore your Schoole Doctours thus commonly define a Sacrament: Sacramentum est inuisibilis Gratiæ visibile Signũ: *A Sacrament is a visible Signe of Grace inuisible.* As for the meaning of S. Augustine, I made it plaine by other his words immediately following, which you guilefully haue dissembled. For thus hee saith: *Thou hast the promises already performed,*

Sacrāets Old, New.

formed: not for that wee haue already receiued euerlasting life, but for that Christ *is already come, that was promised by the Prophets.* And although the death of Christ be already passed, yet is it laid liuely and freshly before our eies in the celebration of the Sacraments. S. Ambrose saith: In Baptismo crucifigimus in nobis Filium Dei: *In Baptisme we crucifie in our selues the Sonne of God.* S. Chrysostome saith: In Mysterijs mors Christi perficitur: *The death of Christ is wrought in the Mysteries.* Thus the Grace of God is giuen vnto vs in the Sacraments, because it is represented and laid before vs in the Sacraments. Thus saith S. Augustine, thus saith S. Chrysostome, S. Ambrose, and other holy Fathers. They were no Wantons: neither did they, nor doe we Dallie, as you say, with these things. We vse them humbly with obedience and reuerence, as the instruments of the Grace of God.

Ambr. de Paenitē. li. 2. c. 2. Chrys. in Acta Homil. 21.

Thus S. Augustine saith in an other place: Illa fuerunt promissiones rerum complendarum: hæc sunt indicia completarum: *The Sacraments of the Old Law were promises of such things as should afterward be accomplished: Our Sacraments of the New Law are tokens that the same Promises be already accomplished.* Thus the holy Fathers say: *The Sacraments of the new Law* worke Saluation: because they teach vs that our Saluation is already wrought. So Bonauentura saith of the Sacraments of the Old Testament: Mundare dicebantur, id est, mundatum ostendebant: *They were said to make a man cleane, because* they shewed or signified that a man was made cleane.

Augustē. contra Faust. lib. 19. cap. 14.

Bonauentur. in 4. Sent. dist. 1. In Prooemio.

Addition. *Addition.* M. Harding. What then? Will it follow, that because our Sacraments doe shew that Christ is already come, therefore our Sacraments giue no grace? &c. He that eateth Christs Flesh sheweth his Death, saith S. Paul: And he that eateth my Flesh, saith Christ, hath life euerlasting. Marke how our hauing of life goeth together with our shewing of Christs death: you diuide these matters, and make Christs Sacraments only to be shewes. *The Answer.* You haue misalleged S. Paul, M. Harding: These are not his words: Looke better on your Bookes, and see your error. If I had some part of your Eloquence, I could cry out, as you doe: Falsifiers and Corrupters of Gods Word. S. Paul saith not, *He that eateth Christs Flesh, sheweth his Death.* You deale vntruly. Thus he saith: *As often as you shall eate this Bread, and drinke this Cuppe, you shall shew forth the Lords Death.* The Bread of the Sacrament is one thing, M. Harding: and the Flesh of Christ is another. The Bread entreth onely into the bodily mouth: Christs Flesh entreth onely into the Soule. Without eating of that Bread of the Sacrament we may be saued: Without eating of Christs Flesh we can neuer be saued. S. Augustine saith precisely: Qui non sumit Carnem Christi, non habet vitam: & qui eam sumit, habet vitam, & eam vtique æternam: *He that receiueth not the* Flesh of Christ, *hath not life: And he that receiueth the same hath life, and that for euer.*

M. Harding. *Ad. Harding. fol. 330. b.*

1. Cor. 11.

Aug. in Iohan. Tractat. 26.

Againe he saith: *The Sacrament is receiued of some vnto Life, of some vnto Destruction: But the thing it selfe* (that is, the Flesh of Christ) *whereof the Sacrament is a Sacrament, is receiued of all men vnto Life, and of no man to Destruction, whosoeuer shall be partaker of it.*

In eod. Tractu.

Thus you see, M. Harding, there is great difference betweene the Bread of the Sacrament, and the Flesh of Christ. You were to blame therefore so to falsifie S. Paul, and to place the one in stead of the other. Wee diuide these things, because God himselfe had so diuided them. But you vndiscretly mingle and confound these things together, whereas indeed they should bee diuided: and so yee wilfully deceiue your simple Reader.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision* 1.

AND we doe expresly pronounce, that in the Lords Supper there is Truely giuen vnto the Beleeuing the Body and Blood of our Lord, the Flesh of the Sonne of God, which quickeneth our Soules, the Meat that commeth from aboue, the Foode of Immortality, of Grace, Truth and Life: and that the same Supper is the Communion of the Body and Bloud of Christ: by the partaking whereof we be reuiued, strengthned, and fedde vnto Immortality: and whereby wee are Ioined, United, and Incorporate vnto Christ, that we may abide in him, and he in vs.

M. Harding.

What ye pronounce of this high Sacrament, the wise and carefull tenderers of their Soules will be right wary thereof. Of you and such as ye be, because your doctrine is (a) but of a corner of the world in respect of the Vniuersall Church; Christ hath giuen vs a watch word, *Nolite credere*: Beleeue them not. In your the Lords Supper, celebrated by the Ministers of your owne creation, (b) there is not giuen the Body and Blood of our Lord, neither to the beleeuing, nor to the vnbeleeuing. For at the celebration

(a) In respect of this Corner, the church of Rome were a simple Corner.

(b) Vntruth.

(b) Vntruths ioined with Heathenish blasphemies.

Celebration of your schismaticall Supper, no (b) consecration being done, (b) nor Faith of the Church, (b) nor right intention had, (b) nor Christs institution obserued, what diuer ye to your Communicates, but (b) a peece of Bread, and a sippe of Wine? Neither is it (b) your will it be more or better. At the Supper of our Lord Ministred in the Catholike Church by Priests rightly consecrated, and as it hath beene accustomed in Christs Church, there is the true and whole Body of our Lord and Sauiour giuen and receiued, be the Receiuers beleeuing, or (b) not beleeuing. For when Christ gaue this Sacrament to his Disciples at his last Supper, after that he had consecrated the same, Take ye, eat ye, this is my Body: Iudas the traitour, as the (c) Fathers teach, receiued his true Body no lesse then Peter, Andrew, Iohn, or Iames did: though they to their saluation, he to his damnation.

The Sacramentaries Lords Supper.

(c) Vntruth: read the Answer.

Iudas receiued the true Bodie of Christ no lesse then the Apostles. Matth. 26. Chryſ. Hom. de proditione Iudæ. Aug. in Ioh. 10. De Trin. li. 6. cap. 6. Hæreſi. 69. De gratia Chriſti, contra Pelagianos & Cœleſt. Lib. 1. cap. 3. Matth. 13.

Now it is to be noted how this Defender in this long sentence affecteth a certaine holy (as it were) and solemne eloquence, and vseth a religious amplification of words to set foorth the Sacrament, as though he had a reuerent and a godly opinion of it: whereas indeed he taketh it (d) but for a poore signe or token, as their Doctour Zuinglius doth. But such is their craft, to purchase them credit among the people. Thus offer they to the vnlearned their faire cups full of venome, anointing the brims with hony of sweet and holy words, the rather to poison them. Such complaint maketh the graue Father S. Hilarie against the Arians of his time: *Ingerunt nobis primùm nomina Veritatis, vt verus falsitatis introeat. Bonum in ore est, vt de corde malum subeat:* First (saith he) they thrust me foorth words of Truth, that the venome of falshood may enter in. Good is in their mouth, that out from the heart may euill proceed. And among all these words (hee meaneth the Arians confession of their Faith) I heare no where by them said, *Deum Dei Filium*: God the Sonne of God. Right so among all these faire words concerning the Sacrament, (e) we heare neuer a whit said of the reall presence of Christs Body. Epiphanius noteth the like craft in Arius, and so doth S. Augustine in the Pelagians. Nestorius likewise speak honourably in many places of Christ and his Mother. But no where would he call her, Θεοτόκον, that is, the Mother of God. The Iewes also, as wee finde in the Gospell, called our Sauiour Iesus, the Carpenters sonne, confessed Marie to bee his Mother, Iames, Ioseph, Simon, and Iude his brothers, and that his sisters were among them, (by whom his Kinsfolke are to be vnderstanded) but the Sonne of God they would not acknowledge him, nor in that degree honour him. Better then to those Iewes can I not compare these Defenders, who speake honourably of our Lords Body and Bloud in their Supper, (f) but that his Body is really, that is, verily in the Sacrament of the Altar, that will not the Diuell, who reigneth in their hearts, suffer their mouths to vtter.

(d) Vntruth. For we cal the Signe the Signe, & the Truth the Truth

(e) O marueilous horrible heresie: what Doctour or Father euer named your Reall Presence?

(f) Neither did any Doctour or Father euer say that Christs Body is really and verily in the Sacrament.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Consecration.

M. Harding telleth vs, Wee deliuer vnto the Faithfull nothing else but a peece of Bread, and a sippe of Wine: that we haue neither Intention, nor Consecration: that our faire Cups be full of Venome: That our Supper is Schismaticall, and our Eloquence is Hypocriticall: That our Doctrine is Heretical!: That we are like to the Pelagians, to the Nestorians, to the Arians, and to the Iewes: And that the Diuell reigneth in our hearts. **If the Truth of God were euermore ioined with plaine speech, then might M. Harding be able easily to winne the price. He saith,** Our Doctrine is but in a Corner of the world, and that therfore Christ hath giuen this watch word of vs, Beleeue them not. **Howbeit, if he would aduisedly consider the matter, and loke well about him, he should finde that so many Kingdomes, and Countreies, and Common Weales as this day profesſe the Gospell of Christ, would make a good large Corner in the Church of God. Certainely in respect thereof, Rome it selfe were a very poore Corner.**

2. Thessal. 2. *Chryſ. in Opere Imperfecto, Homil.* 49.

Vnto whom Christ specially pointed when he said these words, Beleeue them not, **because it is a Prophesie, it is hard to iudge. But it is very likely he meant** Antichrist, *that Man of Sinne, the Childe of Destruction, that aduanceth himselfe aboue all that is called God.* **Verily** Chrysostome **thereof saith thus:** Non dico, si dixerint vobis, Ecce in Hæreticis Ecclesijs illis, vel in illis apparuit Christus: sed etiam si in ipsis veris Ecclesijs, quæ Dei sunt, id est, Domus vestræ, dixerint vobis Christum apparuisse, nolite eis credere dicentibus ista de me: quia non est digna Diuinitatis meæ notitia hæc: Ostendens per hæc, quomodo ex ipsis Ecclesijs veris frequenter exeunt Seductores. Propterea nec ipsis omninò credendum est, nisi ea dicant, vel faciant, quæ conuenientia sint Scripturis: *I say not, If they tell you, Behold* Christ *hath appeared in these, or in these Churches of Heretikes: But if they shall say vnto you, that* Christ *hath appeared* in the very true Churches, *that are of God, that is to say, that are your houses, Beleeue them not if they say thus of me: for this is no worthy knowledge of my Diuinity: By these he sheweth,* how that out of the very true Churches oftentimes come foorth deceiuers. *Therefore we may not beleeue, no not them, vnlesse they speak, or do those things* that are agreeable to the Scriptures.

Verily howsoeuer M. Harding will shift this matter, the plaine words seeme rather to touch him and his company, then either Luther, **or** Zuinglius, **or any other. For they can point with their fingers, and say,** Heere is Christ, **and,** There is Christ. **Behold in this Pyx are three** Christs: **in that fiue: in that seuen: in that moe. Therefore it is likely that Christ giueth vs this speciall watch-word of them and such others: Beleeue them not.**

Heere M. Harding maketh much adoe about Consecration, **and yet are not his Fellowes well agreed, what to make of their owne** Consecration. Gabriel saith, Christus potuit

tuit ſine verbo tanquam verus Deus, Subſtantiam Panis & Vini Conſecrare: vel potuit verba quædam ſecretò proferre, & per illa Conſecrare: Vel, per hæc verba, hoc eſt Corpus meum, Conſecrare potuit: Vel, potuit prius Conſecrare, & poſtea diſtribuere: Vel primùm diſtribuere, & poſtea Conſecrare. Quid autem horum fecerit, ex Sacris Scripturis non conſtat: Chriſt, *as being very God, might Conſecrate the Subſtance of Bread and Wine* without word: *Or elſe he might ſpeake certaine words* in ſecret, *and by them Conſecrate: Or elſe he might Conſecrate by theſe words*, This is my body: *Or elſe, he might* firſt *Conſecrate, and* after *deliuer: Or elſe*, firſt *deliuer, and* after *Conſecrate*. But which of all theſe hee did indeed, by the holy Scriptures it appeareth not. Cardinall Beſſarion **ſaith, that in the Latine Church** Conſecration **is wrought by the** Words of Chriſt: **in the Greeke Church by other** Prayers **that follow afterward.** Catharinus **intreating purpoſely hereof, ſaith:** Chriſt Conſecrated not with the ſame words, *That are now vſed in the Maſſe*, This is my Body. Durandus **ſaith,** Chriſt *Conſecrated by his* Diuine power, *and after Conſecration ſaid*, This is my Body. Petrus Alliacenſis **yeeldeth this reaſon hereof,** Quia, niſi antè fuiſſet Corpus Chriſti, Chriſtus non verè dixiſſet, Hoc eſt Corpus meum: *If it had not beene* Chriſts *Body before*, Chriſt could not haue ſaid truely, *This is my Body*. **It is conteined in a Booke called** Antididagma, **lately ſet forth by the Chapter of** Colaine, **that the bare Words of** Chriſts **Inſtitution, without the words of the** Canon **of the** Maſſe, **are not ſufficient to worke** Conſecration. Bonauentura **ſaith,** *To haue the true Forme of* Conſecration, *wee muſt ſeeke, not to the Goſpell of* Chriſt, *but to the* Canon.

Gabriel Biel. Lectio. 26.

Consecration.

Beſſar. de Sacr. Euchariſtia. Catharinus de Conſecratione. Durand. l. 4. de Sexta parte Canonis. Petr. de Alliac. in 4. Sen. qu. 5. Antididagma. Bonauentura in 4. Sent. Diſt. 8. Quæſt. 2.

Notwithſtanding thereof groweth a great inconuenience, that Chriſt **and his Apoſtles, for that they had not the words of the** Canon, **had therefore no** Conſecration. **Again** Bonauentura ſaith, **that theſe words,** Noui & Æterni Teſtamenti, **are not of the ſubſtance of** Conſecration: **but are vſed only as a furniture.** Iohannes Scotus **ſaith:** Quod ergo eſt Conſilium? Dico, quòd Sacerdos intendens facere, quod facit Eccleſia, legens diſtinctè verba Canonis, à Principio vſque ad finem, verè conficit: nec eſt tutum alicui, reputare ſe valdè peritum in ſcientia ſua, & dicere, volo vti præcisè iſtis verbis pro Conſecratione: *The matter being ſo doubtfull, what then is your Counſell? I ſay, that the Prieſt intending to doe, whatſoeuer the Church doth, and reading the words of the* Canon *diſtinctly and plainely, from the beginning to the end, doth verily* Conſecrate. *Neither is it good for a man to reckon himſelfe very skilfull in his knowledge, and to ſay*, I will vſe preciſely theſe, or theſe words, to worke Conſecration. **Where alſo theſe words are ſpecially noted in the Margin:** Nota, quod de hac materia, Doctor nihil hic aſſerit, ſed probabiliter aliquid dicens, ſub dubio relinquit: *Here marke that touching this matter (*of Conſecration*) the* Doctor auoucheth nothing: *but ſpeaking ſomewhat by the way of likelihood*, he leaueth the whole matter vnder doubt. **In the end** Scotus **vncertainly and doubtfully concludeth thus:** Vnde dicant aliqui, quòd Forma Græcorum, & Forma noſtra, & quæcunque ſcripta in Euangelijs, ſufficiens eſt ad conſecrationem: *Wherof ſome ſay thus, that the* Forme of words, *that the Greeks vſe, and* the Forme that we vſe, and any forme elſe written in the Goſpel, *is ſufficient to* Conſecration. **The like certainty** Bonauentura **teacheth vs: For thus he endeth:** Dc hoc eſt vtilius dubitare: Quis enim poteſt ſcire, vtrùm Euangeliſtæ, aut Apoſtolus ipſe intenderint deſcribere Formam? Igitur melius eſt, hic piè dubitare, quàm præſumptuosè definire: Hereof it is beſt to ſtand in doubt. *For who can tell, whether the Euangeliſts or the Apoſtle* Paul *himſelfe, meant to write vs the Forme of* Conſecration? *Therefore in this point it is better*, Soberly to doubt, *then preſumptuouſly to determine.*

Scotus in 4. Senten. Diſt. 8. Quæſt. 2.

Bonauentura in 4. Senten. Diſt. 8.

By theſe few, good Chriſtian Reader, thou maiſt ſée the ground and certainety of M. Hardings Doctrine. Hee ſaith, Wee haue no Conſecration, for that we lacke a Thing. **But what Thing it ſhould be, he, and his Fellowes cannot tell.**

Howbeit, indeed we vſe the ſame words, that Chriſt **vſed. If Chriſt and his Apoſtles Conſecrated, then doe we vndoubtedly likewiſe Conſecrate. The want, that hee findeth in vs, he may alſo finde in them.** S. Auguſtine **ſaith:** Accedat Verbum ad Elementum, & fit Sacramentum: *Ioine the Word of God vnto the Element (*or outward Creature*) and thereby is made a Sacrament.* Origen **ſaith:** Panis ſanctificatur per Verbum Dei, & obſecrationem: *The Bread is* Conſecrate *by the word of God and by Prayer*. S. Ambroſe **ſaith:** Ante Benedictionem Verborum Cœleſtium, alia ſpecies nominatur: poſt Conſecrationem, Corpus Chriſti Significatur: *Before the Bleſſing of the Heauenly words, it is called another kind: After* Conſecration, *the Body of Chriſt is* Signified.

Auguſt. in Ioh. Tract. 80. Orig. in Matt. cap. 15. Ambr. De iis qui initiantur, cap. 9.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ **M. Harding.** Chriſt was a Prieſt, and Conſecrated as a Prieſt, as S. Cyprian, & S. Hierome do witneſſe, that as Melchiſedech in foreſhewing the Figure of Chriſt had done, *Panem & Vinũ offerens, ipſe quoque Veritatem ſui Corporis, & Sanguinis Repræſentaret*: Chriſt himſelf alſo ſhould make preſent the Truth of his Body and Blood. Chriſt made his Apoſtles alſo Miniſteriall Prieſts, ſaying: Do this (wherein is contained, Make this) in my Remembrance. *The Anſwer.* **In** Repræſentare, **Latine**

M. Harding 332. b.

Consecration. Intention.

Latine to Make present, M. Harding? What Grammarian euer taught you so to say? Or, what Making finde you in this word? As you tender your credit, tell vs, who euer spake such Latine, or out of such Latine, made such English? If you can shew vs no better author, wee must needs thinke, it is your own. I grant, the Old Ciuilians haue sometimes vsed this word Repræsentare, in some such meaning: as when they say, Repræsentare legatum, Repræsentare pretium, Repræsentare pecuniam. But in this new sense that you haue imagined, I trow, M. Harding, they neuer vsed it. Howbeit, wee speake not now of Ciuilians, we speake of Diuines. Columella saith: Repræsentare faciem veri Maris: *To represent the sight of the very Sea.* Curtius saith: Vrbis diruræ species Repræsentabatur animis: *The Image of the defaced City was represented to their mindes.* Will you hereof conclude, that the very Sea, or the very defaced Citie was made present and stood Really and Verily before their eies? The strangeness of your dealing, M. Harding, forceth me to vse moe words, then might seeme needefull.

Columel. lib. 8. cap. 17.

Quint. Curtius lib. 3.

Hier. in Mat. cap. 26.

The place of S. Hierome is plaine against you: Thus he saith: Vt quomodo in præfiguratione eius Melchisedech Summi Dei Sacerdos Panem, & Vinum offerens, fecerat, ipse quoque veritatem sui Corporis & Sanguinis Repræsentaret: *That, as* Melchisedech, *the Priest of the Highest God had done, offering Bread and Wine in Figure of him, euen so he himselfe should Represent the Truth of his Body and Blood.* As Melchisedech by Bread, and Wine represented the truth of Christs Body and Blood; so did Christ also Represent the same. And if Christ, as you say, made it present, then did Melchisedech also, by S. Hieromes iudgement make it present. But, when we speake of Sacraments, Representing is nothing else, but Shewing or Signifying. So Tertullian saith: Christus non reprobauit Panē, quo ipsum Corpus suum Repræsentauit: Christ *refused not Bread, by which he Represented his very Body.* Which words afterward in plainer sort he expounded thus: Christus accepit panem, & Corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo: Hoc est Corpus meum: hoc est, Figura Corporis mei: Christ *tooke the Bread, and made it his Body, saying, This is my Body, that is to say, This is a Figure of my Body.*

Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. 1.

Tertull. contra. Marcion. lib. 4.

But that Repræsentare should signifie, either to make Christs Body, or to make it present, no man, I trow, euer durst say it, but M. Harding.

In these words, Doe this, you say, is conteined, Make this. Doth Christ bid you, to Make this indeede, M. Harding? And what, This, I pray you, would you Make? Ye wil say, Christs Body. But Christs Body, as we beleeue, is Made already, and needeth no new making at your hands. But you wil say, Ye make Christ in remembrance of Christ. All this is meere folly. For euery way ye tel vs, Ye make Christ. Presume not M. Harding, to Make him, that made you. It is enough for your Stella Clericorum to say, Qui Creauit me, dedit mihi potestatem Creandi se: Sacerdos est Creator Creatoris sui: *Hee that made me, hath giuen me power to make him: A Priest is his* Makers Maker. But God hath made Hell fire to the destruction of all them, that yeeld their mouthes to speake such blasphemy. Christ neuer bad you, to make his Body, as you imagine. His words be plain: you haue vntruely reported them: Doe this in my Remembrance: Doe this, saith Christ: he saith not, Make this. And what is meant by this Doing, who can better teach vs, then S. Paul? Thus he saith: *As often, as you shall eat this Bread, or Drinke this Cup, you shall publish the Lords Death, vntill he come.* This is the Doing, that Christ commanded, and this is it, that you haue to doe.

An other quarrell, that M. Harding picketh to vs, is this, That wee haue no Intention or minde to Consecrate. But how long hath M. Harding beene a Wisard? Or, who made him so priuie to our Intentions? S. Paul saith, *No Man can tell, what is in Man, but the Spirit of Man, that is within him.* These follies are answered at large in my Former Reply to M. Harding. Verily by the late Doctors of that side, the Priest may haue Intention, to Consecrate the one halfe of the Host, and not the other: or, hauing thirteene Hostes, he may haue Intention, to Consecate but twelue. And thereof groweth a great question, when he commeth to the reckoning, and seeth his error, which of all that whole Company of Hostes shall goe vnconsecrate. Yea Abbat Panormitane saith: Etiamsi Sacerdos celebret, vt Deus perdat aliquem, tamen bene Consecrat; *Notwithstanding the Priest say Masse with* Intention, *that God would destroy some man, yet doth he consecrate neuertheless.* Into such toies these men throw themselues, with their fond Intentions.

1. Cor. 2.

Articulo 1. Diuision 12. Summa Angel. Eucharist. 26. Gerson in Floretum, lib. 4. Panormitan. de Celebratione Miss. Quidam.

Our Intention is, to doe, that Christ hath taught vs to doe, that is, to minister the holy Sacrament in Remembrance of him; and as S. Paul saith, *To shew forth, and to publish the Lords Death, vntill he come.* And to this purpose one of M. Hardings owne Doctors saith: Non sufficit Intentio consecrandi absolutè; Sed Oportet vt sit conformis Intentioni Sacramentum Instituentis; *Absolutely the* Intention *to Consecrate, is not sufficient:* but it must be answerable vnto the Intention of Christ that ordained the Sacrament.

Matth. 16. 1. Cor. 11. *Pupilla Oculi, de Eucharistia, cap. 5.*

At

At the Supper of our Lord (saith M. Harding) ministred in the Catholike Church by Priests rightly consecrate, there is the true & whole Body of our Lord and Sauiour giuen & receiued be the receiuers beleeuing or not beleeuing. This is no great maruell in M. Hardings Doctrine. For they of his side say, Si dicatur quod Mus sumat Corpus Christi, non est magnum inconueniens: *If it be said, that a* Mouse receiueth the body of Christ, *it is no great inconuenience.* And Alexander of Hales, a notable Schole Doctour saith, though in more vnseemely and grosser wise: Si Canis, vel Porcus deglutiret Hostiam Consecratam integram, non video, quare Corpus Domini non simul trajiceretur in ventrem Canis, vel Porci: *If a* Dog, or a Sow *should happen to swallow downe the whole Host being Consecrat, I see no reason, but the Body of our Lord may passe withall into the belly of the Dog, or of the Sow.*

De Consecrat. Dist. 2. Qui bene in Glossa.

Alexan. Hales. Par. 4. qua. 45. memb. 1.

But S. Augustine saith farre otherwise: Hoc est manducare illam escam, & illum potum bibere, in Christo manere, & Christum manentem in se habere: *This is the* Eating *of that Meat, and the* Drinking *of that Drinke, that a man dwell in* Christ, *and haue* Christ *dwelling in him.*

August. In Ioh. Tract. 26.

Likewise Origen saith: Est verus cibus, quem nemo malus potest edere. Etenim si malus posset edere Corpus Domini, non scriberetur, Qui edit hunc Panem, viuet in æternum: *The Body of* Christ *is the true Food, which no euill man can eat. For if the euill man could Eat the Body of our Lord, it should not be written, He that eateth this Bread shall liue for euer.* But hereof we haue spoken more at large in the Former Reply to M. Harding.

Orig. in Mat. cap 15.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* M. Harding. You haue fowle corrupted this place, M. Iewel. Origen speaketh not of the Sacrament in those words, nor of the Sacramental Eating, &c. M. Iewel hath so mangled these words, that the sense is clean altered For in stead of *Verbum Caro factum*, he hath placed the Body of Christ, referring it to the Sacrament, &c. Hee hath changed *Edere verbum factum Carnem*, into *Edere Corpus domini*. And so, where as Origen meant, that euill men cannot Eat Spiritually and effectually the Diuinity of Christ, M. Iewell hath taught him to say, that an euill man cannot in the Sacrament Eat Christs body.

Articulo 23. M. Harding fol. 227. b.

The wicked Receiueth.

And so M. Harding awakt out of his dreame.

The Answer. Will you lead your whole life in wrangling, M. Harding? and will you neuer learn to deale plainly? Origen (you say) speaketh nothing in this place of the Sacrament. I grant you. Neither do I in this place speake one word of the Sacrament. I speake onely of Christs body, that is represented by the Sacrament. That body (I say) cannot bee eaten by the wicked. So saith Origen: so say others the learned Fathers.

As for that you speake of mangling the words, and altering the meaning, it is so childish to be answered. You say, Origen meant, that the wicked man cannot Eat the Diuinity of Christ spiritually. Be it so. Will you then say, that the wicked man may eat the Diuinity of the Godhead of Christ Corporally, with his bodily mouth; and with his teeth? Is this the Diuinity you haue learned at Louaine? Season it better, M. Harding: it is vnsauory. Origen in this place first speaketh of the Sacrament of Christs body. Afterward hee speaketh of Christs Body it selfe, and saith; That no euill man can receiue it. And to that purpose hee alledgeth the words of Christ in S. Iohn, *Whoso eateth of this bread shall liue for euer.* Leaue this lightnesse, M. Harding. Here is neither mangling of words, nor altering of sentence. ☞

The Heretical Doctrine that M. Harding talketh of, with all the whole furniture of hypocriticall Eloquence, we may safely send home, from whence it came. And I doubt nothing but he can well tell how to vse it.

As for Pelagius, Arius and Nestorius, we defie them vtterly and detest them, as we doe also all other sorts and sects of heresies.

Of the Sacraments of Christ, wee doe both speake, and thinke reuerently and as it becommeth vs and according to the holy Scriptures. We say, that a Creature, is a Creature: that a Sacrament is a Sacrament, and not God. We say with S. Augustine, *The Sacrament is not our Lord, but the bread of our Lord.* Againe S. Augustine saith: In Sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid Significent: *In Sacraments we must consider*, not what they be in deed, *but what they* Signifie.

August. in Ioh. Tract. 59. Contra Maximin. lib. 3. cap. 22.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. Diuision 2.

Besides this, we acknowledge, there be two Sacraments, which, we iudge, properly ought to be called by this name: that is to say, Baptisme, and the Sacrament of thanksgiuing. For thus many we see were deliuered and sanctified by Christ, and well allowed of the Old Fathers, Ambrose, and Augustine, and such others.

M.

M. Harding.

Why ſpeake ye not plainly? Be there no moe but two Sacraments? Though ye ſay not ſo expreſly, yet we iudge, that ſo ye meane. For ſo your ſchoolefellow of Geneua Theodore Beza pronounceth in plain termes in the Confeſſion of your Geneuian Faith. And ſo your ſelues, Defenders, do affirm in the Articles, which yee agreed vpon in your Conuocation holden at London, in the yeare of our Lord, 1562. Which Articles you haue put forth in Print by the Queens authority, as ye pretend. Now whereas yee acknowledge there be but two Sacraments, why ſhould any man beleeue you, rather thē the Germans your firſt Schoolemaſters, who (a) in their Confeſſiō exhibited to Charls the fifth then Emperor at Auguſpurg in the name of al the Proteſtants, Anno 1530. appoint three Sacraments, Baptiſm, the Euchariſt, and Penance? The next yeere after (b) Philip Melanctnon in his Apologie auouched thoſe three Sacraments: but afterward in the yeere 1552. he found out another, and made vp the number of foure, by adding the Sacrament of Order to the foreſaid three. In Lipſia they receiue three: In Wittenberg, which City is not thence farre off, they haue foure. At Magdeburg thereby alſo Flacius Illyricus, and ſo many as follow him, will haue but two: and the Zwenkfeldians that ſprang out of the ſame ſtocke, care for none at all.

The Defenders acknowledg but two Sacraments.

(a) Vntruth fond and vaine.

(b) Vntruth proceeding of vnaduiſed malice. Read the Anſwer.

Diuerſity of iudgement in the Goſpellers about the number of the Sacraments.

Forasmuch as ye alledge the names of the Old Fathers for you, ſpecially S. Ambroſe, & S. Auguſtine, that there be but two Sacraments, let vs ſee how much they make for maintenance of your Doctrine, & whether they teach vs not, that there be moe. S. Auguſtine in his 2. Booke, *Contra literas Petiliani*, ſpeaking of the place of the Pſalm, *Sicut vnguentum in Capite*, which the Heretike had alledged, ſaith thus: *In hoc vnguento, &c.* In this Ointment his will is to interpret the Sacrament of Chriſm (he meaneth the Sacrament of Confirmation) which in the kinde of viſible ſignes is Holy, as Baptiſme is. Lo, S. Auguſtine calleth Confirmation a Sacrament. S. Euſebius Pope nameth it a Sacrament in his third Epiſtle written to all the Biſhops of Tuſcia and Campania: *Manus impoſitionis Sacramentum, &c.* The Sacrament of impoſition of Hands (ſaith he) is to be kept with great reuerence, which cannot be performed but by the high Prieſts (he vnderſtandeth Biſhops.) Melchiades next to Syluester before the Nicene Councel ſpeaking much of Confirmation, among other things ſaith thus: *Duo hæc Sacramenta, Baptiſmi, & Confirmationis, ſeparari non ſunt*: Theſe two Sacraments of Baptiſm & Confirmatiō may not be ſundred. Though theſe two Biſhops were Popes, yet they deſerue credit, for aſmuch as they liued before that corruption crept into the Church, after your account, and died holy Martyrs.

That there be moe Sacraments then two, by the Doctrine of the Fathers, *ex.* The Sacrament of Confirmation.

This forged Melchiades addeth his Oile aboue the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

That Penance is a Sacrament, and ſo accounted among the Fathers, it is ſo euident, that who doubteth of it, may ſeem not to haue peruſed their writings. S. Auguſtin in *Enchiridio ad Laurentium*, ſpeaking of Baptiſme and Penance, calleth both *Saluteria Sacramenta*, Healthful Sacraments. S. Ambroſe ſignifieth himſelfe to be of the ſame mind, in his firſt Booke *De pœnitentia, cap. 6. & 7.* And in the ſecond Booke *cap. 2.* though without putting the expreſſe name of Sacrament. But in the third Chapter of that Booke he putteth the name of Sacrament expreſly.

The Sacrament of Penance. (*ep. 66. Ruf. 20. in pſal. 118. Heb.*

Touching Order, that is a Sacrament alſo by verdit of S. Auguſtine, whom ye alledge for you. Let vs heare what he ſaith. In his ſecond Book *Contra Epiſt. Parmeniani, cap. 13.* theſe be his words, where he ſpeaketh of Baptiſme, and of the Power to Baptize, which is giuen in the Sacrament of Order: *Vtrunque enim Sacramentum eſt, & quadam Conſecratione vtrique homini datur, illud cum Baptizatur, iſtud cum ordinatur. Ideo in Catholica non licet vtrunque iterari*: Either of them is a Sacrament, and with a certaine Conſecration either is giuen to man the one when he is Baptized, the other when he taketh Orders. Therefore in the Catholike Church it is not lawfull either of them to be taken twiſe.

The Sacrament of Order. *dect.*

For the Sacrament of wedlocke, beſides other good and ſufficient proofes, that it is a Sacrament, we haue ſundry teſtimonies out of S. Auguſtine, and other Doctors in the Church (ſaith S. Auguſtine) not onely the band of Marriage, but alſo the Sacrament, is ſo commended, that it is not lawfull for the Huſband to deliuer his Wife to another. He calleth wedlocke a Sacrament in many places of his works. *De Bono Coniugali, cap. 7. 18.* and in the 24. Chapter of that Booke, he ſaith *Hæc omnia bona ſunt, propter quia nuptiæ bonæ ſunt, Proles, Fides, Sacramentum*: All theſe things be good, for which marriage is good, Iſſue, Faith, the Sacrament.

The Sacrament of wedlocke. *Lib. de Fide & Operibus, cap. 7.*

Of extream Vnction, who doubteth whether it be a Sacrament, let him read the Epiſtle of Innocentius the First, *ad Decentium Eugubinum Epiſcopum, cap. 8.* where moſt plainely treating of it, he nameth it a Sacrament. Chryſoſtom interpreteth the place of S. Iames Epiſtle for this Sacrament. And ſo doth Bede alleging the place of S Iames, the ſixth of Marke, the authority of Innocentius, and the cuſtome of the Church. Seeing then we haue found the (c) Seuen Sacraments expreſly mentioned in the Fathers according to the teaching of the Catholike Church, whereas ye teach men to beleeue there be but two, and pretend that the Fathers ſpeak of no moe: (d) I truſt from hence forth they will take better aduiſe, how they beleeue your Bare word without all proofe, and with certaine Danger of their ſoules, forſake the Doctrine of the Church, which is the ſure pillar and ground of truth, as S. Paul ſaith. In this great point, Beza and yee of that ſide be manifeſtly found liars.

The Sacrament of Extreame Vnction. *Lib. 3. de Sacr.*

(c) Vntruth. For the ancient Fathers neuer reckō preciſely ſeuen only Sacraments.

(d) As this is true, ſo we deſire further credit.

1. Tim. 3.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

To ſpend words without cauſe, is affliction of the Spirit, and loſſe of time. M. Harding heere beſtoweth much labour, and alledgeth many Doctours, to win that thing, that he might eaſily haue obtained without any ſuch adoe. For, gentle Reader, leſt that thou be deceiued, and thinke there is ſome weight in this heape of Feathers, wee will grant without force, and freely, that the holy Catholike Fathers haue made mention, not onely of Seuen, as M. Harding heere accounteth them, but alſo of Seuenteene ſundry Sacraments. [a] Tertullian calleth the Helue, wherewith Eliz æus recouered the Ark out of the water, Sacramentum Ligni, the Sacrament of Wood: And the whole ſtate of the Chriſtian Faith, hee calleth [b] Religionis Chriſtianæ Sacramentum: The Sacrament of Chriſtian Religion. [c]. [d] S. Auguſtine in many places hath Sacramentum Crucis, *The*

[a] *Tertul. aduerſus Iudæos*
[b] *Tertul. contr. Marcion. li. 4.*
[c] *Aug. epiſt. 12.*
[d] *Auguſt. in Sermone de Sanctis 19.*

Sacrament

Sacrament of the Crosse. Thus he saith: In hac Crucis Figura continetur Sacramentum: *In this* Figure *or forme of the* Crosse, *there is contained a Sacrament.* So saith Leo: [c] Crux Christi, quæ saluandis est impensa Fidelibus, & Sacramentum est, & Exemplum: The Crosse of Christ, *which was giuen to saue the Faithfull, is both a* Sacrament, *and also a Samplar.* S. Hierome saith: [f] E latere Christi Baptismi, atque Martyrij pariter Sacramenta fundun-tur: *Out of* Christs *side the* Sacraments *of* Baptisme *and* Martyrdome, *are powred foorth both together.* * Leo calleth the promise of Virginity, Sacramentum: Quid eos manebit, qui corruperint fœdera Diuini Sacramenti? *What shall become of them that haue broken the Co-uenant of the* Heauenly Sacrament? [g] The bread that was giuen vnto the Nouices, or Beginners in the Faith, called Catechumeni, before they were Baptised, of S. Augustine is called a Sacrament. [h] S Hilary in sundry places, saith: Sacramentum Orationis: Sacramentum Esuritionis: Sacramentum Scripturarum: Sacramentum Fletus: Sacramentum Sitis: *The Sacrament of Praier: The Sacrament of Fasting: The Sacrament of the Scriptures: The Sacrament of Weeping: The Sacrament of Thirst.* [i] S. Bernard calleth the washing of the Apostles feet, a Sacrament: Ablutio Pedum Sacramentum est quotidianorum peccatorum: *The Washing of Feet is the Sacrament of Daily sinnes.*

[c] *Leo de Resurrect. Domus, Sermon. 2.*
[f] *Hieronym. ad Oceanum.*
* *Inter Decreta Leonis, cap. 14.*
[g] *Augst. De Peccat. merit. & remiss. lib. 2.*
[h] *Hilar. in Matt. Canon. 11. & 12. & Canon. 23.*
[i] *Bernard. in Serm. de Cœna Domini.*

Thus many, and many moe Sacraments, it had bene easie for M. Harding to haue found in the Catholike learned Fathers. Yet, I trow, he will not say, that either the Helue of an Ax, or the whole Religion of Christ, or a Crosse printed in the forehead, or Martyrdome, or the Scriptures, or a Vow of Virginity, or the Bread giuen to the Catechumeni, or Praier, or Fasting, or Weeping, or Thirst, or Washing of Feet, are the necessary Seuen Sacraments of the Church.

Number of Sacraments.

Howbeit wee will not greatly striue for the name. It appeareth heereby that many things that in deed, and by speciall property be no Sacraments, may neuertheless passe vnder the generall name of a Sacrament. But thus we say, It cannot be prooued, neither by the Scriptures, nor by the Ancient learned Fathers, that this Number of Sacraments, is so specially appointed, and Consecrate to this purpose, or, that there bee neither moe nor lesse Sacraments in the Church, but onely Seuen.

As for the Reasons that they of M. Hardings side haue brought vs for proofe hereof, they are to childish to be remembred. For thus they say:

The Booke in the Apocalyps hath Seuen Seales:	Apocalyp. 5.
The Seuen Angels there haue Seuen trumpets:	Apocalyp. 8.
Christ hath in his right hand Seuen Starres:	Apcalyp. 7.
Christ walketh in the mids of Seuen golden Candlestickes:	Apocalyp. 1.
Zachary saw Seuen eies vpon a Stone:	Zachar. 3.
There were Seuen Candlestickes in the Tabernacle:	Exod. 37.

Ergo, say they, there must néeds be iust Seuen Sacraments in the Church of God. *In Compendio Theologiæ.*

But to leaue these Vanities, and to come to the purpose: vnto euery necessary Sacrament of the Church, two things specially are required: that is, a Sensible outward Element, and the Word of Institution. Without either of these there is no Sacrament. Therefore S. Augustine saith: Accedat Verbum ad Elementum, & fit Sacramentum: *Ioine the Word of Christs Institution vnto the sensible Creature or outward Element, and thereof is* made a Sacrament. The Element or Creature in Baptisme is Water: The Elements or Creatures in our Lords Supper, are Bread and Wine: The words of Institution are common and knowne. *Augst. in Iob. Tract. 80.*

The other fiue Sacraments want either the Word or the Element, or both together: As for example, Matrimony, Order and Penance, haue the Word of God, but they haue no outward Creature or Element: Extreme Vnction and Confirmation, haue neither Word nor Element. Therefore these fiue latter, in proper vse of speech, are not taken for necessary Sacraments of the Church.

For thus Alexander of Hales saith: Sacramentum Confirmationis, vt est Sacramentum, neque Dominus instituit, neque Apostoli: Sed postea institutum est in Concilio Meldensi: *The Sacrament of* Confirmation, *as it is a* Sacrament, *was not ordained, either by* Christ, *or by the Apostles: but afterward in the Councell of* Melda. *Alexand. Hales, part. 4. qua. 24. mem. 1. Durandus.*

So likewise Durandus saith: Matrimonium strictè, & propriè loquendo, non est Sacramentum: Matrimony *in due and proper kind of speech,* is no Sacrament. Thus one of M. Hardings owne Doctors saith: Confirmation is no Sacrament: Another saith likewise: Matrimony is no Sacrament. *Irenæus. Iustin. Apol. 2. Tert. 1. & 4. con. Marcion.*

Now to that, we make account only of Two Sacraments, as instituted by Christ, wherwith M. Harding findeth himself so much offended, it may please him to vnderstand, that the ancient learned Fathers, Irenæus, Iustinus Martyr, Tertullian. S. Ambrose, Cyrillus, *Ambr. de Sacr. Cyril. in Mystagogicis,* Alexandrinus,

Alexandrinus and others, hauing occasion to intreat of purpose & specially hereof, speake onely of Two Sacraments, I mean of Baptisme and of Our Lords Supper, and name none other. S. Cyprian saith: Tunc demùm planè sanctificari, & esse Filij Dei possunt, si vtroque Sacramento nascantur: *Then may they be thoroughly sanctified, and become the children of God, if they be new borne by* both the Sacraments. *By* both the Sacraments, hee saith, meaning only of two. S. Augustine saith: Quædam pauca pro multis, eademque factu facillima, & intellectu augustissima, & obseruatione castissima, ipse Dominus & Apostolica tradidit disciplina: sicuti est Baptismi Sacramentum, & celebratio Corporis & Sanguinis Domini: *Our Lord and his Apostles, haue deliuered vnto vs a few Sacraments in stead of many, & the same in doing most easie, in signification most excellent, in obseruation most reuerend: as is the* Sacrament of Baptisme, and the celebration of the Body and Blood of our Lord. Againe, speaking of Baptisme, and of the Supper, he saith thus: Hæc sunt Ecclesiæ Gemina Sacramenta: *These be the* Two Sacraments *of the* Church. *The* two Sacraments, he saith, plainly expressing the number of two. Paschasius saith: Suæ Sacramenta Christi in Ecclesia Catholica, Baptismus, & Corpus & Sanguis Domini: *These bee the Sacraments of* Christ *in the Catholike Church:* Baptism, and the Body and Blood of our Lord. To be short, Cardinall Bessarion saith: Hæc duo Sola Sacramenta in Euangelijs manifestè tradita legimus: *We read, that these* Onely two Sacraments, *were deliuered vs plainely in the Gospell.*

Cyprian. lib. 2. Epi. 1. ad Steph.

August. de Doctrina Christian. lib. 3 cap 9.

Aug. de Symb. ad Catechumenos.

Paschasius De Corpo. & Sang. Domini.

Bessarion De Sacramento Eucharistiæ.

Here hath M. Harding in expresse words, Both the Sacraments, and the two Sacraments, and the Onely two Sacraments of the Church. Iudge thou now therefore, good Christian Reader, what truth thou maist reckon to be in him, that saith, Beza, and they of his side, are manifestly found liars.

M. Harding. 325 a.

Two Sacraments.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. *Bessarion* nameth other Sacraments. Wherefore there is an impudent lie included in your words, where you say, that I haue in expresse words, the onely two Sacraments of the Church. *The Answere.* What colour haue you in your face, M. Harding, when ye thus modestly call others Impudent? I know not how Bessarion could in plainer wise haue expressed his minde. These be his words: Hæc duo Sola Sacramenta in Euangelijs manifestè tradita Legimus: *We read, that these Onely two Sacraments are deliuered to vs plainely in the Gospels.* If Onely two, be Onely two, then iudge thou, good Reader, who is Impudent. ☞

Addition. ☞

All these things notwithstanding, the late pretended Councell of Trident, with most horrible threats and great curses, concludeth the contrary: Si quis dixerit, Sacramenta Nouæ Legis, non fuisse omnia a Iesu Christo Domino nostro institura, aut esse plura, vel pauciora, quàm Septem, aut etiam aliquod horum non esse verè & propriè Sacramentũ, Anathema sit: *If any man shall say, that the Sacraments of the New Law were not all ordained of Our Lord* Iesus Christ: *or, that there be* fewer, or more then Seuen, *or, that any one of the same, verily, and in proper vse of speech, is not a Sacrament, accursed be he.*

Cone. Trident. Session. 7.

But, ye say, Luther and the Germans, admit three Sacraments. Baptisme, the Lords Supper, and Penance: and Philip Melancthon afterward found out the Fourth. M. Harding, what is it, that thus enflameth your tongue to speake vntruth? If it had pleased you to haue seene it, Luther and Melancthon plainely expressed their owne meaning, and vtterly remoued all maner occasion of such cauils. Luther writeth thus: Propriè ea visum est vocare Sacramenta, quæ annexis Signis promissa sunt: Cætera, quia Signis alligata non sunt, nuda promissa sunt. Quò fit, vt si rigidè loqui velimus, tantùm duo sint in Ecclesia Dei Sacramenta, Baptismus, & Panis: cùm in his solis, & institutum diuinitùs Signum, & promissionem Remissionis Peccatorum videamus: *In* Proper speech *those wee call* Sacraments *which are promised with Signes annexed. The rest, that haue no Signes, are* bare promises. *Wherefore speaking hereof precisely, and strictly, there are* Onely two Sacraments, *in the Church of God,* Baptisme and the Bread: *forasmuch as in* these Only *wee finde both the* Signe *ordained by God, and also the* Promise of Remission of Sinnes.

In captiuitate Babylonica.

Likewise, Melancthon saith: *He can well call* Order a Sacrament *so that it bee knowne from* Baptisme, *and the* Supper, *which in proper speech, and verily be called* Sacraments.

In Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision* 3.

We say, that Baptisme is a Sacrament of the Remission of Sins, and of that washing which we haue in the Blood of Christ; and that no person, which will professe Christs name, ought to bee restrained or kept backe therefrom: no not the very Babes of Christians: forsomuch as they be borne in sinne, and doe pertaine vnto the people of God.

M.

M. Harding.

Baptisme very slenderly spoken of by the Defenders.

As ye acknowledge few Sacraments, so ye speake of them very slenderly. Baptisme (ye say) is a Sacrament of the Remission of Sinnes, and of that washing which we haue in the Blood of Christ. Now whereas ye meane, as within few lines yee declare, by the name of a Sacrament, (a) no more but a Token or Signe, specially sith ye teach in your Articles, that Baptisme at the best is but a Signe and Seale of our new birth: ye seem not to attribute to Baptisme so much as the Scripture doth. Neither is Baptisme only a Signe or Token that Sinnes be remitted, but we beleeue, as the Catholike Church, according to the Scriptures, teacheth, that in and by Baptisme Sinnes be fully and truly remitted and put away: and that not through the Faith (b) only of the giuer or receiuer, or of any other, though he eerunto it be necessarie in those that be come to age of discretion; but through the power and vertue of the Sacrament, and Gods Promise. And therefore to whom it is giuen, of them it is rightly said, that they be Baptised for remission of their Sinnes. The Scriptures be plaine. First, Ezechiel speaking of this holy Sacrament, saith in the person of God, I wished vpon you cleane water, and ye shal be made cleane from al your defilings, and from your Idols will I cleanse you. Next, S. Paul saith, That God hath saued vs by the washing of Regeneration, and of the renewing of the Holy Ghost, whom he hath powred vpon vs abundantly by Iesus Christ our Sauiour. That I may adde to these manifest Scriptures the Authoritie of a learned Father, not whereby to strengthen the truth of them, but to witnesse our right vnderstanding of them: S. Augustine, *Lib. 3. contra duas epist. Pelagian. cap. 3* shewing the slander of the Pelagians against the Catholikes, saith thus in their person: Againe, they (that is, after their meaning, the Catholikes) auouch, that Baptisme maketh not indeed new men againe, that is to wit, that it giueth not full remission of sins, &c. Thereto eftsoones answering, S. Augustine saith: (c) *Mentiuntur: infidiantur: tergiuersantur:* They lie: They studie how to deceiue: they seeke shifts: we say not this. And after certaine sentences returning to Baptisme, he concludeth thus: Wherefore Baptisme washeth away all Sinnes, vtterly all, of deeds, words, thoughts, be they originall, or actuall: be they done ignorantly or wittingly. But it taketh not away the infirmity, which the regenerate resisteth, &c. Which place doth not onely set foorth the vertue of Baptisme, but also (d) destroieth the Doctrine of our new Gospellers, that affirme Concupiscence, which remaineth after Baptisme, to be verely sinne. (e) Wherein they erre manifestly against the Scripture, and sense of the Fathers.

Pelagians belied the Catholikes, as the Sacramentaries doe also now.

(a) Vntruth. For we say not so.

(b) This tale is needlesse, and out of season.

(c) These words may well pertein to M. Harding himselfe. For we say not thus.

(d) Vntruth ioined with grosse ignorance. M. Harding foulely mistaketh S. Augustines minde.

(e) Vntruth, fond and vaine. Read the Answer.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Ill will is euer plentifull of ill words. M. Harding here maketh himselfe much matter without cause. Hee teacheth our New Clergie, **That Baptisme is not only a Signe or a Token of remission of sinnes: He telleth vs of** the Faith of the Giuer: of the Faith of the Receiuer: of the power of the Sacrament: of Concupiscence, that it is no sinne. **And more, I trow, he would haue said, if more had presently come to minde. Verily the poore** New Clergie **speaketh not one word in all this whole place, neither of** Signe **nor of** Token, **nor of the** Receiuer, **nor of the** Giuer, **nor of the** Power **of the Sacrament, nor of** Concupiscence, **whether it bee** Sinne, **or not** Sinne, **nor of any other like thing. Yet in the end hee taketh** S. Augustines words, without his meaning, **and crieth out against vs,** They lie, They studie to deceiue, They seeke shifts. **And why so? Certainely because we say,** *Baptisme is a Sacrament of Remission of Sinnes.* **And,** *That the Children of the Faithfull, for that they bee borne in Sinne, and pertaine to the people of God, ought therefore to be Baptized.* **Other causes then these in ani Our words he can finde none.**

True it is, that the Sacrament dependeth not, neither of the Minister, **nor of the** Receiuer, **nor of any other. For though they be all the Children of Sinne, yet is Baptisme the Sacrament of Remission of Sinne.** S. Augustine saith: Securum me fecit Magister meus, de quo Spiritus eius dicit, Hic est qui Baptizat: *Christ my Master hath assured me, of whom his owne Spirit saith, This is he that Baptizeth.*

The Faith of the Infants.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 5.

Neuertheless, concerning the Faith of the Parents, and others, the Holy Doctours haue sometime written otherwise. S. Augustine saith: Satis piè rectèque creditur, prodesse paruulo eorum Fidem à quibus Consecrandus offertur: *It is good and godly to beleeue that the childe is* holpen by the Faith of them, *by whom he is offered, or brought vnto Baptisme.* **Againe he saith:** Accommodat illis Mater Ecclesia aliorum pedes, vt veniant: aliorum cor, vt credant: *Our Mother the Church lendeth them* other mens *feet, that they may come:* and other mens hearts, that they may beleeue. **The like sayings might be alleged out of** Iustinus Martyr, S. Cyprian, S. Hierome, **and others. For thus they write. How truly I will not say. But their words be plaine. The Prophet** Abacuc saith: Iustus ex Fide sua viuet: *The iust man shall liue* (**not by the Faith of his Parents, but**) *by* his owne Faith.

De Conse. Dist. 4. Baptismus talis. Iohan 1.

Augustin. De Libero Arbitrio, lib. 3. cap. 23.

Augustin De Verbis Apostoli, Sermo. 10

Of this Faith S. Hierome saith: Qui plena Fide non suscipiunt salutare Baptisma, accipiunt quidem Aquam, sed non accipiunt Spiritum: *They that receiue not Baptisme with perfect Faith, receiue the* Water, *but the* Holy Ghost *they receiue not.* S. Augustine saith: Verus Baptismus constat non tam ablutione corporis, quàm Fide cordis, sicut Apostolica Doctrina tradidit, dicens, Fide mundans corda eorum: Et alibi, Saluos facit Baptisma, non carnis depositio sordium, sed conscientiæ bonæ interrogatio in Deum, per Resurrectionem Iesu Christi: *True Baptisme standeth not so much in washing of the Bodie, as in the*

Hieronym in Ezechiel. cap. 16.

De Consecra. Dist. 4. Verus.

Actor. 15.

1. Petri. 3.

The Faith of the Infants.

Faith of the heart: *As the Doctrine of the Apostles hath taught vs, saying, By* Faith purifying their hearts: *And in another place, Baptisme maketh vs safe: not the putting away of the filth of the Flesh, but the* examining of a good conscience *before God, by the Resurrection of* Iesus Christ. **Likewise againe he saith:** Vnde ista tanta Virtus aquæ, vt corpus tangat, & cor abluat, nisi faciente Verbo? Non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur: *Whence is all this so great Vertue, or Power of the Water, that it toucheth the Bodie, and washeth the Heart, but by the working of the Word? Not for that it is spoken* (by the Minister) *but* for that it is beleeued (of the Faithfull.)

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 80.

Some man will say: Children or Infants beleeue nothing, but are vtterly void of Faith. S. Augustine answereth: Qui non crediderit, condemnabitur. Sicut eos renasci per Ministerium Baptizantium, ita etiam eos credere per corda & ora confitentium confitemur: *He that beleeueth not, shall be damned. We confesse, that as they be borne againe by the Ministery of Baptizers, so they* beleeue by the hearts and mouthes *of the Confessors.* **Againe he saith:** Habent Fidem propter Fidei Sacramentum: They haue Faith, *because they haue* (Baptisme, which is *the Sacrament of Faith.*) **For he saith:** Quemadmodum Sacramentum Corporis Christi secundùm quendam modum Sorpus Christi est, ita Sacramentum Fidei Fides est: *As the Sacrament of* Christs *Bodie* (not verily and indeed, but) after a certaine manner of speech, *is* Christs *Body: so* Baptisme is Faith, *because it is the Sacrament of Faith.* **Therefore** Cardinall Caietane **is worthily blamed by** Catharinus, **in that he saith,** *An Infant, for that he wanteth Instruction in Faith, therefore hath not perfect Baptisme.*

Aug. Epist. 105.

Aug. Epist. 23 *In ead Epist.*

Catharinus cõtra Caietanũ. error. 87. & 88.

The Power of Baptisme.

Touching the Vertue or Power of this Sacrament, **if M. Harding meane thereby the outward Element of the Water, he knoweth, or may easily know, it is a common resolution amongst all his owne Schoole Doctours,** Gratia Dei non est alligata Sacramentis: *The Grace of God is* not tied *to any Sacraments.* **The meaning thereof is this: That God is able to worke Saluation both with them, and without them.** S. Augustine saith, as it is before alleged: Iam vos mundi estis propter sermonem quem loquutus sum vobis. Quare non ait, Mundi estis propter Baptismum quo loti estis: nisi quia etiam in Aqua Verbum mundat? Detrahe Verbum, & quid est Aqua, nisi Aqua? *Now are ye cleane, because of the Word that I haue spoken to you. But why saith he not, Now* ye are cleane because of the Baptisme *wherewith ye are washed: saying that, because in the Water it is the Word that maketh cleane? Take away the Word, and* what is the Water more then Water? **Therefore he saith:** Aqua exhibet forinsecùs Sacramentum Gratiæ: *The Water giueth vs* outwardly *the Sacrament of Grace.* **And this is the Power and Vertus of the Sacraments.**

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 80.

De Con. Dist. 4. *Aliud est.*

Aug. Epist. 23.

Notwithstanding, we must consider, that the learned Fathers in their treaties of the Sacraments, sometime vse the outward Signe in stead of the thing it selfe, that is signified: sometime they vse the thing signified in stead of the Signe. As for example, sometimes they name Christs Blood **in stead of the** Water: **Sometime they name the** Water **in stead of** Christs Blood. **This Figure is called** Metonymia, **that is to say, an exchange of names: and is much vsed among the learned, specially speaking of the Sacraments.**

Aug. Epist. 23.

S. Augustine **vsing the** Water **in place of the** Blood of Christ **that is signified by the** Water, **saith thus:** Soluit vinculum culpæ: Reconciliat bonum naturæ: Regenerat hominem in Vno Christo: *It breaketh the band of Sinne: It reconcileth the goodnesse of Nature: It doth renew a man in One* Christ.

Iohan. 1. 1. Iohan. 1.

Cypria de Baptismo Christi.

Notwithstanding, indeed, and in precise manner of speech, Saluation **must be sought in** Christ **alone, and not in any outward Signes.** Christ is that Lambe of God that taketh away the Sinnes of the World. **The** Blood of Christ maketh vs cleane from all our Sinnes. S. Cyprian saith: Remissio Peccatorum siue per Baptismum, siue per alia Sacramenta donetur, propriè Spiritus Sancti est: & ipsi soli huius efficientiæ Priuilegium manet. Verborum solemnitas, & Sacri inuocatio nominis, & Signa Apostolicis Institutionibus attributa, Visibile celebrant Sacramentum. Rem verò ipsam Spiritus Sanctus format & efficit: *The Remission of Sinne, whether it be giuen by Baptisme, or by any other Sacrament,* is indeed of the Holy Ghost: *and to the same* Holy Ghost onely *the Priuiledge of this worke doth appertaine. The solemnitie of the Words, and the inuocation of Gods holy Name, and the outward Signes appointed to the Ministerie of the Priests by the institution of the Apostles, worke the Visible outward Sacrament: but touching the Substance thereof,* (which is the Remission of Sinnes) *it is the Holy Ghost that worketh it.*

Hieronym in Esaiam, Cap 4. *Hier. ad Galat. Cap.* 3.

Likewise saith S. Hierome: Homo Aquam tantùm tribuit: Deus autem dat Spiritum Sanctum, quo sordes abluuntur: *The Minister, being a man, giueth* onely the Water: *But God giueth the Holy Ghost, wherby the Sinnes be washed away.* **And againe:** Si quis corporeum, & quod oculis Carnis aspicitur, Aquæ tantùm accipit lauacrum, non est indutus Dominum

Iesum

Iesum Christum: *If any man haue receiued* onely the bodily washing of Water, *that is outwardly seene with the eie, he hath not put on our Lord* Iesus Christ.

Concupiscence is Sinne.

Concerning Concupiscence remaining in the faithful after Baptism, whether it be Sin, or no Sinne, there was no great cause why M. Harding should in this place moue question: sauing that, as he hath hitherto denied that Falshood is Falshood, so he would now denie that Sinne is *Sinne*. Undoubtedly *S.* Paul feeling the same Concupiscence in himselfe, is forced to mourne, and to cry out: *I see another Law in my members, fighting against the Law of my mind, and leading me Prisoner to the* Law of Sinne. And againe: *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliuer me from* this Body of Death? Roman. 7.

Therefore *S.* Ambrose saith: Non inuenitur in vllo hominum tanta concordia, vt Legi Mentis Lex quæ membris est infita, non repugnet. Propter quod ex omnium Sanctorum Persona accipitur, quod Iohannes Apostolus ait, Si dixerimus quòd peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, & Veritas in nobis non est: *There is not found in any man such concord* (betweene the flesh and the spirit) *but that the Law* (of Concupiscence) *which is planted in the Members, fighteth against the Law of the minde. And for that cause those words of* S. Iohn *the Apostle are taken as spoken in the person* of all Saints, *If we say, we haue no Sinne, we deceiue our selues, and there is no Truth in vs.* And, to leaue all others, *S.* Augustine saith in most plaine wise: Concupiscentia Carnis, aduersus quam bonus concupiscit Spiritus, & Peccatum est, & pœna Peccati, & causa Peccati: *The* Concupiscence *of the* Flesh, *against which the good spirit lusteth,* is both sinne, and the paine of sinne, and the cause of sinne. And againe he saith: Quandiu viuis, necesse est Peccatum esse in membris tuis: *As long as thou liuest,* there must needs be *Sinne in thy members.* *Ambros. li. 10. Epist. 84.* 1. Iohan. 1. *August. contra Iuli. li. 3. ca. 3.* *Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 41.*

If M. Harding say, We wrest and racke S. Augustine, and take his words otherwise then he meant, Albertus Pighius his owne principall Doctor will controle him. Thus he writeth: Augustinus tradit, hanc ipsam Concupiscentiam corpori nostro insitam atque innatam, in nondum renatis Verè & Propriè Peccatum esse: quæ ignoscatur quidem, sed non tollatur in Baptismo: S. Augustine *teacheth vs, that this same Concupiscence, planted in our Body in them that be not regenerate by Baptisme,* Verily and in plaine maner of speech is Sinne: and that the same Concupiscence is forgiuen in Baptisme, but is not vtterly taken away. *Albertus Pighius in controuer. de peccato Originis.*

Yet the late blessed Chapter of Trident, in spight of S. Augustine, hath published the contrarie. For this is the determination of the Fathers there: Hanc concupiscentiam quam Apostolus aliquando appellat Peccatum, Sancta Synodus declarat Ecclesiam Catholicam nunquam intellexisse, quòd verè & propriè in renatis Peccatum sit: sed quia ex Peccato est, & ad Peccatum inclinat. Si quis autem contrarium senserit, Anathema sit: *The Concupiscence which the Apostle S.* Paul *sometime calleth Sinne, this holy Councell declareth that the Catholike Church neuer vnderstood it to be called* Sinne, for that it is so indeed, and in proper maner of speech, *in them that be baptized: but because it is of Sinne, and inclineth vs vnto Sinne. And if any man thinke the contrary, accursed be he.* Thus we see, that by the Decree of this worthy Couent, S Ambrose and S. Augustine, and other holy Fathers that haue written the same, are all accursed. *Conc. Trident. Session. 5.*

As for that M. Harding here toucheth as an errour defended by certaine, I know not by whom, that Baptisme giueth not full Remission of Sinnes, he may command it home againe to Louaine amongst his fellowes, and ioine it with other of his and their Vanities. For it is no part nor portion of our Doctrine. We confesse, and haue euermore taught, that in the Sacrament of Baptisme, by the Death and Blood of Christ is giuen Remission of all maner Sinnes: and that not in halfe, or in part, or by way of Imagination, or by fansie; but full, whole, and perfect of all together: so that now, as S. Paul saith, *There is no damnation vnto them that be in* Christ Iesus. Roman. 8.

Now iudge thou indifferently, gentle Reader, what Spirit forced M. Harding thus terribly to cry out; They lie: They study to deceiue: They seeke shifts, &c.

The Apologie, Chap. 12. *Diuision* 1.

VVE say, that Eucharistia, that is to say, the Supper of the Lord, is a Sacrament, that is, an euident Representation of the body and blud of Christ, wherin is set, as it were, before our eies, the death of Christ, and his Resurrection, & whatsoeuer he did, whilest he was in his Mortall Body: to the end we may giue him thanks for his Death, and for our deliuerance. And that, by the often receiuing of this Sacrament, we may daily renue the remembrance therof, to the intet we being fed with

the Body and blood of Christ, **may be brought into the hope of the Resurrection, and of Euerlasting Life, & may most assuredly beleeue, that as our Bodies be fed with Bread and Wine, so our Soules be fed with the Body and Blood of** Christ.

M. Harding.

Among all these gay words (a) we heare not so much as one syllable vttered, whereby we may vnderstand that ye beleeue the very body of Christ to be indeed present in the blessed Sacramẽt of the Altar. Ye confesse the Eucharistia, which commonly ye call, the Supper of the Lord, to be a Sacrament, and all that to be none other then an euident token of the Body & blood of Christ. As for that ye adde to make the matter seen somwhat of the Death of Christ, & his Resurrection, and his acts done in flesh: what reason or Scripture haue ye, that a peece of Bread and a Cuppe of Wine (for (b) in your beleefe more make ye not of this Sacrament) can set them, as it were, before our eies? Doth not rather a faire painted Table set foorth the acts of our Sauiour before our eies more liuely, and more expresly? And bee we not moued therewith to giue God thanks for his great benefits, as well, as if we haue Bread & Wine on a Table? But I pray you sirrence all is (c) but Bread and Wine after your teaching, how shall wee by eating and drinking thereof, be fed with the Body and blood of Christ? Againe, can we by (d) Bread and Wine be brought into hope of the Resurrection, & Euerlasting Life, as ye say? And how shall wee by eating of Bread and drinking of Wine, be assured that Christs body and blood doth in like manner feed our Soules, as Bread and Wine feedeth our Bodies? Though your imagination bee neuer so strong, yet by eating of that which is Bread only, & drinking of that which is Wine only, we see not how your soules can be fed with the true Body and blood of Christ, no more then ye be at your common meales.

(a) We vtter as many Syllables of Real Presence as Christ euer vttered.

(b) Vntruth, ioined with slãder.

(c) Vntruth slanderous, as the former.

(d) Euen as well as by the Water in Baptisme.

The Lords Supper with the desfenders is an euident token of the body & blud of Christ.

Verily, when all your tale is told, ye seeme to say nothing else touching the eating of our Lords Body, but that the Body of Christ remaineth in Heauen, and that we must send vp our Soules thither, to eat it there by a certaine imagination which ye call Faith. For this is your Master Caluins Doctrine. By this Doctrine all standeth vpon your Faith: your faith doth all alone. And he that beleeueth in Christ, so as ye teach, eateth his Body, and drinketh his blood. For by your Gospell, to eat the Body is nothing else, but to beleeue in Christ. If this be true, then is your Supper superfluous.

Faith doth all. The Catholike Doctrine touching the Sacrament of the Altar.

For declaration of the truth herein, it is to be considered, that when we speak of this blessed Sacrament, we mean specially the thing receiued to be the very Reall body of Christ, not onely a Signe or token of his Body: yet we think it necessary, (e) the Doctrine of the Fathers be clearely taught: which is, that heere is a Sacrament, and the thing of the Sacrament. The (f) forme of Bread and Wine, which is seene, is the Sacrament, that is to say, a Signe of the holy thing. For a Sacrament, besides the outward shape which it representeth to the senses, causeth another thing to come into knowledge. The thing of this Sacrament is of two sorts, the one (g) in the same conteined and signified, the other signified, but not conteined. The first is the Body of Christ, borne of the Virgin Mary, and his Blood shed for our Redemption: The second is the Vnity of the Church, in those that be predestinate, called, iustified, and glorified. Which Church is Christs Body mystically. So that heer are three distinct things vnderstanded: The one is a Sacrament onely: the other a Sacrament and the thing: the third the thing and not a Sacrament. The first is the visible shape or forme of Bread and wine: the second is the proper and very Flesh and Blood of Christ, the third his Mysticall Body.

(e) Vntruth, contrary to the anciẽt fathers: read the Answer.

(f) Vntruth, without sense or sauour. No Catholike Father euer taught this peeuish Doctrine.

(g) Vntruth, and one of M. Hard. mystical dreams.

A threefold distinctiõ to be considered in the Doctrine of this Sacrament.

And as there bee two things of this Sacrament, so be there also two meanes or waies of eating: The one Sacramentall, after which both good and (h) euill eat the true body of Christ: they to saluation, these to damnation. The other Spirituall, after which the good onely doe eat. These Defenders, as all other the Sacramentaries speaking of these distinct things indistinctly, cause confusion, and deceiue the vnlearned Reader. In such a sense and meaning the place commonly alledged out of S. Augustine, as also many other the like, may well be vnderstanded, without preiudice of the Truth of Christs body in the Sacrament: *Vt quid paras dentem & ventrem? Crede, & manducasti*: To what purpose makest thou ready teeth and belly? Beleeue, and thou hast eaten. Now these Defenders harring onely vpon this one string of Spirituall eating, and shunning the Faith of the Catholike Church touching the True Presence of the Body, and violently wresting the Holy Scripture and Ancient Fathers to a contrary sense, admitting Figures for truth, Tropes for the Letter, Shadows for Things, play vs many a false lesson, and teach horrible lies, to the vtter subuersion of those that be lead by them.

(h) Vntruth, horrible and heathenish.

Indistinct speaking of distinct things.

All this is onely M. Hardings descant. We admit Figures for Figures, and Truth for Truth.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Reall Presence.

Heere is no mention (saith M. Harding) of Reall Presence: **and thereupon he plaieth vs many a proper Lesson. Notwithstanding, heere is as much mention made of Reall Presence, as either** Christ, **or his Apostles euer made: or in the Primitiue Catholike Church of God was euer beleeued.**

M. Harding fol. 339. b.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. *S. Ambrose* saith: Thou which receiuest the flesh of Christ art made partaker in that food of his diuine substance. But if it were bread which we receiue at Christs Supper, in that food of Bread we should not be made partakers of the Diuine Substance, &c. Chrysostome saith: *Vasa non sunt capacia illius quem in se habent: non sentiunt illum: nos verò plenè.* The Vessels be not partakers of him, nor feel him whom they conteine: but we doe truely, &c. Leo saith: Yee ought so to Communicate of the Holy Table, that ye doubt nothing at all of Christs Body and Blood: *Hoc enim ore sumitur, quod Fide Creditur*: For that thing is taken in my mouth, which is beleeued in Faith, &c. These are such testimonies that can neuer bee auoided by any Answer. *The Answer.* Whether these Testimonies may be answered, or no, **I doubt not but it may soone appeare. But first, M. Harding, it may please you to remember, that the Authour that beareth the name of** Chrysostome **saith thus:** In sacris Vasis non est verum Corpus Christi, sed Mysterium

340. b.

Addition. ☞

Chrys. in Opere Imperfecto, Homil. 11.

Mysterium Corporis eius continetur: *The very Body of* Christ *is not in the Holy Vessels, but the Sacrament of that Body is therein conteined.* Heere haue we Chrysostome against Chrysostome: The one saith, Christs Body is in the Vessels: The other saith, Christs Body is not in the Vessels. And as touching the mouth, S. Augustine saith, *The Body of* Christ *requireth the hunger of the inward man: By inward drinking I am blessed: This Bread entereth not into the belly: To beleeue in* Christ, *that is to eat the Bread of Life.* Thus wee see, that Christs body is in the Vessels, and yet not in the Vessels: In the Mouth, and yet not in the mouth. These Contradictions may easily be reconciled, if a man be acquainted with the phrases of the Ancient Writers. For further resolution whereof, and for shortnesse of time, I will referre thee, gentle Reader, to that I haue otherwhere written touching the same. There shalt thou finde, that as Chrysostome saith heere, Christs *Body is in the Vessels*, euen so Athanasius saith, *Our Lord is in the words of the Scriptures:* S. Augustine saith: *Holy men receiue* Christ *in their hands, and in their forehead:* S. Chrysostome saith: *The Priest beareth the Holy Ghost:* S. Augustine saith: *The people is laid vpon the Communion Table: The people is in the Cuppe:* S. Gregory saith: Abel *by signification bare* Christ *in his hands.* These and other like phrases are there alleged. Thus is Christs body present, not Really, nor in Substance, but onely in Mystery. Thus Chrysostome saith: Christs *Body is in the Communion Vessels:* Thus Leo saith: *The same Body is in the mouth of the Faithfull.* Now if M. Harding will gather of Chrysostome, that Christs *Body is Really present in the vessels*, or of Leo, *that the same Body is Really present in the mouth:* then must he likewise gather of these other Fathers, That God is really present in the words of the Scripture: That Christ is Really present in our foreheads: That the Holy Ghost is Really present in the Bason: That the people is Really laid vpon the Holy Table, or Really present in the Cup: And that Abel bare Christ Really in his hands. Such and other like absurdities, M. Harding, must néeds follow of your Doctrine. But Gregorius Nyssenus saith: Abusiuè aliquid in aliquo loco esse dicimus, propter operationem eius quæ ibi est. Cùm enim dicere deberemus, Ibi operatur, dicimus, ibi est: *We say, that a thing is in some place, by an abuse of speech, in respect of the effect of some thing, that there is wrought. For, whereas we should say, There it worketh, we say, There it is.* Thus we say, The Moone is in the Head, or, in the Leg: And our words are true: and yet indeed Substantially, and Really the Moone is neither in the one part, nor in the other. And this is it that Chrysostome saith: *The very Body of* Christ *is not in the Communion Vessels: but the Sacrament thereof, is there contained.*

Reall presence.

Defens. part. 2. ca. 14. Di. 45.

Gregor. Nyssenus, de Anima, Cap. 11.

But S. Ambrose saith: *In receiuing the Sacrament, wee are made partakers of the Diuine Substance.* This (say you) could not be, if there remained Bread in the Sacrament. And why so, M. Harding? Are not we partakers of the same Diuine Substance in the Sacrament of Baptisme. *S.* Augustine saith: *By Baptisme we are incorporate into* Christ, *and are made One Body with his Body.* Leo saith: Corpus Regenerati, sit Caro Crucifixi: *The Body of him, that is new borne in Baptisme, is made the Flesh of* Christ *Crucified,* that is to say, Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone. And, what greater participation of the Diuine Substance can you desire? Yet neuertheless, the very Substance of Water remaineth still. Euen so notwithstanding we be made partakers of the Diuine Substance of Christ, in the receiuing of the Holy Mysteries, yet the Substance of Bread, therein remaineth still. And for asmuch as yée would proue by these words of *S.* Ambrose, that Christ is present in the Sacrament; the same S. Ambrose also saith, that Christ *is likewise present in the water of Baptisme.* Thus he saith: Crede Diuinitatis illic esse Præsentiam. Operationem credis? Non credis Præsentiam? Vide sequeretur Operatio, nisi præcederet antè Præsentia? &c. Crede adesse Dominum Iesum inuocatum precibus Sacerdotum. Ait, vbi fuerint duo, vel tres, ibi & ego sum. Quantò magis vbi est Ecclesia, vbi Mysteria sua sunt, ibi dignatur suam impartire Præsentiam? *Beleeue thou, that there* (in the Sacrament of Baptisme) *is the Presence of the Godhead. Beleeuest thou the working? and beleeuest thou not the Presence? How could the working follow, vnlesse the Presence went before? Beleeue thou, that our Lord Iesus is present* (at the Baptisme) *being called vpon by the Praiers of the Priests.* Christ *saith, Whereas be two or three, there am I. How much more will hee vouchsafe to offer his Presence, whereas his Church is, and whereas are the Mysteries* (of his Baptisme?) Now M. Harding, as Christ is Present, in the one Sacrament, euen so, and none otherwise, is hee Present in the other.

Aug. de Baptismo parunlor. Leo de passione Dom. Serm. 4.

Ambros. de his qui initiant. cap. 2. Cap. 5.

But Leo saith: *The same thing is receiued by the mouth, that is beleeued by our Faith.* These words, as Leo meant them, are very true: but as you would handle them by your Constructions they are most vntrue. Leo in that place disputeth against the Heretike Eutyches, whose errour was this: That Christs Body after his Ascension was wholly changed into his Godhead, and that therefore now he hath no body at all. Against him

Reall Preſence.

Leo reaſoneth thus: *The very Sacrament of* Chriſts *Body, which thou receiueſt with thy mouth, is ſufficient to reproue thee. For if* Chriſt, *being now in Heauen, haue no Body at all, how can this be a Sacrament of his Body?* In like ſort Chryſoſtome diſputeth againſt certaine other Heretikes, that ſaid, Chriſt died not vpon the Croſſe. Nam quando dicunt, &c. *When they ſay, How may it appeare that* Chriſt *was crucified? beſides many other Argu-*

Chryſ. in Mat. Homil. 83. *ments, we bring foorth the Myſteries, and ſtop their mouthes. For if* Chriſt *died not, whoſe Figure, whoſe Signe or remembrance is this Sacrifice?* Cuius Symbolum ac Signum eſt hoc Sacrificium? As if he would reaſon thus: *The Sacrament is a remembrance of* Chriſts *death, Therefore it is euident that* Chriſt *hath died.*

Likewiſe Tertullian reaſoneth againſt the Heretike Marcion, that ſaid, Chriſt had neuer any Body at all, but only a vaine ſhew, or a likelineſſe of a Body: Chriſt (ſaith he)

Tertull. contra Marcion. li. 4. *ſaid thus: This is my Body, that is to ſay, This is a Figure of my Body. It could not be a Figure, vnleſſe* Chriſt *indeed had a Body. For a vaine ſhew, or a likelineſſe, can beare no Figure.* Thus reaſoneth Tertullian: Chriſtus, acceptum panem, & diſtributum Diſcipulis, corpus ſuum illum fecit, Hoc eſt corpus meum, dicendo, id eſt, Figura corporis mei: Figura autem non fuiſſet, niſi veritatis eſſet corpus. Cæterùm vacua quod eſt Phantaſma Figuram capere non poſſet.

Euen ſo ſaith Leo vnto Eutyches: *Thou ſaiſt that* Chriſt *hath no Body: But the very Sacrament that thou receiueſt reprooueth thee. For the thing that thy mouth receiueth is the ſame that thou beleeueſt by thy Faith:* That is to ſay, *It is a Sacrament of that thing that thou beleeueſt by thy Faith.* We beleeue, that Chriſt was Borne in the very Subſtance of our Body: that he Died: that he was Buried: that he Roſe againe: that he aſcended into Heauen in the ſame Body: and that he ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father. The

Gelaſius contra Eutychen. Sacrament of that Body is it that we receiue with our mouthes. So ſaith Gelaſius: Hoc nobis in ipſo Domino ſentiendum eſt, quod in eius imagine profitemur: *Wee muſt thinke the ſame of* Chriſt *our Lord that we profeſſe in* (the Sacrament, which is) *his image. Wee muſt thinke the ſame,* he ſaith: and yet if we goe preciſely to the matter, we may in no

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 80. wiſe *thinke the ſame.* So ſaith S. Auguſtine: Aqua corpus tangit, & cor abluit: *The water* (of Baptiſme) *toucheth the Body, and waſheth the heart.* Yet is it not the Water indeed that waſheth the heart. The Water is a Sacrament of Gods grace: and that is it that waſheth the heart. So ſaith Leo in another place, ſpeaking likewiſe of the Sacrament: Tranſimus in quod ſumimus: *Wee are changed into the ſame thing that wee receiue.* Yet, I trow, M. Harding, you will not ſay, We are changed into the Sacrament: But we are changed into Chriſts Body, that is repreſented by the Sacrament.

This anſwer is plaine, and agreeable to the Articles of our Faith, and to the generall Doctrine of the Catholike Fathers. And theſe are the Teſtimonies which M. Harding ſaith, Can neuer be auoided by any anſwer while the World ſtandeth.

M. Harding. fol. 341. b. Farther he ſaith: What reaſon, or Scripture haue yee, that a peece of Bread, and a Cuppe of Wine can ſet the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt, as it were, before your eies? Verily, when all your tale is told, yee ſeeme to ſay nothing elſe, but that the Bodie of Chriſt remaineth in Heauen, and that we muſt ſend vp our Soules thither, to eat it there by a certaine Imagination, which ye call Faith.

Here ye doe great wrong, M. Harding, to call the Faith of Chriſt, an Imagination, or, as I trow ye meane, a Fanſie. S Paul ſaith: Fides eſt ſubſtantia rerum ſperandarum: *Faith is* (not an Imagination, but) *the* ſubſtance *and ground of the things that wee hope for.* If ye trauel once againe to Rome, being thus farre inſtructed already, ye will eaſily learne the leſſon that one of your late Popes there, as it is reported, taught his Cardinals: O quantùm nobis profuit illa Fabula de Chriſto!

That we ought to ſend vp our Faith into Heauen, and there to embrace the Bodie of

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 50. Chriſt, it is S. Auguſtines Doctrine: it is not ours. Theſe be his words: Dices, Quomodo tenebo Chriſtum abſentem? Quomodo in Cœlum manum mittam, vt ibi ſedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, & tenuiſti. Parentes tui tenuerunt carne: tu tene corde: *Thou wilt ſay, How ſhall I hold Chriſt being* abſent? *How ſhall I reach my hand into Heauen, that I may hold him* ſitting there? Send vp thy faith, *and thou holdeſt him. Thy Fathers* (the Iewes) *held him in the fleſh:* Hold him thou in thy heart.

But foraſmuch as M. Harding thought it ſufficient, ſo pleaſantly to paſſe ouer this matter with his Imaginations and Fanſies, I thinke it therefore ſo much the more needfull to ſhew the iudgement of the Ancient Learned Fathers in this behalfe.

Aug. de Trinit. lib. 13. cap. 1. First therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: Rerum abſentium, præſens eſt Fides: & rerum quæ foris ſunt, intus eſt Fides: & rerum quæ non videntur, videtur Fides: *Of things that bee* Abſent, *Faith is preſent: of things that be without, Faith is within: and of things that be not*

Aug. in Pſ. 75. *ſeene, Faith is ſeene.* Againe he ſaith: Cùm non obliuiſcimur munus Saluatoris, nonne nobis quotidiè Chriſtus immolatur? Ex ipſis reliquijs cogitationis noſtræ, id eſt, ex ipſa memoria

memoria, Christus quotidiè nobis sic immolatur, quasi quotidiè nos innouet: *When we forget not the gift of our Saniour, is not* Christ *offered vnto vs euery day? Of the very* remnants of our thoughts, *that is to say, of our very* memory, Christ *is so daily offered vnto vs, as though he renewed vs euery day.*

Faith Eateth.

And the more liuely to expresse this matter, S. Hierome saith: Tibi Conuiuium Christus est: Cogitatio Christus est: Gaudium Christus est: Desiderum Christus est: Lectio Christus est: Quies Christus est: Christ *is thy Banket*: Christ *is thy thought*: Christ *is thy Ioy*: Christ *is thy Desire*: Christ *is thy Reading*: Christ *is thy Rest*. Likewise S. Ambrose: In animis vestris quotidiè pro Redemptione Corporis Christus offertur: In your mindes Christ *is daily offered for the Redemption of the body.*

Hieron. de 7. Ordinib. Eccl. De gradu. 7. Ambr. de Virginib. lib. 2.

And to passe ouer others, for that it pleaseth M. Harding to make himselfe such mirth with Imaginations: Euthymius a Greeke Author, writing purposely of this matter, saith thus: Non oportet simpliciter ea intueri, sed aliud quiddam imaginari, & interioribus oculis ea perspicere, tanquam Mysteria: *We may not looke barely vpon these things*, (that is, vpon the Bread and Wine) *but must therof* imagine *some other matter, and behold the same with our* inward *Spirituall* eies, *as it is meete to beholde Mysteries.* This spirituall Imagination, this Hauing, this Holding, this Enioying of Christ, it liketh well M. Harding in his pleasance, to scorne as a fantasie. But S. Augustine saith: Magis sunt illa, quæ intelligimus, quam ista quæ cernimus: *the things that we* vnderstand (or imagine by Faith) *are more certaine then the things that we see* with our eies.

Euthym. in Iohan. cap. 9.

Aug. epist. 117.

Neither may you thinke, M. Harding, that, these things being granted, the Ministration of the holy Supper would be superfluous. For these two kinds of Eating must euermore necessarily be ioined together. And whosoeuer commeth to the holy Table, and aduanceth not his mind vnto Heauen, there to feede vpon Christs Body at the Right hand of God, he knoweth not the meaning of these Mysteries, but is void of vnderstanding, as the Horse or the Mule, and receiueth onely the bare Sacraments to his condemnation. Therefore the Mysticall Supper of Christ, notwithstanding this Doctrine, is not superfluous: but your Transubstantiation, your Reall Presence, and a great part of this your idle talke is most vaine, and most superfluous.

But ye say, How can Bread and Wine bring vs to the hope of Resurrection or of Euerlasting Life? And why may not a man in like maner demand of you, how can a few drops of cold Water bring vs to the hope of Resurrection? If Water may doe it, why may not Bread and Wine likewise doe it?

Touching the Water, S. Basil saith, Baptismus est Potentia dei ad Resurrectionem: *Baptisme is the* Power of God *to Resurrection.* Againe he saith: Resurrectionis Gratiam in Die Resurrectionis recipiamus: *Vpon the Day of Resurrection, let vs receiue* (Baptisme, which is) the Grace of Resurrection. S. Hierome saith: Non solùm propter Remissionem Peccatorum Baptizamur, Sed etiam propter Resurrectionem Carnis nostræ: *We are Baptized not onely for Remission of Sinnes, but also for the* Resurrection of our Flesh. And therefore the Greekes call Baptisme, ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, that is, the Weede of immortality.

Basil. de Sancto Baptismo. Hieronym. in 1. Cor. 15. Dionys. cap. 2.

Here, M. Harding, it were some point of skill to shew vs, how so great power may be in so little Water. Howbeit it is not the Water indeed, that worketh the force of Resurrection, but the Blood of Christ, that is signified by the Water. And therefore S. Ambrose saith: Baptismus Resurrectionis Pignus, & imago est: *Baptisme is the* Pledge *and* Image *of Resurrection.* Likewise Ignatius: Credentes in Mortem eius, per Baptisma participes Resurrectionis eius efficimur; *Beleeuing in the Death of* Christ, by Baptisme, *wee are made partakers of his resurrection.* The like we say of the holy Supper. Neither is M. Harding able to shew vs any sufficient cause to the contrary, but Wine or Bread may haue this power, as well as Water. Of this whole matter wee shall speake hereafter more at large.

Ambr. in epist. ad Rom. cap. 6. Ignatius ad Trallianos.

But if Bread and Wine, as M. Harding saith, haue no power to worke Resurrection, what power then can his Accidents and empty Formes haue to worke the same? For, as touching the Body of Christ it selfe, his owne Doctors could haue told him, that it entreth not into our Bodies. For thus it is noted, and published for sound and certaine Doctrine vpon the Decrees: Certum est, quòd quàm citò Species terentur dentibus, tam citò in Cœlum rapitur Corpus Christi: *It is certaine, and out of doubt, that as soone as the Accidents or Formes are touched with the teeth, straightway the* Body of Christ is taken vp into Heauen.

De Cons. Dist. 2. Tribus gradib. in Glossa.

Hereof we may reason thus: Christs Body is suddenly taken vp into Heauen, and is not receiued into our Bodies: and that, as it is noted here, is true and certaine. The Bread and Wine, by M. Hardings Doctrine, are vtterly consumed, no part of the Substance thereof remaining: there is nothing left there, but Formes and Accidents. Hereof

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it must nœds follow, by this Doctrine, that the same bare Formes and Accidents, being receiued into our Bodies, haue power to worke our Resurrection. But it is well knowne and confessed in all Schooles, that the Substance is better and worthier, then is the Accident. Therefore we may conclude thus: The Accident of Bread may doe it: *Ergo*, the Substance of Bread may much more doe it.

For the rest, M. Harding saith, The Substance of the Bread is quite remoued; The roundnes and whitenesse are the Sacrament; The thing thereof is of two sorts; The one contained and signified, the other signified and not contained. These Mysticall fancies may lie still, vntill M. Harding by some authority, other then his owne, haue proued them better. True it is, that M. Harding saith, Betwæne the Sacrament, and the thing it selfe, that is to say, betwæne the Sacrament, and the Body of Christ represented by the Sacrament, there is great difference. For indeed and verily, and in precise maner of speech, nether is Christs Body the Sacrament: nor is the Sacrament Christs Body.

Aug. epist. 23. ad Bonifacium. S. Augustine saith, as it is alledged before: Nisi Sacramenta similitudinem quandam earum rerum, quarum Sacramenta sunt, haberent, omninò Sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plærunque rerum ipsarum nomina accipiunt. Itaque secundùm quendam modum Sacramentum Corporis Christi, Corpus Christi est: *Vnlesse* Sacraments, *had a certaine likenesse of the things wherof they be* Sacraments, *without question they were no* Sacraments. *And in consideration of this likenesse, oftentimes they beare the names of the things themselues. Therefore* after a certaine maner of speech (and not otherwise) the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, is Christs Body.

Articulo, 21. *De Cons. Dist. 2. Non iste.* Hereof I haue written more at large, as occasion was offered, in my Former Reply to M. Harding. S. Ambrose noting this difference, saith thus: Non iste Panis, qui vadit in ventrem: sed Panis Vitæ Æternæ, qui animæ nostræ Substantiam fulcit: Not this Bread (of the Sacrament) *that passeth into the belly: but* (the Body of Christ it selfe, which is) the Bread of Euerlasting life: *which relieueth the Substance of our Soule*, and is signified by the Sacrament.

Rabanus lib. 1. cap. 31. Rabanus Maurus saith: Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud vis Sacramenti. Sacramentum in Corporis alimentum redigitur: Virtute Sacramenti Æternæ vitæ dignitas adipiscitur: *The* Sacrament *is one thing: The* Power of the Sacrament, *is an other thing. The* Sacrament *is changed into the foode or nourishment of the Body: by the* Vertue of the Sacrament, *is gotten the dignity of Euerlasting Life.*

Chrys. in Mat. Homil. 1. Likewise S. Chrysostome: In sacris Vasis, non ipsum Corpus Christi, sed Mysterium Corporis eius continetur: *In the holy Vessels is conteined*, not the very body of Christ it selfe, *but* a Mystery, *or* Sacrament of his body.

Difference betweene &c.

So great difference there is betweene the Sacrament and the Body of Christ. The Sacrament passeth into the Belly: Christs Body passeth into the Soule. The Sacrament is vpon Earth: Christs Body is in Heauen. The Sacrament is corruptible: Christs Body is glorious. The Sacrament is the Signe: Christs body is the thing Signified. For want of this distinction M. Harding wandreth blindly in the darke, hee woteth not whither. Therefore S. Augustine saith, speaking purposely hereof: Ea demum est miserabilis animæ seruitus, signa pro rebus accipere: *This a miserable bondage of the Soule, to take the Signes in stead of the things that be signified.*

August. de Doctrina Christian. lib 3. cap. 5.

Whether, and in what sense the wicked may be said, to eat the Body of Christ, it shall be discussed hereafter more at large.

As for M. Hardings ordinary Conclusion, Of wresting the Scriptures, and Hoy Fathers: Of Playing false Lessons: Of teaching (as he saith) horrible Lies: and of subuerting the people, with all other the like furniture, we will leaue it freely and wholly vnto the Author.

The Apologie, Chap. 12. Diuision 2.

To this Banket we thinke the People of God ought to be earnestly bidden, that they may all Communicate among themselues, and openlie declare and testifie both the godly society, which is among them, and also the hope, which they haue in Christ Iesus. For this cause, if there had been any, which would be but a looker on, and abstain from the Holy Communion, him did the Old Fathers and Bishops of Rome in the Primitiue Church, before Priuate Masse came vp, excommunicate, as a wicked person, and as a Pagan. Neither was there any Christian at that time, which did Communicate alone, whiles other looked on. For so did Calixtus in times past decree, that after the Cõsecration was finished, al

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should Communicate, except they had rather stand without the Church dores. For thus (saith he) did the Apostles appoint, and the same the holy Church of Rome keepeth still.

The best Dish.

M. Harding.

Let this Banket be dight as it ought to be; let the best dish be made ready in due sort, which is the very Body of our Sauior Christ; let the guests be told what is set before them at that holy Table; let them be taught to beleeue rightly, to proue & prepare themselues as behooueth; then we think it most conuenient the people of God to be bidden thereto; not thereby to communicate amongst themselues only, but also, and rather to Communicate with God, to be incorporate in Christ, and to be made Partakers of all the benefits of God procured to man by the death of his Son, suffered in that Body, which at this high feast they eat. This Banket being thus set forth, if some deuout persons think themselues for good causes vnworthy to assay thereof, and to receiue that heauenly food Sacramentally, finding themselues not so wel prepared, as S. Paul requireth in that behalfe, yet for loue of it desire to be present, & behold that Table, and spiritually to tast of that healthfull Dish by Faith, Charity, Prayer, and feruent Deuotion, wherin they do not wholy abstaine from the holy Communion; such (a) are not to be condemned as idle lookers on, for so ye make them, nor to be driuen out of the Church. Neither did euer the Old Fathers and Bishops of Rome in the Primitiue Church (say what ye wil Defenders) excommunicate them, much lesse did they repute them for (b) wicked persons and Pagans. And (c) not seldome the Priest at the Masse (which for this respect with vnreasonable Nouelty ye terme Priuate) where none other were disposed to receiue with him Sacramentally, but Spiritually onely, hath receiued alone the holy things, which he hath offered.

Deuout lookers on do spiritually Communicate.

Calixtus alleged for Anacletus.

Neither the decree of Anacletus, which ye, being deceiued by Gratian, (d) vntruly father vpon Calixtus requireth that (d) all the people present should Communicate with the Priest at the Masse. Which thing ye should not haue obiected to the Church, seing that it is not obserued by your own New Order in your Congregations. Read the Epistle of Anacletus, frō whence this Decree is taken, & your selues will confesse the same. That holy Father & Martyr prescribeth the Order, which he would to be kept, when Bishops or Priests say Masse: Which was, that it be done in places consecrated to God, that a Bishop at his Masse haue witnesses with him moe then another Priest. In the (d) solemn feasts he requireth Seuen, Fiue, or Three Deacons, likewise Subdeacons, and other Ministers, al clothed in hallowed Vestiments to attend vpon him, to stand of euery side of him with a contrite hart, and humble spirit looking downward, keeping him from malitious mē, giuing consent to his Sacrifice. Thus much being declared in that Epistle, it followeth immediately, *Peracta autem Consecratione, &c.* And when the Consecration is ended, let them all Communicate, that will not be kept without the Church doores. For so the Apostles haue ordained, and the holy Church of Rome obserueth. Who seeth not this request of receiuing the Communion to be referred (e) to the Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons and other Ministers, in solemne feasts, seruing the Bishop at Masse? For in that place Anacletus speaketh neuer a word expresly of the Lay people. Therefore ye deceiue the vnlearned Reader with a lie.

The Defenders require more of the Catholikes then thy performe themselues.

The place of Anacletus discussed.

This Commandement of receiuing the Communion giuē by Anacletus pertaineth only to the Ministers of the Church in solemne Feasts.

See the 9. Canon of the Apostles.

For the better vnderstanding of the Decree, specially whereas Anacletus allegeth the Apostles ordinance for the same, the ninth Canon of the Apostle is to be considered. In which they require (f) euery Ecclesiasticall person to be partaker of the Sacrifice that is offered, or to be excluded from the Communion, vnlesse he shew iust cause for the contrary. The reason wherof in that Canon expressed is this: Least the Clerks abstaining from the Communion, should be occasion of offence to the people, and ther by raise an euill suspition against him that Sacrificed, as though hee had not made the Oblation as it ought to be.

(a) Vntruth. For the Catholike Fathers condēned them.

(b) Vntruth. For S. Chrysostome calleth them, *impudentes & improbos Ad Ephes. Homil. 3.*

(c) Vntruth, coluly auouched. Read the Answer.

(d) Vntruths three together, as shall appeare.

(e) Vntruth, plain, and manifest. Read the Answer.

(f) Vntruth. For in the Apostles Canon it is written thus: *Quicunq; Fideles ingrediuntur in Ecclesiam, &c. Canone 10.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Let this banquet be dight (saith M. Harding) as it ought to be: Let the Dish be made ready. God Christian Reader, the best, the holesomest, the most pleasant, and most comfortable dish at this Table, is the Death of Christ, that Lambe of God, that hath taken away the sinnes of the world. Thus Christ himself, the Maister of this Feast, hath willed vs to diesse this Dinner: *Doe this* (saith he) *in remembrance of me.* Likewise S. Paul: *As often as ye shall eat of this Bread, and drinke of this Cuppe, yee shall shew foorth and publish the Lords Death vntill hee come.*

1. Cor. 11.

This Banket therefore is not the outward or bare Sacrament, but Christs very body and Blood, which are represented vnto vs by the Sacrament: And, as it is before alleged out of S. Ambrose, *It is not the* Bread (of the Sacrament) that passeth into the bellie, but the Bread of Euerlasting life, *which relieueth the Substance of the Soule.* Therefore S. Hierome saith: Iudaicas fabulas repellamus, & ascendamus cum Domino in Cœnaculum magnū stratum atque mundatum, & accipiamus ab eo sursum Calicem Noui Testamenti: *Let vs abandon from vs Iewish Fables, and let vs* Ascend *vp with our Lord into Heauen, into that great Parlar dreſt and made cleane*: and there aboue let vs receiue of him *the Cuppe of the New Testament.* In this sense S. Cyprian saith: Vident hæc Sacramenta Pauperes Spiritu, & hoc Vno contenti Ferculo, omnes huius mundi delicias aspernantur & possidentes Christum, aliquam huius mundi possidere supellectilem dedignantur: *The poore in Spirit see these* Sacraments, *and being contented with this* Only Dish, *they despise all other the deinty faires of the world: and hauing possession of* Christ, *they disdaine to possesse any worldly substance.* In like sort, speaking of the Birth of Christ, he saith thus: Ea quæ licita sunt & concessa, tangamus: & circà incunabula Saluatoris Prima Infantiæ eius Ferculà degustemus: *Let vs*

De Con. Dist. 2. Non iste. Hieronym. ad Hedibiam. in quæstione secunda.

Cyprian. de Cœna Domini.

Cyprian de Natuit. in prolog. Christi.

vs touch those things that be lawfull for vs to touch: and standing about the Cradle of our Sauiour, let vs tast of the First Dish of his Childhood. Likewise saith S. Augustin: Cæcus interius Panem Christum non videt. Et beatus est? Hoc non dicit, nisi pariter cæcus: *He that is blind in his heart within, seeth not* Christ *that is* our Bread. *And is he blessed? No man will say so, vnlesse it be one as blinde as he.*

Aug. in Psalmum, 57.

The best Dish.

But what maner of Feast is it that M. Harding prepareth for the people? How is it seasoned? How is it drest? First, by very vncourteous and vnciuill dealing, he withdraweth the one halfe, that is, the Cup of the New Testament, and reserueth it seuerally to himself: and yet would make the people beleeue, they haue the whole. And thus doth he, when he hath greatest company to sup with him, and when his feast is best furnished. Otherwise he suffereth his guests to stand alowe, and he consumeth all his prouision himselfe alone. Neither indeed hath he any thing to set before them, sauing onely a cold surcharge of dead Shewes, and dumbe Ceremonies: The poore people heareth nothing, vnderstandeth nothing, eateth nothing, drinketh nothing, tasteth nothing. They publish not the Lords Death: they know not the Lords Supper.

Suidas.

To such a Banquet Paleres the Juggler vsed sometimes to call his friends. There was great shew of variety, and plenty of all manner of Meats and Drinkes, the Table full: But when any of the guests, would haue touched any thing, it vanished suddenly away, and was turned to nothing. And so, when their eies were full, they put vp their knives, & rose a hungred. Euen thus M. Harding feedeth and feasteth the people of God, with Shewes and Ceremonies, and suffereth them in the meane while to sterue for hunger. Euen as the Prophet saith: *It shall be like the dreame of an hungry man. Behold he eateth and maketh merry: But when he is awake, his Soule is empty.*

Esai. 29.

Good men (saith M. Harding) withdraw themselues, and are contented to be present onely, and to stand by, but receiue not the Sacrament. But Chrysostome saith to such a good deuout man, *If thou stand by, and doe not Communicate, thou art* wicked, *thou art* shameleſſe, *thou art* impudent. *Thou wilt say,* I am vnworthy *to be partaker of the holy Mysteries. Then art thou* vnworthy *so be partaker of the Praiers. Thou must no more* stand heere, then one of the Nouices called Catechument, *that neuer was Christned.*

Chrys. ad Ephes. Homil. 3 Impudens, Improbus. *M. Harding 342. b.*

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. A wise man, as M. Iewell taketh himselfe to bee, would vnderstand, that, how earnestly soeuer Chrysostome speaketh, to prouoke, that were present, to Communicate, his words import a Counsell rather then a Precept. *The Answer.* I neede not to tell you, M. Harding, what you take your selfe to be. S. Chrysostome saith: *Whosoeuer standeth by, refusing to Communicate, is wicked and shameleſſe, and vnworthy to bee partaker of the Praiers after the Communion is ended, thou maiſt lawfully come and see: but while the Mysteries are present, depart thee hence. Thou maiſt no more be heer, than a* Catechumenus, *or a* Nouice, *that neuer was Baptized.* Do all these words import only a Counsel, M. Harding, and no Commandement? Anacletus saith: *Let them all Communicate, vnlesse they will be thrust out of the Church.* The Apostles in their Canons say thus: *Whosoeuer entreth into the Church, and heareth the Scriptures, and receiueth not the Communion, let him be Excommunicate, as a disturber of the Church, and a Breaker of Order.* Thomas of Aquine saith: Statutum fuit, vt Fideles quotidiè Communicarent: *It was a Decree, that the Faithfull should Communicate euery day.* It was a Decree, saith Thomas, It was an Ordinance, It was a Law, It was a Statute. Yet must we say for your pleasure, that matters of Excommunication, and Disturbance of the Church, Decrees, Laws, Ordinances and Statutes are onely Counsels, and no Commandements: Happy are you that haue such power to change the Nature of things, and so easily of Counsels to make Commandements, and of Commandements to make Counsels when you list. ☜

Addition. ☞

Chry. ad Ephes. Homil. 3.

De Consecra. Dist. 2. Peracti. Canon. 10.

Heere, gentle Reader, maist thou see a marueilous change in the Church of God. The thing, that in old times was accounted Heathenish, Impudency, and Wickednesse, is now, by M. Hardings new Diuinity, become Godlinesse, and great Deuotion.

Not seldome

But, God wote, heere followeth a very cold asseueration. Not seldome (yee say) the Priest at the Masse, when none other were disposed, receiued alone. O M. Harding, the World well seeth, your Word is no Gospell. It appeareth by your so many Untruths, yee care not greatly, what you say. Thus ye tell vs: Not seldome the Priest receiued alone. Not seldome? What is that? why speake ye so nicely? what meaneth this cold and doubtfull eloquence, specially in him that otherwise hath acquainted his voice to speake so big? why say you not, The Priest vsed Daily, and Commonly so to doe? Or, if ye could not awouch so great Untruth for very shame, why said you not, The Priest oftentimes, or at some certaine times receiued alone: at the least, at foure, or three, or two sundrie times, within the space of fiue hundred yeares? At the worst, if ye had said but Once, it had beene

bæne somewhat. As for, Not seldome, it is too base: it is too simple: it disgraceth the whole course of your pleading, and in plaine speech soundeth, as much, as Neuer. It had rather bæne your part, taking vpon you this countenance of credit and grauity, to haue told vs substantially and plainly, what manner of man this Priest was: where he dwelt: what was his name: when and where, and in what Company hæ said this Masse: who saw it: who heard it: who bare witnesse to it: by what Record or Authority it may bæ proued. The matter being so great, and of such Antiquity, is there no man left behind to witnesse the same, but M. Harding? In your former Answer ye bring vs in Boies, Girles, Sicke folke, Lay people, and Women: and vpon such grounds ye sticke not to found your Priuate Masse. And doubtlesse these examples might haue seemed to stand you in some prætie stead, if in those daies Boies and Women had beene Priests. For Priest or Bishop, that euer receiued the Sacrament alone in the Church, before the people, ye are not yet able to shew vs one. As for your Leontius, and Amphilochius, and S. Basils Masse at Midnight, and other like follies and fables, it seemeth by the silence ye vse in your late Reioinder, ye are contented wisely and quietly to giue them ouer.

Anacletus, Calixtus.

Ye say, We are deceiued by Gratian, and haue placed Calixtus in stead of Anacletus. Heere first of all, ye confesse, that Gratian your great Rabbin, the Father and Fountaine of your Decrees, might be deceiued. And verily such plainnesse in dealing, if ye would vouchsafe to vse it oftner, were worthy of some commendation. For indeed your Gratian, as he was a man of great reading and small iudgement, so he allegeth often times, he knoweth not what: Hierome for Origen: Cyprian, for Augustine: Beda, for Ambrose: Iuuencus, for Vincentius: Græke for Latine: New for Olde. As for this Authority, wherein you say, we are deceiued, he allegeth it in two sundrie places: first vnder the name of Anacletus: next vnder the name of Calixtus: meaning, I trow, if there were errour in the one, at least to redresse it by the other. Therefore M. Harding, if ye had loked better vpon your Booke, whatsoeuer opinion ye haue of Gratian your Doctour, ye should haue found, that we, for our part, were nothing deceiued. Howbeit, your Gratian, in stead of one errour hath made two. For indeed, as it is true, that these words were neuer written by Calixtus: so, of the other side, it is likewise true, they were neuer written by Anacletus: but were manifestly forged and falsified by others that followed afterward: as in my former Replie I haue declared more at large.

De Con. Dist. 1. Episcopus.

De Con. Dist. 2. Peralta.

Art. 4. Diui. 3.

But it is a world to see, what wiles and shifts these men can finde to beare out error. First (ye say) These words were spoken of the Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons seruing the Priest at Masse vpon solemne Feasts. Pardon mæ, M. Harding, to say the truth. For verily, notwithstanding this solemne tale, it seemeth, you know not what you say. For it may please you to remember, that your Anacletus, whose forged authority ye haue alleged, was Bishop in Rome in the time of S. Peter, shortly vpon the death of Christ, when the Church was euery where vnder persecution, and full of blood. Now, I pray you, who euer told you, either of any office, that your Subdeacons had in the holy Ministerie, or of any great high Holy daies, of Duplex, or magis Duplex, or principall Solemne Feast in the Church of God, in all that time? May we thinke, that the Blessed Virgins, and the Apostles daies were kept high and holy, while the same blessed Virgin and Apostles were yet aliue? Though ye had none other regard, either to God, or to your selfe, yet shame should force you to forese more aduisedly what you say.

But your greatest follie appeareth in the shifting and glosing of these words. For you say, This Calixtus or Anacletus speaketh only of the Priests, the Deacons and the Subdeacons: and neuer a word expresly of the Lay people: and therefore, ye say, we deceiue the vnlearned Reader with a lie. Touching your vncourteous speech, I weigh it none otherwise, but as it is. The truth will be able euermore to beare it selfe. But, that these words of Anacletus, or Calixtus touch not the Lay people, but only the Priests and the Ministers, the verie Glosser himselfe was neuer, either so vnskilfull, or so impudent so to say. For whereas the words be these, *Let them all* Communicate, *vnlesse they will be remoued out of the Church*, he setteth thereto this exposition, Hoc antiquum est: Nam hoc hodie relictum videtur arbitrio cuiuslibet: This was the olde maner: For now adaies it is free for euery man to doe therein, what he will.

De Con. Dist. 2. Peralta In Glossa.

The like Decree is found vnder the name of the Apostles Canons: Quicunque fideles ingrediuntur in Ecclesiam, & Scripturas audiunt, non autem perseuerant in Oratione, nec Sanctam Communionem percipiunt, velut qui ordinis perturbationem commouent, ab Ecclesiæ Communione arceri conuenit: *As many* (not only of the Priests and Ministers, but) of the Faithfull people, *as come into the Church, and heare the Scriptures, but continew not out the Praiers, nor receiue the holy Communion, let them be put from the Communion of the Church, as men that worke the breach of Order.* Likewise it is noted in the Margin vpon the same

Canon. Apost. Canon. 10.

Canon. Apost. Can. 9. in Margine. same Canons: Omnes olim, qui intererant, Communicabant: *In old times all* that were present, did Communicate. In the Councell of Antioch it was Decreed thus: Omnes, qui ingrediuntur in Ecclesiam Dei, & Sacras Scripturas audiunt, auersantur autem perceptionem Dominici Sacramenti, &c. Ab Ecclesia abicij oportet, &c. All, that come into the Church *of God, and heare the Holy Scriptures, and refuse the receiuing of the Lords Sacrament, let them be put from the Church.* These Decrees reach not onely to the Ministers of the Church, but also to the whole people.

Concil. Antiochen. Can 2.

Concil. Aquisgran cap. 70.

Clemens. epi. 2. Clemens, that was Bishop in Rome, as it is thought, next after this Anacletus, saith thus: Tanta in Altario Holocaustla offerantur, quanta populo sufficere debeant: *Let so many Loaues be offered at the Altar, as may suffice to serue* (not onely the Ministers, but also) *the people.*

Ambros. in 1. Cor. 11. S. Ambrose saith: Munus oblatum totius populi fit: quia in vno Pane omnes significantur. Per idem enim, quod vnum sumus, de vno Pane omnes sumere oportet: *The Oblation offered is made the whole peoples: for that in one Bread* all are signified. *For in that wee are all one,* we must all receiue of one Bread.

Chrysost in 2. Thess. Hom. 4. S. Chrysostome saith vnto the people: Neque nos abundantiùs, vos autem minùs, de Sacra mensa participamus: Sed pariter, & ex æquo illam vtrique degustamus: *Neither doe we receiue more, and you lesse of the holy Table: but wee taste thereof* equally both together. The like might be alleged out of S. Hierome, S. Augustine, Dionysius, and others.

Anacletus Calixtus.

But forasmuch as ye so bitterly tell vs, that wee misconstrue these words of Anacletus, and deceiue the vnlearned Reader with a Lie, may it therefore please you further to heare, what your owne late Scholasticall Doctors haue written and iudged in this behalfe.

Durandus in Rational. li. 4. cap. 55. Thomas of Aquine saith: In Primitiua Ecclesia, quando magna vigebat deuotio Fidei Christianæ, statutum fuit, vt Fideles quotidiè communicarent: *In the Primitiue Church, when great deuotion of the Christian Faith was in strength, it was ordained,* that the Faithfull should receiue the Communion euery day. Durandus saith: In Primitiua Ecclesia omnes Fideles quotid. è Communicabant: *In the Primitiue Church* all the Faithfull *daily receiued the Communion.*

Hugo Cardin. in Luc. cap. 24. Hugo Cardinalis saith: In Primitiua Ecclesia omnes, quotquot intererant Canoni Missæ, singulis diebus Communicabant. Et, si nollent Communicare, egrediebantur post Offertorium: *In the Primitiue Church,* as many as were present at the Canon of the Masse, *did daily Communicate: and, if they would not, they departed foorth after the Offertorie.*

If ye thinke these authorities are not sufficient, Iohannes Cochlæus saith: Omnes olim, tum Sacerdotes, tum Laici, cum Sacrificante Communicabant, sicut ex Canonibus Apostolorum, & ex Libris antiquissimorum Ecclesiæ Doctorum perspicuè cognoscitur. Hic vnicum hac de re Canonem recitabo, qui Calixto adscribitur Peracta, &c. *In olde times both all the Priests and* all the Lay people, *receiued the Communion with the Minister, that had made the Oblation: as it is plainely perceiued by the Canons of the Apostles, and by the Bookes of the ancient Doctours of the Church. One Canon heereof I will allege, written by* Calixtus, &c.

Iohan. Cochlæ. contra Musenl. De Sacrificio.

Iudocus Clichthoueus in Canon. Missæ. Likewise saith Iudocus Clichthoueus: In Primitiua Ecclesia Fideles quotidie sumebant Communionem, secundùm illam Calixti Sanctionem, Peracta, &c. *In the Primitiue Church* the Faithfull *receiued the Communion euery daie,* according to this Decree of Calixtus, &c.

Here you may see, not onely, that these words are alleged by your owne Doctors, vnder the name of Calixtus, wherein you haue noted so great an error, but also that the same words, by the iudgement of the same Doctors, are thought to pertaine no lesse to the Lay people, then to the Priest.

Now M. Harding, these things considered, I referre the indifferent iudgement hereof to your owne knowledge and conscience, whether of vs two hath deceiued the Reader with a Lie.

The Apology, Chap. 12. Diuision 3.

Moreouer, when the people commeth to the holy Communion, the Sacrament ought to be giuen them in Both kindes: for so both Christ hath commanded, and the Apostles in euery place haue ordained, and all the ancient Fathers and Catholike Bishops haue followed the same. And whoso doth contrarie to this, he (as Gelasius saith) committeth Sacriledge. And therefore wee say that our Aduersaries at this day, who hauing violently thrust out, and quite forbidden the Holy Communion, doe without the word of God, without the Authoritie of anie Ancient Councell, without anie Catholike Father, without anie Example of the Primi-

De Con. Dist. 2. Comperimus.

tiue

mitiue Church, yea and without reason also, defend and maintaine their Priuate Masses, **and the mangling of the Sacraments, and doe this not only against the plaine expresse Commandement of Christ, but also against al Antiquity, do wickedly therein, and are very Church-robbers.**

M. Harding.

Soft and faire, Masters. Yee shew more heat then wit, more stomacke then learning, more anger then reason. Ye say much, and proue little. But say ye, and say againe what ye will: we tell you boldly, that (a) neither Christ euer commanded, (a) nor the Apostles ordeined, (a) nor al the ancient Fathers obserued, that the Sacrament be giuen to the people none otherwise, but vnder both Kindes onely. If Christ had expresly commanded it, the Church (**of Rome**) had not so long time receiued and kept the vse of one Kinde. The Apostles, and sundry holy Fathers Ministred both Kindes, wee confesse. That the one Kinde was not also by them Ministred, and that it is vtterly vnlawfull, we deme, (b) and the same shall yee neuer be able to proue. Touching this whole point, and how little that ye allege out of Gelasius maketh for you, and concerning Masse not to be omitted for lacke of companie, to Communicate Sacramentally with the Priest: (c) I haue said enough in my answer to your fellow M. Iewell his challenge. Bring ye other stuffe, and better then this, or else all the world will see your halting, and the feeblenesse of your side. That we haue violently thrust out, and quite forbidden the Holy Communion, vnlesse yee meane your owne Schismaticall, mutable, and polluted Communion, if there were any sparke of shame, or hatred of lying in you, ye would neuer impute it vnto vs. God doth know, and the world is not vnwitting, (d) how much, how often, and how earnestly the Catholike Church exhorteth her Children to prepare themselues to receiue their (e) Maker. And though the people of England of late yeers reuorted not commonly thereto, yet the deuotion of Christian folke in this Country of Base Almaign, in France, in Italie, in Spaine, and in sundry other Christian Prouinces is so feruent in frequenting the Holy Communion, as if ye saw it, yee would bee ashamed of your slanderous report. Let wise men and good men iudge whether we be Church-robbers, or ye vnshamefast Liers.

Communion vnder both Kindes not commanded expresly by Christ, nor ordained by the Apostles.

An vnshamefast and slanderous lie.

(a) Vntruths, three together, boldly presumed

(b) To proue a Negatiue, it is a folly. But you shal neuer proue the affirmatiue.

(c) Certainly enough. For in the same two Articles ye haue vttered three-score and foure great Vntruths.

(d) Vntruth, so sensible and so grosse that a man may feele it with his fingers.

(e) Vntruth. No learned Father euer called the Sacrament his God or Maker.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Where nothing is answered, it were not amisse to replie nothing. If M. Harding can only vouchsafe to call vs slanderous Reporters, and Vnshamefast Liers: and the Lords Supper a Schismaticall, mutable, polluted Communion, **it is sufficient: the case needeth no farther proofe. To this whole matter M. Harding saith,** he hath sufficiently answered M. Iewell. **He hath answered, I grant: but how sufficiently, the matter it selfe will declare. Howbeit, he may not in any wise forget, that in the same two short Treaties to M. Iewell, conteining only two and forty little leaues of paper, he hath sent vs ouer and published threescore and foure notable and great Vntruths: whereof I thinke he hath no great cause so much to glorie.**

Institution in Both Kindes.

He saith: That the Sacrament should bee deliuered to the people in Both Kindes, neither Christ commanded it, nor the Apostles euer ordeined it. **Thus M. Harding saith only because it liketh him thus to say. Yet his owne Catholike Doctours, and the Chiefe Champians of that side say far otherwise.** Gerardus Lorichius saith: Ipsius Sacramenti Institutio vult vt omnes vnà manducemus & bibamus: *The very* Institution *of the Sacrament it selfe willeth*, that we eat and drinke all together. *De Miss publica prouoganda.*

And Ruardus Tapper **the** Deane of Louaine **saith thus:** Habito respectu ad Sacramentum, eiusque perfectionem, magis conueniret, sub Vtraque specie fieri Communionem, quàm sub Altera tantùm Hoc enim magis consonum est eius Institutioni, & integritati, & refectioni corporali: imò, & exemplo Christi, & Patrum Primitiuæ Ecclesiæ: *Consideration had vnto the Sacrament, and to the perfection of the same, it were more conuenient that the Communion were Ministred vnder* Both Kindes, *then vnder* One alone. *For thus were more agreable to the* Institution, *and fulnesse thereof, and to the outward refection of the Body: Yea and to the example both of Christ, and also of the Fathers of the Primitiue Church.* *Cassander De Viraq; Specie, Pag.* 29.

Certainly these words of Christ, Drinke ye all of this: Doe this in my remembrance, **are very plaine words of commandement, and** Institution. **Therefore** Chrysostome **saith:** Et in Pane, & in Calice Christus dixit, Hoc facite in meam Commemorationem: Christ *both in the Bread, and* also in the Cuppe *said, Doe this in remembrance of mee.* *Chrysost. in* 1. *Cor. Hom.* 27.

Likewise Theophylactus: Tremendus Calix pari cunctis conditione traditus est: *The Reuerend Cuppe is in* equall maner *deliuered* to all. **And whereas** Christ **saith,** Drinke ye all of this, Paschasius **to make the matter the plainer putteth thereto these words:** Tam Ministri, quàm reliqui Credentes: *As well the Ministers, as the* rest of the Faithfull. **In like maner** S. Augustine **saith:** Simul hoc sumimus: simul bibimus: quia simul viuimus: *We receiue together:* we drinke together: *because we liue together.* *Theophylactus 1. Cor. 11.* *Paschasius.* *De Con. dist. 2. Quia passim.*

Addition. ☞

Addition. ☞ **M. Harding.** The literall sense of those words, Drinke ye all of this, was none other, then that the Cuppe should be diuided between all the twelue, in such sort, that two *M. Harding fol.* 34. *b.*

Institution in Both Kindes.

or three of them ſhould not drinke it vp, as thinking to haue it filled againe for the reſt. But that Peter ſhould ſo drinke, as to leaue ſome for Iohn: And Iohn ſo, as to leaue ſome for Andrew: And ſo euerie man to leaue ſome deale, till the very laſt man had drunke of that Cuppe, &c. *The Anſwer.* This is a manerly kinde of Diuinitie, and meet to bee noted by M. Harding for maners ſake.

M. Harding 344. b.

M. Harding. Paſchaſius in that place diſputeth of ſpirituall eating or drinking, and ſaith, that as well the Faithfull people as the Miniſters muſt drinke Spiritually of this Cuppe. *The Anſwer.* O good Reader, how long will M. Harding abuſe thy ſimplicity? Verily Paſchaſius in that place wrote only of the Sacrament, as M. Harding well knoweth. But hee ſaith: Solus Chriſtus eſt qui frangit hunc Panem: *It is* Chriſt *only that breaketh this Bread.* Will you therefore ſay, M. Harding, he ſpake not of the Sacrament? The next words following are theſe: Per manus Miniſtrorum diſtribuit credentibus: Chriſt *diuided the Cuppe vnto the Faithfull by the hands of the Miniſters.* I beſeech you, is this the Miniſtration of the Sacrament? Or what will you call it? Muſt Paſchaſius be forced to make Spirituall Miniſters, Spirituall Hands, Spirituall Cups, Spirituall Receiuers, Spirituall Beleeuers, and all Spirituall for your pleaſure? But Paſchaſius ſaith: Chriſt *breaketh this Bread.*

Aug. contra literas Petil. lib. 3. cap. 49. Chryſ. in Mat. Homil. 51.

So S. Auguſtine ſaith of the Sacrament of Baptiſme: *It is* Chriſt *that Baptizeth.* And Chryſoſtome ſaith: *It is not the Prieſt that Baptizeth thee. It is God himſelfe, that holdeth thy head.* Shall we therefore ſay, that theſe words belong nothing to the Sacrament of outward Baptiſme, but only to the inward and Spirituall waſhing of the Soule? Verely Paſchaſius is as cleere as the Sunne Beames. Conſider the whole circumſtance of the place. Hee ſpeaketh onely of the Sacrament. His words be euident: *Take, and Drinke yee all of this, as well the Miniſters, as the reſt of the Faithfull.* Leaue this Vanitie, M. Harding: It is meet for Children. Manlineſſe is more ſeemelie for a Man.

Notwithſtanding any Promiſe of Conſtancie made to the contrarie, yet, I truſt, M. Harding of his courteſie will beleeue either S. Chryſoſtome, or S. Auguſtine, or Theophylact, or Paſchaſius, or Lorichius, or Tapper, or his New Doctours, or the Old, or his owne, or others. Otherwiſe, if he be fully determined to beleeue no man, it is reaſon that no man beleeue him.

Heere haue we Chriſts Word, Chriſts Example, Chriſts Ordinance: The Tradition, Perfection, and Inſtitution of the Sacrament. Now let M. Harding ſhew vs the Authority of any one Ancient Father, either Greeke, or Latine, by whom it may appeare that Chriſt commanded the Sacrament to bee deliuered to the people in One kinde only; and not in Both: Or, that Chriſt appointed One Order of Receiuing the Sacrament for the Prieſt, and another for the people: and it ſhall be ſufficient: we will ſtriue no further.

Perhaps hee will ſay, notwithſtanding Chriſts words bee plaine, yet they are not of force ſufficient to binde vs for euer. For ſo writeth Cardinall Cuſanus touching the ſelfe ſame matter: Scripturæ ad tempus adaptantur, & variè intelliguntur, ita vt vno tempore ſecundum currentem Eccleſiæ ritum exponantur: mutato verò ritu, iterum ſententia mutetur: The Scriptures are applied to the ſtates of diuers times, and ſo are taken in diuers ſenſes: *So that at one time they are expounded according to the current order of the Church: but the order of the Church being changed, the ſenſe of the Scripture is likewiſe changed.* So S. Auguſtine ſaith of the Heretikes the Manicheis: Expendunt iſta, non in ſtatera æqua Diuinarum Scripturarum, ſed in ſtatera doloſa Conſuetudinum ſuarum: *They weigh theſe matters, not in the equall Balance of the Diuine Scriptures, but in the deceitfull Balance of* their owne Cuſtomes.

Nicola. Cuſan. Epiſt. 2. ad Bohæmos.

Auguſt. contra Epiſt. Parmenian. li. 3. ca. 2.

Hilar. de Trinitate, lib. 9.

Of the like ſort of Heretikes S. Hilarie ſaith: Qui ea quæ ſcripta ſunt negas, quid reſtat, niſi vt ea quæ non ſcripta ſunt, credas? *Seeing thou denieſt the things that be written in the Scriptures, what remaineth there, but that thou muſt beleeue ſuch things as be not written in the Scriptures?*

M. Harding Pag. 48. b. Leo Sermon 4. De Quadrageſima.

But where haue theſe men the Inſtitution of their Halfe Communion? Who ordeined it? Who commanded it? What Apoſtle, what ancient Doctour, what holy Father euer vſed it? M. Harding himſelfe was forced to confeſſe, by the report of Leo, that the firſt knowen Deuiſers and Authors of it were the Old Heretikes called the Manicheis. Such is the Inſtitution and Antiquity of their Doctrine. It ſprang firſt of Hereſie, and was founded by Heretikes.

De Conſ. Diſt. 2. Comperimus.

Touching Gelaſius, I haue alreadie in my Former Replie ſaid ſo much as then vnto me ſeemed ſufficient. The words be plaine enough of themſelues, and need no Commentarie: Aut integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur: Quia diuiſio

uiſio vnius eiuſdemque Myſterij ſine grandi Sacrilegio non poteſt peruenire : *Either let them receiue* the whole Sacraments (**in Both Kinds**) *or elſe let them bee driuen from* the whole. **By which wordes of Gelaſius it may appeare that whereſoeuer the Sacrament is Miniſtred in one kind onely, there is onely a peeced, or a** Halfe Communion, **and not the** whole.

Institution in Both Kindes.

Farther **M. Harding ſaith:** God doth know how much, how often, and how earneſtly the Catholike Church exhorteth her children to prepare themſelues to receiue their maker. **D. M. Harding, why ſhould you ſo fondly mocke the World with ſo manifeſt follies? By what words, by what examples erhort you theme When euer ſaid you as** Chryſoſtome ſaith to the people: *Depart ye hence: ye haue no more right to ſtand heere, then* Heathens *and* Infidels: *ye are* Wicked. *ye are* Shameleſſe: *ye are* Impudent, *that ſtand by, and will not Communicate?* **And if the Catholike Church** do ſo often, and ſo earneſtly exhort her children, **how is it then that the Pope and his Cardinals do ſo ſeldom Communicate, ſcarcely once thorow the yeere? May we thinke that the Pope and his Cardinals be not the children of the Church?**

Chryſo. ad Popul. Antioch. Homil. 61. *In Epiſt. ad Epheſ. Homil.* 3.

Laſt of al ye ſay, Ye exhort the people to receiue their Maker. I beſeech you, **M. Harding, what Scripture, what Father, what Doctour euer taught you thus to ſay? The Sacrament is a Sacrament: it is not God. It is the** Bread of our Lord, as S. Auguſtine ſaith: **it is not our Lord. It is a creature corruptible: it is not the** Maker of Heauen and Earth. **Accurſed is hee that giueth the name and glory of God vnto a creature that is no God.** S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Nolimus quæſo Creatorem cum Creatura confundere : ne illud audiamus, Seruierunt Creaturæ potiùs quàm Creatori : *Let vs not confound the Creature and the Creator both together : leſt it be ſaid of vs, They haue honoured a Creature more then their Maker.*

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 59.

Chry. in Iohan. Homil. 3.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ **M. Harding.** Good words, M. Iewell. Chriſt ſaith, He that eateth mee, ſhall liue for me. Was not he the Maker of Heauen and Earth? If he were, accurſed be he that denieth him ſo to be. *The Anſwer.* **Heereunto, M. Harding, we ſay, Amen. We know that** Chriſt is very God of very God **But deceiue not your ſelfe. We ſpeake now of the Sacrament of** Chriſt, and not of Chriſt. **The Sacrament is one thing, and** Chriſt **is another. We eat** Chriſt **onely by Faith: we eat the Sacrament only with the mouth of our Body. When** Chriſt **ſpake theſe wordes: *He that eateth me, ſhall liue by me*, he ſpake only of himſelfe to bee eaten ſpiritually by Faith: but he ſpake not one word there of the Sacrament. He that knoweth not this, knoweth nothing.**

M. Harding 345. *b.*

But S. Auguſtine, ſaith: *The Sacrament is called Life.* **What then? Yet he ſaith not, The Sacrament is called our** Maker. S. Paul ſaith : Petra erat Chriſtus: *The Rocke was* Chriſt. **Yet you may not ſo vnaduiſedly conclude heereof, that the ſame Rocke was the** Maker of the World. **Howbeit,** S. Auguſtine **ſaith: *The Sacrament of* Chriſts *Body was called Life:*** So he ſaith euen in the ſame place: *The Sacrament of Baptiſme was called,* Salus, *Saluation:* And S. Cyprian calleth the ſame, *The fountain of Life:* And S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: *The Baptiſme of* Chriſt, *is* Chriſts *Blood.* **This is no leſſe, then if they had ſaide, Baptiſme is Life. And yet none of them euer ſaid, The Water of Baptiſm is our** Maker. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Plus eſt Vnus Deus, quàm Vnus Baptiſmus. Neque enim eſt Baptiſmus Deus. Sed ideò magnum aliquid eſt, quia Sacramentum eſt Dei: *One God is more then one Baptiſme. For Baptiſme is not God. Yet is Baptiſme a great thing, becauſe it is a Sacrament of God.* **Good words therefore, M. Harding : and ſpare theſe Blaſphemies.** For Fulgentius ſaith : Veritatem Dei tenere, eſt Vnum Deum colere: Veritatem Dei in mendacium conuertere, eſt Creaturæ ſeruire: *To hold the truth of God, is to worſhip the Only God: To turn the Truth of God into a Lie, is to doe homage to a Creature.* ☜

M. Harding 346. *a.* *Aug. de Pecator. Merit. & Remiſſione, Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 24. *Cypria. de ſimplicitat. Prælat. Chryſo. ad Hebra. Hom.* 16. *Aug. de Vnico Baptiſmo. ca.* 5. *Fulgentius ad Donatum.*

The Apologie, Chap. 13. *Diuiſion* 1.

VVE affirm, that the Bread and Wine are the Holy & Heauenly Myſteries of the Body & Bloud of Chriſt, **and that by them** Chriſt **himſelfe, being the true** Bread of Eternall Life, **is ſo preſently giuen vnto vs, as that by Faith we verily receiue his Body and Blood. Yet ſay we not this ſo as though we thought that the Nature and Subſtance of the** Bread and Wine **is cleerly changed, and goeth to nothing: as many haue dreamed in theſe latter times, and yet could neuer agree among themſelues vpon their owne Dreames. For that was not** Chriſts **meaning, that the** Wheaten Bread **ſhould lay apart his owne Nature, and receiue a certaine new Diuinity: but that he might rather** Change **vs, and (to vſe**

Theophylactes words) might Transforme vs into his Body. For what can be said more plainly, then that which Ambrose saith: Bread and Wine remaine still the same they were before: and yet are changed into another thing: Or, that which Gelasius saith: The Substance of the Bread, or the Nature of the Wine, ceaseth not to bee: Or, that which Theodoretus saith: After the Consecration the Mysticall Signes do not cast off their owne proper Nature: for they remaine stil in their former Substance, Form and Kind: Or, that which Augustine saith: That which ye see is the Bread and Cup, and so our eies do tell vs: but that which your Faith requireth to bee taught, is this: The Bread is the Body of Christ, and the Cuppe is his Blood: Or that which Origen saith: The bread which is sanctified by the word of God, as touching the materiall Substance thereof, goeth into the Belly, and is cast out into the priuy: Or that which Christ himselfe said, not onely after the blessing of the Cuppe, but also after hee had Ministred the Communion: I will drinke no more of this fruit of the Vine? It is well knowne that the fruit of the Vine is Wine, and not Blood.

In Iohan. ca. 6. De Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 4. Gelas. contra Eutychetem. In Dialog. 1. & 2. In Sermon. ad Infantes. In Mat. Hom. 15.

M. Harding.

In this Sacrament, after Consecration, the Substance of Bread and Wine being turned into the Substance of the Body, and Blood of Christ, the * outward Formes of Bread and Wine, which remaine, are the Sacraments of holy things, the Body and Blood of Christ.

What is the wee call hee & heauenly Mysteries

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

*Vntruth. No Doctour or Father euer taught such vain follies

Substance, Accidents.

In euery naturall thing, two things are specially to be considered: the Substance, and the Accident, or, as M. Harding calleth it, the outward Forme. For example. In Bread the Materiall thing that feedeth vs, and is changed into the Blood, and nourishment of our Bodies, is called the Substance of the Bread: The Whitenesse, the Roundnesse, the Thicknesse, the Swetnesse, and other the like, that are perceiued outwardly by our senses, are called Accidents. Now, saith M. Harding, forasmuch as the Substance of the Bread and Wine is remoued by Consecration, and for that cause cannot bee the Sacrament: therefore the Accidents and Formes, which remaine, must needs bee thought to bee the Sacraments. And so vpon a false Position, as shall appeare, hee layeth the foundation of all his Doctrine, by the old Rule, I trow that he learned sometimes in his Sophistrie: Ex Impossibili, sequitur quodlibet: *Of an Impossibility, ye may conclude what ye list.* Euen as aptly and as truly as some haue said: If Christ were not Christ, then Saint Patricke should be Christ.

If M. Harding had alleged either Scripture, or Doctour, or Father, or Councell, or any other Authority, beside his owne, he might happily haue bene beleeued.

Math. 26. Luc. 22. 1. Cor. 10. 1. Cor. 11.

To this whole fansie, gentle Reader, in my Former Reply I haue made a seuerall answer. Verily Christ saith: Non bibam ex hoc fructu Vitis: *I will no more drinke* (not of these Accidents, but) *of this* generation, and fruit (and Substance) of the Vine.

S. Paul saith: Panis quem frangimus: (not the Formes, or Accidents, but) *the* Bread *that we breake:* And againe: Quoties manducabitis Panem hunc: *As often as yee shall eat* (not these Accidents, but) this Bread.

Cyprian.

S. Cyprian saith of the same: Panis ex multorum granorum adunatione congestus: *Bread moulded and made of* many cornes. I doubt not, but M. Harding will confesse, that cornes yeeld Flower and Substance: and not onely Formes and Accidents. S. Augustine calleth the Holy Mysterie, Sacramentum Panis & Vini: *The Sacrament* (not of Formes and Accidents, as M. Harding saith, but) *of* Bread and Wine. Cyrillus saith: Credentibus Discipulis fragmenta Panis dedit: Christ *gaue vnto his Disciples, beleeuing in him,* peeces of Bread, (not peeces of Accidents.)

Aug. de Fide, ad Petr. ca 19. Cyril in Iohan. lib. 4. cap. 24.

But M. Harding hauing in his fantasie remoued the whole Substance of the Bread, in stead thereof hath brought vs in Holy Formes, Holy Shewes, and Holy Accidents: His Accidents be the Mysteries of heauenly things: His Accidents bee the Instruments of Gods Grace: His Accidents be the causes of Remission of Sinne. We breake Accidents: We eat Accidents: We drinke Accidents: We are fed with Accidents: The Substance of our Bodies is increased with Accidents. And, to be short, he worketh all his Miracles by the Power of his Accidents.

M. Harding

M. Harding.

Why be ye ſo loth to ſpeak as the Church ſpeaketh, that in this bleſſed Sacrament we receiue the Body of Chriſt? Why had ye rather ſay after a * ſtrange maner, that by Bread and Wine Chriſt himſelfe is ſo preſently giuen vnto vs, as that by Faith we verily receiue his Body and his Blood?

Substance, Accidents In, & By.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

I neuer thought it had bene ſo great an Hereſie to ſpeake as the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and the Learned Doctors of the Church haue ſpoken before vs. S. Paul ſaith: Conſepulti ſumus cum Chriſto Per Batiſmum in mortem: *Wee are buried together with* Chriſt By *Baptiſme vnto Death.* S. Hierome ſaith: Per Aquam Baptiſmi, vel Per Ignem Spiritus ſancti, Æterni illius Panis Corpus efficitur: By *the Water of Baptiſme, or* By *the Fire of the Holy Ghoſt, he is made the Body of the Euerlaſting Bread.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Habes Chriſtum in præſenti, Per Fidem: In preſenti, Per Baptiſmatis Sacramentum: In Preſenti, Per Altaris Cibum & Potum: *Thou haſt* Chriſt *in Preſence*, By *Faith: In Preſence*, By *the Sacrament of Baptiſme: In Preſence*, By *the Meat and Drinke of the Altar.* S. Cyril ſaith: Corporaliter Filius Per Benedictionem Myſticam nobis vnitur, vt Homo: *The Sonne of God* By *the Myſticall Bleſſing is vnited vnto vs as Man.* S Hylary ſaith: Chriſtus eſt in nobis Per Sacramentorum Myſterium: Chriſt *is in vs* By *the Myſtery of the Sacraments.*

* Vntruth. For this phraſe is vſed commonly of the Ancient Fathers, as ſhall appeare. Roman. 6. Coloſſ. 2. *Hieronym. De Corp. & Sanguine Chriſti. Aug. in Iohan. Tract.* 50. *Cyril. in Iohan. Lib.* 11. *ca.* 27. *Hilarius de Trinit. lib* 8. *Aug. de Baptiſmo contra Donatiſt li.* 3. *Cap.* 10.

And, leſt M. Harding ſhould thinke to take any great aduantage by theſe words thus vttered, as he, and others of his ſide haue often done, S. Auguſtine **in moſt plaine wiſe expoundeth the ſame:** Si ad ipſas res viſibiles, quibus Sacramenta tractantur animum conferamus, quis neſciat eas eſſe corruptibiles? Si autem ad id quod Per illas res agitur, quis non videat, non poſſe corrumpi? *If we behold the Viſible Creatures,* (**as the Bread, the Wine, the Water**) *wherein the Sacraments are Miniſtred, who ſeeth not that they be* corruptible? *But if we conſider the things that are wrought thereby, who ſeeth not, that they* cannot be corrupted?

Now iudge thou, (good Chriſtian Reader) how Childiſhly theſe quarrels be ſought againſt vs without cauſe; and what Myſticall Catholike eares M. Harding hath, that cannot abide the phraſes and ſpæches of the Ancient Fathers.

M. Harding.

What preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament do the Defenders acknowledge.

If a man ſhould preſſe you with your own words, and demand what maner of Preſence ye teach, affirming Chriſt himſelfe preſently to be giuen: I weene, yee would bee found halting. For how ſay yee, if Chriſt be preſently giuen vnto vs by Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, then is Chriſt preſent. If he be preſent, which ye muſt needs grant, tell vs further, how is he preſent: According to the Subſtance of his Body, or by Grace, or according to the Maieſty of his Godhead? The firſt, what ſhifts ſoeuer ye ſee, yee will not grant. And therefore is your owne Apoſtle Martin Luther at foule defiance with your Maſters, Zwinglius, Oecolampadius, Caluin, and you, and ſo be his Diſciples, Ioachimus Weſtphalus, Epinus, Pomeran, Heſhuſius, Brentius, Illyricus, and many others, as ye know. If ye will ſay he is preſent by his Grace, ſo is he Preſent with all good men: and that not only when the Sacrament is miniſtred, but alſo at all other times. Againe, how can ye make good, that by Faith we receiue his Body & Bloud? By Faith we receiue Grace, and the Merits of his Death ſuffered in his Body with ſhedding of his Bloud. But the Body and Bloud it ſelfe, that is, the very (a) Subſtance of his Body & Bloud: tel vs how by Faith, (a) properly and truly to ſpeake, as who ſhould ſay, by Faith made preſent, we receiue it? Furthermore, (b) what haue ye to anſwer to this queſtion? If we receiue the Body and Blood of Chriſt verily by Faith, (for ſo ye ſay) we demand whether we receiue the ſame by Faith only without the Body, or with the office of our Body? If the Office of our Body be required to the receiuing of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, as Chriſt himſelfe (c) certainly meant (for elſe how obeied the Diſciples his commandement, to whom he ſaid at his Supper, Take and eat, this is my Body: Likewiſe of the Cuppe, Take and drinke, which cannot be done, but by the Seruice of the Body?) hereof then it followeth, that his Body is verily preſent. Now,

The Body of Chriſt not receiued by Faith onely.

that it is not receiued by Faith onlie, thus we proue it by your own Doctrine: (d) It is ſo receiued, as it is preſent: but it is Preſent by Bread and Wine (as ye ſay) *Ergo*, it is receiued by Bread and Wine. To conclude, if by Bread and Wine, then not by Faith onely. Will ye giue me leaue to ſay what I thinke of you? Verily it ſeemeth by your vaine iangling, that, as S. Paul ſaith of ſuch other like you, ye vnderſtand not what ye ſpeake, nor whereof ye affirme.

Abſent in Body.

(a) Vntruths two together. For properlie & in Subſtance we receiue it not? Read the anſwer (b) We anſwer, It is a peeuiſh queſtion. (c) Vntruth. For Chriſt meant no ſuch thing, as appeareth by the Fathers. (d) A Sophiſtical and a childiſh cauill. Read the Anſwer.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

In what ſenſe we may truly ſay, Chriſt is either Preſent with vs, or abſent from vs, **the matter is not doubtfull, or dangerous to be anſwered, vnleſſe M. Harding haue forgotten the Articles of his Creed. For thus we are taught to beleeue:** Chriſt *is Aſcended into Heauen, and ſitteth at the Right hand of God.* **Which Article** S. Auguſtine **expoundeth thus:** Noli dubitare, ibi nunc eſſe hominem Chriſtum Ieſum, vnde venturus eſt: memoriterque recole, & fideliter tene Chriſtianam Confeſſionem, Quoniam Reſurrexit à mortuis: Aſcendit ad Cœlum: Sedet ad Dextram Patris: nec aliunde quàm inde venturus

Aug. Epiſt. 57. *ad Dardan.*

Abſent in Bodie.

turus eſt ad viuos mortuoſque iudicandos: *Doubt thou not, but* Chriſt Ieſus, *as man, is there now from whence he ſhall come: And beare thou well in minde, and faithfully beleeue the Chriſtian Confeſſion, That* Chriſt *is Riſen againe from the Dead: And Aſcended into Heauen: And Sitteth at the Right Hand of the Father: And that he ſhall come againe* from thence, and from no where elſe, *to iudge the Quicke and the Dead.* **Againe he ſaith:** Homo, ſecundùm Corpus, in Cœlo eſt: & de loco migrat: & cùm ad alium locum venerit, in eo loco vnde venit non eſt: Chriſt, *as man,* according to his Body, *is in Heauen: and paſſeth* from place to place: *And* when hee commeth to an other place, hee is not in the other place from whence he came. **Likewiſe againe:** Secundùm Præſentiam Maieſtatis, ſemper habemus Chriſtum nobiſcum: Secundùm Præſentiam Carnis, rectè dictum eſt Diſcipulis, Me autem non ſemper habebitis: *According to the Preſence of his Maieſty, wee haue* Chriſt *euermore with vs: but according to the* Preſence of the Fleſh, *it is true that* Chriſt *ſaid to his Diſciples,* Me you ſhall not haue alwaies with you.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 31.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 50.

Vigilius contra Eutychen. li. 1.

So ſaith the holy Father and Martyr Vigilius: Dei Filius, ſecundùm humanitatem ſuam, receſſit a nobis: ſecundùm diuinitatem ait, Ecce, ego vobiſcum ſum vſque ad conſummationem Sæculi: *The Sonne of God,* according to his manhood, is gone from vs: *But according to his* Godhead *he ſaith, Behold, I am with you vntill the end of the World.* **And againe:** Et nobiſcum eſt, & non eſt nobiſcum: quia quos reliquit Humanitate, non deſeruit Diuinitate: Chriſt *is with vs, and yet* he is not with vs: *For* whom he left touching his Humane Nature, or his Body, *touching his* Godhead *hee left them not.* **And againe:** Verbum vbique eſt: Caro autem eius vbique non eſt: *The Word (or* Godhead *of* Chriſt) *is euery where:* but his Fleſh, or Body, is not euery where. **So ſaith** S. Cyril: Etſi corpore abſuero, præſens tamen ero vt Deus: *Although I be* abſent as touching my Body, *yet as God I will be preſent.*

Cyril. in Iohan. Lib. 10. ca. 7.

And, to leaue an infinite number of other learned and Catholike Fathers that haue written the like, Origen **ſaith thus:** Secundùm Diuinitatis Naturam non peregrinatur à nobis: peregrinatur ſecundùm diſpenſationem Corporis quod ſuſcepit: Chriſt *according to his* Godhead, *is not a ſtranger to vs: but he is a ſtranger* according to the diſpenſation of the Body *that he receiued.*

Orig. in Matt. Homil. 33.

Thus is Chriſt **both** Abſent, **and** Preſent: Preſent **in Maieſty,** Abſent **in Body. And in this** ſenſe Chryſoſtome **ſaith:** Semper nobiſcum eſt Chriſtus: neque enim, niſi nobiſcum eſſet Chriſtus, ſupereſſet Eccleſia: Chriſt *is euermore* Preſent *with vs: For vnleſſe hee were* Preſent, *the Church of God could not continue.*

Chryſo. 1. Cor. Homil. 6.

Faith Eateth.

But M. Harding ſaith: How can ye make good, that by Faith we receiue his Body and Blood? By Faith we receiue Grace, &c. **This queſtion ſhould rather haue beene demanded of** S. Auguſtine, **and of other learned Doctors, and ancient Fathers of the Church. How could** S. Auguſtine ſay, Quid paras dentem & ventrem? Crede, & manducaſti: *What prepareſt thou thy tooth and thy belly?* Beleeue and thou haſt eaten. **How could** Tertullian ſay, Chriſtus auditu deuorandus eſt: intellectu ruminandus eſt: & Fide digerendus eſt? Chriſt muſt bee deuoured by hearing: chewed by vnderſtanding: digeſted by Faith? **How could** Origen ſay, Sanguis Teſtamenti infuſus eſt in corda noſtra? *The Blood of the Teſtament* is powred into our hearts? **How could** S. Cyprian ſay, Eſus huius Carnis eſt quædam auiditas, & quoddam deſiderium manendi in Chriſto: Quod eſt eſca Carni, hoc eſt Animæ Fides: Non dentes ad mordendum acuimus, ſed Fide ſincera Panem Sanctum frangimus? *The eating of this Fleſh is a certaine greedineſſe, and a certaine deſire to tarry in* Chriſt: *That meat is vnto our Fleſh,* the ſame is Faith vnto our Soules: *We ſharpen not our teeth to bite with hall: but* with pure Faith we breake this Holy Bread? **To bee ſhort, how could** S. Auguſtine ſay, Credere in Chriſtum, hoc eſt manducare Panem Viuum? To beleeue in Chriſt, that is the eating of the Bread of life? **And againe:** Nolite parare fauces, ſed cor: *Prepare not your* mouthes (**to eat of this Bread**) *but prepare your* hearts. **To theſe and other like ancient Catholike Fathers M. Harding ſhould haue ſaid,** *How can ye make good, that by* Faith *we receiue* Chriſts *Body and Blood?* **Thus they witneſſe: Thus they write: Thus they ſay: and therefore, vnleſſe M. Harding can finde vntruth in their words,** they make it good.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 25.

Tertul. de Reſurrectione.

Orig. in Mat. Tract. 26.

Cypr. de Cœna Domini.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 26.

But to force onward his matter he ſaith: Properly and truely to ſpeake, how can wee eat Chriſts Body by Faith? **Were it might haue pleaſed M. Harding to remember that theſe phraſes,** To Eat Chriſt: To Drinke Chriſt: To Digeſt Chriſt, To be fed with Chriſt: To dwell in Chriſt: To be cladde with Chriſt: To be graft in Chriſt: **and other the like, are not plaine, ordinary, vſuall, and common ſpeeches: but Myſtically and couertly vttered vnder a Figure: thereby to giue vs to vnderſtand, that** Chriſt **is our ſpirituall Meat: our ſpirituall Drinke: our ſpirituall Suſtenance: our ſpirituall Houſe: our ſpirituall Robe: and our ſpirituall Stocke. Therefore** S. Auguſtine **ſaith:** Niſi manducaueritis

ducaueritis Carnem Filij Hominis, & Sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis Vitam in vobis. Facinus, vel Flagitium videtur iubere. Figura ergo est, Præcipiens Passionis Domini esse communicandum, & suauiter atque vtiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis Caro eius Crucifixa, & vulnerata sit: *Vnlesse ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drinke his Blood, ye shall haue no Life in you. He seemeth by these words, to command vs to do an horrible wickednesse.* (**For it is an horrible matter to eat Mans Flesh, or to drinke Mans Blood.**) Therefore this is a Figure (**or maner of speech**) *commanding vs to be partakers of* Christs *passion, and comfortably to lay vp in our* mind, *that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our sakes.* **So** saith Gratian, **touching the same:** Quidam non improbabiliter exponũt, Carnis & Sanguinis veritatem, ipsam earundem rerum efficientiam, id est, Remissionem Peccatorum: *Touching these words, The* Truth *of* Christs *Flesh and blood, some man not vnaptly vnderstand thereby,* the effect and force of Christs Flesh and Blood, *that is to say, The Remission of our Sinnes.* **And** so S. Augustine **saith:** Lauerunt Stolas suas in Sanguine Agni, hoc est, in Gratia Dei per Christum: *They washe their coates in the* Blood of the Lambe, *that is to say, in the* Grace of God through Christ. **This Grace flowing from** Christs **Body vpon the Crosse, and giuen to the Faithfull in the Ministration of the holy Mysteries, oftentimes beareth the name of** Christs **Body, and is the ground and substance of the Sacrament: And whosoeuer is partaker of this Grace, is also partaker of Christs Body. Therefore** S. Augustine **saith:** Cùm essent Omnibus Communia Sacramenta, non Communis erat omnibus Gratia, quæ est Virtus Sacramentorum: *Whereas the Sacraments were common to all, yet the* Grace *thereof was not common to all.* And that is the power and strength of the Sacraments.

Anguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtiana lib. 3. ca. 16.

Faith Eateth.

De Con. Diſt. 2. Species.

Aug. in Apoc. Homil. 6.

Likewise S. Ambrose: In similitudinem quidem accipis Sacramentum: Sed Veræ Naturæ Gratiam, Virtutemque consequeris: *Ye take the Sacrament in Representation or Remembrance: But ye obtaine thereby the* Grace and power of Christs very Nature.

Ambroſ. de Sacram. l. 6. 1. c. 1.

Here M. Harding once againe moueth a very needlesse question. We demand (**saith he**) whether we receiue the same Body of Christ by Faith onely, without our Body, or with the Office of our Body. **Any child might soone be able to assoile this riddle.** Rabanus Maurus **saith, as it is alleged before,** Sacramentum ore percipitur: Virtute verò Sacramenti interior homo satiatur: *The* Sacrament *is receiued with the* bodily mouth: *but* with the vertue *of the* Sacrament (**which is the Body of** Christ) the Inner man (**that is, not the Body, but the Soule**) *is filled.* **So** saith Augustine: Cùm videbitis Filium Hominis ascendentem, vbi erat prius, certè vel tunc videbitis, quia non eo modo, quo putatis, erogat Corpus suum: certè vel tunc intelligetis, quia gratia eius non consumitur morsibus: *When yee shall see the Sonne of Man ascending thither, where he was before, then at the least, yee shal see that he giueth not his* Body in such sort, as you imagine: *Then shall you vnderstand that his* Grace is not consumed with the bit of mouth. **Againe he saith:** Qui manducat intus, non foris: qui manducat in Corde, non qui premit dente: *Hee that eateth* Christs *Body* inwardly, *not that eateth* (**the Sacrament**) outwardly: *He that eateth the Body of* Christ *it selfe* in his heart, *not that presseth* (**the Sacrament**) with his tooth.

Rabanus Maurus, Lib. 1. Cap. 31.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 27.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 26.

M. Harding argueth further, Christs Body is so receiued, as it is present: But it is present by Bread and Wine (ye say): *Ergo,* it is receiued by Bread and Wine: To conclude, if by Bred and Wine, then not by Faith only. **If M. Harding had better considered the Rules of his Old Sophistry, he might soone haue seene the wants and deformities of this reason. Amongst children it is called** Ignoratio Elenchi: **which is the simplest** Fallax **of all the rest.**

It is trew, that of our part, it is not either our hand, **or our** mouth, **but** Faith onely, **that receiueth the Body of** Christ: **but the same Body of** Christ **is offered and represented vnto our Faith by meane of the Sacraments. We speake of such instruments of receiuing, as are of our selfe, and be within vs: M. Harding answereth of the Sacraments, that be externall Instruments, and are wholly without vs. So in** Baptisme, **notwithstanding we haue** Christ **present of our part** Onely by Faith, **yet** S. Augustine **saith, as it is said before,** Habemus Christum in Præsenti per Baptismatis Sacramentum: *We haue* Christ *present by the Sacrament of Baptisme.* **Thus is** Christ **present vnto vs: Of his part,** Onely by his grace: **Of our part,** Onely by our Faith: **By the Sacraments,** Onely **as by meane of outward Instruments, to moone our senses. This light and childish errour, I haue said before, is called** Ignoratio Elenchi, **and therefore seemeth to proceed of ignorance. M. Harding should haue better examined the force of his arguments, before hee thus suddenly sent them abroad.**

Touching the matter it selfe, it is not the Bodily mouth, but Faith alone, **that receiueth and embraceth** Christs **Body.** S. Augustine **saith:** Panis iste Interioris Hominis quærit esuriem. Qui credit in eum, manducat: *This Bread requireth the hunger of the* Inner man. *He that* beleeueth *in him, eateth his Body.*

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 26.

This

Certaintie of Doctrine.

This is no iangling, as you ſay, M. Harding: It is the ancient Catholike Doctrine of the Church of God. Wee be well aſſured of it, and know certainely what we ſay. But touching the certainety of your Doctrine in this point, I haue briefely touched it in my Former Reply, ſo much, as I then thought might ſeeme ſufficient. Some of you hold, That Chriſts Body paſſeth downe into the ſtomake: Some ſay, That it entereth onely into the Mouth, and goeth no further: Some other ſay, Quàm citò Species teruntur dentibus, tam citò in Cœlum rapitur Corpus Chriſti: *As ſoone as the Formes of the Bread be grated with the teeth, ſtraightway the Body of* Chriſt is caught vp *into Heauen.* Another of you ſaith: *A* Mouſe *eateth the body of* Chriſt. Another ſaith: *Nay, a* Mouſe *cannot eat it.* Peter Lombard, the grand Maſter of all your Schoole, is pitiouſly confounded in the caſe, and cannot imagine, poore man, what thing it ſhould be, that the Mouſe eateth. For after he had himſelfe moued the queſtion, Quid igitur ſumit Mus, vel quid Manducat? *What is it then that the* Mouſe *receiueth, or what eateth it?* He anſwereth, Deus Nouit: Now, God knoweth: (*As for my part I cannot tell.*)

De Con. Diſt. 2. Trib. Grad. In Gloſſa.

4 Sentent. Diſt. 13.

Such be your Doctors, M. Harding, ſuch is your Doctrine. Therefore to conclude with your owne words, It appeareth by your agreement and your anſwers, ye vnderſtand not the things ye ſpeake of, but both affirme and denie, ye know not what.

M. Harding.

As ye proceed forth, ye giue warning to your Readers, not to take you ſo, as though you held with Tranſubſtantiation. And there ye ſpeake thereof as beſt becommeth your ſcoffing ſpirit, calling it a dreame of men of latter times, wherof they could neuer yet agree within themſelues. By which words your eloquence hath ſet forth your ſpight & lying at once. For albeit the terme of Tranſubſtantiation be (a) of no greater antiquity, then the Councel of Lateran vnder Innocentius the third, where it was by the holy Ghoſt and the Fathers there deuiſed, as very fit for opening of the Truth impugned by the Berengarians: yet is the Doctrine therof no leſſe ancient, then the Goſpel it ſelfe. For maugre the malice of the Diuel, and of all the Sacramentaries, the Old truth ſhal preuaile, by which we are taught, that which was Bread, by the Myſtical bleſſing to be (b) made Chriſts Body: and that which was Wine, to be made his Blood, as I haue other wheres ſufficiently declared. And the Church hath (c) alwaies hereupon perfectly accorded, touching the Subſtance; though certaine Schoolemen in the Scholaſticall Diſputations, where oftentimes victory is ſought, and Faith not impugned, about diſcuſsion of ſome ſchoole point, haue without preiudice of our beleefe diſagreed.

Tranſubſtantiation.

(a) Marke this Antiquity. This Councell was holden twelue hundred and fifteene yeeres after Chriſt.

(b) As in a Myſterie, or Sacrament; but not in Subſtance. Otherwiſe it is a great vntruth.

(c) Vntruth manifeſt; as ſhall appeare.

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As for the ſcoffes, and ſpights, and lies, yée ſpeake of, M. Harding, let him haue them, that hath beſt deſerued them. Then verily, without great wrong, you cannot loſe them.

Touching your new Fantaſie of Tranſubſtantiation, Whether it be a dreame, or no, and whether the dreamers of it themſelues were euer yet able rightly to expound their owne dreame: it appeareth partly by your own Confeſſion. Ye grant, The name and terme thereof was neuer knowne or heard of in all the World, vntill your late Councell of Laterane, holden in Rome vnder Pope Innocentius the Third, in the yéere of Lord 1215. in the time of King Iohn, the King of England, and neuer before. Then did your ſtrange Doctrine and new Diuinity, touching this Article, firſt begin. So long the Church of God was able well to ſtand without your Tranſubſtantiation.

Anno 1215

Tranſubſtantiation New, and doubtfull.

And albeit ye tell vs, Notwithſtanding the newneſſe of the name, yet neuertheleſſe the Doctrine thereof hath ſtill continued in the Church, and hath beene euermore receiued and confeſſed of all the Faithfull; and that maugre the malice of the Diuel, and all the Sacramentaries, it is as ancient as the Goſpel, or as Chriſt himſelfe: Yet of the other ſide ye confeſſe plainely, that for the ſpace of twelue hundred yéeres and more, no man wiſt, by what name to call it.

But forasmuch as you thinke it lawfull for you to auouch and affirme, what you liſt, true or falſe, without controlement: whereas ye ſay, This late Faith of yours is as ancient as the Goſpell, know you, that ſome of the beſt learned of your owne ſide haue ſaid, It is a new point in Religion: and therefore not ſo ancient as you ſéeme to make it: Some others ſay: It is a Doubtfull concluſion: and therefore no Faith at all. D. Tonſtall thereof ſaith thus, De modo, quo id fieret, fortaſſe ſarius erat, Curioſum quenque ſuę relinquere Coniecturę: ſicut liberum fuit ante Concilium Lateranum: *Of the maner and meane, how this might bee* (whether by Tranſubſtantiation, or otherwiſe) *perhaps it had beene better to leaue euery man that would be* curious, *to his owne* coniecture: as before the Councel of Laterane it was left at liberty. You ſay, It is as ancient as the Goſpell. D. Tonſtal ſaith, *It is but new, and came in twelue hundred yeeres and more, after the Goſpell.* You ſay, It is the Catholike Faith. D. Tonſtal ſaith, *It is a* Coniecture *or a* Gheſſe (which differeth not much from a dreame) *and that before the ſaid late* Councel of Laterane, *no man* was bound to beleeue it. And heere it may pleaſe you to conſider indifferently with your ſelfe: *If it were left at liberty,* as D. Tonſtall ſaith, for

Cuthbertus Tonſtallus, De Euchariſtia, lib. 1. pag 46.

for any man, either to receiue it, or to refuse it, as he thought good, how could it then bee the Catholike faith? If it were the Catholike faith, as you say, And that maugre the malice of the Diuell, how then could it so many hundred yeres be left at Liberty?

Transubstantiatiõ New and doubtfull.

Heereof ye say, ye haue written sufficiently otherwheres. All this I grant: your Bookes are knowen. Howbeit, if you would haue written no more but Truth, ye might haue saued much time, and spared some paper. But if it shall not mislike you once againe more aduisedly to view the same, ye shall find in the very first Diuision therof three great vntruths together, all within the space of fourteene lines.

Now, whether your fantasie of Transubstantiation be a Dreame or no, by the Constancy and Certainty thereof, and by the agreement of your Doctours, that founded it first, it may appeare. Petrus Lombardus, the onely Generall of all this Campe, heereof vseth these speeches: Quibusdam ita videtur: Quidam dicunt: Quidam tradunt: Quidam concedunt: Alij putauerunt, Substantiam ibi Panis & Vini remanere: *Some men* iudge *thus*; *Some* say *thus*: *Some haue* written *thus*: *Some* grant *this*: *Some others haue* thought *thus*: *that the very* Substance of the Bread and Wine remaineth still. Heere is a strange agreement of learned men, specially in a case of the Catholike Faith. But hereto what saith Peter Lombard himselfe, that taketh vpon him, as a Iudge, to determine these doubts? How is hee resolued? Or, how agreeth hee in iudgement with himselfe? His answer is this: Sed hæc quæritur qualis sit illa Conuersio, An Formalis, An Substantialis, An alterius generis, definire non sufficio: *If a question were mooned, what manner of Conuersion or change this is: Whether it be in* Forme or in Substance, *or of some other sort*, I am not able to discusse it. Here we may see, the blind leadeth the blind. He that setteth himselfe before al the rest, and would be taken for a guide, knoweth not where to set his own foot. Gabriel Biel saith: Quomodo sit ibi Corpus Christi, vtrum per conuersionem alicuius in ipsum, an sine conuersione incipiat esse Corpus Christi cum Pane, manentibus Substantia, & Accidentibus Panis, non inuenitur expressum in Canone Bibliæ: *How the Body of* Christ *is there, whether it be by changing of something into it, Or* Christs *Body begin to be there together with the Bread, both* the Substance, and the Accidents of the Bread remaining still without changing, *it is not found expresst in the Canon of the Bible.* I leaue Innocentius, Scotus, and sundry others of your Scholasticall Doctours, with their doubtfull Dreames and ghesses to like purpose.

Sent. 4. dist. 11. Sic autem &c.

Gabriel in Can. non. lect. 40.

Whether these be Dreames or no, I leaue to you, M. Harding, to consider. Verily Innocentius 3. saith: Fuerunt, qui dicerent, quòd, licut post Consecrationem vera Panis remanent Accidentia, ita Panis remanet vera Substantia: *There were some that said, that, as after Consecration there remaine the very Accidents or Formes of Bread, so likewise the* very Substance of the same Bread remaineth still. And Cardinal Cusanus saith: Quidam veteres Theologi intellexisse reperiuntur, Panem non Transubstantiari, sed superuestiri nobiliori Substantia: *Certaine of the ancient Diuines are found of this minde, that the Bread in the Sacrament is not* Transubstantiate *or changed in Nature, but remaineth still, and is clothed with another Substance, more noble then it self.* This was the iudgement of sundry the Fathers, best learned in Diuinity: and this same iudgement Durandus, although he himselfe hold it not, yet he will not haue it in any wise to bee condemned.

Nicol. Cusanus Excitationum lib. 6.

Now, M. Harding, if you dissemble not, but beleeue constantly, as you say, then cannot these things stand, without preiudice of your beleefe. For Faith built vpon vncertainty, is no faith at all.

M. Harding.

Theophylact contrary to these defenders.

But Lord what meant ye to alledge Theophylact and S. Ambrose, whose Doctrine is so contrary to yours, as light is to darknesse? Theophylact expounding these words of Christ in S. Iohn, As the liuing Father hath sent me, euen so liue I by the Father, and he that eateth me, shall liue by me, saith thus; Doest thou not hear a dreadful saying? We eat not pure God, for he is vntouchable and vnbodily. Neither can he be comprehended with eies nor teeth. Neither eat we the flesh of a pure man; for that can profit nothing at al. But now that God hath vnited vnto himselfe Flesh after an vnspeakable cõtemperament, the flesh is also become life-making. Not for that it passed away into the Nature of God, beware of that; but after the likenes of fiery iron, which abideth iron, and sheweth the operation of fire, euen so (quoth he) the flesh of our Lord abiding flesh, is lifemaking as being the flesh of God the word. Then as (saith he) I liue by the Father, who is life, so he that eateth me, shall liue by me, being tempered with me, as also being transelemented into me, who haue power to viuificate or giue life. Which last words your own Doctor Oecolampadius hath thus turned, *Nam quodammodo miscetur, & transelementatur in me, qui viuificare potest*, corrupting the second Doctrine of the writer with his forged * *Quodammodo*, which hee found not in the Greeke there placed, and breaking the congruity of the Latine speech, by putting that in the third person, that ought to be in the first. If faith wrought all this matter, then after your meaning, might we eat God, which Theophylact denieth. Hee saith, hee that eateth Christs flesh, is tempered together with him, and transelemented into him, so as hee is made one Body with him, as Cyrillus expoundeth the place of S. Paul to the Ephesians, where he saith, that we be *Concorporalis*, that is to say, of one Body with Christ. And an other where, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones.

This similitude of firy iron quite ouerthroweth the whole fantasie of Transubstantiation.

* Vntruth, presumed onely of ignorance. For *Quodammodo* is in the text. Ἀναμεμίχθαι καὶ μεταστοιχειοῦσθαι.

Cap. 2. Ephes. 5.

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Theophylact. To eat God.

Of Theophylacts authority, wee neuer made any great account. Hee is but a very late Writer, in compariſon of the ancient Fathers. For the moſt part of that hee writeth, he is but an abridger of Chryſoſtome. He writeth againſt the Church of Rome, ſtoutly maintaining a knowen hereſie, concerning the Proceeding of the holie Ghoſt. Notwithſtanding in this place we alleged his words to good purpoſe. For, as hee ſaith We are tranſelemented or Tranſnatured and changed into Chriſt, euen ſo, and none otherwiſe, we ſay, The Bread is Tranſelemented or changed into Chriſts Body. But notwithſtanding this change we remain ſtil in Subſtance as we were before: Therefore we ſay, Notwithſtanding the like change, The Subſtance of the bread in like manner remaineth ſtill.

But what fanſie came in your head, M. Harding, thus to allege, and ſo vehemently to force this place of Theophylact? What one Word ſpeaketh he, either of your Tranſubſtantiation, or of your Reall preſence, or of your Corporal and Fleſhly eating? Verily, as by any his expreſſe words, he nothing aideth you, ſo by his example of Firie iron, hee ſeemeth quite to ouerthrow you. For, if ye compare the Sacrament with a peece of Burning yron, (which neuertheleſſe was not Theophylacts meaning: and therefore ye are therein much deceiued) then, as the iron, although it be firie, yet notwithſtanding in Nature and Subſtance is iron ſtill: Euen ſo the Bread, although it be made the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, and ſo the Inſtrument of the grace of God, yet that notwithſtanding in Nature and Subſtance is Bread ſtill.

Heere, leſt you giuing ouer your Tranſubſtantiation, as knowing it to bee onely a late found fantaſie, ſhould hope neuertheleſſe by this example of firie iron to eſtabliſh your Reall Preſence, and to ſay, that as the fire is Really and indeed in the iron, ſo the Bodie of Chriſt is indeed, and Really in the Sacrament: It may pleaſe you to call to minde, that in the holy learned Fathers, the ſame example, and like forme of ſpeech, is vſed alſo of the Sacrament of Baptiſme. In the Councell of Nice it is written thus: Vides Aquam: Cogita de virtute Dei, quæ latet in Aqua. Cogita, Aquam eſſe plenam ignis Diuini: *Thou ſeeſt the Water: Thinke thou of the power of God, that* lieth in the Water: *Thinke thou that the Water* is full of Heauenly Fire. Yet, I trow, ye will not haue vs beleeue, as an Article of our Faith, that this fire, whereby is meant the Blood of Chriſt, is indeede and Really in the Water.

Concil. Nicen. πλήρη τὸ θεῖον πυρὸς ἐστὶν τὸ ὕδατος.

These, and ſuch other the like, may not alwaies bee taken, as phraſes of preciſe truth: but rather, as Amplifications, or heats of ſpeech, the better to ſtirre vp, and to enflame the minds of the Hearers. And in this ſort and ſenſe, to leaue other authorities, Hoſius, your owne Doctour, ſaith: Opera noſtra reſperſa ſunt ſanguine Chriſti: *Our works be* ſprinkled with the Blood of Chriſt. So ſaith Pope Innocentius 3. Virtutes noſtræ Crucis Chriſti Sanguine Purpurantur: *Our Vertues* are died as redde as Purple, *in the Blood of the Croſſe of* Chriſt.

Hoſius in Conf. Petricouien. cap. 48.

Innocen. De Myſteriis Miſſ. li. 2.

Thus onely, M. Harding, and none otherwiſe the holy Fathers ſay, *The Bread of the holy Myſteries, and the Water of Baptiſme are full of fire.*

Further, Theophylact ſaith: *The Body of* Chriſt *is Eaten*: *But the* Godhead is not Eaten: *becauſe it is vntouchable, and vncomprehenſible vnto our ſenſes.* Heereof you would ſeeme to reaſon thus: If Faith wrought all this matter, then might we Eat God. For by Faith wee beleeue in God.

Pſalm. 33. 1 Pet. 2.

Aug. De Verb. Domin. ſecund. Luc. Serm. 29.

Aug. Conf. li. 1. Art. 8. Dini. 16

First, touching the Eating of God, God himſelfe ſaith: Guſtate & videte, quòd ſuauis eſt Dominus: Taſte *and ſee, that the Lord is delectable.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Panis eſt, & Panis eſt, & Panis eſt: Deus Pater, Deus Filius, & Deus Spiritus Sanctus: *It is Bread, It is Bread, & It is Bread: God the Father, God the Sonne, and God the Holy Ghoſt.* Againe he ſaith: Deus Panis intus eſt animæ meæ: God is the Inward Bread *of my ſoule.* Therefore it is not ſo thorowly and vndoubtedly true, that you ſay, The nature of God cannot be eaten.

Notwithſtanding, for ſparing of words and time heerein, I will refer you to my Former Replie. There ſhall you find this whole Obiection fully anſwered.

You ſay, Theophylacts reaſon ſtandeth thus: God cannot be Eaten, becauſe he cannot be comprehended, either with eies, or with teeth. But Chriſts body may bee eaten. Therefore it muſt follow in the Concluſion, that with our eies we may ſee it, and with our teeth wee may receiue it. Heere would I faine learne of you, M. Harding, When ye ſaw Chriſts Body viſible in the Sacrament with your eies, or when ye preſſed it with your teeth. If your teeth can receiue it, why ſaith S. Auguſtine: Quid paras Dentem & Ventrem? *Why prepareſt thou thy* Tooth *and thy Belly?* If your Bodily eie can ſee it, why ſay you, It is Inuiſible? If it be Inuiſible, how is it ſeene? If it be ſeene, how is it Inuiſible? It appeareth, that either

Auguſt. In Ioh. Tract. 25.

either Theophylact the Maister, or you the Scholar are deceiued, or one of you vnderstandeth not the others meaning. Certainly, as Christs Body is seene in the Sacrament, so is it Eaten in the Sacrament. But it is not Really or Fleshly seene: Therefore it is not Really or Fleshly Eaten.

To eat God.

To auoid errour herein, it behoueth vs to vnderstand, that To eat God, is to haue the fruition of the Diuine Nature, and to be incorporate into God. But the Maiestie of God so far surmounteth the capacity of man, that as he is in himselfe in Nature and Godhead, no mortall creature is able to conceiue him, but only in the face and sight of Iesus Christ the Sonne of God. Therefore S. Paul saith: Christus est Splendor Gloriæ, & Character Substantiæ Dei: Christ *is the brightnesse of the Glory, and the expresse Image of the Substance of God.* Hebr. 1.

S Augustine saith: Tu quomodò contingis Deum? Quia Verbum Caro factum est, & habitauit in nobis: *How doest thou* touch God? (*He answereth*) *Because the Word became Flesh and dwelt in vs.* Againe he saith: Si Christus sic veniret, vt Deus, non agnosceretur: *If* Christ *came so*, as he is God, no man could know him. S. Gregory saith: Dominus murus nobis non esset, si forinsecùs non fuisset. Intus nos non protegeret, si exteriùs non appareret: *Our Lord were no wal vnto vs, if he had not been in the* Forme of Man: *He could not inwardly defend vs, if he had not* outwardly *appeared.* So saith Dionysius: Si cupimus Communionem habere cum Deo, oportet nos in Diuinissimam illius vitam, quam egit in Carne, intueri: *If we desire to haue Communion with God, wee must behold that Heauenly life,* that he lead in the Flesh. Thus, as God is God in Maiestie, and in himselfe, wee vnderstand him not, wee conceiue him not, wee know him not: that is to say, we haue no fruition of him, we eat him not. Therefore S Augustine saith: Iesum Christum Secundùm id, quod erat Verbum apud Deum, Paruuli non capiunt. Quomodò ergo capiunt, qui lac capiunt? Iesum Christum, inquit, & hunc Crucifixum, Suge, quod pro te factus est: & trescs ad id, quod est: *Little ones vnderstand not* Iesus Christ, *according to that hee was the Word with the Father. How then doe they receiue him, that receiue milke?* S. Paul *saith, they receiue* Iesus Christ Crucified. Sucke that thing, that he was made for thee: *and thou shalt grow to that he is.*

Aug. in Psal. 134.

Aug. in Iob. Tract. 2.

Grego in Ezec. li. 1 hom 14.

Eccles. Hierar. cap. 3.

Aug. in Psal. 119.

Thus in the holy Mysteries there is presented vnto vs, not the Diuine Nature of Christ, whereby he is Equall to the Father: But his Death and Humility, whereby he abased himselfe, and was made equall vnto vs. This is the Spirituall Meat and Drinke and the only feeding of the Soule. Thereof S Paul saith: *As often as yee shall eat of this Bread, and drinke of this Cup, ye shall publish* (not the diuine Nature or Godhead, but) *the Lords Death vntill he come* So saith Hesychius: Comedimus hunc Cibum, sumentes eius memoriam Passionis: *We eat this Food, receiuing the* memory (not of his glory, but) of his Passion. So saith S. Ambrose: Quia Morte Domini liberati sumus, huius rei memores, in Edendo & Potando, Carnem & Sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus: *Because we are deliuered by our Lords Death, being mindfull thereof, in Eating and Drinking, we Signifie or Represent the Flesh and Blood,* that were offered vp for vs. Thus in the holy Mysteries we Eat and Drinke the Sacrament of Christ crucified in the humility of his flesh. But his diuine Nature in Godhead, and Maiesty cannot be represented or expressed by any Sacraments.

1. Cor. 11.

Hesych. in Leuit. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Ambros. in 1. Cor. 11.

It was all vaine and lost labour for you, M. Harding, so earnestly to proue, that Christs Body quickeneth and giueth life. Wee know it: Wee confesse it: Wee feele it: Christ himselfe saith it: *I am the Bread of Life: Hee, that eateth of this Bread, shall liue for euer.*

Iohan. 6.

This talke impeacheth no man but your selfe. For you tell vs, and would haue it holden as an Article of your Faith: not only, That the wicked man without Faith, but also that the dumb creature void of Reason, may receiue the very Body of Christ, and that Substantially, Verily and in deed. Thus you diuide and sunder Christs Body from his Spirit: and, contrarie to Theophylact, and to all the ancient Fathers, and to Christ himselfe, ye say, It may bee Really receiued without Life.

But we say with S. Ambrose: Qui accipit hunc Panem, non moritur morte Peccatoris: Quia hic Panis est Remissio Peccatorum: *Whoso eateth this Bread,* (not the Sacrament of Christs Body, but Christs Body it selfe) dieth not *the death of a Sinner: For this Bread is the Remission of Sinnes.* We say with S. Augustine: Qui Carnem Domini non sumit, non habet vitam: & qui eam sumit, habet vitam, & hanc vtique æternam: *He that receiueth not the Flesh of our Lord* hath no Life; and, he that receiueth it, hath Life, *and the same Euerlasting.* Againe we say with S. Augustine: Huius rei Sacramentum de Mensa Dominica sumitur, quibusdam ad Vitam, quibusdam ad Mortem; Res verò ipsa, cuius Sacramentum est, Omni homini ad vitam, Nulli ad exitium; quicunque eius Particeps fuerit: *The Sacrament* (of Christs Body) *is receiued from the Lords Table, to some vnto Life, to some vnto Death:* But the thing it selfe, (that is, the Body of Christ, whereof this is a Sacrament) is to all men vnto Life, and to no man vnto Death: Whosoeuer shall be partaker of it.

Ambros. de Benedictionib. Patriarch. cap. 6.

Aug. in Iob. Tract. 26.

Aug. in Iob. Tract. eodem.

For

Christs Body giueth Life.

For ſome further declaration hereof, it appeareth by the witneſſe of the ancient learned Doctours and Fathers, that we are Really and Corporally ioined and united vnto Chriſt, not only by the Myſteries of the holy Supper, but alſo by Faith, by Baptiſme, by the Spirit of God, by Loue, and other waies. Of Faith S Auguſtine ſaith thus: Per Fidem Adcorporamur in Ieſu Chriſti Domino noſtro: *By Faith* we are Incorporare *in* Chriſt Ieſu *our Lord*. And againe: Qui venit ad me, Incorporatur mihi: *He that commeth vnto mee, is* Incorporate *into me*. S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Quid nobis eſſe non vult, omnibus modis nos ſibi conglutinans, & coniungens? *What wil not* Chriſt *be vnto vs? For by all maner meanes he* cleaueth and faſteneth *himſelfe vnto vs*. Againe in plainer ſort he ſaith: Dominum ipſum amplecteris, & Commiſceris, & ſubuectus coniungeris Corpori illi, quod ſurſum ſedet in Cœlis: *Thou* embraceſt *the Lord himſelfe, and* art mingled with him, *and being heere beneath art ioined to that Body, that ſitteth in Heauen aboue.*

Aug. epiſt. 31.
Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 25.
Chryſ. in epiſt. ad Rom. ho. 24.
Chryſ. in epiſt. ad Coloſ. hom 6

Chryſ in epi. ad Epheſ. hom. 20.

In like maner he writeth of the Sacrament of Baptiſme: Quomodo ex Carne eius ſumus, & ex Oſſibus eius? Quemadmodum ille ſine Virili Congreſſu natus eſt ex Spiritu Sancto, ita nos illud efficimur in Lauacro: *How are wee of his Fleſh and of his Bones?* He anſwereth: *As* Chriſt *was borne by the Holy Ghoſt without the knowledge of Man, euen ſo in the Font* (of Baptiſme) we are made the ſame (that is, his Fleſh, and his Bones.)

Leo, de Natiuitate Domini, Sermo. 3.

So ſaith Leo: Sicut Dominus Factus eſt Caro noſtra naſcendo, ita nos facti ſumus ipſius (Caro) Renaſcendo: *As our Lord was made our Fleſh, by that he was borne:* ſo are wee made his Fleſh, *by that we are new borne.*

Hieronym. De Viro Perfecto.

So ſaith S. Hierome: De Carne eius ſumus, & de Oſſibus eius: ipſe enim eſt Caput Corporis Eccleſiæ: *We are* of his Fleſh, and of his Bones: *For that he is the Head of his Body, which is the Church.*

Thus, M. Harding, we are ioined together, and tempered with Chriſt, not onely by the Holy Myſteries, but alſo by the Sacrament of Baptiſme and by Faith. And Chryſoſtome ſaith: Ne ſimpliciter teneamus Chriſtum, ſed etiam illi conglutinemur. Nam, ſi quicquam ſeceſſerimus ab eo, Perimus: *Let vs not only hold Chriſt, but alſo let vs bee* faſt glued vnto him. *For, if we fall any thing from him, we are vtterly loſt.* Muſt we therefore conclude, M. Harding, that the Water of Baptiſme is Tranſubſtantiate, no part of the Subſtance therof remaining ſtill: or, that Chriſts Body is Really, and groſly preſent in that Sacrament, as you haue imagined of the other?

Chryſoſtom. in 1. Cor. hom. 8.

Quodammodò.

Ye finde great fault with Oecolampadius, for corrupting, as ye ſay, the ſound Doctrine of Theophylact with his forged *Quodammodò*, and for breaking the congruity of the Latine ſpeech, by putting the third Perſon in place of the firſt. Of the Latine congruity, I will ſay nothing. The learned thinke, that Oecolampadius was as ſkilfull both in the Latine tongue, and in the Greeke, as M. Harding. But for the forging of *Quodammodò*, why doe you not as well finde fault with Theophylact himſelfe? For, if it be a forgery, he himſelfe hath likewiſe forged the ſame Quodammodò: and if that may be called Corruption, he hath alſo corrupted his owne Doctrine. Theſe be his words: Qui manducat me, hic viuet propter me, dum Quodammodo miſcetur mihi, & tranſclementatur in me: *He that eateth me, ſhall liue by me: for aſmuch as*, after a ſort, *he is* mingled *with me, and* tranſclemented *or* changed *into me*. If yee doubt, whether ὡσαυτῶς in Greeke, may be expounded by Quodammodò, then is not your ſkill heerein ſo great, as yee haue thought. Heere you ſee, that not only Oecolampadius, but alſo Theophylactus himſelfe ſaith Quodammodò.

Theophylact. in Iohan cap 6.
ὁ τρώγων μὲ ζήσεται δι' ἐμέ, ἀναπλαττόμενος ὡσαυτῶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἐμέ.

Aug. in Pſal. 26

Why finde ye not fault with S. Auguſtine, for ſaying the like? Omnes in illo, & Chriſti, & Chriſtus ſumus: quia Quodammodò totus Chriſtus, & Caput, & Corpus eſt: *In him we are all Chriſts, and* Chriſt *himſelfe*: *For* after a ſort *whole* Chriſt *is both the Head* (of the Church) *and alſo the Bodie.* And againe: Qui in Chriſtum credit, credendo in Chriſtum veniet, & in eum Chriſtus, & quæ quo modo vnitur in eum, & Membrum in Corpore eius efficitur: *He that beleeueth in* Chriſt, *by beleeuing commeth into* Chriſt, *and* Chriſt *into him, and* after a ſort is vnited into him, *and is made a Member in his Body.* And againe: Paulum Chriſtus voce mactauit, & in ſuum Corpus traijciens, Quodammodò manducauit: Chriſt *killed* Paul *with his voice, and* after a ſort, *did eat him, ſwallowing him downe into his Body.* Why finde ye not the ſame fault with Cyrillus writing thus? Decebat ergo eum Quodammodò Vniti Corporibus noſtris: *It was meet that* after a ſort Chriſt *ſhould be Vnited vnto our Bodies.* Or with S Chryſoſtome, writing the like? Chriſtus nos ſecum in vnam, vt ita dicam, Maſſam reducit: Chriſt mouideth *vs*, if I may ſo ſay, *into one lumpe with himſelfe*

Auguſt. in Ioh. Sermon. 61.

Auguſt. epiſt. 120 cap. 18.

Cyril. ad Caloſyrium.

Chryſ. in Matth. homil. 83.

Why ſay ye not, theſe and other like holy Fathers were Sacramentaries, and Heretikes? Why ſay ye not, that S. Auguſtine, S. Cyril, S. Chryſoſtome, with their Forged *Quodammodò*, corrupted the ſound and Catholike Doctrine of the Church?

Would

Would ye rather, for the better facing and colouring of your Doctrin, we should strike out this Forged *Quodammodo*, and amend it thus: Qui manducat me, Reipsa miscetur mihi, & transelementatur in me? Would ye haue vs to beleeue, that wee are wholly and thorowly changed into Christs Body, and that we are made very Christ, God and Man, the same that was borne of the Virgin, and nailed to the Crosse: and that not *Quodāmodò*, after a sort, or by some peculiar phrase of speech: but Substantially, Really, Verily, and in deed? I reckon your Doctrine is not fully so fond. Quodammodò.

S. Paul saith: Sumus alter alterius Membra: We are members one of another. Cyrillus saith: Nos inter nos vnimur Corporaliter: *Wee are* Corporally vnited *together among our selues*. S. Chrysostome saith: Si quis exuat impudicarum mulierum animas, videbit malum Dæmonem illis admixtum: *If any man wil open the Soules of vnchast or filthy Women, he shall see the Diuell* tempered *together, and* mingled *with them*. And thinke you, M. Harding, that these, and other like speeches of the Holy Fathers cannot stand without your Transubstantiation, & Reall Presence? Or, that the godly bee Substantially and in deed in their Bodies ioined together? Or, that the vngodly be verily vnited and mingled with the Diuell, without any *Quodammodo*? Roman. 12. *Cyril in Iohan. lib.* 11 *cap.* 26. *Chrysost in* 1. *Cor. Hom.* 18.

You might rather haue remembred, that touching this vnspeakable Unity betweene Christ and the Faithfull, that is to say, betweene the head and the Body, S. Cyprian writeth thus: Nostra & Christi Coniunctio nec miscet Personas, nec vnit Substantias: sed affectus consociat, & confœderat voluntates: *The Coniunction that is betweene vs, and Christ*, neither mingleth Persons, nor vniteth Substances: but ioineth affections, and knitteth wils. Likewise saith S. Cyril: Initium & fundamentum in sanctificatione Christus est, Per Fidem scilicet, & non aliter: Hoc enim modo in nobis habitat: *The Beginning and Foundation of our Holinesse is* Christ: *By Faith I meane*, and none otherwise. *For in this sort* Christ *dwelleth in vs*. Likewise Lyra one of your owne late Doctours: In quantum per Sacramentum Eucharistiæ vnimur Deo, viuimus Spiritualiter: Nostra autem vnio apud ipsum est per Fidem & Dilectionem: *So farre foorth as wee are vnited vnto God by the Sacrament of Thanksgiuing, we liue Spiritually*: But the Vnion that is betweene him and vs, is by Faith and loue. And expounding these words of S. Paul: Qui adhæret Deo, vnus Spiritus est: *He that cleaueth vnto God, is one Spirit with God*: he saith, Vnus, non secundùm rem, sed secundùm affectionem: *He is one Spirit with God*, not One indeed, *or according to the Truth: but one in affection, or according to Loue*. *Cyprian. de Cœna Domini. Cyril in Iohan. lib.* 4. *cap.* 29. *Nicol. Lyra in Iohan. Cap.* 6. *Nicol. Lyra, 1. Cor.* 6.

And yet somewhat farther to remoue you from your fantasie of your Reall Presence, S. Chrysostome saith, as he is alleged before: Dominum ipsum amplecteris: cum illo commiseris: & subuectus coniungeris Corpori illi, quod sursum sedet in Cœlis: *Thou* embracest *the Lord himselfe: thou art* tempered *with him; and being carried vp* (by Faith and affection) *thou art ioined with that Body that sitteth in Heauen*. In like sense saith Leo: Christus ineffabili modo cœpit esse Diuinitate præsentior, qui factus est Humanitate longinquior: Christ *by vnspeakable meanes beganne to be* the neerer to vs by his Diuinity, the further he is made from vs by his Humanity. *Chrysost. in Epist. ad Coloss. Homil.* 6. *Leo de Ascensione Domini, Sermon.* 3.

I doubt not, M. Harding, but ye may easily see, that hitherto your Reall Presence is but weakely proued.

M. Harding.

Not a Figure but the Flesh it selfe of our Lord. Transubstãtiation.

Againe, wee maruel with what face ye dare allege Theophylact for you, who in most euident words ouerthroweth your Figuratiue, Tropicall, & Energicall Doctrine touching this blessed Sacrament. For he saith vpon this sixth Chapter of S. John: Marke well that the Bread which is eaten of vs in the Mysteries* *is not only a certain Figure* of our Lords Flesh, but the Flesh it selfe of our Lord. For he said not, The Bread that I shall giue is the Figure of Flesh, but, It is my Flesh. For the Bread is with secret words, through the Mystical blessing & comming vpō of the Holy Ghost, changed into the Flesh of our Lord.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Theophylact saith: The Bread is not only a certain Figure of our Lords Flesh, but the Flesh it selfe of our Lord. This Obiection in my Former Reply is many wheres answered. We grant, The Bread is not a bare or naked Figure: but by way of Sacrament, or Mysterie, it is the Body of Christ it selfe. So the Water of Baptisme is not an empty Figure of the Blood of Christ: but it is Christs Blood it selfe, because it is the Sacrament of Christs Blood: And therefore S. Bernard saith: Lauemur in Sanguine eius: *Let vs bee washed*, (not in Water, but) *in the Blood of* Christ. S. Augustine giueth this generall Rule, as I haue often reported: In Sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid significent: *In Sacraments we must consider*, not what they bee (in substance and Nature) but what they signifie. Tertullian saith: Christus acceptum Panem, & Discipulis suis distributum, Corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est Corpus meum, hoc est, Figura

* Vntruth For he manifestly affirmeth a Figure His words bee these: *It is not only a Figure. Ergo* he granteth it is a Figure.

Bernar. Super Missus est, Homil. 3. *August. contra Maxim. Lib.* 3. *Tertull contra Marcion. li.* 4.

gura Corporis mei: Christ *hauing taken the Bread, and hauing deliuered the same to his Disciples*, Made it his Body, *saying, This is my Body*, that is to say, This is a Figure of my Body. **And to appoint a corruptible Creature to this vse, and to make it an effectuall instrument of such high and hidden Mysteries, it is not the Worke of any mortall man, but the onely Power and working of the Holy Ghost: as it shall farther appeare in the next Clause, in mine Answer to the words of** S. Ambrose. Beda saith thus: Panis & Vini Creatura in Sacramentum Carnis & Sanguinis Christi ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transfertur: *The Creature of Bread and Wine, by the vnspeakable Sanctification of the Holy Ghost, is changed* (not into the very Reall Body and Blood, but) into the Sacrament *of the Body and Blood of* Christ.

Beda in Octauis Epiphaniæ.

M. Harding.

Neither maketh S. Ambrose, which also ye bring in, any better for you. Would God yee would admit him for Vmpeere in this point. Verily in the Booke and Chapter that ye refer vs vnto, he disputeth as it were of purpose against you, as though he foresaw the time, when the Church should be troubled with the heresie of Sacramentaries, *Tu forte dicis, &c.* Perhaps thou saist, My Bread is commō: but this Bread is Bread before the words of the Sacraments: So soon as consecratiō commeth, of Bread is made the Flesh of Christ. Let vs then auouch this, how that which is Bread may bee the Body of Christ? By Consecration. Then with what words and speech is Consecration made? Euen with those of our Lord Iesus. For whatsoeuer else is said, (he meaneth at the Masse) it is praisegiuing to God, and praying for the people, for Kings, for the rest. When the Priest commeth to the Consecration of the honourable Sacrament, there he vseth not his own words, but the words of Christ: Therefore it is the word of Christ that maketh the Sacrament. (a) What word of Christ? Soothly that same word whereby all things be made. Our Lord Commanded, & Heauen was made. Our Lord Commanded, and Earth was made. Our Lord Commanded, and the Seas were made. Our Lord Commanded, euery Creature was engendered. Seest thou then how workfull is the word of Christ? Well then, if there be so great Power in the word of our Lord Iesus, that things beganne to be, which were not: how much more is it workfull, (b) *Vt sint quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur?* That things be, which were, and bee changed into another thing? Heere Sir Defender, Construe me these words, and what sense can you draw forth of them, but this: If by the working Power of our Lords word things haue a being, which before were nothing, and had no being at all, as Heauen, Earth, and Seas; how much more Power hath it to work, that things which were before, and had a being, now also be, or haue a being, but be changed into another thing, *in Aliud*, (c) into a thing of another Substance? For by this phrase is signified a Substantiall changing, which aptly is called Transubstantiation. And I pray you, good Sir, who saith, that the Elements, I meane Bread and Wine, passe quite away, and goe to nothing? Though you so belie vs, wee say not so: God forbidde. Wee say that after Consecration they be: But what? (d) Not the selfe same they were, wher by the former Substance is excluded, but the Body and Blood of our Lord. Againe, in that we say with *S. Ambrose, In aliud commutantur*, They be changed into an other thing: followeth it not thereof by good Logike, *Ergo* they bee? Will not this argument hold in Schoole, the Verbe Passiue being resolued, (e) *Sunt commutata, Ergo sunt?* For that which ceaseth to bee, or goeth to nothing, yee cannot properly say of it, that it is changed: but rather that it is ended, or perished. Now Sir, I report me to euery man that hath any sense, whether I may not lawfully giue you the *Menti*, as for manners sake I may vse the Italian term, & challenge you in plain terms of a Lie, for vttering this Vntruth vpon that Holy Doctor S. Ambrose, specially speaking as you doe in your English Translation, by your selfe allowed thus: For what can be said more plainely, then that which Ambrose saith: Bread and Wine remaine still the same they were before, and yet are changed into another thing? Zeale moueth me to say, beyond the modesty of my naturall disposition, What is iugling, what is lying, what is falshood, what is falsifying, what is wickednesse of falsaries, if this be not?

Neither is the saying wherewith this Defender belieth S. Ambrose, all only false, and contrary to the Catholike Faith, but also absurd, vnreasonable, and foolish. For if Bread and Wine remaine still after Consecration the same they were before, how then are they changed into another thing?

(a) God may well be Omnipotent without either Transubstantiation, or Reall presence.

(b) S. Ambrose saith, The Bread & Wine are the same things they were before Consecration: notwithstanding they bee now made a Sacrament.

(c) Vntrue exposition. That were contrary to S. Ambrose. For then were they not the same things they were before.

(d) O fond folly! What being haue things whē their Substance is gone?

(e) A Vaine Vntruth. See the Answer.

M. Hardings modestie.

De Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 4. De Pœn. Consecrati.

Operatrix. These be the words alleged by the Defender.

The Elemēts after Consecration be, or haue a being.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Heere, M. Harding, vnlesse ye had made S. Ambrose **a Prophet, ye thought hee could not so handsomely haue serued your turne. But what, and of whom hee prophesied, and how farre he saw before, wee shall see heereafter. Verily, if that bee the Heresie that you imagine, then hee needed not greatly any Spirit of Prophesie in that behalfe. For hee foretold vs of no new Heresie that was to come: but rather told vs of his owne Heresie, that then was present. Doubtlesse the words that wee report are not ours: they are his owne.**

Omnipotēt Power.

But S. Ambrose saith: *The Omnipotent Power of the Word, wherewith God made Heauen and Earth: the same Omnipotent Power of the same Word he vseth now in the Consecration of the Sacrament.* Therefore (saith M. Harding) it must needs be gathered, he meant Transubstantiation, and Reall Presence; **as if without these new fantasies God could not be** Omnipotent. **I may well answer these men, as** S. Ambrose **vpon the like occasion sometime answered the wilfull blindnesse of the** Iewes: Atramentum vident: Spiritum Dei non vident: *They see the Inke* (of the Letter written) *but the Spirit of God they see not.* **Euen so** M. Harding, **and others of that side, weigh the words of** S. Ambrose: **but his sense and meaning they weigh not.**

Ambr. de Noe & Arca.

Certainly

Omnipotēt Power.

Certainely God sheweth his Omnipotent Power, as well in the Sacrament of Baptisme, as in the Sacrament of Thanksgiuing. Hereof I haue said somewhat as occasion was offered in my Former Reply to M. Harding. Leo saith thus: Christus originem quam sumpsit in Vtero Virginis, posuit in Fonte Baptismatis. Dedit Aquæ, quod dedit Matri: Christ *laid in the Font of Baptisme the same beginning that he tooke in the Virgins Wombe.* He gaue the same preeminence to the Water, that he gaue to his Mother. Euen so Chrysostom: Angeli qui adfuerunt (in Baptismo) tam inenarrabilis operis modum minimè possunt enarrare. Adfuerunt tantùm, & viderunt: nihil tamen operati sunt: Sed Pater tantùm & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus: *The Angels that were present at the Baptism are not able to vtter* the maner of that vnspeakable Worke. *They were present only, and saw, but they did nothing: but onely the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.* Likewise he saith: Ex Spiritu, & sensibili Aqua, omnia hæc admirabilia, & humanam excedentia cogitationem, exorsuntur *All these* wonderfull *Works* (wrought in Baptisme) so farre exceeding the thought of man, *spring of the Spirit, and of Sensible Water.*

Articulo 5. Diuision. 4. Leo in Natiuitate Domini, Sermon. 5. Chrysost. in Ioban. Homil. 24. Chrysost. in Ioban. Homil. 24.

Thus the Holy Fathers vsed oftentimes to aduance and to magnifie the holy Mysteries, the better to bring their Hearers to the deepe and inward consideration of the same: and therefore, as S. Augustin saith, Sacramenta tantæ rei non nisi eiusdem rei vocabulo nuncuparunt: *They expressed the Sacraments of so great a thing none otherwise then* by the name of the same thing. So S. Paul saith: The Rocke was Christ. So another saith, as I haue otherwheres alledged: The Oile is Christ. And another: Manna erat Christus, qui descendit de Cœlo: The Manna (*that rained in the Wildernesse*) was Christ, *that came downe from Heauen.* Thus are we taught, that Manna was Christ, that the Oile was Christ, and, that the Rocke was Christ. And these sayings are true. And yet in deed and verily, in Nature and Substance, neither the Manna, nor the Oile, nor the Rocke was Christ.

August ad Bonifac. Epist. 23. 1. Corint. 10. Paschymer. in 4 Cap. Hierarch. S. German. De Corpor. & Sanguine Christi.

So saith S. Chrysostome, reporting the Story of Dauid: Accipiens Aquam allatam, bibere noluit: sed semetipsum reprehendit, & Domino eam libauit. Non enim Aqua erat, sed Sanguis: Dauid *receiuing of the Water* (that his men had gotten with great danger ſtō the midst of their enemies) *would not drinke of it: but found fault with himselfe, and powred it out vnto the Lord.* For it was not Water, but Blood.

Chrys. in Psal. 50. Homil. 1.

I beseech thee, good Christian Reader, marke well these words. The Story is cleare. It was indeed onely a Cuppe of Water, and nothing else. Yet Chrysostome saith: It was Blood: It was no Water.

2. Reg. 23.

In those daies it was no danger thus to say. The people was instructed, and well acquainted with this phrase, or maner of speech, and knew the meaning. They were taught that the Rocke, the Oile, and the Manna in the Wildernesse, were onely Sacraments of Christ: and that, notwithstanding they were called by the name of Christ, yet in deed and in Substance they were not Christ.

Therefore I may answer M. Harding heerein, as S. Augustine sometime answered the Pelagian Heretikes: Vobis Pelagianis nondum litigantibus, securiùs loquebantur Patres de his Articulis: *Before that you the* Pelagians *beganne to quarrell, the Fathers and Doctours spake without feare and freely of these Articles.* Athanasius saith of the Arian Heretiks: Incorporalia corporaliter excipientes, quæ probè dicta erant, interpretationibus deprauauerunt: *Taking Spirituall things in a Corporall, or Fleshly meaning,* (as doth M. Harding, and others his fellowes) *by their interpretations they haue depraued the things that were rightly spoken.*

August. contra Iulianum. li. 1. cap. 2. Athanas. cōtra Arian. Serm. 4.

S. Ambrose saith of the Bread and the Wine, Sunt quæ erant, & in aliud mutantur: They remaine the same that they were, *and are changed into another thing.* Now is the field wonne: M. Harding bloweth a Maine Triumph. Heere (saith he) Sir Defender, Construe mee these words. Soothly, good Reader, I distrust not greatly, but this poore Defender might easily Construe these words, were hee neuer so simple a Clerke. The Naturall Creatures of the Bread and Wine in the Supper of our Lord (saith S. Ambrose) remaine still in Substance as they were before: yet are they changed into another thing: that is to say, they are made the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ: which before they were not.

Notwithstanding this short Construction being cleare and plain may seeme sufficient, yet for that M. Harding so deepely apposeth vs, and willeth vs to Construe him these Words, we will both Construe, and Pars them too for his pleasure.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 80.

Therefore to warrant our former Construction, S. Augustine saith thus: Accedat Verbum ad Elementum, & fit Sacramentum: *Let the Word be added to the Element, or outward Creature, and it is made a Sacrament,* that is to say, another thing. Againe hee saith: Sacramenta sunt Signa rerum, Aliud existentia, Aliud Significantia; *Sacraments are Signes*

August. contra Maximin. Lib. 3. Cap. 2.

or Tokens of things, being by Substance One thing, and Signifying another thing. So saith Chrysostome of the Water of Baptisme: Cùm hoc Elementum acceperit Spiritum Sanctum, fit Sacramentum: Et iam non erit Aqua Potationis, sed *Sanctificationis*: Non erit Aqua communis, sed Refectionis: *When this Creature of Water hath receiued the Holy Ghost, it is made a* Sacrament: *And now is not Water* to drinke, *but Water* to Sanctifie: *Not common Water, but Water to refresh.*

Chrysostom. in Psal. 22.

It is Christ

Thus the Element, or outward Creature, both remaineth, and is changed: It remaineth in proper and plaine kinde of speech: It is changed vnproperly, that is to say, by the way of a Sacrament, or a Mysterie. So M. Hardings owne Glosse saith vpon the Decree: Cœleste Sacramentum dicitur Corpus Christi, sed Improprie. Vnde dicitur, Suo modo: Non rei veritate, sed Significante Mysterio: vt sit sensus, Vocatur Corpus Christi, id est, Significat Corpus Christi: *The Heauenly Sacrament is called the Body of Christ, but* vnproperly, (that is to say, not in plaine and simple manner of speech.) *Therefore* S. Augustine *saith, It is so called* after a sort: *that is*, not in truth of matter, but by a Mysterie signifying: *that the sense may be this, It is called the Body of Christ, that is to say*, It signifieth the Body of Christ. So saith S. Augustine: De Signis differens, hoc dico, Ne quis in eis attendat quòd sunt, sed potiùs, quòd Signa sunt, id est, quòd Significant: *In treating of Signes* (or Sacraments) *thus I say: let no man consider in them* that they bee in Substance, *but rather that they bee* Signes, *that is to say*, that they signifie (some other thing.) In this sense and meaning S. Augustine saith againe: Dominus ait, Ipse (Iohannes) est Elias: Iohannes autem ipse ait, Ego non sum Elias: Rectè ergo Iohannes proprie respondit: Nam Dominus Figurate: *Our Lord said of* Iohn *the Baptist*, This is Elias: *But* Iohn *himselfe saith*, I am not Elias. *Therefore* Iohn *answered well in* plaine maner of words: *For our Lord spake in a* Figure. Thus in sundry sorts of speech Iohn is Elias, and the same Iohn is not Elias: and both are true.

De Cons. Dist. 2 Hoc est. In Glossa.

Aug. de Doctrina. Christian. Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 4.

But what better Expositour of S. Ambrose can wee find then S. Ambrose himselfe? I trust M. Harding will not say, that so holy a Father was a Falsifier and a Lier, specially in declaring his owne minde. Thus therefore he saith: Ante Benedictionem Verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur: post Consecrationem Corpus Christi significatur. In comedendo & potando, Carnem & Sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, Significamus. In Similitudinem accipis Sacramentum. Est Figura Corporis & Sanguinis Domini. Similitudinem pretiosi Sanguinis bibis: *Before the blessing of the Heauenly words*, it is called another Kinde: *After the words of Consecration, the* Body of Christ is Signified. *In eating and drinking we* Signifie the Body & Blood *that were offered for vs. Thou receiuest the Sacrament for a* Similitude, *or for a likenesse. It is a* Figure *of the Body and Blood of our Lord. Thou drinkest the* likenesse of the pretious Blood.

Ambros. de iis qui initiantur, Cap. 9.

Ambros. 1. Cor. 11.

Ambros de Sacrament. lib. 4. cap. 4. & 5.

The like forme of words the same S. Ambrose vseth of the Sacrament of Baptisme: Vidisti Aquam? Sed non omnis Aqua sanat: Sed Aqua sanat, quæ habet Gratiam Dei. Aliud est Elementum: Aliud Consecratio: *Hast thou seene the Water? But all Water healeth not. But that Water healeth, that hath the Grace of God.* The Element (or Creature of Water) is one thing: and the Consecration is another thing.

Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Thus the Bread remaineth: and thus it is changed. It remaineth in Substance: It is changed in Mysterie.

But M. Harding heauily presseth these words, Mutantur in aliud: That is (saith hee) into a thing of another Substance. For by this phrase is signified a Substantiall changing, which aptly is called Transubstantiation. I will not heere vse your courteous eloquence, M. Harding: nor say vnto you as you say to others, I pray you, good Sir: but thus I say: I pray you, M. Harding, who gaue you this rule? Who taught you this Lesson? De Cœlo est, an ex Hominibus? *Came it from Heauen, or is it of men?* Haue the holy Fathers thus taught you, or is it onely your owne fantasie? What Grammar, what Logike, what Philosophy, what Diuinity euer told you, that Aliud euermore signifieth a thing of another Substance? If ye haue an Authour, why come you without him? If it bee onely of your selfe, why should we beleeue you?

Changed into another thing.

If Aliud signifie onely a Substance, and nothing else, why doth S. Augustine say, as it is before alleged, Sacramenta sunt Signa rerum, aliud existentia, aliud Significantia? Why saith S. Augustine againe, Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud Virtus Sacramenti? Why saith S. Ambrose, Aliud est Elementum, aliud Consecratio? For by your Diuinity the Sacrament, the Form, the Consecration, be Accidents only, and may not be taken for the Substance. Verily, for ought that I can learne, Aliud, is nothing else, but Res alia, another thing, whether it be the Substance, or the Accident. For I thinke ye haue not forgotten the Old Rule: Vnumquodque in suo genere est quid.

August. contra Maxim. lib. 3. Cap. 22.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 26.

Ambr. de Sacram. lib. 1. c. 5.

M. Harding. fol. 347. b.

Addition ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. Who would thinke that a man of your study and learning, and of

of that place, would say, and mainetaine it, that S. Ambrose meaneth, Bread and wine, after Consecration to remaine still in Substance that which they were before. *The Answer.* Who would thinke that a man of your learning, M. Harding, would be so vaine, or so wilfull? Haue you forgotten that Gelasius saith, Non desinit esse Substantia vel Natura Panis & Vini? *It ceaseth not to be the Substance or Nature of Bread and Wine?* Haue you forgotten that S. Chrysostome saith, Natura Panis remanet in Sacramento? *The Nature or Substance of Bread remaineth still in the Sacrament?* Or, that Theodoretus saith, Christus Naturam Panis non mutat? *Christ changeth not the Nature of the Bread?* Who would thinke you would refuse to expound one Father by another?

Changed into another thing.

Gelasius contra Eutychetem: Chrysostom. ad Cæsarium. Theodoretus Dialog. 1.

M. Harding. Iwill construe these words for him, and will shew his extreame blindnesse. Ergo, the *Si tanta vis est*, If so great strength be, *In Sermone Domini Iesu*, In ỹ speech of our Lord Iesus, *Vt* that, &c. M. Iewel supplieth Bread and Wine to be the Nominatiue case to the Verbe, *Sint*, Be, or rather, to the Verbe, *Sunt*. He beginneth the construction with the verbe *Sint*, whereas, *Quæ erant*, should goe before. Againe, between, *Quæ*, and *Erant*, M. Iewel conueieth in a Pronoune Demonstratiue, which hath no place there, saying, which they were, &c. Is (*Sunt*) to be Englished, They remaine the same? *Sunt*, is no more, but, They be, &c. All S. Ambrose reason proceedeth to proue that Gods Word is of force to change Creatures: and he meaneth of change in Substance. For all his Comparison consisteth about the words *Non esse*, and *Esse*: and *Esse*, and *Aliud esse*, &c. And who would not wonder to see S. Ambrose labour so vehemently to proue that Gods Word is able to change a Creature in qualitie, as though a man were not able to change a thing in quality? &c When Consecration is come vnto it, *De Pane*, from of Bread, it is made Christs Flesh. *The Answer.* Good Reader, the words that I haue already written may suffice thee for Answer in this behalfe. But whereas M. Harding seeketh to preuaile by his pretty Constructions, and thus nicely teacheth thee to expound S. Ambrose, *Ergo*, Then: *Si*, If: *Vt*, That: *Sunt*, Be: that is to say, haue a being, *Quæ erant*, should goe before: *Sint*, should follow after, his dealing herein is light and childish, as thou maist see, and not worthy of Answer. *The Bread and the Wine*, saith S. Ambrose, *are still that they were, and yet are changed into an other thing.* Here M. Harding crieth out: These words, Bread and wine, are not in S. Ambrose. These words M. Iewel hath supplied to be the Nominatiue case to the Verbe, *Sint*. To answer your Grammaticall Diuinitie, M. Harding, if S. Ambrose meant not Bread and Wine, I pray you tell vs, what things meant he? If ye say he meant nothing, the children will laugh at you: If ye say, hee meant any other things then Bread and Wine, it must needes follow that some other things besides Bread and Wine are changed into Christs Body: which would be the ouerthrow of all your Doctrine. S. Ambrose saith, by your owne Translation, as cleare as midnight: *The things that were, bee, or haue a being, and they are changed into another thing.* What things were they? What things haue a being? What things are changed? Once againe I say vnto you, If S. Ambrose meant not Bread and Wine, I pray you tell vs, what things meant he? If Bread and Wine be not changed, where is then your Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine? If the Bread and wine remaine not, how say you that the Bread and Wine haue a being? Will you say, They haue a being, and yet be nothing? Leaue these deuices M. Harding: They become you not. Why should you so vainely encombre the world with such follies? S. Ambrose saith: *They are changed into another thing.* So may they be, though the former Substance and Nature of Bread and Wine remaine still. But you say: All S. Ambroses reason proceedeth to proue that Gods Word is of force to change Creatures, meaning as you say, of change in Substance. How know you that, M. Harding? Verily S. Ambrose himselfe seemeth not to know it. Behold his words: Thus he saith: Moses *lifted vp his rod, and the water was diuided, and stood as a Wall: The water of* Iordan *turned his course, and contrary to Nature flowed backward to his Head. Is it not cleare that Nature was changed? &c.* Now tell vs M. Harding, call you this a change in Substance? Was not the water both of the Red Sea, and of Iordan in Nature and Substance as it was before? By these, and such other like examples, it appeareth that notwithstanding S. Ambrose say, *The Nature is changed*, yet hee meant a change in quality onely, and not in Substance. But he saith: *Of Bread is made Christs Body.* So Chrysostome saith: *The Baptisme of Christ is Christs Blood.* But S. Ambrose saith not, The Bread is no longer Bread: Or, The Bread is really changed into Christs Body. His words agree thoroughly with the words of Tertullian that liued before him. For as S. Ambrose saith, *Of the Bread is made Christs Body*: Euen so saith Tertullian: Christus accepit Panem, & Corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est Corpus meum, hoc est. Figura Corporis mei: Christ *tooke Bread, and made it his Body, saying, This is my Body, that is to say, This is a Figure of my Body.* The Bread, saith hee, is made the Body of Christ. What thing can there be more plainely spoken? But he thought it good further to open his owne meaning, lest any man should be deceiued. *He made it his Body* (saith he)

M. Harding fol. 348. b. Fol. 349. a. Fol. 349. b. M. Harding fol. 349. a. Fol. 349. b. *Ambros. de illis qui initiantur, Cap. 9.* *Chrys. ad Hebræ. Homil. 16.* *Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. 4*

Changed into another thing.

That is to ſay, He made it a Figure, or a Sacrament of his body. Euen ſo meant S. Ambroſe and the ſame meaning he hath many waies plainely vttered, as I haue ſaid before. Theſe be his wordes: *The Body of Chriſt is ſignified: We ſignifie the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt: Thou receiueſt the Sacrament for a likeneſſe: Thou drinkeſt the Similitude of the Precious Blood: It is a Figure of the Body and Blood of our Lord.* In this ſenſe S. Ambroſe ſaith, *The Bread is made Chriſts Body.* You muſt giue him leaue of courteſie, M. Harding, to expound his owne meaning, vnleſſe you know it better then he himſelfe.

M. Harding fol. 349. b.

You ſay: Who would not wonder to ſee S. Ambroſe labour ſo vehemently to proue that Gods Word is able to change a Creature in quality, as though a man were not able to change a thing in quality? And marueil you ſo much hereat, M. Harding? It appeareth ye haue not ſo aduiſedly conſidered the Holy Fathers. S. Cyprian ſpeaking onely of the Holy Oile, ſaith thus: Sanctificatis Elementis, iam non propria Natura præbet effectum: Sed virtus diuina potentiùs operatur: Adeſt Veritas Signo, & Spiritus Sacramento: *When the Elements (of the Oile) be Sanctified, it is not the Nature there of that giueth effect: But the power of God worketh more mightily: The Truth is preſent with the Signe: And the Holy Ghoſt is preſent with the Sacrament. It is not Nature,* he ſaith: *It is the Power of God.* So earneſtly he laboureth to proue a change: And yet is it a change, not in Subſtance, as you know, but onely in quality. Such extraordinary ſpeaches be very common in the Ancient Writers. Bertramus that liued about eight hundred yeeres paſt, ſaith thus: Chriſt *of the Manna that fell from Heauen in the Wilderneſſe, inuiſibly made his owne Body: And of the Water that flowed from the Rocke, inuiſibly he wrought his owne Blood.* Theſe wordes be vehement, as none may be more. Yet was this change in Quality only, and not in Subſtance. So ſaith Beda: Panis & Vini Creatura in Sacramentum Carnis & Sanguinis Chriſti, myſtica Spiritus Sanctificatione transfertur: *The Creature of Bread and Wine, by the vnſpeakeable Sanctification of the Holy Ghoſt, is turned into the Sacrament of Chriſts fleſh and Blood.* He ſaith not, It is changed in Subſtance, or, it is really turned into Chriſts Fleſh and Blood: but only, *It is turned into the Sacrament of Chriſts Fleſh and Blood.* And therefore S. Ambroſe, after all other his vehement wordes, ſaith thus: Vera vtique Caro Chriſti, quæ crucifixa eſt, quæ ſepulta eſt: Verè ergo Carnis illius Sacramentum eſt. Ipſe clamat Dominus Ieſus, hoc eſt Corpus meum. Ante Benedictionem verborum Cœleſtium alia ſpecies nominatur: Poſt Conſecrationem Corpus Chriſti Significatur: *That was the very true Fleſh of Chriſt, that was Crucified, and that was Buried: Therefore this is verily a Sacrament of that Fleſh. The Lord Ieſus himſelfe ſaith, This is my Body. Before the Benediction of the Heauenlie words it is named another kinde: After the Conſecration, the Bodie of Chriſt is Signified.*

Beda in Octauas Epiphania.

Ambroſ. de illis qui initiant. Cap 9.

And leſt any man ſhould wonder at theſe ſtrange kinds of ſpeaches, like as S. Ambroſe ſpeaketh of the Changing of the Bread in our Lords Supper, euen ſo he ſpeaketh of the Changing of the Water in the Sacrament of Baptiſme. Theſe be his wordes: *First of all the Apoſtle teacheth thee not to behold* (in Baptiſme) *the things that are ſeen, but the things that are not ſeene, &c. Beleeue therefore the Preſence of the Godhead. Beleeneſt thou the worke, and beleeneſt thou not the Preſence, &c.? Beleeue not only the eies of the Body. That thing is better ſeene, that is not ſeene, &c. This is that Myſtery that eie neuer ſaw, that eare neuer heard, that neuer entered into the heart of man, &c. To them of the Iewes an Angel came downe vnto thee commeth downe the Holy Ghoſt. Vnto them the Creature of the Water was ſtirred: vnto thee Chriſt himſelfe worketh, that is the Lord of the Creature &c. Beleeue therefore that our Lord Ieſus is preſent in Baptiſme at the Praier of the Prieſt, &c. Say not, How are we Regenerate? I know not heere the vſe of Nature. The order of Nature is not there, whereas is the excellency of Gods Grace.* Theſe and ſuch other like wordes S. Ambroſe vttereth onely touching *The Sacrament of Baptiſme. Beleeue not* (ſaith he) *thy Bodily eies: Gods word is workefull. Here is no order of Nature: Grace excelleth: Nature yeeldeth: Chriſt is the Lord of the Creature: God is preſent: Chriſt is preſent.* So earneſtly he laboureth, to proue this change. And yet is it a change not in Subſtance, but onely in Quality. Such change is there in the Water. Such change is there in the Bread and Wine.

De illis qui initiant. Cap 3.

Cap. 4.

Cap. 5.

Cap 9.

M. Harding. fol. 349 a.

Laſt of all, whereas I haue thus Engliſhed theſe wordes, *Sunt quæ erant*, They remaine the ſame that they were, ye charge me with falſe Tranſlation: Is *Sunt* (ſay you) to be Engliſhed, they remaine the ſame? *Sunt*, is no more, but, they be. If S. Ambroſe would haue ſaid as you vnruly tranſlate him, his words had been theſe: *Manent eadem.* Your obiection is prety, M. Harding. We will not heere diſpute of the propriety of wordes. Be it that, *eſt*, may not commonly be Engliſhed, to remaine: yet ſometimes perhaps, and in ſome ſentence it may wel beare this Engliſh. Ieremy ſaith: Rachel plorat Filios ſuos, quia non ſunt. Dauid ſaith: Laudabo Dominum quamdiu ſum: What if a man would thus Engliſh theſe wordes: Rachel *bewaileth her Children, becauſe they remains not: I will praiſe the Lord while I*

Ierem. 31. Pſalm. 117.

remaine

remaine aliue? Would you therefore condemne him of Herefie? Or, would you say, *Sum*, may not bee Englished, To remaine? As for the place of S. Ambrose, it seemeth, it may well be so Englished: *Sunt, quæ erant:* They remaine, that they were before. If this mislike you, wee will follow your owne English, and say thus: They are, that they were before. Now, I pray you, what aduantage haue you gotten by this exchange? But you say, If S. Ambrose, had thus meant, hee would haue said, *Manent eadem* That may well bee doubted. For S. Ambrose is not alwaies most curious in choise of words. Howbeit, although hee say it not, yet others haue said it. For as it is alleged before, S. Chrysostome saith: Natura Panis remanet in Sacramento: *The Nature of Bread remaineth in the Sacrament.* And Gelasius saith: *It ceaseth not to bee the Substance or Nature of Bread and Wine.* If it cease not to bee, then must you confesse, It remaineth still. And thus haue you found that very same word, that so hath offended you.

Sunt quæ erant.

Chrys. ad Cæsarium.

Gelasius contra Eutychetem.

We say, The Nature and Substance of the Bread and Wine, is not clearely changed, or consumed into nothing, as many haue dreamed in these latter daies. Heere M. Harding commeth roughly in, as his maner is, and saith, ye belie vs: we say not so: God forbid. Thus he cryeth out before he be stricken. Salomon saith: Impius fugit, nemine persequente: *The guilty flieth before he be chased.* For notwithstanding there be multitudes of follies in his Doctrine, yet with this folly we charge him not. But whether any of his Fellowes haue so said, or no, I report me to his Master, Peter Lombard. His words bee these: Quid ergo fit de Substantia Panis & Vini? Illi dicunt, vel in præiacentem materiam resolui, vel in nihilum redigi: *What then becommeth of the* Substance of the Bread and Wine? *They say, either that it is resolued into the matter that was before, or else that it is* consumed into nothing.

Prouerb. 28.

4. *Senten. Dist.* 11. *Quidam.*

What? Into nothing? Marry God forbid, saith M. Harding. So coy, and so carefull he is for his holy Forms, and his kingdome of Accidents. He saith, The whole Substance of the Bread is cleane abolished, not one part thereof remaining: yet may it not be turned into nothing. And as if the matter were well worth somewhat, he assureth the same sadly with a great detestation, God forbid: God shield the Bread. Verily something might be said, if it were any thing worth the hearing. But, good Reader, thou shalt lose nothing by the silence: For I assure thee, verily it is worth nothing.

Yet M. Harding first giueth vs his courteous Mercy: and afterward, in his familiar maner chargeth vs by plaine termes with a Lie: and suddenly crieth out, as he saith: beyond the modesty of his naturall disposition, what is Iuggling; what is Lying; what is falshood; what is falsifying; what is wickednesse of Falsaries, if this be not? I might say, O Sirs, hold the man. Good Christian Reader, in all these Whats, thou wilt happily thinke, there should bee somewhat. Howbeit, indeed it is but a pangue of M. Hardings Rhetoricke. He speaketh not thus of his owne Naturall disposition, as hee himselfe saith, but of Art and study: lest thou shouldest thinke, that hauing spent so many waste words, in the end he had said nothing.

But what is the matter, M. Harding? What moueth you to make this pitteous outcry? Forsooth because we say, *The Bread and Wine remaine the same they were before.* But these be S. Ambroses owne words, they be not ours: we make them not: we change them not, but report them simplie, as we finde them. As they were written in Latine by the Author, these they are: (Panis, & Vinum) sunt, quę erant, & in aliud mutantur: The Bread and Wine are the same, that they were: *and are changed into another thing.* Therefore it appeareth, al these exclamations, of, what is Iuggling? what is Lying, &c. pertaine vnto S. Ambrose the Author hereof, and not vnto vs.

Now forasmuch as it hath pleased M. Harding so earnestly to call vs forth to construe him these words, I beseech thee, good Reader, marke well, what constructions he, and his Fellowes haue imagined and fansied vpon the same. First of all Lanfrancus, the chiefest Champian of that side, thought it the wisest way, vtterly to denie these words, and to say, They were neuer written by S. Ambrose. For thus he stormeth against Berengarius: O mentem amentem! O hominem impudenter mentientem! O puniendam temeritatem! Ambrosium accire testem præsumis quòd Panis & Vinum Altaris per Consecrationẽ non desinant esse, quod erant, sed commutentur in aliud, quod non erant? & quidem si de Sacramentis, seu de cæteris, de quibus Ambrosius scripsit, omnes reuoluat Libros, quos Ecclesia in vsu nunc habet, tale quid ab Ambrosio dictum, taliterque expositum, nusquam reperire valebit: *O madde minde! O impudent liar! O rashnesse worthy of punishment! Darest thou to allege* S. Ambrose *for a witnesse, that the Bread and Wine of the Altar, leaue not by Consecratiõ to be that they were before: but are changed into an other thing, that they were not? Now truly if he peruse all the Bookes, that* S. Ambrose *hath written, either of the Sacraments, or of o-*

Lanfrancum de Eucharist.

Changed into another thing.

ther matters, I meane ſuch bookes, as the Church hath now in vſe, he ſhall neuer finde any thing ſo written by S Ambroſe, *and ſo expounded.*

But M. Harding thought, he might not well thus doe without impeachment of his modeſty. For the very ſame words are to be found extant, and apparant in euery Booke. Therefore allowing the words, he thought it beſt to follow his Maſter Peter a Soto, **and to delay, and qualifie the ſame with ſome Conſtruction.**

Thus therefore he ſaith: Sunt, quæ erant, & in aliud mutantur: Doth it not follow by good Logike, Mutata ſunt, ergo ſunt; They bee changed, *Ergo*, they bee? **In Louaine, perhaps: In other Vniuerſities, I doubt, whether it haue hitherto beene allowed, or no. For by this** Logike, **whereas** S. Hierome ſaith, Superbia mutata eſt in Humilitatem, **M. Harding may conclude as he doth now:** Superbia mutata eſt; Ergo eſt; *Pride is changed into Humility:* Ergo, *Pride is, or remaineth ſtill.* **And whereas** S. Paul ſaith: Commutauerunt Veritatem Dei in mendacium; By this Logike **M. Harding may ſay:** Mutata eſt, Ergo eſt: *The Truth of God is changed into a Lie*: Ergo, *It is Gods Truth ſtill notwithſtanding.*

Hier. in Matth. cap. 18.
Rom. 1.

And to take further view of M. Hardings Conſtruction, **thus he ſaith:** Panis & Vinum ſunt, quæ erant, id eſt, qualia erant: *The Bread and Wine be in* Subſtance the ſame, *that they were: That is to ſay,* They be in qualities or Accidents, *as they were.* **They are changed,** in aliud, **into an other thing: that is, into another** Subſtance. **They are** Changed: **that is, they are** Tranſubſtantiate. They be: **that is,** They be not: **That** they were: **that is,** that they were not. **Thus** Subſtance **is** Accidens; Accidens **is** Subſtance; Being **is** not Being; not Being **is** Being; Remaining **is** not Remaining; Changing **is** not Changing; **and** the ſame thing **is** not the ſame.

With ſuch pyety Conſtructions, **M. Harding can teach vs to expound the ancient Fathers. Theſe be their Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen. Heerewith there is nothing ſo cloſe ſhut, but they can open it: There is nothing ſo open, but they can ſhut it. Here might I conclude with M. Hardings owne words, and rightly ſay, as he ſaith:** what is Iuggling? what is Lying? &c. **But it ſhall be beſt to leaue his owne eloquence and modeſty to himſelfe.**

M. Harding.

The places of Gelaſius & Theodoret in appearance ſeeme to make much for you, and more then any other Doctors. And though theſe two Doctors were altogether of this opinion, that after Conſecration the Subſtance of Bread & Wine remaineth, what reaſon is it, they only in ſo great a matter ſhould preiudicate al others holy and learned Fathers, and which is more, the general Councels, and (a) the whole Church of Chriſt? The Catholike Faith we finde in them both within few lines after the words of this Defenders obiection, firſt by Gelaſius thus expreſſed: *Sacramenta Corporis & Sanguinis Domini in diuinã transeunt, Spiritu Sancto perficiente, Subſtantiam: permanent tamen in ſua proprietate Naturæ*: The Sacraments (ſaith he) of the Body and Blood of our Lord paſſe ouer into a Diuine Subſtance by the working of the holy Ghoſt. Yet remaine they ſtil in the propriety of their owne Nature. By Diuine Subſtance he meaneth the Fleſh of our Lord aſſumpted of the Word. Now ſaith Theodoritus, the Myſticall tokens, bee vnderſtanded to be the things which they be made and are beleeued and adored, as being the things which they are beleeued to be. But euery man knoweth they are beleeued to bee made the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and therefore be duly adored and worſhipped: ſo after the minde of Theodorite, they be the Body and Bloud indeed, not Bread and Wine, as before Conſecration.

The truth confeſſed by Theodoritus Dialog. 2.

(a) Vntruth. For this fantaſie was neuer allowed thorow the whole Church of Chriſt; as it ſhall appeare.

The Subſtance or Nature of Bread and Wine ceaſeth not to be, ſaith Gelaſius: (Whereas your Interpreter addeth of his owne head this word, So) (b) Wee tell you and him, in Theodorite it is not ſo. *Ergo*, it remaineth, ſay ye. We grant the Subſtance or Nature of Bread and Wine remaineth after Conſecration, ſo as Gelaſius vnderſtandeth by the name of Subſtance, (c) which is nothing elſe but the very Nature (as commonly we ſpeake of Nature) that is to ſay, the natural properties of Bread and Wine; for ſo he expoundeth himſelfe afterward, ſaying; Yet they remaine in the Property of their owne Nature. They remaine (likewiſe ſaith Theodorite) in their former Subſtance, Figure and Forme, and be ſeene and felt as before.

Nature in Gelaſius, and Subſtance in Theodorite is taken for naturall property. Dialog. 2. Logica 40.

(b) Vntruth: Without queſtion it is ſo. For the words bee. *Non deſinit eſſe* Subſtantia Panis.

(c) A peeuiſh vntruth. It had beene too great a folly.

And thereto may Damaſcens definition of Subſtance pertaine, who ſaith, that ſubſtance is euery that, whatſoeuer by it ſelfe is being, and hath not being in an other. And therefore (d) ſith the Accidents haue their being by themſelues in this Sacrament, and be not ſtaied on any other thing, in this conſideration, Subſtance of them may ſo be reported, as if themſelues were Subſtance. Which (e) Subſtantial conſiſting of the Accidents lacking a proper name, becauſe it is the mighty & extraordinary hand of God, is alſo extraordinarily called of Gelaſius, & Theodoritus by the name which the thing had before, to wit, the Subſtance of Bread and Wine. And no maruell if they ſpake not in (f) moſt exact wiſe of this ſecret point of Doctrin (**of Formes and Accidents**) at what time it was not as yet by the Church ſo clearely and fully diſcuſſed; (**as it was neuer yet vntill this day.**) But ſithence the Schoolemen (**ignorant and phantaſticall Sophiſters**) it hath been more diſtinctly named the exiſtence of Accidents without their Subiect, that is, without another thing whereupon they might ſtay.

(d) Vntruth manifeſt; Read the Anſwer.

(e) Subſtantiall conſiſting of Accidents; O folly!

(f) O exact folly! A heape of Vntruthes without ſenſe.

Againe, whereas Bread and Wine by their nature doe nouriſh, (g) this vertue alſo remaineth in the Accidents giuen to them by the Almighty Word of God, who changeth Creatures to their bettering, not to their Impairing. This was the meaning of Gelaſius and Theodoritus, where they ſay, the Bread and Wine to remaine in the Former Subſtance or Nature. Otherwiſe ſhould they be contrary to themſelues, as they, which alſo doe acknowledge the Nature of Bread and Wine to bee changed into a more excellent Subſtance, by the workefull Word of Chriſt.

(g) Vntruth. M. Hareing by one dreame expoundeth another.

The

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

As for these two Fathers, Gelasius and Theodoretus, notwithstanding M. Harding would seeme to make small account of them, for that they be, as hee saith, but only two, yet he rather catcheth hold in some darke or doubtfull word, by them vttered, then hee would seeme vtterly to giue them ouer. Gelasius saith: *The Sacraments passe ouer into a Diuine Substance.* If he had said, *They passe ouer into a Diuine Accident*, it would somewhat better haue shadowed these mens purpose. But other Diuine Substance M. Harding can imagine none, sauing onely Christs Body Substantially and really contained vnder the Formes of Bread and wine. And this fantasie, notwithstanding Gelasius neuer knew it, must needs be allowed against all, that Gelasius himselfe can say to the contrary.

But if M. Harding had better remembred the placing and meaning of this word Substantia, and that aswell Gelasius as other learned Fathers vse the same as Diuines, and not as Naturall Philosophers, he should easily haue found his owne error. Substance.

It may please thee therefore, good Christian Reader, to vnderstand, That the promise of Mercy, The grace of God, Our Faith in Christ, Gods Word, and the Holy Sacraments, that are the aids and helpes of our Faith, are of the holy ancient Writers called a Substance. So S. Cyprian saith: Substantiam Salutis amittunt: *They lose the* Substance *of Saluation.* So saith Irenæus: Quamuis sint in Operibus materialibus, tamen putant se non amittere Spiritualem Substantiam: *Although they liue in worldly or filthy workes, yet they thinke they lose not the Spirituall Substance.* Likewise againe he saith of the follies & vanities of the Valentinian Heretiks: Insubstantiatiuum ostendit figmentum ipsorum: *He shewed, that their inuentions and deuices were void of* Substance. So S. Chrysostome: Fides dat Substantiam rebus: Imò potiùs non dat Substantiam, sed ipsa est Substantia earum: *Faith giueth things their* Substance: *Or rather, it giueth not* Substance *vnto things, but it selfe is their* Substance. In like manner saith Tertullian: Deus Idololatriæ Substantiam cohibuit: *God forbad the* Substance *of Idolatry.* So saith Abbat Panormitane: Continentia non est de Substantia Ordinis: *Single or sole life is not of the* Substance *of holy Orders.* And another saith: Enim, non est de Substantia Consecrationis. *This word* Enim, *is not of the* Substance of Consecration. By these and other like examples, it may appeare, that in cases of Religion, Substance is not euermore taken for Christs Body couered with Accidents.

Cyprian. De Simpl. Prælat.
Iren. lib. 1. ca. 1.
In eodem cap. Ἀνυπαρκτον, Ἀνυπόστατον.
Chrys. in epist. ad Hebræ. Homil. 21.
Tertull. aduers. Marcion. lib. 2.
Abbas, Extra. De Clericis Coniugatis.

If all these examples will not yet suffice, to grow nere to our purpose, S. Ambrose saith: Quid est Ieiunium, nisi substantia & Imago Cœlestis? *What is Fasting, but a* Substance, *and an Heauenly Image?*

Cùm olim Pupilla Oculi. pag. 14.

Likewise Tertullian calleth Baptisme, Diuinam Substantiam: *A diuine* Substance. His words be these: Quid festinat innocens ætas, ad Remissionem Peccatorum? Cautiùs agitur in sæcularibus: vt cui Substantia terrena non creditur, Diuina credatur: *Why hasteth this innocent age (*hee meaneth Children*) to the Remission of their Sinnes? We are much more wary in worldly things. It is meete wee should commit the Sacrament of Baptisme, which is a* Diuine Substance, *vnto them, vnto whom wee would not commit the* Substance *of the Earth.*

Ambr. de Elia & ieiunio. ca. 3.
Tertull. De baptismo.
This is one of Tertullians errours.

By these we may see, in what sense Gelasius calleth the Sacrament of Thanksgiuing, a Diuine Substance. Verily none otherwaies, but euen as S. Ambrose calleth Fasting, A Heauenly Substance. And as Tertullian calleth the Sacrament of Baptisme, by the same words, A diuine Substance. And what can this auaile M. Harding, to proone either his Transubstantiation, or his Reall presence?

But why dealeth hee so doubly? Wherefore dissembleth he the words of Gelasius, that immediately in the same sentence went before? For Gelasius himselfe so cleerely and plainly expoundeth his owne minde, as no Louanian Doctour can doe it better. Thus hee saith: Non desinit esse Substantia Panis, vel natura Vini. Et certè Imago, & similitudo Corporis & Sanguinis Christi in Actione Mysteriorum celebratur: There leaueth not to be the Substance of Bread, or the nature of Wine. *And indeed the* Image or Representation & likenesse *of the body and blood of Christ is published in the Ministration of the Mysteries.* And againe in the words next immediately following: Sacramenta transeunt in Diuinam, Spiritu Sancto perficiente, Substantiam: permanent tamen in suæ proprietate Naturæ: *The Sacraments, by the working of the holy Ghost, passe into a Diuine* Substance: *yet notwithstanding they* remaine still in the property of their owne nature.

Gelasius contra Eutychetem.

This Image, or Representation, or Likenesse, or Memorie of the Body and Blood of Christ is it, that Gelasius calleth the Diuine Substance.

De Con. dist. 1. Hoc est, quod dicimus.

And in like sense S. Augustine calleth the same, Cœlestem Panem: The Heauenly Bread: Thus he writeth, as he is alleged by Gratian: Cœlestis Panis, qui Caro Christi est,

Subſtance.

eſt, ſuo modo vocatur Corpus Chriſti: cùm reuera ſit Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti: *The* Heauenly Bread (**of the Sacrament**) *which is the fleſh of* Chriſt, after this ſort *is called the Body of Chriſt, whereas* indeed *it is the Sacrament of Chriſts Body.* **Likewiſe ſaith** S. Cyprian: Diuerſa Nomina, vel Species ad Vnam reducuntur Eſſentiam: & Significantia, & ſignificata eiſdem vocabulis cenſentur: *Diuers names or kindes* (**of things**) *are brought vnto one* Subſtance: **that is to ſay,** *The things that doe* Signifie, *and the things that bee* Signified, *are reckoned both by one name:* **that is, as the Body of Chriſt is called Bread, ſo is the Bread called** Chriſts **Body.**

Cyprian. de Vnctione Chriſmatis.

De Conſ. Diſt. 2. Species.

To be ſhort, as Gelaſius **calleth the Sacrament,** A Diuine Subſtance, **euen ſo** Gratian **ſaith to the ſame purpoſe:** Quidam non improbabiliter exponunt hoc loco, Carnis, & Sanguinis Veritatem, ipſam earundem efficientiam, id eſt, peccatorum Remiſsionem: *Some there bee, that in this place, not without good reaſon, by theſe words,* The Truth of Chriſts Fleſh and Blood, vnderſtand the Effect or working of the ſame, *that is to ſay, The Remiſſion of Sinnes.*

Arti 8. Diuiſ. 26. Et Art. 10. Diuiſ. 4.

Theodor. in. 2. Dialoge, Incõfuſus.

Auguſt. contra Maxim. lib. 3. cap. 22.

For anſwer vnto Theodoretus, **it may pleaſe thée for ſparing of time, to read my Former Reply to M. Harding. It is true, that** Theodoret **ſaith:** *The Myſticall Tokens* (**that is to ſay**) *the Sacraments, be vnderſtood to be the things, which they be made, & beleeued.* **That is, That they be Myſteries of** Chriſts **Body: or, that in a Myſterie, or by way of a Sacrament, they be the Body of** Chriſt. **But it is true alſo, that hee ſaith, both immediately following in the ſame place, and alſo before:** Signa Myſtica poſt Sanctificationem, non recedunt a Natura ſua: Manent enim in Priori Subſtantia, & Figura, & Forma: The Myſticall Tokens (or Sacraments) after the Conſecration depart not from their owne Nature: *For they* remaine ſtill in their Former Subſtance, *and Forme, and Figure.* **And as I haue often alledged out of S.** Auguſtine: In Sacramentis videndum eſt, non quid ſint, ſed quid ſignificent: *In Sacraments we muſt conſider* not what they be (**in déed and of their owne nature**) *but what they ſignifie.*

Chryſoſt. ad Caſarium.

So ſaith S. Chryſoſtome: Antequam Panis ſanctificetur, Panem eum nominamus: Diuina autem illum Gratia ſanctificante, mediante Sacerdote, liberatus eſt quidem ab appellatione Panis: Dignus autem habitus eſt Dominici Corporis appellatione: Etiamſi Natura Panis in illo remanſerit: *Before the Bread be Sanctified, we call it Bread. But after that, by the meane of the Prieſt, the Heauenly Grace hath hallowed it, it is diſcharged from the name of Bread, and is vouchſafed to be called by the name of our Lords Body:* notwithſtanding the nature of the Bread remaine ſtill.

Theodoret. Dialogo. 1.

So ſaith Theodoret **himſelfe:** Seruator noſter commutauit nomina: & Corpori quidem Symboli nomen dedit, Symbolo verò nomen Corporis: *Our Sauiour hath made exchange of the names: And vnto his Body hath giuen the name of* (**Bread, which is**) *the Sacrament: and* vnto the Sacrament hath giuen the name of his Body.

Neuertheleſſe, notwithſtanding theſe words both of Theodoretus, **and of** Gelaſius, (The Subſtance of Bread and Wine, after the words of Conſecration, remaineth ſtill) **be ſo plaine, that no man without bluſhing may deny them: Yet hath M. Harding one good ſhift left in ſtore.** The Subſtance (ſaith he) ſometimes is vſed for the Accident. **Euen as diſcreetly and to ſo good purpoſe, as if he had ſaid, Fire is Water, or light is darkneſſe. And ſo by this Conſtruction,** Subſtance **ſometimes is no** Subſtance. **This is M. Hardings owne peculiar Diuinity, without the witneſſe of any of all the learned Fathers, Greeke or Latine, one or other. For, good Reader, thou maiſt not thinke, that any man, either well aduiſed or learned, would ſay the like.**

The Fathers (ſaith hee) ſpake not heereof in moſt exact wiſe. **Perhaps they had not learned their Logike Rules, or vnderſtood not the Principles of Naturall reaſon, no not ſo much, as a childe may eaſily vnderſtand: but vſed** Subſtance **for** Accidents, Accidents **for** Subſtance: **and one thing for another, as men that knew not what they ſaid. Indéed, M. Harding, this is not as you ſay,** Exact wiſe: **It ſeemeth rather to be,** Exact folly.

We adde further, Damaſcene ſaith, Subſtance is euery that, whatſoeuer by it ſelfe is being, and hath no being in another. **What needed you heere to allege** Damaſcene? **Children know that** Ariſtotle **and others long before him wrote the like. Notwithſtanding to this** Maior, **yet ſet a** Minor **of your owne.** The Accidents (ſay you) haue their being by themſelues, and bee not ſtaid in any other thing. **O, M. Harding, this thing would haue had ſome better proofe. Why allege you not either** S. Auguſtine, **or** S. Ambroſe, **or** S. Chryſoſtome, **or** S. Hierome, **or ſome other Catholike Father to this purpoſe? Your ſimple word is no good warrant. Ye proue that thing, that is Vniuerſally confeſſed, and needed no proofe: but that yet ſhould proue, ye leaue vnproued. This in** Sophiſtry **is called** Petitio Principij, **the ſimpleſt ſhift that can be vſed.** Damaſcens Maior **is confeſſed, and true. But your** Minor **and Concluſion are both vntrue. For whereas you ſay of your ſelfe:** The Accidents haue

their

ther being by themſelues: We ſay, The ſame Accidents haue their Being in the Bread and Wine, as in their Subiects. Sundrie of your own fellowes haue ſaid, Accidentia illa ſunt in Aëre, tanquam in Subiecto: Theſe Accidents, are in the Aire, as in their Subiect. Therefore by their iudgement, They haue not their being, (as you ſay) by themſelues. You may alſo remember, that your Maſter himſelfe, neuer durſt preciſely to determine this matter: but onely palleth it ouer darkely and doubtfully, as being not well reſolued, what to ſay: His words be theſe: Mihi videtur fatendum, Accidentia illa exiſtere ſine Subiecto: It ſeemeth *vnto mee, or, as I can gheſſe, theſe Accidents haue their being without a Subiect.* Such is the aſſurance and certainty of your Doctrine.

De Conſ. Diſt. 2. Species. Ita Gloſſa.

4. Senten. Diſt. 21. Si autem.

M. Harding.

* Wee muſt not behold, ſaith Euthymius, a Greke Doctour, the Nature of the things which bee ſet before vs: * but the vertue or power of them.

* What is the Vertue and Power of your Accidents?

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Euthymius, although one of the meaneſt Doctours, ſaith right well, and as the learned Fathers ſaid before him. But, M. Harding, doe you take your Authors at all aduentures, as they come to hand: or doe you conſider what they ſay? Tell vs, I beſeech you, in your fantaſie, what are thoſe things, that Euthymius ſaith, are ſet before vs? Whether are they the Body and Blood of Chriſt, or elſe your Accidents? If it be Chriſts very Body and Blood Subſtantially, Really, and in deed, Why ſhould we not conſider the Nature of them? What haue they offended you? Or what imperfection finde you in them? Cyrillus ſaith: Caro Chriſti Natura viuifica eſt: *The fleſh of Chriſt, by Nature hath power to giue life.* And Chriſt himſelfe ſaith: *My fleſh is* Verily *Meat: and my Blood is* Verily *Drinke.* Therefore the Nature hereof is well worthy to bee conſidered. But if there bee nothing elſe there ſet forth but only your bare & naked Accidents, what Power, what Vertue is there in them? What Doctour or Father euer taught vs, that we ſhould haue Remiſſion of Sinne, and be ſaued by your Accidents?

Nature.
Vertue.

Cyrill. in Ioha. lib. 4. cap. 12.

But, as I ſaid, Euthymius writeth well, following herein the Doctrine of the ancient learned Fathers. S. Baſil ſaith: Si qua Gratia eſt in Aqua, ea non eſt ex Natura Aquæ, ſed ex præſentia Spiritus: *If there be any Grace in the Water (of Baptiſme) it is* not of the Nature of the Water, *but of the preſence of the Spirit.* Cyprian, ſpeaking of the Oile, ſaith thus: Sanctificatis Elementis iam non propria Natura præbet effectum: ſed Virtus Diuina potentiùs operatur: *It is not* Nature, *that giueth effect or force vnto the Elements, being Sanctified: but the* Diuine Power *worketh more mightily.* So ſaith S. Chryſoſtome: Petra erat Chriſtus: Non enim ipſius Petræ Natura Aqua ſcaturiebat: Sed alia quædam Spiritualis Petra omnia operata eſt, hoc eſt, Chriſtus: *The rocke was* Chriſt. *For it* was not by the Nature of the Rocke *that the water guſhed out: but a certaine other Spirituall Rocke wrought all theſe things, that is to ſay,* Chriſt. In like maner the ancient Father Origen, ſpeaking of the Power and Vertue of Our Lords Supper, ſaith thus: Illud, quod Sanctificatur per Verbum Dei, & per Obſecrationem, non ſuapte Natura ſanctificat vtentem: *The thing that is Sanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer, ſanctifieth not him that vſeth it,* by the Nature of it ſelfe. By theſe, and other like aduertiſments, theſe Godly Fathers meant to withdraw our minds from the outward corruptible Creatures to the Spiritual and Inward vnderſtanding of the Sacraments. Therefore Euthymius in the ſame place ſaith: Panis habet ſimilitudinem quandam ad Corpus, & Vinum ad Sanguinem: *The Bread hath a certaine* Likeneſſe *vnto the Body, and the Wine a certaine* Likeneſſe *vnto the Blood.*

Baſil. De Spirit. Sanct. ca. 15 [illegible]

Cyprian. De Vnctione Chriſmatis.

Chryſ. 1. Cor. Homil. 23.

Orig. in Matth. cap. 15.

Euthymius in Matt. cap. 26.

M. Harding.

The Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation. *Lib. 83. que.*

When it pleaſed our Sauiour Chriſt at his laſt Supper to inſtitute this Bleſſed Sacrament, at which he took Bread and Wine, and turned thē into his Body and Blood, he would in ſuch wiſe aduance theſe Creatures to a much excellenter condition, as they ſhould loſe no whit of their former Vertues. *For the Son of man came not to deſtroy, but to ſaue, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, is not cauſe that any thing tend vnto not being.

* Vntruth, fond and childiſh. As though Chriſt had died to ſaue Accidents.

Luke 9.

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At the laſt, M. Harding hath found ſome Scripture: and that, God wot, full aptly he applieth to ſerue his purpoſe. The Sonne of Man, (ſaith he) came not to deſtroy, but to ſaue: *Ergo,* The Bread and Wine loſe no whit of their Former Vertues.

Yeare, I beſeech you, M. Harding: what came the Sonne of Man to ſaue? Muſt wee beleeue, he came from Heauen to ſaue your Accidents? Was this the cauſe of Chriſts comming? Is this the Religion, ye haue learned in Louaine? S. Paul ſaith: Nunquid de bus

1. Cor. 6.

bus cura eſt Deo? *Hath God any ſpeciall care for Oxen?* Might not one much better ſay to you, *Hath God any care for your* Formes, *for your* Shewes, *for your empty* Accidents?

Change in Accidents

Perhaps ye will ſay, I preſſe you ouer heauily. Yee meant, that Chriſt came to ſaue Bread and Wine, and not onely Accidents. Howbeit, ſo yee cannot ſay: For by your owne Doctrine, the Nature and Subſtance of the Bread and the Wine, by the comming and preſence of Chriſt, is quite aboliſhed, nothing remaining, but only the Accidents. But be it, that Chriſt came to ſaue theſe Creatures, then is your Religion much like vnto the Diuinity of the Old Heretiks called the Manichees. Of them S. Auguſtine writeth thus: Herbas, atque arbores ſic putant viuere, vt ea & ſentire credant, & dolere, cùm lædantur: nec aliquid inde ſine cruciatu eorum quenquam poſſe vellere: *They thinke that Herbes & Trees haue Life ſo farre foorth, that they beleeue they haue ſenſe and feeling, and ſuffer griefe and paine, when they be hurt: and that no man can pull, or plucke ought from them without their ſmart.* And againe he ſaith: Nec Oua ſumunt, quaſi & ipſa, cùm franguntur, expirent: *They eat no Egges, imagining, that when they bee broken, their Life or Soule paſſeth from them.* Such a carefull conſideration, it appeareth, ye haue for your poore Accidents.

Auguſt. ad Quoduult-Deum.

Ibidem hæreſis 46.

These be meere follies, M. Harding. Chriſt himſelfe ſaith, Yee came to ſaue, not your Accidents, but Sinners: not Bread and Wine, but the thing that was loſt. And will ye tell vs, that your Accidents were loſt? Or, that Bread and Wine were ſuch ſinfull Creatures as could not otherwiſe be ſaued, then by the Blood of Chriſt?

O M. Harding, haue more reuerence to Gods Word. It is holy: It is it whereby you ſhall be iudged. Haue better regard hencefoorth, to that ye write. Chriſt himſelfe ſaith: Filius Hominis non venit, vt perdat Animas Hominum, ſed vt ſeruet: *The Sonne of Man came,* not to deſtroy the Soules of Men, *but to ſaue them.* Yeer in fauour of your caſe ye haue left out the Soules of Men, which was the knot of the whole, and haue thruſt in Accidents. And ſo there muſt needs appeare in you, either groſſe ignorance, wherewith you charge others, or wilfull corruption.

Luke. 9.

M. Harding.

(a) Vntruth, euident & ſenſible. Read the Answer (b) Vntruth, trifling and Sophiſticall. For Subſtance is perceiued by the ſenſes, although by meane of the Accidents.

Seeing the there is a change by al conſent (a) & certaine it is, that the change is not in the Accidents, becauſe we ſee them remaine as they were before, and God deceiueth not our ſenſes in their true and proper obiect, which is color, taſt, ſmell &c. It muſt needs be, that the change be in ſubſtance (b) which is to ſenſe incomprehenſible.

Change in Subſtance.

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There is a change in the Bread (ſaith M. Harding) but not in the Accidents thereof: *Ergo,* in the Subſtance. In the like order of reaſon he might haue ſaid, It is not a Fearnbuſh, Ergo, it is a For. Ye may not looke, M. Harding to ſteale thus away with ſo ſimple Sophiſms. This poore ſhift among Children is called Petitio Principij.

Your Minor, wherein ſtandeth the whole doubt, and which, by ſome authority or ſhew of reaſon, one way or other, ye ſhould haue prooued true: ye haue paſt ſtily ouer without any manner of proofe at all, and preſume it onely to bee true. And ſo the whole weight heereof ſtandeth not by Truth or Reaſon, but hangeth onely by preſumption.

For what Doctour or Father euer told you, or made you ſo certaine, that in the Bread there is no change touching the Accidents? Ye ſay, Your ſenſes tell you, that the Accidents remaine ſtill, as they were before. And the ſame ſenſes may alſo tell you, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, that the Subſtance of the Bread remaineth ſtill, as it was before. But will you ſo ſuddenly forſake your old Leſſon? Will you now put this matter in Compromiſe to your ſenſes? How often and how ſadly haue you told vs, That theſe bee caſes of Onely Faith, and that in the iudgement heereof, both ſenſe and reaſon muſt be abandoned? And haue you forgotten that Chryſoſtome ſaith: Nihil ſenſibile traditum nobis eſt à Chriſto. Quæcunq; Chriſtus tradidit, inſenſibilia ſunt: *There is no* ſenſible thing *deliuered vnto vs by* Chriſt (in theſe Myſteries?) And againe, *Whatſoeuer things* Chriſt *hath giuen vs, they are* vnſenſible? If they be things vtterly vnſenſible, how then can they be iudged by your ſenſes? Why come ye not forth with the learned Doctours and Catholike Fathers, of whom, yee ſay, ye haue ſuch plenty? If it be true as you ſay, That there is no change in Accident, why is it not proued? If it be falſe, why is it auouched? Tell vs, how long ſhal we be bound to your bare word?

Ad Infantes. Quod videtis, Panis eſt: quod etiam oculi renuntiant.

Chryſ. in Matth. homil. 83.

Verily, S. Auguſtine would haue told you, that this change is in Accident, and not in Subſtance. For thus hee ſaith, as it hath beene often remembred: Niſi Sacramenta ſimilitudinem quandam haberent earum rerum, quarũ Sacramenta ſunt, omninò Sacramenta non eſſent. Ex hac autem ſimilitudine plærunque rerum ipſarum nomina accipiunt: *Vnleſſe Sacraments had a certaine* likenes *of the things, of which they bee Sacraments, then indeed they were no Sacraments. And of this* likenes *oftentimes they bear the names*

Aug. ad Bonifacium, epiſt. 23

of

of the things themſelues that are repreſented by the Sacraments. Againe he ſaith: Secundùm quendam modum Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti Corpus Chriſti eſt: *The Sacrament of Chriſts Body* after a certaine maner is Chriſts *Body*. And againe: Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, Hoc eſt Corpus meum, cùm daret Signum Corporis ſui: *Our Lord doubted not to ſay, This is my Body, when he gaue* a token of his Body. Likewiſe ſaith Tertullian, expounding and opening the meaning of Chriſts words: Hoc eſt corpus meum, hoc eſt, Figura Corporis mei: *This is my Body, that is to ſay,* This is a Figure of my Body. You know, M. Harding, that Modus, Simile, Diſſimile, Signum, and Figura, be in the Predicament of Quality: and therefore pertaine to Accident, and not to Subſtance.

Change in Accidents.

In ead Epiſt. Aug. contra Adimantũ, c. 12. Tertull. contra Marcion lib. 4.

So Chryſoſtome, whereas he amplifieth the Change of the Bread in the Sacrament of Thankeſgiuing, he addeth immediatly withall: Sic etiam in Baptiſmo: Euen ſo is it (that is to ſay) *The like Change there is in the* Water of Baptiſme. In theſe Mutations the Subſtance, as well of the Bread and Wine, as of the Water, remaineth ſtill: But the Reſpect, or Quality, or Accident, is changed. And this is it that S. Ambroſe ſaid before: Sunt quæ erant, & in aliud mutantur: (*In* Subſtance) *they are the ſame they were before: But (in* Accident, *or* Quality) *they are turned into another thing.*

Chryſ. in Matth. Homil. 83. Ambroſ. De Sacrament. lib. 4. cap. 4.

M. Harding.

And here we put you in mind of your falſifying of Theodorites words, in that ye make him to ſay in your Engliſh, The Myſticall Signes doe remaine in their former Subſtance, Forme, and Kinde, where he ſaith, * not ſo, but in their former Subſtance, Figure, and Shape. Ye know pardy, there is great difference betweene the Kinde of a thing, and his Shape. The oftner ye vſe that falſehood, as ye vſe it very often, the more ſhall ye be eſpied to be falſe Teachers, and grow out of credit where truth is loued.

Theodorite falſied by the Defender.

* Vntruth. Euen ſo he ſaith. Otherwiſe M. Harding hath a Subſtance without Kinde.

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If there be any falſhood or fault herein, by your owne Confeſſion it is the Interpreters, and not the Authors. You know well, Our Contention is not of the Shape of Bread, but of the Subſtance. Theodoretus ſaith: The Bread departeth not from his own Nature, but remaineth ſtill in the former Subſtance, Figure, and Forme. Say you as Theodoretus ſaith: Confeſſe plainely as he doth, that the ſubſtance of the Bread remaineth ſtill, and with good leaue take the Shape vnto your ſelfe.

And yet I ſee no great cauſe why ye ſhould ſo mightily cry out, False Teachers, Falſehood, Falſifying, for that the Interpreter hath expounded this Latine word, Forma, by this Engliſh word, Kinde. For as it is proued before by ſundry examples more at large, in the Ancient Fathers theſe two words, Forma, and Natura, are often vſed for one thing. Athanaſius ſaith: Natura, Eſſentia, Genus, Forma vnum ſunt: Nature, Subſtance, Kinde, and Forme bee all one. Certainely, if the very Subſtance of the Bread ſhould remaine, as Theodoretus ſaith, and yet the Kinde of the Bread ſhould not remaine, it were a wonder. For as there is no Kinde without Subſtance, ſo is there no Subſtance without Kinde.

Before in the ſecond part, 1. ca. 1. Diuiſion. Athana. de Definitionibus.

M. Harding.

Anſwer to the place alleged out of S. Auguſtine.

The words which ye recite out of Saint Auguſtines Sermon, *Ad Infantes*, we finde in Bede vpon the tenth Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians. The whole place is this: This thing which yee ſee in the Altar of God, ye haue ſeene it alſo in the night paſt. But what it was, what it meaneth, the Sacrament of how great a thing it conteineth, as yet ye haue not heard. That then which ye ſaw is Bread & Chalice, which euen your eies tell you. But that which your Faith requireth to be inſtructed of, Bread is the Body of Chriſt, the Chalice his Bloud. If the Subſtance of Bread remained, as before conſecration, what need had they to learne what it were? For of themſelues they might know the things propouned to be Bread and Wine. But S. Auguſtine, ye ſay, calleth that they ſaw, Bread and Wine. Yea Sir, ſo it was ſo farre as their eies told. But what their Faith ought to tell them, he inſtructeth them, ſaying: Bread, to wit, is the Holy Body of Chriſt. To this Conſtruction muſt we ſtand, by S. Auguſtine himſelfe ſo ſet forth.

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S Auguſtines words are plaine enough, howſoeuer it like you to ſhadow them with your Gloſſes. Thus he ſaith: Quod vidiſtis, Panis eſt, & Calix: quod vobis etiam oculi veſtri renuntiant: *The thing that you ſaw is the* Bread, *and the* Cup: *which thing* your eies doe *report vnto you.* Where alſo may be noted, as by the way, that S. Auguſtine, contrarie to your Doctrine, M. Harding, referreth the iudgement hereof to the report and triall of the ſenſes. And againe he ſaith of himſelfe in the like caſe: Vereor ne ipſis Senſibus noſtris facere videamur iniuriam, quando id loquendo ſuademus, vbi omnes vires, officiumque Sermonis facilimè ſuperat euidentia Veritatis: *I feare me we ſhould doe wrong vnto* our Senſes, *if we would goe about to proone that thing by ſpeaking, wherein the euidence of the Truth it ſelfe paſſeth all dutie, and power of Speech.*

Aug. ad Dardan. Epiſt. 57.

Howbeit, S. Auguſtine ſaith further: Quod autem Fides veſtra poſtulat inſtruenda, Panis eſt Corpus Chriſti, Calix Sanguis. This obiection may be anſwered by that is ſaid before. Theſe two ſayings are both true. Heſychyus ſaith: Myſterium noſtrum ſimul & Panis & Caro eſt: *Our Myſtery is both* Bread, *and Fleſh* It is Bread in Subſtance, and in deed: It is alſo the Body of Chriſt, not in Subſtance, but in a Myſtery. Your own Gloſſe ſaith, as it is before alleged: Dicitur Corpus Chriſti, ſed impropriè: vt ſit ſenſus, Vocatur Corpus Chriſti, id eſt, Significat Corpus Chriſti: *It is called the Body of* Chriſt, *but* vnproperly, *or not in due and vſuall forme of ſpeech: The meaning there of may be this: It is called* Chriſts *Body, that is to ſay,* It ſignifieth Chriſts Body.

Heſych in Leuit. lib. 2. ca. 8.

De Conſ. Diſt. 2. Hoc eſt quod. In Gloſſa.

In a Sacrament we muſt behold, not only the outward Element, but alſo the thing it ſelfe, whereof it is a Sacrament. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Si ad ipſas res viſibiles quibus Sacramenta tractantur, animum conferamus, quis neſciat eas eſſe corruptibiles? Si autem ad id quod per illas res agitur, quis non videat, Non poſſe corrumpi? *If wee conſider the* Viſible Creatures, *wherein the Sacraments are miniſtred, who knoweth not, they be* things corruptible? *But if we conſider the thing that is wrought thereby, who ſeeth not,* It cannot be corrupted?

Aug. de Baptiſ. contra Donatiſt li. 3. cap. 10.

And in the ſame place before alleged, S. Auguſtine fully expoundeth his owne meaning, in what ſenſe the Bread may be called the Body of Chriſt. Theſe be his words: Chriſtus ſeipſum portauit Corpus ſuum in Cælum, vnde venturus eſt, vt iudicet viuos & mortuos. Ibi eſt modò ſedens ad Dextram Patris. Quomodò eſt Panis Corpus eius? Et Calix, vel quod habet Calix, quomodò eſt Sanguis eius? Iſta, Fratres, ideò dicuntur Sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur: Chriſt *hath lifted vp his Body into Heauen, from whence he ſhall come to iudge the quick and the dead. There is he now ſitting at the right hand of the Father.* How then is the Bread his Body? *And the Cuppe, or that is in the Cup, how is it his Bloud?* His anſwer is this: *O my Brethren, theſe be called Sacraments, for that in them* One thing is ſeene, and another thing is vnderſtanded.

Aug. in Serm. ad Infantes.

Thus therefore the thing that we ſée with our bodily eies is the very Nature and Subſtance of Bread: but the thing that we ſée with our Faith, is the very Naturall Body of Chriſt ſitting in Heauen, and repreſented vnto vs in the Myſteries.

Now I beſéech thee good Chriſtian Reader, marke what deſcant M. Harding plaieth vpon theſe words. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Beleeue the iudgement of your eies: M. Harding ſaith: Senſes be deceitfull, Beleeue not the iudgement of your eies. S. Auguſtine ſaith: The thing that you ſee is Bread: M. Harding ſaith: It is not ſo; it is no Bread. So handſomely this Gloſſe groweth to the Text.

The Apologie.

Or, that which Origen ſaith: The Bread wich is Sanctified by the Word of God, as touching the Materiall Subſtance thereof, goeth into the Belly, and is caſt out into the Priuie.

M. Harding.

In alleging Origen, Sir Defender, ye play your accuſtomed falſe play, (a) corrupting his ſentence, and falſifying his words. For they be not as you recite them, but thus: *Iſte cibus qui ſanctificatur per Verbum Dei, perque obſecrationem, iuxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, & in ſeceſſum ejicitur*: That meat which is conſecrated by the Word of God, and by Praier, according to that Materiall which it hath, entred. It goeth into the Belly, and is voided forth into the Priuie. Here neither nameth he (b) Bread, as you doe (to cauſe the People to thinke it is but very Bread) but Meat. And that you haue in your Latine, *Quod quidem ad materiam attinet*: which is by your Interpreter, As touching the materiall Subſtance thereof, (c) it is not Origens, but your owne forged ſtuffe, to deceiue the ignorant withall, to the end they might be moued by your falſe handling of that Doctour, to beleeue the matter and Subſtance of very Bread to remaine. He ſpeaketh not of the (d) matter of Bread, but of that which is Materiall in this Sacrament, meaning the Accidents or Qualities remaining after Conſecration, which be materiall, but not the matter it ſelf of Bread, as Matter is taken for the one part of a perfect Subſtance) (e) and the ſame Accidents be voided forth, as Origen had good cauſe by occaſion of Chriſts word, to declare. you had none to record the ſame. But it liketh your filthy Spirit with vile words to bring that Holy Myſtery, and bleſſed Sacrament into contempt. Wherein yee do the Diuell, Author of Hereſies, the greateſt ſeruice that may be deuiſed.

Origen ſaith.

(a) Vntruth. For we haue corrupted neither word, nor Sentence.

To that Materiall: A proper tranſlation.

(b) Vntruth. For he nameth it Bread ſeuen times in that one place.

(c) Vntruth, vnleſſe you will rather call it the Materiall Accident.

(d) Vntruth. For in the ſame place he ſaith, Nec materia Panis.

(e) Vntruth vain & void of ſenſe. For what Accidents be voided forth?

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Hereſies, Falſe play, Falſhood, Falſifying, Vile words, Filthy Spirits, are now become M. Hardings Ordinarie and Vſuall Eloquence. Were haue we corrupted, (as he ſaith) and belied Origen, for that we place this word (Panis) in ſtead of Cibus: and for that we ſay, Panis quod ad Materiam attinet, in ſtead of theſe words, Cibus iuxta id quod habet Materiale. This (ſaith M. Harding) is forged ſtuffe: This is Horrible and ſhamefull corruption

tion to deceiue the ignorant. He that knew not M. Hardings modestie, and maner of writing, would thinke these Tragical termes should beare some weight. For sober men seldome vse thus to cry without some cause. Touching these words, Cibus, Panis, Materiale, Materia, if there be any thing that may mislike him, it shall bee lawfull for him to reforme the same, and to vse either the one word, or the other at his pleasure. We stand onely vpon the Substance of Matter, and seeke no such wanton aduantages by shift of words.

Neuertheleſſe, Origen himſelfe, as it appeareth, was not ſo dangerous in the caſe. For whereas M. Harding ſo sharply ouerlooketh vs for once vſing this word, Panis, in ſtead of Cibus, Origen himſelfe vſeth the ſame word, Panis, ſeuen times together in the ſelfe ſame place without reproofe: Like as S. Paul alſo fiue times in one place calleth it, Panis: And S. Cyril calleth the portions thereof, Fragmenta Panis: Peeces of Bread: And yet were none of theſe euer condemned therefore, as Corrupters and Falſifiers. 1. Corint. 11. *Cyrd. in Iohan. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

But I beſeech you M. Harding, if this word, Cibus, Meat, which Origen vſeth, and you ſeeme to allow, were not Bread, what kinde of Meat then will you call it? Fleſh, Fiſh or Fruit, I trow it was not. You ſay, Origen meant thereby your Formes, and Accidents, and Shewes of Bread. Now verily this was but a quaſie Meat: And I maruell that euer any wiſe man would call it Meat. Irenæus ſaith: *Of the ſame Meat is increaſed, and conſiſteth the* Subſtance of our fleſh. And Rabanus ſaith: Sacramentum in alimentum Corporis redigitur: *The Sacrament (which is the Bread) is turned into our* Bodily nouriſhment. Shewes and Accidents are but a ſimple food to increaſe the Subſtance of our Bodies. *Iren. li 5. ca. 4. Augetur, & conſiſtit Carnis noſtræ ſubſtãtia. Raban. Maurus, li. 1. ca. 31.*

Touching the other foule fault, M. Harding ſaith, his Accidents & Qualities be things Materiall: but the matter it ſelfe (he ſaith) they be not. But where learned hee this ſtrange Doctrine? What Diuine, what Philoſopher, what Logician, what Sophiſter, what Wiſe man euer taught him thus to ſay? Who euer ſaid that Accidents are things Materiall? It is well knowen, that Materia euer more is Subſtantia, and neuer otherwiſe. Therefore M. Harding might as eaſily haue ſaid, Accidents be things Subſtantiall. Certainly Accidents & Qualities be Accidentales Formæ, and in the Schools are called things Formall: which are as farre from things Materiall, as Fire from Water. Notwithſtanding, theſe men haue power to make of Accidents, Subſtance: of Formes, Matters: of things Formall, things Materiall: and of one contrary, to make another: and al this only of themſelues, without any maner other Authority.

M. Harding ſaith, that the Meat whereof Origen ſpeaketh is a Materiall, (for this is the light and cleereneſſe of his Eloquence) but not Materia: and by this pretty diſtinction he thinketh the whole matter is fully diſcharged, and among the ignorant that cannot iudge, perhaps he may ſeeme to ſay ſomewhat. But Origen himſelfe, that beſt vnderſtood his owne meaning, calleth the ſame Meat, in the ſame place, by expreſſe and plaine words, not only a thing Materiall, or, A Materiall, as M. Harding rather delighteth to call it, but alſo the very Matter of Bread it ſelfe. His words be theſe: Nec Materia Panis, ſed ſuper illum dictus ſermo eſt, qui prodeſt non indignè Domino comedenti: It is not the Matter of the Bread, *but the word ſpoken ouer it, that profiteth him that eateth not vnworthily for the Lord.* Now iudge thou indifferently, gentle Reader, how iuſt cauſes M. Harding had to moue theſe Tragedies. *Origẽ. in Mat. Cap. 15.*

Further he ſaith: It liked our filthy Spirit with vile words to bring the Holy Myſteries into contempt, and therein we doe the Diuell great ſeruice. M. H. Harding, ſome other ſpeech would better become a man of your grauity. Such liquor ſeldome floweth from the Spirit of God. Wee neither increaſe, nor diminiſh, nor any way alter the words of Origen, but lay them forth plainly and ſimply as we find them. For thus he writeth: Ille Cibus qui ſanctificatur per Verbum Dei, & per Obſecrationem, iuxta id quod habet Materiale, in ventrem abit, & in ſeceſſum eijcitur. Cæterùm iuxta precationem quæ illi acceſſit, pro portione Fidei fit vtilis: *The Meat that is Sanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer, according* to that Materiall part *that is in it*, paſſeth into the Belly, and ſo foorth into the Priuy, &c. If there be any filthineſſe or Villany herein, it is this ancient Fathers, whom ye ought not ſo vncourteouſly to reuile for Vncleaneſſe of Spirit: it is not ours. Vile ſpeech.

Howbeit, this is not Origens only iudgement, but the general and agreeable Doctrine of all others the Catholike Fathers. And to allege one in ſtead of many, S. Auguſtine ſaith, as he is before alleged: Si ad res ipſas quibus Sacramenta tractantur animum conferamus, quis neſciat eas eſſe corruptibiles? Si ad id quod per illas res agitur, quis non videat non poſſe corrumpi? *If we conſider the things themſelues wherein the Sacraments be miniſtred, who knoweth not that they be* things corruptible? *But if we conſider the thing that is wrought thereby: who ſeeth not that it* cannot be corrupted? The holy Fathers ſpeake not *Aug. de Baptiſm. cõtra Donatiſt. li. 3. cap. 10.*

thus of Christs Body, but of the Bread, which is the Sacrament of Christs Body. So
De Conſ. Diſt. 2. Non iſte. saith S. Ambroſe: Non iſte Panis qui vadit in Corpus: ſed Panis Vitæ Æternæ, qui animæ noſtræ Subſtantiam ſuſcit: (*The Bread that I meane is*) *not* this Bread (of the Sacrament) that passeth into the Body: *but the Bread of Euerlaſting Life, that maintaineth the Subſtance of the Soule.*

Vile Speech.

Now if there were such Filthineſſe as you haue imagined in the Holy Learned Biſhops and Doctours of the Church, for vttering theſe and other like words of the corruptible Creatures of Bread and Wine, what cleane ſpirit then is there in them that ſpeake ſo filthily of Christs body it ſelfe, being now Uncorruptible and Glorious, at the Right Hand of the Father? Hereof I had occaſion to ſpeake ſomewhat in my Former
In the 23. Article. Reply.

Alexan. Halē par. 4. qua. 25. Mem. 1. Alexander of Hales saith: Quidam dicunt, vbicunque ponantur Species, ſiue in mundo loco, ſiue in immundo, ſiue in ventre Muris, ibi eſt Corpus Chriſti: *Some ſay, whereſoeuer the Formes or* Accidents *be laid, whether the place be cleane or vncleane, yea although it be in the* Mouſes Belly, *yet there is* the Body of Chriſt. Againe he ſaith: Si Canis vel Porcus deglutiret Hoſtiam Conſecratam integram, non video quare Corpus Domini non ſimul naſceretur in ventrem Canis, vel Porci: *If a* Dogge *or* Hogge *ſhould ſwallow downe the Hoſt Conſecrate being whole, I ſee no cauſe to the contrary, but the* Body of Chriſt *may paſſe wholl into the* belly of the Dogge, or of the Hogge.

Clem. Epiſt. 2. De Conſ. Diſt. 2. Si quis. In Gloſſa. Likewiſe your owne Clemens, whom ye ſo often call the Apoſtles Fellow, writeth thus: Ne murium ſtercora inter fragmenta Dominicæ Portionis appareant: *Let not Miſe dung be found among the fragments or peeces of the Lords portion* By which Portion he meaneth the Sacrament. Your own Catholike allowed Gloſſe ſaith: Corpus Chriſti poteſt euomi: *The Body of Christ may be* vomited vp *againe.*

It abhorreth my heart to vtter theſe words: they bee ſo horrible, and full of Filth. Yet this, M. Harding, is your owne Doctrine: This is your Spirit: This is it that yee haue ſo long maintained with fire and ſword. By ſuch vncleane, and vnciuill ſpeech, yee bring Chriſts Body it ſelfe into contempt, and loathſomeneſſe in the hearts of the people.

But that you may the better ſee the conſent and certainty of your owne Doctrine, whereas you are well content to expound theſe words of Origen, as vndoubtedly ſpoken of the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, your Inſtructer and Maſter Doctour Gardiner telleth you, that the ſame words pertaine nothing at all vnto the Sacrament: And yet vnto what thing elſe they ſhould pertaine, it ſeemeth by the doubtfulneſſe of his Anſwer, hee was neuer well reſolued. His words be theſe: Non de Euchariſtia loquitur Origenes, ſed
Marc. Anton. Conſtantius ad obiectum 166. de Pane ſanctificato per Verbum Dei, & Orationem, quem communiter manducamus: vel de eo qui ſolebat dari Catechumenis, de quo Auguſtinus: Origen *ſpeaketh not* (theſe words *of the Sacrament: but either of the Bread that is Sanctified by our Lords Word, and by prayer, which we commonly vſe to Eate: or elſe hee ſpeaketh of the Bread that was giuen to the Nouices, called Catechumeni, whereof* S. Auguſtine *ſpeaketh.* If this tale be true, then is yours vntrue, M. Harding; and all your long Commentary of Formes and Accidents is but in vaine. It were good ye toke a day, that yee may bee better agreed vpon that ye tell vs.

And whereas, to ſhift the matter, ye put your poore Spirituall Formes, and Holy Accidents to all the paines, to paſſe into the bellie, and ſo forth into the draught, and auouch the ſame in ſuch ſober wiſe, as if ye partly vnderſtood what ye ſaid, it may pleaſe you to
De Conſ. Diſt. 2 Trib. gradib. in Gloſſ. vnderſtand, that by the iudgement of your owne Schoolefellowes the Canoniſts, ye are foulely deceiued. For thus they determine the matter quite againſt you: Species illæ aliis cibis non permiſcentur: Non enim in ſtomachum deſcendunt: quare per ſeceſſum non emittuntur: *Theſe Formes or Accidents are not mingled with other meats.* For they goe not downe into the ſtomacke: and therefore they paſſe not into the Priuie. Now M. Harding, if the Bread be vtterly conſumed, and haue no being at all, and if the Accidents paſſe not into the Priuy, what other thing elſe remaineth there to paſſe that way? It is a ſtrange kinde of paſſage, whereas is nothing to paſſe.

Hereby it may appeare that either the Gloſſe, or M. Harding is in errour. But the Gloſſe is allowed and counted Catholike: therefore the errour muſt bee M. Hardings. Howbeit, to ſay the truth, M. Harding and his Gloſſe two are both in errour.

The Apology.

Or that which Chriſt himſelf ſaid, not only after the bleſſing of the Cup, but alſo after hee had Miniſtred the Communion: I will drink no more

of

of this Fruit of the Vine. **It is well knowne that the Fruit of the Vine is Wine, and not Bloud.**

M. Harding.

Christ (say they) himselfe said, not only after the Blessing of the Cup, but after he had Ministred the Communion, I will drinke no more of this Fruit of the Vine. Hereunto they adde of their own heads, (a) It is well known that the fruit of the Vine is Wine, and not Blood. But this they would signifie, that in the Chalice we haue not Christs Blood, as himselfe said, but meere Wine, as against Christ they labour to perswade.

Cap. 22. But we say, that those words (I will not drinke from henceforth of this generation of the Vine) either were spoken (b) only before the Communion, (c) or only after, (d) or in both times. If they were spoken before the Communion, (which opinion is the more probable) it is very clearely proued by them, that Wine remaineth not as it shall hereafter be deduced.

For these causes it may wel be said, that we should rather follow the order of S. Luke, who witnesseth that Christ spake these words before his maundie, (e) then Mathew, and Marke, who tell it as spoken after. Secondly, the Order of Luke is confirmed by the circumstance of the things that hee describeth, more then the other Euangelists. Now because in the Chalice of the Old Law, there was certainely not Blood, but Wine, (whereas Christ teacheth, that in his Chalice his owne Blood is (f) contained) let the discreet Reader iudge, whether we must not rather thinke that these words of Christ, I will not from henceforth drinke of this generation of the Vine, doe not rather pertaine to the Cup of the Old Law, (as Luke placeth them) then to the Chalice of Christ after the Consecration, whereof Mathew and Marke rehearse them.

Fourthly and lastly, when Mathew and Marke rehearse that Christ said, hee would not from henceforth drinke of that generation of the Vine, they bothe, in much like sort of speaking, adde thereunto these words (which in the Apology are guilefully left out) Vntill that day, when I wil drinke it new with you in the Kingdome of God my Father. If Christ spake of a New drinking, which is to come, by likelihood the drinke past is Old. What exclamation would be sufficient to expresse, that in this (g) weighty point of Saluation our English Clergy are content (h) to blind the people, the right Worshipfull, yea the Honourable of our Country, in so vile a sort, that after many Fathers words misreported & wrongfully wrested, they doubt not to attempt the same in Christs owne sayings, and in those sayings of his which euidently proue the contrary?

Matth. 26. Mark. 14. New drinking.

The Kingdome of God taken two waies. Matth. 3.

But now let vs grant of our free liberality, contrary to many good and strong reasons, that Christ said after Consecration, I will not from henceforth drinke of this generation of the Vine, vntill the Kingdome of God come, then it must be further vnderstanded, that the Kingdome of God is taken in Scripture sometime for the present state of the Church after Christs resurrection of this world, according to that is said oftentimes in Scripture, The Kingdome of God draweth nigh: sometimes also for the ioy of Heauen, as when Christ saith, I dispose for you a Kingdom, as my Father hath disposed for me, that ye may eat and drinke at my Table, &c. Now if we take these words of Christ spoken before Consecration, it is not vnconuenient to vnderstand them of either of both Kingdomes: that is to say, of the Kingdome of Resurrection, or of Glory, as Chrysostome and other do witnesse, because both were to come at that time. But if we take them spoken after Consecration, as we rather vpon confidence of the truth, then for necessity, at this time do grant, then these words (Vntill the kingdome of God come) are to be meant only of the Kingdome of glory. For these holy Mysteries belong to the Kingdom of Christs Resurrection and Ascention. Neither were they practised by the Apostles in the Church of Christ, vntil the holy Ghost came downe vpon them.

Luke 22.

And so the newnesse of it there, is fruition of it, not vnder the formes of Bread and Wine, (i) as wee haue it now, but face to face without al Figure & forme. Then is it to be noted that Christ said not, I wil drinke no more of the Fruit of the Vine, but, I will not from henceforth drinke of this generation of the Vine: Of this I say, whereof now I haue drunken, (k) which is (vnder the Forme of Wine) my Blood, which am the true Vine. For wheras this Apology saith, (it is well knowne that the Fruit of the Vine is Wine, and not Blood) it seemeth to declare that the Authors thereof are ignorant in the holy Scriptures, where (l) they might haue found the Fruit of some Vine to be called Blood. For Iacob said to his sonne Iudas, bearing the Figure of Christ, He shall wash his robe in Wine, and his Cloake in the blood of a Grape. Lo, a Grape hath his Blood: a Grape is the Fruit of the Vine: and therefore it is not well knowne that the Fruit of the Vine is not Blood. The Holy Ghost did in these words of Iacob Prophecie, that Christ the true vine should giue the Grape of his Body to be pressed vpon the Crosse, from whence the Wine was shed (m) which is in our Chalice, as Chrysostome also noteth. And now it is no wonder if we expound the word (Vine) mystically

Genes. 49.

1. Cor. 10.

O what strength truth hath! How plainely she dareth to shew her face, not nipping the Scriptures, nor misse-englishing them, nor dissembling any iot that may seeme to make against her!

(a) Vntruth. For these be S. Chrysostomes words, and not ours. This is M. Hard. vndoubted Certainety.

(e) M. Harding refuseth S. Matthewes, and S. Markes Order.

(f) As by way of a Sacrament. Otherwise it is vntrue.

(g) A weightie point of Saluation; yet M. Hard. himselfe by his cõfession vnderstandeth it not.

(h) Vntruth, vaine and arrogant.

(i) Vntruth, grounded vpon a meere folly.

(k) Vntruth, threapt vpon Christ himselfe.

(l) A fond caual. For we speake only of a Naturall Vine.

(m) As in a Mysterie. Otherwise it is vntrue.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Marke, Gentle Reader, how mightilie M. Harding wrestleth, and what paines hee taketh to draw this place to his purpose. First hee assureth vs for certaine, That Christ spake these Words Before the consecration: and that therefore they pertaine nothing to the Sacrament. 1

Neuertheless, afterward hee granteth, as hee saith, of his free liberality, That Christ spake the same words After the Consecration: and that they pertaine specially to the Sacrament. 2

And yet againe, vpon further affiance and boldnesse of the cause, he seemeth to say, It may be that Christ spake the same words at both times: **that is, as well After the Consecration as Before.** 3

Againe he saith: S. Lukes rehearsal is more likely then S. Matthews, for that S. Luke writeth each thing in Order: and S. Mathew out of Order. 4

5 Againe: One Cuppe is first the Wine of the Old Testament: And immediatly after: The same Cuppe is the Wine of the New Testament.

6 The Fruit of the Vine

Againe: The Kingdome of God sometime is the state of the Church, sometime it is the state of Glory. Againe: The fruit of the Grape sometime is very Naturall Wine, sometime it is the very blood of Christ. Notwithstanding, Steuen Gardiner saith, that neither the Naturall Wine, nor Christs very Blood, but the Accidents and Formes are the Fruits of the Vine. Yet againe he saith: Christ dranke his owne very Blood at the Supper: and euen now himselfe drinketh the same his owne Blood in the Kindome of Heauen.

7 *Anton. Constãtinus ad obiectum 27.*

In the end M. Harding, after he hath well wandred, and walked himselfe, both Before, and After: In Order, and out of Order: This way, and that Way: with the Old Cuppe, and with the new: and hath well stated himselfe by coniectures and likelihoods: at the last he bloweth vp the Triumph with a lolly courage, and crieth out with an end of an Old Song: O what strength Truth hath, and how plainely she dareth to shew her face!

8 Before. After.

Here by the way a man might demand of M. Harding, notwithstanding the great Confidence he pretendeth to haue in his cause: If Christ spake these words Before the Consecration of the very Naturall Wine of the Grape, and of the Ceremoniall Cuppe of the Old Law, how dranke he then afterward of the same Naturall Wine of the Grape, after a New Sort? Or how was the same Naturall Wine fulfilled in the Kingdome of God? If Christ spake the same words After the consecration, the Substance of Wine by these mens fantasie being vtterly abolished, and nothing there remaining, but onely the Accidents, how was it then the Fruit, or generation of the Vine? Thus howsoeuer he take it, either Before, or After, he shall hardly be able to shift his hands.

But to leaue these vnfruitfull ghesses vntill M. Harding hath better agreed with himselfe vpon some certainety, we say that the Cuppe of Blessing, which Christ calleth the Cup of the New Testament, notwithstanding it were made in a Mystery the Sacrament of Christs Blood, yet in Nature and Substance was very Wine still, and, as Christ himselfe calleth it, The very fruit and generation of the Grape, as it was before.

Matth. 26. The words of the Euangelist S Mathew are very plaine: *He tooke the Cuppe: and when he had giuen thankes, he gaue it them, saying, Drinke yee all of it: for this is my blood of the New Testament, that is shed for many for the Remission of Sinnes. I say vnto you, that I will not drinke henceforth of* this Fruit of the Vine, *vntill that day when I shall drinke it New with you in the Kingdome of my Father.* To auoid the manifest truth of this rehersall, M. Harding saith: S. Mathew vttered one thing for another: the Latter for the Former: the Cuppe Consecrate for the Cup Vnconsecrate: and placed his matters out of order. And by this poore shift he thinketh the plaine Story of the Gospell is fully answered.

But let vs see what the Learned Fathers haue iudged, and written in this behalfe. So shall the weight of these coniecturall ghesses, and the Face of M. Hardings Truth, which he so much magnifieth without cause, the better appeare. Clemens Alexandrinus heereof writeth thus: Quòd Vinum esset, quód benedictum est, Christus ostendit, dicens Discipulis, Non bibam ex Fructu Vitis huius, donec bibero ipsum vobiscum in Regno Patris mei: *That* it was Wine *that was blessed* (at the Supper) Christ *himselfe shewed his Disciples, saying*, I will no more drinke of the Fruit of this Vine, *vntil I shall Drinke it with you in the Kingdome of my Father.* *Clemens in Padagogo, lib. 2. cap. 2.*

S. Basil saith: Fructus terræ genituras & genimina, non Natos appellamus: Non enim bibam, inquit, de genimine Vitis huius: *We call the Fruits of the Earth, the Generations, or Springs of the Earth: But the Children of the Earth we do not call them. For so saith* Christ: I will no more drinke of the generation of this Vine. Here the Wine that Christ hath blessed is called by S Basil, after the time of Consecration, not onely the Generation of the Vine, but also the Fruit of the Earth. Whatsoeuer it shall please M. Harding to thinke of the sense hereof, he must néeds confesse the words are very plaine. Likewise saith S. Cyprian: Dominus Sanguinem suum Vinum appellauit, de botris & acinis plurimis expressum, atque in Vinum coactum: The Wine pressed out of clusters and many Grapes, and so made Wine, *our Lord called his Blood.* S. Augustine saith: Et Vinum fuit in Redemptionis nostræ Mysterio, cùm Dominus diceret, Non bibam amodò de hoc genimine Vitis: There was Wine in the *Mystery, or Sacrament of Our Redemption, when Our Lord said,* I will no more Drinke henceforth of this Fruit of the Vine. *Basil. contra Eunom. lib. 2.* *Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist 6.* *August. de Eccleiast. Dogmatib. cap. 75.*

Here note thou, good Reader, how handsomely S. Augustine and M. Harding agrée together. S Augustine saith plainely, It was the Sacrament: M. Harding saith plainely, It was not the Sacrament. S. Augustine saith, *These words were spoken after the Consecration*: M. Harding findeth fault with S. Matthewes Order, and saith, They were spoken before the Consecration. S. Augustine following the plaine words of Christ, saith, It was Wine:

Wine: M. Harding, following his owne words, against both S. Augustine and Christ too, saith vndoubtedly: It was no Wine.

Againe S. Augustine saith: Dominus per Vini Sacramentum, commendat Sanguinem suum. Quid enim aliud, Nouum vinum, nisi immortalitatem renouandorum Corporum intelligere debemus? *Our Lord by the Sacrament*, (not of Formes or Accidents, but) of Wine, *commendeth vnto vs his Blood. For what other thing may we vnderstand the* New Wine to be, *but the Immortality of our Bodies that shall bee renewed?* S. Chrysostome saith: Cùm Dominus hoc Mysteriũ traderet, Vinum tradidit. Et iam post Resurrectionem sine Mysterijs in simplici mensa vino vsus est. Ex genimine, ait, Vitis: quæ certè Vinum, non Aquam producit: *Our Lord when he deliuered this Mystery*, deliuered (not Accidents, but) Wine. *And after his Resurrection, being at a plaine table without the Mysteries*, he vsed Wine. *For so he saith*: Of the Fruit of the Vine: which Vine surely beareth, not Water, but Wine.

August. Quæ. Euangeliear. lib. 1. cap 43.

Chrys. in Mat. homil. 83.

The Fruit of the Vine

M. Harding saith: Whosoeuer expoundeth these words as spoken of the Mysteries, belieth both the holy Fathers and Christ himselfe. S. Chrysostome expoundeth the same words, as spoken of the Mysteries, and to that purpose applieth the words of Christ. Therefore by M. Hardings conclusion, He belieth both the Holy Fathers, and Christ himselfe.

In like maner S. Hierome saith: Christus in Typo Sanguinis sui non obtulit Aquam, sed Vinum: Christ *in the* Signification of his Blood, *offered not Water, but Wine.* By these few, I trust, it may easily appeare to the indifferent Reader, how iust cause M. Harding had thus to proclaime, and publish the Face, as hee saith, of his Truth: and with such courage and countenance to cry out, that wee haue willfully corrupted the words of Christ.

Hier. aduersus Iouinian. lib. 2. pag. 74. tom. 2.

M. Harding saith further: These Defenders adde of their owne heads, It is well knowne, that the fruit of the Vine is Wine, and not Blood. I thought M. Harding would not haue picked so simple a quarrel to these words, of whose head soeuer they had bẽ added. For, I trow, he hath but seldome heard or seene, that a Naturall Vine hath borne Naturall Blood. Howbeit, these words proceeded not altogether of our own heads. S. Chrysostome also of his head vttereth the same. For thus he writeth: Ex genimine Vitis: quæ certè Vinum producit, non Aquam: *Of the* Fruit of the Vine: *which Vine verily bringeth foorth not Water, but Wine.* S. Cyprian saith: Inuenimus Vinum fuisse, quod Dominus Sanguinem suum dixit: *We finde it was Wine, that our Lord called his* Blood. And Dionysius, Lyra, and other like Doctors of M. Hardings owne side, say, De hoc genimine Vitis: id est, de Vino, quod generatur in Vinea: *Of this Fruit of the Vine: that is to say, Of the Wine that groweth of the Vine.*

Chrys. in Mat. homil. 83.

Cyprian. lib. 2. Epist. 3.

Dionysius & Lyra. in Mat. cap. 26.

Againe, M. Harding saith: It is to be noted, that Christ said not, I will drinke no more of the Fruit of the Vine; But I will not from henceforth drinke of this generation of the Vine; as if there were some maruellous great difference betweene these two words, Fruit and Generation. And this thing (he saith) is well worthy to be noted. Verily, the difference betweene these two words, is as great, as is the difference betweene Ensis and Gladius: or, Liber and Codex; betweene which words, sound only excepted, it is hard to discerne, whether is other. M. Harding saith, It is to be noted, that Christ said not, I will drinke no more of the Fruit of the Vine. Yet S. Hilary saith: Bibentes ex Vitis istius fructu: *Drinking of the* Fruit *of this Vine.* If these words as being doubtfully spoken, may bee shifted into some other sense: Yet Clemens Alexandrinus, as he is before alledged, and as he is translated by Gentianus Herueetus, saith plainely: Non bibam sed de hoc Fructu Vitis; *I will no more Drinke of* this Fruit *of the Vine.* And S. Cyprian somewhat in plainer wise saith: Non bibam ex ista Creatura Vitis; *I will no more Drinke of this* Creature *of the Vine.* Therefore I thinke M. Harding himselfe will say, This note was not greatly worth the noting.

Hilarii in Mat. Canon. 30.

Clemens in Pædagog lib. 2 c. 2

Cyprian. lib. 2. epist. 3.

Yet further he saith: These defenders seeme to be ignorant of the holy Scriptures: where they might haue found the Fruit of some vine to be called Blood. For Iacob said of Christ, He shal wash his Robe in Wine, and his Cloake in the Blood of a Grape. It is a hard shift, M. Harding, so suddenly to conuey the matter from ordinary vse of speech, vnto an Allegorie. We speake of a Naturall growing Vine, which we say, beareth not Blood, but only Wine. But, as touching, that ye say, Christ is sometimes called a Vine in the Holy Scriptures, it is onely an Allegorie, or a Figure of speech. And in that sort, he is called also sometimes a Lambe, and sometimes a Rocke. For although Christ for certaine properties, may be resembled vnto a Vine, yet is he not therefore verily, and indeed a Naturall growing Vine; no more then he is a Naturall Lambe, yeaned of a Ewe, or a Naturall growing Rocke. Therefore it was great violence, thus to force the words of the Scriptures to this purpose. Otherwise, by the like phrase of speech one saith: Lachryma est quidam animæ Sanguis; A teare is a certaine Blood *of the Soule.* And S. Augustine saith: Vident Sanguinem Corporum; Animarum

Animarum Sanguinem non vident: *They see the Blond of the Bodies*, but the Blood of the
Androcides. Soules they see not. Another called Wine, Terræ Sanguinem: The Blood of the Earth.
Yet may not M. Harding therefore say, that either the Soul of Man, or the Mould of the
Earth, indeed hath Naturall and Reall and Very Blood. These be only certaine Figures
and Formes of speech. But Christ, when he said, *I will no more Drinke of this* Fruit *of the
Vine*, spake plainely and simply, and without Figure. And therefore Chrysostome saith,
as it is alledged before: Ex genimine Vitis: quæ certè Vinum producit, non Aquam: *Of*
Chrys. in Mat. hæ. homil. 83. *the* Fruit of the Vine: *Which Vine verily bringeth forth, not Water but Wine.* But Chry-
sostome saith: *The Wine that was shed from Christs Body, that is to say, the Blood of Christ*
Chrys. 1. Cor. 10. homil. 24. *is in the Cup.* This is true as in a Mystery, or by a Figure of speech: because Christs Blood
is represented in the Cup. Otherwise, if we speake simply and plainely, and without Fi-
gure, Chrysostome saith: In Vasis Sanctificatis non est ipsum Corpus Christi: sed Myste-
Chrys. in Opere imper. hom. 11. rium Corporis eius continetur: *In the Sanctified Vessels, there is* not the very Body of Christ
indeed: *but a Mysterie of that Body is therein contained.*

The Apologie, Chap. 14. *Division* 1.

And in speaking thus, we meane not to abase the Lords Supper, or to teach, that it is but a cold Ceremony onely, and nothing to bee wrought therein: (as many falsly slander vs, we teach.) For we affirme, that Christ doth truly and presently giue himselfe wholly in his Sacraments: In Baptisme, that we may put him on: and in his Supper, that we may Eat him by Faith and Spirit, and may haue euerlasting Life by his Crosse and Blood. And we say not, this is done sleightly or coldly, but effectually & truly. For although we do not touch the Body of Christ with teeth and mouth, yet we hold him fast, and eat him by Faith, by Understanding, and by Spirit. And it is no vaine Faith, that comprehendeth Christ: neither is it receiued with cold deuotion, that is receiued with Understanding, Faith, and Spirit. For Christ himselfe altogether is so offered, and giuen vs in these Mysteries, that we may certainly know we be Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bones: and that Christ continueth in vs, and we in him.

(a) Vntruth: two together. For we neuer called it either Bakers bread or onely Figure.
(b) Vntruth. For Christs death is as present as his Body.
(c) Whatsoeuer corruptible creature is honored as God, it is an Idoll.
(d) Vntruh standing in wrong exposition. For Chrysostome saith, *Ascende ad cœli portas: imò non cœli, sed cœli cœlorum.*
(e) Vntruth grounded vpon a dreame. No learned Doctor euer said thus.
(f) The Bread is for vs, not wee for the Bread.
(g) Christ made: Christ wrought: A strange Diuinitie.
(h) Vntruth. For M. Harding well knoweth that this fond folly was neuer Catholike.

M. Harding.

It is easie to be perceiued who abaseth more our Lords Supper, whether ye, that reach it to be very (a) Bakers Bread and Wine with the (a) onely Figure of Christs Body and Blood, or we who beleeue it to be his true Body and Blood, with the only Formes of Bread and Wine. (Of which Formes neither Christ, nor his Apostles euer told vs one word) Whether ye, that will haue it a Figure of Christs whole Body absent, or we, who will haue Christs Body present indeed, with a Figure of his Death, which (h) Death is absent only. Whether ye, that call it an (c) Idol when it is worshipped, or we that doe according to our dutie adore it, because that Reiall Body (as Chrysostome saith) which is set before vs (d) to bee seene now in Earth, is worthy of the most high Honour. But whether of those two is the colder Ceremony and more simple Supper, to haue Bread and Wine with a signe only of Flesh and Blood, or to haue Reall Flesh and Blood, with such forme of Bread and Wine, as (e) by the power of God do no lesse bodily nourish vs, then the Substance it selfe would haue done: we doubt not of wise mens iudgement. Ye haue your Carnall Bankets fat, and full enough of the best flesh, and it is with you superstitious to eat dry and Lenten Meats. But ye will haue your spiritual Bankets so leane and Carrien, as a man may well discerne whether ye haue more fantasie to your Flesh or to your Spirit.

By whom is our Lords Supper not abased, by the Deuoters, or by the Catholikes.

Ye write, that many falsly slander you, saying that ye teach nothing to be wrought in the Lords Supper whereas ye affirme, that Christ doth truly and presently giue his own selfe in his Supper, that we may eat him by Faith and Spirit. And other work in the Lords Supper ye shew none. And this which ye shew a man may doubt, whether it be a thing wrought in the Lords Supper, or no. Wel may ye say, that it is a thing wrought in them which come to the Supper; but that it is wrought in the Supper it self ye shew it not: the Supper being that which is called *Cœna*, to wit, the meat receiued, not *Cœnatio*, which is the act of Supping. For sith that Supper is nothing else but meat and drinke set vpon the Table to be receiued by such as come vnto it, that which is wrought in the Lords Supper, must be wrought (f) in the meat & drink which our Lord hath at his Table. And as the matter wherof our Lords Supper is made, is Bread and Wine; so the Supper made thereof is our Lords Body and Bloud, into which the Bread and Wine by the Almighty power of the Word is changed. So that if ye will shew Christ himselfe to be (g) made or (h) wrought in our Lords Supper, ye must shew Bread and Wine to be changed into Christ himselfe, and so to be Eaten of his Faithfull at his Table. But whereas there are three things, Christ that maketh the Supper, the Communicants that receiue the Supper, and the Supper it self; ye say, that Christ for his part giueth his own self verily present, likewise that the Communicants for their part Eat him by Faith and Spirit. And so ye shew that the maker of the Supper worketh, and that the Communicants worke. But all this while ye shew vs not what is wrought in the matter of the Supper, that is to say, in the Bread and Wine, nor what is made of them. O great slander that ye were charged withall, which now so much as by your owne word ye are discharged of.

The Sacramentaries teach nothing to be wrought in the Lords Supper. 1. Cor. 11. What is Supper properly.

How

The proper worke of our Lords Supper.

How much founder is the (i)Catholike Doctrin, which teacheth the proper worke of our Lords Supper to be the turning of the substance of Bread and Wine into his Body & Blood? Which work because ye will not confesse, ye haue deuised a worke of your owne working, which is not proper to our Lords Supper. For if I can receiue Christ in my house at home by Faith & Spirit, how is that worke(k) proper to his Supper, which may be wrought without his Supper? Or can I not beleeue in Christ, or lift vp my Spirit vnto him, (l) except I come to Supper? Or if I doe call for Christ, doth hee not giue himselfe, by grace vnto me?

How make the Defenders Christ verily present in his Supper.

But (say ye) at the Lords Supper Christ giueth himselfe verily present. To what purpose, I pray you? That we may Eat him (say ye) by Faith and Spirit. Well reasoned forsooth. Haue ye forgotten the giuing to eat, & eating that, which is giuen, to be Relatiues, one of the hauing relation to the other? If Christ doe exhibite himselfe verily present as your Latin text hath, or giuen his own selfe verily & presently, as your Interpreter telleth your tale for you (m) doth not he so exhibite or giue himselfe, as he will be receiued? Or doth he shew in one hand a peece of Bread & with the other strike vs on the head with a stone? If he giue himselfe verily present, as ye say, we take him verily Present. And then (vnlesse yee meath by himselfe, his grace which is of Christ, and not of Christ himselfe) we eat him verily present, not only by Faith and Spirit, but by taking him into (n) our Mouth and Body if it please him at any time to be eaten by Faith and Spirit alone, (after which sort he is daily eaten by those that humbly call vpō him) then he giueth not himselfe verily Present, but by faith & Spirit, other wise named grace, or some spiritual effect of his working. But in our Lords Supper the Scripture requireth a special & peculiar presence of Christ to wit, of his flesh, so as it may be eaten. If thē he giue himself verily present, as ye say, he is present in his own person, God & Man, with Body, with Bloud, with Soule, with Godhead If ye meane the very presence of his Godhead, that presence belongeth no more to Christ, then to the Father, & to the holy Ghost And so haue ye not declared any peculiar presence belonging to his Supper. For by Presence of his Godhead he is alwaies verily present, as well before Supper, as at or after Supper: because he filleth Heauen and Earth. It remaineth that either ye vnderstand not your selues, or wilfully deceiue that infinite number of Soules, for whose sake Christ hath shed his Bloud.

The presēce of Christ in Baptisme and in the Supper is distinct, which the defenders make to be like.

(n) Your error in making the Presence of Christ in Baptisme like to his presence in the Supper is too grosse. For although Christ worke both our Regeneration & our nourishment by his diuine Sacraments, yet in Baptism our Regeneration is by name attributed in the Gospel to the holy Ghost also, to shew that Christs presence there is spirituall. But his Supper consisteth of his Body & Blood, which are so vnited to Christ, as they are peculiar to the second person in God. Againe, forasmuch as they are receiued into vs, as food to nourish our Bodies to Resurrection, (o) as the Gospel saith, and no mans Body is otherwise nourished then by Eating indeed that meat whereof he is nourished, and the Flesh of Christ as himself saith is meat indeed, and his Bloud drink indeed; we are forced to beleeue another manner of presēce in the sacrament of the Altar, then in Baptisme. And therfore ye haue handled this matter too sleightly and coldly.

Wee touch Christs Body, and eat it with our Mouth, and how.

Ioh. 6. Cor. Hom. 24.

Ioh. Sentent. Prosp.

The Defenders imaginary holding of Christ, holdeth not Christ as hee is in the Sacrament. Matth 26.

Where as ye say, we do not touch the body of Christ with Teeth and Mouth, (p) are ye so accustomed to swallow downe whole morsels, as ye neuer touch them with your Teeth? Or haue ye learned to eat that, which ye touch not with your Mouth? If Christ said, Take, Eat, this is my Body and the Apostles took & Eat the same neither could they take & Eat without touching: it seemeth ye handle eating too sleightly & coldly, when ye will haue it without touching. Chrysostome a more Substantiall handler of things then any of you is, saith of Christs Body, *Quod omnium maximum est, atque principium, intra nos non coepit tantum, sed tota gustaque sumitur, sed comedit, & en accepto domum redit.* Of all things that be in earth what is the greatest & the chiefest, (q) that dost thou not only see, but toucheste neither only dost thou touch it, but also eat it, & hauing receiued it, thou goest home againe. How we touch it wee know, for it is not now a mortall and corruptible Body, wherein we may fasten our teeth, but glorious and immortall, (r) and therefore we touch it by the reason of the Accidents of Bread and Wine, with whose Forms (as S Augustine speaketh) it is couered or vailed; and so commeth it to our Teeth, and to our Mouth, & nourisheth both our bodies and Soules to life Euerlasting. Nay but we (say ye) hold him fast & eat him by Faith, by Vnderstanding and by the Spirit. I pray you be not too hastie to hold him before yee haue him How come ye by him? His grace he giueth diuers waies, but himselfe bodily and presently as man, he neuer promised to giue otherwise, then when he said, Take, Eat, this is my Body. And then Iudas (s) (who had but a very mean Faith) because he receiued the sacrament receiued him also. And our Blessed Lady altho ugh she had a most perfect Faith, receiued him not after that sort, because then she receiued not the Sacrament. How can ye assure your selues that your faith taketh the body of Christ, (t) which was neuer promised to your Faith? If your Faith take him not as he is in the Sacrament, how can your Faith hold him fast there? As heer before ye haue said much, & proued little against the Real Presēce, wresting and stretching certain Fathers sentences, and the scripture it self to that purpose, not wholly & faithfully but by peece meale & patchedly alleged, so as ye might best make them serue to the maintenance of your false Doctrine: right so in the conclusion of that part of your Apology, with a like grace ye heap a number of mangled authorities together, whereby to perswade, that forasmuch as the fathers haue aduertised vs to lift vp our minds to Heauenward, we should not think wee eat the Flesh of Christ as being heere present with vs vnder the Forme of Bread. Therefore whereas ye lay to the Catholikes charge, as though by their Sacrilege the people were bereft of a great benefit, in that they be taught to one contēt with the one kind, vnder the same receiuing no lesse then if they had both: How much more worthily are ye to be charged with the crime of Sacrilege, that (v) robbe them of the greatest Treasure that is in the Church, so much as in you lieth, the Body & Bloud of our Lord and instead therof pretend to deliuer vnto them a peece of Bakers Bread, and a Cup of Wine? But let vs see what good reason or authority ye bring out of the Fathers against the true presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament.

(i) Vntruth. For Abraham and Isaack receiued Christs very Body, before the Sacrament was ordained. It is not peculiar to the Supper.

(k) Such vnchristian scornes, against Christs ordinances are very vnseemly.

(l) Christ offereth himself vnto our Faith, and by our Faith hee is receiued.

(m) This is the Capharnaits Diuinity. Sanctus Cyrillus: *Non hic panis, qui videtur in altari.*

(n) Vntruth. For the purest & best learned Fathers haue maintained the same as shall appeare.

(o) Vntruth. For there is no such word in all the Gospell.

(p) Heathenish and vnchristian speeche.

(q) As you see Christs body in the sacrament, euen so yee vse it, and no other wise. Ambrose saith: *Fides christiana dat: Non tenetur corpore.*

(r) Vntruth, childish & manyory. The learned Fathers neuer knew those follies.

(s) Iudas had a very mean Faith.

(t) Vntruth, as shall appeare. But where was Christs body promised to your Mouthes

(v) Vntruth For we rob them not but offer them indeed & verily the body of Christ: & shew them where and wherwith they may receiue it.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

D. Harding, your conscience knoweth, and will testifie against your selfe, that wee neuer called the holy Sacrament of Christs Body, Bakers Bread, no more then we call the Sacrament of Baptisme, a Paile of Water. Wee haue alwaies spoken honourably, and

Bakers Bread.

and reuerently thereof, as it was mæte wee ſhould ſpeake of the Myſteries of the Death of Chriſt, and as the Holy Catholike Fathers, haue euermoze vſed to ſpeake beſoze vs.

Theſe wilde, and wanton, and vnſæmely ſpæches, agree rather with your Doctrine. Foz call your owne wozds a little to remembzance. In your firſt Anſwer ye call the Holy Sacrament, as it is vſed and Miniſtred by vs, accozding to the Ozder of the Holie Fathers, A peece of Bread not worth a point: In this place yee call the Holy Miniſtration, ſo vſed by vs, A leane, and a Carrien Banket: In the nert diuiſion yee call it A Toy. Theſe bee your wozds, M. Harding, and may well ſtand, both with the Sobziety of your Spirit, and alſo with the whole ſubſtance and tenour of your Religion.

Auguſt. contra Maximin. lib. 3. cap. 22.

We call it, The Sacrament of Thankſgiuing, and, The Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood. And with the Holy Father S. Auguſtine we ſay: In Sacramentis Videndum eſt, non quid ſint, ſed quid ſignificent: *In Sacraments we muſt conſider*, not what they bee (in themſelues) *but what they ſignifie.*

Chryſoſt. in Geneſ. Homil. 24.

We haue no ſpeciall regard to the Bzead, Wine, oz Water: Foz they are Creatures Cozruptible, as well after Conſecration, as they were beſoze: But wee direct our Faith Onely vnto the very Body and Blood of Chriſt: not as being there Really and Fleſhly Pzeſent, as ye haue imagined, but as ſitting in Heauen at the Right Hand of God the Father. The Holy Father Chryſoſtome ſaith, although in generall wozds, not ſpeaking ſpecially of this Sacrament: Oculi Fidei, quando vident hæc ineffabilia bona, ne ſentiunt quidem hæc viſibilia. Tantum inter hæc & illa intereſt: *The eies of our Faith, when they behold theſe vnſpeakable good things, they do not ſo much as mark theſe outward things that wee ſee with our Bodily eies.* So great is the difference betweene theſe things. And hærein reſteth the groſſeneſſe of your errour, that ye diuide not the one thing from the other.

Auguſt. in Ioh. Tract. 26.

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud res Sacramenti: *The Sacrament of Chriſts Body is one thing, and the* Subſtance of the Sacrament (oz Chriſts Body repzeſented by the Sacrament) *is another thing.* And againe he ſaith: Ea demùm eſt miſerabilis animi ſeruitus, Signa pro rebus accipere: *To take the* Signes (oz Sacraments) *in ſtead of the* things themſelues (that be Signified, as M. Harding doth) *is the miſerable bondage of the Soule.*

Auguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 3 cap. 5.

In like maner Origen ſaith: Simpliciores neſcientes diſtinguere, ac ſecernere, quæ ſint, quæ in Scripturis Diuinis Interiori homini, quæ verò Exteriori deputanda ſint, vocabulorum ſimilitudinibus falſi, ad ineptas quaſdam Fabulas, & figmenta inania ſe contulerunt: *Simple men not able to diſcerne in the holy Scriptures, what things ought to be applied to the* Outter Man, *and what to the* Inner, *being deceiued by the likeneſſe of words, haue turned themſelues to a ſort of* peeuiſh Fables and vaine Fantaſies.

Origen in Prologo in Cantica Canticor.

Figure.

You call our Doctrine naked and cold, foz that we ſay, The Sacrament is a Figure. And yet becauſe ye cannot in any wiſe denie, but the ſame wozd Figure, to the ſame purpoſe is commonly vſed of all the ancient Catholike Fathers, and Dozors of the Church: therfoze ye thought it good to qualifie, and to mince the matter, and to ſay, It is a Figure, not of the Body, but of the Death of Chriſt. And hære it is a wozld to ſee, how pitifully yee trouble your ſelfe with your variety, and change, and ſhift of Figures.

M. Harding. Arti. 12. Diuiſion. 2.

Firſt you ſay, The Sacrament by the iudgement of Damaſcene, is called a Figure before the Cõſecration, that is to ſay, beſoze the Sacrament be a Sacrament. Foz beſoze Conſecration it is no Sacrament. Afterward vpon better aduice, ye ſay, The Formes onely, and the Shewes and Accidents are the Figure of Chriſts Body. Again you ſay, Chriſts Body Inuiſible, is a Figure of Chriſts Body Viſible: that is to ſay, A thing vncertaine, is a Figure of a thing moſt certain. Now laſt of all, ye ſay, as, I think, no man euer ſaid beſoze, the very Body of Chriſt it ſelfe is a Figure of the Death of Chriſt. Thus many pzety ſtrange vnknowne Figures, ye are dziuen to deuiſe, thereby to auoide, one ſimple, plaine, vſuall and common Figure. Foz, to leaue an infinite number of other ancient Fathers, S. Auguſtine ſaith: Dominus Figuram Corporis ſui Diſcipulis ſuis commendauit, & tradidit: *Our Lord commended and deliuered to his Diſciples a* Figure (not as ye ſay, of his Death, but) of his Body.

Aug. in Pſal 3.

Whereas you ſay, The body of Chriſt is preſent indeed, and that his Death is abſent onelie: If ye lift to cauill, as ye doe, and as your manner is, idlely to play with the wozds and phzaſes of the ancient Fathers, ye might as wel and by as good warrant ſay, that Chriſts Death is as pzeſent as his Body. Foz S. Cyprian ſaith: Paſſio Chriſti eſt Sacrificium, quod offerimus: *The Sacrifice that we offer, is* the Paſſion of Chriſt. Chryſoſtome ſaith: In Myſterijs Mors Chriſti perficitur: The Death of Chriſt *is wrought in the Myſteries.* S. Hierome ſaith: Chriſtus nobis quotidiè Crucifigitur: *Vnto vs*, Chriſt *is Crucified euery day* And S. Gregory ſaith: Chriſtus iterum in hoc Myſterio Moritur: *In this Myſterie* (of the holy Communion) *Chriſt is put to death againe.* By theſe wozds, thus pzeſſed and rackt, as your

Cyprian. lib. 2. epiſt. 3. Chryſ. in Acta, homil. 2. Hieronym. in Pſal. 97. De Con. Diſt. 2. Quid ſit.

your maner is, ye may eaſily proue, not only that Chriſts Body, but alſo that his Paſſion, and Death, and Bloodſheading is verily preſent. *De Con. Diſt. 2. Quid ſit.*

Ye ſay, Ye adore the Sacrament with godly Honour. We anſwer you, as Chriſt ſometime anſwered the woman of Samaria, Vos adoratis, quod neſcitis: *Ye adore and worſhip ye know not what.* For who euer willed you thus to Adore the Sacrament? Who taught you, who bade you ſo to doe? What Prophet? What Apoſtle? What Father? What Doctour of the Church? Iohan. 4.

Chriſts Death. Abſent or Preſent.

But here, M. Harding, ye doe vs great wrong, to ſay, we call Chriſts Body an Idol, ſauing that ye haue a Charter to ſpeake what ye liſt. For we know and haue euermore confeſſed with Chryſoſtome, *that the Body of Chriſt is worthy of the higheſt Honour:* and we Adore it, and worſhip it, euen as the very Body of the Sonne of God. Howbeit, as it is ſaid before, Chriſts Body is one thing, and the Sacrament is another. The Sacrament is in Earth: Chriſts Body is in Heauen, at the Right hand of God the Father. And therefore Chryſoſtome ſaith in the ſame place: Aſcende ergo ad Cœli portas, & diligenter attende: imò non Cœli, ſed Cœli Cœlorum: & tunc, quod dicimus intueberis: *Mount vp therfore vnto the* gates of Heauen, *and diligently conſider: Nay, I ſay not, vnto the* gates of Heauen, but vnto the gates of the Heauen of Heauens: *and ſo ſhall you ſee the things, that we ſpeake of.* *Chryſ. 1 Cor. Homil. 24.* *Chryſoſt in eadem Hom.*

But what meant you, M. Harding, thus out of ſeaſon to preſſe in with your Lenten Argument, I to ſay, It is Superſtitious with you, to eat drie & Lenten Meats? If ye ſay, there can be no Superſtition in choice of meats, either ye are deceiued your ſelfe, or elſe ye ſeeke occaſion by the way to deceiue others.

Tertullian ſaith: Deus ventre non colitur, nec cibis, quos Dominus dicit perire, & in ſeceſſu, naturali Lege purgari. Nam, qui per eſcas Dominum colit, prope eſt, vt Dominum habeat ventrem ſuum: *God is not honoured with the* Belly, nor with meats, *which the Lord Chriſt ſaith, do periſh: and are purged in conueiance by Naturall Order.* For who ſo by meats honoureth the Lord, in a maner maketh his Belly to be his Lord. S. Hilary ſaith: Hæretici ſicco Panis Cibo viuunt. Sed quis tandem otioſi huius propoſiti profectus eſt? Totum hoc inane atque ridiculum eſt, & cum ipſis Superſtitionis cauſis miſerabile: *Hereticks liue by* drie bread: *But what profit is there in this* idle purpoſe? *It is altogether* vaine and fooliſh, and in reſpect of the cauſes of their Superſtition, it is alſo miſerable. *Tertull. in epiſt. de cibis Iudaicis.* *Hilar. in Pſal. 64.*

S. Hierome ſaith: Quid prodeſt oleo non veſci, & moleſtias quaſdam difficultateſque ciborum quærere, Caricas, Piper, Nuces, Palmarum fructus, Simulam, Mel, Piſtacia? Audio præterea, quoſdam contra regulam, hominumque Naturam, aquam non bibere, nec veſci Pane: ſed ſorbitiunculas delicatas, & contrita olera, betarumque ſuccum, non Calice ſorbere, ſed Concha: Pro pudor. Non erubeſcimus iſtiuſmodi ineptijs? nec tædet Superſtitionis? Inſuper etiam famam abſtinentiæ in delicijs quærimus: *What auaileth it to eat no Oile, and with paine and much adoe, curiouſly to ſeeke for meats, Figs, Pepper, Nuts, Dates, fine white Bread, Hony, and Piſtacia?* Beſide this, *I heare ſay, there be ſome, which contrarie to the common order and nature of men, will neither drinke Water nor eat Bread: but ſeek for delicate ſuppings, and Herbs ſhred together, and the iuice of Beets, and receiue the ſame, not out of a Cup, but out of a ſhel* Fie for ſhame: Do we not bluſh at ſuch fooliſhneſſe? Are we not weary of ſuch ſuperſtition? *And yet beſide all this, liuing in ſuch curious delicacie, we ſeeke to be praiſed for our faſting.* To leaue all others, Eraſmus, a man of great iudgement, ſaith: Maior eſt in his rebus Superſtitio apud Chriſtianos, quàm vnquam fuit inter Iudæos: There is more ſuperſtition heerein *among Chriſtians, then euer was among the* Iewes. We weigh not the choice of Fiſh or Fleſh: but the burthen of the Minde, and the ſnare of the Conſcience. *Hier. ad Nepotianum.* *Eraſ. in Annot. in 14. ad Rom.*

But to paſſe ouer your needleſſe Lenten talke, the Feaſt, that we ſet before the people, is neither drie nor carrien, (notwithſtanding it liketh you, by your vnciuill termes, ſo to call it) but Spirituall, Holy, and Heauenly: I meane, the very body of Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God, to the comfort and releeuing of Body and Soule. And yet, foraſmuch as it ſo well delighteth your eares to call it carrien, we refuſe not the name. Chryſoſtome likewiſe, although in more reuerend and ciuill ſenſe, calleth it Carrien. Theſe bee his words: Vbi eſt Cadauer, ibi ſunt Aquilæ. Cadauer Domini Corpus eſt propter Mortem. Aquilas autem appellat, vt oſtendat, ad alta eum oportere contendere, qui ad hoc Corpus accedit, & nihil cum terra debere illum habere commune, nec ad inferiora trahi, & repere, ſed ad ſuperiora ſemper volare, & in Solem Iuſtitiæ intueri, mentiſque oculum habere acutiſſimum. Aquilarum enim, non Graculorum, eſt hæc menſa: *Where as the* Carien *is, there are the Eagles. The* Carrien is the Body of Chriſt, *in reſpect of his Death. But he nameth Eagles, to ſhew, that who ſo will approch to his Body, muſt mount aloft, and haue no dealing with the Earth,* nor be drawn, and creepe downward: but muſt euermore flie vp, *and behold* *Chryſoſtom. 1. Cor. Hom. 24.*

hold the Sonne of Iuſtice, and haue the eie of his minde, quicke and ſharpe. For this is a Table of Eagles (that flie on high) *not of* Iaies (that crepe beneath.)

Verily Preſent.

Ye adde further: But, ſay yee, at the Lords Supper Chriſt giueth himſelfe verily preſent. To what purpoſe? I pray you. That wee may eat him (ſay yee) by Faith and Spirit. Well reaſoned forſooth. Now forſoth, M. Harding, this is Hicke Scorners Logicke, farre vnmeet for a man of your grauity.

Haue ye forgotten (ſay you) the giuing to eat, and eating that which is giuen, to be Relatiues, one of them hauing Relation to the other? If Chriſt do exhibit himſelf verily preſent, doth not he ſo exhibit or giue himſelfe, as he wil be receiued? If he giue himſelf verily Preſent, we take him verily Preſent, & then we eat him verily Preſent, not only by Faith & Spirit, but by taking him into our Mouth & Belly.

Verily, M. Harding, this, of your part, was not very well reaſoned. For a man may haue Chriſt verily Preſent, although he haue him not in his mouth. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Habes Chriſtum in Præſenti, per Signum: In Præſenti, per Fidem: In Præſenti, per Baptiſmatis Sacramentum: *Thou haſt* Chriſt *in the time* Preſent, *by his Signe or Token: In the time* Preſent, *by Faith: In the time* Preſent, *by the Sacrament of Baptiſme.* Thus many waies we haue Chriſt Preſent, and verily Preſent. And S. Auguſtine imagineth Chriſt thus to ſay vnto the people of Capernaum, Non hoc Corpus quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis: Ye ſhall not eat (with your bodily mouth) *this* Body *of mine, that you ſee.* Wee remember well the relation, that is betweene Giuing and Receiuing: and therefore we marueil ſo much the more, that you ſo vnskilfully would abuſe it. For, as Chriſt offered his Body Spiritually to our Faith and Spirit: euen ſo Spiritually, by our Faith, and Spirit, we receiue it. And where ye ſay, We take Chriſts Body into our Mouthes, and Bodies, as hauing forgotten that Chriſt ſaith, *The words that I haue ſpoken, be Spirit and Life*; S. Auguſtine would ſoone haue remooued you from this groſſe error. For thus he ſaith vnto you: Quid paras Dentem & Ventrem? Crede & manducaſti: *What prepareſt thou thy Tooth and thy Belly?* (This eating is Spirituall.) Beleeue (in Chriſt) and thou haſt eaten.

Auguſt. in Ioh. Tract. 50.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 98.

Spirituall Eating.

S. Ambroſe ſaith: Fide tangitur Chriſtus: Fide viderur. Non tangitur Corpore: non oculis comprehenditur: By Faith Chriſt is touched: By Faith he is ſeene. He is not touched with Body: *He is not ſeene with eie.*

Ambroſ in Lucam lib 6 ca. 8.

Likewiſe ſaith Gregorius Nyſſenus S. Baſils Brother: Ego aliam Eſcam agnoſco: quę ſimilitudinem quandam proportionis eſcæ huius Corporis gerat: Cuius voluptas, atque ſuauitas ad animum ſolummodò tranſeat: *I know another kind of Meat, bearing the Likeneſſe and reſemblance of our bodily Meat:* (for that this inwardly feedeth the minde, as the other outwardly feedeth the Body) *The pleaſure and ſweetneſſe whereof* (goeth not into the mouth or belly, but) paſſeth onely into the Soule. Thus we vnderſtand our ſelues, M. Harding, and deceiue not, as you ſay, the Soules that Chriſt hath bought. God forgiue you and others, that ſo haue done, that the blood of many be not required at your hands.

Gregor. Nyſſen. De Creatione Hominis, c. 19.

Your errour (ye ſay) in making the Preſence of Chriſt in Baptiſme, like to his Preſence in the Supper, is too groſſe. Yeare is one error more then any of the learned Catholike Fathers euer noted. S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: *In the Sacrament of Baptiſme we are made Fleſh of Chriſts Fleſh, and Bone of his Bones.* S. Bernard ſaith: Lauemur in Sanguine eius: Let vs be waſhed in his Blood. Leo ſaith: Chriſti Sanguine rigaris quando in Mortem ipſius Baptizaris: *Thou art* waſht in the Blood of Chriſt, *when thou art Baptized in his Death.*

Chryſ in epi. ad Ephe. hom. 20. Bernard. Super Miſſus eſt, hom. 3. Leo in Sermon. de 4. Feria. c. 1.

By theſe few it may appeare, that Chriſt is Preſent at the Sacrament of Baptiſme, euen as he is preſent at the holy Supper: vnleſſe ye will ſay, we may be made fleſh of Chriſts fleſh: and bee waſht in his Blood: and bee partakers of him: and haue him Preſent without his Preſence. Therefore Chryſoſtome, when he hath ſpoken vehemetly of the Sacrament of the Supper, he concludeth thus: Sic & in Baptiſmo, Euenſo is it alſo in the Sacrament of Baptiſme. The Body of Chriſt is likewiſe Preſent in them both. And for that cauſe Beda ſaith: Nulli eſt aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc vnumquenque fidelium Corporis Sanguiniſque Dominici participem fieri, quando in Baptiſmate Membrum Chriſti efficitur: *No man may doubt, but euery Faithfull man is then made* Partaker of the Body, and Blood of Chriſt, when in Baptiſme *hee is made the Member of Chriſt.* As for your Reall and Fleſhly preſence, it hath bene often talked of on your part, but neuer proued.

Beda in 1. Cor. 10.

We ſay, VVe touch not Chriſts Body with our Mouth or Teeth. VVhat (ſay you) be yee vſed to ſwallow downe whole Morſels? Such childiſh and wanton talke, M. Harding, ſpecially in the debating of matters of Religion, would better become ſome lighter perſon. VVe know, that, as S. Auguſtine ſaith: Gratia Chriſti non conſumitur morſibus: *The Grace of Chriſt is* not conſumed by morſels. Yee might haue made the like anſwer to S. Auguſtine: For he ſaith to you, as I haue alleged him before: *VVhat prepareſt thou thy* Tooth *and thy* Belly? O, M. Harding, the eating of the Body Chriſt, is a worke Spirituall, and

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 27. Aug in Iohan. Tract. 25.

and nædeth neither bruſing of tooth, nor ſwallowing of the throat, nor helpe of the outward and bodily mouth. If ye know thus much, why doe ye diſſemble it? If ye know it not, ye come too rathe to ſpeake of theſe things.

S. Baſil ſaith: Eſt Spirituale Os Interioris Hominis, quo nutritur, recipiens Verbum Vitæ, quod verbum eſt Panis qui deſcendit de Cœlo: There is a Spirituall Mouth of the Inner Man, *by which he is nouriſhed by receiuing* (Chriſt) *the word of Life, which is the Bread that came from Heauen.* *Baſil. in Pſ. 33.* Ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ ἔσω ἀνθρώπου στόμα τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τρεφόμενον.

Againe he ſaith: Guſtate, & videte, quòd ſuauis eſt Dominus. Sæpè obſeruauimus, vires animi habere nomina ab aliqua ſimilitudine Membrorum Corporis. Quoniam ergò Dominus noſter eſt Verus Panis, & eius Caro eſt Verus Cibus, neceſſe eſt, eam voluptatem quæ ex illius Panis delectatione affertur, in nobis per guſtum exiſtere Spiritualem: *Taſte ye, and ſee that our Lord is gratious. We haue often times marked that the Powers of the minde haue their names from ſome likeneſſe of the parts of the Bodie. Therefore ſeeing our Lord is Bread in deed, and his Fleſh is verily Meat, it cannot be choſen, but the pleaſure and ſweetneſſe of that Bread muſt be wrought in vs* (not by our Bodily mouth, but) by the Spirituall taſt of the Soule. *Baſil. in eund. Pſalm.* Ἐπειδὴ ἀφορισάμεθα πολλάκις ὁ τῶν μελῶν ἡμῶν, ἢ ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς βρῶσις, ἀληθῶς ἡ ἡδονὴ τῆς ἐφαπτικῆς ἄρτου διὰ γεύσεως ἡμῖν παρέξει ἐγκεκραμένη.

S. Cyprian ſaith: Eſus Carnis eius quædam eſt auiditas, & quoddam deſiderium mandi in eo: *The Eating of that Fleſh is a certaine* greedineſſe, *and a certaine* deſire *to dwell in him.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Ipſe eſt Panis Cordis noſtri: Chriſt *is the Bread* (not of our belly, but) of our Heart. And againe: Intus Eſuri, Intus Siti: Hunger thou Within: Thirſt thou Within. Likewiſe againe he ſaith: Videte, Fratres, Panem Cœleſtem: Spirituali Ore manducate: *O my brethren, behold this Heauenly Bread: Eat it with the* Spirituall or Inner Mouth of the Minde. *Cyprian de cœna Domini. Aug. in Pſa. 48 Auguſt. in Ioh. Tract. 26. 4. Sent. Diſt. 10 Secundum hos.*

Thus are we taught to eat that Spirituall Meat, without chewing or ſwallowing, or vſe or office of the bodily Mouth. Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: Non manducans, manducat: & manducans, non manducat: *He that eateth not, eateth: and he that eateth, eateth not.*

But Chryſoſtome ſaith: Quod omnium Maximum eſt, atque Præcipuum, in terra non conſpicaris tantùm, ſed etiam tangis: nec tangis tantùm, ſed etiam comedis: *The greateſt and Worthieſt thing that is, thou doeſt not only behold in the Earth, but alſo toucheſt it: Neither doeſt thou only touch it, but alſo eateſt it.* Here I beſeech you M. Harding, diſſemble no longer, but ſpeake plainely. How doe you behold the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament? With what ſenſes, with what eies doe you ſee it? If ye ſay, with your bodily eies, why ſay you, Chriſts Body is there Inuiſible, couered with Accidents, and cannot be ſeene? If ye ſay (as it is indeed) that yée ſee the ſame Body onely with the Spirituall eies of your Minde, then ye allege Chryſoſtome directly and plainely againſt your ſelfe. *Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. homil. 24.*

Spituall Eating.

But S. Auguſtine ſaith: Habet Fides oculos ſuos: Faith hath her eies to ſee withall. And S. Bernard ſaith: Viſio Animæ, intellectus eſt: The ſeeing of the ſoule is vnderſtanding. With theſe eies we ſée Chriſt, that is to ſay, wee vnderſtand Chriſt, or beléeue in Chriſt. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Velamen poſitum erat contra faciem eorum, ne viderent Chriſtum in Scripturis: *There was a Vaile laid ouer their face, that they ſhould* not ſee Chriſt in the Scriptures. *Aug. epiſt 84. Bernar. Meditation. cap. 3. Aug. in Euangelium. ſecund. Lucã Serm. 49*

Chryſoſtome ſaith: Non tantum præſtare poſſunt Corporales oculi, qui viſibilia cernunt, quantum oculi Spiritus, qui ea quæ non videntur, neque ſubſiſtunt, videre poſſunt: *Theſe Bodily eies that ſee things viſible, cannot doe ſo much as the* eies of the Spirit. *For theſe eies are able to ſee the things that* be not ſeene, and haue no being. Likewiſe againe he ſaith: Oculi animi, etiamſi Parietes, etiamſi Mœnia, etiamſi Montium moles, etiamſi Cœlorum Corpora compererint obſtantia, omnia facilè prætercurrunt: *The eies of the minde, notwithſtanding they finde* Wals, *or* Mountaines, *or the* Bodies of the Heauens *to ſtand againſt them, yet will they eaſily paſſe thorow them all.* With theſe eies, ſaith Chryſoſtome, we ſee that moſt worthy, and moſt glorious Body of Chriſt. Therefore he ſaith: Credamus, & videmus Præſentem Ieſum: Let vs beleeue, and we ſee Ieſus Preſent before vs. Likewiſe S. Hierome ſaith: Eſt intelligentia Spiritualis, qua Chriſtus cernitur: *There is a Spirituall vnderſtanding*, wherewith Chriſt is ſeene. Otherwiſe S. Ambroſe ſaith: Chriſtum nunc ſecundùm Veritatem videre non poſſumus: *As now*, according to the Truth (with bodily ſight) we cannot ſee Chriſt. *Chryſ. de Verb. Eſai. Vidi Dominum. homil. 2. Chryſ. in Marcum homil. 6. Hieron. in Amos, lib. 3. 6. 9. Ambroſ. in Oratione, de fide Reſurrectionis. Ambroſ. in Lucã, lib. 6. cap. 8.*

Now, as the Body of Chriſt is ſeene, ſo is it touched: and as it is touched, ſo is it eaten. But it is not ſeene with Bodily eies: It is not touched with bodily fingers: For S. Ambroſe ſaith: Fide tangitur Chriſtus: Fide Chriſtus videtur: *By Faith Chriſt is* touched: *By Faith Chriſt is* ſeene. Therefore the Body of Chriſt is not eaten with the bodily mouth, but onely by Faith, which is the Spirituall mouth of the Soule.

Iudas (ye ſay) who had but a meane faith, becauſe he receiued the Sacrament, receiued him alſo. Oh how much is poore Iudas beholden to theſe men! Chriſt calleth him the Childe of Perdition.

Iohan. 6. Iohan 13. dition. S. Iohn saith: *The Diuell was entered into him.* Againe Christ saith: *He was a Diuel.* Therefore this Meane Faith that you allow him must néeds be a very little pretty Faith: euen such a Faith as ye might well allow the Diuell.

Spirituall Eating. Iudas.

Yet with the same Meane Faith (ye say) receiuing the Sacrament, hee receiued Christ also. First, it is not well and thoroughly agréed vpon, that Iudas receiued the Sacrament, or was present at all at the Last Supper. S. Hilary saith plainely: *He was gone foorth about his wicked purpose, and receiued it not.* But be it that S. Hilary were deceiued, and that Iudas indéed receiued the Sacrament: yet, as it said before, Christ Body is one thing, and the Sacrament of Christs Body is another thing.

Hilar. in Mat. Canon. 30.

S Augustine saith: Discipuli manducabant Panem Dominum: Iudas panem Domini, contra Dominum: *The Disciples did eat the* Bread which is the Lord: *But* Iudas *did eat* (not the Lord, but) *the* (Sacrament, which is the) Bread of the Lord, *against the Lord.* And yet in plainer sort he saith: Christus adhibuit Iudam ad Conuiuium, in quo Corporis & sanguinis sui figuram Discipulis suis commendauit & tradidit: Christ *admitted* Iudas *vnto his Table, whereat he gaue and deliuered vnto his Disciples* a Figure of his Body.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 59

Aug. in Psal. 3.

Aug. de Ciuitat. lib. 21. c. 25

Againe, S. Augustine saith, as in the Person of Christ: Qui in me non manet, & in quo ego non maneo, ne se dicat aut existimet manducare Corpus meum, aut Sanguinem meum bibere: *He that abideth not in me, and I in him,* let him not say, or thinke, *that he either eateth my Body, or drinketh my Blood.*

The obiection that ye make of the Resurrection of our Bodies is light and vaine, and to small purpose. For if no man shall haue part in the Resurrection, but onely they that haue receiued the Sacrament of Christs Body, then are all the holy Fathers, Patriarchs, and Prophets of the Old Testament, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Moses, Aaron, and such others: then are infinite numbers of Christian Children: then are many godly Martyrs, which being Baptized in the Blood of Christ, were taken out of this life before they could receiue the Sacrament, vtterly excluded for euer from all hope of Resurrection, which were a thing too horrible to enter into Christian eares. But Christ, when he spake these words, meant not the receiuing of the Sacrament, but the Spirituall Eating of his Verie Body, and the Spirituall drinking of his Very Blood: whereof he is made partaker vnto Resurrection and Life Euerlasting, whosoeuer beleeueth in the Death of Christ. And therefore S. Basil saith of the Sacrament of Baptisme: Baptisma est vis & efficacia ad Resurrectionem: *Baptisme is a* Power *and a* Strength *vnto Resurrection.* But hereof we shall haue occasion offered to say more hereafter.

Basil de Sanct. Baptismate. τὸ δὲ Βάπτισμα δύναμις ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀνάστασιν.

Further, How can yee assure your selues (say you) that your Faith receiueth the Body of Christ, which was neuer promised to your Faith? By the way I beseech you, M. Harding, when, or where was Christs Body euer promised to your mouth? Verily Christ promised his Body to be receiued by Faith, and by Faith Only, and none otherwise. For thus he saith: Ego sum Panis ille Vitæ: qui venit ad me, non esuriet: & qui credit in me, non sitiet vnquam: *I am that Bread of Life: He that* commeth vnto me *shall neuer hunger: and he that* beleeueth in me, *shall neuer thirst.* Here haue you, M. Harding, a plaine promise made vnto your Faith. But of your mouth we heare nothing. If you haue ought to shew out of the Scriptures, Doctours, or Councels, let it appeare, and that in plaine words, without colour. Otherwise, if ye cauill in words, we must say yee haue nothing. Therefore the Ancient Father Origen saith: Ideirco dicitur Panis Vitæ, vt habeat Gustus Animæ, quod degustet: *Therefore is* Christ *called the Bread of Life, that* (our Faith, which is) *the* Taste of our Soule *may haue what to taste.*

Iohan. 6. Promise made to Faith.

Orig in Cantica. Homil. 2.

Clemens in Pædagogo, Lib. 1. Cap. 6.

Clemens Alexandrinus saith: Comedite Carnes meas, & Bibite Sanguinem meum: Euidenter Fidei, & Promissionis, quod est Esculentum & Poculentum, dicens Allegorice: *Eat my Flesh, and Drinke my Blood: Meaning heereby vnder an* Allegory, *or by* way of a Figure, *the Meate and Drinke that is of* (our) Faith, *and* (his) Promise.

Tertull.

Tertullian saith: Eundem Sermonem Christus etiam Carnem suam dixit, quia Sermo Caro factus est: Proindè in causa Vitæ recipiendus: Deuorandus auditu: Ruminandus intellectu: & Fide digerendus est: *The same Word* Christ *called his Flesh: for the Word was made Flesh. Therefore he must be receiued in cause of Life:* He must be Deuoured by hearing: He must be Chewed by vnderstanding: He must be Digested by Faith.

Cyprian de Cœna Domini.

S. Cyprian saith: Quod est esca Carni, hoc est Animæ Fides: *As Meat is to the Flesh, so is* Faith vnto the Soule. S. Augustine saith: Credere in eum, hoc est Manducare: Illud Bibere, quid est, nisi viuere? To beleeue in him, *is to* Eat *him. That* Drinking *of him, what is it else, but to* liue by him?

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 26

Aug. de Verb. Apost. Serm. 2.

I trust, M. Harding, it may appeare hereby there is some Promise made hereof vnto your Faith. Now shew you as euident Promise made to your Mouth and Belly: and then your Reader happily will beleeue you.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 14. Diuision 2.

And therfore in celebrating these Mysteries, the People are to good purpose exhorted before they come to receiue the Holy Communion, to lift vp their Hearts, and to direct their minds to Heauen-ward: because he is there by whom we must be fed, and liue.

M. Harding.

I pray you, which these Mysteries meane you? Those that ye haue in your New Communion, or those that we haue at the Altar of God in the Catholike Church of Christ? If you meane your own new deuised toy, therof ye cannot bring any sufficient reason against the Church partly, which condemneth the same. If ye meane the Holy Mysteries of the Catholike Church, ye misreport the matter. For by that exhortation ye speake of (a) the people are not prepared to receiue the Communion onely, nor chiefly, but to dispose themselues accordingly, and as it becommeth the to pray, for to that ende be these words, *Sursum Corda*, Vp with your harts, pronounced by the Priest in the Preface before praier. Read S. Cypriã *In Sermone 6. De Oratione Dominica*, and ye shall finde him to referre the whole to Praier. But what if wee admit your words, refusing your Heretical meaning? We graunt the people are to good purpose exhorted, as ye say, and that he is in Heauen, whose flesh we feed on in this Sacrament, thereby to attain to life euerlasting. What conclude ye of this? *Ergo*, he is not heere? For at that marke ye shoot, euery man may see. Heere we tell you, that your Rhetoricke is better stuffe then your Logick: for your Argument is foolish. With the one ye may lead the simple perhaps: with the other ye moue the learned to laugh at you. For Christ is in Heauen, and also heere, as Chrysostome saith: *Et hic plenus existens, & illic plenus, Vnum Corpus*: (b) He is heere fully, and there fully, One Body. These two propositions, Christ is in Heauen, and, Christ is heere, may well stand together without iutting the one the other out of place. He is there at the Right Hand of the Father visibly: he is heere vnder the Formes of Bread and Wine inuisibly: there in Glory, heere in Maiesty: yet as truly and fully heere, as there concerning his (c) Substance, as Chrysostome saith. Ye proceed foorth, and say.

Sursum Corda.

(a) Vntruth: Heere M. Hard. misreporteth his own Masse booke.

(b) Christ is in Heauen by the Substance of his Body: and heere by working, or by Graces.

(c) Vntruth. For Chrysostome neuer neither wrote so, nor meant so.

a foolish Argument. *In Epist. ad Heb. Homil. 17.* Christ is both in Heauen & also heere in the Sacrament.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

It may become you, M. Harding, as well to call the Reuerend Ministration of Christs Holy Mysteries, a Toy, as to call the Gospell of Christ Errour and Heresie. So likewise Libanius the Heathen, although a man, I trow, not of your Profession, said sometime, that all the Bookes either of the Scriptures, or any of the Christian Fathers, in comparison of Iulianus the Renegates Bookes, were Toies and Trifles. Howbeit Our Toies be the same Toies that were once vsed, and allowed vniuersally throwout the Catholike Church of God, before your Masse was euer knowen, and were then thought to be no Toies.

Socrat. Lib. 3. ca. 19. Christianorum Libri ridiculi, & nugaces, si enim Iuliani Libris conferamur.

Touching these words, *Sursum Corda*, Lift vp your Hearts (ye say) they were applied in Old times vnto praier, and not onely or chiefly to the Ministration of the Sacrament, and that (as ye seem to say) by the Witnesse of S. Cyprian. **As for these empty words, Only, or Chiefly, yee vse them Onely as a false light to blinde your Reader. For in our Apology ye found thē not.**

Touching S. Cyprian, ye thought it best to dissemble, and to shift his words, and to command him to silence. For thus he saith, euen directly against the whole practise of your Church: Sacerdos ante Orationem, Præfatione præmissa, parat Fratrum mentes, dicendo, Sursum Corda: vt dum respondet Plebs, Habemus ad Dominum, admoneatur, nihil aliud se quàm Dominum cogitare debere: *Before Praier the Priest with a Preface prepareth the Hearts of the Brethren, saying vnto them*, Lift vp your hearts: *that when the People answereth, We lift them vp vnto the Lord, they may be put in minde, to thinke of nothing else, but of the Lord.* **Where is this Order, M. Harding? Where is this Ecclesiasticall Tradition now become? Throwout your whole Territory of Rome, in what Church, in what Chappell is it kept? Where doth your people answer the Priest at the Common Praier? Or, where doth the people vnderstand either the meaning of the Sacraments, or any thing that is pronounced by the Priest? Or, why are you so vnaduised, to allege manifest Authorities against your selfe?**

Cyprian. in Oratione Dominica.

Ye say: The people was taught by these words, not to consider what was meant only by the Sacraments, but to giue attendance vnto the Praier. **Wherein your owne Masse booke is easily able to controle you. And in the** Greeke Liturgies, **not before any other publike praier, but immediately before the** Holy Ministration, **the Priest saith:** Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας: *Let vs lift vp our Hearts.* **And** Chrysostome saith: Clamamus in conspectu Sacrificij, sursum Corda: *We crie aloud in the sight of the oblation*, Lift vp your Hearts. S. Augustine saith: Sursum Corda habeamus. Si resurrexistis cum Christo, dicit Fidelibus, Corpus & Sanguinem Domini accipientibus, dicit, Si Resurrexistis cum Christo, quæ sursum sunt, sapite: vbi Christus est in Dextra Dei sedens: Quæ sursum sunt quærite; non quæ super terram: Let vs lift vp our Hearts. *If ye be risen againe with Christ, he saith vnto the Faithfull, hee saith*

Chry. ex variis locis in Matth. Homil. 9.

Aug. in Ps. 39.

vnto them that receiue the Body and Blood of our Lord, *If ye be riſen againe with Chriſt, ſauour thoſe things* that are aboue, *where Chriſt is at the Right Hand of God: Seek for* the things that be aboue: *not for the things that be in Earth.* Againe hee ſaith: In Sacramentis Fidelium dicitur, Vt Surſum Corda habeamus ad Dominum: *At the* Miniſtration of the Sacraments of the Faithfull it is ſaid, Let vs lift vp our Hearts vnto the Lord. Surſum Corda

Augu de Bono Perſeuaran. li. 2 cap. 13.

Likewiſe againe. Inter Sacra Myſteria Cor habere Surſum iubemur: *In the* time of the Holy Myſteries *we are commanded* to lift vp our Hearts.

Aug. de Bono Viduitatis, cap. 16.

But what nede we to rehearſe the Ancient Fathers? Your owne late New Doctours haue ſaid the like. And to leaue the reſt, your owne Manipulus Curatorum, that is to ſay, the Ordinary and Direction of all your whole Clergy, ſaith thus: Sacerdos ante Canonem dicit, Surſum Corda: Quaſi dicat, quòd volens ſumere iſtud Sacramentum, debet habere Cor ſuum eleuatum ad Deum: *Before the Canon, the Prieſt ſaith,* Lift vp your Hearts: As if he would ſay, Who ſo will receiue this Sacrament, ought to haue his Heart lifted vp vnto God.

Alexand. Halen 4 Que. 17. Memb. 1 Artic. 3. Par. 1. Cap. 9.

The wordes be plaine, and can in no wiſe bee denied. It were wiſdome, M. Harding, in ſuch caſes to auouch no more then ye know. Otherwiſe your wordes will goe to Toles.

Howbeit the matter being granted, that theſe words pertaine to the Holy Miniſtration, yet if we would reaſon thus; Chriſts Body is in Heauen; Therefore it is not Really and Fleſhly in the Sacrament; Yee ſay, We ſhould make a foolish Argument: Our Rhetoricke is better ſtuffe then our Logike.

Chriſts Body in one place.

This Argument, M. Harding, is taken of the Nature of Chriſts Humanity: which being the very Naturall Body of a Man, by the iudgement of the ancient Fathers, muſt nedes be in one onely place at one time, and can reach no further. For otherwiſe it were not a very Naturall Mans Body. Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith, as hee is alleged by Gratian; Corpus Domini in quo Reſurrexit, in Vno loco eſſe oportet; *The Body of our Lord wherein hee roſe againe,* muſt needs be in One place. Likewiſe againe he ſaith: Chriſtus ſecundùm Preſentiam Corporalem, ſimul & in Sole, & in Luna, & in Cruce eſſe non potuit; *Touching Bodily Preſence,* Chriſt could not be *in the* Sunne, *in the* Moone, *and vpon the* Croſſe *all at once.*

De Conſ. Diſt. 2. Prima.

Auguſt. contra Fauſtum lib. 20 Cap. 11.

Aug. Epiſt. 221

And againe: Chriſtus vbique eſt Virtute, non Opere; Diuinitate, non Carne: Chriſt *is euery where by his power,* not in deed; *By his Godhead,* not by his Fleſh.

Cyril, in Iohã. lib. 9. cap 22.

S. Cyril ſaith: Chriſtus cum Diſcipulis ſuis, etſi non Corpore, tamen Virtute Deitatis ſemper futurus eſt; Chriſt *will euermore bee with his Diſciples by* the Power of his Diuinity, although not in his Body. Therefore to Conclude, S. Auguſtine ſaith: Videte Aſcendentem; Credite in Abſentem; Sperate venientem; Tamen per Miſericordiam occultam etiam ſentite Præſentem: *Behold* Chriſt *Aſcending*: *Beleeue in* Chriſt *being* Abſent: *Truſt in* Chriſt *that ſhall come againe*: *And yet by his* Priuy Mercy feele him Preſent. Beleeue, ſaith S. Auguſtin, in Chriſt being now Abſent, and not here.

Aug. in Pſ. 46.

Thus the ancient Catholike Fathers were bold reuerently to reaſon of Chriſts Humanitie: yet was not M. Harding yet borne that ſhould ſo bitterly charge them with Fooliſh Arguments. Nay rather Ruffinus ſaith: Sed ultra adnumerato Calumniæ eſt, Corpus humanum aliud eſſe putare quàm Carnem: *It is but a* Fooliſh *finding of a Cauill to ſay,* that the Body of Man is any other thing than Fleſh.

Ruffin. in Hier. Inuectiua prior.

But Chryſoſtome ſaith: Chriſt *is whole heere, and whole there.* But Chryſoſtome in the ſame place many waies expounded his whole meaning. For thus he ſaith, if it would haue pleaſed M. Harding to haue ſeene his wordes: Offerimus quidem, ſed ad Recordationem facientes Mortis eius: Hoc Sacrificium Exemplar illius eſt: Hoc quod nos facimus, in Commemorationem fit eius quod factum eſt. Idipſum ſeu per offerimus: Magis autem Recordationem Sacrificij Operamur: *We offer indeed, but in* Remembrance *of his Death. This Sacrifice is* Token *or* Figure *of that Sacrifice. The thing that wee doe, is done in* Remembrance *of that thing that was done before.* We offer alway the ſame thing (that Chriſt offered.) *Nay rather we worke the* Remembrance *of that Sacrafice* (that Chriſt offered.) Notwithſtanding, to ſpare time, this Obiection is anſwered more at large in my Former Reply to M. Harding.

Chryſ in Epiſt. ad Heb. Hõ. 17

Artic. 6 Diuiſ 8.

But whereas M. Harding ſaith, Chriſts Body is as fully heer as it is in Heauen concerning the Subſtance, as Chryſoſtome ſaith, he would vnder the name of that holy Father wilfully warrant a great Vntruth. For Chryſoſtome ſaith not; Chriſts *Body is preſent in Subſtance*: Yee hath no ſuch wordes. Yee ſaith not ſo: Ye ſaith the contrary: as namely where hee ſaith as it is before alleged: *The very Body of* Chriſt it ſelfe is not in the Holy Veſſels, *but the Myſtery or Sacrament thereof is there conteined.*

Chryſ. in Mat. Homil. 11.

Touching theſe wordes, vnleſſe ye can deuiſe, a new Grammar, and make Surſum

to

to be Deorsum, and contrarie to Nature, turne all things vpside-downe and thus make your Construction: Sursum Corda: Looke downeward: they will but meanely make for your purpose. S. Hierome saith: Secundus Aduentus Saluatoris in Gloria demonstrandus est. Vultum est ergo illum in paruo aut abscondito loco quærere, qui totius est Mundi Lumen: *The Second Comming of our Saviour shall be declared in Glorie. Seeing therefore he is the Light of the World,* it is great follie to seeke him in any small Corner. Heere, M. Harding, S. Hierome saith: *It is great folly to seeke Christ as you seeke him.* *Hieronymus in Matt. cap. 24.*

The Apology, Chap. 14. Division 3.

Cyrillus saith, when we come to receiue these Mysteries, all grosse imaginations must quite be banished.

M. Harding.

Why doe ye not by your quotation direct vs to the place where this saying of Cyril may bee found? *Know ye not that we haue good cause to suspect your dealing? Do we not almost euery where finde you in manifest lies? If ye meane plaine Truth, why deale ye not plainely? Christs saying must needs bee true, Who euill doth, hateth light. Because ye knew the place maketh directly against you, and subuerteth your whole Sacramentary Doctrine, ye thought it good policy to take a word or two for your purpose, and leaue the rest, trusting it should not be espied. Wherein ye doe like the Scorpion, that casteth forth his venome with the spirt of his taile, and forthwith creepeth away into a hole. Would God as ye abuse the name of Cyril, so ye would stand to the Truth, by him (euen in that place which ye allege) substantially declared. Who listeth to see the place, let him read Cyrills Answer to Theodorites reprehension of the eleuenth Anathematisme against Nestorius. There he sheweth, that Nestorius destroied the meane of the Vnion of both Natures in Christ, to the intent the Body of Christ might be found but a common Body, as men haue, and not a Body proper of the Word, hauing power to viuificate or quicken all things. (a) For Nestorius diuided Christ, and taught the Word to be the Sonne of God not of Marie: and Christ Man the Son of Marie only, as Man; and dissolued the whole Mysterie of the Incarnation, so as Christ should be another certaine Sonne beside the Word. And because the (b) Nature of the Godhead cannot be eaten, therof he talked vainly and prophanely, that in the Sacrament we eat Flesh, and not Godhead. For confutation of this detestable Heresie, Cyril bringeth him to the consideration of the Blessed Sacrament, and apposeth him, whether he thought that in the Sacrament, Christ being (c) by his Doctrine) Man, besides God the Word, we eat a man, as one would say, after such sort as the Barbarous people of the new-found Land America, called Canibals, eat one another. But because that were absurd and beastly, Cyril saith, that we eat not a common Body, though the Nature of Godhead (c) properly be not eaten, but that Body which is *Proprium Verbi*: the proper Body of the Word, which quickeneth all things. by receiuing whereof, (d) we receiue whole Christ, God, and Man. And heere Cyril laieth to Nestorius charge, as though he draue men to grosse cogitations touching this Sacrament. The words be these: *Num hominis comestionem, &c.* What, doest thou pronounce this our Sacrament to be eating of a man, (the Greeke is ἀνθρωποφαγίαν) and driuest vnreuerently the minde of them as haue beleeued vnto grosse imaginations, and attemptest with humane imaginations to treat of those things which are attained by an only, pure, and exquisite Faith? These be the grosse imaginations which Cyril would to be banished at the receiuing of this Sacrament, and that we eat the Body of Christ, not as being a common Body, as the Body of euery mortall man: and though the Nature of Godhead be not eaten, that yet we eat that Body which is the proper Bodie of the Word, that quickeneth all things. Now as (e) we haue not that grosse imagination of eating a common Bodie, (which of the Greeks by a term plainer to the learned is called, ἀνθρωποφαγία) when we receiue this Sacrament: so it is euident by Cyril, that in the same (f) we eat verily and in deed the Bodie of Christ, the Word incarnate. For otherwise his sayings had not made ought against the Heresie of Nestorius And thus receiuing Christs Body in the Sacrament, we receiue it truly, and with Faith, and without grosse imaginations. All this weighed, how proue ye now Christ to be so lodged in Heauen that notwithstanding his owne Word, (g) we lacke him heere in these Holie Misteries? But let vs consider your other authorities.

Cyril guilefully alleged. Johan 5.

The place of Cyril turned vpon the Defenders.

The Heresie of Nestorius.

The grosse imaginations that Cyril would to bee eschewed in receiuing the Blessed Sacrament.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Touching the quotation in the Margin, escaped in the Print, that fault, I trust, shall be amended. But how will you amend your fault, M. Harding, so often alleging such things as your Conscience knoweth to be most vntrue? I will not wander farre to put you in mind. In the last line of your former Diuision ye auouch that vpon Chrysostome, that, you know, Chrysostome neuer neither wrote, nor meant. As for the manifest Lies, wherewith ye so sharpely, and so often charge vs, though there were some Truth in your challenge, as there is none, yet might not we therein in any wise compare with you. Conterning the affiance ye would seeme to haue in these words of Cyril, ye thought it good skil thus to crow out with some courage before the fight.

In what sense the Godhead may be eaten, or not eaten, I haue alreadie said so much as then seemed sufficient, in my Former Reply to your First Answer. The meaning of Cyrillus is this: We cannot, neither know, nor beleeue on, nor feed vpon the Diuine Maiesty of God, as it is pure and simple, and in it selfe: But all our knowledge, and all our Faith, which is our Spirituall Feeding and Life, is derined vnto vs through Iesus Christ, and standeth only and wholly in this, that the Sonne of God hath taken the

*This is a quaint cast of M. Hardings *Copia Verborum.*

(a) Nestorius Heresie stood neither in Transubstantiation, nor in reall Presence.

(b) The meaning is this. We cannot be fed or nourished by Christ, as he is in his Diuine Nature but only by the Faith that we haue in his Flesh Crucified.

(c) Vntruth: guilefully enclosed: for neither the flesh of Christ in proper speech can be eaten.

(d) We receiue whole Christ; God, and Man, not with our Mouth, but by Faith and Spirit.

(e) A fond euasion For the grosnesse hereof stood not in Christs Body, but in the maner of Eating.

(f) With our mouth we receiue Onely the Sacrament: with our Faith we eat the Body of Christ Incarnate verily & indeed.

(g) O fond grosnesse! We lacke not Christ, although we haue him not Fleshly Present in our mouthes. *Artic. 8. Diuis. 16.*

Nestorius.

Very Nature and Substance of our Corruptible Flesh, and ioined the same in One Person vnto his Godhead. Therefore S. Hilarie saith: Cognitus fieri Deus hominibus, nisi assumpto homine, non potuit. Quia Incognoscibilem cognoscere, nisi per Naturam nostram, Natura nostra non potuit: God could not be knowen *vnto men, but by the Receiuing of man vnto him. For God that surmounteth all knowledge, Our* Nature *could not know, but by the mean of our* Nature. So saith S. Augustine: Quærebam viam comparandi roboris, quod esset idoneum ad fruendum te: Nec inueni, donec amplecterer Mediatorem Dei & Hominum, Hominem Christum Iesum: *I sought a way to get strength, whereby I might be able to enioy thee: but I found it not before that I* embraced Iesus Christ, which is the Mediatour betweene God and man. Againe he saith: Christus Cibum, cui capiendo inualidus eram, miscuit Carni: quoniam Verbum Caro factum est, vt infantiæ nostræ lactesceret Sapientia tua: Christ tempered and mingled *his Meat* (*which is his Godhead*) with his Flesh: *which Godhead otherwise I was not able to receiue.* For the Word was made Flesh, *that thy wisdome* (*O God*) *might become* milke *vnto our* childhood.

Hilar in Psal. 143.

August. Cõfession. li 7. ca. 18.

Nestorius Hereof stood not either in Transubstantiation, or in Reall Presence: but only in the dissolution of the Person of Christ, in that he diuided the Manhood of Christ from his Godhead: and so concluded in the end, that Christ was onely a bare naturall Man, in all respects as others were. If it had beene so, then could wee not haue beene saued by the Death of Christ, no more then by the Death of Codrus and Decius, who being nothing else but Very Naturall Men, gaue themselues to Death for the safety of their countries. Neither could wee beleeue in Christ Crucified: that is to say, wee could not Eat, nor Feed vpon the Body of Christ, or haue Life by it. Cyrillus saith: Quomodo purgabit nos ab operibus mortuis Sanguis enim Communis Hominis nihil habet maius quàm Sanguis Tauri, aut Hirci: *How then shall Christ deliuer vs from deadly workes? For the Blood of a* Common Man *hath nothing more* (to worke Saluation) *then the Blood of a* Bull, *or a* Goat. And therefore the same Cyril imagineth Christ thus to say: Mortalem Carnem assumpsi: Sed quia Naturaliter vita existens habito in ea, totam ad meam Vitam reformaui: *I haue taken Mortall Flesh vpon my selfe. But forasmuch as I* Naturally *being Life, dwell in the same,* I haue reformed that whole Flesh vnto my Life. So saith Leo: Verus venerator Dominicæ Passionis, sic Crucifixum Iesum Oculis Cordis aspiciat, vt illius Carnem suam esse cognoscat: *Let the true Worshipper of our Lords Passion so behold Christ Crucified with the eies of his heart, that hee may vnderstand that the* Flesh of Christ is his Flesh. But hereof, I trow, M. Harding will moue no great question.

Hieron. ad Ephesios, cap. 1.

Cyrillus ad Reginas, ex Epist. ad Hebr.

Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 4 cap. 18.

Leo de Passione Dom. Serm. 13.

Spirituall Eating.

Further it is fully confessed of either side, that wee by Faith Eat the very Bodie of Christ, not as the Body of any other Common Naturall Man, but as the Body of the Sonne of God: and that the same Body so eaten by Faith, and none otherwise, giueth Life. But how that Body may be Eaten, therein standeth the whole doubt. Hereunto S. Cyril answereth thus: Num Hominis Comestionem hoc nostrum Sacramentum pronuntias? Et irreligiosè ad crassas cogitationes vrges mentem eorum qui crediderunt? Et attentas humanis rationibus tractare ea, quæ Sola, Pura, & Exquisita Fide accipiuntur? *Doest thou say, that our Sacrament is the* Eating of a Man? *And doest thou vnreuerently, and without Religion, force the minde of the Faithfull* vnto grosse (and Fleshly) cogitations? *And goest thou about with Naturall imaginations to deal those things that be receiued* by Only, Pure and Perfect Faith? These words seeme plaine, and free from quarrel. Yet hereof may grow another doubt. For by M. Hardings iudgement, to thinke that Christs Body is to be receiued into our Mouthes and Bellies, is no maner grosse Imagination. But we say, as Cyrillus saith, to auoid all such vncomely and Fleshly Vanities, Christs Body and Blood are a Spirituall food, and must be receiued, not with Mouth, or Teeth, but with Only, Pure, and Perfect Faith.

Cyril. Anathematismo. 11.

Only by Faith.

Concerning M. Hardings fantasie, Pope Nicolas vnder a Solemne Protestation would haue vs to say, Ego Corde & Ore profiteor, non tantùm Sacramentum, sed etiam Corpus Christi in Veritate, sensualiter manibus Sacerdotum tractari, frangi, & dentibus Fidelium atteri: *I professe with Heart and Mouth, that not onely the Sacrament, but also the Body of Christ it selfe in very Truth, and in deed is* sensibly touched, *and* broken *with the Priests* hands, and torne with the teeth of the Faithfull. But this talke is so fond, and so vtterly void of discretion, that the very Barbarous Glosse is faine to controll it in this sort: Nisi sanè intelligas (ista) Verba Berengarij, in maiorem incides Hæresim quàm ipse habuit: *Vnlesse thou wisely vnderstand these words of* Berengarius, *thou wilt fall into a greater* Heresie *than euer he held any.*

De Cons. Dist. 2. Ego Berengarius.

Sola, Pura, Exquisita fide *Cyril in Iohan. lib. 4 cap. 29.*

S. Cyrils words be plaine: Sola, Pura, & Exquisita Fide accipiuntur: *These things be receiued* (not by Mouth, but) *by* Only, Pure, *and* Perfect Faith. Likewise againe he saith: Initium & Fundamentum in Sanctificationem & Iustitiam Christus est, per Fidem, scilicet,

&

& non aliter. Hoc enim modo in nobis habitat: Christ *is the Beginning and Foundation vnto Holineſſe and Righteouſneſſe: I meane* by Faith and none otherwiſe. For by Faith Chriſt dwelleth in vs. So ſaith Clemens Alexandrinus: Hoc eſt bibere Ieſu Sanguinem, participem eſſe incorruptionis eius: *This is the* Drinking of the Blood of Ieſus, *to be made partaker of his Immortality.* Origen ſaith: Eſt ergo ipſe vulneratus: Cuius nos Sanguinem bibimus, id eſt, Doctrinæ eius verba ſuſcipimus: *He was wounded,* whoſe Blood wee Drinke, *that is to ſay,* the words of whoſe Doctrine we receiue.

Clemens in Pædagogo, lib. 2. cap. 2.

Origen in Numer. homil. 16.

But what is there ſo plaine as theſe words of Athanaſius? Quot Hominibus ſuffeciſſet Corpus eius ad Cibum, vt Vniuerſi Mundi alimonia fieret? Propterea Aſcenſionis ſuæ in Cœlum mentionem fecit, vt eos à Corporali intellectu abſtraheret: *Vnto how many men could Chriſts Body haue ſufficed for Meat, that he ſhould be the Food of all the World? Therefore hee made mention of his Aſcenſion into Heauen, that he might withdraw* them from Corporall and Fleſhly vnderſtanding.

Athan. in illud Euangely: Quicunque dixerit verbum.

Here, M. Harding, I beſeech you, tell vs by the way when ye teach vs, that Chriſts Body is Fleſhly preſent, that it is receiued into the Mouth, that it is chewed and bruiſed with Teeth: and that it paſſeth further into the Belly, how doe you withdraw our minds from Fleſhly and Corporall vnderſtanding? If this Eating be Spirituall, what Eating may be counted Corporall? If this be Ghoſtly, what is Fleſhly?

Hereof S. Auguſtine ſaith thus: Cùm videritis Filium Hominis Aſcendentem, vbi erat priùs, Certè vel tunc videbitis, quòd non eo modo quo putatis, erogat Corpus ſuum: Certè vel tunc intelligetis, quòd Gratia eius non conſumitur morſibus: *When ye ſhall ſee the Son of Man aſcending vp, where he was before: Then ſhall ye ſee, that he giueth not his Body* (to bee Eaten) in ſuch ſort, as you imagine: *Then ſhall ye vnderſtand, that his* Grace is not conſumed by morſels. And therefore againe he ſaith: Nolite Fauces parare, ſed Cor: *Prepare not your* Iawes, *but your* Heart.

Auguſt. in Ioh. Tract. 27.

Aug. de Verbis Domi ſecund. Luc. Serm. 33.

This is the Very, True, Spirituall, and Onely Eating of Chriſts Body: and whatſoeuer fantaſie M. Harding hath deuiſed beſides, of his Mouth and Teeth, is, as S. Cyril ſaith, a Vaine, Vnreuerend, Groſſe and Fleſhly Imagination.

The Apologie, Chap. 14. *Diuiſion* 4.

The Councell of Nice, as it is alleged by ſome in Greeke, plainly forbiddeth vs to be baſely affectioned or bent toward the Bread and Wine, which are ſet before vs.

M. Harding.

As for the former part of the ſentence, which ye bring out of the Nicene Councell (a) ſoundeth nothing againſt the Catholikes, (for they alſo teach the ſame:) (a) ſo the latter part is directly contrary to your Doctrine, which ye thought good to leaue out, leſt thereby ye ſhould haue marred your whole matter. Such nipping and rounding of ſentences hath euer been taken for a marke to know Heretikes by. Among wiſe men ſuch practiſe worthily bringeth you into ſuſpition of Vntruth. The words of the Councell truely reported be theſe: Let vs not at the Diuine Table baſely behold the Bread and Cup ſet before vs: but lifting vp our mind, let vs by Faith vnderſtand on that Holy Table to bee laid the Lambe of God, that taketh away the Sinnes of the world, of Prieſts Sacrificed vnbloodily. And receiuing his precious Body and Blood verily, let vs beleeue theſe to be the pledges of our Reſurrection. For in conſideration heereof we take not much, but a little, that wee may know, wee receiue not to filling (of the Body) but to Sanctimony. Take the end with the beginning, and what maketh this Decree of that holy Councell for Defence of your Sacramentary Doctrine? And here, who be more baſely affectioned and bent toward the things ſet on that Table, ye that make them but Bread and Wine, or wee that after Conſecration, beleeue vnder the Formes of Bread and Wine verily to be made Preſent the Body and Blood of Chriſt? Whether is a baſer exerciſe, to feed on (b) common Bread and Wine, and to dwell in the indgement of the ſenſes, or to eat the very Fleſh of Chriſt, the Bread of Life that came downe from Heauen to immortality of the Body and Soule, to forſake the ſenſes, and follow the vnderſtanding of (c) Faith? Well we agree with you, not to be ouer baſely intent to the Bread and Cup. But why doe not ye performe that, as followeth there after your owne allegation out of that Councell? Why doe ye not with thoſe 318. holy Fathers, and with the whole Church of Chriſt vnderſtand by Faith on that holy Table to be laid the Lambe of God, that taketh away the Sinnes of the World? Why doe ye not recant your wicked Doctrine againſt the Bleſſed Sacrifice of the Maſſe? Read the whole ſentence, ioining the end to the beginning. Say not all thoſe holy and learned Fathers, the Lambe of God, on this Sacred Table (they meane the Altar) to be Sacrificed of the Prieſts vnbloodily? Againe why bring ye the Chriſtian people from the Body of Chriſt whereby they are redeemed, to a (d) bare peece of Bread, teaching it to be but the Figure of his Body? Saith not this Councell, that we receiue the precious Body and Blood of our Lord (e) ἀληθῶς, that is, verily and indeed (f) whereby indeed all your Tropes and Figures be quite excluded? Againe if theſe were but Bread and Wine, as yee teach, would the Councell ſay, that we take them not to ſociety, but to Sanctimony and Holineſſe? What Holineſſe can we haue of Bread and Wine? What Holineſſe obtain we not by eating of the Body of Chriſt, being the proper Body of the Word, or God the Words own Body, that hath Power to viuifie, & quicken all things? Thus we come within you, Defenders, as it were, & claſping with you, wring your (g) wea-

A marke to know Heretikes by.

The words of the Nicene Councell which make plainely for the Catholik Doctrine touching the Sacrament of the Alter.

All Tropes & Figures of the Sacramentaries bee excluded by Verdict of the Nicene Councell.

(a) Vntruths, two together. Read the Anſwer.

(b) Vntruth, vile and ſlanderous: wee feed not vpon Common Bread and Wine: we feed vpon the very Body and Blood of Chriſt.

(c) Your Faith without Gods word is no faith.

(d) Vntruth. For we teach neither bare Bread nor bare Figure. Read the Anſwer

(e) Wee receiue Chriſt Verily and indeed: although neither Fleſhly nor with bodily mouth.

(f) Vntruth For the learned Doctors & Fathers vſed commonly the ſame Tropes and Figures.

(g) O braue Captaine!

pon

pon out of your hands, and with the tother end of it ſtrike you downe. As it is not heard to vs by Learning to ouerthrow you, ſo we beſeech God to ſtrike downe the pride and ſtubbornneſſe of your hearts, as he did Paul, wherewith ye reſiſt the manifeſt Truth. Act. 9

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

We allege this place, although briefly, yet ſimplie and truly, and without any maner fraud or guile. But if rounding and clipping of the Holy Fathers be the marke of an Heretike, as it is here auouched, then haue we one marke more wherby to know M. Harding. For this is his ordinarie vſage and practiſe of courſe.

Touching either the Beginning or the End of this Decree, there is no cauſe, wherefore any Word therein written ſhould of our part be diſſembled. The Holy Fathers in that Councell teach vs, vtterly to withdraw our eies from the Bread and Wine, being nothing elſe, but Creatures tranſitorie and corruptible: and by Faith to behold the very Body of Chriſt, which is Repreſented in the Myſteries. To like purpoſe S. Auguſtine ſaith: as it is alleged before: Ea demùm eſt Miſerabilis animæ ſeruitus, Signa pro Rebus accipere, & ſupra Creaturam corpoream oculum Mentis ad hauriendum Æternum Lumen leuare non poſſe: *This is the* miſerable Bondage of the Soule, to take the Signes in ſtead of the things that be Signified: *and not to be able to lift vp the eie of the Minde aboue the Corporall Creature, to receiue the Light euerlaſting.* And therefore immediately before the holy Miniſtration, the Prieſt ſaith vnto vs, as it is ſaid before, Lift vp your Hearts. In this ſort the ſame Fathers ſpake of the Water of Baptiſme: Baptiſma noſtrum Oculis ſenſibilibus ſpectandum non eſt, ſed Oculis intellectus. Vides Aquam? Cogita Vim & Poteſtatem Dei, quæ in Aquis latet: *Our Baptiſme may not be conſidered with the Senſible or Bodily Eies, but with the Inner Eies of the Minde. Seeſt thou the Water? Thinke of the Might and Power of God,* that lieth hidden in the Water. Thus, as in the One Sacrament, they withdraw vs from the Water, euen ſo in the Other Sacrament, they withdraw vs from the Bread.

Auguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtiana, lib 3. cap 5.

Concil. Nicen. ὥσθ' ὁρᾶτε· τὸ ὕδωρ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι κρυπτόμενον τῆς θεότητος.

The Labe laid vpon the Table.

But it followeth in the ſame Decree, *Let vs by Faith vnderſtand, on that holy Table to be laid the Lambe of God, that taketh away the Sinnes of the World.* If the ancient Fathers, to the end to ſtirre vp and to enflame the hearts of the people, had not ſometime vſed vehement phraſes and extraordinarie kindes of ſpech, M. Harding might many times ſpare his penne and kepe ſilence. But he doth the Fathers great wrong, that preſſeth onely their bare words, and diſſembleth their meaning. Gregorie Nyſſene, S. Baſils Brother diſcretly and learnedly openeth this whole matter. Thus he writeth: Cùm in habitudine loci alicuius, vel negotij in loco exiſtentis, intelligibilium aliquod extiterit, Abuſiuè id ibi eſſe dicimus, propter operationem eius, quæ ibi eſt, locum pro habitudine & operatione accipientes. Cùm enim dicere deberimus, ibi operatur, dicimus, ibi eſt: *When any Spirituall thing is in the conſideration of ſome place, or elſe in conſideration of ſome matter being in a place, We ſay, the ſame Spirituall thing is there, by an Abuſe, or by an Extraordinary vſe of ſpeech: becauſe of the effect of that Spirituall thing, that there is wrought: taking the place inſtead of Conſideration or Working in the Place. For where we ſhould ſay,* There it Worketh, *thus wee ſay,* There it is. Euen ſo whereas theſe Fathers ſhould haue ſaid, The Effects or Graces, that we haue by Chriſts Body, are laid before vs vpon the Table, by Abuſe of Speech they ſay, the Body of Chriſt is laid vpon the Table. Likewiſe ſaith Gratian, Quidam non improbabiliter exponunt, Carnis & Sanguinis Veritatem, Ipſam eorundem efficientiam, hoc eſt, Remiſſionem Peccatorum: *Some men not without good reaſon, by the* Truth of Chriſts Fleſh and Blood, *vnderſtand the Effect or Working of the ſame, that is to ſay, the Remiſſion of Sinnes.*

Gregor. Nyſſen. de Anim. ca. 11.

De Conſ. diſt. 2 Species.

And as theſe Fathers ſay, *Chriſt is laid vpon the Table,* euen ſo, by like phraſe of ſpeech S. Gregorie ſaith: *Chriſt is killed vpon the Table:* Chriſtus iterum in hoc Myſterio moritur: Eius Caro in populi ſalutem patitur: *Chriſt dieth againe in this Myſterie: His Fleſh ſuffereth for the Saluation of the people.* So ſaith Chryſoſtom: Vt in Cœlo cœlatur Deus, ſic in Scripturis abſconditur. Non omnes intelligunt Deum Veritatis, poſitum in Scripturis: *As God is couered in Heauen, ſo is hee couered in the Scriptures. All men vnderſtand not God that is laid in the Scriptures.* So ſaith Athanaſius: Eſt etiam in Verbis Scripturarum Dominus: *Our Lord is in the Wordes of the Scriptures.* So ſaith S. Hierome: Supra nudam metuis humum exeſa Ieiunijs membra collidere. Sed Dominus tecum iacet: *Thou art afraid to Lay thy Body, worne out with Faſting, vpon the bare ground. Yet the Lord Lieth there with thee.* Againe: Nudus atque eſuriens ante fores noſtras Chriſtus in paupere moritur: *Chriſt naked and hungrie, lying before our gate, dieth in the poore.*

De Conſ. diſt. 2. Quid ſit. Chryſ. in Matth. homil 4. Athan. De Interpret. Pſalm. Hieronym. De vita Eremetica Hieronym. ad Gaudentium.

And to leaue other like ſayings and ſentences of the ancient Fathers, Pope Adrian ſaith

faith in your late Councell of Nice: In Scripturis Sanctarum Imaginum Agnus Præcursoris digito ostensus, depingitur: *In the Scriptures of the Holy Images, is painted the Lambe of God, that Iohn Baptist shewed with his finger.* *De Cons. dist. Sexta Synod.*

These sayings must be qualified with a gentle Exposition: and may not be rackt extreamely to the sound and rigour of the Letter: Chrysostome thus expoundeth these words of S. Paul to the Galathians; Quibus Christus ante Oculos prius depictus erat, in vobis Crucifixus. Atqui Christus non apud Galathas, sed Hierosolymis fuit Crucifixus. Quomodo igitur dicit, in vobis? Vt ostendat vim Fidei, quæ potest etiam procul dissita cernere; indicans, quòd illi oculis Fidei, exactius cernerent, quàm nonnulli qui præsentes adfuerant, eaque quæ gerebantur, conspexerant; *Vnto whom Christ was painted out, and Crucified among you before your eies. Yet was not Christ Crucified in Galathia, but at Hierusalem. How then saith* S. Paul *vnto the* Galathians, Christ was crucified amongst you? *His meaning was, to shew the* strength of faith, which is able to see things though they be farre away; *and that they by the Eies of Faith, saw the death of Christ more plainly and perfectly, then many that were present at his Death, and saw all that was done.* *Chryso. in epist. ad Galat. cap. 3*

Thus the Fathers in this Councell said, Christs Body is laid foorth vpon the Communion Table, that is, not vnto our bodily eies or senses, but vnto the eies of our Faith: I meane by way of a Mysterie or Sacrament: but not verily or indeed. In this sense S. Augustine saith vnto the people: Vos istis in mensa; Vos estis in Calice; *Yonare laid vpon the Table: You are in the Cuppe.* As the people is laid vpon the Table, so is Christs Body laid vpon the Table. And as the people is in the Cup, so is Christs Blood in the Cup. The people is there by way of a Mystery; euen so is Christs Body and Blood there by way of a Mystery, and none otherwise. Thus, M. Harding, wee withdraw not the people of God, as ye vntruly say, from Christs Body to a pæce of Bread: but rather we lead them, as the Ancient Fathers euer did, from the Creature of Bread, to the beholding, receiuing, and eating of Christs very Body and Blood. *De Cons. dist. 2 Quia passus.*

The Lamb laid vpon the Table.

In what sort and sense Christ is now Vnbloodily Sacrificed by the Priest, for shortnesse sake, gentle Reader, I must referre thee vnto my Former Reply to M. Harding. *Artic. 17. Diuis. 14.*

How the Holy Mysteries be pledges of our Resurrection, it hath partly beene said before, and partly shall be said hereafter more at large.

How we may receiue the Body of Christ indeed and verily, without either Transubstantiation or Reall Presence, I haue both touched before in this Treatie, & also in my Former Replie. Certainely S. Augustine saith: The Receiuing of Christs Body indeed, and the Receiuing of the Sacrament: are sundrie things. Thus he writeth: Ostendit Christus, quid sit, non Sacramento tenus, sed re vera Corpus Christi manducare, & eius Sanguinem bibere: *Christ sheweth what it is to eat his Body, and to drink his Blood* not by way of Sacrament, but verily and indeed. For the eating of the Sacrament with Mouth and Teeth, is not the very True eating of Christs Body: but a token or Mystery of the same. S. Augustine saith: Qui manducat intus, non Foris: qu. Manducat in Corde, non qui premit Dente: *He that eateth* Within, *not he that eateth* Without: *He that eateth* (Christs Body) in his heart, *not he that bruseth* (the Sacrament) with his Tooth. Whoso by Faith receiueth the Body of Christ, receiueth it substantially, Really, Verily and Indeed: and dwelleth in Christ and Christ in him. Thus is Christs Body receiued, as these holy Fathers say, not to the filling or contentation of the Body, but vnto the Holinesse and Sanctification of the mind. *Artic. 4. Diuis. 8. Aug. de Ciuit. lib. 21. cap. 11.* *Augustin in Ioh. Tract. 26.*

Thus ye come within vs, M. Harding as ye say, and claspe with vs: and ouerthrow vs by learning, and wring our weapon out of our hands, and with the other end thereof, ye strike vs downe. Me thinketh, I heare one say, Denique metuebant Omnes iam me: If some handsome Gnato stood by you, I trow, we should haue a prett ty play. But vnsensible men are we, that feele none of these deadly blowes, I will answer you, as S. Augustine sometime answered Pascentius the Arian Heretike: Facile est, vt quisque Augustinum vincat: videris, vtrùm Veritate, an Clamore: *It is an easie matter to ouercome* Augustine: *But see you whether it be by* Truth, *or by* noise of words. And againe: Non bonum Homini est, Hominem vincere: Sed bonum est Homini, vt eum Veritas vincat volentem: quia malum est Homini, vt eum Veritas vincat nolentem. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, siue negantem, siue confitentem: *It is not good for a Man to conquer a Man: But it is good for a Man, that the* Truth may Conquer him with his good will. *For it is ill for a man, that the Truth should Conquer him against his will. But whether he will, or not,* the Truth must needs Conquer him. *Thraso in Eunucho.* *August ad Pascent. epist. 174*

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The Apologie, Chap. 14. Diuision 5.

To receiue or beare Christ.

And, as Chrysostome **very aptly writeth, we say,** that the Body of Christ is the Dead Carcase, and wee our selues must be the Eagles: **meaning thereby that we must flie on high, if we will come to the Body of Christ.** For this Table, **as** Chrysostome **saith**, is a Table of Eagles, and not of Iaies. Cyprian **also**: **This Bread, saith he,** is the Food of the Soule, and not the meat of the Bellie.

M. Harding.

(a) O earthly Diuinity! Then haue you little to do in Heauē.

(b) Not by pulling Christ downe to vs: but by lifting vp our harts to him.

(c) With thy Faith, not with thy Mouth.

(d) Vntruth. For Chrysostome speaketh only of the Presence of Grace: of this grosse & fleshly Presence, hee saith nothing.

(e) Vntruth. For Chrysostome not once nameth Reall Presence. Read the answer

(f) Vntruth. For the Nicene Councel maketh no mention of anie such Formes. And, beeing but idle Formes and Shews, how are they a Spirituall food, or how can they serue to make you holie?

Indeed Chrysostome saith, as ye report. But Sirs, what meane ye? To Eat the Body of Christ, which is the dead Carcase, in respect of his Death (for vnlesse he had fallen, wee had not risen againe) must wee so bee Eagles, as we vse no office of mans Body to this kind of Eating? Must we flie so hie, as wee looke not to finde this Body in Earth? Can we not Eat this Body, except we fly vp to Heauē? Can we not come by it, but there? Can we not Eat him, but there? Yes forsooth. (a) We need not to go out of the Earth for the matter. For Chrysostom himselfe in the same Homily, frō whence ye fetch this, saith, that whiles we be in this life, this Mystery is cause, that the (b) Earth to vs is become Heauen. He that desireth to know what Eagles we must be, and how high we must flie to come to the Eating of this Body worthily, let Chrysostome euen there expound Chrysostome. Hee nameth Eagles (saith he) to shew, that he must get him on high, that commeth to this Body, and he that must haue nothing to doe with the Earth, neither be drawn downward to base things, and creep, but alwaies flie vpward, and behold the Sunne of righteousnesse, &c. Will ye yet heare him more plainely declare, what he meaneth by this high Eagles flight? Wipe away (saith he) all filth from thy Soule, prepare thy mind to receiue these Mysteries. If the Kings Child arrayed in Purple and Diademe were deliuered vnto thee to beare, wouldest thou not cast down on the ground all that thou holdest and receiue him? But now, when thou receiuest not the Kings Child, (c) but the only begotten Son of God, tell me, I pray thee, art thou not afraid? And doest not cast away all loue of worldly things, and garnish thy selfe with him onely, but doest thou yet looke downe on the Earth, art thou yet in loue of thy money? art thou yet giuen to the Earth? If it bee so, what forgiuenesse, what excuse shalt thou finde? This spirituall flying vp requireth Chrysostome: and yet in that Homilie he declareth (d) the Body of Christ to be present heere in Earth, meaning in this holy Sacrament, yea that verie Body, which was Nailed, Beaten, which was not ouercome by Death, which the sun seeing Crucified, turned away his Beames, for which the vaile of the Temple was rent asunder, stones, & all the Earth quaked, the Body that was made all Bloody, and being thrust in with a speare, powred foorth Fountaines of Blood and Water to all the World healthfull. Thus ye see how farre Chrysostome is from your strange Doctrin, concerning the very and (e) Reall Presence of Christs Bodie in the Sacrāmēt of the Altar. Of which Altar, and of the Sacrifice of that Body made and offered by the Priests, & of the Adoration due thereto, in that Homily he speaketh most plainely. That to proue your purpose, ye must seeke for another Homily, which ye are neuer like to find: for Chrysostome serueth not your turne. As neither Cyprian whom ye allege, and against whom, God knoweth, verily we confesse with holy Cyprian and the Fathers of the Nicene Councell, that the Body of Christ which we receiue in the Blessed Sacrament is the food of the Soule, and not common meat to fill the panch. And therfore of the outward Formes we take but little (f) according to the Nicene Decree, acknowledging, that spirituall food to serue to Sanctimony, not to Satiety. Lastly, ye bring for you S. Augustine in these words.

In 1. Ioan. tract. 10. homil. 14. What Eagles must we bee, & how high must wee flie to come to the Eating of Christs body. What is meant by the high Eagles Flight. Chrysostome acknowledgeth Christs very Body present in the Sacrament.

Cyprian alleged by the Defender to no purpose.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here M. Harding casteth his colours to shadow that thing, that will not be hidde. Whereas Chrysostome **saith,** *Thou receiuest not the Kings Childe, but the onely begotten Sonne of God,* **he so racketh and pulleth these words, as if the Fathers in their writings had neuer vsed any kind of Figure: and as if we were bound vnder paine of damnation, to receiue what sentence soeuer they haue spoken, according to the very rigour and extremity of the Letter.**

But the better to disclose the sensible grossenesse of this errour, I trust, Gentle Reader, it shall not bee, neither painefull, nor vnprofitable for thee, to consider a few other such examples and phrases of speech commonly and familiarly vsed by the Catholike learned Fathers to like purpose. Therefore, as Chrysostome **saith**: We receiue in the holy Mysteries the Onely begotten Sonne of God, **meaning by Faith Onely, not by** Mouth, **euen so hee writeth of the Sacrament of Baptisme**: Si quis tibi Purpuram aut Diadema dedisset, nonne præ quouis auro accepisses? Ego verò tibi non Ornatum Regium tribuam, sed ipsum Regem induendum exhibeo. Et quomodò, inquies, Christum poterit quis induere? Audi, quid Paulus dicat: Quotquot in Christum Baptizati estis, Christum induistis: *If any man had giuē thee a Princely Robe or a Crown, wouldest thou not set more by it, than by any Gold? But I will giue thee not a Princely Robe, but* the Prince himselfe, *to put vpon thee. Thou wilt say, How may a man put on Christ vpon him? Heare what* S. Paul *saith: As many of you, as are Baptized in Christ, haue put on Christ.* **Here** Chrysostome **teacheth vs, that in Baptisme we receiue, not onely the Kings Princely Robe, but also the** King himselfe. S. Cyril **saith**: Discant omnes, ne, antequam firmiores sint Catechumeni Christum

Chrys. in epist. ad Colossen. homil. 10.

Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 2. cap. 36.

ſtum eis, antequam oporteat, Baptiſmi Myſterio commendent: *Let all men take heed*, that they deliuer not Chriſt *in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, vnto the Beginners, or Nouices, before they be ſtrong in the Faith, and before it be conuenient.*

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Sancti Chriſtum accipiunt in Manu, & in Fronte: *Holy men* receiue Chriſt *both in their Hand and in their Forehead.* S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Adeſt Sacerdos, non Ignem geſtans, ſed Spiritum Sanctum: *The Prieſt is preſent*, Bearing *not Fire, but* the Holy Ghoſt. *Aug. in Apoca. lyp. homil. 11. Chryſ. De Sacerdot. lib 3.*

S. Ambroſe ſaith: Portant in Typo Chriſti munera: portaturi in Euangelio munerum Largitorem: *They carry Chriſts gifts in a Figure: In the Goſpell they ſhall* carrie (Chriſt himſelfe) the giuer of the gifts. And againe: Mortem non timebis, ſi geras Chriſtum: *Thou ſhalt not feare Death, if* thou beare Chriſt. *Ambro de Ioſepho Patriarch. Ambro. de Fuga Seculi, ca. 9.*

Athanaſius ſaith: Apud nos ſeruatur Puerulus ille, quem Herodes interficere ſatagebat: The ſame Childe is kept amongſt vs, *whom Herod laboured ſo earneſtly to deſtroy.* S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Credo Apoſtolo Paulo, Chriſtum in ſe loquentem circumferenti; *I beleeue the Apoſtle* Paul, carrying Chriſt about ſpeaking within him. *Athanaſ. Orat. Prima contra Arianos p. 119. Chryſ. in 2. Timoth. homil. 2.*

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Concionatores tradunt Chriſtum Diſcentibus; *The Preachers* deliuer Chriſt vnto their Learners. S. Cyril ſaith: Verum Manna Chriſtus erat, qui per Figuram Mannæ Priſcis illis à Deo dabatur; *Chriſt was the very true Manna, whom vnder the Figure of Manna* God gaue vnto the Fathers *of the Old Teſtament.* It is written in S. Hardings owne Legend: Chriſtophorus portauit Chriſtum in Humeris, & in Ore per Confeſſionem; Chriſtopher *bare Chriſt on his ſhoulders, and hee* bare Chriſt in his Mouth by his Confeſſion. *Auguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtiana lib 4 c. 16. Cyrillus in Euangel. Iohan. lib. 3. cap. 24. Hiſtoria Longobardica, Legenda, 59.*

Another of his Doctours ſaith: Chriſtus venditus fuit in Ioſepho: ligatus in Sampſone: Suſpenſus in Botro, & in Serpente Æneo: Crucifixus in Iſaaco: *Chriſt* was ſold *in Ioſeph: He* was bound *in Sampſon: He* was Hanged *vp in the cluſter of Grapes, and in the Braſen Serpent: and he* was Crucified *in Iſaac.* *Fortalitium Fidei, lib. 1.*

Chryſoſtome ſaith: Quocunque quis peruenerit, Paulum videbit vbique in omnium Ore circumferri: *Whither ſoeuer a man come, he ſhall ſee* Paul carried about euery where, in the Mouth of euery man. And to end this long rehearſall, S. Auguſtine ſaith: Detractor Diabolum portat in Lingua: *The Slanderer* carrieth the Diuell vpon his Tongue. *Chryſoſtom. ad Populum Antiochen. hom. 16. Aug. de Salutaribus Documentis, cap. 26.*

I doubt not, but M. Harding will better bethinke himſelfe, and not require vs, to take all theſe ſayings, without any maner of fauourable expoſition, barely, and nakedlie, as they lie. Otherwiſe he muſt nedes incombre himſelfe with a great number of inconueniences.

Of theſe phraſes and maners of ſpæch, S. Auguſtine giueth his iudgment in this ſort: Omnia ſignificantia videntur quodammodò earum rerum, quas Significant, ſuſtinere perſonas: *All* Signes *or* Tokens ſeeme *in a manner to* beare the perſons *of the things themſelues*, that they Signifie. As for example he ſaith: Sicut dictum eſt ab Apoſtolo, Petra erat Chriſtus: quoniam Petra illa, de qua hoc dictum eſt, Significabat Chriſtum: *So the Apoſtle ſaith, The* Rocke was Chriſt: *For that the Rocke, whereof it was ſpoken,* Signified Chriſt. *Auguſt. de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 18. cap. 48.*

Likewiſe Athanaſius ſaith: Qui Regis Imaginem videt, Regem videt, & dicit: En tibi Regem. Nequetamen duos Reges conſtituit: neque Imaginem particulam eſſe Regis, neque Regem particulam Imaginis eſſe iudicat: *Hee that ſeeth the* Image of a King, ſeeth the King, *and ſaith:* Behold there is the King, *and yet* (ſo ſaying) *hee maketh not two Kings: Nor thinketh he, either that the Image is a parcell of the King, or that the King is parcell of the Image.* *Athan. Oratio. contra Sabellij Gregales.*

S. Gregory in plainer wiſe ſaith thus: Eundem Agnum Johannes oſtendendo, Eſaias prævidendo, Abel offerendo loquutus eſt. Et quem Iohannes in oſtenſione, quem Eſaias in loquutione, Hunc Abel ſignificando in Manibus tenuit: Iohn the Baptiſt *by* pointing *with his finger*, Eſaias *by* foreſeeing, Abel *by* offering *ſpake all three of one Lambe.* And Abel by ſignifying, held the ſame Chriſt in his hands, *whom* Iohn *held by pointing, and whom* Eſaias *held by Prophecying.* Againe he ſaith: Intus ad Chriſtum reſpicit, quem per conſiderationem portat in Corde: *Inwardly he beholdeth Chriſt, whom by Meditation he* beareth in his Heart. *Gregor. in Iob. lib. 29. Cap. 18. Greg in 1. Reg. cap. 2. lib. 2.*

Such amplifications and vehement, and extraordinary ſpæches, notwithſtanding in ſome caſes they may bæ dangerous, yet oftentimes they ſæme neceſſary, the better to quicken the dulneſſe and negligence of the people. And therefore Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Behold:* The Lambe of God is ſlaine: The Blood euen now is drawen from his ſide: *and the whole people is coloured and made red and bloody with the ſame:* Not for that it was ſo indæd: but to lift vp, and to withdraw the Hearts of the people from the outward Corrup- *Chryſoſt. de Sacerdot. lib. 3.*

tible

Eagles.

tible Creatures of the Bread and Wine, to a Spirituall and Mysticall vnderstanding, that is to say, to the Eating and Drinking of the very Body and Blood of Christ. And to that end he saith: Aquilas appellat, vt ostendat, ad alta eum oportere contendere, qui ad hoc Corpus accedit: *He calleth vs* Eagles, *to shew, that* he must mount on high, and fly aloft, *who so will approch neere to that Body.* Likewise he saith: In Cœlum vocat nos, ad Magni Regis Mensam: Christ calleth vs vp into Heauen, *vnto the Table of the great King.* And againe: Illum Sursum sedentem hic degustamus: *We being heere beneath, taste him* sitting *in* Heauen aboue. So saith S. Hieronme: Ascendamus cum Domino in Cœnaculum Magnum, stratum, atque mundatum: & accipiamus ab eo Sursum Calicem Noui Testamenti: *Let vs ascend vp with our Lord into that great Dining Chamber adorned and made cleane, and* there aboue *let vs receiue of him the Cup of the New Testament.*

Chrysost in 1. Cor. Hom. 24.

Chrys. ad Popul. Antioshen. homil. 61.

Hieronym. ad Hedibiam.

So saith S. Augustine: Vbi fuerit Corpus, illuc Congregabuntur Aquilæ, id est, in Cœlum: Illuc Congregabuntur Aquilæ: dictum est de Spiritualibus, qui eius Passionem, Humilitatemque imitando, tanquam de eius Corpore saturantur: *Where as the Carkase shall be, thither shall the Eagles resort together: that is to say,* Into Heauen: *Thither shall the Eagles resort together; This is spoken of the Spirituall Faithfull men, that following his Passion and Humilty,* be filled, *as it were,* with his Body.

Aug. Quæst. Euangelic. lib. 1. cap. 42.

So saith Leo: Circa hoc Corpus Aquilæ sunt, quæ alis circumuolant Spiritualibus: *About this Body there are* Eagles, *that* flie about with Spirituall wings.

De Cons. dist. 2 In quibus.

Thus are the Faithfull made Eagles. Thus is the Earth become Heauen: Not for that Christs Body is pulled downe, as M. Harding imagineth, but for that our mindes and affections be lifted vp. For so Chrysostome himselfe expoundeth his owne meaning: Hodie nobis Terra facta est Cœlum, non stellis de Cœlo in Terram descendentibus, sed Apostolis ad Cœlum Ascendentibus. Quia effusa est Copiosa Gratia Spiritus Sancti: & Vniuersum Orbem operata est Cœlum: non immutans Naturam, sed voluntatem emendans: *This day the Earth is made Heauen: not by the Starres comming downe vpon the Earth: but by the going vp of the Apostles into Heauen. For the abundant grace of the Holy Ghost is powred out, and hath* turned the whole World into Heauen: not by changing of nature, but by correcting the wil of man. Likewise againe he saith: Apostoli in Terra constituti, in Cœlo conuersabantur. Et quid dico, in Cœlo? Altiores erant Cœlo: etiam alio Cœlo: Et ad ipsum Dominum peruenerunt: *The Apostles dwelling in the Earth, had their conuersation in Heauen. But what say I, in Heauen? They were higher then Heauen: yea then the second Heauen, and came euen vnto the Lord himselfe.* Againe he saith: Dauid terram in Cælum vertit: & Homines facit Angelos: Dauid turneth the Earth into Heauen: *and of men he maketh Angels.* Againe he saith in this selfe same place by M. Harding alleged: Vt Terra nobis Cælum sit, facit hoc mysterium. Ascende igitur ad Cæli portas, & diligenter attende: Imò non Cæli, sed Cæli Cælorum: & tunc, quod dicimus intueberis: *This Mystery causeth, that vnto vs the Earth is Heauen.* Ascend vp therefore vnto the Gates of Heauen: *and marke diligently. Nay, I say not, Vnto the Gates of Heauen:* but Vnto the Gates of the Heauen of Heauens. *And so shalt thou see the things that I tell thee.*

Chrys. ad Hebraos, hom. 16.

Chryso. de pœnitent. homil. 6.

Chrysost. in 1. Cor. homil. 24.

Now iudge thou, good Christian Reader, how true it is, and how agreeable with S. Chrysostomes Doctrine, that M. Harding saith: Must we flie so high, that wee looke not to find this Body in Earth? Can we not eat this Body, except we flie vp into Heauen? Can we not come by it, but there? Can we not Eat him, but there? Yes forsooth. We need not goe out of the Earth for the matter. If it be so, then may you rest in the Earth, and tarrie there still, and neuer trouble your eies to loke vp to Heauen.

Verily, Chrysostome when he saith, *We receiue the Sonne of God,* maketh mention neither of Transubstantiation, nor of Reall and Fleshly Presence, nor of Eating with Mouth or Teeth, but onely sendeth vs to the force and working of Faith and Spirit: whereby onely, and by no way else, we receiue and Eat in deed, and Verily the Body of Christ.

The Apologie, Chap. 14. *Diuision* 6.

In Iohan. Tract. 50.

And S. Augustine saith: How shall I holde him, being Absent? How shall I reach my hand vp to Heauen, to lay hold vpon him sitting there? He answereth: Reach thither thy Faith, and then thou hast laid hold on him.

M. Harding.

Vpon these words of S. Iohn, The Bishops and Pharisеis gaue commandement, that if any knew where Iesus were, hee should shew it, that they might apprehend him, S. Augustine expounding the same Iohn 11.

S. Augustine speaketh not of receiuing Christ in the Sacrament, but by Faith onely.

same in a contrarie sense, saith: Let vs now shew the Iewes where Christ is: would God they would de heare, and lay hold on him. Where he speaketh not of receiuing Christ, so as we receiue him in the Sacrament, but of receiuing him by Faith only. And there he willeth and exhorteth the Iewes to come to the Faith, and teacheth them how they may profitably lay hold on Christ, whom their Forefathers laid hold on with violent hands to their damnation. Let them come to the Church (saith he) let them heare where Christ is, and lay hold on him. After certaine words he maketh this obiection to himself: Well, the Iew answereth me, How shall I hold him that is Absent? How shall I reach vp my hand to Heauen, that I may lay hold on him, which sitteth there? Reach thither thy Faith (saith Augustine) and then thou hast laid hold on him. Then followeth in the same line that which plainely declareth all this to be meant of laying hold of Christ by Faith, not by receiuing the Communion: *Parentes tui tenuerunt Carnem: tu tene Cor.* Thy Forefathers (thou Iew) tooke hold on Christ in Flesh: take thou hold on him in thy Heart. There he sheweth how Christ may be holden, though (concerning the visible and Sensible Presence of his Body) he be in Heauen at the Right Hand of the Father. All this, and whatsoeuer is said there vpon the Text before recited, implieth not so much as any colour of argument against the Truth of Christs very Bodie in this most blessed Sacrament. And thus all your allegations and reasons concerning this matter be sufficiently answered.

And by Faith only we receiue Christ in the Sacrament.

* He speaketh not of the receiuing of the Sacrament, but he speaketh of the receiuing of the Very Bodie of Christ, which is wrought only by Faith.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

It is true that M. Harding saith: S. Augustine in this place speaketh nothing of purpose and Specially of the Sacrament. Certainely it had beene great vanity for him to will his Hearers to seeke for the Sacrament in Heauen aboue. But hee speaketh of the embracing and holding the very Body of Christ, being now in Heauen. Which thing is wrought onely by Faith, and none otherwise, whether it be in the Sacrament, or without the Sacrament. Infinite sentences haue been uttered by the Holy Fathers to like purpose.

To touch, to Hold Christ.

S. Augustine saith: Accedite ad eum, & illuminamini: Quid est, accedite, nisi Credite? *Come vnto him, and receiue the Light: What is* Come *vnto him, but*, Beleeue *in him?* Againe Ambulando non laborabitis: Ibi enim Acceditis, vbi Creditis: *Your walking shall not be painfull to you: For there ye* Come *to him, where ye* Beleeue *in him.* *Aug. aduersus Iudaos, cap. 9.* *August. in Iohan. Tract. 48.*

Againe he saith: Exijt de Manibus eorum: Non enim apprehendere eum potuerunt, quia Manus Fidei non habuerunt: *Christ departed out of their hands: For they could not lay hold on him, because they had not* the Hands of Faith. Againe: Christus non recte tangitur: id est, non recte in eum creditur: *Christ is not* well touched: *that is to say, Christ is not well* Beleeued. Likewise againe he saith: Sunt in Corde Spirituales Manus: *There be certaine* Spirituall Hands *in the Heart.* And therefore S. Ambrose saith: Stephanus in Terris positus, Christum tangit in Cœlo; Steuen *being in the Earth,* (*by Faith*) toucheth Christ *being in Heauen.* *August. in Iohan. Tract. 121.* *August. de Natura & Gratia, Cap. 69.* *Ambr. Ser. 58.*

But as S. Augustine so often saith, Wee embrace and hold Christ by Faith; so is not M. Harding able to shew that he euer once said, Wee hold Christ with Mouth or Teeth, or receiue him downe into Our Bellies. And therefore S. Ambrose saith: Non Corporali tactu Christum, sed Fide tangimus: We touch not Christ by Bodily touching; but we touch him by Faith. And againe: Fide Christus tangitur: Fide Christus videtur: Non Corpore tangitur: Non Oculis comprehenditur: By Faith Christ is touched: By Faith Christ is seene: *He is not touched with our Bodies: He is not holden with our Eies:* Likewise S. Augustine saith: Dominus consolatur nos, qui ipsum iam in Cœlo sedentem Manu contrectare non possumus: Sed Fide contingere (possumus) *The Lord Comforteth vs, that* cannot now Touch him with Hand, sitting in Heauen: But by Faith wee may touche him. *Ambr in Luc. lib. 10. cap. 24.* *Ambr. in Luc. lib. 6. cap. 8.* *Aug. in Epist. Iohan. Tract. 1.*

Now, forasmuch as M. Harding saith: S. Augustine in this place maketh no mention of the receiuing of Christs Body in the Sacrament, it shall not be from the purpose to consider what he hath written otherwhere touching the same. Thus he saith: Christus est Cibus noster, quo nihil dulcius: Sed si quis habeat Palatum sanum in Corde: *Christ himselfe is our Meat, then which Meat there is nothing more sauoury, so that a man haue a* sound taste in his Heart. Againe he saith: Dominus dixit se Panem, qui de Cœlo descendit, hortans vt Credamus in eum. Credere enim in eum, hoc est Manducare Panem Viuum. Qui Credit in eum, Manducat: Inuisibiliter Saginatur, quia Inuisibiliter renascitur. Infans Intus est: Nouus Intus est: Vbi nouellatur, ibi satiatur: *Our Lord calleth himselfe the Bread that came from Heauen, exhorting vs to* Beleeue in him. For to Beleeue in him, that is to Eat the Bread of Life. *He Eateth, that Beleeueth in him He is fedde Inuisibly, because hee is new borne Inuisibly. Inwardly he is an Infant: Inwardly he is new. Where he is renued, there is he filled.* *August. in Iohan. Tracta. 7.* *August in Iohan. Tract. 26.*

So saith Eusebius Emissenus, as he is alleged by Gratian: Cùm ad Reuerendum Altare Cœlestibus Cibis fariandus accedis, Sacrum Dei tui Corpus & Sanguinem respice, Honora, Mirare, Mente Continge: Cordis Manu Suscipe: & maximè hausturo Interio- *De Cons. Dist. 2. Quia corpus*

Faith receiueth, &c.

ri assume: *When thou commest vnto the Reuerend Altar,* (or, Communion Table) *to be Fedde with the Heauenly Meats, behold the Holy Body and Blood of thy God: Honour it: Wonder at it:* Touch it (not with thy Bodily Mouth but) with thy Minde: *Receiueit* (not with thy Bodily Hand, but) with the Hand of thy Heart: *and specially take it with thy* Inner taste.

Aug. Ferm. 2. Paschatis, Serm. 1.

Therefore S. Augustine saith: Quisquis cum Fide & timore Verbum Dei audis, consolatur te Fractio panis. Absentia Domini non est Absens. Habeto Fidem: & tecum est, quem non vides. Ideò Dominus absentauit se Corpore ab omni Ecclesia, & Ascendit in Cœlum, vt Fides ædificetur: *Whosoeuer thou be that with Faith and Feare heareſt the Word of God, the Breaking of Bread doth Comfort thee.* The Absence of our Lord is not Absent. Haue thou Faith: *and he whom thou seeſt not is with thee. Therefore our Lord* as touching his

Christ absent from all his Church.

Body, hath Absented himselfe from all his Church, *and is Ascended into Heauen, that our Faith may bee edified.*

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 50.

And in this selfe same place that M. Harding saith maketh so little for our purpose, he saith thus: Quomodò tenebo Absentem? Quomodò in Cœlum manum mittam, vt ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, & tenuisti. Parentes tui tenuerunt Carne: Tu tene Corde. Quoniam Christus Absens, etiam Præsens est. Nisi Præsens esset, à nobis ipsis teneri non posset. Sed quoniam verum est quod ait, Ecce ego vobiscum sum vsque ad consummationem Sæculi, & abijt, & hic est: redijt, & nos non deseruit. Corpus enim suum intulit Cœlo: Maiestatem autem non abstulit Mundo: *How shall I hold Christ being Absent? How shall I thrust my hand into Heauen, that I may hold him sitting there? Send vp thy Faith, and thou holdeſt him. Thy Fathers* (the Iewes) *held him in Flesh: Hold him thou in thy Heart.* For Christ being absent, is also Present. *Vnleſſe he were Present, wee could not hold him. But for asmuch as it is true that he saith, Behold, I am with you vntill the end of the World, therefore* he is gone, and yet is here. *He is come againe, and hath not forsaken vs.* For hee hath aduanced his Body into Heauen: but hee hath not withdrawen his Maiestie from the World.

All these things well considered, whereas M. Harding in the end concludeth with these words: Thus all your allegations and reasons, concerning this Matter, be sufficiently answered: I doubt not, but his discreet and indifferent Reader will thinke, he crew long before it was day.

The Apology, Chap. 15. *Diuision* 1.

NEither can wee away in our Churches with these Shewes, and Sales, and Markets of Masses, nor with the carrying about, and worshipping of the Bread: nor with such other Idolatrous, and Blasphemous fondnesse: Which none of them can proue, that Christ, or his Apostles euer ordeined, or left vnto vs. And we iustly blame the Bishops of Rome, who, without the Word of God, without the Authority of the

In Ceremoniario Rom. Eccle.

Holy Fathers, without any Example of Antiquity, after a New Guise, doe not onely set before the People the Sacramentall Bread to bee worshipped as God, but doe also carry the same about vpon an ambling Palfrey, whether soeuer themselues iourney: in such sort, as in Olde Times the Persians Fire, and the Reliques of the Goddesse Isis were solemnly carried about in Procession: and haue brought the Sacraments of Christ to be vsed now as a Stage Play, and a solemne sight: to the end, that Mens eies should be fedde with nothing else, but with madde gazings, and foolish gaudes, in the selfe same matter, wherein the Death of Christ ought diligently to be beaten into our Hearts, and wherein also the Mysteries of our Redemption ought with all Holinesse and Reuerence to be executed.

(a) Vntruth. For wee honour the Holy Mysteries: & you profanely dishonour them.

(b) Vntruth. For as it is now vsed, there is no viler dishonour, nor greater Blasphemie.

M. Harding.

The things which it liketh your Satanicall Spirit with blasphemous word to (a) dishonour, and bring in contempt, are such, as neither your praises can make more praise worthy, nor your vpbraidings any whit of lesse estimation. If any by the stinking breath of your vile words bee puffed away into your damned side, whosoeuer they be, they shew themselues to haue beene light (I hasse not found Wheat. Yet for good folkes sake, that I may leaue your vile Eloquence to your selues, and answer the matter by you railed at, and belied, and otherwise not disprooued: I pray you, good Sirs, the (b) Masse being the highest, and most Honourable Seruice that is done to God in his Church, (which otherwhere being alreadie prooued, I treat not of in this place) why shoulde not a Priest, by whom

Matth. 3. Luc. 3.

A Priest may iustlie enioy his necessary liuing for seruing at the Altar, & for saying Masse. We know no Worshippers of Bread.

whom only it is, and may be done, (c) being called to that vocation, or state of life, haue reward and liuing for it? Raile against the Masse, and Priests seruing at the Altar of God, vntil your tongues burne in your head in Hell Fire: We tell you, Priests of the Catholike Church sell (d) not the Fruit and Merit of Christs Blood offered in the Masse, but onely for their Ministery and labour, require necessary sustenance of Life.

But for your Defense, yee confesse, that ye cannot away with the carrying about and worshipping of Bread: No more cannot wee. To whose charge lay yee this? Be there any such Idolatours now, that worship Bread? They would be knowen. (e) God forbidde we should suffer Idolatours to liue amongst vs. Soothly in the Catholike Church we know none. If ye cannot away with the Honour which * all deuout Christian people doe to the * blessed Sacrament, (we meane to Christs Body, and Christ himselfe * present in Substance vnder * the Formes of Bread) then cannot we take you for Christians. Mocke, scoffe, iest, and raile at vs with the Iewes; wee dare not, but Honour our Lord Christ, where soeuer our Faith findeth him verily and in Substance present.

If through feruent zeale (as sometime it happeneth) abuses in certain places haue crept in, no good Catholike man (f) defendeth them. Marry we know all is not to be abrogated that misliketh your corrupt taste. (g) And much is right Holy Deuotion pleasant in the sight of God, and therefore allowed in the Church, which your hot Spirit calleth Idolatrous and Blasphemous fondnes. And though the Ceremony and maner wherby such Deuotion is shewed, cannot be proued by ordinance of Christ, or of the Apostles, expressed in Scripture, yet Christian people doubt not, but God accepteth their good hearts.

The Bishop of Rome ye blame vniustly: might say also proudly. For procuring * Honour and worship to Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, he hath the * Word of God, * the authoritie of all Holy Fathers, and * the examples of antiquity, as (h) I haue at large prooued in my answer to your companion Master Iewell his eighth Negatiue Article. But the ambling Horse offendeth you. Why be ye not also offended with the Asse and her fole, that bare the (i) same Body at Ierusalem, which the Horse beareth at Rome: then Visible and weighty, now Inuisible, and of no weight? That was done in pompe to the honour of Christ, and so is this. Ye say this is done after a new guise. So then was that. Neither is it true which yee say, that the Bishops of Rome doe carrie about with them the Sacrament whither soeuer they iourney.

Lib. Ceremoniarū. Eccl. Rom. Sectione 12. ca. 1. Baldachinū.

(k) Ye might haue learned in that Book, out of which ye allege that matter to scoffe at, that such a solemnity is vsed specially when the Pope rideth in *Pontificalibus*. Then (as the Booke telleth) a white Palfrey, trapped, gentle, and faire, with a cleere sounding bell hanging at his necke, is ledde, which carrieth the Monstrance, or Pyx, with the most Holy Body of Christ, ouer the which noble Citizens shall bear a Canopie. Thus the Booke of Ceremonies.

(l) And I pray you, what euill is this? If it be good to carry about that most Holy Body, by which as Christ once redeemed vs, so by the same deuoutly honoured of faithfull people, and caried abroad, and brought to certaine places, hath in old times (as yet also doth continually) to the great comfort & help of sundry persons being in distresse, wrought miraculously healthfull remedies. If the Israelites found helpe at Gods hand by (m) bringing the Arke into the field with them, as they marched forward against the Philistians: If the Philistians cried out for feare when they perceiued the Arke to bee in the Israelites Armie, and said: *Venit Deus in Castra, Væ nobis*: God is come into their Tents. Alas, wee are vndone, &c.

1. Regum 4. 1. Regum 5.

In the order of this Ceremonie nothing appeareth to a christian man vnseemly or vnreasonable.

And concerning the order of the Ceremony, whereas (n) the people be desirous to behold the Bodie of their redeemer with their Faith by their carnall eie directed to the Forme of Bread, no man is able to hold vp on hie the Sacrament, so as conuenient it were to be done, both to satisfie their Deuotiō, & to maintaine their Faith: for the Pope himselfe commonly is an aged man, & therefore ouer weake (o) for that Seruice, specially arraied in *Pontificalibus*, as in such solemnities he is. Againe, the instrumēt that serueth for that purpose is so great and weighty, (for so it appertaineth to the honor of Christ) the way so long, the aire for the more part there so hot, as no other man is well able, for lack of strength, to bear it so as meet it is to be borne. In this case (o) why may not a horse be put to that seruice, to supply that which by natural weakenesse faileth in man? Wherin he serueth not as one that beareth a male, but as the Asse that bare Christ, as the Kine that drew the Arke.

The custome of carrying the Sacrament where the Pope goeth is neither new, nor strange.

Neither ought the custome of bearing the most holy Body of Christ where the Pope goeth, seeme New and Strange. For we read in the life of the Blessed Martyr Steuen the First, who was Pope of Rome aboue thirteen hundred yeeres past, that Tharsitius the Deacon (who at length also suffered death for Christ) bare our Lords Body, at what time he attended vpon the Blessed Man Pope Steuen, as he went to his Martyrdome. Who desireth to see this described at large, the same may hee finde in (that Great fond Fabular) Simeon Metaphrastes a Greeke writer, wel approued and highly esteemed in the Greek Church: *In vita Stephani Primi.*

For witnesse wherof we haue S. Ambrose, who describeth how certain faithfull persons carried (p) this Blessed Sacrament with them when they went to the Sea, of whom his brother Satyrus obteined the same in a shipwracke, and by helpe thereof, hanging it in a stole about his neck, seeking for none other succour cast himselfe into the Sea, and miraculously escaped safe to land. Neither is the same by him done without a speciall Mysterie, though vnknowne to the more part. Although, saith a learned Pope, a reason cannot be giuen of all things, whatsoeuer haue bene brought in vse by our Forefathers: yet I thinke, quoth he, that therein lie hidden profound Mysteries.

This Defender followeth Iulia, Lucia, Porphyrius, Celsus, and such other wicked Infidels.

Contra Celsum li. 6. de Mithra. Vide Suidam in dictione.

I report me now to the secret Consciences of good Christiā people, whether the Bishops of Rome vse not the Blessed Sacrament reuerently and honorably, or no, but rather (q) as the Persians Fire, and the Relques of the Goddesse Isis, as a stage play, mad gazings, and foolish Gaudes, as it liketh this wicked Chams brood to raile. Wherein they follow the steps which Iulian the Apostata, Lucian, Porphyrius, Celsus, and such other prophane Hell hounds haue trodden before them. For after the like maner, they railed at the Holy Mysteries of Christian Religion, namely Celsus, who, as Origen writeth of him, obiected to the Christians the Sacrifices of Mithra, (which was an Idoll that the Persians worshipped, and called it the Sunne) from whence (he said) they had taken all their Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies. And right so (as we find in S. Augustin writing against the Manichees) the Paynims found fault with the Christian people for * Honor done to the * Body and Blood of Christ vnder * Formes of Bread and Wine, saying that they Honoured Bacchus and Ceres.

(c) Vntruth. For Christ neuer called his Disciples, or sent them a-bread to say Masse.

(d) Alas, they haue it not. Otherwise for money it should away.

(e) God forbid there should bee water in the Sea.

* Vntruths, and most fond & blasphemous follies.

(f) Yet not one of your Catholike Prelates amendeth them.

(g) Vntruth, fōd and Heathenish, for God himselfe saith, In vaine they worship me.

* Vntruths foure together: For he dishonoureth Christ. Hee hath neither Gods VVord, nor the Authority of all the Fathers, nor the examples of Antiquity.

(h) Note that in the same one little Article M. Harding hath sent vs twelue great Vntruths.

(i) Vntruth. For this is onely the Sacrament of that same Body.

(k) Doth M. H. scoffe at these gāes, or speaketh hee in earnest?

(l) VVhy should a wise man speake so fondly? Read the Answer.

(m) They did it against Gods will, and speedde thereafter. Read the Answer.

(n) Graue Confiserations.

(o) A horse supplieth the Popes office.

(p) It was a great abuse of the Sacrament: and yet without either Pyx, or Pump, & therefore was afterward vtterly taken away throughout y whole Church of God.

(q) If ye had not these games īō thence, then tell vs from whence ye had them.

* Most vaine vntruths. For S. Augustine speaketh neither of Adoration, nor of Christs Body, nor of Formes.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Sale of Maſſes.

Concerning theſe Satanical Spirits, and ſtinking breaths, and vile words, and ſuch other like flowers of your Eloquence, M. Harding, I confeſſe my ſelfe to bee farre inferiour, and neuer able to make you anſwer. It is true that ye ſay, The Workeman is worthy of his hire. S. Paul ſaith: *The Lord hath appointed, that who ſo Preacheth the Goſpell, ſhould liue by the Goſpell.* But where did Chriſt euer ſay vnto you, *Goe into all the World, & ſay priuate Maſſe, and offer me vp vnto my Father for Remiſſion of Sinnes?* What Apoſtle, what Prophet, what Doctour, what Father euer taught you ſo to doe? If ye ſet your ſelfe a worke without Commiſſion, and runne forth when no man biddeth you, then are ye your owne men: and of reaſon ought to pay your ſelues.

Conſtitutiõ Othonis Legatine, Fol. 143. If your Maſſes, as you ſay, were neuer ſet to open ſale, wherefore then was this Decree written in the Councell of Oxford; Venalitatem Miſſarum diſtrictè inhibemus? Wee ſtraightly forbid the ſale of Maſſes? Thinke you that ſo many wiſe Fathers would forbid that thing that neuer was vſed? In the like Conference holden at Wormes, the Biſhop of Sidon being there preſent, durſt not ſay, as you dare ſay, there was no ſuch vnlawfull Sale, but onely ſaid, It was out of ſeaſon to talke thereof. His words be theſe: *In Colloquio Wormatien. Conceſſu. 5.* Quid attinebat de Miſſis venalibus, de Mercatu Indulgentiarum, &c. mentionem intempeſtiuam inducere? *What was it to the purpoſe to ſpeake of the* Selling of Maſſes, and Pardons, *out of ſeaſon?*

The Prieſts (yée ſay) of the Catholike Church ſell not the fruit and Merit of Chriſts Blood. No maruell: For they haue it not to ſell. But if ye had Chriſt himſelfe, ye would ſet him to ſale as other your Fathers haue done before you. Such a one was he, of whom S. Gregorie writeth: Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum Hæretico, accepta Pecunia, venundedit: *Gregor. Lib. 2. Epiſt. 33.* *He tooke money, and* ſold Ieſus Chriſt our Lord vnto *an Heretike.* And when the Biſhop of Rome ſelleth his Pardons, what other thing would he ſeeme to ſell, but onely the Fruits and Merits of the Blood of Chriſt?

Ye ſay further: God forbidde wee ſhould ſuffer Idolaters to liue amongſt vs. And yet your néere friends haue thought ye haue not beene farre from the maintenance of Idolatry. Polydorus Virgilius intreating of the worſhipping of Images, ſaith thus: *Polydor. de Inuentorib. Rer. lib. 6. cap. 13.* Eò inſaniæ deuentum eſt, vt hæc pars Pietatis parùm differat ab impietate: *They are ſo farre proceeded in madneſſe, that* this part of Holineſſe is not farre from wickednеſſe. And Ludouicus Viues ſaith, he ſeeth no great difference betweene certaine Chriſtians worſhipping their images, and the Old Heathens adoring their Idols.

Ye ſay: The carrying about of the Sacrament is right Holy Deuotion, pleaſant in the ſight of God and Chriſtian people doubt not, but God accepteth their good hearts. Euen ſo, no doubt, as whe he ſaid ſometime vnto the Iewes, Eſai. 1. Quis requiſiuit iſta de manibus veſtris? *Who required theſe things at your hands?*

Augu. de Conſent. Euãgeliſt. lib. 1. cap. 18. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Socratis ſententia eſt, Vnumquemque Deum ſic coli oportere, quomodò ſe ipſe colendum eſſe præceperit: *The iudgement of* Socrates *is this, that euery God ought ſo to be worſhipped,* as he himſelfe hath commanded. Againe he ſaith: Conſtat, Fidem ſtultam non ſolùm minimè prodeſſe, ſed etiam obeſſe: *Aug. in Quæſt. ex Veteri Teſtam. quæſt. 43.* *It is certaine, that* a Foolish Faith *not onely doeth not good, but alſo hurteth.*

Chryſoſtom. in Act. Hom. 49. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Tales ſunt Diabolo venandi artes: qui prætextu pietatis laqueos tegit: *Such ſleights of hunting hath the Diuell: vnder the colour of Holineſſe he hideth his ſnares.*

Gabr. Lect. 26. But as touching the ſolemnity of carrying the Sacrament, your owne Doctour Gabriel Biel could haue told you: Chriſtus non dedit Diſcipulis Sacramentum, vt ipſum honorificè conſeruarent: ſed dedit in ſui vſum, dicens, Accipite, & Manducate: *Chriſt gaue not the Sacrament to his diſciples to the end* they ſhould keepe it with Honour: *But hee gaue it to them for their vſe, ſaying to them,* Take and Eat. Likewiſe ſaith Humbertus: Chriſtus non tantùm Benedixit Panem, & réſeruauit frangendum in craſtinum: nec fregit tantùm, & repoſuit, ſed fractum ſtatim diſtribuit: *Citatur à Caſſandro in Liturgijs.* *Chriſt did not only Bleſſe the Bread, and reſerue it to be broken the next day: Nor did he only breake it,* and lay it vp: *but beeing broken,* ſtraightway *he deliuered it.*

Vaine Deuotion.

All this ſtrange ſolemne Feſtiuall guiſe Pope Vrbanus the Fourth learned, not of Chriſt, or Paul, but only by the Reuelation of Dame Eue the Anchoriſſe: and by her good aduice founded the New Feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, and cauſed the Sacrament to be borne about in Proceſſion.

Chryſ. in Mat. Homil 51. But the ancient and worthy Father Chryſoſtome ſaith: Diſcamus Chriſtum ex ipſius voluntate honorare: Nam qui honoratur, eo maximè honore lætatur, quem ipſe vult: non quem nos optamus: *Let vs learne to honour* Chriſt after his owne will: *For hee that is honoured, delighteth moſt in that honour* that he himſelfe would haue: *not in that honour that*

wee

we can fancie. Notwithstanding, when the Sacramentall Bread is carried onely vpon a horse, and the Pope himselfe is borne aloft in a Chaire of Gold, vpon the shoulders of sir or eight Noble men, I pray you, whether of them hath greater Honour?

Vaine Deuotion.

For the rest, The Pope (saith M. Harding) is an old man: he rideth in his Pontificalibus: he is loden with apparell: The Pix is weightie: The weather is hot: There is none other Creature to ply his roome. Therefore it is lately concluded in Louaine in great solemne sadnesse, that a horse must be had in to play the Popes part, and to carry the Monstrance.

Here, forasmuch as M. Harding hath purposely made mention of the Popes riding in his Pontificalibus, and the Solemnity and Pompe thereof is knowne to few, it shall not be impertinent, briefly to disclose the order thereof. Thus therefore it is written in the Ceremoniary of Rome: Sic Papa equitat in Pontificalibus in aliquam Ciuitatem. Cardinales descendunt ex equis, & accedunt reuerenter ad Papam, & osculantur illi pedem. Episcopus Ciuitatis accedit ad Papam cum debitis reuerentijs, & offert illi Crucem osculandam: quam Pontifex reuerenter, cum Mitra tamen osculabitur. Non enim commodè poterit ei abstrahi equiti ab equestribus. Si tamen placuerit & Mitram deponere, non erit inconueniens. Deinde Prelatus incipiat Antiphonam, Ecce Sacerdos Magnus: *Thus the Popes Holmesse rideth into any City in his* Pontificalibus. *The Cardinals light from their horses, and come reuerently vnto the Pope, and* kisse his foot. *The Bishop of the Citie commeth likewise to the Pope with due reuerence, and offereth him the* Crosse to kisse: *which the Pope shall kisse reuerently,* keeping on his Miter notwithstanding. *For while he sitteth on horse backe, his horsemen cannot very easily take off his Miter and set it on againe. Howbeit, if it shall like him to put off his Miter, it shall be no great inconuenience. Afterward the Bishop shall begin this Antheme,* Behold the Great Priest. And so he pricketh forth along in his Pontificalibus. *Ceremon. Section. 12. cap. 5.*

The carrying out of the Arke of God into the field, in the time of Eli the high Priest, boadeth no very good Argument for the carrying of the Sacrament. For at that time the Army of Israel was ouerthrowen, thirtie thousand Souldiers were slaine, and amongst them the two Sonnes of Eli: The Arke was taken: Eli himselfe fell backe from his Chaire, and brake his necke. Therefore, M. Harding, ye shall haue much adoe to make good your Procession by this example. 1. Regum 4.

This matter (ye say) hath beene proued by sundry Miracles. First, whether there haue beene any such Miracles wrought, or no, it is vncertaine. But were it granted, yet may not your Miracles alwaies stand for good proofes. Your owne Doctor Alexander de Hales saith: Miracula fiunt aliquando humana procuratione: aliquando Diabolica operatione: *Miracles be wrought sometime by the working and* procurement of men: *and sometime by the* conueiance of the Diuell. *Alexand. Halen. Part. 4. qua. 53. Mem. 4. Articul. 3.*

The tales that ye alledge of Tharsitus and Satyrus, make nothing, either for the Adoration of the Sacrament, or else for the Popes Pallfrey. Women, and Children, and Lay men vsed then to carrie home the Sacrament in their Napkins, and to keepe it in forcelets, as in my Former Reply it is largely shewed. But these were abuses of the Mysterie: and therefore afterward were abolished. *Articulo 1.*

The carrying of the Sacrament Actorum 19.

It greeueth you much that we say, The Pope causeth the Sacramentall Bread to be carried before him vpon a Horse, as the Kings of Persia vsed in old times to carry the Fire, which they called Orimasda, and imagined the same to be their God. And therefore yee cry out in your Passion, Chams brood, Helhounds, and whatsoeuer might serue you best: euen with like Sobriety and Modestie, as they who sometime in the like case cried out, Magna Diana Ephesiorum: Great is Diana of the Ephesians. Howbeit, other example more agreeable to resemble your folly we could finde none.

Neither may ye iustly and truely say, ye haue receiued none of your Orders and Vsages from the Heathens. Your owne Glosse noteth vpon the Decrees: Clerici euntes ad Tumulos mortuorum, portabant secum Sacramenta Corporis & Sanguinis Christi: & super Tumulos ea distribuebant. Et hæc Consuetudo facta fuit a Gentibus: *The Clerks* (or Priests) *going to the graues of the dead, carried with them the* Sacraments *of the Body and Blood of Christ, and made distribution thereof ouer the graues.* And this same Custome was vsed among the Heathens. Nicolaus Leonicenus saith: Isidis Sacerdotes in Ægypto vtebantur Lineis vestibus, & semper erant detonso capillo: quod etiam per manus traditum ad nostra vsque tempora peruenisse videtur. Siquidem ij qui apud nos Diuino Cultui, & Sacris Altaribus præsident, barbam comámque nutrire prohibentur: & in Sacris vtuntur Lineis amictibus: *The Priests of the Goddesse* Isis *in* Ægypt, *vsed to weare* Linen Surplices, *and euermore had their* head shauen: *Which thing seemeth to haue beene derined from them, vnto our time, from hand to hand. For they that among vs Minister Gods Seruice, and serue the Holy Altars, are forbidden to suffer the haire of their head, or their beard to grow: And in their Diuine Seruice they vse Linen garments.* Epiphanius saith, *De Cons. Dist. 1. Non oportet. In Glossa.* *Nicol. Leonicenus, In Varia Historia, Lib. 2. Cap. 21.*

Epiphan. lib. 3. Hæres. 79. De Collyridianis, that the Heretikes called Collyridiani, vsed to set forth, and to carry about Bread (no doubt but the Sacrament) in the Honour of the Blessed Virgin Marie. Nazianzenus seemeth thus to complaine of some such vnseemely behauiours in his time: Quid referam, saith he, τὰ Μυστήρια κωμῳδούμενα? *What shal I speake of the Holy Mysteries turned now* into a play, *or a* Comedie? For so Claudius Du Sainctes, your own Doctor expoundeth these words: Mysteria in Comœdias conuersa.

Nazianzen. ad Hieronem.

Claud. Du Sãctes, de Liturgijs, in Præfat.

Of the like disorder of the Heathens Apuleius seemeth to say, Dicimus. Deos incedere humanis pedibus: *Wee tell you, that our Gods goe on mens feet.* The whole difference between you and them in this behalfe standeth onely in this, that your God goeth on Horse feet and theirs on Mans feet.

Apuleius, li. 1.

But the Holy Sacrament of Christs death, was neuer appointed vnto vs to this end, to be carried thus about in open shew, but only to be receiued as Christ himself commanded, in remembrance of his Body and Bloud. And therefore S. Cyprian saith: Recipitur, non includitur: It is receiued: It is not shut vp.

Cyprian de Cœna Domini.

That yee allege as out of S. Augustine, That the Painimes found fault with the Christian People, for Honour done to the Body and Blood of Christ, vnder your formes of Bread and Wine, it is an open, and a manifest Vntruth. For S. Augustine in that place speaketh not one word, neither of the Body and Blood of Christ: nor of your Formes and Accidents: nor of any maner Adoration, or Honour done vnto the Sacrament. It shall behoue you to write hereafter more aduisedly: otherwise the Learned will say, ye either know not, or care not what ye write. This Obiection of S. Augustine is answered more at large in my Former Reply.

August contra. Faustum. li. 20. cap. 13.

The carriing of the Sacrament

Touching the matter it selfe, S. Augustine saith: Deus meus vbique præsens est, vbique totus, nusquam inclusus: qui possit adesse secretus, abesse non motus: *My God is euery where Present, euery where whole,* shut vp, or inclosed no where: *Able secretly to be Present, and to be Absent without mooning.* And S. Chrysostome saith: Magnum, crede mihi, bonum est, scire quid sit Creatura, & quid sit Creator: & quæ sint Opera, quis verò Opifex. Si enim hoc diligenter scirent discernere Hæretici, nunquam vtique omnia confunderent, & quæ Sursum sunt, facerent Deorsum. Non dico, quòd Cœlum & Stellas deorsum, Terram autem sursum ducerent: sed quòd Regem ab excelsis Sedibus deducentes, cum Creaturis & Operibus collocauerint: Creaturam verò Diuinis honoribus affecerint: *Beleeue mee, it is a great matter to vnderstand what is the* Creature, *and what is* God the Creatour: *What are the* Workes, *and what is the* Workeman. *For if these Heretikes could make* diligent difference heereof, *they would not thus make confusion of all things, nor place those things* beneath, *that* be aboue. *I meane not, they either pull downe the Heauen, or the Starres, or set vp the Earth* (in their place:) *but that they pul downe the* King himselfe from his high Throne, and place him amongst his Workes and Creatures: and of the other side, worship a Creature with Godly Honour.

Artic. 8. Diuis. 24.

Aug. de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 1. cap. 29.

Cryseſt. de Ieiunijs, & Lectione Geneseos

The Apologie, Chap. 15. Diuision 2.

Besides, where they say, and sometime doe perswade fooles, that they are able by their Masses to distribute and apply vnto mens commodity all the Merits of Christs Death, yea, although many times the parties think nothing of the matter, and vnderstand full little what is done, this is a Mockery, a Heathenish Fansie, and a very Toy. For it is our Faith that applieth the Death and Crosse of Christ to our benefit, and not the Act of the Massing Priest. Faith had in the Sacraments (saith Augustine) doth iustifie, and not the Sacraments. And Origen saith: Christ is the Priest, the Propitiation, and Sacrifice: which Propitiation commeth to euery one by meane of Faith. And so, by this reckoning we say that the Sacraments of Christ, without Faith, doe not once profit these that be aliue: a great deale lesse doe they profit those that be dead.

Origen. ad Roman. lib. 3. c. 3.

M. Harding.

(a) Vntruth, enclosed. For this is your Catholike Doctrine, as shall appeare.

(b) Your owne Scholastical Catholike Doctors, M. Harding: read the Answer.

(a) Lest any peece of your Apology should be without a witnesse, for proofe that ye are his children who is the Father of lies, ye make vs to affirme, that by our Masses we distribute & aply to men indifferently, howsoeuer they be disposed, for so ye meane, as it appeareth partly by that ye say heere, and specially by your Doctrine otherwheres vttered, all the Merits of Christs Death. But tell vs, (b) who euer taught this Doctrine in the Catholike Church?

Yea God is so good, and prone to bestow his mercy, that, not only when a man is through Faith prepared for it, he giueth it abundantly vnto him: but also though he, as of his owne part, haue no Faith presently,

presently, yet for others sake, which are Gods dearely beloued friends, he fareth the better, and hath that gift obtained to him. (c) As when S. Steuen praied at his death for those that persecuted him, for whom praied he then, but for those, who had no faith at all in Christ? And when this grace was giuen vnto them, as that from their lewishnesse they came to the Faith of Christ, who shall exclude that blessed Martyr from this worship and honour, that through his praier, as by one speciall meane, that grace was applyed vnto them?

(c) A proper shift. We speake of Sacraments. M. Harding answereth vs of Praier.

The effect of S. Steuens Praier. Act. 9. *Serm. 1. de Sanctis. Contra duas epist. Pelagian. ad Bonifacium, lib. 1. cap. 19.*

What effect his praier tooke, if any man thereof doubt, he may thinke it to haue wrought much for the benefit of others of lesse malice, seeing that it did so much in Paul. Who as the Stripture saith, yet breathing out threatnings and slaughter against Christs Disciples, was so changed & conuerted, that of a Persecutor he became an Apostle. For as S. Augustine writeth, *Si Sanctus Stephanus sic non orasset, Ecclesia Paulum non haberet*: If S. Stephen had not praied so, the Church should not haue had Paul. Now if those that be no Priests without publike authority of Consecrating the Body and Blood of Christ, yet by way of praier do obtaine, that men be conuerted to the Faith, which is the applying of one fruit of Christs Merits, much more the publike Minister and Bishop, which assumpted from among men is ordained for men in matters belonging to God, that he may offer vp gifts and Sacrifices for sinnes.

Hebr. 5. What kinde of applying is in the Sacrifice of the Masse. *Li. 1. de Vocat. Gentium, ca. 4.*

And now, if yee list to learne what kinde of applying wee vse in our Masses, we doe offer vp vnto God first (d) his Sonne representing his Passion, and celebrating the memory of the same (e) according to Christs Institution.

(d) Vntruth, blasphemous, and horrible.

(e) Vntruh, For Christ neuer bade you to offer him vp vnto his Father.

But what measure of good we procure them, to God only is that knowne. If (as the learned Bishop Prosper saith) the grace of our Sauiour passe ouer some persons, (as wee see it to happen) and if the Praier of the Church (wherein the Sacrifice is contained, after S. Augustines Minde) be not admitted for them: it is to be referred to the Secret iudgements of Gods iustice, and it is to be acknowledged, that the depth of this secret may not be opened in this life.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Thus ye say, M. Harding: Ye make vs to affirme, that by our Masses we distribute, and apply to men indifferently the Merits of Christs Death: howsoeuer they be disposed, in token, that yee are the Children of him, who is the Father of lies. **Therefore ye say,** Tell vs who euer taught this Doctrine in the Catholike Church?

The applying of Christs Death.

If you be so vnskilfull, M. Harding, and so farre to seeke in your owne Doctors, then it may please you to vnderstand, that the most Catholik pillers of your Catholike Church haue euen thus taught vs. Thomas de Vio, **otherwise called** Caietanus, **a Catholike Cardinall of your Catholike Church of** Rome, **in the Conference he had at** Augusta in Germany, **with** Doctour Luther **said thus:** Fides non est necessaria accessuro ad Eucharistiam: Faith is not necessary for him, *that will receiue the Sacrament of thanke-giuing.* **Notwithstanding otherwhere he acknowledgeth this was an error: and confesseth, it was commonly receiued and beleeued of many euen in your Catholike Church of** Rome. **Thus he writeth:** In hoc videtur communis multorum Error, quòd putant, hoc Sacrificium ex solo Opere Operato habere certum Meritum, vel certam satisfactionem, quæ applicatur huic, vel illi: *Heerein standeth the* Common Error of many, *that they thinke, that his Sacrifice hath a certaine Merit or Satisfaction, which is applied to this man or to that man,* (**not by meane of the Faith of the receiuer, but**) *by the Onely meane of the Worke that is wrought* (**by the Priest.**) Gabriel Biel **saith:** *The Priest receiueth the Sacrament: and the* Vertue thereof passeth into all the members *of the Church.* Iacobus de Valentia **saith:** The Priest *is the* mouth of the Body. *Therefore when the Priest receiueth the Sacrament,* all the members are refreshed. **Againe he saith:** Nos communicamus Ore Sacerdotis: *We that be of the People doe Communicate or receiue the Sacrament,* by the mouth of the Priest. Thomas of Aquine **your Angelicall Doctor saith thus:** Sicut Corpus Domini semel oblatum est in Cruce pro debito Originali, ita offertur iugiter pro quotidianis delictis in Altari: *As the Body of our Lord was once offered vpon the Crosse for* debt of Originall Sinne, *so it is daily offered vpon the Altar for the* debt of Daily sinnes.

Cardinal. Caietanus, De Vsu Spiritualium. Quæst. 3.

Biel. Lectio. 18.

Iacob. de Valentia, Serm. 2. de Epiphania.

Thom. De Venarab Sacram. Alt. cap. 1.

Addition. ☞

Addition. ☞ **M. Harding.** you haue corrupt Saint Thomas wordes with false translation, Englishing *Pro quotidianis delictis,* for the debt of Daily Sin, where debt is not in the Latine. *The Answer.* **What meaneth this Childishnesse M. Harding? Was this the greatest corruption yet could espie? Can you imagine any Sinne to be without debt? I beseech you: Wherefore saith Almightie God,** *Your Sinnes haue made Diuision betweene you and me?* **Wherefore doth the wastefull Sonne cry out,** *O Father, I haue offended against Heauen, and against thee?* **Wherefore saith** S. Paul, *Death is the reward of Sinne?* **Wherefore hath** Christ **taught vs to say,** Demitte nobis debita nostra: *O Lord forgiue vs our debts?* **But only in respect of** Debt, **that is due to Sinne? Regard better what ye write. Why should such follies come from** Louaine. ☜☜

M. Harding. fol. 356.

Esai 59. Luke 15. Rom. 6 Math. 6.

This Doctrine not long sithence, was holden for Catholike and was strongly maintained by your Catholike Doctors. Catharinus, **one of the worthies of your Late** Chapter of Trident, **saith:** Apparet, quòd pro peccatis sub Nouo Testamento, post acceptam Salutaris Hostiæ in Baptismo efficaciam commissi, non habemus pro peccato Hostiam illam,

Catharinus, de Incruento Sacrificio Noui, & Æterni Testamenti.

The applying of Christs Death.

Iam quam Christus obtulit pro Peccato Mundi, & pro delictis Baptismum Precedentibus: Non enim nisi semel ille Mortuus est: Et ideo semel duntaxat Hostia illa ad hunc effectum applicatur: *It appeareth that for the Sinnes committed vnder the new Testament, after that we haue receiued in Baptisme the power of the Healthful Sacrifice,* we haue no more that Sacrifice for Sinne, which Christ once offered for the Sinne of the World, *and for Sinnes committed before Baptisme. For Christ neuer died but once. And therefore that Sacrifice of Christ crucified,* is applied vnto vs once onely *to this effect.*

Hereby M. Harding, ye may see that this Doctrine lacketh no defense amongst your Catholikes. The summe and meaning hereof is this, That our Sinnes committed after Baptisme, are not forgiuen by the Death of Christ, but onely by the Sacrifice of the Masse. Which thing what it seemeth to you, I cannot tell: But vnto all godly eares it seemeth an horrible great blasphemy.

Here to speake of Prayers, specially in so large a sort, it was farre impertinent to your purpose, as being vtterly no part of this question.

The Merits of Christs Death wherof we entreat, are conueied vnto vs by God, and receiued by vs. God conueigheth them to vs only of His Mercy, and we receiue them Only by Faith. But the waies, whereby either to procure Gods Mercy, or to enkindle our Faith, are many, and sundry. Gods Mercy is procured sometime by Prayer, sometime by other Meanes. But to breed or increase Faith in vs, there are moe waies, then can be reckoned. Some men are moued onely by the Hearing of Gods Word: Some others by the beholding and weighing of Gods Miracles. Iustinus the Martyr, was first allured to the Faith by the Cruelty of the Tyrants, and by the Constancie and Patience of Gods Saints. S. Cyprian saith: Tanta est vis Martyrij, vt per illam credere etiam cogatur, qui te vult occidere: *So great is the power of Martyrdome, that thereby euen he is forced to beleeue, that would kill thee.* S. Augustine saith, He was stirred vp to come to Christ, by reading a Heathen Booke written by Cicero, called Hortensius. Thus he saith: Ille Liber mutauit affectum meum, & ad te ipsum, Domine, mutauit Preces meas: *That* (Heathen) *Booke changed my minde, and turned my praier, O Lord, vnto thee.*

Euse. lib. 4. c. 8.

Cypr. de laude Martyrij.

Aug. Confess. lib. 3. cap. 4.

Among other causes, the Sacraments serue specially to direct and to aid our Faith: For they are, as S. Augustine calleth them, Verba Visibilia, Visible Words: and Seales and Testimonies of the Gospell.

August. contra Faustum lib. 19 cap. 16.

All this notwithstanding, we say, It is neither the Worke of the Priest, nor the Nature of the Sacrament, as of it selfe, that maketh vs partakers of Christs Death, but onely the Faith of the Receiuer. S. Augustine saith: Vnde est ista tanta Virtus Aquæ, vt Corpus tangat, & Cor abluat, nisi faciente Verbo? Non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur: *From whence hath the Water this great power, that it toucheth the Body and washeth the Heart, sauing by the* Working of the Word? Not for that it is pronounced, but for that it is beleeued.

August. in Ioh. Tract. 80.

So saith Hesychius: Gratia Dei comprehenditur Sola Fide: *The Grace of God* (of our part) is receiued by Onely Faith. So saith Cyrillus: Siclus Fidei nostræ Formam habet: Si enim Fidem obtuleris tanquam Pretium, à Christo, velut Ariete immaculato in hostiam dato, accipies Remissionem Peccatorum: *The Sicle hath the Forme of our Faith:* For if thou offer vp thy Faith, *as the price, thou shalt receiue Remission of thy Sinnes from Christ that vnspotted Ramme, that was giuen for a Sacrifice.*

Hesych. in Leuit. lib. 4. c. 14.

Cyril. in Leuit. lib. 3.

Where ye say, Yee offer vp Christ, the Sonne of God, Really, and Substantially vnto God the Father, If ye speake in your dreame, it is a very pleasant fantasie: but if yee be awake, and know what ye say, then is it a great blaspemy: as in my former Reply it may appeare more at large.

The Apologie, Chap. 16. Diuision 1.

No maruel. It was receiued of the Painims long ere the Apostles were borne.

And as for their Braggs, they are wont to make of their Purgatory; though we know, it is not a thing so very late risen among them, yet is it no better then a blockish, and an Old Wiues deuice.

M. Harding.

(a) Vntruth.

(b) This fantasie were somewhat, if we had no Purgation in Christs Blood.

Purgatory seemeth not to vs a thing that we should much brag of, no more then ye will brag of Hell. We tremble at the remembrance of it rather then brag of it. Well howsoeuer it be, will ye, nill ye, (we see) ye be driuen to confesse the same to be no new thing.

Indeed if you call them Papists, among whom the Doctrine of praying for the dead, (a) whereof necessarily followeth the Doctrine of Purgatory, is deliuered, taught, and holden: then are the Apostles, who deliuered it by Tradition, (as Chrysostome & Damascene report) Papists. First, (b) forasmuch as nothing

Purgatory acknowledged by the Defenders of Antiquity.

poc.21. Cor.7.

nothing that is defiled commeth into the kingdom of Heauen, and ſome depart out of this life though in the Faith of Chriſt & Children of the Euerlaſting Kingdome, yet not throughly and perfectly cleane: it remaineth, that ſuch after this life before they come to the place of Euerlaſting ioy, haue their Purgatió. Furthermore the Apoſtle ſaith, Seing then we haue theſe promiſes dearly beloued, let (c) vs cleanſe our ſelues from al filthines of the Fleſh & Spirit, making perfect our ſatisfaction in the fear of God. Who ſeeth not heerof to follow, that to many, which be iuſtified, ſomwhat of ſatisfaction and holineſſe lacketh? Which if they be taken from hence before they attaine to the meaſure of Holineſſe requiſite, bee they then after this Life in ſtate to be purged and cleanſed?

(c) A doubtie argument to proue purgatorie.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Heere are we come to the Paper Wals, and Painted Fires of Purgatory. For ſo it liked M. Harding not long ſithence, pleaſantly to ſport at it in the Pulpits, as a bug meet only to fray Children. Yet now, vpon better aduice, and deeper ſtudy, hee trembleth, God wote, and quaketh for feare, to remember the torments, that ſome body hath ſithence told him to be there. Howbeit, let him not ſo much diſmay himſelfe. The Pope, as hee either firſt made it, or receiued it by hand from the Heathens, and firſt allowed it, euen ſo hath he the whole Iuriſdiction and Power ouer it, and commandeth in, and out at his pleaſure.

Power ouer Purgatory.

Whether ye make braggs heereof, or no, I leaue it in queſtion. Certainly for this, and other like cauſes, One of your fellowes ſaith: Excepto Peccato, Papa poteſt quaſi omnia facere, quæ Deus poteſt: Sinne *excepted the* Pope *can do in a manner al things that God can doe.* Another ſaith: Animæ exiſtentes in Purgatorio, ſunt de Iuriſdictione Papæ: & Papa, ſi vellet, poſſet totum Purgatorium euacuare: *The Soules being in Purgatory, are* (in the Popes peculiar, and) vnder the Popes Iuriſdiction: *and the* Pope, *if it might ſtand with his pleaſure, were able* (to make goale deliuery, and) to auoid all Purgatorie. And to this purpoſe, The Pope himſelfe Commandeth, and Chargeth the Angels of God, to fetch foorth from thence, whomſoeuer, and how many ſoeuer he will haue deliuered, as heerafter in a place more conuenient it ſhall better appeare. If theſe ſeeme to bee no bragges, then let them hardly bee called by ſome other name, that may ſeeme to pleaſe you better.

Panormitan. de Electione, cap. Licet.

Iohã. Angelus.

Clemens Pap. 6. In Bulla.

Ye take good hold in that we confeſſe, This Imagination of Purgatory is no new fanſie. Howbeit, your aduantage heerein is not ſo great. There haue beene errors and great errors from the beginning. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Origenes, ipſum Diabolum atque Angelos eius poſt grauiora pro Meritis, & diuturniora ſupplicia, ex illis Cruciatibus eruendos atque ſociandos Sanctis Angelis credidit: *The ancient learned Father* Origen *beleeued that the Diuell himſelfe and his Angels, after great and long puniſhment, ſuffered for their wickednes, ſhal be deliuered from their torments, and ſhall be placed* (in Heauen) *with the Holy Angels of God.* Origen himſelfe ſaith: *There were ſome, that thought, that Chriſt ſhould goe downe into Hell, and there be* Crucified againe, *to ſaue them that by his preaching and Former Death could not bee ſaued.* Againe the ſame Origen ſaith of himſelfe: Ego puto, quòd poſt Reſurrectionem ex mortuis indigebimus Sacramento eluente nos, atque Purgante: *I thinke, that* after wee ſhall riſe againe *from the Dead,* wee ſhall haue need of the Sacrament (of Baptiſme) *to waſh vs, and to purge vs cleane.*

Aug. de Ciui. tate Dei, lib. 21. cap. 17.

Orig. in epiſt. ad Rom. ca. 6. lib. 5.

Origen. in Lucam, homil. 14.

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Quidam nullas Pœnas, niſi Purgatorias, volunt eſſe poſt Mortem: *Some men will haue no puniſhment to bee after Death, but* onely the paines of Purgatory.

Aug. de Ciuitate Dei, li. 21. cap. 13.

Euen in Pauls time there were ſome, that being aliue, were Baptized for the Dead. And by the Councell of Carthage it appeareth there were ſome, that vſed to thruſt the Sacrament into the Mouth of the Dead Body, meaning thereby, as it may bee thought, to procure ſome releeſe for the Soule. The words be theſe: Placuit, vt Corporibus Defunctorum Euchariſtia non detur. Dictum eſt enim à Domino, Accipite, & Edite. Cadauera autem nec Accipere poſſunt, nec Edere: *Wee thinke it good, that the Sacrament bee not giuen to the Bodies of the* Dead. *For our Lord ſaith, Take and Eat. But Dead Bodies can neither Take nor Eat.* These were ancient errours in Old times, as it is eaſie to bee ſeene.

1. Cor. 15.

Conci. Carthag. 3. Canon. 6.

As for the fantaſie of Purgatory, it ſprang firſt from the Heathens, and was receiued amongſt them in that time of darkneſſe, long before the comming of Chriſt, as it may plainely appeare by Plato and Virgil, in whom yee ſhall finde deſcribed at large, the whole Common Weale, and al the Orders and Degrees of Purgatory. S. Auguſtine ſaith, The Old Heathen Romans had a Sacrifice, which they called, Sacrum Purgatorium, A Purgatory Sacrifice.

Plato in Timæo.

Æneid. 6.

Aug. de Ciuitate, li. 7. ca. 7.

You ſay: If they be Papiſts, that defend Purgatory, then muſt Chriſts Apoſtles needs be Papiſts. For they haue taught vs Purgatory, (not by any thing that euer they wrote, but) by Tradition.

dition. This is as true, as that S. Peter said Masse in Rome with a Golden Cope, and a Triple Crowne. Unlesse perhaps some man will thinke, whereas S. Paul saith: Homines priuati Veritate, existimantes quæstum esse pietatem: *They be men void of Truth, thinking that their gaine is godlinesse:* Or, whereas S. Peter saith: Per auaritiam fictis sermonibus negotiabuntur de vobis: *Through couetousnesse by fained talke they shall* make sale of you. That by these words they gaue vs warning of the very Form and Doctrine of your Purgatory For better authorities than these be, I reckon, ye can lightly finde none.

1. Timoth. 6.
2. Petr. 2.

The Antiquity of Purgatory

As for Praier for the Dead, which (ye say) yee haue receiued by Tradition from the Apostles, notwithstanding it were granted to bee true, yet doth it not euermore import Purgatory. For Chrysostome and Basil in their Liturgies, make their publike & solemne Praier in this sort: Offerimus tibi Rationalem hunc cultum, pro in Fide requiescentibus Maioribus, Patribus, Patriarchis, Prophetis & Apostolis, Præconibus & Euãgelistis, Martyribus, Confessoribus, &c, Præcipuè verò pro Sanctissima, immaculata, super omnes benedicta, Domina nostra Deipara, & semper Virgine Maria: *We offer, O Lord, vnto thee this reasonable seruice for them, that rest in Faith,* Our Elders, Our Fathers, the Patriarkes, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Preachers, the Euangelists, the Martyrs, the Confessours, &c. *Specially for the most Holy, without spot, blessed aboue all, our Lady Gods Mother,* and euer Virgin Mary. S. Cyprian saith in like manner: Sacrificamus pro Martyribus: *We make Sacrifice for the Martyrs.* Yet, I trow, ye will not conclude hereof, that the Patriarkes, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Euangelists, Martyrs, Confessours, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, were all in Purgatory. Otherwise you would much enlarge the Popes Dominion.

Basil. & Chrys. in Liturgijs.

Cyprian. lib. 3. epist. 6.

Of the other side, in your Masses for the Dead, ye haue vsed to pray thus: Libera eos à Tartaro: è profundo Lacu: ex Ore Leonis: *Deliuer them, O Lord,* (not from Purgatory, but) *from* Hell: *from that* deepe Dungeon: *from the* Lions Mouth. I trow, yee are not so much thrall vnto the Pope, that for his sake ye will turne the Lions Mouth, the Deepe Dungeon, and all the World, and Hell it selfe, into Purgatory.

Thus ye see, M. Harding by your owne Doctrine, ye may pray for the Dead, and yet be neuer the nere of your Purgatory.

But to helpe forward the matter, at the least by some Naturall reason, yee say thus: Forasmuch as nothing that is defiled, commeth into the kingdome of Heauen, and some depart out of this Life, though in the Faith of Christ, & Children of the Euerlasting Kingdome, yet not throughly & perfectly clean, it remaineth that such after this Life, before they come to the place of Euerlasting ioy, haue their Purgation. To warrant your Minor in this argument, ye bring in the words of S. Paul as rightly, and as well to purpose, as your manner otherwise is commonly to handle the Scriptures: *Though our outward man bee corrupted and weakened* (which words S. Ambrose expoundeth thus: By Oppression, by Stripes, by Hunger, by Thirst, by Cold, by Nakednesse) *Yet our Soule is renewed, and made stronger day by day.* And againe: *Let vs clense our selues from all filthinesse of Flesh and Spirit.* Ergo, (say yee) Wee must confesse by force of these words, that there must needs be a place, wherein to purge vs clean after this life. Heere may we a little put you in remembrance by the way: If wee clense our selues, according to these words of S. Paul, from all maner filthinesse, both of Flesh, and of Spirit, I beseech you, what remaineth there then further, to bee Purged in Purgatory.

2. Cor. 4.

2. Cor. 7.

Howbeit to proue the Imperfection, and Corruption of Nature, that euermore hangeth in our Flesh, yee might, in my iudgement, haue alleged many other authorities, farre more pregnant and clearer, then these. Esay saith: *All our righteousnesse is likened vnto a fowle stained cloat.* Iob saith: Inter Sanctos eius nemo est Fidelis: Et Cœli non sunt mundi in conspectu eius *Among the* Saints *of God, there is none Faithfull: The* Heauens *are not cleane in his sight.* S. Paul saith: I know, there is no good thing in my Flesh. S. Augustine saith: Let the Apostles of Christ themselues say, *O Lord, forgiue vs our offences.*

Esai. 64.
Iob. 15.
Rom. 7.
August. in Psalm. 143.

Such Imperfections and Corruptions, while wee liue, wee euermore carry in our Flesh. Therefore, say you, To bee purged heereof, that wee may bee cleane, and fit to enter into Heauen, we must needs passe thorow the Fires of Purgatory. By this meane ye haue well enlarged the Popes Iurisdiction. For this being true, neither is there, nor neuer was there any Creature, neither Prophet, nor Apostle, nor Martyr, nor Angell, nor Archangell, nor Heauen it selfe, Christ only excepted, but of force must needs be cleansed in your Purgatory. And therefore Origen, a great fautor of this errour, saith thus: Ve ego arbitror omnes nos necesse est venire in illum Ignem: etiamsi Paulus aliquis sit, vel Petrus: *As I suppose,* all wee must needes come into that Fire: Yea although it bee Paul or Peter. And therefore he saith, as it is alleged before: Ego puto, quod & post Resurrectionem ex Mor-

Orig. in Psalm. 36. homil. 3.
Orig. in Lucam homil. 14.

tuis

tuis indigebimus Sacramento eluere nos, atque Purgare. Nemo enim absque sordibus Resurgere poterit. Neque vllam puto posse animam reperiri, quæ vniuersis statim vitijs careat: *I thinke, that after the* Resurrection *from the dead, wee shall need the Sacrament* (of Baptisme) to wash vs, and to make vs cleane. For no man can rise againe without filth. Neither doe I thinke, there can anie Soule bee founde, voide from all maner of Sinne. Vncleansed.

But all these be vaine fantasies: I meane, as well these of M. Harding, as also the other of Origen. S Iohn saith: Sanguis Iesu Christi Filij Dei purgat nos ab omni Peccato: The Blood of Iesus Christ the Sonne of God Purgeth vs, and maketh vs cleane from all our Sinnes. The Prophet saith: *In what houre soeuer a Sinner shall repent and mourne for his Sinnes, he shall be safe.* Esay saith: *If your Sinnes shall be as red as Scarlet, yet shall they be made as white as Snow.* S. Paul saith: Christus Purgationem Peccatorum nostrorum fecit: Christ (by his Blood) hath wrought the Purgation of our Sinnes. Therefore S. Cyprian saith: Sanguis tuis, Domine, non quærit vltionem: Sanguis tuus lauat crimina, Peccata condonat: *Thy Blood, O Lord,* seeketh no reuenge: *Thy Blood* washeth our Sinnes, *and* Pardoneth our trespasses.

1. Iohan. 1. Esai. 1. Hebr. 1. *Cypr. de Passione Christi.*

And whereas you tell vs, out of some Heathenish fantasie, that Sinnes cannot bee washt away, but with long tract of time, and paine in Purgatory, S. Cyprian saith: In eodem Articulo temporis, cùm iam anima festinat ad exitum, & egrediens ad labia expirantis emerserit, Pœnitentiam Clementissimi Dei benignitas non aspernatur. Nec Serum est, quod Verum est: In that very moment of time, euen when the Soule is readie to passe, *and is euen at the lippes of the party, readie to yeeld vp the Spirit, the goodnesse of our most Mercifull God, refuseth not repentance.* And whatsoeuer is trulie done, is neuer too late.

Cyprian. De Cœna Domini.

S. Chrysostome saith: Latro in Cruce neque vno die opus habebat. Et quid dico, vno die? Neque breui hora. Tanta est Dei erga nos Misericordia: *The Theefe on the Crosse needed not so much as* one day, *to repent himselfe. What speake I of one day? No, he* needed not one houre. *So great is the Mercy of God towards vs.*

Chrysost. in Genes. homil. 27.

Of the other side, if any man depart hence without repentance, S. Augustine saith: Imparatum inueniet illum Dies Domini, quem Imparatum inuenerit suæ Vitæ huius vltimus dies: *Him shall the day of the Lord finde vnprouided, whom the last day of this life findeth vnprouided.* S. Ambrose saith: Qui hic non accipit Remissionem Peccatorum, ibi non erit: *He that heere in this Life receiueth not Remission of his Sinnes,* shall not bee there. And S. Hierome expounding these words of Christ, *Thou shalt not goe forth hence, vntill thou hast paid the last farthing,* saith thus: Significat semper non exiturum esse: quia semper soluat nouissimum quadrantem, dum sempiternas Pœnas terrenorum Peccatorum luit: Christs meaning is, *that hee shall* neuer come out: *for that hee must* euermore pay the last farthing, *whiles hee suffereth* Euerlasting Punishment *for his Sinnes committed in this world.*

Aug. epist. 80. Ambros. De Bono Mortis. Hieron. in Lamentationes Hieremiæ, lib 1. cap. 1.

So saith S. Augustine: Donec soluas nouissimum quadrantem: Miror, si non eam significat Pœnam, quæ vocatur Æterna: *Vntill thou pay the last farthing: I maruell, but he meaneth that paine,* which is called Euerlasting.

Aug. de Serm. Domini in Monte, lib. 1.

Hereby, M. Harding, I thinke it may partly appeare, that you maintaine your Painted Fire, and Paper Walles, with Painted Authorities, and Paper Reasons. Verily the Christian people of the East Church of God, which sometime was as great, and as famous, as the Church of the West, notwithstanding they beleeued in God and his Christ, and knew, there was both Hell and Heauen, yet in your Purgatory they had no skill. One of your Doctours saith: Vsque in hodiernum diem Purgatorium non est à Græcis creditum: Vntill this day of the Grecians, or of the East Church, Purgatorie was neuer beleeued. Therefore yee cannot iustly say, that your fantasie herein was euermore accounted Vniuersall or Catholike.

Alphonsus de Heresibus, li. 8. de Indulgentijs.

The Apologie, Chap. 16. Diuision. 2

Augustine indeed sometime saith, there is such a certaine place: sometime he denieth not, but there may be such a one: sometime he doubteth: sometime againe he vtterly denieth, there is any at all, and thinketh, that men are therein deceiued by a certaine Naturall good will, they beare their friends departed. But yet of this one erroz hath there growen vp such a harueste of those Massemongers, that, the Masses being sold abroad commonly

Aug. in Psa. 85. Augustin. li. Hypognosticon.

commonly in euery Corner, the Temples of God became shoppes, to get money: and the soules were borne in hand, that nothing was more necessarie to be bought. Indeed there was nothing more gainefull for these men to sell.

M. Harding.

Well railed. If your reasons or authorities were so pithy as your mockes and scoffes, be spitefull yee were to be heard. But thankes be to God, that such shrewd beasts haue short hornes. Now to S. Augustine. And as Festus said to S. Paul, Hast thou appealed to Cæsar? to Cæsar shalt thou goe. So say wee to you, though not hauing that authority ouer you, which Festus had ouer S. Paul. To Augustine ye referre this matter, and by Augustine shall ye be iudged. Act. 25.

(a) It was a good point of skill, with a good countenance to passe them ouer.

(a) I would allege vnto you sundry places of these Scriptures, which may sufficiently proue Purgatorie to a Christian man, that is not contentious, but that wil we doe hereafter as occasion serueth. Now to S. Augustine. We say plainly, that S. Augustine affirmeth Purgatory, and that it (b) cannot be shewed where he doubteth of it, much lesse where he vtterly denieth any such to be. In sundry places of his workes he expounded the words of S. Paul to the Corinthians of Purgatory, where the Apostle saith, that the workes, which he builded vpon the foundation (which is Christ) shall be tried by Fire. In the 21. Booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, after that he hath declared his iudgment touching paines of diuers sorts, which men suffer for sins committed, he saith thus: but paines temporall some suffer in this life only: some after their Death: some both now and also then, yet before that most seuere and last iudgement. S. Augustine affirmeth Purgatory plaine & expresse worke. 1. Cor. 3.

(b) Vntruth. It shall be shewed. Read the answer. O, so carefull this good man is for our cares.

May it therefore please you Sirs, to read S. Augustine in some such places (for to read all that he hath written to that end were very much, and a great let to your Domesticall cares) and that I thinke assure ye will secretly agree in iudgment with vs, though for shame and consideration of the stage ye play your part on, openly the same ye will not confesse. And therefore in his Booke *De Hæresibus ad Quodvultdeum*, he condemneth Aërius of Heresie (and so consequently all others that be of his opinion) because to the heresies of the Arians he had added this also, that none ought to pray or make oblations for the dead. Lib. 3. Hypognostica in fine.

(c) Vntruth, Manifest. read S. Augustines words in the Answer.

(d) Vntruth. For the margin was so noted by Erasmus

Where ye make S. Augustine very vncertaine in this point, as though he said sometime there is such a certain place, sometime there may be such a one, sometime he doubted of it, sometime plainly denied any such to be either ye vnderstand not S. Augustine, or ye say contrary to your owne knowledge. Verily ye be too bold with him (c) First that he denieth Purgatory, that is false. And where ye allege Hypognostica in the margin of your Booke, read it once againe at my request, & your selues will say, the place proueth not your purpose. The author of that worke whether he were S. Augustine, which Erasmus beleeueth not, or whosoeuer he was, denieth not Purgatory: but that after the day of generall iudgement there is any place of Euerlasting rest or paine, but kingdom of Heauen and Hell, that he denieth. Which we also denie. And there he speaketh against the Pelagians, who as S. Augustine writeth of them *ad Quodvultdeum*, promised to Infants dying without Baptisme a certaine euerlasting and blessed life without & besides the kingdom of God. Which Heresie in sundry places he reproueth. It seemeth the word *Purgatorium*, noted in the margin of that Booke (d) by the vnlearned Printer, beguiled you. Which sheweth how profoundly ye be seene in the Doctours. Heref. 88.

(e) Vntruth. blasphemous against the Blood of Christ. Read the Answer.

The thing he doubteth of, touching this matter is this: Whether those temporall paines doe only punish for the (e) satisfaction of the iustice of God, or also doe purge and correct the soules of the dead in such wise, as temporall paines are woont to doe in this life. But now whether the smart and sorrow of things left behind, which proceeded in this life of Carnall affection, remaine also to the soules after their departure from the Body, whereof S. Augustine sheweth himselfe to stand in doubt *in Enchiridio ad Laurent. cap. 68. & 69.* and whether the fire which Soules feele in Purgatory as it paineth them (f) so also doe by degrees diminish & correct those Veniall & Secular affections, which they carried with them at their death; or whether death it selfe do so end them, as there remaine not any correction of the minde yet being vicious, but onely the punishment of the sin past: that is the thing, whereof S. Augustine (g) seemeth to haue doubted. In effect his question is, whether the fire of Purgatory be not (h) double. The one which punisheth the veniall sinne past, the other which diminisheth and taketh away the affection of sinne yet remaining. Of the first he doubteth not: of the other he saith: *Non redarguo quia forsitan verum est*, I say not against it, for peraduenture it is true. What is the S. Augustine doubted touching Purgatorie. De Ciuit. Dei lib. 21. cap. 26.

(f) O graue Commentarie, and a wise matter to be called in question.

(g) This whole matter is concluded with seeming and likelihood.

(h) Double Fire in Purgatorie: Double Follie.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

We raile at you, M. Harding, euen as Christ railed at certaine others, in whose steps yee seeme to tread, for that they had made of the House of God a Caue of Theeues.

Scriptures to proue Purgatory.

The places of the Scriptures, which yee thought it best to passe ouer, and whereby your Purgatory by your iudgement vndoubtedly may be proued, if a man be not very contentious, I trow, be these: *Verily, Verily, I say vnto you, he that heareth my word, and beleeueth in him that sent me, hath Euerlasting Life: and shall not come into damnation: but hath passed from death vnto life.* Or that Esay the Prophet saith of Christ: *He was wounded for our trangressions: He was broken for our iniquities: The chastisement of our Peace was vpon him, and with his stripes we were made whole.* Or that S. Paul saith: *Christ hath taken the Obligation that was against vs, and hath fastened it vnto his Crosse.* Or that S. Iohn saith: *Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord. Euen so saith the Spirit, For they rest from their labours, and their workes follow them.* He saith not, they be in Purgatory: but they rest from their Labours. And againe: *They shall hunger no more: They shall thirst no more. For the Lambe, which is in the middes of the Throne, shal gouerne them, and shall lead them* (not into Purgatory, but) *vnto the liuely Fountaines of Waters, and God shall wipe away all teares from their eies.* These, or such otherlike places, I trow, they bee, whereby yee assure your selfe so certainely of your Purgatorie.

Iohan. 5.

Esai. 53.

Coloss. 2.

Apocal. 14.

Apoc. 7.

But

But vnto S. Augustine wee haue appealed, and to S. Augustine (yée say) wee shall goe. Howbeit, if ye consider the matter well, ye shall finde that our appeale lieth not vnto S. Augustine. It had béene more indifferent dealing to haue said with S. Bernard: Ad Euangelium appellasti: & ad Euangelium ibis: Yee haue appealed vnto the Gospell: and to the Gospell ye shall goe.

Bernar. in Cantica, Serm. 6.

3.

S. Augustine doubteth.

As for S. Augustine, notwithstanding his Authority be great, and his Learning déepe, yet in these cases, as it shall well appeare, hée can be but a doubtfull Iudge. And a doubtfull Iudge, so farre forth as he doubteth, is no Iudge. Your owne Canon telleth you: In erroris Labyrinthum nonnulli intricando impingunt, cùm antè iudicant, quàm intelligant: *Many men giuing Iudgement before they can vnderstand, by entangling themselues fall into a Maze of errour.* For how can he pronounce sentence of that hée confesseth he knoweth not? Or how can hée assure vs, that is not able to assure himselfe? Touching the certainety of this Doctrine, to allege on or two places out of many, S. Augustine writeth thus: Tale aliquid, etiam post hanc Vitam fieri, incredibile non est: & vtrùm ita sit, quæri potest: *Some such thing* (hée meaneth the Fire of Purgatorie) *to bee after this Life*, it is not incredible: And whether it be so, or no, † It may be a qnestion. Againe: Quòd Spiritus Defunctorum, &c. Ignem transitoriæ Tribulationis inueniant, non redarguo: quia Forsitan Verum est: *That the Spirits of the Dead finde a Fire of transitorie Tribulation I reproue it not*: For * Perhaps it is true. Againe: Siue ergo in hac Vita tantùm homines ista patiuntur, siue etiam post hanc Vitam talia quædam iudicia subsequuntur, non abhorret, † Quantum Arbitror, à ratione Veritatis iste intellectus huius sententiæ: *Therefore whether men suffer such things only in this Life, or else some such iudgements follow euen after this Life*, * As much as I thinke, *the vnderstanding of this sentence dis agreeth not from the order of the Truth.*

Aug. ad Laurent. cap. 67. & Dist. 29. Sciendum.

Aug. in 8. Qu. ad Dulcitium, Qu. 1.

† It may bee a question.

Aug. de Ciuit. lib. 21. cap. 26.

* Perhaps it is true.

Augu. de Fide & Operibus, cap. 16.

† Quantum Arbitror.

* As much as I thinke.

And againe he saith: Quis sit iste modus, & quæ sint ista Peccata: quæ ita impediant peruentionem ad Regnum Dei, vt tamen Sanctorum amicorum meritis impetrent indulgentiam, difficillimum est inuenire: Periculosissimum definire: Ego certè vsque ad hoc tempus, cùm inde satagerem, ad eorum indaginem peruenire † non potui: *What meane this is, and what Sinnes these be which so let a man from comming vnto the Kingdome of God, that they may notwithstanding obtain Pardon by the Merits of holy friends, it is very hard to finde, and very dangerous to determine. Certainly* I my selfe, *notwithstanding great studie and trauell taken in that behalfe*, could neuer attaine to the knowledge of it. Thus touching Purgatorie S. Augustine saith: *Whether there be any such place after this Life, or no, It may be a question: Perhaps it is true: As much as I thinke: I cannot tell: I could neuer attaine to the knowledge of it.*

Aug. de Ciuit. lib. 21. cap. 27.

† Non potui. I could neuer attaine to the knowledge.

By these it is plaine, that S. Augustine stood in doubt hereof, whether there bée any such Purgatorie Fire, or no. Therefore vndoubtedly hée tooke it neither for an Article of the Christian Faith, (for thereof it had not béene lawfull for him to doubt) nor for any Tradition of the Apostles.

Yée say: *S. Augustine* neuer doubted whether there were any such place of Purgatorie, or such Fire, or no: but onely whether the torments there doe satisfie the Iustice of God for sinne, or no: and whether the same torments doe by degrees diminish the Veniall Sinnes and Secular Affections which the Parties carried with them, or no. These, you say, were S. Augustines doubts. Notwithstanding, what should any question be raised hereof? Plato, and Virgil, and other Heathen Writers, from whom this Doctrine first flowed abroad, would some haue put you quite out of doubt. Virgil, hereof amongst others saith thus.

Quin & supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes: Penitusque necesse est
Multa diu *concreta, modis inolescere miris.*
Ergo exercentur pœnis, *veterumque malorum*
Supplicia expendunt: Aliæ panduntur, inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos: Alijs sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, *aut* exuritur igni.

Æneid. 6.

But read you S. Augustine M. Harding: you, I say, that, to vse your owne words, are so profoundly seen in all the Doctours, that ye may boldly despise all others whatsoeuer: Read, I say, S. Augustine: examine better the places, and weigh the words: and ye shall find that he neuer neither mentioneth, nor toucheth any of these your pretty fantasies: but saith plainely: Whether it be so, or no, it may be a question: I reproue it not: For perhaps it is true.

S. Augustine doubteth.

And are ye so Profoundly seene in all the Doctours, and Scriptures, M. Harding, that yee thinke there is either Fire, or Water, or any other Creature, wherewith to satisfie the Iustice of God against Sinne, sauing onely the *Blood of the Lambe of God, that taketh away the Sinne of the World?* Or thinke you that S. Augustine would turne vs from the Satisfaction of Christ, and send vs to seeke for any other? Certainly S. Augustine himselfe saith: Valeat mihi ad Perfectionem liberationis tantùm Pretium Sanguinis Domini mei: Let only the Price of the Blood of my Lord *auaile mee to the Perfection of my deliuerie.*

Aug in Ps. 25.

Againe he saith: Quando aliquis se conuerterit ad Deum, prorsus illi omnia dimittuntur. Nemo sit sollicitus, quòd aliquid ei non dimittatur: *Whensoeuer any man turneth himselfe vnto God, all things vtterly are forgiuen him. Let no man be doubtfull, lest* any thing happily be not forgiuen. Chrysostome imagineth God thus to say of a Sinner: Vnum tantùm requiro, vt confiteatur Peccata, & ab eis desistat: Nec vltrà Infero Pœnam Peccatis: This thing only (saith God) I require *of a Sinner, that he confesse his Sinnes* (vnto mee) *and leaue the same.* Afterward I lay no more Punishment vpon his Sinnes. Likewise againe he saith: Ego Fideiubeo: Si quis nostûm recedat à Peccatis; ex animo, & verè Promittat Deo, se ad illa non rediturum, nihil Deum requisiturum ad Satisfactionem: *I will stand bound in Gods behalfe: If any of vs forsake his Sinnes with all his heart, and make true Promise vnto God, that he will no more returne vnto them, that then* God shall require nothing else vnto Satisfaction. He that knoweth not thus much, hath no great cause to vaunt himselfe of his profound knowledge in the Doctours. But if Gods Iustice against your Sinne be fully satisfied by the Blood of Christ: If the Only price of our Lords Blood haue wrought the perfection of your deliuerie: If there remaine nothing vnforgiuen: If God require no further punishment: What should you seeke for other Satisfaction in your painted Fires, and smokes of Purgatorie?

Aug. de Verbis Dom. Ser. 59.

Chryso. in Genes. Hom. 44.

Chrysost. de B. Philogonio.

Double Fire.

To conclude, ye say thus: In effect S. Augustines question is, whether the Fire of Purgatorie be not double. Oh, M. Harding, if ye were simple, and meant simply, ye would not so vainly double the point. I beseech you, what double Fire of Purgatory meant S. Augustine? Or, where was he euer so double in dealing? By your double Diuinitie, and profound knowledge in the Doctours, ye haue at the last skilfully found out a Double Purgatory Fire, and a Double Purgatorie. Howbeit, as you are now troubled about the Fire of your Purgotorie: so were some others of your friends not long sithence as much troubled about the Water. Sir Thomas Moore said, and held for certaine, that in all Purgatorie there is no Water: no, not one droppe. And that, hee said, hee would proue by the words of the Prophet Zacharie: Eduxisti vinctos tuos de Lacu, in quo non erat Aqua: *Thou hast deliuered thy Prisoners out of the Dungeon, wherein* there was no Water.

Sir Thomas Moore. Zachar. 9.

Of the other side, Roffensis saith: *Yes, there is in* Purgatorie *good store of* Water. And that, he saith, hee can proue by the Prophet Dauid: Transiuimus per Ignem & Aquam: & eduxisti nos in refrigerium: *Wee haue passed thorow* Fire *and* Water: *and thou hast brought vs forth into a place of refreshing.* Albertus and Roffensis say, The Executioners and Ministers of Purgatorie bee Holy Angels: Sir Thomas More saith, Out of doubt they bee no Angels, but verie Diuels. So handsomely these dreames agree together.

The Bishop of Rochester. Psalm. 65.

To returne to the matter. Where ye say, We much mistooke the place of S. Augustine, being deceiued by the ignorant note in the Margin; where also ye so plesantly sport your selfe with our Profound knowledge in the Doctours: the words of S. Augustine that ye meane bee these: Primum Locum Fides Catholicorum, Diuina Authoritate, Regnum credit esse Cœlorum; vnde non Baptizatus excipitur: Secundum, Gehennam; vbi omnis Apostata, & à Christi Fide alienus, Æterna Supplicia experietur: Tertium penitùs ignoramus: imò, nec esse in Scripturis Sanctis inueniemus: *The First Place the Catholike Fauth, by Gods Authoritie, beleeueth to be the* Kingdome of Heauen; *from whence whosoeuer is not Baptized is excluded*: The Second Place *the same Catholike Faith beleeueth to be* Hell; *where all Renegates, and whosoeuer is without the Faith of Christ, shall taste Euerlasting Punishment*: As for any Third Place, wee vtterly know none: neither shall wee finde in the Holy Scriptures that there is any such. If these words make not against your Purgatorie, yet truly

August. Hypognost Lib. 5.

No Third Place.

in

in any appearance, they make but slenderly for your Purgatory. S. Augustine saith: Any other Third place (after this Life, besides Heauen and Hell) we vtterly know none. Neither can we find in the Holy Scriptures that there is any such.

But if all these three places, Heauen, Hell, and Purgatorie, had beene certainly known, and Universally receiued in the Church, and yet besides these three places, the Pelagian Heretikes would haue deuised, as you imagine, another seuerall Place, to receiue the Soules of such Children as departed out of this Life without Baptisme, then could not S. Augustine haue truely said, Tertium Locum ignoramus: We know no Third place: But rather hee should haue said, Quartum Locum ignoramus: Fourth place *we know none.* For by your iudgement, the doubt had beene, not of the Third Place, but of the Fourth. And it had bene a great ouersight for S. Augustine, in the reckoning only of Foure Places, to haue forgotten One: and specially such a One too, as hath beene found more gainefull of late yeeres than the other Three: But his words bee plaine: Heauen wee know: and Hell wee know. But any third place, besides Heauen and Hell, we know none.

Fourth Place.

Augustine denieth Purgatory

This word, Purgatorium, was noted in the Margin, not by the Printer, as you say, but by Erasmus, a man of famous memorie, whose name for learning and iudgement, hath at all times among the Learned bene much esteemed: with whom your young Louanian Clergie may not well compare, in the profound knowledge of the Doctours; without great blushing. And thus much touching this one Place of S. Augustine, wherein it hath pleased you so deepely to charge vs with grosse ignorance. But for better trial of his iudgement herein, ye should haue considered what hee hath written otherwheres to like purpose.

In his Epistle to Hesychius hee saith thus: In quo quemque inuenerit suus nouissimus dies, in hoc eum comprehendet mundi nouissimus dies. Quoniam qualis in die isto quisq; moritur, talis in die illo iudicabitur: *In what state* his owne last day *shall find each man, in the same state* the last day of the World *shall find him. For such as euery man* in this day *shall die, euen such in that day shall he be iudged.* Againe: Qualem inuenit Dominus cùm hinc vocat, talem & iudicat: As our Lord findeth a man when he calleth him hence, euen so hee iudgeth him. And againe: Qui in hac vita Deo non placuerit, habebit quidem Pœnitentiam in Futuro Sæculo de malis suis: sed indulgentiam in conspectu Dei non inuenier. Quia etsi erit ibi stimulus pœnitudinis, nulla tamen erit correctio voluntatis: *Whoso in this Life shall not please God, shall in the World to come haue Repentance for his Sins*: But pardon in the sight of God he shal not find. *For although there shall bee there the pricke of Repentance, yet there shall be no amendment of the will.* Againe he saith: Vnusquisque cum causa sua dormiet, & cum causa sua resurget: *Euery man shall die with his owne cause, and* rise againe with his owne cause. Olympiodorus saith: In quocunque loco, &c. deprehendetur homo cùm moritur, in eo gradu atque ordine permanet in Æternum: *In what place or state soeuer a man shall be found when he dieth*, in the same state and degree shall he remaine for euer.

Aug. Epist. 80.

Augu. in Apocalyp. Hom. 11.

Aug. ad Petrũ, Diacon. cap. 3.

August. in Iohan Tract. 49.

Olimpiodor. in Eccles. Cap. 9.

But to reckon vp all that might bee said in this behalfe, it would bee long. A simple man, M. Harding, without any profound knowledge of the Doctours, may easily see, that these sayings will hardly stand with your Doctrine of Purgatory. Your owne Rossensis saith: Nemo nunc dubitat Orthodoxus, an Purgatorium sit: De quo tamen apud Priscos vel nulla, vel quàm rarissima fiebat mentio. Sed & Græcis ad hunc vsque diem non est creditum. Quamdiu enim nulla esset cura de Purgatorio, nemo quæsiuit indulgentias: *No Catholike man now doubteth of Purgatory: Whereof notwithstanding among the ancient Fathers* there is either no mention at all, or very seldome. Yea euen vntill this day the Grecians beleeue it not. For so long as there was no care for Purgatory, no man sought after Pardons. By which witnes it appeareth that Pardons and Purgatory were brought in iointly both together. And as the case now standeth, and as most men thinke, the Pope could be contented to lose both Heauen and Hell, to saue his purgatory.

Polydor. de Inuentorib. lib. 8. cap. 1.

The Apology, Chap. 17. Diuision 1.

AS touching the multitude of vaine and superfluous Ceremonies, we know that S. Augustine did grieuously complaine of them in his owne time: and therefore haue we cut off a great number of them, because wee know, that mens consciences were encombred about them, & the Churches of God ouerladen with the. Neuertheless, we keep still, & esteeme, not only those Ceremonies, which we are sure were deliuered vs frõ the Apostles, but some others too besides, which we thought might be

Ceremonies.

suffered without hurt to the Church of God: for that we had a desire that all things in the Holy Congregation might, as S. Paul **commandeth,** bee done with comelinesse and in good order. **But as for al those things which we saw, were either very superstitious, or vtterly vnprofitable, or notsome, or mockeries, or contrary to the holy Scriptures, or else vnseemly for sober and discreet people, whereof there bee infinite numbers now adaies where the Roman Religion is vsed: These, I say, we haue vtterly refused without all manner exception, because we would not haue the right worshipping of God to be any longer defiled with such follies.**

M. Harding.

S. Augustin, whom ye allege wrongfully against the Ceremonies of the Catholike Church, speaketh only of the cutting away of such maners & rites as be crept into some one particular Country neither conteined in Holy Scriptures, nor established by Councels of Bishops, nor confirmed by Custom of the whole Church But how proue you by that place, that you may pull down Altars & Images, disallow the Vow of pouerty, Lent, Oile? &c. S. Augustine referreth the taking away of any Custome, or maner, vnto due Authoritie, exhorting it to be done, *Vbi facultas tribuitur*: Where Power is giuen to doe it. Neither else may it be done lawfully at all, &c. Ye thinke we haue many ridiculous and fond things in our Ceremonies. If we had, (a) as indeed we haue not, would ye laugh at them, as Cham did at the nakednesse of his Father Noe? &c. Laugh on yee cursed Chananees: but wee will dance before the Arke: wee will (b) shere our head with Paul, &c.

(a) Vntruth. For S. Augustine speaking of his time, saith, *Tam multis Præsumptionibus ita plena sunt omnia*, &c.

[b] Then be yee circumcised, as Paul vvas. For this vvas onely a Jevvish Ceremonie.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

This matter had bene ouer cold, had not M. Harding a little enflamed his choler in the end, and cried out vpon his Cursed Cananees. **His Altars, his Images, his Vowes, his Lents, and his Oiles, bee answered sufficiently otherwheres.** S. Augustines **words concerning this matter are pregnant and plaine:** Hoc nimis doleo, quia multa quæ in Diuinis Libris salubertimè præcepta sunt, minùs curantur: & tam multis Præsumptionibus sic plena sunt omnia, &c. *This thing grieueth mee, that so many things holesomely commanded in the Holy Scriptures,* are not regarded: *and all things are full of so many* Presumptions, &c. **And againe:** Quamuis ista contra Fidem non sint, tamen ipsam Religionem quam Paucissimis & Manifestissimis Celebrationum Sacramentis Misericordia Dei liberam esse voluit, seruilibus oneribus ita premunt, vt tolerabilior sit conditio Iudæorum: qui etsi tempus libertatis non agnouerint, Legalibus tamē sarcinis, nō humanis Præsumptionibus subijciuntur: *Albeit these things be not against the Faith, yet with* seruile burdens they so oppresse *our very Religion, which God of his mercy would haue to bee free, vnder* very few, *and* most manifest *Sacraments of Diuine Seruice,* that the state of the Jewes is much more tolerable (**then the state of the Church of Christ.**) *For the* Iewes, *notwithstanding they knew not of the time of Libertie, yet were they subiect to the Packs and burdens of the Law* (**of God:**) *and not vnto the* Deuices and Presumptions *of Men.*

August. Epist. 119.

Aug. in eadem Epist.

Of such Deuices **and** Presumptions Chrysostom **saith:** Non dicunt, Cur Legem Mosis, sed, Cur Traditionem Seniorum transgrediuntur? Vnde patet, eos multa innouasse, cùm Deus contra vetuisset, ne quid adderent, aut minuerent. Sed illi, cùm timerent ne Principatum amitterent, ceu Legum Latores, vt maiores esse viderentur, plurima innouarunt. Quæ res ad tantam peruenit nequitiā, vt precepta sua custodirent, magis quàm præcepta Dei: *The Pharisees say not vnto Christ, Wherefore doe thy Disciples breake the Law of Moses, but, Wherefore do they breake the* Traditions of the Elders? *Whereby it appeareth, that they had altered many things, whereas God had commanded, that they should neither adde, nor diminish: But fearing lest they should lose their Authoritie as if they had beene Law Makers, to the end they might seeme the greater, they altered much. Which thing* (**in the end**) *grew to such a wickednesse, that they kept* their owne commandements *more than the* Commandements of God.

Chrys. in Matthæ. Homil. 52.

In like maner saith S. Cyril: Vellent suam Doctrinam, & Paternas Traditiones ab hominibus potiùs suscipi, atque in admiratione honorèque haberi. Quicquid igitur Christo credentium accesserit, sibi detractum putant: *The Pharisees would that men should receiue and magnifie* their Doctrine, *and the* Traditions of the Fathers: *Therefore how many soeuer Faithfull men came vnto Christ, they thought so many were lost from them.*

Cyril. in Iohan. Lib. 8. Cap. 1.

It is not true that ye say, Traditions may not bee changed or abolished without the generall consent of the whole Church. **For Ceremonies as they neuer grew together at one time in all places, so can they not lightly be abolished together at one time in all places.** Socrates **saith plainely:** Videtur mihi, multa modò in his Regionibus, modò in illis, Consuetudinem obtinuisse: *It seemeth vnto mee, that many things haue beene receiued by Custome,*

Socrates Lib. 5. Cap. 21. Ἐμοὶ δὲ φαίνεται ἐπὶ πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας συνήθειαν ἰσχύσαι.

Custome, now in one Countrey, and now in another. Againe hee saith: In vniuersum certè, & in omnibus Obseruationibus piarum precum, non possunt duæ Ecclesiæ inueniri, quæ prorsus inter se consentiant: *Verily to speake vniuersally, in all maner of Obseruations or Formes of Common Praier*, there cannot two Churces be found, that agree thorowly betweene themselues. *Socrates eodem loco.*

S. Augustine saith plainely: Omnia talia, &c. vbi facultas tribuitur, sine omni dubitatione relegenda existimo: *All such things, in my iudgement, ought to be cut off as soon as iust occasion or Power is giuen*, without any maner of doubting. *Aug. epist. 119.*

So saith Pope Steuen: Si nonnulli ex Prædecessoribus & Maioribus nostris fecerunt aliqua, quæ illo tempore potuerunt esse sine culpa, & postea vertuntur in errorem & Superstitionem, sine tarditate aliqua, & cum magna Authoritate à posteris destruantur: *If sundry of our Predecessors, or Elders, haue done certaine things, which at that time might well be done without hurt, and afterward are turned into error and Superstition*, without any staggering, *and* with great Authority, *let them be destroied and abolished by the Successors.* *Dist. 63. Quia Sancta.*

Ceremonies.

And Pope Damasus saith: Quod ratione caret, extirpare necesse est: *Whatsoeuer wanteth reason, must of necessity be rooted out.* *Dist. 68. Chorepiscopi.*

We laugh not, as ye say, M. Harding, at the nakednesse of our Father. Our Father is in Heauen, the Father of Light, the God of Glorie: and in him there is no nakednesse. We laugh not at any of these things, but we say with S. Augustin, as it is alleged before, Hoc nimis doleo, &c. *This thing very much greeueth me, that so many things holesomely commanded in the Holy Scriptures, are not regarded: and that al things are ful of so many presumptions.* *August. Epist. 119.*

And that as S. Chrysostome saith, *These things are called vpon and more regarded then the Lawes and* Commandements of our Father. *Chrys. in Mat. the Homil. 52.*

Our Father saith of you, and of your fellowes: Volunt facere, vt obliuiscatur Populus meus nominis mei propter somnia sua: *They will cause, that my people shall forget my Name*, for loue of their Dreames. *Ierem. 23.*

Our Father saith: *Two euils haue my People done: They haue forsaken me the Fountaine of the water of life: and they haue ript vp to themselues broken Cesterns, that can hold no Water.* *Ierem. 2.*

Our Father saith: *What is Chaffe vnto the Corne? Who hath required these things at your hands?* *Ierem. 23.*

To be short, heerof Christ himselfe saith thus: *Euery plant that my* Heauenly Father *hath not planted, shall be plucke vp by the rootes.* *Isai 1. Matth. 15.*

The Apologie, Chap. 18. Diuision 1.

VVE make our Prayers in that tong which al our People, as meet is, may vnderstād, to the end they may (as S. Paul counselleth vs) take common commodity by Common Prayer, euen as all the Holy Fathers & Catholike Bishops, both in the Old and New Testament, did vse to pray themselues, and taught the People to pray too: lest, as S. Augustine saith, Like Parots and Ouels we should seeme to speake that we vnderstand not. Neither haue we any other Mediator and Intercessor, by whom we may haue accesse to God the Father, but onely Iesus Christ, in whose onely name all things are obtained at his Fathers hand. But it is a shamefull part, and ful of Infidelity, that we see euery where vsed in the Churches of our Aduersaries, not only in that they wil haue innumerable sorts of Mediators, and that vtterly without the Authority of Gods Word. (So that, as Ieremie saith, The Saints be now as many in number, or rather aboue the number of the Cities: and poore men cannot tell to which Saint it were best to turne them first. And though there be so many as they cannot be told, yet euery one of them hath his peculiar duty & office assigned vnto him by these folks, what thing they ought to aske, what to giue, & what to bring to passe.) But besides this also, in that they do not onely wickedly, but also shamefully call vpon the Blessed Virgin Christs Mother, to haue her remember that she is the Mother, and to command her Son, and to vse a Mothers authoritie ouer him. *Ierem. cap. 2. & 11.*

(a) This is M. Hardings legierdumaine. For we speake onely of such Mediators as wee ought to pray vnto.

(b) As if S. Paul had euer willed vs to pray to Saints.

M. Harding.

There is but one Mediator of Saluation, who is Christ onely: & the Saints be his friends be Mediators of Intercession. 1. Corinth. 1.

We haue but only one Mediator to Saluatiō, Iesus Chriſt, by whose merits God is reconciled vnto vs. But where ye say, that beſides the ſame one Mediator ye haue none other that (a) may pray or make Interceſſion for you, that point of falſe beleefe ye may keepe to your ſelues. We had rather hold with (b) S. Paul, who as he is praied for of al Chriſtian men, ſo he doubted not to ſay to the Corinthians, that he hoped to eſcape danger, *Adiuuantibus vobis in Oratione pro nobis*: By the helpe of you in praier for vs. If one good man may helpe another in this life by Praier, whiles he hath yet ſomewhat of his owne to bee

carefull for: much more the Saints, which are dissolued, & reigne with Christ, can helpe vs with their perfect Praier. Ye can tel, I trow) that S. Hierome made this argument within little of twelue hundred yeeres past. Neither make we them Gods, as ye would seem to say by the place (which being spoken by the Prophet Ieremie of very Idols) ye apply to the friends of Christ; whom Dauid saith to be vnto him most honourable, and their Dominion to be most strong. There is no cause why ye should wonder if diuers Cities do gladly acknowledge some one holy Angel, Apostle, Martyr, or Confessor, as their chiefe Patron and friend. For if (as it is written) Michael the Archangell was once Prince of the Iewes, and stood alwaies for the children Gods people: it is not to be doubted but that Christiã people haue now also their (c) Patrons. To this purpose (d) some apply that which is written, *Fulgebunt iusti, & tanquam scintillæ in arundineto discurrent: iudicabunt nationes, & dominabuntur populis, & regnabit Dominus illorum in perpetuum*: The iust men shall shine, and like sparkes of fire in dry kickes, shall runne abrod: they shall iudge nations and beare rule ouer peoples, and our Lord shal raigne ouer them for euer. S. Ambrose is of that opinion plainely, where he saith, writing vpon S. Luke: *Sicut Angeli præsunt, ita & ij qui vitam meruerint Angelorum*: As the Angels be ouer Nations, so they also which deserue the life of Angels.

(c) Vntruth, proceeding, of vain dotage.

(d) A graue Authority, taken out of the very Portuise.

Concerning the offices that ye say we appoint vnto the Saints, ye must vnderstand, that as God hath shewed by any Miracle what good works he hath wrought by this Saint, rather then by that: so the people desire to obtain of God, by the same Saints praier, that thing wherein they may (e) coniecture that God hath giuen him most grace. And because our Lady the blessed Virgin Mary hath more grace geuẽ to her then any other Creature, (except ye can name (f) a greater grace then to be the Mother of God) therefore al Christian Nations are most bold to desire in praier to be releeued by her Intercession, & Mediation of her praier made to her Son Iesus Christ (who we doubt not) heareth her most gladly, as no lesse intending to do good by her continually to vs, then we are sure that by her he hath done for vs those great benefits which continually we do receiue, for so much as he tooke Flesh of her. And seeing that Christ is the first begotten among many Brothers, we that are called into one Heritage with him, and by him may take heart to account Christs Mother for our Mother, specially whereas he said to Iohn his Disciple, and in him to all the children of Grace, Behold thy Mother.

(e) This is the certainety of M. Hardings praier It hangeth of a blind coniecture.

(f) It is a greater grace to bee the Childe of God.

If now any Spirituall man, such as S. Bernard was, deepely considering the great honour and dignity of Christs Mother, doe in excesse of minde (g) Spiritually sport and dally (as it were) with her, bidding her to remember that she is a Mother, and that thereby she hath a certaine right to command her Son, and require in a most sweet manner that she vse her right: is this either impiously, or impudently spoken? Is not he rather most impious and impudent that findeth fault therewith? If euer any of you had practised in contemplation any of that sweetnesse which is in *Canticis Canticorum*, ye should haue found, that there the Spirituall Soule is bolder with God her Creator and Spouse, then S. Bernard euer was with our Lady, being but a Creature, and a member of the same Church with him.

(g) Open Blasphemy is Spirituall dalliance. O when will M. Harding confesse a fault!

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Mediator of Intercession.

Ye say, there is one only Mediatour of Saluation: but there are many Mediatours of Intercession. And thus with this pretty simple distinction ye conueigh your selfe away inuisibly in a cloud. But to cut off quarrels, M. Harding, let vs haue that one only Mediatour of Saluation: and then afterward take to you your other Mediators of Intercession at your pleasure.

Nowbeit, if Christ only be the Mediatour of Saluation, wherefore then doe you thus call vpon the Blessed Virgin Christs Mother, Salua omnes qui te glorificant? Saue them all them *that glorifie thee*? Here you intrude vpon Christs office, and make the Holy Virgin a Mediatour, not only of Intercession, as you say, but also of Saluation.

M. Harding fol. 358. a.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. A Wrangler will neuer lacke words, &c. When wee say to the Virgin, Saue vs, we meane thus: Pray for vs to God, that we may be saued. *The Answer.* It appeareth well by you, M. Harding, that a Wrangler will neuer lacke shift of words. To desire Saluation of any Creature, and that for glorifying and praising of the same, it is nothing else, but vaine and childish Blaspemy. We can desire no more of God himselfe. And yet by wrangling words it must bee holpen. When ye say to the Blessed Virgin, Saue vs, your meaning is this, as you say, Pray for vs to God that we may be saued.

Addition. ☞

1. Timoth. 2. Mediatour.

First we tell you, as S Paul hath taught vs: *There is one Mediatour betweene God and Man, Christ Iesus being Man.* Hereunto ye make answere: There are two Mediatours; the one of Saluation, which onely is Christ: the other of Intercession, or Praier, which (you say) may belong to the Saints of God. Here I reply, and shew you by your owne Praiers, and by the practise of your Church of Rome, that contrary to your owne Distinction, you desire Saluation of our Lady, and so make her a Mediatour, not onely of Praier, but also of Saluation. Unto this you answer, that by these words, Saue vs, ye meane nothing else, but, Pray for vs. Thus you can shift Praying into Sauing, and Sauing againe into Praying, at your pleasure. All this notwithstanding, we must thinke you deale plainely, and want words, and are no Wrangler.

But if you craue nothing of our Lady, but onely her Praier, what shall we then doe with, Meritis & Precibus suæ piæ Matris? Here are not onely Praiers, but also Merits. Must we thinke, that Merit and Praier in your Diuinity is all one thing? What shall we doe with these words, that were wont to ring in all your Churches, Monstra te esse Matrem? *Shew thy selfe to be the Mother: and let him know it?* That is to say, *Command him: He is thy Sonne.*

Nowbeit

Howbeit, perhaps you will likewise turne Commandement into Praier: And thus when you list, Saluation is Praier, Merit is Praier, and Commandement is Praier. So easily an ill thing may be smothed. And all this can you defend, and saue vpright, without wrangling.

Wherefore say yee thus of Thomas Becket, of whose Sainthood, for ought that I know, yee may well stand in doubt: Tu per Thomæ Sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, Fac nos Christe scandere, quò Thomas Ascendit: *O Christ make vs to Ascend vnto Heauen, whither* Thomas *is Ascended, euen* by the Blood of Thomas, *that hee shed for thy sake.* Heere you seeke, not onely Intercession, but also Saluation in the Blood of Thomas. Tu per Thomæ.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. This is an obiection for a Cobler, as the other was, and not for a Diuine, whose duti e it were to depend of things and not of words, &c. Now because, we know, it was a most gracious gift of God, that he gaue S. Thomas grace to die for his Honor, when we desire to be holpen by his Bloud, representing the memory of S. Thomas vnto Christ, &c. Your words bee faire M. Iewel, but your Heart vnawares to your selfe, doth Honour the Idol Caluin, more then Christ Iesus &c. The trimme Strumpet of Caluines setting out pleaseth you well. It is that foule and blinde heart of yours, that shall condemne you &c. *M. Harding. fol.* 358. *b* 359. *a.* 363.

The Answer. Alas good Christian Reader, that euer man should thus wastefully beslow his words. I am afraid we see a Member of him, of whom Daniel saith: Consurgit Rex impudens facie: *There shall rise vp a Prince with an impudent face,* that shall neuer be ashamed of any thing, what soeuer he say or doe. S. Peter saith: *There is no other name or Creature giuen to men vnder Heauen, whereby we shal be saued, but only the name of Christ Iesus.* And therefore the ancient Father Origen saith: Ipse solus est Hostia pro peccatis: & ipse est Hostia, Sancta Sanctorum: *Christ onely is the Sacrifice for sinnes: he is the Sacrifice, the Holy of Holy.* Leo saith: Nullius insontis occisio propitiatio fuit mundi: *The Death of no Innocent was the Sacrifice or Redemption of the world.* Yet heere wee are taught, to seeke our Saluation in the Blood of Thomas Becket, of whose Vertue and Innocency we may well stand in doubt. Notwithstanding ye tell vs, This was an obiection for a Cobler. *Daniel.* 8. Antichrist. Act. 4. *Orig. in Leuit. homil.* 4. & 5. *Leo Epist.* 81.

But it was a most gracious gift of God (you say) that he gaue this Thomas grace to die for his Honour. For his Honour, say you? Now for shame, M. Harding, aduise your selfe better what you write, perhaps some man of simplicity will beleeue you. The very true cause of Thomas Beckets Death, was his Ambition, and Vanitie, and wilfull maintenance of manifest wickednesse in the Clergy, to the great dishonour of Gods Holie name, as by the Writers of that time it doth well appeare. For proofe whereof, it may please you to read the Storie of Guilielmus Neubrigensis, that lined in the same age.

It is written, that this Thomas Beckets Father was a Iew, and a Beere-Brewer of London, and that from his House began a fire in the time of King Steuen, that consumed all the one side of London, from the Bridge where he dwelt, vnto Temple Barre. Newbrigensis saith, that King Henrie the Second, *tooke him into his speciall fauour, and being only the Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *made him Lord Chancellor of his Realme, & so intreated him with al kind of Honour, that he seemed to Raigne aswel as the King: and that afterward he promoted him to the Archbishopricke of* Canterbury, *and sent him to the Councel of* Toures, *then holden in* France. *Being there as vpon some remorse of Conscience, he misliked, and secretly refused the Kings gift, and resigned his Archbishopricke vnto the Pope, & receiued it again at his hands, and so secretly & in couert, betraied his Princes Right vnto a stranger. At his return, there grew a great question within this Realm, touching the prerogatiue of the Clergy. The Iudges complained that there were many Robberies, and Rapes, and Murders, to the number of one hundred then presently committed within the Realm by Ecclesiastical persons, & therfore made request in Parliament, that there might be some good consideration had of it, for that they themselues being Temporall Ministers, had neither Law nor Iurisdiction to deale against them. As for the Bishops* (saith Nubrigensis) *whose part it was to see such disorders corrected, of so many thousand wicked Priests, they neuer disgraded, nor punished so much. as one. For they* (saith he) *seeking more carefully how to maintaine the Dignity and Liberties of their Clergy, then the Correction of their manners, thinke they doe good seruice to God, and his Church, if they maintaine wicked Priests against the good Order of common Weales: Whereby* (saith he) *it commeth to passe, that the Priests that should shine, as Starres in the Heauens, hauing free liberty to do what they list, care neither for God nor for Man. For redresse hereof, the King was earnestly minded to take Order by his Parliment. All the rest of the Bishops, not one excepted, agreed thereunto and confirmed the same vnder their Seales. Only* Thomas Becket, *the Archbishop of* Canterbury, *stood stiffe & stout, and would not yeeld. Afterward when he saw the Kings displeasure grew against him, in the morning before he should come to make his answer, hee caused the Masse of* S. Steuens *office, solemnely* *Guilielm. Neubri. lib.* 2. *c.* 16. *Centum homicidia intra fines Angliæ, a Clericis commissa. Tot millia talium Vsq; ad Vnum.*

to

to be ſong before him, with this Preface, Sederunt Principes, &c. *The Kings ſate down to ſpeake againſt me, and the wicked ſought to perſecute me. This done, he tooke his ſiluer Croſſe in his hand and got him boldly to the Court. But perceiuing that the King was much moued and miſliked his ſtoutneſſe, the next night following, he fled ouer into* France, *and afterward ſought aid of the Pope. At the laſt, being reconciled vnto his Prince, and returning againe into* England, *he brought with him the Popes Suſpenſion, and thereby Suſpended all the Biſhops of this Realme, and would neuer agree to releaſe them. By meane whereof the whole Countrey being ſore diſordered, ſhortly after enſued his death.* This is the true Story of Thomas Becket. So ſtoutly he maintained the Robberies, the Rapes, the Murthers and open wickednelle of his Clergy, and would not ſuffer any Law to paſſe againſt them. Neubrigenſis ſaith: *This ſtoutneſſe in him, I can in no wiſe commend. He boiled* (ſaith he) *with zeale of iuſtice, but whether it were according to knowledge, or no, God onely knoweth.* All this notwithſtanding, M. Harding, you tell vs, That God gaue him a ſpecial grace to die for his honor, & that by his bloud we ſhalbe holpen & ſaued, & come to Heauen. Put hereto what ſenſe ye will: verily to vſe your owne words, this Diuinity is much fitter for a Cobler, then for a graue man of your profeſſion.

Ambro. in Sermone 6. De S. Margarita.

Wherefore doth S. Ambroſe ſay, if it were S. Ambroſe that wrote the Booke: Reddere debemus Sanctis honorificentiam, qui nobis ſalutem profuſione ſui Sanguinis peperunt: qui tam Sacra Hoſtia pro noſtra propitiatione Domino ſunt oblati? *Wee muſt yeeld honour vnto the Saints,* which haue procured Saluation for vs, by the ſhedding of their Blood: *which alſo were offered vp vnto the Lord,* ſo holy a Sacrifice for our Saluation? If we haue Saluation in the Blood of Saints, then is not Chriſt the Onely mediatour of our Saluation.

Mediator of Interceſſion.

He is no indifferent Umpeere, that firſt diuideth Offices equally betweene two, and afterward allotteth both Offices to one alone.

Notwithſtanding the End and Office, as well of Interceſſion, as alſo of Saluation, is, to reconcile vs vnto God, and to procure vs Mercy. But this is Chriſts onely Office: He reconcileth vs vnto God: he preſenteth vs vnto the Throne of Grace. And therefore, as S. Paul ſaith, he euermore maketh Interceſſion for vs. And for that cauſe alſo hee

Rom. 8. 1. Tim. 2.

ſaith: Vnus eſt mediator Dei & Hominum, Homo Chriſtus Ieſus: *There is* One mediatour *betweene God and Man, Chriſt Ieſus being Man.*

S. Paul (you ſay) Requireth the people to make Interceſſion and to pray for him. This is true. And God hath commanded, that all the Faithfull ſhould pray one for another. But S.

Auguſt. contra epiſt. Parmen. lib. 2. cap. 8.

Paul neuer required the people to pray to Saints. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Paulus non facit ſe mediatorem inter Populum & Deum: Sed rogat, vt pro ſe orent inuicem omnia membra Corporis Chriſti: Paul maketh not himſelfe a mediatour *betweene God and the People: but requireth, that they Pray one for another, being all the Members of the Body of Chriſt.* Againe

Aug. in eod. lib.

he ſaith of S. Iohn: Si Iohannes ita diceret, Hoc ſcripſi vobis, vt non peccetis: Et ſi quis peccauerit, mediatorem me habetis apud Deum, & ego exoro pro peccatis veſtris, Sicut Parmenianus quodam loco mediatorem poſuit Epiſcopum inter Populum & Deum, quis eum ferret honorum, atque Fidelium Chriſtianorum? Quis ſicut Apoſtolum Chriſti, & non ſicut Antichriſtum intueretur? *If S.* Iohn *would ſay, This haue I written vnto you that yee Sinne not: and if yee Sinne,* yee haue mee your Mediatour *before God, and* I will intreat *for your Sinnes,* As Parmenian (the Heretike) *in a certaine place, made the Biſhop a* mediatour *betweene God and the People, what good and faithfull Chriſtian* man could abide him? *Who would looke vpon him, as the* Apoſtle of Chriſt, *and not rather thinke him to be* Antichriſt?

Here, M. Harding, your fondly diſtinction of Interceſſion, and Saluation, can not ſaue you. For Parmenian neuer thought the Biſhop was a mediatour of Saluation. And yet S. Auguſtine ſaith, If S. Iohn would haue ſaid ſo much of himſelfe, hee had not beene the Apoſtle of Chriſt, but rather ſhould haue beene iudged and taken for Antichriſt.

Yee thinke, The words of the Prophet Hieremy ſpoken of Idols and Falſe Gods, may not iuſtly bee applied to the Saints of God. Indeed of the Saints part, it were great blaſphemy to call them Idols. For they ſee God face to face, and euermore be with God in glory. But in reſpect of your horrible abuſes, and vaine fantaſies, the Words of the Prophet bee rightly applied. For you in your Imagination, of the Saints of God, haue made Idols, and haue ſo multiplied and increaſed the ſame, that the number of them, hath farre paſſed the number of all your Townes and Cities. And therefore the Ancient Father Epiphanius, applieth the like words of the ſame Prophet Hieremie, vnto the Bleſſed Virgine Marie, being then idolatrouſly abuſed by the Heretikes,

Epith lib. 3. Hæreſ. 79.

called Collyridiani, euen as the ſame Bleſſed Virgin, and other Saints are by you abuſed now. Thus he writteth: Ne quis comedat de errore, qui eſt propter S. Mariam.

Tametſi

Tametsi enim Pulchrum sit lignum, tamen non est ad Cibum. Etsi Pulcherrima est Maria, & Sancta, & Honorata: at non ad Adorationem. Hæ verò Mulieres, colentes Mariam, rursus renouant Fortunæ Mixturam, & præparant Mensam Diabolo, non Deo: Quemadmodum scriptum est, Pascuntur Cibo impietatis. Et rursus, & Fœminæ terunt Pollinem, & Filij colligunt ligna, vt faciant Placentas oleo subactas Reginæ Cœli. Compescantur à Hieremia tales Mulieres: & ne turbent Orbem terrarum. Ne dicant, Honoramus Reginam Cœli: *Let no man eat of this Errour, touching* S. Mary. *For though the tree be faire, yet is not this Fruit to be eaten. Although* Mary *be Beautifull, and Holy and Honourable,* yet is shee not to be adored. *But these Women* worshipping S. Mary, *renue againe the Sacrifice of Wine mingled in the Honour of the* Goddesse Fortuna, and prepare a Table for the Diuel, and not for God. *As it is written in the Scriptures,* They are fedde with the meat of Wickednesse. *And againe, Their Women boult flower, and their Children gather sticks, to make fine cakes, in the Honor of the* Queene of Heauen. *Therfore let such Women be rebuked by the Prophet* Hieremie, *and let them no more trouble the world. And let them not say,* We Worship the Queen of Heauen. Ἀναμφίλεκτον τὸ ξύλον τὸ λίχνευς.

Here we see, the words, that were spoken of the Heathenish Idols, are applied by Epiphanius, vnto the Mother of Christ, not to defate the Blessed Virgin, but to declare the fond errours of those Heretikes.

As for the distribution of Offices and seuerall duties, limited and appointed to euery Saint in his degree, it shall be best for modesties sake to say nothing. S. Augustine speaking of the Heathens, from whom this part of your Diuinity, M. Harding, was first deriued, saith thus: Dicebat, ita esse vtilem cognitionem Deorum, si sciatur, quam quisque Deus vim, aut potestatem habeat, cuiusque rei. Ex eo enim poterimus, inquit, scire, quem cuiusque rei causa Deum aduocare, atque inuocare debeamus: ne faciamus, vt Mimi solent & optemus à Libero Aquam, à Lymphis Vinum: Varro *said, the knowledge of the Gods is profitable, if a man vnderstand what power and authority each God hath in euery thing. For so saith he, we may know, whom to call vpon, and whom to pray vnto: Lest happily wee doe, as certaine* Mimi *are wont to doe, that is to say, lest of* Bacchus, the God of Wine, we beg Water, or of Lymphæ, the Goddesse of Water, we beg Wine. Distinct Offices. *August. de Ciuit. li.4.ca.12.*

These things hauing their beginning among the Heathens, haue sithence beene brought euen into the Church of God, and all the Saints in Heauen haue beene appointed, each one in Order, to his seuerall Office: Lest any one should intrude into anothers rome. Antoninus saith, in his time, where S. Paul and Friar Dominicke were painted together, the manner was, vnder the Image of S. Paul to write these words, Per hunc itur ad Christum: *We may come to Christ by this Saint:* But vnder the Image of Friar Dominicke, they wrote thus: Sed magis per istum: Yet much rather by this Saint. Whereby was meant, that Friar Dominicks Office and authority before God, was somwhat better, and of more credit than S. Pauls.

Whereas ye teach the people thus to pray vnto the Blessed Virgin: Monstra te esse Matrem: Command thy Sonne: Vse thy Motherly authority ouer him: Let him know thee to be his Mother: This, you say, is no blasphemy, but a Spirituall dallying. Now verily, M. Harding, this must needs be a blessed kinde of Diuinity, that can turne Praier into Dalliance.

One of your Beaupéres of Louaine, as a man carrying his Face in his hand, saith boldly, *These words were neuer vsed in your Church.* And therefore hee saith with good courage: Interim à bonis istis viris quæro, Cur non nominant illas Ecclesias, quæ Virginem Matrem tam impudenter appellant? Cur eas inquam non nominant? *In the meane season* (saith he) *this question I demand of these honest men: Why name they not those Churches,* which so impudently call vpon that Virgin Christs mother? *I say why doe they not name them?* Your modesty herein, M. Harding, is more praise worthy. You are contented to grant the fact, and pleasantly to excuse it by a Spirituall dallying. *Copus. Dialog. 3. pag. 340.*

But yee may tell your saide Fellow, that this kinde of Praier was vniuersally vsed throwout all your whole Church of Rome: that Men, Women, and Children, Learned, and Vnlearned were taught and forced thus to pray: Thou art the Queene of Heauen: Thou art the Lady of Angels: Command thy Sonne: Shew thy selfe to bee the mother. Yee may tell him, that Cardinall Bembus, sometime the Popes Secretary, calleth the same Blessed Virgin: Dominam, & Deam nostram: Our Lady and Goddesse. Tell him, that Ambrosius Catharinus in your late Chapter at Trident, representing as you say, your whole Catholike Church, calleth the same Blessed Virgin, Gods Fellow, by these words: Fidelissima eius Socia: Gods most Faithfull Fellow. *Bembus in epist. ad Carolum 5. Concil. Trident. Session. 2. Nic. Cusan. ex. citation lib. 8. Hoc credit.*

And therefore perhaps Nicolaus Cusanus a Cardinall of Rome saith: Hoc credit ad laudem

dem Dei, & Virginis Mariæ Matris, quòd ipſa ſub Principatu Authoris Mortis nullo vnquam tempore fuit. Non indiguit Virgo Liberatore qui ipſam abſolueret à ſententia in Adam & in poſteros lata. Maria non eſt deleta de Libro Mortis: quia nunquam in eo ſcripta fuit: *This thing turneth to the praiſe of God, and of the* Virgin Mary *the Mother, that ſhe was neuer at any time, vnder the Princehood of the Author of Death. That* Virgin *needed no deliuerer, that ſhould Redeeme her from the Sentence pronounced againſt* Adam *and his poſterity.* Mary *was neuer raſed out of the Booke of Death, for ſhe was neuer written in it.* Here we are taught, that Mary the Virgin is our Lady and Goddeſſe, that ſhe is Gods Fellow, and that ſhe had no need to be ſaued by the Death of Chriſt. What is blaſphemy if this be none? Yet this is the Diuinity of the Clergie of Rome.

Concil. Oxon.

We may further tell him, that in your Councell of Oxford, Chriſts name is quite forgotten, and left out: and Our Ladies name put in place: For thus it beginneth: Authoritate Dei Patris, & Beatæ Virginis, & omnium Sanctorum &c. By the Authority of God the Father, and of the Bleſſed Virgin, and of all Saints. Notwithſtanding ye may well anſwer as before, that all this was no manner blaſphemy againſt God, but onely a prety Spirituall Dalliance: euen ſuch Dalliance, I trow, as S. Paul meaneth by theſe words,

1. Cor. 10.

Sedit populus ad manducandum, & bibendum: & ſurrexerunt ad Ludendum: *The people ſate downe to eate and drinke: and roſe vp againe to* Play or Dallie, that is to ſay, to commit Idolatrie.

Mother of God. Childe of God.

You ſay, Our Lady the Bleſſed Virgin hath more grace giuen her, then any other Creature, except ye name a greater grace, ſay you, then to be the mother of God. Verily, M. Harding, to be the Child of God it is a great deale greater grace then to be the Mother of God. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Beatior ergo Maria fuit, Percipiendo Fidem Chriſti, quàm Concipiendo Carnem Chriſti. Materna Propinquitas nihil Mariæ profuiſſet: niſi fœliciùs Chriſtum Corde, quàm Carne geſtaſſet: *Mary was more bleſſed (or fuller of Grace) in that ſhe* receiued the Faith of Chriſt *then in that ſhe* Conceiued the Fleſh of Chriſt. *Motherly kindred could haue done Mary no good, vnleſſe ſhe had borne Chriſt more Bleſſedly in her Heart, then ſhe bare him in her Fleſh.*

Augu. de Sancta Virginitate cap. 3.

And againe he ſaith: Mater mea, quam appellaſtis Fœlicem, inde Fœlix eſt, quia verbum Dei cuſtodiuit: Non quia in illa Verbum Caro factum eſt: *My Mother, whom ye haue called Bleſſed, therefore is Bleſſed, becauſe ſhe hath kept the word of God:* Not becauſe the Word in her was made Fleſh.

Auguſt. in Ioh. Tract 10.

Therefore ſaith Epiphanius: Chriſtus dixit, Quid mihi, & tibi eſt mulier? Nondum venit hora mea. Quò non putarent aliqui, magis eximiam eſſe Sanctam Virginem, mulierem eam appellauit: veluti prophetans, quæ eſſent futura in terra Sectarum & Hæreſeon genera: vt ne aliqui nimiùm admirati Sanctam, in hanc Hæreſim, eiuſque deliramenta dilabantur. Eſt enim Ludibrium tota res, & anicularum fabula, & vt ita dicam, tota hæreſis Tractatio: *Chriſt ſaid vnto his Mother, Woman, what haue I to doe with thee? My houre is not yet come. Leſt any man ſhould think* Our Lady was of greater excellency, hee called her Woman, *as it were prophefying of the Kinds* and ſects of Hereſies, *that were to come into the World.* Leſt any man hauing too great opinion of that Holy Saint ſhould fall into this Hereſie, & into the dotage of the ſame. *For indeed the whole matter is but a* mockery, *and an* Old Wiues tale, *and ſoothly to ſay, nothing elſe, but the* handling of an Hereſie. Origen heereof ſaith:

Epiph. li. 3. hæreſ. 79. contra Collyridian.

Si menſuram tranſcenderit Charitatis, & qui diligit, & qui diligitur, in Peccato eſt: *If* Loue paſſe the meaſure of Charity, *as well hee that Loueth, as alſo hee that is Loued, is in Sinne.*

Origen. in Lucam, homil. 25.

But touching the matter it ſelfe, S. Ambroſe ſaith: Ideò ad Reges itur per Tribunos, & Comites, quia homo vtique eſt Rex: & neſcit, quibus debeat Rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem, quem nihil latet, Omnium enim merita nouit, promerendum, ſuffragatore non eſt opus, ſed mente deuota. Vbicunq; enim talis loquutus fuerit ei, reſpondebit illi: *Therefore we are brought vnto the preſence of Kings by Lords and Officers: becauſe the King is a man, and knoweth not to whom he may commit his Realme.* But to obtain Gods fauour, *from whom nothing is ſecret, as knowing what euery man is meet to haue,* we need no ſpokeſman, but a deuout mind. *For whereſoeuer ſuch a one ſpeaketh vnto God, God wil anſwer him.*

Ambroſ. ad Roman. cap. 1.

The Apologie, Chap. 19. Diuiſion 1.

VVE ſay alſo, That euery perſon is borne in Sinne, and leadeth his life in Sin: That no body is able truly to ſay, his Heart is Cleane; That the moſt righteous perſõ is but an vnprofitable Seruant: That the Law of God is perfect and requireth of vs, perfect and full Obedience:

That

That we are able by no meanes to fulfill that Law in this worldly life: That there is no one mortall Creature, which can be iustified by his owne deserts in Gods sight: And therefore that our only succour and refuge is to flie to the Mercy of our Father by Iesu Christ, and assuredly to perswade our mindes, that he is the obtainer of forgiuenesse for our Sinnes: And that by his Blood, all our spots of Sinne be washed cleane: That he hath pacified and set at one, all things by the Blood of his Crosse: That he by the same One onely Sacrifice, which he once offered vpon the Crosse, hath brought to effect and fulfilled all things, and that for that cause he said, when he gaue vp the Ghost, It is finished, as though he would signifie, that the price and ransome was now full paid for the Sinne of Mankind. If there be any, that thinke this Sacrifice not sufficient, let them goe in Gods name and seeke a better. We verily because we know this to bee the Onely Sacrifice, are well content with it alone, and looke for none other: and forasmuch as it was to be offered but Once, we command it not to be renued againe: and because it was full, and perfect in all points and parts, we do not ordaine in place thereof any continuall succession of offerings.

(a) A vaine folly. For Gods Law was written for Men in Earth, not for Angels in Heauen.

(b) A horrible heresie S. Augustine saith, *Deus iubet aliqua quæ nō possumus facere.*

(c) A fond question. For God punisheth infants for their originall sin: yet are they by no meanes able to auoid it

(d) The cause heereof is Gods Mercy. S. Augustine saith: *Omnia mādata facta deputantur, quando quicquid non factum est ignoscitur.*

(e) Vntruth. For wee make not God vniust, but we confesse our selues to bee sinners.

M. Harding.

Ye make a Sophisticall argument, when ye reach, because the Law of God requireth of vs full obedience, that therefore it cannot be satisfied in this Life by any meanes. For when ye say, It requireth of vs full obedience, if ye meane (a) such full obedience as is required only in this Life, then conclude ye falsly, that we can by no meanes satisfie it. But if ye meane such full obedience, (a) as is only performed in Heauen, then yee conclude well, that we in this life cannot fulfill such perfection, as is required in Heauen. But then haue ye said nothing to the purpose. For wee know what marke ye shoot at, by your doctrine vttered in other places: your meaning is (b) that no man in this Life is able by the Grace of God to fulfill the Commandements. Wee beleeue, God commandeth vs nothing impossible to vs. (c) Otherwise how could he iustly punish for not dooing that Commandement, which by no meanes wee are able to fulfill: We are sure that God punisheth no man vniustly: for *Non est apud Dominum Deum nostrum iniquitas*: There is no iniquity in our Lord God.

God commandeth not that which is impossible to a man in grace.

Deut. 30. Rom 10. Matth. 11. 1. John 5.

Moses speaking of the fulfilling of the Commandements of God, which also S. Paul repeateth, saith, that they are not aboue vs in Heauen, neither farre from vs beyond the Sea: but hard by thee (saith he) is the word in thy mouth and in thy Heart, that thou maist doe it. And Christ saith, *Iugum meum suaue est, & onus meum leue*: (d) My yoke is sweet, and my burthen light: and S. Iohn, His Commandements be not heauy. He then, that saith, we can by no meanes fulfill the Law of God, maketh (e) God vniust and euill or impotent, and not able to giue so much grace, as may helpe to fulfil his Law. Let the discreet Reader iudge, what blasphemy your words containe. Belie vs no more hereafter. This is our Doctrine, better founded in the word of God, and in the Tradition of the Apostles, and in the custome of the whole Church, then that ye shall euer be able to ouerthrow it. Blaspheme, and barke against it ye may: ouercome it yee cannot.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

All other things hereby you touched, M. Harding, I will passe ouer: thinking it sufficient, to note a few words of the Possibility and performance of the Law: and so much the more, for that ye seeme therein in some part, to renue the Pelagian Heretikes old condemned errour.

Possibility of the Law.

As touching that full and perfect Obedience, that is required of vs by the Law, ye answer, There are sundry sorts of perfection namely, that there is Perfection in Children: Perfection in Men: Perfection in Angels: and Perfection in God. And further yee say, That in this Life we cannot fulfill such Perfection, as is required of the Angels of God in Heauen: And this answer ye make, touching the Obedience, and Performing of the Law: as if ye would say, The Law of God was giuen to Angels, and is to be performed, not in the Earth, but onely in Heauen: And, as if God had said to those blessed Spirits, Thou shalt not Kill: Thou shalt not commit Adultery: Thou shalt not steale: Thou shalt not couet, &c. In your sundrie Perfections of Children, Men, Angels, and God, I haue no skill, The Apologie meant onely of that Perfection, that is required in Man. Howbeit, in euery kind they say, Perfectum est, cui nihil deest: *That thing is perfect, that is full and absolute and wanteth nothing.*

And here, lest ye should deceiue your selfe by wrong measure, God himselfe hath shewed you, what Perfection hee requireth in man. Thus he saith: *Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, with all thy Soule, and with all thy Power: Thou shalt not turne, neither to the Right hand, nor the Left: Accursed is he, that standeth not in euery thinge that is written in the Law, to performe the same.* And S. Iames saith: *Whoso offendeth in one Commandement*

Deuter. 6. Matth. 22. Deuter. 17. Deuter. 27. Galath. 3. Iacob. 2.

Matth. 5.

Vnperfect Perfection

Commandement, is guilty of all. And Chriſt ſaith: *Be ye* Perfect (not meaſuring your ſelues by your owne ability, but) *as your Father is perfect, which is in Heauen.* And yet heereby he meaneth not the Perfection, that is in God, and his Angels, but onely that Perfection, that is required in man.

Hieronym. ad Cteſiphont. contra Pelagianos.

S. Hierome ſaith, The Pelagian Heretikes in old times, vſed the ſame ſhifts that you vſe now. For whereas the Catholike learned Fathers ſaid, *No man is* Perfect, *and void of Sinne*, they anſwered euen then euen in ſuch ſort, as you doe now; No man is Perfect in ſuch degree of Perfection as God is Perfect. S. Hieromes words be theſe: Aiunt, ad Comparationem Dei, nullum eſſe Perfectum: quaſi Scriptura hoc dixerit: *They ſay*, (euen as you M. Harding, ſay) *that in Compariſon of God, no man is* Perfect: *As though this were the ſayings of the Scriptures.* And therefore hee ſaith vnto them: Nunquid præcepit mihi Deus, vt eſſem, quod Deus eſt? Vt nihil inter me eſſet, & Dominum Creatorem? Vt maior eſſem Angelorum faſtigio? Vt haberem, quod Angeli non habent? *I beſeech you, hath God commanded me, that I ſhould bee the* ſame, that God is? *That there ſhould be no difference* (in Perfection) *betweene mee, and my Lord the Creatour? That I ſhould be aboue the Highneſſe of Angels? Or that I ſhould haue, that the Angels haue not?* It was in vaine therefore M. Harding, thus to borrow the Pelagians Weapons, and to make matter of this Perfection. For we ſpeake not of Angels, but onely of Men.

Aug. de Gratia & libero Arbitr. cap. 16.

Further, to intreat of the Perfect fulfilling and accompliſhing of the Law, I meane, ſo farre as the Law requireth, the Pelagian Heretikes herein alſo ſaid, euen as you ſay, and none otherwiſe. S. Auguſtine thereof reporteth thus: Magnum aliquid Pelagianiſſe ſcire putant, quando dicunt, Non iuberet Deus, quod ſciret ab homine non poſſe fieri. Quis hoc neſciat? Sed ideò iubet aliqua, quæ non poſſumus, vt nouerimus, quid ab ipſo petere debeamus: *The* Pelagians *thinke themſelues cunning men, when they ſay*, God would not command that thing, that he knoweth a man is not able to doe. *And who is there, that knoweth not this? But therefore God Commanded vs to doe ſome things*, that we are not able to doe, *that we may vnderſtand, what wee ought to crane of him.*

Hieronym. ad Cteſiphont. contra Pelagianos.

S. Hierome ſaith vnto one of the ſame Pelagians: Facilia eſſe dicis Dei mandata: & tamen nullum proferre potes, qui vniuerſa compleuerit: *Ye ſay Gods commandements be eaſie: And yet ye are able to ſhew vs no man, that euer fulfilled them altogether.*

Hieronym. contra Pelagianos. lib. 1.

Therefore againe he ſaith vnto them: Noli ponere in Cœlum os tuum, vt per Eſſe & Eſſe poſſe, ſtultorum auribus illudas. Quis enim tibi concedet, poſſe hominem facere, quod nullus vnquam hominum potuerit? *Set not thy face againſt Heauen, to mocke fooles eares with theſe words*, Be *and* Can be. *For who will grant you, that a man can doe that thing that no man euer was able to doe?*

Aug. de Spirit. & liter. cap. 1.

Likewiſe S. Auguſtine ſaith: Dixi fieri poſſe, vt ſit homo ſine Peccato, ſi Voluntas ei non deſit, ope Diuina adiuuante: Sed tamen præter Vnum, in quo omnes viuificabuntur, neminem vel fuiſſe, vel fore, in quo hîc viuente eſſet iſta Perfectio: *I ſaid*, It is poſſible, that a man may be without Sinne, *if he want not will, the Power of God aſſiſting him: And yet I ſaid, that beſides Onely Chriſt, in whom all men ſhall be quickened to Life*, there was neuer man, nor neuer ſhall bee, *who being in this life, ſhall haue this* Perfection. S. Auguſtine ſaith: *No man can attaine to this* Perfection: and hee ſpeaketh of the Perfection, that is required, not of Angels, but of Men.

Matth. 5. Philip. 3.

Ye will ſay as the Pelagians did, wherefore then doth Chriſt ſay, *Be yee* Perfect? Wherefore doth S Paul ſay, *As many of vs, as be* Perfect, &c. Hereto S. Hierome anſweareth thus:

Hieron. aduerſ. Pelagianos, li. 1

Quid ergo ſapimus? Imò quid ſapere debemus, qui Perfecti non ſumus? Imperfectos nos eſſe confiteri, & nondum comprehendiſſe, nec dum accepiſſe. Hæc eſt Hominis vera Sapientia, Imperfectum eſſe ſe noſſe. Atque, vt ita loquar, Cunctorum in Carne Iuſtorum Imperfecta Perfectio eſt: *What then doe we thinke, or what ought we to thinke that be not* Perfect? *We ought to* Confeſſe, that we are Vnperfect, *and that we haue not yet gotten, nor taken* (that Perfection) *that is required. This is the true wiſedome of a Man, to know* himſelfe to be Vnperfect. *And as I might ſay, the* Perfection of all iuſt men liuing in the Fleſh is Vnperfect.

Hieronym. ad Cteſiphont.

Againe he ſaith: Iuſti appellantur, non quòd omni Vitio careant, ſed quod Maiori parte Virtutum commendentur: *They are called Iuſt men, not for that they be void of* all manet Sinne, *but for that they are furniſhed with the* greater part of Vertues. So likewiſe ſaith S.

Aug. ad Bonifac. li. 3. ca. 7.

Auguſtine: Virtus, quæ nunc eſt in homine Iuſto, hactenus Perfecta nominatur, vt ad eius Perfectionem pertineat etiam ipſius Imperfectionis & in Veritate agnitio, & in humilitate Confeſſio: *The Vertue, that is now in a iuſt man, ſo far forth is called* Perfect, *that it pertaineth to the* Perfection thereof, both in truth to know, and in humility to confeſſe, that it

Auguſt. Retract. li. 1. cap. 19

is Vnperfect. Againe he ſaith: Omnia mandata facta deputantur, quando quicquid non fit ignoſcitur: *All the Cõmandemẽts of God are accounted to be done, whẽ that thing that is not done,*

is

is forgiuen. **To conclude, he saith** : Multum in hac vita ille profecit, qui quàm longè sit à Perfectione Iustitiæ proficiendo cognouit: *He hath much profited in this life, that by his profiting hath learned how* farre he is from the Perfection of Righteousnesse. *Aug. de Spirit. & Litera, cap. 35.*

Yet neuertheleſſe wee may truly vſe S. Hieromes **words, vttered in the defenſe and right of this ſame cauſe**: Hæc dicentes, non adulamur vitijs, ſed Authoritatem ſequimur Scripturarum, quòd nullus homo ſit abſque Peccato. Sed concluſit Deus omnia ſub Peccato, vt Omnium miſereatur: *Notwithſtanding wee ſay thus, yet wee flatter not Vices: but we follow the Authority of the Scriptures*, that there is no man without Sinne. *But God hath ſhut vp all things vnder Sinne, that he may haue Mercie of all.* Againe **he ſaith**: Perſpicuum eſt, omnem hominem, quamuis ad Perfectionem venerit, tamen indigere Miſericordia Dei; & plenam Perfectionem ex Gratia, non ex Merito poſſidere: *It is moſt certaine that euery man, yea although he be growen to* Perfection, yet needeth the Mercie of God: *and that he enioieth full* Perfection, not of his owne Deſeruing, but of Grace. **Euen ſo** S. Auguſtine **ſaith**: Ipſa Iuſtitia noſtra tanta eſt in hac vita, vt potius, Peccatorum Remiſſione conſtet, quàm Perfectione Virtutum: *Our very Righteouſneſſe it ſelfe is ſo great in this Life, that it ſtandeth rather in* Forgiueneſſe *of Our Sinnes, then in* Perfection *of Righteouſneſſe.* *Hieron. in Ezechiel. Lib. 14. Cap. 46.* *Aug. de Ciuit. lib. 19. cap. 27.*

The Apology, Chap. 20. *Diuiſion* 1.

BEſides, though we ſay, we haue no meed at all by our owne Workes, and Deedes, but appoint all the meanes of Our Saluation to bee in Chriſt alone, yet ſay we not, that for this cauſe men ought to liue looſely, and diſſolutely: nor that it is enough for a Chriſtian to bee Baptized onely, and to Beleeue; as though there were nothing elſe required at his hand. For true Faith is liuely, and can in no wiſe be idle. Thus therefore teach we the People, that God hath called vs, not to follow riot and wantonneſſe, but, as S. Paul **ſaith,** vnto good Workes, to walke in them: **That we are deliuered** from the Power of Darkeneſſe, to the end that wee ſhould ſerue the Liuing God: **To cut away all the remnants of Sinne, and** to worke Our Saluation in feare and trembling: **that it may appeare, that the Spirit of Sanctification is in Our Bodies, and that Chriſt himſelfe dwelleth in Our Hearts.**

Merit, and Mercie.

M. Harding.

With what face can theſe Defenders affirme that they teach the people to walke in good workes, whereas beginning the treatiſe of workes in this preſent Apologie, they ſay that we haue (a) no helpe or aid in our workes and deeds? For ſo their Latine word, *Præſidium*, doth ſignifie, which in the Engliſh is turned into Meed. What Maſters, is this the way to make men worke well, to tell them before hand that their workes be nothing worth, and that they helpe them neuer a whit? Why then let the Labourers Prouerbe take place, I had rather play for nothing, then worke for nothing. (b) Is there any Labourer ſo madde, as to worke for nothing? Firſt ye tell the Labourers, that there is no helpe for them, in their workes, and then ye cry vnto them to labour: (c) yea forſooth, as hard as they liſt. Is not this to mocke God, and the World? Whereas ye ſpeake to Chriſtian men, to thoſe that bee Baptized, to ſuch as haue Faith; yet ye tell them they may worke as much as they will, (d) but all in vaine, &c. *Ergo*, then although a liuely Faith cannot be idle, and ſome true Faith is liuely, yet in another ſenſe (e) there is a true Faith which is not liuely, but idle. Which true Faith ſhall become liuely, and haue great aid in workes; if it will learne to leaue idleneſſe, and practiſe that in will and heart, which it beleeueth in vnderſtanding.

(a) No aid or helpe vnto Saluation. Otherwiſe this report is vntrue.

(b) *Nazianzen. Si Mercenarius es, tamen expecta mercedem. De Sancto Baptiſmo.*

(c) Is not this a folly, M. Harding? Gods Truth is no mockerie.

(d) Vntruth. For wee ſay with S. Paul, Your works ſhall not be in vaine in the Lord

(e) Vntruth. Read the Anſwer.

But whereas theſe Defenders would no helpe or aid to be in Chriſtian mens works, that (f) Hereſie may not ſo eſcape. Chriſt being demanded of one, what good he ſhould doe to obtaine Euerlaſting Life, ſaid: If thou wilt enter into Life, keepe the Commandements. To keepe the Commandements is a worke: to enter into Life is ſome helpe to a man. Therefore it is falſly ſpoken, that in our workes there is no helpe for vs. Againe Chriſt ſaith, Whoſoeuer forſaketh his houſe, or brothers, or ſiſters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my ſake; he ſhall receiue an hundred fold, and ſhall inherit Life Euerlaſting. S. Paul ſaith, God will render to euery man according to his worke. To thoſe that ſeeke for glory, and honour, and incorruption, according to the ſufferance of good workes (hee will render) Life Euerlaſting.

That good workes helpe vs. Matth. 19.

(f) Vntruth. For it is no Hereſie: it is the Faith of Chriſt. Read the Anſwer. Luc. 17.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Yéere yee trifle, M. Harding, although not much beſides your common wont, yet ſomewhat aboue your ordinarie. Our Doctrine héerein is grounded vpon theſe words of Chriſt, *When yee haue done all, ſay that ye be vnprofitable Seruants, and therefore haue deſerued nothing.* **Indéed of late yéeres this hath béene the Generall Doctrine of your Schooles:** Vita Æterna eſt Merces debita pro noſtris Meritis: Vita Æterna, niſi eſſet Merces debita, eſſet incerta: Quia debitum certum eſt; Miſericordia incerta, *Euerlaſting Life is a reward*

Merit, and Mercie.

due for our deserunges. If Euerlasting Life were not a due reward, it were vncertaine. For due debt is certaine: Mercy or fauour is vncertaine. Thus haue you vtterly drowned the Grace of God, and the Saluation that wee haue onely in Iesus Christ: and haue turned the most Comfortable Doctrine of the Gospell into a Dungeon of Desperation.

Then (say you) let the Labourers Prouerbe take place, I had rather play for nothing, then worke for nothing. Verily, M. Harding, when other reason could not serue you, it was reason your Labourers idle reason should take place. Howbeit, if yee will doe nothing at Gods request, of good will, without reward, but must be hired onely for your Pennie, then may your Labourer, be he neuer so simple, easily tell you, ye are not the Childe of God, but onely a Hireling, and a Labourer. For the Naturall loning Childe will Obey his Father, not for reward, but of loue, only because he is his Father.

Gregor. Nazianz. de Sancto Baptismate. ἐργάτης εἶναι, ἢ παῖς τοῦ πατρός. Καὶ εἰ μὲν μισθὸν ἐργάτης μένει, τοῦτο αὐτὸ μισθός, τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς χαρίζεται.

Gregorie Nazianzene saith: Si Seruus es, time plagas: Si Mercenarius, tantùm specta mercedem. At si supra hos es etiam Filius, reuerere tanquam Patrem tuum. Beneficio, quia pulchrum est obsequi Patri. Et quamuis nihil aliud futurum sit, tamen vel hoc ipsum erit merces tua fecisse quod gratum esset Patri: *If thou be a* bond-Slaue, *then feare the whip: If thou be a* Hireling, *then looke onely for thy reward. But ouer and besides these, if thou be a* (Naturall) Childe, *then reuerence* (God *as thy Father*. Doe well, because it is good to Obey thy Father. Yea, and although thou shalt haue nothing else, yet euen this shall be thy reward that thou hast beene obedient to thy Father.

Hilar. in Psal. 118. Caph.

S Hilarie saith: Nos, si semel ieiunamus, satisfecisse nos arbitramur: Si aliquid ex horreo domesticarum facultatum inopi damus, impleuisse nos iustitiam credimus, &c. Sed Propheta totum à Deo sperat: totum à misericordia eius expectat: *If we fast once, wee thinke wee haue satisfied. If out of the barnes of Our household store wee giue somewhat to the Poore, we beleeue we haue fulfilled the measure of Righteousnesse. But the Prophet* hopeth all of God: and trusteth all of his Mercie.

Matth. 5.

Christ saith to his Disciples: *Let your Light so shine before men,* (not that yee may be rewarded, but) *that they may see your good workes, and glorifie your Father which is in Heauen.*

Aug. Confess.

S. Augustine saith: Minus diligit te, qui diligit aliud præter te: *O God, he the lesse loueth thee, that loueth any other thing besides thee.* Likewise S. Basil saith:

Basil in Ps. 32. μόνη δὲ τῶν ἐλπίδα τὴν σωτηρίαν, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Qui non fidit suis rectè factis, nec expectat ex operibus iustificari, solam habet spem salutis Misericordias Dei: *He that trusteth* not to his owne good deeds, nor hopeth to be iustified by his works, hath the Onely hope of his Saluation, the Mercies of God.

Further ye say: A true Faith may be idle, and vtterly without workes: and therefore ye thinke it not true that wee say, *A true Faith is liuely, and can in no wise be idle.* Yeere perhaps yee will set Faith vpon the Last, and racke her to a larger sise. For so Latomus one of your fellowes saith, that Socrates and Plato, and other Heathen Philosophers had as good vnderstanding, and Faith in Christ, as had Abraham. And Andradius another of your fellowes saith, that the Heathen and Infidell Philosophers had the Righteousnesse of Faith, and Euerlasting Life. His words be these: Philosophi qui ab inani Deorum multitudine abhorruerunt, &c. Illos tu illa Fide, Deique cognitione destitutos dices, per quam scilicet impius iustificatur, & ex qua iustus viuit? *The Philosophers that abhorred and shunned the vaine multitude of Gods, &c. Wilt thou say, they lacked that* Faith, and that knowledge of God *whereby the wicked is iustified, and whereby the Righteous liueth?* Another of your neere fellowes saith: Petrus non Fidem Christi, sed Christum, Salua Fide, negauit: Peter *denied not the Faith of Christ, but he denied Christ, his* Faith neuertheles being safe. If ye call this True Faith, M. Harding, that may be found in Heathens, and Infidels, and may well and safely stand with the abiuring of Christ, then without question your True Faith may be without good workes. But S. Paul, whose words we ought rather to credit, saith farre otherwise: *He that hath no regard to his owne, specially such as be of his household, hath* denied the Faith, *and is worse then an Infidell.* Againe he saith: *They say they know God: but by there workes* they denie God. S Iohn saith: *Whoso saith he knoweth God, and keepeth not his Commandements,* is a Lier, and the Truth is not in him. S. Iames saith: Faith *without workes* is dead: *And* the Diuell beleeueth, *and trembleth for feare.* But a Dead Faith is no more a True Perfect Faith, then a Dead Man is a True perfect Man. As for the Faith of Diuels, in deed and verily is no Faith.

Illyricus de Sectis. Pag 93.

Kemnitius in examine. Trid. Conc. pag. 535.

Copus Dial. 1. Pag. 51.

1. Timoth. 5.

Fidem abnegauit. Tit. 1.

1 Iohan. 2.

Iacob. 2.

August. in Euangel. Iohan. Sermon. 61.

Aug de Fide & Operibus. Cap 23.

Certainely S Augustine saith: Qui Fidem habet sine spe & dilectione, Christum esse credit: non in Christum credit: *He that hath Faith without Hope and Charity, beleeueth that there is Christ.* But he beleeueth not in Christ. Againe he saith: Inseparabilis est Bona Vita à Fide, quæ per dilectionem operatur: Imò verò ea ipsa est Bona Vita: Good Life can neuer be diuided from Faith, *which worketh by Loue: Nay rather that same verie Faith it selfe is Good Life.*

Ambros. Li. 6. Epist. 36.

S Ambrose saith: Vbi quis cœperit luxuriari, incipit deuiare à Vera Fide: *As soone as a man beginneth to liue wantonly, he beginneth to* flee from the True Faith. Origen saith:

Omnis

Omnis qui credit in eum, non erubescit: Erubescit autem omnis qui peccat: Ergo qui adhuc ruborē peccati incurrit, credere non videtur: *Whosoeuer Beleeueth in God, blusheth not: But euery man blusheth that worketh Sinne. Therefore hee that yet blusheth for his Sinne,* seemeth not to beleeue. And againe he saith: Malè credit quicunque peccat: *Whosoeuer sinneth,* Beleeueth ill. *Orig in Epist. ad Rom. lib. 8. cap. 10. Origen. in Ezechiel. Hom. 9.*

To the like, S. Cyprian saith: Quomodo dicit se credere in Christum, qui non facit quod Christus facere præcepit? *How doth he say he Beleeueth in Christ, that doth not the thing that Christ Commanded.*

Merit, and Mercie.

If ye will beleeue none of all these, being ancient and Learned Fathers, yet beleeue your owne Doctour Cusanus, a Cardinal of Rome. Thus he saith: Non potest Mens scire Deum, & non diligere: Non potest esse vera scientia Dei, vbi non est Charitas: *The Minde cannot know God, and not loue him. There can be no true knowledge of God, where there wanteth Charity.* *Nicol. Cusan. Excitationum, lib. 5.*

Heereby it is plaine, that True faith is liuely and worketh full: and that an Idle Faith is indeed no Faith at all.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. Did not you know the Answer, M. Iewell? Nothing is more common. You belie the Scripture. That is the Answer to you. And your Forefathers, euen vp to Luther, haue alwaies belied it: and being told of it, will not yet amend, no more than the Diuell whom they follow. All thing may be dead in two sorts, either because it had life in it of his owne, or else because it had it of another thing, &c. Now it is to be considered, whether Faith hath life in it selfe, of his owne Nature, as a man hath, (for then a dead Faith is no Faith) or else whether Faith hath life of another thing, to wit, of Charity, and then a dead Faith is a true Faith, &c. S. Iames giueth vs to vnderstand, that Faith hath Life of another thing, like as the Body hath Life of the Soule. For he saith, *Sicut enim Corpus sine Spiritu mortuum est, ita & Fides sine Operibus mortua est:* As the Body without the Soule is dead, so is Faith dead without Workes. Not as the man is dead without the Soule, but as the Bodie is dead without the Soule, so is Faith dead without works. But the Body being without the Soule, is still a true Naturall Bodie. Therfore Faith being without good Workes, is still a true Reall Faith. And so M. Iewell is tried a Lier. *The Answer.* I am weary of your Follies M. Harding. And were it not for some satisfaction of the simple, I would not vouchsafe them of any answer. Whereas I onely allege these words of S. Iames, *Faith without works is dead,* you tell me, that I belie the Scripture. And this (you say) shall bee mine Answer. Of such hasty Answers you haue giuen store. I thanke God, I beleeue the Scriptures: I belie them not. I would not willingly belie a Child, much lesse the Euerlasting Word of God: For I know it is Holy. *M. Harding 370. b. 371. a.* A man without a Soule. Iacob. 2.

But how, and wherein haue I so foulely belied the Scriptures? You answer mee: A thing may be dead in two sorts: either because it had life in it of his own, or else because it had it of another thing. Faith hath life of it selfe; and Faith hath Life of Charity. All this may bee granted. But what conclude you hereof, M. Harding? If Faith haue Life of it selfe, haue I therefore belied the Scriptures? Behold S. Iames words: Thus he saith: *Faith without Workes is dead:* Of the other side behold my words: Thus I say: Faith without Works is dead. Now compare these words together. I increase nothing: I minish nothing: I alter nothing: I report S. Iames words plainly and simply, as hee spake them. With what good Countenance then can you so vncivilly tell mee, that I haue belied the Scriptures? Your Reader, bee hee neuer so friendly bent vnto you, must needs doubt somwhat of your dealing. If ye proceed accordingly, you will be able shortly to tell vs that S. Iames himselfe hath belied the Scriptures. For the words that I speake, and you condemne, be S. Iames.

Faith (you say) hath Life of another thing, like as the Body hath of the Soule. Not as the man is dead without the Soul, but as the Body is dead without the Soul, so is Faith dead without good Works. Thus you say. But helpe vs, I pray you, that wee may better vnderstand your meaning. Ye speake in Parables. We need a Commentarie. A man (say you) dead without a Soule? What meaneth this talke, M. Harding? Ye lay the way for vs, I trow, and would entrappe vs in the darke. Who euer heard of a Man without a Soule? I haue sometimes heard of a Man without wit, and of words without sense, or reason: But of a Man without a Soule hitherto I neuer heard, vnlesse happily you meane the Man in the Moone.

Now let vs view the handsomenesse of your Distinction. These bee your words: Not as a Man is dead without a Soule; but as a Body is dead without a Soule. A man that had any Soule would thinke there should bee some difference betweene these speeches. Not as the one (you say) but as the other. But what if the One and the Other bee both one? Consider better of your words, I beseech you. What is a Man without a Soule, but onely a bare dead Body? Or what is such a Dead Body, but onely a Man without a Soule?

Merit, and Mercie.

Where was your Soule, M. Harding, when you deuiſed theſe diſtinctions without a difference?

Yet ye tell vs: A Body being without a Soule, is ſtill a true Naturall Body: *Ergo* (ſay you) Faith being without good works, is ſtill a true Reall Faith. Firſt, M. Harding, you know it is commonly ſaid in all Schooles, Omnis ſimilitudo claudicat. You might ſoone haue found the fœblenelle of this Reaſon. It will ſerue you onely to mocke Children. Howbeit, let vs vſe your owne grants. You ſhall ſee them conclude againſt your ſelfe. For a Body without a Soule, notwithſtanding it be a true Naturall Body, yet hath it neither ſenſe, nor Life, but is indeed and verily a dead Bodie. Euen ſo your Faith without good works, notwithſtanding any truth or Realty ye can giue vnto it, hath in it neither life, nor ſenſe, but indeed and verily is a dead Faith, and therefore no Faith at all.

But who taught you to ſhape out theſe prętty Similitudes, and ſo vnſkilfully to liken Faith vnto the Body, and good works vnto the Soule? The wiſe and learned haue rather likened True Faith to the Soule, and good works to the Body. For as the Body hath no life of it ſelfe, but only of the Soule, euen ſo Workes haue no life of them ſelues, but onely of Faith.

Iacob. 2.

Yet you ſay: Faith without Works is neuertheleſſe a true and Reall Faith. Verily, M. Harding ſo is Fire without heat a true and a Reall Fire. Of ſuch a Faith S. Iames ſaith: Dæmones credunt, & contremiſcunt: *Diuels beleeue, and quake for feare.* If the wicked without good workes haue a true and a Reall Faith, then may you alſo ſay, that the Diuell likewiſe hath a true and a Reall faith. This Faith is no Faith, M. Harding. It is only an Imaginary, and a Mathematicall phantaſie. It is not that Faith whereby wee are made the

2. Timoth. 3.

Children of God. Hereof S. Paul ſaith thus: Habent ſpeciem pietatis: virtutem autem eius abnegant: *They haue a ſhew and a face of godlineſſe: but the vertue and power thereof they forſake viterly.* Of ſuch a Faith the Angell ſaith in the Apocalyps:

Apocalyp. 3.

Thou haſt a name of Life, & yet art thou dead. Such is Faith without works, a Face without Godlineſſe, a Shew without Subſtance, a Name without Life.

M. Iewell (you ſay) is tried a Lier. And why ſo? Becauſe hee ſaith, as S. Iames ſaith, *Faith without Works is dead*, and therefore as S. Auguſtine ſaith, *no Faith at all.* But M. Harding, contrary to S. Iames expreſſe and plaine words, telleth vs, that Faith without Works, is a true and a Reall Faith, and is liuely and forcible in it ſelfe: And yet is hee tried a truſtie Man.

But you ſay: Good works haue their reward: and therefore (ye ſay) this Hereſie may not ſo eſcape. Whether good workes ſhall be rewarded, or no, it was no part of Our queſtion. For wee

Apocalyp. 14

vndoubtedly beleeue the words ý are written by S. Iohn: Opera illorum ſequuntur illos: *Their works follow after them.* Wee beleeue the words that Chriſt ſaith to his Diſciples:

Matth. 10.

He that giueth a cuppe of cold Water to any of theſe little Ones for my ſake, ſhall not loſe his reward.

1. Corinth. 15.

We beleeue that, that S. Paul ſaith: *Your worke ſhall not be in vaine in the Lord.* We grant, Good Works haue their reward: But the ſame Reward ſtandeth in Mercie and Fauour, and not in Duty.

Thus therefore we ſay: Conſidering the weakneſſe and ſinfull corruption of Our Nature, there can be no workes in vs, ſo pure and perfect, that we may thereby of Right, and of dutie, deſerue Euerlaſting Life. And this, M. Harding, is no Hereſie, but the very plain Senſe and Subſtance of Gods Word, and the vndoubted Doctrine of the Ancient Catholik Fathers of the Church.

Iob 9.

Iob ſaith: Si Homo velit contendere cum Deo, non poterit ei reſpondere vnum pro mille: *If a man will diſpute with God, he is not able to anſwer him one for a thouſand.* And therefore he ſaith:

Iob 9.

Verebar omnia opera mea: *I ſtood in doubt, and was afraid of all my Works.* Againe he ſaith:

Eſai. 94.

Although I were perfect, yet my ſoule ſhall not know it? If I would iuſtifie my ſelfe mine owne Mouth ſhall condemne me. The Prophet Eſay ſaith: *All our righteouſneſſe is like a foule ſtained clout.*

Aug. de Tempore, Ser. 49.

Therefore, S. Auguſtine ſaith: Non intres in Iudicium cum Seruo tuo. Quid eſt, Non intres in iudicium cum Seruo tuo? Non ſtes mecum in iudicio, exigendo à me omnia quæ præcepiſti, & omnia quæ iuſſiſti. Nam me inuenies reum, ſi in Iudicium intraueris mecum. Opus ergo eſt Miſericordia tua, potiùs quam liquidiſſimo iudicio tuo: *O Lord enter not into iudgement with thy Seruant. What meaneth that, Enter not into iudgement with thy Seruant? Thus much it meaneth: Stand not with me in iudgement, requiring of me all that thou haſt commanded. For if thou enter into iudgement with me, thou ſhalt finde me guiltie. I haue need therefore, not of thy vpright* Iudgement, *but of thy* Mercy. Againe he ſaith:

Aug. Epiſt. 52. ad Macedon.

Merita quorumlibet hominum quę ſunt? Quandoquidem ille qui non cum mercede debita, ſed cum gratuita Gratia venit, omnes peccatores, ſolus à peccato liber, & liberator, inuenit: What bee the Merits of any men? *For Chriſt that came* not with his due reward, but with his Grace that

was

was not due, *found all men sinners, being himselfe only free from sin, and a deliuerer of Sinners.*

Merit, and Mercie.

Againe he saith: Coronat te in Misericordia & Miserationibus. Hoc fiet in iudicio: vbi cùm Rex iustus sederit in Throno, redditurus vnicuiq; secundùm opera eius, quis gloriabitur, castum se habere Cor? Aut quis gloriabitur, mundum se esse à peccatis? Id. ò illic necessarium fuit commemorare Miserationem & Misericordiam Domini, &c. *God crowneth thee with Fauour and Mercy. That shall be done in the last iudgement: whereas when the Iust King shall sit in his Throne, to render to euery man according to his works, who shall boast, that his heart is chaste? Or who shall boast, that he is cleane from Sinne? Therefore it was needfull to make mention of the* Pitty and Mercy of Our Lord. **And againe:** Opera manuum mearum non Commendo. Time enim, ne cùm inspexeris, plura inuenias Peccata quàm Merita: *Lord I commend not the works of my hands. For I am afraid, lest when thou shalt behold them,* thou shalt finde moe sinnes then good deseruings.

Aug. de Spirit. & Littera, cap. 33.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 137.

So saith S. Hierome: Si consideremus nostra Merita, desperandum est: if we behold our owne Merits, we must be driuen to desperation.

Hierony. in Esai. Cap. 64.

So saith Origen: Ego vix mihi persuadeo, vllum opus esse posse, quod ex debito remunerationem deposcat. *I doe scarcely beleeue that there can be any worke* that may of duty require reward. **Againe he saith:** Dicite vos esse Seruos inutiles. Nam etsi omnia fecerimus quæ præcepta sunt, non tamen bonum aliquod fecimus. Nec enim si verè bona essent, essemus inutiles. Omne autem bonum nostrum non propriè, sed abusiuè bonum dicitur: *Say ye* (saith Christ) *that ye be vnprofitable Seruants. For notwithstanding wee haue done all things that are commanded,* yet haue we done no good thing. *For if our doings were good indeed, then were we not vnprofitable. But any good deed of ours is called good,* not rightly, or duly, but by abuse of speech. **So saith** S. Augustine: Si Deus vellet pro Meritis agere, non inueniret, nisi quod damnaret: *If God would deale with vs according to that we haue deserued, hee should finde nothing, but that hee might condemne.* **Therefore, M. Harding,** Waldensis **one of your great Doctours, hauing well and circumspectly weighed the matter of euery side, at the last concludeth thus:** Quid dignum facimus, vt participes Cœlestibus fieri inueniamur? Apostolo dicente, Existimo quòd non sunt condignæ passiones huius temporis ad futuram gloriam, quæ reuelabitur in nobis: Reputo igitur saniorem Theologum, fideliorem Catholicum, & Scripturis Sanctis magis concordem, qui tale Meritum simpliciter abnegat: *What worthy thing doe we, that we may be found in the Fellowship of the Heauenly Spirits? The Apostle saith, I iudge that the afflictions of this time are not worthy of that Glory that shall be reuealed in vs.* Therefore I take him to be the sounder Diuine, the Faithfuller Catholike, and more agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, that vtterly denieth all such kinde of Merit.

Auguſt in Pſalm. 94.

Walden. contra Wiclefum.

Roman. 8.

But yee will say: If wee finde Our selues void of Merit, how then shall wee stand and bee iustified before God? S. John **saith:** *Blessed are they that haue washed their Robes* (**not in their owne** Merits, **but**) *in the Blood of the Lambe.* **And God saith:** *I will giue the thirsty to Drinke of the Well of Life* (**not for his** Deserts, **but**) for nothing. **The Ancient Father** Origen **saith:** Quia Omnia conclusa sunt sub Peccato, nunc non in Meritis, sed in Misericordia Dei Salus Humana Consistit: *Forasmuch as all men are shut vp, and Closed vnder Sinne,* Now the Saluation of Man standeth not in Mans Merits, but in Gods Mercy.

Apocalyp. 22.

Apocalyp. 21.

Orig. ad Rom. Lib. 9. Cap. 12.

S. Augustine **saith:** Deus in fine Coronabit nos in Misericordia & Miserationibus: *God in the end will Crowne vs* (**not with the price of our deseruings, but**) with Fauour and Mercies.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 105. ad Sixtũ.

Againe he saith: Pro nihilo saluos facies eos. Quid est, Pro nihilo saluos facies eos? Nihil in eis inuenis vnde salues, & tamen saluas. Quia nihil inuenis vnde salues: & multum inuenis vnde damnes: For Nothing *thou shalt saue them. What is meant by these words,* For Nothing *thou shalt saue them?* (*This is the meaning*) Thou findest Nothing in them wherefore thou shouldest saue them; and yet thou sauest them. *Thou findest nothing wherefore thou shouldest saue them: but thou findest much wherefore thou shouldest condemne them.* **And again:** Omnes in Mortem Pœna debita præcipites ageret, nisi inde quosdam indebita Dei Gratia liberaret: *Deserued paine would throw all men into Death, vnlesse the* Vndeserued *Grace of God deliuer some from it.*

Aug. de verbis Apoſtoli, Serm. 15.

Aug. de Ciuit. Lib. 14 Cap. 1.

S. Basil **saith:** Non erit Iudicium sine Misericordia: quia non potest homo purus inueniri à sorde, ne si vnus quidem tantùm dies sit ab eius natali: Iudgement shal not be without Mercy: *For no man can be found pure, and cleane from all filth: no, though he be but one day old.* **Againe he saith:** Hæc est nostra integra & perfecta gloriatio in Deo, quando propriæ Iustitiæ nos inopes agnoscimus: Sola autem Fide in Christum Iustificari: *This is our full and perfect reioicing in God, when we acknowledge that we are void of any Our owne Righteousnesse,* and are iustified by Onely Faith in Christ.

Baſil. in Pſalm. 32.

Baſil. de Humilitate.

Hier. in Epiſt. ad Epheſ ca. 3.

So ſaith S. Hierome: In Chriſto Jeſu Domino noſtro, in quo habemus fiduciam, & acceſſum, & confidentiam per Fidem eius: non per noſtram Iuſtitiam, ſed per eum, cuius Fide nobis Peccata dimittuntur: *In Chriſt Ieſus our Lord, in whom we haue boldneſſe, and liberty to come* (to God) *and truſt, and affiance by the Faith of him: not through Our Righteouſneſſe, but through him, in whoſe name Our Sinnes be forgiuen.*

Merit, and Mercie.

Hereof S. Bernard in moſt godly and comfortable wiſe concludeth thus: Meritum meum Miſerationes Domini. Non ſum ego inops Meriti, quamdiu ille non eſt inops Miſerationum. Si Miſerationes eius multæ, multus ego ſum in Meritis. Hoc totum eſt Hominis Meritum, ſi totam ſpem ſuam ponat in Domino: *My Merit is the Mercy of God. So long as God is not poore of Mercy, ſo long cannot I bee poore of Merit. If his Mercies bee great, then am I great in Merits.* This is the whole Merit of Man, if he put his whole affiance in the Lord.

Berna. in Pſal. Qui habitat.

This is theſe Defenders Horrible Hereſie, M. Harding, which (you ſay) might not ſo eſcape your hands.

The Apology, Chap. 21. Diuiſion 1.

The cauſe of Reſurrection.

TO conclude, we Beleeue, That this our ſelfe ſame Fleſh wherein we liue, although it die, and come to duſt, yet at the laſt ſhall returne againe to Life, by the meanes of Chriſts Spirit which dwelleth in vs: And, That then verily, whatſoeuer we ſuffer here in the meane while for his ſake, Chriſt will wipe away all teares and heauineſſe from our eies: And, That we through him ſhall enioy euerlaſting Life, and ſhall for euer be with him in Glory. So be it.

M. Harding.

Laſt of all, ye beleeue (as ye ſay) that this very Fleſh ſhall returne to Life, and that for the Spirit of Chriſt which dwelleth in vs. There is no doubt but the Spirit of Chriſt is ſufficient to raiſe vp their Bodies in whom it dwelleth. But we ſay, that the raiſing of our fleſh is alſo aſsigned in Holy Scripture to the Reall and Subſtantiall eating of Chriſts Fleſh, becauſe it is writtren: He that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Bloud, hath Life Euerlaſting: And I will raiſe him againe in the laſt day. Therefore the Reſurrection of the Fleſh is not only aſsigned in Holy Scripture to the Spirit of Chriſt, but alſo to the worthy eating of his Fleſh. And thus we haue confuted the Doctrine wherein ye declare your Faith: and the chiefe grounds whereon ye build your new Goſpell we haue diſproued.

* Vntruth. For ſo the Fathers of the Old Law, & all Chriſtian Infants ſhould bee vtterly excluded fro Reſurrection.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

The woords wherein ye finde fault, M. Harding, are not ours, but S. Pauls. If they be falſe, why did he write them? If they bee true, why doe you blame them? Here ye ſeeme to checke S Paul, and not onely vs. Ye ſay: The raiſing of our Fleſh is alſo aſſigned in the Holy Scripture to the Reall and Subſtantiall eating of Chriſts Fleſh. But whence had ye theſe woords, M. Harding? Where found ye theſe Scriptures? Diſſemble no longer: Deale plainly, and ſimply: It is Gods cauſe. For a ſhew ye alledge theſe woords of Chriſt, written by S. Iohn: He that Eateth my Fleſh, and Drinketh my Bloud, hath Life Euerlaſting: And I will raiſe him vp againe in the laſt day. Theſe woords wee know: and the eating of Chriſts Fleſh we know: But where is your Reall, and Subſtantiall, and Carnall Eating? Where did S. Iohn euer tell you that Chriſts Body is Eaten with Teeth, and conueied further in ſuch groſſe and fleſhly wiſe into the belly? S. Auguſtine expounding the ſame woords, ſaith thus: Crede & Manducaſti: Credere in Chriſtum, hoc eſt Manducare Panem viuum: Iſte Panis Interioris Hominis quærit eſuriem: Beleeue thou (in Chriſt) and thou haſt Eaten (Chriſt.) To Beleeue in Chriſt, that is the Eating of the Bread of Life. *This Bread requireth the Hunger of the Inner Man.* And Nicholas Lyra one of your owne Doctors, ſaith: Theſe woords of S. Iohn pertaine nothing to the Sacrament. Thus he ſaith: Hoc Verbum nil directè pertinet ad Sacramentalem vel Corporalem Manducationem: *This ſaying* (of the ſixth of Iohn) *pertaineth nothing directly to the Sacramentall, or Corporall Eating.* It was ſome ouerſight of your part, M. Harding, to ſeeke to proue the Eating of the Sacrament by ſuch woords, as by your owne Doctors iudgement pertaine nothing to the Sacrament.

Iohn 6.

Auguſt. in Iohan. Tract. 25. Idem, Tra. 26.

Nicol. Lyra in Pſalm. 110.

M. Hard. fol. 374. b. 375. a.

Addition. ☞ It was more ouerſight of you, M. Iewel, to blemiſh your credit by belying my Doctor, if Lyra be my Doctour. For I yra neuer ſaid the words that you allege, &c, It appeareth how falſly you haue belied Lyra. The words which you allege, are not the words of Nicholas Lyra mine own Doctour, as you ſay, but of one Matthias Doring, &c. You haue deceiued your Reader with falſe forgerie &c. You haue alſo foulely corrupted this poore Doctour Doring, with cutting off his words, pretending him to ſpeake of theſe words of S. Iohn, He that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, hath Life euerlaſting: Addition. ☞

euerlasting: And I wil raise him againe in the last day, which I alleged, whereas indeed he spake only of these special words of S. Iohn, *Nisi manducaueritis Carnem Filij Hominis, &c.* That the truth may be known, and your Falshood detected, &c. The words, that you allege, be not Lyraes, but one Dorings, &c.

Matthias Doring.

The Answer. Such Errors, such Ouersights, such Blemishing of credit, such Belying of Doctours, such Deceiuing of Readers, such Corruption, such Falshood, such Forgerie. Either there was some maruellous great cause, M. Harding, why yee should thus raise the Country with Hue and Crie, or else your Reader must néeds thinke, your head was disordered with some vanity. What was the cause then of all this stirre? you say, I haue alleged Nicolas Lyra in stead of Matthias Doring. This was an error, I will easily grant you. But Falshood, or Forgery, or Belying of Doctors, or Deceiuing of Readers, I beleeue few sober men would haue called it. For what if I mistoke Lyra in stead of Doring? what could I haue gained by all that Forgerie? Is not the Authoritie of Matthias Doring, as good as the Authoritie of Nicolas Lyra? were they not both Franciscan Fryars, of one Order, of one Religion, and of one Profession? You know that Nicolas Lyra, Paulus Burgensis, and Matthias Doring are all three so ioined together, not onely in one Booke, but also oftentimes in the one side of the leafe, that vnlesse a man bee very watchfull, hee may some take one of them for an other. And yet, whom soeuer a man shall happen to take of these three, there is small choice in the taking. Such poore aduantages must be faine to helpe you, M. Harding, when you finde your selfe scanted of better shifts.

But (you say) I haue also fouly corrupted this poore Doctor Doring. What Pouerty you find in him, I cannot tell. Wise men weigh Learning neither by Pouerty, nor by Riches. Notwithstanding I doubt not, but poore Doctor Doring in his time was thought to bee as good a Doctor, as Doctor Harding. But wherein haue I so foulely corrupted him? Verily, M. Harding, I haue neither changed any one of his words, nor altered any part of his meaning. He saith, *The words spoken by* Christ *in the sixt Chapter of* Iohn *belong not Directly to the receiuing of the Sacrament*: and to that purpose I haue alleged him. Now therefore M. Harding, for the better triall of your credit, let vs suffer Matthias Doring to tell his owne tale. Thus he saith: Illud dictum ex litera non habet fundamentum. Ideò de Sacramentali Communione, nec quoad Clerum, nec quoad Laicum habet vim præceptiad omnes, secundùm verum eius intellectum: Quia ex eodem contextu literæ, declaratur, de qua manducatione & potatione intelligi debeat, videlicet de Spirituali: Quia sequitur, Qui manducat meam Carnem, & bibit meum Sanguinem, in me manet, & ego in eo. Quod Beatus Augustinus exponens ait, Hoc est Manducare illam escam, & bibere illum potum, in Christo Manere & Christum manentem in se habere: quod nihil est aliud, quàm esse in Charitate Christi. Hoc autem nihil directè pertinet ad Sacramentalem vel Corporalem manducationem. Nam hoc verbum fuit dictum antequã Sacramentum Eucharistiæ esset iustitutum Ex illa igitur Litera de Sacramentali Communione non potest fieri Argumentũ efficax. Primùm enim id, de quo agitur, debet esse in rerum natura. De Eucharistia igitur Sacramentali, quæ nondum fuit, tam alta sententia proferri non potuit: nisi quis curiosus Hæreticus diceret, illa verba dicta de vsu Sacramenti Eucharistiæ prognosticè per modum Propheti æ. Sed sic dicere, non potest in aliquo passu Sacræ Scripturæ fundari. Eadem igitur facilitate contemnitur, qua probatur: præsertim quum constet ex Euangelij rotundo textu, quosdam huic præcepto satisfeciisse, quos constat nunquam Sacramentaliter Communicasse. Ideo Augustinus ait, has Propositiones simul esse veras: Non Manducans, Manducat: & Manducans, non Manducat. Dato opposito, sequeretur, neminem esse in charitate, nisi Sacramentaliter Communicantem: quod est erroneum dicere: *That saying hath no foundation or warrant in the words written by* S. Iohn. *Therefore to speake of receiuing of the Sacrament, in true vnderstanding, it hath no force of commandement, neither touching the Clergy, nor touching the Laity. For in the same course of words it is opened sufficiently, of what Eating and Drinking it ought to be taken: I meane* (not of the Sacramental, but) *of the Spiritual Eating and Drinking. For it followeth,* He that Eateth my Flesh, and Drinketh my Blood, abideth in me, and I in him. *Which words* S. Augustine *expoundeth thus:* This is the Eating of that meat, and Drinking of that drinke, for a man to dwell in Christ, and to haue Christ dwelling in him: *which is nothing else but to be in the loue of Christ. But this pertaines nothing directly to the Sacramentall or Bodily Eating. For this was spoken long before the Sacrament was ordained. Therefore out of those words they can make no good proofe, touching the Communion of the Sacrament. For first it is needfull, that the thing whereof we speake, haue a present being. Therefore so Heauenly a saying could not then be spoken of the receiuing of the Sacrament, for that at that time the Sacrament as yet had no being: Vnlesse some curious Heretike will say, that the said words in the sixth of* Iohn *were spoken of the Sacrament by way of Prognostication or by a Propheſie. But that saying can haue no Foundation in any part*

Matthias Doring in Psalm. 110.

Nothing directly to the Sacrament.

No profe touching the Sacrament.

Could not bee spoken.

By way of Prognostication.

The cause of Resurrection.

part of the Scriptures. And therefore it is as easily despised, as it may be proued: forasmuch as it appeareth euidently by the Gospell, that certaine haue satisfied this Commandement (and haue eaten Christs Flesh, and dronken his Blood) *that certainely were neuer partakers of the Sacrament. For that cause* S. Augustine *saith, These two sayings be both true,* He that Eateth not, Eateth: And, He that Eateth, Eateth not. *Otherwise it would follow, that no man can be in the Loue of Christ, vnlesse he be partaker of the Sacrament: which thing to say, it were great error.*

It were great error.

Now, M. Harding, let your Reader iudge indifferently betweene vs, touching this Forgery Matthias Doring saith: *Your saying hath no warrant of the Scripture.* He saith: *These words* (in the sixth of Iohn) *cannot directly pertaine to the receiuing of the Sacrament,* for that the Sacrament at that time was not ordained: He saith, *You are a curious Heretike,* if you thinke, these words were spoken by Prognostication or by Prophesie: He saith, *We may aswell despise your fantasie, as you can proue it:* He saith, *That to apply these words to the receiuing of the Sacrament, it were great error.* And for proofe of his owne iudgement herein, he allegeth the authority of S. Augustine. I cannot see, in what kinde of speech hee could more clearely haue expressed his meaning.

M. Harding fol. 375. a.

But you will say, Matthias Doring spake not of the words, that you allege; Which are these: *He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath life euerlasting, and I will raise him again at the last day:* But onely, and specially of these words, *Vnlesse ye eat the Flesh of the Sonne of Man, you shall haue no life in you.* Of these words (you say) Matthias Doring spake, and not of the other. What fond folly is this, M. Harding? Why should you so vainely deceiue the World? What difference finde you betweene these two sentences? Were they not both vttered in one Chapter, in one place, at one time, by one Mouth, and to one purpose? If the one part pertaine to the Sacrament, what hath the other offended, that it may not likewise pertaine to the Sacrament? What cause, what reason, what authority, haue you to the contrary? If you haue any, let it appeare: Otherwise, your Reader will thinke, you talke without ground, ye care not what. I protest before God, it pitieth me to see your follies.

Matthias Doring speaketh not only or specially of one or two words, as you say, but generally of all the words that Christ spake in the sixth Chapter of S. Iohn, *Touching the Eating of his Flesh, and drinking of his Blood:* Which words, he saith, *Pertaine not directly to the receiuing of the Sacrament.* And his reason is this: *For* saith he, *When Christ spake these words, the Sacrament as yet was not ordained.* I beseech you doth not this reason include as well the one sentence, as the other? When Christ spake these words, Nisi ederitis carnem Filij Hominis, &c. *The Sacraments* (saith Matthias) *was not yet ordained.* And was it suddenly ordained, before he could vtter the next words following? The next words are these that you haue alleged, *He that Eateth my Flesh and Drinketh my Blood, hath life Euerlasting, and I shall raise him vp at the last day.* Neither these words nor the former pertaine directly to the Sacrament.

As Matthias Doring saith, euen so saith Michael Vehe, an other of your owne Doctors: *Quam nihil firmitatis habeat hæc ratio, hinc claret, quod verbis Christi abutitur in peregrino sensu Quæ enim de Spirituali manducatione, &c. How weake this reason is it appeareth hereby, that he abuseth Christs words in a strange meaning. For the words that were spoken of the Spirituall Eating, hee wresteth to the Eating of the Sacrament: of which Eating of the Sacrament, Christ in those words in the sixth Chapter of* S. Iohn *speaketh nothing. Which thing is well proued by this reason: For many haue Spirituall Life by the Grace of God, and be liuely Members of Christs Body, that were neuer partakers of the Sacrament, &c.*

Michael Vehe, contra Lutherum Tract. 5.

In a strange meaning.

Wresteth.

Christ spake nothing of.

So likewise saith Eckius, speaking of the sixth Chapter of S. Iohn: *Ad Sacramentum his oculus non est habendus: In this Chapter we may haue no eie vnto the Sacrament.* I could allege more of your owne Doctors to like purpose. But my head is weary of your wrangling.

Eckius de vtraque specie.

Iohan. 6.

Christ saith further: *Vnlesse ye Eat the Flesh of the Sonne of Man, and Drinke his Blood ye shall haue no Life in you.* If there be none other Eating of Christs Body, whereby we shall liue, but only your Fantasticall and Fleshly Eating with Mouth and Teeth, then I beseech you, what Life haue Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Moses, Aaron, and other Holy Patriarkes and Prophets, that were before the comming of Christ? What Life haue a great number of Holy Martyrs? What life haue Christian Children, that being Baptized in the Blood of Christ, depart this life before they can receiue the Sacrament: that is to say, by your strange exposition, before they haue Really and Substantially Eaten the Flesh of Christ? Will ye say, They haue no Life? Or, will ye condemne them all to Euerlasting Death? Or, must we thinke, they shall neuer rise againe? Certainly S. Augustine saith precisely: Qui Manducat, habet Vitam: & qui non manducat, non habet Vitam:

August. in Ioh. Tract. 26.

tam: *Whoso eateth (the Flesh of Christ) hath Life: and whoso eateth it not, hath no Life.* Here of we must néds conclude by your Diuinity, that Araham, Isaac, Iacob, Moses, and other godly Fathers, that neuer receiued the Sacrament haue no Life, but are dead for euer, without hope of Resurrection.

The cause of Resurrection.

But to leaue your fantasies, M. Harding, the cause of Our Resurrection, as S. Paul saith, is the Spirit of God, that dwelleth in vs. Origen saith: Resurgemus propter Spiritum habitantem in nobis: Necesse est enim Spiritui reddi habitaculum suum: *Wee shall rise again because of the Spirit, that dwelleth within vs: For of necessity the Spirit must haue his house restored vnto him.* S. Augustine saith: Hæc mea tota spes est, & omnis fiducia. Est enim in ipso Iesu Christo Domino nostro Vniuscuiusque nostrum portio, Caro & Sanguis. Vbi ergo portio mea regnat, ibi ego me regnare credo: *This is my whole hope, and all my trust. For in Christ Iesus our Lord is flesh and blood, which is a Portion of each of vs.* Therfore where a Portion of mine raigneth, there I beleeue, that I raigne too.

1. Cor. 15. *Orig. ad Rom. cap. 8. lib. 6.* *Aug. Meditation. cap. 15.*

S. Cyril saith: Quamuis Mors propter peccatum in Naturam nostram insilijt, semen, quia Filius Dei Homo factus est, omnes profectò Resurgemus: *Although Death be fallen into our Nature because of Sinne, yet* becausse the Sonne of God is made man, *doubtlesse we shal all rise againe.* Likewise againe he saith: Sic vos effeci participes Diuinæ Naturæ, cùm Spiritum meum fecerim habitare in vobis. Christus enim in nobis est per Spiritum, Corruptionem nostram in Incorruptionem Commutans: *So I made you partakers of the Diuine nature,* when I caused my Spirit to dwel in you. For Christ is in vs by his Spirit *changing our Corruption into Incorruption.* Thus the Spirit of God is the cause and the worker of our Resurrection. And to come nere vnto you, the Sacraments of Christ are also meanes and instruments, and seales hereof, but not the causes. S. Cyrill saith: Quod mystica Communio Resurrectionis quædam sit Confessio, verbis Christi ipsius probatur: Ait enim, Hoc est Corpus meum: Hoc in memoriam mei facite: *That the Mysticall Communion is a certaine Confession of the* Resurrection, *it is prooued by the words of Christ himselfe. For hee saith: This is my Body: Doe this in Remembrance of mee.* And therefore in the Councell of Nice, the holy Pylleries are called Resurrectionis nostræ Symbola: *The Pledges or Tokens of our* Resurrection. And S. Ambrose (speaking distinctly hereof, saith: Non iste Panis, qui vadit in Corpus, sed Panis Vitæ Æternæ, qui animæ nostræ Substantiam fulcit: *It is not this Bread (of the Sacrament) that passeth into the Body: but it is the Bread of Euerlasting Life, (that is to say, the very Body of Christ it selfe) that sustaineth the Substance of our Soule.*

Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 4. cap 15. *Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 9. cap. 47.* *Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 12. cap. 58.* *Concil. Nicen. De Con. dist. 2. Non iste.*

And to put the matter further out of doubt, the same force vnto Resurrection, that is applied vnto the Sacrament of Christs Body, is also, and in as ample sort giuen to the Sacrament of Baptisme.

S. Basil saith: Dies Paschatis est Pignus Resurrectionis: Baptisma verò est potentia & vis ad Resurrectionem: *Easter day is a pledge of* Resurrection: but Baptisme is a power and strength vnto Resurrection.

Basil. de Sanct. Baptismate. τὸ δὲ βάπτισμα δύναμις ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

Againe hee saith: Resurrectionis gratiam in die Resurrectionis excipiamus: Vpon the day of Christs Resurrection, Let vs receiue (Baptisme, which is) the Grace of Resurrection.

Ignatius saith: Vt Credentes in mortem eius, per Baptismum participes eius Resurrectionis efficiamini: *That beleeuing in his death,* By Baptisme *ye may be made partakers of his Resurrection.* Therefore in the Councell of Woormes it is written thus: In aquas demersio, in Infernum descensio est: Et rursus, ab Aquis emersio, Resurrectio est: *The dipping into the Water, is the going downe into Hell:* and the comming out from the Water is the Resurrection.

Ignatius ad Trallien. *Concil. Woormatien. cap. 5.*

In the end, M. Harding, ye blow vp merily your owne Conquest, and thus ye say: We haue confuted the Doctrine, wherin ye declare your Faith, and the chiefe grounds wheron ye build your new Gospell, we haue disprooued. But with so simple prowes, and so many Untruths, M. Harding, as for Honours sake, may not well be shewed in your triumph.

Heere endeth the Second Part.

THE

THE THIRD PART.

The Apologie, Chap. 1. *Diuision* 1.

BEhold, these are the horrible Heresies, for the which a good part of the World is at this day condemned by the Bishop of Rome: And yet were neuer heard to plead their cause. He should haue commenced his sute rather against Christ, against the Apostles, and against the holy Fathers. For these things did not only proceed from them: but were also appointed by them: Except perhaps these men will say (as I think they will indeed) that Christ neuer instituted the Holy Communion, to be diuided amongst the Faithfull: Or, that Christs Apostles and the ancient Fathers said Priuate Masses, in euery corner of the Temples now ten, now twenty together in one day: Or, that Christ & his Apostles vanished all the Common people from the Sacrament of his Bloud: Or, that the thing that they themselues doe at this day euery where, and do it so, as they condemne him for an Heretike which doth otherwise, is not called of Gelasius, their owne Doctour, plaine Sacrilege: Or, that these be not the very words of Ambrose, Augustine, Gelasius, Theodoret, Chrysostome and Origen; The Bread and Wine in the Sacraments remaine still the same, they were before: The thing which is seene vpon the holy table, is Bread: There ceaseth not to bee still the Substance of Bread, and Nature of Wine: The Substance and Nature of Bread, is not changed: The selfe same Bread as touching the Materiall Substance, goeth into the Belly, and is cast out into the priuy: Or, that Christ the Apostles and Holy Fathers praied not in that tongue, which the people might vnderstand: Or, that Christ hath not perfourmed all things by that one offering which hee once offered vpon the Crosse: Or, that the same Sacrifice was Vnperfect, so that now we haue need of another.

(a) Who so wanteth dissolution, and vicesdnes may seeke it at Rome.

(b) Vntruth. For in the time of Augustine, Ambrose, Hierome, &c. there were more Christians in the World, than be at this present.

(c) Good causes against God.

(d) One dreame to proue another

(e) vntruth. For it stoode in diuiding of the Sacrament.

(f) Howsoeuer Christ and his Apostles did, the Pope and his Clergie cannot doe amisse.

(g) Vntruth, plain & sensible For this Order was not from the beginning.

M. Harding.

What make ye of a good part of the World? The greater is the number of those ye haue seduced, the more greeuous shall bee your Iudgement. There be not yet many yeares past, that ye boasted of your poore small flocke, alluding to the fewnesse of Flocke, that liued with Christ in Flesh, and made their fewnesse an argument of the vncerte truth. But now that through your euill teaching (a) the world groweth more to be dissolute and wicked, ye boast of your number This is certaine, touching grounds of truth, the Church erreth not, as that which enioieth Christs promise: & your Congregation teaching the contrary, must therfore be taken for the Children of the Father of lies. Though tenne or twenty Masses were not said in one day by Christ, the Apostles, or Fathers, as yee seeme, with the Faith was first Preached, (b) and few beleeued, no Churches (which here are not without prophane malice ye name Temples) yet being built, this is no sufficient reason, why we may not now, where the Faith is generally receiued, haue sundry Masses in one Church in one day. Yee make much adoe about both Kinds, and to aggrauate the matter, ye vse the odious Terme of banishing the people from the Cuppe We teach the people for (c) good causes to be content with one kinde, doing them to vnderstand, they receiue the whole Body of (d) Christ Flesh and Blood no lesse, than if they receiued both Kinds. The Sacrilege which Gelasius speaketh of, consisteth (e) in diuiding Christ, and the same hee imputeth to the Manicheis, as haue another where declared. And therefore as that toucheth not vs, who do not diuide Christ, but in the Sacrament giue to the people whole Christ, so it sheweth you to be either slanderous or ignorant. To M. Iewels challenge, Artic. 1.

As for the tongue of the Church Seruice (f) howsoeuer Christ, the Apostles and holy Fathers praied, the vse of the Latine tongue vsed in the Seruice of the Latine Church, is not by any reason or authority ye can bring yet, so farre disproued, that the Church ought to condemne the order (g) from the beginning receiued, and hitherto continued.

The

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Few or Many.

We make no crakes of our numbers, M. Harding, but humbly giue God thankes that maugre all your practises and policies, hath published and proclaimed the name of his Sonne in euerie place throw the world. The truth and force thereof greeueth you now, as it did others your Fathers before you, that cried out in an agonie: *What shall we doe? All the World runneth after him.* Of them S. Cyrill saith: Quicquid Christo credentium accellerit, sibi detractum putant: *As many Faithfull Beleeuers, as are gotten to Christ so many they thinke, are lost from themselues.* Iohan. 12. *Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 8. cap. 1.*

Notwithstanding, the truth of God hangeth neither of many, nor of few. Liberius the Bishop of Rome, said sometime to the Arian Emperour Constantius: Non; ego solus sum, idcirco minor est ratio Fidei: *Although I be alone, yet the account of Faith is therefore no whit the lesse.* Christ compareth the kingdome of God vnto a peece of Leauen, which being little in quantity the woman taketh, and laieth in a great lumpe of dough, vntill the whole be all Leauened. *Theod. l. 2. c. 16* Matth. 13.

Chrysostome saith: Nemo paucitatem vestram deploret. Magna enim est virtus Prædicationis. Et quod semel fermentatum est, rursus fermentum ad cætera efficitur: *Let no man bewaile the small number of you. For great is the Vertue of Preaching. And whoso is once Leauened, is himselfe made Leauen to Leauen others.* *Chrys. in Matth. homil 47. In Proœmio.*

It is noted in the Glosse vpon the Clementines: Veritas pedetentim cognoscitur: *Truth is knowen by little and by little.* And S. Ambrose: Constat Diluuium eodem numero, quo cumulatum est, esse diminutum: *It is knowen, that the Flood in the time of* Noe, *as it grew by degrees, so by degrees it abated.* Origen saith: Ego concitabo eos in non Gentem. Nos sumus non Gens, qui pauci ex ista Ciuitate credimus, & alij ex alia. Et nusquam Gens integra ab initio credulitatis videtur assumpta: *I shall prouoke them by them, that are no people. We are they, that were no people, that beleeue in Christ, a few in this Citie, and a few in another. And neuer was there any Nation, that was taken whole at the first beginning of the Faith.* The meaning heereof is this, that God calleth men, not altogether, but now a few, now more, as vnto his secret wisedome semeth best. So it is written in the late Councell of Basil: Spiritus Sanctus non illuminat omnes eodem tempore: Sed vbi vult, & quando vult, spirat. *The Holy Ghost doth not giue light to all men at one time: but breatheth where it will, and when it will.* *Clemē. in Gloss. Ambr. de Noe & Arca, ca. 17 Orig. in Psalm. 36. Homil. 1.* *In Concil. Basil. in epist. Synodali pag. 152.*

This is the counsell and the hand of God, M. Harding. We may say vnto you, as Tertullian said sometime vnto the Heathens: Exquisitior quæque crudelitas vestra, illecebra est magis Sectæ, Plures efficimur, quoties metimur à vobis. Semen est Sanguis Christianorum: *Your earnest cruelty is an entisement and a prouocation vnto this Sect: As often as yee reckon vs, yee finde vs moe and moe. The seed heereof is Christian Blood.* Arnobius said sometime vnto the enemies of the Crosse of Christ, Nonne hæc saltem fidem vobis faciunt argumenta credendi, quod iam per omnes terras, in tam breui tempore, & paruo, immensa nominis huius Sacramenta diffusa sunt: *At the least, do not these proofes make you beleeue that yee see, the great Secrets of this Name* (of Christ) *are powred abroad in so short space thorow all Countries.* *Tertull. in Apologet.* *Arnobius ad uer. Gent. lib. 1.*

Fight not against God, M. Harding. There is no Wisdome, there is no Counsell against God. Prouerb. 21,

This is certaine (ye say) touching the grounds of Faith, the Church erreth not. Whether your Church haue erred, or no, and in what grounds it hath erred, it shall better appeare heereafter. Truely S. Bernard saith of your Church, euen of your Church of Rome: Intestina, & insanabilis facta est plaga Ecclesiæ: *The wound of the Church is within the bowels and past recouery.* And againe: Hæc sunt infœlicissima tempora, quæ præuidit Apostolus, in quibus homines sanam Doctrinam non sustinent: *These be the vnhappie daies, that the Apostle saw before when men cannot abide sound Doctrine.* This was S. Bernards iudgement of your Church, that it would heare no sound Doctrine: and that it for that cause seemed vtterly past recouery. Therefore so certainely to assure your selfe of a thing vncertaine, it was no wisedome. Wee may say of your Popes and Bishops, whom onely yee meane by the name of your Church, as S. Hierome said sometime of certaine others your Fathers long agoe: Non tam indignentur nobis hæc exponentibus & Prophetis vaticinantibus, quam Dominum deprecentur, & studiosè agant, ne de Sacerdotibus, qui Violant Sancta Domini, esse mereantur: *Let them not take stomacke against vs, that expound these things, nor against the Prophets that foretolde these things: But let them pray vnto God, and take good heede that they bee not of those Priests, that defile the Holy things of the Lord.* *Berna. ad Clerum in Concil. Rhemen.* *Berna. in Cantica, homil. 33.* *Hieronym in Sophon. cap 3.*

Churches (ye say) not without profaine malice, yee call Temples. Malice come vnto him, M. Harding,

Psal.10.

Church. Temple.

1.Cor.3. 2.Cor.6.16.

Harding, that Malice meaneth. The Prophet Dauid saith: The Lord in his holy Temple: S.Paul saith: *Your Bodies be the* Temples *of the holy Ghost: Know yee not that ye be the* Temple *of God. If any man defile the* Temple *of God, the Lord will destroy him: Ye are the* Temple *of the liuing God: What agreement is there betweene the* Temple *of God, and an idoll?* So many times S.Paul nameth Temples together in one place: and yet, I thinke, without any great profane Malice. But it shall be lawfull for you, M.Harding, to make new Sinnes, and to say, The Apostles of Christ were malicious and wicked, onely for that they called the Church of God by the name of Temple. Would God ye had not turned Gods Temple into the Synagogue of Satan. Wee see by your practise, it is true, that S.Chrysostome saith: Sicut de Templo omne bonum egreditur, ita etiam de Templo omne malum procedit: *As euery good thing proceedeth from the* Temple, *so euery ill thing proceedeth likewise from the* Temple.

Chrys. in Matth. Homil.38. in opere imperf.

Halfe Cõmunion.

In defense of your Halfe Communion, ye say, For good causes ye teach the people to be content with one Kind. And thus yee force the poore people contrary to the expresse word of Christ, contrary to the example of the Apostles, and all the holy Fathers in the Primitiue Church, and contrary to the generall vse and order of a whole thousand yeeres, to giue eare to your good causes. But these causes, no doubt, are great and worthy: Otherwise ye would not weigh them against God. But wherefore are they dissembled? Why are they not tolde vs? Your owne Doctours Alphonsus de Castro, and Iohn Gerson, haue laid them out in this wise particularly and at large: *The danger of shedding: The carrying from place to place: The fouling of the Cuppes: The trouble of Mens Beards: The reseruing for the Sicke: The turning the Wine into Vineger: The engendring of Flies: The Corruption or Putrefaction: The Loathsomnesse that may happen for so many to Drinke of one Cup: The impossibility of prouiding one Cup, that may be sufficient to serue all the People: In some places Wine is deare: In some places the Wine will be frorne.*

Alphon. aduersus hæres. lib.6. De Eucharist. Section vltima. Iohan. Gerson. de communione Laicor.

These, M.Harding, be the fairest and greatest of your good causes. And yet haue you thus concluded in your late Chapter at Trident: Si quis dixerit, Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam non iustis causis, & rationibus adductam fuisse vt Laicos, atque etiam Clericos non conficientes, sub Panis tantummodò specie Communicaret, aut in eo errasse, Anathema sit: *If any man shall say, that the holy Catholike Church, without* iust causes and reasons *her moning doth Communicate both the Laity and also Priests, vnlesse they Minister, vnder the onely Forme of Bread, or that the Church hath erred in the same, Accursed be hee.* Therefore Tertullian saith rightly of you: Credunt sine Scripturis, vt credant contra Scripturas: *They Beleeue* without the Scriptures, *that they may beleeue* against the Scriptures.

Conc. Trident. de commun. sub vna specie, ca.2.

Tertull. De Præscriptionib.

But specially, I beseech you, M.Harding, consider well these words of S.Hierome and see, whether ye apply them to your selues or no; In consummatione Mundi scrutabitur Dominus Hierusalem, id est, Ecclesiam suam cum Lucerna, & vlciscetur super viros Contemptores, qui noluerunt Seruare Custodias suas, id est, Mandata Domini Contempserunt: & insuper Ratione se peccare dicentes, blasphemauerunt in Cordibus suis: *In the end of the World our Lord shall search Hierusalem, that is to say, his Church with a Candle, and shall wreake himselfe vpon the Despisers, that would not keepe their watches, that is to say, that despised the Commandements of God: and ouer and besides this, saying, they had* good causes and reasons, wherefore they should offend (and breake Gods Commandements) they blasphemed in their Hearts.

Hieronym. in Sophon. cap.1.

That yee surmise of Gelasius is most vntrue. He speaketh not one Word thereof the diuiding of Christ as you imagine: nor had he any cause so to speake. But he saith in most plaine wise, It is Sacrilege to doe the same thing that you doe, that is to say, to diuide the Sacrament, and to Minister the one part, as ye doe without the other. Looke better on your Bookes; and confesse the truth, as ye shall finde it. The wordes be these: Aut integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur. Quia diuisio vnius eiusdemque Mysterij sine grandi Sacrilegio non potest peruenire: *Either let them receiue the* whole Sacraments, *or else let them be driuen* from the whole. *For the Diuision of one and the same Mystery* (or Sacrament) *cannot happen without great Sacrilege.* He speaketh not of the Diuision of One Christ, as you tell vs, but of the Diuision of One Mystery.

De Con. dist. 2. Comperimus.

Otherwise touching Christ, wee say with S.Paul: Vnus Dominus Iesus Christus: *There is One Lord Iesus Christ.* And wee protest with the Bishops of the East in the Councell of Chalcedon: Accursed be hee that parteth Christ: Accursed be he that diuideth him.

1.Cor.8.

Euagr. li.ca.17. Concil. Chalcedon. Actio.2.

Ἀνάθεμα τῷ μερίζοντι· ἀνάθεμα τῷ διαιροῦντι.

That you say, The order of your Latine Seruice hath euermore beene vsed in the Latine Church from the beginning. It is vtterly vntrue, For proofe whereof I remit you to my Former Replie in the third Article, and the fiftéenth Diuision.

The rest that ye allege, is not worthy the Answering.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 1. *Diuision* 2.

All theſe things muſt they of neceſſity ſay, vnleſſe perchance they had rather ſay thus, That all Law and Right is locked vp in the Treaſurie of the Popes breaſt, **and that, as once one of his ſoothing Pages and Clawbacks did not ſticke to ſay, the** Pope is able to diſpenſe againſt the Apoſtles, **againſt a** Councell, **and againſt the** Canons **and Rules of the** Apoſtles: **and that he is not bound to ſtand, neither to the Examples, nor to the Ordinances, nor to the Lawes of Chriſt.**

Diſpenſe againſt Gods Word.

M. Harding.

It is no reaſon that Diuines be required to make good whatſoeuer is written by the Canoniſts or Schoolemen.

To ſay that all Law and Right (your Latine terme is *Fas*) is locked vp in the Treaſury of the Popes breaſt, it were abſurd and vnreaſonable. Marry to ſay that the Lawes reſt in the Popes breaſt, after a certaine meaning, as heereafter ſhall bee declared, it is * not altogether beſide truth and reaſon. But Sirs, what if ſome meane Writer or Gloſſer vpon the Canon Law ſpeake ſomewhere out of ſquare, if all ſhould be exactly tried by the Scripture, will yee lay that to our charge? Shall the Faith of the Catholike Church thereby be called in doubt and queſtion? Wee take not vpon vs to defend all that the Canoniſts, or Schoole men, ſay or write, &c. In this kinde, or order, be many things, which may rather bee called Rules of maners, then Principles, or ſuch as wee terme, *Axiomata*, of our Faith. Theſe, although they be found written in the Scripture, foraſmuch as they haue been commanded by an occaſion, and for ſome cauſe, they may for cauſe, and occaſion, and, as we finde in C. *Lector*, for neceſſity, by Gods Deputy and Vicar be ſupplied, holpen, expounded. And, if the caſe ſo require, hee In the ſame, for a certaine cauſe, with a certaine perſon, for a certaine time, with certaine circumſtances, may diſpenſe by the ſame ſpirit they were firſt founded and inſtituted withall, and with the ſame intention, to wit for ſome ſpeciall good, and furtherance of godlineſſe. Such adminiſtration of Gods Law, and ſuch diſpenſation thereof, as of a precious Treaſure, not free, or at libertie and pleaſure, but an euen, iuſt, and good diſpenſation, they doe attribute to Gods Vicar, whom this Defender calleth the Popes paraſites, Pages, and Clawbacks, himſelfe a very Page, Slaue, and Clawbacke to the Diuell.

* Not altogether beſide truth: A cold Defenſe.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Here, M. Harding, ye rome, and wander, and goe maſket, as a man that were benighted, and had loſt his way. In ſome caſes (**ye** ſay) the Pope may diſpenſe againſt Gods word: In ſome caſes he may not. **Faine would ye** for **ſhame** ſomewhat limit and reſtraine his **Immmoderate Authority; but ye know not where to lay the bounds. Ye make** ſmall **account of your** Schoole Doctors, **and** Canoniſts, **that is to ſay, of the** Principall Pillars **of your Catholike Church: and thinke them not worthy to be your guides. Howbeit, your labour cannot all bee loſt: for they will thinke as light of you.**

15 q. 9. Authoritat. in Gloſſa. Diſt. 82. Presbyter Pelin. de Conſtitutionib. Cap. Statuta Canonum, Colum 6. 6. q. 1. Quicunque. In Gloſſa. Panor. Extra. de Diuortijs, Cap. Fin. Summa. Angel. in Dictione Papa. Felin. de Cõſtitution. Ca Statuta Canonum. Felin. de Maioritate, & obedient. Cap. 2. Idem de Maioritate & Obedient. Cap fin. Summa Angel. in Dictione pp. Panor. Extra. de Electione & Electi poteſt. Venerabilem.

But forasmuch as ye ſay, They flatter not the Pope, nor be his Pages, or Paraſites; **but ſpeake roundly to him, and tell him his owne, it ſhall not bee much amiſſe to hearken a little what they ſay.**

One of them ſaith **thus:** Papa poteſt Diſpenſare contra Ius Naturale: *The Pope may Diſpenſe againſt the* Law of Nature. **Another** ſaith: Papa Diſpenſat contra Canones Apoſtolorum: *The Pope Diſpenſeth againſt the* Canons or Rules of the Apoſtles. **Another** ſaith: Papa poteſt mutare formam Verborum in Baptiſmo: *The Pope may change the* forme of Words in Baptiſme. **Another** ſaith: Priuilegium dare poteſt contra Ius Diuinum: *The Popes Priuiledge may be granted againſt the* Law of God. **Another** ſaith: Papa ex Maxima Cauſa poteſt Diſpenſare cõtra Nouum Teſtamentum: *The Pope vpon a very great Cauſe, may Diſpenſe againſt the* New Teſtament. **Another** ſaith: Papa poteſt Deſpenſare de omnibus præceptis Veteris & Noui Teſtamenti: *The Pope may diſpenſe for* any commandement of the Old or New Teſtament. **Another** ſaith: Papa poteſt Diſpenſare contra Epiſtolas Pauli: *The Pope may Diſpenſe againſt the* Epiſtles of S. Paul. **And,** ſomewhat to qualifie the **outrage of the matter, Another** ſaith: Papa poteſt Diſpenſare contra Ius Diuinum in Particulari, non in Vniuerſali: *The Pope may Diſpenſe againſt the* Law of God *in* Particular, *not in* Generall. **And againe:** Papa poteſt tollere Ius Diuinum ex Parte, non in Totum: *The Pope may* aboliſh the Law of God *in* Part, *but* not in whole. **Another** ſaith: Martinus Papa 5. Diſpenſauit cum quodam qui acceperat Germanam ſuam in Vxorem: *Pope* Martin *the* 5. *Diſpenſed with a man that had* taken to Wife his owne Siſter. **Whether this repoꝛt be true, oꝛ falſe, I referre my ſelfe to the credit of the Authour. Verily, that the** Naturall Brother **ſhould** marrie **his owne** Naturall Siſter, **it would need a good ſtrong Diſpenſation: Foꝛ God himſelfe hath by moſt expreſſe woꝛds commanded the contrarie. Another** ſaith: Papa poteſt Diſpenſare cum omnibus Perſonis, niſi cum Patre & Matre: *The Pope may Diſpenſe* with all perſons (**tou-**

Diſpenſe againſt Gods Word.

thing Marriage) ſauing onely with Father and Mother (to Marrie, or to bee Married to their Children.) Another ſaith: Papa poteſt ſupra ius Diſpenſare: Et de Iniuſtitia poteſt facere iuſtitiam: & Sententiam, quæ nulla eſt, facere aliquam: Et de nihilo, facere aliquid: *The Pope may Diſpenſe* aboue the Law: *The Pope of* Wrong, may make Right: *The Pope of no Sentence, may make a Sentence: The Pope of* nothing, *may make* ſomething. The cauſe hereof, as another ſaith, is this: Quia Papa poteſt, excepto Peccato, quaſi omnia facere quæ poteſt Deus: *Sinne onely excepted, the Pope may doe in a maner* whatſoeuer God may doe.

De Tranſlatione Epiſcop. Quanto. Hoſtien. De Tranſlatione Epiſc. Quanto. Heruæus de poteſtate Papæ. Cardinal. Cuſ. ad Bohæmos. Epiſt. 2. Franciſc. De Maron. in 4. Diſt. 19. qu. 1. Articul. 3. 9 q. 3. Nemo. in Gloſſa. Daniel. 7.

Another ſaith: Papa habet Authoritatem declarandi Scripturas, ita vt non liceat oppoſitum tenere, vel opinari: *The Pope hath Authority ſo to expound and to declare the Scriptures, that it may not be lawfull for any man to hold, or to thinke the contrarie.* For Cardinall Cuſanus ſaith, as it is ſaid before: Scripturæ ad tempus adaptatæ ſunt, & variè intellectæ, ita vt vno tempore ſecundùm currentem Vniuerſalem ritum exponantur, mutato ritu, iterum ſententia mutetur: *The Scriptures are applied vnto the time, and are diuerſly vnderſtanded: ſo that at one time they are taken according to the Vniuerſall current order: which order being changed, the meaning of the Scriptures is changed too.*

Iohan. Andreas de Iudicijs Cùm veniſſent. Bernard. in Apologia ad Guiliel. Abbatem. Inter Decreta Zoſimi. 11. queſt. 3. Si is qui.

Another demandeth a queſtion: Vtrùm Papa ex Plenitudine Poteſtatis poſſit omnia? *Whether the Pope by the Fulneſſe of his Power may doe* all things?

Another ſaith: Si totus Mundus ſententiet contra Papam, videtur quòd ſtandum eſſet ſententiæ Papæ: *If* all the World would giue ſentence contrary to the Pope, yet it ſeemeth wee ought to ſtand to the ſentence of the Pope. These, M. Harding, by your iudgement, are neither Pages, nor Paraſites: but good, ſad, and earneſt friends; ſuch as ſpeake roughly and plainely to vtter their minde without flattery.

This doubtleſſe is it that Daniel ſo long before Prophecied of him: Dabitur illi os loquens grandia: *He ſhall haue a mouth giuen him, vttering great and præſumptuous matters.* For indeed, notwithſtanding all this glorious glittering of painted Authoritie, yet one of the Popes owne men ſaith, Papa non poteſt facere de quadrato rotundum: *The Pope* (notwithſtanding his Priuileges, and all his power) *cannot make a ſquare thing round.* S. Bernard ſaith: An Regula non concordat cum Euangelio, vel Apoſtolo? Alioqui Regula iam non eſt Regula: quia non eſt recta: *Doth not the* Rule, *agree with the Goſpell, or with the Apoſtle? Otherwiſe that* Rule, *is no* Rule *at all: for it is crooked; it is not ſtraight.*

And therefore Pope Zoſimus in more ſober wiſe ſaith thus: Contra Statuta Patrum condere aliquid, vel mutare, ne huius quidem Sedis Authoritas poteſt: *The Authoritie of this See cannot order or change anie thing contrary to the orders of our Fathers.*

Iſidorus ſaith: Is qui præeſt, ſi præter voluntatem, vel præter quod in Scripturis Sanctis euidenter præcipitur, vel dicit aliquid, vel imperat, tanquam Falſus Teſtis Dei, & Sacrilegus habeatur: *He that is in Authority, if he ſpeake or command any thing, beſides the will and meaning of Gods Word, or otherwiſe then is expreſly commanded in the Scriptures, let him be taken as a* Church-robber, and as a falſe witneſſe againſt God.

The Apology, Chap. 1. Diuiſion 3.

We, for our part, haue learned theſe things of Chriſt, of the Apoſtles, of the Deuout Fathers: and doe ſincerely with good Faith teach the People of God the ſame. Which thing is the onely cauſe why we at this day are called Heretikes of the Chiefe Prelate (no doubt) of Religion. O immortal God, hath Chriſt himſelfe then, the Apoſtles, and ſo many Fathers all at once gone aſtray: Were then Origen, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Chryſoſtome, Gelaſius, Thodeoretus, forſakers of the Catholike Faith? Was ſo notable a conſent of ſo many Ancient Biſhops, and Learned Men, nothing elſe but a conſpiracie of Heretikes? Or, is that now condemned in vs, which was then cõmended in them? Or, is the thing now, by alteratiõ only of on mans affections, ſuddenly become Schiſmatike, which in thẽ was counted Catholike? Or, ſhall that which in times paſt was vndoubtedly true, now by & by, becauſe it liketh not theſe men, be Iudged falſe? Let them then bring forth another Goſpell, and let them ſhew the cauſes, why theſe things, which ſo long haue openly bin obſerued, & wel allowed in the Church of God, ought now in the end to be called in againe. We know well enough, that the ſame Word which was opened by Chriſt, and ſpread abroad by the Apoſtles, is ſufficient both to

our

our Saluation, and also to vphold and maintain all Truth, and to confound all maner of Heresie. By that Word onely doe we condemne all sorts of the Old Heretikes, whom these men say we haue called out of Hell againe. As for the Arians, the Eutychians, the Marcionites, the Ebionites, the Valentinians, the Carpocratians, the Tatians, the Nouatians, and shortly, all them which haue a wicked opinion, either of God the Father, or of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of any other point of Christian Religion, for so much as they be confuted by the Gospell of Christ, we plainely pronounce them for detestable and damned Persons, and defie them euen vnto the Diuell. Neither doe we leaue them so, but we also seuerely and straitly hold them in by Lawfull and Politike punishments, if they fortune to breake out any where, and bewray themselues,

M. Harding.

Wee for our part know, as now we haue proued, that ye haue not learned these things of Christ, nor of the Apostles, nor of the Fathers: but of Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Caluin, Peter Martyr, Bucer, and such other Apostates: and that ye do most fally and wickedly lead the people into the pit with you. And therefore ye are iustly condemned by the Church, and deemed Heretikes, &c.

How condemne ye the Donatists, seeing with them ye breake and throw downe the holy Altars of God, on which (as Optatus writeth) the Body and Blood of Christ was wont to be laid? &c.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Hereto, M. Harding, the whole grosse summe of your Answer in effect is this: Yee fally and wickedly lead the people: ye are Apostates: ye are Heretikes: ye are Impudent and rebellious Children: ye are Despisers of God: Mockers of your Mother: and peruerters of the Apostles: ye vtter Lies: yee speake Blasphemies. At the last ye say, The Diuell dwelleth in our hearts, as in his shop. This is a hastie kinde of Logike, M. Harding. Ye must néeds bee hard hearted that will not yeeld to such Arguments.

To leaue other your waste words, of Vigilantius, Iouinian, Manichee, Aërius, and such others, in the end yee pronounce your Definitiue Sentence, as a Iudge and condemne vs for Heretikes, for that wee haue taken downe your Shoppes and gainefull Boothes which ye call the Holy Altars of God. Verily this must needs be thought either extreme rigour, or great folly, of the remouing of a stone to make an Heresie. Such Heresies, I trow, S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, Optatus, and other Learned Fathers knew but few. Altars.

Neither is there any good sufficient reason to be shewed, wherefore it should more bee Heresie in vs to take downe your needlesse and superstitious Wals, which yee had erected of your selues, without Commission, then it was lately in you, to teare in sunder, and to burne our Communion Tables: in the erection and vse whereof wee had the vndoubted example, both of Christ himselfe, and also of the ancient Catholike Fathers. I say nothing of your Cruelty in burning so many Bibles, and Bookes of Gods Holy word: so many of your Brethrens Bodies: so many Temples of the Holy Ghost.

As for the Altars, which Optatus saith the Donatists brake downe, they were certainly Tables of Wood, such as we haue, and not Heaps of stones, such as yee haue: as in my former Replie made vnto you it may better appeare. S. Augustine reporting the same Storie, saith: *The Donatists in their furie brake downe the Altar Boords.* His words bee these: Lignis eiusdem Altaris effractis. Likewise saith Athanasius of the like furie of the Arians: Subsellia, Thronum, Mensam Ligneam, & Tabulas Ecclesiæ, & cætera quæ poterant, foras elata, combusserunt: *They carried forth and burnt the Seats, the Pulpit,* the Wooden Boord, *the Church Tables, and such other things as they could gette.*

Artic. 3. Diuis. 26.
Aug. Epist. 50. ad Bonifacium.
Athanas. in Epist. ad solitariã vitam agentes.

Touching your Stone Altars, Beatus Rhenanus saith: In nostris Basilicis Ararum superadditia structura nouitatem præ se fert: *In our Churches the* building vp of Altars added to the rest, declareth *a nouelty.* This learned man telleth you, M. Harding, that your Stone Altars are but newly brought into the Church of God: and, that our Communion Tables are old and ancient, and haue beene vsed from the beginning.

B. Rhen. in Epistola præfixa Liturgiæ Chrysostom.

We haue such Altars, M. Harding, as Christ, his Apostles, S. Augustine, Optatus and other Catholike and Holy Fathers had, and vsed, whose examples to follow wee neuer thought it to be such Heresie.

But Optatus saith: *The Body and Blood of Christ was woont to bee laid* vpon the Altar:

Altars.

and with these words ye would faine abuse your simple Reader, as if Christs Body lay there Really, Fleshly, Verily, and in deed. But ye should remember that S. Augustine saith, Sacramentum Corporis Christi secundùm quendam modum Corpus Christi est: Et Sacramentum Sanguinis Christi secundùm quendam modum Sanguis Christi est: *The Sacrament of Christs Body* (not verily and in deed, but) after a certaine maner of speech is Christs Body: *And the Sacrament of Christs Blood* after a certaine maner of speech is the Blood of Christ. This maner of spæch your owne Glosse thus expoundeth: Vocatur Corpus Christi, id est, Significat Corpus Christi: *It is called the Body of Christ, that is to say,* It Signifieth the Body of Christ. And as Optatus saith: *Christs Body and Blood were laid vpon the* Altar, *or Communion Table*; euen so S. Augustine saith, *The whole people was in the Communion Cuppe, and laid vpon the Holy* Table. These be his words: Vos estis in mensa: Vos estis in Calice: You are vpon the Table: You are in the Cuppe. As the People is vpon the Table, so is Christs Body vpon the Table. The People is not laid there verily, and in deed, but onely in a Mysterie: Euen so the Body of Christ, as Optatus saith, is laid there, not verily, and in deed, nor in Reall and Fleshly Presence, but in a Mysterie.

Aug. ad Bonifaci. Epist. 23.

De Cons. Dist. 2. Hoc est, quod in Glossa.

Aug. ad Infantes. Citatur à Beda in 1. Cor. 10.

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuision 1.

INdeed we grant that certaine new and very strange Sects, as the Anabaptists, Libertines, Menonians, and Zuenckfeldians, haue been stirring in the World euer sithence the Gospel did first spring. But the World seeth now right wel, thanks be giuen to our God, that we haue neither bred, nor taught, nor kept vp these Monsters. In good fellowship, I pray thee, whosoeuer thou be, read our Bookes: they are to be sold in euery place. What hath there euer been written by any of our company, that might plainely beare with the madnesse of any of those Heretikes? Nay, I say vnto you, there is no Country this day so free from their Pestilent infections, as these be, wherein the Gospel of Christ is freely and cõmonly preached. So that if they weigh the very matter with earnest vpright aduisemẽt, this thing is a great Argument of our part, that this same Doctrine which wee teach, is the very Truth of the Gospell of Christ. For lightly neither is cockle wont to grow without Wheat, nor yet the chaffe without the Corne. For from the very Apostles times, who knoweth not how many Heresies did rise vp euen together, so soon as the Gospell was first spread abroad? Who euer had heard tell of Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Myrcosius, Colorbasius, Heraclio, Lucianus, Scuerus, and other like before the Apostles were sent abroad? But why stand we reckoning vp these? Epiphanius reherseth vp fourescore sundry Heresies; and Augustine many moe, which sprang vp euen together with the Gospell. What then? Was the Gospell therefore not the Gospel, because Heresies sprang vp withall? Or was Christ therefore not Christ? Or, was Christ and his Gospell the cause of these Heresies?

And yet, as we said, doth not this great croppe, and heape of Heresies grow vp amongst vs, which do openly, abroad, & frankly teach the Gospel. These poisons take their beginnings, their encreasing and strength amongst Our Aduersaries, in blindnesse, & in darknes, amongst whom Truth is with Tyranny and Cruelty kept vnder, and cannot be heard but in corners, & secret meetings. But let them make a proofe: Let them giue the Gospell free passage: Let the Truth of Jesus Christ giue her cleere light, and stretch forth her bright beames into al parts: & then shal they forthwith see how all these shadowes straight wil vanish and passe away at the light of the Gospell, euen as the thick Mist of the night consumeth at the light of the Sun. For whilest these men sit still, and make merry, & do nothing, we continually represse and put backe all those Heresies which they falsly charge vs to nourish and maintaine.

M. Harding

M. Harding.

Libertines. The Doctrine of the Libertines Gospel.

As for Libertines, what other Substance hath your Gospell, besides carnall liberty, and licentious liuing? To breake the Vow of Chastity, solemnely made to God, by whose grace, and your endeuour, it might well haue been kept, and to breake it for wantonnesse, and to satisfie lust; is not that proper to Libertines. To giue ouer fasting, watching in praier, and Confession of Sinnes, which should be made to a Priest, by *whom only (except in case of necessity) God promised forgiunnesse: To regard no Tradition, though it came from the Apostles: briefly, to teach that al kinde of outward Godlinesse is superstitious, and Pharisaicall, and that euery man must without staggering, or doubting, beleeue that himselfe shall be saued, if he haue Faith, * do he what him list, is this no point of Liberty? What made so many malapert Prentises, pleasant Courtiers, discoursing Parliament Machiauellists, and all other whatsoeuer flesh-wormes, Merchants, idle artificers, to embrace your Gospel, rather then the grauer and deuouter sort of men, which be weaned from the pleasure of this life; but that it was plausible to the World, and pleasant to the Flesh, from which that kinde of men are most hardly drawne? and yet forsooth doe not ye foster vp Libertines.

* Most vaine Vntruth. See the Answer.

* Vntruth, ioined with vile slander.

Who can reckon the Sects that be in Germany, being *fixteene or moe professed in some one towne? *Bemeland is almost as ful of Heresies as of Houses. *Silesia is as bad: and *Morauia, a Countrey there adioining is neuer a whit better. And yet doe not these Sects budde where your Gospel is freely and openly preached?

Bemeland, Silesia, Morauia.

* Foure great Vntruths all together.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Libertie.

Here, M. Harding, I haue purposely left out a great heape of your talke, not thinking it needful to answer all your voide words. Hauing no more regard what ye say, it was no hard matter for you to call vs Libertines, and to say, The Gospell that we preach hath none other Substance, but carnall Liberty, and licentious Liuing. If ye had remembred either the City of Rome, where ye haue been, or the Towne of Antwerpe, or Louaine, where ye now dwell, ye could not well without blushing haue charged vs with Carnall Liberty.

Our Wantons, and Flesh-wormes, for so it liketh you to call them, haue been contented to forsake Fathers, Mothers, Wiues, Children, Goods and Liuings, and meekely to submit themselues to the extreeme terror of all your Cruelties, and to yeeld their Bodies vnto the death: to be starued for hunger: and to be burnt in Fire, Onely for the name and Gospell of Iesus Christ. So delicate Flesh-wormes, and such Wantons are they. Ye will say, as your wont is when ye haue nothing else to say, They died stubbornely in wilfull errour. Yet I reckon ye will not say, *They died in great pleasance, or* Carnall Libertie. It is a strange kinde of Fleshly wantonnesse, for a man to deny himselfe, and to take vp his Crosse, and to follow Christ. And yet is this the whole Substance of our Gospell.

Iustinus the Martyr, notwithstanding he was an Heathen, and thought then, euen as you doe now, that the Professors of the name of Christ were nothing else but a sort of wanton and wilfull people, yet when he saw how constantly they died, and how patiently they suffered whatsoeuer was laid vpon them, hee was at length conuerted himselfe, and by their example became a Christian. Thus Eusebius reporteth his words: Ego ipse Platonis Disciplinis delectatus, &c. *I my selfe taking pleasure in* Platoes *Doctrine, and hearing the Christians ill spoken of, and seeing them to go couragiously and boldly to their Death, and to suffer al such things as were thought most terrible, I thought it a thing impossible, that such men should liue wickedly, or in* Wantonnesse.

Euse. lib. 4. ca. 8

Ἐπεὶσὰ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ κατεχόμενα αὐτῶν.

So likewise writeth Sozomenus touching the same: *The Christians being spoiled of their goods, and regarding nothing that they had, being hanged on gippets, and suffering all maner torments so without care, or sense, as if their Bodies had not beene their owne, neither allured with flattery, nor amazed with threats, they gaue all men thereby to vnderstand, that they suffered these things* (not of Wantonnesse, but) *for some great reward.*

Sozo. li. 1 ca. 1.

Δῆλον πᾶσιν ἐποίουν, ὡς ἄρα μείζονος ἄθλου τῆς ἀγῶνος τοῦτον ὑπομένουσι.

The Prophet Dauid saith: In quo corriget adolescens viam suam? In custodiendo Sermones tuos: *Whereby shall a yoong man* (not grow to be a Fleshly Wanton, but) *amend his life, and correct his way?* He answereth: (O Lord) *by the keeping of thy words.*

Psal. 116.

Therefore we may iustly say to you, as Cyrillus said sometime to Iulianus the Regenerate in like case: Etiam pueri in Sacris Litteris enutriti, statim fiunt religiosissimi, etiamsi minùs eloquentes: *Euen our Children being brought vp in the Holy Scriptures, straightway become most godly, although not so eloquent, or wel-spoken.*

Cyril. contra Iulian. Lib. 7. Pag. 162.

If there be any such Flesh-wormes and Wantons this day, they be not the Gospellers, which word so much offendeth you: they be of you, and of yours, M. Harding, that is, not the professors, but the mockers, and wilfull despisers of the Gospell.

Ye say: Confession should be made vnto the Priest, by whom Only (ye say) God hath promised forgiuenesse of Sinne. I beseech you, where finde you this Promise? Shew the words: Alege the Place: Regard your Credit. Otherwise ye will be noted of Vntruth. Where did God, or Christ euer say, Forgiuenesse of Sinne is giuen Only by the Priest? If it bee so

Chryſ. de Pœnitent. & Confeſſione. ſo indeed, then why doth Chryſoſtome ſay, Nunc neceſſa. iũ non eſt præſentibus Teſtibus confiteri. Solus Deus te confitentem videat? *Now it is not needfull to make Confeſſion in the* Preſence of Witneſſes. *Let* God Only *ſee thee making thy Confeſſion?* Why doth S. Hierome ſay, Apud Deum non Sententia Sacerdotum, ſed reorum vita quæritur: *It* is not the Sentence or Abſolution of the Prieſt, *but the Life of the Sinner that is regarded before God.* Howbeit, hereof we haue ſufficiently ſaid before.

Hier. in Matth. Cap. 16.

One Head One Iudge

Luther (ye ſay) firſt procured that men ſhould acknowledge no One Head and Iudge: *Whom* (as by your report S. Cyprian ſaith) *they might obey as the* Vicar of Chriſt. Of this One Head, and One Iudge, neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles euer told vs. S. Cyprian, as it is ſaid before, ſaith thus: Chriſtus Parem dedit Apoſtolis omnibus poteſtatem: *Chriſt gaue vnto all his Apoſtles* Equall Power. And S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Quicunque diſiderat Primatum in Terra, inueniet in Cœlo Confuſionem: Whoſoeuer ſeeketh the Primacie in Earth, hee in Heauen ſhall finde Confuſion.

Cyprian. De Simplicitate Prælatorum. Chryſ. in Mat. Hom. 35. in Opere Imperfect.

The place of S. Cyprian touching One Head, and One Iudge, is well alleged by you, M. Harding: but ill applied. It is true that S. Cyprian ſaith, The People ought to obey, One Iudge, or One Head, as the Vicar of Chriſt. But that by the ſame One Head, or Iudge, he meant either the Biſhop of Rome, or any one other certaine ſeuerall Biſhop, it is moſt vntrue. S. Cyprians meaning is, as I haue otherwhere more largely declared, that in euery Dioceſſe the people ought to know One Biſhop as Head and Iudge, and him to obey, as the Vicar of Chriſt. One Head, or Iudge, I ſay, in euery Dioceſſe: not One Vniuerſall Head *ouer all the World.* For proofe whereof, M. Harding, read S. Cyprians Epiſtle vnto Florentinus Pupianus, and ye ſhall finde that he vſeth the ſelfe ſame words of himſelfe, and not of the Pope: and I doubt not but ye will much maruell, and miſlike your owne error. His words be theſe: Vnde Schiſmata & Hereſes obortæ ſunt, & oriuntur, niſi dum Epiſcopus, qui Vnus eſt, & Eccleſiæ præeſt, ſuperba quorundam præſumptione contemnitur? *Wherehence haue Schiſmes and Hereſies ſprung vp, or wherehence do they ſpring, vnleſſe it be, that the Biſhop, which is* One, *and ruleth the Church, by the proud preſumption of certaine is deſpiſed?*

In the former Reply, Artic. 4. Diuiſ. 5.

Cyprian. lib. 4. Epiſt. 9.

Here S. Cyprian calleth himſelfe that One Biſhop, and that One Head, and Iudge of the Church. Yet was he only the Biſhop of Carthage in Aphrica: and not the Pope, or Biſhop of Rome. Heereof I haue ſpoken more at large in my Former Reply.

Artic. 4. Diuiſ. 5.

Touching the Pope, wherein he may be knowne for Chriſts Vicar, it were hard to ſay: vnleſſe it be for that whereſoeuer the Pope is preſent, there Chriſt is away. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Qui vanam gloriam non deſiderat, ille debet, Chriſti Vicarius factus, Chriſti Iuſtitiam prædicare: *He that deſireth not vaine glorie,* being made Chriſts Vicar, *ought to preach the Iuſtice of Chriſt.*

Chriſ. in Mat. Homil. 6. in Opere Imperfect.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. *Diuiſion* 1.

VVHere they ſay, that we haue fallen into ſundry Sects, & would be called, ſome of vs Lutherans, and ſome of vs Zuinglians, and cannot yet well agree among our ſelues touching the whole Subſtance of our Doctrine; what would theſe Men haue ſaid if they had been in the firſt times of the Apoſtles & holy Fathers, when one ſaid, I hold of Paul: another, I hold of Cephas: another, I hold of Apollos? When Paul did ſo ſharply rebuke Peter? When vpon a falling out Barnabas departed frõ Paul? When as Origen mentioneth, the Chriſtians were diuided into ſo many factions, as that they kept no more but the name of Chriſtiãs in common among them, being in no maner of thing elſe like to Chriſtians: When, as Socrates ſaith, for their Diſſenſions, & ſundry Sects, they were laughed & ieſted at openly of the people in their Stages, & common game-playes: When, as Conſtantine the Emperor affirmeth, there were ſuch numbers of Variãces & Braulings in the Church, that it might iuſtly ſeem a Miſery far paſſing all the former Miſeries: When alſo Theophilus, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtome, Auguſtine, Ruffine, Hierome, being all Chriſtians, being all Fathers, being all Catholikes, quarrelled one againſt another with moſt bitter, & moſt remedileſſe contentions without end: When, as ſaith Nazianzene, the parts of one Body were conſumed & waſted one of another: When the whole Eaſt part of the Church was diuided frõ the Weſt, only

only about leauened Bread, and only for the keeping of Ester day: which were indeed no great matters to be striued for? And when in all Councels New Creeds and New Decrees continually were deuised?

Dissensiõs among the Fathers.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

The summe of M. Hardings answer hereto is this: That the bitter dissentions, that in Old times fell out amongst the Learned and Godly Fathers, stood rather * in matters of maners, and other small quarrels, then in cases and questions of Faith. For triall of the truth herein, it may please you to consider well these few.

* *A manifest Vntruth of M. Hardinges.*

Papias, Apollinaris, Victorinus, Tertullianus, Irenæus, Lactantius, and others, defended the Heresie of the Chiliastæ, that said, Christ after the generall Iudgement should dwell heere a thousand yeeres together vpon the Earth. Irenæus held, that Man at the beginning, when he was first created, was vnperfect. Clemens Alexandrinus and Iustinus held, That the Angels fell and offended God, in that they desired the company of Women. But it shall be in vaine to stand long herein. For of such examples there is great store.

Hieronym. 4. Hierem lib. Iren. li 4 c. 7 & 11. Clemen. Strom. lib. 4. & 5. Iustinus in Apologia.

To come nére the purpose: Theophilus called Epiphanius, Hæresiarcham, that is, *The Grand Captaine, and Father of Heretikes.* Gennadius saith: S. Augustine was not farre off from being an Heretike. S. Hierome writing vnto S. Augustine saith thus: In Epistola tua quædam Heretica esse iudicaui: *I iudged, that there were certaine Heretical errours in your Epistle.* Pope Bonifacius 2. said, that Aurelius the Bishop of Carthage, and S. Augustine, and other godly and learned Fathers in the Councell of Aphrica, were prickt on, and inspired by the Diuell. S. Augustine willeth S. Hierome to acknowledge his errour, and to recant. Thus he saith: Accipe Seueritatem Christianam ad illud opus corrigendum atque emendandum: & καλαμίδα, vt dicitur, Cane: *Take vnto you Christian Seuerity, to correct and amend that Booke* (of yours:) and recant your error.

Eraſm. in Vita Chryſoſtomi. Gennadius, de Eccleſiaſt. Scriptoribus. Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Aug. cuius initium eſt, Crebras ad me. Bonifa. 2. in Epiſt ad Eulalĩ. Aug. ad Hieronym. epiſt. 9.

Thus much I thought good briefly to touch: not meaning thereby to deface the authoritie of the Ancient Fathers: but somewhat to open the truth of M. Hardings tale, and to shew that these and other like Bishops and Fathers, notwithstanding they were learned, and godly, and worthy Members of the Church of God, yet were they not void of their infirmities.

Erasmus a man of great Iudgement, saith thus: Illis temporibus, ingeniosa res fuit esse Christianum: *In those daies it was a great point of cunning to know how to be a Christian Man.*

Eraſ. in Præf. in Tom. 2 Hieronyms.

And againe: Illa ætate in Chartis erat Fides potiùs quàm in animo: ac penè tot erant Symbola, quot professores: *At that time* (of the Ancient Fathers) *the Faith was in Bookes rather then in the Heart. And in a maner there was* as many sundry Creeds as there were Professors of the Faith.

Ibidem.

Therefore Clemens Alexandrinus saith: The Heathens thus vpbraid the Christians for the strifes and dissensions that were among them: Vos Christiani dissidetis inter vos, & tot Sectas habetis, quæ licet omnes Christianismi titulum sibi vendicent, tamen alia aliam execratur, & condemnat. Quare vestra Religio vera non est, nec a Deo originem ducit: *Ye Christians dissent among your selues: and maintaine so many Sects, Which Sects, notwithstanding they all Claime the title of Christian Religion,* Yet one of them curseth and condemneth an other: *Therefore your Religion is not true, nor hath her beginning or ground from God.*

Clemens Stromat. lib. 7.

The Apologie, Chap. 4. Diuision 1.

VVHat would these Men (trow ye) haue said in those daies? Which side would they specially then haue taken? And which would they then haue forsaken? Which Gospell would they haue beleeued? Whom would they haue accounted for Heretikes, and whom for Catholikes? And yet, what a stirre and reuell keepe they this day, onely vpon the two poore names of Luther, and Zwinglius? Because these two men are not yet fully resolued vpon some one certain point of Doctrine, therefore would they needs haue vs thinke, that both of them were deceiued: that neither of them had the Gospell: and, that neither of them taught the truth aright.

M. Harding

M. Harding.

After many things by theſe Defenders alleged, for proofe of diſſenſion to haue been among the Apoſtles, the Faithfull people in S. Pauls time, the Biſhops and holy Fathers of the Primitiue Church, whereby they would perſwade, if they could, that their owne diuiſion into ſects and diſſentions, is not a marke of falſe Doctrine: at length, as though they had won the field, & tried themſelues proper men, triumphing ouer vs, as though we had nothing to ſay, with a great courage they demand this queſtion of vs, which though it be but one in effect, yet with a kind of brauery they ſeeme to diuide into ſundry branches, and thus they ſay: What would theſe men (they meane the Papiſts) then, trow yee, haue ſaid in thoſe daies? Which ſide would they then haue taken, and which would they haue forſaken? Which Goſpell would they haue beleeued? Whom would they haue accounted for Heretikes, and whom for Catholikes?

A fourefolde answer vnto foure queſtions. Epiſtola 1. The Firſt Answer.

Touching theſe foure interrogatories, if we had then beene aliue, being of the minde we be now of, we would haue requited you with foure anſwers of the holy and moſt learned Father S. Hierome, and would haue ſaid, as in the like ſtate of times in a learned Epiſtle he ſaid to the learned Pope Damaſus, touching the Hereſies, which he found in Syria at his firſt comming thither from Rome. Firſt, *Mihi Cathedram Petri, & fidem Apoſtolico ore laudatam conſului conſulendam: inde nunc meæ animæ poſtulans cibum, vnde olim Chriſti veſtimenta ſuſcepi.* Which words, taking vpon me the perſon of all Faithfull and Catholike folke, thus I Engliſh? In theſe controuerſies, I haue thought good for counſel (what I ought to beleeue) to repaire to the Chaire of Peter, and to the faith of the Roman Church, praiſed by Paul the Apoſtles owne mouth. And from thence now require I the food of my ſoule, frō whence I receiued the garments of Chriſt. To ſpeake the ſame more ſhortly and more plainly: In the Catholike Church I looke to haue the food of my ſoule to euerlaſting life, in which I was Chriſtened.

The Second Answer.

Secondly we would with him haue ſaid, one ſpeaking for all, directing our words (as he did) to thoſe that be of the Catholike Faith, whom ye call Papiſts: *Vos eſtis lux mundi, vos ſal terræ, vos aurea vaſa & argentea: hic teſtacea vaſa vel lignea, virgam ferream & æternum operiuntur incendium:* Ye are the Light of the World, ye are the Salt of the Earth, ye are Golden and Siluerne Veſſels: here (among the Goſpellers) are the Earthen and Woodden Veſſels, which muſt abide the iron Rod, and flame euerlaſting.

The Third Answer.

Thirdly with him (one likewiſe bearing the perſon of all) we would haue ſaid to Pius the Fourth that now ſitteth in Peters Chaire, as he then ſaid to Damaſus: *Ego nullum primum niſi Chriſtum ſequens, beatitudini tuæ, id eſt, Cathedræ Petri, Communione conſocior. Super illam Petram ædificatā Eccleſiam ſcio. Quicunque extra hanc Domum agnū comederit, Prophanus eſt: Si quis in Arca Noë non fuerit, peribit regnante Diluuio.* Making none but Chriſt firſt of all whom to follow, I ioine in fellowſhip of Communion with thy Holineſſe, that is to ſay, with the See of Peter. Vpon that Rocke I know the Church is builded. Whoſoeuer eateth the Lamb without the compaſſe of this houſe, he is prophane. If any remaine without the Arke of Noë, he ſhall be loſt, when the flood commeth.

The Fourth Answer.

Fourthly touching the Authors of this New Goſpell, with the ſame Hierome we ſay, al vnder the perſon of one: *Non noui Vitalem, Meletium reſpuo,, ignoro Paulinum. Quicunque tecum non colligit, ſpargit, hoc eſt, qui Chriſti non eſt, Antichriſti eſt. Vitalis* I know not, *Meletius* I refuſe, *Paulinus* I wote not what hee is (theſe were head Heretikes in S. Hieromes time). Whoſoeuer gathereth not together with thee (holy Paſtor) he ſcattereth abroad, that is to wit, who is not of Chriſts ſide, he is of Antichriſts ſide. To trāſfer this to our ſelues, the names changed, the caſe remaining like, for our anſwere to our Goſpel Prelates, we ſay: *Luther* we know not: *Zuinglius, Oecolampiadius, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, Hooper,* we reiect and refuſe: *Caluin, Beza, Iewel, Filkinton, Grindal, Horne,* and their fellowes, what they are we wote not. We ſee they are not gatherers with the ſupreme Paſtor of the Catholike Church, but ſcatterers.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

It appeareth by that hath bene already ſaid, that the Goſpell of Chriſt is now miſliked and doubted of you, as it was in old times of the Infidels and Heathens. Chryſoſtome thereof ſaith thus: Venit Gentilis, & dicit, vellem fieri Chriſtianus: Sed neſcio, cui adhæream. Multæ inter vos ſunt pugnæ, ſeditiones, ac tumultus. Neſcio, quod dogma eligam, quod præferam. Singuli dicunt, Ego Verum dico: *The Infidel or Heathen commeth and ſaith:* I would be a Chriſtian man: but I know not whom I ſhould follow. There is much ſtrife and diſſenſion and trouble amongſt you. I cannot tell what Doctrine to chuſe to ſet before other. For euery one of you will ſay: I ſay the Truth. **As ye agree with them in ſome of Words, ſo I pray God, yee agree not with them in Faith and Spirit and contempt of God.** The ſame Chryſoſtome ſpeaking, not only of the Heretiks, but **alſo of the Faithfull Chriſtians, that were in his time, ſaith thus:** Hanc ob cauſam ridiculi facti ſumus, & Gentibus, & Iudæis: dum Eccleſia in mille partes diſcinditur: *For this cauſe we are ſcorned and laughed at, both of Iewes and Gentiles: while as the Church is thurſt* into a thouſand parts.

Chryſ. in Acta. homil. 33.

Chryſ. in epiſt. ad Galat. cap. 1.

Therefore it was not amiſſe, M. Harding, to demand you this queſtion, which of theſe ſides ye would haue followed: and which of all theſe Goſpels ye would haue beleeued. For it may well be thought, that being minded as they were, ye would haue anſwered, as they did.

But ye ſay, ye would rather haue ſaid, as S. Hierome ſometime ſaid to Pope Damaſus, touching the Hereſies, which he found in Syria.

If yee would vſe S. Hieromes anſwer, M. Harding, and would ſay vnto the Pope, as S. Hierome ſaid, perhaps ye ſhould deſerue no great thankes for your labour. For

S. Hierome

S. Hierome in that ſelfe ſame place, beſide ſundry others, vtterly denieth the Primacie of the Biſhop of Rome. His words bee plaine: Ego nullum Primum, niſi Chriſtum, ſequens, Beatitudini tuæ, id eſt, Cathedræ Petri Communione conſocior: I following no Firſt Man, (that is to ſay, no Head, or Chiefe) but onely Chriſt, am ioined as a fellow in Communion *vnto thy Bleſſednesse, that is to ſay, vnto Peters Chaire.* S. Hierome telleth the Pope, Hee knoweth No Firſt, No Chiefe, No Head, no not the Pope himſelfe, but onely Chriſt. Againe, hée ſaith not, I am thrall and ſubiect to thy commandements: But, I am ioined, as a Fellow in Communion vnto thy Bleſſednesse. Fellowſhip will hardly ſtand with that Vniuerſall power, which you imagine the Pope ought to haue ouer the whole Church of God. Verily the Pope himſelfe would take it in ſcorne, if you this day would follow Saint Hierome, and call him your Fellow.

Hieronym. ad Damaſum. Nullum Primũ Beatitudini tuæ Communione Conſocior.

But S. Hierome ſaith, Hee agreeth in Faith and Religion with Damaſus. And what great maruell is this, that being a godly Learned man, hee would leaue Vitalis, and Meletius, and other Heretikes, and rather ioine himſelfe to that Biſhop, whom hée knew to be godly and Catholike? Hereof hée writeth thus himſelfe: Vineam Chriſti exterminant vulpes: Vt inter lacus contritos, qui aquam non habent, difficilè, vbi Fons Signatus, & Hortus ille concluſus ſit, poſſit intelligi. Ideò mihi Cathedram Petri, & Fidem Apoſtoli Ore laudatam cenſui conſulendam: *The Foxes deſtroy the Vineyard of Chriſt: ſo that among theſe broken ceſternes, that haue no Water, it is hard to vnderſtand, where is that Sealed Fountaine, and that encloſed Orchard. Therefore I thought it good, to hearken to* S. Peters Chaire, *and to that Faith, which was commended by the Apoſtles mouth.*

Hieronym. ad Damaſum.

Recourſe to Peters Chaire.

S Hierome from his youth was brought vp in Rome: He was Chriſtened in Rome: He had bene a Student in Rome: He had taught a Schole in Rome: He had bene Secretary to Damaſus the Biſhop of Rome: He was a Prieſt of Rome: And of late they haue furniſhed him alſo with a Cardinals Hat, as if hee had beene a Cardinall of Rome: And as it is thought by ſome, ſaving for ſome diſpleaſure, that certaine of the Clergie had conceiued againſt him, he was like to be choſen the Biſhop of Rome. What great maruell therefore is it, if he had ſome ſpeciall affection to the Sée of Rome? Alphonſus de Caſtro ſaith: That the Franciſcan Friars be ſworne to Duns: and that he heard a Dominican Friar ſay openly in his Sermon, That he was to be ſuſpected, as an Heretike, that in any thing diſſented from Thomas of Aquine. There is no man lightly, but hath a ſpeciall credit in ſome one Man before all others.

In vita Hieron.

Alphonſ. aduerſ. hæreſ. lib. 1. cap. 7.

But how holdeth this argument, M. Harding: S. Hierome ioined with a godly Biſhop: Ergo, we muſt ioine with a wicked Biſhop? Or, S. Hierome agréed in Faith and Religion with Damaſus: Ergo, we muſt agrée with one, that doth all things of purpoſe contrary to Damaſus? So might you ſay, The Godly people of the Iewes were bound to obey Aaron and Moſes: Ergo, all others that followed afterward, were likewiſe bound to obey Annas and Caiphas.

The Faith of Chriſt, M. Harding, goeth not alwaies by Succeſſion. The Biſhops of Rome haue bene Arians, Neſtorians, Monothelites, and otherwiſe found in horrible Hereſies, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. Would ye in ſuch caſes haue recourſe to ſuch a one, only for that he ſitteth in Peters Chaire? Would ye ſay to ſuch a one, *You are the Salt of the Earth: You are the Light of the World?* Would ye ſay, *This is the Faith that was commended by the Apoſtles Mouth?*

Truly, S. Hierome himſelfe, when he ſaw abuſes or errors maintained in the Church of Rome, made ſmall account of S. Peters Chaire. For thus he ſaith: Quid mihi profers vnius Vrbis conſuetudinem? Potentia Diuitiarum, & paupertatis humilitas, vel ſublimiorem, vel inferiorem Epiſcopum non facit. Cæterùm omnes Apoſtolorum Succeſſores ſunt: What telleſt thou me of the Cuſtome of that one City (of Rome)? *The power of Riches, and the humility of poverty cannot make a Biſhop either higher or lower. All Biſhops are the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles.*

Hieronym. ad Enagrium.

As for *Luther, Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, Caluine* and others (ye ſay) ye know them not. Neither doth it ſo greatly force, whom you liſt to know. God giue you grace to know your ſelues. The Lord is able to know his owne. 2. Tim. 2.

Touching the diſſentions in Religion, which yee imagine to bee amongſt vs in the Church of England, I will ſay nothing. It greeueth you full ſore, to ſée, that in all the Articles of the Faith, and in the whole ſubſtance of Doctrine, we doe ſo quietly ioine together. The ancient Father Leo, of the like caſe, ſaith thus: Diabolus Gentium vocatione cruciatur, & quotidiana poteſtatis ſuæ deſtructione torquetur: dolens vtique ſe deſeri, & Verum Regem in locis omnibus adorari. Parat fraudes: Fingit diſſenſiones: *The Diuell is vexed in the calling of the Gentiles, and tormented with the daily deſtruction of his power: he is ſorie, that he is forſaken, and that the true King is worſhipped in all places. He deuiſeth ſnares: he deuiſeth diſſentions.*

Leo in Epipha. nia, Serm. 6.

is sore grieued with the calling of the Heathens (to the Faith) *and with the daily increasing of his power: sorrowing to see himselfe forsaken and* (Christ) *the True King to be worshipped in all places.* Therfore he deuiseth Guiles: and imagineth dissentions.

The Apologie, Chap. 5. Diuision 1.

BVt good God, what maner of fellowes be these, which blame vs for disagreeing? And do al they themselues, weene you, agree well together? Is euery one of them fully resolued, what to follow? Haue there bin no strifes, no quarrels, no debates amongst themselues at no time? Why then do the Scotists and the Thomists, about that they call Meritum Congrui, & Meritum Condigni, no better agree together? Why agree they no better among themselues, concerning Originall Sin in the Blessed Virgin: Concerning a Solemne Vow, and a Single Vow? Why say their Canonists that Auricular Confession is appointed by the positiue Law of man: & their Schoolemen contrariwise, that it is appointed by the Law of God? Why doth Albertus Pius dissent from Caietanus? Why doth Thomas dissent frō Lombardus, Scotus from Thomas, Occamus from Scotus, Alliacensis from Occamus? And why do their Nominals disagree from their Reals? And yet say I nothing of so many diuersities of Friars and Monkes; how some of them put a great holinesse in Eating of Fish, & some in eating of Herbs: some in wearing of Shooes, and some in wearing of Sandals: some in going in a linnen garment, and some in wollen: some of them called white, some blacke: some being shauen broad, and some narrow: some stalking vpon patens, some going barefooted: some girt, and some vngirt. They ought I wis to remember, there be some of their owne company, which say, that the Body of Christ is in his Supper Naturally: contrary, other some of the selfesame company denie it vtterly. Againe, that there bee others of them, which say, the Body of Christ in the Holy Communion is rent and torne with teeth: and some againe, that denie the same. Some also of them there bee, which write, that the Body of Christ in the Sacrament is quantum, that is to say, hath his perfect quantity in the Sacrament: Some others againe say nay. That there be others of them, which say, Christ did Consecrate with a certaine Diuine Power: some, that he did the same with his Blessing: some againe that say, he did it with vttering Fiue Solemne chosen words: and some, with rehearsing the same words afterward againe. Some will haue it that, when Christ did speake those Fiue words, the Materiall wheaten Bread was pointed vnto by this Demonstratiue Pronoune Hoc: Some had rather haue, that a certaine vagum indiuiduum, as they terme it, was meant thereby. Againe, others there bee that say, Dogges and Mise may truely and in very deed eat the Body of Christ: and others againe there be that stedfastly deny it. There be others, which say, that the very Accidents of Bread and Wine may nourish: others againe there be, which say, that the Substance of the Bread returneth againe by a Miracle: what need I say more? It were ouer long and tedious to reckon vp all. So vncertaine, and full of doubts is yet the whole Forme of these Mens Religion and Doctrine, euen amongst themselues, from whom it sprang, and grew vp first. For hardly at any time doe they well agree between themselues: except it be peraduenture as in times past, the Pharisees and Sadducees: or as Herod and Pilate accorded together against Christ.

M. Harding.

The diſſenſions, with which the Defenders charge the Catholike Church,

Whatſoeuer yee bring for ſome ſhew of diuerſity and diſſenſion to be found among the Catholikes, it may be reduced to two heads. The one containeth a diuerſitie in points of learning: the other in trades of Life. Concerning matters of learning, thanked be our Lord, for that the very enemies of the Catholike Church, cannot charge the Catholikes with diſſenſion in any of the grounds and Articles of our Faith. As for ſmall matters and queſtions diſputable on both ſides, they may therein diſſent on learned man from another without blame, the Faith remaining inuiolated.

But, good Sir Defender, what meant you to name the Nominals and Reals? Vnderſtand you what they be? If a man ſhould vpon the ſudden demand of you that queſtion (a) perhaps you would be to ſeeking of an anſwer. Sir if you be an Oxford man, as I ſuppoſe you be, you may remember, if euer you learned your Logicke after that trade it was taught in, when wee reſorted to the *Parua* there, what adoe was made in daily diſputations for exerciſe of young wits, about *Genus* and *Species*, and the reſt of the Vniuerſals whether they were *termini Primæ*, or *Secundæ intentionis*, whether they were *entia Relia*, or *Rationis*. Which is a matter pertaining to Logicke, not to Diuinity. Now ſome Schoolemen be of the opinion, that the fiue Vniuerſals be *termini*, or *nomina ſecundæ intentionis*, and they be called thereof Nominals. Some hold opinion, they are *entia realia*, and thereof they be named Reals, &c. In the behalfe of thoſe holy Religious men, wee tell you, ye are too blame to belie them. For what Diſcipline and order of life ſoeuer they haue addicted themſelues vnto, for better opportunity to ſerue God, truth is truth, they put not great Holineſſe (as ye ſay) in eating of Fiſh, nor of Herbes; in Shooes, nor in Sandals; in Linen nor in Woollen garments; in white, nor in blacke; in broad, nor in narrow Crownes: in going on Patens, nor on the bare ground; in girding themſelues, nor in being vngirded. They be not ſo ignorant as to put Holineſſe in ſuch outward things, though there obedience performed in the humble obſeruation of theſe outward things according to their rule, be an holy thing. Theſe things they vſe for reſtraint of their will, and for diſcipline, according to the order and rule, vnder which, the better to ſerue God, they haue promiſed obediently and humbly to liue. Neither put they more Holineſſe in the things by you ſcoffed at, then Elias did in his Mantle and Leatherne girdle, wherewith he girded his loines; then Iohn Baptiſt did in eating of Locuſts and wild Hony, in wearing a garment of Camels haire, and in girding himſelfe about the loines with a skinne

(a) A great doubtfulqueſtion. Euery poore Logician may eaſily know it.

The Catholike Religious men put no holineſſe in outward obſeruances.

To what end be thoſe obſeruances of the Religious Elias. 4. Reg. 1. Iohn Baptiſt. Matth. 3.

But I pray you, Sirs, who be ye? if we would follow your lightnes, haue we not like matter of diuerſity in outward things to twit you withall; but that your diuerſity is with breach of due order and Law, & that of religious men is according to order, and rule? If yee thinke diuerſity in things of their owne Nature indifferent, as Meats, Apparell, Shauing, &c. worthy to be reprehended, and deduce from thence an argument of mutuall diſſenſion; among your miniſtring Clergie is not likewiſe diuerſitie found: Do not ſome among you weare ſquare Cappes, ſome round Cappes, ſome butten Cappes, ſome onely Hattes; Do not ſome weare ſide gownes hauing large ſleeues, with Tippets, which is not wel liked of your ſect, ſome of more perfection Turkey gownes, Gaberdines, Frockes, or night gownes of the moſt lay faſhion for auoiding of Superſtition? The thing is indifferent and may be yeelded vnto, ſaith the one ſect; they be the Popes ragges, and may not be worne, ſaith the other Sect. And therefore they will rather be iuſtly put from that which iuſtly they cannot keepe, then yeelde one iote. Neither her Maieſties Commandement, nor their Metropolitanes decree care they for. They had rather ſeeme to the people, whom they vſe for their Clawbackes, and to whoſe iudgement they ſtand or fall, ſtout champions of their owne Goſpell, then meeke followers of Chriſts Goſpell. Such mightie Sampſons, ſuch conſtant Laurences your iollie Goſpell breedeth.

Chriſts Body torne with teeth, how is it vnderſtanded? Berengarius Recantation.

Some ſay, the Body of Chriſt in the Communion is torne and cruſhed with Teeth, ſome denie it: yea forſooth, and both meane right well. The hundred and thirteene Biſhops aſſembled in Councell at Rome vnder Pope Nicolas the Second, preſcribed ſuch forme of Recantation to Berengarius the firſt actor of the Sacramentarie Hereſie, openly there to pronounce, acknowledge, and with ſubſcription to ratifie, as he ſhould confeſſe the very true body of Chriſt, not only the Sacrament thereof, ſenſibly and in verity to bee handled with the hands of the Prieſts, (b) to be broken and cruſhed with Teeth of the Faithfull. By which words theſe Fathers mind was to expreſſe a verity of Reall preſence (c) a true eating of Chriſts body indeed and to exclude the only ſpirituall eating, ſo as the ould Fathers did eat Chriſt in their Manna. Neither is this Doctrine diſſonant from the fathers, ſpecially from Chryſoſtome who hath the like words, *Homil.* 45. *Johan.* Howſoeuer our Sauiour Chriſt conſecrated, with a certaine diuine power, or with his almighty Bleſſing, or with vttерance of words, or with repeating the ſame words; whatſoeuer the Pronounce (*Hoc*) pointeth or ſignifieth in the words of Conſecration; whatſoeuer your Dogges and Miſe haue Eaten, or your ſelues haue troden vnder your wicked feet; whether the accidents doe nouriſh or Subſtance returne; what narrow points ſoeuer the Schoolemen after toſſing of arguments to and fro, as there maner is, haue agreed or diſagreed vpon; the matter is ſubtile and curious, neither determined by definitiue ſentence of the Church in any Councell. And therefore ſith it containeth no Article of our Faith, let vs not be offended with the whetting and ſharpening of their ſubtile wits in matters neither to the Truth of Gods word preiudiciall, nor to the vnderſtanding and iudgement of any man, hurtfull.

(b) This was a blaſphemous & horrible errour.

(c) Tre true eating of Chriſtes Body is ſpirituall this imagined eating with Mouth & Teeth is Heathenish and Fantaſticall, and hath no truth.

Curious queſtions not determined by Holy Church in any Councell.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Touching your Nominals, and Reals, M. Harding, if ye had beene ſo cunning and ſkilfull, as yee make your ſelfe, ye would not haue ſent vs backe to learne your Firſt and Second Intentions amongſt Children. But that ye may vnderſtand your owne errour and certainely ſee, that theſe two Houſes, your Nominals and your Reals haue heeretofore kept a ſtirre, not onely in Logicke but alſo in your Scholaſticall matters of Diuinitie, without further ſearching of the bottome thereof, I pray you onely to conſider theſe few Authorities.

Veſelus, ſometime for his great fame in learning, named Lux Mundi, writeth thus: *Veſelus.*

In

In Nominalibus si quid Fidei contrarium putarem, hodiè remearem, vel ad Formales, vel ad Reales: *If I thought there were anie thing in the* Nominals contrary to the Faith, *I would presently leaue them and goe either to the* Formals, *or to the* Reals.

Illyricus de Sectis, pag. 80. Eras. in Moria.

Another saith: Ex Sententiarijs, alij Terminales, aut Nominales esse volunt: alij Reales: *Of the Doctors of the* Scholastical Diuinity, *some will be called* Terminales *or* Nominales, *and some* Reales. Another saith: Citiùs è Labyrinthis temet explices, quàm ex inuolucris Realium, Nominalium, &c. in quibus omnibus tantum est eruditionis, vt putem Apostolis ipsis opus fore alio Spiritu, si cogerentur istis de rebus cum hoc Nouo Theologorum genere conserere manus: *Yee may sooner winde your selfe out of a Maze, then out of the shifts and corners of* these Reals, and Nominals, &c. *in whom there is such aboundance of learning, that I thinke the Apostles themselues should haue need of another Spirit, if at any time they should bee driuen to encounter with this* New kinde of Diuines. Here, M. Harding, your Nominales and Reals, are called a New kinde, not of Logicians, but of Diuines. And if ye consider well Vdalrichus Zasius, ye shall finde, that your said Nominals and Reals, haue intruded themselues, not onely into Diuinity, but also into the Ciuill Law. Therefore it was somewhat out of reason, to tell vs this tale, of your Seconde and First Intentions.

Vdal. Zasius, de Generum obligatione.

Holines in Apparell.

Concerning Apparell (ye say) yee set not great Holinesse, neither in Shooes, nor in Sandales, &c. Whereby yee would seeme to giue vs to vnderstand, that ye set some Holinesse in these things, although not great. Neither doth it appeare, that the Pharisei euer made any great account of Holinesse of their garments. Yet notwithstanding vnder the colour and shadow thereof, they deceiued the people. And therefore Christ saith vnto them, *Woe bee vnto you, ye* Scribes and Pharisei: And vnto the people he saith: *Beware of them that loue to goe in long Robes.* Of such men Seneca saith: Personam habere malunt, quàm faciem: *They will rather weare a Visard, then a Naturall face.* Another saith: Dolosi Hominis, dolosæ vestes; Crafty Man, Crafty Coat.

Matt. 23. Mar. 12. Luc. 20. *Seneca. Macrobius.*

Concil. Gangren. cap. 12.

But if no man euer reckoned any Holinesse to be in your apparell, wherefore then was this Decree so long agoe written in the Councell of Gangra, Si quis Virorum putauerit Sancto proposito, id est continentiæ, conuenire, vt pallio vtatur, tanquam ex eo Iustitiam habiturus, &c. Anathema sit: *If any man thinke it agreeable to his holy purpose, of Continent life, to weare a Cloke,* as though thereby he may bee iustified, &c. *Accursed bee hee.* Or, wherefore doth S. Chrysostome crie out against such follie, vsed, as it may appeare, in his time? O impietatem! Maiorem Sanctitatem in vestimentis suis volunt ostendere, quàm in Corpore Christi &c. Vt desperans de Misericordia Dei, confidat in veste Hominis: *O the wickednesse heereof! They will shew* more holinesse in their owne apparell, *then in the Body of Christ, &c. That he, that despaireth of Gods mercie, should* put his trust in the garment of a man.

Chrys. in Matth. homil. 43. in opere imperf.

Or wherefore doth Thomas of Aquine tell vs so certainly, that the wearing of Francis or Dominikes Cowle had power to remoue sinne, as well as the Sacrament of Baptisme? Or, wherefore doth your Bishop, in hallowing the Priests Vestiments, say thus: Vt Sacerdotes tui hac Sacra veste induti, ab omnibus impulsionibus, seu tentationibus malignorum Spirituum muniti, & defensi esse mereantur: *That thy Priests wearing this holy Vesture, may deserue to be shielded* and defended from all assaults and tentations of the wicked Spirits?

Thom. Aquinas. In Pontifical. in Benedic. ad Vestimenta Sacerdotal.

Your Doctor Durand furnisheth out your Priest at Masse in his complete Harnesse: à Capo, à Pic. Amictus est pro Galea, &c. *His amice* (saith he) *is his Headpeece:* His *Albe* is *his Coat of Maile:* His *Girdle*, is *his Bow:* His *Subcingle*, is *his Quiuer:* His *Stole*, is *his Speare:* His *Maniple*, is *his Clubbe:* His *Chisible*, is *his Target.* And in the end he saith: Hæc sunt Arma, quibus Pontifex, vel Sacerdos armari debet, contra Spirituales nequitias pugnaturus: *These be the Peeces, wherewith the Bishop or Priest must be Harnessed,* that will fight against the Spirituall wickednesse. Thus much I trow, he would not haue said, without some opinion of speciall Holinesse.

Durand in Rational ls. 3. ca. 1

To be short, wherefore doe your Doctors keepe such hot Scholes amongst themselues, whether if the Sextine happen to mend his hallowed Vestiment with a threed vnhallowed, the whole Vestiment be not thereby become vnhallowed? How could these so doubtfull matters euer haue fallen in question amongst your fellowes, if yee had beene fully and throughly perswaded, that there is no Holinesse in your Apparell? The ancient Father Lactantius saith: Vestes, Gemmas, & cætera, quæ habentur in pretio, si quis putet Deo chara, is planè, quid Deus sit, nescit: *If any man thinke that apparell precious Stones, or other like things, that we haue in estimation, are pleasant or delectable vnto God, vndoubtedly he knoweth not what is God.*

Extr. de Conse. Eccle. vel Altaris, Quod in dubijs. Lactan. li. 6. cap 25.

But (ye say) whatsoeuer your Apparell be, yet your Obedience is very Holy. The Obedience, yee

means

Obedience.

meane, is to doe whatsoeuer your Abbat shall bid you doe: as to carie baskets from Palestino to Damasco: to sit seauen yeres together in silence, without speaking of any word: for the space of twelue monthes, twice euery day to water a dead tree: and briefly, to doe whatsoeuer fond busines ye be commanded: as it is written of one, that at the commandement of his Abbat, threw out his childe into the streame. This, I trow, is that Obedience that ye commend to be so holy. *In vita Iohannis Damasceni.* *Cassianus Lib. 4. Cap. 27.*

But S. Paul saith: *Yee are bought with a price: Make not your selues slaues vnto Men.* And S. Ambrose saith: Serui Hominum sunt, qui humanis se subijciunt Superstitionibus: *They are the Slaues of Men, that make themselues subiect vnto* Mens Superstitions. God himselfe saith vnto you: *Who required these things at your Hands?* S. Hierome saith: Virosfuge, quos videris Cathenatos: quibus fœminei, contra Apostolum, sunt crines: hircorum barba: nigrum pallium: & nudi Patientia frigoris pedes. Hæc omnia argumenta sunt Diaboli: *Flee those men that thou shalt see goe in chaines: that, contrarie to the Apostles commandement, weare long haire, as women: that are bearded like Goats: that haue vpon them a blacke Cloke: that goe barefoote, patiently bearing the cold.* All these be tokens of the Diuell. Alphonsus de Castro, *one of your owne*, saith: Paulus quidem iussit Captiuare intellectum nostrum, sed in obsequium Christi, non autem in obsequium Hominum: *Indeed* Paul *hath Commanded vs to submit our vnderstanding, but* vnto the Obedience of Christ, not Vnto the Obedience of Men. 1 Corinth. 7. *Ambros. 1. Corinth. 7.* Esai. 1. *Hieronymus ad Eustochium, de Virginitate seruanda.* *Alphonsus aduers. Hares. Li. 1. Cap. 7.*

The godly learned men, at whose persons it pleaseth you so rudely to scoffe, that refuse either to goe in your Apparell, or otherwise to shew themselues like vnto you, haue age sufficient, and can answer for themselues. Notwithstanding, thus much I may say in their behalfe: Neither doe they commend any maner of Apparell, as Holy; nor doe they condemne any Apparell, as Vnholy. That is your proper and peculiar erro*r*, M. Harding, to make so deepe account of outward shewes.

Choice of Apparell.

They know that Eusebius saith: Iustinus Martyr *preached the Gospell of Christ, being apparelled as an Heathen Philosopher*: And yet the Philosophers weed was no hinderance to the Gospel. They know that Iohn the Euangelist preached Gods word at Ephesus, wearing vpon him the Bishops Brouch, as if he had beene a Bishop of the Iewes. S. Augustine saith: Nihil sanè ad istam pertinet Ciuitatem, quo Habitu, vel more viuendi, si non est contra Diuina præcepta, istam Fidem, qua peruenitur ad Deum, quisque Sectetur. Vnde ipsos quoque Philosophos, quando Christiani fiunt, non habitum, vel consuetudinem Victus, quæ nihil, impedit Religionem, sed falsa Dogmata mutare compellit: *It pertaineth nothing vnto this City* (of God) *in* what kinde of Apparell, or in what order *of Life, so that it be not against God, any man follow this Faith, whereby we come vnto God. Therefore when Philosophers become Christians, the Church compelleth them not to change* their Apparell, or maner of Liuing, *which can nothing hinder Religion, but onely doe compelleth them to change their false Opinions.* S. Hilarie saith: Ad Ecclesiæ decus detracta à Diabolo Gentium spolia diuiduntur: *The spoiles of the Heathens, taken from the Diuell, are divided to the Furniture and the Ornament of the Church of God.* S. Hierome saith: Episcopus, Presbyter & Diaconus, & reliquus Ordo Ecclesiasticus in Administratione Sacrificiorum Candida Veste procedit: *The Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, and the other Ecclesiasticall Companie at the Administration of the Sacrifice, come forth in* white Apparell. S. Chrysostome vnto the Priests and Deacons saith thus: Hæc est dignitas vestra: hæc Corona: non quia, induti Tunicam candidissimam, per Ecclesiam ambulatis: *This is your dignity: This is your Garland: not that ye walke thorow the Church in* white Apparell. *Euseb. Lib. 4. Cap. 11.* Ἐν Φιλοσόφου σχήματι τὴν ἀρίστην τῶν λόγων. *Euseb. Lib. 3. Cap. 41.* ἐν τίνι τρόπῳ πρακτέον. *Aug. de Ciuit. lib. 19. cap. 19.* *Hilar. in Psalmum 67.* *Hier. aduersus Pelagian. li. 1.* *Chrys. in Mat. Homil. 83.*

They say not therefore, that the Apparell is either Holy, or Vnholy: but they may truly say, the same Apparell of your part hath beene fouley abused to filthy purposes. They may iustly say, they would not gladly in any appearance shew themselues like vnto them that haue so vntruly, and so long deceiued the World. And herein they are not without sundry Authorities, and Examples of the godly Fathers. S. Augustine saith, his Mother left bringing of Wine and Cakes to the Church, not for that it was vngodly, or vnlawfull of it selfe so to do, but onely for that shee was warned, it was a resemblance of the superstion of the Heathens: and therefore shee left it. S. Gregorie speaking of the three Sprinkelings or Dippings into the Holy Font, saith thus: In Vna Fide nihil efficit Consuetudo Ecclesiæ diuersa. Tamen quòd Hæretici id facerent, negant idem esse à Catholicis faciendum: *The Faith being One, the diuersity of Customes hurteth nothing. Yet forasmuch as* Heretikes haue thus done, *they say that the Catholikes may in no wise doe the same:* Not for that the thing it selfe was ill of it selfe, but for that they would not seeme to follow Heretikes. *Aug. Confess. lib. 6. cap. 2.* *Quòd Superstitioni Gentilium essent similima.* *Gregor. Lib. 1. Epist. 41.*

Gabriel Biel saith, the Church of Rome thought it good to vse common Leauened Bread at the Ministration of the Holy Mysteries, lest in vsing vnleauened Bread they should bee thought *Gabriel Lect. 38.*

Tertull. de Corona Militis.

thought to follow Ebion the Heretike. Tertullian reasoneth vehemently, that a Christian man ought not to goe with a Laurell Garland vpon his Head: and that for none other cause, but only for that the Heathens vsed so to goe. Whereupon Beatus Rhenanus giueth this note: Non solùm ab his temperandum fuit, quæ manifestam præ se ferrent impietatem, sed etiam ab illis quæ possent indifferentia vocari, hoc est, quæ essent neque Bona, neque Mala: partim, ne quisquam infirmior ex Christianis offenderetur: partim, ne Ethnici in suis erroribus confirmarentur, dum rectius putant esse quod etiam Christianos obseruare vident: *It was meet for them to refraine, not onely from such things as haue a manifest shew of wickednesse, but also from such things as* might be called indifferent, *that is to say, neither Good, nor Ill: partly, least any of the* weaker Christians *should be offended: partly also,* lest the Heathens should be incouraged in their errours, thinking that thing, for that the Christians *themselues doe it, to be the better.* Againe Tertullian saith: De hoc primo consistam, An cum ipsis quoque Nationibus Communicare in huiusmodi Seruus Dei debeat: siue habitu, siue victu, vel quo alio genere lætitiæ eorum: *Heerein will I first stand, whether it be lawfull for the Seruant of God to Communicate with whole Nations in such things:* either in Apparell, or in Diet, or in any other kinde of their Mirth.

B. Rhenan. in Librum de Corona Militis.

Choice of Apparell.

Tertull. de Idololatria.

Basil. de Natali Christi.

And S. Basil saith: Χερόδετα τὰ περιττὰ ἐκ Ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ: *Let needlesse and superfluous things be put to silence in the Church of God.* To be short, Origen saith: Quærendum est, quid hoc sit quod sequitur, Non fiant ei reliquiæ: Ne aliqua, inquit, rescindatis Chaldæorum, aliqua reseruetis. Ob id iubet, ne pusillum quidem relinquatur in ea: *We must examine what is meant by this that followeth,* Leaue her no maner of remnant. *The meaning is this, Abolish not certaine of the Superstitions of the* Chaldees, *reseruing certaine: Therefore he commandeth that nothing be left in her,* be it neuer so little. Howbeit, I take not vpon me to enter into the Conscience of others. *Let each man abound in his owne sense.*

Origen. in Ieremi. Homil. 3.

Rom. 14.

Yet, M. Harding, forasmuch as ye make such a reckoning of your Antiquity, as if all your Orders and Ceremonies had vndoubtedly béene conueied ouer vnto you from Christ himselfe, and his Apostles, may it therefore please you to vnderstand, that at the beginning there appeareth no such distinction or difference of Apparell in the Ministerie. Valafredus Abbas saith: Veteres Communi indumento vtentes, Celebrabant Missas: *The Old Fathers said Masse,* (that is to say, Ministred the Holy Communion, *hauing on* their owne common Apparell.

Augustin in Regula Monarch.

S. Augustine in his Rule to his Clerkes, or Monkes, writeth thus: Ne sit Notabilis habitus vester: *Let not your Apparell be Notable.* S. Hierome describing the order of the Church at Bethleem, saith thus: In veste nulla discretio: nulla admiratio: Vtcunque placuerit incedere, nec detractionis est, nec laudis: *In Apparell there is no difference: there is no wondering. Howsoeuer any man list to goe, it is neither slandered, nor praised.* And Pope Cœlestinus the first saith: Discernendi sumus à plebe, Doctrina, non Veste: Conuersatione, non Habitu: Mentis puritate, non Cultu. Si enim studere incipiemus Nouitati, Traditum nobis à Patribus ordinem calcabimus, vt locum vacuum Superstitionibus faciamus. Docendi potiùs sunt rudium animi, quàm illudendi. Nec Imponendum est illorum oculis, sed mentibus infudenda præcepta sunt: *Wee must bee knowen from the Laypeople by our Doctrine,* not by our Coat: *By our Conuersation,* not by our Apparell: *By the pureneſſe of our Minde,* not by the attire of our Body. *For if we once beginne to deuise Noueltie, wee shall tread our Fathers Orders vnder foot, and make roome for Superstition. The mindes of the ignorant ought to bee taught, and not to be mocked. Neither may wee goe about to dasell their eies: but rather ought to powre holesome Doctrine into their Hearts.* Heere you see, by the Popes owne iudgement, that your superstitious choice of apparell serueth not for increase of Holinesse, but rather for the deceiuing and mocking of the people. To conclude it is noted in your owne Glosse vpon the Clementines: Clerici Sæculares non habent certum habitum, cùm non sit expressum in iure de Colore, vel Forma: per quæ, vel quorum alterum oportet habitum discerni: *Secular Priests haue no certaine apparell appointed them, forasmuch as there is no expresse mention made, neither of the Colour, nor of the Forme: by which two differences, or by the one of them, Apparell must be discerned.*

Cœlest. 1. in epist ad Episcop. Galliæ, cap. 1.

Clem. 1. de Elect cap. 1. Gloss. vltima.

Gods name be blessed: The Religion of Christ may stand both with, and without these things. But without such props the whole rose of your Religion must nèds come downe, as hauing nothing else but shews and vanities to beare it vp.

But lest ye should conceiue ouer great opinion of so small a matter, and thinke there can bée none other Apparell méet and comely for the Clergie, but only yours: or, that without the same, the whole Church of Christ must nèds goe to wracke: may it like you therefore to remember what the Ancient Father Origen hath written of you in this behalfe: Non solùm apud Iudæos, sed etiam apud nos, multos est inuenire peccata huiusmodi peccantes, & glutientes Camelos, in eo, quòd maxima delicta committunt. Et oportet huiusmodi

Origin. Matt. Tract. 25.

huiuſmodi homines frequenter conſiderare, Quomodò in rebus minimis Religionem ſuam oſtendant: Et bene eos Hypocritas appellat: *We may finde not onely among the Iewes, but alſo amongſt our ſelues, men that offend in ſuch faults, ſwallowing downe whole Camels, in that they commit great offences. And we ought well to marke ſuch manner of Men, how they countenance out their Religion with ſmall matters.* Very well and iuſtly Chriſt calleth them Hypocrites.

Choice of Apparell.

Poſidonius writing the life of S. Auguſtine, ſaith thus: Veſtis eius, & calceamenta, & lectualia ex moderato & competenti habitu erant: nec nitida nimiùm, nec abiecta plurimùm. Quia his plerunque vel iactare ſe nimiùm homines ſolent, vel abijcere: ex vtrò que non quæ Ieſu Chriſti, ſed quæ ſua ſunt, quærentes: *Auguſtines Apparell, Shooes and Bedding were of a competent and meane making. neither ouer freſh, nor ouer homely. For in ſuch things men vſe oftentimes either to vaunt, or to abaſe themſelues aboue meaſure:* in either ſide ſeeking their owne, and not that Pertaineth to Ieſus Chriſt. *Poſidon. in vita Auguſt.*

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Ex cæteris eius operibus poteſt conijci, vtrùm hoc Contemptu ſuperflui cultus, an Ambitione aliqua faciat. Quia & ſub ouina pelle vastandos Lupos Dominus præcepit: *We may gather by the reſt of his workes, whether he doe thus* (attire himſelfe) *in contempt of Superfluous Apparell, or elſe for Ambition, that hee may be noted. For our* Lord hath commanded vs to beware of the Woolfe, euen vnder the Sheepes skinne. *Aug. de Serm. Domini in Monte, lib. 2.*

Againe he ſaith: Illum parcum habitum, ac neceſſarium, etiam Simulatores ſæpius vſurpant, vt incautos decipiant: *That homely kind of Aparell, ſtanding onely in neceſſaries, Hypocrites and Diſſemblers doe for the more part counterfeit, to the end they may deceiue men before they be ware.* Thus much onely by the way, leſt ye ſhould thinke more of your Coat then it is worthy. *Auguſt. in eodem libro.*

Some ſay, *The Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament is Torne and Cruſhed with Teeth: and ſome denie it.* Yea forſooth (ſay you) and both meane right well. Thus would ye not ſay M. Harding, if ye knew what it were to Eat the Body of Chriſt.

Chriſts Bodie Torne & Cruſhed with Teeth.

S. Cyprian ſaith: Iſte Panis replet Mentem, non ventrem: *This Bread feedeth the Minde, and not the Belly.* We Eat it with the Spirituall Tooth of our Faith, not with the Materiall Tooth of our Body. Your very Gloſſe, be it neuer ſo blind was able to ſee that theſe words, To teare, and to Cruſh Chriſts Body with your bodily Teeth, can hardlie haue ſo Catholike and ſo good a meaning as you imagine. The words thereof be theſe: Niſi ſanè intelligas verba Berengarij, in maiorem incides Hæreſim, quàm ipſe habuit. Et ideò omnia referas ad Species ipſas: *Vnleſſe thou diſcretly vnderſtand theſe words of* Berengarius, *thou ſhalt fall into a greater Hereſie then he had any. Therefore theſe words muſt haue relation to the formes,* and not vnto Chriſts very Body. It followeth therefore that the Catholike Conſtruction that you gather hereof muſt nèds bee this: *Chriſts Body is Cruſhed and Torne with Teeth,* that is to ſay, *Chriſts Body is not cruſhed, nor Torne with Teeth.* Germans lips be not ſo far aſunder, but ye may eaſily ioine them together by ſuch Conſtructions. *Cypria. de Cœna Domini. De Conſ. Diſt. 2. Ego Berengarius. In Gloſſa.*

But Chryſoſtome ſaith in like wiſe: Dentes inſerimus in Carnes Chriſti: *We thruſt our Teeth into the Fleſh of Chriſt.* Oh, M. Harding, you cannot bee ignorant of Chryſoſtomes extraordinary or vehement maner of ſpeech: and therefore yée are the more to blame, thus of purpoſe and wittingly to abuſe your Reader. For as Chryſoſtome ſaith, We thruſt our Teeth into Chriſts Fleſh; ſo hee ſaith likewiſe, Chriſt is ſlaine vpon the Communion Table, and his Blood is powred from his ſide. Likewiſe he ſaith vnto a ſlanderer of his neighbour: Linguam tuam humano Sanguine rubefeciſti: *Thou haſt died thy tongue redde in mans Blood.* So S. Hierome ſaith: Detractatores vitus Carnibus Saturantur: *Slanderers are filled with liue Fleſh.* So ſaith S. Cyprian: Crucì hæremus: Sanguinem fugimus: & intra ipſa Redemptoris noſtri vulnera linguam figimus: *Wee Cleaue to the Croſſe: and ſucke the Blood: and we faſten our Tongues within the wounds of our Redeemer.* *In Gloſſa. Chryſoſtom. in Encæniis. Chryſo. ad Roman. Homil. 2. Hierony. in Iobum, cap. 19. Cypra. de Cœna Domini.*

Theſe and other like phraſes, commonly vſed in the ancient Fathers, may not be racked to the extremity of the words: but rather ought fauourably to bee applied to the meaning: which was, by the Materiall Tooth, and Tongue of the Body, to expreſſe the Spirituall and inward Eating and ſucking of the Minde. So S. Auguſtine ſaith: Figura ergo eſt, præcipiens Paſſioni Domini communicandum, & ſuauiter atque vtiliter recondendum in memoria, quòd Caro Chriſti Crucifixa pro nobis, & vulnerata ſit: *Therefore it is a Figure, or a Figuratiue phraſe of ſpeech, Commanding vs to be Partakers of Chriſts Paſſion, and comfortably and profitably to lay vp in our Hearts, that his Fleſh was Crucified, and wounded for our ſakes.* *Auguſt. de Doctrin. Chriſtiã. lib. 3. cap. 16.*

As for your Conſecration, Corpus quantum, Non quantum, Non per modum quanti, Individuum Vagum, &c. which lately were the Subſtantialleſt points of all your Doctrine,

Christs Bodie Torne & Crushed with Teeth.

ctrine, it is sufficent for you now to say, They are no Articles of your Faith. Such Grace haue you for aduantage, to make your Faith more, or lesse at your pleasure. Touching your Dogs, and Mise, whether they eat the very Body of Christ, or no, and that Substantially, Verily and in deed, yee seeme still to stay in doubt, as not yet being well assured of this Article of your Faith. But this is a most certaine and vndoubted Article of our Faith, that no Creature can Eat the Bodie of Christ, but he that is a member of Christs Body. S. Augustine saith: Hoc est manducare illam escam, & illum potum bibere, in Christo manere, & Christum manentem in se habere: *This is the Eating of that meat, and the Drinking of that Drinke; for a man to dwel in Christ, and to haue Christ dwelling with him.* And therefore we say, whosoeuer will hold that a Dogge or a Mouse may Eat the very Body of Christ, and that Really, and in deed, or who so staggereth, or doubteth whether it may be so, or no, Accursed be he.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 26.

Dogs Mise.

You say your Contentions betwéne your two contrary Armies, the Thomists, and the Scotists, and other Schoolemen, stand only in certaine termes Metaphysicall. As, Verùm Ens, & Vnum differant ratione, an reipsa: The Truth whereof is very agréable to the rest of your Doctrine. For, to leaue a whole world of the endlesse contentions that are among you, Alphonsus one of your owne Doctors saith, that one of your Thomists doubted not to pronounce openly in the behoofe of his Master: Quisquis à B. Thomæ sententia discesserit, suspectus de Hæresi est censendus: *Whosoeuer forsaketh the iudgement of Thomas of Aquine, must be taken as suspected of Heresie.* I thinke ye vse not to place your Heresies in termes Metaphysicall.

Alphons. de Heresib. lib 1. c. 7.

Erasmus that liued in that age, and wel vnderstood of the furies of your Schooles, saith thus: Qui Thomam sequuntur, & à Scoto, & à Gersone dissentiunt, eos penè habent pro Hæreticis: *They that follow* Thomas, *and dissent from* Duns *and* Gerson, *account them in a maner* as good as Heretikes.

Erasm. contra Latomum.

Dominicus à Soto and Catharinus were both learned men: both of your side: both sworne to the Pope: both present at your late Chapter at Trident. Yet thus doth the one of them greet the other: Tu permanes in sensu damnato per Synodum: *Thou remainest stil in a sence condemned by the Councell.* Catharinus condemneth Cardinall Caietane for two hundred sundry errors: and some of them hee calleth, wicked and Antichristian. These Termes must needs be very Metaphysicall, M. Harding, that can yeeld you such Heretical, and Antichristian errors.

Dominicus à Soto contra Catharinum.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision. 1.

They were best therefore to goe and set peace at home rather among themselues. Of a truth Vnity and Concord doth best become Religion: Yet is not Vnity the sure and certaine marke, whereby to know the Church of God. For ther was the greatest Vnity that might be, amongst them that worshipped the Golden Calfe, & among them which with one voice iointly cried against our Sauiour Iesus Christ, Crucifie him. Neither because the Corinthians were vnquieted with priuate dissensions: or because Paul did square with Peter, or Barnabas with Paul: or because the Christians vpon the very beginning of the Gospell, were at mutuall discord touching some one matter, or other, may we therefore thinke, there was no Church of God amongst them. And for those persons, whom they vpon spight call Zuinglians, and Lutherans, in very deed they of both sides be Christians, good Friends, & Brethren. They vary not betwixt themselues vpon the Principles and Foundations of our Religion, nor as touching God, or Christ, or the Holy Ghost, or the meanes of Iustification, or of Euerlasting Life, but vpon one only question, which is neither weighty, nor great: neither mistrust we, or make doubt at all, but they wil shortly be agreed. And if there be any of them which haue other opinion then is meet, we doubt not but ere it be long they will put apart all affections, and names of parties, & that God will reueale the Truth vnto them: so that by better considering and searching out of the matter, as once it came to passe in the Councel of Chalcedon, all causes and seeds of dissention shall be thoroughly pluckt vp by the root, and be buried, and quite forgotten for euer. Which God grant.

M. Harding

M. Harding.

The Defenders be like in conditions to ſuch honeſt women as commonly wee call Scolds. Becauſe Vnity pleaſeth you not, as being that through lacke whereof your New Church is of al good men deteſted, and of the meaneſt very much ſuſpected, ye ſay it is not a ſure and certain marke, wherby to know the Church of God. Yes, Maſters, among other notes and markes of the true Church, Vnitie is one. Not euery Vnitie, but vnity in the Holy Ghoſt, which giueth life to that one Body the Church, whereof euery faithfull is a member, and Chriſt the Head, and powring Charity abroad in our Hearts, ſo linketh all right beleeuers together in the bond of peace, as they all ſay one thing, think one thing, tauour one thing. The Vnity that is the note and marke of the true Church, whereof we ſpeake, is that for which the Church is called one, and being gathered and knit together, profeſſeth Vnity of Faith, of good wil and mutuall loue together, and of Sacraments. The Vnitie of them who worſhipped the Golden Calfe, and with one conſent againſt our Sauiour cried, *Crucifige*, was farre diſtant from the Vnitie which is a note of the Church, and is the worke of the Holy Ghoſt. Such is the Vnitie of the Diuels, who conſpire againſt Chriſt and all his with one conſent. Such Vnitie is often times in Theeues. Such Vnitie is found in you, and all your Sects. For be ye neuer ſo diuers, and at variance within your ſelues, yet ye ioine together in wicked amity and Vnity againſt the Church of Chriſt. And therefore S. Auguſtine compareth you, and all ſuch as ye be, to Sampſons Foxes, that were ſundred by the Heads, and tied together by the tailes.

Vnitie.

Neither ſay we, that among them who varie in ſmall points, and things not pertaining to the grounds of Faith, there is no Church. For all that certaine of the Corinthians in the Primitiue Church were at ſquare, howſoeuer Paul told Peter that he thought good: Though Barnabas and Paul agreed not about John Marke, yet were they of Chriſts Church: what elſe? But where ye bring this for excuſe of the Lutherans and Zuinglians, and other Sects ſprung out of them, the cauſe is not like pardie. For lay on what ye liſt, and lie ſo long as ye liſt, their diſſentions cannot be diſſembled; much leſſe can they bee accorded, &c.

1. Cor. 1. Galat. 2. Act. 15.

Yet leſt they, whoſe fortune is not to ſee ought therof written elſe where, ſhould miſtruſt my report, as all doe eſpie your lying; the words of Nicolaus Gallus, your own Doctor of Luthers Schoole, here I will reherſe: *Non ſunt leues inter nos concertationes de rebus leuibus, ſed de ſublimibus Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ articulis, de Lege & Euangelio, de iuſtificatione, & bonis operibus, de Sacramentis, &c.* The ſtrifes (ſaith he) that be amongſt vs be not light, nor of light matters, but of the high Articles of Chriſtian Doctrine, namely, of the Law, and of the Goſpel, of iuſtification, and of good works, of the Sacraments, &c. Here, as ye ſee, he reckoneth vp a great many of the weightieſt points of our Religion, whereof they diſſent among themſelues. But I doubt what I may call weight, and great, ſeeing theſe good fellowes cal the controuerſie which is betwixt the Lutherans and the Zuinglians, concerning the body of our Sauiour Chriſt neither weighty, nor great. But as they make a foule lie therein, ſo do they allo in ſaying, they varie not betwixt themſelues, but vpon on'y queſtion. Of the diſſention that is between the Lutherans & Zuinglians, thus pitifully complaineth Nicolaus Amſdorfius in his booke entituled *Publica confeſſio puræ Doctrinæ*, himſelfe being an earneſt Lutheran: The world goeth with vs worſe and worſe daily. All things do prognoſticate the vtter ruine of the Goſpel; and that in place of the Goſpel we ſhall haue nothing but meere errors, and the ſame very notable. (Then after a few words) Now Brentius (ſaith he) & the Adiaphoriſts (they be a ſpecial Sect of the Lutherans) being at the communication or conference at Wormes, would not condemne Zuinglius and Oſiander, becauſe they were trimme men in the tongues, and well ſeene in Humanity. And as for vs and our ſide, becauſe we refuſed to agree vnto that communication vnleſſe they were condemned, they dreſſed vs vilely with their ſcoffes & railings, thruſt vs out of the communication, and compelled vs to goe away, &c. Item after a few.

In Theſibus & Hypotipoſibus, fol. vlt.

There be that ſay they condemne Zuinglianiſme: But the Preface of Brentius to Maſter Iames the Miniſter of Goppingen his Booke witneſſeth farre otherwiſe. For there they goe about (a Gods name) to conciliate good Father Luther, and Zuinglius, and make them friends one with another: *Quod planè impoſſibile eſt: Quis enim vnquam audiuit contradictoria poſſe redigi in concordiam?* Which is impoſſible? For who euer heard that cõtradictions may be accorded? (But the Maſters of the Apology make no doubt at all, but they will ſhortly be agreed.) Such childiſh and impoſſible things they ſticke not to ſet forth, who would be counted the Teachers of the World, as though we were but blocks and Aſſes. But as for the Hereſies and errors of Zwinglius and Oſiander, with a quiet conſcience we cannot embrace. Neither can we ſubſcribe & yeeld to their departing away, and new gewgawes, which haue diuided themſelues from Luther. Thus far Amſdorfius, and much more there to the ſame purpoſe, which heere I leaue to blot the paper withall. To conclude, thus all men may plainly ſee how the Maſters of this Defence be conuinced of foule lying by their owne Doctors and Schoolefellowes, beſide the thing it ſelfe that giueth manifeſt euidence againſt them. But ſuch ſtuffe in their writings and Preachings is not geſon. Leauing others I report me to M. Iewels late Sermõ made at Pauls Croſſe on the Sunday before Aſcenſion day laſt, in which (if vniforme report made by ſundry there preſent be true) he abuſed certaine Honourable and Worſhipfull perſonages, and of common people a great multitude, with lies worthy rather to be chaſtiſed by Lawes, then to be confuted with words. But be it as it is written: *Qui in ſordibus eſt, ſordeſcat adhuc.*

Apoc. 22.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

It pitieth me M. Harding, to ſee your trifling. If ye thought it ſo good ſkill, for aduantage of your cauſe, to compare vs to Scolds, wherefore then did not you, although not throughout your whole Booke, yet at leaſt in the ſelfe ſame place, where yee ſo deepely charge vs with ſcolding, refraine better from ſuch wild ſpeaches, as might ſeeme to proue your ſelfe a Scold? For I beſeech you, call your words a little to remembrance: and conſider indifferently what women they be that commonly vſe the like. Thus yee ſay: Euen ſo, good Sirs, proudly, wickedly, and fondly ye obiect: ye ſhew your Clerkly proweſſe ye bragge:

Vnitie.

yee boaſt: Now haue you told your ſcoulding tale: Yee ioine in wicked amity againſt the Church of Chriſt: The founders of your Church: The Apoſtles of your Goſpell: Yee are conuinced of foule lying: All men doe eſpie your lying: Lie on ſo long as ye liſt: He that is filthy, let him be filthy ſtill. These be your words, M. Harding, all together in one place. If you can finde ſo many the like in all our whole Apologie, condemne vs hardly, and call vs Scolds.

Vnity we loue, and honour it as the greateſt comfort of Chriſtian hearts. But if Vnitie be the onely and vndoubted token of the Church of God, woe then bee to you, and to your fellowes. For by that token agreeing ſo ill amongſt your ſelues, ye ſhould ſeeme to haue no Church.

But, as we haue ſaid, all they that agree together are not therefore euermore of the Church. Herod and Pilate were made friends, and agreed together. Dauid ſaith: *The Kings and Princes of the earth haue met, and agreed together againſt the Lord, and againſt his Chriſt.* S. Iohn ſaith of the friends and fauourers of Antichriſt: Hi vnum Conſilium habent, & vires ac poteſtatem ſuam tradent Beſtiæ: hi pugnabunt cum Agno: *Theſe ſhall* haue all one Counſell (and one Minde:) *and ſhall deliuer ouer their ſtrength and their power vnto the Beaſt: and ſhall fight againſt the Lambe.*

Luc. 23. Pſalm. 2. Apoc. 17.

Chryſoſtome ſaith: Expedit & ipſis Dæmonibus obaudire ſibi inuicem in Schiſmate: *It is good euen for the Diuels themſelues to be obedient one of them vnto another in their Diuiſion.* Symmachus, and other like maintainers of the Heathenith Idolatry, ſaid: Æquum eſt quicquid omnes colunt, vnum putari: *It is meet that whatſoeuer all men worſhip, be counted* One. And thus the Heathens and Infidels would they ſeeme to hold by Vnity.

Chryſ in Mat. Hom 29. in Opere imperfect. Ambroſ. Lib. 5. Epiſt. 30.

If your Vnity, M. Harding, be ſo ſound and ſo certaine as yee would ſeeme to make it, why then doe you condemne your ſelues one another of Hereſie? Certainely Hereſie importeth Diuiſion, and not great Vnity. The whole ſhew and ſubſtance of your Vnity ſtandeth in this: To giue eare to your ſelues, and to put Chriſt to ſilence. But the true and Chriſtian Vnitie is this: That the whole Flocke of Chriſt heare the voice of the only Shepheard, and follow him. The band of Vnity is ſimple Veritie: which M. Harding, foraſmuch as ye haue forſaken, ye haue no great cauſe to talke much of Vnitie.

Iohan. 10.

As for Sampſons Foxe-tailes, it ſeemeth ye lackt ſomewhat to play withall. Otherwiſe they ſerue you heere to no great purpoſe. For if there be any diſſenſion amongſt vs, it is not in any Article of the Faith, but only in ſome particular point of learning: The like whereof hath beene betweene S. Auguſtine, and S. Hierome, and others the learned, godly and Catholike Fathers of the Church. And thus contrary to Sampſons Foxes, notwithſtanding one or other haue beene diuided in ſome certaine Concluſion, as it were in the Tailes, yet we ioine thorowly all together in one Head, in one Goſpell, in one way of Saluation, and in one ſumme of Religion: and all together, with one Mouth, and one Spirit, we glorifie God the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

Lutherans Zuinglians.

Concerning the diſagreement that is betweene the Lutherans, and the Zuinglians, touching the Being of the Body of Chriſt in one only place, or in many, we ſay, that in reſpect either of Saluation, or of other Article, of God the Father, or of the Sonne, or of the Holy Ghoſt, or of any other the Grounds and Principles of the Chriſtian Faith, it is not weighty. In that reſpect we ſpeake it only. Otherwiſe we ſay the errour is weighty. Such errours in ſundry the Ancient Fathers haue beene diſſembled, and paſt in ſilence. S. Hilary ſeemeth to ſay, *That Chriſt receiued not Fleſh of the Bleſſed Virgin:* And, *That the ſame Fleſh of Chriſt was impaſſible, and could feele no griefe.*

Hilar. de Trinitate, Lib. 10. Hominis habitus eſt: Origo non Hominis. Naturam non habens ad dolendum.

Origen ſaith: Quidam putant Chriſtum in Futuro Sæculo iterum pati oportere, &c. *Some men thinke that in the world to come* Chriſt muſt ſuffer in his Body, or be Crucified againe. Brentius ſeemeth to hold, that Chriſts Body is infinite, and in all places, as is the Godhead: which error it ſeemeth was defended by ſome in S. Auguſtines time. And therefore he ſaith: Cauendum eſt, ne ita Diuinitatem aſtruamus Hominis, vt Veritatem Corporis auferamus: *We muſt take heed we doe not ſo maintaine the Diuine Nature of Chriſt, being man,* that we take away the Truth of his Body. These errours, notwithſtanding they were great in themſelues, yet in reſpect of other greater errors, haue beene diſſembled. And therefore Iacobus Andreas, albeit he could not be ignorant of this diſſention, being himſelfe a party to the ſame, yet he ſaith, Quòd vociferantur, noſtros de ſumma Euangelij nondum conſentire, mendacium eſt: *Whereas they cry out* (as M. Harding doth) *that we cannot agree among our ſelues about the Subſtãce of the Goſpel, it is a very great vntruth.*

Orig. ad Rom. Cap. 6. Lib. 5. Brentius. Aug. Epiſt. 57. ad Dardan. Iacob. Andræ. de Authoritat. Scripturæ, Pa. 178.

But you ſay: The Maſters of the Apologie tell vs, they doubt not but theſe parties wil be reconciled. And yet *Nicolaus Amſdorfius* (with whoſe words yee are aſhamed to blot your paper) taketh the matter to be impoſſible. And heere yee thinke yee haue driuen vs neere the wall, ſpecially finding vs ſo farre diſagreeing in iudgement from a Doctor, as you call him, of our owne.

But

But, M. Harding, ye might better haue considered, that Amsdorfius and we speake of sundrie matters, and therefore our sayings may well stand together.

Amsdorfius saith, the Doctrine and Termes standing still, as they doe, it is not possible by any maner of Construction, to make the parties agree. But our trust in God is, that they, that are deceiued, shall finde their owne errour, and alter their Tearmes, and correct their Iudgements, and submit themselues vnto the truth, and so ioine togethet all in one.

So S. Augustine saith: Recte dicitur, Glacialem niuem calidam esse non posse. Nullo enim pacto, quam diu nix est, calida esse potest: *It is wel said, Snow frorne or congealed can neuer be hot. For as long as it is Snow, it is not possible to make it hot.* And yet the liquor that now is frozne, may afterward be resolued and made hot. *Aug. in secunda disputat. contra Fortunatum.*

So likewise he saith of the Heretikes named the Manichees: Sic delirant Manichæi sed resipiscant, & non sint Manichæi: *Thus fond are the* Manichees: *But let them amend their errors, and no more be* Manichees. *August. contra. Faust. l. 24. c. 2.*

What is there so contrary in iudgement, as a Iew and a Christian? Yet God hath promised, *That hee will turne the Hearts of the Fathers* (the Iewes) *vnto their Children: and the Hearts of the Children* (the Christians) *vnto their Fathers.* And Saint Paul saith: Iudæi, si non permanserint in incredulitate, inserentur. Potens enim est Deus iterum inserere eos: *The Iewes shal be grafted into the Tree, if they abide not in Vnbeleefe. For God is able to graft them in againe.* What is there so contrary as Light and Darkenesse? Yet the Prophet saith: Illumina tenebras meas: *O Lord lighten thou my darkenesse.* To conclude, what is so contrary, as the Kingdome of the Pope, and the Kingdome of Christ? And yet wee trust, it is not impossible, but the Pope himselfe may once turne to God and confesse his errors, and professe the Gospell of Christ, that he now oppresseth. Malach. 4. Rom. 11. Psal. 17.

These things considered, M. Harding, it was no deadly Sinne, to say, wee trust, that these matters of variance betweene the Lutherans, and the Zuinglians, will once be accorded: and that all causes, and seeds of dissention shall bee thoroughly pulled vp by the roots, and be buried and quite forgotten for euer. This change God hath already begun to worke, not onely in sundry learned Men, but also in great Cities, in good Vniuersities, and in whole Countries. Therefore, we trust, our hope is not in vaine. Lutherans Zuingliãs.

As for the lies, which (it liketh you well to say) M. Iewell made openly at Pauls Crosse. I doubt not of your modesty, but ye would haue blased them better, if ye had thought them worth your colours. Such generall and so great exclamations, vpon so simple reports, stand not alwaies with greatest wisdome. He is too rash to be a Iudge, that pronounceth before he know the cause. What I said there, forasmuch as ye touch nothing in particular, it is needlesse to make rehearsall. But well I remember, I might truely haue said, M. Harding commonly misalleged, misreporteth, misconstrueth, corrupteth, wresteth and falsifieth the ancient Councels and Holy Fathers. I could haue said, M. Harding is often times direcly contrary to himselfe. I could haue said, M. Harding in one Booke hath vttered two hundred fiue and fiftie great vntruths. These M. Harding, your Conscience knoweth, had beene no Lies: and therefore not meet to bee chastised by any Lawes.

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuision 1. *and* 2.

But this is the heauiest and most greeuous part of their slanders, that they call vs wicked and vngodly Men, and say we haue throwne away all care of Religion. Though this ought not to trouble vs much, whilest they themselues that thus haue charged vs, know ful well, how spightfull, and vntrue their slander is. Iustine the Martyr is a witnesse, that all Christians were called ἄθεοι, that is, a Godlesse people, as soone as the Gospell first began to be published, and the name of Christ to be openly declared. And when Polycarpus stood to be iudged, the people stirred vp the President to slea and murder all them, which professed the Gospell, with these words, αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. That is to say, Ridde out of the way these wicked and Godlesse Creatures. And this was, not because it was true, that the Christians were Godlesse indeed, but because they would not worship stones and stockes, which then were honoured as God. The whole World seeth plainly enough already, what wee and ours

ours haue endured at these mens hands for Religion and our onely Gods cause. They haue thrown vs into Prison, into Water, into Fire, and haue embrued themselues in our blood: not because we were either Adulterers, or Robbers, or Murtherers, but onely for that wee confessed the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and put our confidence in the liuing God: And for that we complained too iustly & truly (Lord thou knowest) that they did breake the Law of God for their owne most vaine Traditions: And that our Aduersaries were the very foes to the Gospell and enemies to Christs Crosse, so wittingly, and willingly, and obstinatly despising Gods Commandements.

Wherefore, when these men saw they could not rightly finde fault with our Doctrine, they would needes picke a quarrell, and inueigh and raile against our maners, surmising, that we doe condemne all wel doings: that wee set open the doore to all licentiousnesse and lust, and lead away the people from all loue of Vertue. And in very deed, the life of all men, euen of the deuoutest and most Christian, both is, and euermore hath beene such, as one may alwaies finde some lacke, euen in the very best and purest conuersation. And such is the inclination of all Creatures vnto euill, and the readinesse of all men to suspect, that the things which neither haue been done, nor once were meant to be done, yet may be easily both heard and credited to be true. And like as a small spot is soone espied in the neatest and whitest garment, euen so the least staine of dishonesty is easily found out in the purest and sincerest life. Neither take we all them, which haue at this day embraced the Doctrine of the Gospell, to bee Angels, and to liue cleerely without any mote or wrinkle: nor yet thinke we these Men neither so blinde, that if any thing may be noted in vs, they are not able to perceiue the same euen thorow the least creuic: nor so friendly, that they will construe ought to the best: nor yet so honest of nature or courteous, that they will looke backe vpon themselues, and weigh our liues by their owne. If so be we list to search this matter from the bottome, wee know that in the very Apostles times there were Christians, through whom the name of the Lord was blasphemed and euil spoken of among the Gentiles, Constantius the Emperour bewaileth as it is written in Sozomenus, that many waxed worse and worse, after they had fallen to the Religion of Christ. And Cyprian in a Lamentable Oration setteth out the corrupt maners of his time: The wholesome Discipline, saith hee, which the Apostles left vnto vs, hath idlenesse, and long rest now vtterly marred, euery one studied to encrease his liuelihood: And cleane forgetting, either what they had done before whilest they were vnder the Apostles, or what they ought continually to doe hauing receiued the Faith; they earnestly laboured to make great their owne wealth with an vnsatiable desire of couetousnesse. There is no deuout Religion, saith he, in Priests, no sound Faith in Ministers; no charity shewed in good works, no forme of godlinesse in their conditions: Men are become effeminate, and womens beauty is counterfetted. And without reciting of many moe Writers, Gregory Nazianzene speaketh thus of the pittifull state of his owne time: Wee, saith he, are in hatred among the Heathen for owne vices sake, we are also become now a wonder, not onely to Angels, and men, but euen to all the vngodly. In this case was the Church of God, when the Gospell first began to shine, and when the fury of Tyrants was not as yet cooled, nor the Sword taken of from the Christians neckes. Surely it is no new thing that men be but men, although they be called by the name of Christians.

M. Harding.

Loe a greeuous and a heauy caſe, that the world calleth you wicked and vngodly men, I wis they be to blame for it. And ſo be they that call them theeues, which come to be promoted to Lyborne: For, God knoweth, little haue you deſerued, ſo to be called, &c.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

All this, with the reſt, is onely Hicke Scorners eloquence, not worthy of Anſwer.

Heere endeth the Third Part.

THE FOVRTH PART.

The Apologie, Chap. 1. *Diuiſion* 1.

BVT will theſe men, I pray you, thinke nothing at all of themſelues, whiles they ſo maliciouſly accuſe vs? And hauing leaſure to behold ſo farre off, and to ſee what is done both in Germany & in England, haue they either forgotten or can they not ſee what is done at Rome? Or, will they accuſe vs of their owne life being ſuch, as no man is able to make mention thereof but with ſhame? Our purpoſe heere is, not to take in hand at this preſent, to bring to light & open to the World thoſe things, which were meet rather to be hid and buried with the workers of them. It beſeemeth neither our Religion, nor our modeſty, nor ſhamefaſtneſſe. But yet he, which giueth commandement that he ſhould be called the Vicar of Chriſt and the Head of the Church, who alſo heareth, that ſuch things be done in Rome, who ſeeth them, who ſuffereth them (for we will goe no further) may eaſily conſider with himſelf, what maner of things they be. Let him in Gods name call to minde, and let him remember, that they be of his own Canoniſts & Schoole Doctors, which haue taught the people, that Fornication betweene ſingle folke is no ſin: (as though they had fet that doctrine from Mitio in Terence) whoſe words be: It is no ſinne (beleeue me) for a young man to haunt Harlots. Let him remember they bee of his own, which haue decreed, that a Prieſt ought not to be put out of his Cure for Fornication. Let him remember alſo, how Cardinall Campegius, Albertus Pighius, and others many moe of his owne, haue taught, that the Prieſt, which keepeth a Concubine, doth liue more holily and chaſtly then he which hath a Wife in Matrimonie. I truſt, he hath not yet forgotten, that there be many thouſands of Common Harlots in Rome: and that hee himſelfe doth gather yeerely of the ſame Harlots aboue thirty thouſand Ducats, by the way of an annual penſion. Neither can he forget, that he himſelf doth maintaine openly Brothel Houſes, and by a moſt filthy lucre doth filthily and leaudly ſerue his owne luſt. Were al things then pure and holy in Rome, when Ioane a Woman, rather of perfect age, then of perfect life, was Pope there, and bare her ſelfe as the Head of the Church: And after that for two whole yeeres, in that holy See ſhe had plaid the naughty packe, at laſt going in Procеſſion about the Citie in the

the ſight of all her Cardinals and Biſhops fell in trauell openly in the ſtreetes?

M. Harding.

* By the Anſwer it will appeare that this lie is plaine Truth.

First, who ſeeth not, *what a notorious lie they make in the preface and entry to the matter? Say they not they take not vpon them, at this time to bring to light and to the view of the World thoſe doings, which ought rather together with the Authors of them to be buried? And that ſo to do, their Religion, their ſhamefaſtneſſe, their bluſhing doth not beare it? What is a lie if this be not? Do they not in deed, that they denie in word? yea ſay they not that thing, which they affirme they ſay not.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

I doubt not, good Reader, but peruſing theſe few following, thou ſhalt plainely ſee, that the Authours of this Apology ſpake not all, that they might well haue ſpoken. But if thou happen to read Dantes, Petrarcha, Boccaſe, Mantuan, Valla, and others like, the Popes owne Dærelings, thou wilt certainely ſay, that euen now, being thus challenged and called forth, and required to ſpeake, yet we haue rather giuen an inkling thereof, then opened the particular ſecrets of the matter. For thereof S. Bernard ſaith thus: Quæ in occulto fiunt ab Epiſcopis, turpe eſt vel dicere; *It is ſhame to vtter the things, that Biſhops doe in their Secrets.* And therefore he ſaith further, euen as did the Writer of the Apologie: Melius itaque arbitror ſuper hoc diſſimulare: *Touching ſuch matters, I thinke it better to diſſemble.* Franciſcus Petrarcha calleth Rome the Whore of Babilon, the Mother of all Idolatry and Fornication: and ſaith, that all ſhame and reuerence is quite departed thence. Baptiſta Mantuanus ſaith:

Bern. ad Clerum in Synodo Rhemen.
Eodem loco.
Fran. Petrarc. epiſt. 20.
Fran. Petrar. Cantilena. 92.
Onde fugita ogni vergogna.
Bap. Mantuã.

Viuere qui Sanctè cupiis, diſcedite Roma:
Omnia cùm liceant, non licet eſſe bonum.

All ye that would liue godly, be packing from Rome: For there all things elſe are lawfull: but to be good it is not lawfull. And againe, as it is alleged once before:

Sanctus ager ſcurris, venerabilis Ara Cynedis
Seruit, honorandæ Diuûm Ganymedibus Ædes.

Heereby, M. Harding, yee may eaſily ſee, that we of purpoſe diſſembled, and couered your ſhame and ſpake much leſſe, and farre otherwiſe of you, then wee might haue ſpoken.

Eraſmus in vita Auguſtini.

Eraſmus, writing of S. Auguſtines dealing againſt the Manichees, ſaith thus: Obſcœna Myſteria Manichæorum protraxit in lucem. Nam hæc prodidiſſe erat vicisſe: *He opened and publiſhed the filthy Myſteries of the* Manichees. *For the very opening thereof was ſufficient to ouerthrow them.* But happy are they that liue in ſuch ſort, that no man may well reueale their life without bluſhing.

Here, M. Harding, ye charge vs plentifully with Fables, and Slanders and heapes of Lies, great, foule, leaud and ſhamefull, in one company, all together. Wherein it was no great maſtery for you to be ſo liberall: for that hereof ye want no ſtore.

But if we ſhal be able clearely and plainly to auouch and iuſtifie each thing that we haue ſpoken, then we doubt not, but ye will take all theſe Lies home againe, and beſtow them freely among your ſelues.

M. Harding.

Crimes laide to the Popes charge by the Defenders.

They beo the Popes Canoniſts (ſay they) that haue taught the people that ſimple Fornication is no ſinne. A greeuous offence, and worthy to be puniſhed. And verily if any Pope euer knew, that his learned men in the Canon Law haue taught the people ſuch heatheniſh and diuelliſh Doctrine (a) though no man in Earth be his Iudge, yet he may be thought vnworthy the roome of ſo great charge. But if the Pope neuer knew ſuch Doctrine preached by the Canoniſts, and if at no time there haue beene any ſuch, then is he cleere, and yee are prooued ſlanderers, and falſe bakebiters. We denie it vtterly. How prooue ye it? Marry Sir, ſay ye, looke in the margine of our Apologie, and there yee ſhall finde one *Iohn de Magiſtris* noted for an Offender in that behalfe. Well, if it were ſo, he was but one man; ye ſpeake of Canoniſts, which word ſignifieth a number. And how prooue yee that he the ſaid *Iohn de Magiſtris* (for now I will ſpare you, and will not ſay, they) taught the people that ſimple Fornication was no ſinne? &c.

(a) Vntruth. For the Canoniſts themſelues confeſſe, that the Councell may iudge, and depoſe the Pope.

(b) This pelting writer is Alphõſus de Caſtro, one of M. Hardings greateſt Doctors.

Now we tell you, that we cannot finde, where euer *Iohannes de Magiſtris*, wrote ſo impiouſly, as ye report. Is it not *Martinus de Magiſtris*, that ye meane? It is a great raſhneſſe, if ye haue not read your ſelues, to beleeue ſuch (b) pelting Writers, that be of your ſects, as ye do, by whom ye ſeem to be moſt ſhamefully, and moſt dangerouſly deceiued, &c. What will be thought and ſaid of you, if we ſhew plainly, that yee

ye haue forged a foule lie, and a moſt falſe ſlander vpon *Martinus de Magiſtris*? For ſo will we call him, vntill yee proone it of *Iohannes*.

This *Martinus de Magiſtris*, was no Canoniſt, as ye ſay, but a Doctor of Diuinitie, well learned for his time and order of ſtudy, as a Schooleman. In a Treatiſe, that he made, *De temperantia & de luxuria*, hee diſputeth after ſuch maner, as the Scholaſticall Doctors commonly vſe. Wherefore he that ſaith that he taught the people, ſought by vntruth, how to make the matter moſt deteſtable. (c) For diſputing in Schooles, and teaching the people be far aſunder. Saith this Doctor Martin after the guiſe of Schooles, *Quæritur vtrùm ſimplex Fornicatio ſit peccatum mortale*, that is to ſay, It is a queſtion, whether ſimple Fornication be mortall ſinne. (d) This Defender knew what he did, when he left out the word mortall. For being diſpoſed to lie, he thought beſt to lie for a vantage. Now this is to be vnderſtanded, how the maner of the Scholaſticall Doctors is, firſt to propound a queſtion: next to argue, obiect, and reaſon againſt the truth of the queſtion: then to auouch and prooue the truth: after that to ſoile the obiections brought againſt the truth: laſtly to bring concluſions for confirmation of the truth. Then in proſecuting of his queſtion, *Arguitur quod non*, I reaſon againſt it, ſaith he, & argue it is not ſo. And there after the Schoole maner, he maketh an argument againſt the truth. Which argument whoſoeuer taketh for his purpoſe, and alloweth it, admitteth that the Doctor goeth againſt, and diſprooueth. After this he commeth to prooue the truth. And there it followeth. *In oppoſitum: Simplex Fornicatio excludit, &c.* To the contrarie (ſaith hee) Simple Fornication excludeth from the kingdome of God, Ergo, it is mortall ſinne. Then he ſaith further: It is to be noted, that the (e) opinion of Thomas is, that ſimple Fornication vndoubtedly is mortall ſinne. Whoſoeuer readeth further in Martinus, he ſhall finde, after he hath well diſputed *Pro & Con*, as they terme it in Schooles, that is to ſay, for and againſt the truth, that he putteth ſix concluſions, of which the fourth beginneth thus: *Ideo, &c.* Therefore ſimple Fornication is mortall ſinne, becauſe it is forbidden by Gods Law, &c. And in the end of the ſixth, he ſaith: Heerof the falſhood of their opinion is made euident, who ſay, that ſimple Fornication is not mortall ſinne. Which opinion is condemned in the Articles of them of Paris, Errore CL XXXVI. Then he ſaith further. Guido the Carmelite ſaith in a Chapter *Contra Errores Græcorum*, that the errour of the Greekes, ſaying ſimple Fornication betweene a ſingle man and a ſingle woman not to bee mortall ſinne, openly contayneth Hereſie againſt the Holy Scripture, and that he prooueth by foure reaſons, &c.

By this, and much more there expreſſed, it is ſufficiently prooued, that *Martinus de Magiſtris*, in his Scholaſticall Diſputations in the ſaid Treatiſe, ſaith not that ſimple Fornication is no ſinne: much leſſe can it be reaſonably, or with any colour of honeſty ſaid, that ſo he taught the people. And therefore it is falſly and ſlanderouſly imputed vnto him.

(c) He that teacheth in Schooles, is Teacher of Teachers.

(d) Note by the way, that by M. Hardings ſecret concluſion, Fornication is not a Mortall, but a Veniall ſinne.

(e) Ergo, by likelihood, the opinion of others was otherwiſe.

Simple Fornicatiõ

For triall of this concluſion, ſee the Anſwer.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Here ye ſay, wee lie: wee backbite: wee ſlander, &c. **For anſwer hereunto, firſt we ſay, It is no new deuice, to make light and ſimple account of your** Simple Fornication. **For** Aëtius **the old Heretike vſed thus to ſay:** Dormire cum muliere extra conrugium, non magis eſt peccatum, quàm aurem ſcalpere: *To haue the company of a Woman out of Marriage is no more a ſinne, then it is for a man to claw his eare.* **Likewiſe the Heretike** Prodicus **ſaid,** Licet palam, & apertè Fornicari: It is lawfull *to commit open Fornication.* **Likewiſe not long ſithence wrote** Laurentius Valla, **in earneſt or in game I cannot tell: but thus hee wrote: and he wrote it in** Rome, **being himſelfe one of the** Canons **there:** Omninò nihil intereſt, vtrùm cum Marito cocat mulier, an cum Amatore: *Vndoubtedly there is no difference, whether a Woman keepe companie with her Huſband, or with her Louer.* Richardus de Sancto Victore **ſaith:** Paulus præuidebat, multos fore, qui Fornicationis malum non adeò damnabile putarent: S. Paul *foreſaw there ſhould be many, that would thinke* the ill of Fornication not to be ſo damnable a matter. **To like purpoſe** Socrates, **writeth of the corrupt iudgement of ſundrie of his time:** Scortationem indifferentem eſſe putant: De Feſtis verò diebus, perindè atque pro animabus ſuis dimicant: inuertentes mandata Dei, &c. *They take* Fornication or whoredome to be a thing indifferent (**that is to ſay, neither good nor ill, but left at liberty**) *But they fight for the keeping of their Holy daies, as for their Soules.* **From theſe Fathers as it appeareth, iſſued out the Pope, and his Roman Clergie: who haue learned ſo readily to ſwallow a Camel, and ſo nicely and ſolemnly to ſtraine a Gnat.**

Epiphan. lib. 3. Hæreſ. 76. Clemens Stromat. lib. 3.

Laurent. Valla, De Voluptate, lib. 1 cap. 38. Rich. de Sanct. Victor. part. 2. fol. 73. Socr. lib. 5. c. 21.

But yee will ſay, All this hitherto pertaineth nothing vnto the Canoniſts, ſpecially in the plurall number.

Let vs therefore ſee the practiſe of the Church of Rome, which is the Life and Soule of the Canoniſts. **Thus therefore it is noted in the** Decrees: Qui non habet Vxorem, loco illius Concubinam debet habere: *He that hath not a* Wife, *inſtead of her* muſt haue a Concubine. **Be will ſay:** There is errour in the Print. **Be it ſo. Yet thus it is extant in many copies, and it is well agreeable to your common practiſe. For the beſt, that you can make of the ſame place is this:** Is, qui non habet Vxorem, & pro Vxore Concubinam habet, à Communione non repellatur: *He that hath no* Wife, *and inſtead of a* Wife hath a Concubine, let him not be remooued from the Communion.

Dist. 34. Is qui Pariſ. an. 1505. Concil. Tolet. 1. cap. 17.

Addition. ☞ Heere is good geare, M. Iewel, for you to iuggle withall. And how can it be, but that your ſelfe doe know, that you doe impudently: you peruert the Text: you miſconſtrue it: you leaue out that goeth before, & that followeth immediately after: you diſſemble the circumſtãce of the place, & omit the Chapter that in Gratian goeth immediatly before; in which Chapter he declareth what in that

M. Harding, fol. 196. a.

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that place, and certaine other there by him alleged is meant by a Concubine, ſaying; *Concubina hic intelligitur, quæ ceſſantibus legalibus inſtrumentis, vnita eſt, & coniugali affectu aſciſcitur. Hanc Coniugem facit affectus: Concubinam verò lex nominat, &c.* yea the Canons alſo doe name ſuch a woman a Concubine ſometimes, and not a Wife, vntill the Marriage be ſolemnized, &c. In this ſentence therfore he expoundeth, how the word Concubine is to bee taken in thoſe Canons, as much to ſay, for a Wife priuately taken, without publike ſolemnization, &c. As ſoone as that writing was made, and publike ſolemnity was performed, the Children borne before, were accounted lawfully borne, and the Concubine to haue beene a Wife from the beginning. And this woman the Law nameth in the meane time a Concubine, and not a Whore, &c.

397 *a.* This is as much as no wife at all. Then before the Solemnization of Marriage ſhee was no Wife.

Shee may be called a Concubine, which indeed is a true wife before God, and ſo ſhal you find *Concubina* vſed in the Scripture. *The Anſwer.* O, what adoe haue you made vs heere, M. Harding, in defenſe of your Concubines? If the matter had beene good, I doubt not, but you would haue maintained it a great deale better. A Concubine (you ſay) the ſolemnization onely excepted, is taken for a very lawfull wife: And for proofe hereof, you haue brought vs Scriptures, Doctours, Gloſſes, and Canons: and all this, as it may be thought, in defenſe of your Prieſts Concubines. A Concubine (you ſay) is a Wife in affection, a Wife before God, and a very Wife indeed. I marueil much at your ſtrange Commentaries, M. Harding. For your text is directly to the contrary. And heere I bid you not ouermuch to trouble your eies, and to eſpie, either what goeth before, or what followeth after. In the very ſelf-ſame words that I haue alleged, you may eaſily find difference betweene a Wife and a Concubine. For thus it is written: Is qui Vxorem non habet, & pro Vxore habet Concubinam, a Communione non repellatur: *He that hath not a Wife, but in ſtead of a Wife, hath a* Concubine, *let him not be put from the Communion.* You ſay, a Wife and Concubine are both one thing. But your Booke ſaith: Neither a Concubine is a Wife, nor a Wife is a Concubine. Marke well the words. Thus they ſtand: *He, that hath not a Wife, but in ſtead of a Wife, hath a* Concubine. It were a very ſtrange kind of ſpeech, to ſay: *He, that hath not a Wife, but in ſtead of a Wife, hath a Wife.* Yet thus muſt you needs ſay, if a Wife, and a Concubine be both one thing. But all this is eaſily anſwered. For you ſay, That a Woman is a Concubine that is taken priuately, and not Married ſolemnly in the face of the Church. Fie, M. Harding, why ſhould you thus vainely abuſe your friends? Is this your meaning, that a Concubine is married, although not ſolemnly and openly in the Church? Who euer told you of ſuch a Marriage? Or how can you ſo ſuddenly forget your ſelfe? Be not theſe your owne words, in this very ſame place? A Concubine is a Woman kept at bed and at boord, as a Wife with intent of Wedlocke? If ſhee bee Wedded alreadie, how is ſhee kept with intent of Wedlocke? If ſhee be not a Wife indeed, how is ſhee kept in Bed and at Bord, or as in ſtead of a Wife? Verily, M. Harding, a Concubine, while ſhe was a Concubine, was neuer married: neither openlie nor priuately, as it ſhall appeare: but afterwarde, being once married, ſhee was no longer called a Concubine.

398 *b.* *Diſt.* 34. *Is qui.* With intent of Wedlocke.

And that you may the better vnderſtand, how ſubſtantially ye haue dealt in this caſe, it may pleaſe you to know, that the Law ſaith: Concubinatus eſt inter Solutum & Solutam: Concubinatus *is* (not betweene Man and Wife, but) *betweene a Single Man and a Single Woman.* And he that keepeth a Concubine, is not in the Law called Maritus, but Amaſius, that is to ſay, *Not a Huſband, but a Louer*: and the ſame Louer might either refuſe his Concubine, or be refuſed of her, when either of them would, without any Diuorce or other ſolemnity, at their pleaſures. The Children betweene them begotten, vnleſſe Matrimonie follow, are not Legitimate, but liue in Baſtardy. It is written: Concubina æquiparatur Vxori, affectu, non honore, Matrimonij: *A* Coucubine *is compared with a Wife in affection of Loue, but not in honour of Matrimonie.* A Concubine may be receiued as a Witneſſe for her Louer, but a Wife may not be receiued as a Witneſſe for her Huſband. The very ſtate wherein they liue, is called in the Law, Crimen Concubinatus, that is, *The Sinne of that trade of life.* For the Law preſumeth, they cannot liue honeſtly. And if any man defile another mans Concubine, he is not thought in Law to commit Adultery, neither can he that keepeth a Concubine enter an Action againſt him, that hath defiled her, vnleſſe he that keepeth her, be his Patron or his Lord. I dare not to note theſe places ſeuerally in the Margin: for then M. Harding, you would rebuke mée, as your maner is, for ſhewing my great skill in Canon Law.

Single. Amaſius. Forſake. *ff. De Concubinis.* Baſtardie. Affection. Witneſſe. Sinne. No Adultery. *Niſi ſit Concubina Patroni.*

But now, I beſeech you, what kinde of Marriage can you imagine to bee, inter Solutum & Solutam, that is to ſay, *betweene a* Single Man, *and a* Single Woman? If they bee both Single, how be they Married? If they be Married, how bee they Single? Or, will you ſay, that a woman that neuer was Married: that may lawfully refuſe her Paramour when ſhe will, and be lawfully refuſed of him at his pleaſure: that liueth without the honour of

Marriage:

Marriage: that by presumption of Law cannot liue honestly: whose life is infamous: whose children are all in state of Bastardie: that may be defiled by any other wicked man without committing Adulterie. All these things notwithstanding, will you say, that such a woman is a good and a lawfull Wife? Or will you bring vs Scriptures and Doctours to proue the same? If your Mother had bene such a Wife, M. Harding, ye wis you could not haue ben made a Priest, without a speciall Dispensation. Verily, as you say, A Concubine is a Lawfull Wife, so may you likewise say, A Lawfull Wife is a Concubine. To be short, if a Wife and a Concubine be both one thing, why doth the Pope so easily allow a Priest to kepe a Concubine, and so straitely forbid him to haue a Wife?

But you say: I haue foulely corrupted mine Author, and haue purposely left out both that went before, and also that followed after in the same Distinction. Therefore let vs better consider these words, both backward, and forward, and of euery side. First, Gratian in the Chapter going immediately before, as you your selfe haue alleged him, saith thus: Concubina hic intelligitur, quæ, cessantibus legalibus instrumentis, vnita est, & coniugali affectu ascisci-tur. *Heere a* Concubine *is such a woman, as is coupled vnto a man without lawfull instruments, or solemnization of Matrimonie, and is taken with intent and affection of Marriage.* Marke well these words, M. Harding: *A Woman that is taken with intent and affection of Marriage.* These be your owne words, although vntruly and guilefully Englished. Notwithstanding, we will take them as they be. If a Concubine be taken with intent of Marriage, then, I trow, as yet she is not married. For no wise man intendeth to doe that thing that is done alreadie. Now if a Concubine be not married, but only kept with intent to be married, I pray you, M. Harding, what may we call her? Certainely your Doctors say; Secundùm Canones semper præsumitur Adulterium, nisi appareant Legales Solemnitates: *Vnlesse the Solemnities of the Law may appeare, by the* Canon Law *it is euer presumed to be Adulterie*, and therefore no Marriage. Thus much for the Chapter that went before. In the Chapter immediately following it is written thus: Christiano non nisi vnam tantùm habere licet, aut Vxorem, aut certè loco Vxoris, Si Coniunx deest, Concubinam: *It is lawfull for a Christian man to haue only one woman, either his* Wife, *or instead of a* Wife, *his* Concubine. Heere a Concubine is not a Wife, but a woman taken in stead of a Wife. That your Glosse here telleth vs of Mutuall Consent, is but a toy. For notwithstanding any maner Consent that may bee betweene them, a Concubine, while she is a Concubine, is not married. and being not married, she is no Wife. Therefore S. Augustine saith, euen as you haue alleged him: Etsi non habetis Vxores, tamen non licet vobis habere Concubinas, quas postea dimittatis: *Although you haue no Wiues, yet it is not lawfull for you to haue Concubines, whom ye may afterward put from you.* If Concubines be nothing else but Wiues, why is it not lawfull for men to haue them? Is it not lawfull for Christian men to haue Wiues? Yet your Rubricke vpon the same Distinction saith thus: Qui non habet Vxorem, loco illius Concubinam habere licet: Giue hereto the best English ye can deuise. The words be plaine: *It is lawfull for him that hath no* Wife, *instead of her to haue a* Concubine.

With intent of Marriage.

Dist. 24. Is qui in Glossa.

Dist. 34. Christiano.

In stead of a Wife.

August. lib. 50. Homil. Homilia, 49.

Dist. 34 Is qui.

But S. Augustine saith: Dicet aliquis, Meretrix non est quam habeo: Concubina mea est: *Some man will say, the Woman that I keepe, is not my Harlot: Shee is my* Concubine. Hereto S. Augustine answereth thus: Bene, velis, nolis, illa quæ præter Vxorem tecum dormit, est Meretrix: *Well, well: whether thou wilt, or wilt not shee that sleepeth with thee besides thy Wife,* is thy Harlot. S. Hierome saith: Vnde sine Nuptijs aliud nomen Vxorum? Imò, vnde nouum Concubinarum genus? Plus inferam: Vnde Meretrices vniuiræ? Eadem domo, vno cubiculo, sæpè, vno tenentur & lectulo, &c. *From whence haue wee another kinde of Wiues without Marriage? Nay, from whence haue wee this new kinde of Concubines? I will say more: From whence haue wee Whores betaken to one man? They liue together in one House, in one Chamber, and oftentimes in one Bed.*

Aug. de tempore, Serm 164.

Thy Harlot.

Hieronym. ad Eustochium. de Custodia Virginit. Tom. 1.

Now, M. Harding, you tell vs, that Concubina is not a Whore. But S. Augustine telleth you, Velis, nolis, est Meretrix: *Whether ye will, or nill, shee is a* Whore. And S. Hierome telleth you, that Concubina est Meretrix Vniura: *That a* Concubine *is a* Whore *betaken to one man.* If Meretrix be a Whore, it is easie to English Concubina.

A Concubine, A Whore.

These be foule matters, M. Harding: you cannot maintaine them without some blemish of your credit.

Const. Othon. De Concubinis Clericor. removend. Licet ad profugandum. In Glossa.

Likewise it is noted in the Glosse vpon the Constitutions of Otho: Videtur quòd hoc Crimen Meretricij Ecclesia sub dissimulatione transire debeat: *It seemeth that the Church ought to passe ouer the* Crime of Whoredome vnder dissimulation, (and not to see it.) In which Glosse ye shall finde these words, Si non castè, tamen cautè: If you doe it not chastelie, yet doe it charily.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. As for those words, Si *non castè, tamen cautè*, they are there

M. Har. 399. b

Not as a Rule.

rehearsed as a common saying, not as a Rule or Precept of the Canon Law, neither pertaine they to Clerkes more then to the Lay sort. The circumstance of the place considered and weighed, all things may seeme there to be well and discreetly said. Of two that commit Fornication, he doth lesse euill that doth it secretly, then the other that doth it openly, &c. How shall not that vulgar saying seeme to giue

Good counsell.

good counsell, *Si non castè, tamen cautè?* whereby a man is not animated at all to doe ill, but (if he haue to doe his vncleane lust, or will not be staid from it) is admonished to doe it charily, though not chastly.

Simple Fornicatiõ

The Answer These words (ye say) pertaine no more to Clerkes, then to the Lay sort. Here, M. Harding, ye much forget your selfe. The very bare title of that constitution will soone conuince you. Thus it is written: De Concubinis Clericorum remouendis: *Of removing Priests Concubines*, not the Concubines of others of the Lay sort, as you haue imagined. For of Lay men and their Concubines there is not one word spoken in all that whole Constitution. Contrariwise a little before, in the same place you may find these words: Clerici huiusmodi Concubinas tenent Communiter, apparatu honesto, nomine appellationis Sororiæ: *Priests Commonly keepe such Concubines in honest Apparell, vnder the name of their Sisters.* Of such Concubines M. Harding, and of none other, your booke intreateth. But it may be lawfull for you to make vs large Commentaries beside your Text. Of your Priests Concubines, M. Harding, and of none other your Doctor saith: Si non castè, tamen cautè: *If they deale not chastly, yet let them deale charily.*

But this (you say) was on'y a Common saying, and not a Rule. And is not this sufficient, thinke you? Can you imagine, that the Common speech of the people is nothing worth, or groweth of nothing? It was no Rule, you say. But the world saw, ye liued so, as if it had beene your only Rule. Verily by the Testimony of all your owne Writers, the whole Life of the Clergy was out of Rule. Howbeit, you tell vs: The circumstance considered, all this may seeme to be well and discreetly spoken. For you say, If a man happen to doe his vncleane lust, hee is thereby admonished to do it charily, though he doe it not chastly. And this (you say) is good counsell.

1. Corinth. 7.

No doubt, M. Harding, good, and discreet and fatherly counsell. But S. Pauls Counsell is much better: Ad euitandum Fornicationem vnusquisque Vxorem suam habeat: Melius est nubere, quàm vri: *For auoiding of Fornication, let euery man haue his owne Wife: Better it is to marry, then to burne in desires.*

In eadem Gloss. Extra. de Immunit. Eccles. Petr. Rauenn.

Likewise saith Petrus Rauennâs, one of your notable Canonists, vpon the Decretals: Quamuis tactus & oscula sunt præludia incontinentiæ in Laicis, secùs tamen est in Clericis. Nam Clericus præsumitur ista facere pro charitate, & bono zelo: *Notwithstanding handling and kissing in* Lay Persons *be the occasions or beginnings of incontinent behauiour, yet in* Priests *it is farre otherwise.* For a Priest is presumed to doe these things of charity, and of good zeale.

11. qu. 3. *Absit. In Glossa. Ibidem in Margine.*

Likewise it is noted in your Glosse: Si Clericus amplectitur Mulierem, (Laicus) interpretabitur, quòd causa benedicendi eam hoc faciat: *If a* Priest *embrace a Woman, a* Lay man *must iudge of it thus, that he doth it to the intent to blesse her.* Where also yee shall find this speciall note set out in the Margin for the purpose: Clericus amplectens Mulierem præsumitur bene agere: A Priest embracing a woman, is presumed to doe well.

These be your Canonists: these be your Schoolemasters: these be your Doctours, M. Harding: thus they write, not only in the Singular, but also in the Duall, and Plurall number. They would neuer so lightly haue iudged hereof, if they had thought your Simple Fornication had beene Sinne.

August. in Enchiridio ad Laurent. ca. 80.

S. Augustine saith: Clamor Sodomorum & Gomorrhæorum multiplicatus est: Quia non solùm iam apud eos non puniebantur illa flagitia, verùm etiam publicè, velut Lege, frequentabantur: *The crie of* Sodom *and* Gomorrha *is multiplied: For that such vices then not only were not punished, but also were openly vsed, as it had beene by the aid and Authoritie of the Law.*

Concil. Basil. Session. 20. Erasm. in Enchirid. milit. Christi. ca. 14.

Somewhat it must néeds be that in your late Councell of Basil enforced the Bishops there to Decree, that Fornication should bee Sinne. For vnlesse some had thought the Contrarie, what should néed haue néeded that New Decree? Or, why should they so solemnly determine, that Fornication is Sinne, vnlesse some had said, It is no Sinne? Erasmus a man of singular Learning and Iudgement, saith: * Bona pars eorum, quos vulgus integros & incorruptos appellat, Simplicem Fornicationem, & moderatum voluptatis vsum, vt leue commissum, neutiquam refugiunt: * *A great many of them, whom the common sort taketh for good and godly men, not a whit abhorre* Simple Fornication, *and a sober vse of pleasure, reckoning it to be but a little petit fault.* So saith Iacobus De Valentia: Tam Iudæi, quàm Saraceni, & mali Christiani, vt detestabilem vitam suam excusent & defendant, asserunt, Fornicationem Simplicem esse licitam: *As well* Iewes, *as* Saracens, *as also* ill Christian Men, *to the intent to excuse and defend their wicked life, say,* Simple Fornication may be lawfully vsed.

* He meaneth some of the best of the Roman Clergy.

Iacob de Valentia in Psal. 118.

So

So saith Antoninus the Archbishop of Florence: Confutatur error dicentium, Simplicem Fornicationem non esse Peccatum: *Heereby is reproued the error of them that say,* Simple Fornication is no Sinne. Alexander of Hales, by way of Disputation, doubteth not to allege the woords of S. Ambrose to this purpose: Etiamsi aliquis lubricum Carnis patiatur, sine dubio vapulabit; sed non peribit: *If a man suffer the frailety of the Flesh, without doubt he shall be punished*; but perish he shall not. *Anton. in Sum. part. 4 titul. 22. ca. 2. §. 3. Alexand. Halensis. part. 3. qu. 35. mem. 5.*

Thus haue you, M. Harding, not only what your Canonists, but also what your Schoole Doctours haue taught, and thought of Simple Fornication. *Ambrosius, 1. Timoth. 4.*

But there is noted in the Margin of the Apologie, Iohannes de Magistris, in stead of Martinus. And heereof haue you made your selfe a pleasant Conquest. Wee read not (you say) these Bookes our selues: wee beleeue such pelting Writers of our Sects: wee are shamefully and dangerously deceiued. Howbeit, M. Harding, I require but your indifferent iudgement: Speake vprightly. Wherefore is it more deadly Sinne for vs to name Iohannes in stead of Martinus, then it was for you in this selfe same Booke to name Captaine Iosue in stead of the Prophet Osee? Or, for one of your Brethren to allege Hosius for Athanasius? Or, for D. Steuen Gardiner in stead of Theophylactus, to allege Theophylus? Cicero alleageth Aiax in stead of Hector: Agamemnon in stead of Vlysses: Eupolis in stead of Aristophanes. Aristotle allegeth Calypso in stead of Circe. Your Gratian allegeth Anicetus for Anicetus: Ambrosius for Augustinus: and by your owne Confession, Calixtus for Anacletus. S. Cyrysostome nameth Abacuk for Sophonias: and Agar in stead of Sara. S. Marke allegeth Abiathar for Abimelech. S. Matthew nameth Hieremias for Zacharias. *M. Hard. pag. 46. Read the B. of Winchester. vnto N. Pecknam, Pag. 121. Vnt. Con. Cantur. Lib. 7. De Eucharistia. M. Harding Pag. 93. Chrysostom. ad Romanos, 1. Chrysostom. ad Galat. 4. Hieronym. in Marcum. ca. 2. Matthæ. 27.*

It had beene no great preiudice vnto your cause, to haue dissembled so small a matter, specially finding your selfe so often guilty in the same. Your owne Doctours say, Error in nomine non habet vitiare, modò constet de Corpore: *Error in name marreth not the matter, so the body or party be knowen.*

But this same Martinus (ye say) neuer denied Fornication to be deadly Sinne: but by expresse words affirmeth the contrarie. For triall heereof it may please you to giue some credit to Alphonsus de Castro your owne Doctour. His woords be these: Græci, vt Guido illis impingit, dicunt, Simplicem Fornicationem non esse peccatum. Martinus de Magistris in suo libro, De Temperantia, quæstione secunda de Luxuria, dicit, se fateri Fornicationem Simplicem esse Peccatum Mortale. Tamen dicit insuper, quòd oppositum credere non sit Hæreticum: quia, vt dicit, Testimonia Scripturæ Sacræ non sunt expressa: *The* Greekes, *as* Guido *chargeth them, say, that* Simple Fornication is no Sinne. Martinus de Magistris *in his Booke, Of Temperance, and in the second question, disputing of Lechery, granteth indeed, that* Simple Fornication is deadly Sinne. *And yet he saith,* It is no Heresie to beleeue the contrarie: *for that, as he saith, the Testimonies of the Scriptures* (touching this matter) *are not plaine.* Heere, M. Harding, ye haue your owne Doctours minde. Martinus saith: It is no Heresie, to beleeue that Simple Fornication is no Sinne. And this he saith euen in the very same Booke that he hath written, De Temperantia. So dangerously, M. Harding, and so shamefully are we deceiued in alleging your pelting Doctors. *Alphonsus contra Hæres. Lib. 4 Coit us.*

And therefore Alphonsus concludeth thus: Sed cum pace illius dixerim, Ego credo Martinum, alioqui virum doctum, in hac parte errasse: *But to speake with his fauour, I beleeue, that* Martinus de Magistris *in this behalfe was much deceiued.*

Simple Fornicatiõ

(a) Vntruth. For this lie wil soone bee found a Truth.

(b) Who bestowed these quotations in the Margin, I cannot tell. But the Lawes are plaine, as it shall appeare.

(c) This was in old times. Now it is quite forgotten.

(d) An Hypocritical follie. For he may redeeme al this whole ten yeeres fast by paying of a pennie: read the answer.

(e) Vntruth manifest, and a Canon of M. Hardings owne making.

(f) Full clearly God wote See the Answer.

M. Harding.

After this foule lie followeth (a) another. Let him remember (say these Defenders) that they be his men that haue decreed, that a Priest for fornication ought not to be remoued from his Cure. To this may wee say, that although he be not depriued of his Cure, yet he may be punished otherwise. But let vs see how they would proue that they say. (b) By their note in the Margent they send vs for proofe to the Canon Law, 3. *quæst.* 7. *Lata. Extra de Bigamis. Quia, circa.* As touching the chapter, *Lata*, in the Decrees we find none such. And in *Causa.* 3. *quæst.* 7. there is nothing to this purpose. The *Paragraph Quia circa. Extra* is vnderstanded of them, who being in the state of Bigamie, are not to be promoted to Holy Orders, and not of one who is already made Priest, that he be not for Fornication remooued. But to vnderstand what was done to a Priest (that had committed Fornication) by order of Law, (c) in case any Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon, after degree of Deaconship taken, had bin conuict of Fornication, or Aduouterie, he was deposed, and cast out of the Church, and enioined to doe penance among the Laitie. Which thing S. Sylluester at length mercifully changed, enioining (d) ten yeeres penance after a prescript forme, which to our new Clergie would seeme very hard and strait.

Yea further, the Law of the Church in this case so little beareth with the sinful life of Clerks, that if (e) any Bishop in his Dioceese had consented, and borne with the Fornication of Priests or Deacon, or with the crime of Incest, for money, or praier, or had not by Authority of his Bishoply Office duly punished such faults cõmitted, the same should be suspẽded from his Office. And this much we haue shewed touching the remouing of a Priest, not only from his Benefice, but also from his Office, for cause of Fornication: wherein these men most falsly haue slandered the Church, as now to any man it may (f) appeare.

Not depoſed for Fornication.

Diſt. 82. Preſbyter.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Yeere M. Harding, ye ſhew your ſelfe to be much vnſkilfull in your owne Canons. The ſimpleſt Proctor in your Courts could ſone haue told you, that ye are ouer farre deceiued. For thus it is written by expreſſe words in your owne Gloſſe vpon the Decrees: Dicunt neminem hodiè propter Fornicationem eſſe deponendum, niſi in ea perduret: *They ſay that for* Fornication *no man ought this day to be depoſed, vnleſſe hee continue in the ſame.* And leſt ye ſhould in any wiſe miſtruſt or doubt your Gloſſe, it is alſo thus noted of purpoſe in faire great letters in the Margin: Fornicationis cauſa hodiè nemo eſt deponendus: Now adaies no man may be depoſed for Fornication. Were there nothing elſe to be ſaid, yet this thing only were ſufficient.

Extra. de Conſanguinitate & affinitate. Non debet. Abb.

Diſt. 81. Maximianus. Gloſſ.

But Panormitane alſo your greateſt Canoniſt likewiſe ſaith: Ad varietatem temporum debent mutari ſtatuta humana: Idcò hodiè ex Simplici Fornicatione Clericus non deponitur: *The Lawes of Men ought to be altered according to the change of times: And therefore nowadaies* for Simple Fornication no Prieſt is depoſed from his Benefice. Likewiſe yée haue it noted vpon your Decrees: Communiter dicitur, quòd pro Simplici Fornicatione Clericus deponi non debet: Quia pauci ſine illo vitio inueniuntur: *It is commonly ſaid, that* for Simple Fornication no Prieſt ought to be depriued; for that few Prieſts are found without that fault.

Extra. de Cohabit. Clerico. & Mulier. Si autem Abb.

Againe Panormitane ſaith to like effect: Clericus Concubinarius in officijs vitandus non eſt, niſi ſit notorius: *A Prieſt that keepeth a Concubine, vnleſſe he be notorius, may not be refuſed in his Seruice.*

Sundry other ſuch like Authorities your perfect Proctor could haue brought you.

Howbeit, you ſay, S. Syluester in ſuch caſes enioineth ten yeeres penance. This was true indeed, M. Harding. But it was true in Old forme yéeres, about twelue hundred yeeres agoe. Now Syluester is paſt quite out of minde, and his Law with him. Your owne folke now can ſay, Nunc aliud tempus, alij pro tempore Mores.

Martin. Pœnitentiarius in Dictionario.

Diſt. 82. Preſb. In Gloſſa.

Martinus Pœnitentiarius ſaith: Eccleſia multos huiuſmodi Canones exufflauit, quia onerоſi ſunt: *The Church hath blowen away many ſuch Canons, for that they be too burthenous.* Looke better on your Bookes, M. Harding. Your owne Law ſaith: Fornicationis cauſa nemo hodie deponendus eſt: Quia Corpora hodie ſunt fragiliora: *No man now adaies ought to be depriued for* Fornication: *and that becauſe our Bodies are frailer then they were wont to be.* And therefore touching that cruell ten yeers faſt, appointed by Syluesters Conſtitution, the Gloſſe there ſaith thus: Poteſt ieiunare per alium: vel poteſt dare nummum pro ieiunio: *Hee may Faſt by ſome other man: or elſe he may giue a* good Penny, *and ſo redeeme his whole ten yeers Faſt.* But there is graciouſly added a ſpeciall Prouiſo, in the behalfe of him that ſhall receiue this Penny: Sed debet iſte Denarius eſſe talis, quòd non euincatur ab illo cui donatur. Aliàs non contingeret liberatio: *But it muſt be ſuch a Penny, that it be neuer euicted againe by Law from him that receiued it. Otherwiſe he ſhould not be diſcharged of his penance.*

Diſt. 34. Fraternitatis.

In like maner ſaith Pope Pelagius: Defectus noſtri temporis, quibus Corpora ipſa hominum defecerunt, diſtrictionis illius non patitur manere cenſuram: *The weakeneſſe of our time, by meane whereof the very Bodies of men are decaied, doth not ſuffer the rigour of that Law to continue.*

De Concubinis Clericor. remouend. Licet ad profugandum.

Otho in his Conſtitution Legantine ſaith: Remoueant ipſas intra menſem: vel ipſas, vel alias de cætero nullatenus detenturi: *Let Prieſts put away their Concubines within a Moneths reſpit: afterward to hold neither them, nor any others in any wiſe.* Whereupon the Gloſſe with great conſcience, and full diſcréetly ſaith thus: Detenturi, ſcilicet, per Menſem. Alioqui diceremus, quòd propter quamcunque momentaneam poſſeſſionis detentionem ſequentem, hanc grauem pœnam incurreret. Quod nimis eſſet rigoroſum, attenta fragilitate noſtri temporis: *They may not afterward hold* (neither the ſame Concubines, nor anie other. *Which words you muſt thus vnderſtand: That by the ſpace of a whole moneth together he may not hold them. Otherwiſe we ſhould ſay, that a Prieſt ſhould run into this grieuous puniſhment for any ſhort holding of his Concubine in poſſeſſion following afterward. Which thing indeed were maruellous rigorous, ſpecially conſidering the frailty of our time.*

In eodem titulo.

Againe the ſame Otho ſaith: Ordinamus, vt ſi contra hoc præſumpſerint venire, ab Officio & Beneficio ſint ſuſpenſi: *Wee ordaine, that if any Prieſt doe contrary hereunto, ſliuing incontinently, contrarie to this* Conſtitution) *that then he be ſuſpended, as well from his Benefice, as from his Office.* Hereunto your Gloſſe addeth: Rigoroſa quoque eſſet hæc pœna, niſi eſſet pro Adulterio, vel inceſtu: Etiamſi Epiſcopus eſſet huiuſmodi labens: *And this Puniſhment alſo were ouer rigorous, vnleſſe it were for Aduouterie, or Inceſt:* (For his

he may not so be punished for Fornication) *Yea although the party so falling were a Bishop* And againe in the same Glosse: Propter solam Simplicem Fornicationem de Benignitate Canonica, non debet Clericus deponi, vel Priuari: Licèt secùs fortè de Canonis rigore: *By the Courtesie of the Canons, onely for* Simple Fornication *a Priest may not be deposed from his Office, or depriued from his Benefice. Albeit perhaps by the rigour or extremity of the Canons it would be otherwise.* The very true cause hereof is more plainly expressed in your own Glosse vpon the Decretals: Quia paucis sine vitio Carnis inueniuntur: *For without the vice of the Flesh there are but few* (Priests) *to be found.*

Not deposed for Fornication.

Extra de Purgatione Canonica accepimus In Glossa.

All this notwithstanding, ye say: If the Bishop winke, and dissemble, and beare with the wickednesse of the Priest in this behalfe, that then he himselfe ought to be punished by suspension from his Office. This M. Harding, is a Canon of your owne making: for other Authoritie yee alledge none. But how may it seeme likelie that yee so cruelly punish your Bishops for fauourable dealing herein, seeing your High and alonely Bishop, and the Bishop of all Bishops, is so well content, vpon agreement for money, to licence both Bishops and Priests to keepe Concubines?

Extra de iudiciis, ca 4 § De Adulteriis.

If ye mistrust the truth hereof, beside your common practise, as you know, your own Pope Gregory himselfe will soone tell you, De Adulterio, & alijs Minoribus Criminibus, Episcopus potest cum Clericis post pœnitentiam dispensare: *Touching* Aduoutrie, and other small faults, *the Bishop after Penance done may dispence with a Priest.* Where also it is to be noted, that Aduoutery in your Diuinity is reckoned among small faults & petit Sinnes. Likewise againe it is to be noted in your Glosse: Cum Presbyteris habentibus plures Concubinas, Episcopus potest dispensare, vt suum Officium exequantur: *With Priests* shauing sundry Concubines *the Bishop may dispense, that they may neuertheless do their Office.*

Extra de Bigamis. Quia circa. in Glossa.

Wherein ye seeme somewhat to ouer-reach the Emperours Courtesie touching the same: For thus he writeth: Vnam Concubinam qui habet, non plures, Castè viuit: *He that keepeth one Concubine onely, and no mo, liueth Chastely.* And in the said former Glosse yee shall finde another speciall note of your owne, well worthy to be written in the Popes priuie Gallery in Letters of Gold: Nota, quòd plures concubinas habens, non incurrit irregularitatem: *Marke well, that he that keepeth sundry Concubines, is not thereby made irregular.*

Authē de Tripetho en. & Semiss. Colla. 3.

Extra de Bigamis. Quia Circa. In Glossa.

And Againe: Nota, Mirabile: quòd cum eo qui peccat dispensatur: & cum eo qui non peccat, non dispensatur: *Marke well, Here is a marueilous strange reckoning: The Bishop dispenseth with him that offendeth* (hauing sundry Concubines:) *but with him that offendeth not* (hauing married two wiues) *he dispenseth not* And further he saith: Plus habet hic Luxuria, quam Castitas: *Here Lechery hath more Priuilege then Chastitie.*

In eadem Glossa. In eadem Gloss.

Againe in your Decrees it is written thus: Quæcunque Clericis taliter coniunctæ sunt, auferantur ab Episcopo, & venundentur: *What soeuer women haue such company with Priests, let them be remoued by the Bishop, and sold, and made slaues.* Vnto this Law, being in it selfe ouer rigorous, the Glosse addeth this fauourable Construction: Venundentur: Verum est, si contrahunt cum illis, tanquam cum Vxoribus. Alias non concedo, posse vendi propter Simplicem Fornicationem: *Let them be sold, and made slaues. This is true,* if the Priests marry with them, as with their Wiues. *Otherwise I grant not, that for* Simple Fornication *they may be sold.*

Dist 81. Quidam Clerics. In Gloss.

Likwise againe it is noted in your Glosse: Nota, Frequentationem tantùm Viduarum & Virginum prohiberi: *Marke well, that it is not the comming to Widowes or Maids, but the often haunting vnto them that is forbidden.* Otho in his Legantines saith thus: Qui detinet publicè Concubinas, &c. *The Priest that* Openly *keepeth Concubines, let him bee deposed.* Hereupon your Glosse saith thus: Tu dic, Publicè, quando Multitudini se patere non expauer. Secùs ergo, si secretè intra domum propriam, vel alienam detineat hanc Concubinam. Nam tunc pœnam huius Constitutionis non incurret. Domus enim rem secretam, non autem publicam denotat. Dic ergo, Publicè, id est, Communiter, & coram multis. Non ergo sufficit, quòd semel vel bis talis Publicè videatur: He that Openly keepeth Concubines, &c. *Vnderstand thou by this word,* Openly, *if he be not afraid, though he appeare vnto the people. It is otherwise if he keepe his Concubine secretly, whether it bee in an other mans house or in his own. For so he commeth not within the danger of this Law. For a house betokeneth not an open matter, but a secret. Thus therefore expound thou this Constitution: If he keepe his Concubine* Openly, *that is to say, If he keepe her Commonly, and in the sight of many. Therefore if such a Concubine twice or thrice be seene Openly it is not sufficient.* In the same Glosse of yours ye haue these words that I haue alleged before: Simon Castè, tamen Cautè.

Dist 23: His igitur in Glossa. Constitut. Othonis. De Concubinis Clericor. remouend. Licet ad profugandum.

And whereas you say, If a Bishop shew fauour herein, he himselfe shall be suspended; your owne Doctour Abbat Panormitane would haue told you the contrarie: Episcopus non tenetur deponere Clericum Concubinarium: *The Bishop is not bound to deprine a Priest that keepeth a concubine.*

De Cohabitat. Clericorum & Mulier. Si autem. Abb.

To make short, ye haue also of great prouidence deuised a special Premunire to embolden your Priests in Fornication, and to warrant them free from al danger of any your Lawes made in that behalfe. For thus you say: Si Laicus, instigante Diabolo, accuset Clericum incontinentiæ, statim repellitur. Laici in accusatione Episcopi audiendi non sunt: *If a Lay man by the instigation of the Diuell, accuse a Priest of incontinent Life, straightway he is thrust backe, and put to silence. The Lay sort may not be heard in the accusation of a Bishop.* And aygaine: Laicus non potest Clericum de Fornicatione accusare: *A Lay man may not accuse a Priest of Fornication.* This is that extremitie, and vnmercifull rigour, M. Harding, that yee shew your Priests in these cases. No Lay man may accuse them: No Bishop may depriue them: No Law may touch them.

2. Quæst. 7. Laici.

Dist. 84. Maximian in Glos.

M. Harding.

The third lie is, that Cardinall Campeius, Albertus Pighius, and certaine others haue taught, that a Priest liueth more Holily, and more Chastely, that keepeth a Concubine, then hee that hath taken a Wife in Matrimony. Why doe yee not tell vs where they haue taught so? Wil yee that wee beleeue your bare word? How can wee, hauing taken you tardy in so many, and so manifest lies? Aristotle once asked, what a common lier gained by his lying, (a) that (quoth hee) when hee telleth truth, no man will beleeue him. Wisdome would, Sirs, that yee tooke good heed, that ye proue not such gainers. Now we require you to bring forth proofe of that ye charge these learned men withall. We are sure yee cannot.

(a) This Answer much toucheth M. Har. himselfe.

The words of Pighius be these: But put case (saith he) they which haue vowed Chastitie, al doe not that they may and ought to do, to attaine the grace of continencie: and therefore they be not onely tempted, but also ouercome with tempation for the more part: What then? shall it be a lesse euill for them to marry? For to say it is better, thou maiest not, which the Apostle imputeth to damnation, if they breake their First Faith. For these (I say) shall it be lesse euill, and lesse damnable to marrie, then to be ouercome with lusts?

Therfore where ye impute vnto him, that he maketh the keeping of a Concubine to be a more holy, and a more chaste life in a Priest, then taking of a wife in Matrimony, it is a foule lie, and a false slander. Neither is their in that Doctrine any filthinesse at al, which Philip Melanchthon, whom here ye follow, chargeth him withall.

(b) Vntruth. For S. August. saith: *Qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias, sed potius Adulteria, mihi non videntur satis acutè ac diligenter considerare quid dicant. De bono Vid. c. 10.*

Touching that point of Doctrin it selfe, S. Paul confirmeth it, to whom the Marriage of those that be bound to vow of continency seemed so wicked and hainous a Sinne, that he pronounceth the will to marrie, to be damnable. Now your Coniunctions with your yoke fellowes, we meane only so many of you as haue vowed chastity) (b) are not indeed Wedlocks, but Incestuous Aduouteries. And right so we finde them named by Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostome, Ambrose, Hierome, Photius, and other holie and learned Fathers.

But perhaps ye say, both are Aduouteries, whether a vowed person marrie, or commit Fornication. Let it be so. (c) Yet is not that sinne more grieuous which a man committeth of set and determined purpose, then that which he falleth into by humane frailty? And that euill which continueth, is it not much worse then that which hath intermission, (and no end?)

(c) O sage considerations!

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Fornicatiõ better then Marriage.

Ecclesiast. 40. Ecclesiast. 42. 2. Pet. 2.

The Apology saith, that Campegius, Pighius, and others moe of your side haue told vs, *That a Priest keeping a Concubine, liueth more holily and more chastly then a Priest that hath a wife, and liueth in Matrimony.* Here ye crie out, as your wont is. Slander, Lies, foule Lies, and I know not what. For thus only they say, (say you) That Fornication in this case is lesse ill then Matrimony. Howbeit, M. Harding, laying all cauils and shifts aside, the lesse ill in vse of speech is commonly called, the greater good. And in this sense it is written: Better *is it to die, then to want.* And againe: Better *is the iniquity of a man, then a woman doing well.* So Ionas saith: Death vnto me is better then Life. So S. Peter saith: Better had it been *for them not to haue known the way of Righteousnesse, then knowing the same, to be turned backe from the Holy Commandement that is giuen vnto them.* These and other like phrases are often vsed in the Holie Scriptures, not for that Death, or Iniquity, or Ignorance of Gods Iustice, be good things indeed, but for that in comparison of other worse things, they seeme to import some lesse ill.

Fornication (ye say) is not better then Marriage: But Marriage is worse then Fornication. Thus it seemeth you good to shadow your matters by shift of words, from worse to better, and from better to worse. And yet in plaine mens iudgements, If Marriage bee worse then Fornication, then is Fornication better then Marriage.

Hulderich. Episco. Augustanus. The same Epistle is found in ancient Record vnder the name of Volusianus Episcopus Carthaginensis.

But to let you vnderstand wee haue dealt simply and plainly heerein, Hulderichus the Bishop of Augusta in Germanie, writing vnto Pope Nicolas against the restraint of Priests Marriage aboue seuen hundred yeeres past, vseth the like maner of speech as we haue vsed. Thus he saith: Huius imperij, ne dicam, consilij, tam fatuam, tamque turpem addunt suggestionem, vt dicant, Honestius est pluribus occultè implicari, quam apertè in hominum vultu, & conscientia cum vna ligari. Quòd profectò non dicerent, si rex illo & in illo essent, qui dicit, Væ vobis Pharisæis, qui omnia facitis propter homines: *Vnto*

this

this Commandement, I will not say, vnto this Counsell, they set so foolish and so shamefull a suggestion, that they say, It is an ✶ Honester thing for a Priest to be intangled with many Concubines in Secret and Priuily, then openly and in the sight and knowledge of the World to be ioined in Mariage with one Wife. *Which thing verily they would not vtter, if they were either of him, or in him, that saith: Woe bee vnto you yee Pharisеis that doe all things to please men.*

Fornicatiō better then Marriage.

In like sort the Councell **of** Wormes **wrot sometime against** Pope Hildebrand, **so that he had deuised great rigour and tyrannie, to sunder Priests from their** Wiues: Scorta pudicis Coniugibus: Stupra, Incestus, Adulteria casto Connubio præfert: *Hee placeth Strumpets before honest Wiues: and Fornication, Incest, Aduouterie before chaste Mariage.* *Concil. Wormatien. Ex Anemmo.*

Notwithstanding your Doctor Hosius **saith:** Turpis Philippo videtur hæc oratio: Catholicis autem honestissima: *These words vnto* Philip Melancthon *seeme shamefull: but vnto the Catholikes they seeme most honest.* *Hosius in Petricouien. Confess. cap. 56.*

What neede we many words in so cleare a case? The whole practise of your Church, M. Harding, professeth the same. If a Priest marry a Wife, ye suspend him, ye excommunicate him: yee Depriue him: ye disquiet and trouble the whole Church. But if hee kepe a Concubine, **one, two, or moe, ye are then contented, and ready, not onely to dissemble it, but also with fauour to excuse it. For so yee say as it is alleged before:** Clericus Concubinarius in officijs vitandus non est, nisi sit notorius: *A Priest that keepeth a Concubine, vnlesse he be very notorious, may not be eschewed in his Seruice.* **Againe yee shall finde this Lesson specially noted in your** Rubricke, **as it is said before:** qui non habet Vxorem, loco illius Concubinam debet habere: *He that hath not a Wife, in stead of her ought to haue a Concubine.* **Ye will say,** There is an error in your Print: **which thing may easily be granted, specially the whole Booke being otherwise so full of errors. But would God your error in Life and Doctrine were no greater. Notwithstanding, it followeth immediately in the same Decree:** Is qui non habet vxorem, & pro Vxore Concubinam habet, à communione non repellatur: *Whoso hath no Wife, and in stead of a wife hath a Concubine,* let him not be remoued from the Communion. **In these words, I trow, ye will say there is no error.** *Extr. de Cohabit. Cleric. & Mulier. cap. final. Abb. Dist. 34. Is qui.*

Upon the Legantine constitutions **of** Otho, **yee may finde these words noted in the** Glosse: Nunquid compelli potest Clericus Concubinam abiurare? Videtur quòd non. Resolutio: Si Clericus duxit Vxorem de facto, eo casu iuramentum exigitur: *Whether may a Priest be forced to forsweare his Concubine? It seemeth he may not. The Resolution hereof is this: If a Priest haue indeed Maried a Wife, in this case he is forced to forsake her by an oath.* *Constit. Othonis de Concubinis Cleric. remouendis. Licet ad profugandum.*

Therefore wee may say to you, as S. Augustine **said sometime to the** Manichees: Non Concubitum, sed vt longè antè ab Apostolo dictum est, verè Nuptias prohibetis: *Ye forbid not Copulation: but as it was long agoe forspoken by the Apostle, indeed yee forbid very Marriage.* *Aug. de Moribus Manich. lib. 2. cap 18.*

Now forasmuch, as yée say, Ye are no Angels, and your infirmities ought to be considered, and to be borne withall, **It shall not be amisse shortly to see, what your owne friends haue thought of these** Infirmities. **And heere to passe ouer other authorities, your owne Doctor the Bishop of** Bitonto, **being present at your late** Chapter at Trident, **of your whole Single life, which ye call Chastity, pronounceth thus:** Quibus turpitudinum monstris, qua sordium colluuie, qua peste non sunt corrupti, non fœdati in Ecclesia Sancta Dei, & Populus, & Sacerdos? A Sanctuario Dei incipite, Patres, si vllus iam pudor, si vlla pudicitia &c. Dicunt in Corde impio, & Ore impuro, Non est Deus: *With what monsters of filthines, with what villany, with what Pestilence are they not corrupted and defiled in the Church of God, both the people and the Priest? My Lords, begin euen with the Sanctuary of God: if there bee any shame, if there be any honest Life. They say with wicked heart and filthy mouth, There is no God.* *Concil. Trid. Sess 1.*

Another saith: Propter multitudinem luxuriæ, alia vitia quasi non peccata reputantur: *For the multitude of lecherie* (**that is in Priests**) *other faults are taken for no sinne.* *Hermannus Riddus, de vita & honest. Cler.*

Another saith: Defecit iam omnis Disciplina, & Religio in Cardinalibus: Et tres radices vitiorum, Superbia, Auaritia, Luxuria validissimè dominantur: *In the Cardinals now all Discipline and Religion is decaied: And three roots of Sinnes,* Pride, Couetousnesse and Lecherie, *doe most mightily preuaile.* S. Bernard **saith:** Fingunt, se amore Castitatis ista dicere: cùm ea magis causa turpitudinis fouendæ, & multiplicandæ adinueuerint: *They beare vs in hand, that they speake these things for loue of Chastitie: whereas indeed they haue deuised the same, to the end to nourish and to increase their filthinesse.* **This, M. Harding, is your** Infirmity, **which, in your iudgement, Courtesie, and Charitie, wee ought to beare withall.** *Paral. Vrsperg. in Clemen. 5. Bern. in Cant. Serman. 66.*

The places of S. Cyprian, S. Basil, S. Chrysostome, S. Ambrose, S. Hierome, **and others that may seeme much to make with you in this case, and to condemne this kinde**

Part. 2. chap 8. Diuision, 1. Dist. 27. quadã

kinde of Mariage, are weighed and answered before in a place more conuenient. Verily, S Augustine saith: Grauiter peccant, qui tales diuidunt: *They sinne grieuously that diuide them, that be so married.*

M. Harding.

Fornicatiõ better then Marriage.

Where ye say, there be many thousands of common Harlots in Rome, we thinke there be many there in deed. Whether there be many thousands, we doubt. What number soeuer there is, they bee too many. Those courteghians the Church of Rome doth (a) tolerate, not nourish, trusting and looking, that by sermons, exhortations, and other conuenient meanes, they may be called backe to repentance, and to the way of Saluation.

That the Pope gathereth about a thirty thousand Ducates yeerely of these Courteghians by way of an annuall pension, which these Defenders affirme (b) it is vtterly false. Cornelius Agrippa, who fauoured not the See of Rome, and was imbrewed with Heresies that sprang vp in his time, was the first Author of this slander. If they pay the common taxes, which he leuied to the Pope, who only hath ciuil Dominion ouer that City, they (c) pay not for that they may be suffered to continue that sinful trade of life, but so as the whole City paieth by polles for that there they haue their abode, and habitation.

First it is common to all great Cities in those hot Countries, not to banish from among them that filthy generation of Harlots, not by way of suffering, as a thing commendable in it selfe, but for the auoiding of a greater mischiefe. As (d) God suffered the hard necked Iewes to haue their enemies, and pinch them with vsuries. Likewise Moses permited a Libel of diuorce, not that these things were honest but to the intent by that meanes yet they might the rather loue their Brethren, and lend them money freely, and abstaine from murthering their wiues. Euen so men now adaies so little apply their endeauour to restraine the proneneſſe which is in their flesh to all riot and carnal concupiscence, that if some way were not (at the least concerning outward and ciuill punishment) (e) winked at, whereby the fleshly men might obtaine some part of their vntruelie desire: it were more then likely, that in this great decay of vertue in general the furious rage of that vice would leaue neither wedlocke vndefiled, nor Virginity vnassaulted, nor a worse enterprise, which Nature abhorreth, vnattempted. Would God experience had not taught many Countries this to be too true an obseruation.

(a) Not nourish, but tolerate. A proper excuse & a sore punishment of open Whordome.

(b) Vntruth. For it is most true, as it shall appeare.

(c) Vntruth, manifest. For vnlesse they pay, they shal not occupy.

(d) The Pope may dispense as well as God.

(e) This is a iolly Catholik diuine.

S. Augustine hereof saith: (f) *Quid sordidius, &c.* What can be laid more vncleane, more void of comlineſſe, more full of turpitude, then harlots, bauds, and such other like pestilences? Take Harlots from among men, ye shall disturbe all things with lecherous lusts. Put the same in stead of Matrones, ye shal dishonest all things) with spot and shame. And why is the Bishop of Rome to be blamed for that they be in Rome, more then the French King, the King of Spaine, or any other Prince, for suffering them in their Dominions?

(f) S Aug. wrote these Bookes, *De Ordine*, before he was Baptised.

It remaineth, we seeke whether they haue also the lowest and vilest place in that Citie, or not. Lest perhaps although they be a (g) necessary euill, yet being promoted aboue their degree, they make an euil shewin the body where they rest. Their place may be considered two wayes, in respect of the Temporall, or of the Eccleſiasticall order or law. For Temporall order thus they stand: Not to haue free liberty of dwelling in the most haunted streets & Palaces wher them list, but (h) only be to in such corners and by-lanes, and smal out-houses, as are most fit shops for the vile marchandize of such occupiers. Againe they cannot without a very great forfet ride in (i) Coches or Chariots as matrons there doe, but are constrained either to keepe their homely homes, or to walke a foot in the streets. And then also by order they must be (k) in such apparell, that as Iewes by their red caps, so they by their short vailes (a note of infamy) be known to all, and be subiect to all shrewdneſſe of the boies of the streets, who vse commonly to mocke and reuile them.

(g) A vile Vntruth. They are not necessarie.

(h) Vntruth. For the Cardinalles themselues say: *Habitant infames Aedes.*

(i) Vntruth. For the Cardinals say *Mula vehuntur.*

(k) Vntruth. For the Cardinalles say *Incedunt vt Matronae.*

And here I cannot but mislike with that malice which appeareth to be in the makers of this Apology. For (l) it is a vertue in the Prince to set great burdens and paiments vpon so filthy a profession, to the end he may feare women from it, and make them the sooner weary of it, &c. In good sooth Masters yee are too yong to controle the Citie of Rome in her doings.

(l) This is one of the Cardinal vertues of Rome, to take tole of baudery.

Besides al this, if in that sinful state they continue to their end without repentance, (m) it is not lawful for thẽ to make any testament or last will for bestowing of their goods, but as condemned and infamous persons they must leaue al to be confiscated and disposed at the Princes pleasure. But on the other side if they turne and repent, there are houses called Monasteries of the Conuertites, and special prouision and discipline for them, where they are taught how to bewaile their vnchaste life so sinfully past ouer.

(m) Vntruth See the Answer.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Touching the number of your Courteghians of Rome, whether they bee twenty thousand, or moe, or lesse, wee will not striue. They be leased out in fee farme: The Popes rents are alwaies certaine. For Fornication is sincable in Rome, and a good saleable kinde of sin. But this (you say) is another lie, as false and as slanderous as the rest. For (ye say) they paie no yeerelie pension for their sufferance in that trade of life; but onlie the common taxes, which are likewise raised vpon other Citizens. Whether it be so, or no, M. Harding, it is sufficient for you, so to say. Otherwise the Pope raising such fines vpon Baudrie, might wel be thought to be the Baud.

Consti. Othonis, de Concubinis Clericor. remouendis.

Howbeit your owne Doctors herein will soone condemne you. For thus it is written by them in your owne Glosse: Videtur, quod crimen Meretricij Ecclesia sub dissimulatione transire debeat. Nam & Mareschallus Papæ de facto exigit tributum à Meretricibus: *It seemeth that the Church ought to dissemble the fault of Whoredome. For the Popes Marshall indeed receiueth a* tribute or pension of Whoores.

Whereas yee say, Cornelius Agrippa was the first Authour of this slander, it is vntrue. For your owne Glosse last before alleged, auoucheth it by the authority of Iohannes Andreas

Andreas, a notable Canonist, that liued welnere two hundred yeres before Agrippa was borne. And Nicolas de Clauengijs, that lined in the time of the Emperour Sigismund in his Booke intituled, De Corrupto Ecclesiæ statu, hath one speciall Chapter: De Exactionibus pro Concubinis tolerandis: *Of Exactions for the suffering of Concubines.*

Iob. Andreas mortuus est Anno, 1348. Nicolaus de Clauengijs in Paralipomen. Visperg. anno 1417.

But all this ye wipe away easily with one word. For ye say, The Courteghians in Rome pay these impositions, not as a portion of their vnthrifty gaines, but only as a punishment for their wicked life. For it is not lawfull there to commit sinne freely, without paiment. And thus is the matter of your part well defended.

So it is noted vpon your Decrees: Quòd dicitur, Sacerdos non potest percipere mercedem prostibuli, potest dici, quòd non debet recipi Oblatio Meretricis: licèt Eleemosyna posset inde fieri: *Whereas it is said, The Priest may not receiue the* reward or Oblation of the Stewes, *we may say, that the Oblation of an Harlot may not be receiued: notwithstanding we may make an* Almouse of the same. That is to say, A Harlots money may be taken by the way of Almouse, but not by the way of Oblation. Thus are we taught, and it behoueth vs to beleeue, that the Pope may liue, not by the Oblations of his Courteghians, but by their Almouse.

14. q. 5. Quod vero in Glossa. Et dist. 90 Oblation in Glossa

Stewes in Rome.

Now forasmuch as M. Harding would so faine haue this matter to passe by the name of a punishment of these ill women, I beseech thee, good Reader, to consider, how grieuously, and with what extremity and rigour of Law they haue deuised to haue them punished. In a Prouinciall Councell holden at Oxford it is written thus: Concubinæ Sacerdotum moneantur ab Archidiacono, &c. Let Priests Concubines be warned by the Archdeacon &c. If they will not amend, then let them be forbidden to Kisse the Pax, and to take holy Bread in the Church. With such extremity and cruelty they keepe the people from doing ill.

Constit. prouin. Edmund. Cantuar. Archiepi.

It was neither for your profession, M. Harding, nor for your grauity, to become a Proctour for the Stewes. Although it might well become Leontium, an Heathen Courteghian of leaud conditions, that way to bestow her wit and eloquence against Theophrastus, in the defense of that filthy state, yet may not the same likewise become a Christian man, and a professour of Diuinity. Ye call your Courteghians a Necessary Euill: but by what authority of the Scriptures, I cannot tell. That the whole trade and life of them is ill, we take it, as you grant: but that they be Necessary in any Christian Common wealth, I reckon it very hard for you to proue. Ye allege the heat of the Country: as if that were a sufficient warrant for your Stewes. And yet, I trow the towne of Louaine, and the Country of Brabant, where yee now inhabite, is not so hot. The heats of Iewrie are thought farre to passe all the heats of Italy. Yet God saith vnto the Iewes: Non erit vlla Meretrix de filiabus Israel, nec Scortator de Filijs Israel: *There shall be no Whore of the Daughters of Israel: Nor Whorekeeper of the Sonnes of Israel.* And euen now, wheresoeuer the Gospell of Christ is openly and freely receiued, notwithstanding the heat of the Country, your Stewes and Bordels, flie away, as the night cloudes before the Sunne. But after that your Priests were once forbidden lawfull Marriage, then was it needfull, that your Necessary ill should come in place. Howbeit S. Paul saith: *Let vs not do ill, that good may follow, for iust is the damnation of them that so say.*

Deut. 23.

Rom. 3.

But S. Augustine standeth full of your side: S. Augustine hath written in the behoofe of the Stewes: S Augustine saith: *Take Harlots away from among men, and ye fill all the Country with ribaudrie and villanie.* Indeed the very name of S. Augustine is great and reuerend. But what if S. Augustine, when he wrote these words, were not S. Augustine? What if he wrote that Booke, De Ordine, being as yet a very yong man, and but a Nouice in the Faith: not yet well instructed: not yet Baptized in the name of Christ: himselfe as yet keeping a Concubine, and liuing in whoredome? Shall such a one, so yong, and so youthfull, goe for a Saint? Or shall his bare name and vnseasoned fantasies stand you in stead to proone your Stewes?

Augustin. De Ordine, lib. 2.

Verily the same S. Augustine, being afterward fully instructed and Christened, saith thus: Iam in vsu scortatorum terrena Ciuitas licitam fecit turpitudinem: *The worldly City* (not the Church of God) *hath made this filthinesse of Harlots to be lawfull.* And Ludouicus Viues writing vpon the same, saith: Satis apertè Augustinus testatur, Iure Ciuili veteri Romano multa esse permissa, quæ sint contraria Legibus Diuinis. Hoc isti volunt, qui, dum Gentilitatem coniungere, & coaptare Christianismo laborant, corrupto vtroque, & alterius impatiente, nec Gentilitatem, nec Christianismum retinent: S. Augustine *plainly witnesseth, that by the old Ciuill Roman* (and Heathen) *Law, many things were suffered, which were contrarie to the Lawes of God. This thing will not these men follow, who while they study,* (as you M. Harding, do) *to ioine Heathennesse and Christianity both together, both being corrupted, and the one not standing with the other, keepe new neither Heathennesse, nor Christianity.*

Augustin. de Ciuitate, lib. 14. cap. 18. Ludo. Viues in Librum de Ciuitate, lib. 14. cap. 18.

Therefore

Stewes in Rome.

Therefore we may much better exchang these words of S. Augustine, spoken in his youth, before he had well learned to speake: and may much better say thus: Permitte Lupanaria: & implebis omnia libidinibus: *Suffer and allow the Stewes, and ye shall fill all the Countrie with Ribaudry, and Villanie.* And in this sense S. Bernard saith: Tolle de Ecclesia honorabile Coniugium, & thorum immaculatum: Nonne reples eam Concubinarijs, incestuosis, seminifluis, mollibus, masculorum Concubitoribus, & omni denique genere immundorum? *Take once from the Church honourable Marriage, and the Bed vndefiled: and dost thou not fill the same Church full of brothels keeping Concubines, &c. and with all sorts of filthy persons?*

Bern in Cant. Serm. 66.

Further ye say, And wherefore is the Bishop of Rome more to be blamed for maintenance of his Stewes, then the French King, or the King of Spaine? This is but a simple reason for a Doctor of Diuinity. It is an old saying:

Nil iuuat exemplum, quod litem lite resoluit.

Christ bade not his Apostles, to be led by the example of worldly Princes, If it be ill in them, it is much worse in him, that would be called the Vicar of Christ, the Head of the Church, and the holy one of Israell.

Another part of their Punishment is (as you tell vs) that they ride not sumptuously in Coches or Charets, or dwell in the open faire streets, and in the sight of the City: but are forced to go a foot, and to hide themselues in corners, and in outhouses, and by-lanes. And that, by your description, in such simple, and poore, and beggarly sort, as if they were the vilest and vglyest of all the people, and had not a good clowt to couer there bodies. Certainely, M. Harding, your Courteghians, if they vnderstood hereof, would thinke themselues little beholden to such a Proctour.

Doctor Peter Martyr, of whom I cannot speake without great reuerence, hauing good cause to know the state of Rome, as few men better, hereof writeth thus: Nunc, O Deus bone, quomodò Romæ coercentur Meretrices? Habent ornatissimas domos: vehuntur per publicum habitu principum: Sedent in equis gradarijs: habent secum Torquatos, & Laruatos Comites, interdum etiam Cardinales, præsertim noctu: & ancillarum sumptuosissimum gregem: *Now adaies, O good God, how are the Courteghians punished in* Rome? They dwell in the faireſt houses: They are carried with honour thorow the City, as if they were Ladies: They are mounted on ambling palfraies: *They are attended with chaines of gold, and persons disguised, and sometimes Cardinals, and specially in the night season, and haue a sumptuous sort of Maides to wait vpon them.*

Petr. Martyr in Lib. Iudicum cap. 16.

If ye shall happen to doubt M. Martyrs report in this behalfe, yet I trust ye will giue some credit to your owne friends the Cardinals of the Church of Rome. Their words hereof be these: In hac etiam Vrbe Meretrices, vt Matronæ, incedunt per Vrbem seu Mula vehuntur: quas assectantur de Media die Nobiles, familiares Cardinalium, Clericique. Nulla in vrbe vidimus hanc corruptionem, præterquam in hac omnium exemplari. Habitant etiam insignes ædes: *In this City of Rome, the Courteghians passe thorow the streets, or ride on their Mules, like honest Matrons or Ladies: and in the middest of the day,* Noble men, the Cardinals deere friends and Priests *attend vpon them. We neuer saw such corruption, but only in this City, which is the example and patterne of all others. Moreouer they dwell in faire and notable houses:* This Information was presented vnto Pope Paul the third by certaine of his graueſt Cardinals, appointed thereto by speciall Commission.

Concilium delectorum Cardinalium, Concil tom. 3. pa. 823.

Anno 1538.

Now, good Christian Reader, I beseech thee, consider the conformity of these tales. M. Harding saith, The Courteghians of Rome go only a foot. These Cardinals say, *They ride on their Mules.* M. Harding, saith: They haue a speciall apparell of dishonesty to bee knowen by. These Cardinals say, *They goe or ride as honest Matrones, or great Ladies, or Noble Women.* M. Harding saith: They be despised and reuiled of the people. These Cardinals say, *They haue Priests, Noble men, and the Cardinals friends to attend vpon them.* M. Harding saith: They dwel only in out houses and backe lanes. These Cardinals say, Habitant insignes ædes: *They dwell in faire and notable houses.* So many Untruths, it is no hard matter for M. Harding to vtter in so short a tale. Now being so fine Dames, and so richly attired, it were great slander to say, They serue only for Varlots or common Rascals. If the report be true, vpon Twelfth day at night in the yere of our Lord, 1564. there were séene seuenténe Coches of Courteghians, arriuing together euen into the Popes owne Palace. If any man shall thinke this report incredible, yet Luitprandus, of the like hereof, saith thus: Lateranense Palatium, Sanctorum quondam hospitium: nunc est Prostibulum Meretricum: *The Popes Palace at* Laterane, *sometime the harbour of Holy Saints, is now become a Stew of whoores.*

Anno 1564.

Luitprandus. lib. 6. cap 6.

Another part of their punishment, ye say, is this, That as condemned and infamous persons, at

at their end they can make no Testament, nor take order with that they haue. **If this were true, it were a good token that the Pope is couetous, to haue their goods, more then desirous to saue their Soules. Howbeit the best Learned, and most notable** Canonists, **that ye haue, affirme the contrarie. For proofe whereof read** Cynus Pistoriensis in L. Cum te. C. De Condictione ob turpem causam: **Read** Baldus L. 1. C. in eodem capite: **Read** Bartholus in L. Idem ff. eodem Ca. Abbas Panormitane **after long disputation had touching this matter, thus saith his iudgement in the end:** Conclude ergo ex ommibus præmissis, quòd Meretrix turpiter non recipit donaveł promissionem: & quòd potest de illis ad libitum disponere: *Of all these premises conclude you thus, That a harlot may receiue rewards or promises, without infamy or shame* (**of the Law**) *and that of the same shee may dispose at her pleasure.* **Therefore, M. Harding, this tale would haue beene better studied. For this punishment, that ye haue here imagined, by the iudgement of the Learned, is no punishment at all.**

Stewes in Rome.

Cynus Pistoriē. Baldus. Bartholus. De Immunita. Eccles. cap. 14. Abb.

In good sooth Sirs, **ye say further,** yee are too yong to controle the City of Rome in her doings. **Yet, in the rebuking of open vice, no man ought to be thought too yong. But of what age then are you, M. Harding, that are able thus to defend the City of Rome in open Whordome?** Primasius **saith:** Nemo periculosius peccat, quàm qui peccata defendit: *No man sinneth with more danger, then he, that standeth in defense of Sinne.* S. Paul **saith:** *Let no man deceiue you with vaine words. For because hereof the anger of God commeth vpon the children of Infidelity. Be not therefore partakers with them.*

Primasius ad Rom. cap. 2. Ephes. 5.

And whereas you say, This policie is thought necessary for the eschewing of a greater ill, **your Law telleth you:** Abijcienda sunt falsa remedia, quæ veris, & manifestis periculis sunt graviora: Wee must abandon vaine remedies, that are more greeuous, then the true and manifest dangers.

Extr. de Celebra. Miss. de homine.

S. Augustine **saith:** Non vult Deus tale lucrum compensari tali damno: *God will not haue such a gaine to be recompensed with such a losse.* S. Paul **saith as we haue alleged before:** *They say, Let vs doe ill, that good may follow.* **But he addeth withall:** *Therefore iust is their Damnation.* Tertullian **saith:** Lupanaria execrabilia sunt coram Deo: Stewes are accursed before God. **And therefore to conclude, the Emperour** Iustinian, **notwithstanding all your Necessities and Policies, straitly commandeth, that** Harlots be banished out of all Townes.

Rom. 3. *Tert. de Anim. Authen. de Leonibus.*

But heere, good Christian Reader, this one thing I beseech thee vprightly, and indifferently to consider, what thing will not these men defend, that can thus boldly defend confessed filthinesse? Or, when will they reforme the Church of God, that in so long time cannot yet reforme their open Stewes?

These Harlots (**ye say**) sometimes repent them and amend their liues. **God of his mercie grant that you, M. Harding, may once doe the like: lest the woords of the Prophet fall vpon you,** Frons Meretricis facta est tibi. **God grant, that** *Harlots and Sinners goe not before you in the Kingdome of God.*

Hierem. 3. Matth. 21.

M. Harding.

That ye tel of a Woman named Ioane, bearing the world in hand shee was Pope of Rome, it is a fond and a vain fable. Were ye so wise, as ye be malicious, ye would neuer haue brought your credit in hazard by reporting such vanity. This I account for one of your accustomed lies. By this men may iudge, what little store of true things ye haue to obiect against vs. Who listeth to see a learned discourse written heerof, him may it please to read the annotations of (a) Onuphrius Panuinius vpon *Platina, de vitis Pontificum*, Printed in Venice. And he shall easily beleeue the whole matter to be fabulous.

(a) Onuphrius is a man yet liuing, hired of purpose to face out this matter.

After Anastasius, they that in their writings recite an exact row and order of Popes, as Ademarius and Antonius of Paris, Regino, Hermannus, Schafnaburgensis, Otho Frisingensis, Abbas Vrspergensis, Leo Bishop of Hostia, Iohannes of Cremona, and Godfridus Viterbiensis, of which some wrote 300. some 400. yeeres past, all these make no mention at all of this Woman Pope Ioane. Againe there be in *Bibliotheca Palatina*, at Rome, six or seauen tables of the Popes names writen in sundry Bookes, before the time of Innocentius the Fourth. Marrie in the Margin of Pandulphus this fable is put in betweene Leo the Fourth, and Benedict the third, written in a hand farre different from the old characters of that ancient Booke added by some man of latter time. Which maketh the matter to bee the more suspected, and taken for a fable.

(b) Semiramis, being a woman was of long time taken for a man, yet mens eies were not bewitched.

Though men had at that time beene so farre bewitched and distract of their fiue wits, (b) as they could not haue knowen a woman from a man (which no wise man I ween beleeueth) yet (c) it is not to be thought that God himselfe, who appointed and ordained the Seat of Peter, whereof he would the whole Church to be directed, would depart so farre from his mercifull prouidence, toward the Church, as to suffer the same to be polluted by a Woman, which is not of capacitie for holy orders.

(c) God hath suffered others as very monsters to sit in that See, as euer was Pope Ioane.

(d) The first Author of this fable was one Martinus Polonus, a Monke of the order of Cisterce: Who wrote long after the time that Pope Ioane is fained to haue liued in. Whose maner of writing if we consider, we shall find it vaine, and nothing like to be true. It beginneth thus: *Iohannes Anglicus natione, Maguntinus, sedit annos duos, menses vnum, dies quatuor, &c.* Iohn an English man by Nation, of Maguntia, sate (in the Roman See) two yeeres, one month, and foure daies, alias, fiue months & three daies. What a foolish speech is this? An English man Maguntine or of Maguntia: It followeth, in the fable, as the said Martin telleth.

(d) Vntruth. For there were other before him that wrote the same

telleth. This (as it is said) was a Woman, and in the yong age of a girle, shee was brought to Athens by one that was her Louer in a mans apparell, and there profited so much in diuers sciences, as none was found to be compared with her. To Athens was shee brought, saith the fable. And why: for learning. Very well. Whereas at that time * neither any Athens stood, * neither was there any place of learning there any longer: but all the country of Attica became barbarous, and vtterly void of learning, as wee vnderstand by the Writers of that time. The Author reporteth, that from thence shee came to Rome, and there professed learning openly, and had great Doctors to her Scholars, and for opinion of learning and good life, by one consent of all was made Pope. Which is soone confuted as false: (e) for there was no learning at those daies openly professed in Rome, (e) as the Stories declare.

* Vntruths, two together.

(e) Vntruths. Read the answer

It followeth in the fable. Being in the Popedome shee is begotten with child of her seruant. And not knowing the time of her deliuerance, as shee went from S. Peters to Laterane, strained with paines, betweene Colloseo and S. Clements Church, shee brought forth and died, and was (as they say) there buried. Heere is to be marked, how the (f) deuiser of this fable bewraieth himselfe, and thinketh the matter heard to be beleeued. And therefore in the beginning saith, shee was a Woman (*vt asseritur*) as folkes say: and now he saith, shee was buried, *vt dicitur*, as it is said. So he doth not affirme it to bee true, but referreth all to heere say. By which testimonie lies commonly be soothed.

(f) This Deuiser dwelt in Rome, and liued aboue 500. yeers agoe.

And as it is false, that euer there was any such Pope, so is it not true, that yee note in the Margent of your Booke touching the image, which yee say it is to be seene yet in Rome, resembling the woman Pope lying in trauell. The image, which ye meane, I haue seene my selfe at Rome, grauen in stone, after the maner of a tombe stone, pitched vpright not far from the Colloseo. It resembleth no such thing ye speake of.

(g) Vntruth. For they liued 500. yeeres before vs: & were the best Writers of that time.

Neither is it of any more truth, which some haue ignorantly written of the Popes refraining to goe that way, when he goeth thereby in solemne processions: nor that which I haue read in some of your (g) Schoolefellowes peeuish bokes of the stoole of easement, that is at Laterane made of faire Porphyry stone, which they haue reported to be kept there for an vnseemly vse at the creatiō of the Popes for proof of their *Humanity*. Thus, we trust, we haue brought your great matter of Pope Ioane to nought.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Dame Ioane the Pope.

Heere, in your iudgement, is another of our foule shamefull accustomed Lies. And that ye prooue by the Authoritie of one Onuphrius, one of the Popes late Pages, specially hired and procured to helpe out this matter. Of the truth and certainty heereof, wee shall consider further in the end. Now let vs examine this new Coniecturall Doctor with his ghesses.

Not Registred

First, he saith, Dame Ioane is not registred in the Calendar among the Popes: Ergo it is but a vaine Fable, that euer Dame Ioane was Pope in Rome. This coniecture, M. Harding, is very simple. For I doubt not, but ye may well remember, that Bishops names as well in Rome, as otherwheres, haue vpon sundrie occasions beene oftentimes quite striken out of the Calendar.

So was Chrysostomes name vpon displeasure, quite striken out of the Table of the Bishops of Constantinople, as if he had neuer beene Bishop there.

In vita Chrys. *Chryso. epist. 3. ad Cyriacum.*

And Chrysostome himselfe writing vnto Cyriacus in his owne defense, saith thus: Siquidem hoc feci, expungatur nomen meum ex albo Episcoporum: & non scribatur in Libro Othodoxæ Fidei: *If I haue thus done, let my name be rased out of the Bishops Calendar: and let it not be registred in the Booke of the Catholike Faith.*

Niceph. lib. 14. cap. 26.

And afterward his name being so defaced, and rased out, was restored againe by Theodorus at the vehement request and instance of the people. So Acacias, the Bishop of Constantinople, rased out the name of Pope Fœlix of Rome. So Innocentius the Bishop of Rome, rased out the name of Arsacius the Bishop of Constantinople. And this is it, that S. Augustine meaneth, writing to the people of Hippo: Quid obest homini, quòd ex illa Tabula non vult eum recitari humana Ignorantia, si de Libro viuorum non eum delet iniqua Conscientia? *What hurt is that vnto a man that the Ignorant people will not suffer his name to be read out of that* Table, *if wicked conscience blot him not out of the Booke of Life?*

Gelasius ad Episcopos Dardaniæ.

Niceph. l. b. 13. cap. 24.

Aug. epist. 137.

Ioh. de Parisijs, de potest. Regia & Pap. ca. 24.

So writeth Iohannes de Parisijs of Pope Cyriacus: Cyriacus Papa renunciauit officio vt cum Vrsula, & Virginibus palmam Martyrij susciperet, Sed iste Cyriacus in Catalogo Paparum non annumeratur: quia credebant ipsum non propter deuotionem, sed propter oblectamentum virginum dimisisse Episcopatum: Pope Cyriacus *gaue ouer his Bishopricke, that with* Vrsula, *and other Maides hee might receiue the Crowne of Martyrdome. But* this Cyriacus is not reckoned in the Calendar of the Popes: *for that it was beleeued, hee had giuen ouer his Bishopricke, not of deuotion, but for some fantasie towardes the Maides.*

Mariã. Scotus.

But to come neere the purpose, and to the force of your ghesses, therefore was Pope Ioanes name left out of the Calendar of the Bishops of Rome, not for that there neuer was any such Pope there: but only for shame, lest it should appeare in record, and afterward be reported for euer, that a woman and such a woman, had beene Bishop of Rome: or that the Bishop of Rome had beene with child.

So saith Marianus Scotus: Huius Ioannæ nomen Authores Pontificij non ponunt propter

p opter turpitudinem rei, & muliebrem ſexum: *The Chroniclers that write of the* Popes, *leaue out the name of* Pope Ioane, *both for the ſhame of the matter, and alſo for the Woman kind.* So ſaith Martinus: Iohanna non ponitur in Catalogo Sanctorum Pontificum, tam propter muliebrem ſexum, quàm propter deformitatem facti: Pope Ioane is not reckoned in the Calendar of the Holie Popes, *as well for that ſhe was a woman, as alſo for the ſhame of the matter.* So ſaith Sabellicus: Nullus Defunctæ honor habitus. Fama tener ob tam fœdæ rei memoriam: *There was no honour beſtowed at her buriall. The report is, for the remembrance of her filthie act.* So ſaith Iohannes de Pariſijs: So ſaith Faſciculus temporum. Therefore this firſt reaſon is but a verie blinde Coniecture, and beareth no force.

Martinus Polonus.

Sabellicus Ennead. 9. Lib. 1. Pag. 469.

Iohan. de Pariſijs, de Poteſtat. Reg. & Papali. Faſciculus temporum.

Knowing a Woman to a Man.

Another of your ghelles is this: Men had beene bewitched, and diſtracted of their wits, if they could not haue knowne a Woman from a Man. This reaſon, M. Harding, beareth as great weight and ſubſtance as the former. For your owne Amphilochius that wrote the Life of Thomas Becket could haue told you, that Euphroſyna, that Holy Maid, dwelt fir and thirtie yéeres in Monkes apparell among Monkes, and was neuer otherwiſe taken, but for a Monke.

M. Hardings Amphilochius.

Likewiſe Vincentius, and Petrus de Natalibus, and others your Writers and Recorders of Fables could haue told you, that Tecla ſometime addreſſed her ſelfe in Mans apparell, and had ſhee not beene forbidden by S. Paul, would haue followed him in companie as a Man. Rauiſius Textor writeth the like of one Marina, that diſſembling what ſhe was, liued many yéeres in an Abbie, as a Monke. The like he writeth of Laſthenia, Axiothea, and others, that beeing Women, came into the Schole in Mans apparell to heare Plato. The like writeth your owne Fabular Simeon Metaphraſtes of Eugenia. And if ye lacke other Authorities of truſt and credit, one of your owne Companions of Louaine auoucheth the ſame of Melania and Papula. And yet I thinke he was not bewitched (as you ſay) nor thorowly bereft of his wits.

Vincenſius lib. 9. cap. 47. Petr. de Natal. lib. 8. cap. 110. Rauiſius Textor, in Officina: Mulieres Virilem habitum mentitæ. Simeon Metaphraſt. in Eugenia.

The quarrell that ye picke to the Name and Surname is nothing elſe but a childiſh cauill. For ſhe was not called Ioane Engliſh, by the name of the Countrie, for that ſhe was an Engliſh woman, borne in England, as you full fondlie imagine, but onelie by the Surname of her Father. So are there manie knowne this day by the names of Scot, Iriſh, French, Welſh, Weſtfaling, Norman, Gaſcoingne, Brabant, Holland: and yet not borne in any of all theſe Countries, but onely in England. So Matthias Pariſienſis, as it is ſuppoſed, notwithſtanding his name, was borne in Bohemia.

Copus Dial. 2. Pag. 236. Anglicus.

Dame Ioane the Pope.

Therefore whereas ye would haue the words vainlie and without ſenſe to be read and pointed thus; Iohannes Anglicus natione, Moguntinus, &c. Iohn an Engliſh man by nation, of Moguntia, &c. yee play, and toy, and trifle vnſeemelie, and mocke your Reader. For the words are cleere, and plaine, and lie thus: Iohannes Anglicus, natione Moguntinus, &c. Iohn Engliſh, (ſo Surnamed) borne at Mens.

Further ye ſay: God would neuer haue ſo forſaken Peters Chaire, as to ſuffer it to bee polluted by a Woman, which is not of capacity for Holy Orders. This ghelle, M. Harding, preſumeth ouer farre of Gods Prouidence. And therefore Antoninus the Archbiſhop of Florence, when hee had opened this whole Storie of Pope Ioane, beeing aſtonied with the ſtrangenelle and admiration of the matter, could not refraine himſelfe from crying out, O altitudo Sapientiæ & Scientiæ Dei! Quàm incredibilia ſunt iudicia eius! O the depth of the Wiſdome and knowledge of God! How incredible be his Iudgements! In like manner the Prophet Eſay crieth out, Quomodò facta eſt Meretrix Ciuitas fidelis? How is that Faithfull Citie become an Harlot.

Gods Sufferance.

Antonin. Par. 2. Tit. 16. Ca. 1. §. 7.

Eſai 1.

And why might not Pope Ioane, being a Woman, haue as good right and intereſt vnto the See of Rome, as afterward had Pope Iohn 13. who being Pope, had wicked company with two of his owne Siſters: or others, whom for their horrible vices and wickednelle Platina calleth, Monſtra, & Portenta? *Monſters againſt kinde, and ill ſhapen Creatures?* Luitprandus ſaith, as it is before reported: Lateranenſe Palatium nunc eſt proſtibulum Meretricum: The Popes Palace of Laterane in Rome is now become a Stew of Whores.

In Epiſt. Othonis Imper. ad Iohan. pp. Platin in Iohan. 13. Luitprand. lib. 6. cap. 6.

All this notwithſtanding, ſaith Antoninus: Nulli ex hoc Saluti præiudicium fuit: Quia nec Eccleſia tunc fuit ſine Capite: quod eſt Chriſtus, vnde percipit influxum Gratiæ: *No man had hinderance of Saluation by meane hereof. For* (although the Pope were a Woman, yet) *the Church was not without a* Head. For that Head is Chriſt, *from whom ſhee receiueth influence of Grace.* Yea although Antichriſt get himſelfe into the See of Rome, yet ſhall the Church of God neuertheleſſe continue ſtill: although in horrible confuſion, and vnder great perſecution.

Antonin. Par. 2. Tit. 16. ca. 1. § 7.

Further ye ſay: To Athens was ſhe brought, ſaith the Fable. And why? For Learning. Very well. Whereas at that time neither any Athens ſtood, nor was there any place of Learning there any longer: but all the Countrie of Attica became barbarous, as we vnderſtand by the Writers of that time.

Athens.

Dame Ioane the Pope.

The Citie of Athens was then ouerthrowne (yee ſay) and Learning their vtterly decaied. And therefore all this is but a Fable. And good reaſon it is that wee beleeue you, for that your Onuphrius hath ſo told you. But for your credits ſake, M. Harding, leſt all men eſpie your Vanitie, tell vs, by whom was that Noble, and ſo Populous and mighty Citie of Athens thus laid waſt? By what King? By what Captaine? By what forren Nation? At what time? How long agoe? Hauing not one proper Authour to allege, no not ſo much as one, how could yee pretend the names of ſo manie without blushing?

Lumen & Mercurius Enuidæ

Ruffinus in Apologia pro Origine: Apud Hierõ. Tom. 4.

Georgius Patrar. in vita Iohannis.

Ruffin. lib. 2. cap. 9.

M. Hardings Amphilochius.

The Citie of Athens had then continued twelue tweluе hundred yeeres: and for knowledge in Philoſophie, and renowne of Learning, was called the Eie and Vniuerſitie of all Græcia. Origen writeth of himſelfe, that hee was ſometime a Student in Athens. Chryſoſtome being eightéene yeeres old, for Learnings ſake was ſent to Athens. S. Baſil and his brother Gregorie, afterward the Biſhop of Nyſſa, were Students at Athens together thirteene yeeres. Your owne Amphilochius, whoſe Authority ye may not in any wiſe denie, ſaith thus of S. Baſil: Apprehendit Matrem Literarum Athenas: He came to Athens, which is the Mother of Learning. Boetius of Rome planted himſelfe in Athens for Learnings ſake, about the yeere of our Lord 520.

Thedoric. lib. 1. In Epiſt. ad Boethium.

It appeareth in the Subſcriptions of the 2. Nicene Councell, Anno 742.

In the yeere of our Lord 680. the Biſhop of Athens was preſent at the Councell holden at Conſtantinople, called Synodus Sexta. After that, in the yeere of our Lord 742. at the ſecond Councell of Nice, a great number of the Biſhops of Græcia were preſent in their perſons all together. Within few yeeres after which time followed Pope Ioane in the yeere of our Lord 853.

Hitherto the whole Countrie and Church of Græcia continued in ſafetie: and the Emperours of Chriſtendome made their continuall abode in thoſe parts. And haue you, M. Harding, ſo ſuddenly thrown downe all together, both Church, Countrie, Towne, and Caſtle, onely to keepe Pope Ioane from her Study?

Paulus Æmilius, Lib. 6. An. Dom. 1220

Ye ſay: The whole Country of Attica was then become barbarous. This tale is your owne, and hangeth onely vpon your owne credit. Yet Platina, Sabellicus, and others moe that wrote this Storie, and knew what they wrote, were not ſo Barbarous. But Barbarous is he, M. Harding, that will beleeue your ſimple word without warrant.

Paulus Æmilius, Lib. 8. An. Dom. 1288

At that time (ye ſay) the Citie of Athens was not ſtanding. But Paulus Æmilius ſaith, that long after that time, in the Reigne of Philip the French King, Gottofredus one of the Houſe of Tricaſſes, was appointed and made Dux Athenarum, & Princeps Achaiæ: The Duke of Athens, and the Prince of Achaia. If there had beene then no Athens ſtanding at that time, as you tell vs, how then could Gottofredus haue beene made Duke of Athens? If ye ſay, as ye may doe much by your Coniectures, that notwithſtanding the Citie of Athens were raſed, and made waſte, yet the dignity or name of honour remained ſtill, yet will the ſame Æmilius once againe reproue your Errour. For writing afterward of certaine Pirates that had inuaded the Countrey of Græcia, he ſaith thus: Interram Atticam delati, Athenarum Ducem Brennæ Nobilitatis virum occiderunt, Vrbemque ceperunt: Inuading the Countrey of Attica, they tooke and ſlew the Duke of Athens, one of the houſe of Brennus, and tooke the Citie.

Nicetas pa. 74. Nicephor. Gregor. lib. 4. & 6. Chalcocon. li. 4. Chalcocon. li. 7. Chalcocon. li. 9.

In the yeere of our Lord 1206. Michaell Choniates, Brother vnto Niceras Choniates, was the Biſhop of Athens: Nicephorus Gregoras about the yeere of our Lord 1300. maketh mention of ſundrie Dukes of Athens: Leonicus Chalcocondyla ſaith, that one Izaulus, a yong Gentleman of Italie, married the Ducheſſe of Athens, and got the City: and that the reſt of the Græcians leuied their powers againſt the Athenians: and that afterward about the yeere of our Lord 1440. Mahomet the Emperour of Turkie tooke the Citie of Athens, and ſubdued it vnto himſelfe, and hauing it in poſſeſſion, marueiled at the beauty of the Caſtle, and at the ſtrength of the Walls.

These things happened, as it is eaſie to reckon, many hundred yeeres after the time of Pope Ioane. Now therefore, I beſeech you, M. Harding, conſider indifferently with your ſelfe: If there had beene no Citie of Athens then ſtanding, how could theſe Pirates then, how could Izaulus, how could Mahomet inuade and take the Citie of Athens? Shall wee ſay, they leuied an armie, and diſquieted the Countrey, and troubled themſelues, and came ſo farre to catch a ſhadow?

Thus hitherto it appeareth not, but if Dame Ioane would haue gone to Athens, there was rowme ſufficient to receiue her.

After that ſhe came to Rome, and there profeſſed Learning openlie. This (you ſay) is ſoone confuted as falſe. For there was no Learning at thoſe daies profeſſed at Rome, as the Stories do declare. This is verie ſoone confuted, M. Harding, and ſpecially by him that reckoneth ſo little what he ſay. The Stories (you ſay) doe declare it. Leaue, leaue this Hypocriſie: diſſem-

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ble no more: it is not manly. Tell vs in good faith, what Writers, what Stories declare these things? Your credit faileth ouer much. Your word is no sufficient warrant.

No Vniuersity in Rome.

Dame Ioane Pope.

Yee say: There was no Learning in those daies professed in Rome. And why so? Will ye now say of Rome, as yee earst said of Athens? Will yee say, there was no Citie of Rome then standing? Will yee say, Learning there was then vtterly decaied, and the whole Country become Barbarous? If there were no Study nor place of Learning then in Rome where then was there any Study in all Christendome? For the Vniuersities of Paris, Orleance, Tolouse, Salerne, Padua, Bononia, Praga, Salamanca, were erected long afterward. And therefore yee seeme to say, that all the whole world then was Barbarous.

But that yee may the better see your ouerlight, S. Hierome writing of Victorinus and Donatus, saith thus: Victorinus the Rhetorician, and Donatus the Grammarian, *my Schoolmasters, are accounted notable in* Rome. And againe hee saith: Victorinus natione Apher, Romæ sub Constantio Principe Rhetoricam docuit: Victorinus borne in Aphrica, taught Rhetoricke in Rome in the time of the Emperour Constantius.

Hieron. in Appendice Annalium Eusebij.

Erasmus writing the life of S. Hierome, saith thus: Romam missus est, vehitur ad primariam eo sæculo tum Religionis, tum Eruditionis Magistram, Liberalibus studijs erudiendus: quod ipse declarat enarrans 11. Caput Ezechielis: Hierom was sent to Rome, as to the principall Schoolemistresse in those daies, both of Religion, and also of Learning, *as he himselfe declareth, expounding the eleuenth Chapter of Ezechiel.* S. Augustine saith: Egisti mecum, O Deus, vt mihi persuaderetur Romam pergere, & potius ibi docere quod docebam Carthagine: *O God, thou mouedst my mind to goe to* Rome, *and there rather to professe openlie the same Learning that I had professed at* Carthage. And further hee saith: Audiebam quietius studere ibi adolescentes, & ordinatiore Disciplinæ correctione sedari: I heard say, that yongue men there went more quietlie to their bookes, and were kept in orderly obedience to their studies.

Hieron. in Catalogo Scriptor. Illustrium.

Erasm. in Vita Hieronym.

Aug. Confess. Lib. 5. Cap. 8.

And in the Tripartite Worke ioined vnto the Councell of Laterane, yee may find the Storie heereof recorded thus: Primo Athenis Romam translatum est studium Philosophicum: deinde Roma Parisios tempore Caroli, vt dicunt Historiæ: *First the studie of Philosophie was translated from* Athens to Rome: *and afterward, as the Stories say, in the time of the Emperor Charles, it was translated* from Rome to Paris.

In Opere Trip. Lib. 2. Cap. 10.

What shall I more say? The Pope himselfe in his owne Decretals saith: Rome is an Vniuersity. These bee his words: Curia Romana habet Studium Generale, & eius Priuilegia: The Court of Rome hath an Vniuersall Studie, and the Priuileges of the same. And againe, Pope Clemens saith: In Studijs Romanæ Curiæ, Parisijs, Oxonij, Bononię, Salamancæ debent esse Professores Linguarum, Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Arabicæ: *In the Vniuersities of* Rome, *of* Paris, *of* Oxford, *of* Bononie, *and of* Salamanca, *there must be professors of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabique tongues.*

Extra. de Priuilegijs, Lib 4. Cum de diuersis. In Sexto. Clemens lib. 5. De Magistris.

To be short, Theodoricus Niemus, sometime the Popes Secretarie, and therefore hauing good cause to know the truth heereof, and, for ought that I know, hauing no cause to dissemble, of this whole matter writeth thus: Et nunc est Titulus Cardinalis prædictæ Scholæ. Et olim in ea legebantur Septem Artes Liberales, & præcipuè Rhetorica: & etiam in ea legit quandoque Beatus Augustinus, & Iohannes vocatus de Anglia. Et fuit Mulier de Maguntia nata, quæ studuit Athenis sub virili habitu: & in tantum profecit in Artibus, vt tandem veniens Romam, per biennium in eadem Schola Artes liberales legerit: & adeò sufficiens fuit, vt etiam Maiores & Nobiliores Vrbis eius Lectiones frequenter audiuerint. Et postea in Papam eligitur, &c. *Euen now a* Cardinall *beareth the Title of the said Schoole, or Vniuersitie of* Rome, *And in old times the Seuen Liberall Sciences, and speciallie Rhetoricke, were read in the same. There also sometime read* S. Augustine, *and one that was called* Iohn of England. *This Iohn was a woman, borne at Mens* (in Germanie) *and had studied at* Athens *in the apparell of a Man: and had so profited in the Arts, that at last comming to* Rome, *two yeeres together shee professed the Liberall Sciences in the same Schoole. And her gift in teaching was such, that the Elders and Nobles of the Citie resorted often to heare her read. Afterward shee was chosen Pope, &c.*

Theodoric. Niemus. Citatur ab Illyr. in Testibus veritatis

Thus many waies, M. Harding, haue wee found an Vniuersity or Schoole in Rome: and no cause to the contrarie, but Dame Ioane, beeing so well learned as it is said, might well be a Reader there.

The Popes time of trauell.

But ye say: Why kept she not her selfe in? Her midwife might better answer this question. But what if she were suddenlie preuented before her time, as many be? Or, what if God would haue such a matter so openlie knowne, to the euerlasting detestation either of the Person, or of the Place? Certainelie Antoninus the Archbishop of Florence, beeing astonied with the horror heereof, as it is said before, crieth out, *O the depth of the wisdome and knowledge of God! O how vnsearchable be his Iudgements!*

Antonin. Par. 2. Titulo 16. Cap. 1. §. 7.

The Authour heereof (ſay you) durſt not to auouch the matter for an vndoubted Truth : but only ſaith, *Vt aſſeritur*, as it is ſaid : and ſo referreth all the whole to heareſay. Notwithſtanding M. Harding, many there be that write this Story as a certaine Truth, without doubting, or credit of heareſay. And Platina, albeit he would not ſeeme to auouch ouer much, for the honour of the See of Rome, yet thus he ſaith: Quod ferè omnes affirmant : *Which thing in a maner all men do affirme.* And Rauiſius Textor ſaith: Scitum eſt ex Chronicis, & à Maioribus ſcriptum : It is knowne by the Chronicles, *and written by our Elders.* It is knowne, ſaith one: It is affirmed in a maner by all men, ſaith another. But for the ſpace of eight hundred yeeres, and more, there was no Writer, I trow, ſo impudent, that would condemne it for a Fable, as you doe, and vtterly denie it to be true.

Vt aſſeritur.

Dame Ioan Pope.

Platina in Iohan. 8.

In Officina.

Touching the Marble Image, repreſenting a woman in childe bearing, and the Popes ſudden breaking off his way in his ſolemne Proceſſion, let each man weigh theſe things as him liſteth. But where ye compare that Image to one of the great ragge ſtones at Stonage, or Long Compton, as if it were vtterly vnwrought, and without ſhape, yee ſeeme wilfully to auouch, as your maner is, a great Untruth. Verily Theodoricus Niemus the Pops Secretarie ſaith: Et adhuc vetus Statua Marmorea illic poſita, figuratiuè monſtrat (hoc factum.) Vnde Summi Pontifices, dum ad Lateranum de Baſilica Principis Apoſtolorum, & contra vadunt, illud iter rectum non faciunt. Imò per alias vias per indirectum tranſeunt, illud aliquantulùm prolongando : *Euen vnto this day* an old Marble Image *there erected, vnder a figure ſheweth this matter. Therefore the Popes, when they paſſe from* S. Peters Church to Laterane, *or backward, they take not their iourney ſtrait forth, but paſſe vndirectly by other ſtreetes, making their way ſomewhat the longer.* Leſt they ſhould be forced to their ſhame to behold that Image. This therfore is not an old Wiues dreame, as you ſay, but the Iudgement of ſundry the wiſeſt and beſt learned in Rome, who might beſt know the matter.

The Marble Image.

Theodoricus Niemus.

As for the Chaire of Porphyrie ſtone, which otherwheres ye call the Chaire of eaſe, it is to vile to be anſwered. Sabellicus ſaith : Spectatur adhuc in Pontificia domo Marmorea Sella, circa medium inanis : qua Nouus Pontifex continuò ab eius Creatione reſidet : vt ſedentis genitalia ab vltimo Diacono attrectentur.

The hollow Chaire:

Sabell. Ennead. 9. Lib. 1.

But let Truth be Falſhood: and let Stories be Fables. Yet, M. Harding, it may pleaſe you to remember that the ſame Fable was raiſed firſt in Rome, and from thence onely, and from no place elſe, was publiſhed abroad into the World. But let the Popes owne Secretaries and all the people there be deceiued: and to ſhadow the ſhame of that See, let Rome it ſelfe bee the Mother of Lies. Let no man know the certaine Truth of matters, but onely Onuphrius the Popes Paraſite, and M. Harding. Yet neither would ſo many Chronicles haue recorded, nor would the whole World ſo vniuerſally haue beleeued theſe things of the Pope, more then of any other Biſhop, had there not beene wonderfull corruption of maners, and diſſolution of life, and open horrour, and filthineſſe in that only See aboue all others.

Howbeit, good Chriſtian Reader, that thou maieſt well and clerely vnderſtand that our dealing herein is plaine and ſimple, and that we haue not imagined theſe matters, or any parcell thereof our ſelues, may it pleaſe thee to read Platina in Iohanne 8 Sabellicus, Enneadis 9. Lib. 1. Leonicus Chalcocondyla, a Greeke Writer, Lib. 6. Marianus Scotus, that liued about the yeere of our Lord 1028. Sigebertus Gemblacenſis, that liued about the yeere of our Lord 1100. Martinus Polonus the Popes Penitentiarie, whom M. Harding ſo much defaceth, that liued about the yeere of our Lord 1320. Rauiſius Textor in Officina, Ca. Fœminæ habitum virilem mentitæ : Antoninus the Archbiſhop of Florence, part. 2. tit. 16. Volaterranus : Nauclerus : Carion : Conſtantinus Phrygio : Chriſtianus Maſſæus : Matthæus Palmerius Florentinus : Anſelmus Rid : Iohannes Pariſienſis, cap. 20. Supplementa Chronicorum : Chronica Chronicorum : Faſciculus temporum, and others moe. Of theſe ſome liued foure hundred, ſome fiue hundred yeeres agoe: and haue euer beene counted worthy of ſome Authoritie: Notwithſtanding, for your Dame Ioans ſake, you, M. Harding, beginne now to clip their credit. Howbeit, whatſoeuer they were, certaine it is, they were no Lutherans. All theſe with one conſent agree together, that Dame Ioan was Pope of Rome.

Teſtimonies for the proofe of Pope Ioan.

Notwithſtanding, ſome of your owne fellowes of Louaine could haue taught you to haue dealt herein more diſcretly : and not ſo preciſely and peremptorily to haue denied the whole Storie : ſpecially being ſent to you from your friends in Rome and confirmed by ſo many. And therefore one of your Louaniens would ſeeme handſomely to excuſe and ſhift the matter by poſſibility of Nature. For thus he ſaith in effect : What if the Pope were Hermaphroditus, an Herkinalſon, that is to ſay, a Man and a Woman both in one? Or, if this helpe will not ſerue, he ſeemeth further to ſay ; What if the Pope being firſt a Man,

Hermrphroditus.

Man, were afterward changed into a Woman? And thus for want of better diuinitie, he forceth Ouids Metamorphosis to serue the turne. If ye would haue take this mans aduice, out of doubt with such a pretty, What if, ye might soone haue put vs out of countenance. His words be these: Neque ego hîc quicquam dico de Hermaphroditis, & ἀνδρογύνοις, de quibus veterum libri pleni sunt. Et ne à nostri temporis memoria longiùs abeam, non ignoro, monumentis literarum esse traditum, Mulierem quandam nomine Æmiliam, Antonio Spensæ Ciui Ebulano nuptam, post duodecimum à nuptijs annum in virum transisse. Legi etiam alteram Mulierem, vbi puerum peperisset, in marem fuisse mutatam: *I will here say nothing of such persons as be called* Hermaphroditi, and are both Man, and Woman, all in one: *whereof in old Writers we finde much mention. But not to goe further then to the remembrance of our owne time, I know it is written, that a certaine woman named* Æmylia, *married vnto one* Antonius Spensa a Citizen of Ebulum, *twelue yeeres after she had been married, was turned into a man. I haue likewise read of another woman, that when shee had beene brought abed,* afterward became a Man. These notable Stories he alleageth to answer the matter of Pope Ioan. Thus he thinketh it a great deale the safer way to make the Pope an Herkinalson, or by miracle to turne him from a Man, into a Woman, then simply and plainly to confesse that euer Dame Ioan was Pope in Rome.

Dame Ioane Pope.

Cœpus Dialog. 1. Pag. 47.

If you had taken this same way, then all this Story had beene a Fable, and a Woman had beene a Man: and we had vtterly beene confounded.

The Apology, Chap. 2. Diuision 1.

But what need we rehearse Concubines and Bawdes? For that is now an ordinary and a gainefull Sin in Rome. For Harlots sit there now adaies, not as they did in times past, without the City wals, and with their faces hid & couered: but they dwell in Palaces, and faire Houses: they stray about in Court & Market, and that with bare and open face: as who would say, they may not only lawfully do it, but ought also to be praised for so doing. What should we say any more of this? Their vicious and abominable life is now throughly known to the whole World. Bernard writeth roundly and truly of the Bishop of Romes House, yea, and of the Bishop of Rome himselfe. Thy Palace, saith he, taketh in good men, but it maketh none: naughty persons thriue there, and the good decay. And whosoeuer hee were which wrot the Tripartite Worke, annexed to the Councell of Laterane, he saith thus: So excessiue at this day is the riot, as well in the Prelates and Bishops, as also in the Clerkes and Priests, that it is horrible to be told. But these things be not only grown in vse, and so by custome & continuance of time wel allowed, as al the rest of their doings in maner be, but they are now waxen old, and rotten ripe. For who hath not heard what a famous act Peter Aloisius, Pope Paul the thirds Son committed against Cosmus Cherius the Bishop of Fanum: what Iohn Casa Archbishop of Beneuentum, the Popes Legate at Venice, wrote in the commendation of a most abominable filthinesse: and how hee set foorth with most lothsome words and wicked eloquence, the matter which ought not once to proceed out of any bodies mouth? To whose eares hath it not come, that Alphonsus Diazius a Spaniard, being purposely sent from Rome into Germany, so shamefully and diuellishly murthered his owne Brother Iohn Diazius, a most innocent, and a most Godly man, only because he had embraced the Gospell of Jesus Christ, and would not returne againe to Rome?

Genes. 38.

But it may chance to this they will say; These things may sometime happen in the best gouerned Commonwealths, yea & against the Magistrates wils: and besides, there be good Lawes made to punish such. I grant, it be so: But by what good lawes (I would know) haue these great mischiefes been punished amongst them? Petrus Aloisius, after hee had done that notorious Act that I spake of, was alwaies cherished in his fathers bosome, Pope Paul the third, and made his very darling,

Diazius, after he had murdered his owne Brother, was deliuered by the Popes meanes, to the end he might not bee punished by good Lawes. Iohn Caſa the Archbiſhop of Beneuentum is yet aliue, yea liueth at Rome, euen in the eie and ſight of the moſt Holy Father.

M Harding

*Vntruths, great and notorious.

Courteghians went abroade as the Matrons do ſome rod one Mules, ſome dwelled in goodly houſes, Which particular diſorders * as there they continued not many yeeres, * ſo in theſe daies they haue beene reformed. Wherein ye follow the Father of your Hereſies, and Schoolemaſter of your malice the Diuell, who in Scripture is called, *Accuſator Fratrum noſtrorum*: The accuſer of our Brethren. Apoc. 12.

But Sirs, how leape ye from Rome to Placentia, from the Clergy to a temporall Duke, whom ye call the Popes Sonne, though he was not his ſonne being Pope, but by lawfull Matrimonie before holy Orders taken? For ſuch a one was Peter Aloiſius of whom ye ſpeake. Be it that he was an euill man, what maketh that againſt the Church? What for defenſe of your new Goſpel? If Iohannes Caſa, being yet a yong ſpringall, before he came to be a Clerke, and long before he was either Biſhop, or Legate, made certaine amorous Sonets in Italian rime, following the Italian Poet Petrarcha, to which kinde of exerciſe the good wits of Italie in youth are much giuen, and without naming any perſon, flatteringlie ſmoothed that hainous fact, rather then praiſed; wherein neuertheleſſe he did euil, we confeſſe, & for the ſame ouerſight of his youth, was (notwithſtanding his other excellent qualities) kept backe from the dignity of Cardinalſhip during his life. All this being granted and conſidered, what hindereth it the eſtimation of Chriſts Church? And what furthereth it your falſe doctrine, your Schiſmes, and your Hereſies? Touching the death of Iohn Diazius the Spaniard, ye tell * many lies at once.

O, a faire boongrace, to beautifie open and knowne wickedneſſe.

Iohan Caſa

* Vntruth. For wee tell no Lie. Read the anſwer

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

We leapt not ſo lightly to Placentia, M. Harding, but rather reſt at Verona, and ſay the Truth. For Pope Paulus that ſhould haue puniſhed his wicked Sonne, and haue burnt him to death for his abominable outrage, remoued not to Placentia, but remained ſtill in Rome. Iohannes Sleidanus ſaith, that the yong Gentleman, the Biſhop of Fanum, vpon whom Petrus Aloiſius the Popes Sonne had ſhewed that horrible villanie, ſhortly after died for ſhame and heauineſſe. Yet (he ſaith) it is thought of ſome that Petrus Aloiſius, after his wicked act committed, gaue him poiſon, and ſo killed him, leſt he ſhould make complaint thereof vnto the Emperour. He addeth further: Paulus nihilò ſecius impensè amabat Filium: & ad ipſius amplificationem omne ſtudium conuertit. Et cùm de eius flagitijs nonnunquam audiret, fertur non admodùm ægrè tuliſſe: & hoc ſolùm conſueuiſſe dicere, Hæc illum vitia non ſe commonſtratore didiciſſe: Pope Paul neuertheleſſe fauoured his Sonne aboue meaſure; *and beſtowed all his care to increaſe him in honour. And whereas he heard ſometime of his ſhameful acts, the report is, that he was not much offended therewith; but vſed onely thus to ſay, Well*, yewis hee neuer learned theſe vices by my example. So cruell and terrible is the Pope in repreſſing of Sinne.

Iohan. Sleidan. Lib. 19.

Petrus Aloiſius the Popes Sonne.

But God of his iuſtice would not ſuffer ſuch abomination to eſcape vnpuniſhed. Certaine of the Nobles of his owne Citie, not long after, aroſe againſt him, and ſlew him in his owne Palace, and hung out his vile Carcaſe in ſhamefull ſort by a chaine ouer the wals; and afterward threw it ouer into the mote. The people of al ſorts ran gladly to the ſight: and ſtabd him in on euery ſide with their Daggers: and trod him filthily vnder their feet.

Iohan. Sleidan. Lib. 19.

Ye ſay: The particular diſorders of your Courteghians in theſe daies at the laſt haue bin reformed. And yet by very credible report, euen within theſe two yeres, which was in the yere of our Lord 1565. by a perfect view taken, there were found in Rome to the number of eight and twenty thouſand women of that ſort. If this be the Reformation of the Church of Rome, what was it then before it was thus Reformed?

As for that moſt horrible Booke of Iohannes Caſa, ſo vile and ſo loathſome, that no Heathen eares could abide to heare it; O how fauourably, and how friendly it is excuſed! He was then (ſay ye) but a yong man: but a ſpringall: No biſhop: no Clerke: He named no perſon: It was but a kinde of exerciſe: an ouerſight: an amorous Sonet. The good wits of Italie bee much giuen to it: He praiſed not that fault, but only ſmoothed it. O, M. Harding, what abomination is there vnder Heauen, but ye can deuiſe waies how to ſmoth it!

But he was puniſhed (ye ſay) full ſore for his ouerſight. For he could neuer be made Cardinall during his life. Yea, good M. Harding: And all this muſt wee beleeue, becauſe you ſpeake it. The Pope made him the Archbiſhop of Beneuentum, and Legate a Latere, and thereby one of his Secret Counſell, in part of this cruell puniſhment. But though he vpon that or ſome other occaſion were kept backe from being Cardinall, yet were there others made Cardinals, in all reſpects as bad as he. Read Andreas Alciatus, that notable Ciuilian, and ye ſhall finde what a minion was made Biſhop of Comum, when Paulus Iouius was put beſide. Read Paulus Iouius in the life of Clemens 7. and learne what pretty folkes then were

And. Alciatus in Epiſt. præfix. Hiſtoriæ Pauli Ioui. Paulus Iouius.

were made Cardinals, and for what causes. As for your owne Onuphrius he speaketh Parables, and casteth colours, and would seeme to meane more hereof, then hee durst to vtter. *Onuphrius in Iulio 3.*

The Emperour Tyberius sometime placed Nouellius Tricongius in most high and honourable rome, and made him Proconsul, in part of recompence of his good seruice, for that he was able to drinke three pottles of Wine together with one breath. This was not the worthiest cause of promoting such Magistrates to such a rome: yet was there more honour and honesty in this cause of preferment, then hath beene thought to be in the preferring of sundrie Cardinals. *Sueton. Tranquil. in Tyberio. Tricongium vno Spiritu.*

Touching the murdering of Iohannes Diazius, by his own Brother Alphonsus, wherein ye say, we haue told you so many lies at once, wee referre our selues to the Story thereof truly written by Iohannes Sleidanus, the effect whereof in short is this: One Iohannes Diazius a Spaniard, and a Doctor of Sorbona in Paris, after that God had giuen him grace to vnderstand the truth of the Gospell, departed from thence, and came into Germany, and rested at Nuburge, in the Dominion of Otho Henricus County Palatine. His Brother Alphonsus Diazius, being then in Rome, and vnderstanding hereof, immediatly toke Horses, and with all speed came into Germany, minding to withdraw his Brother from his purpose. And finding him constant and stedfast, and not likely any waies to bee remoued, in the end he fained himselfe, by the waight of his reasons, to be perswaded to the same Religion: and desired him to returne with him into Italy, for that he should do more good there, then he could in Germany. But seeing him for sundry causes firmely bent to stay there, he tooke his leaue, and departed thence, and exhorted him to continue constant in the truth, and came to Augusta, fiue Dutch miles from Nuburge. The next day as hauing forgotten some speciall matter, he had to say to his Brother, he returned backe againe from thence to Nuburge, and by the way bought a Carpenters axe, and entering into the Town, vpon the 27. of March, he came to his Brothers lodging at the breake of the day, and himselfe watching beneath, sent vp his seruant with the Axe to doe the deed. The seruant after he had called forth Iohannes Diazius, and had deliuered him a letter from his Brother Alphonsus, and saw him turned towards the light to read the same, came suddenly behinde him, and stroke him in the head with his Axe, and leauing it sticking in the wound, came away together with Alphonsus his Master. This is the verie true story hereof, M. Harding, and in all these words there is no lie. Touching your Courteghians (ye say) the Pope of late hath made a general Reformation. For now they are both remoued from their faire Palaces wherein they dwelt, and also put from their Mules. As if the fault had been only in their Mules or Horses, and not rather in their whole trade of life. Certainly, the same women continue still, euen in the Citie of Rome, and that vnto the number of eight and twenty thousand, as it is said before. Such is the Reformation of the Church of Rome.

Iohannes Diazius *Ioh. Sleid. li. 17 Anno 1546.*

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuision 1. *and* 2.

They haue killed infinite numbers of our Brethren, only because they beleeued truly and sincerely in Iesus Christ. But of that great and foule number of Harlots, Fornicators, Adulterers, what one haue they at any time (I say not, put to death) but either Excommunicate, or once attached? Why? Voluptuousnes, Adultery, Ribaudry, Whooredome, Murdering of kin, Incest, and others more abominable parts, are not they counted Sin at Rome? Or, if they be Sin, ought Christs Vicar, Peters Successour, the most holy Father, so lightly and slilie to beare them, as though they were no Sin, and that in the City of Rome, & in the Principal Tower of Holinesse? O Holy Scribes and Pharisеis, which neuer knew this kinde of Holinesse! O what a Holines, what a Catholike Faith is this! Peter did not thus teach at Rome: Paul did not so liue at Rome: they did not practise Brotherly as these doe openly: they made not a yeerely reuenue & profit of Harlots: They suffered no common Adulterers & wicked Murtherers, to goe vnpunished. They did not receiue them into their Familiarity, into their Councell, into their Housholde, nor yet into the company of Christian men. These men ought not therefore so vnreasonably to triumph against our liuing. It had bin more woldome for them, either

either first to haue proued good their own life before the world, or at the least, to haue cloaked it a little more cunningly. For we doe vse still the Old & Ancient Lawes, and (as much as men may do, in the maners vsed at these daies, al things being so wholly corrupt) we diligently and earnestly put in execution the Ecclesiasticall Discipline: we haue not common Brothel houses of Strumpets, nor yet flockes of concubines, nor heards of Harlot haunters: neither do we prefer Aduitery before Matrimonie: neither doe we exercise beastly sensuality: neither do we gather ordinary rents and stipends of Stewes: nor do we sucker Incest and abominable naughtinesse, nor yet such Aloisians, Casians, & Diazians to escape vnpunished. For if these things would haue pleased vs, wee needed not to haue departed from these mens fellowship, amongst who such enormities be in their chiefe pride & price. Neither needed wee for leauing them, to run into the hatred of men, & into most wilful dangers.

Paul the Fourth, not many Monthes sithence, had at Rome in prison certaine Augustine Friars, many Bishops, and a great number of other deuout men, for Religions sake. He racked them, and tormented them: to make them confesse he left no meanes vnassaied. But in the end how many Brothels, how many Whoremongers, how many Aduiterers, how many incestuous persons could he finde of all those?

M. Harding.

This ye denie as impudently, as ye affirmed the other matter of Diazius falsly. Wherefore what punishment is due to slanderers, that ought this Defender to haue for his false slander, then commeth me your Secretarie and prisethhimselfe, and all you his holy Companions, besides all wit and modesty. And saith much in commendation of your Ministerships goodnesse, for that ye keep and vse still the Old and Ancient Lawes forsooth, and Discipline of the Church.

A braue and a lusty kinde of eloquence.

For shame, for conscience, for regard of the world, for feare of Gods wrath, for auoiding euerlasting fire, returne to the Catholike Church from whence ye are broken out like the fat Buls of Basan, put away your most vnlawfull yokefellowes. Leaue your selues to be abominable, before with such spightful raising ye reprehend our * *Infirmitie.*

* Fornication, Open Stewes, & Incest, are M. Hardings *Infirmities.*

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuision 3.

Our God be thanked, although we bee not the men wee ought, and professe to be, yet whosoeuer, and whatsoeuer we be, compare vs with these men, and euen our own life and innocencie will soone proue vntrue and condemne their malicious surmises. For we exhort the people to al vertue and well doing, not only by Bookes and Preachings, but also by our examples & behauiour. We also teach that the Gospell is not a boasting or bragging of knowledge, but that it is the Law of life, and that a Christian man (as Tertullian saith) ought not to speake honourablie, but ought to liue honourablie: nor that they be the hearers of the Law, but the doers of the Law, which are iustified before God.

M. Harding.

Nay, nay, Sirs, for that thing ye crake so much of, be not too hasty to thanke your God. What peculiar God ye meane we know not. That phrase your Secretarie much vseth, as though yee had another God beside him that is God of all. Compare your selues with whom yee list, your owne life and innocencie is so well knowne, as by reprouing your vices and horrible sinnes, no man lightly shall seeme a slanderer. Indeed if your continuall aduouterie and Incest were lawfull Matrimony, if your filthy yokefellowes were your true wedded Wiues, if your robbing & throwing down of Churches were almose, and building of places for praier to the increase of Gods Honour, if ignorant rashnesse were godly discretion, if your word of the Lord were Gods word, if your pretensed Gospell were Christs true Gospell, if your biblebable and railing were holesome preaching, if the Spirit of Satan, that is in you the same also being a lying spirit in your mouthes, could be meeke, humble, obedient, and would tell truth, finally if euill were good, if darkenesse were light, if sowre were sweet, if the fruits of your so naughty a tree were good, wee would also sooth you, and vphold your immoderate crakes. Wee say plainely of you at one word, which wee will to bee a watch-word for all Christian people to beware of you, your Doctrine is Heresie, your Life is Iniquity, your endeauour tendeth to the subuersion of soules.

Is this the modestie of the Spirit of God,

The

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

It is no great Crake, M. Harding, to giue God thanks. But what vncourteous dealing is this of your part? Sir Defender and his Fellowes must come to you, and learne to speake. Notwithstanding for ought that may appeare, ye are not yet very well aduised how to speak your selfe. Now because we say, we thanke our God, our Secretaries hath made himselfe a Seuerall God. Howbeit, you may say, Our Lord, and thinke him not Catholike, that will say otherwise: and yet make ye not your selues thereby any Seuerall Lord. God giue you grace, ye be not seuered from the Lord. But wherefore it should bee more lawfull for you, to saie, Our Lord, then for vs to saie, Our God, I thinke it a high point of cunning for you to open.

Our Lord. Our God.

Thus ye would haue vs sometimes to saie Our Lord, sometimes The Lord, sometimes neither. It were a skilfull Cooke, that knew your diet. Howbeit the Prophet Dauid saith: Deus noster Refugium & Virtus: Our God, *Our Refuge, and our Strength.* Sing Psalmes vnto Our God: Our God *is* the God of Saluation: Our God *is in Heauen:* My God, ô my God, *I wake earely vnto thee:* Thou art My God: *I trust in thee: My lots are in thy hands.* S. Paul saith: *I thanke* My God *alwaies: I giue thankes vnto* My God. Thus was it lawfull then for the Apostles and Prophets to speake without rebuke: Neither was there any, M. Harding, then so vncourteous, to say, They made themselues a peculiar God.

Psalm. 46. Psalm. 64. Psal. 113. Psalm. 63. Psalm. 15. Psalm. 67. 1. Cor. 1. & 14. Philip. 1. 1. Cor. 6.

S. Paul saith: *We are iustified in the name of Iesus Christ* Our Lord, *and in the spirit of* Our God. S. Augustine saith: Contra istos Mirabiliarios cautum me fecit Deus Meus, dicens, In Nouissimis diebus surgent Falsi prophetæ: My God *hath willed mee to beware of these mungers of Miracles, telling me, that in the last daies there shall rise vp false Prophets.* Againe he saith: Deus Meus vbique præsens est: Vbiq; totus: nusquam inclusus: My God *is euery where present: euery where whole: no where inclosed or shut vp.* Chrysostome saith: Christo meo testificabantur & Venti & Mare: *Both the Winds and the Sea bare witnesse to* my Christ. S. Hierome saith: Ego non Patrem, non Matrem, non Germanum aduersus Christum meum audiam: *I will not heare neither Father nor Mother, nor Brother against* my Christ. S. Cyprian saith: Hic est Deus noster, id est, non omnium, sed Credentium, & Fidelium Deus: *This is* Our God, *that is to say, not the God of all, but the God of the Beleeuers, and of the Faithfull.* Sedulius saith: Deus Natura omnium est, Voluntate vero paucorum: *God by Nature is the God of all: but by will, he is the God of few.* But what shall we neede many Doctors, the case being so cleare? You your selfe, M. Harding, in this selfe same Booke, either of purpose vpon some better aduice, or vnawares, haue written the same. Consider well your owne words: Thus ye say, There is no iniquity in our Lord God Yet, I trow, by these words, ye make not to your selfe a peculiar God.

Aug. ad Cinit. lib. 1. *cap.* 29. *Chrysost. in Psalm.* 96. *Hieron aduersus error. Iohan. Hierosolimyta. Cypr. de Bono Pœnitentiæ. Sedulius, in* 2. *Cor.* 6. *M. Harding fol.* 124. *b.*

S. Paul saith: *I liue in the faith of the Son of God, which hath loued me, and hath giuen himselfe for my sake.* Which words S. Chrysostome, writing vpon Genesis, expoundeth thus: Qui dilexit me, &c. Vt proprium vsurpas commune beneficium. Profectò, inquit: Nam licèt pro omni hominum genere Sacrificium oblatum sit, tamen propter amorem in eum, id quod factum est omnibus, proprium mihi facio. Ita & Prophetis mos est, & facere, & dicere, Deus, Deus Meus: quamuis totius Orbis sit Deus. Sed peculiare hoc est amori, vt ex communibus propria faciat. Qui dilexit me: Quid dicis? An te dilexit solum? Omnẽ, inquit hominum Naturam dilexit. Sed ego illi Gratias debeo, quasi me solum dilexisset, & tradidisset semetipsum pro me Solo. S. Paul saith: *Christ hath loued me.* O Paul, *The benefit, that is Common to all, thou vsest as peculiar to thy selfe. Yea verily,* saith S. Paul: *For albeit that Sacrifice were offered for all Mankind, yet for the loue that I beare towards him, the thing that was done to all, I account as proper and seuerall to my selfe Alone. Thus the manner of the Prophets is to doe and to say,* O God, my God: *notwithstanding hee is the God of all the world. But this is the speciall and alonely office of Loue, of things common to make things peculiar. Thou saist Christ hath loued me. What saist thou? Hath Christ loued thee Only, and no man else? No,* saith Paul, *He hath loued all Mankinde.* But I owe him thanks, as if he had loued me Alone, and had giuen himselfe Onely for me.

Galat. 2. *Chrys. in Genesim. Hom.* 34.

Henceforth M. Harding, it may please you to giue vs leaue to speake as the Prophets, the Apostles, the holy Fathers and Doctors haue spoken before vs.

The Apologie, Chap. 4. *Diuision* 1.

BEsides all these matters, wherewith they charge vs, they are woont also to adde this one thing, which they inlarge with al kind of spight: that

that is, that we be men of trouble, that we plucke the Sword and Scepter out of Kings hands: that we arme the people: that we ouerthrow iudgemẽt places, destroy the Lawes, make hauocke of possessions, seek to make the people Princes, turne al things vpside down: and to bee short, that we would haue nothing in good frame in a Commõ wealth. Good Lord, how often haue they set on fire Princes hearts, with these words, to the end they might quench the light of the Gospel in the very first appearing of it, and that men might begin to hate the same, ere euer they were able to know it, and to the end that euery Magistrate might thinke, he saw his deadly enemy as oft as he saw any of vs! Surely it should exceedingly grieue vs, to bee so maliciously accused of most hainous Treason, vnlesse we knew, that Christ himselfe, the Apostles, and a number of good Christian men were in times past blamed & reuiled in like sort. For although Christ taught, they should giue vnto Cæsar, that which was Cæsars; yet was he charged with sedition, and was accused to deuise some Conspiracie, and to seek waies to get the kingdome. And thereupon they cried out with open mouth against him in the place of Iudgement: If thou let this man escape, then thou art not Cæsars friend.

And though the Apostles did likewise euermore & stedfastly teach, that Magistrates ought to be obeied, that euery Soule ought to be subiect to the higher powers, not only for feare of wrath and punishment, but euen for conscience sake, yet bare they the name to disquiet the people, and to stirre vp the multitude to rebel. After this sort did Haman specially bring the Nation of the Iewes into the hatred of king Assuerus, because, said he, they were a rebellious and stubborne people, and despised the Ordinances & Commandements of Princes. Wicked king Achab said to Elie the Prophet of God, It is thou that troublest Israel. Amasias the Priest at Bethel, laid a conspiracie to the Prophet Amos charge, before king Ieroboam, saying, See Amos hath made a conspiracy against thee, in the middest of the house of Israel: To be briefe, Tertullian saith, This was the generall accusation of all Christians whiles hee liued, that they were Traitors, that they were Rebels & the enemies of Mankind. Wherfore, if now adaies the Truth be likewise euill spoken of, and being the same Truth it was then, if it be now like despightfully vsed, as it was in times past, though it bee a greeuous and vnkinde dealing, yet can it not seeme vnto vs a new, or an vnwonted matter.

3. Reg. 18.

Amos 7.

Tertull. in Apologetico.

M. Harding.

How farre yee haue attempted (I meane the sects of your Brotherhood) in sundry Countries, to wrest the sword out of Princes hands, to transpose their Scepters at your pleasure, and to alter states and signories, though we holde our peace, (a) the world iudgeth, the Blood of so many thousands slaine speaketh, England repenteth, Scotland mourneth, Germany roareth, France bewaileth, Sauoy weepeth, all Christendome lamenteth. (b) Were the hundred thousand Bours of Germany consumed by the Sword of the Nobility there for their obedience? The Duke of Saxony, and Lantgraue of Hesse, were they ouerthrown in the field and taken captiue for standing in defense of their Soueraigne? Were so great multitudes of people destroied at Munster for their loialty? Your Sacramentarie Suitzers of Berna, who robbed the quiet old Duke of Sauoy of his Townes & Countreis, from the farther side of the lake of Geneua vnto the Alpes, did they this for maintenance of his right, and to set him at rest with little? What meant ye, when ye laid your heads together being at Geneua in Queene Maries daies, the faithfull (c) Brothers of England and Scotland, and deuised a most seditious and traiterous Booke against the monstrous Regiment of Women?

(a) Vntruth, notorious and manifest to all the World.

(b) These Bours for the greatest part were enemies vnto Luther.

(c) All this great mutitude of England and Scotland, stood onely in 2. persons. Wee know no moe.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Here, M. Harding, for want of matter, ye thought it good policie, to furnish your tale with store of words: The world iudgeth; blood speaketh: England repenteth: Scotland mourneth: Germany roareth: France bewaileth: Sauoy weepeth: Christendome lamenteth. If ye had not wel studied your Copia Verborum, yee could neuer haue bene halfe so copious, nor haue beene able so many waies to vtter nothing. Yee might happily haue said, Your Cardinals

nals crie, and your Pope roareth, and your friends ſtand aloofe and teare their haire, and ſay, as it is written in the Apocalyps: Væ, væ Babylon, Ciuitas illa Magna: *Alas, alas Babylon, that great City.* Apoc. 18.

God bee thanked, the Kingdomes and Princehods of the world ſtand now in as ſafe and in as quiet and flouriſhing ſtate, as euer before. Therefore this Tragicall Rhetoricke might better haue ſerued you ſome other where.

The Boures of Germany, of whom yee ſpeake, for the greateſt part, were Aduerſaries vnto Doctour Luther, and vnderſtood no part of the Goſpell: but conſpired together, as they ſaid, only againſt the cruelty and tyrannie of their Lords: as they had done two and twentie yeares before in the ſame Countrie in the Conſpiracie called Liga Sotularia, fifteen yeares before Doctour Luther began to preach: the partners of which Conſpiracie had for their watchword the name of Our Lady: and in the honour of her, were bound to ſay fiue Aue Maries euerie day. Certainelie, touching theſe Later Rebels, it is knowne, that Luther ſharplie and vehementlie wrote againſt them. And they themſelues being demanded thereof, vtterly denied both the partaking, and alſo the knowledge of the Goſpell.

The bours in Germanie.

Liga Sotularia Anno 1503.

D. Luther began to Preach, Anno 1518.

The Princes of Germany raiſed not their Powers (as ye ſay) againſt the Emperor Charles the fifth, but beeing wrongfully and contrary to the Law of Armes inuaded by him, they were forced, beeing free Princes, by the Law of Nature, to draw their Sword in their owne Defenſe. *Iohan. Sleidan. lib.* 4. & 5. *Paral. Vrſperg. Anno* 1525. *Nicol. Gerbelius Phorizenſis.*

The Rebels at Munſter were not Goſpellers, as yée ſéeme to meane, but frantike Anabapriſts and Heretikes, as ye bee: and therefore enemies vnto the Goſpell.

The Lords of Berna neuer were Subiects to the Duke of Sauoy. That they toke certaine of his Caſtles in their confines, they did it rightlie, and by the Law of Armes, beeing forced thereto by daily inuaſions, and robberies, and not able otherwiſe to liue in reſt. But indéed the ſaid poore Duke was therewhile ſpoiled of his whole Dominion: of the one halfe, by his Brother in law the Emperour Charles 5. Of the other halfe, by his Nephew Francis the French King, by the counſell of Pope Clement 7. after their great enterview at Marſiles. And thereof was deuiſed a prettie paſquill, declaring the miſerable caſe of the poore Duke, Diuiſerunt ſibi veſtimenta mea: & ſuper veſtem meam miſerunt ſortem: *They haue diuided my apparell among ſt themſelues: and they haue caſt lots for my coat.*

The heads of England and Scotland, that (as ye ſay) were laid together at Geneua, touching the gouernment of Women, beeing well accounted, were nothing ſo manie, as yee would ſeeme to imagine. For if there had beene but one leſſe, for ought that I haue heard, there had beene but one at all. Such hot amplifications it liketh you to make of ſo ſmall a number. Wee will defend no man in his erroꝛ. Let euerie man beare his owne guilt. M. Caluin, M. Martyr, M. Muſculus, M. Bullinger and others, whom yee call the faithfull Brothers of England, miſliked that enterpriſe, and wrote againſt it.

Wee know, that God hath determined this matter long ſithence: For thus he ſaith: Si Homo moriatur abſque Filio, ad Filiam eius tranſibit Hæreditas: *If a Man die without a* Sonne, *his inheritance ſhall paſſe vnto his* Daughter. And S. Auguſtine ſaith: Lata eſt Romæ Lex illa Voconia, Ne quis Hæredem Fœminam faceret, nec Vnicam Filiam. Qua Lege quid iniquius dici, aut cogitari poſſit, ignoro: *There was a Law made in* Rome, *called* Lex Voconia, *That no man ſhould conuey his* inheritance vnto a Woman, *no not vnto his onely Daughter.* Then which Law I know not, what may be more wickedlie thought or ſpoken. Numer. 27. *Aug. de Ciuit. lib.* 3. *cap.* 21.

But, God bee thanked, that of his Mercie, hath now raiſed vp vnto vs a Woman of ſuch Wiſdome, Learning, Clemencie, Grauitie, Iudgement, Gouernment, and other moſt Noble and Princelie Vertues, as haue not beene ſeene in manie Men. God increaſe her dailie with his Holie Spirit, and make her an old Mother in Iſrael. Amen.

Regiment of Wome.

Of your ſturdie blaſts and ſecret breathings, M. Harding, I will ſay nothing. Yee may yet remember, which of your Louanian companie it was, that in the time of that Noble Prince of Bleſſed Memorie, King Edward the Sixth, ſaide in open Parliament, *Woe bee to that Kingdome, the Prince whereof is a Child.* And afterward, ſeeing the Queenes Maieſtie that now is, placed in her eſtate, boldlie and openly confeſſed a great ouerſight, and much follie in your former doings, for that in the late time of your vnruly gouernment, ye had hewen downe the boughes, and left the Stocke ſtanding ſtill. Gods ſecret Prouidence, M. Harding, breathed againſt you, and confounded your doings. Power onely ye lacked: but good will ye lacked none.

M. Harding.

M. Harding.

For anſwer to all this, yee ioine your ſelues with Chriſt and his Apoſtles, as though yee were guiltie heerein no more then they. Preſumptuouſlie ſaid. But the matter is not ſo anſwered. And yet ye run on at large in that common place, & verie vainly or rather Luciferlike, compare your ſelues with the Apoſtles. But Sirs, ſtay heere, run no further: ye are ſoone ſtopped. The caſe is not like pardie. Theſe be but your words. In the Apoſtles was the truth indeed, ſo was it in the Holy Prophets, and thoſe firſt Bleſſed men of the Church. The truth ye boaſt & crake ſo much of, is not that truth. Talke leſſe like Rhetoricians, & prooue vs that ye haue truth, like honeſt men. And then talke on: but that can ye neuer doe, ſo long as ye remaine out of the Church, and enemies to the Church. * But what ſpend I words in vaine? your hearts be hardened, your eies be blinded, your eares be ſtopped.

* O Vaine brauerie!

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Heere is profound ſtuffe, M. Harding, for a Doctor of Diuinity. To anſwer you with your owne vaine words, indeede yee ſpend your words in vaine.

The Apologie, Chap. 4. Diuiſion 2.

Fortie yeeres agoe, and vpward, it was an eaſie thing for them to deuiſe againſt vs theſe accurſed ſpeeches & other too, lower then theſe: when in the middeſt of the darkneſſe of that age, firſt began to ſpring, & to giue ſhine ſome one glimmering beame of Truth, vnknowen at that time, & vnheard of: when alſo Martin Luther, and Hulderike Zuinglius, beeing moſt excellent men, euen ſent of God, to giue light to the whole World, Firſt came vnto the knowledge and preaching of the Goſpell: when as yet the thing was but new, & the ſucceſſe thereof vncertaine: and when mens mindes ſtood doubtfull and amazed, and their eares open to all ſlanderous tales: and when their could bee imagined againſt vs no fact ſo deteſtable, but the people then would ſoone beleeue it, for the nouelty & ſtrangeneſſe of the matter. For ſo did Symmachus, ſo did Celſus, ſo did Iulianus, ſo did Porphyrius the old foes to the Goſpell, attempt in times paſt to accuſe all Chriſtians of Sedition and Treaſon, before that either Prince or people were able to know, who thoſe Chriſtians were, what they profeſſed, what they beleeued, or what was their meaning.

(a) Vntruth, malicious and ſlanderous for Zuinglius was a goodly Preacher, and no Rutter.

(b) This blaſphemie toucheth Gods prouidēce. For why not as well from Wittenberg, as from Rome:

(c) Vntiuth, fond & childiſh. This is M. Hardings ſobrietie.

M. Harding.

As ye runne foorth your race, and with lying amplification boaſt and brag of the Truth of your Doctrine, and of the Innocencie of your demeanour yee fall into a great inconuenience and ouerſight. Was the light extinguiſhed in all Iſrael, till that leaud Friar came, and Zuinglius (a) the ſwart Rutter? Shall wee now change the old ſong of Micheas the Prophet, Out of Sion ſhall come the Law, and the word of our Lord from Ieruſalem, and ſing a new Song: Out of (b) Wittenberg is come the Goſpell, and the word of the Lord from Zurich and Geneua? If Luther and Zuinglius firſt came to the knowledge and preaching of the Goſpell, what meant Chriſt to breake his promiſe, who ſaid, I will be with you all daies till the end of the world?

Againe how forgot ye the old Prouerbe, a liar it behoueth to be mindfull? Remember ye not how this is (c) contrarie to all your owne Doctrine? For ſay ye not otherwheres, that God had alwaies his number of the elect and his inuiſible Church? Therefore this muſt ye recant and call backe againe, or elſe ſhall ye pull all the rabble of ſundrie your owne ſects vpon your ſhoulders, whoſe filthie railings and vile vpbraidings poore ſoules ye ſhall neuer be able to abide.

Wittenberg.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

It is not worth the while, to anſwer him that ſaith nothing. Sion, from whence ye ſay, the Law of God iſſued firſt, was in thoſe daies, as much diſdained of your Fathers, as is this day of you Geneua or Wittenberg. Origen ſaith of Celſus the Heathen: Chriſtianum Dogma affirmat à Barbaris cepiſſe ortum, hoc eſt, à Iudæis: *Hee ſaith, that the Chriſtian Faith tooke her firſt beginning from* Barbarous *people, that is to ſay, from the* Iewes. Cicero ſaith: Iudæi, & Syri, Gentes natæ ſeruituti? *The* Iewes *and* Syrians, *Nations borne to bondage.*

Orig. contra Celſum, lib. 1. Cicero de Prouin. Conſul. Chryſoſt. contra Gentes. Nazianzen. de Natali Chriſti.

And Chryſoſtome ſpeaking of Iulianus the Renegate, ſaith thus: Galilæos nos pro Chriſtianis, in edictis ſuis appellauit: *In his proclamations, in the ſtead of* Chriſtians, *he called vs ſcornefully* Galileans: noting thereby the vileneſſe of the place, from whence the Goſpell of Chriſt firſt proceeded. But Nazianzene ſaith: Honora paruam Bethleem, quæ te induxit

in

in Paradisum: (Despise not, but rather) *Honour that* little Bethleem, *that hath led thee into Paradise.*

The sound of this simple Barbarous despised people was heard throwout the whole World. *God causeth his Light to shine out of the Darke: His Holy Spirit breatheth where he thinketh good: Hee hath no regard of Persons, or choice of Places,* but, as S. Peter said vnto Cornelius, *In every Nation, whosoeuer feareth him, and worketh righteousnesse, is accepted before him. God chooseth the weake things of the World, to confound the strong.* Gods Holy Name be blessed, that of so little, and so simple a despised Mustard seed hath now raised vp so great a Tree: *and triumpheth the Gospell of Christ his Sonne in euery place throwout the World.* Pſal. 19. Iohan. 2. Actor. 10. Matth. 13. 1. Corint. 1.

What meant Christ (say you) to breake his promise? Nay, what meant you, M. Harding, so shamefully to breake Christs Commandement, and yet to charge him with his Promise? *God is true in all his Promises, and shall preuaile when he is soe lewdly iudged.* There is no fault in God, or his Christ: The fault is in you, that haue made of the House of God, a Caue of Theeues. Christ neuer made any such special Promise vnto the Pope, that whatsoeuer it should please him to say, or doe, he should neuer erre, nor doe amisse. Yee presume ouer much of Gods Promises. Nay though Antichrist should be Pope, yet should Christs Promises be true still. Wittenberg. Church Inuisible.

It is true, that God hath alwaies a Church Inuisible, and a number of Elect, knowen only to himselfe alone. Neither is this our only saying. S. Paul also saith the same: Firmum stat Fundamentum Dei, habens hoc sigillum, Nouit Dominus qui sint sui: *This Foundation standeth sound and firme, hauing this Seale,* The Lord knoweth who be his own. Elias thought all the Godly in Israel had beene slaine: and not one left aliue. But God said vnto him: *I haue saued vnto my selfe seuen thousand men, that neuer bowed their knee before* Baal. God knew them: but Elias knew them not. To the iudgement of man they were inuisible. Therefore S. Augustine saith: Secundùm occultam Dei Prædestinationem, plurimæ sunt foris Oues: plurimi Lupi intus. Nouit enim, ac signatos habet, qui nec eum, nec se norunt: *According to Gods Secret Predestination there be many Sheepe without the Church: and many Wolues within the Church. For hee knoweth them, and hath them marked, that know neither themselues, nor God neither.* 2. Timoth. 2. 1. Reg. 19. Roman. 11. *Aug. in Iohan. Tract.* 45.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☜ As for the whole Body and Companie of all them that be called Christians, reckoned vniuersally together, which you call the Church Catholike, Cardinall Cusanus calleth it, Ecclesia Coniecturalis: *A Church Coniecturall*: for that we know it, not by certaintie, but by Coniecture. For in this Church, thus largely taken, they that seeme Predestinate before Men, are often times wicked, and Reprobate before God: And they that before men seeme the Members of Christ, are often times before God the Members of Antichrist. Cusanus words be these: Oportet in Sensibili Mundo Sensibilibus Signis de ipsa Christi Ecclesia Coniecturam sumere, cùm aliter attingi nequeat rationis veritas, &c. *In this Sensible World that is heere beneath, wee must learne by Sensible Tokens to know the very Church of Christ: For otherwise we are not able to reach the Truth. Therefore this* Coniecturall Church *in this Sensible World, according to such a short knowledge as this World may yeeld, is indeed the true Church: Notwithstanding, according to the* Coniecture *that we gather by Tokens, it receiueth as well the Godly that be ioined to Christ as also the Vngodly, that be diuided from Christ. This Church standeth of them that declare by Sensible and Outward Tokens, that they be partakers of Christ, as they bee that Confesse Christ to be the Sonne of God. And therefore this Church hath certaine Holie Tokens, or Sacraments,* (as the Sacrament of Baptisme, and the Sacrament of our Lords Supper) *ordeined to that end, that thereby wee may know them that bee of Christ, so farre forth, as by such Tokens* Coniecturall knowledge *may be gathered, Therefore I say, That this Church of Christ* (in this generall taking) *by this* Coniecturall Iudgement *is counted holie, notwithstanding wicked Men and Hypocrites couer themselues vnder the same Outward Tokens, and receiue Baptisme, and the Lords Supper, as well as the Godly.* Thus the generall or outward Church of God is Visible, and may be seene: but the very true Church of Gods Elect is Inuisible, and cannot be seene or discerned by man: but is only knowen to God alone. ☜ ☞ *Nicol. Cusan. De potest. Ecclesia Romana epist.* 3.

Thus the number of Gods Elect, yea before the comming of Christ, in the time of darknesse, was euermore certaine: yet afterward the knowledge of the Gospell, by the Mouths of the Apostles, was abundantly carried abroad into the ends of all the World.

Both these parts, M. Harding, may stand well together, and are nothing contrarie to our Doctrine. Be the number of the Faithfull more, or lesse, yet the Truth of God is one for euer.

The Apologie, Chap. 5. Diuision 1.

Ciuill Magistrate.

But now, sithence our very enemies do see, and cannot denie, but wee euer in all our words and writings haue diligently put the people in mynde of their duty, to obey their Princes and Magistrates, yea though they be wicked, (for this doth very triall & experience sufficientiy teach, and all mens eies, whosoeuer, & whersoeuer they be, do wel see and witnesse for vs) it was a foule part of them to charge vs with these things: and, seeing they could find no new & late faults, therefore to seek to procure vs enuie only with stale and outworne Lies. Wee giue our Lord God thankes, whose only cause this is, there hath yet at no time been any such example in all the Realmes, Dominions, and Common Weales, which haue receiued the Gospell. For wee haue ouerthrowen no Kingdome: We haue decaied no mans Power or right: We haue disordered no Common Wealth. There continue in their owne accustomed state, and Ancient Dignity, the Kings of our Countrey of England, the Kings of Denmarke, the Kings of Suecia, the Dukes of Saxonie, the Counties Palentine, the Marquesses of Brandeburgh, the Lantsgraues of Hessia, the Common Wealth of the Heluetians and Rhetians, and the Free Cities, as Argentine, Basile, Frankford, Vlme, Augusta, and Norenberg; doe all, I say, abide in the same Authority and estate, wherein they haue been heertofore; or rather in a much better, for that by meanes of the Gospell, they haue their people more obedient vnto them then euer they had before. Let them goe, I pray you, into those places, where at this present, through Gods goodnesse and mercie, the Gospell is taught. Where is there more Maiesty? Where is there lesse Arrogancy and Tyranny? Where is the Prince more honoured? Where is the people lesse vnruly? Where hath there at any time, either the Common Wealth, or the Church been in more quiet: Perhaps ye will say, from the first beginning of this Doctrine the common sort euery where began to rage and to rile thorow Germanie. Allow it were so: yet Martin Luther, the publisher and setter forward of this Doctrine, did write maruellous vehemently and sharply against them, and reclaimed them home to peace and obedience.

M. Harding.

Your impudencie of lying hath no measure, nor end. But we will say little heere, hauing said enough already in reproofe of your falshood. Wee leaue you to the wide world, who seeth, and almost feeleth your lies.

But I maruell not a little, that in this place specially, where ye speake of the good order that your Gospell breedeth, ye be not ashamed to make mention of Martin Luther. Good God how much could we, if we were so disposed, allege out of his seditious and Heretical bookes, by him* written against the Power of lawfull Magistrates! At this time let one place suffice for all. Luthers words be these: *Inter Christianos nullus neque potest, neque debet esse Magistratus, sed &c.* Among Christian men non can nor ought to be a Magistrate, but each one is to other equally subiect: After the Apostles saying, Thinking all others better then your selues, &c. Againe, Be ye humble all one to another. Whereto Christ accordeth when he saith, When thou art called to the marriage feast, goe, and sit downe lowest of all. Among Christian men none is superiour saue one, and only Christ. And what superiority or Magistrate can bee there, where all be equall, and haue right, power, riches, and honour all alike? Furthermore, none coueteth to be ouer other, but all will be vnder one another. Where such men be, though one would, yet can he not make a Magistrate to beare rule ouer others, sith that nature suffereth not to haue superiours, where no man will, nor may be a superiour. And where such kind of men is, there be they not Christian men, after the true sort of Christian men. Thus farre Martin Luther.

In libro de Seculari potest. Luther admitteth no Ciuill Magistrate.

He perswaded them to peace, when there was scarcely any left that could beare a club. First he stirred vp his Disciple Thomas Munzer in Thuringia, who was the Rebels Preacher. After that he excused him of seditious preaching to the Duke of Saxonie Prince Electour, trusting if Munzer were let alone, the matter should well goe forward.

* Vntruth, malicious and slanderous. Read the Answer.

* Nothing else but meere Vntruth. For Luther called him the Preacher of Satan.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

To dissemble the rest of your Untruths, and your immoderate and vnciuill bitternesse M. Harding, proceeding from the vnquiet and vnsauoury humours of your heart; where ye say, Doctor Luther admitteth no Ciuill Magistrate, and note the same so specially in your margin, I maruell much that your paper blushed not in your behalfe. Read his Bookes thorowout

thorowout, and consider the quiet gouernment both of the Common Wealths and also of the Churches of Germanie: and yee shall finde that no man euer, neither by word, nor by example, more aduanced the Authority of the Ciuill Magistrate. To leaue all other his notable Sentences to this purpose, against the Rebels of whom yee speake, being then in the field against their Lords, he wrote thus: God commandeth *all men vniuersally to obey the* Magistrate *with feare and reuerence, &c.* Againe: *Yee take the Sword and withstand the* Magistrate, whom God hath appointed. *Is not this rashly to* abuse the name of God? Ciuill Magistrate. *Iohan Sleidan. Lib.* 5.

But he saith: Among Christians neither may be, nor ought to be any Magistrate. O, M. Harding, nothing could haue found fault heerewith, but only intemperate and mœre malice. For Luther speaketh not these words of the outward Ciuill Gouernment, whereof onely we speake now, but onely of our Inward Band, and Obedience towards God. And in this respect there is no King, nor Prince indeed, nor may be any. In this sense S. Paul saith: *There is no* Iew, *There is no* Gentile: *There is no* Lord, *there is no* Seruant: *There is no* Man, *there is no* Woman: *For all you are one in Christ Iesus.* S. Paul denieth not, but Iew, Gentile, Lord, Seruant, Man, and Woman, remaine still in their seuerall states and kinds as they were before. But in Christ Iesus, he saith, there is no regard of any such difference. In Ciuill Gouernment a King is a King, and so hath God commanded him to be known. But after that wee bee once come to the reuerence and obedience of Gods will, there God onely is the King: and the King, be he neuer so mighty, is but a Subiect. So saith S. Ambrose to the Emperour Valentinian: Noli te extollere, Imperator: Sed si vis diutiùs Imperare, esto Deo subditus. Scriptum est: Quæ Dei, Deo: quæ Cæsaris, Cæsari: *O my Lord, aduance not your selfe: But if ye will remaine long in Empire, be subiect vnto God. It is written,* Giue to God that belongeth to God: Giue to Cæsar that belongeth to Cæsar. Galat. 3. Coloss. 3. *Ambros. Lib.* 5 *Epist.* 33.

So saith the Emperour Valentinian the elder of himselfe: Ego sum in sorte plebis: I am (in this respect) as one of the people. To like purpose Iulius Cæsar, being an Heathen Prince, said sometime of himselfe at Rome in the Councell house: Equidem ad alia omnia quæ pro vobis gerenda sunt & Consul sum, & Dictator: quod autem ad iniuriam cuiquam faciendum attinet, sum priuatus: *Touching all other affaires that ought to be taken in hand for your sake, I am both your* Consull, *and your* Dictator: *But as touching any wrong to be done to any man, I am as a priuate man, without Office.* So said the Heathen Renegate Iulianus the Emperour: Principes vbi ad limen Deiubri venerint, perinde sunt atque priuati: *When the Princes and* Magistrates *once come within the entrie of the Temple, they are none other but as Priuate Men.* And this is all that traiterous and horrible Iudgement that, as it pleaseth you to say, Luther had of the Ciuill Magistrate. *Sozo. lib.* 6. *c.* 7. *Dion. lib* 43. ὡς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ πάντα μοι ἰδιώτης εἰμί. *Sozom. lib.* 5. *cap.* 15.

Where yee say, hee stirred vp his Disciple Thomas Munzer in Thuringia, to bee the Preacher to the Rebels, it is no strange matter to see your tongue run riot. Luther himselfe writing thereof vnto the Rebels, saith thus: Satanas sub Euangelij pretextu, multos hoc tempore seditiosos, & planè sanguinarios Doctores excitauit: Satan *vnder the* pretence of the Gospell, *hath stirred vp in these daies many seditious and Bloody Doctours:* Meaning thereby Munzer, and other like his companions. So farre was Luther from the encouraging of Munzer to that wicked purpose that he said, Hee was set a worke by the Diuell. *Iohan. Sleidan. Lib.* 5.

The Apology, Chap. 5. *Diuision* 2.

But whereas it is wont sometime to be obiected by persons wanting skil touching the Heluetians change of state, and killing of Leopoldus the Duke of Austria, and restoring by force their Country to liberty, all that was done, as appeareth plainely by all Stories, for two hundred and threescore yeeres past, or aboue, in the time of Pope Boniface the Eight, when the Authority of the Bishop of Rome was in greatest follity, about two hundred yeeres before Huldericus Zuinglius either began to teach the Gospell, or yet was borne. And euer sithence that time they haue had all things still and quiet, not only from forraine Enemies, but also from all ciuill dissention. And if it were a sinne in the Heluetians, to deliuer their own Countrey from forraine gouernment, specially when they were so proudly and tyrannously oppressed, yet to burden vs with other mens faults, or them with the faults of their Forefathers, it is against all right and reason.

M. Harding.

Now your spirit is not content with that ye haue railed already against the Pope & Holy Church, but it moueth you againe to raue and crie out. But whether with more malice, or reason, let vs indifferently consider.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision. 1.

BUt O immortall God: And wil the B. of Rome accuse vs of Treason? Will he teach the People to obey and follow their Magistrats? Or hath he any regard at all of the Maiesty of a Prince? Why doth hee then, as none of the old Bishops of Rome euer did, suffer himselfe to bee called of his flatterers, Lord of Lords, as though he would haue al Kings and Princes, who and whatsoeuer they be, to be his vnderlings? Why doth he vaunt himselfe to be King of Kings, and to haue Kingly Royalty ouer his Subiects? Why compelleth he al Emperours & Princes to sweare to him fealty, and true obedience? Why doth he boast, that the Emperors Maiesty is a thousand fold inferior to him: and that for this reason specially, because God hath made two lights in Heauen: and because Heauen and Earth were created, not in two Beginnings, but in one? Why hath he & his fellowes (like Anabaptists & Libertines, to the end they might run on more licentiously and carelesly) shaken off the yoke, and exempted themselues from being vnder a Ciuil Power? Why hath he his Legates (as much to say, as most suttle spies) lying in wait in all Kings Courts, Councels, and Priuie Chambers? Why doth he, when hee list, set the Christian Princes one against another, and at his own pleasure trouble the whole World with debate & discord? Why doth he Excommunicate, and command to be taken, as a Heathen & a Pagan, any Christian Prince that renounceth his Authority? And why promiseth he his Indulgences and his Pardons largely to any that will (what way soeuer it be) kil any of his enemies? Doth he maintaine Empires and Kingdomes? Or doth he once desire that common quiet should be prouided for? You must pardon vs, good Reader, though we seem to vtter these things more vtterly and bitingly then it becommeth Diuines to doe. For both the shamefulnesse of the matter, and also the desire of rule in the Bishop of Rome is so exceeding and outragious, that it could not well be vttered with other words, or more mildely. For he is not ashamed to say in open assembly, that all Iurisdiction of al the Kings and Princes of the world dependeth of himselfe. And to feed his ambition and greedinesse of rule, hee hath pulled in peeces the Empire of Rome, and vexed and rent whole Christendome asunder. Faithly & traiterously also did he release the Romans, the Italians, and himselfe too, of the oath whereby they and he were straitly bound to be true to the Emperour of Grecia, and stirred vp the same Emperours Subiects to forsake him: and calling Carolus Magnus out of France into Italy, made him Emperour: such a thing as neuer was seen before. He put Childericus the French King, being no euill Prince, beside his Realm only because he fancied him not, & wrongfully placed Pipin in his roome. Againe, after he had cast out King Phillip, if he could haue brought it to passe, he had determined and appointed the Kingdome of France to Albertus the King of Romans. He vtterly destroied the state of the most flourishing City and Common-weale of Florence his owne native Countrey, and brought it out of a free and peaceable state, to bee gouerned at the pleasure of one man: He brought to passe by his procurement, that whole Sauoy on the one side was miserably spoiled by the Emperour Charles the fifth: and on the other side by the French King, so that the poore vnfortunate Duke had scant one City left him to hide his head in.

Aug. Steuchus

Antonius de Rosellis.

De Maior. & Obed. Solita.

De Maior. & Obedien. Vnam Sanctam.

Clemens. 5. in Conc. Viennen.

Leo Papa. 3.

Zachar. Papa.

Clemen. 7.

Idem Clement.

M. Harding.

M. Harding

It is a great eie sore to the Ministers of Antichrist, to see the *Vicar of Christ aboue the Lords and Kings of this world: to see Princes and Emperours promise and sweare obedience vnto him.* But they that are the faithfull subiects of the Church of God, think it no absurditty, that the Shepheard be set, not only aboue the Lambs & Ewes of the Church, but also aboue the Wethers & Rams themselues. It is a very great folly for thē to find fault with the superioritie of the B. of Rome, who can neuer proue that he is not the Vicar of Christ. If he were not his Vicar, yet being a Bishop, he is aboue any temporal Prince (a) concerning his Priestly office. But sith Christ said to Peter, Vpon this Rocke I will build my Church, and Hell gates shall not preuaile against it, (b) *Barke vntill your bellies breake, ye that be the bellhounds of Luther & Zuinglius litour, or rather of Satans, your & their chiefe Master,* shal not preuaile against the Apostolike See of Peter. It hath withstanded al Diuels & Heretiks a thousand fiue hundred yeeres; and thinke ye that your selues be stronger then Arius? It grieueth you that the Pope is higher then the Emperour, not for any loue ye beare to the Emperour, nor for hatred that yee haue to the Popes person, whom yee know not, but your quarrel is against Christ, whose person the Pope beareth. Or tel vs, I pray you, doth he cal himselfe any Princes or Emperours vicegerent, and not rather the (c) Vicar of Christ alone: Whom impugne ye then but Christ in his Vicar? Haue ye not read, *Qui vos spernit, me spernit*: He that despiseth you, despiseth me? Ye thought the Pope had no better text for his primacie and supreme authoritie then two lights which God made in Heauen. But if malice had not blinded you, in the verie same chapter of Innocentius the third (frō whence like a spider ye sucked that ye thought was worst) ye might haue seen another reason going before, where he said, *Pontifex in spiritualibus antecellit, quæ tantò sunt temporalibus digniora, quantò anima præfertur corpori.* The Bishop (said Innocentius) in spirituall matters passeth the (Emperour) which spiritual things are so much aboue the temporal, by how much the soule is preferred aboue the Bodie. How like ye that reason? Within a little after Innocentius bringeth forth another proofe: Where it was said to Ieremy the Prophet, who came (d) of the Priests race, and was a Priest himselfe, (e) Behold I haue set thee ouer Nations and Kingdomes, to the intent thou maist pul vp, and scatter, and build, & plant.

Then after that Innocentius had (f) by naturall reason and holy Scripture proued the highest Bishops superiority aboue Princes, he cōmeth in the third place not now to proue, but to make his former saying, already proued, more plaine, by alluding to that is written in the beginning of Genesis: Where Moses declareth how God made two lights in the Firmament of Heauen, A greater and a lesser. But this cannot sound in the eares of our new Preachers. They would not haue the guide of Heauenly things aboue the guide of earthly cares. They loue the earth, the flesh, the world, too wel to be of that mind, & therfore do aske why the Popes of Rome, like Anabaptists and Libertines, haue shaken off the yoke, and exempted themselues from al ciuill Powei. What yoke meane ye? The yoke of Infidels and Painyms?

Matth. 16.

Luke 10.

Distinction. 96. Duo sunt.

Ierem. 1.

(a) So is euery Simple Priest.

(b) A little wit had been better then all this so great adoe.

(c) So he calleth himselfe. But when did Christ euer call him so?

(d) As if Ieremy had bin a Pope.

(e) A very profound Reason. Read the Answer.

(f) By Naturall Reason. O Naturall follie!

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

We are not the Ministers of Antichrist, **M. Harding, but the witnesses of the** Truth of Christ. **He is** Antichrist, **as** S. Paul **sheweth you,** that sitteth in the Temple of God, and aduanceth himselfe aboue all that is called God. **And to speake more particularly of the matter, by** S. Gregories **Iudgement, he is** Antichrist, **or the** Forerunner of Antichrist, **that calleth himselfe,** The Vniuersall Bishop: **and vaunteth himselfe as the** King of Pride: **And hath an** Army of Priests **prepared for him: And setteth himselfe, as** Lucifer, aboue al his Brethren. **These be the words of** *S.* Gregory: **By such colours hee blased out the Kingdome of** Antichrist. **Of him** Cardinall Franciscus Zabarella **saith thus:** Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita: & est plus quàm Deus: *The Pope doth* what him listeth, yea though it be vnlawfull: and is more then God. **This is** Antichrist, **M. Harding, by the Iudgement of the wise and godly: and the supporters of him, whosoeuer and wheresoeuer they be, are the** Ministers of Antichrist. **It is great Arrogancie to aduaunce a** Bishop **aboue a** King: **notwithstanding, in some good meaning it may be true. So a** Iudge, **in knowledge of the Law: so a** Doctor of Physicke, **in his profession: So a** Pilot, **in knowledge of the Sea, and guiding of a Ship: so a** Captaine, **in Martiall affaires is aboue any** King: **And it behoueth a** King **bee hee neuer so wise or mightie, in euery of these seuerall faculties to be guided by them. And thus is the** King **inferiour, not only to a** Bishop, **as you say, but also to euery** Inferiour Priest.

2. Thess. 2.

Gregor. Lib. 4. *Epist.* 80.

Gregor. Lib. 4. *Epist.* 82.

Francisc. Zabarella.

Pope aboue Kings and Emperors.

So S. Chrysostome saith **of Christs Apostles:** Omnem Terrarum Orbem peruaserunt, & omnibus Principibus fuerunt magis proprié Principes Regibus potentiores: *The Apostles roued ouer the whole world, and were more Princelike indeed then the Princes themselues, and more puissant and mighty then the Kings.*

Chrys. in Ps 44

So said the Emperour Valentinian **vnto the people of** Millaine: Eum collocate in pontificali Solio cui nos quoque moderatores Imperij nostra Capita submittamus: *Place yee such a man in the* Bishops Chaire, *vnto whom we our selues that gouerne the Empire* may stoop our Head.

Theodoret. lib. 4. *cap.* 5. ὑμεῖς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ θρόνου καθίσατε, ᾧ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοκράτορες ὑποκλινοῦμεν τὰς κεφαλάς

For the Prince is bound to the obedience of Gods Word **no lesse then if hee were a priuate Subiect. And if hee refuse to heare and reuerence the same, as the declaration of Gods Holy Will, he is accursed. But what is this, M. Harding to your purpose? Would you therefore, that the** King **should sweare his Obedience and allegeance vnto the** Bishop?

In this respect, by your owne learning, any Simple Priest may wel be aboue the Pope. So saith your owne Doctor Panormitane: Papa tenetur Confiteri: & in eo actu Sacerdos est maior illo: *The Pope is bound to Confesse himselfe: and in that act of Confession* the Priest is aboue him. And againe: Papa non potest cogere Sacerdotem, vt reuelet confessionem: quia in illo actu Sacerdos est Maior quàm Papa: *The Pope cannot compell a Priest to open that hath beene said vnto him in Confession.* For in that act the Priest is greater then the Pope. Yet, I trow, ye would not therefore the Pope should sweare Obedience to a Priest.

Extra. de Pœniten. & remiss. Omnis vtriusq; Abbas.

Pope aboue Kings and Emperors.

This therefore, M. Harding, it is that grieueth vs, to see the poore stoole of Humility, whereon S. Peter sate, blowne vp now into a Mount of Pride: and the Pope to require Homage and Fealtie of Kings and Emperours, as of his Subiects. It grieueth vs to see you, and others your fellowes, in respect of the Pope, so much not onely to abase, but also vilely to abuse the Maiesty of them vnto whom Christ and his Apostles were alwaies obedient. Remember what one of yours hath written and published to the world in this behalfe. Stanislaus Orichouius saith thus: Tantum Sacerdos præstat Regi, quantum homo præstat bestiæ: Quantum Deus præstat Sacerdoti, tantum Sacerdos præstat Regi: Qui Regem anteponit Sacerdoti, is anteponit Creaturam Creatori: A Priest *is so much aboue a* King, *as a Man is aboue a Beast: As much as God is better then the* Priest, *so much is the* Priest *better then the* King. *He that setteth the* King *before a* Priest, *setteth the Creature before the Creator.*

Stanislaus Orichouius in Chimera, Fol. 97.

It grieueth vs to see S. Gregories words by S. Gregories Successors so proudly broken. For thus he wrote welneere a thousand yeres sithence, vnto the Emperour Mauritius, against Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople, claiming then the same Vniuersall Authority that is now vsurped by the Pope: Ille coercendus est, qui Sanctæ Vniuersali Ecclesiæ iniuriam facit: qui corde tumet: qui gaudere de nomine Singularitatis appetit: qui honori quoque Imperij vestri se per priuatum vocabulum superponit: *Your Maiesty must represse him that doth this wrong vnto the Holie Vniuersall Church: that swelleth in heart: that desireth to enioy a* name of Singularity: that also by a Priuate Title (calling himselfe the Vniuersall Bishop) placeth himselfe ouer and aboue the Honour of your Empire.

Gregor. Lib. 4. Epist. 32.

Touching the knowledge of Gods Word, and cases of Religion, certaine it is, the King is inferiour to a Bishop. But if the Bishop be negligent, and doe not his office: or if he be wilfull, and doe it not rightly: or if he be ignorant, and cannot doe it; then is the Bishop vnder the Prince, subiect to his checke, and by him may be punished. So writeth the Emperour Constantinus vnto the people of Nicomedia: Si quis Episcoporum inconsultè tumultuatus sit, Ministri Dei, hoc est, mea executione, illius audacia coercebitur: *If any Bishop vnaduisedly worke trouble, his boldnesse shall be represſed by the Order of* Gods Minister, that is to say, by my execution. Therefore S. Paul saith: *Let euery Soule be subiect to the Higher Powers.* Whereunto S. Chrysostome addeth these words: Etiamsi Apostolus sit, etiamsi Euangelista, Etiamsi Propheta, siue quisquis tandem fueris. Neque enim Pietatem subuertit ista subiectio: *Although thou be an* Apostle, *although thou be an* Euangelist, *although thou be a* Prophet, *or what one soeuer thou be,* (yet be thou subiect to the higher Powers.) *For Godlinesse is not hindered by such subiection.*

Theodoret. lib. 1. cap. 19.

Roman. 13.

Chrys. ad Rom. Homil. 32.

Your quarrel (ye say) is against Christ: For his person the Pope beareth. Haue yee not read, He that despiseth you, despiseth me? Tell vs, I pray you, (say you) doth the Pope call himselfe any Princes or Emperours Vicegerent, and not rather the Vicar of Christ alone?

It forceth not greatly by what title the Pope list to claime. Hee cannot lightly want Authoritie, while he may pen his owne Commission. I trow, we may say of him, as Cicero said sometime of one in Rome: Asinius Senator Voluntarius: Lectus ipse à se: Asinius is a very willing Senatour, himselfe appointed and chosen by himselfe. Verily Antichrist shall sit in the Temple of God, euen in the place of Christ, and shall beare himselfe as Christs Vicar.

2. Thess. 2.

Howbeit, let the Pope doe the dutie of a Bishop: let him Exhort: let him Preach: let him Dispense Gods Mysteries: let him fulfill his Office: let him doe the part of an Euangelist: and we will loue him, and reuerence him, although not as Christs Vicar Generall, yet at least as a Bishop. Otherwise wee must say vnto him as S. Gregorie said sometime to Cyriacus the Bishop of Constantinople: Omnes Magnos esse & Honorabiles cupio, quorum tamen Honor Honori Omnipotentis Dei non detrahat. Nam quisquis se contra Deum Honorari appetit, mihi Honorabilis non est: *I wish that all men should bee Great and Honourable so that their Honour be not preiudiciall to the Honour of Almighty God. For whosoeuer shall desire himselfe to be Honoured against God, shall not be Honourable vnto me.*

Gregor Lib. 6. Epist. 28.

One high and worthy reason we alleged out of your Pope Innocentius the Third: The Sunne is higher and greater then the Moone: *Ergo,* The Pope is higher and greater then

De Maior. & Obed. Solita.

the

the Emperour. This Pope Innocentius is he, that ſaid, Either he would loſe his Miter, or elſe he would pull the Emperour Philips Imperiall Crowne from his head. *Carion. in Innocen* 3.

Malice (ye ſay) blinded vs: otherwiſe we might haue ſeene other his more ſubſtantiall, and better reaſons. So were it needfull, M. Harding: for certainly this reaſon is very ſimple. But the beſt of his Reaſons ye can finde, is this:

Pope aboue Kings and Emperors.

The Soule is aboue the Body.

Ergo, The Pope is aboue the Emperour.

And how like you this Reaſon? ſay you. Verily, as a reaſon without ſenſe, or Reaſon: ſuch as be many of your making. By the like Reaſon you may ſay:

The Cooke is alwaies about the Fire:

The Fire is the higheſt of all Elements:

Ergo, Of all Sciences the Cookes occupation is the higheſt.

By the ſame reaſon ye may proue, that the higheſt Emperour, is ſubiect not onely to the Pope, but alſo to euery Simple Prieſt. Yea further, of the ſame Reaſon there muſt néeds follow a great inconuenience: that the Pope himſelfe, foraſmuch as hee Miniſtreth Sacraments, teacheth, exhorteth and occupieth himſelfe in Spirituall affaires leſt of all others, is therefore the loweſt, and baſeſt of all his Clergy.

Now M. Harding, I beſeech you, conſider the weight, and drift of your owne Reaſon.

The Popes charge is Spirituall, ſay you.

Ergo, The Emperour is bound to ſweare obedience to the Pope. By what Reaſon may this Reaſon be proued? Verily by the ſame good Reaſon ye may ſay:

Euery Prieſts charge is Spirituall.

Ergo, The King is bound to ſweare obedience to euery Prieſt. Yet by ſuch proper Reaſons the Pope hath aduanced himſelfe aboue all the States and Princes of the World.

But your holy Father Innocentius, leſt he ſhould ſéeme to want Scriptures, for proofe heereof, alleageth alſo the words of God ſpoken vnto the Prophet Hieremy: *Behold I haue ſet thee ouer Nations and Kingdomes, to the intent, that thou maiſt pull downe, and ſcatter, and build, and plant.* Ergo, he ſaith, *the* Emperour *is ſubiect vnto the Pope.* Theſe proofes (ye ſay) our Defenders could not finde. Further ye ſay, in your ſober maner: When will you forſake the Schoole of lying: Truly, if there bee any ſuch Schoole, M. Harding, you may claime of good right to be the Maſter. We are as farre from lying as you are from ſaying the truth. But what make theſe words of Hieremie, for the Biſhop of Rome? Will ye ſay, that the Prophet Hieremie was the Pope? Or that the King then was ſworne to be ſubiect and loiall vnto him? What King or Prince did Hieremy ſubdue? What People or Countrey did he euer ouerthrow? One of your owne Doctours ſaith: Hieremias nullum Regem depoſuit. Sed intelligitur poſitus ſupra Gentes & Regna, quaſi habens authoritatem ſuper ea in annunciando & predicando Vera. Non de deſtructione Regum mundi, ſed de deſtructione Vitiorum, & plantatione Fidei & morum. Vt illud Pauli, Dei ædificatio eſtis: Dei Agricultura eſtis: Hieremy *depoſed no* King. *But we vnderſtand, that he was placed ouer Nations and Kingdomes, as hauing authority ouer the ſame in opening and preaching of the Truth. He ſpeaketh not of the ouerthrowing of the kingdomes of the World, but of the ouerthrowing of Vices, and of the planting of Faith and maners. In this ſenſe* S. Paul *ſaith to the* Corinthians. Ye are Gods building: ye are Gods tillage. Hierom. 1. *Ioh. de Pariſijs, cap.* 15. 1. Cor. 3.

The very Gloſſe it ſelfe ſaith: Vt euellas Regnum Satanæ: vt plantes bona: vt ædifices Eccleſiam: *I haue placed thee to roote vp* (not the Kingdomes of the World, nor the ſtates of Common Weales but) *the Kingdome of Satan: to plant good things: to build vp the Church.* His whole Commiſſion was limited with theſe words: Poſui Verbum meum in Ore tuo: *I haue put my word in thy Mouth*, ſaith the Lord. Hierem. 1.

Such authority had Elias ouer King Achab: And therefore he ſaid vnto him: *It is not I that trouble Iſraell, but thou, and thy Fathers houſe.* Such authority had Iohn Baptiſt ouer King Herod: and therefore he ſaid vnto him: *It is not lawfull for thee, to haue thy Brothers Wife.* 3. Reg. 18.

If it be true, that ye would ſéeme to ſay, that the Popes Superiority ſtandeth onely in things Spirituall, wherefore then doth Pope Nicolas ſay, Chriſtus Beato Petro Terreni ſimul & Cœleſtis imperij Iura commiſit: Chriſt *hath giuen to bleſſed* Peter, *the right as wel of the worldly, as alſo of the Heauenly Empire?* Wherefore then did Pope Adrian thus write vnto the Emperor Fredericus: Romę noſtra Sedes eſt: Imperatoris eſt Aquis in Arduenna, quæ eſt Sylua Galliæ. Imperator, quod habet, totum habet a nobis, Sicut Zacharias tranſtulit Imperium a Græcis ad Teutonicos: ita nos poſſumus illud transferre ab Alemannis ad Græcos. Ecce in poteſtate noſtra eſt, vt demus illud cui volumus. Propterea conſtituti ſumus *Diſt.* 22. *Mediolanenſis. Auentinus in Adrian.* 4. *Anno* 1154.

sumus à Deo super Gentes & Regna, vt destruamus, & euellamus, & ædificemus, & plantemus: *My Seat is in the City of Rome. The* Emperours *Seat is at* Acon *in* Ardenne, *which is a Forrest in France.* Whatsoeuer the Emperour hath, he hath it of vs. *As* Pope Zacharias *translated the Empire from* Græcia *into* Germany, *so may we againe translate the same frō the Germans to the Greekes. Behold, it is in our power to bestow the Empire vpon whom wee list. Therefore are we appointed by God ouer Nations and Kingdomes, to pull down, to root vp, to build and to plant againe.* This authority, I trow, reacheth somewhat further then only to causes Spirituall. One of your owne Doctors saith: Magis esset acceptum Deo, quòd per Solum Pontificem Mundus in omnibus regeretur: *It were more acceptable vnto God, that the world in all matters* (both Spirituall and Temporall) *were gouerned only by the Pope.*

Ioh. de Parisijs, cap. 12. That Innocentius addeth of the Sun and the Moone (ye say) is not a Reason, but a Similitude. This thing may easily be granted. For indeed it is a Similitude vtterly voide of either Wit, or Reason. But who taught the Pope so childishly to play with Similitudes, thereby to aduance himselfe, and to abase the Empire of the World? Who told him, that the Pope is the Sunne, and the Emperour the Moone? Or, that the Emperour is so farre inferiour to the Pope, as the Moone is inferiour to the Sunne? Isidorus liued fiue hundred yeeres before Pope Innocentius, saith quite contrary: Per Solem intelligitur Regnum, & per Lunam intelligitur Sacerdotium: By the Sunne we vnderstand the Kingdome: and by the Moone we vnderstand the Priesthood. Whereby he giueth vs to consider, contrary to the iudgement of your good Father Pope Innocentius, that, as the Moone is inferiour to the Sunne, so is the Pope inferiour to the Emperour.

In Gloss. in Gene. cap. 1.

Ioh. de Parisijs, cap. 15.

M. Harding.

* Vntruth, fond and peeuish. For Sylvester was dead long before Constantinus was Christened.

* Vntruth, too vaine for a child Why should M. Har. be so vain? There is not one true word in all this tale.

But when Constantine was Baptized he gaue place to * S. Sylvester then Bishop of Rome, and to all other Successors of S. Peter. O how that irketh your hearts, that so great an Emperor, and the first that openly professed Christianity, should by the same holy Ghost, who called him to the Faith of Christ, be made to * depart from that Citie, which ruled the world, and to yeeld his owne Palace partly a Church to our Sauiour Christ, partly a dwelling house for the Bishops of Rome? Aske of Constantine, why he submitted his necke to S. Sylvester. We haue cause to thinke that Constantius the Heretike, sonne of Constantine, was not very glad of his Fathers doing. And yet God suffered him not to returne & dwell at Rome, but to leaue that Citie free to the Rulers of the Church.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Constantine (ye say) gaue ouer the Citie of Rome, and all the West part of the Empire to the Pope, and to his Successors for euer. And this thing (ye say) irketh our hearts full sore. Yea verily, M. Harding, it irketh vs much in your behalfe, to see you, a man of Wisdome and Learning, to warrant such follies without blushing. This whole Donation of Constantine, whereupon ye build the Popes whole kingdome, hath not shew sufficient to mocke a child. The effect and sense thereof is this, that Constantinus the Emperour, the third day after he was Christened in the honour of S. Peter willingly left all the West part of the Empire, and departed to Bizantium, which is now called Constantinople, to dwell in the East: and that he gaue the whole Emperiall and Ciuill Dominion, not only of the City of Rome, but also of Italie, France, Spaine, Arragone, Portugall, England, Germany, Scotland, Ireland, Poole, Denmarke, Sueden, and Hungarie to the Pope. This doubtlesse being true, had beene a lolly, liberall, and a Princely gift. And one of your friends saith: Volunt aliqui, quòd ratione huius Doni, Summus Pontifex Imperator est: & quòd potest instituere & destituere Reges, sicut Imperator: *Some say, that by meane of this gift the* Pope is an Emperour, *and may set vp, and pull downe Kings, as an Emperour.*

The Donation of Constantine.

Ioh. de Parisijs, cap. 22.

But Pius Secundus being himselfe afterward Bishop of Rome, saith: Dicta Pallea, Constantinus, falsa est: *The said Decree* (named Constantinus, containing Constantine the Emperours Donation, or Charter) *is vtterly false.* So saith Antoninus the Archbishop of Florence, Valla, Volaterane, Hieronymus, Cathalanus, Otho Frisingensis, and others moe. Of this Fable we shall haue occasion to speake hereafter. Here, M. Harding, the Pope himselfe telleth you, that you maintaine his Vanity by a False Decree.

Pius in Dialog. fol. 21.

Constantius the Heretike, son vnto Constantinus, as you say, much misliked his Fathers doing. Nay, M. Harding, if Constantius were aliue, he would rather finde fault in your discretion, that report such Follies of his Fathers doings. Where ye say, God suffered him not to returne, and to dwell in Rome, it passeth the depth of your Diuinity to search vp the causes and secrets of Gods sufferance. Although Constantius being encumbred with dangerous warres, and great affaires, were forced to stay in other Countries, and could not haue leasure to returne to Rome, yet he still continued the Lord of Rome, as also did a great number of other Emperours that followed after him. Therefore Pope Bonifacius thus wrote vnto the Emperour Honorius: Roma est Vrbs vestræ manſuetudinis: Rome is your Maiesties City. Likewise Pope Agatho writeth vnto the

Dist. 97. Eccle.

the Emperour Conſtantinus: Hæc eſt Vrbs Seruilis Maieſtatis veſtræ: This is your Maieſties bond Citie. And Conſtantinus the Emperour himſelfe ſaith: Dono Archiepiſcopo Antiquæ noſtræ Romæ: *To* Donus *the Archbiſhop* of our City of old Rome. But what need moe words? The caſe is ſo cleere, that no man of learning can call it in queſtion. *In ſexta. Synod Conſtan. Act.* 4. *In eadem Synodo, Actione,* 1.

Briefly touching this fond fable of Conſtantines Donation, Cardinall Cuſanus ſaith thus: Donationem diligenter expendens, reperi in ipſamet Scriptura manifeſta argumenta Confictionis & Falſitatis: *Diligently weighing the* Donation of Conſtantine, *I haue found in the very penning thereof* manifeſt arguments of forging and falſhood. Theſe, M. Harding, be the Records and Preſidents of moſt certaine and moſt ancient memorie, that ye would haue publiſhed vnto the world. By ſuch monuments your Pope claimeth the right and poſſeſſion of the Empire. And your friends maruel, that ye can defend ſuch falſhood and forgery, ſo well knowne and ſo manifeſt, for very ſhame. *Nicol. Cuſan. De Donatione Conſtantini.*

M. Harding.

Legates.

The being of the Popes Legates and Ambaſſadours in Princes Courts, is a thing no leſſe conuenient, then it is meet for him, that hath cure of many flockes of ſheepe, to ſet his ſeruants as watch-men in euery part, where ſuch flockes doe feed.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

In what ſtead theſe Legates ſtand the Church of God, it may appeare by theſe few vttered therof by Camotenſis: Legati Papæ ita debacchantur in Prouincijs, ac ſi ad flagellandum Eccleſiam Satan egreſſus eſſet à facie Domini: *The* Popes Legates *doe ſo rage in all Countries, as if Satan were gone out before the face of God, to ſcourge the Church.* And Machiauel ſaith: There haue béene few warres or commotions enflamed theſe many late yeers but by the meane and whiſpering of theſe Legates. What other Doctrine they teach, or what other good they doe, it were hard to ſay. And therefore the Fathers in the Councel of Aphrica refuſed vtterly, to haue any ſuch Legates ſent amongſt them: For thus they write vnto the Pope: Vt aliqui, tanquam à tuæ Sanctitatis latere, mittantur: nulla inuenimus Patrum Synodo conſtitutum: *That any* Legates *ſhould be ſent vntous, as from your Holineſſe ſide, we finde it not appointed by any* Councel *of our Fathers.* Againe they ſay: Executores Clericos veſtros quibuſq; Petentibus nolite mittere: ne fumoſum ſæculi typhum in Eccleſiam Chriſti videamur inducere: *Send not your* Clerkes (or Cardinals) *to put matters in execution at any mans requeſt: leſt we ſeeme to bring the* ſmokie pride of the world *into the Church of Chriſt.* *Citatur ab Agrippa. de vanit. Scientiar. Nicol. Machiuel in hiſtoria* *Concil. Aphrica. cap.* 105.

Pardons.

Math. 16. * His indulgences and pardons depend vpon the power of Binding and Looſing, which Chriſt gaue to Peter and his Succeſſours. Yee muſt demand of Chriſt, * why hee gaue that power, and not be angrie with his Vicar for vſing the ſame.

* Vntruth. For they depend of the deceitfulnes of man, and not of the power of God.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

O, M. Harding, what ſhould you meane with all theſe Vanities? Are ye ſo fully bent, to grant no kinde of errour, neither in your Purgatories, nor in your Pardons, nor in your Stewes? God giue you Humility of heart: leſt yée bée an vnfit veſſell to receiue Gods Pardon.

* Vntruth. For Chriſt neuer gaue the Pope power to deale Pardons.

M. Harding.

Yee finde fault with Leo the third for making an Emperour in the weſt: I dare ſay, it grieueth you. * For if there had beene none in the Weſt, the Turke might haue beene our Emperour ere this, and to his Barbarous and wicked tyranny might haue ſubdued this part of the world, ſpecially Germany, as he hath ſubdued Greece, Aſia, Egypt, Syria, and all the Eaſt Church. Againſt which michiefe the Vicar of Chriſt by his Maſters mercifull warning with the Princes of the Weſt made prouiſion, and at the length planted the Empire in this Order we ſee it now in.

*Vntruth, ioined with open folly. For this was the onely way to ſtrengthen the Saracens.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

This policie practiſed by the Pope loſed the whole power of Chriſtendome. For as the Empire before being vnited and ioined in one, was ſtrong and mighty, ſo being afterward diuided into two, and the Eaſt part being ſundred from the Weſt, it became lame, and weake, and not able to helpe it ſelfe. By meane whereof a gate was opened to receiue the Turke into all theſe Chriſtian Dominions, which now he holdeth, without reſiſtance: who otherwiſe, the Empire being one, and whole in it ſelfe, as it was before, could neuer haue

haue growne to such power. Al this was wrought by the practise and policie of the Pope. Notwithstanding, the Pope himselfe by this bargaine lost nothing. Thereof Marsilius Patauinus writeth thus: Pipinus, Sonne vnto Charles the French King, after he had conquered Aristulphus the King of Lumbardy, tooke Rauenna, and all the fiue Cities of Romondiola, together with the Emperours Lieutenants Territorie, called Exarchatus, and gaue all the same to the Pope. Pope Stenen finding himselfe well contented with these benefits, and seeing the weakenesse of the Greeke Emperour, procured that the Empire should be translated from the Greekes vnto the French, hauing vtterly forgotten the benefits that he had receiued of the Emperour: to the intent, that the Greekes, being vtterly oppressed, and the French little caring for these things, he alone might rule in Italy at his pleasure.

Marsilius. tauinus.

The very true cause of the diuision of the Empire.

Touching Pope Leo the Third, whose prouidence and policy ye so much commend, the true report of the Story is this: The said Leo, being by violence depriued of his Bishopricke in Rome, fled for aide to Charles the French King, and by him was restored. In consideration of which benefit, he proclaimed Charles the Emperor of the West. Sithence which time, the Empire of Christendome hath been diuided and weakened: the Pope enriched: and the Saracens and Turkes aboue all measure increased.

Plat. in Leo. 3.

M. Harding.

If the Pope Zacharias deposed Childerike (for so I finde him more commonly named) the King of France, only vpon his owne pleasure or displeasure, as ye say, and placed Pipine for him, can ye tel that storie and not see what a strength of authority is in that See, which is able with a word to place and displace the mightiest King in Europe? With a word, I say, for I am sure ye can shew vs of no Army, that he sent to execute that his will. Is that the power of a man, trow ye, to appoint Kingdomes? Can the Diuell himselfe at his pleasure set vp and depose Kings? No surely. (a) And much lesse can any member of his doe the same. Remember ye what Christ said when the Iewes obiected, that he cast out Diuels in the name of the Prince of Diuels? (b) Beware ye sinne not against the holy Ghost, who confesse that the Pope hath pulled downe and set vp Kings. Which thing vndoubtedly he could not doe profitably and peaceably, but by the great power of God. And yet did that line of Pipine & Charles the Great, which the Pope did set vp, (c) flourish aboue any other stocke, that ye can name since the inclination of the Roman Empire. Which in that transposed state of so great a kingdome, maketh no obscure argument of Heauenly approbation and Diuine prouidence.

(a) Vntruth. For S. Gregory saith, *Antichristus ipsas summas huius Seculi Potestates obtinebit.*

(b) A new Sinne against the holy Ghost.

(c) Vntruth, easy to be seen. Read the Answer.

Neither did the Pope Zacharias depose Childerick, because he fansied him not, as ye slander, but only consented to loose his Subiects from bond of Oath made to him, at the generall and most earnest request and sute of the Nobility and Communalty of the whole Realme of France, finding him very vnprofitable & vnmeete for the Kingdome, as one, who being of no wit, and therefore commonly named *Stupidus*, as much to say, a dolt, was altogether besides like a *Sardanapalus*, giuen wholly to belly cheere, and to filthy loue of women. Therefore in your owne words ye confesse a (d) Diuine power in the Pope, as by whom God directeth the wils of faithful Princes on the earth. The more such examples ye bring, the worse ye make your cause. I would hire you to ease me of the labour of prouing such a notable fact.

(d) A Diuine Power in the Pope.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Pope Zacharias deposed Childericus, as you call him, or as some others call him Chilpericus, the French King. Therefore ye say, we must needs acknowledge a Diuine power in the Pope. seeing him able, by his word to place and displace the mightiest King in Europe. For can the Diuell (say you) at his pleasure set vp, and depose Kings?

Ioh. 12. 14. 16

Verily, M. Harding, Christ himselfe calleth the Diuell the *Prince of this World*: and therefore we may imagine, he may doe somewhat in the World. And the Diuell if ye will beleeue his word, when he had set Christ on high vpon a mount, and shewed him all the kingdomes of the world, he said vnto him, *All these things will I giue thee, if thou wilt fall downe and worship me.* This is that power, that S. Iohn saith, should be giuen to Antichrist:

Matth. 4.

Apoc. 17.

Reges terræ vires & potestatem suam tradent Bestiæ: &c. vt consentiant, denique Regnum suum Bestiæ, donec compleantur verba Dei: *The Kings of the earth shall giue their strength and power vnto the Beast, &c. that they may agree together, and giue their kingdome vnto the Beast vntil the words of God be fulfilled.* Againe he saith:

In eodem cap.

Mulier ea, quam vidisti, est Vrbs illa magna, quæ habet Regnum super Reges terræ: *The woman that thou sawest, is that great Citie, that hath a kingdome ouer the Kings of the World.* And againe he saith:

Apoc. 13.

Data est illi potestas in omnem Tribum & Gentem, & adorabunt eam (Bestiam) omnes incolæ terræ, quorum nomina non sunt scripta in Libro Vitæ Agni: *Power is giuen vnto that Beast ouer euery Tribe and Language, and Nation: and all the dwellers of the Earth shall worship the same Beast,* (which is Antichrist) *whose names bee not written in the Lambis Booke of Life.*

Aug. in Psal. 9.

S. Augustine saith: Quia Antichristus ad tantũ culmen inanis gloriæ venturus creditur, tanta ei licebit facere, & in omnes homines, & in Sanctos Dei, vt nonnulli infirmi arbitrentur,

tur, Deum res humanas negligere: *For that wee beleeue that* Antichrist *shall come vnto such a height of vaine glory, it shall be lawfull for him to doe such things, both towards all men,* (Princes and others) *and also towards the Saints of God, that many weake men shall thinke, God hath forsaken the care of the World.* Againe he saith: Ira traditur de Antichristo, quòd omnes Reges superaturus sit, & solus Regnum obtenturus: *Thus it is written of* Antichrist, that hee shall conquer all Kings, and obtaine the Kingdome himselfe alone.

Deposing of Kings.

Aug. in eundem Psalm

So saith S. Gregory: Antichristus veniens ipsas etiam summas huius sæculi Potestates obtinebit: Antichrist, *when he shall come, shall conquer the highest Estates and Powers of this World.*

Greg. in Iob ca. 41. li. 33. ca. 22

And all this shall come to passe, as Chrysostome saith, by the dissolution of the Empire, whereof we haue spoken before. These be his words: Donec Imperij illius timor fuerit, nemo Antichristo statim subdetur. Quando verò istud imperium destructum fuerit, vacantem Imperij Principatum inuadet, & tentabit ad se rapere & Hominum, & Dei Imperium: *As long as the Empire shall be had in awe, no man shall straightway submit himselfe to* Antichrist: *But after that* the Empire shall be dissolued, Antichrist *shall inuade the state of the Empire standing void: and shall labour to pull vnto himselfe the Empire both of Man and God.*

Chrysost. in 2. Thess. 2 hom. 4.

This, I trow it is, that the Pope proclaimeth himselfe the Heire Apparent of all Kingdomes: This it is, that Pope Nicolas saith: Christus Beato Petro, Æternæ Vitæ Clauigero Terrarum simul, & Cœlestis Imperij iura commisit: Christ *hath committed vnto* blessed Peter, *the Key-bearer of euerlasting life, the right both of the Worldly, and also of the Heauenly Empire:* This is it, that some are so bold to say, Papa totius Mundi obtinet Principatum: *The Pope hath the Princehood of all the whole World.* And that some others haue said: Papa est Rex Regum, & Dominus Dominantium: *The Pope is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.* And, that Pope Adrian saith of himselfe, as it is alleged before: Imperator quod habet, totum habet à nobis. Ecce in potestate nostra est, vt demus Imperium, cui volumus: *Whatsoeuer the Emperour hath, he hath it of vs. It is in our power to bestow the Empire vpon whom we list.* This, M. Harding, is that Diuine Power, that, as you say, is giuen to the Pope. But as S. Iohn, S. Augustine, S. Chrysostome, and S. Gregory say, the selfe same Diuine Power is giuen also to Antichrist. And therefore it is well noted in your owne Glosse: Papa stupor Mundi: The Pope is the wonderment of the World: that is to say, the Pope maketh all the world fooles.

Clem. lib. 2. De appellation. pastoralis. Distm. 22. Omnes. In Sexto. lib. 3. Ti. 16. de stat. Regularium. Antonius de Rosellis. Auentinus in Adriano. 4.

Clem. in procemio. In Glossa.

But if it seeme so great a matter, for a Pope to depose a King, I doubt not, but ye may well remember, that Emperours sometimes haue deposed Popes. The Emperour Constantius (an Arian, I grant, but yet an Emperour) deposed Pope Liberius: and afterward restoring Liberius deposed Pope Fœlix. The Emperour Otho the First deposed Pope Iohn the Thirteenth. The Emperour Iustinian deposed two Popes in order: first, Pope Syluerius, and afterward Pope Vigilius. And all this did they without leuying of armie, without raising of power, without disquiet or trouble of the people. And a Doctour of your owne seeming fully to determine the matter by a like case, saith thus: Imperator requisitus a Cardinalibus, debet procedere contra Papam: *The* Emperour *being required by the Cardinals, is bound to proceed* (to Depriuation) *against the* Pope. Another saith thus: Si quando Imperialis Legatus mitteretur a Principe vt Romanus Pontifex proficisceretur Constantinopolim ad Imperatorem, omni neglecta occasione, ibat etiamsi pro certo sciret, se iturum in exilium: *If at any time the Emperours Embassadour had beene sent from his Prince to will the Pope to come to* Constantinople, *to the* Emperour, *all occasions set apart hee went straight way, notwithstanding he certainely knew, he should bee banished.* Vrspergensis saith: Henricus Rex Italiam ingressus, tres Papas indignè constitutos Synodaliter deposuit: Henry *the Emperour comming into* Italy, *deposed three Popes vnlawfully made, by order of Synod.*

Platina in Liberio. 2. Tomo. Concil. in Vita Syluerij & Vigilij. Ioh. de Parisijs. cap. 14. Appendix Entropij, in Syluerio.

Vrsperg. Anno 1045.

Now, M. Harding, if you, with your Rhetoricall furniture, may cry out, O what a Diuine Power had the Pope, that thus could depose a King! why may not we likewise say, *O what a Diuine Power had the Emperour, that thus could depose so many Popes.*

But that ye may the better set this wonderfull Diuinity and Heauenly Power, wherewith ye would so faine enseafe the Pope, a Witnesse of your owne saith thus: Quòd dicitur, Papam deposuisse Regem Francorum, & loco eius instituisse Pipinum, Glossa ordinaria exponit, Deposuit, id est, deponentibus consensit. Non enim legitur, quòd Papa Zacharias Regem Franciæ deposuerit: *Whereas it is said, that the* Pope *deposed the French King, and placed* Pipinus *in his roome,* The Ordinary Glosse *expounded it thus: He deposed him, that is to say, He consented to them, that did depose him. For we read not that* Pope Zacharias *indeed euer deposed the French King.*

Ioh. de Parisijs, cap. 15.

The truth of the Story is this: Forasmuch as Chilpericus the King seemed void of Princely

Deposing of Kings.

Princely grauity, and had giuen himſelfe ouer to pleaſure and wantonneſſe, and Pipinus his Lord Marſhall, a man full of wiſdome and actiuity, had the gouernment and burthen of al the Realm, the Nobles of France hauing agreed among themſelues, to depoſe the one and to ſet vp the other, ſent vnto Pope Zachary as vnto a wiſe man, to haue his anſwer to this queſtion: Whether were meeter to be King, Hee that carried only the name, and did nothing: Or, he that bare the burthen of the whole? The Pope was ſone perſwaded to giue Sentence with Pipinus the Lord Marſhall, againſt the King. Whereupon the King was ſhorne into an Abbie, and made a Monke: Pipinus aduanced vnto the ſtate, gaue the Pope the Exarchate or Princehood of Rauenna, in part of recompenſe for his good will.

Paulus Aemilius lib. 2. Gaguinus.

Whether the King hauing nine yéeres ruled his Realme, were afterward depriued by right or by wrong, I will not reaſon. Faſciculus Temporum ſaith, *The Kingdome was remooued from the right Heires.*

The line of King Pipine endured and flouriſhed a long while: And that (ye ſay) was no obſcure argument of Heauenly Approbation, and Diuine Prouidence. By ſuch Approbation and Prouidence, the Turke may claime. For he hath both longer continued, and much more flouriſhed and encreaſed his eſtate, then euer did the houſe of Pipine. But Cato was wont to ſay, Multum eſt Caliginis in rebus Diuinis: *There is great Darkeneſſe in Godmatters.*

Plutarch in Catone Vticen.

Yet leſt any man of ignorance happen héerein to be deceiued, this was the very true deſcent and flouriſhing Fortune of king Pipins race.

Benuenutus Imolenſis in Auguſtali.

The firſt thereof was Charles the great: In his time, ſaith Benuenutus Imolenſis, Laceratum eſt Imperium: *The ſtate of the Empire was torne in ſunder.*

Paulus Aemilius lib. 3.

The ſecond was Ludouicus pius: Againſt him his owne Sonne Lotharius aroſe, and cauſed him to be ſhorne as a Monke, and to be thruſt into an Abbie, and his owne Mother the Empreſſe to be made a Nunne.

The Third was Lotharius: Hée oppreſſed his owne Brethren by violence, and afterward was depoſed and made a Monke.

The Fourth was Ludouicus 2. Hée was vnfortunate in al his doings: and was ſhamefully conquered by his Brother.

The Fifth was Ludouicus 3. Whom for his doughty deeds they commonly call Ludouicus nihili: which is as much to ſay, as Lewis Nobody.

Paulus Aemil. in Chronic.

The Sixth was Carolus Secundus, named Caluus, as Benuenutus ſaith: Vir lepore timidior: *A man more fearefull, and more cowardly, then a Hare.* Hee was ſhortly ſlaine with poiſon.

The Seauenth was Carolus 3. as Benuenutus ſaith: Vir deficiens & Animo, & Corpore: *Amas wanting both ſtrength of Body and wiſdome of Minde:* that is to ſay, both a Coward and a Foole.

The Eight was Arnulphus: Hee was eaten vp with Lice.

Benuenutus Imolen. in Auguſtali. Nihilo fœlicior. Patre in eo defecit Imperium in gente Carolorum.

The Ninth was Ludouicus 4. by the report of Benuenutus, a man of no better Fortune, then his Father. In him that houſe had an end. This is that Noble Pipines Race, M. Harding, that could not ſo ſtand and flouriſh, as you ſay, without ſpeciall Heauenly Approbation and Diuine Prouidence.

M. Harding.

Concerning that ye ſay of King Philip ſurnamed le Bel, if we may beleeue Paulus Æmilius the beſt Writer of the French Chronicles, the cauſe was ſuch between Pope Bonifacius, and that King, that if he did not only excommunicate him, but alſo offered gift of his Kingdome to Albert the Emperour, as Platina your Authour heerin writeth: he may ſeeme therein to haue done (a) not altogether ſo euil as ye pretend. For, as both Æmilius and Platina doe witneſſe, the cauſe of their falling out was, that whereas the Pope being firſt ſued vnto by Caſſanus a Chriſtian Prince, and a great Conquerour in the Eaſt, to ioine with him for the recouery of the holy land, ſent the Biſhop of Apamea to the French King for his neceſſary aid in that ſo common a quarrell of all Chriſtendome, he being offended, either that the ſute was not firſt made to him, either for that the ſaid Biſhop had done his Embaſſage with ſhew of more authority, then the King thought it became him, or vpon ſome priuate grudge, did not only vtterly refuſe to ſend any helpe toward the voiage, but alſo contemptuouſly beſide common order, and cruelly committed the Popes Legare to Priſon, and there kept him, vntil ſuch time, as through the Popes interdict, the king was compelled to ſet him at liberty. Now of giuing away his kingdome, this chief French Hiſtoriographer maketh no mention. And if the Pope ſo did, why may he not ſeeme to haue done it, (b) rather to feare him, and to reclaime his minde from diſobedience? Verily Platina writing it, declareth, how before the Pope proceeded to that extremitie, the French king did what in him lay, (c) to withdraw the people of France from the obedience of the Church and See Apoſtolike.

(a) Not altogether ſo euill. A proper qualification

(b) A iollie way to flay a King.

(c) By this Diuinity, if any kingdome refuſe to be ſubiect and thrall to the See of Rome, the Pope may giue the ſame away at his pleaſure.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Yeere M. Harding, ye ſtammer in your tale, and know not well what to ſay: If the Pope gaue

gaue away the Kingdome of France from the Prince, he did it (yee say) to the intent to feare him. A pretty deuice to fray a King, to pull the Crowne Emperiall from his head.

Philippus. Bonifacius 8.

First, this Pope Bonifacius is he of whom it was said, Intrauit vt Vulpes: Regnauit vt Lupus: Mortuus est vt Canis: *He entred into the Popedome as a Fox: He reigned as a Wolfe: He died* (in prison) *as a Dogge.* In Solemne Procession he went attired with the Crowne Emperiall, and Robe of Maiestie, as an Emperour, and commanded the Naked Sword to be borne before him. In the Storie of his Life ioined with his owne Booke, named, Sextus Bonifacij 8. it is written thus: Moritur hoc modo Bonifacius, qui Imperatoribus, Regibus, Principibus, Nationibus, Populis, terrorem potius quàm Religionem injicere conabatur: *Thus died* Pope Bonifacius, *a man that sought more to strike terrour into Emperors, Kings, Princes, People, and Nations, then true religion.* *Paralip. Vrsp. In vita Bonifacij 8. In Sexto. Idem in Platin. Sabell. Ennead. 9. Lib. 7.*

This Bonifacius, saith Sabellicus, sent to the French King for money, as hee pretended towards the reconerie of Ierusalem. The Bishop of Apamea, beeing his Legate in that behalfe, vttered certaine great words in the presence of the King, and threatned him, vnlesse he would grant it.

The King, not quietly beating such presumptuous boldnesse, commanded the Apostolike Legate vnto ward. This iniurie so enflamed the Popes choler, that immediatelie he sent the Archbishop of Narbon to the King, to require him to set his Legate at libertie; otherwise to tell him, that for his wickednesse *The right of his Kingdome was fallen to the Church of Rome.* Thus Sabellicus, in fauour of the Pope, thought it good somewhat to shadow the matter.

But others thereof haue written thus: Bonifacius 8. mandat Regi, se esse Dominum in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus in Vniuerso Mundo: Vtque Rex recognoscat Regnum Franciæ à se. Contrarium enim sentire & tenere, Hæreticum esse. Pope Bonifacius 8. *sent vnto the French King, and told him, that he was Lord, both in Spirituall, and also in Temporall matters, throughout the world: and therefore that the King should hold his Kingdome at his hand. For otherwise to thinke and hold, for saide is not Heresie.* *Martinus Polonus.*

This is it that in the name of the Pope is noted in your Glosse: Quicunque Præceptis nostris non obedierit, peccatum Idololatriæ & Paganitatis incurrit: *Whosoeuer obeyeth not our Commandements, falleth into the Sinne of* Idolatrie and Infidelitie. Whereof Vrspergensis writeth thus: Habes, Roma, quod sitisti; decanta Canticum: quia per malitiam, non per Religionem orbem vicisti: *O Rome thou hast now that thou hast so long thirsted after. Nowsing merrilie. For by thy malice, not by Religion, thou hast conquered the world.* *Dist. 81. Si quis. in Glossa: Abbas Vrsper.*

The King being mooued herewith, commanded that none of his Clergie should come to the Popes Councell: Yee openlie burnt the Popes Writ. He commanded the Popes Legate to depart out of his Realme: He so had that any money should be made thence to the Pope: Yee gaue out Proclamations, that none of his Subiects should goe to Rome: And in the Synod at Paris he charged the Pope with Pride, Ambition, Murder, Simonie, and Heresie. *Paul. Æmil. Platina. Sabellicus. Nauclerus.*

Thus much of the dealing of the Crowne of France vnto a Stranger: that is to say, of the Faith and Reuerence that the Pope beareth to Kings and Princes. Yeeue followed somewhat of the spoiling of the Duke of Sauoy, and of the altering of the state of Florence: which things I thought it best to passe ouer, as not worthy of any Answer.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision 4.

We are accloied with Examples in this behalfe, it should be very tedious to reckon vp all the notorious practises of the Bishops of Rome. But of which side were they, I beseech you, that poisoned Henry the Emperor, euen in the receiuing of the Sacrament? Which poisoned Victor the Pope, euen in the receiuing of the Chalice? Which poisoned our king Iohn, king of England, in a drinking Cup? Whosoeuer at least they were, and of what Sect soeuer, I am sure they were neither Lutherans, nor Zuinglias.

M. Harding.

The Fiends of Hell were not yet let loose, that begat Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Caluinists. And heereof we vnderstand the youth of your Church, which hauing diuided it selfe from the old and Catholike Church, is no other but the malignant Church, and Synagogue of Satan.

To answer your demands, Whosoeuer they were that poisoned these great personages (if they were poisoned at all) good men were they not neither the doers, nor the counsellers. Henrie of Luxenburg it was who was poisoned, by report: whom your Latine Booke, printed among the Huguenotes, calleth Henrie the Seuenth: M. Doctor Haddon, in his answer to Osorius, accounteth him the Fourth: In both

Poison in the Sacrament.

your English translations (that I haue seene) he is called only Henrie. As he laid siege to the Citie of Florence, and had now brought the Citizens to despaire of their safetie, when manly courage might not serue, they betooke them to cowardly malice. First they poisoned (as it is said) the mind of a Frier Dominican with Gold, that afterward he should aduenture to poison the Emperors body with venome. Paulus Æmilius saith, that he died of a sickneſſe, which hee fell into at Bonconuento, as hee iourneied from Pisa thither. Onuphrius writing of his death, saith that he died at Bonconuento, a towne in the territorie of Siena, and maketh no mention of his poisoning. Cornelius Cornepolita writing this storie, seemeth to giue little credit vnto it. For he addeth an hearsay, *Vt aiunt*, as they say, as though it were a matter auouched by no certainty, but by hearsay. Nauclerus reporteth that the order of those religious men is said to haue a testimonial in writing, witnessing the foresaid Frier to haue beene innocent, and that the whole was but a fained tale. Lib. 1. Ja Schis. Platina. Ja Chron.

Victor the third Pope is mentioned by Martinus Polonus to haue beene poisoned by the malicious procurement of the Emperour Henrie the third, because he stood in defense of Gregorie the seuenth, whom the Emperour so much hated, and persecuted. Vincentius holdeth contrarie opinion, that hee died of a dysenterie, as Platina reciteth.

Touching King Iohn of England, they that write that he was poisoned in a drinking Cup by Monks, themselues make no better then a fable of it: and whosoeuer write it, refer themselues to hearsay, and to the popular fame. The Author of your Acts & Monuments reporteth, that many opinions are among the Chronicle Writers of his death. As ye proceed in your malicious railing against the Pope, ye spue out your poison, demãding certaine questions, short in words, but full stuffed with false & cankered slanders.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

The Poisoning of that Noble Emperour, Henrie of Lucenburg in the Sacrament, whereby it appeareth howsoeuer forth the States of the World ought to trust you, ye would haue vs to passe lightlie ouer as a Fable. Of your Onuphrius and Cornelius, and other like Parasites, we make no reckoning. The truth of the storie is reported by many. Vrspergensis saith: Quidam Religiosus porrexit Imperatori intoxicatam Eucharistiam, &c. *A certaine Religious man ministred vnto the Emperour* The Sacrament poisoned. *The Emperour hauing receiued it, and returning againe vnto his place, thought that a peece of cold Ice was past along thorow his body.*

Paralip. Vrsp. Anno 1313.

Baptista Egnatius saith, **it was wrought by the policie of Robertus, King of Sicilia, moued thereto, as Auentinus saith, by Pope Clement 5. The same ye shall finde recorded in Cation, in Supplemento Chronicorum, in Rauisius Textor, and sundrie others.**

Baptist. Egnat. Auentinus. Carion. Supplementum Chronicorum. Textor in Officina: Veneno extincti.

The like record there is found of poisoning of Victor 3. in the Chalice. For the more credit whereof it may please you to read Martinus Polonus the Popes Penitentiary, Volaterranus, Matthæus Palmerius, The Supplie of Chronicles, Fasciculus Temporum, Textor, and others.

Touching the death of King Iohn, whether hee were poisoned by a Monke, or no, I will not striue; referring my selfe therein to the credit of our Chronicles: the common report whereof, together with the generall opinion of the people, is this, that hee was destroied with Poison. But whatsoeuer were the cause of his death, Matthias Parisiensis saith thus: Papa Innocentius sententionaliter definiuit, &c. Pope Innocentius *determined by sentence, that* King Iohn should be deposed from his estate. *And he enioined the execution thereof to the French King, for Remission of his Sinnes,* **promising him also faithfullie, that if he so did, he and his Successours should enioy the Kingdome of England for euer. So much is England bound to reuerence and obey the Pope.**

Matth. Paris. Anno 1211.

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuision 2.

Kisse the Popes foot

VVHat is hee at this day, which alloweth the mightiest Kings and Monarchs of the world to kisse his blessed feet?

M. Harding.

It is he (say we) that humbly for his owne person refuseth such honor, that calleth and chalketh himselfe, *Seruum Seruorum Dei*, the seruant of the seruants of God. But when hee seeth the great Powers and Princes of the world humble themselues to Christ, Lord of all Lords, & King of all Kings, in the person of him, whose Vicar on Earth he is, and chiefe Deputie in those things that bee to Godward; not vnmindfull what he is of himselfe, for the roomes sake that he beareth, and for his honour whose Vicegerent he is, the rather also for (a) example of Humilitie and Obedience, so to bee taken and learned of others of inferiour degree, he suffereth that honour to be done, which is more then a meere man can require. Neither is this the Pride of Popes at these daies onely, as yee obiect, but the example of such humilitie in Princes we can proone to be ancient.

(a) A proper Scoole of Humilitie.

(b) Fy for shame. Cãnot the Pope learne humility, but by a stoole of easement?

(c) Vntruth. For it is not surmised by vs, but recorded by your own Writers. Sabellicus saith. *Vtsedentis genitalia ab vltimo Diacono attrectentur.*

The great King Charlmaigne, who afterward was created Emperor, could not be withholden by the Pope Adrian the First, but at the first meeting he would kisse his feet. Many other Emperors and Kings haue of old times done likewise. And lest the Soueraignty of such honor exhibited vnto him should lift his owne conceit lift him higher then for the degree of humane condition, (b) to that purpose serueth the stoole of naturall easment at his creation, whereof your surmise is (c) verie vile, to temper the highnesse of that vocation with the base consideration of humane infirmitie, and necessities. Platina in Adrian.

The

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

What thing is there, either so vile, or so horrible, but by such proper excuses may some be smoothed? Chrysostome saith: Hæc etsi minima esse videantur, tamen magnorum sunt causæ malorum. Nam & Ciuitates, & Ecclesias sæpenumerò euerterunt. Propterea nec à lachrymis abstinere possum, cùm primos istos Consessus & Salutationes audiam, ac in medium veniat, quot quantáque hinc mala in Ecclesia Dei orta sint: *These things, notwithstanding they seeme small, yet are they the causes of great euils. For often times haue they ouerthrowen both Cities and Churches. Therefore I cannot abstaine from weeping, when I heare these* Superiorities, *and* Salutations, *and consider how many, and how great euils haue growen thereof in the Church of God.* S. Hierome much misliking the state of his time, saith thus: Episcopi, velut in aliqua sublimi specula constituti, vix dignantur videre mortales, & alloqui conseruos suos: *The Bishops, as if they were placed in some high Castle, scarcely vouchsafe to looke vpon poore mortall men, and to speake vnto their fellow seruants.*

Chrys. in Mat. Homil. 73.

Kisse the Popes Foot

Hieron in epist. ad. Galat. ca. 4.

Touching the Bishop of Rome, it is not for nought that S. Gregory saith: Rex Superbiæ in foribus est: *The King of Pride is euen at hand.* In the Popes owne Booke of the Ceremonies of Rome it is written thus: Electus Imperator cum suis omnibus seruato ordine per gradus ascendit suggestum. Et vt primùm videt Pontificem, detecto capite, illum, genu terram contingens, veneratur: & iterum, cùm appropinquat ad gradus Sedis, genu flectit: demum vbi ad Pontificis pedes peruenit, illos in reuerentiam Suluatoris Deuotè osculatur: *The Emperour Elect going in array with all his traine, passeth vp the staires into the Scaffold. And as soone as he seeth the* Pope, *he worshippeth him with bare head, touching the ground with his knee. Againe, when he commeth to the foot of the Popes Throne, hee kneeleth downe. Last of all, when he commeth vnto the Popes feet, he* kisseth them Deuoutly *in the reuerence of our Sauiour.* This is ordered as a speciall Ceremony, and appointed vnto the Emperour as part of his duty.

Gregor. Lib. 4. Epist. 38

Ceremoniar. li. 1 Sect. 5 ca. 3.

Deuotè Osculatur.

Likewise it is written of the Empresse, as concerning her duty: Imperatrix Coronata, mox osculatur pedem Pontificis: *The* Empresse *being Crowned, immediately* kisseth the Popes foot.

Ceremoniar. li. 1. Sect. 5. ca. 6.

Againe of the Pope himselfe it is written thus: Papa nemini omninò mortalium reuerentiam facit, assurgendo manifestè, aut caput inclinando, seu detegendo. *The* Pope *himselfe gineth no maner of reuerence to any man aliue, either openly by standing vp, or by bowing downe, or by vncouering his head.*

Ceremoniarum Lib. 3. Cap. 2.

But the Pope (say you) humbly for his owne person refuseth such honour, and heereby teacheth Kings, and Emperours, and all their Subiects to be humble. A strange case, to teach Humility in the Schoole of Pride. Such Humility taught Iulius Cæsar, Diocletian, and Maximinus. Iulius Cæsar taught out his foot for Pompeius Pœnus to kisse, that folkes might see his Golden Slipper set with stones. Pomponius Lætus saith: Diocletianus edicto sanxit, &c. Diocletian *commanded by Proclamation, that all men should fall downe, and kisse his feet, whereunto also hee addeth a certaine reuerence, adorning his Shooes with Gold and Diamonds.* Maximinus also afterward did the like.

Seneca. Pomponius Lætus in Diocletiano. Alexander ab Alexandro.

Such Humility shall Antichrist teach, auaunсing himselfe aboue all that is worshipped, or called God.

2. Thess. 2.

Such Humility the Diuell toke vpon him to teach, when he said to Christ: *I will giue thee all these things, if thou wilt fall downe, and worship me.*

Matth. 4.

Thus may the Pope call himselfe Lord of Lords, King of Kings, and set his foot on Emperours necks: and yet neuertheless, if he can frame a new tittle, and say, he is Seruus Seruorum Dei: *The Seruant of Gods Seruants*, it is no Pride: it is but Humility.

Antoninus saith: Non minor honor debetur Papæ, quàm Angelis. Vnde papa recipit à Fidelibus Adorationes, Prostrationes, & Oscula pedum: quod non permisit Angelus à Iohanne Euangelista sibi fieri: *There is no lesse honour due vnto the* Pope, *than vnto the* Angels of God. *Therefore the* Pope *suffereth the Faithfull to worship him, and to fall downe before him, and to kisse his Feet: which things the* Angel *of God would not suffer* S. Iohn the Euangelist *to doe vnto him.*

Anton. in Summa. Par. 3. tit. 22. cap. 5. §. 4

This, M. Harding, is no malicious Railing, as ye call it, nor Spight, nor Poison, nor Vntruth stuffed with false and cankered Slanders. By the report of your owne Doctors, and by your owne Confession, it is the Truth.

The Porphyrie Stoole of easement serueth (ye say) to put the Pope in minde of his Humanitie, that is to say, that he may remember himselfe in the midst of all his glory to bee a man. No, no, M. Harding, your owne Authors and Stories can tell you, that Stoole serueth to put the Pope in remembrance of his Virilitie, that the world may know he is no woman. But let your imagination stand for true. Yet may we thinke your Popes are so forgetfull,

getfull, or so dull headed, or so blockish, that they haue need to be taught by so vile examples to know themselues? Certainely this is a Mysticall kinde of Stoole of easement.

We cannot lightly lacke Mysteries at his hands, if so homely a place bee so full of Mysteries. King Alexander the Great vnderstood himselfe to be a Man Mortall, as others were, and not a God, as he was borne in hand; for that he was sometimes of naturall necessity forced to slepe. But Christs Vicar, Peters Successour, The Doctor of all Doctors, The Father of all Fathers, the Master and Teacher of all the world, were it not for a Stoole of easement, would quite forget his owne Humanity, and could neuer remember himselfe to be a Man.

Plutarch. in Alexandro.

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuision 3.

The Popes Bridle. The Popes Stirrop.

What is he that commandeth the Emperour to goe by him at his horse bridle, and the French King to hold his Stirrup?

M. Harding.

What is he, (a) we know not, (a) nor you neither, Sir Defender. This we know, that in these words most impudently you belie the Pope. For neuer was there Pope that commanded either French King, or Emperour to doe the Seruice you speake of. Part of that I haue read perteining hereunto I will here recite:

The worthiest and greatest Prince that euer was in Earth, Constantine the Great, to witnesse openly the reuerence which he bare in his heart to Christ our Sauiour, and to S. Peter, whose Successour the Pope is, as likewise Christs Vicar in Earth, disdained not to honor S. Syluester Pope in his time, with doing (b) the office of a footman to him, and with leading his horse by the bridle. Wherein he seemeth as first of all Emperors he professed the Faith of Christ openly, so first of all Princes to haue giuen to the posterity an example of Humility. That no man doubt of it, this much I find recorded by an old Father of the Greeke Church, Matthæus Hieromonachus, as vttered by Constantine himselfe: Ἐμοῦ ἡ τοιαύτης ὑπηρέτης, καὶ τὸ χαλινὸ τοῦ ἵππου αὐτοῦ κατέχοντος, τῶν ἀνακτόρων αὐτοῦ ἔξωθεν ἀπαγόντων, ἄλλη ἡ βέλτιον τῷ μεγάλῳ τῶν ἁγίων συνχώρησε Πέτρῳ: Which in English is thus much: Submitting our selfe to the office of a footman, and holding his horse by the bridle, we lead him forth out of his Sacred Palace in the worship and reuerence of S. Peter.

(a) Vntruths: two together: Read the Answer.

(b) All this is a great vntruth, & a peruish Fable. ὑποπόδιον ὑφίκειν. *This is Greeke euen for a Pope.*

That sithence both Emperors and French Kings, of humility and deuotion, and to witnes their humble obedience to Christ in his Vicar, haue done the like Seruice, yea though the Pope shewed himselfe neuer so vnwilling thereto: we finde it reported by sundry good records. (c) But that he euer commanded any such seruice to be done vnto him, ye can neuer shew it by any indifferent and credible witnesse. Paulus Æmilius an Italian of Verona, in the second booke of his Chronicles, which both diligently and eloquently he wrote of France, describeth how honourably Pipine that worthy King of France receiued Steuen the Pope, that succeeded Zacharias, when he came into his Realme. Hee both kissed his feet, and went by him at his horse bridle.

(c) Vntruth; most manifest: For it is thus ordered in the Popes owne Pontificall, and in his own Booke of Ceremonies. *Ceremoniar. Lib. Cap. 8. Etiamsi Imperator, aut quiuis maximus Princeps adesset. Sellam ipsam cum Pontifice in humeris aliquantulum portare debet. Ceremoniarum Lib. 1. Sectio. 5. Cap. 4. Dum Imperator hæc vtilitatis Officia vult exhibere, &c. Tandem eum aliquibus bonis verbis recipiendo permittit. &c. Ceremoniarum Lib. 1 Cap. 8. Ceremoniar. Li. 1. Sectio. 3.*

The like honour of holding the Stirrup would Charles the first, the late great Emperor haue done at Bononia to Pope Clement the seuenth, had not the Pope with much adoe put him from it.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

This thing Sir Defender knoweth: notwithstanding you, M. Harding, dissemble it cunningly, and will not be knowen, that ye know it. Neither doth Sir Defender, as you say, by these words impudently belie the Pope. For triall hereof, he referreth you to the Popes owne Booke of Holy Ceremonies: wherein it is particularly appointed, and laid out in order, to auoid confusion, what each estate ought and is bound to do.

Thus therefore it is appointed: Cùm Papa per Scalam ascendit, &c. *When the* Pope *taketh his staires to mount on Horseback, the* greatest Prince *that is present,* whether hee bee King, or Emperour, *holdeth his Stirrup: and afterward leadeth his Horse a little way forward by the* Bridle. *But if there were* two Kings *in presence, the more honourable of them should holde the* Bridle *of the Right side, and the other of the Left. If there happen no King to be present, then let the worthiest persons lead his Horse. But if the* Pope *would not ride, but be borne on mens shoulders in a Chaire, then must foure of the worthiest Princes,* yea the Emperour himselfe, or any other mighty Monarch, *if he be present, beare the Chaire,* Pope *and all, a little way forward* vpon their shoulders.

Againe: Imperator, traditis Pomo & Sceptro, &c. *The* Emperour *delinering ouer his Golden Apple and his Scepter to one of his men, commeth vnto the* Popes *Horse, and in honour of our Lord Iesus Christ, whose person in Earth the* Pope *beareth, he holdeth the Stirrup vntill the* Pope *be mounted: and afterward he taketh the* Bridle, *and leadeth forth his Horse. While the* Emperour *doth these* profitable offices, *the* Pope *ought modestly a little to refuse the same: and yet afterward, with certaine good and gentle words, taking that honour as done to Christ, and not vnto himselfe, he holdeth himselfe contented.*

Further it is appointed thus: Caudam pluuialis portabit Nobilior Laicus, qui erit in Curia, etiamsi esset Imperator, aut Rex: *The most Noble Lay man that shall be in the Court, shall beare vp the traine of the Popes Cope,* yea though it bee an Emperour, or, a King. Againe: * *Let the most Noble Lay man, whether hee bee* King, or Emperour

bring

bring water to waſh the Popes hands. And while the Pope waſheth, let al the Biſhops and Lay men kneele downe.

Againe: Pontifice ſedente, &c. † *While the Pope is yet ſitting at the Table, the nobleſt man within the Court, be* he Emperour, be he King, *ſhall be brought to the* Popes Credence, *to giue him Water.* † *Ceremoniar. lib. 2. cap. 10. Etiamſi Rex aut Imperator ſit.*

Againe: ⋆ Primum ferculum portabit Nobilior Princeps, ſiue Imperator ſit, ſiue Rex: *The firſt diſh the Nobleſt Prince ſhall carrie,* whether hee be Emperour, or King. Againe: †Rex in collatione portabit primum potum: *When the Pope is at Breakefaſt,* The King ſhal beare his firſt Cup. And againe: Pocula portentur, &c. *Let the Popes Cups be borne by the Noble men or Oratours, being preſent: and let the Clerke of the Ceremonies beginne with the worthieſt eſtate:* yea though he be King or Emperour. ⋆ *Ceremoniar. Lib. 1. Sectio 3.* † *Ceremoniar. Lib. 1. Sectio. 13. Cap. 2.*

Now I truſt, M. Harding, of your courteſie ye will confeſſe, that Sir Defender in theſe words hath not ſo impudently belied the Pope. The Popes owne Booke of Ordinances and Ceremonies, that directeth all orders, ſaith thus:

The Emperour ſhall hold the Popes Stirrop:
Let the Emperour lead the Popes Horſe:
The Emperour muſt beare the Popes Chaire on his ſhoulder:
The Emperour ſhal beare vp the Popes Traine:
Let the Emperour bring the Baſon and Ewer to the Pope:
The Emperour ſhall giue the Pope Water:
The Emperour ſhall carrie the Popes firſt diſh:
The Emperour ſhall carrie the Popes firſt Cup.

The Popes Bridle.

The Popes Stirrop.

Thus may we goe to the Pope to Schools to learne Humility. For excuſe hereof perhaps ye will ſay, Theſe were the Abuſes of Old times: But now all ſuch diſorders are well reformed. Therefore it may pleaſe you to remember, that the ſelfe ſame Ceremonies, touching Kings and Emperours duties, haue beene lately renewed and confirmed, and publiſhed abroad into the World, word by word, as they were before without any maner alteration, euen in the Popes owne Pontifical, and that euen now newly printed at Venice, in the yere of Our Lord, A thouſand fiue hundred threeſcore and one, whereby it may appeare ye are aſhamed of nothing, be it neuer ſo ſhamefull. What truth therefore, M. Harding, is in your word? Or, with what countenance could ye ſo boldly ſay, That the Pope euer commanded any ſuch ſeruice to be done vnto him by the Emperour, ye can neuer ſhew it by any indifferent and credible witneſſe? I doubt not but the Popes owne Witneſſe is vnto you of ſufficient credit: and in his owne caſe it muſt needs to himſelfe ſeeme indifferent. Verily Gregorius Haimburgenſis ſaith, that Pope Adrian 2. was highly diſpleaſed with the Emperour Fredericus, for that hee ſo vnskilfully and ſo vnmanerly held his Left Stirrop, whereas his dutie had beene to hold the Right: And therefore vtterly refuſed to giue him his Bleſſing, notwithſtanding he deſired it humbly vpon his knee. Hereby it plainely appeareth, that in all Offices and Seruices the Pope vſeth the Emperour as his man. Therefore Auentinus reporteth theſe two verſes, written ſometime of the Emperour Lotharius the ſecond: *Gregor. Haimburg, in Appellation. Sigiſm.*

Rex venit ad fores, iurans per Vrbis honores:
Poſt homo fit Papæ, ſumit quo dante Coronam: *Auentinus in Frederico 1.*

The King, *or* Emperour, *commeth to the gates, and ſweareth by the honour of the Citie: And afterward becommeth the* Popes Man, *at whoſe handes he receiueth the Crowne.*

That Pipinus ſo much abaſed himſelfe to Pope Steuen, it is no maruel. The Prouerbe is common; One hand claweth another. The Pope was aduanced by Pipine; and Pipine was likewiſe aduanced by the Pope. But hereof we haue ſpoken before.

Where ye ſay, The Emperour Conſtantine the Great was footman to the Pope, I am much aſhamed of your vanitie, that, being a man of wiſdome and learning, ye ſhould thus ſeeke to mocke the world with Childiſh Fables.

Ye allege Matthæus Hieromonachus to proue a Fable by a Fable. If ye would daſle your Readers eies, for that ye allege his words in Greeke, vnderſtand you that his peeuiſh Greeke was taken out of your peeuiſh Latine. And yet is the ſame Greeke ſo fond, and ſo full of folly, that ye were aſhamed truly to turne it into Engliſh. For thus it ſtandeth: Διὰτὸ ἐχειν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ ἁγίου σωτῆρος Πέτρου: That is, *In the worſhip and feare* of my Lord Bleſſed Peter. Ye durſt not to make the Emperour Conſtantine ſo rude, to ſay plainly, that Peter was his Lord: and therefore ye thought it better to corrupt and alter your Authors words. Yet ſuch vaine Fables and Trifles muſt ye bring in, to put vs, as yee ſay, quite out of doubt. But hereof we ſhall ſay more hereafter.

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuision 4.

Franciscus Dandalus.

who hurled vnder his Table Francis Dandalus, **the Duke of Venice, King of Creta and Cypres, fast bound with Chaines, to feed of bones among his Dogs.**

M. Harding.

Were not this Defender past al shame, he would not make so many and so shameleſſe lies. Malice hath so farre blinded him, that he seemeth not to see what becometh a man. Though he feare not to be accounted a Lier, yet he should be loth to be accounted an vnhoneſt man, yea and specially a foole. Let truth and honesty goe, for indeed there is little in these fellowes. What foolishneſſe is it, a man to bring all his Doctrine, & all his sayings, touching things that he would so faine be beleeued into so great and certaine discredit, by such open and manifeſt lies? The truth hereof is this, as I finde it witneſſed in Sabellicus, and in the chiefeſt Chronicles the Venetians haue, written by a Noble man of Venice, named Petrus Iustinianus. The City of Venice being interdicted of the Pope, Francis Dandalus was sent by the Duke & Lords of the Councel there, to sue for Absolution. At that time was he neither King of Creta nor of Cypres, nor Duke of Venice, as it pleaseth this lying Defender to write of him, & that in the Defence of their English Church, written to all the world. *Iohannes Superantius* then was Duke, & this Francis Dandalus was (a) but a priuate man for that time, as others there were. This Ambaſſador Francis Dandalus finding the Pope at his firſt comming not wel inclined to grant his petition as he wished, the (b) quality of his offence deſeruing the same, to moue him to clemency and pity, aduiſed with himſelfe to play this Pagent. He caused an iron chaine to be tied about his neck. Therwith he came to the Pope as he sate at dinner, put himself to creepe on all foure, and like a Dog laid him down vnder the Table, so long vntil the Popes displeasure being asswaged he obtained pardon for his Countrey. Wherof they say, he had afterward the surname of Dog giuen him, as Iustinianus writeth. Who desireth to see the whole Story, he shall finde it well written by the said *Petrus Iustinianus, Historiæ rerum Venetarum Libro quarto.* Now let vs see, Sir Defender, how many lies ye make in one sentence. That Francis Dandalus was by the Pope hurled vnder his Table, this is one lie. That he was the Duke of Venice, King of Creta & Cypres, there be two lies, beside the notable lie, you seem to be very ignorant of the state of Venice, in that you make the Duke an Ambaſſador, who being once created Duke, goeth not out of the City, (c) Neither is euer any of their State King of Candy and Cypres. For their State admitteth none to be a King among them: Howbeit at the time of Francis Dandalus, Candy rebelled, and Cypres was not yet come to be vnder the gouernment of the Venetians, as you might haue learned in the eloquent Hiſtorie that Petrus Bembus wrote of Venice his Countrey. That he was fast bound with Chaines, there bee three lies. For he was not fast bound (d) only he had cast a chaine about his own neck, which he might haue take off at his pleasure. That he was so thrown vnder the Table to gnaw bones among the Popes dogs, (e) there be foure lies. And that the Pope had dogs feeding vnder his Table (ſ) I doubt not but it is an other lie. Whether these fiue lies be not enough for one little sentence of three lines, I report me to whosoeuer of your owne fellowes lieth for the best game. I thinke verily this Defender, if he be not very shameleſſe, wisheth he had a thicker beard to hide his silke cheekes from blushing. Such false causes must be defended by lying Proctors. If they belied Stories onely, and taught not also false Doctrine in the chiefe points of our Faith, their lying were leſſe hurtfull.

(a) Vntruth. For hee was then a Senator of very great Honour: And at the next Election was chosen Duke.

(b) The offence stood onely in helping their Neighbor being a banished man into his country.

(c) Yet the right and state of both these Kingdoms is in his hand.

(d) Al these matters bee full solemnly proued, and are worthie to be published by proclamatiõ.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

So many lies, M. Harding, and, as you say, so farre past shame, and such hot Tragedies and the cause no greater? What stirre would ye haue kept, if it had bẽn matter worthy the hearing? What if the Authour of the Apology, had bœne ouerſœne in the report of one yeere, or two, or in some other like Circumstance, the Substance of the Story neuertheleſſe still reserued? If ye had remembred some of your owne often ouersights, ye would not for shame haue been so terrible against others. For it appeareth well by all that ye haue hitherto sent vs ouer, your insight in matters is not so deepe, but yee may often and foulelie be deceiued.

Hieron aduersus error. Iohan Hieroſolimit.

These words of yours, M. Harding, are neither manerly, nor manly: notwithstanding they seeme well to content your pleasant humour. S. Hierome saith: Non refert quid inimici audiunt, & amici. Qui inimicus est etiam in scirpo nodum quærit: *An Enemy and a friend heare not both of one sort. An Enemy will* (cauill, and quarrell, and) *seeke a knot in a ruſh.* **The Substance of Gods Religion standeth not in the reporting of a Storie.**

Hierony. de optimo genere interpretandi.

S. Hierome saith of such Captious quarrellers: Audiant à me, non periclitari Eccleſiarum ſtatum, ſi ego celeritate dictandi verba aliqua dimiſerim; *Let them vnderstand, that albeit I in haſte of penning haue let eſcape a word, or two, yet that ſhall not hazard the state of the Church of God.*

Not Duke.

But Francis Dandalus (ye say) was not at that time Duke of Venice: he himselfe tied the chaine about his owne necke: He came of his owne accord vpon all foure as if he had been a Dogge, and lay downe willingly vnder the Popes Table: He lay not there to gnaw bones: He found no dog there to lie with him **Therefore ye say,** This Defender is an vnhoneſt man, past all shame, a Lyer, and a Foole. **Such** Cholericke conclusions, **M. Harding, may well beseeme a** Doctor of your Diuinity.

Howbeit, the faireſt couloure ye can lay vpon the matter is this, that the Ambaſſador

of

of that Noble Common Weale of Venice lay as a Dog in a chaine, vnderneath the Popes Table, as you say, and that willingly, and with all his heart, by such Submission to appease the Popes high indignation, and to recouer his fauour towards his Countrey. It seemeth he was either a verie Arrogant man, or a marueilous angry Pope, that would by none other submission be reconciled. Franciscus Dandalus.

But Dandalus at that time was not Duke of Venice. Neither was it so hard a matter, to know that, M. Harding: nor was it so great an Heresie, to call him Duke, for that shortly after he was made Duke. S. Augustin saith, Dicimus Apostolum Paulum in Thar- so Ciliciæ natum. At ille tunc iam non erat Apostolus. Ita cum audimus, Discipulos Christi inuitatos ad nuptias, non iam Discipulos, sed qui futuri erant Discipuli intelligere debe- mus: *We say, that* Paul *the Apostle was borne at* Tharsus *in* Cilicia. *And yet* Paul *at that time, when he was borne, was no Apostle. Euen so when we heare that Christs Disciples were bidden to the Marriage Feast at* Cana *in* Galilee, *we must vnderstand, that they were not then his Disciples, but became afterward his Disciples.* *Aug. de consen. Euangelist. lib. 2. cap. 17.* Ioh. 2.

So S. Hierome calleth Pamphilus a Martyr: and yet at that time whereof he meant, Pamphilus *in* deed was no Martyr. Therefore he saith, Concedamus, vt Pamphili sit, sed nondum Martyris. Antè enim scripsit, quàm Martyrium perpeteretur: *Let vs grant, it was* Pamphilus *Booke: But that* Pamphilus *as yet was no Martyr. For he wrote his Booke first, and was Martyr afterward.* Likewise againe he saith: Nos pro No, Alexandriam posuimus per Anticipationem, quæ Græcè προλῆψις appellatur: *We in stead of the City* No, *haue translated it, the Citie* Alexandria, *by a Figure called* Anticipation. *For that the City, which before was called* No, *was afterward called* Alexandria. *Hieron. de Erroib. Origenis.* *Hieron. in Ezechiel. l. 9. c. 30.*

So S. Augustine saith: it is written in the Booke of Genesis: Hi sunt Filij Israel, qui nati sunt ei in Mesopotamia: cùm Beniamin longè postea natus sit, cùm iam transiissent Bethel, & appropinquarent Bethleem: *These be the* Children of Israel, *that were borne to him in* Mesopotamia: *And yet* Beniamin (that there is reckoned for one of his Children) *was borne* (not in Mesopotamia, but) *long afterward when they were now past* Bethel, *and drew towards* Bethleem, *that is in* Iewrie. Yet hath there been no man hitherto so vncourteous, that euer would vse your eloquence, M. Harding, and call either Moses, or S. Augustine, or S. Hierome, Fooles or Liars. Genes. 35. *Aug. in quæst. super. Genesim Quæst.* 117.

If ye would but indifferently haue weighed the matter, ye might well haue thought, we called Dandalus Duke of Venice, for that hee was sone afterward chosen Duke of Venice.

So we may say, Doctor Harding in the time of King Edward frely and fully professed the Gospell, and preached vehemently against the Pope. Nevertheless, when hee thus preached, he was not yet knowen by the name of a Doctour. For hee was Doctoured afterward in the time of Queene Marie.

Let vs grant, there was some errour in the report of this Storie. Yet must euery man be condemned for a Foole and a Liar, that may bee taken in like Errour? If so, then will M. Harding trouble his Godfathers, and cause them, to giue him a new name.

S. Chrysostome saith: There were twelue Magi or Wisemen, that came to Christ: and yet ye hold commonly, they were but three. Clemens Alexandrinus saith, Christ preached but one yeere: yet others say, he preached three yeeres: others say, he preached foure. Some say Christ was three and thirty yeeres old, some say, he was foure and thirtie when he suffered. Yet Tertullian saith, he was Only thirty yeeres old: Irenæus saith, hee was more then forty. Christ saith: *My Father is able to giue me* twelue Legions of Angels. S. Hilary, in the report therof, a great deale aduanceth the number and reckoneth Duodecim Millia Legionum, twelue thousand Legions of Angels. Your owne Blessed Donation of Constantine, which (ye say) so much irketh vs, commandeth the Patriarch of Constantinople to be subiect and obedient to the Bishop of Rome. And yet at that time, when by your imagination, this Fable was deuised, there was neither Patriarch, nor Church, in Constantinople, nor any City as yet built and knowne by that name. Your Fellow Dorman allegeth ful solemnly the seuenth Booke of Theodoretus: And yet Theodoretus himselfe neuer wrote but onely fiue. And so he lept two whole Bookes beyond his Author. And againe he telleth vs a proper tale of the terrible Examples of two Kings, Ozias and Oza: and yet both he and his Fellowes might soone haue learned, that Oza was onely a poore Leuite, and no King. Matth. 3. *Chrisost. in Matth. homil. 2. in opere imperfect Clem. Strom. 1. Tertul. contra Iudæos. Irenæus lib. 2. cap. 34. & 40.* Matth. 26. *Hila. in Psa. 54 Donatio Constantini. Dorman. fo. 22 Dorman. fo. 24 M. Harding, fol. 308. b.*

You your selfe, M. Harding, in this selfe same Booke say, That the Councell of Nice was kept in the time of Pope Sylvester: And yet Athanasius, that then was present at the same Councell saith: Sylvester *at that time was not aliue*: but that the Councell was summoned by the Emperour, and holden in the time of Pope Iulius. Againe you say: That at *Athanas. in Apolog. 2. M. Harding, fol.* 309. *a.*

the

Franciſcus Dandalus.

the Very ſame time while the Councell was holden at Nice, Pope Sylueſter held likewiſe a Councel in Rome: And ſo by the Iudgement of Athanaſius, ye ſay, that Pope Sylueſter held a Councell after he was dead.

And muſt all theſe, and other your like tales, M. Harding, paſſe vnder the name of Lies and Follies.

This Gentleman (yée ſay) was not ſo faſt bound as we Imagine, but fel down meekely and willingly of himſelfe. No doubt, M. Harding, who ſo knoweth an Italian courage, will ſoone beleeue that Francis Dandalus, a Gentleman of ſuch Nobility, and the Embaſſadour of ſo Noble a Common Wealth, was ſwne, and eaſily, and willingly woone, to come crèping with an Iron chaine on his necke, and to wallow vnder the Popes table, as a Dogge, to his owne immortall ſhame, and to the euerlaſting diſhonour of his Countrey. Verily hee would neuer haue yeelded himſelfe to ſuch Villanie, had it not bèene to auoid ſome other greater villany. For I beſeech you, whether is it more cruelty, for you to runne vpon a poore man with ſword drawne, and to ſtrike him thorow, and ſo to kill him, or elſe to force him to lay cruel hands vpon his owne body, and to kill himſelfe? In whether of theſe two acts is more cruelty? S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: A poore man oftentimes is content to wound or feſter his owne fleſh, to the end, to moue the rich man to ſome pity: Alij Capiti ſuo clauos acutos infigunt: alij per ipſum gelu nudo Corpore mendicantes petunt: Alij hiſce etiam grauiora ferentes, miſerabile de ſe præbent ſpectaculum. At dices, Non illorum capita non configimus. Vtinam verò tu configeres. Non enim tam grauis fuiſſet calamitas. Nam, qui alium interimit, longè leuius peccat, quàm is qui iubet aliquem ſeipſum interficere: *Some there be, that ſticke nailes in their owne heads: Some others go begging with naked bodies in the cold Froſt: Some others ſuffer other things of greater cruelty, and ſhew themſelues miſerable to behold. But thou wilt ſay, we ſticke not theſe nailes in their heades. Would God, thou ſtickedſt them in. For then their miſerie were not ſo grieuous. For he, that with his owne hand killeth another, committeth a great deale leſſe fault, then hee, that forceth a man to kill himſelfe.*

Willingly.

Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. Homi. 21. ad populũ Antioch. homil. 37.

So ſay we, it was farre greater griefe vnto that Noble Gentleman, ſo vilely to diſhonour and abaſe himſelfe, then if he had bèn driuen thereto through the force and violence of his enemy. In this ſort was the Emperour Henry the Fourth well content, willingly to wait vpon Pope Hildebrand at Canuſium, & three daies together to ſtand bareheaded and barefoot in the hard froſt at his gate, and as one ſaith, to be a gaſing ſtocke both to men and Angels before he might haue licence to come neere. So was the Emperour Frederick Ænobarbus contented, willingly to lay his necke vnder the Popes foot, as wee ſhall declare more hereafter. So was the poore Gentlewoman contented, willingly to caſt a halter about her owne Sonnes necke, and ſo to preſent him before Pope Hildebrand, whom hee had offended, by ſuch humble ſubiection to craue his pardon. In reſpect whereof, the Pope pardoned him his life: but commanded his foot to bee ſtricken off, of which wound, the poore yong Gentleman ſoone after died.

Vrſperg. Sabel. Ennead. 9. li. 3.

Beno Cardinal.

Ye ſay, It is a lie, that Francis Dandalus, ſo noble a Gentleman was driuen vnder the popes Table to gnaw bones. I thinke it well, M. Harding, and therefore we will rather ſay, he lay there to gather vp the crummes that fell from his Lords table.

Gnaw bones.

No Dogs vnder the Popes Table.

But vnder the Popes Table (ye ſay) certainly there were no Dogges. And this (ye ſay) is another lie notwithſtanding, this Negatiue were very hard for you to proue. Howbeit heerein I will not greatly ſtriue. And yet it had bèene a more ſeemely ſight in my iudgement, to ſée a Dogge lying there, then a man, and ſpecially a Noble Gentleman, the Embaſſador of ſo Noble a City.

To conclude, this was the ſame Pope Clemens the Fifth, that thus pronounced of himſelfe, and proclaimed the ſame vnto the whole world by a Law: Nos ſuperioritatem habemus ad Imperium: Nos vacante Imperio, Imperatori ſuccedimus: *We haue the ſoueraignty ouer the* Empire: *The* Empire *being void, we are Heires apparent to the* Emperor. The Venetians had giuen aid, to reſtore one Friſcus, a baniſhed man, vnto the Dukedome of Ferrara. Therefore Pope Clemens interdited them, and all that they had, and further ſignified his pleaſure vnto all the world, that whitherſoeuer they or any of them came, it ſhould be lawfull for any man, not only to take their bodies, and to ſell them for ſlaues, and to ſpoile their goods, but alſo to kill them, whether it were by right or by wrong. For ſo Sabellicus writeth, Vt eos fas eſſet vnicuique iure, & iniuria interfieere. This was the cauſe of all this great adoe. And this high indignation had neuer bèene ſlacked, had not ſo noble a perſonage abaſed himſelfe, to be tied by the necke in a chaine, and to creepe vnder the Popes Table vpon all foure like a Dogge: This diſdainefull fact, Sabellicus the Author reprooueth vehemently and with many words, as immoderate tyranny and intolerable pride, and moſt ſhamefull abuſing of the ſtate of Princes. Yet M. Harding thinketh

Clem lib. 2. de Sent. & re iudica. cap. 2.

Sabellicus Ennead 9. lib. 7.

thinketh, it must be defended as very well done: and he must nedes be damned that will finde fault with it.

Last of all, where it liketh you, in the end to refreth your wits with this Defenders thin thankes and blushing: verily, M. Harding, he blushed indeed, and is much ashamed in your behalfe, to see your follies. God giue you grace that you may blush at your misusing of Gods people, lest ye haue that face, that the Prophet saith, Is past blushing. I trust, this Defender shall neuer blush to say, either with S. Paul, Non pudet me Euangelij Christi: Est enim virtus Dei ad Salutem: *I am not ashame of the Gospell of Christ: For it is the Power of God vnto Saluation.* Or with S. Hierome: Non me pudet nescire, quod nescio: *I am not ashamed, in that thing, that I know not, to grant mine ignorance.*

Rom. 1.

Hieron. aduerſ. Pelagian. lib. 1

The Apology, Chap. 7. Diuision 5.

Who set the Emperial Crowne vpon the Emperour Henries **the sixths head, not with his hand, but with his foot: and with the same foot againe cast the same Crowne off, saying withall:** I haue power to make Emperours, and to vnmake them againe at my pleasure?

M. Harding.

We denie, that Celestinus whom you note in your books margent, or any other Pope did this.* It is a vaine fable deuised rather of malice, then wit. Ye should haue done wel to shew vs, with which foot the Pope did set on the Crowne vpon Henries head, the right, or the left, standing, sitting, leaning, or lying, barefooted and vsing the helpe of his great toe or shod, whether he had some iimjam made for him to take it vp, hold it and put it on handsomely or conueied it on by a vice, or how it was done.

* Vntruth For the stories bee plaine. Read the Answer.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

What nimblenesse or cunning the Pope hath in his feet, more then other men, I haue not heard. What other sleights he hath now or hath had in times past to worke such feats, it behoueth his Magister Ceremoniarum **to consider. The story is recorded by** Ranulphus, Rogerus Cestrensis, **and** Rogerus Houedenus **that liued at the same time.**

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuision 6.

Who put in armes Henrie **the Sonne against the** Emperour his Father Henrie the Fourth, **and wrought so, that the Father was taken prisoner of his owne Sonne, and being shorne, and shamefully handled, was thrust into a Monastery, where with hunger and sorrow he pined away to death?**

Henricus Imper. 4.

Henricus Imper. 5.

M. Harding.

(a) It was not the Pope, that armed Henry the Second against Henry the fourth, who by the account of some is Henry the third. Stories declare other causes of their falling out, and the more part of the Writers impute it to the iudgement of God, for punishment of his great wickednesse. After that hee was ouercome with all his power by the Saxons, in seuenteene daies he durst not to appeare abroad. In the meane time his Sonne tooke vpon him foorthwith the administration of the Empire, went into Italy with an armie, would not surrender the state which he liked well, his Father being therewith offended, he tooke prisoner (b) without any motion of the Pope, (c) with whom he was also at variance, and committed him to strait custodie.

Concerning Gregory the seuenth Pope, who before was called Hildebrandus, whom the Emperor with endlesse malice persecured, because he would (d) nor ratifie his Simoniacall making of Bishops, & giuing of Ecclesiasticall benifices, and defendeth the Church against his wicked attemps: beside sundry Writers of Histories in that time, as Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, Leo Hostiensis, and afterward, Otho Frisingensis, who so much commend him for sundry excellent vertues, no man hath so largely & so diligently set forth his worthinesse, as (e) Onuphrius Panuinius, who hath written of him fiue Bookes.

(a) Vntruth. easily proued by good Records.

(b) Manifest vntruth, See the answer.

(c) Vntruth. For this was not the cause. But the Pope would haue giuen the same himselfe.

(d) Vntruth. For then he was at no Variance with the Pope.

(e) This ancient Doctour is yet aliue and writeth worthily for his hire.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

We may easily beleeue you, M. Harding, that the Pope **armed not** Henrie the Second, **as you say, against his father** Henrie the 4. **It had been a Maruellous Monster in Nature that the** Fourth **should goe before the** Second: **or that the** Nephew **should be borne before his** Grandfather. **But that the** Pope **raised vp** Henry the Fifth **against** Henry the Fourth, **that is to say, the** Sonne **against the** Father, **that ye might haue easily found in your owne Records.**

Gregorius

Gregor. Heimburgensis.

Henricus Imper. 4.

Henricus Imper. 5.

Gregorius Heimburgensis saith thus: Paschalis Papa Principes contra Henricum 4. concitauit: imó, eius Proprium Filium: quem etiam contra Patrem fecit permultos Episcopos Rheni in Regem coronari, & vocari Henricum Quintum: Pope Paschalis *raised vp the Princes of* Germanie *against* Henry the Fourth: *Nay rather he raised vp his* owne Sonne, *whom also he caused by many Bishops adioining to the Rheine, to be crowned Emperour against his owne* Father, *and to be called* Henry the Fifth.

Carion Anno 1103.

Vrsperg. Anno 1105.

The case being cléere, this one Authoritie may stand in stead of many. Héereof Henrie the Father pitiously complaineth in his Letters written to the French King. Carion saith: Hunc Henricum Filium solicitarunt Episcopi, vt aduersus Patrem insurgeret, eúmque Imperio pelleret: *The Bishops entised this yong Gentleman,* Henrie the Sonne, *that he should rise* against his Father, *and put him from the Empire.* But these Bishops as Vrspergensis saith, were Responsales Paschalis Papæ: *Pope Paschalis Agents or dorrs in those Countries.* And Henrie the Sonne himselfe, when he stood in the field, neuer pretended any other colour against his Father, but only the obedience of the See of Rome.

And lest any man should doubt of the truth héereof, the Pope not long before, had likewise raised vp Rodolphus the Duke of Sueuia, against the same Emperour, Henrie the Fourth: and the better to encourage his ambitious head, and to traine him to his purpose, had sent him a Crowne with this Posée.

Vrsperg. eodem loco. Pag. 257.

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodolpho.

Carion.

Whereby he meant, that as Christ had giuen the state and right of the Empire vnto the Pope, so would the Pope now bestow the same vpon Rodolphus, if he would aduenture to raise his power against the Emperour his Liege Lord. Likewise he had written to the Princes of Germanie, as Carion saith: Vt Imperatorem alium designarent: *That they should proceed to the* Election *of another* Emperour. Thus the Pope thought it but a play, to place and displace the States of the world at his pleasure. Of this Emperours Vertues I will say nothing. As hée is dispraised by some, so by others hée is much commended.

Auentinus.

Auentinus saith: In Pauperes, Monachos, Sacerdotes munificentissimum, &c. *His very enemies confesse that he was most* Liberall *vnto poore folkes, Monkes, and Priests: that he was* Constant *in aduersitie*: Faithfull *to his Prisoners*: Gentle *to his Foes:* Deuout *towards God*: Wise and Politicke *in Ciuill and Martiall affaires: Of a* Princely Maiestie *of countenance; wherein he excelled all others, and was* most worthy of the Empire.

Vrsperg. Pag. 239.

Vrspergensis saith: *He was Noble, Doughty, and Venturous: and was seene threescore and two sundry times in fought field, wherein he passed both* Marcellus, *and* Iulius Cæsar, *and all other Kings and Emperours that had beene before him.*

Carion.

Platina in Seuerino. 1.

The greatest cause of falling out betwéene him and the Pope was this: Order was taken before, and had still béene kept from the beginning, that the Election of the Pope should be ratified by the Emperour, otherwise not to stand. And Platina saith; The Pope Elected without the Emperours Letters Patent was no Pope. Another ancient order was this, that the Emperour might bestow all the Bishoprickes and Abbies of the Empire, whensoeuer they should happen to be void. These Ancient Orders Pope Hildebrand presumed to breake. For neither would he suffer his owne Election to be ratified by the Emperor, nor the Emperour to bestow the Bishoprickes or Abbies within his dominions. In these attempts the Emperor withstood him, claiming vnto himselfe the same Right of inheritance that all other Emperors his Predecessours had lawfully and peaceably enioied before him. Therefore the Pope Excommunicated him, interdicted his Land, and called him Arch-pirate, Arch-heretike, and Apostata. Therefore he deposed him, raised vp the Duke of Sueuia, and all the world against him; and armed the Sonne against the Father, and wilfully disquieted the whole State of all Christendome. Auentinus saith: Multitum priuatim, tum publicè, &c. *Many there were, that both priuately, and openly cursed Pope* Hildebrand; *and said, that with his hatred and ambition he troubled the world; and that vnder the colour of* Christ *he wrought the feares of* Antichrist:

Auentinus.

Vrsperg. Pag. 235.

Sabellicus Ennead. 9. Lib. 3.

Carion.

Helmoldus.

The Emperour tooke a long iournie into Italy, to submit himselfe vnto the Pope: and being at Canusium, as it is said before, in the depth of Winter, and in the hard frost, bee waited patiently three dates together with bare head and bare foot before the Popes gates to winne his fauour. In the end Pope Hildebrand, being sicke, and finding himselfe in case not to liue, sent vnto the Emperour and besought him pardon for all his iniuries. After that, the Popes that succeeded neuertheleſſe continued this quarrell still. And thus by the Popes entisement the Sonne raised a power and deposed his Father: The Bishops disrobed him of his wæd of State, and pulled the Crowne Emperiall from his head. The ancient reuerend Prince, hauing now continued in his Empire fiftie whole yéeres, bare all these things quietly, and said vnto them: Videat Deus, & iudicet: *Let God see, and Iudge*

Iudge your doings. At the laſt, being left naked and out of all, he turned himſelfe to the Biſhop of Spira, and ſaid vnto him: Now I beſeech you, for Gods ſake, giue me a prebend in your Church. For I am able to read, and can do ſome good in the Quire. But he was kept ſtill in cloſe priſon at Leodium, vntill he died. And being dead, he was kept fiue whole yeeres together aboue ground, at the Popes commandement, and might not be buried: ſuch courteſie found that worthie Emperour at the Popes hand, onelie for claiming of his right. *Matt. Palmer.*

Pope Hildebrand.

Pope Hildebrand is commended by many for ſundrie vertues. But no man (ſay you) hath more ſet foorth his worthineſſe, then Onuphrius, a man yet aliue, and one of all men, that would bee right loath in anie point to diſpleaſe the Pope. Perhaps he thought to winne ſome credit, by aduenturing his wits in a deſperate cauſe, as did he, that beſtowed ſo much eloquence in the praiſe of Baldneſſe: or he, that praiſed the Feuer quartane, or Eraſmus, that of late yeeres wrote ſo much in the praiſe of Follie.

The Heretike Ebion ſometime praiſed Iudas aboue all the Apoſtles: and Libanius the Sophiſt beſtowed great praiſes vpon Iulianus the Renegate. Certainely ſundrie Old Writers of whom ſome knew Pope Hildebrand and liued with him, haue not giuen him ſuch worthy praiſes. Beno Cardinal is faith: Hildebrand, *being as yet but a* Cardinall, *beat* Pope Alexander *with his fiſt, and kept him priſoner.* Poiſoned ſixe Popes *his Predeceſſours: Was a* Coniurer, *and a raiſer of Diuels: and threw the* Sacrament *into the Fire.* *Synefius.* *Plato.* *Socrat. Lib. 3. Cap. 19.* *Beno Cardinal.*

Auentinus making his entrie to ſpeake of Pope Hildebrand, ſaith thus: Scripturus ſum Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ, Occidentaliſque Eccleſiæ, Romanique Imperij Bella, Cædes, Homicidia, Parricidia, Simultates, Odia, Stupra, Furta, Peculatus, Sacrilegia, Diſſidia, Seditiones pluſquam Ciuiles, &c. *Now muſt I ſpeake of* Wars, Slaughters, Murders, Killing of Fathers, Strifes, Hatreds, Fornications, Robberies, Spoilings of Common Treaſure, Spoilings of Churches, Debates, and Seditions more then Ciuill, *which haue happened in the Chriſtian Common Weale, in the Weſt Church, and in the Empire of Rome.* These were the fruits of Hildebrands Popedome. *Auentinus.*

The Biſhops at the Councell of Brixia, touching Pope Hildebrand, pronounce thus: Nos eundem Hildebrandum procaciſſimum, &c. *The ſame moſt* filthie and ſhameleſſe Pope Hildebrand, *a maintainer of* Church-robbings *and* houſe-burnings, *a defender of* Murders *and* Periuries, *calling in queſtion the Catholike and the Apoſtolike Faith of the* Body and Bloud of Chriſt, *an Old Diſciple of* Berengarius *the Heretike, a Manifeſt* Coniurer, *loaden with the* Spirit of Satan, *and therefore out of the true Faith, we iudge worthie to bee depoſed.* Whatſoeuer points of deſcant Onuphrius your Scholler hath lately learned to play hereupon, this, M. Harding, is that Holineſſe and Worthineſſe that ſundrie Old Writers haue iudged to be in Pope Hildebrand. *Vrſperg. Anno 1080.*

The Apology, Chap. 8. Diuiſion 1.

Treading on the Emperors necke.

VVHo ſo ill fauouredly and monſtrouſly put the Emperor Frederikes necke vnder his feet, and, as though that were not ſufficient, added further this text out of the Pſalmes: Thou ſhalt goe vpon the Adder & Cockatrice, and ſhalt tread the Lion and Dragon vnder thy feet? Such an example of ſcorning and contemning the Maieſty of a Prince, as neuer before that time was heard tell of in any remembrance; except, I ween, either of Tamerlanes the King of Scythia, a wild & a barbarous Creature, or elſe of Sapor King of the Perſians. All theſe notwithſtanding were Popes, all Peters Succeſſours, all moſt Holie Fathers: whoſe ſeuerall words we muſt take to be as good as ſeuerall Goſpels.

M. Harding.

Yee aske who put the Emperor Frederikes necke vnder his feete, &c. Verilie who it was, I knowe not: neither your ſelues, I beleeue.

But what if ye bring good Authoritie for it? So farre as any man doth euill, be he Pope, bee he Biſhop, Emperor, or King, or whatſoeuer he be, we defend him not. Popes themſelues be men, and do not at (a) all times behaue themſelues like Angels. But what is that to your purpoſe? Our matter is *quæſtio iuris, non facti*; once more I muſt tell it you. And if that were a fault in the Pope, we acknowledge it to be as Tertullian ſaith, *Vitium conuerſationis, non prædicationis*: The fault of conuerſation, not of Doctrine (b) preached. *In præſcription Cont. Hæret.*

All theſe (though ye ſcoffe neuer ſo much) were Popes, all were Peters Succeſſours, and, notwithſtanding any thing that ye can ſay againſt them to the contrarie, without making a lie, (c) all were Holy Fathers. But their ſeuerall words we be not bound to eſteeme for ſo good as ſeuerall Goſpels. Neuertheleſſe their publike Decrees we acknowledge and reuerence, and thinke they ought to be obeied.

(a) As though for the moſt part they liued like Angels.

(b) What fault can yee finde in the Popes preaching? Hee neuer preacheth.

(c) Vntruth; ſhameleſſe, as it ſhall appear.

The

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Carion.

The whole Storie hereof is thus reported by Carion: Vſus eſt Fredericus deiectione, & ſumma humilitate, &c. *The* Emperour Frederike *vſed all manner ſubmiſſion and humilitie. For he came to* Venice, *and at the gates of the Church falling downe groueling before the* Pope, *hee ſuffered himſelfe to bee trodden on by the* Pope *with his feete. In the meane while the* Pope *cauſed Proclamation to bee made by theſe words of the* Prophet Dauid, *ſpoken of* Chriſt: Thou ſhalt walke vpon the venomous Aſpe, and the Baſiliske: Thou ſhalt tread downe the Lion and Dragon. *And ſo at the laſt hee Abſolued him. The Emperour in the meane while ſaid, hee ſhewed that humilitie, not vnto* Pope Alexander, *but vnto* Peter. *Thereunto the* Pope *anſwered,* Et mihi, & Petro: Both to me, and to Peter too: *placing himſelfe before* Peter.

Treading on the Emperors necke.

Thus Carion declareth the whole Storie with ſome particular circumſtances: but whether of fauour, or hatred, I will not iudge. Neither may it well bee thought the Pope vſed the Emperour thus of any great fauour. But I thinke that the Noble Citie of Venice, that cauſed this whole Tragedie to be ſet forth in Imageris, in S. Marks Church there, for the euerlaſting remembrance of the fact, was not ſo carried away, either with loue of the one ſide, or with hatred of the other, that they would ſo openly haue recorded a knowne Vntruth.

Non tibi, ſed Petro. Et mihi, & Petro. Aurel. Victor. Pompeius Laus.

Thus Sapores ſometime, the Proud King of Perſia, when hee had conquered Valerianus the Roman Emperour, and taken him Priſoner, vſed him afterward moſt villanouſly, as his foot-ſtocke: and made him lie downe groueling vpon the ground, that hee might ſet his foot on his necke whenſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe him to mount on horſe backe.

Budæ. de Aſſe. Matth. a Michouia, de Sarmatia, cap. 12.

So Seſoſtris the great King of Egypt yok't Kings and Princes together in Chaines, and forced them by violence to draw his Wagon. So the Emperour Henrie the Third, vpon the day of his Coronation, cauſed Four Kings of Vindelicia, being then his priſoners, carrie Pans and Cauldrons to his Kitching.

The Pope is euer Holie.

But yee ſay: So farre as a man doth euill, bee hee Pope, bee hee Biſhop, yee defend him not. The Popes themſelues (yee ſay) be men, and doe not alwaies behaue themſelues as Angels. Yet notwithſtanding immediately after yee ſay further: All theſe were Popes, and Peters Succeſſours, and Holy Fathers. This being true, it is no hard matter for any Pope to be Holie. Pope Iohn 12. was ſlaine in Aduouterie. Pope Benedictus 9. liued without either Law, or Reaſon, and defiled Peters Chaire with all kind of ſhame. Sine Lege & Ratione vixit, & Petri Sedem omnibus probris fœdauit. And in the end he tooke money enough, and ſold the Popedome. Platina ſaith, Popes then were elected, not for their Learning and Holineſſe, but in reſpect of Money and Friendſhip. The Biſhops in the Councell of Conſtance pronounce thus of Pope Iohn 23. A tempore iuuentutis ſuæ fuit homo malæ indolis, inuerecundus, impudicus, &c. Et adhuc dicitur, tenetur, creditur, & reputatur pro tali, & vt talis: *From the time of his youth he hath euermore been a man of ill diſpoſition, vnſhamefaſte, vnchaſte, vnhoneſt, &c. And ſtill hitherto he is named, holden, beleeued, taken, and reputed for ſuch a one, and as ſuch a one.* Some of them haue liued filthily with their owne Daughters, and ſome worſe, and in more beaſtly diſorder. Platina calleth them, Monſtra, & portenta: *Monſters, and vgly, and horrible, and ill ſhapen Creatures.* Yet ſay you, all theſe were Peters Succeſſours, and Holie Fathers. And ſo muſt they needs be counted, although they had beene a great deale worſe. Dame Ioane, I truſt, ye will haue excepted out of this number. For notwithſtanding ſhee were a Harlot otherwhiles, yet ye may not well call her the Holie Father.

Platina. Textor in Officina. Platina. Platina in Sylueſtro. 2. Conſtantien. Concilium.

Indeed thus ye haue it prouidently noted vpon your Decretals: Eſt quædam Spiritualitas ſecundùm ſtatum, quando eſt in ſtatu Sanctiſſimo & Spiritualiſſimo: & in hoc ſtatu eſt Solus Summus Pontifex: *There is a certaine Spirituall Holineſſe according to the ſtate moſt Holie, and moſt Spirituall: and in this ſtate is only the* Higheſt Biſhop, *that is, the* Pope. And a Speciall Statute of premunire in the Popes behalfe is written thus: Papa de Homicidio vel Adulterio accuſari non poteſt. Vnde Sacrilegij inſtar eſſet, diſputare de facto ſuo. Nam facta Papæ excuſantur, vt Homicidia Samſonis, Furta Hebræorum, Adulteria Iacob: *The Pope may neuer bee accuſed, neither of Aduouterie, nor of Murder. Therefore it were as bad as Church-robbing, to reaſon, or moone matter of any his doings. For whatſoeuer he do, it is excuſed, as are the* Murders *committed by* Samſon: *the* Robberies *in* Egypt, *committed by the* Iewes: *and the* Aduouteries *of* Iacob. And againe: In Papa ſi deſint bona acquiſita per meritum, ſufficiunt quæ à loci Prædeceſſore præſtantur: *In the Pope if he want good deeds gotten by his owne Merits, yet the good deeds done by* S. Peter, *that was his Predeceſſour in that place, are ſufficient.*

De Maior: & Obedien. Vnam Sanctam. In Gloſſa. Diſt. 40. Non nos. In Gloſſa.

Diſt. 40. Non nos.

But

But S. Hierome ſaith farre otherwiſe: Non Sanctorum Filij ſunt qui tenent loca Sanctorum, ſed qui exercent opera eorum: *They are not alwaies the children of* Holie Men *that ſit in the places of* Holie Men: *but they that do the workes of* Holie Men. *Diſt.* 40. *Non facile.*

Therefore I may ſay to you, M. Harding, as S. Auguſtine ſaith to Emeritus the Heretike: Noli, Frater: Noli, obſecro: Non te decet, etſi aliquem fortè deceat: Si tamen quicquam deceat malos, Emeritum certè non decet defendere Optatum: *Doe not, my brother; do not, I pray you: It becommeth you not, although happilie it may become ſome other Man: If any thing may become the wicked, yet verilie it becommeth not* Emeritus *to defend* Optatus (*in open wickednesse.*) *Auguſt. Epiſt.* 164. *ad Emer.*

S. Hierome ſaith: Si quis hominem, qui Sanctus non eſt, Sanctum eſſe crediderit, & Dei eum iunxerit ſocietati, Chriſtum violat, cuius Corporis omnes membra ſumus. Qui dicit, inquit, Iuſtum Iniuſtum, & Iniuſtum Iuſtum, abominabilis eſt vterque apud Deum. Et rurſus, qui dicit, Sanctum non eſſe Sanctum: & rurſus, non Sanctum eſſe Sanctum, eſt abominabilis apud Deum: *Whoſo beleeueth that man to bee* Holie *that is not* Holie, *and ioineth the ſame man to the fellowſhip of God, doth villanie to Chriſt. For all we are members of his Body. It is written,* Both he that calleth a Iuſt Man Wicked, and he that calleth a Wicked Man Iuſt, are both abominable before God. *Likewiſe, who ſo ſaith,* A Holie Man is not Holie, *or,* An Vnholie Man is Holie, *is abominable before God.* *Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Philemon.* Prouerb. 17.

The Pope is euer Holy.

The Apologie, Chap. 8. *Diuiſion* 2. *and* 3.

If wee be counted Traitours, which do honour our Princes, which giue them all obedience, as much as is due to them by Gods Word, and doe pray for them: what kind of men then be theſe, which haue not only done all the things before ſaide, but alſo allow the ſame for ſpecially well done? Doe they then either this way inſtruct the People, as wee doe, to reuerence their Magiſtrate? Or can they with honeſtie appeach vs as ſeditious Perſons, breakers of the common quiet, and deſpiſers of Princes Maieſtie?

Truly we neither put off the yoke of obedience from vs: Neither do we diſorder Realmes: Nor do we ſet vp, or pull downe kings: Nor do we tranſlate Gouernments: Nor giue we our Kings poiſon to drinke: Nor yet hold foorth to them our feet to kiſſe: Nor opprobriouſly triumph ouer them: Nor leap into their neckes with our feet.

This rather is our Profeſſion: this is our Doctrine: That euery ſoule, of what calling ſoeuer it be, be it Monke, **be it** Preacher, **be it** Prophet, **bee it** Apoſtle, **ought to bee ſubiect to kings and Magiſtrates: yea, and that the** Biſhop of Rome **himſelfe, vnleſſe he will ſeeme greater then** Euangeliſts, **then the** Prophets, **or the** Apoſtles, **ought both to acknowledge, and to call the** Emperour his Lord and Master, **as the Old Biſhops of Rome, who liued in times of more grace, euer did. Our common teaching alſo is, that wee ought** ſo to obey Princes, as men ſent of God: **and,** that whoſo withſtandeth them, withſtandeth Gods ordinance. **This is our Doctrine: and this is well to bee ſeene, both in our Bookes and Preachings, and alſo in the maners and modeſt behauiour of our People.** *Chryſ. in* 13. *ca. ad Romanos.* *Gregor ſæpe in Epiſt.*

M. Harding.

The Doctrine of obedience appertaineth ſpecially to ſubiects. The Biſhop of Rome ſitting by due Succeſſion in the Chaire of Peter, (a) in Spirituall cauſes tuis haue no Superiour. In temporall matters it may be, that in one age he hath acknowledged the Emperour as the Lord of that Prouince where he liued (b) as before Conſtantine all the Popes did liue in ſubiection: and in a nother age hee may bee Lord thereof himſelfe. Likewiſe S. Gregorie might call Mauritius his Lord, either of courteſie, or of cuſtome: and yet our Holie Father Pius the Fourth ſhall not be bound to do the like, in (c) conſideration that the cuſtome hath long ſince beene diſcontinued. Neither did S. Gregorie by that title of honor preiudicate vnto himſelfe in any Spirituall iuriſdiction. For that name notwithſtanding, he gouerned the (d) whole Church, and complained that Maximus was made Biſhope of Salonæ, a Citie in Illyrico, without his Authoritie, not regarding that Mauritius the Emperor was thought to haue willed it ſo to be done. And therefore he writeth to Conſtantia the Empreſſe, that foraſmuch as neither hee nor his deputie was made priuy to it, that the thing had beene done, which neuer was done before by any of the Princes that were the Emperours Predeceſſours. 4 Epiſt. 34

(a) Vntruth, manifeſt, as it ſhall appeare.
(b) Vntruth, enclosed. For they were ſubiect likewiſe afterward.
(c) O graue Conſideratiõ!
(d) Vntruth, euident vnto a child.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

What nede you to speake so precisely and so nicely of your Causes Spirituall, M. Harding? Yee know that your Pope hath claimed, and yet claimeth his Soueraignitie, not onely in Spirituall Causes, but also in Temporall, as it shall appeare. Ye will say, ye are an ill Proctor, and doe him wrong, and goe about to abridge his right, that will so lightly exclude that thing that hee so greedilie will haue included.

The Pope Inferiour to the Prince.

You say: The Pope can haue no Superiour in Spirituall Causes. And yet by the iudgement of sundry your Doctors, euen in Causes Spirituall the Councell is Superiour to the Pope, and may summone him, and iudge him, and giue sentence against him, and depose him, as hereafter it shalbe declared more at large. Thus it is noted of purpose vpon your owne Decrees: Cùm agitur de Fide, tunc Synodus maior est quàm Papa: *When the case is moued in a matter of Faith,* (that is to say, in a cause Spirituall) *then is the* Councell *greater then the* Pope. And your owne Panormitane saith, as it is alleged before: Papa tenetur confiteri: & in illo actu Sacerdos est maior illo: *The Pope is bound to make his Confession*: and in so *doing the* Priest is aboue the Pope. Againe he saith: Papa non potest cogere Sacerdotem, vt reuelet Confessionem, quia in illo actu Sacerdos est maior quàm Papa. Children know that Faith and Confession are Spirituall Causes, and not Temporall. Yee see therefore, M. Harding, by the iudgement of your owne Doctors, that the Pope may haue a Superiour, euen in Spirituall causes.

Concil. Const. Cons. Basilien. Dist. 19. Anastasius. In Gloss. Extr. de Pœnitent. & Remiss. Omnis vtriusq; Abb.

Now let vs weigh the great force of your reason. Thus you say:

The Pope sitteth in Peters Chaire: *Ergo*, in Spirituall Causes he can haue no Superiour.

Who taught you thus to peece your Arguments? What Child, what Sophister would so reason? Who euer gaue such Power and Vertue to Peters Chaire?

In temporall matters (ye say) it may be, that in one age the Pope hath acknowledged the Emperor as Lord of that Prouince where he liued. Graciously considered. It was the Popes Courtesie and Humilitie, no doubt: but not his dutie. Howbeit, Aaron the High Bishop of Israel was contented to submit himselfe to Moses, and of dutie to call him Lord.

Exod. 32.

Tertullian saith thus: Colimus Imperatorem, vt hominem à Deo secundum, & solo Deo minorem. Sic enim Imperator Omnibus maior est, dum solo vero Deo minor est: *We honor the Emperors Maiestie, as a man next vnto God. For so is the Emperor greater then All men, while hee is lesse then onely the True God.* Origen saith: Petrus & Iohannes nihil habebant quod Cæsari redderent. Dixit enim Petrus, Aurum & Argentum non habeo: qui hoc non habet, nec Cæsari habet quod reddat, nec vnde Sublimioribus Potestatibus subiaceat. Qui vero habet Pecuniam, aut Possessiones, aut aliquid in hoc sæculo, audiat, Omnis anima Potestatibus Sublimioribus subiaceat: Peter *and* Iohn *had nothing to giue vnto the Emperor. For* Peter *said, Gold and Siluer I haue none: which who so hath not, hath nothing to giue to* Cæsar, *nor wherein hee should be subiect to the Higher Powers. But whosoeuer hath either Money, or Lands, or any thing in this world, let him heare what* S. Paul *saith*, Let euerie soule *submit it selfe to the Higher Powers.*

Tertull. ad Scapulam.

Orig. ad Rom. Cap. 13. Lib. 9. Actor. 3.

And for proofe of the practise hereof, Pope Leo thus submitteth himselfe humbly vnto Lewes the Emperor: Nos, si incompetenter aliquid egimus, & in Subditis iustæ Legis mitem non conseruauimus, vestro admissorum nostrorum cuncta volumus emendare iudicio: *If wee haue done any thing disorderly, and ouer our Subiects haue not kept the due trade and course of Law*, by your Maiesties iudgement we will redresse all our faults.

2. Q. 7. Nos. §.

So likewise, long before Pope Leo, Pope Gregorie wrote vnto the Emperor Mauritius: Ecce per me, seruum vltimum suum & vestrum, respondebit Christus: Sacerdotes meos manui tuæ commisi, &c. Ego quidem vestræ iussioni subiectus, Legem vestram per diuersas terrarum partes transmitti feci: *Behold, thus will Christ answer you by me, being both his and your most humble Seruant: I haue committed my Priests vnto thy hand. As for my part I* beeing subiect vnto your Maiesties Commandement, *haue caused your Order to be proclaimed thorow diuers parts of the world.* Againe he saith: Christus dominari Imperatorem, non solùm Militibus, sed etiam Sacerdotibus concessit: *Christ hath giuen power vnto the* Emperor *to beare rule, not only ouer Souldiers, but also* ouer Priests. Againe he saith: Et Imperatori obedientiam præbui: & pro Deo, quòd sensi minimè tacui: *I haue shewed my duty towards* my Lord the Emperor: *and touching God, I haue not concealed what I thought.* And this is it that S. Paul saith: *Let euery Soule be subiect to the Higher Powers.* Vpon which words S. Chrysostome saith: Etiamsi sis Apostolus, etiamsi Euangelista, etiamsi Propheta, siue quisquis tandem fueris. Neque enim Pietatem subuertit ista Subiectio: *Though thou be an* Apostle, *though thou be an* Euangelist, *though thou be a* Prophet, *or what one soeuer else thou be, yet be thou subiect to the Higher Powers. For this Subiection is no hinderance to Godlinesse.*

Gregor. Lib. 2. Epist. 160. ad Maurit. Imp.

Gregor. Lib. 2. Epist. 103. Greg. ad Mauritium. Imperator. Epist. 103.

Chrys. ad Roman. Homil. 23

But afterward the Popes began to looke aloft, and both to say themselues, and also to

cause

cause others their parasites to say, Romanus Pontifex est supra Reges in Temporalibus: *The* Bishop of Rome *is above Kings, Euen in things* Temporall. Againe: Papa totius orbis obtinet potestatem: *The Pope hath the power of all the world.* Againe: Solus Papa est verus Dominus Temporalium: *Onlie the* Pope *is the very true Lord of* Temporall things. And againe: Omnis potestas sæcularis immediatè data est Papæ: All manner Temporall Power *is giuen immediately to the* Pope.

Iohan. Andr. in 4. Sent. qui 1. Dist. 20. nihil Sex. lib. 3. Tit. 16. In Glos. Iohan. de Paris. Syr. de Potestate Papæ. Cap. 20.

Ye say: Pope Gregory might call the Emperour Mauritius his Lord, (not of dutie, but) either of Custome, or of Courtesie: yet (say you further) our holy Father Pope Pius the Fourth shall not now be bound to doe the like. Here I beseech you M. Harding, what strange kind of Spirituall Power hath Pope Pius now gotten that was not before in Pope Gregorie? What Learning? What Vertue? What Worthinesse? What Holinesse? What good reason can ye allege, wherefore Christ, and his Apostles, and all other holy Fathers and Martyrs should be subiect to the Prince, & only your late Popes and Cardinals should stand so free?

The Pope inferior to the Emperour.

Ye say: This custome hath long sithence been discontinued: And in one age the Pope may acknowledge the Emperour as the Lord of the Land where he dwelleth: and in an other age he may be Lord thereof himselfe. That is to say, *In one age the* Pope *may be subiect to the* Emperour: *and in another age the* Emperour *may be subiect to the* Pope. This is your whole and onely reason. Thus we se your obedience towards your Prince goeth not by Gods Word, but onlie by Ages. Therefore we may say to you as S. Hilarie sometime said to the Arian Heretikes: Fides temporum est, non Euangeliorum: *Your Faith passeth by Ages, not by Gospels.* And yet it is written: Veritas Domini manet in Æternum: *The truth of our Lord endureth* (not for one Age, or other, but) *for Euer.* It ware a high point of Learning for an Astronomer skilfully to Prognosticate betweene the Emperour and the Pope, whether of them should be Dominus Anni. Howbeit, here may I well and iustly answer you with these words of S. Bernard: Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. Si omnis, & vestra. Quis vos excipit ab vniuersitate? Si quis tentat Excipere, conatur Decipere. Noli illorum acquiescere consiliis, qui cum sint Christiani, Christi tamen vel sequi facta, vel obsequi dictis, probro ducunt. Ipsi sunt qui vobis dicere solent, Seruate vestrum, Seruis honorem, &c. Ettis vos vestro Prædecessore impotentiores? Si non crescit per vos, non decrescat per vos. Hæc illi. At Christus aliter sensit & gessit. Reddite, inquit, quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari: & quæ sunt Dei Deo. *Let euerie Soule be subiect to the Higher Powers. If euerie Soule, then is your Soule subiect as well as others. For* (notwithstanding your dignitie, yet) *who hath excepted you from this generality? He that would exempt you from the Obedience of the Prince seeketh to deceiue you. Giue no eare to their Counsels. For notwithstanding they be Christians, yet they thinke it shame either to follow Christs deedes, or to obey Christs words. They vse to say vnto you,* O Sir, maintaine the honour of your See, &c. Are not you so good as your Predecessor? If your See be not aduanced by you, yet let it not bee abased by you. *Thus say they. But Christ hath both taught, and wrought farre otherwise. For he saith,* Giue to Cæsar that belongeth to Cæsar: and giue to God that belongeth to God.

Hilar. ad Constant. Imperat. Psalm. 116. Bern. Epist. 42. ad Archiepiscop. Senonens.

Likewise he saith againe vnto Pope Eugenius: A te tamen Mos iste, vel potius, Mors ista non cœpit: Vtinam in te desinat. Vides omnem Ecclesiasticum zelum seruere sola pro Dignitate tuenda? Honori totum datur: Sanctitati nihil, vel parum. Si causa requirente, paulò submissiùs agere, ac socialiùs te habere tentaueris, Ablit, inquiunt: Non decet: Tempori non congruit: Maiestati non conuenit: Quam geras personam attende: *But ye will say, this Maner, or rather, this* Death *began not of you: Would God it might end in you. Do ye not see, that all your Ecclesiasticall zeale and care standeth onlie in maintenance of honor? Vpon Honour altogether is bestowed: Vpon Holinesse either nothing, or very little. If vpon occasion ye would somewhat submit your selfe, and deale familiarly,* O doe not so, *say they:* It is not meet: It is not agreeable the time: It is not conuenient for your Maiestie: Consider well what state ye beare. Such good Lessons, M. Harding, ye haue, wherewith to nurture and to traine the Pope. And if he happen of himselfe to be a foole, by such scholing ye are able to make him mad.

Bern. de Cons. lib. 4.

But Gregory (ye say) being Pope, gouerned the whole Church of God. For he complaineth, that Maximus was made Bishop of Salonæ in Illyrico without his allowance. This Authority is answered in my former Reply. But how holdeth this Argument, M. Harding? *Gregorie* complaineth that *Maximus* was made Bishop of Salonæ in *Illyrico* without his allowance: *Ergo, Gregory* ruled the whole Church.

Gregor. Lib. 4. Epist. 78. Articul. 4. Diuis. 25.

What Schoole will allow you such Conclusions? It is knowne, that in the Nicene Councell the charge of the whole Church was committed to three Principall Patriarkes, whereof the Patriarch of Rome was the First: The Second of Alexandria: The Third of Antioch. And each of these three was limited seuerally to his owne peculiar portion. Nilus a Greeke Writer saith: Cùm aliæ Regiones assignatæ sint Romano, Aliæ Alexandrino

Nilus de Primat. Rom. Pon.

The Pope limited to a part.

drino, aliæ Constantinopolitano, non magis hi sub illo sunt, quam ille sub hisce: *Forasmuch as certaine Countries are limited to the Bishop of* Rome, *certaine to the Bishop of* Alexandria, *and certaine to the Bishop of* Constantinople, they are now no more vnder him, then he vnder them.

Sozomen. lib. 6 cap. 23.

As for the Churches of Illyricum, they were specially appointed to the Bishop of Rome, as it appeareth by the Epistle of Pope Damasus, written to the Bishops of Illyricum: Par est omnes qui sunt in Orbe Romano Magistros consentire: *It is meet that all the Teachers that be within the* Roman Prouince *agree together.* So saith Athanasius: Roma est Metropolis Romanæ Ditionis: Rome is the Mother Church (not of the whole world, but) of the Prouince of Rome. Nicephorus saith: Iustinianus decreuit, vt Iustiniana Prima haberet locum Sedis Apostolicæ Romæ; vtque esset Caput sibi ipsi cum plena potestate: Iustinianus the Emperour *appointed that the City called* Iustiniana Prima *should haue the place of the Apostolike See of Rome: and that with full power it should be head vnto it selfe.* Neither durst your forged and counterfeit Anacletus to claime the Iurisdiction of all the whole world, but onely a portion of the same. For thus he saith: Omnes Episcopi qui huius Apostolicæ Sedis ordinationi subiacent: *All Bishops* (not through the world, but) *that are subiect to the ordination of this Apostolike See of Rome.* So likewise S. Gregorie in his complaint vnto the Empresse, touching this same Maximus the Bishop of Salonæ, speaketh not of all the Bishops that were throughout the whole Church of God, but onelie of such Bishops as were limited vnto his particular charge. For thus hee maketh his complaint: Si Episcopi mei me despiciant, &c. *If mine owne Bishops* (lying within mine owne peculiar Iurisdiction) *shall despise me.*

Nicephor. Lib. 17. Cap. 28.

Anacl. Epist. 3. Dist 93. Iuxta Sanctorum.

Gregor lib. 4. Epist. 34.

Therefore your Diuinity wanted Logicke, M. Harding, when ye framed your Argument in this sort: *Gregorie* complained of *Maximus, &c. Ergo, Gregorie* gouerned the whole Church.

The Apologie, Chap. 9. Diuision. 1. and 2.

But where they say, we haue gone away from the Vnity of the Catholike Church, this is not onely a matter of malice, but besides, though it be most vntrue, yet hath it some shew and appearance of truth. For the common people, and ignorant multitude, giue not eare onely to things true and of certainty, but euen to such things also, if any chance, which may seem to haue but a resemblance of truth. Therefore we see, that suttle and crafty persons, when they had no truth on their side, haue euer contended & hotly argued with things likely to be true, to the intent they which were not able to espy the very ground of the matter might be carried away at least with some pretence & probability or likelihood of the Truth. In times past whereas the first Christians, our forefathers, in making their Prayers to God, did turne themselues towards the East, as for the most part the maner was, there were that said, they worshipped the Sun, & reckoned the same as their God. Again, where our Forefathers said, that as touching Immortall and Euerlasting Life, they liued by none other meanes, but by the Flesh and Bloud of that Lambe without spot, that is to say, of our Sauiour Jesus Christ; the enuious Creatures, and Enemies of Christs Crosse, whose only care was to bring Christian Religion into slander by all maner of waies, made the People beleeue, that they were wicked persons; that they Sacrificed mens Flesh, and drunke mens Blood. Also where our Forefathers said, that before God there is neither Man, nor Woman, and that for attaining to the true Righteousnes, there is no distinction at all of persons: And whereas they called one another indifferently by the name of Sisters and Brothers, there wanted not Men with forged false tales vpon the same, saying, that the Christians made no difference among themselues, either of age, or of kinde: but like Bruit Beasts, without regard, had to doe one with an other. And whereas to pray together, and to heare the Gospel, they met often together in secret and by-places, because Rebels sometime were woont to doe the like, therefore Rumours were euery where spread abroad, that they

Tertull. in Apologetico.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

they made Priuie Confederacies, and tooke counſell together, either to kill the Magiſtrates, or to ſubuert the Common Wealth. And whereas in Celebrating the Holy Miſteries after Chriſts Inſtitution, they tooke Bread and Wine, they were therefore thought of many to worſhip, not Chriſt, or God, but Bacchus & Ceres: forſomuch as thoſe vaine gods were worſhipped of the Heathens in like ſort, after a prophane Superſtition, with Bread and Wine. These things were beleeued of many, not becauſe they were tru indeed, (for what could be more vntrue?) but becauſe they were like to be true, & though a certain ſhadow of truth might the more eaſily deceiue the ſimple. On this faſhion likewiſe doe theſe men ſlander vs as Heretikes, and ſay, that we haue left the Church and fellowſhip of Chriſt: not becauſe they thinke it is true, for they do not much force of that, but becauſe to ignorant folke it might perhaps ſome way appeare true.

Auguſt contra Fauſt. lib. 20. cap. 13.

We haue indeed put our ſelues apart, not as Heretikes are woont, from the Church of Chriſt, but as all good men ought to doe, from the infection of naughty perſons & Hypocrites. Neuertheleſſe, in this point they triumph maruellouſly, that they bee the Church; that their Church is Chriſts Spouſe, the Pillar of truth, the Arke of Noe: and, that without it there is no hope of Saluation. Contrariwiſe, they ſay, that wee be Renegates: that we haue torne Chriſts Seat: that we are plucked quite off from the Body of Chriſt, and haue forſaken the Catholike Faith. And when they leaue nothing vnſpoken, that may neuer ſo falſely and maliciouſly be ſaid againſt vs, yet this one thing are they neuer able truly to ſay, that we haue ſwarued, either from the Word of God, or from the Apoſtles of Chriſt, or from the Primitiue Church. Surely we haue euer iudged the Primitiue Church of Chriſts time, of the Apoſtles, and of the Holy Fathers, to be the Catholike Church: neither make we doubt to name it, Noes Arke, Chriſts Spouſe, the Pillar and Vpholder of all Truth: not yet to fixe therein the whole meane of our Saluation. It is doubtleſſe an odious matter for one to leaue the fellowſhip whereunto he hath beene accuſtomed, and ſpecially of thoſe men, who, though they be not, yet at leaſt ſeeme to be, and be called Chriſtians. And to ſay truly, we doe not deſpiſe the Church of theſe men (howſoeuer it be ordered by them now adaies) partly for the names ſake it ſelfe, and partly for that the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt hath once been therein truly and purely ſet forth. Neither had we departed therefrom, but of very neceſſitie, and much againſt our wils.

M. Harding.

We grant that in old time ſlanders were made vpon the Faithfull. But no like ſlander is made by vs vpon you in the matter whereof ye ſpeake. For let vs grant that ye haue indeed put your ſelues apart, and are gone from the contagion of naughty perſons and Hypocrites. This is the very thing we lay to your charge. For though we were ſuch, as for a great number ye ſhall neuer be able to proue, yet by Chriſts own ſentence ye muſt do that (a) which they that ſit in the Chaire of Moſes bid you doe, although they be Hypocrites, as the Scribes and Phariſeis were, of whom Chriſt ſpake, &c. But it ſhall bee enough for you to doe as the Succeſſors of Peter bid you to doe, and ſo to follow their ſaying, and not their doings.

The Primitiue Church is continued with our time by the Succeſſors of S. Peter, for whoſe Faith neuer to faile Chriſt praied, and whom (b) only he made Shepheard to feed al his Flocke of Sheepe & Lambs. Chriſt (c) now requireth of you, not to obey Peter & Paul, but to obey him who ſitteth in their Chaire. Where ye ſay, it is an odious matter to forſake vs, and yet haue forſaken vs: where ye confeſſe that yee deſpiſe not the Church we be of, & yet grant that ye haue departed frō it, how ſtandeth this together? Remember ye what ye ſay? Know ye what ye doe? Who will regard your word, which with on breath ſay, and vnſay? If it be odious, why doe ye it? If ye deſpiſe not the Church, why depart ye from it.

(a) The ſame Scribes & Phariſeis commanded the people to refuſe Chriſts cōpanie, Iohan. 9. & 12. And was the people bound to follow them?

(b) Vntruth. For Chriſt neuer gaue Peter any ſuch ſpecial Priuiledge.

(c) A ſtrange kinde of Diuinity, ſuch as Peter and Paul neuer knew.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Chriſt ſaith: *The Scribes and Phariſeis ſit in* Moſes *Chaire: Doe that they ſay, but do not that they do. Ergo* (ſay you) wee may not depart away from the Pope. Howſoeuer it fare with

Departing from the Pope.

your Conclusion, M. Harding, verily in your premisses ye compare the Pope and his Cardinals with the Scribes and Phariseis. And yet the Scribes and Phariseis sate in the Chaire and taught the Law: Your Pope and Cardinals sit still, and teach nothing. Notwithstanding, let vs well allow of this Comparison. Ye may remember that Christ also saith, *Woe be vnto you, yee* Scribes *and* Phariseis, *that shut vp the Kingdome of Heauen before men: and neither doe you enter in your selues, nor will you suffer others that faine would enter. Woe be vnto you, ye* blinde Guides: *Woe be vnto you, that haue taken away the* key of Knowledge. Likewise he saith of them vnto his Disciples: *Beware of the Leauen of the* Scribes and Phariseis: Let them goe: Blinde they are, and the Leaders of the blinde.

Matth. 23. Matth. 16. Matth. 15.

To sit in Moses Chaire, was truely and rightly to instruct the people, and to open vnto them the Law of Moses. S. Augustine saith: Hoc ipsum quòd bona dicebant, & ea quæ dicebant vtiliter audiebantur, & fiebant, non erat ipsorum. Cathedram enim, inquit, Mosi sedent: *That they spake good things vnto the people, and that the things that they said were profitable to the hearers and doers of the same, it was not of themselues. For Christ saith,* They sit vpon Moses Chaire. Againe he saith: Sedendo super Cathedram Mosis, Legem Dei docent. Ergo per illos Deus docet. Sua verò illi si velint docere, nolite audire: nolite facere. Certè enim tales sua quærunt, non quæ Iesu Christi: *Sitting vpon* Moses *Chaire, they teach the Law of God: Therefore it is God that teacheth by the meane of them. But if they will teach you things of their owne, then heare them not: then doe it not. For certainly such men seeke their owne, and not the things that pertaine to Christ Iesus.* Ye see therefore, M. Harding, we are bound to heare the Pope and his Cardinals, and other like Scribes and Phariseis, not absolutly, or without exception, whatsoeuer they list to say; but onely so long as they teach the Law of God. Further then that S. Augustine saith: We may neither heare them, nor follow their Counsell.

Aug. de Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. 2.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 46.

Hereunto ye thought it good to adde more force, as a supplie to aide your wants. Christ *said vnto* Peter, *I haue praied for thee, that thy* Faith *shall neuer faile. Ergo,* (say you) The Pope can neuer erre. This way of reasoning, I trow, ye learned of Peter de Palude, a worthy Doctour of your side. For so he reasoneth: Ego rogaui pro te, Petre, vt Fides tua non deficiat. Ex quo habetur, quòd Romana Ecclesia in Fide errare non potest: nec de eius Fide dubitare licet: sed in omnibus est sequenda: Peter *I haue praied for thee that thy Faith may not faile. By these words we are taught, that the Church of Rome cannot erre in Faith. Neither is it lawfull to doubt of the Faith of that Church: but in all causes we are bound to follow it.* But S. Augustine saith: Nunquid pro Petro rogabat: pro Iohanne & Iacobo non rogabat? Vt cæteros taceam: *To leaue the rest, did* Christ *pray for* Peter: *and did hee not pray for* Iohn *and* Iames? Againe he saith: Hac nocte postulauit Satanas vexare vos, sicut triticum: & ego rogaui patrem pro vobis, ne deficiat Fides vestra: *This night hath Satan begged to thresh you, as if it were wheat: but I haue praied to my Father* (not for Peter onelie, but) for you, that your Faith may not faile. So saith Origen: Nunquid audebimus dicere, quòd aduersus vnum Petrum non præualituræ sint portæ Inferorum: aduersus cæteros autem Apostolos, ac Præfectos Ecclesiæ, sint præualituræ? An Petro Soli dantur à Christo Claues Regni Cœlorum? Nec alius Beatorum quisquam eas accepturus est? Omnia quæque prius dicta sunt, quæque sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium Communia: *May we dare to say, that the gates of hell shall not preuaile* Only against Peter: *but shal prenaile against the other* Apostles, and Rulers of the Church? *Were the Keies of the Kingdom of Heauen giuen* onely to Peter? *and shall no holy man else receiue the same? Nay, al the things, both that were said before, and also that follow after, as spoken to* Peter, *are Common, and belong vnto all.* Therefore as ye say of the Church of Rome, so may we say likewise of the Church of Hierusalem, where S. Iames was; and of the Church of Ephesus where S. Iohn was; and of other the like Apostolike Churches, notwithstanding they be now in the possession of the Turke, and haue receiued the Religion of Mahomet, yet because Christ hath once praied for them, *The Faith of them shall neuer faile.*

Petr. de Palude, de potestate pp. Articul. 4.

Aug. de quæst. Noui Testam. quæst. 75.

Aug. de Verbis Dom. in Euangel secund Lucam. Serm. 36.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.

Now if the Churches of Galathia, Corinth, Ephesus, Hierusalem, and of infinite other Noble Cities and Countries, planted by Paul, by Iohn, by Iames, and by Christ himselfe, may faile from the Faith, what speciall priuilege then, may we imagine, hath the Church of Rome, planted by Peter, that it onely of all others can neuer faile? For Christ praied indifferently, as wel for the rest of his Apostles, as for Peter, *That their Faith should neuer faile.*

Further ye tell vs: It shall be enough for you to doe as the Successors of Peter bid you to doe. Christ now, (you say) requireth not of you to obey Peter & Paul; but to obey him that sitteth in their Chaire. If this way bee as sure as it is short, then is there no doubt, but all is well. Though we beleeue neither Peter, nor Paul, nor whatsoeuer is written in Gods Word, yet, say you, If we follow the Pope, we cannot erre. For thus much, M. Harding, yee

are

are able to warrant vs by your Gospell, that Christ requireth not vs now to be obedient to Peter, and Paul, but onely to the Popes Holinesse, that kéepeth residence in their Chaire. This is your Diuinity: These are your words. If yee euer recant the same, yee marre the flower of your Market. We need not now to say, Thus saith the Lord: it shall bee sufficient for vs to say, Thus saith the Pope. Yet S. Paul so farre aduenture th the Truth and certainty of his Doctrine, that he doubteth not to say, *If an Angel from Heauen Preach vnto you any other Gospel then we haue Preached, accursed be he.* Upon which words S. Chrysostome hath noted thus: Non dixit, Si Contraria annuntiauerint, aut totum Euangelium subuerterint: verùm, Si paulùm Euangelizauerint præter Euangelum quod accepistis, etiamsi quiduis labefactauerint, Anathema sint: S. Paul *saith not, if they Preach contrary to the Gospell, or ouerthrow the whole Gospell: but, If they Preach any little thing besides the Gospel that ye haue receiued: If they* ouerthrow any thing, whatsoeuer it be, accursed be they. Therefore S. Hierome saith: Ea doceat Episcopus, quæ à Deo didicerit, non ex proprio Corde, &c. *Let the Bishop teach those things that he hath learned of God, and not of his owne heart, or fancie.*

Departing from the Pope.

Galat. 1.

Chrysost. in 1. *cap. ad Galat.*

Dist. 36. *Cap. final.*

Chrysostome saith: Plus aliquid dicam: Ne Paulo quidem obedire oportet, si quid dixerit proprium, si quid humanum: sed Apostolo Christum in se loquentem circumferenti: *I will tell you a greater matter: We may not obey, no not* S. Paul *himselfe, if hee speake any thing of his owne, or if hee speake onely as a man: but we must beleeue the Apostle of Christ, carrying Christ about speaking within him.*

Chrysost. in 2. *Timot. Hom.* 2.

And therefore Panormitane saith: In concernentibus Fidem, etiam dictum vnius priuati esset præferendum dicto Papæ: si ille moueretur melioribus rationibus Noui & Veteris Testamenti, quàm Papa: *In matters concerning Faith, the saying of one* Priuate man *were to be heard before the saying of the* Pope, *if the same* Priuate man *were moued with better reasons of the New and Old Testament then the Pope.* But that we should no longer obey Peter, and Paul, but giue care only to him that is cropen into their Chaire, it is saith Diuinity, as neither Peter, nor Paul euer taught vs.

De Elect. & Electi. potest. Significasti. Abb.

Last of all, as vpon some good aduantage, ye beginne to triumph. Remember ye (say ye) what ye say? Know ye what ye doe? Who will regard your word, which with one breath say and vnsay? If it be odious to leaue our fellowship, why do ye it? If ye despise not the Church, why depart ye from it. To Say, and Vnsay, it is your property M. Harding: it is not ours. Ye haue Said, and Vnsaid, and yet, were it not for shame, it is thought ye would be contented to Say againe. We despise not the Church: it is the House of God. But we mislike your defacing and disordering of the Church. Christ reproued the Priests and Pharisis, for that they had turned the Temple of God into a caue of Theeues: And yet neuertheless he despised it not: but said it was his Fathers house. To leaue the wicked fellowship of them that beare a name and shew of Godlinesse, it seemeth odious before men: but before God it is not odious. S. Iohn saith: *Whosoeuer is such a one, bid him not, God speed. For who so saith, God speed vnto him, is partaker of his ill.* S. Paul saith: *I warne you, that you receiue no meat with any such.* And God himselfe saith: *Come out from her, ô my people, lest ye be partakers of her Sinnes, and lest ye receiue of her Plagues.* Thus we Say not, and Vnsay againe, as you say, M. Harding. For the same thing we Said before we Say still.

Matth. 21.

2. Iohan.

1. Corinth. 5.

Apocalyp. 18.

The Apologie, Chap. 9. *Diuision* 3.

But I put case an Idol be set vp in the Church of God, & the same desolatiõ, which Christ prophesied to come, stood openly in the Holy Place. What if some Theefe or Pirate inuade and possesse Noes Arke? These folks as often as they tell vs of the Church, meane thereby themselues alone, and attribute all these titles to their own selues, boasting, as they did in times past, that cried out, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord: or as the Pharisis & Scribes did, which craked, they were Abrahams Children. Thus with a gay & iolly shew deceiue they the simple, and seek to choke vs with the bare name of the Church. Much like as if a Theefe when he hath gotten into another mans house, & by violence either hath thrust out, or slain the owner, should afterward assigne the same house to himselfe casting forth of possession the right Inheritor: Or, if Antichrist, when he had once entred into the Temple of God, should afterward say, This house is mine own, & Christ hath nothing to do withal. For these men now, after they haue left nothing remaining in the Church of God, that

that hath any likeneſſe of his Church, yet will they ſeeme the Patrons, and the valiant maintainers of the Church. Verily like as Gracchus amongſt the Romans ſtood ſometime in Defence of the Treaſurie, notwithſtanding with his prodigality & fond expenſes he had vtterly waſted the whole ſtocke of the Treaſury. And yet was there neuer any thing ſo wicked, or ſo far out of reaſon, but lightly it might be couered, & Defended by the name of the Church. For the Waſpes alſo make honycombes as well as Bees, although there be no hony in them: and wicked men haue companies like to the Church of God: yet for al that, They bee not ſtraightway the people of God, which are called the people of God: neither be they all Iſraelites, as many as are come of Iſrael the Father. The Arians, notwithſtanding they were Heretikes, yet bragged they, that they alone were the Catholikes, calling all the reſt, now Ambroſians, now Athanaſians, now Iohannites. And Neſtorius, as ſaith Theodoret, for all that he was an Heretike, yet couered he himſelfe τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν σχήματι: that is to wit, with a certaine cloke & colour of the true & Right Faith. Ebion, though he agreed in opinion with the Samaritanes, yet, as ſaith Epiphanius, hee would needs be called a Chriſtian. The Mahometiſts at this day, for all that all Hiſtories make plaine mention, and themſelues alſo cannot denie, but they tooke their firſt beginning of Agar the bond Woman, yet for the very name, & Stockes ſake, chuſe they rather to be called Saracenes, as though they came of Sara the free Woman, and Abrahams true and lawful Wife. So likewiſe the Falſe Prophets of all ages, which ſtood vp againſt the Prophets of God, & reſiſted Eſaias, Ieremy, Chriſt, and the Apoſtles, at no time craked of any thing ſo much as they did of the name of the Church. And for none other cauſe did they ſo fiercely vexe them, and call them Renegates and Apoſtates, then for that they had forſaken their fellowſhip, and kept not the ordinances of the Elders. Wherefore if we would follow the iudgements of thoſe men only, who then gouerned the Church, and would reſpect nothing elſe, neither God, nor his Word, it muſt needs be confeſſed, that the Apoſtles were rightly and by iuſt Law condemned of them to death, becauſe they fell from the Biſhops and Prieſts, that is, you muſt thinke, from the Catholike Church: and becauſe they made new alterations in Religion, contrary to the Biſhops and Prieſts wils, yea, and for all their ſpurning ſo earneſtly againſt it.

Auguſt in Sermon. contra Arianos, tom. 6. Aug. in Epiſt. 48. ad Vincent. Epiphan. Lib. 1. Hæreſ. 30. Sozomen. Lib. 6. Cap. 38.

M. Harding.

What a fooliſh put caſe, and what a fond what if is that, to ſay, What if a Pirate inuade the Arke of Noe? (a) As though God ſate not at the ſterne, and had the helme in his owne hand.

(b) Antichriſt cannot ſit in the Temple of God (c) vntill the Vicar of Chriſt, who keepeth poſſeſſion, be thrown out, and then will Chriſt come with his Angels to deſtroy the wicked man with the breath of his mouth. Ye that are the herbingers of Antichriſt, are not yet able to caſt out the Lieutenant of Chriſt. Ye heaue at the vnderminiſters. Your maſter will accompliſh all iniquity, and he ſhall be the deſolation that Chriſt ſpake of. We vnderſtand what ye ſhoot at. But ye are aſhamed to vtter plainly your Blaſpemie. (d) Ye would ſay (as it may ſeeme) if ye durſt, that Chriſt is the deſolation, and that Antichriſt is the true God. (e) In effect I doe not greatly belie you.

2. Theſſ. 4. Matth. 24

Neither if the Apoſtles might goe from the Biſhops of Moſes Law, therefore may ye depart from the Vicar of Chriſt. For the Law of Moſes is changed, and the Prieſthood of Aaron is transferred: but the Law and Prieſthood of Ieſus Chriſt tarrieth for euer, as Dauid ſaid, Thou art a Prieſt for euer, according to the order of Melchiſedech. Ye halt too manifeſtly.

(a) As though S. Paul had not warned vs, that Antichriſt ſhall ſit, & ſhew himſelfe in the place of Chriſt.

(b) Ergo, Antichriſt ſhall ſit in the Popes Chair

(c) But what if Chriſts Vicar himſelfe bee Antichriſt?

(d) Vntruth, malicious and ſlanderous

(e) Ergo, ye bely vs, although not greatly.

2. Theſſ. 2.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Antichriſt (ye ſay) cannot ſit in the Temple of God, vntill the Vicar of Chriſt, who keepeth poſſeſſion, be throwne out. What ſay you, M. Harding? Doth Chriſts Vicar keepe poſſeſſion for Antichriſt? As for Chriſt himſelfe, I doubt not but he is able to keepe his owne poſſeſſion. But ſo the Old Troians ſometime ſaid, their Citie could neuer miſcarrie, while their Palladium remained amongſt them. But who told you theſe ſtrange newes, M. Harding? Who made the Pope Chriſts Vicar generall throughout the whole Church? Or, who made him keepe poſſeſſion in ſtead of Chriſt? Muſt we needs thinke, that the whole

whole state of Christs Church hangeth onely of the Pope? Or, that if the Pope were not the Pope, the Church of Christ were not the Church? Or, must your simple word now be taken for a Prophesie, that Antichrist shall neuer enter into Gods Temple, before the Pope bee throwne out? This Fable would haue been better furnished with more credit.

To sit in the place of Christ.

Verily, whereas we say, Wee put case an Idol be set vp in the Church of God: Or, What if some Theefe or Pirate inuade and possesse Noes Arke; neither is this (What if) so fond as you would seeme to make it: nor this (Put case) so impossible. For S. Paul saith: Antichrist *shall sit in the Church of God, and shew himselfe aboue all that is worshipped or called God*: that is to say, Being a Theefe and a Pirate, hee shall enter perforce into Noes Arke.

Now, M. Harding, if Antichrist may sit in the Place of God, much more may hee sit in the place of Peter. I will not say, the Pope is Antichrist. God will reueale him in his time, and he shall be known. S. Iohn saith: *This is the wisdome: who so hath vnderstanding, let him reckon the number of the Beast.* Upon which words Irenæus twelueere fifténe hundred yéres agoe, saith thus: *The name of* Antichrist, *expressed by the number, shall be* Latinus: And he addeth further; Hoc valdè verisimile est: Quoniam verissimum Regnum hoc habet vocabulum. Apocalyp. 13. *Irenæus lib. 5. cap. vltimo.*

S. Gregorie saith: *He is* Antichrist, *that shall claime to be called the Vniuersall Bishop; and shall haue a* Gard of Priests *to attend vpon him.* Againe Irenæus saith: Antichristus, cùm sit Seruus, tamen adorari vult vt Deus: Antichrist, *notwithstanding he be but a Slaue, yet hee will be worshipped, as if he were God.* Ioachimus Abbas saith: Antichristus iampridem natus est Romæ, & altiùs extolletur in Sede Apostolica: Antichrist *is long sithence borne in Rome, and yet shall be higher aduanced in the* Apostolike See. *Greg. li. 4 epist. 38. Sacerdotum paratus est exercitus. Irenæus lib. 5. cap. penult. Ioachi. Abbas*

Thus is he described that shall sit in the place of Christ, and shall maintaine possession against Christ. But Christ shall come with his holy Angels and shall destroy him with the breath of his mouth, which is the Holy Word of the Liuing God. 2. Thess. 2.

That ye allege of the Priesthood of Melchisedech, serueth you heere to small purpose. We know that, not the Pope, but Christ alone is a Priest for euer, according to the Order of Melchisedech. S. Augustine saith: Ipse est Sacerdos noster in æternum, secundùm Ordinem Melchisedech, qui semetipsum obtulit holocaustum pro peccatis nostris: & eius Sacrificij Similitudinem celebrandam in suæ Passionis Memoriam commendauit: *Christ is our Priest for euer after the* Order of Melchisedech, *which hath offered vp himselfe a Sacrifice for our Sins, and hath deliuered vnto vs a Similitude or likenesse of that Sacrifice, to be done in remembrance of his Passion.* Therefore if ye will say, The Pope is a Priest for euer after the Order of Melchisedech; then must you also say, The Pope hath offered himselfe a Sacrifice for the Sinnes of the world. *Aug in lib 83. quæst. quæ. 61.*

Likewise againe he saith: Holocausti eius Imaginem ad Memoriam Passionis suæ in Ecclesia celebrandam dedit, vt esset Sacerdos in æternum: non secundùm Ordinem Aaron, sed secundùm Ordinem Melchisedech: *Christ hath giuen an Image or Resemblance of that Sacrifice, to be kept in the Church in remembrance of his Passion, that he might bee a Priest for euer, not after the* Order of Aaron, *but after the* Order of Melchisedech. *In ead. quæst.*

Howbeit, touching this whole matter, I haue answered more at large in my former Reply. *Articul. 17. Diuis. 15.*

The Apology, Chap. 9. Diuision 4.

Wherefore, like as it is written, that Hercules in old time was forced, in striuing with Antæus that huge Giant, to lift him quite vp from the Earth, that was his Mother, ere he could conquer him, euen so must our Aduersaries be heaued from their Mother, that is, from this vaine colour and shadow of the Church, wherwith they so disguise, and defend themselues: otherwise they cannot bee brought to yeelde vnto the Word of God. And therfore saith Ieremy the Prophet, Make not such great boast, that the Temple of the Lord is with you. This is but a vain confidence: These are but lies. The Angel also saith in the Apocalyps: They say, they be Iewes: but they be the Synagogue of Satan. And Christ said to the Phariseis, when they vaunted themselues of the kindred and blood of Abraham: Ye are of your father the Diuell: For you resemble not your father Abraham: As much to say, as, Ye are not the men ye would so faine be called: ye beguile the people with vaine titles, and abuse the name of the Church, to the ouerthrowing of the Church. Iohan. 8.

M. Harding.

M. Harding.

Heaue at vs whiles ye will, and whiles ye may, yee shall neuer remoue vs. In which stedfastnesse wee trust to stand by Gods grace to the last breath. Heaue at vs with all the forces of your cunning, of your malice, of your flatterie, of your policies, and with whatsoeuer engines ye haue: ye shall neuer be able to ouerthrow the house of our consciences, builded vpon the sure rocke. Let the gourders of rame come downe from you and all other Heretikes, let the flouds of worldly rages thrust, let the windes of Satans temptations blow their worst, this house shall not be ouerthrowne. Matth.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Roman. 11. O, M. Harding, S. Paul saith vnto you, Noli altum sapere, sed time: *Presume not of your selfe, but stand in awe.* Such words would rather haue becommed them that said sometime vnto the Prophet Ieremie, Verbum quod locutus es nobis in nomine Domini, non audiemus: Sed faciendo faciemus omne verbum quod egredietur de ore nostro: *We will neuer heare the word that thou speakest vnto vs in the name of the Lord. But we will surely do whatsoeuer thing shall passe out of our owne mouthes.* Thus it is written of them that said, *The Lord shall not beare rule ouer, nor master vs.* With like mildnesse of spirit the wilfull Philosopher said, Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris: *Yee shall not make me beleeue it, no though I doe beleeue it.*

Ieremi. 44.

Luke 19.

οὐ πείσεις, κἂν δέ με πείσῃς: Constancie in good things is a vertue, so frowardnes and wilfulnesse is a vice. Wo not thus your owne destruction. He that is fallen may rise againe. The Lord is able to raise you vp, and to make you a vessell of his glorie. Yee know not to what good purpose God hath appointed you. Speake not ouermuch of the strength of your Mount. You know vpon how light occasions it hath beene moued. Follow rather S. Pauls counsell, and *with feare and trembling worke your owne Saluation.* The way ye walke in is not your owne. Your heart is in the hand of God. Suffer Gods truth to prenaile: and Vnderstand, that the kingdome of God is come vnto you.

Philip. 2.
Ieremi. 10.
Luke 1.

The Apologie, Chap. 10. *Diuision* 1.

SO that these mens part had been, first to haue cleerely and truly proued, that the Romish Church, is the true and right instructed Church of God: And, that the same, as they doe order it at this day, doth agree with the Primitiue Church of Christ, of the Apostles, and of the Holy Fathers, which we doubt not but was indeed the True Catholike Church.

M. Harding.

Ye would vs to proue that the Roman Church is the true Church of God. Ye grant that once it was the true Church of God. And the Gospell sheweth, that Christ praied for it in S. Peter, who made his successors there. * What followeth hereof but that it must needs abide as true as euer it was, except Christs praier were not heard? S Paul likewise witnesseth that the Roman Faith is preached in the Vniuersall world, giuing a manifest prophesie, that the Roman faith and the Catholike faith should be all one. S. Cyprian calleth the agreeing with the Bishop of Rome, and communicating with him, *Catholicæ Ecclesiæ vnitatem, &c.* The allowing and firme holding of the vnity of the Catholike Church. And writing to Antonianus in the same booke, he accounteth it for one thing to communicate with Cornelius the Bishop of Rome, and to communicate with the Catholike Church. For you it is vaine to say, that it hath erred, * when the Holy Ghost hath signified, that it cannot erre.

Luke 22. Rom. 1. Lib. 4. Epist. 8.

* This is a very vaine hope. For Christ praied for the other Apostles no lesse then for Peter.

* Vntruth. For where did the Holy Ghost euer make such promise?

I haue praied for thee Peter, &c.

Iohan. 17.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

I will not say, Where were your wits, M. Harding, when yee wrote these things? But well I may say, Where was your Logicke? As for Diuinity, it appeareth by your reckoning, ye make no great account of it. Christ, (say you) praied for Peter: *Ergo*, the Roman Faith can neuer faile. Few children would willingly make such Arguments. Yee presume very much of the Simplicity and Ignorance of your Reader. For thinke you that Christ praied onely for Peter, and for no body else? Or thinke you that Christs Praiers tooke place in none other of all the Apostles, but onely in Peter? Awake for shame, and shake off these dreames. Christ himselfe saith: *O father, I pray* not only for these, *but also for them that by their word shall beleeue in me.* And S. Augustine thus reporteth the same Praier, as it is alleged before: Ego rogaui Patrem pro vobis, ne deficiat Fides vestra: *I haue praied vnto my father* (not for Peter only, but) *for you, that your Faith may not faile.* Again hee saith: Nunquid pro Petro rogabat: Pro Iohanne & Iacobo non rogabat? *Did* Christ *pray for* Peter: *And did he not pray for* Iohn *and* Iames? Certainly Origen saith, as likewise I haue

Aug. de Verbis Dom. in Euangel. secund. Lucam, Serm. 36. Aug. in quæst. Noui Testam. quæst. 75.

haue before alleged: Omnia, quæque priùs dicta sunt, quæque sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium Communia: *All the things that either past before, or follow after, as spoken vnto* Peter, *are common vnto all the* Apostles. *Orig. in Mat. Tract. 1.*

But S. Paul saith vnto the Romans: *Your Faith is spoken of thorowout the world.* And S. Cyprian saith: *The agreeing with the* Bishop of Rome *was the Vnity of the Catholike Church.* And yet it may please you to be remembred by the way, that the same S. Cyprian reproued Cornelius and Stephanus, both Bishops of Rome: and told them, they were both deceiued: and therefore would not agree vnto them. Neuertheless hereof yee conclude thus: *Ergo*, the Holie Ghost hath signified that the Church of Rome cannot erre. It pitieth me, M. Harding, in your behalfe, to see, into how straite and miserable holes ye are faine to creepe. For what if the Faith and the Constancie of the Romans in old times, for the Nobility of that Empire, and Citie, were then published thorowout the whole World? Yet where did the Holie Ghost euer tell you, that therefore the Church of Rome should neuer erre? By what Word? By what Promise? By what Reuelation? Ye say: The Faith of the Romans was heard of thorowout the whole World. So was the Great Capitoll there. So was the beauty of their Princely buildings. Which notwithstanding are now made smoth, and euen with the ground. So likewise is it written of Hierusalem: De Sion exibit Lex, & Verbum Domini de Hierusalem: *The Law shall come foorth from* Sion, *and the Word of God from* Hierusalem. So in the Citie of Antioch the Faithfull were first called Christians: And therefore Chrysostome calleth the same Citie, Caput totius orbis: *The Head of the whole world.* Thus was Eusebius Samosatensis called, Regula Fidei: *The Rule and Standard of the Faith.* Thus was Athanasius called, Orbis Oculus, & Fundamentum Fidei: *The Eie of the World, and the Foundation of the Faith.* Would ye hereof conclude, M. Harding, that therefore the Faith of these Churches can neuer faile? Ye know that, all this notwithstanding, the Churches, as well of Hierusalem and Antioch, as also of Asia, Syria, Græcia, and of all the East, are now subiect to the Turke, and scarcely a few left there that dare to professe the name of Christ.

Roman. 1.

I haue praid for thee Peter, &c.

Esay 2.

Chrys. ad Popul. Antioch. Homil. 3. Nazi. epist. 74. Nazian. ad Haronem.

As S. Paul saith to the Romans, *Your Faith is spoken of thorowout all the world*, euen so saith he to the Thessalonians, *Your Faith is carried abroad into all places*: In omni loco Fides vestra quæ est in Deum dimanauit: The words be like: The sense is one. Will you therefore tell vs, *The* Thessalonians Faith *shall neuer faile?* Verily at this day there is no sparkle of Faith left there. For the Christians are banished and thrust out: and the Citie is fully possessed with Iewes, which are the enemies of the Crosse of Christ.

1. Thess. 1.

What a fond Paradise is this, to say, Because yee had once the Faith of Christ, therefore now ye can neuer erre? Such a fantasticall Paradise had they built vnto themselues, that cried out in old times, euen as you doe now, The Temple of God: The Temple of God: We are the Children of Abraham. But whosoeuer well considereth the Story of the time, shall soone finde, that then they cried most, The Temple of God, when they had most shamefully abused and defaced the Temple of God: and, that then they claimed most to be called the Children of Abraham, when they had forsaken both the Faith and Life of Abraham, and, as Christ saith vnto them, were become the Children of the Diuell.

Ieremie 7. Matth. 3. Iohan. 8.

Such a fantasie had they that said, Non peribit Lex à Sacerdote: Nec consilium à Sapiente: nec Verbum à Propheta: *The Law shall not depart from the Priest: nor Counsell from the Wise: nor the Word from the Prophet.* But God saith vnto them: Obstupescent Sacerdotes, & Prophetæ terrebuntur. Lex peribit à Sacerdote, & Consilium à Senioribus. Nox vobis erit pro Visione: & tenebræ pro Diuinatione: *Your Priests shall be amazed: and your Prophets shall bee at their wits end. The Law shall perish from the Priest: and Counsell shall want in the Elders. Ye shall haue Night in stead of a Vision: and Darknesse in stead of Prophesie.*

Ierem. 18. Ezech. 7. Mich. 6.

S. Paul saith vnto the Galathians: *Yee began well: Who hath thus bewitched you, that yee should not obey the Truth?* S. Peter saith: *As there were False Prophets amongst the people in old time, euen so among you there shall be False Prophets, bringing in Sects of Perdition.* Of such a change the Prophet Esay complaineth: Quomodo facta est Meretrix Ciuitas Fidelis? *How is this Faithfull Citie now become an* Harlot? Deceiue not thus your selfe, M. Harding, with vaine hope. Hearken rather to the voice of our Lord. Put nothing to his Word: Take nothing from the same: Turne neither to the right hand, nor to the left: So shall yee bee sure yee shall not erre.

Galat. 3. 2. Pet. 2. Esay 1.

The Apologie, Chap. 10. *Diuision* 2.

For our parts, if we could haue iudged Ignorance, Error, Superstition, Idolatry, Mens Inuentions, and the same commonly disagreeing with the holy Scriptures, either to please God, or to be sufficient for the obtaining

of

Gods word mutable.

of Euerlasting saluation: or, if we could ascertaine our selues, that the word of God was written but for a time only, and afterward againe ought to bee abrogated and put away: or else, that the sayings and commandements of God ought to be subiect to mans will, that whatsoeuer God saith and commandeth, except the Bishop of Rome will and command the same, it must bee taken as void and vnspoken. If wee could haue brought our selues to beleeue these things, wee grant, there had beene no cause at all, why we should haue left these mens company.

M. Harding.

(a) Vntruth inclosed, knowen, and willfull. Read the Answer.

* Thus partly M. Hard. Doctours say: partly M. Hard. himselfe: as it shal appeare

God forbid, that either ye, or any Christian man should iudge, that ignorance, errour, superstition, Idolatrie, mens inuentions contrarie to the Scriptures, either pleased God, or to bee sufficient to Saluation. Because yee lay this to the Catholike Church (a) wee can say no lesse of you, but that yee bee false liars and diuellish slanderers. And * who teacheth, that Gods word was written, but for a time only? * That his commandements be subiect to mans will? * That Gods sayings and precepts bee void, except the Bishop of Rome ratifie them? Heere would I say vnto you at least, fie for shame, but that I thinke I should preuaile no more then if I said to an impudent and common harlot, fie for shame. Who may not plainelie see, the Scripture verified on you, *Frons mulieris meretricis facta est vobis?* Yee haue gotten to you the impudent face of an harlot.

leten,

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Heere, M. Harding, it hath pleased you, to bestow large liueries of your False Liars: Diuellish slanders: Impudent faces: common harlots: with Fies and shame &c. Wherein no man may iustly grudge you to be so liberall of your owne. First that by your doctrine, Ignorance highly pleaseth God, and is sufficient to Saluation, besides the generall practise of your whole Church, ye may soone call to minde, that one of your dearest friends, in most honourable audience, not long sithence openly published the same, in the name and behoofe of all his brethren, as a Secret Mysterie, and the verie bottome of your Diuinitie: Ignorance is the mother of deuotion. You know, M. Harding, that a great many both worthy and honourable, are able to witnesse, that this is, neither False lie, nor Diuellish slander. You know, that Cardinall Cusanus teacheth you, Obedientia irrationalis est consummata Obedientia, & perfectissima, scilicet, quando obeditur sine inquisitione rationis, sicut iumentum obedit Domino suo. Si igitur videris Pontificem tuum non Communicare alicui, neque tu illi Communices. Ecce quantum peccant, qui detrahunt Pontifici, &c.

Nicol. Cusan. Excit. lib. 6. Vbi Ecclesia.

Obedience without reason is the full and most perfect obedience, I meane, when a man is obedient to do whatsoeuer hee is commanded without requiring of any reason, euen as a horse is obedient to his Master. Therefore if thou see thy Bishop to refuse the Communion of any man, refuse thou to communicate with the same. O how much they offend that slander their Bishop! This, M. Harding, is your Doctrine of simple Ignorance. Concerning Superstition and Idolatrie, what need we many words? The thing it selfe is to well able to proue it selfe. Whoso but looketh into your Churches, may easily, not only see it with his eies, but also feele it with his fingers. That Gods holie Word by your learning, is mutable and serueth onelie for a time, your owne Doctor Cardinall Cusanus would soone haue taught you: Notwithstanding, it may scarcely seeme lawfull for you, being so learned a man in the substance of your owne Doctrine, to plead Ignorance. Cardinall Cusanus words bee these: Scripturæ adaptatæ sunt ad tempus & variè intelliguntur: Ita vt vno tempore secundùm currentem vniuersalem ritum exponantur: mutato ritu, iterum Sententia mutetur:

Cardin. Cusan. ad Boh. ep. 2.

The Scriptures are applied vnto the time, and may haue sundrie vnderstandings: so that at one time they may bee expounded (one way) according to the vniuersall current order (of the Church) and that the same order beeing broken, the meaning of the Scriptures may be changed. Looke better on your Bookes, M. Harding, and ye shall see, that herein is neither Lie nor Slander. That the Holie Scriptures of God by your Diuinitie, bee not Authenticall, farther then they be ratified by the Pope, yee might haue learned of your Sylvester Prierias, Maister of the Popes Palace: Thus he writeth: A Doctrina Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & Romani Pontificis, Sacra Scriptura robur trahit & authoritatem:

Sylvest. Prier. contra Lutherum.

The holy Scripture taketh strength and authoritie of the Doctrine of the Roman Church, and of the Bishop of Rome. Againe he saith: Indulgentiæ authoritate Scripturæ non innotuere nobis: Sed authoritate Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Romanorumque Pontificum, quæ Maior est:

Pardons are not knowen to vs by the authoritie of the Scriptures, but by the authoritie of the Roman Church, and of the Bishops of Rome, which is greater then the authoritie of the Scriptures.

If ye say these be Lies and Slanders, ye offer great wrong to your owne Doctours, making them the Authors of Lies and Slanders. Neuertheless, if ye shall happen to crie out in the impatience of your choler, fie for shame: impudent faces: common harlots: remember

remember what you your ſelfe haue written immediatly before touching the ſame. Theſe be your owne words: Recant them ye may; but deny them ye may not. Thus you ſay: Chriſt now requireth of you, not to obey Peter and Paul (that is to ſay, the Word of God) but to obey him who ſitteth in their Chaire. Wee forge not theſe words, M. Harding: they are your owne. Folkes will thinke yee haue no Modeſt Matrons face, if yee ſpeake willinglie againſt your ſelfe. *M. Harding fol. 192. b.*

Now ye ſee, M. Harding, who teacheth you, that Gods Word was written onely for a time: And that Gods Commandements are no further Authenticall, but as they be ratified by the Pope. Therefore henceforth yee may ſpare theſe Lies and Slanders, and cry out Fie and Shame when ſome occaſion ſhall be offered. Indeed Cardinall Cuſanus ſaith: Veritas adhæret Cathedræ. Quare Membra Cathedræ vnita, & Pontifici coniuncta, efficiunt Eccleſiam: *The* Truth cleaueth faſt to the Popes Chaire. *Therefore the Members vnited vnto that Chaire, and ioined vnto the Pope, make the Church.*

Gods word mutable.

Cardinal. Cuſan. ad Bohemos, Epiſt. 2.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuiſion* 1.

AS touching that wee haue now done, to depart from that Church, whoſe errors were proued, & made manifeſt to the world, which Church alſo had already euidently departed from Gods Word: and yet not to depart ſo much from it ſelfe, as from the errors thereof, and not to do this diſorderly, or wickedly, but quietly & ſoberly, we haue done nothing heerein againſt the Doctrine, either of Chriſt, or of his Apoſtles. For neither is the Church of God ſuch as it may not be ducked with ſome ſpot, or alketh not ſometime reparation. Elſe what need there ſo many Aſſemblies and Councels, without the which, as ſaith Egidius, the Chriſtian Faith is not able to ſtand? For looke (ſaith he) how often Councels are diſcontinued, ſo often is the Church deſtitute of Chriſt.

In Concil. Lateranenſ. ſub Iulio 2.

M. Harding.

That the Church in points of our Faith neceſſarie to Saluation erreth, wee denie it: and * vpon warrant of Chriſts promiſe we tell it you all aſſuredly, ye ſhall neuer be able to proue it.

Councels are kept, and Biſhops be made by the ſame prouidence of God, which prouideth partly by that meanes, and partly by other, that the Roman faith, Chaire, and Rocke, ſhall ſtand for euer. *Ad quas* (ſaith S. Cyprian, ſpeaking of them of Rome) *perfidia non poteſt habere acceſſum.* To the which vnfaithfulneſſe cannot haue acceſſe. He ſaith not only, ſhall not haue acceſſe, but, cannot haue acceſſe.

* Vntruth. Yee make your owne warrant. For Chriſt neuer made ſuch promiſe to the Church of Rome *Vntruth grounded vpon groſſe ignorance. For M. Hard. foulely miſtaketh S. Cyprians whole meaning.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

It ſeemeth, M. Harding, yee haue beene brought vp vnder ſome poore vnskilfull Chirurgian. For ye apply one ſalue to euerie ſore. Whatſoeuer be alleged againſt you, it is ſufficient for you to anſwer, The Church of Rome erreth not: The Church of Rome hath not erred: The Church of Rome cannot erre. And to this purpoſe yee haue brought vs in certaine words of S. Cyprian, farre beſides the Authors meaning. Wherby it appeareth, that ſometimes ye allege Authorities of the Fathers, not conſidering neither to what end they ſpake, nor what they meant.

The Church of Rome may erre.

For whereas S. Cyprian ſaith, Vnto the Romans Vnfaithfulneſſe can haue no acceſſe, he ſpeaketh not of the Vnfaithfulneſſe of Faith, or Doctrine, as you by errors haue imagined, but onely of the Vnfaithfulneſſe of Report. The cauſe of writing that Epiſtle, in ſhort, was this: Certaine leaud fellowes, refuſing to ſtand to the iudgement of the Biſhops of their owne Countrey of Aphrica, appealed further, and fled to Rome, with many vntrue and forged tales, to winne ſome credit to their cauſe. Hereunto S. Cyprian ſaith, The Romans bee godly and wiſe men: they will ſone bee able to eſpie their falſhood. *For vnfaithfull reports and leaud tales can haue no acceſſe vnto them.* If ye had conſidered, either the occaſion of the writing, or the whole drift of the letter, or the verie bare words as they lie, ye might eaſily haue ſeene, that this only was S. Cyprians meaning.

Cyprian Lib. 1. Epiſt. 3.

His words bee theſe: Poſt iſta, adhuc inſuper Pſeudopiſcopo ſibi ab Hæreticis conſtituto, nauigare audent, & ad Petri Cathedram, vnde Vnitas Sacerdotalis exorta eſt, à Schiſmaticis & profanis literas ferre: nec cogitare eos eſſe Romanos, quorum Fides, Apoſtolo prædicante, laudata eſt: ad quos Perfidia habere non poſſit acceſſum: *After this, hauing a Falſe Biſhop appointed vnto them by Heretikes, they dare to take ſhipping, & vnto Peters Chaire, and vnto that Principall Church, from whence the Prieſtly Vnity grew firſt, to carry letters from Schiſmatikes and leaud men: Neither conſider they, that the* Romans *are that people,*

whoſe Faith is praiſed by S. Paul *the Apoſtle*: vnto whom Vnfaithfulneſſe (of reports and tales) can haue no acceſſe.

In eadem Epiſt.

If ye doubt of this Expoſition, read theſe words touching the ſame, going before in the ſame Epiſtle: Romam cum mendaciorum ſuorum merce nauigarunt. Quaſi Veritas poſt eos nauigare non poſſet: quæ mendaces linguas rei certa probatione conuinceret: *They ſaile to Rome with the Merchandiſe of their Lies: as though the Truth could not ſaile after them, that by proofe of the certaintie might controll their lying tongues.* This is that Vnfaithfulneſſe that S. Cyprian ſpeaketh of: and not the Vnfaithfulneſſe of Faith and Doctrine.

The Church of Rome may erre.

Now touching this Appealing, and flæing to Rome, leſt ye ſhould thinke, by occaſion of theſe words, that S. Cyprian alloweth it, or thinketh well of it, ye ſhall finde in the ſame Epiſtle, that he vtterly miſliketh it, and condemneth it. For thus he ſaith: Æquum eſt, pariter & iuſtum, vt vniuſcuiuſque cauſa illic audiatur, vbi crimen admiſſum eſt: *It is meet and right, that euerie mans cauſe be pleaded in that Countrey where the fault was committed, &c.* Againe: Oportet eos, quibus præſumus, non circumcurſare: *It is not meet, that they ouer whom we haue Iuriſdiction, ſhould run about the World*: Ye meaneth to Rome.

Cyprian in eadem Epiſt.

And againe: Niſi paucis deſperatis & perditis minor videtur eſſe Authoritas Epiſcoporum in Aphrica conſtitutorum, &c. *Vnleſſe a few deſperate and wicked men thinke the Authoritie of the Biſhops of* Aphrica *is leſſe then the Authoritie of the Biſhops of* Rome. By theſe words S. Cyprian maketh the Biſhop of Rome equall in Authoritie with himſelfe and other Biſhops. Wherefore I muſt conclude with other words of S. Cyprian in the ſame Epiſtle: Hæc eſt, Frater, vera dementia, non cogitare quòd Mendacia non diu fallant: Noctem tam diu eſſe, quoad illuceſcat dies: *O my Brother, this indeed is very madneſſe, not to think that Lies cannot long deceiue: The night laſteth no longer, but vntill the day begin to ſpring.*

The Apologie, Chap. 12. *Diuiſion.* 1. *and* 2.

OR, if there bee no perill, that harme may come to the Church, what need is there to retaine to no purpoſe the names of Biſhops? For ſo it is now commonly vſed among them. The Names only they beare, and do nothing. For if there be no Sheepe that may ſtray, why be they called Shepheards? If there be no Citie that may be betraied, why be they called Watchmen? If there be nothing that may run to ruin, why be they called Pillars? Anon after the firſt Creation of the World, the Church of God beganne to ſpread abroad, and the ſame was inſtructed with the Heauenly Word, which God himſelfe pronounced with his owne Mouth. It was alſo furniſhed with Diuine Ceremonies. It was taught by the Spirit of God, by the Patriarkes and Prophets, and continued ſo euen till the time that Chriſt ſhewed himſelfe to vs in the Fleſh. Thus notwithſtanding, how often, O good God, in the meane while, and how horribly was the ſame Church darkened and decaied!

3. Reg. 13.

Eſay 1.

Matth. 21.

Where was that Church then, when all Fleſh vpon Earth had defiled his owne way? Where was it, when amongſt the number of the whole World there were onely eight perſons (& neither they all chaſte & good neither) whom Gods will was ſhould be ſaued aliue from the vniuerſall Deſtruction & Mortality? When Elie the Prophet ſo lamentably and bitterly made his moane, that only himſelfe was left of all the whole World, which did truly & duly worſhip God? And when Eſay ſaid, The Siluer of Gods people (that is, of the Church) was become Droſſe: and that the ſame City which afore time had beene Faithfull, was now become an Harlot: And that in the ſame there was no part ſound thorowout the whole Body, from the Head to the Foot? Or elſe, when Chriſt himſelfe ſaid, That the Houſe of God was made by the Phariſeis and Prieſts a Den of Theeues? Of a truth, the Church, euen as a corne field, except it bee eared, manured, tilled & trimmed, will in ſtead of Wheat bring foorth Thiſtles, Darnell, & Nettles. For this cauſe did God ſend euer among, both Prophets, and Apoſtles, & laſt of all his owne Son, who might bring home the people into the right way, and repaire anew the tottering Church after ſhe had erred.

M. Harding.

M. Harding.

These and the like places haue been alreadie alleged of old time against the Catholikes, by the Donatists, as S. Augustine sheweth; and of late yeeres by your Schoolemaster Iohn Calvin of Geneua. We need not to studie for new answers to the Argument made out of these and such other places, much fitter for this purpose then these are, sith that the same is so well answered by S. Augustine. Often times (saith he) Gods word rebuketh the wicked sorts of the Church so, as though all were such, and none at all remained good. For thereby we are warned, them in their certaine number to be called all, as much to say, all the children of hell. But Sirs, what if the Church at the beginning of the world, and at the generall drowning, was of small number? And what if the Synagogue were sometime quite extinguished? Must it therefore follow, that the Church also, after that God hath giuen to Christ his Sonne the ends of the world to be his possession, may now be brought to a few, and to faile all together? Where was the Church (say ye) when of all the world there were but eight persons, and they only saued aliue from the Vniuersall destruction? Forsooth they were in Noes Arke. And now haue we * our Noes Arke also, in which whosoeuer abideth not, the same is drowned.

De Vnitate Eccles. ca. 12.

Psalm. 2.

* But the same Arke is not the Church of Rome

Neither were the Prophets and Apostles sent, nor Christ came himselfe to repaire anew the Church which had in Faith wholly erred; but both they were sent, and he came, that it should not wholly erre.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

The Church in few.

It is true that ye say: In the Holy Scriptures this word (All) is often vsed in stead of many. And thus (ye say) it fared with the Synagogue of the Iewes; for that then the faithfull were sometimes brought vnto a small number: sometimes were vtterly decaied, and consumed to nought. And in this sense (ye say) Elias complained that the Prophets of God were all slaine, and he only left aliue. 3. Regum. 19.

But now (ye say) the Church may not be brought to a few. For God hath giuen to Christ his Sonne the ends of the world to be his possession. **Yet** Christ **himselfe, M. Harding, that best knew the reach and limits of his possession, saith thus:** *When the* Sonne of Man *shall come, thinke you he shall finde Faith in the World?* **Whereupon** S. Ambrose **saith:** Tunc Fides rara: Vt ipse quasi addubitans Dominus ista dixerit: *Then shall Faith be geason: So that our Lord spake these words as doubting thereof, whether there should be any Faith full left, or no.* **And** S. Iohn **in his** Reuelations **saith:** Mulier fugit in solitudinem, vbi habet locum paratum à Deo: *The woman* (**whereby is meant, not the** Synagogue **of the** Iewes, **but the** Church of Christ) *fleeth into the Wildernesse, where shee hath a place prouided of God.* **By which words is meant, that in time of** Ignorance **and** Persecution **the** Church **is without Countenance, and vnknowen.** S. Paul **saith:** *Before the day of the Lord there shall be a departing from the Faith of Christ.* **By these it appeareth, the decay of the Church shall be Vniuersall: and that the remanents shall not be many. Therefore** Vincentius Lirinensis, **putteth the case on this wise:** Quid si nouella aliqua contagio iam non portiunculam tantùm, sed totam pariter Ecclesiam commaculare conetur? Tunc item prouidebit, vt Antiquitati inhæreat: *What if some new corruption goe about to inuade, not only some portion of the Church, but also the whole Vniuersall Church altogether? Then must a Christian man settle himselfe to cleaue to Antiquitie:* **That is to say, to follow the Primitiue Church of the Apostles and ancient Fathers. This case would be neuer haue mooued, vnlesse he thought the whole** Vniuersall Church **might happen by some error to be deceiued. Surely** S. Chrysostome **speaking of the state of the** Church, **that he saw in his time, saith thus:** Videtur Ecclesia hodie Mulieri, quæ mansuetudine veteri exciderit, similis: quæque Symbola tantùm fœlicitatis illius quædam referat: Arcas & Scrinia rerum pretiosissimarum adhuc retinens, Thesauro destituta. Huic Mulieri Ecclesia hodiè videtur similis: *The Church this day is like vnto a Woman, that hath quite lost all her old modestie: and that beareth only certaine badges and tokens of her former felicity: and, that being vtterly bereft of the Treasures, keepeth only the Cases and Boxes of the precious things shee had before.* To such a woman the Church this day may bee likened. Luke. 21. *Ambr. in Luc. lib. 10. cap. 21.* Apocalyp. 12. 2. Thessal. 2. *Vincentius Lirinensis.* *Chrysostom. in 1. ad. Corint. Homil. 36.*

Likewise S. Hierome **speaking of that he saw by experience in his time, saith thus:** Ecclesia, postquam ad Christianos Principes peruenit, potentia quidem & diuitijs maior, sed virtutibus minor facta est: *The* Church *after that shee is come to Christian Princes, indeed is greater in wealth and riches: but in vertue and holinesse shee is lesse then shee was before.* **Therefore** saith Chrysostome: Hæc dico, ne quis miretur Ecclesiam propter multitudinem: sed vt ipsam probatam reddere studeamus: *Thus much I tell you, not that we should aduance the Church, because of the multitude and increase of people; but that we should endeuour to adorne her with vertue.* *Hieron. in vita Malchi.* *Chrys. ad populum Antioch. Homil. 4.*

Now where ye say, the Church now can neuer be brought to few, S. Bernard **saith thus vnto God by way of mone:** Coniuratæ videtur contra te vniuersitas populi Christiani, à minimo vsque ad maximum: A planta pedis vsque ad verticem non est sanitas vlla. Egressa est iniquitas à Senioribus Iudicibus, Vicarijs tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum: *O Lord, the* Vniuersall Companie *of Christian people seemeth to haue conspired against thee,*

Bernard. in Conuersione Pauli, Ser. 1.

thee, from the lowest vnto the highest. *From the sole of the foote, vnto the crowne of the head, there is no whole place, Iniquitie and wickednesse is gone forth from thy Elder Iudges, that be thy Vicars, that are thought to rule thy people.*

Citatur ab Holcoto in Sapient. lect. 23. Bapt. Mantuan. Fastor. 4.

Againe he saith: Intestinalis & insanabilis est plaga Ecclesiæ: *The wound of the Church is inward, and past recouery.* Likewise Baptista Mantuan complaineth vnto Pope Leo:

Sancte Pater succurre Leo, Respublica Christi
Labitur: ægrotatque Fides iam proxima morti.

Helpe Holy Father Leo: *Christs common Wealth* (that is the Church) *is falling downe: the Faith is sicke, and like to die.*

The Church in few.

Fortalitium Fidei. Lib. 5.

So likewise saith he that wrote the Fort of Faith: Etsi in hoc Dæmonum bello cadant Religiosi Principes, & Milites, & Prælati Ecclesiastici, & Subditi, tamen semper manent aliqui in quibus saluatur Veritas Fidei, & Iustificatio bonæ Conscientiæ: Et si non nisi duo homines fideles remanerent in mundo, in eis saluaretur Ecclesia, quæ est Vnitas Fidelium: *In this battle of Diuels, notwithstanding the Godly Princes, the Souldiers, the Ecclesiasticall Prelates, and Subiects be ouerthrowen, yet euermore some remaine, in whom the Truth of Faith, and the Righteousnesse of a good Conscience is preserued.* And although there remained but two Faithfull men in the World, *yet in the same two* the Church of God should be saued: which Church is the Vnitie of the Faithfull. The Church of God is often compared to the Moone, which sometimes is full, and round, and bright, and glorious: sometimes is wholly shadowed, and drowned in darkenesse: and yet notwithstanding is not consumed, but in Substance remaineth still. S. Augustine saith: Aliquando in Solo Abel Ecclesia erat: & expugnatus est à fratre malo, & perdito Cain. Aliquando in Solo Enoch Ecclesia erat: & translatus est ab iniquis: *Sometime the Church was in* only Abel: *and he was destroied by his brother* wicked Cain. *Sometime the Church was* only in Enoch: *and he was translated from the wicked.* Your owne Panormitane saith: Possibile est, quòd Vera Fides Christi remaneret in Vno Solo: Atque ita verum est dicere, quòd Fides non deficit in Ecclesia. Hoc patuit post Passionem Christi. Nam Fides remansit tantùm in Beata Vergine. Quia omnes alij scandalizati sunt, Tamen Christus ante Passionem orauerat pro Petro, vt non deficeret Fides sua. Ergo Ecclesia non dicitur deficere, nec etiam errare, si remanet Vera Fides in Vno Solo: *It is possible, the true Faith of Christ may remaine in* one alone: *And so is true to say, that Faith faileth not in the Church. This thing appeared after Christs Passion. For then the Faith remained only in the Blessed Virgin. For all the rest (both the Apostles, and others) were offended. Yet hath* Christ *praied for* Peter *before his Passion, that his Faith should not faile.* Therfore we may not say, the Church faileth, or erreth, if the Faith remain but in one alone. Againe S. Augustine saith: Non tamen propter hos remanebit Christus sine Hæreditate. Nouit Dominus qui sint sui, &c. *Yet shall not Christ, because of the wicked, remaine without his Inheritance.* The Lord knoweth who be his owne.

Aug. Epist. 48.

Aug. in Psal. 128.

Extra. de Electione, Significasti. Abb.

Aug. in Psal. 88.

The Apologie, Chap. 13. Diuision 1.

But lest some man should say, that the foresaid things happened onely in the time of the Law, of Shadowes, and of Infancie, when the Truth lay hid vnder Figures & Ceremonies, when nothing as yet was brought to perfection, when the Law was not grauen in mens hearts, but in stone: (And yet were that but a foolish distinction) for euē at those daies there was the very same God that is now, the same Spirit, the same Christ, the same Faith, the same Doctrine, the same Hope, the same Inheritance, the same Couenant, & the same Efficacie & Vertue of Gods Word: Eusebius also saith: All the Faithfull, euen from Adam vntill Christ, were indeed very Christians, (though they were not so termed:) But, as I said, lest men should thus say still, Paul the Apostle found the like faults & fals euen then in the prime & chiefe of the Gospell, in the greatest perfection & in the Light; so that he was compelled to write in this sort to the Galathians, whom he had well before instructed: I feare me (quoth he) lest I haue laboured amongst you to smal purpose, & lest ye haue heard the Gospel in vaine. O my little Children, of whom I trauell anew, til Christ be fashioned again in you. And as for the Church of the Corinthians how foully it was defiled, it is nothing needful to rehearse. Now tel me, might the Churches

of

of the Galathians and Corinthians goe amiſſe, and the Church of Rome alone may not faile, nor goe amiſſe?

The Church of Rome may erre.

M. Harding.

We anſwer, that in parts of the Church faults may be found, and ſundry men that ſeeme to be of the Church, and be in the Church indeed, may fall and periſh: all this we grant: * But that the whole Catholike and Vniuerſall Church, whoſe Faith we profeſſe, may erre, fall, and faile, that we deny vtterly, which had bin this Defenders part to proue, elſe he talketh to no purpoſe. And where S. Paul rebuketh al the Galathians in general, as though al had forſaken their Faith, he doth it after the wont of the Prophets, both in that and other Epiſtles, for the greater parts ſake, reprehending all, though ſome deſerue praiſe. As for the Corinthians, though many among them were faulty, yet who conſidereth how he beginneth his Epiſtle to them, ſhall finde that he * acknowledgeth a Church among them. For thus hee writeth: Paul by vocation an Apoſtle, &c. to the Church of God which is at Corinth, &c.

* We ſpeake not of the whole Vniuerſal Church but onely of the Church of Rome.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

That in any particular Church faults may be found, that (ye ſay) ye will confeſſe: But that the whole Catholike Vniuerſall Church may erre and faile, that (you ſay) ye denie vtterly.

* But the ſame Church this day is ſubiect to the Religion of Mahomet, and is no Church.

Notwithſtanding, it is certaine that the Churches of Corinth, and Galathia, and ſundrie others, are now, not in any particular portion, but thoroughly departed from the Faith: and are now wholly ſubiect to the Turke.

This therefore muſt needs be your meaning, that albeit all other Particular Churches thorowout the world happen to erre, yet the Church of Rome, that is to ſay, the Pope and his Cardinals can neuer erre. This Leſſon, I trow, ye learned of Petrus de Palude: For neither Chriſt, nor any of his Apoſtles euer taught it you. This worthy Doctour ſaith thus: Tota Eccleſia Petri non poteſt à Fide deficere. Omnes autem Eccleſiæ Apoſtolorũ omnium poſſunt deficere à Fide totaliter, indigentes ab Eccleſia Petri confirmari: *The whole Church of* Peter *cannot wholly faile from the Faith. But all the other Churches of all the Apoſtles may faile wholly from the Faith, hauing need to be confirmed by the Church of* Peter. And to this end you your ſelfe call the Roman Faith the Catholike Faith, making no maner difference betweene either other, as if Roman and Catholike were all one. And therefore Pope Nicolas thus aduanceth and thundreth out his owne Authoritie: Non quælibet Terrena Sententia, ſed illud Verbum quo conſtructum eſt Cælum, & Terra, per quod denique omnia condita ſunt Elementa, Romanam fundauit Eccleſiam: *Not any worldly Sentence, but the ſelfe ſame Word whereby Heauen and Earth was made, and whereby all the Elements were created, was it that* founded the Church of Rome. By which words he meaneth that the Roman Faith ſhall ſtand as faſt as the foundations of Heauen & Earth. Euen ſo Peter aſſured his Promiſe vnto Chriſt: *Although* (ſaid he) *all others denie thee, yet I alone will not denie thee. No, though I ſhould preſently die with thee, yet I only will neuer denie thee.* Neuertheleſſe, when it came to triall, the ſame Peter denied him firſt.

Petr. de Palud. de poteſtat. Eccleſiaſt. Art. 6.

M. Harding fol. 16. b.

Diſt. 22. Omnes.

Matth. 26

Now, that the Church of Rome, which you call the Catholike Church, may erre, and be forſaken of God, it is euident by the plaine words of S. Paul. For thus hee writeth euen vnto the Church of Rome: Quòd ſi aliqui ex ramis fracti ſunt, &c. *If any of the boughes bee broken off, and thou, being a wilde Oline tree, art graffed into the naturall Oline, and made Partaker of the root, and of the fatneſſe thereof, boaſt not thy ſelfe againſt the boughes. If thou boaſt,* (remember) *thou beareſt not the Root: but the Root beareth thee. Thou wilt ſay, The boughes are broken off, that I may bee graffed in. Well, they are broken off for their Infidelitie: but thou ſtandeſt faſt by Faith. Be not high minded, but ſtand in aw; ſeeing God hath not ſpared the Naturall boughes, leſt happily he ſpare not thee. See therefore the goodneſſe and the ſharpeneſſe of God: His ſharpneſſe towards them that are fallen away; but his goodneſſe towards thee, if thou continue and remaine in goodneſſe.* Otherwiſe thou (being the Church of Rome) ſhalt likewiſe be ſmitten off. Hereby it is plaine, that the Church of Rome may faile and fall from God, no leſſe then other like Churches. For otherwiſe this aduertiſement of S. Paul had bene in vaine.

Roman. 11.

Aliqui & in excidêris.

Therefore Hormiſda, being himſelfe the Biſhop of Rome, writeth thus: Dilectiſſimi Fratres, continuas preces ad Dominum fundamus, & iugi deprecatione poſcamus, vt & inſtitutione, & opere, illi, cuius eſſe membra cupimus, adhæreamus, nec vnquem ab illa via, quæ Chriſtus eſt, deuio tramite declinemus: ne ab eo iuſtè, quem impiè reliquerimus, deſeramur: *My dearely beloued Brethren, let vs pray vnto God, that both by profeſſion, and by order of life, we may cleaue to him, whoſe Members we deſire to be: and that by any crooked path we neuer turne from that way, which is* Chriſt, leſt we (being the Church of Rome) bee iuſtly forſaken of him, whom wickedly we haue forſaken. Thus would not the Pope himſelfe haue written in the behooſe of the Church of Rome, if he had thought the ſame Church, could neuer haue erred.

Hormiſda pp. ad Epiſcopos Hiſpaniæ.

Chrysostom. de varijs locis, in Mat. hom. 20.

To be short, Chrysostome saith: Ecclesia, quocunque modo egerit contra voluntatem Christi, abijci digna est. Non autem abijcitur propter longanimitatem Christi, nisi sola causa Transgressionis: *The* Church, *by what way soeuer she doe against the will of* Christ, *is worthy to be giuen ouer. Yet through the patience of* Christ *she is neuer giuen ouer, but only for breaking his Commandements.*

The Apology, Chap. 13. Diuision 2.

2. Thess. 2.

Surely Christ propheſied long before of his Church, that the time ſhould come, when Deſolation **ſhould ſtand in the Holy Place. And** S. Paul **ſaith, that** Antichriſt **ſhould once ſet vp his own Tabernacle and ſtately Seat in the** Temple of God: **and that the time ſhould be,** when men ſhould not away with Holeſome Doctrine, but be turned backe vnto fables & lies, **and**

1. Pet. 2.

that within the very Church. Peter **likewiſe telleth how there ſhould bee** teachers of lies in the Church of Chriſt. Daniel the Prophet **ſpeaking of the**

Daniel. 8.

latter times of Antichriſt, Truth, **ſaith he,** in that ſeaſon ſhall be throwen vnder foot, and trodden vpon in the world. **And** Chriſt **ſaith, The calamity & confuſion of things ſhall be ſo exceeding great,** that euen the choſen, if it were poſſible, ſhall be brought into error: **and that theſe things ſhall come**

Matth. 24.

Abomination of Deſolation.

to paſſe not amongſt the Gentiles and Turkes, **but euen in the** Holy Place, **in the** Temple of God, **in the** Church, **and in the** Company and Fellowſhip **of thoſe which profeſſe the** Name of Chriſt.

M. Harding.

The Propheſie of Daniel concerning the Abomination of Deſolation, whereof Chriſt ſpake in the Goſpel, we thinke with the * beſt learned Diuines, that it is to be referred, not to the end of the world, nor to the driuing away of the Faith by Antichriſt, as ye imagine, but to the conſummation and finall ending of the Synagogue.

Touching that ye ſay of Antichriſt, it maketh nothing againſt the Catholiks, againſt whoſe Faith he preuaileth not. Marry many good men thinke, that he hath already begunne to ſet vp his Tabernacle and ſtately Seat in the hearts of many, which ought to be the Temple of God, by his forerunners, Martin Luther, Zuinglius, Caluin, and you their Scholers, with the reſt of that wicked rable. Where ye adde and that within the Church, it is * more then ye found in S. Paul. But we vnderſtand your good will, though we finde you without euer a good reaſon. And yet we grant, ye came out from vs, as S. Iohn ſaith, but ye were not of vs. For if ye had been of vs, ye would haue tarried with vs. So may the ſaying of S. Peter be referred to you, and likewiſe that of Daniel which ye alledge, though the words be not in Daniel. For your Schoolemaſters and you are a limme of Antichriſt, and ye labour what yee can to ouerthrow and tread vnder foot the true faith of the Church, and the Catholike Religion.

* Vntruth. For the beſt learned Diuines haue thought otherwiſe, as it ſhall appeare.

* Vntruth. For S Paul ſaith plainelie, He ſhall ſit in the Temple of God. 2. Theſſ. 2.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

What need you, M. Harding, to talke ſo much in the fauour of Antichriſt? **Or why ſhould you be grieued, to heare him called the** Abomination of Deſolation? S. Paul calleth Antichriſt, *The Man of Sinne.* **Some ſay,** *He ſhall be wholly poſſeſſed of the Diuel.* **Your owne** Hippolytus **ſaith:** *He ſhall be the Diuell himſelfe.* **Yet haue few men found themſelues grieued with ſuch ſayings.**

2. Theſſ. 2. *Nicol. Lyra. Hieron ad Algaſiam. Hippolytus Mar. Orig in Matth. Tract. 26. Chryſoſt. in Opere Imperfecto, Hom. 49. Gregor. Nazianz. Significatio in Ezechiel.* βδέλυγμα γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ἐρημώσεως *Hieronymus in Matt. cap. 24.*

I know the words of Chriſt, **and of** Daniel, **by diuerſe expoſitions haue beene diuerſly applied. Yet may ye not well thus condemne all their iudgements, that haue applied the ſame to** Antichriſt. Origen **one of the moſt ancient Fathers of the Church, entreating of** Antichriſt, **contrarie to your Expoſition, ſaith thus:** Ipſe eſt Abominatio Deſolationis: Antichriſt *is the Abomination of Deſolation.*

S. Chryſoſtome **ſaith:** Hic Antichriſtus dicitur Abominatio Deſolationis: quia multorum Chriſtianorum animas facturus eſt deſolatas à Deo: *This* Antichriſt *is called the Abomination of Deſolation: for that he ſhall cauſe the Soules of many Chriſtians to be deſolate, and forſaken of God.* Gregorius Nazianzenus **ſaith:** Antichriſtus veniet in Deſolatione Mundi: Eſt enim Abominatio Deſolationis: Antichriſt *ſhall come in the Deſolation of the World. For he is the Abomination of Deſolation.* S. Hierome **ſaith:** Abominatio Deſolationis intelligi poteſt omne dogma peruerſum: *By the Abomination of Deſolation wee may vnderſtand any maner peruerſe Doctrine:* **Whereof no doubt in** Antichriſt **ſhal want no ſtore. And againe, ſpeaking namely of the** Man of Wickednes, the Aduerſary of Chriſt, which is Antichriſt, *that lifteth vp himſelfe aboue all that is called God,* **he ſaith:** Abominatio Deſolationum erit in Templo vſque ad conſummationem temporis: *The Abomination of Deſolation ſhall ſtand in the Church vntill the conſummation or end of time.*

S. Ambroſe

S. Ambroſe ſaith: Abominatio deſolationis execrabilis Aduentus Antichriſti eſt: The Abomination of Deſolation *is the curſed comming of* Antichriſt, *Ambr. in Luc. lib* 10 *cap* 21.

S. Hilarie expounding the ſelfe ſame words of Chriſt, *When ye ſhall ſee the* Abomination of Deſolation *ſtanding in the holy place*, ſaith thus: De Antichriſti temporibus hæc locutus eſt: Chriſt *ſpake theſe words of the time of* Antichriſt. Likewiſe ſaith Theodoretus writing vpon the Propher Daniel, Abominationem Deſolationis ipſum vocat Antichriſtum. And beſides others, the moſt ancient and moſt Catholike Fathers, likewiſe ſaith Euſebius Emiſſenus in a ſpeciall Hamilie to this purpoſe. Now M. Harding, whereas ye ſo certainly aſſure your ſelfe, that theſe words of Chriſt may in no wiſe be taken of the confuſion and horror that ſhall be at the end of the world, beſides all theſe learned and godly Fathers, I beſeech you, conſider the whole drift and circumſtance of the place, and the words that Chriſt ſpake immediatly before. The Apoſtles demanded him this queſtion: *What is the token of thy comming* (to iudgement) *and of the end of the world?* To this queſtion Chriſt anſwereth in this wiſe: *Take heede that no man deceiue you. Many ſhall come in my name, and ſhall ſay, I am Chriſt: and ſhall deceiue many. Ye ſhall heare of warres and talks of warres: But be not ye troubled. All theſe things muſt happen:* Yet this is not the end, &c. *Many falſe Prophets ſhall riſe, and ſhall deceiue many. Iniquity ſhall increaſe: Charity ſhall wax cold. Who ſo continueth vnto the end, he ſhall be ſaued. And this Goſpell of the Kingdome ſhall bee preached in all the World for a witneſſe vnto all Nations*, & then ſhall come the end. The next words that follow are theſe: *Therefore when ye ſhall ſee the Abomination* of Deſolation, *that was ſpoken of by* Daniel, *&c.* Thus may ye ſee, M. Harding, by the very courſe and tenour of Chriſts anſwer, that if the Iudgement be the Iudgement: if the End be the End: if the World be the World, then muſt theſe words néeds haue relation to the End of the World: whatſoeuer any of your beſt learned Diuines, of whom yee haue hitherto named none, haue taught or ſaid to the contrarie. Whereas we ſay, Antichriſt ſhal ſtand euen within the Church, That (ye ſay) we finde not in S. Paul, Notwithſtanding our good will (ye ſay) ye vnderſtand: although ye find in vs neuer a good reaſon. As for the goodneſſe of our Reaſons, wee will not ſtriue. But whether S. Paul ſay, that Antichriſt ſhall ſtand in the Church, or no, let vs be iudged by S. Paul. His words be plaine: Adeò, vt in Templo Dei ſedeat, tanquam Deus: *So that he will ſit in the Church of God, as if he were God.* If the Church of God, be the Church, then doth S. Paul ſay: Antichriſt ſhall ſit within the Church. In like ſenſe Chriſt ſaith: Antichriſt ſhal ſit in the holy place. By which words many of the beſt learned Fathers haue expounded, the Church of God. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Non enim Templum alicuius Idoli, aut Dæmonis, Templum Dei Apoſtolus diceret: *For the Temple of an Idoll, or of a Diuell, the Apoſtle would neuer call the* Temple of God. And he addeth further, Quidam putant rectiùs Latinè dici, ſicut in Græco eſt, non in Templo Dei, ſed in Templum Dei ſedeat: tanquam ipſe ſit Templum Dei, quod eſt Eccleſia. Sicut dicimus, ſedet in amicum, id eſt, velut amicus: *Some men thinke, we ſhould better read it in Latine, as it is in the Greeke, not, He ſitteth in* the Temple of God, *but he ſitteth* For, or, As the Temple of God: As if he himſelfe were the Temple of God, which is the Church. *As we ſay, He ſitteth for a Friend, that is, he ſitteth as a Friend.* Here S. Auguſtine ſaith: Antichriſt ſhall not only ſit in the Church, but alſo ſhall ſhew himſelfe in outward appearance, as if he himſelfe were the Church it ſelfe. Now, M. Harding, who this ſhould be, I repoꝛt me to your own Doctours, of whom one hath written thus: Papa quodámodo virtualiter eſt tota Eccleſia: *The Pope in a maner, by way of Vertue or Power, is the whole* Vniuerſall Church. S. Hierome ſaith: Antichriſtus ſtabit in loco Sancto, id eſt, in Eccleſia, & ſe oſtendet, vt Deum: Antichriſt *ſhall ſtand in the Holy place, that is to ſay, in the Church: and ſhall ſhew him ſelfe, as if he were God.* S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Incident in Abominationem Deſolationis, quæ ſtat in Sanctis Eccleſiæ locis: *They ſhall fall into the Abomination of Deſolation, that ſtandeth in the Holy places of the Church.*

Abomination of Deſolatiõ.

Antichriſt ſtanding in the Church of God. 2. Theſſ. 2.

Matth. 24. *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei l.* 20. *c.* 19. *In eodem cap.* 2. Theſſ 2 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσει.

Hereuus de poteſt. Papæ. His præmiſſis. Hieron. in cap. 24. *Matthæi. Chryſoſt. in opere imperfect. homil.* 49.

S. Hilary ſaith: Vnum moneo: Cauete Antichriſtum. Malè enim vos parietum amor cœpit: malè Eccleſiam Dei in tectis, ædificijſque veneramini. Anne ambiguum eſt, in eis Antichriſtum eſſe ſeſſurum? *One thing I read you: Beware of* Antichriſt. *For it is not well, that ye ſhould be thus in loue with walls: it is not well, that ye ſhould honour the Church in houſes and buildings.* Is there any doubt, but Antichriſt ſhall ſit in the ſame? S. Paul ſaith: Myſterium iniquitatis operatur: (Satan) *worketh the Myſtery of Iniquity.* That is to ſay, he openeth not himſelfe, but whatſoeuer he doth, he doth it in couert. Vpon which words Anſelmus ſaith: Iniquitas eorum eſt Myſtica, id eſt, pietatis nomine palliata: *The iniquity of them is* Myſticall, *that is to ſay, It is cloked and couered with the name of Godlineſſe.*

Hilarius contr. Auxentium. 2. Theſſ. 2. *Anſelmus.*

Thereforе S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Chriſtiani, qui ſunt in Chriſtianitate, volentes accipere firmitatem Fidei veræ, ad nullam rem fugiant, niſi ad Scripturas, &c. *The* Chriſtians *that be in Chriſtendome, willing to haue the ſtedfaſtnes of the true faith, let thē flie to none other thing* *Chryſoſt. in opere imperfect. homil.* 49.

thing, but onely to the Scriptures. Otherwiſe, if they looke to any thing elſe they ſhall be offended, and periſh, not knowing which is the true Church: And ſo ſhall they fall into the Abomination of Deſolation, that ſtandeth in the holy places of the Church.

The Apologie, Chap. 14. Diuiſion 1. and 2.

ALbeit theſe ſame warnings alone may ſuffice a wiſe man to take heed he do not ſuffer himſelfe raſhly to be deceiued with the name of the Church, and not to ſtay, to make further inquiſition thereof by Gods word, yet beſide all this, many Fathers alſo, many learned and godly men, haue often and carefully complained, how all theſe things haue chanced in their life time. For euen in the middeſt of that thicke miſt of darkneſſe, God would yet there ſhould bee ſome, who though they gaue not a cleere and bright light, yet ſhould kindle, were it but ſome ſparke, which men being in the darkeneſſe, might eſpie.

Contra Auxentium. Hilarius, **when things as yet were almoſt vncorrupt and in good caſe too:** Ye are ill deceiued (**ſaith he**) with the loue of walles: yee doe ill worſhip the Church: in that ye worſhip it in houſes and buildings, yee doe ill bring in the name of Peace vnder roofes. Is there any doubt, but Antichriſt will haue his ſeat vnder the ſame? I rather reckon Hilles, Woods, Pooles, Mariſhes, Priſons and Quauemires to be places of more ſafety: for in theſe the Prophets either abiding of their accord, or forced thither by violence, did propheſie by the Spirit of God.

Gregor. lib. 4. ad Mauritium Gregorie, **as one which perceiued and foreſaw in his mind the wracke of all things, wrote thus of** Iohn Biſhop of Conſtantinople, **the firſt of all others that cõmanded himſelfe to be called by this new name. The** Vniuerſal Biſhop of Chriſts whole Church: If the Church, **ſaith he,** ſhal depend vpon one man, it will ſoone fall down to the ground. **Who is he, that ſeeth not, how this is come to paſſe long ſithence? For long agone hath the** Biſhop of Rome **willed to haue the** whole Church depend vpon **himſelfe alone. Wherefore it is no maruel, though it be cleane fallen down long agone.**

M. Harding.

* Vntruth. For he writeth it often. Read the Anſwer.

Ye make a foule lie, Sir Defender, vpon S. Gregorie. The words you recite, be your owne, not his. Is it not enough to lie your ſelfe, as you doe very often, but that you father lies alſo vpon the Doctours? Thanks be to God, that ſo ye bewray the weakeneſſe of your cauſe. *Neither in any Epiſtle to Iohn Biſhop of Conſtantinople, as you ſay in your Apologie, nor in any to Mauritius the Emperour, as you haue noted in the Margent, writeth Gregorie, * That if the Church ſhall depend vpon one man, the whole ſhall fall to the ground. I ſee well, you would faine Gregory had ſo written. And if he had, yet your argument had been naught. For you take not the right Minor, which ſhoud haue been this, The Church doth depend vpon one man, if you would make your reaſon good, and after the Rules of Logike. For where your Minor ſpeaketh onely of the Popes will, thereof your concluſion followeth not. Diſpoſe your propoſitions in the forme of a Syllogiſme, and you ſhall eſpie your owne feeble reaſon. And if you make that your Minor, then grant you that, which you denie.

(a) A manifeſt vntruth without wit.
(b) Vntruth, more peeuiſh then the former.
(c) Vntruth, fond and wilfull. For S Gregorie ſpeaketh theſe words no more of the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, then of the Biſhop of Rome.

The words whereof you gather this pretenſed ſaying of Gregorie, as I ſuppoſe, be theſe: If any man hath caught vnto himſelfe that name (of Vniuerſall Biſhop) in that Church (of Conſtantinople) then the whole Church (which God forbid) fell from his ſtate, when he that is called Vniuerſall, fell. Gregorie vnderſtandeth by the name, Vniuerſall Biſhop, as himſelfe declareth in many places, (a) ſuch a one, as is a Biſhop altogether and only, ſo as there be no other Biſhop beſides him. Now if it were granted, that the Biſhop of Conſtantinople were this one, and only Vniuerſal Biſhop, this inconuenience would follow, that with the fall of that Vniuerſall Biſhop the Vniuerſall Church alſo fel. For where the Church is there be Biſhops, and where be Biſhops there is the Church: and a (b) Vniuerſall Biſhop by Gregory is as much as all Biſhops. That this being granted, the whole Church is fallen from the Faith, thus hee proueth: For (ſaith he) the Biſhops of Conſtantinople haue fallen into the gulfe of great & deteſtable hereſies; as Neſtorius, who thinking Chriſt to be two perſons, and beleeuing that God could not bee made man, ranne to a Iewiſh Infidelity: and as Macedonius, who denied the holy Ghoſt to bee God. Wherefore if the Biſhop of Conſtantinople be the Vniuerſall Biſhop, according to the ſenſe aforeſaid, then at the fall of him from the Faith, as when thoſe two before named fell, the Church alſo falleth, as then by this reaſon, when they were Biſhops it fell. Thus reaſoneth S. Gregorie in that Epiſtle to Mauritius But becauſe to Gregorie it ſeemeth very far from reaſon and incredible, that the Church ſhould fal from the Faith, and faile; therefore he enueyeth againſt Iohn the Biſhop of Conſtantinople for challenging that name of vniuerſall Biſhop, and concludeth that the (c) Biſhop of that See in any wiſe cannot ſo be.

Epiſt. lib. 4. ad Maurit. epiſt.

But

But if the word Vniuerſall, ſignifie a Soueraigntie of charge & ſupremacie of Gouernment ouer the whole Church, (d) which Chriſt committed to Peter, & in Peter to his Succeſſors the Biſhops of Rome, when he ſaid, Feed my ſheepe: in this ſenſe it is not impious nor erroneous, nor contrary to the minde of S. Gregory, to call the Succeſſor of Peter, Chriſts Vicar in Earth, the Vniuerſall Biſhop (e) that is to ſay, the higheſt of all, and hauing power ouer all other Biſhops, and Biſhop of the Vniuerſall Church. And as Chriſt gaue to S. Peter and his Succeſſors, for the benifit of his Church, a ſupreme authority and power, ſo for the ſame Churches ſake, for whoſe loue he deliuered himſelfe to death, by petition made to his Father he obtained for him & his Succeſſours the Priuilege of this ſuprome and moſt excellent grace that their Faith ſhould neuer faile. In conſideration of which ſingular priuilege, obtained by Chriſt & (f) granted to the See Apoſtolike, and to none other, Gregory rebuketh Iohn the Biſhop of Conſtantinople ſo much, as one that preſumptuouſly vſurped that new name of Vniuerſal Biſhop againſt the ſtatutes of the Goſpell, and againſt the Decrees of the Canons.

To conclude, if neither Gregory or any other man ſhould ſay, that the Church dependeth vpon one man. he might ſeme to ſay truth, meaning rightly, & that not alone, nor without good authority. For ſuch a ſaying we finde vttered by S. Ierome. The ſafety of the Church (ſaith he) dependeth vpon the dignity of the higheſt Prieſt, who if he haue not authority peereleſſe & aboue al other, there wil be ſo many Schiſmes in the Church, as there be Prieſts. Which peerleſſe authority aboue al other, as S. Hierome in that place doth attribute to (g) the Biſhop of euery Dioceſſe directly, ſo conſequently to Peters Succeſſour, to whom it was ſaid, Feed my Sheepe. For by what reaſon in ech Dioceſſe it behoueth one Prieſt to be higheſt ouer other Prieſts, by the ſame and in like proportion no leſſe it behoueth, that in the whole Church one Biſhop be higheſt ouer other Biſhops, I meane for auoiding Schiſmes.

(d) Vntruth. For Chriſt neuer gaue out any ſuch Commiſſion.

(e) This ſame was it, that Gregory reprooued: for thus he writeth. *Cauſa Ch i. ſit Membra ſibi conaris Vniuerſalis appellatione ſupponere: Greg. lib. 4 epiſt. 38.*

(f) Vntruth, vtterly void of ſhame.

(g) Here M. Harding recanteth his error. For before hee ſaid, These words belong onely to the Pope.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

If ye had better loked on your Bookes, M. Harding, ye would not haue bene ſo haſty in dealing Lies. We falſifie not that good Fathers words: but report them truely, as we finde them. For thus he writeth in ſundry places of Iohn the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, that firſt aduanced himſelfe aboue all his brethren, and required to be called the Vniuerſall Biſhop of all the World: Vniuerſa Eccleſia à ſtatu ſuo corruit, quando is, qui appellatur Vniuerſalis, cadit: *The whole Vniuerſall Church falleth from her ſtate, when he falleth that is called the* Vniuerſall Biſhop. This is no Lie, M. Harding; conferre the places, and ye ſhall finde the words, as we report them. It ſtandeth not, neither with your profeſſion, nor with your modeſty, ſo vncourteouſly to vſe your tongue. We neither Lie our ſelues, nor father Lies vpon the Doctours. God be thanked, his cauſe is ſuch, as may well bee maintained without Lies.

The Vniuerſall Church falleth.

Greg. lib. 4. epiſt. 76.

But, to put you further out of doubt, the ſenſe of theſe words ye may finde often vttered by S. Gregory, in other places. Vnto Anaſtaſius the Biſhop of Antioch, hee writeth thus: Vt de honoris veſtri iniuria taceam, ſi vnus Epiſcopus vocatur Vniuerſalis, Vniuerſa Eccleſia corruit, ſi vnus Vniuerſus cadit: *To diſſemble the iniurie done to your Honour, if one Biſhop be called* Vniuerſall, *then if that one Vniuerſall Biſhop fall, the whole Vniuerſall Church goeth to ground.* **Againe he ſaith in the ſame Epiſtle:** Vos eandem cauſam Nullam dicere non debetis. Quia ſi hanc æquanimiter portamus, Vniuerſæ Eccleſiæ Fidem corrumpimus: *Ye may not ſay, This is a matter of no importance. For if we patiently beare theſe things, we deſtroy the Faith of the Vniuerſall Church.* **Againe he ſaith:** In iſto Sceleſto vocabulo conſentire, nihil aliud eſt, quàm Fidem perdere? *To conſent vnto this wicked Name, is nothing elſe, but to loſe the Faith.* **Againe:** Flens dico: Gemens denuntio: Quia cùm Sacerdotalis Ordo intus cecidit, foris diu ſtare non poterit: *I ſpeake it with teares: I tell it with ſigh of heart. For, ſeeing the Order of Prieſthood is fallen within, it cannot now ſtand long without.* **Againe:** Diabolus ita validè in quibuſdam Eccleſiæ neceſſarijs Membris dentes figit, vt nulli ſit dubium, quin, niſi vnanimiter, fauente Domino, cunctorum prouida Paſtorum turba concurrat, omne, quod abſit, citiùs ouile dilanient: *The Diuell ſo ſtrongly faſteneth his teeth in the neceſſary Members of the Church, that vnleſſe by Gods grace, the prouident company of all Biſhops ioine together, there is no doubt, but he will ſoone deſtroy the whole flocke: which God forbid.* **And againe he compareth the Pride of this name with the Pride of Antichriſt: and ſaith, that the one ſhal worke the confuſion of the Church, no leſſe, then the other. Thus he ſaith:** Nunquid non, cùm ſe Antichriſtus veniens Deum dixerit, friuolum valdè erit? Sed tamen nimis perniciosum. Si quantitatem vocis attendimus, Duæ ſunt Syllabæ: ſi pondus iniquitatis, Vniuerſa pernicies: *When* Antichriſt *ſhall come, and call himſelfe God, ſhall it not bee a very triſle? Yet ſhall it be marueilous hurtfull* (**to the Church.**) *If ye weigh the quantity of the word, it ſtandeth in two Syllables: if ye conſider the weight of the wickednes*ſe, it is an Vniuerſall Deſtruction. **These are no Lies as it liketh you to call them, M. Harding, they are verie plaine words: it is the vndoubted meaning of S. Gregory. And therefore he calleth this claime of Vniuerſall Power, a Superſtitious, a Prophane, an Vngodly, and a Wicked Title: a name of Hypocriſie, and a name of Blaſphemie.**

Greg. lib. 4. epiſt. 83.

Greg. lib. 4. epiſt. 99.

Greg lib 4. epiſt. 80.

Greg. lib 6. epiſt. 194.

Deus.

To auoid theſe authorities, being ſo pregnant and ſo cleare, ye are faine to fancie ſundry prettie ſhifts, ſuch as, neither Iohn, nor Gregory was euer able to vnderſtand.

Firſt, ye ſay, This Iohn the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, meant by this title, vtterly to diſgrade all Biſhoppes and Patriarkes, whatſoeuer: and to make himſelfe the

Onlie

One only Bishop.

Onely Bishop of all the world. It is a childish labour to seeke a knot in a rush, and to imagine doubts, where the case is cleare. It is certaine, that the Bishop of Constantinople meant none other Vniuersall authority, then that now is claimed by the Pope. Therefore it is thus noted in the Booke called Chronicon Eusebij: Institutum fuit, vt Romana Ecclesia Caput esset Ecclesiarum omnium: cùm priùs Constantinopolitana id vsurpare tentasset. *Order was taken that the* Church of Rome should be the head of all Churches: *whereas before, the* Church of Constantinople *had attempted to vsurpe the same.* Which thing is also noted by Matthias Palmerius of Florence, and that without any maner difference or change of words. Sabellicus saith: Bonifacius 3. egit ab initio administrationis suæ cum Phoca, vt Romana Ecclesia esset omnium aliarum Caput. Estque id ægrè, nec sine multa contentione Apostolicæ sedi datum. Græci id adse decus trahentes, ibi Christianæ Pietatis Arcem esse oportere aiebant: vbi & Imperij: Pope Bonifacius *the third, at the first entrie into his office, was an earnest suter vnto the* Emperor Phocas, *that the* Church of Rome *might be the head of all other Churches. Which thing hardly and with great labour was granted to the Apostolicke* See of Rome. *The* Græcians *drawing the same honour vnto themselues said: It was necessary, the* head of Christian Religion *should be there, whereas was the head of the Empire, which was at* Constantinople.

Coronicon Eusebij, anno. 607.

Matthias Palmerius.

Sabellicus Enead. 8. lib. 6.

Thus it plainely appeareth, that the Bishop of Constantinople, and the Bishop of Rome craued both for one thing. Which thing, being wicked in the one, cannot well be godly in the other.

Vrspergensis in Phoca.

Likewise writeth Vrspergensis: *At the request and sute of* Pope Boniface, Phocas the Emperour *appointed the See of the Apostolike Church of Rome, to be the Head of all Churches. For before that time, the Church of* Constantinople *wrote her selfe the First, or Chiefe of all others.*

By these it may appeare, M. Harding, it was great follie for you thus to cauill at the name. For the Power and Iurisdiction then claimed by the Bishop of Constantinople, and afterward vsurped by the Bishops of Rome was all one. Therefore S. Gregory saith to Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople: Tu quid Christo, Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ capiti, in extremi Iudicij dicturus es examine, qui cuncta eius membra tibimet conaris Vniuersalis appellatione supponere? *What answer wilt thou make at the trial of the last Iudgemẽt, vnto Christ the head of the Vniuersall Church, which thus by the name of* Vniuersall Bishop, *seekest to make all his Members subiect vnto thee?* Euen the selfe same Vniuersall power claimeth now the Bishop of Rome, and seeketh to make all other Bishops throw the world, and the whole Vniuersall Church of Christ, thrall and subiect vnto himselfe.

Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 82.

The Bishops of Constantinople fell sometimes into Heresies, and were deceiued. But Christ *hath prayed for* Peter, *that his Faith should not faile.* Ergo, say you, The Bishop of Rome can neuer possibly be deceiued. O M. Harding, let shame once force you to refraine these vanities. I doubt not, but hereafter in place conuenient, I shall be able to shew, that there haue bene moe Heretikes placed in S. Peters Chaire, euen in the See of Rome, then you are able to finde in any one Sea within Europe.

Verily S. Gregories reason, touching the danger and confusion of the Church, weigheth no more against the Bishop of Constantinople, then against the Bishop of Rome. For thus he saith: *If he that is called the* Vniuersall Bishop, *happen to erre, then needs must the whole* Vniuersall Church *fall together with him into error.* And therefore if ye had perused the Counsell of Basil, ye should haue found this selfe same reason alleged there, not against the Bishop of Constantinople, but against the pride and arrogancie of the Bishop of Rome. The words be these: Alioqui, errante Pontifice, sicut sæpe contigit, & contingere potest, tota erraret Ecclesia: *Otherwise, whensoeuer the* Pope *erreth, as he hath often erred and may erre againe, the* whole Church *should erre with him.* Thus wrote the Bishops, and by your owne iudgement, Catholike Bishops, in the Councell of Basil: yet had they not forgotten the Prayer, that Christ made for S. Peter.

Concil. Basil in Epist. Synodal.

And therefore Franciscus Zabarella, a notable Canonist, and Cardinall of the Church of Rome, seeing the great enormities that grew hereof, saith thus: Papæ faciunt quicquid libet, etiam illicita: & sunt plusquam Deus. Ex hoc infiniti sequuti sunt errores. Quia Papa occupauit omnia iura inferiorum Ecclesiarum, ita vt inferiores Prælati sint pro nihilo. Et nisi Deus succurrat statui Ecclesiæ, Vniuersalis Ecclesia periclitatur: *The Popes doe now, whatsoeuer they list to doe, yea although it be vnlawfull, and are become more then God. Hereof haue followed infinite errors. For the* Pope *hath inuaded and entred vpon all the right of the inferiour Churches:* so that the inferiour Bishops may goe for naught. *And vnlesse God helpe the state of the Church,* the Vniuersall Church is in danger. Thus hitherto, M. Harding, ye haue found no Lie.

Francis. Zabarell Citatur ab Illyrico, de Sectis.

Now where ye would seeme to say, Gregorie so reproued the Bishop of Constantinople,

ple, that neuertheleſſe he claimed the ſame title and Vniuerſall authoritie to himſelfe: may it therefore pleaſe you herein to ſtand to the iudgement of S. Gregorie himſelfe, of whom, I reckon, ye do not doubt, but he vnderſtood his owne meaning. Doubtleſſe, if ye had ſo diligently conſidered S. Gregorie as yee beare vs in hand, yee ſhould haue found, that, touching any his owne right herein, hee diſclaimeth this title, and refuſeth it vtterlie. For ſo hee writeth to the Emperour Mauritius: Nunquid ego in hac re, piiſſime Domine, propriam cauſſam defendo? *O my moſt gracious Lord, doe I heerein quarrell for mine owne right?* Againe hee ſaith: Non mea cauſſa, ſed Dei eſt: Non ego ſolus, ſed tota turbatur Eccleſia: Quia piæ Leges, quia venerandæ Synodi, quia ipſa Domini noſtri Ieſu mandata, Superbi, atque pompatici cuiuſdam Sermonis inuentione turbantur: *It is Gods cauſe: It is not mine. Not I onely am troubled therewith, but alſo the whole Church. For the godly Lawes, the reuerend Synodes, and the verie Commandements of our Lord Ieſu are broken by the inuention of a certaine proud and pompous name.* Againe: Nullus Romanorum Pontificum hoc Singularitatis Nomen aſſumpſit: Nullus Predeceſſorũ meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo vti conſenſit: Nos hunc honorem nolumus oblatum recipere: *None of all the* Biſhops of Rome *euer tooke vpon him this name of* Singularitie, *to bee called the* Vniuerſall Biſhop: *None of my Predeceſſours euer conſented to vſe this vngodly ſtile: wee our ſelues will not receiue this honour, though it were offered.* Thus it appeareth by the iudgement of S. Gregorie, that this Vniuerſall authoritie is vtterly vnlawfull, not onely in other Biſhops, but alſo euen in the Biſhop of Rome.

The Pope himſelfe diſclaimeth, &c.

Gregor. lib. 4. epiſt. 76.

In eadem epiſt.

In eadem.

Greg. lib. 4. epiſt. 80.

Touching the place of S. Hierome, I ſee, ye are content to giue ouer, and to recant your former error. For in your Firſt Booke, ye ſay, These words are Notable aboue others; and therefore might not be diſſembled. And where S. Hierome ſaith, The ſafetie of the Church *hangeth of the Dignity of the high Prieſt* (meaning thereby euery ſeuerall Biſhop within his owne Limits) yee thought it good, thus to lard the ſame, by a proper Parentheſis, with certaine other ſpeciall ſtuffe, of your owne prouiſion: He meaneth the Pope, Peters Succeſſour: as if this High Prieſt of whom S. Hierome writeth, could bee none other, but the Biſhop of Rome. Now vpon ſome better aduice, and by way of Retractation, ye ſay thus: This peereleſſe authority aboue all others, S. Hierome doth attribute to the Biſhop of euery Dioceſſe. Which indeed was the very meaning of S. Hierome. Certainly, if S. Hierome by theſe words meant only the Biſhop of Rome, as ye told vs before, then hee meant not the Particular Biſhop of euerie Dioceſſe, as ye tell vs now. Therefore ye muſt needs confeſſe, that either now or before, yee haue ſought meanes to beguile your Reader. As for the Pope, Peters Succeſſour, S. Hierome meant no more of him, then of any other Biſhop. If it ſhall likewiſe hereafter pleaſe you, to call in other your like ouerſights, yee ſhall publiſh more truth, and encumber your Reader with leſſe error.

M. Harding fol. 80.

The Apologie, Chap. 14. *Diuiſion* 3.

Bernard the Abbat, aboue foure hundred yeeres paſt, writeth thus: Nothing is now ſincere, and pure amongſt the Clergie: wherefore it reſteth, that the Man of Sinne ſhould be reuealed. The ſame Bernard in his Treatie of the Conuerſion of S. Paul: It ſeemeth now, ſaith he, that Perſecution hath ceaſed: no, no, perſecution ſeemeth but now to begin, and that euen from them, which haue chiefe preeminence in the Church. Thy friends and neighbours, O God, haue drawen neere, and ſtood vp againſt thee: from the ſole of the foot to the crowne of the head, there is no part whole. Iniquity is proceeded from the Elders, the Iudges and Deputies, which pretend to rule thy people. Wee cannot ſay now, Looke how the people is, ſo is the Prieſt. For the people is not ſo ill, as is the Prieſt. Alas, alas, O Lord God, the ſelfe ſame perſons bee the chiefe in perſecuting thee, which ſeeme to loue the Higheſt place, and beare moſt rule in thy Church. The ſame Bernard againe vpon the Canticles writeth thus: All they are thy friends; yet are they all thy foes: All thy kinſfolke: yet are they all thy aduerſaries. Beeing Chriſts ſeruants, they ſerue Antichriſt. Behold in my reſt, my bitternes is moſt bitter.

The

The Apology, Chap. 15. Diuision 1.

In Libello de idiomate linguarum.

ROger Bacon also, a man of great fame, after he had in a vehement Oration touched to the quicke the woefull state of his owne time: These so many errours, saith he, require and looke for Antichrist. Gerson complaineth, that in his daies all the substance and efficacie of Sacred Diuinity was brought vnto a glorious contention, and ostentation of wits, and verie Sophistry. The poore men called Pauperes à Lugduno, men, as touching the maner of their life, not to be misliked, were woont boldly to affirme, that the Romish Church (from whence alone all Counsell, and Order was then sought) was the very same Harlot of Babylon and rout of Diuels, whereof is prophesied so plainly in the Apocalyps.

M. Harding.

Now commeth me he in with a new band, which consisteth of tagge and ragge, and a weake companie, God knoweth, they be to shew their faces against the Catholike Church, which (as the holy Ghost speaketh by Salomon) is terrible like an armie of men set in battell ray.

First Friar Bacon the Coniurer and Necromancer, as commonlie they say of him, he is set in the forward, a man of great fame forsooth.

Then commeth in the good plaine father Gerson, a Writer in our Grandfathers time, hee complaineth that Friars and Students gaue themselues too much to the vnprofitable subtilitie of Scholastical questions. What maketh this against the Faith of the Church?

After these, this Defender placeth in an outwing the false brethren of Lions, commonlie called Waldenses, or *Pauperes de Lugduno*, notorious Heretikes condemned of the Church. These beeing detestable Heretiks condemned of the Church, we reckon not what they say, no more then what Luther saith, what Zuinglius, what Caluine, what these Defenders themselues say, what Antichrist, what Satan saith. For the enemies of Gods truth may not be admitted to giue witnesse against the truth.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Of these last Authorities which ye call tagge and ragge, we neuer made any great account. Notwithstanding both Iohannes Gerson, and Rogerus Bacon, were notable and famous in their times, and in all respects comparable then with the best. Plaine Father Gerson (for by such words yee thought it best to quaile his credit, being otherwise counted a suttle Disputer, and a profound Schole Doctor) was Chancelar of the Vniuersitie of Paris: and for his wisdome and learning was thought worthy to be the Director of all the Bishops in the Councell of Constance, that is to say, all the Bishops of the World. Such a Poore Simple Plaine Father was Father Gerson.

Rogerus Bacon, as it appeareth by his Booke, De Idiomate linguarum, was able to iudge of the Latin, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues: and besides diuers other Bookes, writeth also sundrie Epistles vnto Pope Clement: wherein he much complaineth of the ruine, and Confusion of the Church. Certainelie the weakest of these both hath more weight and substance then either your Amphilochius, or your Abdias, or your Hippolytus, or your Leontius, or your Anacletus, or your Pope Clemens, whom yee so often call the Apostles fellow.

Howbeit, there is no man so simple, but may beare witnesse to the truth. Clemens Alexandrinus, Lactantius, Arnobius, Eusebius, S. Augustine, and other holy Fathers, thought it no preiudice to their cause, to allege the witnesse of the Frantike Sibyls. S. Paul allegeth the Authorities of the Heathen Poets, Aratus, Menander, Epimenides, that neuer knew God. Christ thought it no scorne, to receiue witnesse at Infants mouthes. So, he refused not the Diuels, when they beare witnesse with him, and said, *We know thee that thou art Christ the Sonne of the liuing God.* Pauperes à Lugduno found fault with the pride of the Pope, with the leaud life of the Clergie, with Purgatorie, with Holie Water, with Pardons, and with other your like deceiuings of the people.

Æneas Syluius in Historia Boemica.

They translated the Bible, and praied in their naturall knowne mother tongue. Lo these were their errors: Therefore were they called detestable Heretikes: therefore were they condemned by your Church of Rome. But Gods name be blessed for euer: sithence that time the Popes painted power hath still abated, and these poore detestable condemned Heretikes haue still increased.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 15. *Diuision* 2.

I know wel enough, the Authoritie of these foresaid persons wil be but lightly regarded amongst these men. How then if I call forth those for witnesse, whom they themselues haue vsed to honour? What if I say, that Adrian the Bishop of Rome did frankely confesse, that all these mischiefes brast out first from the High Throne of the Pope of Rome?

Rome the root of ill.

M. Harding.

Here haue we a man of straw set vp, whom this Defender nameth Adrian the B. of Rome. He giueth him a waze of straw in his hand, that a farre off seemeth to be a sore weapon, taken out of the armorie of Platina, (a) as is pretended. But when ye come neere, and behold what fellow this is, and conferre with Platina touching his weapon, ye see it to be a fained thing. For there is no such saying by Platina attributed to any of the (b) six Adrians Bishops of Rome, (b) whose liues he writteth. And moe there were not. Therfore where you say, *What if I say, that Adrian, &c.* I answer thereto, that if you so say, you say a false lie.

(a) A great follie. For Platina was dead threescore yeeres before Adrian 6. was Pope.

(b) Vntruth, vain & vnaduised. For Platina writeth not one word of Adrian the 6,

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Touching this prety fancie of a man of Clours, and a waze of straw, I see well, M. Harding, yee thought it good policie to clout vp the matter, and to satisfie your Reader with a strawen answer. The straw was in your eies, M. Harding, and not in the man. Ye stood too farre aloofe: your eies dazeled, and therefore ye knew not what ye saw. If ye had drawen neere, ye should some haue found your owne errour. It was no man of straw, but Pope Adrian the sixth and last that we speake of: vnlesse ye thinke the Popes Holinesse to be a man of straw. For thus he pronounced at Norinberg in Germany in the great assembly of the Empire, by the mouth of Cheregatus his Legate à Latere: A Sacerdotibus iniquitatem populi dimanare: multis nunc annis grauiter multisque modis peccatum esse Romæ: & inde à Pontificio Culmine malum hoc atque luem ad inferiores omnes Ecclesiarum Præfectos defluxisse: Thus Pope Adrian bade his Legate say: *That the iniquity of the people grew from the Priests: And that now, for the space of many yeeres, there haue beene great and grieuous offences committed in Rome: And that all this plague and mischiefe hath flowed vnto all the inferior Rulers of the Church, euen* from the High Throne of the Popes Holinesse. This same story is also extant, printed at Colaine, in a Booke called Fasciculus rerum Sciendarum.

Iohan Sleidan. lib. 4. *An.* 1523

Fasciculus rerum Sciendarum.

Thus therefore once againe we say, M. Harding that Pope Adrian 6. frankly confessed, that all these mischiefes proceeded first euen from the Throne or Seat of the Popes Holinesse: and saying the same, notwithstanding your vnctuill speech, we say no Lie.

And lest ye should thinke this Legate Cheregatus, either of forgetfulnesse, or of malice, did his errant otherwise then he had in Commission, the like words haue sithence bin vttered in your owne late Chapter at Trident, by Cornelius the Bishop of Bitonto. These they be: Effecerunt tandem, vt Pietas in Fucum & Hypocrisim, &c. *They haue brought to passe, that Godlinesse is turned into Hypocrisie: and that the Sauour of life is turned into the Sauour of death. Would God they were not gone wholly with generall consent from* Religion, to Superstition: from Faith, to Infidelity: from Christ, to Antichrist: from God, to Epicure: *saying with wicked heart, and filthy mouth, There is no God.* Neither hath there beene this great while any Pastor or Pope that regarded these things. For they all (both Pope, and others) sought their owne: and not so much as one of them (neither Pope, nor Cardinall) sought for the things that pertaine to Jesus Christ.

Cornel. Bitontinus in Concil. Trident.

Therefore, M. Harding, ye may henceforth spare your Vnsauory and bitter speeches. For in these reports there is no Lie.

The Apology, Chap. 15. *Diuision* 3.

Pighius acknowledgeth herein to bee a fault, that many Abuses are brought in, euen into the very Masse, which Masse otherwise he would haue seeme to be a most reuerend matter. Gerson saith, that through the number of most fond Ceremonies, al the Vertue of the holy Ghost, which ought to haue full operation in vs, and all true godlinesse is vtterly quenched, and dead. Whole Græcia and Asia complaine, how the Bishops of Rome, with the marts of their Purgatories and Pardons, haue both tormented mens Consciences, and picked their purses.

M. Harding.

Errors in the Masse.

Indeed Pighius in his sixth controuersie, speaking of Priuate Masses, denieth not but certaine abuses be crept into that most holy and most healthfull thing, for so hee speaketh. And adding further: Wee know (saith he) to what man, and to what men it perteineth the same to correct. And let each man acknowledge his own measure, and vnderstand his duty. As who should say, It is not meet for euery man to take vpon him to amend any thing that is amisse about the Masse. For he meaneth not that the Masse it selfe is erroneous, as full well there he declareth; but that men be faulty in abusing that most Holy Sacrifice. For many come to the Altar vnworthily. Many be present at it, that ought not to come within the Church dores. Some Priests be of so leaud liues, and of so vnreuerent behauiour at it, as it were better they abstained. Albeit, I thinke he meant rather such abuses as the learned Fathers of the prouinciall Councell of Coulen would to beamended: to wit certaine peculiar offices of Masses deuised by men of late yeeres, besides the ordinance of the Ancient Forefathers.

As for the other great troupe ye bring with you out of Greece and Asia, first we require you to make them agree with your selues, and with the Catholike Church, about the procession of the Holy Ghost, and then we shall answer both you and them concerning your grieuous matter of Purgatory and Pardons. It is not our maner to take the sayings of Heretikes for good and sufficient Authority.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Indeed, M. Harding, heere yee hew ouer high. Ye take vpon you to make vs vnderstand Pighius meaning: and yet by your owne confession it appeareth ye neuer knew your selfe what he meant. Ye say: Hee found fault with the vnworthinesse, either of the Priests, or of the people, ye know not whether: or with somwhat else noted in the late Chapter of Colaine, ye know not what. Yet whatsoeuer it shall please you to imagine, ye thinke you haue wrong if wee beleeue you not immediatly vpon your word. But Pighius himselfe, whose tale ye would so faine tell, saith not, as you would make him say, Abuses haue crept into the Priest, or people: But plainely and simply he saith; Errours haue crept into the Masse.

Howbeit, These Errors (ye say) whatsoeuer they bee, no man may redresse, but only the Pope. And good cause why. For your Doctours say: Papa ex nihilo potest facere aliquid: The Pope *of nothing can make some thing.* And whatsoeuer he doe no man may say vnto him, Domine, cur ita facis? Sir, why doe you so? And the very heart and root of all your Diuinity of Louaine is this: Christ hath praied for Peter: *Ergo*, The Pope can neuer erre. But if ye meane plainely, and if their bee no dissimulation nor Hypocrisie in your words, tell me, I beseech you, euen as you desire to bee beleeued, of all the Errours that Pighius meant, for the space of these fortie yeeres what one Errour hath the Pope redressed?

Extr. de translation. Episcop. Quãto in Glos. Extra de. Concess. prebenda. Proposuit. In Glossa.

There is no plainnesse in this dealing, M. Harding. Your minde is not to seeke redresse, bee the fault neuer so euident: but still to continue your selues in credit, and the world in errour.

Al the Christians of Græcia and Asia (ye say) be Heretiks: and therfore ye reckon not what they say. No doubt: for they say, The Pope is not the Head of the Church, which thing whatsoeuer denieth, saith Pope Nicolas, must needs be holden as an hereticke. Thomas Aquinas for that good affection and reuerence he bare towards the Pope, saith thus: Dicere Papam non habere Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ Primatum, est error similis errori dicentium, Spiritum Sanctum à Filio non procedere: *To say that the Pope hath not the* Primacy of the Vniuersall Church, *it is an Error, like vnto the Error of them that* (maintaine Heresie touching the Holy Trinity, and) *say*, The Holy Ghost proceedeth not from the Sonne of God.

Dist. 22. Omnes.

Of your readinesse herein Ludouicus Viues writeth thus: Augustinum Veruulas sua tuetur. Qui si reuiuisceret cum Paulo, certè ille contemptui esset Rhetorculus, aut Grammaticulus: Paulus verò vel insanire, vel Hæreticus videretur: S. Augustine *is safe now because of his age. But if he and* Paul *were aliue againe, he should be shaken off as a bad Rhetorician, or a poore Grammarian.* But S. Paul should bee taken, either for a madde man, or for an Heretike. We may say of this generation as S. Augustine said of certaine in his time: Quicquid amant, volunt esse Veritatem: *Whatsoeuer thing they fancie, be it what it may be, the same they will haue to be the Truth.* Now iudge you, M. Harding, what Church of yours is this, whereas S. Paul the Apostle of Christ, if hee were now aliue, should goe for an Heretike. Vespurius as I remember, after he had trauelled farre, and had seene the Maners and Religions of many Countries, saith thus: Græci implicati sunt multis Erroribus: *The* Greekes *are entangled with many Errors*: But hee addeth withall: Faxit Deus, ne & Latinis multæ irrepserint stultitiæ: *God grant there be not many follies crept also into the Church of Rome.*

Ludouic. Viues in li. 13. de. Ciuit. Dei. ca. 24.

Augu. Confess. Lib. 10. Ca. 23.

Surely the Christian men that be this day in Græcia, and Asia, vtterly abhorre the Pope, with all the deformities of his Church. The Greeke Emperour Michael Palæologus,

Paul. Æmilius Pantaleon.

logus, for that he had submitted himselfe to the Pope in the Late Councell of Florence, was therefore afterward abhorred and hated of his people while hee liued; and being dead, was forbidden Christian Buriall. Isidorus the Archbishop of Kiouia in Russia, for that he, being returned from the said Councell, hee began for vnities sake to moue the people to the like submission, was therefore deposed from his Bishoprick, and put to death. In such reuerence the Churches of Asia, and Græcia haue this day the Church of Rome. *Matth. à Michouia in Nouo Orbe.*

The Apologie, Chap. 1. Diuision 6.

AS touching the Tyranny of the Bishops of Rome, and their Barbarous Persian-like Pride, to leaue out others, whom perchance they reckon for enemies, because they freely and liberally find fault with their vices, the same men, which haue led their life at Rome in the Holy City, in the face of the most Holy Father, who also were able to see all their secrets, and at no time departed from the Catholike Faith; as for example, Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patauinus, Francis Petrarke, Hierome Sauanorola, Abbat Ioachim, Baptist of Mantua, and before all these, Bernard the Abbat, haue many a time and much complained of it, giuing the worlde also sometime to vnderstand, that the Bishop of Rome himselfe (by your leaue) is very Antichrist. Whether they speake it truly, or falsely, let that goe. Sure I am, they spake it plainely. Neither can any man allege, that those Authors were Luthers, or Zuinglius Scholars. For they liued not only certaine yeeres, but also certaine ages ere euer Luther or Zuinglius names were heard of.

M. Harding.

If this Defender were compared to a mad dogge, some perhaps would thinke it rude, and an vnmanerly comparison. Let the man be as he is, whosoeuer he be: verily the manner and fashion of both is like, howsoeuer I be content his person be honored with the due regard of a man. For as the mad Dog runneth vp and downe, heere and there, and now biteth one thing, and then another, snappeth at man & beast, & resteth not in one place: So this Defender, to deface the Church, sheweth himselfe to haue a very vnquiet head. Now he runneth at the Bishop of Rome, then at the whole Clergie. Now he barketh at errors in Doctrine, and sheweth none, then he snappeth at maners, and backbiteth mens liues Now he bringeth foorth Scriptures, and them he stretcheth & racketh, but they reach not home. Then commeth he to the Doctors, and maketh them of his side whether they will or no. From Doctors he runneth to Coniurers, to riming Poets, and to Heretikes themselues. I thinke they had rather run to the Turkes, then the Catholike Faith should be receiued. And here leauing that he took in hand to proue, that the Church erreth in necessary Doctrine, hee flingeth at the Tyrannie and Pride of the Bishops of Rome, and bringeth in for witnesse against them white and blacke, good and bad. So he hurt them, he careth not how, by what meanes, ne by what persons.

First, to get credit he vttereth a manifest lie, saying of them al, they led their life at Rome in the Holy City, vnder the nose of the most Holy Father, and might see all his secrets, and neuer forsooke the Catholike Faith. His witnesses be these: Laurentius Valla, Marsilius of Padua, Francis Petrarch, Hierome Sauanorola, Ioachim Abbat, Baptist of Mantua, and S. Bernard, whom of spight he calleth Bernard the Abbat. Now let vs see how many lies here be made at once. Whereas of all these (a) neuer a one led his life at Rome, but Laurence Valla, who was a Canon of Laterane, and this Defender saith that all did, there is one lie That all these might see the Popes secrets, there be two lies. That none of these forsooke the Catholike Faith, (b) there be three lies. As for Laurence Valla, he was not in euery point very sound, as it appeareth in his Booke of Free Will, and in his Annotations vpon the New Testament. In al things he handled he shewed himselfe new fangled, rather then groundedly learned, as well in Grammar and Logicke, as in Diuinitie.

But Marsilius of Padua, to please the Emperor Ludouicus Bauarus, who liued about two hundred yeeres past, through malice conceiued against Pope John xxij. of whom the said Ludouicus was for iust causes excommunicate, went so farre in Schisme, (c) as at length he fell into Heresie. And Abbat Ioachim, whiles he reproued Peter Lombard, (d) vttered Heresie contrary to the Catholike Faith, touching the Trinity: and therefore his Booke was condemned by the Church, though his person was not condemned, because hee submitted himselfe and his writings to the iudgement of the Holy Roman Church, as we finde in the Decretals. That all these haue greatly and often complained of the Bishops of Rome their tyranny and pride, (e) there be foure lies. That they declared the Pope himselfe to bee very Antichrist, (f) there be fiue lies. And whereas to make this shamefull lie you aske leaue, so wee aske leaue of you to tel it you, & to challenge you of a lie, and say plainely vnto you, that speaking of them all, you belie them, and that you shall neuer be able to proue that you say of them.

cum de sum. Pontif. & fide cap. 2.

Francis Petrarch the Italian Poet, and Baptist of Mantua the Latine Poet, speake like Poets, eche of them once in their workes against the euil maners of the Court of Rome. But what proofe maketh all this, that the Roman Church, that is to say, the West Church, which only remaineth, & euer hath remained whole & sound of Faith, erreth in Doctrine? Or what Argument can you gather out of all these? I will not say against the life, but against the Office, Authority, & Dignitie of the Bishop of Rome? The Argument you can make hereupon is this: Poets reprehend the Vices of the Court of Rome: *Ergo*, the Pope

(a) Vntruth. For Mantuan dwelt in Rome: Petrarcha was made Poet in Rome: Sauanorola was often in Rome, &c.

(b) Vntruth. Otherwise shew wherin they forsooke the Faith.

(c) Vntruth. Otherwise shew in what Article hee was an Heretike.

(d) This is Vncertaine. Read Luther touching the same.

(e) Vntruth. For this will soone appeare.

(f) Vntruth. For by most expresse words they call him Antichrist.

Pope is Antichriſt. Or, *Ergo*, the Catholike Church erreth, and is to be forſaken. What force is in this reaſon, euery reaſonable man, be he neuer ſo meane of wit, may ſoone iudge.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Antichriſt

Your Compariſon of Mad Dogs, M. Harding, becommeth well the reſt of your courteous eloquence. Whoſo ſhall marke how vainely you ſnap at whatſoeuer ye can imagine is in your way: now at our Logicke: now at our Rhetoricke: now at our Greeke: now at our Latine: now at our Lawneſſe: now at our leane Cheekes: now at our thinne Beards: now at our Superintendentſhips: now at our Miniſterſhips: now at our Maſterſhips: now at our Maſhips: (for this is the ſobrietie and grauitie of your ſpæch:) and further how grædily and eagerly ye faſten your tæth, and fæd your ſelfe with winde, and are ſtill ſnapping, and catch nothing: although in regard of manhood he ſpare to call you a Mad Dogge, as it liketh you to call others, yet he may well thinke you ſcarcely to bea ſober man.

Chriſt found fault, Sometime with the Biſhops: Sometime with the Prieſts: Sometime with the Scribes: Sometime with the Phariſeis: Sometime with the People: Sometime with their Religion: Sometime with their Traditions: Sometime with their Ignorance: Sometime with their Praiers: Sometime with their Faſtings: Sometime with their Life: Sometime with their Hypocriſie: Sometime with their Cruelty: And thus in your fantaſie, he ran hither and thither, vp and downe. Yet, I trow, yee will not touch him with your Compariſons, nor ſay therefore as ye ſay to vs; Hee had a verie vnquiet Head.

Whoſo hath eies to ſæ, and conſidereth the miſerable Abuſes of the Church of Rome, touching either Life, or Religion, cannot lightly want inuft matter to reprœue. Yet remember what Church it is, whereof S. Bernard ſaith, A planta pedis vſque ad verticem Capitis, non eſt ſanitas vlla: Non eſt iam dicere, Vt Populus, ſic Sacerdos: Quia nec ſic Populus, vt Sacerdos: *There is not one whole place from the ſole of the foote to the top of the Head. We may not now ſay, As is the* People, *ſo is the* Prieſt: *For the People is not thing ſo ill as is the Prieſt.*

Bernardus in Conuerſione Pauli, Serm. 1.

Yee ſay: Theſe witneſſes dwelt not in Rome. And hœre in a ſmall matter ye haue noted a great Lie. Howbeit Bernard the Abbat, that dwelt furtheſt off, was twice in Rome, and was Chiefe of Counſell with Pope Innocentius in his greateſt affaires. Franciſcus Petrarcha was made Poet in the Capitoll, and kept Laura his Concubine in the eie of the Pope, and had his moſt abode in Rome. Laurentius Valla was Canon of the Cathedral Church in Laterane, and lead his Life, and died in Rome. Briefly, S. Bernard only excepted, all the reſt were Italians, and dwelt neuer farre from Rome: and, as it may appeare by the plainneſſe of their ſpæch, vnderſtood ſome part of the dœpeſt Secrets of the Church of Rome.

Guiliel. Abb. in Vita Bernardi. Raphel. Volaterran.

Marſilius Patauinus, ye ſay, was an Heretike. But what one Hereſie hee defended, or before what Iudge hee was conuicted, or where he was either abiured, or puniſhed for the ſame, neither you, nor any of all your fellowes haue hitherto tolde vs. Therefore we muſt thinke, He was an Heretike without Hereſie, as ſome men bee Doctors without Diuinitie.

Marſilius Patauinus.

Ioachimus Abbas found fault with the Biſhop of Rome, and therefore he muſt nœds be an Heretike. As for that he is charged in the Popes Decretals, with errour touching the Trinitie, it is a great vntruth, as ye may clœrely perceiue by a Booke that Martin Luther hath purpoſely written in his defenſe.

Ioachim. Abb. Extra. de ſum. ma Trinitate, & Fide Catholic. damnamus.

Certainely Laonicus Chalcocondyla, a Greeke Writer, giueth vnto this Ioachimus a very worthy Commendation. For thus he ſaith of him: De Pontificibus, Ioachimus Abbas, &c. Ioachimus *the Abbat, regarded among the Learned in* Italie, *as a man of a ſingular gift in Prophecie, foretold many things of the Popes, how they ſhould come to the Popedome, and how they ſhould line. And as he ſpake, euen ſo it came to paſſe. As touching his knowledge, hee ſeemed to be a heauenly man.*

Laonic. Chalcondyla Li. 6.

But to come nœre the matter, and to ſpeake of the thing that moſt miſliketh you, S. Iohn ſaith: Antichriſt *ſhall ſit in a City built vpon ſeuen Hils:* (and ſo is the Citie of Rome.) Irenæus ſaith: *The number of* Antichriſts *Name ſhall be expreſſed by this word* Latinus, whereby it is likely is meant the Biſhop of Rome. Sybilla ſaith: *The greateſt terrour and fury of his Empire, and the greateſt woe that he ſhall worke, ſhall be by the bankes of* Tyber. And there is Rome. Theſe circumſtances ſœme plainely to paint out the City of Rome. S. Hierome ſaith: Antichriſtus ſedebit in Templo Dei, vel Hieroſolymis, vt quidam putant, vel in Eccleſia, vt verius arbitramur: Antichriſt *ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, either at* Hieruſalem, *as ſome thinke,* or elſe in the Church (of God) it ſelfe, which wee take to bee the *true meaning.*

Plane diuinus. Apocalyp. 17.

Virg. Septemq; vna ſibi muro circundabit Arces.

Iren li. 5. c vlt.

Sibylla Oratiane 8. Λογος ἐκ παρθενου ἐρχεται.

Hieronimus ad Algaſiam.

meaning. S. Gregory saith: Ego fidenter dico, quòd quisquis se Vniuersalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit: *I speak it boldly, whosoeuer calleth himselfe the* Vniuersall Priest, *or desireth so to be called,* (as doth the Pope) *in the pride of his heart, he is the* Forerunner of Antichrist. *Gregor. Lib. 9. Epist. 30.*

Antichrist.

And when Iohn, the Bishop of Constantinople, had first entred his claime vnto this title, S. Gregorie made answer vnto the same: Ex hac eius Superbia quid aliud, nisi propinqua iam esse Antichristi tempora designatur? *By this Pride of his, what thing else is signified, but that the time of* Antichrist *is euen at hand?* *Gregor. Lib. 4. Epist. 34.*

Againe he saith vpon occasion of the same: Rex Superbiæ propè est, &, quod dici nefas est, Sacerdotum est præparatus exercitus: *The King of Pride* (that is, Antichrist) *is comming to vs, and an armie of Priests is prepared, which thing is wicked to be spoken.* S. Hierome saith: Antichristus omnem Religionem suæ subijciet potestati: *Antichrist shall cause all Religion to be subiect to his Power.* *Gregor. Lib. 4. Epist. 34.* *Hieronymus ad Algasiam.*

I will not here take vpon me to describe, either the person, or the dwelling place of Antichrist. Who so hath eies to see, let him see. These Circumstances agree not vnto many. S. Paul saith: Antichrist *worketh the Mystery or secret practise of Iniquitie.* Whereupon the Glosse saith: Mystica est Impietas Antichristi, id est, Pietatis nomine palliata: *The Wickednesse of* Antichrist *is Mysticall, that is to say,* (it is not plaine, and open, or easie to be espied of euery body, but) *cloked vnder the name of Godlinesse.* And your Glosse vpon S. Paul vnto Timothy saith thus: Habentes speciem Pietatis, id est, Christianæ Religionis: *Hauing a shew of Godlinesse, that is to say, a shew of the Religion of Christ.* So Mysticall shall Antichrist be in all his dealing. And forasmuch as M. Harding thinketh wee misallege these Writers, and violently force them to our side, whether they will or no, S. Bernard saith thus: Bestia illa de Apocalypsi, cui datum est os loquens Blasphemias, & bellum gerere cum Sanctis, Petri Cathedram occupat, tanquam Leo paratus ad prædam: *The Beast that is spoken of in the* Booke of Reuelations, *vnto which Beast is giuen a Mouth to speak Blasphemies, and to keepe warre against the Saints of God,* is now gotten into Peters Chaire, *as a Lion prepared to his prey.* Behold, M. Harding, S. Bernard telleth you, that Antichrist is possessed in Peters Chaire. Howbeit ye may some finde a salue for this sore. For ye will say, Bernard wrote these words against Petrus Luna, an Intruder and Vsurper of the See of Rome, and not against Innocentius 7. that was Pope indeed. This is true, M. Harding, and not denied, nor any way preiudiciall to our purpose: for hereby yee may see, by Bernards iudgement, it is not impossible, but either by Election, or by intrusion, by one way, or by other, Antichrist may sit in Peters Chaire. Marke well his words: thus he saith: Bestia habens os loquens Blasphemias, occupat Cathedram Petri. But if you M. Harding, or any other your friends, shall hope to start out at this poore hole, what will you then say vnto Arnulphus, that saith, *The very Pope himselfe, notwithstanding any his Canonicall Election, if he want Charity, is* Antichrist, *sitting in the* Temple of God? What will you say to Bernard himselfe, that calleth the Popes of his time, Traitours, Wolues, Pilates, Diuels, and the Darknesse of the World? Tell your friends, M. Harding, that Bernard speaketh not these words of Intruders. This shift will not serue. Yee speaketh them of very Popes indeed, of Christs Vicars, of Peters Successors, and of the Heads of the Church. Ioachimus Abbas said aboue three hundred yeares sithence: Antichristus iam pridem natus est Romæ, & altiùs se extollet in sede Apostolica: Antichrist is already born in Rome, *and shall aduance himselfe higher in the* Apostolike See. 2. Thess. 2. 2. Timoth. 3. *Bernar. Epist. 125. pa. 1316.* *Ioach. Abbas*

Arnulphius in the Councell of Remes saith thus: Quid hunc, reuerendi Patres, in subiimi Solio residentem, veste purpurea, & aurea radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? Nimirùm, si Charitate destituitur, solâque Scientia inflatur, & extollitur, Antichristus est in Templo Dei sedens, & se ostendens, tanquam sit Deus: *What thinke you, Reuerend Fathers, of this man* (he meaneth the Pope) *sitting on high in his Throne, glittering in Purple, and cloth of Gold? What thinke ye him to be? Verily if he be void of Charitie, and be blowne vp and aduanced only with knowledge,* then is he Antichrist sitting in the Temple of God, *and shewing out himselfe, as if he were God.* The Bishops in the Councell at Reinspurg say thus: Hildebrandus Papa sub specie Religionis iecit Fundamenta Antichristi: Pope Hildebrand *vnder a colour of holinesse* (by forbidding Priests marriage) *hath laid the foundation for* Antichrist. Dantes an Italian Poet by expresse words calleth Rome the Whore of Babylon. Franciscus Petrarcha likewise saith: Rome is the Whore of Babylon, *the Mother of* Idolatrie *and* Fornication, *the Sanctuary of* Heresie, *and the* Schoole of Error. I know these words will seeme odious vnto many. Therefore I will stay, and spare the rest. The Pope himselfe, for that he saw to whose person and credit these things belonged, therefore in his Late Councell of Laterane gaue strait Commandement to all Preachers, that no man should dare once to speake of the comming of Antichrist. *In Concilio Remensi, Inter Opera Bernardi.* *Aventinus.* *Dantes in Canzione 32.* *Franc. Petrarcha, Epist. 20.* *Conc. Lateran. sub Iulio & Leone, Sess. 11.*

Indeed many places of the Holy Scriptures, spoken of Antichrist, seemed in old times to be darke and doubtfull, for that as then it appeared not vnto what state and gouernment they might be applied. But now, by the Doctrine and practise of the Church of Rome, to them that haue eies to see, they are as cleare and as open as the Sunne.

The Apology, Chap. 17. Diuision 1.

The state of the Church of Rome.

AND what maruel if the Church were then carried away with errors in that time, specially when neither the Bishop of Rome, who then only ruled the rost, nor almost any other, either did his dutie, or once vnderstood what was his dutie? For it is hard to be beleeued, whiles they were idle, and fast asleepe, that the Diuel also al that while either fell asleepe or else continually lay idle. For how they were occupied in the meane time, and with what faithfulnesse they tooke care of Gods House though we hold our peace, yet I pray you, let them heare Bernard their own friend, The Bishops (saith he) who now haue the charge of Gods Church, are not Teachers, but deceiuers: They are not feeders, but Beguilers: They are not Prelates, but Pilates. These words spake Bernard of that Bishop, who named himself the highest Bishop of all, and of the other Bishops likewise which then had the place of Gouernment. Bernard was no Lutheran: Bernard was no Heretike: he had not forsaken the Catholike Church: yet neuertheless he did not let to call the Bishops that then were, Deceiuers, Beguilers, & Pilates. Now when the people was openly deceiued, & Christian mens eies were craftily bleared, & Pilate sate in Iudgment place, & condemned Christ & Christs Members to Sword and Fire: O good Lord, in what case was Christs Church then? But yet tell me of so many, and so grosse errors, what one error haue these men at any time reformed? Or, what fault haue they once acknowledged, and confessed?

M. Harding.

Why Sirs, are ye so well learned, and so holy of life your selues, that ye take vpon you to iudge the Bishop of Rome? Christs chiefe officer in earth, and all other men, before the time of your Apostates, & Renegate Friers to haue been both impious for not doing their dutie, and ignorant for not knowing what was their dutie? Was all Vertue so farre banished, all necessary knowledge and Christian learning so cleane put out, that we must now begin to learne how to beleeue, and how to liue a Christian life, of such light Preachers, wicked Vow-breakes, leaud lecherous Lurdens, and detestable Blasphemers, as your diuelish rable is?

The Spirit of Modesty.

S. Bernards words to Eugenius be these: *Age, indagemus adhuc diligentius quis sis, &c.* Well, go to, let vs somwhat more diligently examine what maner a man thou art, what person thou beerest for the present time in the Church of God. Who art thou? The great Priest, the highest Bishop. Thou art the chief of al Bishops, thou art the heire of the Apostles: For Primacie thou art Abel, for Gouernment Noe, for Patriarkship Abraham, for holy order Melchisedech, for dignity Aaron, for authority Moses, for iudgement Samuel, for power Peter, *for thy annointing Christ. Thou art he to whom the Keies were deliuered, to whom the Sheep were committed. There be also other Porters of Heauen, and Pastors of flocks. But thou so much far passing all other, as thou hast inherited both names much more indifferent. They haue their flocks assigned vnto them, each man one. All are committed to thee, the one whole flocke to one. Neither art thou only the Pastor of all the Sheepe, but also the onely Pastor of all the Pastors.

Lib. 2. de consid. ad fin.

* The Pope is Christ. This is well to be marked.

Wherefore according to thine own Canons, other are called into part of care, thou into fulnesse of power. The Authority of others is restrained to certaine prescript bounds: thine is extended euen vpon those who haue receiued power ouer others. Canst not thou, if there bee cause why, close vp heauen gates against a Bishop, depriue him of his Bishopricke, and giue him vp to the Diuell?

Now heare an other reason, which confirmeth that prerogatiue to thee, as well as the other. The Disciples rowed, and our Lord appeared vnto them on the shore, and that in his Body now againe restored vnto life, which was more comfortable vnto them. Peter knowing that it was our Lord, leapt into the Sea, and so came vnto him, and the rest came by boat. what meaneth this? Forsooth it was a signe of the singular Popedome of Peter, by which he tooke into his Gouernment not only one Ship, as the other did, each man his owne, but the whole World.

S. Peter leapeth for the Popedome.

Ioan. 21.

M. Harding.

Apostates, Renegates, Lecherous Lurdaines, Detestable, Diuelish rable? O, M. Harding, the Vessell that held this liquor was not cleane. Wee condemne not your Clergie, either for life, or for Learning; but onely report therein the iudgement of others your speciall friends. And therefore if any thing mislike you herein, the fault is in them, and not in

in vs. S. Bernard saith, Your Bishops in his time were not Doctors, but Deceiuers: not Feeders, but Defrauders: not Prelates, but Pilates. Iudge you now in what case the Church of God stood then, when the Bishops that were the Guides and Leaders of the people might be compared to Pilate, that gaue Sentence in Iudgement against Christ.

The state of the Church of Rome.

Iohannes Vitalis a Cardinall of Rome, and therefore in no wise of your part to be refused, saith thus: De Sacerdotibus modernis dicit Hieremias, Stupor & mirabilia facta sunt in Terra. Prophetæ prædicabant mendacium: & Sacerdotes applaudebant manibus, & Populus meus dilexit talia: *Concerning the Priests that now be,* Hieremie *saith, Horrour and wonders are wrought vpon the Earth. The Prophets haue preached Lies: the Priests haue clapt their hands at it for ioy, and liked it well: and my people hath loued such things.*

Iohan. Vitalis de Prælatis & Sacerdot. Hier. 5.

Albertus Magnus saith: Illi qui modò præsunt in Ecclesijs, plurimùm sunt Fures & Latrones: plùs Exactores, quàm Pastores: plùs Spoliatores, quàm Tutores: plùs Mactatores, quàm Custodes: plùs Peruersores, quàm Doctores: plùs Seductores, quam Ductores: Isti sunt Nuntij Antichristi, Subuersores Ouium Christi: *They that now gouerne the Church, for the most part, be Theeues and Murtherers: more Catchers then Feeders: more Spoilers, then Defenders: more Killers, then Keepers: more Deceiuers, then Doctors, more Beguilers, then Guiders. These be the* Vauntcurrers of Antichrist, the subuerters of the Sheepe of Christ.

Albertus in Iohan. ca. 10. E. E

William Holcote saith: Sacerdotes moderni, sunt similes Sacerdotibus Baal: sunt Angeli Apostatici: sunt similes Sacerdotibus Dagon: sunt Sacerdotes Priapi: sunt Angeli Abyssi: *The Priests of this time are like the Priests of* Baal: *They are the renegate Angels: They are like the Priests of* Dagon: *They are the Priests of* Priapus: *They are the Angels of Hel.* S. Bernard saith: Dicimini Pastores, cùm sitis raptores. Fratres, Iesus hodie elegit sibi multos Diabolos Episcopos. Non sunt Pastores, sed Traditores: *Yee are called Bishops, but yee are Rauenners. O my Brethren, Iesus at this time hath chosen vnto him many Diuels to be Bishops: they are not Feeders, they are Traitors.* Iohannes Sarisburiensis said boldly vnto Pope Adrian the Fourth: Ideò mea opinione Papæ frequentiùs moriuntur, ne totam corrumpant Ecclesiam: *Therefore in my iudgement the Popes die the oftner, lest* (if they should continue long) *they should infect the whole Church.*

Guil. Holcote in li. Sapientiæ, Lectio. 182.

Bernar. in Concil. Remensi.

Iohan. Sarisb. in Polyc. l. 6. *c.* 24.

Againe S. Bernard saith: Pudeat Successores Apostolorum, Lucem non esse Mundi, sed Modij: Mundi autem tenebras. Dicamus eis, Vos estis tenebræ Mundi: *Let it shame the Successors of the Apostles not to be the Light of the world, but the light of the Bushel: and rather the Darkenesse of the World. Let vs therefore say vnto them,* Ye are the darkenesse of the World.

Bern. in Cant. Serm. 66.

Thorow these spectacles we may behold the state of the Church of Rome. For Christ saith: *If the Light it selfe that is in thee, be made* Darknesse *how great then will the* Darkenesse *it selfe be?* How can the City be kept in safety, if the Watchman be blind and see nothing? *If the Blinde lead the Blinde, both fall into the pit.* Christ saith: Dormientibus illis creuerunt Zizania: *While the Husbandmen were asleepe, then the Cockle and Darnel grew.* S. Hilarie saith: Ecclesiæ, intra quas verbum non vigilat, naufragæ sunt: *The Churches wherein Gods Word watcheth not, suffer shipwracke and are drowned.*

Matth. 6. Matth. 15. Matth. 13. *Hilar. in Matth. Canon.* 8.

But Bernard, ye say, stoutly maintained the Supremacy. I grant you. Neither did wee euer allege him, to proue the contrarie. He defendeth also other great and grosse errors, as liuing in a time of deepest Darkenesse. But the reasons he vseth, seeme very weake, specially to winne so great a matter. For thus hee saith: Peter leapt into the water and came to Christ:

Bern. de Consideratione ad Eugen lib. 2.

The rest of the Disciples came by boat:

Iohan. 21.

Ergo, The Pope hath the iurisdiction of all the World.

Such other pretty Reasons, made in the Popes behalfe, yee may finde many. Peter Crab that lately compiled the Bookes of Councels, reasoneth thus:

Concil. to. 1. *Pagin.* 10.

Peter *paid the tribute money for Christ, and himselfe:* Matth. 17.

Christ *said vnto* Peter, *follow thou me:* Iohan. 21.

Againe he said, Launch foorth into the deepe: Luc. 5.

Againe, Peter, *art thou asleepe? Couldest thou not watch with me one houre?* Mark. 14.

And againe from henceforth thy name shall be Peter: Luc. 22.

And, Peter *drew his Sword, and cut off* Malchus *Eare:* Iohan. 1.

Ergo, saith he, *The Pope hath* vniuersall authority *ouer the whole Church of God.* Matth. 26.

Here be Reasons euen for a Pope. He must needs bee hard hearted, that will not yeeld to them.

Notwithstanding, howsoeuer these Reasons hold, Bernard saith: *The Popes are the Heads of the Church.* True it is. But againe the same Bernard saith: The same Heads are the Ministers of Antichrist, Deceiuers Defrauders, Rauenners, Traitours, the Darkenesse

neſſe of the World. Wolues, Pilates and Diuels. And this was ſufficient for our purpoſe.

Greg. hom. 17. in illa verba, Meſſis quidem multa. S. Gregory ſaith: Conſiderate, quid de Gregibus agatur, quando Lupi ſunt Paſtores: *When the* Woolfe *is become the Shepheard, conſider then, what may become of the Flocke.*

The Pope is Chriſt. As for that S. Bernard ſaith: The Pope is Abel: The Pope is Noë: The Pope is Abraham: The Pope is Melchiſedech: The Pope is Aaron: The Pope is Moſes: The Pope is Samuel: The Pope is Peter: The Pope is Chriſt: I doubt not, but your owne Conſcience will anſwer, it is too much. Yet of the two, that is a great deale more likely, that others haue ſaid, as I haue alleged before: The Pope is Antichriſt. For both Heauen and Earth knoweth, he is not Chriſt.

The Apologie, Chap. 18. *Diuiſion* 1.

BUt, forſomuch as theſe men auouch the Vniuerſall poſſeſſion of the Catholike Church to be their owne, and call vs Heretikes, becauſe we agree not in iudgemēt with them, let vs know, I beſeech you, what proper marke & badge hath that Church of theirs, wherby it may be known to be the Church of God. Verily it is not ſo hard a matter to finde out Gods Church, if a man will ſeeke it earneſtlie and diligently, and as hee ſhould. For the Church of God is ſet vpon a high and gliſtering place, in the top of an Hill, and built vpon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets: There (ſaith Auguſtine) let vs ſeeke the Church: there let vs trie our matters. And, as he ſaith againe in another place: The Church muſt bee ſhewed out of the Holy and Canonicall Scriptures: and that which cannot be ſhewed out of them is not the Church. Yet for all this, I wot not how, whether it be for feare, or for conſcience, or deſpaire of victory, theſe men alway abhorre and flie the Word of God, euen as the Theefe flieth the Gallowes. And no wonder truly. For, like as Men ſay, the Cantharus by and by periſheth and dieth, as ſoone as it is laid in Balme: notwithſtanding Balme be otherwiſe a moſt ſweet ſmelling Ointment: euen ſo theſe men will ſee, their own matter is damned and deſtroied in the Word of God, as if it were in poiſon. Therfore the Holy Scriptures, which our Sauior Ieſus Chriſt did not only vſe for authority in al his ſpeech, but did alſo at laſt ſeale vp the ſame with his owne Bloud, theſe men to the intent they might with leſſe buſineſſe driue the people from the ſame, as from a thing dangerous and deadly, haue vſed to call them a bare Letter, Vncertaine, Vnprofitable, Dumbe, Killing and Dead: which ſeemeth to vs all one, as if they ſhould ſay, The Scriptures are to no purpoſe, or as good as none at all. Hereunto they adde a ſimilitude not very agreeable, how the Scriptures be like to a Noſe of Wax, or a Shipmans Hoſe: how they may bee faſhioned and plied all maner of waies, and ſerue all mens turns.

Ang. de Vnit. Eccl. Catholic.

Albert Pighius in controuer. De Eccleſia.

M. Harding.

Where ye ſay the Church is builded vpon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, and ſhewed by the holy Canonicall Scriptures: wee confeſſe the ſame with S. Auguſtine. When yee adde, the Church, which cannot be ſhewed out of the Scriptures to be no Church, we ſay, that though (a) S. Auguſtine haue no ſuch words in the Chapters, which ye allege in the Margin, yet were it neuer ſo much granted, that he had thoſe words in that place, they ſhould make nothing for your purpoſe. S. Auguſtine in that Booke diſputeth againſt the Donatiſts, who would reſtraine the Catholike Church to the only Country of Afrike, denying other Chriſtian men to be members thereof. S. Auguſtine refuting their Hereſie, declareth the Son of God to be the head, and all the true Faithfull to be the Body of the Church: and that it is not ſufficient to hold with the head alone, or with the Body alone: but we muſt hold with both together, if we will be ſaued.

(a) Vntruth. For S. Auguſtine in the ſame places and elſwhere oftentimes ſaith the ſame.

(b) Vntruth. For S. Auguſtines words are generall.

(c) Here M. Harding ſecretly confeſſeth that his Church of Rome cannot be ſhewed by the Scriptures.

The Donatiſts did grant the head Ieſus Chriſt, and denied his Body the Church. For this cauſe ſaith S. Auguſtine, *Ipſum Caput de quo conſentimus, oſtendat nobis Corpus ſuum, de quo diſſentimus*: Let the Head, vpon whom we agree, ſhew vnto vs his Body, whereupon we diſagree. The Head is Chriſt, who ſpake firſt by his Prophets, afterward by himſelfe, and laſt of all by his Apoſtles. *In his igitur omnibus quærenda eſt Eccleſia*: In all theſe (ſaith he) the Church muſt be ſought.

If thou marke, good Reader, that which I haue here rehearſed out of S. Auguſtine, it is to be ſeen, that he bindeth not the proofe of the Church ſimply to the holy Scriptures, (b) but only in a caſe, whē he hath to doe with an Heretike, who will not admit the authority of the Church. Therefore (c) a true Church may be found, which is not ſhewed in the Scriptures, ſo the contrary therof be not ſhewed in the Scriptures.

Where the Church muſt be ſought.

tures. Now if these Defenders will haue that to be no Church, which cannot be shewed out of Scriptures, they shal vnderstand, that as therein they play the Donatists, so we must needs follow S. Augustine in bringing Scriptures against them not as the (d) only proofe indeed (which they fasly say) but as a very good and chiefe kind of proofe, most profitable in all cases, and necessary at such time, as the aduersary will admit none other proofe, &c.

(d) Vntruth. For S. Chrys. stome saith: *Nunc nullo modo cognoscitur, quæ sit vera Ecclesia, nisi* tantummodo *per Scripturas.*

Wherefore it remaineth, that it is the Synagogue of Antichrist and Lucifer. Who as he fel out of Heauen like a lightning, so he maketh a blase and shew of a Church in the Earth for a time. But as we can tell when it was not borne, so shall it not be long, but that through Gods power it will vanish away, dispersed, and be scattered by the lightsome Maiestie of Christs true Church, which from S. Peters time to this day, flourisheth in her Head the Bishop of Rome, and in her Members thorowout the Worlde, (e) which abide in the Vnity of the same Bishop.

(e) In the Vnitie of the Bishop of Rome

We esteem and vnderstand the Scriptures to be the sense and the word. If they can pretend the bare word, they thinke themselues good enough to make a sense of their owne. Which bare word, as they misuse it, Pighius perhaps compareth to a nose of wax. But the Scriptures he neuer meant to dishonour with that similitude. If it were lawfull for vs to vse Scripture after our owne interpretation, as they doe, we should not lacke sufficient matter in the Holy Bookes to ouerthrow by our owne applying all their false opinions and Heresies. (f) But we are bound to that religious awe and reuerence of them, that except we haue an Author to auouch the sense wherof we take hold, we dare bring forth nothing. And yet read our Bookes who will, he shall lacke neither Scriptures in them, nor witnesses of our interpretation in any controuersie of this age. Let it be agreed, that for decision of controuersies, such sense of the Scriptures be taken for Scripture, which the Holy Ghost hath taught the Church, and then let the World iudge, who flieth the word of God, as the Theefe doth the Gallowes.

(f) Vntruth, manifest. for M. Hard knoweth that in the greatest cases that lie in question, hee can allege neither Scripture nor Doctour.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Contrary to that, we haue here alleged of S. Augustine, ye say: A true Church may bee found, which is not shewed in the Scriptures. **Whereby it appeareth, ye are loth your Church should come to the triall of this Standard. But forasmuch as this quarrell groweth of** S. August. **let** S Augustine **himselfe be the Iudge. And to allege a few words in stead of many, thus he saith:** Vtrùm ipsi Ecclesiam teneant, Diuinarum Scripturarum Canonicis Libris ostendant. Ecclesiam Christi, sicut ipsum caput Christum, in Scripturis Sanctis Canonicis debemus agnoscere: *Whether they haue the Church, or no, let them shew by the Canonicall Bookes of the Holy Scriptures. We must know the Church of Christ, euen as we likewise know Christ, which is the head of the Church, in the holy Canonicall Scriptures.* **Againe he saith:** Ecclesiam sine vlla ambiguitate Sancta Scriptura demonstrat: *The holy Scripture sheweth the Church without any doubtfulnesse.* **Againe:** Quæstio est, vbi sit Ecclesia. Quid ergo facturi sumus? Vtrùm in verbis nostris eam quæsituri, an in Verbis Capitis sui, Domini nostri Iesu Christi? Puto, quòd in illius potiùs verbis eam quærere debemus, qui veritas est, & optimè nouit Corpus suum: *The question or doubt is, where the Church should be. What then shall we doe? Whether shall we seeke the Church in our owne words, or in the words of her Head, which is our Lord Iesus Christ? In my iudgement we ought rather to seeke the Church in his words: for that he is the Truth, and best knoweth his owne* Body.

Church knowen by Gods Word.

Augustin. de Vnitat. Eccl. c. 66

Augustin. contra. Cresconium Grãli l. c. 32.

Augustin de Vnitate Eccl. cap. 2

Againe: Non audiamus, Hæc dico, Hæc dicis: Sed audiamus, Hæc dicit Dominus. Ibi quæramus Ecclesiam: Ibi discutiamus causam nostram: *Let vs not heare these words: This say I, This saist thou: But these words let vs heare:* Thus saith the Lord: there let vs seeke the Church: *there let vs discusse our cause.* **And againe:** Nolo Humanis Documentis, sed Diuinis Oraculis Sanctam Ecclesiam demonstrari: *I will not haue the Holy Church to be shewed by Mans iudgement, but by Gods word.*

Aug. de Vnitate Eccl. cap. 3.

In eod. capite.

Likewise saith S: Chrysostome: Nunc nullo modo cognoscitur, quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi, nisi Tantummodò per Scripturas: *Now can no man know, which is the true Church of Christ, but* Only *by the Scriptures.* **Againe he saith in like forme of words:** Volens ergo quis cognoscere, quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi, vnde cognoscat in tanta confusione similitudinis, nisi Tantummodò per Scripturas: *If a man be desirous to know, which is the true Church of Christ, how can he know it in such a confusion of likenesse, but* Onelie *by the Scriptures?* **These words be so euident and so plaine, that no man with modestie may well denie them.**

Chrys. in opere imperf. hom. 49. In eadem hom.

And whereas you say, All this notwithstanding, A true Church may be found which is not shewed in the Scriptures. S. Ambrose saith: Ecclesia fulget, non suo, sed Christi lumine: *The Church shineth* (or is knowen) *not by her owne Light, but by the Light of Christ, which is, by the* Word of God.

Ambr. Hexameron li. 4. c. 8.

And Chrysostome **saith:** Qui Sacra non vtitur Scriptura, sed ascendit aliunde, id est, non concessa via, hic Fur est, & Latro. *Whoso vseth not the Scripture, but getteth vp another way, that is, by a way that is not lawfull, he is a Theefe and a Murtherer.* **Againe he saith:** Hierusalem hic semper Ecclesiam intellige quæ dicitur Ciuitas Pacis: cuius Fundamenta posita sunt super Montes Scripturarum: *Heere by* Hierusalem, *euermore vnderstand*

Chrysost. in Iob. Homil. 58.

Chrys. in Mat. tha. homil 46.

ſtand thou the Church, which is called the City of Peace: The foundations whereof are laid vpon the Mountaines of the Scriptures.

Ye magnifie your Church of Rome, and ſay: It ſhineth on high vpon the Mount. Yet S. Bernard ſaith to the Pope and his Clergie, as it is alleged before: Vos eſtis Tenebræ Mundi: *Ye are the Darkeneſſe of the World.* Therefore ye may not well vant your ſelues ſo much of the brightneſſe of your beames. As for that, ye call our Church the Synagogue of Lucifer and Antichriſt, we may well ſuffer it to blow ouer, as the vaine vnſauory ſmoke of ſome impatient cholericke humors. Our cauſe is not the worſe, M. Harding, in the iudgement of the wiſe, for that you haue learned ſo readily to ſpeake ill.

Bernard. in Cantica.

Vnity of the church in one Pope.

But what Louanian vanity is this, to ſay, The members of the Church of Chriſt abide in the Vnity of the Pope? What Scripture or Doctor, or Father euer tolde you of ſuch Vnity? S. Paul ſaith: *We are all one* (not in the Pope, but) *in Chriſt Ieſu.* And what ſo great Vnity can you ſay, there is, or hath bene in your Popes? Platina ſaith: Poſt Stephanum ſemper hæc conſuetudo ſeruata eſt, vt acta Priorum Pontificum ſequentes aut infringerent, aut omninò tollerent: *It hath beene an ordinary cuſtome among the Popes euer ſithence the time of* Pope Steuen, *that the* Popes, *that followed afterward, would euermore either breake, or aboliſh the acts of the* Popes *that had beene before them.* Eraſmus ſaith: Iohannes 22. & Nicolaus totis Decretis inter ſe pugnant, idque in his, quæ videntur ad Fidei negotium pertinere: Pope Iohn 22. and Pope Nicolas *in their whole* Decrees *are contrary the one againſt the other: yea and that in matters that ſeeme to belong to caſes of the Faith.*

Galat. 3.

Platina in Stephano 6.

Eraſm. in Annotationib. in 1. Cor. 7.

To be ſhort, the Popes haue foulie corrupted the Scriptures: they haue corrupted the Decrees and Canons of Councels: they haue beene Sorcerers: Idolaters: Scribes and Phariſeis: They haue bene Arian Heretikes: Neſtorian Heretikes: Monothelite Heretikes: Montaniſt Heretikes: they haue maintained damnable Hereſies againſt the Godhead of Chriſt: againſt the Perſon of Chriſt: againſt the Will of Chriſt: and againſt the Immortality of the Soule: they haue bene contrary to themſelues, one directly, and expreſly againſt another: Yet muſt the Pope beare vp the whole Church of God, euen as Atlas beareth vp the Heauens? and vnleſſe all the world abide in him, is there no Vnity in the Church?

So ſaith Hoſius: Vnum præeſſe toti Eccleſiæ, vſque adeo eſt neceſſarium, vt abſque hoc Eccleſia vna eſſe non poſſit: *It is ſo neceſſary a thing, that one haue the Gouernment of the whole, that otherwiſe the Church of God cannot be One.*

Hoſius in Petricouien. Confeſſ. cap. 27.

Clem. 5. Ad noſtram in Gloſſa.

Likewiſe it is noted in the Popes owne Gloſſes vpon his Decretals: Conſtat Eccleſiam ideò eſſe Vnam, quia in Vniuerſali Eccleſia Vnum eſt Caput Supremum, ſcilicet Papa: *It is plaine, that the* Church *is One, for that in the Vniuerſal* Church *there is One* Supreme head, *that is, the* Pope. Another of your Doctors doubteth not to ſtep yet a little further, and thus to expound the words of Chriſt. Fiet Vnum Ouile, & Vnus Paſtor: Quod quidem de Chriſto intelligi non poteſt, ſed de aliquo alio Miniſtro, qui præſit loco eius: *There ſhal be one Fold and one Shepheard.* Theſe words we may not vnderſtand of Chriſt, *but of ſome other Miniſter, that may rule in his roome.* By which Doctors Catholike iudgement, wee finde, that the Vnity of the Church hangeth not of Chriſt, but of the Pope.

Ioh. de Pariſijs, de Poteſt. Regia & Papali, c. 3.

But theſe be ouer vaine and groſſe vanities. For though the Pope were no Pope, yea though Antichriſt were the Pope, yet is Chriſt able to hold his Church in perfect Vnitie. S. Paul ſaith: Chriſtus eſt Caput, ex quo totum Corpus coagmentatur, & connectitur: *Chriſt is the* Head, *of whom the whole Body* (of the Church) *is framed faſt, and ioined together.* Therefore S Chryſoſtome ſaith: Ex hoc Capite Corpus habet, & vt ſit, & vt bene ſit. Quid relicto Capite Membris adhæres? *Of this* Head (that is, Chriſt) *the Body hath both to be, and alſo well to be. What cleaueſt thou to the* Members, *and leaueſt the* Head?

Epheſ. 4.

Chryſ ad Coloſ. homil. 7.

This is the Vnity of the Church, that the whole Flocke may heare the voice of that One Sheepheard and follow him. And that One Sheepheard is Chriſt the Sonne of God, and not the Pope. Therefore S Auguſtine ſaith: Per hanc Poteſtatem, quam ſolùm ſibi Chriſtus retinuit, ſtat Vnitas Eccleſiæ, de qua dictum eſt, Vna eſt Columba mea: *By this Power, which Chriſt* (he ſaith not, hath giuen ouer to the Pope, but) *hath reſerued onely to himſelfe, ſtandeth the* Vnity of the Church: *of which* Vnity *it is ſaid,* My Doue is One.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 6.

Yee ſay, there appeareth in your Bookes ſufficient abundance of Scriptures, touching any controuerſie of this age, and that according to the very ſenſe and meaning of the ſame, together with the conſent and iudgement of the Holy Fathers. But for vs (yee ſay) we build only vpon the bare words, and make a meaning of our owne.

Indeed it is no great maſtery for you, to arme your ſelfe with ſome ſhew of Scriptures. The Diuell was not altogether void of ſuch furniture, when hee came to tempt Chriſt. S Cyril ſaith: Omnes Hæretici de Scriptura diuinitùs inſpirata ſui colligunt erroris occaſiones:

Matth 4.

In Conc Chalced. Actione 1.

siones: *All Heretikes out of the heauenly inspired Scriptures gather occasion of their error.* Athanasius saith: Hæretici Scripturarum verbis prò esca vtuntur: *Heretikes vse the words of the Scriptures for a bait.* *Athan. contra Arian. Orat. 1.*

Tertullian saith: Fidem ex his impugnat, ex quibus constat: *An Heretike assaulteth the Faith by the same words of Gods, that breed the Faith.* *Tertullian. de Baptismo.*

Abusing of the Scriptures.

But forasmuch as ye say, ye beare such aw and reuerence vnto the Word of God, and in the interpretation thereof, follow onely the sense of the Holy Ghost, and the iudgement of the Doctors, and Fathers of the Church, for some triall of your truth herein, let vs see, how discreetly and reuerently ye haue vsed the same.

In your late Councell holden at Lateran in Rome, one Simon Begnius, the Bishop of Modrusia, saith thus vnto Pope Leo: Ecce venit Leo de Tribu Iuda, Radix Dauid, &c. Te Leo Beatissime Saluatorem expectauimus, &c. *Behold the Lion is come of the* Tribe of Iuda, *the root of* Dauid, *&c. O most blessed* Leo, *we haue looked for thee to be our* Sauiour. In your late Chapter at Trident, Cornelius the Bishop of Bitonto said thus: Papa Lux venit in mundum: & dilexerunt homines tenebras magis quàm Lucem. Omnis, qui male agit, odit Lucem, & non venit ad Lucem: *The Pope being the Light, is come into the World, and men haue loued the Darkenesse more then the Light. Euery man that doth euil, hateth* (the Pope, that is) *the Light, and commeth not to the Light.* *Concil. Lateran. Sess. 6. pa. 601. Concil. Tridet. Cornelius Bitontinus.*

Pope Adrian saith: Papa non iudicabitur à quoquam: Quia scriptum est, Non est Discipulus supra Magistrum: *No man shall iudge the* Pope: *for it is written, the Scholar is not aboue his Master.* *Conc. to. 2. Decreta collecta per Adrianum pag. 613.*

The Pope suffereth the Embassadours of Sicilia, to lie prostrate on the ground, and thus to cry vnto him, as if it had beene vnto Christ: Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri: Qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem: *O thou* (holy Father) *that takest away the Sinnes of the World haue mercie vpon vs: thou that takest away the Sinne of the World, giue vs peace.* *Paulus Æmilius lib 7. Conc. tom. 1. in purgat. Sexti.*

Pope Sixtus saith; Who so accuseth the Pope, can neuer be forgiuen. And his reason is this: Quia qui peccat in Spiritum Sanctum, non remittetur ei, neque in hac vita, neque in futura: *He that sinneth against the Holy Ghost, shall neuer be forgiuen, neither in this World, nor in the World to come.* And by these words of the Scriptures, so well applied, hee concludeth, that no man may accuse the Pope. And is the Pope indeed, The Lion of the Tribe of Iuda? Is the Pope the Root of Dauid? Is the Pope the Light? Is the Pope the Sauiour of Mankinde? Is the Pope that Lambe of God, that taketh away the Sinnes of the World? Was this the very sense of the Holie Ghost? Was this the meaning of the Scriptures? And to leaue a heape of other examples (for they are infinite) you your selfe, M. Harding, haue often vsed the Scriptures in like sort.

Thus ye say, The Sonne of Man came not to destroy (the Soules of men) but to saue. Ergo, The Substance of Bread in the Sacrament is not annihilate or consumed to nothing. *M. Harding fol. 99. a.*

And this, ye say, was the sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost. This is the Iudgement of all the Doctors and holy Fathers. Such religious aw and reuerence ye beare towards the word of God. Yet saith your Doctor Hosius: *The Scripture as it is alleged by vs, is the Word of the Diuell: but as it is alleged and handled by you, so onely it is the word of God.* If yee had not vtterly wipte all shame from your faces, ye would neither make such mockeries of Gods holy Word: nor so leaudly abuse the people of God. *Hosius contra Brentium, lib. 4 fol. 178. a.*

The Apology, Chap. 19. and 20. Diuision 1.

VVOteth not the Bishop of Rome, that these things are spoken by his own Minions? or vnderstandeth he not, he hath such Champions to fight for him? Let him hearken then how boldly, and how godlie one Hosius writeth of this matter, a Bishop in Polonia, as he testifieth of himselfe: a man doubtlesse well spoken, and not vnlearned, and a very sharpe, & a stout maintainer of that side. Thou wilt marueil, I suppose, how any good man could either conceiue so wickedly or write so despitfully of those words which he knew proceeded from Gods mouth, and specially in such sort as he would not haue it seeme his owne priuate opinion alone, but the common opinion of all that band. He dissembleth I grant you indeed, and hideth what he is, and setteth forth the matter so,

Hoſius de expreſſo verbo Dei.

ſo, as though it were not he, and his ſide, but the Zuenkfeldian Heretiks, that ſo did ſpeake. Wee (ſaith he) will bid away with the ſame Scriptures, whereof we ſee brought, not only diuers, but alſo contrary interpretations: and we will heare God ſpeake, rather then we will reſort to the naked Elementes or bare words of the Scriptures, and appoint our Saluation to reſt in them. It behoueth not a man to be expert in the Law and Scripture, but to bee taught of God. It is but loſt labour, that a man beſtoweth in the Scriptures. For the Scripture is a Creature, and a certaine bare Letter. This is Hoſius ſaying, vttered altogether with the ſame Spirit, and the ſame mind wherwith in times paſt the Heretiks Montanus and Marcion were moued, who, as it is written of them, vſed to ſay, when with cõtempt they reiected the Holy Scriptures, that themſelues knew many mo, and better things, then either Chriſt or the Apoſtles euer knew.

What then ſhall I ſay heere, O yee principall poſts of Religion, O yee Archgouerners of Chriſts Church: is this that your reuerence which ye giue to Gods Word? The holy Scriptures which S. Paul ſaith, came by the inſpiration of God, which God did commend by ſo many Myracles, wherein are the moſt perfect prints of Chriſts owne ſteps, which all the Holy Fathers, Apoſtles, and Angels, which Chriſt himſelfe the Sonne of God, as often as was needfull, did allege for teſtimony and proofe: wil ye, as though they were vnworthy for you to heare, bid them Auant? That is, will ye enioine God to keepe ſilence, who ſpeaketh to you moſt cleerely by his own mouth in the Scriptures? Or, that Word, whereby alone, as Paul ſaith, we are reconciled to God, and which the Prophet Dauid ſaith, is Holy and Pure, and ſhall laſt foreuer, will ye call that but a bare, & dead Letter? Or wil ye ſay, that al our labour is loſt, which is beſtowed in that thing which Chriſt hath commanded vs diligently to ſearch, and to haue euermore before our eies? And will yee ſay that Chriſt and the Apoſtles meant with ſubtilty to deceiue the people, when they exhorted them to read the Holy Scriptures, that thereby they might flow in al wildome and knowledge? No maruell at all, though theſe men deſpiſe vs and all our doings, ſeeing they ſet ſo little by God himſelfe & his infallible ſayings. Yet was it but want of wit in them, to the intent they might hurt vs to doe ſo extreme iniurie to the Word of God.

But Hoſius wil here make exclamation, and ſay, that we do him wrong & that theſe be not his own words, but the words of the Heretik Zuenkfeldius. But how then, if Zuenkfeldius make exclamaton on the other ſide, & ſay, that the very ſame words be not his, but Hoſius own words? For tell me where hath Zuenkfeldius euer written them? Or, if he haue written them, and Hoſius haue iudged the ſame to be wicked, why hath not Hoſius ſpoken ſo much as one word, to confute them? Howſoeuer the matter goe, although Hoſius peraduenture wil not allow of thoſe words, yet he doth not diſallow the meaning of the words. For welneere in all Controuerſies, & namely touching the vſe of the Holy Communion vnder both kinds, although the words of Chriſt be plaine and eudent, yet doth Hoſius diſdainefully reiect them, as no better, then Cold and Dead Elements: and commandeth vs to giue Faith to certaine New Leſſons, appointed by his Church, and to, I wot not what, Reuelations of the Holy Ghoſt. And Pigghius ſaith: Men ought not to beleeue, no not the moſt cleere and manifeſt words of the Scriptures, vnleſſe the ſame bee allowed for good by the interpretation and authority of the Church: Whereby he meaneth the Church of Rome.

M. Harding.

M. Harding.

How ignorantly, wickedly, and ſtubbornly the Author of this Apology burdeneth the reuerent Father in God, and Honourable Prelate Cardinall Hoſius with that he neuer ſaid, it is not vnknown to al men who haue read that Booke which he wrote *De expreſſo verbo Dei*, of the expreſſe word of God. Here I aske ſo much pardon, as to detect an hereticall touch or two before I make direct anſwer to the foule ſlandering of Hoſius.

Firſt I note with what fidelity theſe new holy brethren do their things. It may be thought that the Secretary of this new Clergie, at his penning of the Apology, ſaw not Hoſius Booke of the expreſſe word of God. But as they haue been conuerſant in S. Auguſtine, Hierome, Chryſoſtome, and the Ancient Fathers, ſo vſe they Hoſius at this time, that is to ſay, they read neither the Old Fathers with any diligence, neither the Writers of our time. But by inaps & peeces either themſelues write out here & there a line or two, or vſe that which ſome of their own ſect hath take out of them. So that for moſt part they neuer know the tru meaning of the place which they allege. But vſing patched note-bookes, & bringing in ſcattered Authorities, they be deceiued themſelues, & deceiue others. And he that took the note knew well they were not the words of Hoſius, & did but only put the name of Hoſius vnto them becauſe they were taken out of his Booke. The Writer of this Apology not knowing, nor not remembring ſo much, when he found in the note-booke the name of Hoſius with ſuch words, he did raſhly put them in print, to his owne great ſhame and diſcredit. If this excuſe be not true wee muſt needs lay maruellous malice to the ſaid Writer, who wittingly and of ſet purpoſe did impute the words to Hoſius, which he reported by way of miſliking of them, and ſhewing whoſe Hereſie they contained.

Now let the Defenders chuſe whether they will haue their Secretary condemned of ignorance, or of malice. Howſoeuer it be, marke yet the third point, which heereof wee will gather. The Apology was ſcant printed and publiſhed, but that groſſe error was out of hand eſpied, and word thereof brought to the Author, I meane him that penned it. But what did he? Did he confeſſe that he was deceiued? Did he crie Hoſius mercy? No, no. That is not the wont of Heretikes. They will go forward with the matter once begun whatſoeuer come of it. What did he then? When it ſhould be ſet forth in Engliſh, and word came to him thereof, he made an excuſe I warrant you meet for an Heretike, whoſe property it is *Proficere in peius*, as S. Paul ſaith, to proceed to worſe and worſe, to take his degree backward, and of a great fault to make a far greater. For whereas before (as Charity moueth me to thinke) he had made an error, ſuppoſing Hoſius to haue ſaid that which he had not, afterward by ſtubborne maintaining of it, he ſheweth what Spirit he is of, and when he might reaſonably haue excuſed his ignorance, choſe rather ſpightfully to diſcouer his malice; as it ſhall manifeſtly appeare by the circumſtance of the thing. Hee laieth to Hoſius charge, & in his perſon to al our charges, that we do not eſteem the holy Scriptures. He proueth it by certaine words alleged out of a treatiſe made by Hoſius, *De Expreſſo Verbo Dei*. The words are here put in the Apologie, as the Reader may ſee. The true Argument of Hoſius Booke is no other then to ſhew that all Heretikes haue alleged the words of God, as they be written; but none of them al haue taken the right vnderſtanding of Gods word, as they do indeed ſignifie. For that only the Catholik Church attaineth vnto, becauſe only it hath the Holy Ghoſt. Al Heretikes haue brought for their opinions the written word of God ſo long, vntil at the laſt (ſaith Hoſius) there were found who by the words of the Scriptures tooke vpon them to take away all Authority from Scriptures. *Natum eſt* (ſaith he) *nouum quoddam Prophetarum genus, qui non ſunt veriti Scripturarum authoritate Scripturis authoritatem omnem detrahere. En quo perduxit rem tandem Satanas:* A certaine new kind of Prophets is riſen, who ſticke not by the Authority of Scriptures to take away all authority from Scriptures. See whither at the length the Diuell hath brought the matter.

Now afterward expounding this matter more at large, he declareth the Capraine of that Hereſie to haue been Zuenkfeldius. He ſheweth that by a Text of Scripture, where Dauid ſaith, I will heare what our Lord ſpeaketh in me, Zuenkfeldius went about to will men to heare what God telleth euery man by inſpiration, rather then to giue attendance to the written word of God. And whiles Hoſius reporteth what Zuenkfeldius ſaid for the maintenance of his fond Hereſie, as among other his words theſe are, which he brought in this Apologie againſt Hoſius, and againſt the Catholiks; whereas it is neither Hoſius, nor any Catholike that ſpeaketh them, but onely Zuenkfeldius himſelfe.

Hitherto we haue ſhewed, that the words alleged in the Apologie vnder the name of Hoſius make neither againſt him, nor againſt vs, as not being his words, nor ours, but only the words of Zuenkfeldius. Well, what credit may we giue to this man in expounding the Word of God, (whoſe true meaning hee may falſifie at his pleaſure, becauſe we cannot bring forth God himſelfe to declare his words) ſeeing he dareth to burden Hoſius with theſe words, which Hoſius himſelfe, being yet aliue, can declare to haue another meaning, as the booke it ſelfe doth witneſſe to al that liſt to read the ſame. This was a great fault, to impute ſo horrible an Hereſie to Hoſius vniuſtly. This was a great ignorãce, to charge him with that Hereſie which he refuteth, and impugneth. They are great crimes, and yet ſuch as might riſe of miſreport and ignorance. But when he was told of them, he ſhould of reaſon haue corrected them. Hee ſhould haue repented with Peter, and not diſpaired with Cain and Iudas.

But what did he, when he vnderſtood he had erred? He addeth a Gloſſe far more malicious then the former error was. For grãting that Hoſius ſetteth out the matter ſo, as though neither he, nor any of his ſide, but the Heretiks Zuenkfeldians ſpake ſo, this notwithſtanding he burdened both him and the Catholikes with it, ſaying, that he diſſembleth, and hideth what he is. Sir, was this the way to amend your fault, to grant that Hoſius ſpake againſt the Zuenkfeldians, and yet to beare men in hand, he fauoured them? If he had fauoured their Hereſie, what needed he to refell it? But how ſay you that Hoſius diſſembleth & hideth what he is, ſith that euen here in two places in moſt plain words you lay the Zuenkfeldian Hereſie to his charge? Read your owne Booke. Before the allegation of Zuenkfeldius Hereſie, ſay you not thus? We, ſaith he, wil bid away, &c. And after the allegation haue you not theſe words; This is Hoſius ſaying? How ſtandeth all this together? You haue forgotten the Prouerbe that biddeth a lier to be mindfull. I cannot tel how to name this kind of your dealing, lying, or detraction, ſlandering, or malicious ſpeaking. But Sir, if Hoſius haue ſpoken euill, why giue you not witneſſe againſt him of euill? If he haue ſpoken well, euen by your owne confeſſion, in reputing the Zuenkfeldians for Heretiks

The miſtaking of Hoſius.

why find you fault with him for his good works, ſuch, I ſay, as your ſelfe confeſſe to be good: You reproue him who ſpeaketh not againſt Zuenkfeldius: and againe you grant he ſpeaketh againſt him: and yet becauſe you had once reproued him, you will continue in it without reaſon, learning, or wit. But it muſt needs ſo be: for without pertinacie no man is either a perfect Heretike or a perfect ſlanderer.

If yet you ſtand in defence of it, all the world will account you for a deſperate perſon. For no man that euer ſaw Hoſius workes can thinke that he was guilty of that you burden him with. But ſome man might thinke you were deceiued, and miſtooke Hoſius. But ſith you grant you do not now miſtake him, & yet charge him with auouching that which he holdeth for Hereſie, he that vnderſtandeth thus much of you, may aſſure himſelfe, that you are diſpoſed to belie and ſlander Hoſius, though it coſt you the damnation of your Soule. For ſham a man repent, and reuoke that, for which your own conſcience ſtinteth not to barke at you.

But Hoſius (ſay they) peraduenture will not allow the words of Zuenkfeldius: yet hee doth not diſallow the meaning of the words. Well and Clerkly reaſoned. As though words were allowed or diſſallowed for any other ſo principall a cauſe, as for their meaning. And therefore he that diſalloweth words, hath much more diſſallowed the meaning of them. Yet (ſay they) of the Holy Communion vnder Both Kindes he reiecteth the plaine words of Chriſt, as dead and cold Elements. Verily a man might thinke this Booke was ſet forth by ſome enemy of our New Engliſh Clergy, it is ſo much to their defacing, had not themſelues at diuers times acknowledged it for a whelp of their own litour. A man for his life cannot finde one leafe in it without many Lies.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

I cannot greatly blame you, M. Harding, though you ſhew your ſelfe hot and vehement in defenſe of Hoſius. For of him you and ſome of your Fellowes may ſay, as Carneades ſaid ſomtime of Chryſippus: Niſi Chryſippus fuiſſet, ego non eſſem: *If* Chryſippus *had not beene, then had I neuer beene.* For had not Hoſius beene good vnto you, and ſpared you part of his furniture, ſuch as it was, your Diuinity had beene full bare.

Ye ſay: We read neither the Old Writers, nor the New, but are vtterly ignorant, and void of all learning, and in reſpect of the Beames of your knowledge, know nothing. It were a very ambitious and Childiſh vanity, to make vaunts of learning. For aſmuch as ye ſeeme deſirous of the fame of great Reading, ye ſhall haue the whole praiſe and glory of it, M. Harding, without contention. We will rather ſay with S. Paul, *We know nothing, but only Ieſus Chriſt Crucified vpon his Croſſe.* Yet notwithſtanding wee are not ſo ignorant, nor ſo idle, but that we are able, and haue leaſure to read, as well the Old Doctors and the Fathers of the Church, as alſo your light vnciuil Pamflets, and blotted Papers: which, God wot, in all reſpects are very New. And for either of them we are much aſhamed in your behalfe. For the Old Doctours and Fathers, to ſee them of your part, either of wilfulneſſe, or of forgetfulneſſe, or of ignorance, ſo foulely miſuſed: of your owne Papers and Nouelties, to ſee them with vntruth and other vncourteous ſpech ſo fully freighted.

1. Corinth. 2.

But touching Hoſius, ye condeme vs vtterly, either of Ignorance, or of Malice. For the words wherein we finde ſuch fault, were vttered by him, as you ſay, not as any part of his owne Iudgement, but onely as in the perſon of the Heretike Zuenkfeldius. Therefore ye ſay: We charge him wrongfully with the allowing of that thing, which he expreſly and plainly reprooueth.

First of all, the Authour of the Apology proteſteth, that if there were any ouerſight heerein, it proceeded of errour and not of malice; as it may well appeare in that he was not deceiued alone. For if he were deceiued in miſtaking theſe words, diuers others, the beſt learned in this age, haue beene deceiued therein as well as he. Nicolaus Gallus hereof writeth thus: Hoſius Cardinalis, Legatus Sanctiſſimi, & Preſidens Concilij Tridentini, in ſuo Libro, De Expreſſo Verbo Dei, ait, Nos verò Dei de Cœlo ſententiam potiùs expectabimus, &c. Non oportet Legis aut Scripturæ eſſe peritum, ſed à Deo Doctum. Vanus eſt labor, qui Scripturis impenditur. Scriptura enim Creatura eſt, & egenum quoddam Elementum: Cardinall Hoſius, Legate vnto the moſt Holy Father, *and Preſident of the Councell of Trident, in his Booke,* De Expreſſo Verbo Dei, *ſaith thus: Wee will rather wait for Gods Will from Heauen, &c. It behoueth not a man to be skilfull in the Law of God, or in the Scriptures, but to be taught of God. It is but loſt labour that is ſpent in the Scriptures. For the Scripture is a Creature, and a poore kind of outward Element.* Thus Nicolaus Gallus burdeneth your owne Catholike Friend Hoſius with theſe words, and not the Heretike Zuenkfeldius.

Nicolaus Gallus.

Flacius Illyric. in Norma Concilij.

Likewiſe ſaith Flacius Illyricus, ſpeaking of the ſame words of Hoſius: Vnum locum ex plurimis proferam, in quo Hoſius alterius cuiuſdam ſententiam de hac re citans, comprobat: Nos Dei de Cœlo Sententiam potiùs expectabimus, &c. Vanus eſt labor, qui Scripturis impenditur: *One place I wil alledge out of many, where* Hoſius *bringing in the ſaying of one certaine man* (meaning Zuenkfeldius) alloweth wel of the ſame. Theſe words, ſaith

Illyricus,

Illyricus, Hosius vttereth in the name and person of Zuenkfeldius: yet neuertheleſſe hee alloweth them as his owne.

To like purpoſe writeth Iacobus Andreæ: who after he had reported all the foreſaid words, in the end concludeth thus: Hactenus Hosius: Quæ verba siue Hosius ſuo, siue aliorum nomine reciter, certè hanc eſſe Aſoti & Hoſij de Sacra Scriptura ſententiam, non eſt obſcurum: *Thus farre* Hosius: *Which words howſoeuer* Hosius *report them either in his owne name, or in the name of ſome other, without all doubt, This is the Iudgement that both* Aſotus *and* Hosius *haue of the Holy Scripture.* *Iacob. Andr. de Authorit. Sacræ Scripturæ.*

So likewiſe ſaith that moſt Graue and Learned Father Iohannes Brentius: Interea vociferantur, Sacram Scripturam eſſe Dubiam, Ambiguam, Præceptorem Mutum, Literam Occidentem, Literam Mortuam: adeòque, ſi Reuerendis illis Patribus libuerit, Æſopi Fabulas: *In the meane while they cry out, that the Holy* Scriptures are blinde and doubtfull, a dumbe Schoolemaſter, a killing Writ, a dead Letter: *yea, and if it ſhall like theſe Reuerend Fathers, no better then* Æſops Fables. Perhaps ye will ſay of theſe learned men, as ye ſay of ſome others; They vſed only their patched Note-bookes, and ſcattered Authorities, by ſnaps and peece, heere and there a line or two, and vnderſtood not what they wrote. Notwithſtanding, whatſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe you to ſay, as therein your grace is very great, yet you ſee by theſe few, and muſt needs confeſſe, if the Author of the Apologie, touching this place of Hosius, were happily ouerſeene by errour, yet he had ſo many of the beſt learned of this age to keepe him companie in his errour. Verily they ſay not as you ſay, Thus ſaith Zuenkfeldius: They ſay as we ſay, Thus ſaith Hosius. If Hosius were able to blinde ſo many, we muſt thinke he was a ſkilfull Writer. *Iohan. Brentius in Præfatione in Iacob. Andreæ contra Hosium.*

The miſtaking of Hosius.

The faireſt colour ye can lay heereon is this: *Howſoeuer theſe words be vttered by* Hosius, *yet was this no part of his meaning.* Yet Iacobus Andreæ ſaith: Hanc eſſe Aſoti & Hoſij ſententiam, non eſt obſcurum: *Without doubt this is the very meaning of* Aſotus and Hosius. And Illyricus ſaith, Hosius alleging the ſaying of one certaine man, (whereby he meaneth the Heretike Zuenkfeldius) alloweth well of the ſame. *Iacob. Andreæ. Flac. Illyricus. Alterius cuiuſdam ſententiã de hac recitans, comprobat.*

But forasmuch as ye ſay, This Gloſſe is more malicious then the former Error: and that therein we ſpightfully diſcouer our malice, without Reaſon, without Learning, without Wit, and require vs to repent for ſhame. as if it were a Sinne, not againſt Hosius, but againſt the Holy Ghoſt; I beſeech you therefore indifferently to conſider with what reuerence and modeſtie, not only Hosius, but alſo ſundry others your friends of that ſide, haue vſed to ſpeak and write of the Word of God.

Ludouicus a Canon of the Church of Laterane in Rome, in an Oration openly pronounced in your late Chapter at Trident ſaith thus: Eccleſia eſt Viuum Pectus Chriſti: Scriptura autem eſt quaſi Mortuum Atramentum: *The Church is the liuely Breaſt of Chriſt: But the Scripture is as it were* Dead Inke. Likewiſe ſaith the Biſhop of Poitiers in the ſame your Chapter: Scriptura eſt res inanimis, & muta, ſicut etiam ſunt reliquæ Leges Politicæ: *The Scripture is a Dead and Dumbe thing, as are all other Politike Lawes.* Albertus Pighius ſaith: Si dixeris, Hæc referri oportere ad Iudicium Scripturarum, Communis te ſenſus ignarum eſſe comprobas: Sunt enim Scripturæ Muti Iudices: *If thou ſay, Theſe matters muſt be put ouer to the Iudgement of the Scriptures, thou ſheweſt thy ſelfe to be void of common reaſon.* For the Scriptures are dumbe Iudges, and cannot ſpeake. *Ludouic. Citatur ab Illyr. in Norma Concil. Iohan. Sleidanus. Lib. 23. Alber. Pighius, Controuerſ. 3. de Eccleſia.*

Eckius calleth the Scriptures, Euangelium Nigrum, & Theologiam Atramentariam: The Blacke Goſpell, and Inken Diuinitie. Againe Pighius ſaith: Eccleſia habet illam poteſtatem, vt poſſit Scriptis qui buſdam impertiri Canonicam Authoritatem, quam nec ex ſe, nec ex ſuis Authoribus habent: *The Church hath power to giue Canonicall Autheritie vnto certaine Writings, which otherwiſe they haue not, neither* of themſelues, nor of their Authours. There may be certaine Bookes allowed for Scripture, ſaith he, that haue no Credit nor Authority of themſelues. Therefore the meaning hereof muſt needs be this: *The Church* (of Rome) *hath Authority to make Scriptures.* Againe he ſaith: Sunt Scripturæ, vt non minùs verè quàm feſtiuè dixit quidam, velut Naſus Cereus qui ſe horſum, illorſum, & in quamcunque volueris partem, trahi, retrahi, fingíque facilè permittit: *As one man both truly and merrily ſaid, the Scripture is like a* Noſe of Wax, *that eaſily ſuffereth it ſelfe to be drawen backward, and forward, and to be moulded and faſhioned, this way, and that way, and howſoeuer ye liſt.* *Martin. Kemnitius in Examine Con. Trident. Pag. 32. Martin. Kemnitius in eo. em Examine, pag. 240. Pighius Hierar. Lib. 3. cap. 3. Fol. 103.*

Thus, M. Harding, ye teach the people to reuerence and weigh the Word of God. Ye call it Dead Inke: a Liueleſſe matter: a dumbe Iudge, that cannot ſpeake: a Blacke Goſpell: Inken Diuinity: a Noſe of Wax: and a thing vtterly void of Authoritie of it ſelfe. Examine theſe places: weigh theſe words. They are no Lies: they are no Slanders. Iudge vprightly: remoue affection: ye ſhall finde that Hosius, and Zuenkfeldius, and all the reſt of your brethren, touching the Authority and Credit of Gods Word, accord

The mistaking of Hosius.

in one. For proofe whereof, when obiection was made, that King Dauid, being, not a Bishop, but only a Temporall Prince, had written the Psalmes, that is to say, the very Key of the Scriptures, Hosius made answer: Quid ni scriberet? Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim: *Wrote* Dauids psalmes? *And why should he not write them:* Horace saith: *We write Ballads euery body, learned and vnlearned, tagge and ragge.* So vnreuerently, and like an Heathen, he scorneth and scoffeth at the Scriptures of God, and likeneth the Heauenly Ditties of the Holy Ghost to a Vile, Heathenish, Wanton Ballad. This in Zuenkfeldius had bene great Blasphemie: Ye allow it in Hosius as a vertue.

Hosius li. 2 cõtra Brentium.

Luke. 7.

S Luke saith: Pharisæi & Iurisperiti spreuerunt Consilium Dei in semetipsis: *The Pharisees and learned in the Law despised the Councell of God in themselues.* Irenæus saith: Hæretici accusant Scripturas, quasi non rectè habeant, nec sint ex Authoritate, &c. *Heretikes finde fault with the Scriptures, as if they were not well written, and as if they were not of sufficient Authority, &c.* And thus they doe, to the end to cause the people to loth and doubt the Word of Life, and so to become captiue to their owne Traditions. Therefore Cardinall Cusanus saith thus: Hæc est omnium sanè intelligentium sententia, qui Scripturarum Authoritatem, & intellectum in Ecclesiæ approbatione fundant: & non è conuerso, Ecclesiæ Fundamentum in Scripturarum Authoritate locant, &c. Dico, nulla esse Christi præcepta, nisi quæ per Ecclesiam pro talibus accepta sunt: *This is the Iudgement of all them that meane well, which found the Authoritie and vnderstanding of the Scriptures in the allowance of the Church: but contrariwise lay not the Foundation of the Church in the Authority of the Scriptures. Thus I say, There are no Commandements of Christ, but only such as by the Church are allowed for Christs Commandements.* So saith your highest Doctour Albertus Pighius: Apostoli quædam conscripserunt, non vt Scripta illa præessent Fidei, & Religioni nostræ, sed potius vt subessent: *The Apostles wrote certaine things, not that their writings should be aboue our Faith and Religion, but rather that they should be vnder.* Iohannes Maria Veractus saith: Determinatio Ecclesiæ appellatur Euangelium: *The Determination of the Church is called the Gospell.*

Nicol. Cusan. ad Bohemos. Epist. 2.

Albert. Pighius Hierar. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

Iohan. Maria Verractus, edit. An. 1561.

Therefore Hosius by his Episcopall Authoritie pronounceth Sentence Definitiue in this wise: Quod Ecclesia docet, Expressum Dei Verbum est: quod contra Sensum & Consensum Ecclesiæ docetur, Expressum Diaboli Verbum est: *Whatsoeuer the Church teacheth,* (by the Church he meaneth the Pope, and his Cardinals, and the Church of Rome, &c.) *that is the Expresse word of God: Whatsoeuer is taught against the Meaning and Consent of the Church, that is the Expresse Word of the Diuell.*

Hosius de Expresso Verbo Dei pag. 97.

This was sometime an ordinary practise of sundry Old Heretikes, to scorne and to disdaine the Scriptures of God; and to ground themselues vpon other conclusions, and imaginations of their owne. So the Heretike Carpocrates said, He knew more then either Christ himselfe or his Apostles.

Epiphan. lib. 1. Hæres. 27.

Tertullian. de Præscriptione.

Tertullian saith: Discipuli Montani dicunt, Paracletum plura in Montano dixisse, quàm Christum in Euangelio protulisse: nec tantùm plura, sed etiam meliora atque maiora: *The Disciples of* Montanus *the Heretike said, that the* Holy Ghost *vttered more things in* Montanus *their Master, then euer* Christ *vttered in the Gospell: and not onely more things, but also greater and better things.* And againe they said: Paulus ex parte sciebat, & ex parte prophetabat. Nondum enim venerat quod perfectum est: Paul *knew in part, and prophesied in part. For the perfection* (that was afterward in Montanus) *was not yet come.* Therefore it is not vniuersally true, M. Harding, that you say, All Heretikes haue alleged the Scriptures. For some Heretikes, in whose steps ye seeme to tread, haue made light of and disdained the Scriptures, as well as you. But as some Heretikes haue alleged the Scriptures, as you doe, without sense, euen so all Heretikes are euermore reproued by the Scriptures, as you be. And that is the cause that you and your fellowes, for the most part, so fearefully shun the Scriptures, *For he that doth euill feareth the light.*

Augustinus ad Quoduultdeũ. Hæres. 26.

Therefore whereas ye call vs forth, and bid vs humbly to cry you mercie, first bid Hosius your Schoolemaster to recant his Errours: will him to speake more reuerently of Gods Word: for it is Holy. Let him confesse, and repent his Blasphemie in comparing the Scriptures of God with Heathenish Ballads. Recant you the Errours that Pighius, Cusanus, Eckius and other your Doctours and fellowes haue set abroade: And the Author of the Apologie shall doe whatsoeuer shall behoue him.

Remember also how vniust and vntrue reports you your selfe and your fellowes haue wittingly and willingly published, and blased in writing, not sparing any man, whom it pleased you to touch with slander. You your selfe in this selfe same Booke haue written thus: The Learned Gospellers of the Sea Townes in Saxonie, teach that there is no Hell at all. I beseech you, M. Harding, where saw you these Heretikes? What were their names? In what Sermon, in what Booke, in what Talke opened they this Heresie?

M. Harding fol. 141. b.

In

In what language spake they? What were their words? Who euer either knew them, or saw them, or heard them, or dreamed of them, but your selfe alone, or some other as idely occupied as your selfe? And dare you so vainly to slander a whole Countrey, without proofe, without witnesse, without ground? Leaue this fondnesse. No man beleeueth you, no not your owne fellowes, no not your selfe. It is to childish. Vanity it selfe would not be so vaine.

The mistaking of Hosius.

Another of your company there thus most vniustlie slandereth that godly Father, Doctor Peter Martyr: Petrus Martyr negat Christum esse nostrum Deprecatorem: Peter Martyr *denieth that Christ is our Intercessour.* Likewise againe with one generall slander hee misreporteth all the Professours of the Gospell whatsoeuer: Omnes Euangelici Pseudomartyres negant Christum venisse in Carne: *All the Gospellers* (whom he thought it better to call the False Witnesses of the Gospell) *deny that Christ euer came in the Flesh.* I will presse you no further with Examples of your immoderate slanders. As your vncourteous tongue hath no bridle, so your waste words haue no end.

Copus Dial. 3. Pag. 331.

Copus Dial. 6. Pag. 878.

All these, and othere like reports, your conscience knoweth are most vntrue. Yet haue yee not doubted thus to hazard your whole credit, and vainely with the same to fede the World. Suffer mee therefore, M. Harding, to answer you with your owne words: *For shame man repent, and reuoke that, for which your owne Conscience stinteth not to barke against your selfe.*

The Apologie, Chap. 21. *Diuision* 1.

AND yet, as though this were too little, they also burn the Holy Scriptures, as in times past wicked king Aza, or as Antiochus, or Maximinus did, & are woont to name them Heretikes Bookes. And out of doubt, as it seemeth, they would do as Herod in old time did in Iurie, that hee might with more surety keep still his vsurped Dominion: who being an Idumean borne, & a stranger to the stocke & kindred of the Iewes, & yet coueting much to be taken for a Iew, to the end he might establish to him & his Posterity the Kingdome of that Country, which hee had gotten of Augustus Cæsar, he commanded all the Genealogies & Petigrees to be burnt, and made out of the way, so that there should remaine no Record, whereby it might be known to them that came after, that he was an Alien in Blood: whereas euen from Abrahams time these Monuments had beene safely kept amongst the Iewes, & laid vp in their Treasury: because in them it might easily & most assuredly be found of what Linage euery one did descend. So (in good faith) do these men, when they would haue all their own doings in estimation, as though they had been deliuered to vs euen from the Apostles, or from Christ himselfe: to the end there might be found no where any thing able to cõuince such their dreames & lies, either they burn the Holy Scriptures, or els they craftily conuey them from the people

Euseb. Lib. 1. Cap. 7. 8.

M. Harding.

Pardon me, I pray thee, Reader, if I vse words somewhat vehement, the cause so requiring. This Defender crieth out, O ye pillars of Religion! But how much more iustly cry we againe to him; O thou captaine liar! O most worthie, not the reward of a whetstone, but the iudgement of a backbiter, of a slanderer, of a cursed speaker, of a mocker, of the accuser of the brethren, of a Blasphemer! Is this the regard thou hast, I say not to God, or to Christian men, but to thine owne estimation, & common honestie of a man? Canst thou perswade thy selfe to get credit by lying, to seeme sober by railing, honest by villanie, charitable by slandering, vpright by deceit, iust by impietie? Why saiest thou of vs in generall, that is to say, of the Catholike Church, that we despise, hate, cast away, and burne the holie Scriptures? Had wee not loued and kept the Scriptures, how couldst thou and thy fellowes haue come by them? Had ye not them of vs? From the Apostles time to this day we haue kept them (a) vnspotted and vndefiled: and yee within these fiftie yeeres haue by your vulgar translations (b) corrupted them, that lamentable it *is* to consider. And when we burned the same corrupt translations, or any part thereof, or any of your Hereticall treatises, we burned not the Scriptures, (c) no more then one doth the Apple tree, that burneth the Caterpillers.

All this is M. Hardings sobrietie: It is no railing.

(a) Vntruth. For the Old Latine Text hath infinite corruptions.

(b) Vntruth, Otherwise let M. Hard. shew one point of corruption.

(c) But hee is a foolish man that burneth downe both the Trees and Caterpillers all together.

The Scriptures we honour, and keepe most reuerently and diligently. Therefore your comparing of vs with the wicked Kings, Aza, Antiochus, Maximinus, and Herod, is false and slanderous. For how say you, Sir Captaine of liers, (d) had we not the Scripture in euerie Monasterie, Cathedrall Church, College, in euerie priuate Library of any that was learned?

(d) You had it in your libraries, but the poore people had it not

The like thing was obiected to S. Augustine & the Catholikes in his time by the Donatists, beeing then Heretikes, as ye are now. To whom he answered, as we will answer you: *Certè ille ignibus tradidisse credatur, qui eis locis non consentire conuincitur:* Let him be thought to haue cast the holy Scriptures into

the fire, who, when they are read, is conuict not to consent vnto them. Wee read in the Holy Scriptures, that Christ said, This is my Body. Who beleeueth it, yee (e) that deny it, or we who are content to die for the defense of that his reall Body in the blessed Sacrament? S. Iames saith, A man is iustified by works, and not by Faith only. Who beleeueth this, they which say, that only Faith iustifieth, or they which say, that works be required also to Iustification? Christ saith, * *Qui manducat hanc Panem, viuet* Iohn 6. *in æternum*: Hee that eateth this Bread, shall liue for euer. * Who beleeueth this, they that say, both kindes be necessarie to Lay men by commandement of Christ, or they who say, that one kinde is sufficient to saluation concerning the eating of the Sacrament?

(e) Vntruth. For we denie it not. * A worthy Argument, and full wisely applied. Read the Answer.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Burning of the Scriptures

Yee may some bee pardoned, M. Harding, for speaking ill: forasmuch as, for ought that may appeare by your speech, yee haue not yet learned to speake well. Whether ye haue burnt the Scriptures of God, or no, both Heauen, and Earth, and Sea, and Land, may beare witnesse. For a poore excuse ye say, ye haue burnt our Errors, and Hereticall Translations, and not the Scriptures: as the Husbandman vseth to burne the Caterpillers. Howbeit, hee may be thought an vnwise Husbandman, that burneth vp his Caterpillers, and Trees to both together: and to weake himselfe of the one, is content to destroy the other. If all Bookes conteining Errour should bee burnt, then should your Louanian Nouelties goe to wracke. For yewis, M. Harding, contention and vaine glory set apart, yee know right well, they are full of Errors. Moreouer ye know, there be Errors in S. Augustine, there be Errors in Origen, in Tertullian, in S. Ambrose, in S. Hierome: There be Errors in euerie of the Ancient Fathers: in the Greekes, in the Latines: in one, and other. There bee Errors in your Schoole Doctors: There bee Errors in your Canonists. Briefly, your Holie Fathers Decrees and Decretals are not voide of Errors. Yet is there no Booke worthie to be burnt, in respect of Error, but onely the Booke of the Scriptures?

If there were such Errours in the Vulgar translations, ye should haue descried them, although not all, yet for your credits sake, one at the least. Yee should haue removed the Errour, and haue restored the Scriptures, to the vse and comfort of the people. But this is it that troubleth you so sore, that the Scriptures are published in the Common knowen tongues, and that the simple people of all sorts (whom otherwise ye call Dogs, and Swine, and filthy brute Beasts voide of reason) may vnderstand them. This, M. Harding, is that great and horrible Errour. This is the Errour of all Errours. Therefore Irenæus saith, as it is alleged before: Hæretici, cum ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem vertuntur Scripturarum: *Heretikes when they bee reproued by the Scriptures, then begin they to finde fault with the Scriptures.* And therefore S. Ambrose saith: Herodes conscius ignobilitatis suæ, Scripturas incendit, ne qua posteris suis, vel de Præscripto Veteri, quæstio moueretur: existimans, quòd si iudicia de publico sustulisset, nullis aliis Testimonijs clarere posset, quin de Patriarcharum & Proselytarum Veterum genere emanaret: King Herod, *for that hee well vnderstood the baseneſſe of his Houſe, therefore hee burnt the* Scriptures; *leſt that by meane of ſuch Ancient Records, ſome doubt might afterward be mooued againſt his poſterity. For he thought if he had once remooued ſuch Monuments, it could neuer be proued by any maner other witneſſe, but that hee came by deſcent from the ſtocke of the* Patriarkes, *and Old Proſelytes:* whereas indeed hee was a meere aliene, and a stranger to the House of Israel, and a very tyrannous Vsurper of the Crowne, as being lineally descended, not from Iacob, but from Esau.

M. Hard. Answer. Artic. 15. Fol. 155. b. Iren. li. 1. ca. 1.

Ambr. in Luc. Lib. 3. Cap. 3.

Keeping of the Scriptures.

But ye say: You haue kept and preserued the Scriptures in your Libraries, in velum, and, I trow, in letters of gold. Euen in like sort, and with like truth ye might say, that you haue kept the Sunne, and the Moone; and had it not beene for your keeping, they had beene lost. It was God, M. Harding, that of his Mercie preserued his Holie Word: euen as he preserued Daniel in the Caue of Lions: Ionas in the Whales belly: The three Children in the midst of the flaming Fire. Yee kept the Scriptures as the Dogge keepeth the hay: which neither eateth it himselfe, nor suffereth the poore hungry cattle, that faine would eate it: Yee keepe them in ward, in dust and mould, as the Iewes, before the time of King Iosias, kept the Booke of Deuteronomie closely in the corners, or amongst the Treasures of the Temple, so that no man knew where to find it. Had it not beene for Gods speciall prouidence, notwithstanding your keeping, they might haue perished.

2. Regum. 22.

Chryſ. in Epiſt. ad Hebræos, Homil. 8.

S. Chrysostome saith: Nunc neque an sint Scripturæ quidam sciunt: Spiritus tamen ita dispensauit, vt custodiantur: *Now adaies there are ſome that cannot tell whether there be any Scriptures, or no, Yet hath the* Spirit of God *ſo prouided, that they are ſtill preſerued.*

Aug. in quæſtionibus ex Veteri Teſtamen. quæſt. 44.

Thus the Iewes made their vants, that they were the keepers of the Law, and that the Christians had all of them. S. Augustine saith: Iudæi dicunt, non Nostra nos Legi vti, sed Sua: *The* Iewes *ſay, that we haue no Law of our owne, but only theirs.* Likewise euen at this day the Jewes keepe and vse the Law of God with all reuerence: They neuer lay any other Booke vpon the Bible: They wash their hands before they touch it: They will not

Paul. Phagius in Deut. ca. 17.

sit

sit vpon the bench where the Bible lieth: as often as they either open it or shut it, they vse to kisse it: when the Pope goeth thorow Rome to his Palace of Laterane, the Iewes meet him vpon the way, and offer him the Bible, and desire him reuerently to embrace it, as though the Pope could haue no Bible, but only of them. All these things notwithstanding the Pope answereth them of course, euen as we may answer you: Sanctam Legem, vim Hebræi, & laudamus, & veneramur: obseruantiam verò vestram, & vanam interpretationem damnamus, & improbamus: *Yee men of the* Iewes profession, *wee praise and honour the* Holie Law; *But your* Tradition, *and vaine* Interpretation *wee vtterly condemne and reproue.*

Keeping of the Scriptures

Ceremon. lib. 1. cap. 8.

For Chrysostome saith: Nihil nunc apud Iudæos remansit, nisi Sola Scriptura Librorum, omni Legis obseruantia pereunte: *There remaineth now nothing among the* Iewes, *but only the writing contained in Bookes, for all the obseruation of the* Law *is past from them.* Againe he saith: Literæ quidem Legis apud illos sunt: Sensus autem est apud nos: *The Letters of the* Law *are with the* Iewes: *But the Sense and Meaning is with vs.* Likewise he saith vnto the Iewes: Vos complicatis membranas animalium mortuorum: Nos possidemus Spiritum viuificantem: *You turne the leaues of the Scriptures, made of the skinnes of dead Cattle: but we haue the* Spirit *that giueth Life.* So saith S. Augustine: Iudæi in Libris suffragatores nostri sunt: in Cordibus hostes nostri: *The* Iewes *help vs, and aid vs with their* Bookes: *But they are our enemies in their hearts.* Againe he saith: Magnum aliquid actum est in vsum nostrum de Infidelitate Iudæorum: vt iidem ipsi, qui hęc propter se non haberent in Cordibus, ea propter nos haberent in Codicibus: *Some great good thing is wrought to our vse by the infidelity of the* Iewes, *that they, that, to doe themselues good, had not these things in their hearts, yet for our sakes, to doe vs good, should haue the same things in their Bookes.*

Chryss. in Matt. hom. 31 in opere imperfecto.

Chrysost. in Genesim, homil. 8.

August. de Fide rerum inuisibil. cap. 6.

August. contra Faustum Manich. l. 16. c. 21.

Speake not therefore so much, M. Harding, of your safe keeping of the Scriptures. For the Iewes haue kept, and vntill this day doe keepe them as safelie as you. Yee kept the Scriptures as the Augures of Rome sometime kept the Sibyls Bookes: that is to say, yee kept them to your selues, in close prison and in secrecie: that the people should know nothing, but in all cases should bee forced to seeke to you. Thus yee kept the Light in Darknesse: and, as S. Paul saith, yee kept the Truth of God in Wickednesse. Rom. 1.

S. Chrysostome saith: Quando vides Scripturas Prophetarum, & Euangelij, & Apostolorum traditas esse in manus falsorum Sacerdorum, num intelligis, quòd Verbum veritatis traditum est Principibus iniquis, & Scribis? *When thou seest the* Scriptures of the Prophets, *of the Gospell, and of the Apostles to bee deliuered into the hands of* False Priests, *doest thou not vnderstand, that the Word of Truth is deliuered vnto the wicked Princes and vnto the Scribes?* To be short, I may answer you with the words of Chrysostome: Arcas & Scrinia rerum pretiosissimarum adhuc seruatis, Thesauro destituti: *Yee keepe still the Chests and Boxes of most pretious things: but the Iewels and Treasures be cleane gone.* Therefore your safe keeping of the Scriptures notwithstanding, we may say to you, as S. Augustine sometime said to the Heretike Petilian: Iudas Christum Carnalem tradidit: Tu Spiritualem: furens Euangelium Sanctum flammis sacrilegis tradidisti: Iudas *betraied* Christ Carnall: *thou hast betraied* Christ Spirituall: *for thou in thy rage hast deliuered the* Holie Gospels *vnto wicked fires.*

Chryss. in 1. Cor. hom. 36.

Aug. contra Literas Petiliã. lib. 2. cap. 8.

Yee reply, You rather haue burnt the Gospell, for that you deny the words of the Gospell. For example yee allege these words of Christ, This is my Bodie: which words (ye say) of our part are denied. God be thanked, as wee haue not burnt, so haue we not denied any word or parcell of the Gospell. Touching these words by you alleged, we embrace them, and reuerence them, and beleeue them, euen as the Words of Christ. But wee embrace them, not as you haue fondly rackt and wrested them, and foully abused them, by your vaine Constructions: but as Christ meant them, and as the ancient Catholike Fathers in the old times haue expounded them. S Chrysostome saith: Sacræ Scripturæ Verba non vult Deus, vt Simpliciter, sed multa cum prudentia intelligantur: *God will not that we should vnderstand the* words of the holie Scripture *simplie and plainely, as they lie, but with great wisdome and discretion.* Againe hee saith: Diligenter inuigilandum est: vel potius Diuina gratia opus est, ne nudis verbis insistamus. Ita Hæretici in Errorem incidunt: *We must take great heed: or rather we haue need of the Grace of God, that wee rest not vpon the* bare Wordes of the Scriptures. For by that meanes Heretikes fall into Errour. S. Augustine saith: Omne Figuratè, aut factum, aut dictum, hoc enuntiat, quod Significat: *Euerie thing that is either done or spoken in a* Figure, *sheweth foorth the same thing that it* Signifieth. S. Hierome saith: Ne putemus in Verbis Scripturarum esse Euangelium, sed in Sensu: *Let vs not thinke that the Gospell standeth in the* Words of the Scriptures, *but in the Meaning.*

Chryss. in Iohan. homil. 14.

Chryss. in Iohan. homil. 39.

Aug. ad Cõsentium, li. 1 ca. 10 cont. mendaciũ

Hieron. ad Gal. cap. 1.

Againe

Hier. in Matt. cap. 16. Againe he saith: Cùm Seniores putentur in Ecclesijs, & Principes Sacerdotum, Simplicem sequentes Literam, Occidunt Filium Dei: *Whereas they bee taken for the Elders of the Church, and the Chiefe of the Priests, following the plaine Letter* (as it is written, and not regarding the meaning) *they kill the Sonne of God.*

This is my Bodie. Let vs see therefore, in what sense the holy Catholike Fathers haue in old times expounded these words of Christ: This is my Body.

Tertull. contra Marcionem. lib. 4. First, Tertullian saith thus: Christus acceptum Panem, & distributum Discipulis, Corpus suum illum fecit dicendo: Hoc est Corpus meum, hoc est, Figura Corporis mei: Christ, *taking the Bread and dividing it to his Disciples, made it his Body, saying:* This is my Body, that is to say, This is a Figure of my Bodie. S. Augustine saith: Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, Hoc est Corpus meum, cùm daret Signum Corporis sui: *Our Lord doubted not to say,* This is my Bodie, *when he gaue* a Token of his Bodie.

Auguſt. contra Adiman. ca. 12. I leaue infinite other authorities to like purpose. By these few wee may easily perceiue, in what sense the holie Fathers in Old time vnderstood these words of Christ. This is my Body. Yet were they neuer therefore condemned of Heresie, nor thought to denie any parcell of the Scriptures.

Aug. in quæſtionib. in Leuit. quæſt. 57. S. Augustine saith: Solet res, quæ significat, eius rei nomine, quam significat, nuncupari: Hinc est, quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus. Non enim dicit, Petra significat Christum: Sed tanquam hoc esset, quod vtique per Substantiam non erat, sed per significationem: *The thing that signifieth, is commonly called by the name of that thing, that it signifieth. Therefore is it, that* S. Paul saith: The Rocke was Christ. *For hee saith not,* The Rocke signified Christ (but, The Rocke was Christ) *as if the Rocke had beene Christ indeed, whereas touching the Substance it was not so, but so it was by signification.*

In this sort is the Bread, Christs Bodie: not verily and indeed: but as S. Augustine saith, after a certaine phrase or manner of speech. And so is it noted euen in your owne

De Con. dist. 2. Hoc est, in Gloſ. Glosses: Vocatur Corpus Christi, id est, Significat Corpus Christi: *The* Bread is called the Body of Christ: that is to say, The Bread signifieth the Bodie of Christ. Thus wee denie not Christs Words, M. Harding: but wee denie the fond and fantasticall sense, that you haue imagined of Christs Words. Therefore where you allege these words, as spoken by S. Augustine: *Hee is a burner of the Scriptures, that consenteth not vnto the Scriptures,* yee might haue remembred, that the same S. Augustine likewise saith:

Aug. epiſt. 162. Ille credatur Testamentum tradidisse flammis, qui contra voluntatem litigat Testatoris: *He is to bee thought to haue deliuered the Testament to the fire, that quarrelleth* (as you doe) *against the will and meaning of him that made the Testament.*

Gregorius in Iob. lib. 4 cap. 1. S. Gregorie saith: Facilè in verbis agnoscimus aliud esse, quod intimant, aliud, quod sonant: Tantò autem quisque notitiæ illius extraneus redditur, quantò in sola eius superficie ligatur: *In words we doe well perceiue, that there is one thing, that they signifie, and another thing that they sound. And the more a man bindeth himselfe to the* outward sight and shew of the Letter, *the further off is he from the vnderstanding of the same.*

Aug. in lib. 83. quæſt. q. 76. Part 1. cap. 10. Diuiſion. 1. The obiection of difference, that yee make betweene S. Iames and S. Paul (S. Augustine saith) is made by them that vnderstand, neither S. Iames, nor S. Paul. The whole force thereof is answered before. It is easie to see, that S. Paul speaketh of one kind of Workes, and S. Iames of another: and againe, S. Paul of one kinde of Iustification, and S. Iames of another. Therefore this difference is soone auoided. Certainly we denie neither S. Paul nor S. Iames, nor thinke the one of them to be contrarie to the other.

Ioh. 6. Touching the Words of Christ, that yee haue alleged out of S. Iohn, it appeareth, yee were in some haste, and therefore were faine to take that came first to hand. For I will not say, M. Harding, What Doctour or Father, but what wit or discretion of common sense euer taught you to reason thus? *Christ saith:* Hee that eateth of this Bread shall liue for euer: Ergo, *The people must receiue the Communion vnder one kinde?*

Kemnitius in Examin. Conc. Trid. pag. 598. Who euer taught you thus to reason? Eckius your fellow reasoneth with like discretion to like purpose:

Giue vs, saith he, our dailie Bread:

Ergo, Wee may restraine the people from the Cup.

Perhaps ye will say, The name of Bread belongeth to Eating only, and not to Drinking. This may be granted well without preiudice. Notwithstanding S. Cyprian doubted not to say, Manducauerunt & Biberunt de eodem Pane: *They did both* Eat and Drink of one Bread. And againe he saith: Manducamus & Bibimus eius Sanguinem: We Eat and Drinke his Bloud.

Cypr. de Cœna Domini. In eod. Serm. Yeere haue you both Drinking of Bread, and Eating of Bloud.

Howbeit, indeed these words of Christ in the sixth of S. Iohn belong only to the Spirituall Eating, and drinking of Christs Body, and Bloud (that is wrought, not by the Mouth,

Mouth, but only by Faith) and nothing to the outward Ministration of the Sacrament. One of your owne Doctours saith: Hæc verba nihil directè pertinent ad Sacramentalem, vel Corporalem Manducationem. Nam hoc verbum dictum fuit, antequam Sacramentum Eucharistiæ esset institutum. Ex illa igitur Litera de Sacramentali Communione non potest fieri Argumentum efficax: *These words of Christ in the sixth Chapter of* S. Iohn, *directly pertaine nothing to the Sacramentall or Corporall eating. For these words were spoken long before the* Sacrament *was ordained. Therefore of this place there can be made no good sufficient Argument, touching the Sacrament all Communion.* You say, your proofe, taken of these words is sufficient, and therewith ye deceiue the Ignorant. Your owne Doctour saith: It is not sufficient. Now let your indifferent Reader iudge, whether of you two is deceiued. *Nicolaus Lyra in Psal.* 110.

This is my Body.

And, whereas ye would seeme to say, *Christ gaue no Commandement of* Both kindes, *to be receiued of the people*, euen so, and with like truth yee might also say, Christ gaue no Commandement, no not of one kinde at all to be receiued of the people. For there was no man present, but only the Apostles, at the Institution, aswell of the one kinde, as of the other. Therefore that the people may claime any one part of the Sacrament, they haue it not of any right, but onely of your meere, and free liberality. For otherwise of duty, by your iudgement, they should haue nothing.

Notwithstanding Christ saith: Bibite ex hoc omnes: *Drinke ye* (not only the Apostles, but) *Drinke ye all of this.* Which words Paschasius expoundeth thus: Bibite ex hoc omnes, hoc est, tam Ministri, quàm reliqui Credentes: Drinke ye all of this: that is to say, aswell the Ministers, as the rest of the Faithfull. Another saith thus: Bibite ex hoc Omnes: Omnes, scilicet, sine personarum acceptione: *Drinke yee all of this:* All, *that is to say, without difference or choice of persons.* *Paschasius.* *Gloss Citatur à Cassandro, de vtrâq; Specie.*

But heereof we haue spoken more at large in other places.

The Apologie, Chap. 21. *Diuision* 2. *and* 3.

Very rightly, and aptly doth Chrysostome write against these men. Heretikes, saith he, shut vp the gates against the Truth: for they know full well, if the gate were open, the Church should be none of theirs.

Theophylact also: Gods Word, saith he, is the Candle, whereby the Theefe is espied.

The Apologie, Chap. 21. *Diuision* 4.

And Tertullian saith: The Holy Scripture manifestly findeth out the fraud and theft of Heretikes. For why doe they hide, why doe they keepe vnder the Gospel, which Christ would haue preached aloud from the house top? why whelme they that light vnder a Bushel, which ought to stand on the Candlestick?

M. Harding.

The Scripture saith: There shall be men standing in their owne conceit, vnchaste, louing pleasure more then God. Who are vnchaste? They that exhort all men to * Chastity, and themselues abstaine from wedlocke for the better meane to serue God: or ye, that bid men which haue vowed chastity, to breake their vowes. *Iulian.*

* This Chastity in the more part is open filthines. They forbid mariage, and suffer Concubines for the better mean to serue God. Matth. 23.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

I leaue your Chastity to the iudgement of the World. Yet you may remember there were some in old times, whom Christ likened to Painted graues: outwardly in appearance faire and glorious: but inwardly full of stinking bones. It appeareth by the whole course and order of your liues, that Single Life and Chastity, are sundry thinges. S. Hierome saith thus: Super Concupiscentiam fœminarum non intelligeti De Antichristo facilior interpretatio est: quòd idcò simulet Castitatem, vt plurimos decipiat: *Hee shall haue no skill, touching the desire of Woman: The better exposition heereof, is to applie these words to* Antichrist: *For that hee shall* Counterfet Chastity, *to the end to deceiue many.* *Hieron. in Daniel. cap.* 11.

S. Augustine saith of the Heretikes called the Manichees: Vitæ Castæ, & memorabilis continentiæ imaginem præferunt: *They beare a countenance of continent life, and notable* Chastitie. S. Ambrose saith: Multi sunt Hæreticorum, qui prætendere volunt Corporis continentiam: *There bee many Heretikes that will counterfet and pretende* Chastitie of *Aug. de Moribus Eccles. Catholi. lib.* 1. *ca.* 1. *Ambr. de Noë & Arca ca.* 14.

Counterfet chaſtity

of body (*that by the witneſſe thereof they may winne credit to their Doctrine.*) Therefore, M. Harding, when you thus vant your ſelues of this colour of Chaſtity, yée make boaſt of that thing, that other Heretikes and Antichriſt himſelfe ſhall haue, aſwell as you.

1. Tim. 4.

S Paul, where he foretelleth vs of the Diſciples of Antichriſt, amongſt other markes, whereby they may be knowen, ſaith thus: Prohibentes nubere: whereby he meant, that Antichriſt, ſhould giue out a great ſhine of Chaſte Life, and forbid Marriage. Of ſuch

Hieron. in Hierem. cap 7. li. 2.

S. Hierome ſaith: Iactant pudicitiam ſuam impudenti facie: *They make brags of their Chaſtity with Whoriſh countenance.*

The Apologie, Chap. 21. Diuiſion. 5. and 6.

Why truſt they more to the blindneſſe of the vnſkilfull multitude, and to ignorance, then to the goodneſſe of their cauſe?

Thinke they their ſleights are not alreadie perceiued, and that they can walke now vneſpied, as though they had Gyges ring to goe inuiſible by, vpon their finger? No, no.

The Apologie, Chap. 21. Diuiſion 7.

The cheſt of the Popes boſome.

All men ſee now wel and well againe, what good ſtuffe is in that cheſt of the Biſhop of Romes boſome. This thing alone of it ſelfe may be an argument ſufficient, that they worke not vprightly and truly.

M. Harding.

You are much troubled with the cheſt of the Popes boſome, wherein he is thought to haue all Lawes At this you ſcoffe foure or fiue times in your Apologie, medling with a matter that you vnderſtand not. For it is a Lawyers phraſe. Who preſuppoſeth the Prince of euery common-weale to know the Law of the ſame, no leſſe then if it were written in his Breaſt. And therefore when he maketh a new Law, hee repealeth the former Law, whereunto the latter is contrary.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Forasmuch as this matter of the Popes **breaſt is ſo deepe and ful of darkeneſſe, ſpecially being as you ſay, a** Lawyers **phraſe, that no man may ſafely enter into it, but only you, that neuer were ſtudent in any Law, let vs therefore ſee, what your owne** Canoniſts **and** Lawyers **themſelues haue meant heereby.**

Baldus, 1. cap. Colla. vltima. De Confeſſ.

Firſt of all, Baldus **of** Perufium **ſaith:** Papa eſt Doctor vtriuſque Juris, Authoritate, non Scientia: *The Pope is Doctor of both Lawes,* (**aſwell** Ciuill **as** Canon) *by Authoritie, but not by knowledge.* **Here we finde howſoeuer the** Pope **be ſtored of learning, yet at the leſt he is a** Doctor **by authority, and that a Doctour of** Both Lawes. **So eaſie a matter it is to fill his breaſt.**

9. Que. 3. Neq; ab Auguſt. d. ſt. 19 Si Romanorum. In Gloſſa. Diſt. 40. Si Papa In Gloſſa.

Further your Gloſſe **ſaith:** Etſi totus mundus ſententiaret in aliquo negotio contra Papam, tamen videtur, quòd ſtandum ſit ſententiæ Papæ. Iura enim omnia in Scrinio pectoris ſui habere videtur. Quod ergo Papa approbat, vel reprobat, & nos approbare, vel reprobare debemus. Quiſquis ergo non obedit Statutis Romanæ Eccleſiæ, Hæreticus eſt cenſendus. Et Sacrilegij inſtar eſſet, diſputare de facto Papæ: *Although all the World would iudge in any matter againſt the* Pope, *yet it ſeemeth, we ought to ſtand to the iudgment of the* Pope. *For he ſeemeth to haue* all Lawes in the Cheſt *of his boſom. Therfore, whatſoeuer the* Pope *either alloweth or diſalloweth, we are bound likewiſe to allow or diſallow the ſame. And whoſoeuer is not obedient to the Lawes of the Church of Rome, muſt be deemed an Heretike. And it were as great ſinne as Church-robbing, to reaſon of any of the* Popes *doings.*

Extr. de tranſl. Epiſc. Quanto: In Gloſſa. Felin. De Reſcriptis. ad Audientiam 2. ver.

Further, your Lawyers **ſay thus:** Papa dicitur habere Cœleſte arbitrium: Vnde in his quæ vult, eſt ei pro Ratione Voluntas. Nec eſt, qui dicat illi, Domine, cur ita facis? Quia ſicut ex ſola Voluntate poteſt per Papam Lex creari, ita per Solam Voluntatem poteſt cum ea diſpenſari: *The* Pope *is ſaid to haue a heauenly iudgement: Therefore in ſuch things, as he willeth, his Will ſtandeth in ſtead of Reaſon. Neither may any man ſay vnto him, O Sir,* Why doe you thus? *Like as a* Law *may be made by the* only Will of the Pope: *ſo may the ſame* Law, *be diſpenſed with all* only by the will of the Pope.

This, M. Harding, is the expoſition of your Lawyers **phraſe. Theſe are the treaſures that we are taught to ſeek in the cloſet of the** Popes **breaſt. Thus may we ſet apart Scriptures, Doctors, Councels and whatſoeuer is beſide. The** Popes **breaſt may ſerue for all**

The

The Apologie, Chap. 21. *Diuision* 8.

worthily ought that matter seeme suspicious, which flieth triall, and is afraid of the light. For he that doth euil, as Christ saith, seeketh darknesse and hateth the light. A conscience that knoweth it selfe cleare commeth willingly into open shew, that the workes which proceede of God may bee seene. **Neither be they so very blinde, but they see this well enough, that their kingdome straightway is at a point, if the Scriptures once haue the vpper hand: and that, like as men say, the Idols of Diuels in times past, of whom men in doubtfull matters were then wont to receiue answers, were suddenly stricken dumbe at the sight of** Christ, **when he was borne, and came into the world: euen so they see, that now all their subtill practises wil soone fall downe headlong, euen vpon the sight of the Gospell. For** Antichrist **is not ouerthrowne, but by the brightnesse of the coming of** Christ.

The Apology, Chap. 22. *Diuision* 1.

AS for vs, wee run not for succour to the Fire, as these mens guise is, but we run to the Scriptures: neither doe we reason with the Sword, but with the Word **of God: and therewith, as saith** Tertullian, doe we feed our Faith: by it doe wee stirre vp our hope, and strengthen our Confidence.

Heretikes to death.

M. Harding.

Ye flie not to the Fire, as we doe, say ye, but vnto the Scriptures: Neither doe ye reason with vs with the Sword, but with the Word of God. Ah good word of God, thou seruest to many purposes. And is it indeed the Word of God Sirs, that keepeth so many reuerend Fathers in prison these many yeeres? Is it the word of God, that hath depriued so many men, some of their liuings, some of their Countries, whose life ye cannot blame? Is it the Word of God that by cruelty of imprisonment of late yeeres gaue most certaine occasion of death to those holy, learned and Worshipfull men, who for their singular vertue being well knowne, need not here to be named? Is it the word of God that made so much adoe in your late Parliament for establishing of your bloody Law, wherby ye would haue power to put men to death (a) for the Faith of Christendome? The Turks and Saracens haue alwaies suffered them to liue in their Dominions, but our Gospellers by their word of God are taught to kil them. Blessed be God, who hath giuen to our noble and most clement Queene Elizabeth, a better spirit to vnderstand his word in this point, (b) then these Gospellers haue yet attained vnto.

If any of you do say, that the new Superintendents doe not keepe the old Bishops and learned Clergy in prison, but the Law of the Realme: I answer, first, that the Law is a crab of your owne stocke: next that neither the Bishops before time burnt Heretiks, but the Law of the Realme, the Law of the Prince, the Law of all Christendome. Neither was the same made by Papists of late yeeres, as ye would your deceiued disciples to beleeue, but of old time thought (c) necessarie by Princes to be enacted for the better maintenance of quiet in their Dominions.

All this now is extreme cruelty not long sithens it had bin taken for great mercy.

(a) Vntruth. For it is either Idolatry or open follie, and no part of the Faith of Christendome.

(b) What Spirit then had you M. Harding, & your fellowes that burnt so many?

(c) This matter thus vttered in generalitie, is a great Vntruth.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

It is no new practise (ye say) to kill Heretikes. **I grant you. Neither is it a new practise, to condemne godly men by the name of Heretikes. Your Fathers sometime cried out against** Christ the Sonne of God, We haue a Law, and by the Law he ought to die. **And** Christ **himselfe said sometime to** Hierusalem, **the Citie of Blood,** O Hierusalem, Hierusalem, *that killest the Prophets, and stonest them to death that be sent vnto thee.* **But** S. Augustine **saith:** Nullis bonis in Catholica hoc placet, si vsque ad Mortem in quenquam, licèt Hæreticum, sæuiatur: *It seemeth good vnto no good man in the Catholike Church, that cruelty vnto death be shewed vnto any man, no though he be an* Heretike.

Iohan. 19. Luke 13.

Augustin. contra Crescõ. Gram. lib. 3. *cap.* 50.

Notwithstanding, it agreeth well with your Religion, M. Harding, though your mouthes now be musled, yet to rampe, and gape still after blood. Fulfill ye the measure of your Fathers. Let it not greeue you, to heare, what Salomon **saith:** Viscera impiorum crudelia: *The very bowels of the wicked are full of cruelty.* **When your Fables and follies be espied, then ye flee to Sword and Fire. Which being once wrested from you, your whole Religion must needs come to ground.** S. Hierome **saith of other your peeres:** Pugnant Epicherematis ex carnificum officinis: *They fight with Arguments taken from the Butchers shops.*

Matth. 23. Proucrb. 12.

Ye

Ye haue weaked your anger long enough vpon innocent blod. Beginne once to know the hand of God. It is hard for you to kicke ſtill againſt the pricke. Wee may truely ſay vnto you with S. Cyprian: Sacerdos Dei Euangelium tenens, & Chriſti præcepta cuſtodiens, Occidi poteſt, Vinci non poteſt: *The Prieſt of God holding the Goſpell, and keeping the Commandements of* Chriſt: *may well be killed: but conquered he cannot be.* We may ſay with Tertullian: Crudelitas veſtra, Gloria noſtra eſt: Plures efficimur, quoties metimur à vobis: *Your Cruelty is our Glory. When ye come to reckon vs, yee find vs moe and moe.* Truth aboue all things will preuaile. There is no Councell againſt the Lord.

Cyprian. ad Cornel.

Tertull. in Scapulam.

Tertull. in Apologetico.

As for our part, we were neuer yet guilty to one drop of your blod. We ſeeke no ayd at Fire or Sword. We will rather ſay with S. Hierome: Vtinam filios Hæreticorum, & omnium, qui decepti ſunt, interficiamus Sagittis Spiritualibus, id eſt, Teſtimonijs Scripturarum: *Would God, we may rather kill the Children of Heretikes, and of all them that be deceiued with Spirituall Arrowes, that is to ſay, with the teſtimonies of the Scriptures.* And with S. Auguſtine: O ſi occidas eos gladio bis acuto, & non ſint hoſtes tui: Sic enim amo eos occidi ſibi, vt viuant tibi: *Would God, thou wouldeſt kill them, O Lord, with the two edged ſword* (that is, with thy Holy Word) *that they may no longer be thine Enemies: For ſo I wiſh them to be killed vnto themſelues, that they may liue vnto thee.* And againe: Vindicet nos Deus de vobis, vt ipſum errorem veſtrum in vobis occidat, & nobiſcum de Veritate gaudeatis: *God ſo reuenge our cauſe againſt you, that he may kill your error in you, that ye may reioice together with vs of the Truth.* This, M. Harding, this is the reuenge that wee ſeeke vpon you, as this day it may appeare.

2. Eſdr. 3. Prouer. 21.

Hier. in Eſai.

Aug. Confeſſ. lib. 12. cap. 14.

Aug. epiſt. 166

The Apologie, Chap. 22. Diuiſion. 2.

If an angel from heauen, &c.

For we know, that the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt is the power of God vnto Saluation, and that therein conſiſteth Eternall Life. And as Paul warneth vs, wee doe not heare, no not an Angell of God though hee come from Heauen, if he goe about to pull vs from any part of this Doctrine.

M. Harding.

Boaſt no more of the Goſpell. We (I meane the Catholike Church) had it, we kept it and vnderſtood it, before ye were borne, and before your Hereſie was heard off.

But a Diuel comming from hell, (for who is author of diuiſion but Satan?) hath caried you away into an other Goſpell: whereas indeed there is but one true Goſpell. And heere let any indifferent man conſider how vprightly you allege S. Paul. You write, that S. Paul warneth you not to giue eare to an Angell comming from Heauen, if he go about to draw you from any part of this Doctrine. Of which this Doctrine meane you? Of this, which you haue declared in this Apology? * Did S. Paul euer read your Apology? How then pronounced he of it that ſentence? We meane (ſay you) by this Doctrine the Doctrine of the Goſpel. If you meane ſo, we ſay the ſame. But we tell you, that S. Paul ſpake not of euerie Goſpell generally, but of a certaine Goſpell qualified. For he ſaith: *Si quis vobis Euangelizauerit præter id quod accepiſtis, anathema ſit*: If any man preach a Goſpell vnto you, beſides that ye haue receiued, be he accurſed. Heare you the Goſpell S. Paul ſpeaketh of? It is not euery Goſpel. It is a Goſpell preached and receiued. If ye preach that Goſpell which ye receiued, we ioine hands with you. But if ye preach a Goſpell which ye haue receiued of no Apoſtle, nor Apoſtolike Preacher, and which was heard of in the earth, when Luther ran out of his cloiſter and forſooke his Religion: then be ye aſſured, that ye are the men, who are holden for accurſed of S. Paul.

* And did Saint Paul euer reade you late Chapter of Trent?

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Heere, M. Harding, ye would faine ſcape away with a childiſh canill. Paul ye ſay, ſpeaketh of a Goſpell qualified: whereby yee meane a Goſpell deliuered and receiued: as if ye would ſay, the Goſpell of Chriſt, vnleſſe it be deliuered by you, is no Goſpell. But S. Paul meant not the Doctrine deliuered from hand to hand, or from Pope to Pope: But the Doctrine deliuered and receiued in the Scriptures. And in this ſenſe hee ſaith of himſelfe: Quod accepi à Domino, hoc & tradidi vobis: *The thing that I haue receiued of the Lord, the ſame haue I deliuered vnto you.* In like ſort he calleth himſelfe an Apoſtle, *not of men, nor by men, but by Ieſus Chriſt.* Howbeit, what need many words? The caſe is cleere. S. Auguſtine ſaith plainely: Paulus ait, Si Angelus de Cœlo vobis annunciauerit, præterquam quod in Scripturis legalibus, & Euangelicis accepiſtis, Anathema ſit: If an Angel *from heauen preach vnto you any other thing, then ye haue receiued* (not by Tradition or by deliuery from your Elders, but) *in the Scriptures of the* Law *and of the* Goſpel, *accurſed be he.* Theſe words be plaine, M. Harding, and quite diſgrace all your Gloſſes.

1. Cor. 11. Galat. 1.

Auguſt. contra literas Petiliani lib. 3. cap. 6.

Chryſ. in epiſt. ad Gal. cap. 1.

Hereto Chryſoſtome addeth further: Non dixit Paulus, Si contraria annunciauerint, aut

aut totum Euangelium ſubuerterint, verùm, Si vel paulùm Euangelizauerint præter Euangelium quod accepiſtis, etiamſi quiduis labefactauerint, Anathema ſint: S. Paul *ſaith not, If they teach the contrarie, or, If they ouerthrow the whole Goſpell: But he ſaith, If they preach any little ſmall thing beſides the Goſpell that yee haue receiued, or if they looſe or ſhake downe any thing, whatſoeuer it bee, accurſed be they.* These words, M. Harding, touch you very neere. Yee haue altered the whole forme of the Church of God. Therefore repent your ſelues, leſt ye remaine ſtill within the danger of the Curſe.

If an angel from heauen, &c.

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Sancta Scriptura noſtræ Doctrinæ Regulam figit, ne audeamus plus ſapere, quàm oporteat ſapere: *The Holie Scripture hath laid a rule vnto our Doctrine, that we dare not to vnderſtand more then is meet for vs to vnderſtand.*

Aug. de Bono Viduit. cap. 1. Roman. 12.

The Apologie, Chap. 22. *Diuiſion* 1.

For where theſe men bid the Holy Scriptures away, as dumbe and fruitleſſe, & procure vs to come to God himſelfe rather, who ſpeaketh in the Church, and in their Councels, that is to ſay, to beleeue their fanſies and opinions, this way of finding out the Truth is very vncertaine, and exceeding dangerous, and in maner a fantaſticall and mad way, and by no meanes allowed of the Holy Fathers.

Councels.

M. Harding.

Where they ſay, we paſſe but little on the Scriptures, as dumbe and vnprofitable, therein they *ſlander vs, as in other things. We do not ſo: But we ſay, that as euery Act of Parlament muſt be executed by a lawfull Iudge, ſo the holie Scriptures haue their execution by lawfull Iudges, who are the Biſhops and Fathers, as well in other places, as ſpecially when they bee lawfully aſſembled in generall Councels. Now ſay theſe men, that way is very vncertaine, dangerous, in maner mad, and not allowed of the Fathers. Who euer heard men (thought to haue their right wits) talke after ſo looſe a ſort? Did the Fathers *diſprooue the order of comming together in Generall Councels? Or thought they the ſame to bee a way for men to be the ſooner deceiued? If ſo many may be deceiued with moſt diligent ſtudie, and mature iudgement conferring together, how much ſooner may one or two alone, led by priuate fanſie and ſelfe-will, be carried away into error? At the Nicene Councell came together 318. Biſhops. At the firſt of Conſtantinople, 150. At the Epheſine Councell, 200. At that of Chalcedon, 630. All theſe foure Councels ſundry ancient Fathers, namely S Gregorie, eſteemed as the foure Goſpels. Yea but, ſaith he, I haue the word of God. But what if three hundred farre holier, and better learned men ſay, hee hath it not? Let the Reader be Iudge, ſaith he. A meet Iudge in ſuch a cauſe. The Scholars may read, but iudge of their Maſters they may not, by Chriſts Doctrine, who ſaid, *Non eſt diſcipulus ſupra magiſtrum*: The Scholar is not aboue his Maſter. Why not, for all that, ſay you, if the Holy Ghoſt inſpire him? Sir, is it not to be thought God doth aſſiſt his Church repreſented in ſuch ſolemne aſſemblies of three hundred or moe Fathers, gouernours of Chriſtian people, rather then one man.

* Vntruth. For theſe bee your owne Fellowes words. Read the Anſwer.

'Gregorius Nazianzenus' ſaith, Hee neuer ſaw good come of any Councell.

The people cannot iudge.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Whether yee call the Scriptures **of God a** Dumbe **thing, or no, I repoꝛt mee to that is ſaid beforꝛe. One of you calleth it,** Mortuum Atramentum: Dead Inke. **Another ſaith:** Scriptura eſt res inanimis, & muta: The Scripture is a dead and a dumbe thing. **Another calleth the** Scriptures, Nigrum Euangelium: *The blacke Goſpell.* **Now if the** Scriptures **bee** Dead, **and** Dumbe, **and cannot ſpeake, then muſt it needs follow, they are** vnprofitable. **Neither doe wee deſpiſe the Authoꝛity of** Councels. **God** Councels **bee graue, and reuerend. But thus wee ſay;** Councels **are often againſt** Councels. **And if wee make reckoning of number, the** Arian **Heretikes haue had moe** Councels **then the** Chriſtians. S. Hierome ſaith: Spiritus Sancti Doctrina eſt, quæ Canonicis literis prodita eſt: Contra quam ſi quid ſtatuant Concilia, nefas duco: *That is the Doctrine of the Holy Ghoſt, that is ſet abroad in the Canonicall* Scriptures: *Againſt which Doctrine if Councels determine any thing,* I thinke it wicked.

Ca. 19. *Din.* 1. *Ludouicus in Conc. Trident. Epiſc. Pictau. in Concil. Trid. Albert. Piggh. Controuerſ.* 3. *Eckius. Hier. in Epiſt. ad Galath.*

S. Chryſoſtome **ſaith further in moſt earneſt ſoꝛt:** Plus aliquid dicam: Ne Paulo quidem obedire oportet, ſi quid dixerit proprium, ſi quid humanum: *I will ſay more: Wee ought not to beleeue, no not* Paul himſelfe, *if he ſpeake any thing of his owne, or if he ſpeake only as a man.*

Chryſ. in 2. *ad Timot. Hom.* 2.

And to encreaſe the vncertaintie hereof, the whole weight and iudgement of Councels hangeth now euermoꝛe vpon the Pope: **as it may appeare by theſe woꝛds of the Concluſion of the Late** Chapter at Trident: Salua ſemper in omnibus Sedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritate: *The Authoritie of the Apoſtolike See in all things euermor reſerued.* **Whereby it appeareth, that the Determination of Matters hangeth not of the** Councell, **but of the** Pope. **But** Platina ſaith, as it is alleged before: Acta priorum Pontificum ſequentes Pontifices ſemper aut infringunt, aut omninò tollunt: *The* Popes *that follow doe euermore either breake, or wholly abrogate the Decrees of the* Popes *that were before.* **And thus being**

Concil. Triden. Seſſ. 6.

Platina in Stephano.

turned from all other Bishops vnto Councels, from Councels to the Pope, and from one Pope to another, we shall euermore build vpon sand, and vncertainetie, and neuer be assured where to stand.

The people cannot iudge.

Whether the Scripture be well alleged, or otherwise, thereof (yée say) the people may not iudge. For Christ saith, The Scholar is not aboue his Master. Certainelie, M. Harding, the simplest of all the people, notwithstanding, by your restraint, hee may not iudge of the Scriptures, yet he may easily iudge of you, either that ye vnderstand not, or that ye vnhaniselie abuse the Scriptures. Whether it be the Word of God, or no the people (yee say) may not iudge. And that yee proue euen by the Scriptures, God knoweth, full handsomely and full discréetly applied. For the Scholar (ye say) is not aboue his Master. Thus we may learne by the Logicke of Louaine, that Populus is Latine for a Scholar: and that Scripture is Latine for a Master. And thus by your vaine premisses without sense ye proceed vainly, and conclude nothing.

O, M. Harding, haue some regard to that ye write. The simplest may soone espie your doings. Ye can no longer thus mocke the world with shewes of words. Christ spake not these words of the vnderstanding of the Scriptures; but of persecution for the Scriptures. Marke well the place. Thus the words lie together: *When they shall persecute you in one City, flee into another, &c.* The Scholar is not aboue his Master: Nor the Seruant aboue his Lord. *If they haue called the Master of the House Beelzebub, how much more will they so call his houshold Seruants?*

Matt. 10.

Alas, where learned you to frame such Arguments, The Apostles being the Scholars, can no more escape persecution, then could Christ that was the Master: *Ergo*, The people cannot vnderstand what they read in the Scriptures? Heere is neither Antecedent, nor Consequent, nor Sequele in Reason. For the honor of the Vniuersity, haue better regard vnto your Logicke. Ye bewray the weaknesse of your cause, when ye so slenderly abuse the Scriptures.

The Apologie, Chap. 22. Diuision 4.

Chrysostome saith: There be many often times, which boast themselues of the holy Ghost: but trulie whoso speake of their owne head, do faslie boast that they haue the Spirit of God. For like as (saith he) Christ denied he spake of himselfe, when he spake out of the Law and Prophets, euen so now, if any thing bee pressed vpon vs in the name of the Holy Ghost, saue the Gospell, we ought not to beleeue it. For as Christ is the fulfilling of the Law and Prophets, so is the Holie Ghost the fulfilling of the Gospell. Thus farre goeth Chrysostome.

M. Harding.

They allege out of Chrysostome, that whosoeuer speake of their owne, do vntruly attribute to themselues the Spirit of God. But they remember not how they who are gathered together in the name of Christ do not speak of their owne, because Christ, who is the truth, hath promised to be in the midst of them. Now if they tell vs, that the Fathers at Trent were not gathered together in the name of Christ, how much more truly may we reply to them, that the temporall men (assembled together at Auspurg, at Marpurg, at Wormes, at Smalcald, at Baden, at Westminster, or any where else) came not together in the name of Christ? I require but a man of common sense to sit Iudge in this cause. They cannot possibly bring any thing out of the Scriptures, or Ancient Fathers, for maintenance of this their great case.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Yée build ouer boldly, M. Harding, on Christs promises. God is true whatsoeuer hee promise: but oftentimes men are false. Christ hath promised to bee present where soeuer two or three be gathered together in his name. But it appeareth by the words of the Prophet Dauid, *that Councels often times meet together against God, and against his Christ.* The Prophet Michæas saith: Sic dicit Dominus de Prophetis, qui errare faciunt populum meum: Abominantur iudicium, & omne rectum peruertunt: Super Dominum requiescebant, dicentes, Nunquid non est Dominus in medio nostri? *Thus saith our Lord of the Prophets that deceiue my people: They abhorre iudgement: They ouerthrow all that is right: And yet they rest themselues vpon our Lord, saying, Is not our Lord in the midst amongst vs?*

Psalm. 2. Actor. 4. Michæas 3.

This is your defense, M. Harding. Whether the Word of God bee with you, or against you, yet ye say, ye haue still the Spirit of God, & our Lord himselfe is in the midst amongst you. But this boldnesse, by Chrysostomes iudgement, is presumptuous and dangerous. And therefore his counsell is, that if any thing bee pressed vpon vs by the name of the Holie Ghost,

Chrysost. om. de Sanct. & Adorando Spiritu.

Ghoſt, ſauing only the Goſpell of Chriſt, we ſhould not beleeue it. In like ſenſe S. Auguſtine ſaith: Sua illi ſi docere velint, nolite audire: nolite facere. *If they bring any Decree or Fantaſie of their owne, heare it not: doe it not.* *Auguſt. in Ioan. Tract. 46.*

Councels.

Thus the Old Frantike and Fanaticall Heretikes, when they found themſelues conuinced by the euident teſtimonies of Gods Word, they appealed to the Spirit of God which, they ſaid, euen as you ſay, euermore aſſiſted them, and could not faile them. Hereof S. Auguſtine writeth thus: Videtis ergo, id vos agere, vt omnis de medio Scripturarum authoritas auferatur: & ſuus cuique animus Author ſit, quidin quaque Scriptura probet, quid improbet: id eſt, vt non Authoritati Scripturarum ſubijciatur ad Fidem, ſed ſibi Scripturas ipſe ſubijciat: Non vt ideò illi placeat aliquid, quia hoc in ſublimi Authoritate ſcriptum legitur: ſed ideò rectè ſcriptum videatur, quia hoc illi placuit: *Ye ſee therefore, this is your drift, that al Authoritie of the* Scriptures *be remooued: that each man may be led by his owne fantaſie, what he liſt, either to allow in the Holy* Scriptures, *or to diſallow: that is to ſay, that he ſubmit not himſelfe, touching his Faith, to the Authority of the* Scriptures, *but that he make the* Scriptures *ſubiect vnto him: Not that he will allow any thing, becauſe it is written in that high Authority of the* Scriptures: *but that he will thinke it well written, becauſe he alloweth it.* *Auguſt. contra Fauſt. Manich. lib. 32. cap. 19.* By meane hereof it commeth to paſſe that S. Hilarie writeth: Qui quæ ſcripta ſunt negas, quid ſupereſt, niſi, vt quæ non ſcripta ſunt probes? *For aumuch as thou deneſt the things that be written, what remaineth there, but that thou muſt allow the things that be not written?* *Hildr. de Trinitate. Lib. 9.*

Concerning the Authority and Credit of Councels, wee ſhall haue cauſe to ſay more hereafter. But where ye require but a man of common ſenſe to ſit as a Iudge in this cauſe, it appeareth that either ye remember not, or elſe ye weigh not that ye immediately ſaid before. For in this ſelfe ſame Chapter ye ſay: The people may not iudge of their Biſhops. And that, as ye tell vs, by Chriſts owne Doctrine: For the Scholar is not aboue his Maſter. Yet now ſuddenly, as hauing forgotten your owne words, ye call forth the Scholar, yea, and as it may be thought, one of the meaneſt of all your Schoole, as a man only endued with common ſenſe, to ſit in iudgement ouer his Maſter.

Notwithſtanding, God is no accepter of perſons. Gods Holy Spirit is not bound to Councels, or Companies: but breatheth freely, where it liſteth. And therefore, as your owne Doctor Panormitane ſaith, in caſes of Religion the iudgement of one ſimple plaine man ought ſometimes to be reiected before the iudgement of the Pope. Actor. 16. Iohan. 3. *Extr. de Electi, & Electi poteſtat. Significaſt. Abb.*

Heere endeth the Fourth Part.

THE FIFTH PART.

The Apologie, Chap. 1. *Diuiſion* 1.

BVT heere, I looke, they wil ſay, though they haue not the Scriptures, yet it may chance they haue the Ancient Doctors, and the Holy Fathers with them. For this is a high bragge they haue euer made, how that all Antiquitie, and a Continuall Conſent of all Ages doth make on their ſide: And, that all our cauſes be but New, and yeſter daies worke; and vntill theſe few late yeeres were neuer heard of. Queſtionleſſe, there can nothing be more ſpightfully ſpoken againſt the Religion of God, then to accuſe it of Noueltie, as a matter lately found out. For as there can be no change in God himſelf, ſo ought there to be no change in his Religion.

Yet neuertheleſſe, we wot not by what meanes, but we haue euer ſeene it come to paſſe from the firſt beginning, that as oftē as God didgiue but

Olde. New.

some light, and did open his Truth vnto men, though the Truth were not onely of greatest Antiquity, but also from Euerlasting, yet of wicked men, & of the Aduersaries it was called Newfangled, and of late deuised. That vngracious and bloodthirstie Haman, when hee sought to procure the King Assuerus displeasure against the Iewes, vsed this accusation against them: Thou hast heere (saith hee) a kinde of people, that vseth certaine new Lawes of their owne, but stiffe-necked, and rebellious against all thy Lawes. When Paul also began first to preach and expound the Gospell at Athens, he was called a Tidings bringer of New Gods: as much to say, as of a New Religion. For (said the Athenians) may we not know of thee, what New Doctrine this is? Celsus likewise, when he of set purpose wrote against Christ, to the end he might more scornefully scoffe out the Gospel by the name of Noueltie; What (saith he) hath God after so many ages now at last and so late bethought himselfe? Eusebius also writeth, that the Christian Religion from the beginning, for very spight was called νέα καὶ ξένη, that is to say, New and Strange. After like sort these men condemn all our matters as Strange and New: but they will haue their owne whatsoeuer they are to be praised as things of long continuance.

Esther. 3.

Actor. 17.

Origen. contra Celsum.

Euse. li. 1. ca. 4.

M. Harding.

They had said somewhat, if they had prooued that the Doctrine (a) of Christ had been called new by them, who were the professors and followers of it. But now reporting that the Gentiles, who knew not God, as Aman, as the Athenians, as Celsus the Ethnike, and such the like, called the right and true Religion of God, new; they say nothing to any purpose. But let them shew, that before the comming of Christ any such Religion was allowed that was new: Or, that sithence Christs incarnation, among Christian men, what soeuer Religion was not shunned and reiected as Hereticall, which was new. Heere are they dumbe. And yet for shew of learning, in a matter not necessary, they bring forth their store, and declare that the Doctrine and Religion of truth was new to them, which knew not God, nor Christ the Sonne of God, which no man denieth.

(a) A vaine distinction. For neither doe wee call our doctrine New.

Thus all men of any iudgement may see how fondly they reason. Wee (b) tell them, that all new Doctrine now in the Church of Christ is naught: and they proue, that Infidels haue in the time of Moses Law, and at the first preaching of the Gospell, impugned Gods Euerlasting Truth with the odious terme and reproch of newnesse. New Doctrine was good to vs at our first conuersion from Infidelitie. But since that we receiued the true Faith from S. Gregory the Bishop of Rome, (c) who conuerted the Realme of England to the Faith by S. Augustine his Legate, and others sent for that godly purpose worthily we shun and abhorre all new Gospels, new Faiths, new Doctrines, new Religions.

(b) We tell you, yee haue lost the right names of things: and call that New, that in deede is Olde

(c) Vntruth. For the true Faith of Christ had beene planted, and still continued in this Realme, foure hundred yeeres before the comming of this Augustine.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

The Truth of God neither is furthered by the face of Antiquitie, nor hindred by the opinion of Noueltie. For often times the thing that indeed is New, is condemned as Old: and the thing that indeed is Old, is condemned as New. If Newnesse in Religion in all respects and euery way were ill, Christ would not haue resembled his Doctrine to New Wine; Nor would he haue said to his Disciples; *I giue you a* New Commandement: Neither would he haue called the *Cup of Thanksgiuing, The* New Testament *in his Blood.* Arnobius saith: Religionis Authoritas non est tempore æstimanda, sed numine: nec quo die, sed quid colere cœperis, intueri conuenit. Quod Verum est, Serum non est: *The Authority of Religion must be weighed by God, and not by time. It behoueth vs to consider, not vpon what day, but what thing wee beganne to worship.* The thing that is true is neuer too late.

Matth. 9. Iohan. 13. Luke. 22.

Arnobius cont. Gentes, Lib. 2.

S. Augustine saith: Quod Anterius est, inquiunt Ethnici, falsum esse non potest. Quasi Antiquitas & Vetus Consuetudo præiudicet Veritati: *The Heathens say, The Religion that was first, cannot be false. As though Antiquity and Old Custome could preuaile against the Truth.* Againe he saith: Nec dici debet, quare modò? & quare serò? Quonian mittentis Consilium non est humano ingenio penetrabile: *Neither may we say, Why commeth it now? Why commeth it so late? For the Counsel of God that sent it is vnsearchable to the wisdome of man.* Ye say, They were Infidels only, that charged the Religion of Christ with Noueltie. And further ye say, Wee tell them, that all New Doctrine now in the Church of Christ is naught. Hereto, M. Harding, we soone agree. And therefore wee tell you, that your New Fantasies, which ye haue painted with the colour of Ancienty, and therewith haue deceiued the world, are vaine and naught. As for vs, we haue planted no New Religion, but only haue renewed the Old, that was vndoubtedly founded and vsed by the Apostles of Christ, and other Holy Fathers in the Primitiue Church; and of this long late time, by meane of the multitude of your Traditions and Vanities, hath beene drowned.

Aug. inquæst. Noui & Veteris, Testamenti quæst. 114.

Aug. de Ciuit. Lib. 10. ca. 32.

Therefore

Therefore we may say with S. Bernard: Nouitatem dico, propter linguas hominum imperitorum: qui cùm manifestum Lumen obnubilare non queunt, de Solo Nouitatis nomine cauillantur, &c. Sed hæc Nouitas non est nouella vanitas. Res enim est Antiquæ Religionis: Perfectæ fundatæ in Christo Petra: Antiquæ Hæreditatis Ecclesiæ Dei: *I call it* Nouelty, *because of the ignorance of men, that cannot abide to behold the manifest light of the Truth, and cauillations of the Only name of Nouelty.* But this nouelty is no new vanity (as is this late vpstart Religion of Rome.) For it is a matter of Old Religion: of perfect Godlinesse founded in Christ: The ancient inheritance of the Church of God. *Bernardus, de vita Solitaria.*

Old. New.

The Old Learned Father Tertullian saith: Videtur ergo, quibus Nouum est, quod sibi est Vetus. Hæresis non ratio Nouitas, quæ vel in Veritate admittitur. Quodcunque denique Veritatem sapit, hoc est Hæresis, etiam Veteribus inducta. *Let them see therefore (as I said) which, count that thing New, that is not Old. For it is not to be taken of Nouelty, but by Verity. Whatsoeuer thing sauoureth Truth, that is no Heresie, but ought to be a Custome neuer to Old-ignorant Error.* Quid enim tam Antiquum Christo Iesu? *Any Antiquity is Christ Iesus.* *Tertull. de Virginibus veland.* *Ignat. ad Philadelphien.*

For otherwise the Religion of Christ at that time was counted New, and in respect of the Ancient Religion of the Martyrs, euen to Nouelties lately vniuersally and of all men was commended.

That Augustine the Monke of Rome brought first the Faith into this Land, it is vtterly vntrue. For, as I haue said before, it appeareth plainely by sundry the Ancient Fathers, Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostome, Hilarie, Theodoret, Eusebius, and others, that the Faith of Christ hath beene vniuersally receiued, and perfectly obserued in this Realme many hundred yeeres before this Augustine the Monke was borne. Indeed he brought in great heapes of strange Nouelties, and Superstitions, as Candles, Shauelinges, Banners, and Holy Water, and other like shewes, whereof the Church of God had no great need. And yet haue the same sithence been increased, by other New Deuices, and Vanities aboue measure.

Augustine of England.

But forasmuch as certaine of M. Hardings Beaupéres of Louuine haue lately found themselues talke, and kept great Mootes in the behoofe of their Augustine the Italian Monke, whom they call the Apostle of England, and will nedes haue to be receiued and honoured as a Saint, I haue thought it therefore good, briefly and by the way, to note a few words touching the same.

It seemeth they be much offended, that so vertuous a Man, and so holy a Saint should be charged with Pride and Cruelty. With Pride, in so disdainfully despising his brethren, the Bishops of this Iland of Britaine: With Cruelty, in procuring the death both of many thousands of Christian people, and also specially of the innocent and vnarmed Monks of Bangor: and all this, for that they refused to receiue him as their Metropolitane, and to agree with him in certaine small points of the Romain Religion. Howbeit, his Pride is well blazed by Beda, writing purposely of the same, in that he sate still in his Throne, and disdained to rise vp, and to giue any token of Reuerence vnto the seuen Bishops, and other learned and graue men of the Britains, making their appearance at his Councel. And therefore they said they would not hearken to his demands, nor take him for their Archbishop, as hauing otherwise of old an Archbishop of their own, to whom they owed their obedience. Their words as they are reported by Beda, were these: Si modò nobis assurgere noluit, quantò magis, si ei subdi cœperimus, iam nos pro nihilo contemnet? *If euen now he disdaine to rise vp vnto vs, how much more will he despise vs, and regard vs as nothing, when we shall once be vnder his Iurisdiction?* *Beda, Septem Britan. Episc. & plures Viri Doctissimi.* *Bed. lib. 2. ca. 2.*

But to excuse this Augustine of shamefull Cruelty, lest he should seeme to be accessary to the Murthering of so many, and so by their owne Lawes to be Irregular, as a man of Blood, they say; *He neither enkindled the Warre against the Britains, nor was present at the fight, but was dead long before.* Which thing also they thinke may be proued by the expresse words of Beda. For thus he saith: Quamuis ipso Augustino iam multo antè tempore ad Cœlestia Regna sublato: *Notwithstanding* Augustine *himselfe, long before the time of this Warre, was taken vp into the Kingdome of Heauen.* For the Truth and Certainty hereof, it may please thee, good Christian Reader, to vnderstand, that these last words of Beda, concerning the Death of Augustine, are manifestly forged, and haue beene violently thrust into the Text by a guilefull Parenthesis, by them that sithence haue beene ashamed of his Cruelty, and were neuer written by the Author, as by euident proofes it shall plainly appeare. *Beda eod. loco.*

But first of all, in an Old Chronicle written in French aboue two hundred yeeres past by Thomas Gray, ye shall find it recorded thus: Augustine *being thus refused of the Bishops, and others the Learned of the Britaines, made such complaint thereof to* Ethelbert the King of Kent, *that forthwith he leuied his Power, and marched against them, and slew them in most cruel* wise

Thom. Gray. Augustine the Inflamer of the Warre.

Augustine of Englād.

wise, hauing (as he saith) *no more regard of Mercie, then a Woolfe hath vpon a Sheepe.* Heere by it appeareth, that this Augustine was the Inflamer of the Warre, and so the cause of the Slaughter.

The true Story of Beda translated by King Alfrede.

And whereas by the words of Beda, as they be now commonly extant in the Latine, we are told, this Augustine was dead long before the warre began, it appeareth plainely by the true Beda indeed, translated aboue seuen hundred yeres agone into the old English, or Saxon tongue, by Alfredus, or Aluredus, then King of this Land, that the same Augustine was yet aliue, after the same Warre was ended; and that hee afterward Consecrated two Bishops, Mellitus and Iustus: Mellitus to be Bishop of London, and Iustus to be Bishop of Rochester. Which things thus declared, it followeth orderly in the Story, Then (these Wars being ended, and these Bishops Consecrated) afterward died the beloued Father Augustine. After the Warre he died, saith he, and not before, as they fitteth altered it in the Latine. I trow, M. Harding, ye are not so much amazed with the admiration of your Augustine, that ye will say he had power to Consecrate Bishops, and to vse his Archiepiscopall Authority, being dead.

Augustine aliue in the time of the Warre.

As for these words that we finde reported by the Parenthesis in the Latine, as is noted by Beda; (Quamuis Augustino iam multo ante tempore ad Cœlestia Regna sublato) forasmuch as they are quite contrary to the very course and order of the Story, and specially for that they are not once touched in the Ancient Saxon Translation, sundry Copies whereof at this present are extant, and to be seene, of such Reuerend Antiquity, as may not iustly be called in question, therefore we haue good cause to iudge that the said words haue been sithence forged and shifted in by some good skill and policy, lest Augustine, a Holy a Man, should be found guilty of so great a Crueltie.

The Abstract of Chronicles written.

The yeere of our Lord.	The yeeres of Augustines abode in England.	
596	1	This yeere Augustine arriueth in England, & afterward continueth Archbishop of Canturburie fifteene yeeres: *Polydorus, Lib. 4.*
597	2	
598	3	
599	4	
600	5	
601	6	This yeere Augustine receiueth his Pall.
602	7	
603	8	
604	9	This yeere Augustine consecrateth Mellitus Bishop of London, and Iustus Bishop of Rochester: *Beda, Lib. 2. Cap. 3.*
605	10	This yeere the War was kept against the Britans, & the Monks were slaine at Bangor. *The Saxon Chronicle of Peterborough.* This selfe same yeere Augustine confirmed the Kings Chartar granted to the Monastery of S. Peter in Canturbury.
606	11	This yeere Augustin Baptizeth ten thousand people in the water of Swale: *Ranulphus Cestr.*
607	12	
608	13	This yeere Augustine dieth, 7. *Calend. Iunij Matthæus Westmonasteriensis.*
609	14	
610	15	This yeere dieth Augustine, as it is written by *Polydore, Lib. 4.* And therfore he was aliue fiue yeers after the slaughter of the Mōks at Bāgor

Augustine aliue, & in company with the

Verily in the Old English Chronicle it is recorded, not only that this Augustine, the Italian Monke, by his complaint caused the King of Kent to arme his people against the true and Faithfull Christians of the Countrie, then being in Wales: or, that he was aliue at the time of the battel, but also that he was himselfe present in person going toward the same. The words be these: Augustine *came againe, and told* King Ethelbert, *that the* Britans *would not obey him. Wherefore the King was wroth, and sent to* Elfrede the King of Northumberland *to come to helpe him to distresse the* Britans of Wales. And (Augustine) the Archbishop

Archbishop of Canturburie met with them at Leicester. *The* King of Leicester *at that time was called* Brocuale. *He being afraid of the two Kings, fled out of the Land, and came neuer againe. And the two Kings seised all his Lands, and parted them betweene themselues. And afterward they went towards* Wales. *The* Britans *heard of them and sent men to them in their shirts, and barefoot, to aske mercy. But they were so cruel, that they had of them no pitie, &c.* Hereby it appeareth, that this Augustine not only enkindled this cruell warre, but also was aliue and present in the Armie. Kings marching towards the Field. Augustine of England.

Addition. ☞ But to put both you and your friends quite out of doubt, touching as well the truth hereof, as also the manifest and sensible corruption of your Beda, I will here shew you the Copie of a Chartar granted by Ethelbert the King of Kent to the Abby of S. Peter in Canturburie, and confirmed by Augustine the blacke Monk, and Archbishop there, the selfe same yeere, when the slaughter of the Monks, whereof we speake, was committed. Thus it beginneth: ✠ *In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi.* Omnem hominem, qui secundùm Deum viuit, & remunerari à Deo sperat, & optat, oportet vt puris precibus consensum hilariter ex animo præbeat: quoniam certum est, tantò facilius ea quæ ipse à Domino poposcerit, consequi posse, quanto & ipse libentius Deo aliquid conceserit. *Quocirca ego Æthelbertus Rex Cantiæ* cum Consensu Venerabilis Archiepiscopi *Augustini*, ac Principum meorum, do & concedo Deo, in honorẽ Sancti Petri, aliquam partem terræ Iuris mei, quę iacet in Oriente *Ciuitatis Dorobernia*. Ita duntaxat, vt Monasterium ibi construatur, & res quæ supra memoraui, in potestate Abbatis sit, qui ibi fuerit ordinatus. Igitur adiuro, & præcipio in nomine Domini Dei Omnipotentis, qui est omnium rerum Iudex iustus, vt præfata terra subscripta Donatione sempiternaliter sit confirmata, Ita vt nec mihi, nec alicui Successorum meorum, Regum, aut Principum, siue cuiuslibet conditionis, dignitatibus, & Ecclesiasticis gradibus, de ea aliquid fraudare liceat. Si quis verò de hac Donatione mea aliquid minuere, aut irritum facere temptauerit, sit in præsenti separatus à Sancta Communione Corporis & Sanguinis Christi, & in die Iudicij, ob meritum malitiæ suæ, à consortio Sanctorum omnium segregatus. Circumcincta est hęc terra his terminis: In Oriente *Ecclesia S. Martini*: In Meridie via *Othburgæ*: In Occidente & in Aquilone *Druting* in Ciuitate *Doroueni*, in anno ab Incarnatione Christi DCV. Indictione VIII.

✠ *Ego Æthelbertus Rex Cantiæ*, sana mente, integroque consilio, Donationem meam signo Sanctæ Crucis propria manu roboraui, confirmauique. Ego *Augustinus* Gratia Dei Archiepiscopus, testis consentiens libenter subscripsi. Ego *Eadbaldus* Regis Faui. Ego *Hemigisilus* Dux Laudaui. Ego *Hocca* Comes Consensi. Ego *Angemundus* referendarius Approbaui. Ego *Graphio* Comes Benedixi. Ego *Tangisilus* Regis Optimas Confirmaui. Ego *Pinca* Consensi. Ego *Geddi* Corroboraui.

This Chartar is extant, and may be seene vnder Authenticall Seales: and another likewise bearing the same Date, and like Inscription. Marke well the yeere of our Lord, M. Harding, and compare wel the times. This Chartar, as it is plaine and euident to the eie, was Sealed and Dated in the yeere of our Lord 605. And the selfe same yeere, as it appeareth by the Chronicle of Peterburrough, the Monkes were slaine, euen the selfe same yeere, I say, in which this Chartar was granted by the King, and confirmed by Augustine. Now, I beseech you, where is the credit of your vaine Storie? How can it possiblie be true, that your corrupted Beda saith: Quamuis Augustino iam multo antè tempore ad Cœlestia Regna sublato? If Augustine were aliue the selfe same yeere, how can it be true, I say, that hee was dead so long before? Doe ye not see manifest forgerie with your eies? Is not this corruption so grosse that yee may feele it with your fingers? If Augustine had been dead so long time, or so many yeeres before, how could he confirme Chartars the same yeere present? Will you make him so Holy a man, that hee was able to write, and seale, and confirme Chartars being dead? Your Beda, as hee is by some of your side guilefully corrupted, saith, Augustine *was dead a great long while before the slaughter*. But Augustine himselfe saith, hee was aliue the selfe same yeere when the slaughter was made. And that he proueth not by coniectures and ghesses, as you doe often, but by sufficient Record vnder the Kings great Seale. And I beseech you, what better euidence may be shewed? It was an easie matter, by enterlarding a few words, to falsifie the truth of a Storie: And there was good cause in regard of your Augustines credit, why yee should doe it. But what cause can you imagine, why any man in this point should corrupt and falsifie the Kings great Seale? What gaine could hee haue had therein? *Anno* 605.

therein? Or what hope of gaine? or if there had beene cause neuer so great, yet what man could so easilie haue wrought it? Nay Matthæus Westmonasterienſis that wrote Flores Hiſtoriarum, ſaith, that Auguſtine *liued vntill the yeere of our Lord* 608. And was aliue three yeeres after the Monks were ſlaine. If he were aliue three yeeres after the ſlaughter, how is it true, that you ſay, He was dead ſo long a while before the ſlaughter?

Matth. Weſtmonaſterienſ.

Now may it be your choice, M. Harding, whether ye will beleeue King Ethelbert and your Auguſtine himſelfe vnder their owne Inſtruments and authentical Seales, or elſe your Storie of Beda, manifeſtly corrupted and wreſted quite from the Originall, as it is moſt eaſie to be ſeene.

Therefore M. Harding, it ſhall henceforth be good, both for you and for your followers, not to aduenture ſo rathely in iudgement before ye know. Thus much briefly, as anſwer vnto them, that ſo faine would haue their Auguſtine acquited of Pride and Cruelty.

The Apologie, Chap. 1. *Diuiſion.* 2.

Pretenſe of Antiquity.

Wherein they do much like to the Coniurers and Sorcerers now adaies, who working with Diuels, vſe to ſay, they haue their Bookes, and all their holy & hid Myſteries from Athanaſius, Cyprian, Moſes, Abel, Adam, and from the Archangel Raphael; to the end, that their cunning being thought to come from ſuch Patrons & Founders, might bee iudged the more High & Holy. After the ſame maner theſe men becauſe they would haue their owne Religion, which they themſelues, and that not long ſithence haue brought forth into the World, to be the more eaſily and rather accepted of fooliſh perſons, or of ſuch, as caſt little, whereabout they or others doe goe, they are wont to ſay, they had it from Auguſtine, Hierome, Chryſoſtome, from the Apoſtles, and from Chriſt himſelfe. Full well know they, that nothing is more in the peoples fauour, or better liketh the common ſort, then theſe names.

M. Harding.

Nay Sirs, your ſelues may with more reaſon be likened to Enchanters, Necromancers, and Witches. For as they ſay that they haue their Bookes & their Myſteries from thoſe Doctors, and firſt Fathers, and from Raphael the Archangell, but cannot ſhew the deliuery thereof by any Succeſſion from hand to hand, as for example who receiued the ſame from Raphael, from Adam, from Abel, &c. and who kept them from time to time: So ye ſay alſo, that ye haue your Goſpell, and euery part of your Doctrine, from the Apoſtles, from Chriſt, from the Prophets, from the Patriarkes, from Heauen, from Godsown boſome, who is the Father of Lights. But ye cannot ſhew vs your lawfull Succeſſion, by whom, and by whoſe preaching, as by hands, it came downe along from Chriſt and his Apoſtles vnto you. (a) Where lay your Sacramentary Doctrine hidden between the time of your Prophet Zuinglius, and your Patriarke Berengarius? How and by what deliuery from hand to hand continued the ſame thoſe fiue hundred yeeres? Shew vs your Succeſſion. Where be your Biſhops? Where be your Churches?

(a) It lay in the Scriptures, and in the Bookes of the holy Fathers

The Doctrine which the Catholikes of our Countrey hold and profeſſe, (b) as wel touching the bleſſed Sacrament, as all other points of our Faith, they haue receiued it of their Biſhops and they of their Predeceſſors, by order vntill they reach to S. Auguſtine: S. Auguſtine receiued it of S. Gregory: (b) he of others before him, (b) and they all one of another by continuall aſcent vnto S. Peter who receiued it of Chriſt: Chriſt of God his Father. (b) And this Doctrine we find taught and plainely ſet foorth in the Bookes that (c) S. Auguſtine, Hierome, Chryſoſtome, Ambroſe, Baſil, Cyprian, Dionyſe, and the other Holy Fathers haue left to the poſteritie. And ſo they be witneſſes of the truth of the Doctrin which our Biſhops haue taught vs.

(b) Vntruth: vaine. Read the Anſwer.

(c) Vntruth. For all this is but a ſhew of empty names, and nothing in them.

Preach ye, and cry ye out neuer ſo much, make ſo many Lawes in your Parliaments, as ye liſt, imbrue your Swords in the blood of the Catholike Chriſtians, as ye cry for it in your Pulpits, yet ſhal that rock Mat. whereon we ſtay, be too hard for you. Neither ſhall ye euer be able to ouerthrow the Catholike Church builded thereupon. For certaine we are, that neither al your power, nor hel gates ſhal preuaile againſt it.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Marcus Varro was wont to ſay, Vtile eſt Ciuitatibus, vt ſe viri fortes, etiamſi falſum ſit, ex Dijs genitos eſſe credant: *It is very behoouefull for Cities and Common Weales, that men of valiant courage beleeue themſelues to be the children of the Gods yea although indeed it be vntrue.*

Aug de Ciuitate lib. 3. cap. 4.

Vnto which words S Auguſtine addeth theſe: Hæc ſententia, cernis, quàm latum locum aperiat falſitati: *Tee ſee how large a ſcope this ſaying doth open to the maintenance of falſhood.* Many vaine men, to aduance the Nobilitie of their Blood, haue fet their petit degrees, ſome from Achilles, ſome from Æneas, ſome from Hercules, and ſome from the Arke of Noë. The Heretike Dioſcorus, to get ſome credit to his Doctrine, would ſeeme to bring the deſcent thereof from all the ancient Fathers of the Church. For thus hee ſaid in

in the open Councell: Ego teſtimonia habeo Sanctorum Patrum, Athanaſij, Gregorij, Cyrilli, in multis locis. Ego cum Patribus ejcior: Ego defendo Patrum Dogmata: Non tranſgredior in aliquo: Et horum Teſtimonia, non ſimpliciter, neque tranſitorie, ſed in Libris habeo: *I haue the witneſſe of the* Holy Fathers, Athanaſius, Gregorius, Cyrillus, *in many places. I am thrown forth with the Fathers: I defend the Fathers doctrine: I ſwarue not from them in any point: I haue their witneſſe, not barely, nor by the way, but in their Bookes.* *Conc. Chalced. Act. 1 pa. 767.*

So ſaid the Heretike Eutyches: Ego legi Scripta Beati Cyrilli & Sanctorum Patrum, & Sancti Athanaſij: *I haue read the Bookes of* Cyrillus, *of the holy* Fathers, *and of* Athanaſius. *Conc. Chalced. Act. 1 pa. 793.*

So ſaid the Heretike Caroſus: Ego ſecundum expoſitionem trecentorum decem & octo Patrum, ſic Credo: ſic Baptizatus ſum: *Thus doe I beleeue, and thus was I Baptized, according to the Expoſition of the three hundred and eighteene Fathers in the* Councell of Nice. *Conc. Chalced. Act. 4 pa. 877.*

Thus the Arian Heretikes alleged the authoritie of the ancient Father Origen: thus the Pelagian Heretikes alleged the authority of S. Auguſtine. As vpon occaſion, it hath beene ſaid before. *Socr. l. 4. ca. 21.*

Euen with ſuch truth, M. Harding, are you wont to blaſe the armes of your Religion. There is no toy ſo vaine or ſo fabulous, but ye are able by your cunning to bring it lineally, either from Chriſt himſelfe or from his Apoſtles, or from one or other of the ancient Fathers. The Biſhop of Sidon, in the late Diet of the Empire holden at Auguſta, auouched openly, that ye had your whole Canon from the Apoſtles of Chriſt, word by word, euen as it is præciſely written in your Maſſe Bookes. Andreas Barbarius præcheth the antiquitie of the Cardinals of Rome, by theſe words, written in the firſt Booke of the Kings: Domini ſunt Cardines Terræ: Et poſuit ſuper eos Orbem: *The corners of the Earth bee the Lords: and vpon them he hath ſet the World.* Abbat Panormitane ſaith: Cardinalatus eſt de Iure Diuino: Quia Papa per Sacerdotes Leuiticos intelligit Cardinales: *The* Cardinalſhip *ſtandeth by the Law of God: For the Pope by the Leuiticall Prieſts vnderſtandeth his* Cardinals. Hoſius ſæmeth to ſay, that Monkes haue their beginning euen from the Apoſtles, meaning thereby, as one of your companions there doth, in fauour, I trow, of Religion, that Chriſt himſelfe was the Abbat. For thus he ſaith: Chriſtus Dux, & exemplar vitæ Monaſticæ: *Chriſt was the Captaine and ſamplar of Monkes life.* And yet the ſame man afterward, as hauing forgotten his former dreame, vtterly diſplaceth Chriſt, and giueth the whole honour hereof vnto Elias and Elizæus. Theſe be his words: Elias & Elizæus Duces inſtituti Benedictini: Elias *and* Elizæus *were the Captaines of* S. Benets order, that is to ſay, *they were* Blacke Monkes. By like wiſdome ye would ſæme to fetch your Holy Water from Elizæus: your Cardinals Hat from S. Hierome: your Monkes Cowle from S. Auguſtine. This was ſometime a iollie good way to win credit, ſpecially whiles whatſoeuer ye ſaid, the people was readie to giue you eare. So the old Arcades ſaid in commendation of their Antiquity, that they were a day or two elder then the Moone. Saturnus, being in Italy, for that he was a ſtranger, & no man knew from whence he came, therfore was called Filius Cœli, and was thought to come from Heauen. Romulus and Alexander for that they were borne in baſtardy, and neuer knew their owne Fathers, therefore to magnifie the Nobility of their Blod, would be called the Children of the Gods: the one of Mars, the other of Iupiter. *Anno. 1548.* *1 Regum. 2.* *Polyd. de Inuēt. lib. 4. cap 9.* *Extra, Qui filij ſint legitimi. per Venerabilem Abb.* *Hoſius in Confeſſione Petricouien. cap. 88.* *Cop. Dialog. 2. pag. 194.* *Cop. Dialog. 2. pag. 284. remember.*

With ſuch Truth and Fidelity, M. Harding, your wont is to paint out all the parts and Membres of your Doctrine. For be it neuer ſo vaine or childiſh, or lately deuiſed, yet ye beare vs in hand, That your Predeceſſours receiued the ſame (as you ſay) of their Biſhops: and they of others their Predeceſſors by order, vntil they reach vnto your Auguſtine the Monke of Rome, whom ye haue full worthily made a Saint: Your Auguſtine (ye ſay) receiued the ſame of Gregory: Gregory of others before him: and they all one of another by continuall aſcent vnto S. Peter: and Peter of Chriſt and Chriſt of God his Father. No Herald could lightly haue ſaid more in the matter. I trow, ye would proue by this Aſcent and Deſcent, that God the Father made Holy Water, and ſaid Maſſe.

Indeed, as wel herein, as alſo in your emptie names of Auguſtine, Hierome, Chryſoſtome Ambroſe, Baſil, Cyprian, Dionyſe, &c. as I tolde you once before, ye bring vs only a vaine ſhew of painted bores, and nothing in them. For in all theſe Holy Fathers, where find you either your Priuate Maſſe: or your Halfe Communion: or your Accidents without Subiect: or the reſt of your like Vanities, wherewith yee haue ſo long time deceiued the world? Leaue your diſſimulation: ſet apart your coniectures and blinde gheſſes: and for your credits ſake, once ſhew vs theſe things in the ancient Holy Fathers, and ſhew them plainelie, and indeed, that we may thinke, there is ſome weight in your word.

But your owne Gloſſe, ſpeaking of the Miniſtration of the Holy Communion, which now in your Churches in a maner is wholly aboliſhed, ſaith thus: Hoc Antiquum eſt. *De Con. diſt. 2. peracta in Gloſ.*

Nam

Pretenſe of Antiquity.

Nam hodie videtur eſſe relictum: *This was the* Old Order, that the people ſhould receiue together: *For, as it ſeemeth, now it is left.* Doctor Tonſtall ſaith, it was no Hereſie to denie your Tranſubſtantiation, before your late Councell of Laterane. Eraſmus, whoſe iudgement, I thinke, ye will not refuſe, ſaith thus: In Synaxi Tranſubſtantiationem ſerò definiuit Eccleſia: *In the holy Miniſtration, it was long and very late, ere the Church determined the Article of* Tranſubſtantiation. All this notwithſtanding, ye bluſh not to ſay, that both theſe and all other your fantaſies haue bene conueied vnto you by moſt certaine Succeſſion, from hand to hand: from your Engliſh Auguſtine: from Gregory: from the Fathers: from the Apoſtles: from Chriſt: and from the boſome of God himſelfe.

Cuth. Tonſtal. de Euchariſtia, lib. 1. pag. 45. Anno 1215. Eraſ. 1. Cor. 7.

The Apology, Chap. 1. Diuiſion 3.

But how if the things which theſe men are ſo deſirous to haue ſeeme New, be found of greateſt Antiquity? Contrariwiſe, how if all the things welnigh, which they ſo greatly ſet forth with the name of Antiquity, hauing been wel and thorowly examined, be at length found to be but New, and deuiſed of very late? Soothly to ſay, no man that hath a true & right conſideration, would thinke the Iewes Lawes and Ceremonies to be New indeed for al Hammons accuſation. For they were grauen in very ancient Tables of greateſt Antiquity. And although many did take Chriſt to haue ſwarued from Abraham and the old Fathers, & to haue brought in a certaine New Religion in his owne name, yet anſwered he them directly: If yee beleeued Moſes, ye would beleeue me alſo. For my Doctrine is not ſo New, as you make it. For Moſes, an author of greateſt Antiquity, & one, to whom ye giue all honor, hath ſpoken of me. S. Paul likewiſe, Though the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt be of many counted to be but New, yet hath it (ſaith he) atteſtimony moſt old, both of the Law and of the Prophets. As for our Doctrine, which we may more rightly cal Chriſts Catholike Doctrine, it is ſo farre off from New, that God who is aboue all moſt Ancient, and the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, hath left the ſame vnto vs in the Goſpel, in the Prophets, and Apoſtles workes, being monuments of greateſt age. So that no man can now thinke our Doctrine to be New, vnleſſe the ſame thinke, either the Prophets Faith, or the Goſpell, or elſe Chriſt himſelfe to be New.

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuiſion 1. and 2.

AND as for their Religion, if it be of ſo long continuãce, as they would haue men ween it is, why doe they not proue it ſo by the examples of the Primitiue Church, and by the Fathers and Councels of Old times? Why lieth ſo ancient a cauſe thus long in the duſt, deſtitute of any Aduocate? Fire and Sword they haue had alwaies readie at hand: but as for the old Councels and Fathers, all mum, not a word. They did ſurely againſt all reaſon, to begin firſt with theſe ſo bloody & extreame meanes, if they could haue found other more eaſie and gentle waies.

And if they truſt ſo fully to Antiquity and vſe no diſſimulation, why did Iohn Clement a Countryman of ours, but few yeers paſt, in the preſence of certaine honeſt men, and of good credit, teare and caſt into the fire certaine leaues of Theodoret the moſt ancient Father, and a Greeke Biſhop, wherein he plainely and euidently taught, that the Nature of Bread in the Communion is not changed or aboliſhed, or brought to nothing? And this did he of purpoſe becauſe he thought there was none other Copie thereof to be found.

M Harding

Touching the matter ye haue deuiſed vpon M. Clement, he doth not only deny it in word, that euer he burnt or otherwiſe deſtroied any leafe of Theodoritus, but alſo declareth by the whole order of his life, & by ſpecial regard & loue he beareth to the tong, which that learned Biſhop wrote in, that he hath euer

euer beene, and yet is farre from the will to burne or deſtroy any ſcrappe, ſyllable, or letter of Greeke, much more certaine leaues of the learned Father Theodoritus, where any ſuch thing was written, as you imagine. Nay, will ye haue the troth? In very deed he ſaith, and by ſuch way as a godly and graue man may auouch a truth, proteſteth, that hee neuer had hitherto any part of that Booke, neither in Greeke or in Latine in written hand.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

This report was made in the preſence and hearing of M. Peter Martyr, and ſundry other learned men, of whom certaine are yet aliue. The Reporter was both a learned man and a graue Father, and not long ſithence a Biſhop in England: who ſaid, hee was preſent and ſaw the thing done with his eies. More to ſay heereof, I am not able.

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuiſion. 3.

Why ſaith Albertus Pigghius, **that the ancient Father** S. Auguſtine **had a wrong opinion of** Originall Sinne? **And that hee erred and lied, and vſed** Falſe Logike, **as touching the caſe of** Matrimony, **concluded after a Vow made: which** Matrimony S. Auguſtine **affirmeth to be perfect indeed, and that it may not be vndone againe, the Vow & Promiſe notwithſtanding.**

Dist. 27. quidā. Aug. De Bono Viduit. cap. 10.

Vow Simple and Solemne.

M. Harding.

(a) We neuer tooke our ſelues bound to any priuate opinion of whatſoeuer Doctor. For all our Faith is Catholike, that is to ſay, Vniuerſall, ſuch as not one Doctor alone (b) but the Vniuerſall number of Doctors haue taught, and Chriſtian people haue receiued. If in a ſecret point of learning S. Auguſtine or S. Cyprian teach ſingularly, wee follow them not. Much leſſe doe wee binde our ſelues to maintaine whatſoeuer Albertus Pigghius hath written. Our Doctrine of Originall Sinne is to be read in the fifth Seſſion of the late Tridentine Councell. If Pigghius diſſent from that, he diſſenteth from vs. But if he ſtand only vpon ſome point not yet determined by the Church, his opinion may bee tolerated vntill the Church define that queſtion. When you note the point, (for there are many points in that Doctrine) then we will ſhew you further our minde heerein.

Sub Paulo 3.

The Mariage, which is made after a ſimple Vow of Chaſtity, ſtandeth in his force, by reaſon that there is more in Mariage, then was in the bare Vow. (c) For in the ſimple Vow there is nothing but a promiſe made to God, without any deliuerance of that thing which was promiſed. But in Mariage the man and woman by preſent acceptatiō of each others bond, do make the mater to extend beyond the nature of a promiſe. Therefore if likewiſe the Vow made to God were not a ſimple promiſe, but alſo a deliuering of the thing promiſed: then cannot the mariage following make void the Vow, which was not only promiſed, but alſo performed (d) The performance is, when he that voweth, doth profeſſe himſelfe in the hands of his Superior by taking the habite of ſome Religiō, or by receiuing holy Orders of the Biſhop. For in that ſolemne act he deliuereth vp all his owne right & power, ſo that now he is not maſter of himſelfe to giue his Body to any perſon in mariage or otherwiſe. You ſhall know by the Law of Nature, if you would conſider it, that if I promiſe a Horſe to one man, & afterward promiſe the ſame, and deliuer him to another, that the ſecond man is true Lord of that Horſe, although I haue done iniurie to him, to whō I made the firſt promiſe. For the promiſe with the deliuery, is more vaileable to tranſſer my right in the horſe, thē my promiſe alone. Euen ſo it is a great ſin to break a ſimple Vow of Chaſtity made to God.

(a) M. Harding refuſeth S. Auguſt. authority.
(b) This vnetruth is ouer cold and vain. For M. Harding well knoweth the ſubſtance of his Doctrine ſtandeth not by the Dooctours.
(c) Promiſe made vnto God without deliuery. A folly of all follies.
(d) A Vow made before the Biſhop or Abbat, is of more force then a Vow made before God alone.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

How lightly your Captaine Generall, Albertus Pigghius **weigheth the authority of** S. Auguſtine, **it may appeare by his words. For thus he writeth:** Quòd non ſolùm incerta ſed etiam falſa ſit Auguſtini Sententia, ita mihi demonſtrari poſſe videtur: *Thus me thinketh I am able to proue, that* S. Auguſtines *iudgement herein is not onely vncertaine, but alſo falſe.* **And againe afterward in the concluſion:** Quòd Auguſtini Sententia non ſolùm incerta, ſed etiam certò falſa ſit, ſatis mihi demonſtratum videtur: *That* S. Auguſtines *iudgement is, not only vncertaine, but alſo certainely falſe, me thinketh I haue ſufficiently proued.* **And againe:** Non multum me mouet Auguſtini Sententia: mihi non placet Auguſtini ea de re Definitio & Sententia: S. Auguſtines *iudgement doth not greatly moue me: I like not* S. Auguſtines *determination and iudgement, touching this matter.* **And againe:** Ego omnium, non ſolùm aduerſariorum, ſed etiam Catholicorum receptas in Scholis redarguo Sententias: *I doe reproue the iudgements, not only of our aduerſaries, but alſo of the Catholikes allowed in the Schools.* **For theſe cauſes** Ruardus Tapper **of** Louaine, **and** Lirienſis **of** Portugall **haue namely written againſt** Pigghius. **And forasmuch, as yee are deſirous to haue the point noted, wherein** Pigghius **ſo much miſliketh** S. Auguſtines **iudgement,** Dominicus à Soto **your owne Doctor noteth it thus:** Pigghius de hoc malè audit, quaſi Peccata in nobis Originalia omninò inficietur: Pigghius *is ill reported of, as a man that vtterly denieth Originall Sinne.* **Thus your Doctors weigh** S. Auguſtines **Authority, lighter or heauier, as they liſt.**

Alb. Pigghius in 1. Controuerſi.

De Peccato Originis. Alb. Pigghius in eadem Controuerſia.

Ruard. Tapper Lirienſis Epiſcop. Luſitanus. Petrus a Soto, de Natura, & Gratia.

The

Vow Simple and Solemne.

The matter of Marriage after a Vow, is blowen away with a fi'ly Diſtinction, of a Vow Simple, and a Vow Double, which ye commonly call a Solemne vow: and all the ſame is ſubſtantially and cléerely prowed by *the promiſe and deliuerie of a Horſe*. For this example of all others, liked you beſt. Surely, M. Harding, a very ſimple Creature, and ſomewhat inferiour to a Horſe, would hardly bee tied to ſuch Diſtinctions. For the better cléering hereof, that yee call a Simple Vow, that is made before God alone: that Double or Solemne, that is made in the preſence of the Biſhop or Abbat. Now, it is plainely confeſſed by your owne Doctors, that your Simple Vow, be it neuer ſo Simple, yet bindeth you as ſtraitly before God, as the Double. For Pope Cœleſtinus ſaith: Votum Simplex apud Deum non minùs ligat, quàm Solenne: *The* Simple Vow *before God, bindeth no leſſe, then the* Solemne. And touching the Promiſe and Deliuerie of your Horſe, Iohannes Scotus ſaith: Alia ratio eſt, quòd Vouens Solenniter mittit in poſſeſſionem illum, cui Vouet Solenniter: Vouens autem Priuatè, non: ſed quaſi promittit. Sed hæc ratio valet minùs, quàm ſecunda. Quia omnia, quæ intrinſeca ſunt Voto, vt Votum reſpicit actum voluntatis, per quem obligat ſe vouendo & transfert Dominium ſuum in alterum, omnia, inquam, iſta ſunt æqualia hinc inde. Igitur non magis datio hîc, quàm ibi: nec promiſſio ibi, quàm hîc: *Another reaſon that they vſe, is this: That he that maketh a* Solemne Vow, *putteth him, to whom he ſo Voweth in poſſeſſion. But ſo doth not he that maketh a* Simple Vow: *but onely giueth his promiſe. This Reaſon is worſe and weaker then the Second. For all things that bee of the* Subſtance of the Vow, (*as a Vow concerneth the act of the minde, whereby the minde bindeth it ſelfe by Vowing, and tranſpoſeth the ownerſhip of it ſelfe vnto another*) all theſe things, I ſay, are of like weight and equall of either ſide. Therefore there is no more performance of promiſe in the Solemne Vow, then in the Simple: nor more promiſe in the Simple Vow, then in the Solemne. Thus you ſée, M. Harding, with great trauell and much ado, yee haue found a difference without difference. Cardinall Caietane ſaith: Eiuſdem ſpeciei eſt tranſgreſſio Voti Solennis & Simplicis: Et differunt ſolùm ſecundùm magis graue, & minùs graue: *The breaking of a* Vow Simple, and a Vow Solemne *is of one kinde or nature: And the difference is onely in more grieuous and leſſe grieuous*, that is, that the one is more grieuous and offenſiue then the other.

Extr. Qui Clerici & vouētes. Rurſus. Scotus in 4. Senten. Diſt. 38. quæſt. 1.

Caietan. in Thom. Secund. Secundæ quæſt. 88. Artic. 7.

Therefore Thomas of Aquine himſelfe, the firſt Father, as it appeareth of this Diſtinction, ſaith thus: Videtur, quòd Eccleſia poſſit diſpenſare in Voto Continentiæ Solennizato per ſuſceptionem Sacri Ordinis: *It ſeemeth that the Church may diſpenſe with a Vow of Chaſtity ſolemnized by the receiuing of holy Orders.*

Auguſt. de bono Viduitat. ca. 10

And this is it, that S. Auguſtine ſaith: Qui dicunt talium Nuptias, non eſſe Nuptias, ſed potiùs Adulteria, mihi non videntur ſatis acutè, ac diligenter conſiderare, quid dicant: *They that ſay the Marriage of ſuch Men or Women* (as haue Vowed Chaſtity) *is no Marriage at all, but rather Aduouterie*, (as M. Harding and his fellowes haue ſaid) *ſeeme vnto me, not to conſider diſcreetly or aduiſedlie what they ſay.* Thus therefore, M. Harding, notwithſtanding your Simple or Double Vow, S. Auguſtine ſaith vnto you, *Yee ſpeake Vnaduiſedly and Vndiſcreetly, and vnderſtand not what you ſay.* But of this whole matter, wee haue entreated before more at large.

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuiſion 4.

Liber hodie extat & circumfertur mutilus.

Alſo, when they did of late put in Print the Ancient Father Origens worke vpon the Goſpell of S. Iohn, why left they quite out the whole ſixth Chapter, wherin it is likely, yea rather of very ſurety, that the ſaid Origen had written many things concerning the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, contrary to theſe mens mindes, & would rather put foorth that Booke mangled, then full & perfect, for feare it ſhould reprooue them, & their partners of their error? Call yee this truſting to Antiquity, when ye rent in peeces, keepe backe, maime and burne the ancient Fathers?

M. Harding.

* Hereby M. Harding ſhaketh much the credit of his owne learning.

A wiſe man affirmeth no more then he knoweth: a good man no more then ſtandeth with Charity: a learned man in matters of weight, no more, then he can auouch by euident * reaſons, * ſure proofes or * ſufficient authorities. This Defender charging the Catholikes with mangling of Origen vpon S. Iohns Goſpell as though of purpoſe they had left out the ſixth Chapter, which he imagineth to containe their Sacramentarie Doctrine contrary to the Catholike Faith: forasmuch as he is vncertaine hereof, & thereby noteth a great vntruth in the ſetters foorth of that work, neither by any meanes is able to prooue the ſame: he ſheweth himſelfe a foole, a ſlanderer & an vnlearned man. We are like, I perceiue, to heare of the faults they know by vs, ſith that they burden vs with that they know not, & for the ſame can pretend but

but a ſlender coniecture. But Sir Defender, why complaine you not of the leauing out of other Chapters & parts of that worke, aſwel as of the ſixth Chapter? For whereas Origen wrote vpon Iohn nine & thirty Tomes, as S. Hierome witneſſeth: the Latine tranſlatiõ Printed in Venice hath but 32 lacking the ſeuen laſt Tomes. Neither be all they whole & perfect, but many of them maimed and mangled.

Origen.

prologo 39. in Matth. Origenis Lucam.

What maner a Doctrine of the bleſſed Sacrament he hath vttered vpon the ſixth Chapter of Iohn, & how Catholike he was in that point, it appeareth by diuers his other workes, that you haue no cauſe to belie him in that you neuer ſaw. For the truth of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, his teſtimonies be euident. For credits ſake heere will I recite a couple. In one place he ſaith thus: Ye know, which haue been wont to be preſent at the Diuine Myſteries, how that when ye take the Body of our Lord, yee keepe it with all warineſſe & reuerence, that no whit thereof fall downe, that nothing of the conſecrated gift miſcarrie. For ye beleeue your ſelues to be guilty, & right well do ye ſo beleeue if by negligence ought fal downe. In another place, writing vpon the Centurions words ſpoken to Chriſt, Matth. 8. When (ſaith he) thou rakeſt that holy meat, & that vncorrupt daintie, when thou enioieſt that Bread & Cup of Life, thou Eateſt & Drinkeſt the Body and Blood of our Lord, then our Lord entreth vnder thy roofe.

num. 13. Exod.

homil. 5. in diuers Euangel. locos.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

We lay not in the mangling of this Ancient Father, as matter of ſufficient euidence, but only as a great coniecture of your Corruption, referring the iudgement thereof vnto the Reader. Certainely, M. Harding, we haue good cauſe many waies to doubt your dealing: but in nothing more then in the handling of the Fathers. Yee remember how wickedly Pope Zoſimus, **the better to colour his Ambition, long ſithence corrupted the** Nicene Councell. **Neither can ye forget what trifles and fabulous Vanities yee haue lately ſent vs abroad vnder the old ſmokie names of** Abdias, Leontius, Amphilochius, Hippolytus, **and** Clemens, **whom ye ſo ſolemnly call the** Apoſtles Fellow. **In theſe vncleanely conueiances to any wiſe man there can appeare no ſimple meaning. Notwithſtanding, ye thought it good policie to deceiue the world by any ſhift or ſhadow of ancient Fathers.**

Conc. Aphricanum. cap. 105.

What Origen **thought of the words of** Chriſt **in the ſixth Chapter of** S. Iohn, **it is eaſy to coniecture by that he hath written otherwheres. Vpon the** Leuiticus **he writeth thus:** Eſt & in Euangelio Litera quæ occidit: Si enim ſecundùm Literam ſequaris illud quod dictum eſt, Niſi comederitis Carnem Filij hominis, &c. ea Litera occidit: *Euen in the Goſpell there is a Letter that killeth: For whereas Chriſt ſaith,* Vnleſſe yee eat the Fleſh of the Sonne of Man, &c *if ye take the ſame according to the Letter that Letter killeth.* **This was** Origens **iudgement of the Sacrament: And the ſame in thoſe dates was counted Catholike.**

Origen in Leuit. hom. 7.

Yee reply, Origen ſaith: *When ye take the Body of our Lord, yee keepe it with all warineſſe and reuerence, that no part thereof fall downe.* **And againe:** *When thou takeſt that holy meat, then our Lord entreth vnder thy roofe.* **Both theſe places in my former Replie are fully anſwered. But what Catholike Doctrine, M. Harding, can ye picke out of theſe words? What** Tranſubſtantiation? **What** Reall Preſence? **What** Accidents without Subiect? **Ye will ſay,** Origen **calleth the Sacrament** Chriſts Body. **So doth** Chriſt **himſelfe: So doth** Paul: **So doe all the** Ancient Fathers: **So doe we our ſelues, becauſe it is the** Sacrament of Chriſts Body. **Your owne** Gloſſe ſaith, **as it hath beene often alleged:** Vocatur Corpus Chriſti, id eſt Significat Corpus Chriſti: *It is called the Body of Chriſt, that is to ſay, It ſignifieth the Body of Chriſt.* But the people (**ye ſay**) receiued it warily, and with reuerence. **So doe they now, euen in thoſe Churches that you moſt miſlike withall.**

Orig. in Exod. hom. 13.

Origen in Diuerſos Euang. locos, hom. 5.

De Conſecrat. Diſt. 2. Hoc eſt.

Yee ſaith further: When thou receiueſt that holy meat, then our Lord entreth vnder thy roofe. **And what great matter thinke you to win hereby? Euen in the ſame place** Origen ſaith: Intrat etiam nunc Dominus ſub tectum credentium duplici Figura, vel more: *Euen now the Lord entreth vnder the roofe of the Faithfull after two maners or ſorts. For when the holy and godly Biſhops enter into your houſe, euen then through them our Lord entreth.* **Will ye conclude hereof, that the** Biſhop **is Tranſubſtantiate into** Chriſt? **Or, that** Chriſt **is Really and Subſtantially dwelling in him? This is an Allegory, M. Harding, or a Myſticall kinde of ſpæch, wherein, as you know, that Learned Father was much delighted. The** Roofe **that he meaneth is not Materiall, but Spirituall: that is to ſay, not the Body of Man, but the Soule: Like as alſo the Comming or Entring of Chriſt into the ſame is not Bodily, but only Spirituall.**

So S. Auguſtine ſaith: Prædicant Chriſtum, & eum annuntiando venire faciunt in exhauſta fame viſcera filij eſurientis: *They Preach Chriſt, and by Preaching, cauſe him to come into the Bowels of the hungry Child, waſted with Famine.* **Likewiſe againe he ſaith of** the Centurion: Tecto non recipiebat Chriſtum: Corde recipiebat: Quantò humilior, tantò capacior, tantò plenior: *He receiued not Chriſt into his Houſe: He receiued him into his Heart: The more humble, the more roome had he to receiue him, and the fuller bee was.* **So ſaith** Chryſoſtome: Qui vocant Dauid cum Cythara, intus Chriſtum per ipſum vocant? *They that cal in* Dauid *with his Harpe, by meane of him* call in Chriſt. **Againe he ſaith:**

Auguſt. Quæſtion. Euangel. lib. 2. cap. 33.

Aug. de Tempore. Serm. 74.

Chryſ. in Pſal.

Chryſ. in Mat. Hom. 46. in Opere Imperfect. Chriſtus aut ſuſcipitur, aut occiditur apud nos. Si enim credimus verbis eius, ſuſcipimus eum, & generamus in nobis: *Chriſt either is receiued, or ſlaine within vs. For if wee beleeue his Word, we receiue him, and beget him within vs.* In ſuch ſort S. Hieronie writeth vnto Paula

Hieronymus ad Paulam, de obitu Bleſilla. Ad talem clemens ingreditur Ieſus, & dicit, Quid ploras? Non eſt mortua Puella, ſed dormit: *Into ſuch a one Ieſus entreth milde and gracious, and ſaith, Why weepeſt thou? Thy Damſell is not dead, but lieth aſleepe.*

This maner of ſpeech, as I ſaid before, is Spirituall, or Myſticall, and may not bee taken according to the outward ſound of the Letter. So ſaith S. Hierome: Secundùm Myſticos intellectus quotidiè Ieſus ingreditur in Templum Patris: *According to the* Myſticall *vnderſtanding, Chriſt entreth daily into the Temple of his Father.* In this ſenſe Origen ſaith, Chriſt entreth into our Houſe. Which phraſe, writing vpon S. Matthew, he expreſſeth in

Hiero. in Mat. Lib. 3. Ca. 21.

Orig. in Mat. tha. Tract. 35. plainer maner: Tradunt & eijciunt ab anima ſua Saluatorem, & Verbum Veritatis quod erat in eis: *They betray and throw foorth our* Sauiour *from out of their Soule,* (as doe all Apoſtates, and Renegates, that denie the knowen Truth of God) *and they betray the Word of Truth that was within them.* All this we grant, M. Harding: and all this may ſtand without either your Tranſubſtantiation, or your Reall Preſence.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuiſion 1. and 2.

Images painted in Churches.

It is a world to ſee how welfauouredly, and how towardly, touching Religion, theſe mẽ agree with the Fathers, of whom they vſe to vaunt, they be their owne good.

The Old Councell Eliberine made a Decree, that nothing that is honoured of the people ſhould be painted in the Churches.

M. Harding.

The words of that Prouinciall Councell be theſe: It is thought good, that paintings bee not in the Church: that what is worſhipped or Adored, it be not painted on walles. This expreſſe prohibition of painting, and that nought be painted in Church walles, that is worſhipped or Adored, may ſeeme both to preſuppoſe a former vſe of ſuch paintings, and alſo to allow the other ſort of Images. Whether it do, or no, *it forceth not greatly. The ſeuenth Generall Councell, aſſembled at Nice againſt the Image-breakers, hath not only allowed the * Deuout vſe of Images commonly vſed in the Churches of Chriſtian people, but alſo condemned all thoſe that throw them downe, and maintaine the contrarie opinion. Now we are taught, that a Prouinciall Councell ought to giue place to a Generall.

Elliber. Conc. Ca. 36.

*It forceth not greatly.

* Deuout vſe of Images.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

The painting of Images in Church walles was forbidden in the Councell holden at Liberis, or Granado, in Spaine: *Ergo,* ſay you, ſuch Images were vſed before that Councell. All this may well be granted without preiudice. But ye ſée plainely they were forbidden in that Councell. One ſaith: Ex malis moribus bonæ Leges ortæ ſunt: *Of ill maners came good Lawes.* Men vſed (ye ſay) before that time to paint Images in Church walles. But this vſe was naught. And therefore the Councell Decréed againſt it: and that, as it may be gathered by the words, for feare of Idolatrie.

But you ſay, The Second Generall Nicene Councell allowed well the deuout vſe of Images. And a Generall Councell ought to take place before a Prouinciall: for that in a Generall Councell there are many Biſhops: in a Prouinciall there are but few. Thus, I ſée, ye weigh your Religion, not by Truth, but by Companie. Howbeit, this Rule is very lowſe, and may ſone deceiue you.

God Chriſtian Reader, let no man beguile thée by the colour of Councels. Read this Second Nicene Councell throwout, if thou be able. Thou wilt ſay, there was neuer any Aſſemblie of Chriſtian Biſhops ſo vaine, ſo péeuiſh, ſo wicked, ſo blaſphemous, ſo vnworthy in all reſpects to be called a Councell. The bleſſed Biſhops there agréed together with one conſent, that Images in Churches are not onely to be allowed, but alſo deuourly and reuerently to be honoured, and that with the ſame honour that is due to God himſelfe. One of them ſaith: Venerandas Imagines recipio, & Adoro, & id perpetuò docebo: *I receiue and worſhip the reuerend Images, and this will I teach while I liue.* * Another ſaith: Sacras Imagines perfectè Adoro: qui verò ſecùs confitentur, eos anathematizo: *I do perfectly Adore the Holy Images: and I accurſe all them that hold the contrary.* Another ſaith: Non ſunt duæ Adorationes, ſed vna, Ipſius Imaginis, & primi Exemplaris, cuius eſt Imago: *There be not two kindes of* Adoration, *but one onely, due as vnto the* Image, *as to the Patterne of the* Image. This Holy Councell (ye ſay) decreed againſt Image-breakers: but the Councell of God decréeth againſt Image-worſhippers & Image-makers.

Concil. Nicen. 2. Actione. 2.

Concil. Nicen. 2. Actione. 4.

* Scilicet Elias Cretæ. Epiſcop.

* Scilicet Iob. Locum-tenens Epiſcoporum Orientalium.

S. Auguſtine

S. Augustine saith: Sic omnimò errare meruerunt, qui Christum & Apostolos eius non in Sanctis Codicibus, sed in Pictis Parietibus quæsierunt. Nec mirum, si a Pingentibus Fingentes decepti sunt: *So were they worthy to be deceiued, that sought Christ and his Apostles not in the Bookes of holy Scripture, but in Painted Walles. Neither may wee marueill, if Fainers by Painters were deceiued.* *Augu. de Consen. Euangel. Lib. 1. Ca 10.*

Adoring of Images.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision 3.

The Old Father Epiphanius **saith:** It is an horrible wickednesse, and a Sin not to be suffered, for any man to set vp any Picture in the Church of the Christians, yea though it were the Picture of Christ himselfe. **Yet these men stoze al their Temples, and each cozner of them, with painted and carued Images, as though without them Religion were nothing wozth.** *Epiphan. in Epist. ad Iohan. Episcop. Hierosolymitan.*

M. Harding.

To that ye pretend to allege out of Epiphanius, we say, first, that although he were of the minde you make him to be of, and said, as you report of him, yet is he but one man, whose singular opinion is not to be preferred before the (a) iudgement of all other so many excellent Fathers, and the determination of the whole Church. (b) Now indeed you misreport Epiphanius. For he saith not so, as you write. He calleth not the hauing of the Image of Christ, or of any Saint in the Church an horrible wickednesse, or a sinne not to be suffered: he hath no such words.

Secondly what if we say, this place maketh nothing at all against the vse of Images, and that (c) hee speaketh neuer a word against the Image of Christ, or his Saints in the Church, but only against one particular Image, which he found hanging at a Church doore in a Village of Palestine called Anablatha? And seeing he (d) speaketh not generally against all Images, but against such as that was, which there he noteth by this speciall word, *Ittiusmodi Vela*, veiles of this sort: he giueth vs to vnderstand, that he misliked some quality or circumstance of that one Image, and not reprooued the (e) common and receiued custome of the Church in hauing Images in due order. Now what circumstance that was, it dependeth of so many particularities, which might happen either on the Images part, as it is most like, or on the peoples part there inhabitant, and is so little declared by Epiphanius in that place, that neither we can say any thing determinately thereof, nor ye should bring such an obscure and vncertaine matter to the disproofe of a veritie alwaies so well in the Church acknowledged and practised.

(a) Vntruth. For the ancient Fathers make no mention of Images.

(b) Vntruth. For wee report him truly, as shal appeare.

(c) Vntruth. For his words bee plaine: *Imaginem, quasi Christi. aut Sancti cuiusdam.*

(d) A childish & a vaine shift. For Epiphanius speaketh directly against al Images.

(e) Vntruth. For Images then were not commonly receiued in the Church. *Copus Dial. 5. Pag. 692.*

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

O how many, and how pzety shifts heere be deuised, if any would helpe to serue the purpose! One of the Late Louanian Clergie, **foz that he saw these wozds were cleere, and might not be auoided by any Gloose, therefoze he thought it the wisest way, First, to bzing the Authozity and Credit hereof in question, and to say, that** Epiphanius neuer wrote any such Epistle: **Nert he saith;** The same Epistle was neuer translated by S. Hierome: **But fozasmuch as he saw, that his folly herein was open, and easie to bee controled; Thirdly he saith, that the** Image **that** Epiphanius **rent in sunder was not the** Image **either of** Christ, **oz of any** Christian Saint, **but the** Heathen Image of Iuppiter, **oz** Hercules, **oz some other Idoll, he knoweth not what: Fourthly he saith;** The said Holy Father Epiphanius was an Heretike, **one of those that were called** Anthropomorphitæ, **whose errour was, that God in his Diuinity, had the whole shape and pzopoztion of a Man. Howbeit, this folly farre passeth all the rest. Foz it behoued those** Heretikes **most of all others, foz defense of their errour, to maintaine** Images. **And yet it seemeth a very vnciuill part, to condemne so Reuerend and so Godly a Father of so grosse an** Heresie, **without pzoofe: and specially such a Father as hath so learnedly written against all** Heresies: **Fifthly hee saith, euen as D. Harding heere saith,** Epiphanius was but a man, and one man, and his iudgement singular, and therefore the lesse to be esteemed: **Last of all he saith,** The same Holy Father Epiphanius was a Iew: **and being a Christian, and a Reuerend Father, and a Christian Bishop, yet notwithstanding maintained the Religion of the** Iewes, **and therefoze rent in sunder the** Image of Christ **in despight of** Christ. **And foz pzoofe hereof he alleged,** Simeon Metaphrastes, **a Doctoz as wise as himselfe.**

1 2 3 4 5 6

Cop. pag. 703. Cop. pag. 702. Cop. pag. 703. Cop. pag. 703. Copus. Pag. 706. 707. Simeon Metaphrastes.

D. Harding, foz that he imagined these shifts were very vnsauoury, and would hardly serue, therefoze hath deuised to conuey himselfe out some other way. First he saith: Wee falsifie this Holy Father, and allege his words otherwise then they be. **Secondly hee saith:** It was not the Image of Christ that Epiphanius found painted in the Veile, **but some other pzetie thing, he knoweth not what. Lastly he saith:** Epiphanius reproueth not generally all such Veiles, so painted, but onely that one Veile that he found.

Foz triall hereof I referre my selfe to the Oziginall. The wozds thereof be these: Inueni ibi velum pendens in foribus eiusdem Ecclesiæ, tinctum atque depictum, & habens Imaginem, quasi Christi, aut Sancti cuiusdam. Non enim satis memini cuius Imago fuerit. Cùm ergo hoc vidissem in Ecclesia Christi, contra Authoritatem Scripturarum, Hominis pendere *Epiphanius ad Iohan. Hierosolymitan, Apud Hieron. Tom. 2.*

Epiphanius rent the image, &c.

pendere Imaginem, ſcidi illud, & magis dedi conſilium Cuſtodibus eiuſdem loci, vt pauperem mortuum eo obuoluerent, & efferrent, &c. Quæſo vt iubeas Presbyteros eiuſdem loci præcipere, in Eccleſia Chriſti iſtiuſmodi vela, quæ contra Religionem noſtram veniunt, non appendi: decet enim honeſtatem tuam hanc magis habere ſollicitudinem, vt ſcrupuloſitatem tollat, quæ indigna eſt Eccleſia Chriſti, & populis qui tibi crediti ſunt: *I found there a Veile hanging at the entrie of the Church, ſtained and painted, and hauing the* Image, *as it were*, of Chriſt, or of ſome Saint. *For whoſe Picture it was indeed, I doe not remember. Therfore when I ſaw the* Image of a man to hang in the Church of Chriſt, contrarie to the commandement of the Scriptures, *I tare it in ſunder, and gaue councell to the Wardens of that Church, that they ſhould winde and bury ſome poore body in it, &c. I beſeech you, charge the Preiſts of that place, that they giue commandement, that ſuch Veiles as be* contrarie to our Religion *be no more hanged vp in the Church of Chriſt. It behoueth your reuerence to haue care heereof, that this* Superſtition, vnmeet for the Church of Chriſt *and vnmeet for the people to thee committed, be remooued.* Now iudge you, M. Harding, wherein we haue falſified this learned Fathers woꝛds. You ſay, He ſpeaketh not one word againſt the Image of Chriſt, or his Saints. I beſeech you then, againſt what other Image ſpeaketh he? Epiphanius ſaith plainly, It had the Jmage, as it were, of Chriſt, or of ſome Saint. You ſay, He found fault with that Veile onely, and not with any other. Once againe, I beſeech you, tell vs, what had the Image of Chriſt, or of his Saints, offended Epiphanius moꝛe then other Images? If the Image of Chriſt may not be ſuffered in the Church of Chriſt, what Image then may bee ſuffered? What cauſe of difference can you imagine, that any other Veiles ſhould be allowed rather then this? Your anſwer is this: We cannot ſay any thing determinately thereof Whereby it appeareth, ye would faine ſay ſomewhat, if ye will what. Yet muſt wee be ouer-ruled by all and euery ſuch your determinations, yea although you your ſelfe confeſſe ye can determinately determine nothing.

Habent imaginē, quaſi Chriſti, vel Sancti cuiuſdam.

Notwithſtanding, the Ancient Fathers of the Church haue long ſithence determinately and plainely iudged againſt you. Lactantius ſaith in plaine woꝛds: Non eſt dubium, quin Religio nulla ſit, vbicunque Simulachrum eſt: *Determinately and out of all doubt, there is no Religion, where ſoeuer there is an* Image. Tertullian ſaith: Idolum tam fieri, quàm coli Deus prohibet. Quantò præcedit, vt fiat quod coli poſſit, tantò prius eſt, ne fiat, ſi coli non licet. Facio, ait quidam, ſed non colo: quaſi ob aliquam cauſam colere non audeat niſi ob quam & facere non debeat: Scilicet, ob Dei offenſam vtrobiquè. Imò tu colis, qui facis vt coli poſſit: *God hath forbidden an* Image, *or an* Idoll, *as well to be made, as to be worſhipped. As farre as making goeth before worſhipping, ſo farre is it before, that the thing be not made that may not be worſhipped. Some man will ſay, I make it: but I worſhip it not: As though he durſt not to worſhip it for any other cauſe, but only for the ſame cauſe for which he ought not to make it. I meane both waies for Gods diſpleaſure. Nay rather thou worſhippeſt the Image, that giueſt the cauſe for others to worſhip it.*

Lactant. lib. 2. cap. 19.
Tertul. de Idololatria.

Images in Churches.

Therefoꝛe S. Auguſtine ſpeaking of the Image of God the Father, ſaith thus: Talem ſimulachrum Deo fingere, nefarium eſt: *To deuiſe ſuch an Image for God, it is abominable.*

Aug. de Fide & Symbolo. ca 7. Citatur in Cōcil. Nicen. 2. Actione. 6.

Theodorus the Biſhop of Ancyra ſaith; Sanctorum Imagines & Species ex Materialibus coloribus formari, minimè decorum putamus. Manifeſtum enim eſt, quod vana ſit huiuſmodi cogitatio, & Diabolicæ deceptionis inuentum: *Wee thinke it not conuenient to paint the* Images of Saints *with Materiall or Earthly colours. For it is euident, that this is a vaine Imagination, and the procurement of the deceitfulneſſe of the Diuell.*

To like purpoſe writeth Epiphanius: Eſtote memores, dilecti Filij, ne in Eccleſias Imagines inferatis, neque in Sanctorum Cœmiterijs eas ſtatuatis. Sed perpetuo circumferte Deum in cordibus veſtris. Quinetiam, neq; in domo communi tolerentur. Non enim fas eſt, Chriſtianum per oculos ſuſpenſum teneri, ſed per occupationem mentis: *My deare Children, be ye mindefull, that ye bring no Images into the Churches, and that ye erect vp none at the burials of the Saints. But euermore carrie God in your hearts. Nay, ſuffer not Images to be, no not in your priuate houſes. For it is not lawfull to lead a Chriſtian man by his eies, but rather by the ſtudie or exerciſe of his minde.*

For this cauſe Epiphanius ſaith, The Superſtition of Images is vnfit for the Church of Chriſt.

The Apology, Chap. 3. Diuiſion 4.

Origen. in Leuit. Cap. 16. Chryſ. in Matth. Homil. 2. Idē in Iob. 31.

The Old Fathers Origen and Chryſoſtome exhoꝛt the people to read the Scriptures, to buy them Books, to reaſon at home betwixt themſelues of Diuine Matters: Wiues with their Huſbands, and Parents with their Children. Theſe men condemne the Scriptures, as dead Elements, and, as much as euer they may, barre the People from them.

M. Harding

M. Harding.

(a) Partly it is true, partly falſe, that you ſay. Origen exhorteth all to reſort to the Churches in the Holy daies, and there to heare the words of God: and thereof afterward to thinke earneſtly, and to meditate on the Law of God, and to exercile their minds in it day & night, in the way, in their houſe, in their bed and when they riſe. This hold we withall, and be deſirous the (b) people beare away that the true and godly Preachers teach them in the Church, and that they thinke of it, and put it in daily practiſe of life. For elſe to what ſerueth all our preaching?

Tom. 9. in Leuit. cap. 16.

Chryſoſtome *Homil. 2. in Matth* ſpeaketh againſt them which contemned the Scriptures, and ſaid, they were no Monks, but had Wiues, and Children, and care of houſhold. As though it pertained not to married men to read any part thereof, but to Monkes only.

If in our time the people might be induced to read the holy Scripture, with ſuch minds, for ſuch cauſes, to ſuch intents and purpoſes only, as Chryſoſtome requireth, God forbid we ſhould by any meanes ſtay them therfrom. (c) But conſidering the maner of our time, and calling to due examination the curioſity, the temerity, the vnreuerence, the contempt of al holy things, that now all men may eſpie in the people; if we thinke it not good they be admitted to the reading of the Scriptures freely and without any limitation, howſoeuer you and your fellowes iudge of vs, we doubt not of the account we haue to make of that our meaning before our Lords dreadfull ſeat of iudgement. Now to conclude, we tel you, that you haue miſreported both Chryſoſtom, & ſpecially Origen. For howſoeuer they ſpeak of the reading & meditation of the Scriptures, for amendment of life, verily in the places by you quoted (d) they exhort not the people to reaſon and diſpute of Diuine matters among themſelues, ſpecially the Husbands with their Wiues, the Parents with their Children, as you ſay they doe.

(a) Vntruth. For the whole hereof is true: and no part falſe.

(b) O vaine excuſe! Many of your people neuer heare Sermon in all their liues.

(c) M. Hardings fauourable opinion of the people.

(d) Manifeſt vntruth. Read the Anſwer

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Forasmuch as ye ſay, Part hereof is true, and part falſe, **I truſt, ye will giue vs leaue frée lie to vſe the** Truth, **vntill ye ſhall finde your ſelfe better able to proue the** Falſhood. **It ſéemeth not greatly, to miſlike you, that the people haue ſome little liberty to read ſome ſuch part of the** Scriptures **as you may beſt ſpare them, for the ordering of their liues. Whereby it appeareth, that for quieting of their Conſciences in matters of Religion, and cauſes of Truth, ye thinke it beſt, they read nothing.** And this (ye ſay) yee are able to anſwer before the dreadfull Seat of Gods iudgement. **Touching the truth hereof, to ſay ſo much as might be ſaid, it would require great waſte time.** S. Auguſtine **ſaith:** Si deſit, aut ignoretur, quà eundum ſit, quid prodeſt noſſe, quò eundum ſit? *If we haue not, or know not what way to goe, what ſhall it profit you to know whither to goe?* S. Hierome **ſaith:** Vt maius eſt voluntatem Domini facere, quam noſſe, ita priùs eſt noſſe, quàm facere. Illud merito præcedit: Hoc ordine: *As it is more to doe the will of our Lord, then to know it: ſo the Knowledge of the ſame goeth before the doing. In goodneſſe Doing goeth before: In order, Knowing.* **Againe** S. Auguſtine **ſaith:** Si Scripturas Diuinas aut non Legimus ipſi, aut legentes alios non libenter audimus, ipſa nobis Medicamenta conuertuntur in Vulnera: & inde habebimus Iudicium, vnde potuimus habere Remedium: *If we either read not the* Scriptures *our ſelues, or bee not deſirous to heare others read them,* then are our Medicines turned into Wounds: and then where wee might haue had Remedy, wee ſhall haue Iudgement. **Such ſayings are common and ordinarie in** S. Chryſoſtome. **Thus hee ſaith:** Librum Diuinum accipiat aliquis in manum: conuocatiſque proximis, per Diuina Eloquia riget & ſuam mentem, & conuenientium, vt ſic Diabolicas inſidias effugere valeamus: *Let one of you take in hand the* Holy Booke: *and let him call his Neighbours about him: and by the* Heauenly Words *let him water and refreſh both their mindes, and alſo his owne.* **Againe he ſaith:** Poterimus & domi verſantes, ante & poſt Conuiuium, acceptis in manus Diuinis Libris, vtilitatem inde capere, & Spiritualem Cibum animæ præbere: *Being at home we may both* before, and after meat, *take the* Holy Bookes *in hand, and thereof receiue great profit, and miniſter ſpirituall food vnto our Soule.* **And againe:** Etiam domi vacemus Diuinarum Scripturarum lectioni: *Euen when we be at home, let vs beſtow our time in reading the* Scriptures.

Reading of the Scriptures

Aug. de Ciuit. Lib. 11. Cap. 2.

Hieronymus ad Demetriad. de Virginit tuend.

Aug. de Tempore, Serm. 55.

Chryſoſtom. in Geneſ Hom. 6.

Chryſoſtom. in Gen. Hom. 10.

Chryſoſtom. in Gen. Hom. 29.

Origen **ſaith:** Vtinam omnes faceremus illud quod Scriptum eſt, Scrutamini Scripturas: *Would God we would all doe accordingly as it is written,* Search the Scriptures.

Orig. in Eſaiam, Homil. 2.

But ye ſay: We haue miſreported both Chryſoſtome and Origen. For they exhort not the people (**as you ſay**) to reaſon of diuine matters among themſelues, ſpecially the husbands with their wiues, &c. **Whether of vs both maketh truer report, let vs be tried by** Chryſoſtome, **Thus hee ſaith:** Neque in hoc tantùm conceſſu, ſed domi quoque, Vir cum Vxore, Pater cum Filio, inuicem de his frequenter loquantur: & vltro citróque ſuam, & ferant & inquirant ſententiam: velintque hanc probatiſſimam inducere conſuetudinem: *Hearken not hereto onely here in the Church, but alſo at home: Let the* Husband *with the* Wife, *let the Father with the* Childe *talke together of thoſe matters, and both too and fro let them both enquire, and giue their Iudgements. And would God they would begin this good cuſtome.*

Chryſoſt. in Iohan. Homil. 2.

Chryſoſtom. in Mat. Hom. 78

Here haue you, M. Harding, the Husband **communing of** Diuine matters **with his**

Wife: and the Father with his Childe. Therefore so vnaduisedly to say, we haue misreported this Holy Father, it was of your part a misreport.

Hieronym. in Epist. ad Coloss. Cap 3. In illud, Verbũ Dei habitet in vobis. Hieronymus in Psalm. 133.

Likewise S. Hierome saith: Hic ostenditur, verbum Christi non sufficienter, sed abundanter etiam Laicos habere debere: & docere se inuicem, vel monere: *Heere wee are taught, that euen the* Lay men *ought to haue the* Word of God, *not only sufficiently, but also abundantly: and one to instruct and to warne another.* Againe he saith: Solent & Viri, solent & Monachi, solent & Mulierculæ hoc inter se habere certamen, vt plures ediscant Scripturas: *Both Married Men, and Monks, and Wiues, commonly haue this contention among themselues,* Who may learne most Scriptures.

Theodoretus de Corrigen. Graec. affect. li. 5. De diuina Trinitat. rerumq; omnium Creatione disertantes.

To conclude, Theodoretus saith thus: Passim videas nostra dogmata non ab ijs solùm teneri, &c. *Ye may commonly see, that our Doctrine is known not onely of them that are the* Doctors *of the Church, and the* Masters *of the people, but also euen of the* Tailers, *and* Smiths, *and* Weauers, *and of all* Artificers: *Yea and further also, of* Women; *and that not onely of them that be learned, but also of* Labouring Women, *and* Sewsters, *and* Seruants, *and* Handmaids, *Neither onely the* Citizens, *but also the* Countrey-folks *doe very well vnderstand the same. Ye may finde, yea the very* Dichers, *and* Deluers, *and* Cow-heards, *and* Gardiners, Disputing of the Holy Trinity, and of the Creation of all things. Now iudge you, M. Harding, whether of vs two hath erred in his report.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision 4. and 5.

Cyprian. Epist. 11. Lib. 1. Epiphan. contra Apostolicos, Heref. 61. Hieronym. ad Demetriadem. Augu. de Bono Vidut. ca. 10.

The Ancient Fathers Cyprian, Epiphanius, and Hierome, say, For one who perchance hath made a Vow to lead a sole life, and afterward liueth vnchastely & cannot quench the flames of lust, it is better to marry a Wife, and to liue honestly in Wedlocke. And the Old Father Augustine iudgeth the selfe same Marriage to be good, and perfect, and that it ought not to be broken againe. These men, if a man haue once bound himselfe by a Vow, though afterward he burne, keepe Queanes, and defile himselfe with neuer so sinful and desperate a life, yet they suffer not that person to marry a wife: or if hee chance to marry, they allow it not for Mariage. And they commonly teach, It is much better and more godly to keepe a Concubine, or an Harlot, then to liue in that kinde of Marriage.

Aug. ad Ianuar. Epist. 118.

The Old Father S. Augustin complaineth of the Multitude of vain Ceremonies, wherewith he euen then saw mens Minds and Consciences ouercharged: These men, as though God regarded nothing else but their Ceremonies, haue so out of measure increased them, that there is now almost none other thing left in their Churches, & places of Prayer.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

In the 2. part, 8. Chap. 1. Diuis. And 2. part, 17. Chapter, 1. Diuision.

All that M. Harding hath heere to say, hath beene both alleged, and also fully answered before in a place more conuenient.

The Apology, Chap. 3. Diuision 5.

Again, that Old Father S. Augustine denieth it to be lawful for a Monk to spend his time slothfully in Idlenesse, and, vnder a pretensed & counterfet Holinesse, to liue all vpon others. And who so thus liueth, the Old Father Apollonius likneth him to a Theefe. These men haue (I wot not whether to cal them Droues, or Heards of Monks) who for all that they do nothing, nor yet once intend to beare any shew of Holinesse, yet liue they not only vpon others, but also riot lauishly of other folks labors.

(a) But S. Augustine calleth it worse then idlenesse.

(b) As though Christs rule were lost, or were not sufficient.

M. Harding.

(a) We doe not maintaine, that a Monke should liue idly. But we reproue you for accounting the Seruice of God, Idlenesse. Neither is that the thing only which ye can alleage in defence of that your Brethren haue done to Monasteries in the Countries, where your Gospel proceedeth. For ye haue required not only such Monkes as were proued idle, but al Monks generally that would serue God according to that Vow which they made vnder the (b) approued rule of S. Benedict, S. Augustine, S. Francis, S. Dominicke, or of any other. You say, wee haue Droues and Heards of Monkes, thereby signifying, they are beasts

beasts rather then men. Whereas S. Augustine calleth them *Seruos Dei*, the Seruants of God, in that verie worke which you allege.

Sith that our Monks (I meane al Religious men) serued the Altar, and were appointed to Preach, Ministre the Sacraments and bestow their time in praier for their owne infirmities, and for the sins of the people: (c) by the Doctrine of S. Augustine, they are not bound to labor, as they who for sowing spiritual all things to the behoofe of others, may reape their temporal things to their own necessary sustenance.

(c) Vntruth, plaine contrary to S. Augustine.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Monks (ye say) be Gods Seruants: and Monkes life is the Seruice of God. And herein yee vse such earnest talke as though, if the whole generation of Monkes were remoued, God should sit without Seruice. Indeed S. Augustine shewing vs what good Seruice the Monks of his time did vnto God, saith thus: Isti non Deo seruiunt, sed suo ventri: *These* Monks serue *not God, they* serue *their bellies.* Againe he saith: Tactantia eo est periculosior, quo sub nomine Seruitutis Dei decipit: *Hypocrisie or vanting of Holinesse is the more dangerous, for that it deceiueth vs vnder the name of* Gods Seruice. Againe he saith: Fallit Dolosa imagine Sanctitatis: *It deceiueth vs by the deceitfull countenance or Image of holinesse.* Againe, touching these Monks he saith: Non apparet vtrum ex proposito Seruitutis Dei venerint, an vitam inopem, & laboriosam fugientes, vacui pasci, & vestiri voluerint: *We cannot tell whether they became Monks for purpose* to serue God, *or else being weary of their poore and painefull life, were rather desirous to be fed and clothed doing nothing.* And therefore he calleth the Almouse that they get, Sumptus lucrosæ egestatis: & simulatæ prerium sanctitatis: The charges of gainefull pouerty: and the price of fained holinesse. Againe he saith: Venalem circumferunt Hypocrisim: *They carrie their Hypocrisie about to sale.*

Monkes. Gods Seruice.

Aug. De Opere Monach. ca. 12 *Augst. de Seruone Domin. in Monte. Eodem loco. Aug. De Opere Monach ca.* 22 *Aug. De Opere Monach ca.* 28 *Aug. De Opere Monach ca.* 31

S. Hilary speaking of the same kinde of holy people, saith thus: Conuiuia sub obtentu Religionis sumptuosa sectantur. Apothecas suas inutili Religiosorum obsequio defendunt: de quibus Scriptum est, Comedentes domos Viduarum. Etiamsi Dominum se credant inuocare, tamen audient, quod est in Euangelio, scimus quia peccatores Deus non audit: *Vnder the colour of Holinesse, they seeke for dainty and costly fare: They maintaine their storehouses* by the vnprofitable seruice of Religious people: *of whom it is written:* They deuoure vp poore Widowes houses. *Although they thinke* they serue God, *yet the same answer shall be made them, that is written in the Gospell,* We know that God giueth no care to sinners. Vpon these words of the Gospel: Sell all that thou hast, and giue it to the poore, and come and follow me; your very Ordinary Glosse saith thus: Bene operando, non mendicando: *Follow me in wel-doing, not in begging.*

Hilar. in Psalmum. 52. Matth. 23. Iohn 9. Luke 19. Matth. 18.

And lest ye should thinke we speake onely of old forren faults, and that all such things sithence those daies haue béene reformed, Nicolaus Cusanus a Cardinall of Rome, one of your New Doctours, saith: Vix fallacia illorum, qui sub habitu Christi apparent, potest sciri ob suam varietatem. Nam alius quidem sub hac veste, alius sub capitio, alius sub hoc Religionis signo, alius sub alio, Christo se militare asserit: Licèt pene omnes, non quæ Christi, sed quæ sua sunt, quærant. Omnes enim student auaritiæ à maximo vsque ad minimum. Et in his omnibus Vna Doctrina comperit eorum fallaciam: scilicet, Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos: *The deceitfulnesse of them that shew themselues vnder the apparell of Christ, because of their variety can hardly be known. For one of them saith, He serueth Christ vnder one weed, another vnder another: One vnder a Hood, another vnder the badge of Religion, another vnder another. Notwithstanding they all for the most part seeke their owne, and not the things that pertaine to Christ Iesus. For they are all giuen to couetousnesse from the most to the least. And yet in all these diuersities, by this marke or Doctrine ye may deserie their falshood, By their works ye shall know them.*

Nicol. Cusanus Excitat. lib. 7. *Moneta.*

We grant, the seruice of God may not rightly be called Idlenesse. But what if S. Bernard say of your Monks: Serui Christi, seruiunt Antichristo: *They pretend* Christs Seruice *and* serue Antichrist? For where did God euer require you to do him such Seruice? S. Hierome saith of them: In statu seruili & abiectionis esse abhorrent. Laborare recusant præpigritia: Mendicare erubescunt validi: quia nihil daretur eis: *They are loth to be abiects and in seruile state. For Idlenesse they will not labour: and to beg they are ashamed. For being valiant and lusty people, no man would giue them any thing.* Likewise saith S. Augustine: Tanquam Conseruatricem Euangelij prædicant pigritiam: *They speake much of their Idlenesse, as if it were the Keepe and Castle of the Gospell.* Againe he saith: Contingit eis, quod in viduis iunioribus indisciplinatis cauendum Apostolus dicit: Simul & otiosæ esse discunt: non solùm autem otiosæ, sed & curiosæ, & verbosæ, loquentes quæ non oportet: *The same thing happeneth vnto them, that* S. Paul *speaketh of yong Widowes, liuing out of order: they learne to be idle: and not only idle but also curious, and full of words, speaking such things as are not meet.* Thus ye see M. Harding, that this pretence and colour of Gods Seruice hath oftentimes of the ancient Fathers beene called Idlenesse.

Bernardus in Cantica Cant. Hieronym. ad Eustochium.

Aug. de Opere Monach ca. 21 *Augst. eodem Capite.*

Yée

Monkes Bodily labour.

Ye say, Monkes now Serue the Altar and Minister Sacraments: and therefore are not bound to bodily labour. This is a faire colour to shadow their Idlenesse. For who euer bade Monkes to Serue the Altar, or gaue them authority to Minister Sacraments? What Doctor? What Father? What ancient Councell? In Old times it was not lawfull for a Monke to be a Priest. S. Gregory saith: Nemo potest Ecclesiasticis Officijs deseruire, & in Monastica Regula ordinatè persistere: *No man can serue the Ecclesiastical Office, and orderly keepe the Rule of Monkerie.* And S. Hierome saith: Monachus, non Docentis, sed Plangentis habet officium: *A Monkes Office is not to Preach but to Mourne.* Againe he saith: Alia causa est Monachi, alia Clerici: Clerici Oues pascunt: Ego pascor: *The state of a Monke is one thing, and the state of a Priest is another. Priests feed the Flocke: I* (being a Monke) *must bee fed.* Whereupon the Glosse saith: Ego pascor Sacramentis ipsorum: *I am fed with the Sacraments of the Priests.* Whereby it is euident, that the Monke himselfe had no authority to Minister Sacraments, no not so much as priuately to himselfe. But touching Bodily labour, S. Hierome saith, This was holden as a Law among the Monkes in Ægypt, *that who so would not labour, should not eat.*

16. Quæst. 1. Nemo.

16. Quæst. 1. Monachus.

16. Quæst. 1. Alia causa. Glossa.

Hieronymus ad Rusticum, & in vita Hilarionis

And S. Augustine saith, as it is alleged in his name: Nihil Dei seruis peius est otiositate. Operentur ergo in nomine Domini: *Vnto the Seruants of God there is nothing worse then Idlenesse. Let them worke therefore in the name of our Lord.*

Aug. ad fratres in Eremo. Sermon. 1.

Of such idle Monkes, S. Augustine saith: Isti manus otiosas, & repositoria plena habere Volunt: *These Monkes will haue Idle hands and full Cellars.* A learned Father was wont to say by the report of Socrates: *A Monke that laboureth not with his hands may bee resembled vnto a Theefe.* S. Bernard saith: Restat vt sint in Laboribus Dæmonum, qui in laboribus hominum non fuerunt: *They must needs be in the trauels of Diuels, that were not in the trauels of Men.*

Aug. de Opere Monach. ca. 23

Historia Tripartita, lib. 8. cap. 1.

Bernardus in Psalm. 72.

Of these S. Augustine saith: Diabolus tam multos Hypocritas sub habitu Monachorum vsquequaque dispersit: *Such a number of Hypocrites hath the Diuell scattered abroad in euery where, vnder the colour of Monkes.*

Aug. de Opere Monach. ca. 28

The first Suppressors of Monasteries within this Realme, in our memorie, were two of your dearest friends, Cardinall Woulsee, and Doctor Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester: either of them well warranted thereto by the authority of the Pope. Long before that time, the godly learned Bishop Letoius ouerthrew and burnt the Messalians Monasteries and said they were dens of Theeues: and as Theodoretus reporteth, chased the Woolues away from the Fold.

Theodoretus, lib. 4 cap. 11. σπήλαια λῃστῶν. Τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκ τῆς συμπεῖξάμεν.

Of late yeeres, sundry of the Cardinals of Rome, amongst whom also was Cardinall Poole, being specially appointed in Commission by Pope Paulus 3. to view the disorders, and deformities of the Church, returned their answer in this sort: Alius abusus corrigendus est in Ordinibus Religiosorum: quòd adeò multi deformati sunt, vt magno sint scandalo Sæcularibus, exemploque plurimùm noceant. Conuentuales ordines Abolendos esse putamus omnes: *Another abuse there is to be reformed in the* Orders of Monks and Friers. *For many of them are so vile, that they are a shame vnto the Seculars: and with their example doe much ill.* As for Conuentuall Orders we thinke it good they be all abolished.

Concil. Tom. 3. Con. Delectorum Cardinal. pag. 822.

This, M. Harding, was the iudgement of your own friends. And therefore ye haue the lesse cause to be offended with the suppressing of Abbies. For your own deare Catholike Fathers, Cardinall Woulsee, Cardinall Poole, Doctor Fisher, and others, partly haue suppressed them, themselues, and partly haue consented vnto the same. In the Booke called Opus Tripartitum, ioined vnto the Councell of Lateran, it is written thus: Totus ferè mundus obloquitur, & Scandalizatur de tanta multitudine Religiosorum Pauperum, qui introierunt in Mundum: *Welneere the whole World crieth against, and is offended for so great a* multitude of begging Monks and Friers *that are entred into the World.*

Concil. Lateran. Sub Innocent. 3. cap. 13.

Therefore was this Decree published in the Councell of Lateran: Ne nimia Religiosorum diuersitas grauem in Ecclesiam Dei offensionem inducat, firmiter prohibemus: ne quis de cætero Nouam Religionem inueniat: *Lest ouer great diuersitie of Religious folke bring great offence into the Church of God, we doe earnestly forbid, that from henceforth no man deuise any New Religion.* Thus it appeareth, your Pope himselfe and his Cardinals were so wearied and accloied with multitudes of Monkes, that they would haue them increase no further. Damasus speaking of the order of them, that were called Chorepiscopi, saith thus: Vnde iste Tertius ordo processerit, ignoramus: & quod ratione caret, extirpari necesse est: *From whence this third order is come we cannot tell. And the thing that wanteth reason, must needs be taken vp by the roots.*

Dist. 68. Chorepiscopi.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 3. *Diuision* 6.

A Priest keeping a Cõcubine.

The old Councell of Rome **decreed, that no man should come to the Seruice said by a** Priest **wel knowen to keepe a** Concubine. **These men let** Concubines **to farme to their** Priests, **and yet constraine men by force against their will, to heare their cursed paltrie Seruice.**

Concil. Rom. cap. 3.

M. Harding.

(a) We find no such Canon in the old Roman Councels. Your allegations noted in the margin bee false for the most part, as your Doctrine is. Yet find we that Nicolaus and Alexander Popes haue willed no man to heare the Masse of that Priest, whom he knoweth vndoubtedly to keepe a Concubine. (b) But wise men in the Law thinke only that to be an vndoubted knowledge, when either the Iudge hath by open sentence published such a man to keepe a Concubine, or the fact it selfe is notorious. (c) Whereas you say, we let Concubines out to farme to our Priests, it is meet for you to say it, because it is false and slanderous. (d) Neither was euer any man, or at this day is driuen to heare his Masse, who keepeth a Concubine. For if he will take vpon him to prooue any Priest to keepe a Concubine, himselfe not being so infamous, as he may not stand in iudgement, it is certaine, he shall be heard. If hee cannot prooue it, then is not he out of doubt by order of Law, that this Priest keepeth a Concubine, & therefore he is bound as other Christian people be, to heare his Masse. (e) Which is no sacrilege as your sacrilegious heart thinketh, and blasphemous tongue vttereth, but the blessed & holy Sacrifice, which Christ made at his last Supper.

(a) Vntruth. For it is easie to bee found.

(b) Such wise men be the Proctors of filthinesse.

(c) Vntruth, notorious and manifest to the world. The B. of Argentine hath a Floréce by the

yeere of euery Priest that keepeth a Concubine, and if thee beare a childe, he hath foure. (d) Vntruth. (e) Vntruth. For Pope Hildebrand saith: *Benedictio eorum vertitur in maledictionem.*

Read the Answer

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

If it had pleased you better to haue perused your Bookes, ye might some haue found these selfe same words in the Councell of Rome, **holden there vnder** Pope Nicolas **the second. Which, although it be not so old, as may be compared with the ancient Fathers Councels, yet it is elder then some parts and branches of your New Religion. To like purpose writeth** Pope Zacharie: Quis sapiens iudicabit eos esse Sacerdotes, qui nec à Fornicationibus abstinent: *What wise man will reckon them to be Priests that abstaine not so much as from Fornication?* **If no wise man can iudge them to be** Priests, **what man then is he that will authorize them to** Minister Sacraments?

Concil. Rom. sub Nicolao. 2. *Cons. to.* 2. *pa.* 795. *anno.* 880. *Zacharias pp. in epi. ad Bonif. Dist.* 40. *Nonnos. In Glossa. Dist.* 81. *Maximian. in Gloss. Dist.* 32. *nullus,*

Now of the other side, M. Harding, consider you the common and ordinarie practise of your Church of Rome. **First, touching the** Pope **himselfe, your** Glosse **saith:** Factà Papæ excusantur, vt Adulterium Iacob: *The* Popes *doings* (or Aduouteries) *are excused as the* Aduouterie *of* Iacob. **And againe:** Communiter dicitur, quòd pro Simplici Fornicatione quis deponi non debet: cùm pauci sine illo vitio inueniantur: *It is commonly said, that a man may not be deposed or depriued for Simple Fornication: for asmuch as few* (Priests) *be found without that fault.*

Againe whereas the words of the Decree **are these:** Nullus audiat Missam Presbyteri, quem scit Concubinam indubitanter habere. *Let no man hear the Masse of that Priest, whom he vndoubtedly knoweth to keepe a* Concubine; **the** Glosse **vpon the same saith thus:** Hic Canon quandoq; fuit latæ Sententiæ: Sed hodiè non est: *This* Decree *in old times stood as a ruled case: but now it is not so.* Ideo licèt notoria sit Fornicatio, tamen non est propter eam abstinendum ab officijs Presbyterorum: *And therefore although the Fornication be notoriously knowen, yet may we not therefore refraine from the Seruice of the Priest.*

Hereunto very wel agreeth the Glosse **vpon** Othoes Legantines: Quid ergo si Sacerdos inueniatur coire cum muliere? Respondeo: adhuc dicitur occultum: nec propter hoc debet eum vitare in publico, nisi aliter Conuincatur: *What if a man finde the* Priest *in the manner with a woman? I answer: All that notwithstanding, the fault is priuie. Neither may a man therefore auoid that Priests Seruice, vnlesse he be otherwise conuicted.*

De Concubinis Clericor. remouendis. Licet ad prælig. andum.

And againe in the same Glosse **vpon these words:** Qui publicè detinet Concubinas, **it is noted thus:** Tu dic publicè, quando multitudini se patere non expauet. Secùs ergo, si secretè intra domum propriam, vel alienam detineat hanc Concubinam. Nam tunc pœnam huius Constitutionis non incurret. Domus enim rem secretam, non autem publicam denotat: *By this word* Openly, *vnderstand thou, If he be not afraid lest the World espie him. Therefore he is otherwise, if he keepe the same* Concubine secretly *whether it be in his own house or in some other mans.* For then he is not within the danger of this Law. *For a house betokeneth a thing to be* Secret, *and not* open.

Glossa in eundem titulum.

By this fauourable and gentle Construction, vnlesse the Priest **keepe his woman** openly in the Market place, **he is without all danger of** Lawes **and** Canons, **and we may not refraine to heare his Seruice.**

It is no Sacrilege (**you say**) but the Blessed and Holy Sacrifice. **Hereto I may answer you with the**

Aug. de Ciuit. lib. 2. cap. 4. Dist. 81. Si. qui-

the words of S. Augustine: Quæ sunt Sacrilegia, si illa erant Sacra? Aut quæ Inquinatio, si illa Lauatio? *What is Sacrilege, if this be a Sacrifice? Or what is staining, if this be washing?* Verily your owne Pope Hildebrand hereof writeth thus: Imperamus vobis, ne eorum Officia, Orationes, & Cultus audiatis. Quia Benedictio eorum vertitur in Maledictionem, & Oratio in Peccatum: Testante Domino per Prophetam, Maledicam Benedictionibus vestris. Qui verò huic Saluberrimo præcepto obedire noluerint, Idololatriæ pœnam incurrent: *We command you, that you heare neither their Offices, nor their Praiers, nor their Seruice. For their Blessing is turned into Cursing, and their Praier into Sinne. As the Lord himselfe witnesseth by the Prophet: I will curse your blessings,* saith the Lord. *And whosoeuer will not obey this wholesome Commandement,* he shall fall into the paine of Idolatry. Iudge ye now M. Harding, whether this be Sacrilege, as ye say, or as you say, a Blessed and a holy Sacrifice. If it be a Sacrifice, if it be Blessed, if it be Holy, why should he be accursed, as an Idolatour that will come vnto it?

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision 7.

The Old Canons of the Apostles command, that Bishop to bee remoued from his Office, which will supply the place both of a Ciuill Magistrate, and also of an Ecclesiasticall person. These men for all that, both doe and will needs serue both places. Nay rather, the one office, which they ought chiefly to execute, they once touch not: and yet no body commandeth them to be displaced.

M. Harding.

* Vntruth, vaine aboue measure. For it was not vnseemly for Christs Apostles to be married

* S. Paul speaketh thus, not onely of Priests but also of euery priuate Christian man.

If we ought to sticke at any one certaine worldly businesse, * which may seem vnseemly for a Bishop or a Priest, as too base for his dignity and too much hinderance to his vocation, vndoubtedly marriage is of that sort. Whom may we better credit for this case, then S. Paul? * He that is without a wife (saith he) is carefull for the things that be of our Lord, how he may please God. But he that is coupled with a wife, is carefull about the things, which are of the world and is deuided.

But with our fleshly Ministers, this businesse is not fleshly and worldly at all, but altogether spirituall, because their spirit is wholly occupied therein.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Ambr. Cor. 11.

Matrimony chaste and Pure.

Heb. 13.

Rom. 8.

Christ thought so little hinderance to be in Marriage towards the preaching of the Gospell, that of his twelue Apostles he chose eleuen that were married. So S. Ambrose saith as it is alleged before: Apostoli omnes, exceptis Iohanne & Paulo, Vxores habuerunt *All the Apostles had Wiues, sauing only* S. Iohn *and* S. Paul.

But ye say, With our fleshly Ministers, this businesse is not fleshly, but altogether Spirituall: because their Spirit is wholly occupied therein. It pitieth me, M. Harding, to see you so vainely to bestow your Spirituall Cogitations. Matrimony is Gods ordinance. God neuer ordained man to liue in villany and filthinesse. S. Paul saith: Matrimony is honourable in all men, (as well in Priests as in others) and the bed vndefiled. But Aduouterers and Fornicatours the Lord himselfe will iudge. And againe writing vnto the Married people of Rome he saith: Vos non estis in Carne, sed in Spiritu: *You are not in the* Flesh, *but in the* Spirit. They were married and liued in the Lawes of Marriage. Yet S. Paul saith: *They were not in the* Flesh, *but in the* Spirit.

Aug de Bono coniugal. ca. 11 Origen. in epist. ad Rom. ca. 12. Chrys. ad Hebr. homil. 57.

S. Augustine saith: Sancta sunt etiam Corpora Coniugatorum, Fidem sibi, & Domino seruantium: *The Bodies of Married people, keeping faith both to themselues, and to the Lord are cleane and holy.* Origen saith: Non solùm virgines, aut Continentes, offerunt, Corpora sua Hostiam Sanctam: *Not onely Virgins or others, that liue in Single Life,* (but also Married folkes) *offer vp their Bodies a holy Sacrifice.* Chrysostome saith: Sanctificationem Paulus vocat Pudicitiam & Temperantiam Coniugalem: *The honest Chastity and Temperance that is betweene Man and Wife,* S. Paul *calleth* Holinesse. And againe: Carent Culpa Nuptiæ, nec à Virtute quicquam prohibent: Marriage *is void of fault: and is no hinderance vnto vertue.*

Hereof we haue spoken before more at large. But touching the chast life of your Spirituall Clergie, M. Harding, as sundry your owne friends haue recorded, and as the whole world is well able to iudge, it is nothing else, but a spirituall filthinesse.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision. 8.

The Old Councel of Gangra commandeth, that none should make such difference betweene an Vnmarried Priest, & a Married Priest, as to thinke the one

one more holy then the other for Single Lifes sake. These men put such a difference between them, that they straightway thinke all their Holy Seruice to be defiled, if it be done by a good and honest man that hath a wife.

Marriage in Priesthood.

M. Harding.

It was not for your purpose, Sirs, to vse true dealing, and to allege the words as they are in that old Councel. For they speake of an (a) external Sacrifice (b) which the Church calleth the Masse. The same it behoued you to dissemble, lest ye bewrayed your cause. The words be these: If any man make a difference of a Priest, who hath beene married, as though when he sacrificeth, a man might not communicate with his oblation, be he accursed. Those Fathers spake euidently of a Priest, who hath sometime been married, that is to say, before his Priesthood. (c) For after Priesthood it was neuer heard sithence the time of Christ, that any Priest might marry by the Law either of the Greek or of the Latine Church. We therefore condemne the marriages of Priests, which be made after the taking of Holy Orders, and say, that he is no good & honest man, but an incestuous aduouterer, that marrieth afterward.

Canon. 4.

(a) Vntruth, fond and peeuish. For this word External, is not once named in all that Councel.

(b) The Councel of Gangra neuer once named the Masse.

(c) Vntruth, so vaine, that I marueil M. Hard. can report it without blushing. *Chrys. ad Hebr. homil.* 17 *Hoc Sacrificium exemplar. illius est.* *Magis Recordationem Sacrificij. operamur.* *Plutarchus in Romulo.* *Alexander ab Alexandro.* *Pachymeres:* λειτουργὸς λέγεται διακόνος καὶ τὸν τῶν ὑποδιακόνων λεγόμενος. Rom. 13. Actor. 13. *Chrys. in Act. homil.* 27.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

To answer all your trifles, M. Harding, it were too long. We refuse not the names of Oblation or Sacrifice. We know, that the Holy Ministration is commonly so called by the ancient Fathers: for that, as Chrysostome saith, it is the Memory, the Remembrance the Samplar, the Token of that one Sacrifice, that Christ once offered in his Body vpon the Crosse. Howbeit, the reason hereof, that ye would seeme to wrest out of the Greeke word λειτουργήσωσιν αὐτῷ, is very simple and bewraieth in you, either want of skill, or great corruption. For being learned in the Greeke tongue, ye must néeds know, that λειτουργία signifieth not a Sacrifice, but a Ministerie or publike Seruice. Plutarchus saith thus: Lictores, quasi Litores dicebantur, quòd essent λειτουργοὶ. Δοῦλοι γὰρ τοῦ λαοῦ, ἢ τοῦ δήμου ἐν χερσὶ τὸν ὠμὸν ὑπομαίζουσι. Hereby it appeareth, that the common Hangman of the City was called λειτουργὸς, and his office λειτουργία: Which I trow, M. Harding, ye would not haue to be called a Sacrificer, and a Sacrifice. Pachymeres in his Annotations vpon Dionysius saith thus: λειτουργούς, appellat Diaconos, aut eos, qui nunc Hypodiaconi appellantur: *He calleth them* λειτουργούς, *that are called* Deacons *or* Subdeacons. S. Paul speaking of Kings and Ciuill Princes, saith: λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ εἰσι: λειτουργοὶ, aut Ministri Dei sunt: I reckon ye will not say, that either Deacons or Subdeacons, or Kings, or Princes had authority to Minister the Holy Communion, or as you say, To offer vp the Daily Sacrifice. Whereas S. Luke saith, λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν, Ministrantibus illis: Chrysostome demandeth this question: Quid est Ministrantibus, λειτουργοῦσιν? He answereth, Prædicantibus. Whereby it appeareth, that the Apostles Sacrificing, was their Preaching. It had béene ouermuch vanity to note these things, had not your vaine quarrell giuen the occasion. Certainely there is no mention in the said Councell of Gangra, either of your Masse, or of your External Sacrifice.

After Priesthood (ye say) it was neuer heard sithence the time of Christ, that any Priest might Marry by the Law, either of the Greek, or of the Latine Church. This warrant were vndoubtedly good, if euery your word were a Gospell. But what if your owne Glosse, that is to say, the very ground and Mother of your Diuinity, stand against you, and say, Ye warrant vnwisely, or if that mislike you, vnaduisedly, ye know not what? Verily, vpon the Popes owne Decrees ye shall finde it noted thus: Multi ex hac Litera dixerunt, quòd Orientales possunt contrahere in Sacris Ordinibus: *Of these words many haue gathered, that the Priests of the East Church may Marry, being within holy Orders.* Nicephorus saith, that Eupsychius, being a Priest, and the Bishop of Cæsaria in Cappadocia, married a Wife a little before that he was Martyred. The like he séemeth to write of Apollinaris the Elder, that being a Priest, married a Wife at Laodicea.

Here, M. Harding will answer vs boldly, as he hath done before, that this Eupsychius was neither Bishop nor Priest, but only a Gentleman of noble parentage: and for proofe thereof he will allege Sozomenus and Nicephorus. But let him read the Second Councell of Nice: there shall he finde that the same Eupsychius is called Eupsychius Presbyter: Eupsychius the Priest: Let him read the ancient learned Father Athanasius: there shall he finde that the same Eupsychius is called Episcopus Cappadociæ: The Bishop of Cæsaria in Cappadocia: Thus shall M. Harding finde, that Eupsychius was both a Priest, and a Bishop too. And I speake of the same Eupsychius the Martyr, and of none other. Therefore, good Reader, it may please thée to tell M. Harding, He deserueth small credit in his answer, that will aduenture to answer before he know.

Dist. 31. *Aliter In Glossa.* *Nicephor. lib.* 10. *cap.* 10. *Nicephor. lib.* 9. *cap.* 17. *Cons. Nicen.* 2. *Actione.* 6. *Athana. contra Arian. Orat.*

In the Councell holden at Ancyra, there is a Canon written thus: Diaconi, quicunque ordinantur, si in ipsa Ordinatione protestati sunt, & dixerunt, velle se coniugio copulari, quia *Concil. Ancyran. Canon.* 10.

Marriage in Priesthood.

quia sic manere non possunt, hi, si postmodùm vxores duxerint, in Ministerio maneant propterea quod eis Episcopus licentiam dederit: *Deacons that receiue Orders, if at the time of their admission they make protestation and say, they will be Married, for that they cannot otherwise continue*, if they afterward Marrie, *let them remaine in the Ministery, for that the Bishop hath alreadie dispensed with them.*

Chrys. in epist. 1. ad Tim. hom. 10.

Chrysostome **speaking of the** Marriage of Bishops, **saith thus:** Quamuis Nuptiæ plurimum difficultatis in se habent, ita tamen assumi possunt, vt perfectiori vitæ impedimento non sint, verùm id planè perquam rarò atque difficile: *Notwithstanding Marriage haue in it much trouble, yet so it may be taken that it shall be no hinderance to perfect life. But certainely that is a seldome thing and very hard.* **He saith,** Marriage may be taken or chosen: **And thus he speaketh namely of the** Marriage of Priests and Bishops.

M. Harding fol. 305. a.

Addition. ☞ Whereas M. Iewel beareth thee in hand, that Chrysostome saith, *Marriage may be taken or chosen, and that of Priests and Bishops*, for of their Marriage he speaketh, saith this man, all this is false. For first, vnderstand thou, this sentence is not in Chrysostome at all: not in the Greeke, I say, in which tongue only he wrote. For I haue seene the Greeke and diligently conferred it my selfe. But it is added vnto his text, either by the translation, or by falshood vsed at the Printing, as in these corrupt times false Printers haue corrupted many bookes of the Old Fathers. Againe, these words are not spoken specially of *Priests Marriage*, but generally and indefinitely of all Marriage. *The Answer.* I say, Chrysostome *speaketh these words namely of the Marriage of* Priests *and* Bishops. **M. Harding, answereth me gently, as his maner is,** All this is false. **Gentle Reader, I beseech thee, if thou be able, consider the whole place of** Chrysostome, **and weigh well the causes of his writing: so shalt thou be able indifferently to iudge, whether M. Harding or I, haue dealt vntruly. First of all** Chrysostome **expoundeth these words of** S. Paul, *A Bishop must be the Husband of one Wife.* **This is the ground of the rest that followeth. And speaking hereof vnto the people, he saith thus:** Cur non ait Paulus, Oportet Episcopum Angelum esse &c. *Why did not* S. Paul *say, A Bishop must be an Angel, subiect to no infirmity or affection, or vice of man? &c. Why did he not say, A Bishop must goe out of the world, and be aboue all the cares of this life? &c.* **He answereth,** *Lest the Ministery of the Church should be forsaken,* S. Paul *required not in a Bishop that vertue* (**of Chastity**) *that is so high & so heauenly, but another Vertue that is meane and reasonable, lest the Church should be left without Bishops.*

M. Harding fol. 305. b.

Chrys. in 1. Timoth. cap. 3. homil. 10.

To be short, in that very same place, Chrysostome **aboue foure and twenty times hath the expresse names of** Priest **and** Bishop. **And yet must we beleeue M. Harding only vpon his word, that** Chrysostome **speaketh these things, only of the** Marriage **of all men in generall: and not one word specially of the** Marriage **of** Priests. **Now forasmuch as M. Harding telleth vs,** All this is false, **Iudge thou, good Reader, betweene vs both, in whether of vs is the Falshood. And as thou findest him herein, so thinke of the rest of all his dealings.**

M. Harding fol. 305. b.

These words are not in the Greeke, I haue conferred it: it is falshood vsed at the Printing: false Printers haue corrupted many Bookes. *The Answer.* **What Printers, M. Harding? What were their names? Where dwelt they? What did they? Will you pronounce your sentence of Condemnation against them al, not knowing, neither against whom, nor against how many, nor wherefore? You say,** Ye find not these words in the Greeke. **But what if your Greeke Bookes be corrupted? as indeed they are in sundry places. Certainely all the Latine translations, that I haue seene, either Printed or Written, or Old or New, haue this whole place euen word by word, as I haue alleged it. But because you thinke the Greeke is best able to direct you, I will find you also the like sentence in** Chrysostome **in the** Greeke. **These be his words:** Matrimonium non solùm nihil obstat ad Philosophandum Deo, si voluerimus esse sobrij, sed etiam magnam adfert consolationem: *Marriage not only hindereth vs nothing from the seruice of God, if we will be sober, but also bringeth vs great comfort.* **These words both beare the same sense, and also are found in the Greeke. You may conferre them at your pleasure.**

Chrys. in Genesin. homil. 21.

You say, although it be thus written, Marriage may so be taken that it shall be no let vnto perfect life, **yet it followeth in the same sentence,** But certainly that is a thing very seldome, and of great difficulty. **All this, M. Harding, you your selfe haue already answered. For you say,** It is not in the Greek, & therfore no part of Chrysostome, but shifted in by the falshood of the Printers. **This is your answer, it may well be taken against your selfe. I grant, there be many impediments in Wife, Children, Seruants, Family and worldly cares. But marke your vneuen and partiall dealing. The same** Chrysostome, **euen in the same sentence, saith thus:** *Abundance of Riches doth hardly bring a man into the Kingdome of Heauen: yet oftentimes many rich men haue entred into it: so also doth Marriage.* **As Marriage hindereth, so do Riches:** and no more the one, then the other. Christ calleth riches Thornes and Brambles. **I do not remember, that euer of Marriage he said the like. Yet the** Pope re-

Luke 8. Matth. 13.

strainely

ſtraineth his Prieſts only from Marriage, and alloweth them Benefices, Prebends, Abbies, Biſhopricks vpon Biſhopricks, with Money and Treaſure, as much as they liſt, and thinketh it no hinderance to perfect Life.

Eraſmus ſaith: The Prieſts of the Greeke Church this day, notwithſtanding their Orders, marry Wiues. The like writeth Cornelius Agrippa againſt the Louanians Your owne Gloſſe vpon the Decrees, as I haue alleged before, noteth thus: Dicunt quòd olim Sacerdotes poterant contrahere, ante Siricium: *They ſay, that in old times, before* Pope Siricius, *it was lawfull for Prieſts to contract Matrimonie.* Likewiſe Cardinall Caietane ſaith: Nec Ratione, nec Authoritate probari poteſt, quòd abſolutè loquendo, Sacerdos peccet contrahendo Matrimonium: *It cannot be proued, neither by Reaſon, nor by Authority, ſpeaking abſolutely, that a Prieſt offendeth God in marrying a Wife.*

Eraſm contra Bedã, pag. 197. *Cornel. Agrip. contra Louanien. Artic.* 18. *Diſt.* 84. *Cùm in præteritu, In Gloſſa.* *Caietan. in Quodlibetis.*

How could he haue ſaid thus, if he had thought the Vow of Chaſtitie had bẽ annexed of neceſſity to the Order of Prieſthood?

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* Cardinall Caietane hath his errors. We are not bound to maintaine whatſoeuer he ſaith, &c. Like as the Order or habit of Monkes hath Chaſtity annexed vnto it, and therefore hee that receiueth it, is ſaid thereby to make a Vow conſequently; euen ſo Holy Order in the Weſt Church hath Chaſtity annexed inſeparablie, &c. *The Anſwer.* Here is hard ſhift, M. Harding. Muſt theſe matters be proued by Friers Weedes, and Monkes Cowles: In the Weſt Church (you ſay) Chaſtity is inſeparably annexed vnto Prieſthood. I trow, you meane not true Chaſtitie indeed, but onely the promiſe and vow of Chaſtitie. For otherwiſe both Eaſt and Weſt may ſee by your Concubines, and other practiſes, that your Prieſthood and Chaſtity may well goe aſunder. But if the Vow of Chaſtitie bee neceſſarily annexed vnto Prieſthood, as you haue told vs, why ſpeake you then more of the Weſt Church, then of the Eaſt? Is their Prieſthood and yours of ſundry natures? Why ſhould you thus peſter the World with ſo much vanitie? Once againe I ſaie, If the Vow of Chaſtitie be neceſſarily annexed to the Order of Prieſthood, how can Cardinall Caietane ſay, *It cannot bee proued, neither by Reaſon, nor by Authority, ſpeaking abſolutly, that a Prieſt offendeth God in marrying a Wife?*

M. Harding fol 307. *b.*

Marriage in Prieſthood.

So likewiſe ſaith Anſelmus in a Dialogue betweene the Maſter and the Scholar, touching theſe matters: Deſideramus certificari tua Solutione ſuper vulgari in toto orbe quæſtione, quæ ab omnibus penè quotidiè ventilatur, & adhuc lis indiſcuſſa celatur, Scilicet, An liceat Presbyteris, poſt acceptum Ordinem, Vxores ducere: *Wee are deſirous by your Anſwer to be certified about this common queſtion, that is now toſſed thorow the world, and as yet lieth vndiſcuſſed, I meane,* Whether a Prieſt, being within Orders may marry a Wife. Hereby it appeareth, that in the time of Anſelmus, which was about a thouſand yeeres after Chriſt, This matter lay in queſtion and was not yet diſcuſſed.

Anſelm. Dial. Inquiſitione prima.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* Anſelme wrote three Dialogues, in which he maketh the Maſter and the Scholar to talke together. Moe Dialogues he neuer wrote, that may appeare by the Works that are printed in his name: and in theſe there is no ſuch Dialogue touching theſe matters. There is no ſuch thing at all among all his Dialogues. Whether Frier Ball, or Illyricus or ſome other gatherer of rifraffe haue deceiued you, or your ſelfe haue vſed your owne inuention (I will not call it plaine lying) I know not. *The Anſwer.* And will you not call it plaine lying, M. Harding? There is the more courteſie in your dealing. Such talke becommeth you ſo well, as nothing better. It is your maner to preſume boldly before you know. Certainly there is ſuch a Dialogue of Anſelmus: There is ſuch a Dialogue. And although you ſaw it neuer, yet haue I ſeene it. And if any your friend, for his better ſatisfaction, ſhall deſire the ſight thereof, I am able to helpe him. If ye reſt only vpon the credit of Printed Bookes, yee may ſoone bee deceiued. For there are ſundry Bookes written by Anſelmus, that neuer were printed. Abbas Trithemius, after he had made a long rehearſall of his Bookes, in the end ſaith thus: Alia plura ſcripſiſſe dicitur, quæ ad notitiam meam non venerunt: Anſelmus *hath alſo written many other Bookes, which neuer came to my knowledge.*

M. Harding. fol. 308. *a. b.*

Trithemius, de Scriptoribus. Eccleſiaſticis.

But touching the number and certainty of Anſelmes Bookes, I ſee no cauſe but Anſelme himſelfe may as well be beleeued as M. Harding. Anſelme himſelfe ſaith, hee hath written moe Dialogues then thoſe foure that you haue alleged: as you might eaſilie haue ſeene by his Prologue before his Dialogue, De Veritate. One other Dialogue he wrote, De paſſione Domini; the ſpeakers whereof are Anſelmus and Maria. Hee wrote another Dialogue betweene the Maſter and the Scholar, beginning thus: Plura ſunt de quibus tuam diu deſidero reſponſionem. There is another Booke of Anſelmus, De Corpore Chriſti; and another, De Conceptione Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, beginning thus: Principium quo ſalus Mundi: which, and other like Bookes, I trow, in your printed Colonian Tomes will not be found. There came lately abroad another Dialogue of Anſelmes betweene the Maſter and Scholar, named, Promptuarium, ſeu Elucidarium,

Marriage in Priesthood.

printed at Paris by Fredericus Morellus, Anno Domini 1560. Your Coloniens in their Tomes of Anselmes Workes, haue set forth one speciall Booke of his Epistles, containing in the whole thirteene only Epistles, and no moe. Yet notwithstanding I can send you to two seuerall Authentike Bookes of Anselme, wherein you may finde three hundred threescore and eight of his Epistles. Therefore, M. Harding, if you satisfie your selfe onely with the Records of Colaine, you may happily be deceiued. You may remember, Anselmus was the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Metropolitane of this Realme of England: whether euer he saw the City of Colaine, or no, I haue not heard. Therefore it were more wisdome for you to seeke his Bookes in England, then in Colaine. May your Coloniens themselues confesse that they haue not printed all Anselmes Bookes, but onely so many as came to their hands. For thus they write in the Inscription or Title of the same: Operum Anselmi, quæ quidem haberi potuerunt, omnium: And againe in the third Tome: Catalogus opusculorum omnium D. Anselmi, quæ ad hunc vsque diem haberi potuerunt.

Spare therefore your vnmanerly speeches of plaine Lying, M. Harding, and learne rather your selfe to speake the truth. As for the matter it selfe, that the Priests of England were commonly and lawfully married in the time of Anselmus, which was in the yere of our Lord, A thousand and foure score, it is euident by all that haue written the Story of that Age.

You may adde further heereto the Example of Moses, not the great Captaine of Israel, but a Christian Priest: who, as it appeareth by the Popes owne Records, being within Holy Orders, toke a Wife, and liued with her without any maner offense of Law. Your Doctours tell you, that vntill the time of Pope Siricius, that is to say, for the space welneere of foure hundred yeeres after Christ, it was lawfull for all Priests to marrie without exception, neither Vow, nor Promise, nor Law, nor Ordinance, nor other restraint being then to the contrarie. Panormitane your principall Canonist saith thus: Si clarè constet de Matrimonio Papæ, tunc aut vxor inducetur ad Continentiam, aut si noluerit, reddat debitum, & nihilominus stet in Papatu. Quia non repugnat substantiæ Papatus, seu Clericatus. Nam & Petrus habebat Vxorē cùm promoueretur in Papam. Continentia autem processit ex Constitutione Ecclesiæ: *If it may appeare clearely, that the Pope hath a Wife* (as hauing married her before he was a Pope) *then either his Wife shall be perswaded to liue Single, or if shee will not, let the Pope yeeld her marriage dutie, and yet neuer theleſſe remaine in the Popedome still. for Mariage dutie is not contrarie to the Substance and Office, neither of Popedome, nor of Priesthood. For* Peter *had a Wife when he was promoted to be a Pope. As for the rule of Single Life, it was brought in by ordinance of the Church.* And therefore he saith further: Vnde videmus, quòd Presbyteri Græci sine peccato contrahunt Matrimonium: *We see that the Priests of* Græcia, *being within Orders, doe marrie Wiues: and we see they doe it,* sine peccato, *without sinne or breach of Law, either of God, or of man.* He goeth not by blinde peraduenture, and by ghesse, as you doe, M. Harding: but speaketh of certaintie. We know it, saith he, and we see it. Another of your Cardinals, Nicolaus Cusanus saith: In Nouo Testamento, post aliquot tempora, visum fuit, irrationabile fore, quòd in Sacris Ordinibus existentes contraherent, similiter & solenniter vouentes: *In the New Testament, after a certaine time, it was thought it should not be reasonable for Priests, being within Holy Orders, to contract Matrimonie: likewise it was thought of them that had made Solemne Vowes.* After a certaine time (saith he) this Decree was made. Hee meaneth the time of Pope Siricius, as we haue said. Before which time it was lawfull as well for Priests, as also for them that had made a Solemne Vow of Chastity, to marrie lawfully without restraint.

Dist. 84. *Cùm in præterito.* *In eadem Dist.* *Extra. de Electione. C. licet de Vsand. Abb.* *Nicol. Cus. ad Bohem epist.* 2.

Thus, M. Harding, you see by your Canonists, That the Priests of the East Church may marry, being within Holy Orders: By the Ancient Councell of Ancyra, that Deacons, after protestation made, might lawfully marry: By Chrysostome, that Priests and Bishops may so take the state of Marriage, that it shall be no hinderance to any perfection: By Cardinall Caietane, that speaking absolutely, a Priest offendeth not in marrying a Wife, his Orders or Priesthod notwithstanding: By Anselme, that a vj. hundred yeres after Christ, that is to say, vntill within one hundred yeres sithence the Conquest, this matter notwithstanding it had beene much beaten thorow the world, yet lay still vndiscussed: By Panormitane, Erasmus, and Agrippa, that the Priests of Græcia marry this day, and that, Sine Peccato, without Sinne: By others your Doctours, that vntill the time of Pope Siricius it was lawfull for Priests to marry. You see that Moses, being a Christian Priest, and Eupsychius, being a Christian Bishop, and a Martyr, toke either of them a lawfull Wife, and so liued in Marriage without offense. Yet all this notwithstanding, can you say againe without blushing, M. Harding, as you haue said, We denie

M. Harding fol. 280.

vterly

veterly that any man, after that he hath receiued Holy Orders, may marrie? Or will you say, It cannot be shewed, that the Marriage of such was euer accounted lawfull in the Catholike Church?

If ye knew these things before, M. Harding, ye were to blame to dissemble them: if ye knew them not, ye were to blame to controll them. I doubt not but it may appeare by these few, that sithence the time of Christs Resurrection, sundry Priests being within Holy Orders haue married Wiues: and that not only in the Greeke Church, but also in the Church of Rome.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision. 9.

The Ancient Emperour Iustinian commanded, that in the Holy Administration all things should be pronounced with a cleere, loud, and treatable voice, that the people might receiue some fruit therby. These men, lest the people should vnderstand them, mumble vp their Seruice, not only with a drowned & hollow voice, but also in a strange & Barbarous Tongue. *In Nouel. Constit. 123.*

M Harding

Iustinian the Emperour willeth praiers at the holy oblation (which these Defenders heere translate administration, as being ashamed of their owne Authour, because they hold (a) against the Sacrifice of the Masse) to be made not in silence, but with an audible voice. Not meaning as though praiers made in silence were vnfruitfull to the people, as these men would make vs beleeue. And therefore they corrupt his words as what thing doe they not corrupt, that commeth vnder their hands. They say Iustinian made that Law, *Vt fructus ex ea re aliquis ad populum redire posset*: That some fruit might come therof to the people, as who should say, (b) no fruit were like to come if praier were made in silence. But what saith Iustinian? His words be: *Quò maiore exinde deuotione in depromendis Domini Dei laudibus audientium animis efferantur*: To the intent the mindes of the hearers may thereby with the more deuotion be lifted vp in setting forth the praises of our Lord God. He saith that the loud Voice helpeth to more deuotion, he saith not that some fruit, but, with more deuotion. (c) Some fruit is alway had euen by secret praier, and more fruit sometime then by loud praier. *Nouel. Constit. 123.*

Two faults then are committed, or rather two lies made in Iustinians words; one, that for oblation they turned administration, which falshood M. Iewel vseth in his printed Sermon, and in his replies to M. D. Cole. Whether he be also guiltie of this? Another fault is, that for more deuotion, they put, some fruit. The third lie is, in that they say, we doe whisper all our Seruice, so is the Latine, albeit this good Lady liketh better the terme of mumbling. (d) I weene few who haue the sense of hearing will say with them, that the singing of Psalmes, Hymnes, Epistle, Gospell, Grailes, Offertories, Preface, and such like Seruice vsed in the Catholike Church, is whispering, or mumbling. The fourth lie is, where they say, wee doe it to lest the people should vnderstand vs. (e) Wee with that all the people vnderstood all our praiers. But we thinke it not conuenient, in a common prophane tongue to vtter high Mysteries. Therefore we with they would learne the (f) mysticall tongue, and gladly doe wee teach their children the same. S. Dionyse the Areopagite Scholar to S. Paul, teacheth Timothie, and in him all vs, *Communicare ea quæ vim perficiendi habent, cum vs qui perficiunt*: To communicate those things which haue power to make men perfect, with them who make men perfect: (g) that is to say, to publish Priestly office of Consecration (for nothing maketh vs more perfect) among them only who are Priests, and not among others.

Last of all, the fifth lie is, to say that wee pronounce our Seruice and our mysteries in a Barbarous tongue. (h) As though the Latine tongue were barbarous, and not rather euery vulgar tongue. That tongue is most barbarous which is most vsed of the vulgar sort, most priuate, most vnknowen in respect of all. (i) When England commeth to haue a seruice of their owne, a tongue of their own in Churches, and hath a Church of their owne beside the whole, then haue they lost their part with the Catholike Church, whereunto God restore it againe.

(a) Vntruth, fond and peeuish. For Iustinian speaketh not of any Sacrifice of the Masse.

(b) Vntruth. For S. Augustine saith: *Quid prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis?*

(c) Vntruth. For M. Hard. owne Councels expresse it by these words *Insusurrare*, and *Murmurare*:

(d) vntruth, notorious & contrary to their owne principall position, Ignorance is the Mother of deuotion.

(e) Mysticall tongue. A Mysticall follie of all follies.

(f) Vntruth, and a glosse contrarn The tongue

both to the Text, and also to the continual practise of the Church of Græcia. (g) Follie. For S. Paul saith, is Barbarous, that is not knowen. (h) A solemne Decree without sense.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

O, M. Harding, we corrupt not such things as come vnder our hands. The World saith, that is your ordinary and peculiar practise: It is not ours. Ye rubbe vs both here and elsewhere with your Lies vpon Lies. Such is the ciuilitie and courtesie of your speech. Yet hitherto we haue not rebubbed you with any one Lie. Sobrietie and modestie rather becommeth them that speake of God.

First yee say, we haue corrupted Iustinians words. And yet yee know we alleged onely Iustinians meaning, and otherwise not one of all his words. Ye say: Iustinian meant not as though praiers made in silence were vnfruitfull to the people. For some fruit (ye say) there is alwaies had euen by secret and vnknowen praier. But what fruit, or how much, or how ye know it, or can assure it, ye spare to tell vs. Yet S. Augustine saith: Quid prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis? Cùm loquendi omninò nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, vt intelligant, loquimur: *What profit is there in speech, bee it neuer so perfect, if the vnderstanding of the hearer cannot attaine it? For there is no cause why we should speake at all, if they vnderstand not what we speake, for whose sake we speak, that they may vnderstand vs.* Againe he saith: Mens mea sine fructu est: Hoc ait, quando *Aug. De Doctrina Christian. li. 4. cap. 16.*

Praier in a strange Tongue.

Iustini. Imper. Authen. Const. 123 We command all Bishops and Priests to minister the holy Oblatiõ, &c. not vnder silence, but with a loud voice,

&c. that the hearts of the hearers may be ſtirred to more deuotion, &c. Aug. in Geneſ. ad literam. Li. 11. Cap. 8.

quando id quod dicitur non intelligitur: *My minde is without fruit: This the Apoſtle* S Paul ſaith, *when the thing that is ſpoken is not perceiued.* And againe: Si intellectum mentis remoueas, nemo ædificatur audiendo quod non intelligit: *Set apart the vnderſtanding of the Minde, and no man hath fruit or profit of that thing that he perceiueth not.* Likewiſe againe he ſaith: Quid opus eſt iubilare, & non intelligere iubilationem: vt vox noſtra ſola iubilet, & cor non iubilet? Sonus enim cordis intellectus eſt: *What needeth vs to ſing, if we vnderſtand not what we ſing: to ſing with our* Voice, *and not with our Heart? For vnderſtanding is the ſound, or voice of the Heart.*

Aug. in Pſ. 99.

M. Harding telleth vs ſadly; The deuout people is edified by the Latine Praiers, though they vnderſtand not one word that is ſpoken. But S. Auguſtine ſaith: *By that thing that he vnderſtandeth not, no man is edified.* M. Harding ſaith: There is alwaies ſome fruit euen by ſecret and vnknowen Praier. But S. Auguſtine ſaith: *There is no fruit in ſpeech, be it neuer ſo perfect, if the vnderſtanding of the heart cannot attaine it.* So properly S. Auguſtine and M. Harding agree together.

Praier in ſtrange Tongue.

Theſe words, Whiſpering, and Mumbling, miſlike you much. Yet your owne friends intreating hereof, haue often vſed the ſame words. In your late Councel of Colaine it is written thus: Vt Presbyteri Preces non tantùm Ore Murmurent, ſed etiam Corde Perſoluant, nunquam à manibus eorum Liber Legis, hoc eſt, Biblia, deponatur: *That the Prieſts may not only* Mumble *vp their Praiers, but alſo pronounce them from their Hearts, let the* Book of the Law, *that is to ſay, the* Bible, *neuer be laid from their hands.*

Cone. Coloniens. ca 5. An 1536. part. 2.

Likewiſe Regino reporteth the words of the Councell of Nantes: Ridiculum eſt, Muris aut Parietibus inſuſurrare ea quæ ad populum pertinent: *It is a peeuiſh thing* to Whiſper *thoſe things to the Walles, that perteine vnto the people.*

Regino. 2 Concil. Nannetenſi.

Notwithſtanding, whether it be Whiſpering, or Mumbling, or by whatſoeuer name elſe it ſhall pleaſe you to call it, that good Emperours Commandement and meaning was, that ye ſhould ſo vtter all things in the Congregation, Diſtinctly, and Plainely with loud and Open Voice, that the people might vnderſtand you, and anſwer, Amen. Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: Nos qui in Eccleſia Diuina eloquia cantare didicimus, ſimul etiam inſtare debemus, eſſe quod ſcriptum eſt, Beatus populus, qui intelligit iubilationem. Proinde, Chariſſimi, quod conſona voce cantauimus, ſereno etiam corde noſſe & tenere debemus: *We that haue learned to ſing in the Church the Heauenly words of God, muſt alſo endeuour to be that thing that is written;* Bleſſed is the people that vnderſtãdeth what they ſing. *Therfore, dearely beloued, that we haue ſung together with tuneable voice, we ought alſo to know and ſee with pure heart.*

Authen. Conſtitut. 123. Aug. in Pſa. 18.

S Ambroſe declaring the Eccleſiaſticall order of his time, ſaith thus: Reſponſorijs Pſalmorum, Cantu Virorum, Mulierum, Virginum, Paruulorum, conſonus undarum fragor reſultat: *With the anſwering of Pſalmes, and with the* Singing together of Men, Women, Maides, and little Children, the Church ſoundeth, as if it were the daſhing and beating of the Sea.

Ambro. Hexamer. lib. 3. ca. 5.

To like purpoſe Leo ſaith: Totius Eccleſiæ vna eſt Oratio, & vna Confeſſio: *The whole Church hath one Praier, and one Confeſſion.*

Leo de Ieiunio Septim. menſis, Sermon. 3.

That ye allege out of Dionyſius is vaine and Childiſh, as is the reſt of your talke, and quite contrary to the Authours minde, and therefore not worthy to be anſwered. For Dionyſius ſaith not as you haue imagined, M. Harding, that the Prieſt ſhould talke alone in his Myſticall vnknowen tongue, as a iangling Cymball without ſenſe: but rather telleth you, that by his order the Prieſt and the whole people ſhould ſing together. Theſe be his words: Percipiens ipſe, & alijs tradens Diuinam Communionem, poſtremò deſinit in Gratiarum actionem, vnà cum tota Eccleſiæ multitudine: *The* Prieſt *both receiuing himſelfe the* Holy Communion, *and alſo deliuering the ſame vnto others, laſt of all endeth with Thankſgiuing,* together with all the whole multitude and Companie of the Church.

Dionyſ. Cap. 3. Μετὰ ταῦτὰ τῶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἱερῶ πλεροῦμενος,

Thus out of one place ye haue alleged two manifeſt Teſtimonies againſt your ſelfe: The one to condemne your Priuate Maſſe: The other to condemne your Myſticall Praiers in Vnknowen Tongue.

Ye ſay: Wee wiſh the people would learne the Myſticall Latine Tongue: and gladly doe wee teach their Children the ſame. Ye ſay, The Myſticall Latine Tongue. O vaine man, and more vaine then Vanitie it ſelfe! Why ſeeke you ſo fondly to deceiue Gods people? Who euer taught you theſe kindes of Myſteries? What Scripture? What Counſell? What Doctour? What Father? How know you that the Latine Tongue, that euery Childe may ſo commonly and ſo eaſily vnderſtand, ſhould be ſo Myſticall? And wherefore are all other Tongues, the Greeke, the Hebrew, the Chaldee, the Arabicke, the Italian, the French, the Spaniſh, the Iriſh, leſſe Myſticall then the Latine? What haue theſe Tongues offended? What hath that Tongue deſerued? The Tongue is nothing

elſe

else but a Tongue. It is the matter and meaning of the words that is Mysticall. S. Augustine saith: Audimus hæc verba, Beata Vita: & rem ipsam omnes nos appetere fatemur. Non enim sono delectamur. Nam hoc cum Latinè audit Græcus non delectatur: quia ignorat quod dictum est: Sicut etiam Latinus, si Græcè hoc audierit. Quoniam res ipsa nec Græca, nec Latina est: *We heare these words,* Blessed Life, *or the* Life to come. *And the thing it self we al confesse we desire to haue. For we haue no pleasure in the sound of the words. For when a* Grecian *heareth these words spoken in* Latine, *he hath no pleasure in them, because he vnderstandeth not what is spoken. Neither hath the* Latine *any pleasure if hee beare the same spoken in* Greeke. *For the thing it selfe is neither* Greeke, *nor* Latine. It were a great Mysterie to reach the bottome of your Mysteries. S. Paul calleth you, not the Hiders, or Couchers, but the Dispensers and Stewards of Gods Mysteries. Your Mysticall policy is to lead Gods people through Mist and Darkenesse. Ye wish the people would learne the Latine Tongue, which you call Mysticall. No doubt, a worthy and learned Wish. Ye might as good cheape, and as well haue wished, that all the whole people of al Countries, would learne to speake Greeke and Hebrew. But your meaning is, that vntill all the Plowmen, and Artificers and Labourers of the world be able to vnderstand and to speake your Mysticall Latine Tongue, they may not in any wise be allowed to vnderstand any parcel of their Prayers.

Augu. Confes. lib. 10. cap. 20.

Praier in a strange Tongue.

1. Corinth. 4.

Lactantius speaking of the subtill practises and policies of the Heathens, saith thus: Hinc Fida Silentia instituta sunt ab hominibus callidis: vt nesciret populus quid coleret: *Therefore trusty silence and secresie was appointed by subtill and false factors, that the people (til being blinde) should neuer know what they worshipped.*

Lactant. lib 5. cap. 20.

This is not the Mysterie of the Kingdome of Heauen: it is rather the Mysterie of iniquity: The same Mystery that S. Iohn mentioneth in his Reuelations: In Fronte eius Nomen scriptum est, Mysterium: Babylon Magna, Mater Abominationum & Fornicationum Terræ: *A name was written in her forehead, a* Mistery: *Great* Babylon, *the Mother of the Abominations, and of the Fornications of the Earth.* Of these Holy Mysteries your Latine Tongue, as ye haue vsed it, may well and iustly be called Mysticall.

Matthæ. 13. 2. Thessal. 2. Apocalyp. 17.

S. Hierome saith of your Fathers in the old time: De Domo Dei Scenam facere Populorum: *Of the House of God they haue made a Stage-play of the People.* And speaking of the Valentinian Heretikes, he saith: Barbaro simplices quosque terrent sono, vt quod non intelligunt, plus mirentur: *With a Barbarous vnknowne sound of words they feare the simple, that whatsoeuer they vnderstand not, they may the more esteeme, and haue in reuerence.*

Hier. in Epist. ad Ephes. ca. 5. Hieronymus ad Theodoram.

But the Latine Tongue (ye say) is not barbarous: and therein, as your wont is, yee haue noted a wonderfull great Lie in our Apology. Yet vnto S. Paul that tongue seemeth Barbarous that is vnknowne vnto the hearer, be it Latine, be it Greeke. Thus he saith: Nisi sciero vim vocis, ero illi qui loquitur Barbarus: & ille qui loquitur, mihi Barbarus: *Vnlesse I vnderstand the power or meaning of the words, I shal be* Barbarous *to him that speaketh: and he that speaketh (in what tongue soeuer he speaketh) shall be* Barbarous *vnto me.* Hereof I had occasion to say somewhat in my Former Reply. S. Augustine saith: Malle quisque cum Cane suo versari, quàm cum homine ignotæ linguæ: *Any man would rather dwel with his Dogge, then with a man of an vnknowne tongue.*

1. Corinth. 4.

Arti. 3. Diu 3 Ludouic. Viues de traden. Disciplinis, Lib. 3. fol. 97.

To conclude, ye say: When England commeth to haue a Seruice of their own, and a Tongue of their own in Churches, then haue they lost their own part with the Catholike Church. Here M. Harding, a little more reason would haue giuen some credit to your words. For as touching the Publike Seruice of the Church, I beseech you, euen in your owne time of Barbarous blindenesse, what Seruice had the Church of England, but Peculiar, and Speciall to her selfe? Touching the variety of Tongues, S. Augustine saith: Astitit Regina à dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circundata varietate. Vbi significatur Linguarum varietas in omnibus Gentibus: quarum tamen vna est intùs & Simplex Fides: *The Queene stood at thy right hand, apparelled in Cloth of Gold, adorned with variety. Hereby is signified the diuersity of Tongues in all Nations: The Faith whereof, that lieth within, is one and simple.* Likewise againe he saith: Vestitus Reginæ huius quis est? Et pretiosus & varius est: Sacramenta Doctrinæ in linguis omnibus varijs. Alia lingua Aphricana: alia Syria: alia Græca: alia Hebræa: alia illa, & illa. Faciunt istæ Linguæ varietatem vestis Reginæ huius. Quomodo autem omnis varietas vestis in vnitate concordat, sic & omnes Linguæ ad vnam Fidem. In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit: Ecce varietatem intelleximus de Diuersitate Linguarum: & Vestem intelleximus propter Vnitatem: *What is this Queenes apparell? It is pretious, and full of variety: The Mysteries of Doctrine in all sundry Tongues. There is one Tongue of* Aphrica: *another of* Syria: *another* Greeke: *another* Hebrew: *another this, another that. These Tongues make vp the variety of the Queenes apparell. But as all the varietie of colours in the apparel agreeth Vnity, euen so al the Tongues agree in one Faith. Let there be*

Augu. aduers. Iudæos. cap. 4.

Aug. in Ps. 44.

variety in the Apparell: But rent or cut there may not be. Behold, by the Variety we vnderstand the Diuersitie of Tongues: *and by the Apparell we vnderstand the* Vnity (of the Church.) Againe he saith: Distant inter se Linguæ: Sed Linguarum distantiæ non sunt Schismata: *Tongues are diuided one from another: But the Diuision of Tongues is no Schisme, or Diuision in Religion.* Therefore, M. Harding, why send ye vs ouer this wanton talke? Why tel you vs, that when England hath a Tongue of her owne in the Churches, then hath she lost her part with the Catholike Church Behold S. Augustine saith: *The Diuision of Tongues is no Diuision in Religion.*

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 6.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision 10.

Conc. Carth. 3.

The Old Councell at Carthage **commanded, that nothing should bee read in Christs Congregation, but the** Canonical Scriptures: **These men read such things in their Churches, as themselues know for a Truth to be starke Lies and fond Fables.**

Scriptures onely to be read in Churches.

M. Harding.

A man were better, I assure thee, good Reader, to make two new bookes then to correct one so full of lies & falsified places, as this Apologie is. * This old Councel of Carthage is newly falsified by our new Clergie. The words of the Councell are these: *Placuit, vt præter Scripturas Canonicas nihil in Ecclesia legatur sub nomine Diuinarum Scripturarum*: It hath seemed good vnto vs that besides the Canonicall Scriptures, nothing be read in the Church vnder the name of holy Scriptures. They leauing out these foure words *sub nomine Diuinarum Scripturarum*, vnder the name of the diuine Scriptures, would beare men in hand, the Councel willed nothing to be read in the Church, besides the holy Scriptures. Are not these trustie men, to whom ye may commit the charge of your Soules for your Faith and Saluation?

Concil. Carth. 3. cap. 47.

It followeth in the same Decree: *Liceat etiam legi passiones Martyrũ, cùm anniuersary dies celebrantur*: Let it be lawful also for the Martyrdomes of Martyrs to be read when their yeerely feasts are kept. And yet dare they not only to say, nothing must be read besides the Scriptures, but also to allege that very place for that special lie, which saith the contrary. Looke in the Booke thy selfe, good Reader, and see how falsly they handle so holy matters. * Another lie is, when they say, we read those things in the Churches which our selues know to be stark lies, & fond fables. When they cannot themselues shew that we haue any such, it is vaine lying Rhetoricke to say, wee doubt not of it, or know it our selues for a truth. I wonder not if they blush not in belying vs, who haue belied so many Scriptures, Councels, and Fathers.

* Vntruth. For if this old Councell be falsified, it was falsified twelue hundred yeeres agoe in the Councell of Hippo.

* Vntruth. For it is confessed by the best of M. Hardings owne side.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

It standeth well with your truth, M. Harding, so often to charge vs with Lies and Falshood. **I trust it will appeare yee had no great cause to kéepe so great reuell vpon so poore a Conquest. Indéed these words be not expressly found in the third** Councel of Carthage: **yet are they found in the** Councell of Hippo, **which is the Abridgement of the third** Councell of Carthage, **as it appeareth by the Title of the same:** Concilij Hipponensis Abbreuiationes factæ in Concilio Carthaginensi Tertio.

Conc. Hippon. Cap 38.

The words of the Councell of Hippo, **and for so much also of the third** Councel of Carthage **be these:** Scripturæ Canonicæ in Ecclesia legendæ quæ sunt: & præter quas alia non legantur: *The Scriptures Canonicall which are to be read in the Church: and besides which nothing may be read.* **Heere haue you, M. Harding, the plaine words of the** Councell of Hippo, **abridged out of the third** Councell of Carthage, That nothing may be read in the Church, but only the Canonicall Scriptures. **Iudge you therefore how iust cause ye had so vnaduisedly, for I dare not say so vnlearnedly, to charge the** Apologie **with** Lies **and** Falshood.

Concil. Laodic. Cap. 16,

Heere may we adde the like Decrée of the Councell **holden at** Laodicea: Sabbatis Euangelia cum alijs Scripturis legenda esse censemus: *We agree, that the* Gospell, *with other* Scriptures, *be read vpon the Sabbath day.* **If these words seeme not sufficient, it followeth further in the same** Councell: Non oportet Libros, qui sunt extra Canonem, legere, nisi solos Canonicos Veteris & Noui Testamenti: *We may not reade any Bookes that be without the Canon,* but only the Canonicall Bookes of the Old and New Testament.

Concil. Laodic. Cap. 59.

Chrys. in Mat. Homil. 38.

To like effect Chrysostome **saith:** Idcò Christus mensas nummulariorum euertit: Significans quòd in Templo Dei non debent esse nummi, nisi Spirituales, id est, qui Dei imaginem habent: *Therefore Christ ouerthrew the Exchangers bankes, meaning thereby, that there may be no coine in the Church, but only Spirituall, that is to say, that beareth the Image of God.*

Chrys. in Act. Homil. 19.

Againe he saith: Lectorum officium erat, in Ecclesia Sacra legere ex Scriptis, vel Prophetarum, vel Apostolorum: *It was the* Readers *office to pronounce holy things vnto the people, out of either the* Apostles, *or* Prophets.

Eras. in Hier. de Eccl. Scriptorib. Efrem.

Erasmus saith: Apparet non nisi Apostolicas Literas olim legi solitas in Templis, aut certè Virorum Apostolicæ Authoritatis: *It appeareth that in old time nothing was vsed to bee*

read

read in the Churches, but only the Apoſtles Writings: or at leaſt, the Writings of ſuch others, as were of Apoſtolicall Authority. Likewiſe ſaith Abbas Auſigiſus, reporting the Eccleſiaſtical Decrees of the French Kings, Lewis and Charles: In Templis tantùm Canonici libri, id eſt, Sacræ Literæ legantur: *Let there be read in the Churches only the Canonicall Books, that is to ſay, the holy Scriptures.* Hereby may you ſee, M. Harding, if there were any want before, thus many waies it may be ſupplied.

Anſigiſus lib. 1. ca. 19. Impreſſus Pariſijs Anno 1550.

Another lie (ye ſay) is this, when they ſay, wee read thoſe things in the Church, which our ſelues know to be ſtarke lies, and fond fables. For triall hereof, we ſhall not need to trauell far. Your own Bookes and Legends are proofe ſufficient.

Eraſmus therof ſaith thus: Hodiè quorumlibet ſomnia, imò mulierc ularum Deliramenta leguntur inter Diuinas Scripturas: *Now adaies euery fooles Dreames, yea very womens doting fanſies are read with the holy Scriptures.*

Eraſ. in Annotat. in Hieron. de Eccleſiaſticis Scrip.

Likewiſe ſaith Polydore Virgil: Multorum Diuorum vitas recitant, tametſi parùm ad Fidem Scriptas: *They read many Saints liues, although not written according to the truth.* Ludouicus Viues writing of your Legenda Aurea, which was the Mother of all your deuout Eccleſiaſticall Stories or Fables, ſaith thus: Neſcio cur Aurea dici debeat, cùm ſcripta ſit ab homine ferrei oris, & plumbei Cordis, & pleniſſima ſit impudentiſſimis mendacijs: *I ſee no cauſe why it ſhould be called the* Golde Legend, *ſeeing it was written by a man of an iron face, and a leadden heart*, and is freight full of moſt ſhameleſſe lies. If ye know not theſe things M. Harding, your friends will thinke ye know nothing. Such truths yee read and publiſh deuoutly and ſolemnely in your Churches. Yet may we neither ſay nor thinke, yee mocke the people.

Polidor. Virgil. in Oration. Dominicam. Leonard. Lanaterus in Prouerb. Salomonis, pag. 134.

The Apology, Chap. 4. Diuiſion 1.

BUt if there be any that think theſe aboue rehearſed Authorities **be but weak & ſlender, becauſe they were decreed by** Emperors, **and certaine priuate Biſhops, and not by ſo full and perfect Councels, taking pleaſure rather in the authority and name of the Pope: let ſuch a one know, that** Pope Iulius **doth euidently forbid, that a Prieſt in Miniſtring the Communion, ſhould** dip the Bread in the Cup. **Theſe men contrarie to** Pope Iulius Decree, **diuide the** Bread, **and** dippe it in the Wine.

M. Harding.

Ye may be ſure, many men thinke your homely ſtuffe not only weake and ſlender, but alſo corrupt venemous, and lothſome. But now belike ye wil amend your fault. But how? Surely by going from very euill to as bad or worſe, if ye can do worſe, then hitherto ye haue done. Iulius the Pope (ſay yee) doth euidently forbid, that a Prieſt in Miniſtring the Communion, ſhould dip the Bread in the Cup. Now verily your former fault of lying is well amended. For where before yee left out, caſt in, or changed ſome of thoſe words, which ye pretend to allege, now ye make euery whit new of your own. Where hath Iulius theſe words? I ſpeake not of your falſe alleging of places in your Books margin. I forgiue you the putting of *cum enim nemo*, in ſtead of *cum omne*. Theſe be ſmal and ſlipper faults which if they were alone might be winked at in ſuch ſlipper merchants as ye are. But let vs heare what Pope Iulius ſaith: *Apoſ quoque audiuimus intinctam Euchariſtiam populis pro complemento communionis porrigere*: We haue heard alſo of others, who giue to the people the Euchariſt dipped or ſtiped, for making vp of the Communion. It is to be vnderſtanded, that whereas Chriſt gaue the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar to his Apoſtles, he gaue it vnder both kinds. And when the Prieſts in ſome countries, either for lacke of wine at al times ready, either for ſome priuate fanſie, vſed to dip or to ſtipe the Sacred Body of our Lord vnder forme of Bread in the conſecrated Blood and ſo to giue it to the people; Pope Iulius findeth fault therewith, for that neither Chriſt ordained ſo, nor the Apoſtles left ſuch order to the Church. So that Iulius meaneth nothing elſe, but to reproue and reforme that vſe of dipping or ſtiping the one kind in the other in the adminiſtration of the Communion vnto the people. Read the place, who liſteth, hee ſhall finde the ſame ſenſe more largely vttered a litle after.

But what ſenſe make theſe Defenders a Gods name? They ſay Iulius forbiddeth the Prieſts, *ne dum peragit Myſteria, panem immergat in Calicem*: that in miniſtring the Communion (ſo the Lady turneth) hee ſhould dip the Bread in the Cup. There is no ſuch word in the whole decree. Iulius nameth *Euchariſtiam* they call it bread. Iulius hath * *intinctam porrigere populis*, that no Prieſt * giue the Sacrament dipped to the people: they leauing out, giuing it to the people, ſay, he forbad the Prieſt to dippe it. They leaue out alſo the chief cauſe of the whol, which is, *pro cõplemento Cõmunionis*, for making vp of the Communion. For he forbiddeth to giue vnto the people only the conſecrated hoſt dipped in the Chalice, as though it were the whole Cõmunion, no leſſe then if the Blood were giuen apart. Theſe men (ſay they) contraile to the decree of Pope Iulius, diuide the bread and dip it in the Wine. We in the Maſſe breake the hoſt in three parts, not without ſignification of a Myſterie: two we receiue apart, the third we put into the Chalice and receiue it together with the blood. What haue ye to ſay againſt this.

* A fond vanity. For if hee forbid the Prieſt to dip the Sacrament, and to deliuer it, then hee forbiddeth the Prieſt to dip the Sacrament.

* Theſe Myſtical ſignifications, be myſticall follies. Read the Anſwer.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Euery part hereof, is largely anſwered in my Former Reply to M. Harding. True it is, the fault that Iulius here findeth in Dipping and Miniſtring the Sacrament, agreeth

not

Communion vnder one kinde.

not fullie with the preſent diſorders of the Church of Rome. Yet notwithſtanding in condemning the one, he muſt nœds condemne the other. Ye ſay we leaue out theſe words: Intinctam porrigunt Euchariſtiam populis: *They dippe the Sacrament, and deliuer the ſame vnto the people.* And againe theſe words: Pro complemento Communionis: *For the accompliſhment of the Communion.* The more matter we haue left out, the more haue we concealed your faults: and ſo much the more are you beholden to vs. For what meant you, M. Harding to mention any of all theſe words? Doe you deliuer the Sacraments vnto the people? Do you make it a perfect Communio..? What needed you to burthen your ſelfe with moe abuſes, and ſo much to bewray your follie?

Iulius ſaith, They dipped the Sacrament *into the Cup, and deliuered it vnto the people.* You dippe the Sacrament as they did: but vnto the people ye giue nothing. Iulius ſaith, They meant by dipping to make it a full and perfect Communion. Contrariwiſe you defraud the people of the Holy Cup, and deliuer them onlie the Halfe Communion. And therefore ye are much more blame worthy, then euer were they whom Iulius reproued. For they offended onlie of Simplicitie, and you of Wilfulneſſe: they onlie in one thing: you in three things together in one place.

But touching the matter it ſelfe, the fault that we finde with you, and the fault that Iulius found with others yours Predeceſſors, is al one. You dip the Bread into the Cup, and ſo did they. They breake Chriſts Inſtitution, and ſo doe you. And therefore Iulius ſaid vnto them: Hoc quàm ſit Apoſtolicæ & Euangelicæ Doctrinæ contrarium, & conſuetudini Eccleſiaſticæ aduerſum, non difficilè ab ipſo Fonte Veritatis probatur, a quo ordinata ipſa Sacramentorum Myſteria proceſſerunt: *How farre contrary this is to the Apoſtolicall and Euangelicall Doctrine, and to the Cuſtome of the Church, it is eaſie to proue by the Fountaine of the Truth, by whom the myſteries of the Sacraments were ordained, and from whom they firſt proceeded.*

Ye thinke the matter well diſcharged, for that ye deliuer not the Sacrament ſo dipped vnto the people, but miniſter it onlie vnto your ſelfe. Here by the way, it were a matter of ſkil, to vnderſtand, by what authority, either of Scripture, or of Councel, or of Doctor, it may appeare, that it is lawfull for the Prieſt ſo to vſe and receiue the Sacrament, and vnlawful for the people. If the people may not as ſafelie, & as lawfully ſo receiue the Sacrament, as may the Prieſt, wherefore then are theſe words writtē in your Maſſe Books, euen in the Canon & Secrets of your Maſſe? Hęc Sacroſancta commixtio Corporis & Sanguinis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti fiat mihi, & omnibus ſumētibus, ſalus animę & Corporis: *This holy mingling of the Body and Blood of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be vnto me & vnto all that receiue it, the health of Soule & Body.* Verily theſe words, Omnibus ſumētibus, cannot by any ſhift poſſibly be expounded of one only Prieſt, but muſt nœds be extended vnto ỳ people.

Ye would faine tel vs of certaine Speciall Myſteries, that ye haue found out in the breaking of the Sacrament, if ye will what they were. But ye are in caſe, as ſometime was Nabuchodonozor, ye are not able well to tell vs your owne dreame. Sometime ye ſay, The Bread is broken: ſometime yee ſay, The Accidents remaine alone by Miracle, and they are broken: ſometime ye ſay, Chriſts Immortall and Impaſſible Body it ſelfe is broken: ſometime ye ſay, Our eies be deceiued, and nothing is broken.

Daniel 2.
Senten. lib. 4. Diſt. 12.

Againe (ye ſay) the Firſt peece ſignifieth the Church trauelling in the world: The Second ſignifieth the Bleſſed Saints in Heauen: the Third ſignifieth the Soules in Purgatory. But Pope Sergius, the Father of theſe fantaſies, conueieth his Myſteries another way. For the Firſt portion, ſaith he, ſignifieth Chriſts Body after his reſurrection: The Second, Chriſts Body walking on Earth: The Third, Chriſts Body in the Graue. Theſe M. Harding, be your Holy Significations and Speciall Myſteries. With ſuch follies and Myſticall vanities, ye mocke the world. In old times, the Bread was not broken to buſie mens heads with Significations, but only to be deliuered to the people: as in my former Reply I haue declared more at large. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Panis Benedicitur & Sanctificatur, & ad diſtribuendum Comminuitur: *The Bread is Bleſſed and Sanctified and broken in peeces, to the end it may be deliuered.*

Durand. lib. 4. cap. 53. De Conſ. diſt. 2 Triform.

Artic. 11. Diuiſion. 3. Aug. epiſt. 1.

The Apologie, Chap. 4. Diuiſion. 2.

Pope Clement ſaith, it is not lawfull for a Biſhop to deale with both Swords: For if thou wilt haue both, ſaith he, thou ſhalt deceiue both thy ſelfe, and thoſe that obey thee. Now adaies the Pope challengeth to himſelfe both Swords, and vſeth both. Wherefore it ought to ſeeme leſſe maruell if that haue followed, which Clement ſaith, that is, that he hath deceiued both himſelfe and thoſe, which haue giuen eare vnto him.

M. Harding.

M. Harding.

If these fellowes had not sworne to belie all the world for maintenance of their new Gospell, they would, at this time at least haue made a true report of S. Clements words. S. Clement speaketh not of two swords. The place truly alleged hath thus: (a) *Si mundialibus curis fueris occupatus, & teipsum decipies, & eos qui te audiunt.* If thou be occupied in worldly cares, thou shalt both deceiue thy self, & those that listen to thee. The Author of this Apology, hauing spight at the Church, which is Christs fold, and at the Pope, the head Shepheard, enuying at his authority, forgeth a lie vpon S. Clement, making him to say, *Si vtrunque habere vis*, if thou wilt haue both swords, thou shalt both deceiue thy selfe, & those that obey thee. (b) Whereas Clement speaketh no word of the two swords, but of worldly cares, wherewith what Bishop soeuer is intangled, shall (as he saith) deceiue both himselfe & others that hearken to him. For which cause these Defenders being coupled with yoke fellowes in pretensed wedlocke, which state wrappeth a man in worldly cares, because such a one, (c) careth for the things of the world, how to please his wife, & is diuided, as S. Paul saith: it must needs follow, that hauing taken the office of superintendents, & charge of Soules vpon them, (d) they haue deceiued themselues, & daily doe deceiue so many, as heare them, & follow their false doctrine.

1. Cor. 7.

(a) These words are partly Clements, partly S. Bernards.

(b) Fond and childish. As though a Bishop may haue the Temporall Sword, and execute a Temporal office without worldly cares.

(c) What cares haue they that keepe Concubines?

(d) Eleuen of the twelue Apostles and many holy Fathers and Bishops were Married, and yet deceiued not the people.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

O what a pleasant grace, M. Harding hath to talke of Lies? A man would thinke it were some good part of his study. In this place two sundrie Authorities, the one of Clemens, the other of S. Bernard, I know not, by what errour, were ioined in one, and both alleged and set forth vnder the name only of Clemens. I grant, there was herin an ouersight: but Lie or Falshood there was none, as it shall appeare.

The words of Clemens are as you report them. The words of S. Bernard written vnto Pope Eugenius, are these: Planum est, Apostolis interdici Dominatum. I ergo tu, & tibi vsurpare aude, aut Dominans Apostolatum: aut Apostolus Dominatum. Planè alterutro prohiberis. Si vtrunque similiter habere velis, perdes vtrunque: *It is plaine, that vnto the Apostles of Christ, Lordship or Temporall Princehood is forbidden. Go thou thy way therfore* (**thus he saith to the Pope**) *and dare thou to vsurpe, either the Apostleship, being a Lord: or a Lordship, being an Apostle. From one of them vndoubtedly thou art forbidden.* If thou wilt indifferently haue both, thou wilt lose both.

Bern. de consideration. lib. 2.

Both Swords in one hand.

Of such S. Hierome writeth thus: Militantes Christo, obligant se negotijs Sæcularibus, & eandem imaginem offerunt Deo & Cæsari: *Being the Souldiers of Christ, they bind themselues to worldly affaires, and offer vp one Image to God and Cæsar.* **In the Canons of the Apostles it is written thus:** Non oportet Episcopum aut Presbyterum, se publicis administrationibus immittere: sed vacare & commodum se præbere vsibus Ecclesiasticis. Nemo enim potest duobus Dominis seruire: *A Bishop or a Priest may not entangle himselfe with worldly Offices, but be at rest, and shew himselfe meet for the vse of the Church. For no man can serue two Masters.* **Yet the Pope this day claimeth the right of both swords, not only of the Spirituall, but also of the Temporall. And Pope Bonifacius 8. in the Great Iubilee, and in the open sight of the World, when he had one day shewed himselfe in his Pontificalibus, apparelled in Procession as a Bishop of Bishops, the next day he put vpon him the Emperours robes of Maiesty, and had the Emperiall Crowne vpon his head, and the Sword naked and glittering borne before him.**

Hieronim. in Sophonian. ca. 1 Canon. Apost. Canon. 80. Matth. 10. De Maior. & Obed. Vnam. Sanctam. Paralipomena Vrspergensis.

As for Pope Clemens, his Canon is easily shifted by a prety Prouiso. For thus saith your Glosse touching the same: Cessante causa, cessat effectus: Verbi causa, prohibetur, ne Presbyteri gerant tutelas, hac causa, vt melius vacent Diuinis Officijs. Hæc causa finalis est. Vnde, cessante hac causa, cessat effectus. Vnde, si non vacent Diuinis Officijs, poterunt gerere tutelas: *The cause ending, the effect endeth too. For example: The Law commandeth, that a Priest shall not be charged with the Wardship of a Childe in his nonage. The cause heerof is this, that he may the better applie his Diuine Service. This is the finall cause. This cause removed, the effect giueth place. Therefore if the Priest follow not his Diuine Seruice, then he may haue the Wardship of a Childe.* **Euen so, if the Pope do not the Office of a Bishop, then may he be a Temporall Prince. But by these meanes it commeth to passe, euen as** Clemens saith, He deceiueth both himselfe, and also them that heare him.

Extra. de Iureiurando. Etsi Christus. In Glossa.

Touching this vaine obiection of the charge and cares of Marriage, it is fully answered before, in a place more conuenient.

Part. 5. cap. 3. Diuis. 7. And Part. 2. cap. 8. Diuision. 2.

The Apologie, Chap. 4. Diuision 3.

Pope Leo saith, Vpon one day it is lawful to say but one Masse in one Church. **These men say daily in one Church cõmonly ten Masses, twenty, thirty, yea oftentimes mo. So that the poore gazer on can scant tel, which way he were best to turne himself. Pope** Gelasius **saith, It is a wicked deed & subiect to** Sacrilege **in any man, to diuide the Communion, and when hee hath receiued one kind, to abstaine frõ the other. These men contrary to**

Gods

Gods Word, and contrary to Pope Gelaſius, command, that one kinde only of the Holy Communion be giuen to the people: and by ſo doing, they make their Prieſts guiltie of Sacrilege.

M. Harding.

(a) There is no ſmal number of men, which are mooued to ſuſpect, that this Apologie was deuiſed by ſome Catholike man intending to mocke this new Clergie of England, and to put them quite out of eſtimation and credit. (b) And to that very end this innumerable company of lies to them ſeemed of purpoſe to be ſet out. For no man hauing his fiue wits would thinke good, for maintenance of his owne part, to affirme ſo many things, the contrary whereof to his great diſcredit and ſhame, by ſearch is eaſily found. (c) Leo ſaith cleane contrarie to that is heere in his name auouched, that whenſoeuer a new multitude filleth the Church, ſo as all cannot be preſent at the Sacrifice at once, that the Oblation of the Sacrifice be without caſting any doubt done againe.

In Epiſt. ad Dioſcorum dicendum.

(a) A ſolemne fanſie. They muſt needs bee wiſe men, that ſo will thinke.
(b) Heere M. Hard. confeſſeth, that he & his fellowes can ſet foorth lies.
(c) Vntruth manifeſt. Read the Anſwer. *Artic.* 13. *Diuiſion.* 4.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

I beſeech thée, gentle Reader, for ſhortneſſe ſake, and for thy better ſatisfaction herein, to conſider my anſwer made hereunto in my Former replie to M. Harding. Verily Leo ſpeaketh not one word either of Priuate Maſſe, or of Sole Receiuing, or of any other like ſuperſtitious and pœuiſh vanitie: but only of the Generall Communion of the whole Church. His counſell therefore vnto Dioſcorus is, that if vpon occaſion of reſort, the multitude of Communicants were ſo great, that they could not haue conuenient rome in the Church, to receiue all together at one Communion, then the Prieſt, after he had miniſtred vnto the firſt Company, and had willed them to depart forth, and giue place to others, and ſaw the Church replenished againe with a new Companie of aftercommers, ſhould without feare or remorſe of conſcience beginne the whole Communion againe, and ſo miniſter vnto them, as he had done vnto the former. More then this out of Leoes words cannot be gathered. Heere, M. Harding, haue you found a good warrant for the Holy Communion, and a plaine condemnation of your Priuate Maſſe.

The Apologie, Chap. 5. *Diuiſion* 1.

BVt if they will ſay, that all theſe things are worne now out of vſe and nigh dead, and pertaine nothing to theſe preſent times: Yet to the end al folke may vnderſtand what faith is to be giuen to theſe men, and vpon what hope they call together their Generall Councels, let vs ſee in few words what good heed they take to the ſelf ſame thing, which they theſelues, theſe very laſt yeeres, (and the remembrance thereof, is yet new and freſh) in their owne Generall Councell, that they had by order called, haue Decreed and commanded to be deuoutly kept. In the laſt Councel at Trident, ſcant foureteene yeeres paſt, it was ordained by the common conſent of all degrees, That one man ſhould not haue two Benefices at one time: What is become now of that ordinance? Is the ſame too ſoone worne out of minde, and cleane conſumed? For theſe men, ye ſee, giue to one man, not two Benefices only, but ſundry Abbies many times, ſometimes alſo two Biſhoprickes, ſometime three, ſometime foure, & that not only to an vnlearned man, but oftentimes alſo euen to a man of Warre.

In the ſaid Councel a Decree was made, that al Biſhops ſhould preach the Goſpell. Theſe men, neither preach, nor once go vp into the Pulpit, neither thinke they it any part of their Office. What great pompe and crake then is this they make of Antiquity? Why bragge they ſo of the names of the Ancient Fathers, & of the New and Old Councels? Why wil they ſeem to truſt to their authority, whom, when they liſt, they deſpiſe at their pleaſure?

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Hereto M. Harding anſwereth thus, With what face finde they fault? Ye beleeue none of the Councels: Sir Iohn Hooper, a Martyr of their owne canonization: your lying Booke: your vile ſtuffe: your new vpſtart Church: your Hereſies: your incredible lies: your malicious lies: your ſlanderous lies, &c. He is very hard harted, that will not be moued with ſo valiant proſes.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 5. *Diuiſion* 2.

But I haue a ſpeciall fancie to commune a word or two, rather with the Popes **good holineſſe, and to ſay theſe things vnto his owne face.**

M. Harding.

Heere pricketh forth this haſty Defender, as peart as a Pearemonger, and faine would he talke with the Pope himſelfe forſooth face to face. But Sir, I pray you, be not too haſtie in taking your iourney to Rome. Tel vs before ye go, may not a meaner man ſerue in ſtead of the Pope for your Maſtiship to talke withall? This fellow hath a ſpecial fancie and wil needs to the Pope himſelfe, and talke with him of his high matters, preſently to his owne face. I pray you, Sir, may not a poore man heare your talke before hand? By often telling of it, you ſhall haue it in better readineſſe when you come there.

Modeſtie and grauitie meete for a Doctor.

Maſtiship.

The Apology, Chap. 6. *Diuiſion* 1.

TEL vs, I pray you, good holy Father, ſeeing yee doe crake ſo much of all Antiquity, **and boaſt your ſelfe, that all men, are bound to you alone, which of all the Fathers haue at any time called you by the name of the** Higheſt Prelate, **the** Vniuerſall Biſhop, **or the** Head of the Vniuerſall Church.

Summus Sacerdos.

M. Harding.

What the Pope himſelfe will ſay vnto you, when you come before him, I know not, becauſe you make no haſte (I ſuppoſe) as yet to go vnto his preſence, may it pleaſe you in the meane time to be anſwered by another man, thus now, til then? Touching the moſt part of your queſtion, (a) read S. Hierome *ad Damaſum, & aduerſus Luciferianos*, where he calleth the Pope (b) *Summũ Sacerdotem*. And if ye require a word of greater ſound, read S. Auguſtine, where he ſaith, *In Romana Eccleſia ſemper viguit Apoſtolicæ Cathedræ Principatus*: In the Roman Church, the Princedome of the Apoſtolike Chaire hath alwaies flouriſhed. For the ſecond part, looke in the (c) *Counſel of Chalcedon*. For the third, read Victor in his ſecond Booke *De perſecutione Vandalorum*. And for a full reſolution of this matter, read mine anſwer to M. Iewels challenge in the fourth Article, there ſhall you finde your demand fully anſwered: **Beſide two and thirtie great Untruths in the ſame one Article.**

Præfatione in Euangeliſtas. Epiſt. 162.

(a) And there ſhall yee finde nothing.

(b) This name was common to euery Biſhop: & therfore is fondly appropriate to the Pope.

(c) And there is nothing.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Heere it liketh you, M. Harding, for the time, although vnworthy, to ſupply the Popes perſon. **Howbeit, as doubting, either the ſufficency of your Commiſſion, or the diſcretion of your anſwer, ye ſay, Thus now, till then.**

Where we demand of you, which of all the ancient Fathers and Doctors euer called the Pope Summum Sacerdotem, *The Higheſt Prieſt*: **Ye anſwer vs,** S. Hierome **ſo called him in the Booke** Contra Luciferianos. **For his words be plaine:** Summus Sacerdos: *The Higheſt Prieſt*. **But what if it be found, that theſe words belong no more to the Pope, then to any other particular Biſhop? Will ye then confeſſe, that either ye were far ouerſeene, or elſe, that yee ſought vndue meanes, vnder the name of** S. Hierome, **to mocke your Reader? You ſay,** S. Hierome **by theſe words,** Summus Sacerdos, **meant onely the Pope. But, M. Harding ſaith,** S. Hierome **by the ſame words, meant any one** Biſhop, **whatſoeuer he were, and not only the** Pope. **If you be M. Harding, and if theſe things be true, then are you of late foulie fallen out with your ſelfe.**

M. Har. 204. b. *Hieron. contra Luciferianos.*

M. Harding directly contrarie to himſelfe.

For triall heereof, call to your remembrance, M. Harding, your owne words, vttered, not elſe where, but euen in this ſelfe ſame Booke. The words of S. Hierome **bee theſe:** *The ſafety of the Church hangeth vpon the Dignity of the* Higheſt Prieſt. **Heereupon M. Harding ſaith:** This peereleſſe authority S. Hierome in that place doth attribute to the Biſhop of euery Dioceſſe.

And thus, by M. Hardings owne expoſition, not only the Pope, **but alſo the** Biſhop **of any other** Dioceſſe, **is called by** S. Hierome, The higheſt Prieſt. **Thus one M. Harding ſaith:** S. Hierome by theſe words meant onely the Pope: **Another M. Harding ſaith:** S. Hierome by the ſame words meant any one Biſhop, and not onely the Pope. **It were a deed of Charity to reſolue your Reader, whether of theſe two contrary M. Hardings hee may beleeue. Verily, here ye allege** S. Hierome for the Pope, **whereas by M. Hardings confeſſion,** S. Hierome **ſpake nothing, no not one word of the** Pope. **Such is the weight and credit of your authorities.**

But for thy better ſatiſfaction, good Chriſtian Reader, it is well knowne to any meane ſtudent in Diuinitie, **that not onely the** Biſhop of Rome, **but alſo euery other** Biſhop **within his owne Dioceſſe was commonly called the** Higheſt Prieſt, **for that within his owne**

Dioceſſe,

Tertullian. De Baptismo. Diocesse, of all other Priests he was the Highest. Tertullian saith: Dandi Baptismum ius habet Summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus: *The* Highest Priest, *that is, the Bishop, hath authority to minister Baptisme.* S. Augustine saith: Quid est Episcopus, nisi Primus Presbyter, hoc est, Summus Sacerdos? *What is a Bishop but the First Priest, that is to say, the* Highest Priest.

Aug. in quæst. ex vtreque Testam. qua. 101.

Ambros. lib. 1. *epist.* 5. S. Ambrose writing not vnto the Pope, but vnto Fœlix the Bishop of Comum in France saith thus: Suscepisti gubernacula Summi Sacerdotij: *Thou hast taken the gouernment of the* Highest Priesthood.

Summus Sacerdos

Againe he saith, speaking likewise of any one Bishop: Vidisti Summum Sacerdotem Interrogantem & Consecrantem: *Thou sawest the* Highest Priest *examining the people that was to be Baptized, and Consecrating the Water.*

Ambros. De iis qui initiantur cap. 3. I leaue out sundry other like authorities of Origen, of Lactantius, of Athanasius, of Leo, of Victor, of Meltiades, and of others. Euagrius calleth Euphemius, and Gregorius the Bishops of Antioch: Summos Sacerdotes: The Highest Priests. Ruffinus calleth Athanasius the Bishop of Alexandria: Pontificem Maximum: *The Greatest or Highest Bishop.* By these, I trust it may appeare, that the Title or Dignity of the Highest Priesthood, was generall and common to all Bishops and not only closed vp and mortesed only in the Pope.

Euagrius lib. 3. *cap.*32. *Ruffinus, lib.* 2. *cap.* 28.

Besides all this, ye bring vs a word, ye say, of greater Sound: In Romana Ecclesia semper viguit Apostolicæ Cathedræ Principatus: *In the Roman Church the* Princehood of the Apostolike Chaire, *hath alwaies flourished.* Indeed Princehood and Apostolike, bee iolly large wordes, and carrie great sound, almost as great as the Bell of Frideswise, vnto the sound of which Bell, yee wished once in your Sermon in Oxford, that your voice had been comparable, that you might, as you said then, Ring out in the dull eares of these Papists. These were your words: Yee may not forget them.

Aug Epist. 162

But faine would yee haue, the Bishop of Rome should bee a Prince to make vp the sound. Notwithstanding in the Councell of Aphrica it was Decreed thus: Primæ Sedis Episcopus non appelletur Princeps Sacerdotum: *Let not the Bishop of the* First See, *be called the* Prince of Priests.

Dist. 99. *Primæ Sedis.*

But what if the sound of these words waigh no heauier then the former? Or, what if this word Princehood, be no more peculiar to the Pope, then is the other of Highest Priesthood? Paulinus writing vnto Alypius, not the Great Bishop of Rome, but the poore Bishop, as I remember, of Tagasta saith thus: Deus in Ciuibus Ciuitatis suæ Principalem re cum Principibus populi sui, Sede Apostolica collocauit: *God hath placed the Prince among the Citizens of his Citie, in the* Apostolike See, *being a* principall *or a* Chiefe *with (other* Bishops, *that is to say, with) the* Princes of his people. Heere haue you found the Princehood of the See Apostolike, not only in Rome, but also in the poore City of Tagasta. Likewise S. Chrysostome saith: Ad orandum nos assiduè prouocat (Paulus) Apostolorum Princeps: Paul *the Prince of the Apostles calleth vpon vs to be alwaies praying.* So saith S. Gregorie: Paulus obtinuit totius Ecclesiæ Principatum: Paul *obtained the* Princehood *of the whole Church.* So saith Leo: Iuuenalis Episcopus ad obtinendum Palestinæ Prouinciæ Principatum, &c. *Bishop* Iuuenal, *that hee might obtaine the* Princehood *of the Prouince of* Palestine, &c.

Inter Epistolas Aug. epist. 35.

Chrysost. de Orando Deũ, li. 1 *Greg. in* 1. *Reg ca.*10. *li.*4 *ca.*4 *Leo, Epist.* 62.

Briefly your owne singular Doctor Amphilochius, writeth thus not of the Pope, but of S. Basil, the Bishop of Cæsarea: Additus est principibus Sacerdotum, Magnus ipse Princeps Sacerdotum: Basil *being dead, was laid with other Bishops the Princes of Priests, being himselfe the* Great Prince of Priests. It was great follie therefore, M. Harding, these Titles thus lying in common, to encroch the same onely to the Pope. Notwithstanding, ye say, Thus now, till then. Verily, when the Pope himselfe shall beginne to consider and to weigh your pleading, then will he say, he had a very vnskilfull Proctour.

Amphilochius.

*Artic.*4. *Diuis.* 30. & 32. For answer to the rest, I remit you to my First Replie.

The Apology, Chap. 6. *Diuision* 2.

Which of the Ancient Fathers or Doctors euer said that both the Swords are committed vnto you?

M. Harding.

(a) Vntruth. For his authority is no sufficient, as it shall appeare.

Let S. Bernard, writing to a Pope, answer for the Pope. (a) He is a sufficient witnesse. Where your selfe doe allege him much against the Pope, you cannot by the Law iustly refuse him, speaking for the

Bern. De Consid. lib. 4.

Pope,

Pope. The ſpirituall ſword you deny not, I trow. Of the Temporall Sword, belonging alſo to the Pope, thus ſaith S. Bernard to Eugenius: He that denieth this Sword to be thine, ſeemeth to me not to conſider ſufficiently the word of the Lord, ſaying thus (to Peter thy predeceſſor:) (b) Put vp thy Sword into thy ſcaberd. The very ſame thē alſo is thine to be drawen forth perhaps at thy becke, though not with thy hand. Elſe if the ſame belonged in no wiſe vnto thee, whereas the Apoſtle ſaid, Behold, there be two Swords here; our Lord would not haue anſwered, It is enough, but, It is too much. So both bee the Churches, the Spirituall Sword, and the Materiall. But this is to be exerciſed for the Church, and that of the Church: That by the hand of the Prieſt, this of the Souldier, but verily at the becke of the Prieſt, and commandement of the Emperour. Thus, touching the Popes both Swords, you are fully anſwered by S. Bernard.

(b) Put vp thy Sword: *ergo*, The Pope hath both Swords. A ſimple Argument.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Both Swords.

The Pope **hath Power to claime Authority without ſhame. Amongſt others his vnaduiſed and vaine Words, thus he ſaith:** Chriſtus Beato Petro, Vitæ Æternæ Claui-gero, Terreni ſimul & Cœleſtis Imperij Iura commiſit: *Chriſt hath committed vnto* Peter, *the Key-bearer of Euerlaſting Life, the right both of the* Worldly, *and alſo of the* Heauenly Empire: **That is to ſay, The Pope is Emperour both of Heauen, and of Earth. And therefore** Pope Bonifacius 8. **as it is ſaid before, in the ſight of the World, ware the** Crowne Emperiall **on his Head, and commanded the** naked Sword **to be borne before him, and Proclamation to be made:** Ecce, duo Gladij hîc: *Behold, heere are the two Swords.* **I meane the ſame** Pope Bonifacius, **of whom it is written;** *He entred as a Fox: Hee reigned as a Woolfe: Hee died as a Dogge.* **Hereof it is written in** Concilio Vangionum: Vtrunque, & Imperium, & Pontificatum, ſicuti Decius & Falſorum Deorum Cultores factitare conſueuerunt, vſurpat: *The* Pope *wrongfully vſurpeth both together, as well the Worldly Empire, as the Biſhopricke, as* Decius *and the Worſhippers of Falſe Gods were wont to doe.*

Dist. 22. Omnes

Paralipom. Vrſpergenſis.

Carion.

Auentinus.

Yet S. Bernard **ſaith, The** Pope **hath** Both Swords: **But** S. Bernards **Authority in this caſe is but ſimple. He liued eleuen hundred yeares after Chriſts Aſcenſion, in the time of** King Henry **the firſt, the King of England, in the midſt of the** Popes **rout and Tyranny. Howbeit, touching his Iudgement and Credit herein, let vs rather heare one of your owne Doctours. Heruæus therefore ſaith thus:** Bernardus ponit, quòd Papa habet Gladium Materialem in nutu. Sed iſtud, cum hoc, quòd non eſt magnæ Authoritatis, magis eſt contra eos, quàm pro eis: Bernard *ſaith, that the* Pope *hath the Materiall or Temporall Sword at his commandement. But this ſaying of* Bernards, beſides that it is of ſmall force, *maketh alſo more againſt them, then with them.* **Againe he ſaith:** Vnum iſtorum Gladiorum Petrus non tetigit, ſcilicet, Sæcularem, qui ſuus non erat: *The one of theſe* two Swords Peter *neuer touched: I meane the* Worldly or Temporall Sword. *For that Sword was none of his.*

Iohan. de Pariſijs, de Poteſtat. Regia. Cap. 11.

Iohan. de Pariſijs, Cap. 19.

Likewiſe ye may finde it written in your owne Decrees, **vnder the name of** S. Cypriprian: Chriſtus actibus proprijs, & dignitatibus diſtinctis, Officia Poteſtatis vtriuſque diſcreuit: *Chriſt* (**hath not committed** Both theſe Swords **to one mans hand, but**) *by ſeuerall Duties, and ſundry Dignities, hath ſeuered the Offices of either Power.* **Whereupon your owne** Gloſſe **ſaith thus:** Ergo eſt Argumentum, quòd Papa non habet vtrunque Gladium: *This therefore is a proofe,* that the Pope hath not Both the Swords.

Dist 10. *Quoniam. idem.*

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuiſion. 3.

Which of the Ancient Fathers euer ſaid, That you haue Authority and Right to call Councels?

M. Harding.

Who hath Authority to commmand the parts of the Body, but the Head? (a) And that the Pope is Head, where it is amply declared, ye heard euen now. Where you aske, which euer ſaid that the Pope hath authority to call Councels? If you know not ſo much, (b) we tell you, that Socrates the Writer of the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory ſaith ſo, not ſpeaking in his owne perſon, but reporting an old rule of the Church in theſe words: *Sed neque Iulius interfuit maximæ Romæ Præſul, neque in locum ſuum aliquem deſtinauit, cùm vtique regula Eccleſiaſtica iubeat, non oportere preter ſententiam Romani Pontificis* (c) *Concilia celebrari*: But neither Iulius the Biſhop of great Rome was preſent (at the Councell of Antiochia) neither ſent he any man in his place, whereas the Eccleſiaſticall rule commandeth, that without the aduice & will of the Pope of Rome, no Councels be kept. And as Socrates witneſſeth of the calling of Councels, ſo doth Sozomenus witneſſe of the things done in them. *Cùm Sacerdotali Lege conſtitutum ſit pro irritis haberi debere, quæ præter ſententiam Epiſcopi Romani gerantur*: Whereas (ſaith he) it hath beene ordained by a Law of Biſhops, that what things be done (in any Councell) beſides the aduice and wil of the Biſhop of Rome, they ought to be taken for none, and void. If you will ſee more for this Authority of calling Councels, read *Reſcriptum Iulij Papæ contra Orientales: Epiſt. Athanaſij & Aegyptiorum Pontificum ad Felicem Papam.* This matter is alſo fully anſwered.

Hiſtor. Tripar. Lib. Cap. 9.

Lib. 3. *Cap.* 10.

(a) Vntruth. great, and manifeſt. For this was neuer yet prooued.

(b) Vntruth: For Socrates ſaith not ſo.

(c) Vntruth: ſtanding in falſe tranſlation. Read the Anſwer.

To call Councels.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here hath M. Harding brought in a shew of great Authorities without sense. For answer whereof it may please thee, Gentle Reader, to consider the fourth Article of my Former Reply. Notwithstanding, amongst all these words of Pope Iulius, Socrates, Calliodorus, and forged Athanasius, there is not one word of Power and Authoritie to call Councels. Onely thus much they say: *No Decree may passe in* Councell *without the agreement and consent of the Bishop of Rome:* for that hee was one of the Foure Principall Patriarkes, and ought to haue his voice there as well as others. It is a Principle ruled in Law: Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus debet approbari: *That toucheth all, must be allowed by all.*

Art. 4. Diu. 26.

Μὴ δεῖν χαινίζειν τὰς Ἐκκλησίας.

Regula Iuris.

But lest you should thinke this was the Popes only prerogatiue, and belonged to none other besides him, the same Socrates writeth the very like words as well of the Bishop of Constantinople, as of the Pope. Thus he saith: Et hoc fecerunt, contemnentes Legem, qua cauetur, ne quis eligatur præter sententiam Episcopi Constantinopolitani: *Thus did they, not regarding the* Decree, *whereby order was taken, that no Bishop should be chosen without the consent of the* Bishop of Constantinople. Yet may not M. Harding conclude hereof, that therefore the Bishop of Constantinople had Authority to call Councels.

Socr. li. 7. c. 28.

Ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως χειροτονίαν μὴ γίνεσθαι.

Æneas Sylvius, that afterward himselfe was Pope, named Pius the Second, writeth thus: His Authoritatibus mirum in modum putant se armatos, qui negant Concilia fieri posse sine consensu Papæ. Quorum sententia, si, vt ipsi volunt, inuiolata persistat, ruinam secum Ecclesiæ trahit: *They that say, no Councell may be kept without the consent of the Pope, thinke themselues marueilously fenced by these Authorities. But if their saying hold, and take place, as they would haue it,* it will draw with it the decay and ruine of the Church.

The Foure first great Councels, of Nice, of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, of Constantinople, and the rest, as it shall afterward more largely appeare, were alwaies called by the Emperours, and not by the Pope. As for the Pope, hee had not yet the whole World at his commandement, nor any such Vniuersall Authoritie to call Councels; but rather was commanded himselfe, as other Bishops were, by the Emperors Authoritie, to come to Councels, as it shall appeare.

Therefore where you would conclude thus, The Pope was Head of the Church; *Ergo* hee had authority to call Councels: we may rather, and much better, turne your tale backward, and say thus: The Pope had no Authority to call Councels: *Ergo*, he was not Head of the Church.

The whole World is the Popes Dioceſſe.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision. 4.

Which of the Ancient Fathers or Doctours euer said, The whole World is but your Dioceſſe?

M. Harding

He that said to Peter, Feed my Lambes, and feed my Sheepe: * which Lambes and Sheepe all Christian men be thorow the world. *Iohan.*

*God knoweth heere is a sheepish reason.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

The Canonists, that is to say, the Popes Pages of Honour, haue not doubted to infeafe their Master with the possession of all the World. One saith thus: Dominus Papa est Ordinarius omnium hominum: *Our Lord the Pope is the Ordinary or Bishop of all men.* Another saith: Papa totius Mundi obtinet Principatum: *The Pope hath the Princehood of all the world.* Another saith: Papa est Episcopus totius Orbis: *The Pope is the Bishop of the whole world.* Another saith: Papa, etiam cessante negligentia Prælatorum, potest conferre beneficia totius Orbis: Quia ipse est Ordinarius totius mundi: *Though there haue default or negligence in any Bishop, yet may the Pope bestow the benefices of all the World: For that he is the Bishop of all the World.* Therefore when the Chiefe Deacon inuesteth, or enrobeth the Pope at his Consecration, he saith vnto him, Ego inuestio te de Papatu, vt præsis Vrbi & Orbi: *I doe inuest thee with the Popedome, that thou maist rule both the City, and the World.*

Extra. de Appellation. Vt debitus. In Gloſſa. Extra. de ſtatu Regularium per. vltim. ſſ. in Gloſſ. Extr. de Fœnis Fœlicis. in Gloſſ. Extr. de Cõceſſ. Præbendæ, & Eccleſ. non vacãtis. Quia diuerſitatem Ab. Ceremon. lib. 1. Fran. Zabarel.

Of this infinite Ambition and inordinate Tyranny many good men haue often complained. Franciscus Zabarella, being himselfe a Cardinall of Rome, saith thus: Ex hoc infiniti sequuti sunt errores: Quia Papa occupauit omnia iura inferiorum Ecclesiarum: Et nisi Deus succurrat statui Ecclesiarum, Vniuersa Ecclesia periclitatur: *Hereof haue ensued infinite errours: for that the Pope hath inuaded the right of all inferiour Churches. And vnlesse God helpe the state of the Churches, the Vniuersall Church is in ieopardie.*

The Learned Lady Anna, daughter vnto the Emperour Alexius and Irene, in her Storic

rie that shee wrote in Greeke, among many other things to like purpose, writeth thus: Papa est Dominus totius mundi, quemadmodum Latini quidem putant, & prædicant: Est enim etiam hæc pars quædam illorum insolentiæ: *The Pope is the Lord of all the world, as the Latines thinke and speake of him. For this is one peece of their Ambition.* *Anna in Historia Græca:* Ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἀλαζονείας αὐτῶν.

This hath beene the late wanton claime of the Popes Canonists. Otherwise the Ancient Learned Fathers haue euermore bounded and limited the Pope within his own particular Iurisdiction. Ruffinus saith, the Fathers in the Councell of Nice appointed the Pope to ouersee the Churches of his owne Suburbes; Vt Romanus Episcopus Suburbicarum Ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat. Athanasius saith: Roma est Metropolis Romanæ ditionis: *Rome is the Mother Church* (not of all the vniuersall world, but) *of the Roman* (particular) *Iurisdiction.* The Bishops in the Councell of Rome write thus to the Bishops of Illyricum: Par est, omnes qui sunt in Orbe Romano Magistros conuenire: *It is conuenient, that all the Bishops that be within the Iurisdiction of Rome should accord together.* Flauianus the Archbishop of Constantinople writeth thus to Leo the Bishop of Rome: Dignetur Sanctitas vestra indicare impietatem Eutycheris omnibus Episcopis sub Beatitudine vestra degentibus: *Let your holinesse vouchsafe to make knowen the wickednesse of* Eutyches *to all the Bishops that liue vnder you.* To all the Bishops, he saith, that liue vnder you. Not vnto all Bishops thorow the world. S. Hierome speaking of the vsage and order of the Church of Rome, saith thus: Quid mihi profers vnius Vrbis Consuetudinem? *What allegest thou me the Custome of one City?* So much he abridgeth the Popes Iurisdiction, that he extendeth it, not vnto the Lists and ends of all the world, but restraineth it onely to the limits of one Citie. Likewise againe, speaking of the Bishop of Rome, he saith thus: Non solùm vnius Vrbis, sed etiam totius Orbis errant Episcopi: *Then not onely the Bishop of One Towne,* (which was the Bishop of Rome) *but also the Bishops of all the world are deceiued.* *Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 6.* *Athanas. ad solitariam vitam agenter.* *Sozo. li. 6. c. 23.* Πάντας τοὺς ἐν Ῥωμαίων κόσμῳ ἐπισκόπους. *Hieronymus ad Euagrium.* *Inter. Epistolas Leon. Epist. 9.* *Hieronymus ad Euagrium.* *Hieron. aduersus Vigilantiũ.*

Thus therefore writeth Gennadius, together with the Councell of Constantinople, vnto the Bishop of Rome: Curet Sanctitas tua Vniuersas tuas Custodias, tibique subiectos Episcopos: *Let your Holinesse see vnto* (not all the whole world, but) *all your owne charge, and such Bishops as be subiect vnto you.* *Gennadius ad omnes Metropolitanos, & ad Papam Roman.*

By these few we see the Bishop of Romes power was not Vniuersall, or Infinite, ouer al the Churches and Kingdomes of the world, but certaine, and limitted within his owne particular Iurisdiction.

As for the reasons ye vse for proofe hereof, I maruell ye would euer trouble the world with so Childish follies. Christ said vnto Peter, Feed my Sheepe: *Ergo,* say you, The whole world is the Popes Dioceise. A good Sheepe would haue made a better Argument.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision. 5.

All receiue of the Popes fulnesse.

Which of the Holy Ancient Fathers euer said, that all Bishops haue receiued of your fulnesse?

M. Harding.

Besides others, so hath S. Bernard said in his Booke, *De considerationi ad Eugenium:* where he saith, that he is called *in plenitudinem potestatis,* into the fulnesse of power.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

* A Simple Authority.

There is no folly so vaine, but by some shift may be maintained. In your Glosse, M. Harding, it is written thus: Omnes subiecti sunt motioni Papæ, & sunt in illo, quasi Membra de Membro: *All men are subiect vnto the Popes will, and are in him as members of a member.* Another saith: Ecclesia non habet potestatem aliquam Iurisdictionis, nisi à Petro: *The Church hath no power of Iurisdiction,* but only from Peter. And againe: A Petro post Christum, Spiritualis Gratia & Potestas deriuatur: *Next after Christ, Spirituall Grace and Power is deriued from Peter.* And therefore another of your Doctours saith: Omnes Episcopi descendunt à Papa, quasi Membra à Capite: & de eius plenitudine omnes accipiunt: *All Bishops are deriued from the Pope, as Members from the Head: and all they receiue of his fulnesse.* that is to say, Power of his Power, and Grace of his Grace. All these vanities M. Harding, thinketh may be wel borne out by two bare words of S. Bernard. *Clemen. li. 5. de Haret. Ad vestrum. In Gloss.* *Petr. de Palud. de potesta. Pap.* *Petr. de Palud. callata Apostol.* *Durand. lib. 2. De Ministris & Ordinibus.*

But S. Augustine, many hundred yeares before Bernard was borne, wrote thus: Nos quidem accipere possumus hoc donum pro modulo nostro: Fundere autem illud super alios non possumus. Sed vt hoc fiat, Deum super eos, à quo hoc efficitur, inuocamus: *Indeed we may receiue the gift of God according to our portion: but to powre the same vpon others we are not able. Notwithstanding, in their behalfe we call vpon God that is the worker heereof, that hee will doe it.* *Aug de Trinit. lib. 15. cap. 26.*

All Power giuen to the Pope.

* Vntruth, vndiscreet & vaine For no Ancient Doctor or Father euer vttered so fond words.

Extr. de translation. Episcop. Quãto. Hostiẽ. M. Harding fol. 67. a. Fol. 67. b.

The Apology, Chap. 6. Diuision 6.

Which of all the Ancient Doctors euer said, that all Power is giuen to you, as well in Heauen, as in Earth?

M. Harding.

* All they which speake of the ministeriall Power, whereby, vnder Christ, the militant Church by him is gouerned. But if you meane absolutely, as your words seeme to sound, so no discreet Catholike man euer said, or thought.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here by a prety distinction of Power Absolute, **and** Power **not** Absolute, Christ **and his** Vicar **are set together to part Tenures. Howbeit, what maner of** Power **it is that the** Pope **claimeth, his owne Proctors and Counsellers can tell vs best.** Cardinall Hostiensis saith: Excepto peccato, Papa potest quicquid Deus ipse potest: *Sinne only excepted, the Pope hath power to doe whatsoeuer God himselfe can doe.*

Addition. ☞ **M. Harding.** This is false and slanderous. This is a most manifest, and out of all question, foule corruption. Certainely Hostiensis saith not so. But hauing reckoned certaine things wherein the Pope hath Authority vnder God, as Christs high Officer, he concludeth with these words: *Breuiter, excepto peccato, quasi omnia de iure potest, vt Deus*: Briefly, excepted sinne, he hath power, as a man would say, in all things of right, as God. Thus saith Hostiensis, and not as M. Iewell belieth him, &c. It is said by the Learned Canonists, that the Consistorie of God, and of the Pope, is one Consistorie; as a Bishops and his Chancellours Consistory is one and the same Consistorie. Now let vs consider the impudencie of this false Minister. First he auoucheth his shamelesse lie boldly, as though where truth faileth, for shew of truth, the matter might be stouted out. The words, saith he, be most manifest, & out of all question: *Excepto peccato, Papa potest quicquid Deus ipse potest*: That is to say, the Pope can do as much as God himselfe can doe, sinne excepted. But what if these words be not most manifest? Is it not then a most manifest impudencie so to affirme of them? Is not this Minister a Minister of Lies? &c. First he hath nipt away this word, *Breuiter*, then this word, *Quasi*, which mitigateth and qualifieth the saying: Then againe those other words of necessary importance, *Omnia, de iure*, and *vt*. Next he corrupted the sentence by putting to these words of his owne, *Quidquid*, and *Ipse*, &c. Who euer saw one little poore sentence so nipt, so hackt, so hewed and mangled, so turned, and cast in a new mould? *The Answer.* **It fareth with you, M. Harding, as it did sometime with a good honest plaine man, that tolde his friend vpon a reckoning that he would not be answered with fiue pounds, but would haue fifteene good Nobles, euery penny: and that he would not be so mockt. For although there be some alteration in these words, yet in sense and meaning there is as great ods as is betweene fifteene Nobles, and fiue Pound. You say;** I haue nipt, and hackt, and hewen these words, and haue left out this word, *Breuiter*. **Now verily, M. Harding, any wise man may thinke, this is a very simple quarrell for a man of your Learning. For if I had nipt off this word,** Breuiter, **as indeed I haue not, yet what would that make to the hacking and hewing of the sense? But you say, I haue left out other words besides, as** Omnia, De iure, **and** Vt, **words, as you tell vs, of necessary importance. I beseech you, M. Harding, if you haue any such fansie to these words, put them all in againe, and much good may they doe you. So shall your sentence be this:** Papa potest omnia de iure, vt Deus potest: *The Pope may doe all things of right, as being God: or, as God can doe.* **Me thinketh hereby the matter is but coursely mended. It seemeth worse then it was before. For thus much you say:** The Pope of Right may doe all things, as God may doe. **So much haue you gained by adding of these necessary and speciall words,** De iure, **and** Vt. **Notwithstanding, in Abbas Panormitanus, out of whom I alleged these words of Hostiensis, ye shall finde neither** Breuiter, **nor** De, **nor** Iure, **nor** Vt **neither. So necessary is their importance. Thus haue you three of your greatest Canons easily discharged with little adoe: vnlesse you will likewise say, that** Abbas Panormitanus **is also a** False Minister, **and impudently beliefh Hostiensis. Wherein certainely, M. Harding, you haue a speciall grace to speake at pleasure.**

Of the other side you say: I haue added vehement words of mine owne, to enforce the matter. **For whereas** Hostiensis **saith only,** Deus, God; **I haue imagined him to say,** Deus ipse, God himselfe. **And I pray you, M. Harding, what difference finde you betweene God, and** God himselfe? **Is** God himselfe **one, and** God **another? I thanke God, I know none other** God, **but** God himselfe. **This then, I trow, must be your meaning:** The Pope can doe all things (**not that** God himselfe can doe, **for that you say were blasphemy, but**) that God can doe.

Againe (**you say**) I haue left out this word, *Omnia*. **But you might easily haue seene, that in stead thereof I placed,** Quicquid. **And I would thinke, that** Quicquid **were as much as** Omnia quæ: **vnlesse you can shew vs some prety new** Louanian Grammar **to the contrary.**

Once

Once againe you say: I haue left out this word, *Quasi*, which word (you say) mitigateth and qualifieth the saying. Then I trow, this saying is such as hath need of some mitigation. Howbeit indeed this is but a Quasi quarrell, M. Harding. If your Pope may not be God himselfe, yet at the least ye would haue him to be a Quasi God. It shameth me thus to encumber the world with such vanities. But your importunity, M. Harding, enforceth me further than I would.

All Power giuen to the Pope.

The very words in Abbas Panormitanus, reported out of Hostiensis, are these: Papa & Christus faciunt vnum Consistorium: ita quòd, excepto peccato, potest Papa quasi omnia facere quæ potest Deus: *The* Pope *and* Christ *make one Consistorie, or one Iudgement seat: so that, sinne excepted, the* Pope *in a maner may do all things that God may doe.* These be the words, M. Harding. Let some Lawyer turne your Bookes. You shall find them so. And here once againe I tell you, you haue neither Breuiter, nor De, nor Iure, nor Vt, nor any other iust cause why ye should fare so terribly with your Ministers.

Extr. de transl. prælat. C. Quãto. Ab.

M. Har. 67. b.

Whereas Hostiensis saith, *The* Pope *and* Christ *make one Consistorie*; This (you say) is well said by the learned Canonists: as a Bishope and his Chancellours Consistory is one and the same Consistory. Your meaning herein, I trow, is this; That God is the Bishop, and the Pope his Chancellour: and as there lieth no appeale from the Chancellour to the Bishop, so there lieth no appeale from the Pope to God, for that the Pope and God haue one only Consistory: And the Law saith; Ab vno ad seipsum non est appellatio.

Extr. in Sexto Lib. 1. de Consuetudine, Non putamus.

But why shew you your selfe so squamish, and so dangerous in these words, The Pope may doe whatsoeuer God may doe? You may remember, that your Canonists haue moued questions, Whether the Pope be God, or no. You may remember, that the Pope hath suffered himselfe to be called God. For thus one said vnto him presently before his face in the Councell of Laterane without rebuke: Tu es alter Deus in Terris: *Thou art another God in the Earth.* You may remember, that the Pope suffereth his Canonists thus to publish and to blaze his Godhead to the World in printed Bookes: Dominus Deus noster Papa: *Our Lord God the Pope.* Thus, and euen with these selfe same expresse words, hath it bẽn printed often, and in sundry places. Yet haue I not heard of any Pope that euer found fault with the printing. You may remember, that whereas S. Augustine saith, Quis audeat dicere Deo? *Who dareth to say thus to God?* your Canonists haue made vp, and bettered the matter in this sort: Quis audeat dicere Deo, vel Papæ? *Who dareth to say thus to* God *or to the* Pope? Thus they say, as if there were some equality betwẽn the Pope, and God. You may remember, it is written in the Ceremoniary of the Church of Rome: Moderatio Imperii Romani pertinet ad Papam, Dei Vices gerentem in Terris, tanquam ad eum, per quem Reges Regnant: *The Gouernment of the Roman Empire belongeth to the* Pope, *being Gods Vicar in Earth, as vnto him by whom Kings Rule, and weare their Crownes.* And what is he, M. Harding, by whom Kings be Kings, and haue their Authority, but onlie God? You may remember these words were spoken in a Councell holden in Rome, in the Popes owne Palace of Laterane euen in the presence and hearing of the Pope: In Papa est omnis potestas supra omnes potestates, tam Cœli, quàm Terræ: *In the Pope is all maner of power aboue all powers, as well of Heauen, as of Earth.* I beseech you, good M. Harding, what Power may this be, but onle the Power of God himselfe?

Extra. Iohan. 22. Cum inter. Printed at Paris *anno* 1513. And at *Lions anno* 1555.

De Pœn. Dist. 3. Quamuis

Ceremoniarum Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

Conc. Lateran. sub Leo 10. in Oratione Stephan. Patracen.

You may remember, Franciscus Zabarella saith: Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita, & est plus quàm Deus: *The Pope doth whatsoeuer he listeth, yea although it be vnlawfull, and is more than God.* Thus you see, M. Harding, your Pope is a God of the Earth: Your Pope is Lord and God: Your Pope is he, by whom Kings are Kings: Your Pope hath power aboue all powers, either in Heauen, or in Earth: Your Pope is more than God. Giue these words what sense or incense may like you best: Embawme them with your most fauourable and sweetest Constructions, ye shall neuer be able to make them sauour: When all your Doctrine is sifted, the bottome thereof is this: Sinne only excepted, the Pope in a maner may doe all things that God may doe. Therefore, M. Harding, call not the Ministers of Gods Truth, the Ministers of Lies. He hath of long time Ministred Lies vnto the world, that being a wretched sinfull man, hath stalled himselfe in the place of God. And you, forcing all your wits and learning to vphold and soth him in his Blasphemie, must needs be a Minister of open Lies.

Fran. Zabarel.

Stephanus the Bishop of Patraca, in your late Councell at Laterane in Rome, saith thus: In Papa est omnis potestas supra omnes potestates, tam Cœli, quàm Terræ; *All Power is in the Pope aboue all the Powers, as well of Heauen, as of Earth.*

In Conc. Lateran. sub Leone 10. Session. 10. Citatur in eod. Conc. Lateran.

And to make the matter plaine, your owne Bernard himselfe saith: Tibi data est omnis Potestas: in qua, qui totum dicit, nihil excludit: *All maner of power is giuen to thee: Hee that saith,* All, *excepteth nothing.*

Extra de Conſtitution. cap. 1. And Abbat Panormitane ſaith: Plenitudo Poteſtatis ſuperat omnem Legem poſitiuam: Et ſufficit quòd in Papa ſit pro Ratione Voluntas: *The fulneſſe of Power paſſeth all Poſitiue Law: And it is ſufficient in the Pope, that Will ſtand in ſtead of Reaſon.*

This is that Power that M. Harding here hath ſo cloſely conueied in vnder the cloud of his Diſtinction.

Baldus. But Baldus, **that by experience ſaw the practiſe hereof, ſaith thus:** Hæc Plenitudo Poteſtatis eſt Plenitudo Tempeſtatis: *This Fulneſſe of Poner is a Fulneſſe of Tempeſt.*

Iohan. de Pariſijs, Cap. 18. **Another of your Doctours ſaith:** Bernardus nullam Poteſtatem ponit in Papa, quam non ponit in Prælatis inferioribus: licèt in Papa ponat Summam: Bernard *alloweth no* Power *vnto the* Pope, *but he alloweth the ſame to other inferiour Biſhops. Notwithſtanding, he alloweth the greateſt* Power *vnto the* Pope. S. Bernard **himſelfe ſaith to like purpoſe:** Sic facitando, probatis vos habere Plenitudinem Poteſtatis: Sed Iuſtitiæ fortè non ita: *Thus doing and dealing, yee ſhew your ſelfe to haue the Fulneſſe of Power: But perhaps not likewiſe the Fulneſſe of Iuſtice.*

Bernar. de Conſideration. li. 3.

The Apology, Chap. 6. Diuiſion 7.

The Pope without Checke.

Which of the ancient Fathers euer ſaid, that neither King, nor Prince, nor the whole Clergie, nor all the people together are able to be Iudges ouer you?

M. Harding.

(a) Worthy reaſons.

(b) This Marcellinus being Pope had committed open Idolatry in making Sacrifice vnto Diuels.

(a) What Sheepe ſhall be Iudges ouer their Shepheard? For, as the Fathers of the moſt ancient Councel of Sinneſſa ſaid in the cauſe of (b) Marcellinus the Pope, *Nemo vnquam iudicauit Pontificem*: No man euer iudged the Pope, nor any Prelate his high Prieſt. *Quoniam prima Sedes non iudicabitur à quoquam*: Becauſe the firſt See ſhall not be iudged of any body.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

In theſe two points ſtandeth the Popes Gard of truſt, and the Keepe and Caſtle of all his Power. Firſt, the Church of Rome, **whatſoeuer way ſhe take, can neuer erre: Next, the** Pope **whatſoeuer he doe, may neuer be called to any reckoning. Theſe two points being granted, the reſt is ſure. One of your Doctors ſaith thus:** Omne factum Sanctiſſimi Patris interpretari debemus in bonum. Et ſi quidem fuerit furtum, vel aliud ex ſe malum, interpretari debemus, quòd Diuino inſtinctu fiat: *We muſt expound euery act of the* Holy Father *for the beſt. And if it be theft, or any other thing that of it ſelfe is euil, (as Aduouterie, or Fornication) we muſt thinke it is done by the ſecret inſpiration of God.* **Another ſaith:** Si Papa innumerabiles populos cateruatim ſecum ducat mancipio Gehennæ, cum ipſo plagis multis in æternum vapulaturos, huius culpas arguere preſumat mortalium nullus: *If the Pope draw infinite companies of people by heapes together with himſelfe into Hell, to be puniſhed with him with many ſtripes for euer, yet let no Mortall man preſume to reprooue his faults.*

Iohan. de Pariſijs, de poteſt. Reg. & Papali.

Diſtinct 40. Si Papa.

9. Quæſt. 3. Cuncta. **Another ſaith:** Papa ſolutus eſt omni Lege Humana: *The Pope is exempted from all Law of Man.* **Another ſaith:** Sacrilegij inſtar eſſet, diſputare de facto Papæ. Facta Papæ excuſantur, vt Homicidia Samſonis: vt Furta Hebræorum: vt Adulterium Iacob: *It is a ſinne as great as Sacriledge, or Church-robbing, to reaſon of any the Popes doings. For his Acts are excuſed, as* Samſons *Murders: as the* Iewes *Robberies: and as the Aduouteries of* Iacob. **Another ſaith:** Nec totus Clerus, nec totus Mundus poteſt Papam iudicare, aut deponere: *Neither all the Clergy, nor all the whole World, may either Iudge, or Depoſe the* Pope. **And againe:** Papa in nullo caſu, quamdiu eſt Papa, propter quodcunque crimen poteſt deponi, nec à Concilio, nec à tota Eccleſia, nec à toto Mundo: *The* Pope, *while he is* Pope, *cannot in any caſe, for any offence by him committed, be depoſed, neither by the Generall Councell, nor by all the Church, nor by the whole World.*

Dist. 40. Non nos in Gloſſa.

Petr. de Palude de Poteſt. Pap. Artic 4.

Idem. eod. loco.

And al this they are wel able to proue by good ſubſtantial authoritie of the Scriptures. For thus they reaſon: The Scholar is not aboue his Maſter: The Seruant is not aboue his Lord: **And againe:** The Axe boaſteth not it ſelfe againſt the Carpenter that heweth with it: *Ergo*, No man may accuſe the Pope.

In Epiſt. Nicolai Papæ.

Inter Decreta Adrian. Papæ. Diſtinct. 21. Inferior.

Therefore another of your Doctors ſaith: Iudicare de factis Papæ, hoc aliqui dicunt eſſe, Tangere Montem, & ponere os in Cœlum: *To iudge of the* Popes *deeds, this ſome men ſay, is to touch the Holy Mount,* (**wherein God gaue the Law, and ſhewed himſelfe to Moſes**) *and to ſet the face againſt the Heauens.* **And the** Pope **himſelfe ſaith:** *The accuſing of him is the ſinne againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which ſhall neuer be forgiuen, neither in this world, nor in the world to come.*

Iohan. de Pariſijs, Cap. 20.

Concil. Tom. 1. in Purgatione Sixti.

Thus may the Pope **depoſe** Kings **and** Princes, **and trouble the whole ſtate of the** world,

world, and doe what he list, without controlement. Yet may no man dare say vnto him, Sir, why doe ye so? Therefore the accusers of Pope Symmachus said in the presence of King Theodoricus: Successores Petri vna cum Sedis priuilegijs peccandi quoque licentiam accepisse: *The Pope maketh his boast, that together with the power of teaching, he hath retained free liberty to doe ill.* *Ennodius.*

Pope Marcellinus, whose name ye haue alleged out of the Councel of Sinnessa, for defense heereof, was an Apostata, and had forsaken Christ, and being Pope in Rome, had made Sacrifice vnto Diuels. All this notwithstanding, ye say, No mortal man might accuse him. Thus hath the Pope a speciall Prerogatiue and premunire to forsake Christ, and to commit open Idolatrie, and to giue Honour and Sacrifice vnto Diuels, without controlement. *Conc. Tomo 1. In Marcellino.*

Yet S. Paul accused S. Peter, euen vnto his face, in the presence of many. And S. Cyprian saith: Petrus se non vindicauit, seu aliquid insolenter assumpsit, vt diceret, se Primatum tenere, & obtemperari sibi a nouellis, & posteris oportere: Peter (being thus checked openly by S. Paul) *neither reuenged himselfe nor tooke any thing prondly vpon him, as to say, that hee had the Primacy, or that others, that were but Nouices and aftercommers, (as* Paul *was) ought to be obedient vnto him.* Mena, the Bishop of Constantinople, iudged and excommunicated Pope Vigilius. The Bishops of the East Church, iudged and excommunicated and deposed Pope Iulius. One of your Doctors saith: Si Papa cõmittat crimen Depositione dignum, debet puniri, acsi esset vnus rusticus: *If the Pope commit an offence wherefore he should iustly be deposed, he ought to be punished, as if he were a Clowne of the Countrey.* Your Neighbours of Leodium, in their Epistle against Pope Paschalis, write thus: Remoto Romanæ Ambitionis typho, cur de grauibus, & manifestis, non reprehendantur, & corrigantur Romani Episcopi? qui reprehendi & corrigi non vult, pseudo est, siue Episcopus, siue Clericus: *Setting apart the Pride of Romish Ambition, the crimes being great and manifest, why may not the* Bishops of Rome *both be reproued, and also corrected? He, that liketh rebuke and correction, is a false man, whether he be Priest or Bishop.* Galat. 2. *Cyprian.*

The Emperour receiueth his power of the Pope.

Niceph. lib. 17. ca. 26. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 10. Felinus in Repertorio. Dignitas. Concil. Tom. 2. Epist. Leodien. contra Paschalem, Pap. Gadis.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision. 8.

Which of the Ancient Fathers euer said, that Kings and Emperours, by Christs will and Commandement, receiue their authority at your hands?

M. Harding.

What is to be answered hereto, * you may gather of that is alleged before out of S. Bernard, speaking of both swords.

* There may you finde nothing to proue nothing.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

It is euident by the record and generall consent of all ancient Writers, that the Pope hath neither possession, nor foot of Lands, nor House to dwell in, nor the name of Vniuersall Bishop, nor Chartar, nor Liberty, nor Iurisdiction, but that hee hath receiued, either of the French Kings, or of the Emperours. Yet would he now beare the World in hand, that the Emperour hath nothing, neither Lands, nor Honour, nor Power, nor Right, nor Sword, nor Iurisdiction, but only from him. If any man doubt heereof, besides other testimonies of Antiquity, let him read that most vaine and Childish Donation, that the Pope himselfe hath forged vnder the name of the Emperour Constantine. S. Ambrose saith: Si non vis esse obnoxius Cæsari, noli habere quæ sunt Mundi. Si habes diuitias, obnoxius es Cæsari: *If thou wilt not be subiect to the Prince, then possesse not the things that be of the world. If thou haue worldly riches, then art thou subiect vnto the Prince.* Likewise S. Augustine: Dices, Quid mihi, & Regi? Quid tibi ergo, & possessioni? per Iura Regum possessiones possidentur: *Thou wilt say* (as the Pope saith) *what haue I to doe with the Prince? What then hast thou to doe with Lands? For possessions are holden* (not by the Popes right, but) *by the right of Kings and Princes.* *Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 46. Carion. in Bonif. 3. Sabel. in Phoca. Ambro. in Lucam. lib. 9. c. 20. Aug. in Iohan. Citatur in epist. Leodien. contra Paschalem. Concil. tom. 2.*

Charles the French King, Nephew to Charles the Great, wrot thus vnto Pope Adrian: Imperatores Ius distinguendorum negotiorũ Episcopis Sanctis iuxta Diualia Constituta permiserunt: non autem Episoporum Villici extiterunt: Emperours *by their Commissions vnder their great Seales, haue granted vnto Bishops authority to heare causes, but they themselues were neuer Stewards or Basliffes vnto Bishops.* One of your owne late Doctors saith: Papa habet gladium (Ciuilem) ex Commissione & permissione Principis: *The Pope hath the* Temporall Sword or Ciuill iurisdiction, *by the Commission and Sufferance of the Prince.* Therefore it seemeth great folly to say, The Prince hath his Sword or Iurisdiction only by the Commission of the Pope. *Citatur ab Illyrico inter testes veritat. pa. 102 Ioh. de Parisijs. De potestate Regia, cap. 19.*

Your

Extra. de Maiorit. & Obed. Vnã Sanctam. In Gloss.

Dist. 96. Cum ad Verum. In Gloss. 22 quæst. 4. Quæsitum.

Dist. 96. Cum ad verum. In Glossa.

Ceremon. lib. 1. Section 5. ca. 7.

Bernardus De Considerat li. 2

Your own Barbarous Glosse saith: Imperator in Temporalibus habet Potestatem a solo Deo. Et imperium fuit antequam Apostolatus esset: *The* Emperour *in Temporall things hath his authority (*not from the Pope, but*) from God onely. And the Empire was, before the Apostles were.* Againe: Imperator non habet gladium à Papa, sed Imperium est à solo Deo: *The* Emperour *hath not his Sword of the* Pope: *but the Emperour is only from God.* Againe: Ex sola electione Principum, dico, verum esse Imperatorem, antequam confirmetur a Papa: *I say, that the* Emperour *is a very right and perfect* Emperour, *by the only Election of the Princes, yea, before he be confirmed by the Pope.*

What shall wee nede moe witnesses? Your very Ceremoniary of Rome saith thus: Hoc affirmamus, ante Carolum Magnum, neminem Imperij Romani Coronam ex Manu Romani Pontificis Romæ suscepisse: *Thus we say, that before the* Emperor Charles *the Great (that is, for the space of eight hundred yeeres after Christ) no man euer receiued the Crowne of the Roman Empire at Rome, by the hands of the Bishop of Rome.* S. Bernard hereof thus writeth vnto the Pope: Esto, vt alia quacunque ratione hoc tibi vendices: non tamen Apostolico iure: Nec illud tibi dare, quod non habuit, Petrus potuit: *Be it, that ye claime this right by some other meanes: yet by the Apostles right ye cannot claime it: neither could* Peter *giue you that right, that he himselfe neuer had.*

The Emperour receiueth his power of the Pope.

Paralipomena Vrspergen. in Ludouico 4.

Ioh. Maior. 4. Sentent. Dist. 20. qua. 2.

Ioh. de Parisijs, de potest. Regia & Papali, ca. 5.

Ioh. Paris. cap. 11.

Dist. 98. Si Imperator. in Glos.

Lupoldus de Iurib. Regni & Imp. in Proœ.

Extra. De Foro competen. c. Licet.

Ioh. de Parisijs De Potest. Regia & Papali, cap. 5.

The Emperour by his Decrees saith: Mea Potestas non pendet à Papa, sed à Deo immediatè. Et vanum est, quod dici solet, Papam non habere Superiorem: *My Power hangeth not of the Pope, but immediatly of God alone. And it is but a peeuish vaine tale that they say, the Pope hath no Superior.* Iohannes Maior saith: Bonifacius Octauus multum apparenter definiuit, quòd Romanus Pontifex est supra Reges in Temporalibus: quod tamen oculatissimi Theologi dicunt esse falsum: Pope Bonifacius *the eigth, hath concluded with great shew of reason, that euen in Temporall causes, the Pope is aboue Kings. But I may tell you, the* Wisest diuines *say, it is but a false tale.* Iohannes de Parisijs saith: In Temporalibus, potestas Sæcularis maior est potestate Spirituali, nec, quoad ista, est ei subiecta in aliquo: *In Temporall causes, the Temporall power is greater then the Spirituall power, and touching the same, is not subiect to it in any point.* Againe he saith: Si Imperator habet potestatem suam immediatè à Papa, Ergo, Imperator est Minister Papæ: *If the Emperour receiue his power immediatly from the Pope, then is the Emperour the Popes Seruant.*

All these authorities notwithstanding, the Pope himselfe saith of himselfe, *The Emperour hath no Right nor Authority, but only of me.* And touching the last Obiection of Parisiensis, that the Emperour should be the Popes Seruant, he thinketh it may be well admitted without any great inconuenience. For thus saith one of his Priuie Councell: Iste Romanus Imperator, est Procurator & Defensor Romanæ Ecclesiæ: *This Romane Emperour is (*nothing else, but*) the Proctour and Steward of the Church of Rome.* Cardinall Hostiensis saith: Imperator est Feudatarius Romanæ Ecclesiæ: *The Emperour is a Vassall or a Feeldman of the Church of Rome.* And Pope Innocentius saith: Imperator tenet Imperium à Papa. Vnde tenetur præstare Papæ iuramentum Homagij, scilicet, quod Vasallus præstare solet Domino suo: *The Emperour holdeth his Empire of the Pope. And therefore he is bound to sweare Homage and Fealty to the Pope, as the Vassall is bound to his Lord.* I thinke, the Pope will desire to haue no more. The Emperour is brought to bee his man.

Likewise saith Iohannes de Parisijs: Dicunt, quòd Solus Papa est Verus Dominus Temporalium: Ita vt possit auferre ab alio, quod aliâs suum est: & tenet factum eius, licèt peccet. Sed Prælati cæteri, & Principes, non sunt Domini, sed Tutores, Procuratores, & Dispensatores: *They say, that only the Pope is the right Lord of Temporall possessions: so, that hee may put any man from his owne. And although he offend in so doing, yet his doing taketh place. As for other Bishops and Princes they be not Lords, but Ouerseers, Bayliffes, and Stewards.*

Auentinus, lib. 6. pag. 636.

Therefore Pope Adrian namely thus aduanced himselfe aboue the Emperour Fredericus 1. Imperator per nos imperat: Vnde habet Imperium, nisi a nobis? Ecce in potestate nostra est, vt demus illud cui volumus: propterea constituti sumus à Deo super Gentes, & Regna: vt destruamus, & euellamus, & ædificemus, & plantemus: *By meane of vs the* Emperour is Emperour: *For whence hath he his Empire, but of vs? Behold it is in our hand to bestow the Empire vpon whom wee list. And to that end are we placed by God, ouer Nations and Kingdomes: that we should destroy and plucke vp, and build, and plant.* Such proud vants the Pope maketh of himselfe, without either shame of the World, or feare of God.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. diuision 9.

Which of the Ancient learned Fathers, with so precise and Mathematicall limitation, euer surueied, and determined you to be seuenty and seuen times greater then the Mightiest Kings.

M. Harding.

M. Harding.

Clemens Com. Apost. l. 2. c. 34. Nazianzen. Ad pop. Nazianz. De Maior. & Obed. Solite.

Some merry fellow or other, which thought he might be bold to speake Mathematically, so he kept himselfe within compasse, & without iust reprehension. For whereas the Spirituall power is far passeth the Temporali, as the Soule doth excel the Body, & the Heauens surmount the Earth, as S. Clement saith, & Gregory Nazianzene: * you should not so greatly be offended with the seuenty & seuen times greater dignity, & we need not condemne him as an Heretike, which would be pleasant in his allegorisme, especially Iohannes Andreæ in the same place referring the matter to the Astronomers.

A pleasant Mathematicall Diuinity.

* By this reason euery simple poore parish Priest is seuenty and seuen times greater then the Emperour.

Ioban. Andreæ. Clemens.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Some Merry fellow, I warrant you, ye say. And thus, now in mirth, now in sadnesse, ye haue of long time mockt the World, and forced Kings and Emperors to be your slaues. As for your New Doctors, Iacke of Andrew, and Sir Clement, as you euermore call him, the Apostles fellow, we weigh them none otherwise, then they be worthy. But, touching Gregorie Nazianzene, it is true that he saith: *The Truth and Might of Gods Word infinitely passeth all Worldly power.* But, what maketh all this for the Pope, that wallowteth only in his Temporalities and worldly cares, and as wel in Preaching Gods Word, and Ministring the Sacraments, as also in other Spirituall exercises, is as farre inferiour to any meane Priest, as the Earth is inferiour to the Heauens?

The Pope aboue the Emperor.

Ioh. de Parisijs, cap. 11.

Howbeit, that it may appeare, what prety Mirth ye haue made therewith, one of your owne fellowes saith thus: Ecclesiastici debent iudicare per contemptibiles, id est, per Laicos, Secundùm tenorem, & debitum Terreni Iuris: *The Ecclesiasticall Officers or Bishops ought to iudge by them that be vile and contemptible, that is to say, by the Lay Magistrates, according to the tenour and order of the* Temporall Law. Heere in your Mirth and pleasance, in comparison of your selues, ye call Princes and Temporall Magistrates, Vile and Contemptible, and so would ye haue them regarded among the people.

Ioh. de Parisijs, cap. 11.

Againe, ye say, Patet Regnum, siue Regimen Regale non esse acceptum à Deo. Sed ipsum solum permisit indignatus. Et magis esset acceptum Deo, quòd per solum Papam Mundus in omnibus regeretur: *It is plaine, that the state of* kingdome or kingly gouernment *came not from God, for God only suffered it in his anger. And it were more acceptable vnto God, that the whole World were in all things gouerned by the Pope alone.* It were good, yee should tell vs, whether ye speake this onely in Mirth and Game, or else in earnest and good sadnesse.

Isidorus in Glos. in Genesim.

Ioh. de Parisijs, cap. 4.

Verily, when ye so proudly compare the Pope to the Sunne, and the Emperour to the Moone, your meaning is, that as the Moone hath no light, but only from the Sunne, so the Emperour hath no authority, but only, that he receiueth from the Pope. Notwithstanding, in this comparison, Isidorus, your owne Doctour saith, ye are foulely ouerséene. For thus he writeth: Per Solem intelligitur Regnum, & per Lunam intelligitur Sacerdotium: *By the* Sunne, *is meant* Kingly Dignity, *and by the* Moone, *is meant* Priesthood. Now therefore Iacke Andrew, your merry man, by this reckoning may cast your accounts backward, and say, The Emperor *is seuenty and seuen times greater then the* Pope.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision. 10.

Which of the Ancient Fathers euer said, that more ample authority is giuen to you, then to the residue of the Patriarkes?

M. Harding.

* The Fathers of the Nicene Councell, by witnesse of S. Iulius the first, who then liued, and those of the Councel of Sardica, * Athanasius, and the Bishops of Ægypt, Thebaida, and Lybia, and the Fathers of certaine other Councels.

Aboue al other most specially the first Christian Emperour (a) Constantine the Great. Who being fully instructed of the most godly and learned Bishops of his time, (a) what authoritie the Successour of Peter, had by (a) commission of our Sauiour Christ, thought good by his (a) Emperiall Commandement and Decree, to confirme, ratifie, and for his owne person to yeeld vnto (b) blessed Sylvester then Pope, and to his Successours Bishops of Rome, the same authority and Superiority, not only ouer Bishoppes, and Patriarkes, but also Power and Honour, higher and greater, then that of Kings and Emperours. The words of (c) his solemne decree in that behalfe made, are these, which as they are found in sundry other Greeke writers, so most plainely in (d) Matthæus Hieromonachus: Θεσπίζομεν σύμπαντα τοῖς σατεφάπαις καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας τὸν Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ διάδηλον τοῦ κορυφαίου τῆδ᾽ ἀποστόλου, καὶ κυρίου μου πέτρου, πλείονα τὴν βασιλείας ἴσχειν ἐξουσίαν κατὰ πάσων τῶν διεκυμάνων, καὶ παρὰ πάντων πολλῷ πλέον ἢ τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶσθαι καὶ σέβεσθαι, κεκελεύκατ᾽ εἶναι τῶν πεσόντων παντελῆ ἀφεσιν, κείνδαίνα πορεύεσθαι καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι τὸν τῆ ὀρθοδόξῳ συμβαίνοντα πίστει. Which in our mother tongue is this much to say. We giue in decree and commandement to all Lords, and to the Senate of our Empire, that the Bishop of Rome, & the Successor of S. Peter chief of the Apostles, haue authority & power in al the World more than that of the Empire is, & that he be honoured & worshipped more then the Emperor, and

(a) Vntruths, without any word or shew of truth.

(b) Vntruth. For Sylvester was dead long before these matters are imagined to be done.

(c) This solemne Decree is nothing else, but a solemne follie.

(d) For shame: hath the Pope none other Record to proue his Charter by, but only one poore, hungrie, forged Grecian, that neuer saw Rome?

and that he be Head of the foure Patriarchal Seates, and that things apperraining to the right Faith bee of him iudged & determined. Iustinian the Emperour likewise made an expresse decree, that the most Holy Pope of the elder Rome or these be his very words) be taken according to the determination of the Holy Councels, to be the (e) first and principall of all Bishops. It were not hard to alleg̃e much more for proofe heereof, of good and sufficient authority, but in a matter not doubtfull this may suffice.

(e) First, and principall in Councels, wee confesse: but Lord and Master of all other Patriarkes, that would bee proued.

Constantines Donation.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This is a follie of all follies. Yet is there no folly so great, but by words, and countenance it may be maintained. It shameth me to bestow words herein: and so much the more, for that you say, the case is so cleere, and out of doubt. I assure you, M. Harding, of al other your innumerable Louanian Vanities, concerning the practise of the Church, and story of time, this one Vanity is the Vainest.

But lest any man by simplicity or ignorance should be deceiued, not vnderstanding the Mysteries of this Donation or Chartar, by the iudgement of your owne Doctours, the meaning thereof is this: Volunt aliqui, quòd ratione huius Doni, Papa est Imperator, & dominus Mundi: & quòd potest Reges instituere, & destituere, sicut Imperator: *Some thinke, that by force and vertue of this* Donation, *the* Pope *is the* Emperor, *and the* Lord *of the world. And that heereby he hath Power both to set vp, and also to put downe* Kings *as an* Emperour. Therefore I cannot blame you, M. Harding, for that you stand so stiffely to this Donation. For if ye lose this, ye lose the Empire of the World.

Ioh. de Parisijs de Potestate Regia. cap. 22.

The fable hereof is so puerish, that the wisest and best learned of your very friends, Platina, Cardinall Cusanus, Marsilius Patauinus, Laurentius Valla, Antoninus Florentinus, Otho Frisingensis, Hieronymus, Paulus Catalanus, Volaterranus, Nauclerus, Capnion, Mullinæus, and others, haue openly reproued it vnto the World, and haue written against it, and are much ashamed of your follies.

Nicolaus Cusan. de Concordantia Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 2.

And to allege one in stead of many, Cardinall Cusanus hereof hath written thus: Donationem Constantini diligenter expendens, reperi ex ipsamet Scriptura manifesta argumenta Confictionis & Falsitatis: *Aduisedly weighing this* Donation, or Grant of Constantine, (whereby the Pope claimeth all his Temporall Power) *euen in the penning thereof, I finde manifest tokens of Falshood and Forgery.*

Nicol. Cusan. eodem loco.

Againe he saith: Sunt, meo iudicio, illa de Constantino, Apocrypha: Sicut etiam fortassis quædam alia longa, & magna Scripta Sanctis, Clementi & Anacleto Papæ ascripta. Ipsæ enim Epistolæ, applicatæ ad tempus illorum Sanctorum, seipsas produnt: *By my iudgement these Charters of* Constantine *are forged: as perhaps are also other long and great Letters, that beare the name of* S. Clement, *and* Pope Anacletus. *For the Letters themselues applied vnto the time of these Holy Fathers, betray themselues.*

Dist. 98. Constantinus.

Againe the same Grant of Constantine, euen in Gratian the Popes owne Register, is found only in the Palea, and not in the Originall allowed Text. And in many old bookes that haue no Glosse it is not found. And in the Glosse vpon the same it is noted thus: Palea ista non legitur in Scholis: in qua continetur Priuilegium, quod Constantinus concessit Romanæ Ecclesiæ: Scilicet, vt Primatum inter omnes Ecclesias obtineret: This patch *is not read in the Schooles: wherein is contained the priuiledge, that* Constantinus the Emperor *granted to the* Church of Rome, *that is to say, that the said Church should haue the Soueraignty ouer all Churches.*

Gloss. eod. loco

Pius 2. in Dial.

And to put the matter out of doubt, euen Pope Pius himselfe thereof saith thus: Dicta palea Constantinus, falsa est: *The said patch, that so beginneth* Constantinus, is starke false. Heere, M. Harding, the Pope himselfe telleth you, that your Donation, whereby the Pope holdeth his Kingdome, and Triple Crowne, is nothing else but a false forgery, craftily clowted vp by some of your Parasites, for the purpose. Whereunto Felinus your Canonist addeth these words: Et inuehit contra miseros Legistas, qui laborant in disputando an valuerit id, quod nunquam fuit: *And the same* Pope Pius *rageth earnestly against the poore Lawyers, for that they take such paines to reason, whether that thing may be good, and auailable in Law, that neuer was made.*

Felin. de Maiorit. & Obed. Solit. Colum. 3.

And againe, the same Doctours, that would seeme most friendly and honourably to speake of this Donation, by their owne iudgement, do quite condemne it. For thus they say: In Donatione illa audita est Vox Angelorum in aëre dicentium, Hodie Venenum effusum est in Ecclesiam: *At the time of the Confirming and passing of this* Donation, *there was a voice of Angels heard in the aire, saying, This day poison is powred into the Church.* Thus you see, notwithstanding your Donation were good and true, yet by the testimony of the Angels of Heauen, it were nothing else, but the poison and destruction of the Church of God. Briefly to touch some part of the Contents and Substance of the same, the foolish Body that forged it, was so simple and void of wit, that he knew not whether Constantinople stood in the East from Rome, or in the North: Whether Byzance, were a Citie

In vita Syluest Iohan de Parisijs, cap. 22.

or

or a Countrie: Whether the Emperiall Diademe, were made of Silke or of Gold. Hee telleth a tale of the Patriarke of Constantinople, that he should be boner and buxum to the Bishop of Rome, and yet at that time, when, as he imagineth, the Grant was made, the City of Constantinople, was not builded, nor any such name as yet knowen in the world. Now consider also what a speciall grace this Clerke hath in the Latine tongue. These be his flowers: Signa & Banna: Decernere disponenda: Concedere permanenda: Licentiam dare: Equos equitare, &c. And Clericare in his language, is good Latine to make Priests. This is such Latine, as, I will not say, Constantine himselfe, but Constantines Cooke would neuer haue spoken.

Constantines Donation.

And yet is the Marginall Glosse hereupon, as good, and as substantiall as the Text. For whereas the text saith: Contradimus Beato Syluestro phrygium nostrum, id est, mitram: *We deliuer vnto* Blessed Syluester our phrygium, that is to say, our miter, there shall you finde this piety note in the Margin: Nota quòd Phrygium factum est ex pennis pauonum: *Marke well, that this* Phrygium, *or Miter, was made of a Peacockes taile.* No doubt a worthy gift for an Emperour: and a meet Miter for a Pope. All these things, M. Harding, you know to be true: and yet haue you a pen and a mouth to defend them. But, as I said before, it shameth me in so childish a fable to stand so long.

Concil. Tom. 1. pag. 227. Phrygium.

As for your Greeke Doctour Hieromonachus, he shall bee stalled together with your Clemens, Leontius, Amphilochius, and otherlike your worthy and weighty Doctours. For shame, what should ye bring vs this one seely poore Greeke witnesse, whose name ye neuer heard before, to testifie of Grants and Conueiances made in Rome? Can your Pope finde out neither Councell, nor Doctour, nor Father, nor any other Writer of likely record, to helpe him in so great a case, but onely one poore rascall Grecian, that knew no more of the matter, then you your selues? It bewraieth the nakednesse of your cause. He that durst so leaudly to falsifie such a Grant, thereby to intrude himselfe into the possession of the Empire, would not blush to falsifie some beggarly Witnesse, to auouch the same.

Now where ye would seeme to say, The other foure Patriarkes stood euermore at the Commandement of the Bishop of Rome: not only the said three Patriarkes which neuer neither yeelded, nor knew any such obedience, but also the generall practise of the World will soone reproue you.

Nilus a Greeke Writer saith: Vt liquidiùs appareat, Papam non imperare alijs omnibus Episcopis, legatur Sextus Canon Synodi Nicenæ, quo diserte præcipitur, vt alijs Ecclesijs Alexandrinus, alijs Romanus, alijs Antiochenus præsit: Vt non liceat alteri, alterius prouinciam inuadere: *That it may well and plainely appeare, that the* Pope *hath no* power *or* gouernment *ouer all other Bishops, read the Sixth Canon of the* Nicene Councell. *There it is expresly commanded that the Bishop of* Alexandria, *shall haue the rule ouer certaine Churches, and the Bishop of* Rome *ouer certaine, and the Bishop of* Antioch *likewise ouer certaine: And that it shall not be lawfull for any one of them to inuade the Iurisdiction of another.*

Nilus. De Primatu Romani Pontificis. καὶ ἀτ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων δῆλον.

The Emperour Iustinian saith: Ecclesia Vrbis Constantinopolitanæ Romæ Veteris Prærogatiua lætatur: *The Church of the* City of Constantinople *enioyeth now the Prerogatiue of* Rome the elder. Nicephorus saith: Romano & Constantinopolitano Episcopo ex æquo paria sunt & dignitatis præmia & honorum iura: *The title of dignity and right of honour giuen to the Bishop of* Rome, *and the Bishop of* Constantinople, are one and equall. So likewise it was determined by Decree in the Councell of Constantinople: Definimus Sedi Constantinopolitanæ paria Iura, & Priuilegia cum Sede Veteris Romæ: *We Decree that the See of Constantinople shall haue rights and priuileges equal with the See of Old Rome.* Now consider well this matter, M. Harding. If the Patriarke of Constantinople were the Popes Equall, how was he his Subiect? If he were his Subiect, how was he his Equall? Ye shall hardly force these things to frame together. Therefore, as it is said before, Gennadius, together with the Councell of Constantinople, wrote thus vnto the Bishop of Rome: Curet Sanctitas tua Vniuersas tuas Custodias, vbique Subiectos Episcopos: *Let your Holinesse see vnto all your owne Cures, and to the Bishops that be subiect vnto you.*

Cod. de Sacrosan. Eccl. omni innouatione. Nicephorus li. 12. cap. 13. Concil. Constant. 2. cap. 36. τὸν ἴσον πρεσβεῖον. *Gennadius ad omnes Metropolitanos, & ad Papam Rom.*

S. Cyprian, Cyrillus, Athanasius, and others, writing either of, or vnto the Bishop of Rome, cal him, not their Lord and Master, vnto whom of duty they ought Obedience, but their Brother, and their Fellow Seruant. Yea the Pope himselfe, in some cases hath rather offered his Obedience vnto other Bishops. For thus writeth Pope Liberius vnto Athanasius the Bishop of Alexandria: Quæso vt huic Confessioni subscribas, vt ego securior efficiar, & tua mandata inhæsitanter obeam: *I beseech thee to subscrib to this* Confession *that I may be out of doubt*, and may doe your Commandements without grudging. Yet now the Bishop of Rome, to maintaine his Title by a Writ of Right, forasmuch as the foure Principall Patriarkes of the World haue forsaken him, appointeth out foure of his ordinarie

Cypr. ad Cornelium. Athanasius ad Epi. Aphrican. Epistol. Liberij ad Athanasium.

The Pope is God.

ordinary Chaplaines, and giueth them the names of foure Patriarkes: The first for Constantinople: the second for Alexandria: the third for Antioch: the fourth for Hierusalem. And thus hauing these foure at commandement, in his pleasant fansie, hee ruleth and gouerneth the whole world. In such a solemne brauerie, the great Cham of Tartary at this day, after he hath dined himselfe, soundeth out a Trumpet, and giueth all the Kings and Emperours of the World leaue to goe to dinner: and in this imagination and follity, he continueth his claime to the possession of all the World, euen by as good right and title, as doth the Pope. And whensoeuer the Pope himselfe, in his owne person, openly and solemnly saith his Masse, he commandeth the Gospell and Epistle to be read in Greeke. Whereupon his owne Master of Ceremonies, saith thus: Hanc Consuetudinem hinc ortam puto, vt appareat Romanam Ecclesiam in se continere vtramque Gentem: *Heereof, I thinke, this Custome first proceeded, that heereby it may appeare, that the* Church of Rome containeth in it both Nations, as well Greekes as Latines.

Ceremon. lib. 3. cap. 7.

All this notwithstanding, Antoninus saith, Hoc Græci non credunt: *For all this, the Greekes beleeue it not.*

Anton. in Summa. part. 3. tit. 22. cap. 6.

The obiections of Iustinian, and of the Councell of Sardica, are answered in my Former Replie to M. Harding.

Art. 4. Diui. 8.

Art. 4. Diui. 7.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision II.

Which of the Ancient Holy Fathers euer called you Lord and God?

M. Harding.

None that wise is, so speaketh absolutely: neuertheless in some certaine sense, * S. Clement calleth euery Bishop, *Terrenum quendam Deum*, a certaine earthly God, as it is written, *I haue said, ye are Gods, &c.

* A vaine forgery.

* These words are spoken of Princes and Magistrates.

Hieron. in Daniel. cap. 3.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

So that ye make not the Pope an Absolute God, ye thinke, ye may otherwise call him God safely and without preiudice. A proper shift to maintaine a vaine man in the possession of his Godhead. In such a pleasant imagination Antiochus sometime the King of Syria, entituled himselfe by the name of God. So the Emperour Domitian vsed to assigne his Proclamations: Dominus Deus vester Domitianus: *Our Lord God* Domitian. So the Emperour Caligula called himselfe, Deum Optimum Maximum, & Iouem Latialem: *The best, and most mighty God, and the great* God Iuppiter of Italy: So Sapores the great King of Persia, called himselfe Fratrem Solis & Lunæ: *The Brother of the* Sunne, *and the* Moone: So the peuish Physician Menecrates called himselfe Iupiter: So Nicostratus called himselfe Hercules: So Nicagoras made himselfe a paire of wings, and would needs be called the God Mercurius: So Manichæus the heretike called himselfe the Holy Ghost: So the Romans in old times erected vp an Image in the honour of Simon Magus the Sorcerer, with this Inscription or Posie: Simoni Sancto Deo: *In the honour of* Simon the holy God. By this your so handsome Distinction, M. Harding, of God Absolute, and God not Absolute, I see not, but euery of these might wel and safely haue maintained his title without blame.

Ἀντόχος ὁ θεός.

Suetonius in Domitiano.

Suetonius. Pompon. Lætus. Athenæus, li. 7. Chrys. de Spiritu Sancto. August. contra Faustum. lib. 13. cap. 17. Euse. li. 2. ca. 13. Dist. 96. Satis euidenter.

Certainely in this arrogant vanity, scarcely any of al these was euer comparable to the Pope. Pope Nicolas saith: Constat Summum Pontificem, à pio Principe Constantino Deum appellatum: *It is well knowen that the* Pope, *of the godly Prince* Constantine, *was called* God. Likewise the Pope was wel content to suffer one of his Parasites to say vnto him in the late Councell of Lateran: Tu es alter Deus in Terris: *Thou art another* God *in Earth.* Likewise Cardillus the Spaniard in Defense of the Popes late Chapter at Trident, oftentimes calleth the Pope, Terrenum Deum: An earthly God. By the same stile and right, whereby Holophernes sometime said: Nabuchodonosor est Deus Terræ: Nabuchodonosor *is the* God *of the Earth.*

Christop. Marcell. in Concil. Latera. Sess. 4. Cardillus pro Concil. Trid. Iudith. 5.

Upon the Popes owne Clementines, ye shal find the matter thus taken vp, and qualified with great indifferencie and modesty, and thus specially noted in the Margin: * Papa nec Deus est, nec Homo. And to leaue other his like blasphemous and fond stiles, in another like Glosse, ye shall finde it written thus: Credere Dominum Deum nostrum Papam non potuisse statuere, prout statuit, Hæreticum censeretur: *To beleeue that* Our Lord God the Pope *might not decree, as he decreed, it were a matter of Heresie.* Heere haue we found by expresse and plaine words, euen in the Popes owne authenticall and allowed Booke, Our Lord God the Pope.

* The Pope is neither God nor man. Our Lord God the Pope.

Extrau. Iob. 22. Cum inter in Glossa. Impress. Lugduni, An. 1555. Paris. an 1513

These things might seeme vncredible, had not S. Paul foretold vs, that the Man of Sinne should sit in the Temple of God, and shew himselfe as if he were God. S. Gregory writing of Antichrist, saith thus: Cùm sit damnatus Homo, & nequaquam Spi-

2. Thess. 2. Gregor. in Iob. ca. 34. lib. 25. cap. 20.

ritus

ritus, Deum se esse mentitur: *Whereas he is a damned man and not a Spirit, by lying he faineth himselfe to be God.* Anselmus saith: Simulabit se Religiosum, vt subspecie decipiat Pietatis: Imò, se Deum esse dicet: & se Adorari faciet: atque Regna Cœlorum promittet: Antichrist *shall faine himself to be Holy, that he may deceiue men vnder the Colour of Holinesse, Yea and he shall call himselfe* God: *and shall cause himselfe to be worshipped: and shall promise the Kingdome of Heauen.* Now tell vs, M. Harding, who euer did, or attempted to doe these things, but onely the Pope? *Anselmus in 2. Thessalon. 1.*

Eusebius saith: Hoc est Argumentum, eos odisse Deum, quòd velint seipsos appellari Deos: *This is a token that they hate God, for they will that haue themselues called by the name of* God. *Euseb. de Præparation. lib. 7.*

Likewise saith the Ancient Father Irenæus: Antichristus existens Apostata & Latro, quasi Deus vult adorari: & cùm sit Seruus, Regem se vult præconiari: Antichrist *being a Renegate, and a Theefe, yet will bee Worshipped as a* God: *and being but a Slaue, yet hee will bee Proclaimed and Published as a King.* Therefore although the Pope bee not, as you say, an Absolute God, or an Absolute Christ, yet without any great inconuenience I trow, he may well be an Absolute Antichrist. Δοκῶν τὰ τῶν θεοχθρίας, τὰ δίκαια σφετερίσασθαι θεὸς ἀναγορευόμενος.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision 12.

Which of the Ancient Holy Fathers euer said, that you are not a meere Naturall Man, but a certaine Substance made, and growne together of God and Man?

M. Harding.

Can you bring him before his face that shal say so vnto him: I warrant you (Master Defender) he shal either be reproued for his flattering, or proued to vnderstand no more by it then a *certaine diuine power aboue the naturall state of men, * or warned that he be more circumspect in his Glossing, when Heretikes are ready to slander the whole Church, because of one priuate mans affection.

A faint excuse.
* A certaine Diuine power in the Pope.
* A sore punishment for open Blasphemie.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

He that may call himselfe Lord and God, may easily Claime himselfe to be more then a Man. In the Popes owne Decretals it is noted thus in the Margin: Papa non est Homo: The Pope is not a Man. Your Glosse vpon the Popes owne Clementines allegeth these words out of one of your allowed Poets: Papa stupor Mundi: *The Pope is the wonder of the World.* And againe: Nec Deus es, nec Homo: quasi neuter es inter vtrunque: *Thou art neither God, nor Man: In a maner thou art neither of both, but rather a meane betweene both.* *In Sext. de Electione, & Electi. Fundamenta. In Glossa. Clemen. in Proœmio. In Gloss.*

By the Authority of this Doctour it appeareth, that the Pope is neither God, nor Man. Angel, I trow, he is not. What other Creature yee may make of him, I leaue to you, further to consider. But bring him foorth (ye say) that thus hath spoken. Bring him before the Popes face, that he may be punished. For he shall be warned, as he is, to be more circumspect in his Glossing. So cruelly, M. Harding, ye punish, and torment, and crucifie them that enleaffe a poore miserable sinfull creature with the glorious name of God Immortall.

The Apology, Chap. 6. Diuision 13.

Which of the Ancient Fathers euer said, that you are the onely Head-spring of all Lawes.

M. Harding.

Whosoeuer saith it, speaketh not without euident reason, considering that of the principall of euery gouernment all lawes belonging to the same be deducted and deriued.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here haue you brought vs a ful simple reason, as God knoweth. But to haue brought vs some Authority of Doctor, or Councell it had bene better. We haue no doubt of your pretty reasons. We demanded only, Which of the Ancient Fathers euer said so?

The Apologie, Chap. 6. diuision, 14.

Which of the Ancient Fathers euer said, that you haue Power ouer Purgatory.

M. Harding.

* No doubt it were a worthy matter. Wisely.

* O that ye would first beleeue a Purgatorie, & then should ye vnderstand what dispensation of loosing and binding is committed to the Vicar of Christ. For, as Elay saith, Except ye beleeue, ye shall not vnderstand: and the consequent Doctrine must needs bee obscure, as long as the principall ground thereof is wickedly denied.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Of your Purgatory fantasies wee haue sufficiently said before. Where yee wish wee would beleeue there is a Purgatorie, verily we beleeue constantly whatsoeuer God hath willed vs to beleeue. S. Paul saith: *Faith commeth by hearing: Hearing commeth by the* Word of God: and thereby onely is Faith directed. As for your Follies and Mockeries, they are subiect to Fansie, and not to Faith. S. Augustine saith: Nemo de Christo credat, nisi quòd de se credi voluit Christus: *Let no man beleeue of Christ, but that that Christ hath commanded him to beleeue of Christ.* Againe he saith: Constat Fidem stultam non prodesse, sed potiùs obesse: *It is certaine that* Foolish Faith *doth no good, but rather hurteth.* Notwithstanding, though all your Lists and gainefull Territories of Purgatorie were fully granted, yet should it be very hard for you to proue, either by Scripture, or by Doctour, that the Pope beareth any greater Authority or Sway there, to command in or out at his pleasure, then any other simple Priest. Albeit one of your allowed Doctors saith: Purgatorium est peculium Papæ: *Purgatorie is the peculiar possession of the* Pope. I trow, as being a College onely of his owne Foundation.

Roman 10.

Aug. de Tempore. Serm. 145 Feria 3. Paschat.

Aug. in quæstionibus Veteris Test. quæst. 43.

Angelus Parisiensis.

The Popes Power ouer the Angels of God.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuision. 15.

Which of the Ancient Fathers euer said, that you are able to Command the Angels of God **as ye list your selfe?**

M. Harding.

* Vntruth, manifest, as shall appeare.

Nor old Father, * nor new Doctour. And whatsoeuer he be that shall so tell you, beleeue him not. He speaketh not Catholikely: and you must make no scruple in such matters.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Heere at last, M. Harding, for shame ye are faine to yéeld. No Doctor (ye say) euer thus said, neither Old, nor New. Howbeit, hereto ye haue laid a very good exception, with a speciall sauing: If any man haue so said (say ye) whatsoeuer he were, he spake not Catholikely. And yet againe ye tell vs further, Howsoeuer it be, we should neuer be scrupulous in such Matters.

But what if the Pope himselfe the Father of all Fathers, and Doctor of al Doctors, both New and Old, haue not blushed to say the same? May we say as you say, The Pope himselfe was not Catholike? Or if we so say, will you beleeue it?

Herodotus.

Indeed King Xerxes, the great King of Persia, when hee had brought ouer his huge Armie into Græcia, sent out his letters of defiance vnto the great Mount Athos, that is in Macedonia, and commanded him to stand still, and not to stirre a foot, nor to worke any displeasure, either to himselfe, or to his Armie, vpon paine of his high indignation. Euen by like Authoritie, and with as good discretion, the Pope hath vsed to send out his Precepts and Princely Summons, and to command Angels, Archangels, and all the Powers of Heauen to come, to goe, to fetch, to carrie, and to be ready to doe his will. Therefore is he the better content to heare his frends tell him thus: Tibi data est omnis Potestas super omnes Potestates, tam Cœli, quam Terræ: Qui totum dicit, nihil excludit: *To thee is giuen all manner of Power, aboue all Powers, as well of Heauen, as of Earth. He that saith,* All, *excepteth not hing.*

In Conc. Lateran. sub Leone 10. Sessio. 10.

Extra. de Constitut. Statuta Conon. Felin.

Felinus your Doctor saith thus: Ne dum circa Cœlestia, Terrestria, & Infernalia Papa gerit Vicariatum Christi, sed etiam super Angelos Bonos & Malos: *The Pope hath Christs Lieutenantship, not onely ouer things in* Heauen, *ouer things in* Earth, *and ouer things in* Hell, *but also ouer the* Angels, both Good and Bad.

Felin. eod. loco.

Innocentius the Pope himselfe saith: Vicario Creatoris omnis Creatura Subiecta est: *Vnto the Creatours Lieutenant euery Creature is Subiect.* Your owne Doctor Antonius the Archbishop of Florence saith: Potestas Papæ maior est omni alia potestate creata, aliquo modo extendens se ad Cœlestia, Terrestria, & Infernalia: vt de ea verificari possit quod dictum est, Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius: *The* Popes Power *is greater then any other Power that God euer made: and after a sort stretcheth it selfe vnto things in* Heauen,

Anton. in Sum. par. 3. tit. 22. Cap. 5. ante §.

things

things in Earth, *and things in* Hell : *ſo that of that* Power, *the words may be verified that are written by the* Prophet Dauid, *Thou haſt made all things ſubiect to his feet.* Camotenſis ſaith: Papa Angelis præcipit, & Poteſtatem habet in Mortuos: *The* Pope *commandeth the* Angels (*of God*) *and hath Power ouer the Dead.* Gregorius Haimburgenſis ſaith : Vt terminis vtar ſuorum Adulatorum, Papa Angelis habet imperare : *To vſe the words of his Flatterers, The* Pope *hath* Power *to command the* Angels. Therefore if any man happen to die vpon the way, as he paſſeth in Pilgrimage towards Rome, Pope Clement 6. commandeth the Angels of God to be at hand, and to carrie his Soule immediately into Heauen.

Agrippa de vanitate Scientiarum.

Gregor. Haimburgen. in Appellation. Sigiſmundi Ducis Auſtriæ.

Hereto, and to all other the like, M. Harding ſaith, Theſe Popes, theſe Doctors, theſe Fathers, theſe Pages, theſe Paraſites, in theſe points were not Catholike.

Veſelus.

Notwithſtanding he ſaith further, If the Pope for his fancie take ſomewhat vpon him, and ſometimes be a little ouer bold with Gods Angels, to Command them, and Countermand them at his pleaſure, in ſuch caſes we ought not to be ouer ſcrupulous.

Agrip. de vanitat. Scientiar.

The Apologie, Chap. 6. Diuiſion 16.

Which of the Ancient Fathers euer ſaid, that you are the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings ?

The Pope King of Kings.

M. Harding.

He vſeth the cleane contrary Title, calling himſelfe, *Seruum Seruorum Dei*, the Seruant of the Seruants of God. Yet if he, for the largeneſſe of his Iuriſdiction, haue a number of Lords and Kings within his fold, although he himſelfe doth not boaſt of it, yet in a right good ſenſe that Title may be giuen to him.

In a right good ſenſe.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Notwithſtanding the Pope call himſelfe the King of Kings, and the Lord of Lords: Notwithſtanding he ſay, The Emperour is ſo farre inferiour vnto him, as the Moone is inferiour vnto the Sunne : Notwithſtanding he ſay, The Emperour is but his Bayliffe, his Steward, and his Man: Notwithſtanding he ſay, He hath power to ſet vp, and to put downe Kings and Emperours at his pleaſure: Yet ſaith M. Harding, All this may be ſpoken in right good ſenſe : for the Pope vſeth a cleane contrary Title, and calleth himſelfe, *Seruum Seruorum Dei*, The Seruant of Gods Seruants. Thus he thinketh it ſufficient to weigh matters only by Title, and not by Truth.

Extr. de Maioritat. & obedientia. Solita. Diſ. 98. Si Imperat. In Gloſſa. Auentinus in Adriano.

Howbeit, all this is but playing vnder a Viſard. The Diuell ſeldome sheweth his hornes, but rather changeth himſelfe into an Angell of Light. Touching this Title, as the Pope calleth himſelfe a Seruant, euen ſo doth the Emperour likewiſe abaſe himſelfe to the name of a Seruant. If ye doubt heereof, read your owne Gloſſe vpon your Decretals. The words there be theſe: Etiam Imperator ſeipſum appellat Seruum : Likewiſe againe the ſame Gloſſe ſaith : Papa ſe Seruum appellat, & Imperator vocat ſe Seruum Vltimum Eccleſiæ : *The* Pope *calleth himſelfe a* Seruant, *and the* Emperour *calleth himſelfe the* Vileſt Seruant *of the Church*

2. Corint. 11.

In Decret. Gregor. in Proœm. In Gloſſa. Extra de Prabend. & Dignitat. Ioh 22. Execrabilis. In Gloſſa.

All this is nothing elſe, but a politicke kind of diſſimulation and Hypocriſie. For if theſe be Seruants indeed, I pray you then who be the Lords?

Heruæus, one of your owne Doctors, heereof ſaith thus: Dicere, quòd talia dicunt Summi Pontifices ex Humilitate, eſt omninò pernicioſum. Et hoc eſt ponere os in Cœlum. Philoſophus dicit hoc eſſe peccatum Ironiæ, quod opponitur virtuti. Et addit, tales humiles non eſſe virtuoſos, ſed timidos, & blanditores. Et Auguſtinus ait, Cùm Humilitatis cauſa mentiris, ſi non eras Peccator antequam mentireris, mentiendo Peccator efficeris: *To ſay that the* Pope *ſpake theſe words of* Humility, *it were very hurtfull. And this is, To ſet the face againſt the Heauens.* Ariſtotle *ſaith, This is the ſinne of* Diſſimulation, *or* Hypocriſie, *which is contrary vnto vertue. And ſaith further, that* ſuch humble men are not vertuous, *but fearefull, and flattering. And* S. Auguſtine *ſaith, Whenſoeuer thou ſpeakeſt vntruth vnder the colour of* Humility, *if thou were not a Sinner before, yet by telling vntruth thou art made a Sinner.*

Iohan de Pariſijs. Cap 13. Augu. de Verbis Apoſtoli.

Good Reader, put off this painted Viſard : and vnder this vaine Title of Seruant of Seruants thou ſhalt find a Lord of Lords: and ſuch a Lord, ſo Lordlike, and ſo princely, as ſeldome thou ſhalt finde among the Heathens. For proofe heereof, thus the Pope himſelfe ſaith : *Neither* Emperour, *nor* King *may iudge the* Pope. And his reaſon is this: Non eſt Seruus ſupra Dominum : For the (Emperour being a) Seruant is not aboue (the Pope, that is) his Lord.

Epiſtola Nicolai Papæ. Inter Decreta Adriani Papæ.

Thus ye ſee, he that ſo humbly calleth himſelf the Seruant of Seruants, if ye touch him, or anger

Concil. Tom. 1. In purgatione Sixti.

anger him, will suddenly change himselfe into the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. For in these words he plainely and expresly calleth the Emperour the Seruant, and himselfe the Lord. And whatsoeuer be said to the contrary, verily the Popes Exposition must nedes be more Authenticall then M. Hardings.

He maketh the Emperour to hold his Stirrup: He maketh the Emperour to lead his Bridle: He maketh the Emperour to kisse his Fot: He maketh the Emperour to lie downe groueling, and setteth his fot on his Necke: And yet still calleth himselfe, The Seruant of Seruants. Few good Seruants will be so homely with their Masters. Doctour Bonner saith thus: *Notwithstanding the Pope be a very Rauening Wolfe, dressed in Sheepes clothing, yet he calleth himselfe,* The Seruant of Seruants.

Doct. Bonn in præfat. in libel. Stephan. Gardiner. De Vera Obedientia.

The Apologie, Chap. 7. diuision, 1.

VVE can also goe further with you in like sort. What one amongst the whole number of the Old Bishops and Fathers euer taught you, either to say Priuate Masse, whiles the people stared on, or to lift vp the Sacrament ouer your head, in which points consisteth now al your Religion? Or elsse to mangle Christs Sacraments, & to bereaue the people of the one part therof, contrary to Christs Institution, & plain expresse words? But that we may once come to an end, what one is there of all the Fathers which hath taught you to distribute Christs Blood, & the holy Martyrs Merits, & to sel openly your pardons, and al the roomes & lodgings of purgatorie, as a gainefull kind of merchandize.

The Popes Pardons.

M. Harding.

Your obiections of Priuate Masse, of lifting vp the blessed Sacrament, of ministring the Communion vnder one Kinde, be as common with you as Lice be with Beggars, & Lies with Heretikes. For indeed your questions be but beggarly and hereticall. Touching the same, I haue said(a) to much in my answer to M. Iewel your neerest friend, his Challenge, as heere to rehearse it again it is needlesse. You may seek it there. The Doctrine of Pardons I iudge verily you vnderstand not. Here is no oportunity to discusse it. The full treatise of the same requiring a long processe, may well to another time be differred. Of Purgatorie I haue said some deale heere before. These be the matters wherin you and your ignorant fellow Ministers gladly shew your vile railing, & scoffing eloquence. Yet concerning the Doctrine of Pardons, (b) lest I seeme to say nothing, thus much I haue thought good to say heere.

(a) Note that M. Harding in his said three Articles of answer to M. Iewell hath published three-score and nine great Vntruths.

(b) And all the same is lesse then nothing.

Artic. 1. 7.

Fol. 117.

In the Sacrament, as wel of Baptisme, as of Penance, al the bands of sinne are loosed, and the whole euerlasting paine due to sinne is forgiuen. At Baptisme no temporal paine is enioined to vs, because Christ most freely bestoweth the benefit of his death vpon vs at our first entry into the Church. (c) But if afterward we abuse his mercy, returning againe to filthy sin, Christ would our second, third, & al other reconciliations from thenceforth, to be with due satisfaction, not of his dreadfull anger, (which onely his Blood & the Sacrament of Penance, by due contrition & confession, in deed or in Vow receiued, is able to remooue) but with satisfaction of such temporal paine, as his merciful iustice required both of all others from the beginning, and (d) namely of King Dauid: To whom confessing his fault Nathan said, Our Lord hath put away thy sinne, thou shalt not die. Behold the forgiuenesse of the mortall sinne, and of the euerlasting paine due to the same. But yet so is it forgiuen, that wheal it is transferred into a temporal satisfaction. What was that? It followeth in the storie, that because Dauid through his aduoutrie and murder had caused the enemies of God to blaspheme his holy name, the childe borne of the wife of Vrias should surely die. And so it came to passe. If the death of a sonne be so grieuous a punishment to a good Father, that King Dauid was content to pray, to fast, to lie on the ground, afflicting him selfe seuen daies, only to trie whether he might, as it were by exchange, buy out this death of his sonne and yet so could not obtaine his desire: wee may be most certaine, that the very best friends of God, sinning after Baptisme (or Circumcision, which in the old Law stood in place thereof) must by ordinarie course satisfie with some temporall affliction that iust iudgement of our mercifull Maker and Redeemer, if farther grace be not found by some other way. This satisfaction hath bene therefore iustly called the third and last part of penance. Which if it be not fulfilled in this life, vndoubtedly it shall be straitly exacted in the world to come in the fire of Purgatory. For that sins may be in another world forgiuen to those who die not in the deadly bonds of them, (e) our Sauiour hath giuen vs to vnderstand, saying, That the sin against the Holy Ghost shal not be forgiuen, neither in this world, nor in the world to come: whereof it appeareth, that some other sins may be forgiuen in the world to come.

(c) A Doctrine full of sundry Blasphemies.

(d) King Dauid alleged for proufe of Pardons.

1. Reg. 12.

(e) Vntruth auouched vpon Christ. See the Answer.

Matth. 12.

Well, this satisfaction may notwithstanding be fulfilled more then one way. For a man being once by the Sacrament of Penance iustly reconciled to the mystical Body of Christ, which is his Church, wherin (as the Prophet saith) a faithful man is made partaker of al that feare God, & keepe his Commandements: we haue in that band of peace such an vnity of spirit communicated to vs al, that the defect of one may be in spiritual causes (f) supplied out of the plenty of al others his fellow members, according as the Apostle saith, (g) Beare eye one anothers burthens. And because the Head (which is Christ) is the chief member of all, & far more then al the rest, such influence is from him deriued thorowout his mystical Body, that euen his death may aswel inwardly by Charity, as outwardly by another way also be applied to vs for the pardoning of that temporal satisfaction, which after the Sacrament of Penance is left vnforgiuen. And that is by such Authority as Christ gaue to Peter, saying, To thee I wil giue the Keies of the kingdome of Heauen, & whatsoeuer thou bindest in Earth, it shal be bound also in Heauen, and

Psalm. 118.

(f) A follie passing all other follies.

Galath. 6.

(g) A text ful wisely applied to proue Pardons.

Matth. 16.

soeuer thou (h)looseſt in Earth, it ſhall be looſed in Heauen. Lo, whatſoeuer Peter looſeth in Earth, it ſhall be looſed in the ſight of God. If therefore the Pope, who ſucceedeth Peter, do by iuſt cauſe looſe, not only the mortall ſin by the Sacrament of Penance, but alſo the band of Temporall paine, which remaineth yet due to the ſin; it is vndoubted, that ſuch paine is looſed in the ſight of God. The cauſe of looſing muſt be not only the will of the Pope (who is put in authority to build, & not to deſtroy: to diſpenſe, & not to lauiſh) but a reaſonable change of recompence ſubſtituted in that behalfe, ſuch as appertaineth to the honor of God, or to the profit of ſoules: As maintaining war, & fighting againſt infidels for the defenſe of Chriſtendome, recouery of the Sepulchre of Chriſt, ſuccouring widowes, Orphanes, & other poore perſons, the building or maintaining of holy places, the viſiting of Priſons and Martyrs toombes, or any like deuout & charitable deeds: which whiles the Faithfull Chriſtian doth obediently performe (although otherwiſe the thing enioined be not great) he may obtaine remiſſion alſo of that temporall ſatisfaction which was left in penance vnremitted. This kinde of pardon S. Paul gaue to that notorious ſinner, who at Corinth had his fathers wife, & was for that fault ſeparated from the Church of God, to bee afflicted temporally in his fleſh. But when the Corinthians had informed S. Paul of his earneſt and true repentance, & had ſhewed their owne fauour & good will toward him, the Apoſtle anſwereth, Whom ye forgiue ought, I alſo (forgiue,) For I alſo in that I haue forgiuen, if I haue forgiuen ought, for your ſakes in the perſon of Chriſt I haue forgiuen it. Well, wee are aſſured the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of forgiuing ſuch afflictions as the party was in, by reaſon he was deliuered out of the defenſe of Holy Church, to that ſtate, where the Diuel, as S. Chryſoſtome vpon that place noteth, *proſolutione peccatorum*, for paiment of his ſins, might vexe him: and wherein ſuch perſons, being put to their penance, vſed to remaine for a certaine ſpace of moneths, or yeeres, vntill their penance were done and expired. Now the reconciling of the man, not yet hauing done due ſatisfaction, before his ordinarie time, is a Pardon: which the Apoſtle ſaith, he doth giue in the perſon of Chriſt, as hauing authority of him to do it: and for the Corinthians ſakes, as who were able by their holy prayers and common ſorrow (whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh) to make recompence for that which lacked on the behalfe of his owne ſatisfaction. If this much doe not ſatisfie any man deſiring to be fully reſolued heerein, let him reſort to the Latine Works of that holy and learned Biſhop of Rocheſter.

Cor. 5. Cor. 2. 1. Cor. 5. and. 15

(h) O fond man! Chriſt ſaith, Whatſoeuer thou looſeſt in Earth, and not in Purgatorie.

And thus Mr Harding awaked out of his dreame.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Theſe obiections, ye ſay in your pleaſant homely compariſon, are as common with vs, as Lice with Beggars. **And yet to my remembrance, neither your** Priuate Maſſe, **nor your** Halfe Communion **was euer touched in this whole** Apologie **more then once before this place: the** lifting vp, **or** ſhewing of the Sacrament, **not once at all. Ye ſhould haue weighed your aduantages better, M. Harding, before ye thus beſtowed your** lothſome **quarrels.**

But thought you indeede, M. Harding, (I will not ſay as you ſay, that with ſo Louſie and Beggarly, **but) that with ſo poore and ſimple ſtuffe yee ſhould bee able to mocke the world? Many** fond **tales both you and your fellowes haue ſent vs ouer: but a fonder tale then this tale is, of your** Pardons **and** Purgatories, **ye haue ſent vs none. I muſt ſay to you, as** S. Auguſtine **ſometime ſaid to** Iulianus **the** Pelagian Heretike: Neceſſitate compellitur talibus pannis indui tam magna etiam veſtra ſuperbia: *Your Pride, bee it neuer ſo great, euen for very poore need and beggerie, is faine to couer it ſelfe with ſuch ſorry clouts.* *Aug. contr. Iulian. li. 5. cap. 1.*

I beſeech you, conſider how aduiſedly and reuerently ye vſe Gods holy Word. **Thus you ſay:** Nathan **ſaid vnto** Dauid, our Lord hath put away thy ſinne: thou ſhalt not die: 2. Reg. 12.
Chriſt ſaith: *The ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhall not be forgiuen, neither in this world nor in the world to come:* **As** S. Marke **ſaith;** *He that ſinneth againſt the* holy Ghoſt, *hath no remiſſion* Matth. 12. Marke 3.
for euer; *but ſhall be guilty of* Euerlaſting Sinne: S. Paul **ſaith;** *Beare ye one anothers burden:* Galath. 6.
Chriſt **ſaith to** Peter; *To thee will I giue the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen, &c.* S. Paul **ſaid** Matth. 16.
of him that had liued in ſhamefull **inceſt with his** fathers **wife:** *Let ſuch a one be giuen ouer to Satan.* **Theſe be your** Scriptures, **M. Harding, full properly applied, and to good purpoſe: hereof ye full diſcreetly and learnedly conclude thus:** *Ergo,* The Pope hath a warrant ſufficient to grant his Pardons, and that as well to the dead, as to the quicke. 1. Cor. 5.

O, M. Harding, God is not to bee mocked: Feare his Iudgements: Abuſe not his Name **or** Word **in vaine. Full well you know, that neither** Dauid, **nor** Nathan, **nor** Chriſt, **nor** Paul, **were Pardon-mongers. What ſhould I further ſay to him, that with ſo great a countenance, and ſo much adoe can ſay nothing? Let** S. Auguſtine **briefly anſwer all theſe vanities. Thus he ſaith:** Hoc quid eſt aliud, niſi diligenter pro humana ſuſpicione contendere, & Scripturas Sanctas negligenter attendere? *What thing elſe is this, but ſtoutly to ſtriue for mans fanſie and negligently to conſider* Gods Holy Word? *Aug. de Ciuit. Lib. 19. Ca. 23.*

The Prophet Dauid, **vpon whom ye would ſeem to ground the ſe follies, anſwereth you thus:** Narrauerunt mihi iniqui fabulationes: Sed non vt Lex tua, Domine: *The wicked haue told me many fooliſh tales: But, O Lord, their tales are nothing to thy Law.* S. Auguſtine, **if he were now aliue, would ſay of you as he ſaid of other your** Predeceſſors: O Vanitas, vendens Vanitatem Vanitatem audituris, Vanis & Credituris: *O Vanity, ſelling Vanitie to them that will heare Vanity: and Vaine are they that will beleeue it.* Pſalm. 118. *Aug. in lib. 50 Hom 36.*

Leo ſaith: In hanc Inſipientiam cadunt, qui cum ad cognoſcendam Veritatem aliquo impediuntur obſcuro, non ad Propheticas voces, non ad Apoſtolicas Literas, nec ad Euangelicas Authoritates, ſed ad ſemetipſos recurrunt: *Into this folly they fall, that when they bee hindered* *Leo ad Flauianum, Epiſt. 10.*

hindred by ſome darkeneſſe from the knowledge of the Truth, go not to the Voices of the Prophets, nor to the Writings of the Apoſtles, nor to the authorities of the Goſpels: but onely haue recourſe vnto themſelues.

Now ſomewhat to ſay particularly of the matter, touching your Pardons, your owne Doctour Sylueſter Prierias, Maſter of the Popes Palace, writeth thus: Indulgentiæ, Authoritate Scripturæ non innotuere nobis; ſed Authoritate Eccleſiæ Romanæ, Romanorumque Pontificum, quæ maior eſt: *Pardons are not known vnto vs by the Authority of the Scriptures; but by the authority of the Church of Rome, and of the Popes, which is greater then the Authority of the Scriptures.*

Sylueſt. Prier. contra Luther.

The Popes Pardons.

Therefore, M. Harding, by this Doctors iudgement, it was great follie to alledge ſo many Scriptures for proofe of your Pardons. For here ye are taught in good ſadneſſe, that your Pardons can neuer be proued by any Scriptures. It had beene much better for you, to haue alledged onely the Popes Authority. For that, as your Sylueſter teacheth you, farre paſſeth all the Authority of the Scriptures.

Roffenſis ſaith: Ego reſpondeo, Non ſatis certò conſtare, à quo primum indulgentiæ tradi cœperint. Apud priſcos vel nulla, vel certè quam rariſſima fiebat mentio de Purgatorio. Quamdiu autem nulla eſſet cura de Purgatorio, nemo quæſiuit indulgentias. Nam ex illo pendet omnis Indulgentiarum æſtimatio. Si tollas Purgatorium, quorſum Indulgentijs opus erit? Cœperunt indulgentiæ, poſtquam ad Purgatorij Cruciatus aliquandiu trepidatum eſt: *Thus I anſwer: It cannot well appeare from whom* Pardons *firſt began. Among the old Doctors and Fathers of the Church, there was either no talke at al, or very little talke of* Purgatory. *But as long as* Purgatorie *was not cared for, there was no man that ſought for* Pardons. *For the whole price of* Pardons *hangeth of* Purgatory. *Take away* Purgatorie, *and what ſhall we need of* Pardons? Pardons *began, when folke were a little fraid with the paines of* Purgatorie.

Roffenſis contr. Lutherum.

Polydor. de Inuentor. li. 8. c. 1

Iohannes Maior ſaith: De Indulgentijs pauca dici poſſunt per certitudinem, quia Scriptura de illis expreſſè non loquitur. Nam quod dicitur Petro, Tibi dabo Claues, &c. certum eſt, quòd oportet intelligere illam Authoritatem cum ſale. Fatuæ ergo & Superſtitioſæ ſunt quædam Indulgentiæ viginti millium annorum: *Of* Pardons *little may be ſaid of certainty: for the* Scripture *expreſly ſaith nothing of them. Touching that Chriſt ſaith vnto* Peter, *Vnto thee will I giue the Keies, &c. we muſt vnderſtand this Authority with a corne of Salt,* (or *therwiſe it be may vnſauory*) *Therefore certaine of the* Popes Pardons that promiſe twenty thouſand yeeres are fooliſh and Superſtitious.

Iohan Maior, in 4. Sent Diſt. 20. Quæſt. 2.

Veſelus.

Your Schoole Doctors themſelues are wont ſomtime to ſay, Inuentio Indulgentiarum eſt pia fraus & dolus non malus, quò populus officioſo errore trahatur ad pietatem: *The deuiſing of* Pardons *is a godly guile and a hurtleſſe deceit; to the intent that by a deuout kind of error the people may be drawne to godlineſſe.*

Heere, M. Harding, you ſée the Antiquitie, Authoritie, and beſt countenance of your Pardons: that they flowed firſt out of the ſinks of your Purgatory, as one Vanity floweth out of another: You ſee, that your Pardons ſometimes may be Superſtitious, and full of folly: you ſée that the Sale of your Pardons is a godly guile, and a deuout kinde of error, to lead the people. This is the faireſt colour ye can deuiſe to lay vpon it. But miſerable is that people that thus muſt be led by guile and error.

Alphonſus de Caſtro ſaith: Nulla res eſt quam minùs apertè Sacræ Literæ prodiderint & de qua minùs vetuſti Scriptores dixerint. Non eſt mentio vlla de indulgentijs: *There is nothing that the* Scriptures *haue leſſe opened, or whereof the old learned Fathers haue leſſe written, then of* Pardons. *Of* Pardons (in the Scriptures and Doctors) here is no mention.

Alphonſ. de Caſtro. Lib. 8 Indulgentiæ.

Of the ſhameleſſe Merchandize and Sales hereof many godly men haue complained, Ye haue turned godlineſſe into gaine: and, as S. Peter ſaith, *Through couetouſneſſe, by fained ſpeech, ye haue made Marts and Markets of the people.* One of your owne friends ſaith thus: In multis Breuibus continentur tot Indulgentiæ, vt boni viri mirentur, vnquam de conſcientia Papæ, vel alicuius boni viri potuiſſe illa procedere: *In many of them Bookes there are contained ſo many daies and yeeres of* Pardon, *that good men marueil that they could euer come out by the conſent either of the Pope, or of any other good man.*

1. Timoth. 6. 2. Petri. 2. *Opus Tripart. coniunctũ cum Conc. Lateran. Lib. 3. Cap. 8.*

To conclude, we will ſay with S. Auguſtine: Fratres, Ieſum Chriſtum Iuſtum habemus Aduocatũ apud Patrem. Ipſe eſt propitiatio pro peccatis noſtris. Hoc qui tenuit Hæreſim non fecit: Hoc qui tenuit, Schiſma non fecit. Vnde enim facta ſunt Schiſmata? Cùm dicunt homines, Nos iuſti ſumus: Nos Sanctificamus immũdos: Nos iuſtificamus impios: Nos petimus: Nos impetramus. *My Brethren, we haue Ieſus Chriſt the Righteous our Aduocate with the Father. He is the propitiation or* Pardon *for our Sins. Hee that held this neuer made Hereſie: He that held this neuer made Schiſme. For whereof doe Schiſmes come? Heereof they come, when men ſay,* (as now the Pope ſaith) *We are righteous. We do make holy the vnholie: We doe iuſtifie the wicked; We do Pray: We do obtaine* Pardon *for others by our Praier.*

Aug in Epiſt. Ioan. Tract. 1.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 8. Diuision 1.

THese men are wont to speake much of a certaine secret Doctrine of theirs, and of their manifold and sundry readings. Let them therfore bring forth somewhat now if they can, that it may appeare, they haue at least read, or do know somwhat. They haue oftē stoutly noised in al corners where they went, that all the parts of their Religion bee very old, & haue bin approued, not only of the multitude, but also by the consent and continual obseruation of al Nations and times. Let them therefore once in their life shew this their Antiquity: Let them make appeare to the eie, that the things, whereof they make such ado, haue taken so long, & large increase: Let them declare, that all Christian Nations haue agreed by consent to this their Religion.

Nay, nay, they turne their backs, as we haue said already, and flee from their owne Decrees, and haue cut off & abolished againe within a short space the same things, which but a few yeers before, thēselues had established, for euermore, forsooth, to continue. How should one then trust them in the Fathers, in the Old Councels, and in the Words spoken by God? They haue not, good Lord, they haue not (I say) those things which they boast they haue: they haue not that Antiquity, they haue not that Vniuersality, they haue not that Consent, neither of all places, nor of all times. And though they haue a desire rather to dissemble, yet they themselues are not ignorant hereof: yea and sometime also they let not to confesse it openly. And for this cause they say, that the Ordinances of the Old Councels & Fathers be such, as may now & then be altered, and that sundry and diuers Decrees serue for sundry & diuers times of the Church. Thus lurke they vnder the name of the Church, and begule silly creatures with their vaine glosing. It is to be maruelled, that either men be so blinde, that they cannot see this, or if they see it, that they can be so patient, so lightly and so quietly to beare it.

M. Harding.

Heere is much adoe, and as some say, great boast and small roast: many words, little matter. The sense of these words (if I be not deceiued) resembleth M. Iewels challenging spirit, as like as an Ewe resembleth a sheepe. What we can bring foorth, we say not. * Neither thinke we it necessarie at your request, to shew what we haue read, and what we know. Boasting and bragging shewes, we leaue to you: that you require, hath been sufficiently declared otherwheres. All things are not to be said at all times. Yet two of your loud lies beside other that you make here, I will be so bold, as to discouer. The Decrees of the late Tridentine Councell (for that is it that you meane) although they bee not yet in all places most exactly obserued, yet be they not repealed, cut off, and abolished againe, as you say.

*And what a foule lie is that other, where you say, that our selues acknowledge and confesse openly, that the Faith & Doctrine which we hold is not Ancient & Vniuersall, for times, places & consent of al. What else meane we when we challenge vnto vs & claime the Catholike Faith? But this is your accustomed slender Rhetorick, when proofes and arguments of truth faile you, to vse the figure of impudent lying, & say, that we our selues confesse it to be true, which you impute vnto vs. Whatsoeuer you say in this place, we may of right returne it euer to you. So we do, and so take you it, &c. And for ought that I can see yet, as your Synagogue had of late the beginning, so it is like shortly to make an ending.

* It is good policie for him that hath nothing to shew, to hold his peace.

* For triall hereof, consider only the words of Roffensis Maior, and Alphonsus, alleged in the former Diuision.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Of all these words, and others moe, so vaine as many, there is not one word worth the answering. What affiance M. Harding and his friends haue in their Antiquitie, it may appeare by the last Diuision.

The Apologie, Chap. 9. diuision 1.

BVT, whereas they haue commanded, that those Decrees should be void, as things now waxen too old, and that haue lost their grace, perhaps they haue prouided, in their stead, certaine other better things, & more profitable for the people. For it is a common saying with them, that

that, If Christ himselfe, or the Apostles were aliue againe, they could neither better, nor more godly gouerne Gods Church, then it is at this present gouerned by thē. They haue put somwhat in their stead indeed: but it is chaffe in stead of wheat, as Hierem. 23. Esay 1. Hieremy saith, & such things, as according to Esay the Prophets words, God neuer required at their handes. They haue stopped vp (saith he) al the veines of the cleere springing water, and haue digged vp for the people deceiueable and puddle like pits, full of mire & filth, which neither haue, nor are able to hold pure water. They haue plucked away from the people the Holy Communion, the word of God, from whence all comfort should be taken, the true Worshipping of God also, and the right vse of Sacraments and Praier: and haue guen vs of their owne to play withal in the meane while, Salt, Water, Oile, Boxes, Spitle, Palmes, Bulles, Iubilees, Pardons, Crosses, Sensinges, and an endlesse rabble of Ceremonies, and (as a man might terme them with Plautus) pretie games to make sport withall.

Hierem. 23. Esay 1.

Christs gouernment no better then the Popes.

Ludos Indificabiles.

M. Harding.

Raile and reuel whiles ye wil, the Church is gouerned by (a) word and by (a) discipline. If Christ himselfe or his Apostles were aliue againe, the word, that is to say, (b) the Doctrine of our beleefe, now preached & receiued in the Catholik Church, (b) neither should be altered, (b) nor could be bettered. (b) For it is the same he taught himselfe. And that we doubt not of it, according to his promise, he hath sent the Holy Ghost, to enforme the Church of all truth. Remember you not who said, I am God, (c) I am not changed? Againe that the word of God remaineth for euer?

Malach. 3. Psalm. 118.

(a) But the Pope vseth neither of them both.

(b) Vntruthes without either measure or regard of shame.

(c) O folly! The change is in you and not in God.

This being true, it is euident, that we haue the sound and weighty wheat which no persecution of tyrants, no blasts of Heretiks, no contagion of euil maners, for these fifteene hundred yeeres could either blow from the floore of our Lords barne, the Church, or corrupt. Wee haue, according to the Apostles counsell, kept that hath been committed vnto vs. We haue enioied the fountaine of the water of life.

Deposi- tum 1. Tim. 6.

Yee charge vs fore, that we haue plucked away from the people the holy Communion, the Word of God, the true worshipping of God, the right vse of the Sacraments and Praier. Whosoeuer taketh these fiue away, wherein chiefly standeth our Saluation, the same (d) is Antichrist. Were not that ye haue already done so much for vs, as the world may take you for impudent liers, we would not quietly beare so grieuous a matter. But now, that ye haue tried your selues so false of your word, we little esteeme its your railing is no slander. Lastly concerning Praier, what hath been ordained by our holy forefathers (e) of all ages, directed with the Spirit of God, for the maintenance and increase of it to Gods honour, all that in few yeeres by the instinct of Satan, to promote his kingdome, ye haue vtterly abolished, and by wicked violence brought the people from (f) deuotion to a careleese idlnesse, from speaking to God with hearts and lips, to (f) a spiritual dumbnesse, from praiers (f) to chapters, from holy thinking to (f) vnprofitable hearkning.

(d) The Gospel in your mouth. For al these fiue things the Pope hath quite taken away.

(e) Vntruth. For your barbarous vnknown praiers, in the time of the Ancient learned Fathers were neuer knowen.

(f) Vntruthes ioined with open Blasphemy.

Ye cannot abide Salt, Water, Oile, Palme, the Crosse, Incense, &c. no maruel. No more cannot the Diuel who possesseth you, and rideth you, and after his owne wil driueth you from truth, from Christian Religion, and from al godlinesse. Were it so that your spirit could away with those things, then were it not agreeing with his spirit. Vntil ye giue place to the spirit of God, who may driue out of you the spirit of Satan, we looke to heare no better tidings of you.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Ye were somewhat angry, M. Harding, when ye thus bestirred your selfe. It pitieth me in your behalfe. Christ and his Apostles (ye say) neuer ruled the Church in better order then it is now ruled by the Pope and his Cardinals. Euen so might they haue said, that had turned, *The House of God into a Caue of Theeues.* One of your friends saith: Apostolorum temporibus rudis adhuc erat Ecclesia: *In the time of the Apostles the Church as yet was rude and barbarous and out of order.* And, being afterward reproued for his blasphemous speech, he answered leandly in his pleasance:

Matth. 21. *Latomus de Vtraque Specie.*

Rudis, indigestaque moles.

Iacob. Andreæ aduersus Hosium, pag. 70.

Others of you say: Christus in Cœlo præsidet: Papa in Terris residet: *Christ ruleth in Heauen: the Pope in Earth.* Another saith: Omnes Sanctiones Sedis Apostolicæ sic accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius Diuina voce Petri firmatæ: *All the Lawes of the Apostolike See of* Rome *must so bee taken, as if they were confirmed by the Diuine voice of* Peter *himselfe.* Another saith: Sicut ostium regitur Cardine, ita Ecclesia Romana regitur Consilio Cardinalium: *As the doore is ruled by the hooke, so is the Church of* Rome *ruled by the Counsell of* Cardinals.

Dist. 19. Sic omnes.

Andræas Barbatius Siculus ad Bessarionem

Polydor. Virgil. de Inuentorib. lib. 4. cap. 9.

Ceremon. lib. 1. Sect. 8. cap. 6.

Therefore the Pope himselfe saith thus vnto them: Vos eritis Senatores Vrbis & Regum similes, veri Mundi Cardines, super quos militantis ostium Ecclesiæ voluendum, & regendum est: *Ye shall be the Senatours of my City, and like vnto* Kings, *the very hookes and staies of the World, vpon whom the very dore of the Church Militant must be turned and ruled.*

Such

Such are they, whom S. Hierome imagineth thus to say: Non est vir in domo. Non est Christus Corporaliter in Ecclesia. Surgens enim à mortuis, Ascendit in Cælum: nobisq; Ministerium gubernandæ Ecclesiæ, suam videlicet Domum, reliquit: *My Husband is not at home. (That is to say) Christ is not now corporally in the Church. For, being risen from the dead, he is Ascended into Heauen: and hath left vnto vs the gouernment of his* Church, *that is, the whole ordering of his* House. *Hieron. in Proœmio 7.*

Reading of Chapters.

True it is as you say, *God is one and is not changed. And his word endureth for euer.* But the change is in you, M. Harding, and not in God. Gods Word is the Word of Life: your Word is the Word of Vanity. God the Father hath not planted it: therefore it shall be plucked vp by the rots. God saith by the Prophet Malachie: *The lips of the Priest shall keepe knowledge: and the people shall require the Law at his mouth. For he is the Angell of the Lord of Hosts.* Vos autem recessistis de Via, &c. But you are gone backe from the way; you haue offended many a one in the Law: you haue broken the couenant of Leui, saith the Lord of Hosts. And therefore haue I made you to be despised. Malach. 3. Psal. 110. Matth. 15. Malach. 2.

Ye haue changed the most part of the Apostles Doctrine: and of all that euer they ordained, ye haue in a maner left nothing standing. S. Bernard saith of your owne Church of Rome: A planta pedis vsque ad verticem capitis, non est sanitas vlla: *From the sole of the foot vnto the crowne of the head, there is not one whole place.* And yet ye beare vs strongly in hand, that Christ and his Apostles neuer ruled the Church in better order, then it is now ruled by the Pope and his Cardinals. *Bern. in Conuersione Pauli, Serm. 1.*

All the rest of your emptie talke is answered sufficiently before. Yet one pangue of your eloquence, I may not in any wise leaue vntouched. Thus ye say: By the instinct of Satan ye haue brought the people from deuotion to careles idlenesse: from speaking to God with hearts and lips to a spirituall dumbenes: from Praiers to Chapters: from Holy thinking to vnprofitable heatkning. If I were not well acquainted with your speech, M. Harding, I could not thinke, yee would so vnaduisedly bestow your words. I doubt not, but euen hereby it shal soone appeare, whether of vs hath wilfully broken the Apostles Orders, and refused the godly examples of the Holy Primitiue Church of God. Ye tell vs that the Reading of the Scriptures vnto the people, in the Church of God, is a Spirituall dumbenesse, and a thing vnprofitable, as onely deuised of our selues, and that, as you say, by the instinct of Satan, and neuer before either knowen or vsed by any Catholike learned Father.

So little regard you what you say. Any man that hath bene conuersant in the ancient Fathers, may easily reproue your follie.

Origen saith: Iudaicarum Historiarum Libri traditi sunt ab Apostolis, Legendi in Ecclesijs: *The Bookes of* (the Old Testament, which are called) *the stories of the* Iewes, *were deliuered by the Apostles, to be* read in the Churches. Dionysius saith: Deinde ordine habetur Sacrorum Librorum Lectio: *Afterward follow in order the Lessons of the holy Bookes.* Iustinus Martyr saith: Die Solis omnes, qui in oppidis vel in agris morantur, vnum in locum conueniunt: Commentariaque Apostolorum, vel Prophetarum Scripta leguntur. Deinde is, qui præest, admonet omnes, & hortatur, vt ea, quæ lecta sunt, bona imitentur. Deinde surgimus omnes & comprecamur: *Vpon the Sunday, the Christian people that dwell in Towne or Countrie, meet together in one place.* There the Epistles of the Apostles or the Prophets Writings are pronounced vnto vs. *Afterward, he that is the Chiefe or Minister, warneth, and exhorteth all the rest, that they will follow those good things, that they haue heard read. That done, we rise vp all, and pray together.* S Cyprian saith: Lector personat verba sublimia: Euangelium Christi legit: A Fratribus conspicitur: Cum gaudio Fraternitatis auditur: *The Reader soundeth out the high and heauenly words: He readeth out the Gospell of Christ: he is seene of the Brethren, he is heard with ioy of (all) the Brotherhood.* *Orig. in Iosua homil. 15. Dionysius Eccl. Hierar. cap. 3.* ἀναγνώσεως. *Iustin. Martyr Apologia. 2. Cyprian. lib. 2. epist. 5.*

The Fathers in the Councell of Constantinople say thus: Tempore Diptychorum cucurrit omnis multitudo cum magno silentio circumcirca Altare & audiebant: *At the time of Reading* (of the Chapter) *all the multitude of the people with great silence drew round about the Altar or Communion Table, and gaue eare.* *Conc. Constantinop. 5. Act. 1. Concil. Laodic.*

In the Councell of Laodicea it is written thus: In Sabbatis Euangelia cum alijs Scripturis legi conuenit: *Vpon the Sabbath day it is conuenient, that the* Gospels *and other* Scripture *be read* (in the Church vnto the people.) Leo saith: Solennitati Sacratissimæ Lectionis subiungatur exhortatio Sacerdotis: *After the solemne Reading of the most holy Lesson, let there follow the Sermon or Exhortation of the Priest.* *Can. 16. Leo, de Resurrectione Domini, Serm. 2.*

S. Chrysostome saith: Stat Minister, & communis Minister, & alta voce clamat. Post illam vocem Lector incipit Propheriam Esaiæ. *The Minister and Common Minister standeth vp and crieth out with loud voice* (saying, keepe silence and giue eare.) *After that, the Reader beginneth the Prophesie of* Esay. S. Ambrose saith: Non possum ego à me facere quicquam sicut audio, & iudico. Audistis Lectum: Ego non accuso vos: Moses vos accusat: Audistis Lectum *Chrys. in Acta, homil. 19. Ambros. lib. 5. epist. 20. Iohn. 5.*

Lectum: (Chriſt ſaith) *I cannot doe any thing of my ſelfe: as I heare, ſo I iudge.* Ye haue heard it read: *I accuſe you not, it is* Moſes *that accuſeth you.* Ye haue heard it read.

Aug. Pſa. 36. Anguſt. in 50. Homil. hom 49. Aug. de Tempore, Serm. 2.

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Audiſtis, cùm Euangelium legeretur: Modò cùm legeretur, ſi intenti fuiſtis Lectioni, Audiſtis: Audiuimus in Lectione, quæ lecta eſt, Fratres dilectiſſimi: *Ye heard, when the* Goſpell *was* read: *Ye heard erewhile when it was* read, *if ye gaue eare to the* Reading: *Dearely beloued, wee haue heard in the* Leſſon, that hath beene read.

Reading of Chapters.

Heereby, I thinke, it may appeare, that the Reading of Leſſons and Chapters, is no new deuice in the Church of God.

And yet will you tell vs, M. Harding, that al this is only a Spirituall dumbeneſſe, and an vnprofitable hearkning, brought in by the inſtinct of Satan, to promote his Kingdome? Or if you dare ſo to tell vs, muſt we beleeue you?

Iſidor. de Eccl. Offic. lib. 1. cap. 10.

Verily Iſidorus ſaith: Lectio eſt non parua audientium ædificatio. Vnde oportet, vt quando Pſallitur, Pſallatur ab omnibus: quando Oratur, Oretur ab omnibus: quando Lectio legitur, facto ſilentio, æquè audiatur à cunctis: The Leſſon (in the Church) bringeth great profit to the hearers. *Therefore when Singing is, let all Sing together: when Prayer is, let all Pray together:* And when the Leſſon or Chapter is read, let ſilence be made, and let al heare together. Tertullian ſaith: Coimus ad literarum Diuinarum Commemorationem: Fidem Sanctis Vocibus paſcimus: Spem erigimus: Fiduciam figimus: *We come together to the reading of the Holy Scriptures: we feed our Faith with thoſe Heauenly voices: wee raiſe vp our affiance: we faſten our hope.* Againe he ſaith: Vbi fomenta Fidei de Scripturarum Lectione? *Where is the feeding of Faith, that commeth by the open pronouncing and Reading of the Scriptures?*

Tertullian. in Apologetico.

Tertullian. ad Vxorem. lib. 2.

Orig. in Leuit. cum, homil. 5.

Origen ſaith: Non fuiſſet neceſſarium, Legi hæc in Eccleſia, niſi ex his ædificatio aliqua audientibus præberetur: *It had not been Neceſſary to haue theſe things read in the Church, vnleſſe thereof might grow ſome profit to the hearers.*

Leo de Paſſione Dom. Serm. 19.

Leo ſaith: Sacram Dominicæ Paſſionis Hiſtoriam Euangelica, vt moris eſt, narratione decurſam, ita omnium veſtrum arbitror inhæſiſſe pectoribus, vt vnicuique audientium ipſa Lectio quædam facta ſit viſio: *I thinke, that the holy ſtory of our Lords Paſſion, which we, as the maner is, haue read vnto you, is ſo faſtened vnto al your hearts, that the very hearing it ſelf vnto euery of the hearers is a kinde of ſeeing.* Chryſoſtome ſaith: The maner was, that before euery ſuch Leſſon or Chapter, the Miniſter ſhould ſay vnto the people with a loud voice, Attendamus: *Let vs Marke.*

Chryſ. in Acta, homil. 19.

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Epiſtolæ Apoſtolicæ, non tantùm illis Scriptæ ſunt, qui tempore illo, quo ſcribebantur, audiebant, ſed etiam nobis. Non enim ob aliud in Eccleſia recitantur: *The Apoſtles Epiſtles were not written only to them, that heard them at the ſame time when they were written, but alſo to vs. For to none other purpoſe are they read openly in the Church.*

Auguſt. contra Creſconium, li. 1. cap. 9.

This therefore is no Spirituall dumbeneſſe, M. Harding: This is no Vnprofitable hearkning: This is no Inſtinct or Worke of Satan. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Vide Formicam Dei: Surgit quotidiè: Currit ad Eccleſiam Dei: Orat: Audit Lectionem: Hymnum cantat: ruminat quod audit: Apud ſe cogitat: Recondit intùs grana electa de Area: *Behold Gods Emote: Shee riſeth daily: Shee runneth to the Church of God: Shee praieth: Shee* heareth the Leſſon *or* Chapter: *Shee ſingeth the Pſalme: Shee cheweth or remembreth, that ſhee hath heard: Shee muſeth vpon it within her ſelf: And within Shee laieth vp the Cornes choſen from the ſtoare.*

Auguſt. in Pſal. 66.

Now may you bethinke your ſelfe, M. Harding. How can you ſo vainely ſay, that the Reading of the Holy Scriptures or Chapters is a new deuice in the Church of God? You ſee all the Ancient learned Fathers with one conſent beare witneſſe againſt you. What ſhall we thinke is the Worke of God, if the hearing of Gods Word be the Worke of Satan? What will you call Spirituall ſpeaking in the Church, if the publiſhing of Gods holy will be Spirituall dumbneſſe? Acknowledge your error. Giue glory to God. What wiſe man will beleeue you further?

Durand. lib. 6. Sabbato Sanct.

But heere may you call to mind the Spirituall ſpeeches and Heauenly ſounds of your Churches. There may you heare, Aue Mater Anna, plena melle Canna: Dic nobis Maria, quid vidiſti in via? And at the hallowing of your Agnos Dei, in commeth a Poſſe in haſte and ſweating, and telleth the Pope, Domine, Domine, Domine: Iſti ſunt Agni nouelli, qui annuntiauerunt Allelua. Modò venerunt ad fontes &c. Heere is piety geare to comfort the conſcience, as good, as a ſong of Robbin hood. Better were it for you to ſit dumbe in the Church of God, then thus to ſpeake.

Your Churches, your Churches, M. Harding, are full, not only of Spirituall, but alſo of Corporall, and Horrible dumbeneſſe. Of al that is ſaid or done there, be it neuer ſo fond, the poore godly people knoweth nothing. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Si intellectum mentis remoueas, nemo ædificatur audiendo quod non intelligit: *If ye remoone the vnderſtanding of the minde,*

Aug. de Gen. ad Liter. li. 12. c. 8.

minde, no man is edified or taketh profit by hearing that he cannot vnderſtand. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Perdiderunt audiendi laborem, & tempus. Nam qui non intelligit quod audit, perdit quod audit: *They haue loſt both their labour in hearing, and alſo the time. For he that vnderſtandeth not that he heareth, loſeth the thing that he heareth.* Chryſ. *in Mat. homil.* 131.

Therefore the Pope himſelfe in his Pontifical, giueth this ſpeciall charge vnto the Reader: Stude Lectiones Sacras diſtincte, & aperte proferre ad Intelligentiam & ædificationem fidelium: *Endeauour thy ſelfe to pronounce the* Holy Leſſons (or Chapters) *diſtinctly and plainely* (not to a Spirituall dumbneſſe, but) *to the vnderſtanding and profit of the Faithfull.* *In Pontifical.*

Reading of Chapters.

Touching the Prayers that the ſimple people maketh in a tongue vnknowne, Chriſt ſaith: *This people honoureth me with their lips: but their hearts are far from me.* Matth. 15.

The Apologie, Chap. 9. Diuiſion 2.

In theſe things haue they ſet all their Religion, teaching the people, that by the ſame, God may be duly pacified, Spirits bee driuen away, and mens conſciences well quieted.

M. Harding.

What ſhall I ſay to all this, but that ye lie? I would ſay, as the maner is, Sauing your worſhips: but that your often & vnſhamefaſt lying hath quite taken away from you al opinion of honeſty. Al Chriſts Religion which we profeſſe, conſiſteth not in theſe things, neither by theſe be mens conſciences quieted. By certaine of theſe euil & impure ſpirits be driuen away indeed. Which heere by ſundry Ancient records & teſtimonies I would declare to be moſt true, were it not wel enough known by daily experience. But as for you, whereas neither Bread, nor Water, nor Croſſe driueth you away, it ſeemeth ye are worſe to be coniured then the Diuel himſelfe. Many of your Sect, Catholike Princes haue found ſo ſtubburne, as they could neuer yet rid their Countries of them, but by coniuration of fire.

° Vntruth. For hereby ye profeſſe to quiet mens conſciences. Read the Anſwer.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Ye ſay, ye neuer ſought to quiet mens conſciences by Oile, Water, Palmes, &c. And therefore ye ſtand vp a tippe toe, and in your familiar maner, cry out, ye lie. For ſhort triall hereof, one example may ſuffice in ſtead of many. Auguſtine Steuchus, one of your ſpeciall and worthy Doctors, ſaith: Aquas Sale & Orationibus Sanctificamus, vt ad earum Aſperſum noſtra deleantur delicta: *We hallow Water with Salt and Praiers, that by the Sprinkling thereof our ſinnes may be forgiuen.* Read your owne Pontificall, and ye ſhall finde in the hallowing of your Water, your Aſhes, your Palmes, your Candles, &c. this clauſe euermore in the end: Vt ſint nobis ad Salutem Animæ & Corporis: *That they may be to vs to the Saluation of Body and Soule.* *Aug. Steuchus in Librum Numeror. cap.* 19. Sinnes forgiuen by holy Water. *In Pontifical.*

Whereas in the end ye vaunt your ſelfe of your Cruelty, and ſo pleaſantly make ſport with the Blod of your Brethren, take it not for ill, if I anſwer you with the words of Salomon: Viſcera impiorum crudelia: *The bowels of the Wicked be alwaies cruell.* Therein M. Harding, ſtandeth your greateſt puiſſance. If yee were no better armed with Fire and Sword, then ye be with Scriptures and Doctors, no wiſe man would greatly feare your force. Prouerb. 11.

We may ſay of you, as Cardinall Cuſanus ſaith of the Turke: Omnium, quæ in Alchorano continentur, vltima reſolutio eſt Gladius: *The laſt reſolution and triall of all things, that are contained in the* Alchoran, *is the Sword.* *Nicol. Cuſanus Cribrationis. lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.

As for vs, we may anſwer you now, as S. Cyprian ſometime anſwered the Heathens: Nobis ignominia non eſt, pati a Fratribus, quod paſſus eſt Chriſtus: neque vobis gloria eſt, facere quod fecit Iudas: *It is no ſhame for vs to ſuffer of our Brethren the ſame violence, that Chriſt ſuffered: neither is it any praiſe for you, to do the ſame thing that Iudas did.* *Cyprian. lib.* 1. *epiſt.* 3.

Tertullian ſaith vnto your Fathers: Crudelitas veſtra, gloria noſtra eſt: Semen eſt Sanguis Chriſtianorum: *Your cruelty is our glory: The blood of Chriſtians is the ſeed of the Goſpel.* I pray God, all that innocent blod, that hath bẽn ſhed in this cauſe, be not required at your hands *in the day of Wrath, and at the declaration of the iuſt iudgement of God.* *Tertullian. in Apologetico.* Roman. 2.

The Apology, Chap. 10. *Diuiſion* 1.

For theſe, loe, be the orient colours and pretious fauors of Chriſtian Religion: theſe things doth God looke vpon, and accepteth them thankfully: theſe muſt come in place to be honoured, and muſt put quite away the Inſtitutions of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles. And like as in times paſt, when wicked King Ieroboam had taken from the people the right

right ſeruing of God, and had brought them to worſhip the Golden Calues, leſt perchance they might afterward change their mind, & ſlip away, getting them againe to Ieruſalem to the Temple of God; there he exhorted them with a long tale, to be ſtedfaſt, ſaying thus vnto them: O Iſrael, theſe Calues be thy Gods. In this ſort commanded your God you ſhould worſhip him. For it ſhould be wearieſome & troublous for you to take vpon you a iourney ſo far off, and yeerly to go vp to Ieruſalem, ther to ſerue and honor your God: Euen after the very ſame ſort, when theſe men had once made the Law of God of none effect, through their owne Traditions, fearing that the people ſhould afterward open their eies, & tall another way, and ſhould ſomewhence elſe ſeek a surer mean of their Saluation; Ieſu, how often haue they cried out, This is the ſame worſhipping that pleaſeth God, and which he ſtraitly requireth of vs, and wherewith he wil be turned from his wrath: that by theſe things is conſerued the Vnity of the Church: that by theſe all ſinnes be cleanſed, and conſciences quieted: and that, who ſo departeth from theſe, hath left vnto himſelfe no hope of Euerlaſting Saluation. For it were wearieſome & troublous (ſay they) for the people to reſort to Chriſt, to the Apoſtles, and to the Ancient Fathers, and to obſerue continually, what their will and commandement ſhould be. This, ye may ſay, is to withdraw the people of God from the weake Elements of the world, from the leauen of the Scribes and Phariſeis, and from the Traditions of men. It were reaſon, no doubt, that Chriſts Commandements, and the Apoſtles were remoued, that theſe their heſts & deuices may come in place. O, iuſt cauſe, I promiſe you. why that Ancient, and ſo long allowed Doctrine ſhould be now abolished, and a new Forme of Religion be brought into the Church of God.

M. Harding.

It ſhould haue becomme Scoggin, Patch, Iolle, Harry Pattenſon, or Will Sommer, to haue told this tale much better, then your ſuperintendentſhips. And if ye would needs haue plaid the part your ſelues it had bin more conuenient to haue done it on the ſtage, vnder a vices coat, then in a booke ſet abroad to the world in defence of al your new Engliſh Church, ye ſhal neuer make any reaſonable man beleeue your ſcoffing tale. We eſteeme little your railing compariſon, with your ſpightful words, and ſo much diuelliſh villanie.

The Apologie, Chap. 10. Diuiſion 2.

And yet, whatſoeuer it be, theſe men crie ſtill, that nothing ought to be changed: that mens minds are well ſatisfied herewithal: that the Church of Rome, the Church which cãnot er, hath decreed theſe things. For Syluester Prierias ſaith, that the Romiſh Church is the Squire, & Rule of Truth. and that the Holy Scripture hath receiued from thence Authority, & Credit. The Doctrine, ſaith he, of the Roman Church, is the infallible Rule of Faith, from the which the Holy Scripture taketh her force. And indulgences & Pardõs (ſaith he) are not made known to vs by the Authority of the Scriptures, but they are made known to vs by the Authority of the Roman Church, and of the Biſhops of Rome, which is greater then the Scriptures. Pigghius alſo letteth not to ſay, that without the licence of the Roman Church, we ought not to beleeue the very Plaine Scriptures. Much like as if any of thoſe, that cannot ſpeak pure and cleane Latine, and yet can babble out quickly and readily a little ſome ſuch Law Latin, as ſerueth the Court, would needs hold, that all others ought alſo to ſpeake after the ſame way, that Mammetrectus and Catholicon ſpake many yeeres ago, and which themſelues do yet vſe in pleading in Court: for ſo may it bee vnderſtood ſufficiently what is ſaid, and mens deſires may be ſatisfied: and that it is a fondneſſe, now in the latter end, to trouble the world with a new kind of ſpeaking, and to cal again the old fineneſſe & eloquence that Cicero & Cæſar vſed in their daies in the Latine tong. So much are theſe men beholden to the

C. Plinius.

folly

folly and darkneſſe of the former times. Many things, as one writeth, are had in eſtimation oftentimes, becauſe they haue been once dedicate to the Temples of the Heathen Gods: **Euen ſo we ſee at this day many things allowed and highly ſet by of theſe men, not becauſe they iudge them ſo much worth, but only becauſe they haue been receiued into a cuſtome, and after a ſort dedicate to the Temple of God.**

The Church aboue Gods word.

M. Harding.

Ye haue neuer done with the Church of Rome, I cannot blame you. For ſo long as that ſtandeth, without ye repent and turne, (a) ye ſhal neuer be taken but for ſuch as ye be, Schiſmatikes and Heretikes. But alas poore ſoules, what, thinke ye to ouerthrow that Church builded vpon the Rocke (b) Peter, againſt which hitherto neither Tyrants, nor Heretikes, far paſſing you in learning & honeſty of common life, could euer preuaile? Trow ye to extinguiſh that Faith of the Romane Church, (c) which is the ſame that was the Faith of Peter, for which Chriſt praied that it ſhould neuer faile? Ye labour in vaine. Well may Satan win you: the Church which our Lord praied for, by you ſhal he neuer win. Giue ouer therfore your vaine & wicked attempts. Truſt not in the patches that falſly ye allege out of Canoniſts, Gloſſes, Schoolemen, riming Poets, Heretikes, and whatſoeuer, be they neuer ſo bad. Some ignorant perſons may ye deceiue, whoſe ſinnes deſerue the ſame.

Luc. 22.

What Sylueſter Prieriás ſaith, I minde not heer to diſcuſſe. (d) Neither where he ſaith that you allege, haue you thought good to tel vs, leſt by peruſing the place we ſhould take you in a lie, as we haue almoſt in al your other allegations. The like ſincerity you vſe in alleging Pigghius. We binde our ſelues neither to the words of Syluester, nor of Pigghius. If they erre, what is that to vs? Let them beare their own burden. If they tel truth, we beleeue them for truths ſake. If otherwiſe, we leaue that part for you to carpe. If Syluester Prieriás ſaid that for points of beleef the Doctrine of the Roman Church is a ſquire to try their truth by; the ſame (e) being wel vnderſtanded, it is right true. Likewiſe if Pigghius ſay that the Roman Church ſheweth vnto vs which be the approued and vndoubted Scriptures, & which be not; this is ſo true, as your ſelfe (I ſuppoſe) wil yeeld thereunto. As for that the Scripture receiued from the Church of Rome, Authority, Credit, and force, (f) if in your meaning you exclude God, that is your lie, not Syluesters ſentence. If relation be made to vs, that we ought not giue credit vnto it, (g) vnleſſe it had been ſhewed to be holy Scripture by the Roman Church, which is the true Church of Chriſt, in this ſenſe be it Syluester, or who elſe ſoeuer ſaith it, it is a true ſaying, & agreeable to S. Auguſtine, who ſaid, *Ego Euangelio non crederem, niſi me Catholicæ Eccleſiæ commoueret Authoritas*: I would not beleeue the Goſpel, except the Authority of the Catholike Church mooued me. And for that ye allege out of him touching Indulgences, truth it is, the ful and whole knowledge of them is not plainely opened vnto vs by expreſſe and euident words of Scripture, no more then the myſtery of the Bleſſed Trinity, Baptizing of Infants, and many other truths: but rather by the Doctrine of the Roman Church.

Contra Epiſtol. Fundam. cap. 5

Where you tel vs of Pigghius, that he letteth not to ſay, that without the licence of the Romiſh Church (for in that word you pleaſe your ſelfe wel) we ought not to beleeue the very plaine Scriptures; (h) wee wil proclaime you a lier, vntil you ſhew vs where he ſpake ſo far beſide reaſon and learning. The Holie Church doth not wil vs to ſtay from beleefe of the Scriptures vntil we haue licence, but by al waies and meanes inuiteth and ſtirreth vs to beleeue the truth in the Scriptures vttered.

(a) So was Chriſt taken of the Phariſeis.

(b) The foundation of the Church of God is not Peter, but Chriſt.

(c) Vntruth. For generally it is contrary to the Faith of Peter.

(d) It is eaſilie found in his Booke *Contra Lutherum*.

(e) A commentary beſide the Text.

(f) A proper Gloſſe.

(g) Vanity of vanities. For the Scriptures were known & beleeued before there was any Church in Rome.

(h) It is no harde matter to find it. Read the anſwer

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

The greateſt weight héereof hangeth vpon two of your Doctours, Syluester Prieriás, **and** Albertus Pigghius: **whoſe credit notwithſtanding ye would faine otherwiſe ſaue vpright, yet héere, as it ſéemeth, ye are content for ſhame to giue them ouer.** We bind our ſelues (yée ſay) neither to the words of Syluester, nor of Pigghius. If they erre, what is that tovs? **This ſhort and blunt anſwer, notwithſtanding it ſéeme to like wel you, yet perhaps** Prieriás **and** Pigghius **it would not like. I ſée no great cauſe to the contrary, but either of them might as well renounce your Authority, and ſay of you,** We are not bound neither to M. Hardings words, nor to his fellowes. **For that ye doubt the truth of our allegations, read** Syluester Prieriás, **Maſter of the Popes Palace, in his Booke intituled,** Contra præſumptuoſas Martini Lutheri Concluſiones, de poteſtate Papæ. **His words there amongſt others be theſe:** Quicunque non initiatur Doctrinæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, ac Romani Pontificis, tanquam Regulæ Dei infallibili, â qua etiam Sacra Scriptura robur trahit & Authoritatem, Hæreticus eſt: *Whoſoeuer leaneth not to the Doctrine of the Roman Church, and of the Biſhop of Rome, as vnto the* infallible Rule of God, of which Doctrine the Holy Scripture taketh force and Authority, *he is an Heretike.*

Syluest. Prier. contra. Luther.

Héere, M. Harding, this Doctour teacheth you, that the Authority and credit of the Scriptures **hangeth of the allowance of the Pope, as without which the** Scriptures **of God ſhould be no** Scriptures.

Againe he ſaith: Authoritas Romanæ Eccleſiæ, Romanique Pontificis maior eſt, &c. *The Authority of the Roman Church, and of the Biſhop of Rome is greater* (**then the Authority of Gods word.**) **If this ſuffice you not, M. Harding, I know not what thing may ſuffice you.**

As for that is héere alleged of Pigghius, **it is the very ſound and ſenſe of the greateſt part of his common place,** De Eccleſia. **Of whoſe iudgement héerein** M. Caluin **writeth**

Alber. Piggh. in locis Comm. lib. De Eccleſ.

thus Pighius ait, Nullius Scripturæ Authoritate, quantumlibet claræ, noſtro quidem iudicio, & euidentis, aduerſus claram conſonantemque Orthodoxorum Patrum Sententiam, & aduerſus communem Eccleſiæ Definitionem, aliquid credere cuiquam licere: Pighius *ſaith, that no man may lawfully beleeue any thing by the Authority of any Scripture: be the ſame in our iudgement neuer ſo plaine and euident, againſt the cleere and agreeable iudgment of the Catholike Fathers, and againſt the common determination of the Church.* By which he meaneth only the Church of Rome. Therefore, M. Harding, it may pleaſe you now a little to ſpare your voice, and to ſtay your Proclamation.

The Church aboue Gods Word.

But forasmuch as ye ſeeme ſo little to eſteeme theſe two Doctours, Prieriàs and Pighius, being otherwiſe, not long ſithence, the chiefe Leaders and Captaines of all your Bands, ye may therefore ioine others to them, to better their credit, and to encreaſe the Companie. And forasmuch as we ſpeake of the Church of Rome, let vs heare the Iudgement of a Cardinal of the Church of Rome, notwithſtanding otherwiſe alleged before.

Nicol. Cuſanus ad Bohemos, Epiſt. 2.

Cardinall Cuſanus therefore heereof ſaith thus: Hæc eſt omnium, &c. *This is the iudgement of all them that thinke rightly, that Found the Authority and vnderſtanding of the* Scriptures *in the allowance of the* Church: *and not contrariwiſe, lay the Foundation of the* Church *in the Authority of the* Scriptures. *There be no Commandements of* Chriſt, *but ſuch only as ſo be taken and holden by the* Church. *Therefore the* Scriptures follow the Church: but contrariwiſe, the Church followeth not the Scriptures. Likewiſe ſaith Iohannes Maria Verractus: Humiliter confitemur, Eccleſiæ Authoritatem eſſe ſupra Euangelium; *We*

Iohan. Maria Verract. Edituſ eſt, Ann. 1561.

doe humbly confeſſe, that the Authority of the Church is aboue the Authority of the Goſpell. Likewiſe Albertus Pighius ſaith: Apoſtoli quædam ſcripſerunt: non vt Scripta illa

Alber. Piggh. Hierar. lib. 1. cap. 2.

præſſent Fidei, & Religioni noſtræ; ſed potiùs, vt ſubeſſent. Scripturæ ſunt Muti Iudices: Scripturæ ſunt veluti Cereus Naſus: *The* Apoſtles *haue written certaine things: not that their ſaid Writings ſhould rule our* Faith, *or* Religion; *but rather that they ſhould be vnder, and be ruled by our* Faith. The Scriptures are Dumbe Iudges: The Scriptures are like a

Alber. Piggh. in Controverſiis de Eccleſ.

Noſe of Wax.

By theſe and other like vnreuerent and godleſſe ſpeeches, they ſeeke to lead the poore ſimple deceiued people from the Holy Scriptures, and Voice of God, to the Authority of their Church: by which Church they vnderſtand only the Pope and his Cardinals of the Church of Rome.

Deut. cap. 17.

But ye ſay: Theſe be the Prieſts of the Houſe of Leui: The Pope is the Iudge for the time, in the place that our Lord hath choſen. Some others of you ſay; Papa eſt tota Eccleſia Virtualiter:

Herua de Poteſt. Pap. ca. 23.

The Pope *is by Power and Vertue the whole Church.* Whatſoeuer theſe ſhall happen to ſay, we may not ſwarue from their iudgement, neither to the Right hand, nor to the Left hand.

Nicol. Lyra in Deuter. ca. 17.

Whereupon the Hebrew Gloſſe noteth thus: Si dixerint tibi, quòd Dextra ſit Siniſtra, aut quòd Siniſtra ſit Dextra, talis Sententia tenenda eſt: *Although they tell thee, that thy Right hand is thy Left hand, or that thy Left hand is thy Right hand, yet ſuch a Sentence muſt be holden as good.*

Auguſt. contra Epiſt. Fundam. Ca. 5.

S. Auguſtine, ye ſay, holdeth hard of your ſide. He ſaith: Non crederem Euangelio, niſi me Eccleſiæ Catholicæ Authoritas commoueret: *I would not beleeue the* Goſpel, *except the* Authority *of the* Catholike Church *mooued mee.* Theſe few poore words haue béene toſſed of your part, and wrung, & preſſed to the vttermoſt, to yeeld out that was neuer in them. For heereby ye would faine proue that the Authority of the Church, wherby ye euermore vnderſtand your Church of Rome, and none other, is aboue the Authority of Gods word: that is to ſay, that the Creature is aboue the Creator that made Heauen and Earth.

Aug in Pſ. 57. Aug de Vnitat. Eccleſ. cap. 2. Auguſt. contra. Creſcon. Grammat. li. 1. ca 23. Aug. de Vnitat. Eccleſ. cap. 16. Aug. eod. loco.

But what if S. Auguſtine, as he ſaith, I beleeue the Goſpel becauſe of the Church, haue likewiſe ſaid, I beleeue the Church becauſe of the Goſpell? Then, I trow, ye muſt turne your tale, and ſay, The Goſpell is aboue the Church. His words be plaine: Ex ore Veritatis Eccleſiam agnoſco participem Veritatis: *By the Mouth of* (God, that is) the Truth, *I know the* Church *that is partaker of the Truth.* Againe he ſaith: Nolo Humanis Documentis, ſed Diuinis Oraculis Eccleſiam Sanctam demonſtrari: Eccleſiam quærere debemus in Verbis Chriſti, qui eſt Veritas, & optimè nouit Corpus ſuum: Eccleſiam ſine vlla ambiguitate Sancta Scriptura demonſtrat: In Scripturis Sanctis Eccleſia manifeſtè cognoſcitur: Eccleſiam, ſicut ipſum Caput, in Scripturis Sanctis Canonicis debemus agnoſcere: *I would the Church ſhould be ſhewed, not by the Decrees of Men, but by the Heauenly* Oracles, *or* Words of God: *We muſt ſeeke the Church in the* Words of Chriſt, *which is the Truth, and beſt knoweth his owne Body: The* Holy Scripture *ſheweth vs the Church without doubting: In the* Holie Scriptures *the Church is plainely knowen: We muſt know the Church by the* Holy Canonicall Scriptures *as we know* (Chriſt, that is) *the Head.*

Chryſ in Mat. the. Hom. 49.

Likewiſe ſaith Chryſoſtome: Nullo modo cognoſcitur quæ ſit Vera Eccleſia, niſi Tantummodò

tummodò per Scripturas: *It is not any waies knowen which is the* True Church of Christ, but Only by the Scriptures.

The Church aboue Gods Word.

And thus forasmuch as we know both Christ by the Church, and the Church by Christ, the one giuing euidence to the other, by this reckoning, M. Harding, and by your shifting of turnes, wee must sometimes place Christ aboue the Church, and somtimes the Church aboue Christ.

Howbeit, S. Augustines minde was not to commence an Action betweene Christ and his Church, in Comparison of their Dignities, or for triall and keping of their bounds, or to teach vs, that the Truth of God taketh Authority of the Church: but only to shew vs that the Church is a Witnesse to Gods Truth. And certainely it hath great weight of perswasion to moue the Conscience of any man, to see so many Kingdomes and Countries to ioine together in the profession and obedience of one Truth. And I doubt not, but euen this day many thousands are the sooner led to humble themselues vnto the Gospell of Christ, for that they see the whole world, that is to say, the whole Church of God, is contented so willingly and so humbly to embrace the same. Dauid, to testifie the Truth and certainty of the Gospell, saith thus: *The sound of the Apostles went out into all the Earth: and the words of them into the ends of all the World. This is the turning of the right hand of God.* Psalm. 18. .Rom 10. Psalm. 76.

Therefore S. Augustine saith vnto Faustus the Heretike: Cur non potiùs Euangelicæ Authoritati, tam fundatæ, tam stabilitæ, tanta gloria diffamatæ, atque ab apostolorum temporibus, vsque ad nostra tempora, per Successiones certissimas commendatæ, te non subdis? *Why doest thou not rather submit thy selfe vnto the Authority of the Gospell, being so grounded, so stablished, preached and published with so great glory, commended and deliuered vnto vs by most certaine Successions from the time of the Apostles vntill our time.* *Aug. cont Fau. lib. 32. cap. 19.*

Likewise in this same place by you alleged S. Augustine saith: Ego non crederem Euangelio, nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoueret Authoritas. Quibus ergo obtemperaui dicentibus. Credite Euangelio, cur eis non obtemperem dicentibus, Noli credere Manichæo? *I would not beleeue the Gospell, vnlesse the Authority of the Catholike Church moued me. Seeing therefore I haue obeied them saying to me,* Beleeue the Gospell, *why should I not also obey them saying vnto me,* Beleeue not Manichee? *Auguſt. contra Epiſt. Fundam. Ca. 5.*

Thus the consent of the Church beareth witnesse to the Gospell; without which witnesse notwithstanding, the Gospel neuertheless were the Gospell still. Therefore Chrysostome saith; Si dixerint in ipsis Veris Ecclesijs Christum apparuisse, nolite eis credere dicentibus ista de me: Quia non est digna Diuinitatis meæ notitia hæc: *If they shall tell you that Christ hath appeared, yea euen in the very True Churches, yet beleeue them not saying thus of me: For this is no meet knowledge for my Godhead.* *Chryſ. in Mat. the. Hom. 49. in Oper. Imper.*

To conclude, M. Harding, we will say to you as S. Augustine sometime said to the Donatian Heretikes, aduancing their only Church in Aphrica, euen as you now aduance only your Church of Rome: Nos post vocem Pastoris nostri, per ora Prophetarum, per os proprium, per ora Euangelistarum nobis apertissimè declaratam, voces vestras non admittimus, non credimus, non accipimus: *After the voice of our* Shepheard, *vttered most plainely vnto vs by the mouthes of the Prophets, by his owne mouth, and by the mouthes of the Euangelists, if ye bring vs your owne voices, we allow them not, we beleeue them not, we receiue them not.* *Aug. de Vnitat. Eccleſ. cap. 11.*

The Apology, Chap. 11. *Diuision* 1.

OUr Church, say they, cannot er. They speake that (I thinke) as the Lacedæmonians long sithence vsed to say, that it was not possible to find any Adulterer in al their Common Wealth: Whereas indeed they were rather al Adulterers, and had no certainty in their Marriages, but had their wiues in common amongst them al: Or, as the Canonists at this day, for their bellies sake, vse to say of the Pope, that forsomuch as he is Lord of al Benefices, though he sel for mony Bishoprickes, Monasteries, Priesthood, Spiritual Promotions, & part with nothing freely, yet because he counteth al his owne, he cannot commit Simony, though he would neuer so faine. But how strongly & agreeably to reason these things bee spoken, we are not as yet able to perceiue, except perchance these men haue plucked off the wings from the Truth, as the Romans in old time did prome & pinion their Goddesse Victoria, after they had once gotten her home, to the end that with the same wings she should neuer be able to flee away from them againe. *Summa Angel. in diction. Papa. Theodoricus de Schiſmate. Plutarchus.*

M. Harding.

Toward the end of your Apologie, Sir Defender, whoſoeuer you be that peeced it together, you doe but trifle. Of like your ſtuffe is ſpent For heere little ſay you that you haue not ſaid already. Wherefore I craue pardon of the Reader, if according to the ſlenderneſſe of matters obiected, my (a) confutation ſeeme altogether ſlender. Sir you doe now but patch peeces together, which you haue gathered out of your note bookes, into the ſame inforced, ſome out of the Canoniſts, ſome out of the Schoolmen, & them not of the greateſt eſtimation, moſt of all out of Humanity Bookes, wherein you be pretily ſeene. And that ſeemeth to be your chiefe profeſſion. As for Diuinity, there appeareth no great knowledge in you. What ye rehearſe of the Lacædemonians, it perteineth to your owne companies no leſſe then to them, I meane only your Apoſtates, Monkes, Friers, Prieſts, and Nunnes.

(a) This is good plaine dealing. For indeed this Anſwer is very ſlender.

You find great fault in the Canoniſts that be at this day, and name in your Margent *Summa Angelica*, the Author whereof died many yeers paſt. If he, Theodoricus, whatſoeuer he was, or any other Canoniſt offend you, as for his bellies ſake, ſpeaking of the Pope, that ſhould ſet your teeth an edge; what perteineth that to vs, who defend the Catholike Faith, not the ſaying of euery Canoniſt? You were beſt, ſeeing you make ſo much adoe with them to Article their errours, and either write a railing Booke againſt them, which ye (b) can eaſily doe, or ſend one of your beſt learned ſuperintendents to Bononia, there in open ſchoole with diſputations to confute them. And ſo doubtleſſe ye ſhal either conuert them, which were a worthy act; or prooue your ſelues fooles, which were great pity.

(b) With M. Hardings good inſtructions.

But to anſwer your obiection, we ſay firſt, that you allege *Summa Angelica* falſly. Nothing is found ſounding to that ye burden the Pope withall, in the place by you quoted, in *dict. Papa.* Next, whereas it is written in *Summa Angelica, In Curia Romana titulus de Simonia non habet locum*; you, Sir Defender, either not knowing what followed, or of malice abuſing the place, haue reported the ſame as if it were preciſely ſaid without any diſtinction. Whereas indeed the ſelfe ſame Summe vſeth this Diſtinction, ſaying, *Verum eſt in iis quæ ſunt Simoniaca de iure poſitiuo ſolum: Sed non in iis quæ ſunt Simoniaca de iure Diuino*: Whereby he meaneth, that the Pope is not vnder the rules of Simonie, concerning (c) ſuch lawes and paines as himſelfe or his predeceſſours haue made in that behalfe. For they haue made many things belonging thereto, as you may wel know your ſelfe, who are ſo pretily ſeen in the Canon Law, as it may appeare by the often and cunning allegations which you bring out of the Gloſſes. But concerning (d) that Simonie which properly is ſo called, the Pope is no leſſe ſubiect thereto by the true iudgement of *Summa Angelica*, (e) which you haue ſhamefully belied, then any other man.

In diſt. Simo. Verum. Antonius.

(c) A worthy diſtinction. Whereby the Pope may ſell Biſhoprickes, and Benefices without Simonie.

You ieſt at Gods bleſſed Truth alwaies remaining in his Holy Church, and prophanely reſemble it to a bird proined and pinioned, that it flie not away. As though the Church kept truth with ſuch policie as the old Romans are fained to haue kept their Goddeſſe Victorie. Wel Sir, we tell you in ſadneſſe, we are aſſured of the Truth, that it is in the Church, and that it ſhal neuer depart from thence. And if yet al this cutting away of her wings, that it neuer flie from the Church, we grant they be cut in ſuch ſort as ſhe ſhal keepe the Church for euer, as her owne neſt. And wil you know who telleth vs this? Euen God himſelfe, ſaying in his Prophet Eſay to Chriſt of his Church: I wil make this couenant with them, ſaith our Lord: My ſpirit which is in thee, and my words which I haue put in thy mouth, (f) ſhall not depart from thy mouth, and from the mouth of thy ſeed, and from the mouth of thy ſeeds ſeed, ſaith our Lord, from this time forth for euermore.

(d) This kind of Simony ſtandeth only in ſelling of Orders and Sacraments, &c.

(e) Vntruth, ſhameleſſe, as ſhall appeare.

(f) Ful diſcreetly and wel applied, as if theſe words had been meant of the Pope and his ſucceſſours.

Againe this truth, whoſoeuer ye bring in reproofe of Popes liues, whom notwithſtanding moſt impudently ye bely, what vndiſcreet ſayings or flatteries ſoeuer ye burden the Canoniſts with, al turneth to no thing. The Truth remaineth vnſhaken: your ſpirit of lying, ſcoffing and malice, thereby is diſciphered.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Heere ye ſay, Sir Defender is pretily ſeene in Humanity: For that (ye ſay) ſeemeth to be his chiefe profeſſion. Verily M. Harding, we are well pleaſed to take ſuch, and ſo much learning as you may ſpare vs. We contend onely for Truth, and not for Learning. Whatſoeuer our Learning be, if it may pleaſe God to vſe it to his glory, it ſhall be ſufficient, be it neuer ſo little. Howbeit, had you not had ſome good liking in your owne Learning, ye would not vpon ſo ſimple occaſions haue vpbraided others.

The Pope cannot commit Simonie.

Touching that ſundry of your Doctors haue ſaid, the Pope cannot commit Simonie, firſt it ſhall be neceſſary in that behalfe to conſider the eſtate and practiſe of the Church of Rome. S. Bernard writing vnto Pope Eugenius, ſaith: Limina Apoſtolorum Ambitio iam plùs terit, quàm Deuotio. Vocibus Ambitionis veſtrum toto die reſultat Palatium Ambitio in Eccleſia per te regnare molitur: *The Apoſtles Entries or Gates in* Rome *are now more worne with* Ambition, *then with* Deuotion. *All the day long your Palace ringeth with the ſound of* Ambition. *By thy meanes* Ambition *ſeeketh to raigne in the* Church of God. Againe he ſaith: Sacri gradus dati ſunt in occaſionem turpis Lucri: & quæſtum æſtimant Pietatem: *The holy degrees, or Eccleſiaſticall roomes, are giuen ouer to occaſion of filthy gaine: and the ſame gaine they count Holineſſe.* Ludouicus Viues ſaith: Romæ cùm omnia propè vendantur & emantur, nihil tamen agas ſine Lege, ac Formula, atque etiam Sanctiſſimi Iuris: *At* Rome, *notwithſtanding all things be bought and ſold, yet may ye doe nothing there without Forme and Order, and that of moſt Holy Religion.*

Bernardus, de Conſideratione, Lib. 3.

Bernard. in Cõuerſione Pauli, Sermon. 1.

De Ciuit. Dei, lib 18. cap. 22.

Viues.

In Sexto, de Electio & Electi poteſt. Fundamenta, In Gloſ.

Your owne Gloſſe ſaith: Roma eſt Caput Auaritiæ. Ideo omnia ibi venduntur: Rome *is the Head of Couetouſneſſe. Therefore all things there are bought and ſold.* Whereas alſo Iohannes Andreæ, your great Canoniſt, noteth this Verſe, alluding to the name of Rome:

Roma manus rodit: quos rodere non valet, odit.

Durandus

Durandus ſaith: Simony ſo reigneth in the Church of Rome, as though indeed it were no Sinne. To be ſhort, theſe two Verſes were commonly ſpread of Pope Alexander.

Durandus, de modo celebrandi Concil. li. 20.

Vendit Alexander Claues, Altaria, Chriſtum.
Vendere iure poteſt: Emerat ipſe prius:

Muſcul. in Iohan. cap. 6.

Pope Alexander *maketh ſale of his Keies, of his Altars, and of Chriſt himſelfe,*
Well may he ſell theſe things: For he himſelfe paid wel for them.

Notwithſtanding, ye doubt not but al this by a prety ſory diſtinction may ſone be excuſed. For thus ye ſay: *Verum eſt in iis quæ ſūt Simoniaca de Iure Poſitiuo ſolùm ſed non in iis quæ ſunt Simoniaca de Iure Diuino.* Wherby (ye ſay) the Authour meaneth that the Pope is not vnder the Rules of Simonie, concerning ſuch Lawes and paines as he himſelf or his Predeceſſors haue made & prouided in that behalfe. And therefore, as your modeſt maner is, ye ſay, wee haue falſely alleged, and ſhamefully belied *Summa Angelica.* But why do you not better open the ſeueral parts of your Diſtinction, M. Harding? Why doe ye not better teach vs to vnderſtand what is Simonie by Law Poſitiue, and what is Simony by the Law of God? And why doe ye not declare each part by plaine Examples? Seeing you thus to ſteale away in the darke, wee haue ſome cauſe to doubt your dealing.

Summa Angel. In Simonia.

The Pope cannot commit Simonie.

Howbeit, to make the matter plaine, your owne Gloſſe ſaith thus: Simoniaca de ſui natura ſunt, quæ Nouo aut Veteri Teſtamento prohibita ſunt: vt, Emere vel Vendere Sacramenta. Simoniaca de Iure Poſitiuo ſunt, quæ ſolùm ſunt Spiritualia ex Conſtitutione Eccleſiæ: Vt ſunt Tituli Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, &c. *Theſe bings are* Simoniacall of their owne Nature, *that are forbidden in the Old and New Teſtament; as to* buy *or* ſell Sacraments. *Theſe things are* Simoniacall by Law Poſitiue, *which are Spirituall only by the ordinance of the Church. Such are the* Titles of all Eccleſiaſticall Benefices and Dignities: As be Biſhopricks, Deanries, Abbies, Archdeaconries, &c. Thus M. Harding, if your Pope ſell Sacraments, which will yeld him but little money, he may be charged with Simonie. But if he ſell Biſhopricks, Deanries, Abbies, Archdeaconries, Prebends, Perſonages, neuer ſo many, yet by the ſhift of your prety Diſtinction, no man may charge him. For all theſe things are Spirituall only by the Popes owne Poſitiue Law, that is to ſay, by the ordinance of the Church. And thinke you not ſo good a Diſtinction was well worth the finding out? One of your owne Companie ſpeaking heereof, ſaith thus: O Petre, quantam animarum multitudinem cateruatim tranſmiſit & tranſmittit ad Infernum hæc Superſtitialis & Damnanda Diſtinctio? Multis eſt occaſio, & viam aperit ad ruinam Damnationis æternæ: O Peter, Peter, *how many Soules hath this Superſtitious and Damnable Diſtinction ſent by heapes, and yet doth daily ſend into Hell? It is an occaſion vnto many, and openeth the way vnto the fall of Euerlaſting Damnation.*

Extra. de Officio Iudicis delegat. Ex parte N. In Gloſſa.

Aureum Speculum.

To make the matter plaine, Baldus ſaith: Simonia non cadit in Papam recipientem: *Though the* Pope *take money, yet no* Simonie *can touch him.* In like ſort ſaith his fellow Bartolus: Papa non dicitur facere Simoniam, conferendo Beneficia & dignitates, accepta Pecunia: *The* Pope *is not ſaid to commit* Simonie, *although hee take Money for the Benefices and Dignities of the Church.*

ff. de Offic. Prætoris, L. Barbarius, Colum. 2. ff. Eod. Titulo. Ead. L. Bartol.

Theodoricus ſaith: Papa non poteſt committere Simoniam. Sic tenent Iuriſtæ. Quia Simonia excuſatur per Authoritatem eius: *The* Pope *cannot commit* Simonie. *So hold the* Canoniſts. *For* Simonie *by his Authority is excuſed.*

Theodoricus, de Schiſmat. inter Vrbā & Clem. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

Felinus ſaith: Iſta Gloſſa videtur dicere, quòd Papa non committit Simoniam in recipiendo pecuniam pro collatione Beneficiorum: ex quo non ligatur proprijs Conſtitutionibus. Tamen Moderni tenent indiſtinctè, quòd Papa non inuoluatur Crimine Simoniæ: Et ita ego teneo: Et ſic eſt ſeruanda communis opinio. Ergo Papa poteſt dictam prohibitionem Simoniæ, firmatam in Vniuerſali Eccleſia, limitare reſpectu Apoſtolicæ Sedis. Et ſi diceres, Requiritur in talibus apparens cauſa, dico hîc eſſe cauſam apparentem. Nam ceſſante tali redditu, qui maximus eſt, attenta hodierna Tyrannide, Sedes Apoſtolica contemneretur: *This* Gloſſe *ſeemeth to ſay, that the* Pope *committeth not* Simonie, *receiuing money for the beſtowing of Benefices: forasmuch as the* Pope *is not bound to his owne Conſtitutions. Yet now adaies the Lawiers hold, without any ſuch Diſtinctiō (*of law Poſitiue, & Law of God) *that the* Pope *cannot in any wiſe come within the danger of* Simonie: *And ſo I my ſelfe do hold: & ſo the common opinion muſt be holden. Therefore notwithſtanding the Law that forbiddeth* Simonie *take place in the whole Vniuerſal Church, yet in reſpect of the* Apoſtolike Sea of Rome. *it may be reſtrained. But thou wilt ſay. In ſuch caſes there ought to be ſome apparent cauſe: I tell thee, that there is a cauſe apparent. For this reuenue (of* Simony *) which is very great, being once cut off, conſidering the Tyrannie that now is, the* Apoſtolike Sea *would be deſpiſed.* By this Authority

Felin de Officio Iudicis delegati, ex parte N.

A iuſt & reaſonable cauſe where fore the Pope may ſell Biſhoprikes, Deanries, Abbies, &c.

thority it appeareth, the Pope is not able to maintaine his Estate and Countenance, nor to saue all things vpright without Simony.

Extr. de Simonia, ca. 1. numero 5. fo 18. Ab. Archidiac. in Tract. de. Hæresi. ver. Et quia tanta est. The Diuels words alleged vnder the name of S. Peter.

Panormitane saith: Etsi Papa accipiat pecuniam pro collatione alicuius Prælaturæ, aut Beneficij, tamen Dominus Cardinalis ait, Non committitur Simonia: *Notwithstanding the* Pope *take money for the bestowing of a Bishopricke, or of a Benefice, yet my* Lord Cardinal *saith, in there is committed no* Simony. Archidiaconus Florentinus saith: Papa recipiendo pecuniam, non præsumitur animo vendendi recipere; sed vt illa pecunia ad vsum suum conuertatur: cùm Papa sit Dominus rerum Temporalium, per illud dictum Petri, Dabo tibi omnia Regna Mundi: *The* Pope *receiuing mony (for Bishopricks or Benefices) is not thought to take it by way of sale; but onely to turne the same mony to his owne vse. For the* Pope is Lord of all worldly goods, *as it appeareth by the words of* Peter, (which words notwithstanding Peter neuer spake, for they were spoken by Satan.) *Vnto thee will I giue all the Kingdomes of the World.*

Felin. de Offic. Iudicis delega. Ex parte. N. The Pope changeth vice into Vertue,

Againe Felinus saith: Quod datur Papæ, datur Sacrario Petri: nec est proprium Papæ: Sed prodest danti, tanquam facienti opus pijssimum: *Whatsoeuer is giuen to the* Pope (for Bishopricke or Benefice, by way of Simony) *it is giuen to* S. Peters Treasurie. *Neither is it the Popes owne seuerall goods. But it is auaileable to the giuer, as vnto one that doth a most godly deed.* Such a speciall grace hath the Pope. Of most Diuelish Vice he is able to make most Godly Vertue. And for the better furtherance of the matter, S. Peter must be made accessory to the Simony.

Extr. de Simon. cap. 1. Hostien.

Hostiensis saith: Papa potest vendere Titulum Ecclesiasticum, vt Episcopatum, Abbatiam, &c. *The* Pope *may sell any Ecclesiasticall Title or Dignity, as a Bishopricke or an Abbie, without danger of* Simony:

Extr. de Simon. Et si quæstiones.

But what speake we of the Pope? Your Cardinals themselues, by your fauourable constructions, and godly orders, are likewise priuileged to commit Simony safely, and freely, and without blame. Panormitane saith: Cardinalis pro Palafreno à nobili viro recepto, non præsumitur committere Simoniam: *A Cardinall, for receiuing a Palfrey of a Noble man,* (for a Benefice, or a Bishoprike) *is not thought to commit* Simony.

Hieronymus. 1. Quæst. 1. Eos qui.

Thus whereas Christ drawe Buyers and Sellers out of the Church, you by your proper distinctions haue receiued in Buyers and Sellers, and thrust out Christ. S. Hierome saith: Per nummularios significantur Beneficij Ecclesiastici venditores, qui Domum Dei faciunt Speluncam Latronum: *By the Exchangers are signified the Sellers of Ecclesiastical Benefices, which make the House of God a Den of Theeues.* In your owne Decrees it is written thus: Tolerabilior est Macedonij Hæresis, qui asserit Spiritum Sanctum esse Seruum Patris & Filij. Nam isti faciunt Spiritum Sanctum Seruum suum: *The Heresie of* Macedonius, *that said the* Holy Ghost *is Seruant and Slaue to the Father and to the Sonne, is more tolerable then is the Heresie of these* Simonists. *For these men make the* Holy Ghost *their owne Seruant.*

The Pope cannot commit Simonie.

Esay 59.

Aug. de Natura Boni. ca. 46.

Yet ye say ye are well assured, that the Truth is in the Church of Rome, and shal neuer depart from thence, notwithstanding any disorder or fault whatsoeuer there committed. And for proofe thereof ye allege, as ye say, the words of God himselfe in the Prophet Esay. Albeit, in that whole Prophet there is not one word expressly mentioned of the Church of Rome. Such a fantasie, as it appeareth, was somtimes in the Heretikes called the Manicheis. For thus they said: A Principibus Gentis Tenebrarum Lumen, ne ab ijs auferetur, tenebatur: *The Princes of the Nation of Darkenesse held fast the Light, lest it should flee from them.* For euen so doth the Pope and his Cardinals hold the Truth, as the Princes or Powers of Darkenesse held the Light. And what are the Popes and their Cardinals, but onely the Powers and Princes of Darkenesse? It was hard dealing for you to binde Christ in Recognisance, not to depart from the Pope. Ye should rather haue bound the Pope not to depart from Christ.

Hieronymus in Michæ. cap. 3.

S. Hierome saith: Prophetæ Hierusalem non habent in ore Propheriam: & in Domino requiescunt, & dicunt, Non venient super nos mala. Quorum causa Speculatorium Dei hostili aratro diuiditur: Et locus, quondam pacis, ruinis plenus sit: Et Templum Domini in vepres spinasque conuertitur, & est habitaculum bestiarum: *The Prophets of* Hierusalem *haue neuer a word of Prophesie in their mouthes. Yet they rest themselues vpon the Lord, and say, There shall no euill come vpon vs. For their sakes the Watch Tower of the Lord is turned vp with the enemies Plow: The place of peace is full of ruine: The Temple of the Lord is turned into Briers and Thornes, and is become a stable of wilde beasts.*

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision* 2.

But what if Ieremie tel them, as is afore rehersed, that these be Lies? What if the same Prophet say in another place, that the selfe same men who

who ought to be Keepers of the Vineyard, haue brought to nought and de-
stroied the Lords Vineyard? How if Christ say, that the same persons, who chiefly ought to haue care ouer the Temple, haue made the Lords Temple a denne of Theeues. Hier. 12. Matth. 21.

M. Harding.

Here come you in with your what ifs, which commonly you vse, when other Rhetorike faileth you. We tell you plainely without any ifs, that * Ieremy meant of you and such as you bee, and calleth your whole new fangled Doctrine, *Verbum mendacij*, the words of lying, earnestly giuing warning, that men giue no credit to them. His other rebuke pertaineth also to you. When were euer such Theeues in the Church of God, as ye are. * Learnedly prooued.

The Apologie, Chap. 12. *diuision* 1.

If it be so, that the Church of Rome cannot erre, it must needes follow, that the good lucke thereof is far greater, then all these mens policie. For such is their Life, their Doctrine, and their Diligence, that for all them, the Church may not only erre, but also vtterly be spoiled & perish. No doubt, if that Church may erre, which hath departed from Gods Words, from Christs Commandements, from the Apostles Ordinances, from the Primitiue Churches examples, from the Old Fathers and Councels Orders, and from their own Decrees, & which wil be bound within the compasse of none, neither Old or New, nor their own, nor of others, nor Mans Law, nor Gods Law, then it is out of all question, that the Romish Church hath not only had power to erre, but also that it hath shamefully and most wickedly erred in very deed.

M. Harding.

A man would haue thought you would haue brought some substantial Argument, wherby to proue, that the Church erreth. Neither make you excuse, in that you speake of the Romain Church. In this account we make no difference betweene the Roman Church, and the Church. But all your proofes depend vpon your ifs, which being denied, you haue no more to say. No doubt (say you) if that Church may erre which hath departed from Gods Word, from Christs Commandements, &c. then it hath erred in very deed. But Sir, what if a man denie your suppofall, and stay you in your first if? What haue you to proue it? All that you haue said hitherto we know, and of little force it is. But no doubt, say you, if that Church may erre, which hath departed from Gods word, &c. Yea forsooth if all ifs were true, then if Heauen fell, we should catch Larkes. And if a Bridge were made betweene Douer and Calis, we might goe to Bullein a foot, as William Somer once told King Henrie, if it be true that I haue heard say. The Church of Rome is the whole Catholike Church.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here is nothing else, but only the Canonization of poore William Somer. While your Bookes, M. Harding, shall liue, all his sage sawes shall neuer die.

The Apology, Chap. 12. *Diuision* 2.

But say they, ye haue beene of our fellowship, but now ye are become forsakers of your profession, and haue departed from vs. It is true: Wee haue departed from them, and for so doing, we both giue thanks to Almighty God, and greatly reioice in our own behalfe. But yet for all this from the Primitiue Church, from the Apostles, & from Christ we haue not departed. True it is, we were brought vp with these men in darkenesse, and in the lacke of the knowledge of God, as Moses was brought vp in Learning, and in the bosome of the Egyptians. We haue been of your Company, saith Tertullian, I confesse it, and no maruell at all: For, saith he, men be made, and not borne Christians. *Tertullian. in Apologetico.*

M. Harding.

We say (as ye report) that yee haue beene once of our Fellowship, but now ye are become Apostates and forsakers of your profession, and haue wickedly departed from vs. By the name of vs, we mean not some one particular company, but Christs Catholik Church. We say of you, as S. Iohn said of the like who he calleth Antichrists: *Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis. Nam si fuissent ex nobis permansissent vtique nobiscum*: They are departed from out of vs, but they were not of vs. For if they had beene of vs, they had doubtlesse remained still with vs. By this whole discourse, Christ & his Apostles may be condemned.

1. Ioh. 2.

But what is your anſwer hereunto? It is deſperate, fooliſh and lying. Firſt, yee confeſſe the thing, and not only that, but alſo thanke God for it, and greatly reioyce in it. And therein yee follow the worſt ſort of ſinners, of whom Salomon ſaith: *Lætantur cùm malè fecerint & exultant in rebus peſſimis.* They be glad when they haue done euil, and reioice in the worſt things that are. Ye haue diuided the Church of God, ye haue rent our Lords net, ye haue cut his whole wouen coat, which the wicked ſouldiers that crucified him, could not finde in their hearts to doe. Dionyſius Alexandrinus writing to Nouatus the great Heretike, who did as ye haue done, ſaith thus vnto him, as Euſebius recyteth, whereby ye may eſteeme the greatneſſe of your crie: Thou ſhouldeſt haue ſuffered whatſoeuer it were, that the Church of God might not be diuided. And martirdome ſuffered for that the Church ſhould not be diuided, is no leſſe glorious, then that which is ſuffered for not doing idolatry. Yea, in mine opinion it is greater. For there one is martyred for his owne onely ſoule, and here for the whole Church. Thus it followeth, that by your Apoſtaſie, and by you diuiding of Gods Church, yee haue done more wickedly, (a) then if yee committed Idolatrie.

Prouerb. 2.

Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 44. Greek.

(a) A good excuſe of Idolatry.

But yet for al this (ſay they) from the Primitiue Church, from the Apoſtles, and from Chriſt we haue not departed. What can be ſaid more fooliſhly? Why Sirs, (b) is not the Primitiue Church and this of our time one Church? Doth it not hold together by continual ſucceſſion til the worlds end? What, hath Chriſt moe Churches then one? Is the Primitiue Church quite done, and now muſt there begin a new? Is not Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and all true beleeuers, in what time or place ſoeuer they liue, his one Myſtical Body, whereof he is the Head, all other the members? As Chriſt is one, the Holy Ghoſt one, one Faith, one Baptiſme, one Vocation, one God: ſo is the Church one, which began at the firſt man, and ſhal endure to the laſt: whereof the liuing part one earth before the comming of Chriſt into Fleſh, was ſometime brought to ſmal number: after his comming, after that the Apoſtles had preached & ſpread the Goſpel abroad, the number neither was euer, nor ſhall be other then great (though ſometime accounted ſmal in reſpect of the vnbeleeuers) vntill the comming againe of the Sonne of Man, what time he ſhal ſcantly find Faith, ſpecially that which worketh by charity in the earth. Againſt which time buſily yee make preparation.

(b) Yes verily: Euen as the houſe of God and the caue of Theeues were all one Temple. Matthæ. 21.

Luke 18.

For ſome part of excuſe of your forſaking the Church, ye ſay, yee were brought vp with vs in darkneſſe, & in the lack of knowledge of God, as Moſes was among the Egyptians: for that ye bring out of Tertullian, helpeth you nothing at al. I pray you Sirs, what darkneſſe meane ye? Speake ye of ſin? We excuſe not our ſelues. But when tooke ye out the beame of your owne eies, that ye eſpie the more of our eie? It were wel ye proued your ſelues honeſt men, before ye required vs to be Angels. If ye meane the darkneſſe of ignorance, as peraduenture ye do, & the lack of knowledge of God: now that ye are departed from vs, & haue ſet chaire againſt chaire, (I ſee no cauſe why to ſay, Altar againſt Altar) what more & better knowledge of God haue ye, then we haue, and euer haue had? Doe we not know the Articles of our Beleefe? Tel vs, which do we lack? This is life euerlaſting (ſaith our Sauiour in the Goſpel) to know thee God alone, and whom thou haſt ſent Ieſus Chriſt. So far as God lightneth our vnderſtanding with the ſupernatural light of his grace, thus much wee know. For which Peter the ſonne of Jona was accounted bleſſed of Chriſt, the ſame we ſinful Papiſts through Gods grace, alſo know and confeſſe. The Commandements of God we know: what is good, what is euil: which be ſins, which be vertues, what is to be followed, what is to be ſhunned: ſo far as is behoueful, we be not ignorant.

Here M. Hard. laith out his heaps of learning.

Iohn 17. Matth. 16

What is the darkneſſe then, for which yee would needs be gone from vs? And what is that worthy knowledge ye haue woone by your departure? Tel vs, that we may buy the Bookes, and goe to ſchoole with you. Truly without yee haue ſome hidden and ſecret knowledge, which ye haue not vttered to the world hitherto, as we beleeue ye haue not, being ſuch boaſters as ye are: we ſee little cauſe, ye ſhould twit vs of ignorance, and brag of your owne knowledge. This we ſee ful wel, they that run away from vs to your ſide, be they Monkes or Friers, Tinkers or Tapſters, Coblers or Bodgers, white or blacke, by and by in your Synagogues they bee great Rabbins. And yee the ſuperintendents admit them to bee your Miniſters and Preachers of the word, and tel them they can doe well, and they beleeue no leſſe themſelues. But the people take them for ſuch, as they knew them before they tooke ſuch degree, and many times for their good behauiour, they forget their Holy Miniſtery, and Chriſten them by their common name which was not giuen them at the Font. Yet all this proueth not either our ignorance or your maruellous and rare knowledge. Neither ſhal ye euer be able to proue to any man of learning and iudgement, that in any liberal ſciences or right knowledge of the ſcriptures, ye are comparable to the learned men of the Catholike Church. Though aboue fifty yeeres paſt and vpward for a ſpace, the ſtudies of Eloquence and of tongues were intermitted, yet then and before thoſe times was there no ſmall number of men, who had profound knowledge of all good Arts, and ſpecially of the Holy Letters. I report me to Thomas Walden, who very learnedly confuted the Hereſies of your great Grandfather Iohn Wickleffe: to Alcuinus in the great Charles time: to Beda before that, all three Engliſhmen: to Anſelme and Lanckfranke Biſhops of England, though ſtrangers borne: to S. Thomas of Aquine, S. Bernard, Rupertus & hundreds moe, which here is no place to reckon. Were not they by confeſſion of al, great Clerkes? doe not the beſt learned of our time, in obſcure matters, fetch light of thē? To ſay the truth, in compariſon of their cleare light, your ill ſauouring ſnuffes may ſcantly ſeeme to yeeld a darke ſmoake. Many talke of your painted ſheath, who, were they learned indeed, would ſoone perceiue neither that to be very freſh and gay: for as for your ſword, what ruſty and beggarly mettal it is, the wiſer part of the world ſeeth.* Therefore ye ſhal doe wel, Sirs, to ſpeake no more of the darkneſſe and ignorance of the Catholike Church, and to boaſt leſſe of your great cunning and knowledge.

*A very learned and a worthy concluſion. But woe be to them that cal Light Darkneſſe, & Darkneſſe Light: Eſay 5.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Your head was very idle, M. Harding, when it could ſo eaſily yéld vs ſuch idle talke. If ye think it in no caſe to be lawful to depart from them, whatſoeuer they be, that beare the ſhew and countenance of the Church, then muſt ye néeds condemne the Apoſtles and Prophets, and moſt ſpecially Chriſt himſelfe. But let vs conſider, from what company we are departed. So may the cauſes of our departure the better appeare. For the Pope himſelfe ſaith not nay, but vpon iuſt conſiderations, any Church may leaue the Church

of

of Rome. His owne wordes be these: Nulli agere licet, sine discretione Iustitiæ, contra Disciplinam Romanæ Ecclesiæ: *Without discretion of Iustice, it is lawfull for no man, to doe any thing contrary to the Order of the Church of Rome.* By this the Popes owne Decree, with discretion of Iustice, it is lawfull to doe contrary to the Orders of the Church of Rome. *Dist. 12. Non decet. in Rubr.*

Departing from the Church of Rome.

But for a short and generall view of that whole Church, in this behalfe, S. Bernard saith thus: Parum est nostris Pastoribus, quòd non seruant nos, nisi & perdant. Non parcunt suis, qui non parcunt sibi, Perimentes pariter, & Pereuntes: *It is not sufficient for our Bishops that they saue vs not, vnlesse they also doe destroy vs: sparing not themselues, they spare not their people. They doe both perish themselues, and kill others.* Againe he saith: Non custodiunt hoc tempore Sponsam, sed perdunt: Non custodiunt Gregem Domini, sed mactant & deuorant: *They keepe not this day the Spouse of God, that is, his Church, but they destroy her: They keepe not the Flocke, but they kill and deuoure.* He that writes Paralipomena Vrspergensis, in the story of the Councel of Constance, saith thus: Spiritum extinguebant: Prophetias aspernabantur: Christum in Membris suis persequebantur: Eratq; planè persequutrix Ecclesia: *They oppressed the Spirit of God: they defied the voices of the Prophets: they persecuted Christ in his members. And indeed the Church was giuen to worke persecution.* *Bernard. in Synodo Remensi. In ead. Synod.* *Paralipom. Vrsperg pag. 396.*

Æneas Syluius that afterward was Pope Pius 2. saith: Refriguit Charitas, & Fides omnis interijt: *Charity is waxen cold, and all Faith is dead.* *Æneas Syl. in epist. ad Casparem Schlickium.*

In the life of Pope Clemens 5. it is written thus: Hic fuit Publicus Fornicator. Ab eo tempore defecit omnis Disciplina & Religio in Cardinalibus, & tres Radices vitiorum, Superbia, Auaritia, Luxuria, validissimè dominantur: *The Pope was an open Whooremaster. From that time forward, all kinde of Discipline and Religion decaied in the Cardinals: and three roots of vices, Pride, Auarice, and Lechery, mightily bare the sway.* *Paralipom. Vrsper. in Clem. 5.*

Antonius Marinarius at your late Chapter at Trident, saith thus of the Church of Rome: Si Euangelica Fides nostræ vitæ Regula esset, re ipsa Christiani essemus. Nunc Titulo & Ceremonijs Vocamur Christiani: *If the Faith of the Gospell were a Rule vnto our Life, then should we be Christians in very deed. As now, by Titles and Ceremonies we beare only the name of Christians.* To like purpose saith Nicolaus Cusanus a Cardinall of Rome: Si rectè respicimus, omnis Religio Christiana, paucis demptis, degenerauit in apparentiam: *If we marke it well, all our Christian Religion, a few excepted, is growen out of kinde vnto a shew.* *In Conc. Trid. Antonius Marinarius.* *Nicol. Cusanus Excitat. lib. 9. Conc. Trident.*

At the said Chapter, the Bishop of Bitonto said thus, as I haue reported before: Quibus turpitudinum Monstris, qua sordium Colluuie, qua Peste non sunt fœdati, non corrupti in Ecclesia Sancta, & populus, & Sacerdos? A Sanctuario Dei incipite: Si vllas iam pudor, si vlla pudicitia, si vllà supersit bene viuendi vel spes, vel ratio: *With what Monsters of Filthinesse, with what Villany, with what Pestilence be they not corrupted, and defiled in the* Holy Church (of Rome) *as well the Priest as the People? Begin euen with the Sanctuary of God, if there be any shame, if there be any regard of Honesty, if there be any Hope, or way to liue well.* *epist. Bitont.*

Another saith: O nos miseros, qui Christiani dicimur! Gentes agimus sub nomine Christi: *Miserable are we that are called* Christians. *We liue as* Heathens *vnder the name of* Christ. *Frane. Zephyrus in Apologeticum Tertull.*

Another saith: O lugenda Roma, quæ nostris Maioribus clara Patrum Lumina protulisti: nostris temporibus, monstrosas tenebras, futuro sæculo famosas, offudisti! *O miserable Rome, which in the time of our Elders hast brought forth the lights of worthy Fathers, but in our daies, hast brought forth monstrous Darkenesse, shamefull and slanderous to the time to come!* Petrarcha calleth Rome a Schoole of Errour, and a Temple of Heresie. *Arnulphus, aut Bernardus in Concil. Remen. Petrar. in Rythmis Italicis: Schola di Errori: è Tempio de Eresia.*

Brigitta, whose wordes and Prophesies ye haue in reuerence, saith in her Reuelations: Christus sumet Benedictionem à Clero Romano, & dabit eam alteri Genti facienti voluntatem Domini: *Christ shall take his Blessing from the Clergy of Rome: and shall giue the same vnto a people that shall doe his will.* *Hermannus Riddus.*

By these few, we may conceiue the whole state of the Church of Rome, which onely Church, aboue all others, M. Harding telleth vs, is so founded in the Truth, that it neuer can haue power to be deceiued.

We haue departed therefore from Shepheards that spoiled the Flocke: from Bishops that destroied the Church: that oppressed the Spirit of God: that defied the voice of the Prophets: that persecuted Christ in his Members: that both perished themselues, and killed others: that wallowed in monsters of filthinesse: that liued as Heathens, vnder the name of Christ: that were void of Charity: void of Faith: void of Discipline: void of Religion: that were Christians onely in Titles and Ceremonies: from whom Christ had withdrawen his Blessing: To be short, we haue departed from the Temple of Heresie, and from the Schoole of Error.

This, M. Harding, is the beauty and face of your Roman Clergy: this is that blessed company that we haue forsaken.

Yet

Departing from the Church of Rome.

Yet, ſay you, It had beene better to haue died then to haue broken the Vnity of ſuch a Church. For your friends tel you, that without the Obedience of the Biſhop of Rome, there is no Hope of Saluation. Notwithſtanding, your owne Clemens, whom ye commonly call the Apoſtles fellow, ſaith thus: Schiſma efficit, non qui ab Impijs ſeceſſionem facit, ſed qui à Pijs: *He maketh no Schiſme or Diuiſion in the* Church, *that departeth from the wicked: but he that departeth from the godly.* And therefore he addeth further: Laici, cum ijs qui contraria ſententiæ Dei, dogmata defendunt, nolite ſocietatem habere, neque participes illorum Impietatis fieri. Ait enim Dominus, Recedite de medio horum hominum, ne cum eis pereatis: *Ye Lay men, haue ye no fellowſhip with them, nor be you Partakers of their Wickednesse, that defend* Doctrines contrary to the Doctrine of God. *For our Lord ſaith, Depart from the middeſt of this people, leſt ye periſh together with them.*

De Maiorit. & Obedient. Vnam Sanctam. Subeſſe Romano Pontifici, eſt de neceſſitate Salutis.

Clemens. Apoſtolicar. conſtit. lib 6. cap 4.

Pope Pius 2. ſaith: Reſiſtendum eſt quibuſcunque in faciem, ſiue Paulus ſiue Petrus ſit, qui ad Veritatem non ambulat Euangelij: *We muſt withſtand any man vnto the face, be it* Peter, *be it* Paul, *if he walke not after the truth of the Goſpell.*

Æneas Sylnius ad Rector. & Vniuerſitatem Colonien. Paralipom. Vrſpergenſ. pag. 435.

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Ne Catholicis quidem Epiſcopis conſentiendum eſt, ſicubi forte falluntur, & contra Canonicas Scripturas aliquid ſentiant: *We may not agree, no not with the Catholike Biſhops, if they happen to be deceiued and thinke any thing contrary to the Canonicall Scriptures.*

Aug. de Vnitate Eccl. cap. 10.

Therefore Cardinall Cuſanus aduiſe by the Councel at S. Gregory, whom he allegeth, is: If Vices haue growen in the Church, through ouermuch obedience towards the Prelates, that we fauour them not, but withſtand them: Vt ſi qua vitia ex nimia obedientia exorta ſint, non foueantur ſed eis reſiſtatur: In which words it is to be noted, that the people may yeld too much obedience and reuerence towards their Prelates.

Nicol. Cuſan. de Concordant. Lib. 2. Cap 25.

S Chryſoſtome ſaith: Ex ipſis Veris Eccleſijs frequenter exeunt ſeductores. Propterea nec ipſis omninò credendum eſt, niſi ea dicant, vel faciant, quæ conuenientia ſint Scripturis: *Euen out of the very true Churches oftentimes there come deceiuers. Therefore we may not in any wiſe beleeue, no not them* (notwithſtanding they be the true Churches of God) *vnleſſe they ſpeake or doe ſuch things as be agreeable to the Scriptures.*

Chryſ. in Mat. homil. 49.

Anſelmus a late Writer, expounding theſe words of S. Paul, Tunc reuelabitur ille iniquus, ſaith thus: Romanus Pontifex, qui tenet nunc Eccleſias, teneat illas, donec de medio fiat: id eſt, donec ab ipſa Romana Eccleſia, quæ eſt Medium & Cor Eccleſiarum, fiat iniquitas, ob quam ab ea multæ diſcedant Eccleſiæ: *Let the* Biſhop of Rome *that now holdeth the Churches, hold them ſtill, vntill it be taken away from the midſt: that is to ſay, vntill wickedneſſe be wrought of the Church of Rome, that is the middeſt and heart of Churches:* for which wickednesſe many Churches ſhall depart from her.

Anſelmus in 2. Theſſ. 2.

S. Ambroſe ſaith: Nullus pudor eſt, ad meliora tranſire: *It is no ſhame to goe to the better.*

Ambr. in Epiſt. ad Theodoſ. & Valent.

S. Auguſtine ſaith vnto Fauſtus the Heretike: Ille me quondam de gremio tuo Error excuſſerat. Expertus fugi, quod experiri non debui: *That Error ſhooke me once out of thy boſome. Being taught by proofe, I haue fled that thing that I ſhould not haue proued.*

Auguſt. contra. Fauſt. li. 15. ca. 3.

Ambroſius Ansbertus one of your owne Doctors ſaith: Per Hieremiam Prophetam dicitur, Exite de medio eius populus meus, & ſaluet vnuſquiſque animam ſuam ab ira furoris Domini. Nequaquam enim in hac vita de medio ciuitatis reprobæ, id eſt, de medio malorum, quos Babylon illa ſignificat, electorum aliquis valet exire, niſi deteſtando, quod ab ipſis agitur, & agendo, quod ab ipſis deteſtatur: *The Prophet* Hieremy, *ſaith, O my people go forth from the midſt of them, and ſaue euery man his owne ſoule from the rage of our Lords furie. For none of the Elect of God can in this life goe forth from the midſt of that wicked City, that is to ſay, from the midſt of the euill, which that* Babylon *ſignifieth, but by defying that they doe: and by doing that they deſie.* And whereas ye would ſo faine dazel our eies, and couer your deformities with the name of the Church, S. Cyprian ſaith: Non eſt Pax ſed Bellum: nec Eccleſiæ iungitur, qui ab Euangelio ſeparatur: *It is no Peace but Warre: neither is he ioined to the* Church, *that is diuided from the* Goſpell.

Ambr. Anſber. in Apocal. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Cyprian de Lapſis. Serm. 5.

S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Mihi Ciuitas non habens pios Ciues, Omni Villa vilior, eſt & quacunque Spelunca ignobilior: *A City that hath not godly Citizens is vnto me viler then any Vilage, and more lothſome then any Caue.* And this he ſaith of the City of Antioch, which by expreſſe words, he more eſteemeth, then the City of Rome.

Chryſ. ad populum Antiochen. hom. 17.

We grant, we haue departed from you, vpon ſuch occaſion, and in ſuch ſort, as Moſes ſometime departed from out of Egypt: or, as S. Auguſtine departed from the Manichees. Howbeit, in very deed, you haue rather departed from out of vs. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Sic de iſta Noua Hieruſalem, id eſt, de Eccleſia, qui Spirituales Chriſtiani fuerunt, relicta Corporali Eccleſia, quam perfidi occupauerant violentia, exierunt ab illis. Magis autem illi exierunt à nobis, ſicut Iohannes exponit. Non enim illi de Eccleſia exire videtur qui corporaliter exit, ſed qui Spiritualiter Veritatis Eccleſiaſticæ Fundamenta reliquit.

Chryſ. in Mat. homil. 49.

Nos

Nos enim ab illis exiuimus Corpore: illi à nobis animo. Nos enim ab illis exiuimus Loco: Illi à nobis Fide. Nos apud illos reliquimus Fundamenta parietum: Illi apud nos reliquerunt Fundamenta Scripturarum. Nos ab illis egressi sumus secundùm aspectum hominum: Illi autem à nobis secundùm Iudicium Dei. Relicta est autem deserta, ex quo de illa Corporali Ecclesia Spiritualis exiuit: Id est, de populo suo, qui videbatur Christianus, & non erat, Populus iste exiuit qui non videbatur, & erat. Magis autem, secundùm quod diximus, illi à nobis exierunt, quàm nos ab illis: *Euen so, touching this* New Hierusalem, *which is the Church, they that were Spirituall Christian men, leauing the Bodily Church, which the wicked by violence had inuaded, departed out from them: or as* S. Iohn *expoundeth it, they rather departed out from vs. For he seemeth not indeed to depart from the Church, that* Bodily *departeth: but he, that Spiritually leaueth the Foundations of the Ecclesiastical Truth. Wee haue departed from them in* Body: *they haue departed from vs in* Minde. *We from them, by* Place: *they from vs, by* Faith. *We haue left with them the Foundations of the walles: They haue left with vs the Foundations of the Scriptures. We are departed forth from them, in the sight of Men: They are departed from vs, in the iudgement of God. But now, after that the Spirituall Church is gone forth, the Bodily Church is left forsaken: That is to say, from that people, that seemed to be a Christian people and was not, this people is gone forth, that seemed not outwardly, but was so indeed. Notwithstanding, as we haue said before, they haue rather departed from vs, then we from them.*

Ye say, your Church of Rome, **that now is, and the** Primitiue Church, **is al one** Church. Euen so the Moone **both in the full, and in the wane, is al One Moone. Euen so** Hierusalem, **as well vnder** Dauid, **as vnder** Manasses, **was al** One City. **The** Holy place, **whether the** Maiesty of God, **or the** Abomination of Desolation **stand in it, is all** one place. **The** Primitiue Church, say **you,** and the Church of Rome, that now is, is all one Church. **Therfore we say,** the Church of Rome **that now is, in Truth and Religion, ought to agree with the** Primitiue Church.

The Church in few.

Whether the Church may be brought to a few number, or no, **we had occasion somewhat to say before. The Ancient Father** Irenæus saith: Quemadmodum ibi in plurimis eorum, qui peccauerunt, non bene sensit Deus: Sic & hic multi sunt vocati: pauci vero electi: *As in the* Old Testament, *in many of them, that offended, God was not pleased: Euen so now in the* New Testament many are *called, and few are chosen.* **In consideration whereof,** S. Hierome **crieth out in an Agony within himselfe:** Tanta erit Sanctorum paucitas: *So small shall be the number of holy men.* **One of your owne Doctors saith, as it is alleged once before:** Licèt in hoc bello Dæmonum cadant Religiosi Principes, & Milites, & Prælati Ecclesiastici, & Subditi, semper tamen manent aliqui, in quibus seruatur Veritas Fidei, & Iustificatio bonæ conscientiæ. Et si non nisi duo viri Fideles remanerent in mundo, tamen in illis saluaretur Ecclesia, quæ est Vnitas Fidelium. *Notwithstanding in this warre of Diuels, both the godly Princes, and Souldiers, and Ecclesiasticall Prelates and Subiects be ouerthrowen, yet euermore there remaine some, in whom the* Truth of Faith, *and the Righteousnesse of good conscience is preserued. And notwithstanding* there were but two Faithfull Men *remaining in the World, yet euen in them, the* Church of God, *which is the Vnitie of the Faithfull, should be saued.*

Irenæus, lib. 4. cap. 46.

Hier. in Esai. lib. 8. cap. 24.

Fortalitium fidei, lib. 5.

But, for that we say, we were brought vp among you in Darknesse and Ignorance. **Ye enter out of season into a needlesse discourse of comparison of Learning.** In the Liberall Sciences (ye say) we are not comparable to the Learned men of your side. **It was not our meaning, M. Harding, to call the bright beames of your** Liberall Learning **into question. It appeareth ye would faine haue it blased and magnified to the vttermost, and no way to be disgraced. We meant only the knowledge of God, and the open profession of his Holy Word: In comparison of which knowledge, all other knowledge what soeuer, is meere darkenesse.**

Howbeit, touching any kinde of the Liberall **and** Learned Sciences, **there was no great cause why ye should either so highly rowse your selfe in your owne opinion, or so greatly disdaine others. Ye may remember, that your** Prouinciall Constitutions **begin with these words,** Ignorantia Sacerdotum.

De Sum. Trinitat. Linwood.

It were no great mastery to charge the chiefe Doctors of your side with some want of Learning. Ludouicus Viues **saith:** Vt quidque his superioribus sæculis minùs tritum fuit studentium manibus, ita purius ad nos peruenit: *For the space of certaine hundred yeeres past, the lesse any Booke came into* (your **Learned** *students hands, the purer and better it came to vs.* **Meaning thereby, that euery thing was the worse for your learned handling. Of** Thomas, Scotus, Hugo, **and others, of whom ye seeme to make so great account, your owne** friend Catharinus **saith:** Scholastici multa ineruditè comminiscuntur: *These* Schoole Doctours *imagine many matters vnlearnedly.* Erasmus **saith:** Portenta quæ nunc passim legimus in Commentarijs Recentium Interpretum, tam impudentia, & insulsa sunt, vt videantur

Ludo. Viues de Causis corrupt. Artium, lib. 5. Catharinus aduersus Dominicum a Soto. Erasm. in scholijs in Hieron. ad Marcellum.

Comparison of Learning.

tur Suibus ea scripsisse, non Hominibus: *The monstrous follies that we commonly read in the Commentaries of the late Interpreters,* (**whereby he meaneth the very croppe and the lumpthickest of al your Scholastical** Learned Doctours) *are so far without shame and so penisse, as if they had beene* written for Swine, and not for men. **One of your Doctours saith:** Apostolus, dicitur ab Apos, quod est Argumentum, vel præeminentia, & Stolon, quod est Missio: quasi præeminenter missus. **Another saith:** Apocrisarij, dicuntur Nuntij Domini Papæ. Nam crisis dicitur Secretum: & Apos dicitur Nuntius. **Another saith:** Cathedra est nomen Græcum & componitur à Cathos, quod est Fides, & Edra, quod est Sponda. **Another saith:** Eleemosyna, dicitur ab Eleis, quod est, Misereri, & Mois quod est Aqua. Peter Crab **in his late** Scholies **vpon the** Councels, **saith thus:** Mulieres συνοικτὰς, id est, cohabitantes Sacculos: **and so by his high learning like a Clerke, he turneth** Women **into** Sackes. **Likewise againe he saith:** Phrygium factum est ex Pennis Pauonum: **Of your** Liberall Learned Clergie **one saith thus:** Nec verba Canonis intelligunt, nec quæ sint verba Consecrationis sciunt: *They vnderstand not the words of their Canons; neither know they which be the words of Consecration.* **And therefore he that forged the** rule of Monkes, **vnder the name of** S. Hierome, **chargeth them in any wise to pronounce euery word distinctly and warily, lest by their foolish vtterance they should make the Angels to fal a laughing.**

Eraſm. ad Archiepiſc. Toled. Extr. de Elect. & Elect. poteſt ſignif. in Gloſſ. Manipul. Curat. pag. 101. Inter Decr. Felicis pp. Concil. tom. 1 pa. 168. In Donatione Conſtantini. Herm. Riddus. Hieron. in Reg. Monach. Ne ad Riſum prouocentur Angelici Spiritus.

These few may serue you for a taste. Whereby M. Harding, it may appeare, your Clergy **hath no great cause, to make such triumph of their** Learning. **Howbeit, we vpbraid you not herewith: nor was this the cause of our departure. We hold both** Faith **and** Learning **and** Church **and** Religion **by inheritance.** Christ hath once praied for Peter: **Therefore your** Faith **and** Learning **can neuer faile. Yet notwithstanding your late** Bookes, **freight with so many vnciuil and vaine speeches (for of your often** Vntruths **I wil say nothing) sauour more of choler and stomacke, then of** Learning. S. Hierome **saith:** Doctrina viri per patientiam noscitur: Quia tantò quisque minùs ostenditur doctus, quantò conuincitur minùs patiens: *A mans* Learning *is knowen by his patience. For the lesse patient a man sheweth himselfe to be, the lesse he sheweth to be his* Learning. **Therefore, M. Harding, your impatient demeanour and vnkindly heats may call your** Learning **into question.**

Hieron. in Proverb. li. 2. ca. 19

Would God ye would humble your knowledge, **and make it obedient to the** knowledge **of God. Otherwise that** Peter **said vnto** Simon Magus, **of his money, may likewise be said vnto you of your knowledge:** Thy knowledge be with thee to thy destruction. **Our** Learning **is the** Crosse of Christ: **of other** Learning **we make no vants. God is called the** God of Truth, **and not of** Learning. S. Paul **saith:** *All kind of* Learning *shalbe abolished and consumed to nothing.* **God make vs all** *Learned to the Kingdome of* Heauen.

Actor. 8.
1. Cor. 2.
3. Esdr. 4.
1. Cor. 13.
Matth. 13.

The Apologie, Chap. 13. *Diuision.* 1.

But wherefore I pray you, haue they themselues, the Citizens & dwellers of Rome, **remooued & come downe from those** Seuen Hilles, **whereupon** Rome **sometime stood, to dwel rather in the Plaine, called the** field of Mars? **They wil say peraduenture, because the conduits of Water, wherewithout men cannot commodiously liue, haue now failed, & are dried vp in those Hilles. Wel then, let them giue vs like leaue in seeking the** Water of Eternal Life, **that then giue themselues in seeking the** Water of the Well. **For that Water verily failed amongst them.** The Elders of the Iewes, **saith** Ieremie, sent their little ones to the Waterings: and they, finding no Water being in miserable case, and vtterly lost for thirst, brought home againe their vessels empty. The needy and poore folk, **saith** Esay, sought about for Water, but no where found they any: their tongue was euen withered for thirst. **Euen so these men haue broken in peeces al the pips & conduits: they haue stopped vp al the springs & choked vp the fountaine of Liuing Water with dirt & mire. And as** Caligula, **many yeers past, locked vp fast al the garnards & storehouses of corne in** Rome, **& therby brought a generall dearth & famine amongst the people; euen so these men, by damming vp al the** Fountaines of Gods VVord, **haue brought the people into a pitifull thirst. They haue brought into the World, as saith the** Prophet Amos, a Hunger, and a Thirst: not the Hunger of Bread, nor the Thirst of Water; but of hearing the word of God: **With great distresse went they scattering about, seeking**

Hierem. 14.
Esay 41.
Amos. 8.

some sparke of heauenly light to refresh their consciences withal: but that light was already thorowly quenched out, so that they could finde none. This was a ruful state: This was a lamentable forme of Gods Church. It was a misery to liue therein, without the Gospel, without Light, and without al Comfort.

M. Harding.

Wel and wittily reasoned forsooth. No, no, Sirs, if it were that holesome Water of eternal life which ye thirst after, * ye would neuer haue departed from the high hill, the Catholike Church, and come downe into the vallies, where ye finde the durty puddles of fleshly pleasures, where the Diuel Behemoth, as Iob saith, *Dormit in locis humentibus*, sleepeth in moist places. Iob 14. All were not statued for hunger and thirst of that water of Gods Word. Therefore ye speake both slanderously, and ignorantly for Diuines, where ye say, that we had broken in peeces al the pipes and conduits, that we had stopped vp all the springs, and choked and damned vp all the Fountaines of Liuing Water with durt and mire.

* Vntruth. For we are not departed from the Catholike Church.

Yet vnwares or ignorantly they call that faithlesse and pagane state a lamentable forme of Gods Church, whereas they should haue accounted it no Church at al. For where is no word of God, no Light, no Gospel at all, how can there be any Church? Without these, any multitude is no more a Church, then without Christ a man is a Christian, then a dead man is a man. And thus with malicious slandering, not with learned reasons, with their owne affirmations, not with apt allegations haue they gone about to proue, that these many hundred yeeres the Church hath erred. But thankes be to God, al this winde shaketh no corne. When al these hasty blasts be blowne ouer, the Church of God shall stand still vnmooued, vpon the Rocke Christ builded it on, and appeare glorious in her stedfastnesse and truth, maugre the gainsaying of all Heretikes, and shall appeare to them terrible, as a strong army set in battel aray. Cantic 6.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Here, M. Harding, ye begin out of season to play with your Allegories, and Mystical Fantasies. Your Catholike Church of Rome, you say, is the Mount: worldly pleasure is the Vale. By which comparison we must beleeue, that the Pope and his Cardinals, sitting on high vpon the Mount, passe their time there only in Fasting, and Prayer, and in all manner pouerty, and penury, and straitnesse of life, and haue vtterly abandoned all worldly pleasures. Notwithstanding some haue said: In Cardinalibus Superbia, Auaritia, Luxuria validissimè dominantur: *In the Cardinals of Rome, Pride, Auarice, and Lechery are in their greatest Courage.* *Paralip. Vrspar. in Clement. 5.* Howbeit, touching as well this, as other your like Follies concerning the Church, I wil not say, Ye kepe your wont: But I must needs say, Ye do but trifle.

The Apologie, Chap. 13. Diuision. 2.

Departing from the Church of Rome.

Wherefore, though our Departing were a trouble to them, yet ought they to consider withal how iust cause we had of our Departure.

M. Harding.

Indeed our charity is such, as we confesse it to be a griefe vnto vs to see you play the part of rebellious children, to vse presumption for submission, contempt for obedience, spight for loue: yet sith that ye are desperate and incorrigible, as by your departing from vs the Church felt some anguish & trouble, so now that ye are gone, it is releeued as the Body is eased, when after a purgation it hath auoided euil humors. Now say your best.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

We are not gone from the Church of God, M. Harding: we are gone only from you that haue so vnreuerently abused the Church. But ye feele good ease (ye say) and are well releeued by our departure, as (to vse your homely comparisons) a sicke body is releeued by a purgation. God of his mercy grant, that ye may likewise be purged of all the rest of our brethren in other Countries. So shal ye feele more ease, and be better releeued.

S. Hierome saith: Hebræi dicunt, quòd ea nocte qua egressus est Israel ex Ægypto, omnia in Ægypto Templa destructa sunt, siue terræ motu, siue ictu fulminum. Spiritualiter autem dicimus, quòd egredientibus nobis ex Ægypto, errorum Idola corruant, & omnis peruersarum Doctrinarum cultura quatiatur: *The Rabines or Hebrew Doctors say, that the same night that* Israel departed out of Egypt, *all the Idolatrous Temples in* Egypt *were destroied, either by Earthquake, or by Lightning. But hereof we learne in a Spiritual sense, that when we depart out of* Egypt (*that is to say, from the company of* Idolaters) *the* Idols of error *fal to the ground, and al the honor of false Doctrine is shaken downe.* Such releefe, M. Harding, we trust ye shal finde by our departure. *Hieron. ad Fabiolum, de 42. Mansionibus, Mansione 1.*

Beda expounding these words of the Apocalyps, Come foorth from her, my people, and bee not partakers of her sins, saith thus: Inducit discessionem, quæ est ruina Babylonis: *Beda in Apoc. Lib. 3. Cap 18.*

lonis: Cùm enim Loth discesserit à Sodomis, Sodomæ fundùs rollentur: S. Iohn *speaketh of the departure, which is the ruine and fall of Babylon. For when* Loth *shall depart out of* Sodome, *then shall* Sodome *viterly be ouerthrowne.*

Beda in Apoc. Lib. 3. Cap. 19.

Againe hæ saith: Post hæc audiui vocem, Alleluia: Laus, & Gloria, & Virtus Deo nostro: Hæc nunc ex parte dicit Ecclesia. Tunc autem perfectè dicet, cùm discessio facta fuerit: *After this I heard a voice,* Alleluia: *Praise, and Glory, and Power be to our God. This song the Church in part singeth already But then shall she in deed and perfectly sing it, when departure shall be made (from* Antichrist, *or* Babylon.)

The Apologie, Chap. 14. Diuision 1.

For if they say, It is in no wise lawful for one to leaue the fellowship wherein he hath beene brought vp, they may as well in our names, and vpon our heads, likewise condemne the Prophets, **the** Apostles, **and** Christ **himselfe. For why complaine they not also of this, that** Loth **went quite his way out of** Sodome, Abraham **out of** Chaldee, **the** Israelites **out of** Egypt, Christ **from the** Iewes, **and** Paul **from the** Pharisеis? **For except it be possible there may be a lawful cause of departing, we see no reason why** Loth, Abraham, **the** Israelites, Christ, **and** Paul, **may not be accused of Sects and Seditions as well as others.**

M. Harding.

Yet bring yee nothing to the purpose. Your proofes be so weake, and hang so euill together, that we may wel tel you (which Irenæus obiected to Heretikes) that ye make a rope of sand. We say not, it is in no wise lawful for one to leaue the fellowship wherein he hath beene brought vp: But contrariwise, (a) if the fellowship be naught and wicked, euery one is bound to eschew it. Depart from Babylon my people, and be not ye partakers of her sinnes, saith the heauenly voice to S. Iohn. (b) Therefore the examples ye bring, helpe nothing your cause. Apoc. 18.

(a) Thus much confessed is sufficient.

(b) A sudden conclusion.

(c) A vaine folly. For a good man may follow Christ, without presumptuous comparison.

Loth went out of Sodome, Abraham of Chaldea, the Israelites of Egypt, Paul from the Pharisеis, by Gods speciall warning. Where ye say, Christ went from the Iewes, vnlesse ye referre it to his stepping aside from them for a while, ye should rather haue said, the Iewes went from Christ. But whereto pertaineth this? Though yee were so malicious, as to compare the Catholike Church to Sodome, to Chaldea, to Egypt, to the Iewes and Pharisеis; yet, I weene, yee are not so proud, as (c) to compare your selues to Loth, to Abraham to Gods peculiar people, to Paul, to Christ himselfe. These departings we allow, and God required them: yours we blame, and God detesteth.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Example of Christ.

We compare not our selues, M. Harding, neither with Loth, **nor with** Abraham, **nor with** Paul; **least of all with** Christ **himselfe. But we humbly submit our selues both in life, and in Doctrine, to be guided by their Examples. And thus, I trust, we may lawfully doe, without iust note of presumption.** S. Chrysostome saith: Data est tibi potestas diuinùs imitandi Christum, vt possis illi similis fieri. Noli expauescere hoc audiens. Timendum enim tibi potiùs est, si similis illi fieri negligas: *Thou hast power giuen thee from* God *to follow* Christ, *that thou maist bee like vnto him. Bee thou not afraid to heare this thing. Thou hast more cause to feare, if thou refuse to be like vnto him.* **Likewise saith the Ancient Father** Origen: Si quem imitari volumus, propositus est nobis Christus ad imitandum: *If we desire to follow any man,* Christ *is set before vs, that we should follow him.*

Chrys. in Matth. Homil. 79.

Origen. in Ezechiel. Homil. 7.

But if it be so Proud a part as you say, in Religion and Life to follow Christ, **what is hee then that claimeth to himselfe** Christs **Authority, and calleth himselfe euen by the name of** Christ? **We know who is wel contented to heare himselfe thus saluted: *Touching Primacy,* thou art** Abel: *touching Gouernment,* thou art Noe: *touching the Patriarkeship,* thou art Abraham: *touching Order,* thou art Melchisedech: *touching Dignity,* thou art Aaron: *touching Authority,* thou art Moses: *touching Iudgement,* thou art Samuel: *touching Power,* thou art Peter: *touching Anointing,* thou art Christ. **These words, I trow, M. Harding, may somewhat seeme to sauour of Pride. Your Pope is well contented to take the name, not only of** Peter, **but also of** Christ.

Bernar. de Cõsiderat. Lib. 2.

The Apologie, Chap. 14. Diuision 2.

And if these men will needs condemne vs for Heretikes, because we doe not all things at their commandement, whom (in Gods Name) or what kinde of men ought they themselues to be taken for, which despise the Commandement of Christ, **and of the** Apostles?

M. Harding.

M. Harding.

Our frailty concerning life we accuse and lament, and commend our selues to Gods infinite mercy. Touching beleefe and necessary doctrine of Faith, raile ye at vs neuer so much, we neither despise the * Commandements of Christ, nor the * traditions of the Apostles.

Vntruths, notorious and manifest vnto the world.

The Apologie, Chap. 14. *Diuision.* 3.

If we be Schismaticks **because we haue left them, by what name then shal they be called themselues, which haue forsaken the** Greekes, from whom they first receiued their Faith, **forsaken the** Primitiue Church, **forsaken** Christ **himselfe, and the** Apostles, **euen as if children should forsake their parents:**

The Faith broght to Rome out of Græcia.

M. Harding.

Whosoeuer depart from the Catholike Church, they be Schismaticks: ye haue departed from the Catholike Church of (a) these nine hundred yeers: *Ergo*, ye be Schismaticks. The first proposition ye wil not denie; the second your selues confesse: the conclusion then must needs be true. If we say the same, blame vs not. Neither say we that only, but also that ye are Heretikes. Whereby the measure of your iniquity is encreased. The same crime ye would impute vnto vs, if ye wist how. If ye haue no more to lay to our charge, but that we haue forsaken the Greekes, ye shal not be offended with the world, if it giue vs the title, name and estimation of Catholikes, as heretofore. For (remember your selues) we haue not forsaken the Greekes, but the Greekes in some points haue forsaken vs. By the name of vs alwaies I vnderstand the Catholike Church, euen the Holy Roman Church, whose Faith we professe, & with whom we communicate.

(a) Here M. Har. freely yeeldeth vs the first six hundred & three score yeers, that is to say, the whole time of the Apostles and Holy Fathers of the Church.

(b) And how standeth it with your learning, that we receiued the Faith first from the Greekes? For where ye say, we haue forsaken the Primitiue Church, yea Christ himselfe, and the Apostles ye haue told vs this so often, that now we take them to be but words of course, and a common blast of your raising spirit. The Roman Church receiued the Faith from Ierusalem, (c) and not from Greece, as the rest of the world did, according to the Prophecy, *De Sion exibit lex, &c.* As for the Land of Britaine, our natiue Country, if the Faith were first brought hither by Ioseph of Arimathæa, and his fellowes, as by old tradition we are told, (d) then was the Church here first planted by faithful Iewes, and not by Greekes. This being true, we maruel what ye meane to charge vs with forsaking the Greekes, specially where ye say, we first receiued the Faith from them. Which is no truer then that we receiued our English Language from them.

Esa. 2.

(b) Read the answer.

(c) Vntruth, as shall soone appeare.

(d) Certainly we receiued not our Faith first from the church of Rome.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

It were no shame for you, M. Harding, to confesse that the Church of Rome **first receiued her** Faith **from the** Churches of Græcia. **Neither are they so vtterly** void of Learning, **that haue said the same. Rather I maruel what** Learning **can lead you so vnlearnedly to say the contrary.** S. Augustine **saith:** Terra Græcorum, vnde vbique destinata est Fides: *The Land of* Græcia, *from whence the Faith into al places was sent abroad.* Againe **he saith:** Radix Orientalium Ecclesiarum, vnde Euangelium in Aphricam venit: *The Root of the East Churches, from whence the Gospel came into* Aphrica. S. Chrysostome **saith vnto the people of** Antioch: Christianorum nomen velut ex quodam Fonte hinc incipiens, omnem mundum inundauit: *The name of* Christians *beginning first from this city of* Antioch, *as from a spring, hath flowed ouer the whole World.* **The** Bishops **of the** East **wrote thus vnto** Iulius **the** Bishop of Rome: Ad Ecclesiam Romanam ab Oriente Prædicatores Dogmatis aduenerunt: *The Preachers of Christian Doctrine came from the East, to the* Church of Rome. **Likewise** S. Basil **saith:** *The Gospel of the Kingdome springing vp* first in the Church of Græcia, *was from thence published abroad into al the world.* Eusebius **saith:** Lucis virtus & Sacræ Religionis Lex, beneficio Dei, quasi è sinu Orientis profecta, cunctum simul Orbem sacro iubare illustrauit: *The power of the Light, and the Law of Holy Religion, by Gods benefit springing out, as it were from the bosome of the East, hath shined ouer the whole World together with a blessed beame.* **The Emperour** Iustinian **saith:** Constantinopolis Religionis & Fidei Mater perpetua: *Constantinople is the Euerlasting Mother of Faith and Religion.* **And likewise againe:** Sacrosancta Constantinopolitanæ Ciuitatis Ecclesia, Mater Pietatis nostræ, & Christianorum Orthodoxæ Religionis omnium: *The most Holy Church of the* City of Constantinople, *the Mother of our Holinesse, and the Mother of al Christians of the Catholike Faith.*

Aug. epist. 178
Aug. epist. 170
Chrysostom. ad Popul. Antiochen. Homil. 4.
Tripar. Histor. lib. 4. *cap.* 16.
Sozo. lib. 7. *ca.* 7. εἰς γὰρ τὰς ἑῴας ἐπαρχίας αὐτὴ τὰ δόγματος ἐπεμψαμεν.
Basil. in epist. ad epis. per Italiam & Galliam.
Euseb. de vita Const. Ora. 2.
Cod. de Sacrosanct. Ecclesijs, L. Iubemus. §. *Scientes.*
Cod. in eod. tit. L. Decernimus
Epist. Eccl. Cõstantinoplit. ad Eccles. Pragen.
Concil. Triden. Oratio Episcopi Bitontini.

In like sort the Church of Constantiople, **euen vntill this day, entituleth it selfe:** Ἡ Κωνσταντινουπολιτων Ἐκκλησια ἡ Μητηρ πασων των Ὀρθοδοξων, καὶ Διδασκαλος: **The** Church of Constantinople, *the Mother and Mistresse of al that be Catholike.* **To be short, if ye will not beleeue any of these, yet at least ye may beleeue your owne Fellowes. The** Bishop of Bitonto **in your late** Chapter at Trident **vttered these words, as it may well appeare, with lusty courage:** Eia igitur Græcia Mater nostra, cui id totum debet quod habet Latina Ecclesia: *O therefore our Mother* Græcia, *vnto whom the Latine Church, or the* Church of Rome, *is beholden for all that euer she hath.*

These things, M. Harding, being true, we maruel what should moue you to denie that ye first receiued the Faith from the Church of Græcia. Touching the matter it selfe, it is written thus in your owne Councels: Si Græci per quandam Scissuram diuiduntur à Latinis, ita Latini à Græcis. Et ideo videtur, quòd si Græci debent dici Schismatici propter huiusmodi Diuisionem, eadem ratione & Latini: præterea Græci magis seruant Antiquas Consuetudines Apostolorum, & Discipulorum Christi, in Barbis, &c. *If the* Greekes *by a certaine* Diuision *be sundred from the* Latines, *euen so bee the* Latines *sundred from the* Greekes. *And therefore it seemeth, if the* Greekes *in respect of this* Diuision *ought to be called* Schismatikes, *that the* Latines *also ought so to be called in like case. Furthermore, the* Greekes *do more duly keepe the Old Customes of the Apostles, & of Christs Disciples, touching Beards &c. then doe the* Latines.

In Opere Tripart. li. 2. cap. 1. in 2. To Concil.

The Apology, Chap. 15. Diuision 1.

The Greek Church.

FOr though those Greekes, who this day professe Religion, & the name of Christ, haue many things corrupted amongst them, yet hold they stil a great number of those things which they receiued from the Apostles. They haue neither Priuate Masses, nor mangled Sacraments, nor Purgatories, nor Pardons. And as for the Titles of High Bishops, and those glorious names, they esteeme them so, as whosoeuer he were that would take vpon him the same, and would be called either Vniuersal Bishop, or the Head of the Vniuersal Church, they make no doubt to cal such a one both a passing proud man, and a man that worketh despight against al the other Bishops his Brethren, and a plaine Heretike.

M. Harding.

(a) Vntruth. As it shal plainely appeare.

(b) Vntruth, as large as manifest.

(c) Vntruth. For the Grecians neuer receiued these fantasies of Purgatory. O so merily this man plaieth with his fansie!

As ye haue often times belied vs, (a) so now ye belie the poore Greekes. So little are ye able to say some what, and therein to say truth. For they haue Masse commonly without company to communicate with the Priest, which ye cal Priuate Masse So (b) it is al Greece ouer, so is it in Asia, in Syria, in Assyria, in Armenia, & whersoeuer the Religion of Christ is professed: as among the Greekes in Venice I my selfe and diuers of our countrymen haue seene it commonly practised. Likewise pray they all for the dead, & thinke them to be relieued by the praiers, oblations, almes, and deedes of charity done for the by the liuing. Which minde and opinion implieth the Faith (c) which the Church holdeth of Purgatory.

But though (say ye) those Greekes haue many things corrupted, yet hold they stil a great number of those things which they receiued of the Apostles. And wilt thou know, Reader, what they be? Forsooth they haue neither Priuate Masses, nor mangled Sacraments, nor Purgatories, nor Pardones. Is not the wit of this Defender to be commended, that maketh a man to hold that which he hath not? Those Greekes hold stil, saith he. What hold they? Marry they haue not this and that. This is a new kinde of holding, for a man to hold that he hath not. If they hold stil, then haue they stil. But they haue not, saith he. Then how hold they? A man may by the rules of this new Logicke thus reason: The Turkes, Saracens, Iewes, Infidels, Idolaters, yea the sheepe of Cotswold also, if ye will, haue neither Priuate Masses, nor Communion vnder one kinde, nor Purgatories, nor Pardons. *Ergo*, they hold a number of things which they receiued from the Apostles. The Antecedent is true. Whosoeuer denieth the consequent, must count this Defenders Logicke very simple. What if one should make this Argument; This Defender hath neither good Logicke, nor very fine Rhetoricke, nor profound Philosophy, nor the right knowledge of Diuinity: *Ergo*, he holdeth many Heresies? Though both the Antecedent and Consequent be true, yet is the argument naught. For by like reason on might conclude an honest valearned Catholike man to be an Heretike, which were false and iniurious. Such is the Logicke, such are the topicks of this new negatiue, and ablatiue Diuinity, for so may we worthily cal it Negatiue, in respect of their blasphemous tongues, denying sundry weighty points of our Faith: Ablatiue, in respect of their wicked hands, casting away, throwing downe, and taking away many good things, pertaining to the maintenance of Christian Religion and Gods honour. Put them from their Negatiues, and from their Ablatiues, then in what case shal they stand?

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

I am ashamed the world should be combred with so childish follies. The Defenders wit (ye say) is to be commended. He maketh a man to hold that he neuer had. And what hold they? (say you) Marry they haue not this and that. This is a new kinde of holding, for a man to hold that he hath not. If they hold stil, then haue they stil. But they haue not: then how hold they? Now surely, M. Harding, I trow, we shal Haue and Hold a mery man. So prety sport ye can make your selfe with Hauing and Holding. It were great pity ye should euer be otherwise occupied. Annibal of Carthage when he had heard Phormio the Orator talke pleasantly a long while together, being afterward demanded what he thought of his Eloquence, made answer in this homely sort: Multos se vidisse deliros senes: sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret, vidisse neminem.

Cicer de Oratore 2.

But somewhat to yeld vnto your pleasance, why may not a man Hold that he neuer Had, as wel as Lose that he neuer Had? In the Learned Glosses vpon your Decrees ye may

may finde this note amongſt others: Nota, quòd aliquis dicitur perdere quod nunquam habuit: *Marke well this: A man may be ſaid to* Loſe *that he neuer* Had. And yet yee ſay commonly in the Schooles: Priuatio ſemper præſupponit habitum: *The* Loſing *of a thing alwaies preſuppoſeth the* Hauing *of the ſame*. Or to anſwer you in plainer wiſe, why may not a man as wel Hold nothing, as you may talke ſo much, and yet ſaid nothing? Galene ſaid ſometime to one that ſpake then in ſuch ſubſtantial maner as you ſpeake now, Accipe nihil, & tene fideliter: *Take nothing, and keepe it ſafely, and hold it faſt.* *Dist. 17. Conſil. in Gloſſa.* *Galenus.*

But to leaue your follies and ſilly toies, M. Harding, with your Turkes and Saracens, and Sheepe of Cotſwold; we ſay not, The Grækes Hold ſtill that they neuer Had: but we ſay, They Hold ſtil that they euer Had. Your Priuate Maſſes, and your Dimi Communions they Hold not: for they Had them neuer. The Holy and Whole Communion in Both kindes they Hold ſtill: and ſithence the Apoſtles time they haue had them euer. The Greek Church.

They pray alſo for the dead. and therein (ye ſay) is implied your Faith of purgatorie. I will not here touch the ſimplicitie of your Rhetorike, or Logicke, M. Harding: but onely wish you to haue better regard to your Diuinity. For ought that I can ſee, Praier for the dead, and your fantaſie of Purgatorie, were neuer ſo ſtraitly coupled together, but that they might well and eaſily goe aſunder. The Grecians, as they Pray for the dead, ſo doe they Pray for the Apoſtles, for the Patriarkes, for the Prophets, and for the Bleſſed Virgin our Lady: as you may ſone perceiue by S Baſils and by S. Chryſoſtomes Liturgy. Yet I thinke ye would not haue your Reader beleeue, as an Article of your Faith, that the Apoſtles of Chriſt, the Patriarkes, the Prophets, and the Bleſſed Virgin Chriſts Mother are ſtil in Pugatory. Whatſoeuer other opinion the Grecians haue of the Dead, certaine it is, they could neuer yet be brought to beleeue your Purgatory. *Liturgia Baſil. Liturg. Chryſo.*

Roſſenſis, one of your greateſt Doctours, as I haue ſaid before, ſaith thus: Purgatorium Græcis vſque ad hunc diem non eſt creditum: *The* Grecians *vntill this day beleeue not* Purgatorie. Thus, M. Harding, I know not whether by your Logicke, or by your Diuinity, (for both are maruellous) ye would faine forte your poore Greekes to Hold that thing that they neuer Had. *Polydor. de Inuentoribus, lib. 8. cap. 1.*

Another proper paſtime ye make your ſelfe with your Negatiues and Ablatiues. And wherefore, it were hard to tell, ſauing that, I ſee, ye were well diſpoſed, and well it became you to be merry. The ancient learned Fathers hauing to deale with impudent Heretikes, that in defenſe of their Errours anouched the Iudgement of all the Old Biſhops and Doctors that had bene before them, and the generall conſent of the Primitiue and whole Vniuerſall Church, and that with as good regard of Truth, and as faithfully, as you doe now, the better to diſcouer the ſhameleſſe boldneſſe and nakedneſſe of their Doctrine, were often times likewiſe forced to vſe the Negatiue, and ſo to driue the ſame Heretikes, as we doe you, to proue their Affirmatiues: which thing to doe it was neuer poſſible. The ancient Father Irenæus thus ſtaied himſelfe, as we doe, by the Negatiue: Hoc neque Propheræ prædicauerunt, neque Dominus docuit, neque Apoſtoli tradiderunt: *This thing neither did the Prophets publiſh, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apoſtles deliuer.* *Iren. lib. 1. ca. 1*

By a like Negatiue Chryſoſtome ſaith: Hanc Arborem non Paulus plantauit, non Apollo rigauit, non Deus auxit: *This tree* (of Errour) *neither* Paul *planted*, *nor* Apollo *watred*, *nor* God *encreaſed*. In like ſort Leo ſaith: Quid opus eſt in cor admittere quod Lex non docuit, quod Prophetia non cecinit, quod Euangelij Veritas non prædicauit, quod Apoſtolica doctrina non tradidit? *What needeth it to beleeue that thing that neither the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets haue ſpoken, nor the Goſpell hath preached, nor the Apoſtles haue deliuered?* And againe: Quomodo noua inducuntur, quæ nunquam noſtri ſenſere Maiores? *How are theſe new deuices brought in that our Fathers neuer knewe?* *Chryſ. de Incõprehenſ. Dei natura, hom. 3.* *Leo, Epiſt. 93. Cap. 12.* *Leo, Epiſt.*

S. Auguſtine hauing reckoned vp a great number of the Biſhops of Rome, by a generall Negatiue ſaith thus: In hoc ordine Succeſſionis nullus Donatiſta Epiſcopus inuenitur: *In all this order of Succeſſion of Biſhops, there is not one Biſhop found that was a Donatiſt.* S. Gregorie being himſelfe a Biſhop of Rome, and writing againſt the Title of Vniuerſal Biſhop, ſaith thus: Nemo Deceſſorum meorum hoc tam prophano vocabulo vti conſenſit: Nullus Romanorum Pontificum hoc ſingularitatis nomen aſſumpſit: *None of al my Predeceſſors euer conſented to vſe this vngodly Title*: No Biſhop of Rome *euer tooke vpõ him this name of Singularity*. By ſuch Negatiues, M. Harding, we reproue the Vanitie and Nouelty of your Religion. We tell you, none of the Ancient Catholike learned Fathers, either Greeke, or Latine, euer vſed either your Priuate Maſſe, or your Halfe Communion, or your barbarous Vnknowne praiers. Paul neuer planted them: Apollo neuer watered them: God neuer increaſed them. They are of your ſelues: They are not of God. *Aug. epiſt. 165.* *Gregor. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 76. & 80.*

Theſe & other like Negatiues the Holy Fathers in Old times might ſafely vſe without controlement: for that there was no Doctour of Louaine as yet vp ſtart to carpe and

quarrel at their Diuinity. Leaue this childish and vnsauoury sporting and trifling with your Negatiues, M. Harding. It were a great deale more seemely for a man of Learning and Grauity, and more to your purpose to proue your Affirmatiues.

Priuate Masse in the Greeke Church.

They haue Priuate Masse (ye say) in all Græcia, Asia, Syria, Assyria, Armenia, and whersoeuer the Religion of Christ is professed. All this we must needs beleeue vpon your word: for other proofe ye offer to make none. Notwithstanding, if they haue such Priuate Masses in all those Countries, tell vs, I beseech you, who were the Authours and Makers of these Masses? Ye will say, S. Iames, S. Chrysostome, or S. Basil. For of these Names and Masses yee haue told vs many a tale. yet if yee consider the matter well, ye shall finde that these selfe same Masses were our Communions, and nothing like to your Masses: and that the Holy Sacraments at the same, contrary to your new deuices, were deliuered generally in Both kindes to all the people.

Liturgia Iacobi. S. Iames in his Masse saith thus: Diaconi tollunt Discos & Calices, ad impertiendum populo: *The Deacons take vp the Dishes and the Cups, to minister the Sacrament vnto the people.*

Liturgia Chrysostom. S. Chrysostome in his Masse saith thus: Pòst Mysteria feruntur ad locum, vbi populus debet communicare: *Afterward the Holy Misteries or Sacraments be brought vnto the place where the people must receiue together.*

Liturgia Basilij. S. Basil in his Masse saith thus: Nos omnes de vno Pane & de vno Calice participantes, &c. Cantores cantant Communionem: & sic Communicant Omnes: *All we receiuing of One Bread, and One Cup, &c. The Quire singeth the Communion: and so they Communicate All together.* Therefore, M. Harding, ye must needs confesse, either that the Grecians this day vse none of these Masses, or that their Masses are not your Masses, but our Communions: which both are contrarie to your selfe.

Georgius Cassander in Liturgijs. In the Armenians Liturgy it is written thus: Qui non sunt digni Communicare hanc Oblationem Dei, exeant foras antè fores Ecclesiæ, & ibi Orent: *They that are not worthy to receiue this Oblation of God, let them goe foorth before the Church doore; and there let them pray.*

Bessarion, De Sacramen. Eucharistiæ. Circa annum Domini 1450. Of the Grecians order in this behalfe your great and speciall Doctour Cardinall Bessarion, being himselfe a Greeke borne, saith thus: Hoc ipse ordo rerum poscebat: Primùm, Consecrare: Deinde, Frangere: Postea, Distribuere: Quod nos in præsenti facimus: *This the very order of the things required: First, that wee should* Consecrate *or Bhsse the Bread: Next that we should* Breake it: *Last of all, that we should* Diuide it, (or deliuer it to the people.) Which thing we (Grecians) doe at this present day. Thus yousee, M. Harding, that the Grecians this day Consecrate, Breake, and Diuide the Sacrament vnto the people as wee doe. They receiue it not Priuatly to themselues alone, the people standing by, and gazing on them as you doe. Therefore it is vntrue that you say, They haue this day your Priuate Masse.

Touching the Grecians that liue now in Venice, what order they vse there, I cannot tell. Notwithstanding, as I haue heard say, Priuate Masse they haue not. But if they haue, liuing vnder the Popes iurisdiction, it is no maruel. Certaine it is, that Venice is no part of Græcia.

Matt. Illyricus. in Testibus veritatis. pag. 5. Matthias Illyricus, being himselfe borne in Dalmatia, not farre from the Confines or Borders of Græcia, and therefore, as it may be thought, the better acquainted with their Orders, saith thus: Ecclesia Græca, cíque coniunctæ, Asiatica, Macedonica, Mysica, Valachica, Rutenica, Moschouitica, & Aphricana, id est, totus Mundus, vel certè eius maxima pars, nunquam Primatum Papæ communi consensu concesserunt: nunquam Purgatorium probauerunt: nunquam Priuatas Missas: nunquam Communionem sub vna specie: *The Church of* Græcia, *and the Churches of* Asia, Macedonia, Mysia, Valachia, Russia, Moschouia, *and* Aphrica, *ioyned thereunto, that is to say, in a maner the whole world, or at least the greatest part thereof, neuer granted the* Pope his Supremacy: *neuer allowed either* Purgatory, *or* Priuate Masses *or the* Communion vnder one kinde.

Con Ferrarien. in Præmio. In the Proeme or Entrie of the Councell of Ferraria it is written thus: Proxima Dominica quindecim Græci Sacerdotes, Domi Imperatoris, Iussu eius, Missam solennitèr celebrarunt. Vbi etiam Marchio cum suis Ciuibus adfuit, & Panem Benedictum, per Patriarchæ dextram, more Græcorum, accepit, atque libauit: *The next Sunday fifteene* Greeke Priests, *within the Emperours Palace, by his Commandement, said a Solemne* Masse, (or Communion) *whereas the* Marquis *was present with his Citizens, and,* as the maner of the Grecians is, *receiued and tasted the Bread Consecrate at the hand of the Patriarke.* Heere it is to be noted by the way, that these fifteene Priests said not fifteene seuerall Masses, as the maner is in the Church of Rome, but all together one only Masse: and that the same one Masse was no Priuate Ministration, but a Communion. Wherefore Petrus Vrbeue-

tanus

ranus saith thus: Tum ad instar Græcorum non cantabatur in vna Ecclesia, nisi forsan vna Missa: *Then there was sung in* one Church, *no more, sauing perchance* one only Masse, *as the maner of the* Grecians is. *Petrus Vrbetanus in Vita Dens dedit Papæ.*

Likewise saith Durandus. Offerebant magnum Panem & omnibus sufficientem: Quod adhuc Græci seruare dicuntur: *They offered vp one great loafe that might suffice al the Church:* Which order they say, the Grecians keepe vntill this day. *Durand. in Rational. lib. 4.*

By these few, I trust M. Harding, it may soone appeare, whether of vs haue belied your poore Grecians.

The Apologie, Chap. 15. *Diuision* 2.

Now then, since it is manifest, and out of al peraduenture, that these men are fallen from the Greekes, of whom they receiued the Gospell, of whom they receiued the Faith, the True Religion & their Church it self; what is the matter, why they wil not now be called home againe to the same men, as it were, to their Originals & first Founders? And why bee they afraid to take a paterne of the Apostles and Old Fathers times, as though they al had been void of vnderstanding? Do these men, ween ye, see more, or set more by the Church of God then they did, who first deliuered vs these things?

M. Harding.

Soft and faire, Sir Defender, you haue not yet proued that you say is manifest & out of all peraduenture. Remember you not the old homely verse of your Sophistrie: *Neque negat minus recte concludere sivis:* Speake to the purpose, or else I would you would make an end of your silly follies. For indeed you trifle & say nothing worth to be answered. And here little cause do you minister vnto me, to vtter substantial stuffe. Which I desire the discreet Reader to consider, for mine excuse, that with a trifler I do a so but trifle.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here, M. Harding, by your owne confession, ye doe but trifle with your Filly Follies: for that, I trow, your substantiall and better stuffe was not ready.

The Apology, Chap. 15. *Diuision* 3.

Indeed, we haue renounced that Church, **wherein wee could neither haue the** word of God **sincerely taught, nor the** Sacraments **rightly administred, nor the** name of God **duly called vpon: Which** Church **also themselues cõfesse to be faulty in many points: and wherin was nothing able to stay any wise man, or one that hath consideration of his own safety.**

M. Harding.

And why haue ye renounced this Church, but for that yee might not bee suffered to set forth to the losse of Christian soules the detestable Heresies of Wickleffe, Luther, Zuinglius, Caluine, & other your false Masters, which ye call your sincere word of God, after your Schismaticall and Hereticall maner: That ye say, there was nothing in the Catholike Church able to stay any wise man, or any that hath consideration of his safety, it is one of your impudent lies.

There were both wise men in the Church, and great multitudes of such as had good regard of their soules health, alwaies before the Diuel had such a hand vpon Luther & the rest of your new Apostles and Apostates.

The Apologie, Chap. 15. *Diuision.* 4.

To conclude, we haue forsaken the Church **as it is now, not as it was in Old times past, and haue so gone from it, as** Daniel **went out of the Lions Den, and the** three Children **out of the Furnace: and to say the truth, we haue beene cast out by these men, (being curssed of them, as they vse to say, with Booke, Bell & Candle) rather then haue gone away from them of our selues.**

M. Harding.

The Church that now is, and the Church that was in old time is one Church, as a man in his old age is the same man he was in his youth. *From the which Church no faults or imperfections can excuse you for your departing. Neither haue ye gone from it as Daniel was deliuered out of the Lions Den, nor as the three Children out of the Furnace: but ye haue departed wilfully from the house of God, where touching Faith, all be of one accord, vnto the Synagogue of Antichrist, vnto Babylon of Sects, where is no order,

* Vntruth. For God himselfe saith: Come foorth from the mids of them, O my people. Apocal 18.

order, but confusion vnto the Kingdome of Satan, and there ye remaine as it were in a den of Lions, where that roaring Lion with his fellowes, lieth in wait seeking whom he may deuoure. Yee haue stopped from the place of Spiritual refrigery, into the frying pan of Schismes & Heresies, & from thence, after that ye haue now boiled and fried in malice and rancour against the Church, except ye repent, ye are like to leape into the Furnace of Hell that for euer shal torment you and neuer consume you. Complaine not of your casting out of the Church. To be excommunicate ye haue deserued. And that kinde of punishment is by a merciful discipline, extended vpon you, partly for your amendment, partly to conserue the rest of the body whole from your pestiferous contagion.

A hot kinde of Diuinity.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Now ye be in to kéepe hot Schooles, M. Harding. Your frying-pans and Furnaces, with your like Kitchin implements of Frying and Boiling, are hot and dangerous to deale withall.

The causes of our departure from you, are answered before.

The Church (ye say) that now is, and the Church that was in Old times, is one Church. Euen so, as I shewed you before, the Moone being full, and the same Moone eclipsed, is one Moone: euen so, a Man wel aduised, and the same Man starke mad, is one Man: euen so the House of God and a Caue of theeues is one house.

Math. 21. Ioh. 9. 12. 16. *Iohan. epist. 3. Qui amat Primatum gerere.* Apoc. 13.

Ye haue Excommunicate vs and put vs from you. So did certaine of your Predecessours and Fathers, Excommunicate Christ and his Apostles. So did Diotrephes that first claimed your Papal Primacy, Excommunicate the Faithfull of Christ, that were the First planters of the Gospel. So it is written in the Apocalyps, that Antichrist shall Excommunicate al them that wil not adore the Image of the Beast.

24 *que.* 1. *Art.* 24. *Que.* 3. *Comperimus Rubri.*

But the Pope himself saith: Excommunicatus non potest Excommunicare: *He that is Excommunicate himselfe, hath no right or power to Excommunicate others.* And in your own Law it is written thus: Qui illicitè alium Excommunicat, se ipsum, non illum, condemnat: *He that vnlawfully Excommunicateth another, condemneth not him, but himselfe.*

Aug. ad Clericos Hipponen. Citatur. 11. *que.* 3. *Quid obest.*

S. Augustine saith: Quid obest homini, si cum de illa Tabula delere velit Humana ignorantia, quem de Libro viuentium non delet iniqua conscientia? *What is a man the worse, if the* ignorance of a man *strike him out of the Booke of the* Church, *if ill* Conscience *strike him not out of the Booke of Life?* In this case S. Augustine saith, it commeth sometimes to passe Vt plurimæ sint Foris oues, & plurimi sint Intus Lupi: *That there be many Sheepe without the* Church, *and many Woolues within the* Church.

Aug. in Ioh. Tract. 45.

The Apologie, Chap. 15. *diuision* 5.

And we are come to that Church, wherein they themselus cannot deny (if they wil say truly, and as they thinke in their owne conscience) but al things be gouerned purely and reuerently, & as much as we possibly could, very nere to the order vsed in Old times.

M. Harding.

Ye are come vnto the malignant Church, to the Congregation of Reprobates, whither as into a sinke in maner all the Heresies that Satan euer raised vp from the beginning be auoided.

The Apology, Chap. 16. *Diuision* 1.

LET them compare our Churches and theirs together, and they shal see, that themselues haue most shamefully gone from the Apostles, & we most iustly haue gone from them. For we, following the Example of Christ, of the Apostles, and the Holy Fathers, giue the people the Holy Communion, whole and perfect: but these men contrary to al the Fathers, to al the Apostles, and contrary to Christ himselfe, doe seuer the Sacraments and pluck away the one part from the people, and that with most notorious Sacrilege, as Gelasius termeth it.

We haue brought againe the Lords Supper vnto Christs Institution, & haue made it a Communion in very deed, cõmon & indifferent to a great number, according to the name. For of that it is called a Communion. But these men haue changed al things, contrary to Christs Institution, and haue made a Priuate Masse of the Holy Communion: And so it commeth to passe, that we giue the Lords Supper vnto the people, and they giue them a vaine Pagent to gaze vpon.

We

We affirme together with the Ancient Fathers, that the Body of Christ is not eaten but of the good & faithful, & of those that are endued with the Spirit of Christ. Their Doctrine is, that Christs very Body Effectually, and as they speake, Really and Substantially, may not only be eaten of the wicked and vnfaithful men, but also (which is monstrous & horrible to be spoken) of Mise and Dogges.

We vse to pray in our Churches, after that fashion, as according to Pauls Lesson, the people may know what we pray, and may answer Amen, with a general consent. These men, like sounding Mettal, yel out in the Churches vnknowne and strange words without vnderstanding, without knowledge, and without deuotion: yea, and doe it of purpose, because the people should vnderstand nothing at al. 1. Cor. 14.

M. Harding.

(a) As comparison cannot duly be made betweene Light and Darkenesse, betweene Truth and Lying, betweene Christ and Belial: so neither betweene the Catholike Church and starting holes of Heretikes. You say much and proone nothing, The most ye haue to crake of, which ye haue neuer done with-al is your ministring of both kindes vnto the people, your new found holy-day, the English Communion, your seruice in the vulgar tongue, and your vile obiection of Mise and Dogs. This is the store-box of M. Iewels high Diuinity, which he maketh no great store of, but shaketh it abroad euery where. To euery point I haue said so much, as is (b) enough to slay the hearts of those that feare God, in mine answer to M. Iewels challenge. To the matter of both kindes, and the obiection made out of Gelasius, in the second Article. To that of Priuate Masse, in the first Article. To al that is said for the Church seruice in the vulgar tongue, in the third Article. To the obiection of Mise, Dogs, and Wormes, in the 23. Article. The same here to rehearse againe; I thinke it needlesse.

But where ye affirme the Body of Christ not to be eaten, but of the good & faithful only, if ye meane the Sacramental eating, so as it is eaten vnder the Sacrament, in the visible forme of Bread and Wine, and not of the (c) spiritual eating only, that is false. In that ye say the Fathers be on your side, meaning the (c) Sacramental eating, ye belie them And so likewise reporting our Doctrine to be, that wicked & vnfaithful men may eat the Body of (c) Christ effectually, ye belie vs. We teach that the euil may eat the Body of Christ Really, that is, indeed, but not effectually. They only eat effectually, who eating it worthily obtaine the effect of Christs Body. Which is the vnity of the mystical Body of Christ & increase of grace. (d) There is verily (saith S. Gregory) in sinners, and in them which receiue vnworthily the true Flesh of Christ and his true Blood, *sed essentia, non salubri efficientia*, but in substance, not in holesome effect.

Greg. Dialog. lib. 4.

That euil men receiue the true Body of Christ Sacramentally no lesse then good, where I might alege in maner all the Old Fathers, (e) S. Augustine onely may suffice, who affirmeth the same, speaking thus of Iudas: *Tolerat ipse Dominus Iudam, Diabolum, Furem, & venditorem suum finit accipere inter innocentes Discipulos, quod norunt fideles, pretium nostrum.* Our Lord himselfe doth tolerate Iudas and suffereth a Diuel, a Theefe, and him that sold him, to receiue amongst his innocent Disciples (f) our price which the Faithful do know. But what need any man to require the testimonies of Fathers, sith Paul teacheth vs so to beleeue? Whosoeuer (saith he) eateth this Bread and drinketh of the Cup of our Lord vnworthily, he shal be guilty of the Body and Blood of our Lord.

Aug. epist. 162

1. Cor. 11.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

There is no better comparison to be made, M. Harding, then betweene Light and Darkenesse: Truth and Falshood: Christ and Belial. For one of these contraries doth euermore bewray the other. And therefore Christ saith: *He that doth ill hateth the* Light, *and commeth not to it, lest his euil doings should be espied.* And this is it, M. Harding, that you so carefully kéepe the people from the Light of Gods Word, lest by comparison thereof, they should begin to loath your Darkenesse. Pliny saith: Tritico reperto, continuò damnatum est Hordeum, & quadrupedum refectibus traditum: *As soone as* Wheat *was once found* (by comparison thereof) *straightway* Barly *was refused and giuen to cattel to feed vpon.*

Ioh. 3.

Plin. lib. 18.

S. Cyprian saith: Hæc est, frater, vera dementia, non cogitare quò mendacia non diu fallant: Noctem tam diu esse, donec illucescat dies: *This is very meere madnesse my Brother, not to consider, that lies cannot long deceiue the world:* (Remember) *it is* Night *no longer, but vntil the* Day *spring.* And therefore Chrysostome saith, as it is alleged before: Hæretici claudunt Ianuas veritatis: *Heretikes shut vp the Gates of the Truth.* For they know right well, if the truth may appeare, their falshood wil soone be espied, and the Churches shall be none of theirs. Tertullian saith: Ipsa Doctrina Hæreticorum cum Apostolica comparata, ex diuersitate & contrarietate sua pronuntiabit, neque Apostoli alicuius Authoris esse, neque Apostolici Viri: *The very Doctrine of Heretikes compared together with the Apostles Doctrine, euen by the diuersity and contrariety that is in it, beareth witnesse of it selfe, that it neuer came, neither from any Apostle of Christ, nor from any Apostolike man.*

Cypr. ad Cornelium, lib. 1. epist. 3.

Chrys. in Matt. cap. 23. homil. 44 in opere im. perfecto.

Tertullian. de Præscripton.

When the Emperor Adrianus had yelded to grant the Christians one Church within the City of Rome, certaine of his Priuy Counsel aduised him in any wise not so to doe:

(a) Vntruth. For there is no better comparison then betweene contraries: *Contraria iuxta se posita magis elucescunt.*

(b) Enough no doubt and sufficient. For in the selfe same foure Articles M. Harding hath vttered fourescore and foureteen great vntruths.

(c) Vnfruitful or vaine distinctions. Read the Answer.

(d) This Booke is ful of fables & vanities, & therfore not thought to be S. Gregories.

(e) S. Augustine is directly to the contrary. See the Answer.

(f) Our price, he meaneth the Sacrament of our price.

For

Ælius Lampridius. *For that they ſaid, if the Chriſtians might haue but one Church within the City, the whole people would all become Chriſtians: and by compariſon thereof, their* Idols Churches *ſhould be forſaken.* Reſtore you the Holy Communion, M. Harding, and ye ſhal ſee your Maſſes and

1. Regum 5. Hier. ad Algaſiam Quæ. 11. Mockeries ſone fal to ground, as did the Idol Dagon at the preſence of the Arke of God. S. Hierome ſaith: Mendacium Antichriſti, Chriſti veritas deuorabit: The Truth of Chriſt *ſhal deuour and conſume the* lying of Antichriſt.

Touching the Shaking out of Store-boxes, ye had no great cauſe to complaine. For there is not one of al theſe matters not only of Priuate Maſſe excepted, that hitherto thorowout this Apologie, hath, to my remembrance, bene touched or mentioned many times once. But it is a ſmal matter, M. Harding, that may ſuffice you to make a quarel.

Infidels, Dogs, Miſe.

That Miſe and Dogs may eat the very Natural Body of Chriſt, and that Really, Subſtantially, and indeed: it is your Doctrine, it is not ours. For we vtterly abhorre it and deſie it, as moſt deteſtable and lothſome villany.

I maruel not to heare you ſay, that wicked Creatures and Faithleſſe Infidels may eat Chriſts Body, ſeing ye doubt not to auouch the ſame of Bruit Beaſts and Dumbe Cattel.

Auguſt. in Iob. Tract. 26. Yet S. Auguſtine ſaith: Hoc eſt Manducare illam Eſcam, & illum Potum Bibere, in Chriſto manere, & illum manentem in ſe habere: *This is the Eating of that Meat, & the Drinking of that Drinke, for a man to dwel in Chriſt, and to haue Chriſt dwelling within him.* Euen ſo

Iohan 6. ſaith Chriſt himſelfe: He that Eateth my Fleſh and Drinketh my Blood (is neither wicked Creature nor Faithleſſe Infidel, nor Dogge, nor Mouſe, but) dwelleth in me, and I in him.

Aug. epiſt. 162 But S Auguſtine ſaith: Iudas accepit pretium noſtrum: Iudas *receiued our price, which, by your expoſition, can be none other, but the Body of Chriſt.* M. Harding, ye ſhould not thus haue mocked the world with this authority of S. Auguſtine. You your ſelfe know, ye deale not plainely: you your ſelfe know, that S. Auguſtine by theſe words (Our Price)

Chryſ. ad Hebræ. homil. 16. meant only the Sacrament of our Price. So Chryſoſtome ſaith: Baptiſma Chriſti, Sanguis Chriſti eſt: *The* Baptiſme *of Chriſt, is the* Blood of Chriſt. Not for that it is ſo indeed, but for that it is a Sacrament of the Blood of Chriſt. Euen ſo is it noted, in your owne Decrees:

De Conſ. diſt. 2. Hoc eſt. Ipſa immolatio Carnis Chriſti, quæ Sacerdotis manibus fit, Vocatur Chriſti Paſſio, Mors, Crucifixio: Non Rei Veritate ſed Significante Myſterio: *The Oblation of the Fleſh of Chriſt, that is wrought with the Prieſts handes, is called the Paſſion, the Death, and the Crucifying of Chriſt: not in Truth of matter, but in a Myſtery ſignifying.* This expoſition ye may not wel refuſe: It is S. Auguſtines, it is your owne. Hereof we haue ſpoken otherwheres more at large. But to put the matter out of doubt, that it may appeare in what ſenſe Iudas receiued the price of Chriſts Death, S. Auguſtine himſelfe thereof ſaith thus:

Auguſt. in Pſalm. 3. Chriſtus adhibuit Iudam ad conuiuium, in quo Corporis & Sanguinis ſui Figuram Diſcipulis ſuis commendauit & tradidit: *Chriſt receiued* Iudas *vnto his banket, whereat he gaue to his Diſciples the Figure of his Body and Blood.*

The Booke, that ye allege in the name of S. Gregory, is vaine and Childiſh, as you know, and full of fables, and not S. Gregories.

1. Cor. 11. But S Paul ſaith: *Whoſoeuer Eateth of this Bread, and Drinketh of the Cup of our Lord vnworthily, he ſhal be guilty of the Body and Blood of our Lord.* And what wil you conclude

Auguſt. contra Creſconium, li. 1 cap. 23. hereof, M. Harding? Euen ſo S. Auguſtine writeth of the Water of Baptiſme: Baptiſmus valet, alijs ad Regnum: alijs ad Iudicium: *Baptiſme is auaileable to ſome vnto the Kingdome of God: to ſome vnto Iudgement* Againe he ſaith: Baptiſmum multi habent, non

Auguſt. contra Creſconium, li. 2. cap. 13. ad Vitam Æternam, ſed ad Pœnam Æternam, non bene vtentes tanto bono: *Some haue Baptiſme, not to Life Euerlaſting, but to Paine Euerlaſting, not wel vſing ſo good a thing.*

Tertull. de Baptiſma. Likewiſe ſaith Tertullian: Si qui pondus intelligant Baptiſmi, magis timebunt conſecutionem, quam dilationem: *They that vnderſtand the weight of* Baptiſme, *will feare more the getting of it, then the delaying.*

Yet ye erpreſſe the matter further: S. Paul ſaith: Who ſo eateth vnworthily of this Bread, is guilty of the Body & Blood of Chriſt: *Ergo* (ſay you) Chriſts Body and Blood muſt needs be Really Preſent. Here, M. Harding, it were a worthy matter, to ſee, by what engins ye would proue theſe haſty concluſions, or how ye would force this Guilt and this Preſence to goe together. For thinke you, that no man can be guilty of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, but he that hath Chriſts Body and Blood Reallie preſent in his hand? Verily, S. Auguſtine

Aug. de Tempore, Serm. 20. ſaith: Reus erit, non parui pretij, ſed Sanguinis Chriſti, qui violat, & commaculat Animam, Chriſti Sanguine, & Paſſione mundatam: *Hee is* Guilty *of no ſmall price, but euen of the* Blood of Chriſt, *that* (by Fornication or Aduoutery) *defileth his owne Soule that was made cleane by the* Paſſion and Blood of Chriſt. Yet hath he not therefore Chriſts

Athanaſ. de Paſſione, & Cruce Domini. Blood Really Preſent.

Athanaſius ſaith: Adorantes Dominum, neque ita, vt dignum eſt eo viuentes, non ſentiunt ſe reos fieri Dominicæ Mortis: *Worſhipping our Lord, and not liuing ſo as is meet for our*

Lord,

Lord, they feele not, that thereby they are made Guilty of our Lords death. So saith God by the Prophet Ezechiel, *I will require the* Blood of the people *at thy hand.* Ezech. 33.

Christ saith: *God shall require of you the* Blood *of the* Prophets, *that hath beene shed from the beginning of the World.* Luke 11.

This Guilt, M. Harding, may wel stand without any Real Presence of the Blood either of Christ, or of the Prophets. Ye may wel be Guilty of Christs, and the Prophets Blood, notwithstanding yee haue neither the one, or the other Really Present in your hand.

Guilty of the Body and Blood &c.

This therefore is S. Pauls meaning, that the wicked resorting unworthily to the Holy Mysteries, and hauing no regard what is meant thereby, despise the Death and Crosse of Christ, and therefore are Guilty of the Lords Body & Blood, that are represented in the Sacrament.

Chrysostome saith, as he is alleged in the second Councel of Nice: Is qui Imaginem Imperatoris violat, in prototypum Dignitatis iniustus est: *He that defileth the* Emperors *Image, is iniurious to the Maiesty of the Emperours person, that is portraied in the Image.* *Concil. Nicen. 2. Act. 6.*

S. Cyprian saith: Impijs in Morte Christi nullus superest quæstus: sed iustissimè eos beneficia neglecta condemnant: *The wicked haue no gaine by the death of Christ, but the benefits that they haue despised, do most iustly condemne them.* *Cypr. de Ablutione pedum.*

To come nere to the purpose, S. Augustine saith: Habent Foris Sacramentum Corporis Christi: sed Rem ipsam non tenent intus, cuius est illud Sacramentum. Et ideò sibi iudicium manducant & bibunt: *Outwardly they haue the Sacrament of Christs Body: but the thing it self (which is Christs Body represented by the Sacrament) inwardly in their hearts they haue not. And therefore they Eat and Drinke their owne iudgement.* Here S. Augustine saith, they are Guilty not because they receiue, but because they receiue not the Body of Christ. Marke well these words, M. Harding: They are effectual. The wicked by S. Augustines iudgement are Guilty, Not because they receiue, but because they receiue not the Body of Christ. *Aug. ad Bonif. epist. 50.*

Againe he saith: Qui non manet in Christo, & in quo non manet Christus, procul dubio non Manducat Spiritualiter Carnem eius, nec Bibit eius Sanguinem: licèt Carnaliter & Visibiliter premat dentibus Sacramentum Corporis & Sanguinis Christi: Sed magis tantæ rei Sacramentum ad Iudicium sibi Manducat & Bibit: *Who so abideth not in Christ, nor Christ in him, out of doubt he eateth not Spiritually his Flesh, nor Drinketh his Blood: notwithstanding Carnally (that is to say, with the Bodily Mouth) and Visibly he doe presse with his teeth the* Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ: *And rather eateth and drinketh (not Christs very Body and Blood, but) the Sacrament of so great a thing vnto his iudgment.* These words M. Harding, be so plaine, that I cannot imagine what we should more desire. They are Guilty of the Blood of Christ, for that they despise the price, wherewith they were saued, not for that they receiue it Really into their mouthes. *Augustin. in Ioh. Tract. 26.*

So S. Augustine saith againe: Reus erit Æternæ Mortis, quia vilem in se habuit Sanguinem Redemptoris: *The Aduouterer is Guilty of Euerlasting Death, because he despised in himselfe the Blood of our Sauiour.* *Aug. De Tempore, Serm. 120*

The Distinction, that you imagine betweene Real Receiuing in the wicked, and Effectual Receiuing in the godly, as it is onely of your selfe, without the authority of any Doctour Greeke or Latine, so is it nothing else, but a very Effectual and Real folly. For the very Body of Christ, if it be not Effectually receiued, is not receiued. Christ himselfe saith: He that eateth me, shal liue by me: S. Ambrose saith: Hic panis est remissio peccatorum, Qui accipit non moritur morte peccatoris: *This Bread is the Remission of Sins. He that receiueth it, shal not die the death of a Sinner.* *Ambros. de Benedict. Patriarch cap. 6.*

S. Augustine saith: Qui non sumit hanc Escam, non habet Vitam: & qui eam sumit, habet vitam, & hanc vtique Æternam: *He that receiueth not this Meat hath no Life: and he that receiueth the same, hath Life, and that Euerlasting.* *Augustin. in Ioh. Tract. 26.*

Likewise againe he saith: Huius rei Sacramentum in Mensa Dominica præparatur & de Mensa Dominica sumitur: quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: Res verò ipsa, cuius est Sacramentum, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque eius particeps fuerit: *The Sacrament hereof is prepared vpon the* Lords Table, *and from the* Lords Table *is receiued: to some vnto Life, to some vnto destruction. But the thing it selfe (that is, the* Body of Christ) *whereof it is a* Sacrament, *is receiued of all* men to life, *and of no man to* destruction, whosoeuer shal be partaker of it. You may not negligently passe ouer these words, M. Harding. S. Augustine saith plainely: *The thing it selfe that is presented by the Sacrament* (that is to say, the very body of Christ) *is receiued of al men to Life, and of no man to destruction, whosoeuer shalbe partaker of it.* Wherof you must nedes conclude against your selfe, That the wicked receiue not the Body of Christ. *Augustin. eodem loco.*

The

The Scriptures in the vulgar tongues.

The Apologie, Chap. 16. diuision, 2.

But, not to tarry about rehearsing all points, wherein we and they differ, for they haue wel nigh no end, we turne the Scriptures **into all tongues: they scant suffer them to be had abroad in any tongue.**

M. Harding.

(a) This is nothing, but open mockery. (b) Vntruth, too fond for a child. For there was neuer such order taken by the gouernours of the Church.

We (a) gladly suffer them to be had in euery place of Christendome in the learned tongues, Hebrew, Greeke and Latine (**to be read of the vulgar Vnlearned people.**) Neither were they altogether forbidden to be had in some vulgar tongues, before the saucy malapertnesse of Heretikes forced the gouernours of the Church, for sauegard of the people (b) to take other orders.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Ye can vouchsafe to allow the Scriptures **in the three** Learned Tongues, Greeke, Hebrew, **and** Latine: **that is to say, in such sort as the simple people may in no wise touch them. But where did God euer sanctifie these three tongues and call them** Learned: **Or where were they euer so specially Canonized and allowed, aboue all other tongues, to the custody of the** Scriptures?

Aug. epist. 48. S. Augustine saith: Scriptura Canonica tot Linguarum Literis, & Ordine, & Successione Celebrationis Ecclesiasticæ custoditur. *The Canonical Scriptures is kept in the* Letters of so many tongues, *and by the order and succession of Ecclesiastical publishing.* **Againe he** saith: *Aug de doctrina Christiani. lib. 2. cap. 5.* Scriptura Diuina ab vna Lingua profecta, per varias interpretum Linguas, longè latéque diffusa, innotuit Gentibus ad Salutem: *The holy* Scriptures, *passing from one tongue, & being published abroad, far and wide,* (**not onely by** three Learned tongues, **but also**) by sundry Tongues of Interpreters, *haue come to the knowledge of Nations & People to their Saluation.* **Againe he** saith: *August. in Psal. 105.* Habemus Dei beneficium, qui Scripturas suas in multis Linguis esse voluit: *We haue the benefit of God that would haue his* Scriptures *to be* (**not only in** Three, **but**) in many Tongues. *Chrys. in Iob. homil. 1.* S. Chrysostome saith: Syri, Ægyptij, Indi, Persæ, Æthiopes, & innumeræ aliæ Gentes, Dogmata ab hoc introducta, in suam transferentes Linguam hominis Barbari, Philosophari didicerunt: *The* Syrians, *the* Ægyptians, *the* Indians, *the* Persians, *the* Æthiopians, *and other* Nations innumerable, translating into their owne Tongues *the Doctrin that they had receiued of* S. Iohn, *being barbarous people, endeuored themselues to learne wisdome.* S. Hierome saith: *Hieronym in Psalm. 86.* Scriptura Sancta populis omnibus legitur, vt omnes intelligant: *The Holy Scripture is* read to al Nations, *that al may vnderstand it.* **It were hard to say, that al the Nations of the World read, or heard the** Scriptures **in** Greeke, Hebrew, **or** Latine, **to the intent they might the better vnderstand it. If these authorities séeme not plaine and sufficient,** Theodoretus saith further: *Theod. De corrigend. Græcorum affect. li. 5.* Hebraici Libri, non modò in Græcum idioma conuersi sunt, sed in Romanam quoque Linguam, Ægyptiam, Persicam, Indicam, Armenicam, & Schythicam, atque ad ò Sauromaticam: semelque vt dicam, in Linguas omnes, quibus ad hanc diem Nationes vtuntur: *The Hebrew Bookes of the* Scriptures *are translated, not only into the* Greeke *or* Latine Tongue, *but also into the tongues of* Ægypt, Persia, India, Armenia, Scythia *and* Sarmatia: *and, to be short,* into al the tongues, *that vntil this day are vsed in the world.* This, I trow, is somewhat more then Greeke, Hebrew, and Latine.

The Apologie, Chap. 16. Diuision 3.

We allure the people to read, and to heare Gods word, they driue the people from it.

M Harding.

*A mockery. For many heare not one sermon in twenty yeeres.

Ye allure the people busily to heare and read the Scriptures for euill purpose. And thereby ye haue filled their hearts, whom ye haue deceiued with pride, so as they think themselues able to iudge of the highest questions that be in Diuinity. We keepe the people so far as we can for you from heresies and require them rather to be hearers, then iudges, and to learne necessary knowledge of Gods Word at holesome and godly Sermons.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

We teach not the people to presume of Knowledge, **as you teach them to presume of** Ignorance: **But only we exhort them for the better satisfaction of their consciences, to** read the Scriptures, **and therein to learne the good will of** God. **And notwithstanding ye may not allow them to be** Iudges, **that is to say, to discerne betweene the Light of** God, **and your** Darknesse, **yet ye might suffer them to picke out some** small crummes **that fall from the** Lords Table. **Howbeit** Socrates saith: *Apol. Socrat. The simple vnlearned people, in cases of Truth,*

Truth, indeth oftentimes more vprightly then the deepeſt Philoſophers. Likewiſe Chriſt ſaith: *I thanke thee, O Father, for that thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and politicke, and haſt opened the ſame to little babes.* Matthæ. 11.

But ye will ſay: The Scriptures are hard, and aboue the reach of the people. Euen ſo ſaid the Pelagian Heretike Iulianus. And therefore S. Auguſtine thus reproueth him for the ſame: Exaggeras quàm ſit difficilis, pauciſque conueniens eruditis, Sanctarum cognitio Literarum: *Ye exlarge and lay out with many words, how hard a matter the knowledge of the Scripture is, and meet only for a few learned men.* S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Scripturæ & Seruo, & Ruſtico, & Viduæ, & Puero, & illi qui valdè imprudens eſſe videatur, faciles ſunt ad intelligendum: *The* Scriptures *are eaſie to the* Slaue, *to the* Husbandman, *to the* Widow, *to the* Child: *and to him that may ſeeme to be very* ſimple *of vnderſtanding.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Modus ipſe dicendi quo Sacra Scriptura contexitur, &c. quaſi amicus familiaris, ſine fuco ad cor loquitur indoctorum, atque doctorum: *The phraſe or maner of ſpeech wherein the Scriptures are written, &c. ſpeaketh without colour, as a familiar friend, vnto the heart, as well of the Vnlearned, as of the Learned.* S. Cyril ſaith: Scripturæ, vt omnibus eſſent notæ, paruis & magnis vtiliter familiari ſermone commendatæ ſunt, ita vt nullius captum tranſcendant: *The* Scriptures, *that they might be eaſie to all men, as well ſmall as great, are profitably ſet abroad in familiar ſpeech, ſo that they ouer-reach no mans capacitie.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Sunt quidam homines, qui cùm audierint, quòd debent eſſe humiles, nihil volunt diſcere: putantes, quòd ſi aliquid didicerint, ſuperbi erunt, &c. Hos reprehendit Scriptura: *Some men, when they heare ſay they muſt be lowly, will learne nothing: thinking that if they learne any thing they ſhall be proud. But theſe are reproued by the Scriptures.* Likewiſe againe S. Auguſtine ſaith: Ipſa ignorantia in illis qui intelligere noluerunt, ſine dubitatione peccatum eſt: In eis autem qui non potuerunt, eſt pœna peccati. Ergo in vtriſque non eſt excuſatio: ſed iuſta damnatio: *Ignorance in them that would not vnderſtand, without doubt is ſinne: But in them that could not vnderſtand, it is the puniſhment of ſinne. Therefore neither of them both hath good excuſe: but either of them hath iuſt damnation.*

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The Apologie, Chap. 16. Diuiſion. 4.

We deſire to haue our cauſe knowen to all the world: they flee to come to any triall.

M. Harding.

Then why came ye not to the *chiefe and moſt lawful Conſiſtory of the world, the late generall Councel at Trent? What trial ſhould we come vnto. Our Doctrine hath had too high a Teacher, to be tried by men now. It hath beene approoued too long, to be put in daying in theſe daies, at the latter end of the World.

*A worthy Councell of forty Biſhops, ſuch as they were, in the time of Paulus the Third.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

That we made not our appearance at your late Chapter at Trident, **ye haue alreadie made our excuſe. The iourney was too long to be taken in vaine. Ye ſay:** your Doctrine, be it right, be it wrong, may not now be tried, nor put in daying. **So ſaid ſometime the** old Donatian Heretikes **vnto** S. Auguſtine: Diſputare nolumus; & Baptizare volumus: *Diſpute we will not: but* (continue in our error, and) *Baptize we will.* *Aug. epiſt. 169.*

The Apology, Chap. 16. Diuiſion 5.

We leane vnto Knowledge: **they vnto** Ignorance: **We truſt vnto** Light: **they vnto** Darkeneſſe:

M. Harding.

Ye leane to the fauour of ſeculiar Princes, whom by flatterie and Hereſie ye may deceiue. Crake not of your great knowledge, nor of your light. Woe be to them, crieth our Lord in Eſay, that ſay good is euill, and euill is good; that put light for darkneſſe, and darknes for light. Your demeanor is ſo euill, your Doctrine ſo falſe, your tongue ſo railing, that we take your word for no ſlander.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

We flatter our Princes, M. Harding, as Nathan **flattered King** David: **as** Iohn Baptiſt **flattered** Herod: **as** S. Ambroſe **flattered** Theodoſius: **and as** ſalt **flattereth the** graſſe **ſore. Indeed we deſpiſe not the** Miniſter of God, **as ſundry of your fellowes haue vſed to doe: of whom one doubteth not to ſay,** The Pope is the Head, and Kings and Emperours are the Feet. **Another ſaith;** The Prieſt is ſo farre aboue the King, as a Man is aboue a Beaſt. **Such words of contempt and villanie we haue not vſed. They agree well**

Dorman. pag. 15.

Staniſlaus Orichouius in Chimæra.

with you, and with your Religion. We yeeld to the King that is due to the King. We yæld to God that is due to God. Wæ say to the Prince as S. Ambrose sometime said to the Emperour Valentinian: Noli te grauare, Imperator, vt putes te in ea quæ diuina sunt Imperiale aliquod ius habere: *Trouble not your selfe, my Lord, to thinke that you haue any Princely Power ouer those things that pertaine to God.*

Ambros. Lib. 5. epist. 33.

Petr. de Palude de potestat. Pp. Dist. 40. Non nos. In Glossa. Extrau. Iohan. 22. Cùm. Inter. In Glossa. Hostiē. de trãslation. Prælats. Quanto.

But if they be flatterers, that humbly aduertise and direct their Liege Princes by the Word of God, what are they then that say as you say, Totus Mundus non potest accusare Papam: Nemo potest dicere Papæ, Domine, cur ita facis: Sacrilegij instar esset, disputare de facto Papæ: Dominus Deus noster Papa: Papa potest quasi omnia facere quæ potest Deus? *The whole world may not accuse the* Pope: *No man may say to the* Pope, *Sir, why doe ye thus: It were a sinne as bad as Sacrilege, to dispute of any the* Popes *doings:* Our Lord God the Pope: *The* Pope *may doe in a maner what soeuer* God *may doe?* These, these, M. Harding, and a thousand other your like speeches, may seeme somewhat to smell of flatteries.

The Apologie, Chap. 16. Diuision. 6. and 7.

We reuerence, as it becommeth vs, the Writings of the Apostles and Prophets: and they burnt them.

Finally, we in Gods cause desire to stand to Gods onely iudgement: They will stand onely to their owne.

M. Harding

Whatsoeuer ye pretend, the cause ye haue taken in hand to defend, is not Gods cause, neither is this stirre which ye make in the world, for Christs sake. Luther himselfe, when at a disputation with Doctor Eckius, inflamed with anger, & passing the bounds of modestie, was admonished of certaine, forasmuch as it was Gods cause that was treated, to handle the matter more soberly, & with the spirit of softnesse. he brake out into these words, *Non propter Deum hæc res cæpta est, nec propter Deum finietur:* This matter is not begun for Gods sake, neither for Gods sake shal it be ended. Therefore speake no more to vs of Gods cause. There be other causes that moue you to doe as ye doe.

Vntruth, stãding in open and wilfull corruption.

Hosius cont. Brentium, fol.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Luther (ye say) in disputation was inflamed with anger, and passed the bounds of modestie. No doubt, M. Harding, if he had had some part of your sobriety and modesty, he might haue done a great deale better. Touching the matter, being zealously moued with the iniquity and wicked wilfulnesse of his Aduersaries, he vttered these words, not of himselfe but of Eckius, that disputed against him: Eckius and his fellowes neuer began this matter for Gods sake, nor for Gods sake will they end it. For he saw they had begun, and were bent to end it against God, as being inflamed with ambition and malice, and procured and hired by the Pope. These words Luther spake of Eckius his Aduersary, and not of himselfe. Euen so, M. Harding, may we also truely say, You and your fellowes haue not begun these your Contentious Vanities for Gods sake: nor for Gods sake will you end them.

Iacob Andreæ contra Hosium, Pag. 352.

The Apologie, Chap. 16. Diuision. 8.

Wherefore, if they wil weigh all these things with a quiet minde, and fully bent to heare, and to learne, they will not only allow this Determination of ours, who haue forsaken Errours, and followed Christ and his Apostles, but themselues also will forsake their owne selues, and ioine of their owne accord to our side, to goe with vs.

Here endeth the Fifth Part.

THE

THE SIXTH PART.

The Apology, Chap. 1. *Diuision* 1.

BVT peraduenture they will say it was Treason to attempt these matters without a sacred Generall Councell: for that therein consisteth the whole force of the Church: there Christ hath promised he will euer be a present Assistant. Yet they themselues, without tarrying for any Generall Councell, haue broken the Commandements of God, and the Decrees of the Apostles and, as we said a little aboue, they haue spoiled & disanulled almost al, not only the Ordinances, but euen the Doctrine of the Primitiue Church. And where they say, It is not lawful to make a change without a Councell, what was he that gaue vs these Lawes, or from whence had they this Iniunction?

To take Counsell of men.

M. Harding

If generall Councels continue in that estimation & Authority they haue euer had, their priuate conspiracies & false conueiances in corners be like to be dashed. Now mickesh forth their Secretary, who thinketh himself a freth souldier in Rhetorick, & giueth the onset vpon vs with a blind peraduenture. But sir, whatsoeuer you imagine vs to say, touching a Generall Councell, wee are not so simple, as to grant (which you peraduenture seeme to surmise of vs) that your Heretical & most vngodly matters, which you speak of, might without blame be attempted by licence of any Councell. Such wicked changes in Religion as ye haue made, neither is it lawful to make with a Councell, nor without a Councell.

The Apologie, Chap. 1. *Diuision* 2.

Indeed king Agesilaus did but fondly in this behalf, who when he had a determinate answer made him of the opinion & will of mighty Iupiter, would afterward bring the whole matter before Apollo, to know whether he would allow thereof, as his Father Iupiter had done, or no. But yet should we do much more fondly, when we heare God himselfe plainly speake to vs in his most holy Scriptures, & may vnderstand by them his will and meaning, if we would afterward (as though this were of none effect) bring our whole cause to be tried by a Councell: which were nothing else, but to aske whether men would allow as God did, and whether men would confirme Gods Commandement by their Authority.

M. Harding.

Forasmuch as the Scriptures, wherein God speaketh vnto vs, be in sundry places not most open and plaine to (a) humane sences, and many by mistaking them be deceiued, were it not well done of you, for the more surety and better vnderstanding of that ye goe about, I meane in matters concerning Religion, to follow the iudgement of the Catholike Church represented in Generall Councels? Yet wee say boldly, that surer it is in points of Faith to leane to the (b) exposition of the Fathers agreeing together, and to follow the tradition of the Church, then to trust to your selues, or to the letter of the Scriptures scanned only by our owne wits. For the Church is promised to be led into all Truth by the Holy Ghost. Ye cannot say any such promise hath been made to your particular company. Therefore it were not fondly done, as ye say, but wisely, say we, if ye tried and examined your Doctrine, which ye pretend to be according vnto the Scriptures, by the (c) rule of Ecclesiasticall Tradition, which is the chiefe rule to try euery doctrine by.

(a) vaine follie. For what haue humane or naturall senses to doe with the sense of God?

(b) The Expositions of the Fathers very seldome agree together: yet are they for the most part contrary to the Church of Rome.

(c) The Traditions now vsed in the Roman Church are commonlie contrarie to the Traditiõs of the ancient learned Fathers. Therefore this Rule is deceitfull.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

We neuer despised the iudgement of the Learned and Holy Fathers, but rather take them, and embrace them, as the Witnesses of Gods Truth. And therein we finde you the more blame worthy, M. Harding, for that, hauing without cause renounced the iudge-

ment and orders of the Primitiue Church, and Ancient Fathers, as to the wise and learned it may some appeare, yet nevertheless ye evermore make vaunt of your Antiquitie, and fray the world with a visard of the Church, and a shew of Old Fathers: as if a poore Sommoner, that had lost his Commission, would serue Citations by the vertue of his empty bor. And thus haue ye set all your vaine fantasies in place of Gods Church, and your Church in place of God; as by the words and witnesse of your owne fellowes I haue before shewed more at large. For example, Cardinall Cusanus saith: Nulla sunt Christi Præcepta, nisi quæ per Ecclesiam pro talibus accepta sunt: *The Commandements of Christ are no Commandements, vnlesse they be so allowed by the Church.*

Part. 5. Cap. 10. Diuis. 2. Nicol. Cusan. ad Bohemos, Epist. 2.

Thus ye leaue Iuppiter, and run to Apollo: or rather, ye forsake God, and seeke to Man: and as it is written in the Prophet Ieremie, *Ye leaue the Fountaine of the Water of Life, and rip vp broken and filthy Cesterns, that can hold no Water.* Tertullian thus vpbraideth the Heathens: Apud vos de humano arbitratu Diuinitas pensitatur: *Among you the right of God is weighed by the iudgement of men.*

Ieremie. 2.

Tertul. in Apologetico.

But Clemens Alexandrinus saith: Quoniam ipsum Verbum ad nos venit de Cœlo, non est nobis ampliùs eundum ad Humanam Doctrinam: *Forsomuch as* the Word it selfe (that is, Christ) *is come to vs from Heauen, we may not now any more seeke vnto the Doctrine of Man.* Likewise S. Chrysostome saith: Fuisset extremæ absurditatis eum qui edoctus fuerat à Deo, postea cum hominibus communicare: *It had been great folly for* S. Paul, *hauing receiued his Doctrine from* God *himselfe, afterward to conferre thereof with men,* that is to say, with Peter, or Iames, or with any others.

Clemens Alexandr. in Oration. ad Gentes. Chrys. in Epist. ad Galat. ca. 1.

The Apologie, Chap. 1. Diuision, 3.

Why, I beseech you, except a Councell wil & command, shal not Truth be Truth, or God be God? If Christ had meant to doe so from the beginning, as that he would preach or teach nothing without the Bishops consent, but referr al his Doctrine ouer to Annas and Caiaphas, where should now haue bin the Christian Faith? Or, who at any time should haue heard the Gospel taught: Peter verily, whom the Pope hath oftener in his mouth and more reuerently vseth to speake of, then he doth of Iesus Christ, did boldly stand against the Holy Councel, saying, It is better to obey God, then Men. And after that Paul had once entirely imbraced the Gospell, & had receiued it, not from men, nor by man, but by the only Will of God, he did not take aduice therein of Flesh and Blood, nor brought his case before his kinsmen and brethren, but went forthwith into Arabia, to preach Gods Diuine Mysteries by Gods only Authority.

M. Harding.

We preach against your follies and fantasies, & not against the Doctrine of the Church.

If you occupie a flute no better, by my read you shal giue ouer your piping & flouting. Truth is truth, & God is God, whether any Councel wil or nil. Marry as for the Truth, and for God, euery Councel lawfully assembled hath will, so against the Truth, and against God, it hath no nil. When ye proue vnto vs, that ye are speciallie called, as Paul was, and haue a special Commission * to preach against the Doctrine of the Church, as he had against the wicked Iewes, then a Gods name take no aduice of any man, but forthwith preach and crie out so loud as ye list, so that ye goe into Arabia, as S. Paul did, or where else soeuer ye wil. For euetie good man would be loth England should be troubled with you.

The Apologie, Chap. 2. Diuision 1.

YEt truly we doe not despise Councels, Assemblies, and conferences of Bishops, and learned men: neither haue we done that we haue done altogether without Bishops, or without a Councell. The matter hath beene treated in open Parliament, with long consultation, and before a notable Synod and Conuocation.

M. Harding.

Either your tongue agreeth not with your heart, or else I wil proue the contratie by your own arguments, which in the next Paragraph before this ye haue hudled vp. For wheras your matters are (as ye ordinarily say) euident by plaine Scripture, & the Word of God is readen of euery man, (without distinction and limitation) therefore ye doe first of al play as fond a part, as King Agesilaus did, who receiuing an answer of mightie Iupiter, would afterward bring the matter before Apollo: yea furthermore, ye do much more fondlie then he, if when ye may heare God himselfe speak plainlie to you in the most holie Scriptures, ye would bring the whole cause to be tried by a Councell.

How

How ſay ye then now, are not theſe your owne proper reaſons, &c. your foreſaid worſhipful reaſons, &c. ? If ye meane (as by reaſon ye muſt) the Parliaments of theſe latter daies, the firſt of al did make moſt of you: and yet how open was it for you? Had ye any place at all in it? Were ye admitted within the doores? Or had ye any thing to do in that aſſemblie? Conſider thē with what conſultation your purpoſes were concluded. Did they tarry many moneths about it? Had they Biſhops? * Had they Diuines and the moſt learned, to reaſon to and fro with al libertie? Was the Authoritie of the Vniuerſall Church of Chriſt, and the Doctrin of the Ancient Fathers conſidered? Yee ſay in Latine, *Plenus comitijs*, that is, in the ful and whole aſſemblie, as though none at al had there reſiſted, but euery man had yeelded to your matters. What ſay ye then of the ſpiritual Lords, a great part of the Parliament, and without al doubt the part which muſt be chiefliе & onlie regarded, when the queſtion is of Religion? How many of them gaue you their voice to your Goſpel? Yea, which of them al did not reſiſt it? One alone, I muſt confeſſe, was afterward made to breake Vnitie, of whom a right good and Catholike Biſhop ſaid to a noble man, We had but one foole among vs, and him ye haue gotten vnto you. But as of the ſpiritual Lords ye had none at al, except that one, little worthie of the name of a Biſhop and Lord, whoſe learning was ſmal, and honor thereby much ſteined, ſo of the temporal ye had not al: and ſo had ye alſo in the lower houſe very many, and wel learned, that ſpake againſt you.

Parlament.

* Vntruth, enclоſed. For they had Diuines, and a ſol. mn Diſputatiō was appointed at Weſtminſter, in the preſence of the States of the Realm. But your fellowes fled frō it.

But let vs conſider the notable conuocation in which your matter hath beene treated. If ye meane the Clergie comming together at that firſt Parliament time, of which we ſpeake, it was of Catholikes, not of Sacramentaries, & it put vp a bil againſt your proceedings; ſo far it was off from confirming thē. If ye meane any ſince that time, in which your Superintendentſhips met together, for what cauſe was it a notable Synode, and a notable conuocation?

Ye be deſperate in your lying, and crake of a ful Parliament, and a notable Synod, not regarding by what meanes ye promote your cauſe to the multitude, and ſaue your ſelues from reproch of extreme follie. For otherwiſe ye which can ſo amplifie the ſmal and obſcure meetings of a few Caluiniſts of one little Iſland, what would ye not ſay of the laſt general Councel, to which more Nations were aſſembled together then are Shires in England; more yeers were beſtowed in conſultation, then weekes in your ful Parliament; * more Biſhops deſined and ſubſcribed, then were Miniſters of al ſorts in your notable Synod, by manie parts?

* Anotable great company. There were only fortie poore Biſhops, & yet ſome of the ſame were no Biſhops at al.

Laſtly, if they wil needs haue their matters ſeeme to depend of their Parliament, let vs not be blamed if we cal it Parliament Religion, Parliament Goſpel, Parliament Faith.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

We wil not diſcuſſe the Right and Intereſt of the Parliaments of England. As much as concerneth Gods Euerlaſting Truth, we hold not by Parliament, but by God. Parliaments are vncertaine, and often contrarie, as we haue ſeene: but Gods Truth is one, and certaine, and neuer changeth. The things that were ſo ſuddenly and ſo violently ſhaken downe in the late time of Queene Mary, are now of Gods great mercy, by our moſt Noble and Gracious Lady Queene Elizabeth, aduiſedly and ſoberly reared vp againe, that they may the more firmly continue, and ſtand the better. Whatſoeuer want ye imagine was in that Parliament, forasmuch as we were no part thereof, I truſt we may the more eaſily be excuſed. Howbeit, ſo ſcornfully diſdaining the whole State of ſo Noble a Realme, ye ſhal hardly win the opinion either of Sobriety, or of great Wiſdome. The Parliament was ſummoned by Royal Authority, and was continued and concluded in Order, as heretofore it hath beene vſed.

But your Biſhops (ye ſay) withſtood vs: and your Brethren in the Conuocation promoted a bil againſt our Doctrine. **I know, M. Harding, they ſubſcribed then againſt vs with the very ſame hands, with which, not long before, they had openly proteſted and ſolemnly ſworne againſt the Pope: and with which they haue ſithence receiued and embraced our whole Religion, to the vtter condemnation of al your follies. Theſe were they that promoted bils againſt vs, and withſtood our Doctrine.**

Only one foole (yee ſay) ye had amongſt al your Biſhops, and he was ſoone gotten to come to vs. **Happy were they, M. Harding, that had but one foole in ſo great a company. If ſome of your Louanian Clergie had then beene Biſhops, I thinke they might haue beene ſomewhat better ſtored. Notwithſtanding, it was not wel done of your part, ſo vnciuilly to call your Brother foole. All the reſt of your Brethren, very few excepted, haue done the like. Yet fooles, I trow, ye wil not cal them, leſt happily your owne wits be called in queſtion.**

Where yee would ſeeme to ſay, that the Parliament holden in the firſt yeare of the Queenes Maieſties **Reigne was no Parliament, for that your Biſhops refuſed wilfully to agree vnto the godly Lawes there concluded, ye ſeeme therein to bewray in your ſelfe ſome want of skil. The wiſe and learned could ſoone haue told you, that in the Parliaments of England, matters haue euermore vſed to paſſe, not of neceſſity by the ſpecial conſent of the Archbiſhops & Biſhops, as if without them no Statute might lawfully be enacted; but only by the more part of the voices, yea although al the Archbiſhops and Biſhops were neuer ſo earneſtly bent againſt it. And Statutes ſo paſſing in Parliament, only by the voices of the Lords temporal, without the conſent and agreement of the** Lords Spiritual, **haue neuertheleſſe alwaies beene confirmed and ratified by the Real aſſent of the Prince, and haue beene enacted and publiſhed vnder the names of the Lords** Spiritual and Temporal.

Parlament.

Read the Statutes of King Edward the First. There shall ye finde, that in a Parliament solemnly holden by him at S. Edmunds Burie, the Archbishops and Bishops were quite shut forth. And yet the Parliament held on, and good and wholesome Lawes were there enacted, the departing, or absence, or malice of the Lords Spiritual notwithstanding. In the Records thereof it is written thus: Habito Rex cum suis Baronibus Parliamento, & Clero excluso, Statutum est, &c. *The King keeping the Parliament with his Barons, the Clergie* (that is to say, the Archbishops and Bishops) *being shut forth, it was enacted, &c.*

An. Do. 1296.

Likewise: In Prouisione de Martona, in the time of King Henry the Third, whereas matter was moued of Bastardy, touching the Legitimatiõ of Bastards borne before Marriage, the Statute past wholy with the Lords Temporal, whether the Lords Spiritual would or no: yea and that contrary to the expresse Decrees and Canons of the Church of Rome. The like hereof, as I am enformed, may be found, Richardi 2. Ann. 11. Ca. 3. Howbeit, in these cases, I must confesse, I walke somewhat without my compasse. Touching the Iudgement hereof, I refer my selfe wholy vnto the Learned.

Anno. 1273. In Prouisione Marton. cap. 9.

Extr. Qui filij sunt Legitimi.

Further, whereas ye call the Doctrine of Christ, that now by Gods great mercie, and to your great griefe, is Vniuersally and freely Preached, a Parliament Religion, and a Parliament Gospel, (for such sobriety becommeth you wel, and may stand you in stead when learning faileth) ye might haue remembred that Christ himselfe at the beginning was Vniuersally receiued and honoured throw this Realme by assent of Parliament: & further, that without Parliament your Pope himselfe was neuer receiued, no not in the late time of Queene Mary. Yea and euen then his Holinesse was clogged with Parliament Conditions, that whatsoeuer had beene determined in Parliament, and was not repealed, were it neuer so contrary to his wil and Canons, should remaine stil inuiolable, & stand in force. Otherwise his Holinesse had gone home againe. Such, M. Harding, is the Authority of a Parliament. Verily if Parliaments of Realmes be no Parliaments, then wil your Pope be no Pope. Therefore as you now call the Truth of God that we professe, a Parliament Religion, and a Parliament Gospel, euen so with like sobriety and gravity of speech ye might haue said, Our Fathers in old times had a Parliament Christ: And your late Fathers and Brethren had of late, in the time of Queene Mary, a Parliament Faith, a Parliament Masse, and a Parliament Pope.

Neither is it so strange a matter to see Ecclesiastical Causes debated in Parliament. Read the Lawes of King Inas, King Elfrede, King Edward, King Ethelstane, King Edmund, King Edgar, King Canute; and ye shal finde that our godly Forefathers, the Princes and Peeres of this Realme, neuer vouchsafed to intreat of matters of Peace, or Warre, or otherwise touching the Common State, before all controuersies of Religion, and Causes Ecclesiastical had beene concluded. King Canute in his Parliament holden at Winchester vpon Christmasse day, after sundry Lawes and Orders made, touching the Faith, the keping of Holy Daies, Publike Praiers, learning of the Lords Praier, Receiuing of the Communion thrice in the yeere, the maner and forme of Baptisme, Fasting, and other like matters of Religion, in the end thereof saith thus: Iam sequitur Institutio Legum Sæcularium: Now followeth an order for Temporal Lawes.

Leges Canuti.

Thus we see that the godly Catholike Princes in old times thought it their dutie, before al other affaires of the Common Weale, first to determine matters of Religion, and that euen by the Parliaments of this Realme.

In a Parliament holden by King Willam the Conquerour it is written thus: Rex, quia Vicarius Summi Regis est, ad hoc constituitur, vt Regnum & populum Domini, & supra omnia Sanctam Ecclesiam regat & defendat, &c. *The King, forasmuch as he is the* Vicar of the Highest King, *is therefore appointed to this purpose, that hee should* Rule *and defend the Kingdome and People of the Lord, and aboue al things the* Holy Church, &c. Hereby it appeareth that Kings and Princes are specially and of purpose appointed by God, not only to defend, but also to Gouerne and Rule the Holy Church.

Howbeit, if any imperfection shal appeare in the former Parliaments, we giue God thankes for the same that is: and trust, that for his owne Names sake he wil confirme that he hath begun. The hearts of Princes and Determinations of Parliaments are in his hand. If any thing want, the Arme of the Lord is not shortened: Hee is able to supplie the same.

Ye magnifie much your late Chapter of Trident, which you would so faine haue to be called a General Councel, with so many Nations, so many Bishops, and so many yeeres of Consultation. Yet notwithstanding, of all these so many, and so many Nations, and Countries, if it may please you to sit downe, and to take the account, ye shal finde there were only powre forty Bishops, and certaine of the same (as Richards Pates the Bishop of Worcester,

Concil. Triden. sub Carolo Quinto.

Worceſter, and blinde Sir Robert, the Archbiſhop of Armach) that only had the bare Titles of Biſhopricks, and indeed were no Biſhops at all. Two others of your ſaid ſo many and ſo notable Learned and Holy Biſhops, being at your ſaid worthy Councel, were euen there killed in Aduoutery: the one ſtricken downe with a Club: the other taken in the maner by the Husband, and hanged by the necke, out of a great Lutane window into the ſtreet. For theſe and other cauſes, Henry the French King, openly by his Ambaſſadors, proteſted againſt the ſame Councel in the preſence of al your ſo many, and ſo many Biſhops there, and ſaid: It was not a Councel General, but a Priuate Conuent or Aſſembly of a few certaine people ſummoned together for gaines ſake.

Now whereas it hath pleaſed you, aſwel here, as elſewhere, to ſport your ſelfe with Superintendents and Superintendentſhips, and to refreſh your wits with ſo haine a fantaſie of your owne, if ye had bene ſo deeply trauelled in the Doctors, New or Old, as ye beare vs in hand, ye might eaſily haue knowne, that a Superintendent is an ancient name and ſignifieth none other but a Biſhop. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Vocabulum Epiſcopatus inde ductum eſt, quòd ille, qui præficitur, eis, quibus præficitur, Superintendit. Ergo, ἐπισκοπεῖν, Latinè dicere poſſumus Superintendere. Againe he ſaith: Quod Græcè dicitur Epiſcopus, hoc Latinè, Superintentor, interpretatur. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Epiſcopus, ex eo dictus, quòd omnes inſpiciat. S. Hierome ſaith: ἐπισκοποῦντες, id eſt, Superintendentes. Anſelmus ſaith: Epiſcopus Latine Superintendens dicitur. Beda likewiſe ſaith: Epiſcopus Latine Superintendens dicitur. Petrus de Palude ſaith: Epiſcopus dicitur Superintendens: Et Petrus fuit Superintendens toti Mundo: Peter *was the* Superintendent *of the whole world.* Your owne Thomas of Aquine ſaith: Epiſcopi dicuntur, ex eo, quòd Superintendunt. Therefore, M. Harding, if modeſty moue you not, yet at leaſt for your grauities ſake, leaue playing with theſe vaine and childiſh follies. The Biſhops of England haue this day, not only the ſame name, but alſo the ſame rome and authority, and iuriſdiction, that other Biſhops haue euer had before.

Rober. Cacus. Vide Conc. Trident. ſub Paul. 3. Math. Flacc. Illyric. in Proteſt. contr. Concil. Trident. pag. 79. Ioh Sleidan. li. 23. An. 1551. Conuentus quorundam Priuatu vtilitatis gratia intitutus. Aug. de Ciuitate l. 19. ca. 19. Auguſt. in Pſalm. 126. Chryſoſt. 1. ad Tim. hom. 10. Hier. ad Euagrium. Anſ. ad Philippen. cap. 1. Beda 1. Pe. 2. Petr. de Palude de Poteſt. Coll. Apoſtolis. Art. 1. Th. 2. 2. qu. 184. Ar. 6.

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuiſion. 1.

BVT touching this Councel, which is now ſummoned by Pope Pius, wherein men ſo lightly are condemned, being neither called, nor heard, nor ſeene, it is eaſie to gheſſe, what we may looke for, or hope of it.

M. Harding.

The Generall Councel of Trent is now at length by Gods ſpecial fauour concluded and ended. What haue ye to ſay to it? Forbeare your accuſtomed lying, what haue ye to ſay to it? For * matters of Faith, what is not ſound and true? For * maners, what ſore lacketh due ſalue? For * diſcipline, what diſorder hath not wholeſome reſtraints & puniſhments? What defects be not prouidently conſidered, how to be ſupplied? What abuſes be not required to be taken away, as far as mans wit could deuiſe, and the weakneſſe of the preſent age can beare?

* Vntruths, open & without ſhame. For exãple, your Stewes, your Courtheghians, and Fornications, and Concubins were neuer touched.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

All this matter is fully anſwered by What, and by What. What *matter of Faith?* What *maners?* What *diſorder?* What *defects?* What *Abuſes?* But al theſe whats notwithſtanding, what if your Pope, your Cardinals, and your Clergy, with the whole diſorder of your Roman Church, with ſo many Prieſts keeping Concubines, with ſo many Non-Reſidents, with ſo many Dumbe Biſhops, and with ſo many thouſands of common Harlots be in caſe now, euen as they were before? Will ye tel vs neuertheleſſe, that al your ſores be ſufficiently ſalued? Or muſt we beleeue that your keeping of Concubines, your open Stewes, and Fornications &c. be no ſores? Verily S. Bernard ſaith, as it is alleged before: Inteſtina & inſanabilis eſt plaga Eccleſiæ: *The wound of the Church bleedeth inwardly, and is paſt Cure.* And againe: A planta pedis, vſque ad verticem Capitis non eſt in ea ſanitas: *There is no whole part in the Church from the ſole of the foot to the top of the head.* Baptiſta Mantuanus ſaith: Ægrotatque Fides iam proxima morti: *The* Faith of the Roman Church *is ſicke, and almoſt dead.*

Bern. in Cantica. Serm. 33. Holcot. in l. Sapien. Lectio. 23. Bern. in Conuerſ. Pauli. Serm. 1. Baptiſt. Mant. Faſtor. lib. 4. ad Leonem 10.

In your Old Latine Tranſlation of the Bible, there be ſundry errours, ſo open and ſo groſſe, that a very Babe may ſone eſpie them: as it may more plainly appeare by Budæus, Eraſmus, Valla, Faber, Lindanus, and others. Yet that notwithſtanding, your Councel ſaith preciſely thus: Ne quis Veterem vulgatam Editionem reijcere quouis prætextu audeat, vel præſumat: *Let no man dare or preſume by any maner of colour to refuſe the* Old Common Tranſlation of the Bible: As if your Councels were purpoſely ſummoned to maintaine errours. If ye wil ſo wilfully deceiue vs in ſenſible matters, how may we then truſt you in matters of Faith?

Conc. Trident.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuision. 2.

Nazianzen. ad Procopium.

In times past, when Nazianzene **saw in his daies how men in such** Assemblies **were so blinde and wilful, that they were carried with affections, and laboured more to get the victory, then the truth, he pronounced openly, that he neuer had seene any good end of any** Councel. **What would he say now, if he were aliue at this day, & vnderstood the beating and shouing of these men? For at that time, though the matter were laboured on al sides, yet the controuersies were wel heard, & open errors were put cleane away by the generall voice of all parts. But these men wil neither haue the case to be freely disputed, nor yet, how many errors soeuer there be, suffer they any to be changed. For it is a cõmon custome of theirs, oftẽ & shamelesly to boast, that** their Church cãnot er, that in it there is no fault, & that they must giue place to vs in nothing. **Or if there be any fault, yet must it be tried by their** Bishops & Abbats **only, because they be the Directors & Rulers of matters: for that they be the** Church of God. Aristotle **saith, that a** City cannot consist of Bastards: **Now whether the** Church of God **may consist of these men, let themselues consider. For doubtlesse, neither be their** Abbats, Abbats **indeed, nor their** Bishops such natural right Bishops **as they ought to be.**

M. Harding.

Gregory Nazianzene in his Epistle to Procopius saith thus: I refuse to come to whatsoeuer Councel of Bishops. Because I could neuer yet to this day see the end of any Councel endued with any profit, & after which, things amisse were not rather made more greeuous then healed. Nazianzene in that Epistle spake of (a) prouincial Councels, speciallie those that were holden in his troublesome times, where most commonly Heretikes through fauour of their deceiued Princes bare the sway. Which in matters of Faith could hardly then obtaine any credit among the Catholikes, vnlesse they had beene confirmed by the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, of which sort at that age were few. Those other Nazianzene had experience of, of these he had not. Albeit indeed the vtilitie of the Nicene Councel in his time, that is to say, within so few yeers after the same was holdẽ, was not yet thorowly espied & fully knowne abroad. Neither would he, if he were aliue at this daie, reproue the holy General Councel of Trent, as ye do. For why should he? * And how shameless be ye, to require vs, to yeeld and giue place vnto you? Who made you Iudges ouer vs? Who gaue you Commission: Where is your warrant?

What need ye to shew your malice so much at Bishops and Abbats? Which of them hurteth you? Haue ye not in prison or in custodie (b) at your appointment al the Bishops of England, one Apostata yet liuing excepted, which after sundrie flights and changing of coats, is fled from the tents of the Church to your scattered troupes? The Abbats, haue ye not driuen them away? Be ye yet afraid of their shadowes? As by Aristotle a Citie cannot consist of Bastards, no more can the Church of England consist of such Bastard Bishops as ye be: what number of Abbats ye haue left in Cloisters, such number of true Bishops haue ye left in Churches. One must I stil except, who is a true Bishop by Consecration (as I vnderstand) though a false man by Apostasie, and going from his Faith, and from his Religion.

(a) Vntruth. For he speaketh of al maner of Councels, aswel General as Prouincial. His words be: *Prorsus decreui fugere* Omnem Conuentum Episcoporũ. * This is a lustie kind of Diuinity.

(b) Vntruth. For they are committed only by the appointmẽt of the Prince.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Greg Nazian. ad Procopium.

Touching the vnlucky successe **of** Councels, **the ancient Father** Nazianzene **saith thus:** Equidem, vt verè, quod res est, scribam, prorsus decreui fugere omnem Conuentum Episcoporum. Nullius enim Concilij bonum exitum vnquam vidi. Concilia enim non minuunt mala, sed augent potiùs: *To say the truth, I am vtterly determined neuer to come to any* Councel of Bishops. *For I neuer yet saw good end of any* Councel. *For* Councels *abate not ill things, but rather increase them.* **These words thus vttered, whether they be vniuersally true or otherwise, I wil not reason. It may seeme hereby, this learned Father, for his time by experience found them true. And for ought that may appeare to the contrary, notwithstanding any thing contained in your Gloise, he seemeth to vtter the same, aswel of** General Councels, **as of** Prouincial.

ὅτι μηδεμιᾶς συνόδου τέλος εἶδον ἀρίστου μηδὲ λύσιν κακῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ γενομένας, ἢ σφοδρὰν ἐπιθεῖσαν σφᾶς. *Sozomenus. Hier. aduersus Luciferianos.*

Certainely after the great General Councel of Nice, **the** Arian heretikes **wared more, & more mighty then euer they had beene before. The** Emperours Constantius, and Valens, **with their Wiues and Courts became** Arians. Constantinus **the Great himselfe was also doubted to be an** Arian. Liberius **the Bishop of Rome, & Hosius that famous learned Bishop of Spaine gaue their hands vnto the** Arians. **Ten seuerall sundry** Prouincial Councels **gaue their voices with the** Arians. S. Hierome saith: Ingemuit totus Orbis, & Arianum se esse miratus est: *The whole world began to groane, and maruelled that it had taken part with the* Arians. **Therefore** Nazianzene saith, Hee neuer saw Councel, **nor** Prouinciall,

nor

not Generall that ended well. For that as one saith: The greater side oftentimes ouerweigheth the better. Euen so said the French Kings Ambassadour, in the behalfe of his Prince, in your late Chapter at Trident: Nostra, Patrumque nostrorum & Auorum memoria, Synodos indictas fuisse, Episcopos conuenisse, maximos in Germania, atque Italia Conuentus peractos esse scimus. Vix tamen vllus, aut perexiguus inde fructus Christianitati constitit: *We know that both in our Grandfathers and Fathers daies, and in our own time,* Councels *haue beene summoned,* Bishops *haue met together, great and solemn Assemblies haue beene kept, aswell in* Germany, *as in* Italie, yet scarsely any good at all, or very little good came thereof to the State of Christendome.

Titus Liuius Maior pars vincit meliorem.

Oratio Synod. Legati Regis Francię. Anno 1562. Copus f. 284.

Concerning Abbats and Monasteries we haue said before. We haue as many Abbots in England this day, as either Christ euer had or his Apostles. Notwithstanding one of your learned fellowes of Louaine, for the good will hee beareth to that Religion telleth vs, that the Apostles were Monkes, and Christ himselfe was the Abbot. The Abbots and Monkes that were in old times, were men giuen to studie and learning. And out of Monasteries learned men were then taken, as out of Schools and Vniuersities to the rule and gouernment of the Church. But your Abbots now are as much like those Abbots as your Church is like the Primitiue Church of Christ.

The succesſe of Councels. Monkes and Abbots.

Aug. epist. 81.

Aug. epist. 76.

Erasmus saith: Haud scio, an nunc magis expediret Ecclesiæ Christianæ, si pauciora essent Monasteria, essetque omnium idem Cultus, eædemque preces, eademque vitæ ratio: *I know not whether it were better for the Church of Christ, that there were fewer Monasteries and that all men had* one Seruice of God, one kind of Praier, and one order of life.

Erasm. in Scholijs: in epistolam ad Rusticum Monachum.

The Apology, Chap. 3. *Diuision* 3.

BVT grant, they be the Church: let them be heard speake in Councels: let them alone haue authority to giue consent: yet in old time when the Church of God, (if ye will compare it with their Church) was very well gouerned, both Elders and Deacons, as saith Cyprian, and certain also of the Common people were called thereunto, and made acquainted with Ecclesiasticall matters.

M. Harding.

Ah Sirs, would ye haue the common people come to the Generall Councell? Whom meane you, I pray you? Tinkers and Tapsters, Fidlers and Pipers, such as your Ministers be? Alas poore soules what should they doe there? For there is no tinking, nor tipling, no fidling, nor piping. There may they shut vp both budgets and mouthes. For neither can they speake in such an audience to be vnderstanded, nor can they vnderstand what is spoken. Looke in your Bookes better, and you shall find *Cyprian* to make little for your purpose.

Had your matter beene good, it might haue beene defended without lies. Being as it is, altogether beside truth and reason, for some colour of the maintenance of the same, ye passe all measure in lying. Where saith S. *Cyprian*, that certain of the common people were called to Ecclesiasticall Councels? Yea specially where (saith he (a) that the common people were made Iudges of Ecclesiasticall matters, for so hath your Latine, which not without guile your Lady Interpreter commonly turneth, were made acquainted with Ecclesiasticall matters? If you had meant true dealing, Defender, you would haue quoted the place: but you knew thereby your falshood should haue beene espied. (b) The place which you meane doubtlesse is in the second tome of S. *Cyprians* works, where we finde the sentences of the Bishops of Aphricke, *De Hæreticis Baptizandis*: Which proue th your strange saying, by you fathered vpon that holy Martyr, nothing at all. The words be these: *Cum in vnum Carthagini conuenissent, &c.* When many Bishops in the first day of September were assembled together at Carthage, out of the Prouince of Affrick Numidia, Mauritania, with their Priests and Deacons, the most part of the people also being present, &c.

(a) S. Cyprians words be plaine. *Nihil sine consensu plebis, &c. lib. 3. epist. 10.*

(b) Your ghesse deceiueth you, it is not there.

Now what can you gather out of them for your purpose more, but that a great number of the people were present one lie in the Church or other place where the Bishops were assembled. That certaine of the common people were called to this Councell, there is no such word mentioned, nor by *Cyprian*, nor by anie else. *Neither were the Priests themselues (which this youthfull Gentlewoman interpreteth Elders) and Deacons called thither, but they attended vpon the Bishops, as in such case it hath been accustomed, for sentence none might giue in anie Councell, but *onelie Bishops. Then how much lesse were the common people called to that Councell, specially to sit as iudges in Ecclesiasticall matters? Marry, that you would so haue it, I thinke well. For such confusion might best serue you to procure the ouerthrow of good order, in which the Church is gouerned, which if it be maintained dulie, your disordered and rebellious state will soone be confounded.

*Vntruths, boldly auouched. Read the Answere.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Your Tinkers and Tapsters, M. Harding, are ashamed in your behalfe to see your follie. A poore silly iester to winne his dinner, would be loth to scoffe so coldly. Certaine of our Clergy want the knowledge of Rhetoricke, Logike, Philosophie, the Hebrew, the Greek and the Latine tongues. Therefore ye call them Tinkers and Tapsters. Such is the sobriety and modesty of your talke. Of what Schoole or tongue then are your Priests, M. Harding,

Priests vnlearned.

Harding, that for the more part can neither Speake Latine, nor read English, nor vnderstand the Articles of their Faith, nor any portion of the Scriptures: Clouds without raine: Lanterns without light: Salt without sauour: Blind Guides, Dumbe Dogges: that, as one saith, seeme to haue their soules giuen them in stead of salt, to keepe them from stinking? Of what Art or Occupation was he, that baptized a Child in Latine, in this sort, In nomine Patria & Filia, & Spirita Sancta? What a skilfull Clerke was your Pope Iulius 2. that assigning a warrant, in stead of Fiat, wrote Fiatur? Your owne Doctor Alphonsus de Castro saith: Constat plures Papas adeo illiteratos esse, vt Grammaticam penitus ignorent: *It is most certaine, that many* Popes *be so vnlearned, that they be vtterly ignorant of their Grammer.* And being vtterly ignorant of their Grammar rules, I beseech you, say what other profound Science of Logicke or Philosophie, can ye praise them? Another of your Doctours saith: Papa propter defectum literaturæ non potest deponi: *The* Pope *may not be deposed for lacke of learning.* That is to say, the Pope, though he be neuer so ignorant, or void of knowledge, yet is as good a Pope as the best.

De Con. dist. 4. Retulerunt. Iulius pp. 2. Alphons. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Felinus de Rescriptis. Si quando.

Another of your Doctours saith: Venalitate Curiæ Romanæ, inaniter præficiuntur Leuones, Coqui, Stabularij equorum, & Pueri: *Through the bribery of the* Court of Rome, Baudes, Cookes, Hostlers and Children, *bee placed in Offices to gouerne the Church.* Shal we therefore say, as you say, that all your Priests bee Fidlers and Pipers, Tinkers and Tapsters.

Aureum Speculum. In Antilogia.

Some certaine of our Clergie be ignorant in the tongues, as yours be: but not ignorant in knowledge as yours be. The worst of them seeth and lamenteth your wilfull ignorance. Saint Augustine saith: Multo minus malum est, indoctum esse, quam indocilem: *Lesse hurt is it to be vnlearned, than to be wilfull, and vnapt to learne*: Irenæus saith, Melius est & vtilius, idiotas & parum scientes existere, & per Charitatem proximos Deo fieri, quam putare se multum scire, & multa expertos in suum Deum blasphemos inueniri: *Better it is a great deale for men to be ignorant, & to know but little, and by loue to draweere to God, than to thinke themselues to know much, and to haue great experience, and yet to be found blasphemous against God.*

2. Cor. 11.

Aug. contra Academ. li. 3. c. 7.

Iren. li. 2. ca. 45

S. Ambrose saith, Non in Dialectica complacuit Deo, saluum facere populum suum: Regnum enim Dei in simplicitate Fidei est, non in contentione sermonis: *It pleased not God by* Logicke *to saue his people. For the Kingdome of God standeth not in contention of talke but in simplicity of Faith.* Likewise he saith, Verba Philosophorum excludit simplex veritas Piscatorum: *The simple plaine Faith of Fishers confoundeth the words of the learned Philosophers.* The ancient Father Origen saith, Sapientes huius seculi, videntes absque Arte Grammatica, & peritia Philosophica consurgere muros Euangelij, velut cum irrisione quadam dicunt, perfacile hoc posse destrui calliditate Sermonum, per astutias, fallacias, & Argumenta Dialectica: *The Wise men of this world, seeing the walles of the Gospell to rise vp without* Grammar, *and profound knowledge in* Philosophie, *say scornfully amongst themselues, that all this by subtilety of speech, and crafty shifts, and* Logicall Arguments, *may full easilie be shaken downe.*

Ambr. de Fide lib. 1. cap. 3.

Ambros. de Incarnatione Domini, cap. 9.

Orig. in Cant. homil. 4.

It appeareth by the Councels of Carthage, and Hippo Regius, that in old times children vnder foureteene yeeres of age, were admitted to be Readers in the Church, and notwithstanding either their age or want of learning, the people was well contented with silence, and reuerence to giue eare vnto them. S. Chrysostome saith: In humanis negotijs, quando Rex Diademate coronatus, &c. *Euen in worldly affaires, when the King sendeth forth his Proclamations, the Currer or Pursuant is oftentimes a man of small accounte, and sometime so base, that he neuer knew his own Father or Grandfather. But they that receiue the Proclamation, haue no regard vnto him that brought it: notwithstanding, in respect of the Kings Letters, that he brought, they yeeld him honour, and with silence and reuerence giue attendance to the Proclamation.*

Conc. Carthag. 3. Can. 19. Et Concil. Hippon. Chrysostom. in Genes. hom. 44.

These simple vnlearned ones, whom you so disdainefully despise, shall rise vp in the day of our Lord, & condemn you with all your knowledge. God is able to make the poore Asse to speake, to controll blind Balaams wilful purposes. S. Hierom saith: Paulus qui Solœcismos facit in loquendo, Christi crucem portat, & quasi triumphans, omnes capit: totum Orbem subegit, ab Oceano vsq; ad Mare Rubrum: Paul *that is not able to vtter his mind in congrue speech, beareth the* Crosse of Christ, *and taketh all men prisoners, as if it were in triumph: from the Ocean vnto the red sea, hee subdued the whole world.* Likewise S. Ambrose saith: Non quero, quid loquantur Philosophi: requiro quid faciant. Soli in suis Gymnasijs remanserunt. Vide, quam Fides Argumentis præponderet. Illi quotidiè à suis consortibus deseruntur, qui copiosè disputant: isti quotidiè crescunt, qui simpliciter credunt. Non creditur Philosophis: Creditur Piscatoribus: *I demand not, what these great learned Philosophers say, but what they doe. They are forsaken and left alone in their Schooles. Behold how much more*

Numer. 22.

Hieronym. in Psalme 81.

Ambr. ad Gratianum de Fide, lib. 1. cap. 5.

weight

weight there is in Faith, then in Arguments. They with their profound Reaſons *are daily forſaken of their fellowes. Theſe with their* Simple Faith *go forward, and increaſe daily. Men beleene not the learned Philoſophers: they beleene vnlearned Fiſhers.*

Prieſts, Deacons and Lay men in Councels.

Prieſts, (*ye ſay*) this youthfull Gentlewoman interpreteth Elders. **O M. Harding, little néedeth that godly learned and vertuous Lady, to feare your ſo vnmanly and childiſh toies. If ye had beene either ſo ſagely ſtudied as ye pretend, and your friends haue thought, ye might ſome haue learned, that** Presbyter **a Prieſt, is nothing elſe, but** Senior, **that is, an Elder, and that a Prieſt and an Elder are both one thing. And therefore whereas** S. Paul ſaith: Aduerſus Presbyterum accuſationem ne admiſeris: S. Cyprian **tranſlating the ſame ſaith thus:** Aduerſus Maiorem natu accuſationem ne receperis. **Your owne Doctor** Thomas Aquinâ **ſaith:** Presbyteri in Græco dicuntur, quaſi Seniores. **Your owne** Gratian **ſaith:** Presbyter Græcè, Latinè Senior interpretatur. S. Hierome **ſaith:** Idem eſt Presbyter qui Epiſcopus. **Theſe two words,** πρεσβύτερος, πρεσβύτατος, **are erpounded in Latine,** Natu maior, Natu maximus. **So** Plutarchus **ſaith:** πρεσβύτερα δένδρα, Old Trees: **So** Nazianzene **ſaith:** πρεσβυτικῶς βαστάζοντες: *Going by a ſtaffe as old men vſe to doe.* **Therefore, M. Harding, it had beene more for your grauity, to haue ſpared theſe your youthfull follies.**

1. Tim. 5.
πρεσβύτερος.
Cyprian. ad Quirinum, lib. 3 cap. 76.
Thom. Secund. Secundæ. quæſt. 184. artic 6.
Diſt. 21. Cleros
Hieron. ad Titum cap 1.
Plutarch. in Publicola.

Ye ſay, The Prieſts and Deacons waited only vpon the Biſhops, but ſentence in Councell they might giue none. **This tale were true, M. Harding, if euery your word were a Goſpell. But** S. Luke **would haue told you farre otherwiſe. For ſpeaking of the firſt** Chriſtian Councell, **holden in the** Apoſtles **time, he ſaith thus:** Conuenerunt Apoſtoli & Seniores, vt diſpicerent de hoc negotio: *The* Apoſtles *and* Elders *met together, to take order touching this matter.* **And againe in the Concluſion:** Placuit Apoſtolis & Senioribus, cum tota Eccleſia: *It ſeemed good to the* Apoſtles *and* Elders, *together with the whole Church.* **Heere you ſee, the** Apoſtles **and** Elders **giue their voices together.** Nicephorus **ſaith:** Athanaſius inter Diaconos Alexandriæ Primarius, non minima pars Nicenæ Synodi: Athanaſius *being* **(not a** Biſhop, **but)** *one of the chief* Deacons of Alexandria, *was not the leaſt part of the* Councell of Nice. Tertullian **ſaith:** Præſident probati quique Seniores, honorem iſtum non pretio, ſed teſtimonio adepti: *The Iudges in ſuch* Eccleſiaſticall Aſſemblies *be the beſt allowed* Elders, *hauing obtained that honor not for mony, but by the witneſſe of their Brethren.* **And in the** Second Councell of Nice. Petrus Protopresbyter **and** Petrus Presbyter, **not being** Biſhops, **but only** Prieſts **ſent thither by** Adrianus **the** Biſhop of Rome, **gaue their aſſents, and ſubſcribed their names before all the** Biſhops.

Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 15.
Tertullian. in Apologetico.
Conc. Nicen. 2 Act. 24 & 6.

Touching S. Cyprian, **ye ſay, as your grauity and modeſty beſt leadeth you,** We lie without colour and paſſe meaſure in lying. **And heere, as men doe, that goe by gheſſe, and anſwer long before they know, ye find out a place in** S. Cyprian **that we thought not of: and vpon affiance thereof, ye blow vp your trumpe, and call vs** Liars. **Howbeit, wiſe men thinke him a haſty Iudge, that pronounceth before he know the cauſe.** S. Cyprian **ſaith:** A primordio Epiſcopatus mei ſtatui, nihil ſine conſilio veſtro, & ſine conſenſu Plebis, mea priuatim ſententia, gerere: *From my firſt entring into the* Biſhopricke, *I haue determined to doe nothing by mine owne authority, without your aduice* **(being the** Prieſts **and** Deacons) *and without the conſent of the people.* **For doing the contrary heereof, the ancient Father** Origen **rebuketh** Biſhops **of pride and ſtatelineſſe. Thus he ſaith:** Quis hodie eorum, qui populis præſunt, Conſilium dignatur inferioris ſaltem Sacerdotis accipere? Ne dixerim Laici vel Gentilis: *What one now adaies of al the* Biſhops *that haue the ouerſight of the people, vouchſafeth to take the* Counſel *of any* Inferiour Prieſt? *I will not ſay of a* Lay man, *or of an* Heathen. **Such M. Harding, are your** Cardinals **and** Biſhops of Rome. **They diſdaine the company and counſell of their inferiours.** S. Ambroſe **touching a caſe of Faith againſt the** Arians **ſaith thus:** Veniant ſi qui ſunt, ad Eccleſiam. Audiant cum populo: Non vt quiſquam Iudex reſideat: ſed vt vnuſquiſque de ſuo affectu habeat examen: *If there be any of them, let them come to the* Church: *Let them giue eare and hearken with the people: not that any man there ſhall ſit as* Iudge: but that euery man may haue the examination of his owne minde. S. Ambroſe **alloweth no one man to ſit as** Pope, **and to ouerrule al the reſt, whatſoeuer he ſay.**

Cyprian. lib. 3. epiſt. 10.
Orig. in Exod. homil. 11.
Ambroſ. lib. 5. epiſt. 32.

To conclude, your owne Pope Nicolas **writing vnto** Michaell **the** Greeke Emperour, **ſaith thus:** Vbinam legiſtis, Imperatores, Anteceſſores veſtros, Synodalibus conuentionibus interfuiſſe? Niſi forte in quibuſdam, vbi de Fide tractatum eſt: quæ Vniuerſalis eſt quæ omnium communis eſt: quæ non ſolùm ad Clericos, verumetiam ad Laicos, & ad omnes omninò pertinet Chriſtianos: *Where did your* Maieſty *euer read, that your* Predeceſſours being Emperours, *were euer preſent at the* Aſſemblies of Councels? *Vnleſſe it were, when queſtion was mooued concerning the* Faith. *For* Faith *is Vniuerſall and common to all men, and belongeth not onely to the* Prieſts, *but alſo to the Lay men, and generally to all Chriſtians.* **But heereof we ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake more hereafter.**

Epiſt. Nicol. Pp ad Imp. Michaelem.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 3. Diuiſion 4.

But, I put caſe, theſe Abbats **and** Biſhops **haue no knowledge: what if they vnderſtand nothing, what Religion is, nor how we ought to thinke of God: I put caſe, the pronouncing & miniſtring of the Law be decaied in** Prieſts, **& good counſel faile in the** Elders, **& as the** Prophet Micheas **ſaith,**

Michea. 3. **The** Night be vnto them in ſtead of a viſion, and darkneſſe in ſtead of prophe-

Eſay. 56. ſying: **Or, as** Eſaias **ſaith:** What if all the watchmen of the City bee become blind? What if the Salt haue loſt his proper ſtrength and ſauorineſſe, **and as**

Matth. Chriſt **ſaith,** be good for no vſe, ſcant worth the caſting on the dunghill?

M. Harding.

The world knoweth ſo wel (yea Heauen alſo) the great worthineſſe of thoſe Fathers in euery reſpect, that I ſhould do them wrong here to praiſe thē, for that by your fond iurmiſes you ſeek their diſpraiſe.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Matth. Flacius Illyricus, in proteſtatione contra Concil. Trident. pa 76.

Heauen and Earth knoweth, M. Harding, that two of your Reuerend worthy Fathers, **notwithſtanding their vertues, and all their great worthineſſe, were taken and** ſlaine **in Aduoutery, euen there preſent at your Councell. Therefore ye doe your ſelfe** ſome wrong, **in reſpect of your credit, ſo waſtefully to beſtow your praiſes.**

The Apologie, Chap. 4. Diuiſion 2.

VVELL yet then, they will bring all matters before the Pope, **who cannot erre. To this, I ſay, firſt, it is a madneſſe to thinke, that the** Holy Ghoſt **taketh his flight from a** Generall Councell, **to run to** Rome, **to the end if he doubt, or ſticke in any matter, and cannot expound it of himſelfe, he may take counſell of ſome other ſpirit, I wot not what, that is better learned then himſelfe. For if this be true, what needed ſo many** Biſhops, **with ſo great charges, and ſo far iournies, to haue aſſembled their** Conuocation **at this preſent at** Trident? **It had been more wiſdome and better, at leſt it had been a much neerer and handſomer way to haue brought al things rather before the** Pope, **& to haue come ſtraight forth, and haue aſked counſell at his** Diuine Breſt. **Secondly, it is alſo an vnlawfull dealing, to toſſe our matter from ſo many** Biſhops **and** Abbats, **and to bring it at laſt to the triall of one only man, ſpecially of him, who himſelfe is appeached by vs of hainous and foule enormities, & hath not yet put in his anſwer: who hath alſo afore hand condemned vs without iudgement by order pronounced, ere euer we were called to be iudged.**

M. Harding.

We may leſſe wonder at your ieſting in other things, ſith now we ſee you ſcoffe & ieſt in things touching God himſelfe. Sir, ſet you ſo light by the Holy Ghoſt, *as thus vnreuerently to talke of his flight and running to Rome, of his doubting and ſticking, of his vnableneſſe to declare doubtful caſes, of aking counſel of another ſpirit? Who euer vttered ſuch vile talk of the Holy Ghoſt, but ſome vile caitiffe, quite voide of his grace? Cannot you conceiue that reaſonably, the determinations of Councels be referred to the Pope, Chriſts Vicar in Earth, vnleſſe ye vtter ſuch vnreuerent and profaine ſcoffes? It had become a wicked Celſus, a Porphyrius, a Iulian, thus to talke, rather then any Chriſtian Hiſcorner. You ſhould at leſt haue looked on your ſquare Cap, and your white rochet, if you haue any: if nothing elſe, they would haue told you, that ſuch prophane lightneſſe became not your perſon.

*We honor and adore the Holy Ghoſt as very God: but you ſhamefully abuſe the name of God *Vntruths, huddled together without ſhame.

Concerning the point it ſelfe you touch, * although the Pope haue that priuiledge which Chriſt *praied to his Father for to be giuen vnto Peter, as being Peters Succeſſor, that his *Faith faile not, & that he confirme his Brethren, & therefore be an *aſſured iudge in matters of Faith, yet this notwithſtanding, Councels be not aſſembled together in vaine. For the Fathers of the Councel doe (a) helpe the Faith & Doctrine of the higheſt Paſtor. Wherefore in the firſt Councel at Ieruſalem, when as a great queſtion roſe, & Peter had ſaid his iudgement, nor propped with any teſtimony of the Holy Scriptures; Iames approoued it, adding thereto the teſtimonie of the Prophets. For Gods prouidence ſo tendereth the Church, that the *chief members, though they depend of the *Head, yet defend & helpe the Head. Wherefore Beda admoniſheth diſcreetly, that Paul conferred the Goſpel, which he had Preached amōgſt the Gentils, with the other Apoſtles, ſeeking warily to be reſolued, whether he preached rightly of

Luke 22

Act. 15.

Lib. 1. cap. 1. Act. Apoſtol.

(a) A ſage kind of mockery. For then doth not the Pope confirme his Brethren but rather is confirmed by his Brethren.

of the ceasing of the obseruances of the Law. Not that he doubted ought thereof himself (saith he) but that the mindes of them that were in doubt might be confirmed by the Authority of that Apostolike Councell.

To that you allege secondly, as a great inconuenience, we tel you, that forasmuch as the Pope is at euerie General Councel, lawfully assembled, either in person, as sundrie Popes haue beene, or by his Legates: (b) neither is it an vnlawful dealing, nor such tossing as you terme it, matters maturely debated in the Councel, to be referred to the Pope, head of the Councel, not so much for a new trial, as for final confirmation. The Fathers of the Nicene Councel besought S. Sylueſter, that what they had ordeined, he would confirme and ratifie. And Leo, what things the Councel of Chalcedon had decreed touching matters of Faith, saith that he approueth them. And the Coūcel it self, speaking to Leo, saith thus. *Decreta tua nostrum honorauit iudicium*: With thy Decrees honor our iudgment. Likewise the Fathers of other Coūcels required their constitutiō to be strengthned by cōfirmation of the Popes Authority.

(b) Wisely. The Holy Ghost that is present at the Councel, for better aduice, taketh counsell of the Pope.

And Sir, find you fault with the Pope, because he hath not yet put in his answer: I pray you, (c) who accused him? Where, when, and whereof? In what lawful Court? Before what lawful Iudge O you say, he hath not yet put in his answer. Be it that Hicke, Hob, and Hans, of your Sects haue impudentlie accused him. How would ye haue him bring in his answer? To what seat of Iudgement, to what Consistory can ye cite him, that is by Christ appointed (d) to be the supreme Iudge of al his Church, the Shepheard of al his Flocke? It is not for him, you know, to bring in his answer in Westminster Hal, nor in Star Chamber. Wil ye haue him appeare before your high Commissioners in the long Chapel at Paules, or in M. Grindals Chamber thereby, where ye haue said and done your pleasure, and depriued many honest men of their Benefices? Or wil ye rather haue him come to Geneua, to Zurich, to Frankford, to Strasburg, to Wittenberg, or to some other corner, where ye haue your congregations, there to be iudged by Iacke and Gil? I pity you, poore soules, that ye talke thus so farre out of square, and would the Pope to bring in his answer, ye know not where, hauing neither iust Court, or Consistory to cal him vnto, nor lawful Iudge, nor law to passe vpon him. For through your Schismes and Heresies, as ye haue made your selues Churchlesse, Christlesse, and Godlesse; so also Courtlesse, Iudgelesse, and Lawlesse. I cannot compare you better then to the Rebels of Northfolke vnder Captaine Kete, amongst whom Mount Surrey was their London, and an Oke, or an Elme, commonly called the tree of Reformation, was their Westminster Hal. Such Prince, such Dominion, such Iudge, such Consistory.

(c) The whole World accuseth him.

(d) A foule vntruth. For Christ neuer gaue the Pope any such Commission.

Ye complaine, the Pope hath condemned you without iudgement by order pronounced, & before ye were euer called to be iudged. This is as true as that the Murderer, or Theefe, answereth the Iudge at the barre, saying, Not guiltie my Lord. Ye haue beene sundry times called to lawful Consistories, to Synods, to Councels. Alwaies either ye made not your appearance, or by right of safe conduct conueied your selues away, without any shew of obedience: or vpon promise of amendment, you were dismissed. How many Legates and *Nuncios* haue sundry Popes sent into Germany, and other Prouinces, to conuent you, to heare you, to moue you to a better minde, and cal you home, and with al mercifull meanes to gather you againe into the lap of the Church? He may say, to your condemnation, that was said of the Iewes: What is that I ought to haue done to (e) my Vineyard, which I haue not done? But al was in vaine, such hath beene your stubbornesse.

(e) Open Blasphemy: The Church is the Popes Vineyard.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

We iest not at Gods Holy Spirit, M. Harding. We know it is the same Spirit of Wisdome that hath renued the face of the world, & discouered the multitude of your follies. But wel may we iest at your vnhandsome and open legierdumaine, that so vainly seeke to blinde vs with a painted shadow of the Spirit of God. Ye pretend long Prayers, much Fasting, great conference of Doctors and Scriptures, and the vndoubted presence and assistance of Gods Holy Spirit in al your doings, and yet openly striue against the manifest Word and Spirit of God, and follow only your owne Spirit, which we may truly call the Spirit of Vanity. The Spirit that you meane, is nothing else, but the Spirit of Rome, which you say is the Spirit of Truth, and cannot erre. In one of your late Councels, holden in Rome, as ye were singing and roaring out, Veni Creator Spiritus, a poore old owle amazed with the noise, leapt out of the hole where she sate, and pitched downe in the mids, and sate amongst you. Thus it pleased God to discouer your Hypocrisie, and your folly, that the world might know in what Spirit ye were assembled.

The Spirit of Coūcel.

Nicolaus de Clauengijs.

Elias the Prophet of God iested thus at the Priests of Baal: *Cry out aloud: It is your God. Either he is occupied in some talke, or he is in his Inne, or he is trauelling vpon the way, or else perhaps he is a sleepe.* Yet neither was Elias an Vicke Scorner, nor iested he at Gods Holy Spirit, nor did he any thing that was vnseemly for his person.

3. Regum 18.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ If this iesting so much offend your tender eares, M. Harding, beware ye offende not your dearest friends, that haue more liberally vsed the like iesting. For Nicolaus Cusanus, being himselfe a Cardinal of the Church of Rome, thus iesteth at Pope Eugenius his Lord and Master: Quomodo potest Papa Eugenius dicere hoc verum esse, si ipse velit, & non aliter? Acsi inspiratio ipsius Sancti Spiritus foret in potestate Romani Pontificis, vt tunc inspiret, quando ipse velit: *How can* Pope Eugenius *say, This is true, if it please him to haue it so, and none otherwise? As though the inspiration of the Holy Ghost were wholy at the Popes commandement, to breath only when he wil haue him.* Terasius the Patriark of Constantinople writeth thus to Adrianus the Bishop of Rome: Tolerabilior est Hæresis Macedonij, qui asserit Spiritum Sanctum esse seruum Patris & Filij. Nam isti faciunt Spiritum Sanctum seruum suum: *The Heresie of* Macedonius, *that held that the Holy Ghost is a slaue to the Father and to the Sonne, is more tolerable then the Heresie of* Simonists.

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. lib. 2. ca. 20. pa. 749.

1. que. 1. Eos qui.

For they make the Holy Ghoſt their owne ſlaue. I wil ſay nothing of Laurentius Valla, Canon of the Church of Rome, for that he ſo many yeres ago, ſo ſharply found fault with ſundry errours in the Church, and therefore was thought ouer partial in his ſpeeches. Notwithſtanding his words be theſe: Papa etiam rem Eccleſiaſticam, & Spiritum Sanctum quæſtui habet, quod Simon ille Magus deteſtatur: *The Pope maketh merchandize of Church goods, and raiſeth gaine of the Holy Ghoſt, and ſetteth him to ſale.* This ieſting is broad and bitter, M. Harding, and yet nothing preiudicial to the Spirit of God.

Laur. Valla, de Donation. Cõſtantini.

The Spirit of Coũcel.

As for your Councels, whether they be al and euermore ſummoned by the Spirit of God or no, it may wel be doubted. The Vniuerſity of Paris thus proteſted by way of appeale, againſt Pope Leo 10. and his Councel of Rome: Dominus Leo Papa Decimus, in quodam Cœtu in Ciuitate Romana, neſcimus qualiter, non tamen in Spiritu Domini, congregato: Our Lord Pope Leo 10. *in a certaine* Councel *gathered in the* City of Rome, *by what meane we know not*, but ſurely not by the Spirit of God. And touching your Late Chapter, or Conuenticle, which ye cal the Councel of Trent, the French Kings Ambaſſadour being there in preſence, ſaid thus: Minùs legitimæ, minúſue liberæ fuiſſe dicuntur illa Concilia Qui aderant, ad voluntatem alterius ſemper loquebantur: *The ſaying is, that theſe were neither* lawful, nor free Councels. *The* Biſhops *that were there, ſpake* (not alwaies of the Spirit of God, but) *euermore to pleaſe ſome other:* By which Other he meant the Pope.

Appellatio. Vniuerſ. Pariſ. Anno 1517.

Orat. Synodica. Anno 1562.

Chriſt ſaith vnto Peter, *I haue praied for thee: And* Paul *went vp to* Hieruſalem *to viſite* Peter: *Ergo* (ye ſay) The Pope hath Authority to confirme Councels. O, M. Harding, your Logicke of Louaine is maruellous haſty. Ye force your Concluſions to run in poſt. For what maketh either Chriſts praier for Peter, or Pauls iourney from Arabia to Hieruſalem, for the Confirmation of your Councels? Verily here is no manner mention neither of Confirmation, nor of Councel, nor of Pope. You might as handſomely haue concluded thus: Peter *tooke his boat, and went a fiſhing:* Ergo, *The* Pope *hath ful Authority to confirme Councels.* And whether ye wil make this ſame to ſerue you for an Argument, or no, it were hard to tel.

Luc. 22.
Galat. 2.

Whereas Chriſt praied namely for Peter, S. Auguſtine ſaith, as he hath bene alleged before: Nunquid pro Petro rogabat, pro Iacobo & Iohanne non rogabat? *Did* Chriſt *pray only for* Peter, *and did he not pray for* Iames *and* Iohn?

Aug. de Quæ. Noui Teſtam. Quæſt. 75.

Againe he ſaith: Hac nocte poſtulauit Satanas vexare vos, ſicut triticum: ſed ego rogaui Patrem pro vobis, ne deficiat Fides veſtra: *This night hath* Satan *deſired to threſh you, as if yee were wheat. But I haue praied to my Father* (not only for Peter, but) *for you, that your Faith may not faile.*

Aug. de verbis Dom. In Euangel. ſecundùm Luc. Serm. 36.

Touching that Paul went vp to Hieruſalem of Courteſie to ſee Peter, he ſought not thereby the certainty of his owne Doctrine, as a man that otherwiſe ſtood in doubt whether he had ſo long, for the ſpace of foureteene yeeres, preached Truth, or Falſhood; but rather found fault with Peters diſſimulation in Doctrine, and reproued him openly euen vnto the face. S. Hierome ſaith: Petrexit Hieruſalem, non tam vt diſceret aliquid ab Apoſtolis, quàm cum eis Euangelium, quod docuerat, collaturus: Paul *went vp to* Hieruſalem, *not ſo much to learne any thing of the Apoſtles, as to confer with them touching the* Goſpel *that he had preached.*

Galat. 2.

Hier. in Epiſt. ad Galat. ca. 1.

Chryſoſtom. ad Galat. Cap. 1.

S. Chryſoſtome ſaith further: Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec illius egebat voce, ſed honore par erat illi: Nihil enim hic dicam amplius: Paul *had no need of* Peter, *nor had any cauſe to crane his voice, but in honor and worthineſſe was his equal: As for more, I will not ſay.*

In the former Reply, Artic. 4. Diuiſ. 26.

Concerning the Confirmation of Councels, we haue ſpoken otherwhere more at large. Councels were Confirmed, not only by the Biſhop of Rome, but alſo by other Biſhops & Patriarks: and not only by other Biſhops, but alſo by Kings and Emperours. The Emperour Martianus ſaith: Sacro noſtræ Serenitatis edicto venerandam Synodum Confirmamus: *By the Holy Edict of our* Maieſty *we Confirme this Reuerend* Councel. Likewiſe the Biſhops in the Councel of Conſtantinople beſought the Emperour Theodoſius: Rogamus Clementiam tuam, vt per literas tuæ pietatis ratum eſſe iubeas, Confirmatiſq; Concilij Decretum: *We beſeech your fauour, that by your* Maieſties *Letters ye wil ratifie and* Confirme the Decree of the Councel.

Concil. Chalcedon. Actio 3.

Concil. Cõſtantinopol. 1.

Touching the Councel of the Apoſtles at Hieruſalem, your owne Doctour ſaith, Poſtquam Petrus dixiſſet, Iacobus, Authoritate Pontificali, protulit Definitiuam Sententiam: *When* Peter *had ſaid his minde,* Iames, *by his* Epiſcopal Authority *pronounced the Definitiue Sentence:* that is to ſay, gaue his Confirmation to the whole. By which ſaying it may appeare, that Iames was in Authority aboue Peter. For he that pronounceth Definitiue Sentence, in all aſſemblies is euer the greateſt.

Ioan. de Pariſiis. Cap. 14.

To conclude, Councels haue beene allowed, and holden for good, whether the Biſhop of

of Rome would or no. Liberatus saith, when Anatolius, by consent of the Councell of Chalcedon, had obteined the Primacie, and the Bishop of Romes Legates stood against it, their gainsaying of the Iudges and Bishops there, was not receiued. *And notwithstanding the Apostolike See of Rome euen hitherto stand against it yet the* Decree of the Councel, by the Authority and maintenance of the Emperor, after a sort, standeth stil in force. *Liberat. ca.13.*

Quodāmodò.

Much pleasant sport ye make vs, M. Harding, with putting in the Popes Answer. Be it (say you) that Hicke, Hob, & Hans haue accused the Pope. Would ye haue him appeare in this Court, or in that to be iudged by Iacke and Gill? The whole world, M. Harding, hath of long time charged the Pope with Ambition, Bribery, Simony, Superstition, Idolatry, and open Corruption of the ordinances and will of God. If he disdaine the iudgement of so manie, and call the whole world Hicke and Hob, let him not maruell if the whole world disdaine him. If he may be both Iudge and Partie, and may make answer only before himselfe, I doubt not but he shall haue a good fauourable hearing.

Conseruation of Councels.

I beseech thee, good Christian Reader, for shortnesse sake, consider that I haue written before, touching the Accusing and Iudging of the Pope. There shalt thou see, as Ennodius saith, *That the* Pope, *together with the Power of Teaching, hath receiued free liberty to doe ill, without controlement.* Therefore he saith: Neque ab Augusto, neque ab omni Clero, neque à Regibus, neque à populo, Iudex iudicabitur: *The* Pope, *that is the* Iudge, *shall be iudged neither by the* Emperor, *nor by the* whole Clergy, *nor by* Kings, *nor by the* people. Such a Prerogatiue, saith Athanasius, was sometime claimed by the Arian Heretikes: Cùm ipsi sint rei, ac Iudicio obnoxij, veluti Caiaphas, iudicandi munus inuadunt: *Whereas they themselues be guilty, and in danger of Iudgement, they play the part of* Caiaphas, *and take vpon them to be Iudges themselues.* In like maner Chrysostome saith: Figura ibi duntaxat Iudicij erat, re autem ipsa erat Latronum impetus: *There was only a face of Iudgement: but in deed it was a brunt or violence of Theeues.* *Part. 5. Ca. 6. Dimis. 7. Ennodius, 9. quæst. 3. Nemo.* *Athanas. cōtra Arian. Orat. 1.* *Chrys. in Matthæ. Homil. 85.*

Ye say further, The Pope may say, to our condemnation, that God saith vnto the Iewes: What is it that I ought to haue done to my Vineyard, but I haue done it? And thus ye gine the Pope power to challenge the Church of God, to be his owne. Euen so Nero, that wicked Tyran, when he had wasted and consumed the City of Rome, and burnt it with fire, he called the same neuertheless by his own name, Neronopolis, Neroes Towne. One of your Doctors saith: Huius Communitatis non est Dominus, nisi Christus, vel Papa: *There is no Lord of this common state, (that is to say, of the Church) but either* Christ, *or the* Pope: As if Christ and the Pope were ioint Purchasers. Esai. 5. *Sueton. in Nerone.* *Hæruæ. de Potestate Papæ, in Prologo.*

But indeed Christ *only is the* Prince of Pastors. And the Church is his only Spouse, and not the Popes. S. Augustine saith vnto Christ: Tu Petro non dixisti, Pasce Oues tuas, sed, Pasce Oues meas: *Thou saidst not vnto* Peter, *Feed thy Sheepe, but Feed mine.* Peter belongeth vnto the Church: but the Church belongeth not vnto Peter. 1. Petri. 5. *Aug. de Verbis Domini, In Euangelio secundùm Iohannem Sermone 50.*

The Church is not the Popes Vine: *It is the* Vine of the Lord of Saboath. Therefore M. Harding, aduise your selfe better. Your words are guilty of great blasphemie. It shal be sufficient for the Pope, if he may be only a branch in this Vine: if he be not withered: if he be not cut off, and throwen into the fire. Esai. 5.

S. Augustine saith: Qui hoc animo pascunt Oues Christi, vt suas velint esse, non Christi, se conuincuntur amare, non Christum: vel gloriandi, vel dominandi, vel acquirendi cupiditate: *They that feed the Sheepe of Christ, to that end that they would haue them to be their sheep, and not Christs, are found to loue themselues, and not Christ; for desire, either of Glory, or of Gouernment, or of Gaine.* *Aug. in Iohan. Tractat. 123.*

The Apologie, Chap. 4. Diuision. 2.

How say yee, doe wee deuise these tales? Is not this the very course of the Councels in these daies? Are not al things remoued from the whole holy Councel and brought before the Pope alone: that as though nothing had beene done to purpose, by the iudgments and consents of such a number, he alone may adde, alter, diminish, disanull, allow, remit, & qualify whatsoeuer he list? Whose words be these thē? And why haue the Bishops & Abbats, in the late Councel at Trident, concluded thus in the end: Sauing alwaies the Authority of the See Apostolike in all things. Or why doth Pope Paschall write so proudly of himselfe? As though, saith he, there were any Generall Councell able to prescribe a Law to the Church of Rome: whereas all Councels both haue beene made, and haue receiued their force and strength by the Authority of the Church of Rome: and in ordinances made by *De Election. & Electi. potest at. Significasti.*

Councels, is euer plainely excepted the Authority of the Roman Biſhop. **If they will haue theſe things allowed for good, why be Councels called? But if they cõmand them to be void, why are they left in their Bookes, as things allowable?**

M. Harding.

(a) Who made all the Faithfull of Chriſt the Popes Mẽbers?

Sir, what need you beſtow ſo much talke in vaine? Is it not reaſon the (a) members acknowledge the head? Would you the members to worke their actions without the head? Is Pope Paſchalis to be called proud for preferring the Church of Rome before a Councell? Haue not Councels euer been thought to lacke their full Authority, (b) which were not called and confirmed by the Biſhop of Rome?

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

(b) Vntruth, plain & manifeſt

The Modeſty and Sobriety of Pope Paſchalis claime ſhall better appeare in the nert Diuiſion. Verily the Church of Rome theſe many yeeres may ſeem to haue been nothing elſe, but a Mother of Falſhood, and a Schole of Pride. Pope Nicolas ſaith: De Sedis Apoſtolicæ iudicio nemini licet iudicare: *It is lawfull for no man to iudge of the* Popes iudgment. **And of late yeeres** Pope Leo ſaid; Papa habet Authoritatem ſuper omnia Concilia: *The* Pope *hath Authority ouer all* Councels. **That all lawfull Councels haue euermore been ſummoned and confirmed by the** Pope, **it is a manifeſt and groſſe Vntruth, as heereafter it ſhall be opened more at large.**

For the Pope had no Authority to call Councels: as it ſhal appeare.

Nicol. Pap. 1. ad Imp. Michaelem.

Concil. Later. ſub Leone 10. Seſſione. 10.

Where ye ſay, It is reaſon the Members ſhould acknowledge their Head; **that is the Pope: For ſhame, M. Harding, and for your credits ſake, once leaue theſe vanities. If the Pope be any part of Gods Church, he is a member, and not the Head: and the Faithfull of the** Church of God **are Chriſts members, and not the** Popes. **Indeed** Pope Athanaſius ſaith **thus of himſelfe:** Mihi cura erit, Euangelij Fidem circa meos populos cuſtodire, parilq; Corporis mei per ſpatia diuerſa terrarum, quantum poſſum, literis conuenire: *I will bee carefull to keepe the Faith of the Goſpell amongſt my people, and by letters to deale with the* parts of my Body, *lying ouer the ſundrie Coaſts of the World.* **Thus he imagineth in his dreame, that all the Princes and States of the World be nothing elſe, but the Parts and Members of his Body.**

The Apologie, Chap. 5. Diuiſion 1.

BVT be it ſo: Let the Biſhop **of** Rome **alone be aboue al** Councels, **that is to ſay, let ſome one part be greater then the whole: let him be of greater Power, let him be of more Wiſdome then all his; and in ſpight of** Hieromes **head** let the Authority of one Citie be greater then the Authority of the whole World.

Hieronymus ad Euagrium.

M. Harding.

(a) Vntruth. Otherwiſe ſhew vs by what Authority he is ſo.

(b) Full wiſely. As if the Pope were the Head, and the whole Church were his Body: Or as if the Pope were the Maſter, and the Church his Familie.

(c) The Councel hath more Wiſdome and Learning then the Pope, yet the Pope is in Wiſdome and Learning aboue the Councel.

It is a commõ maner of this Defender, what he muſt needs grant, to make a ſhew in words, as though it were free gift. So many times beggars will ſeeme gentlemen, and paiers of debt will ſeeme giuers. Let the Biſhop of Rome (ſaith he) alone be aboue all Councels. (a) Sir, he is ſo, no thanke to you. Yet ſpeake you like a liberall gentleman, That is to ſay, let ſome one part be greater then the whole. No Sir, maugre your ſcoffing head, part ſhal not be greater then the whole, but part ſhal be greater then part: (b) in a right ſenſe, is not the head greater then the body, the Biſhop the his Clergy, the (b) maſter of a houſe more then his familie? Neither is the Councel the whole pardy, except your merry wit can deuiſe vs a whole body without a head. Let him be of greater power, ſay you. And ſo he is. Let him be of more wiſdome then al his. We ſay not ſo. It may be that his Councel hath more learning, (c) more knowledge, & more wiſdome then his only perſon. Albeit, when we ſpeake of that wiſdome of the See Apoſtolike, which is ſure, infallible, and cannot erre, we meane not only the Popes ſinguler perſon, but head Paſtor and Biſhop, as he doth thoſe things which pertaine to that Chaire, that is to ſay, in as much as he proceedeth not vpon his owne priuate iudgment, (d) but by the inſtinct of the holy Ghoſt, promiſed by Chriſt to his Vicar. Where you ſay, And in ſpight of Hieromes head, let the authority of one City be greater then the authority of the whole world; we tel you, that this you ſpeake more ſpightfully then learnedly. For S. Hierome in his Epiſtle to Euagrius ſpeaketh (e) only of a particular matter, blaming the cuſtome of Rome, where contrary to the cuſtome of the whole world, Deacons in certaine caſes were preferred before Prieſts, whereof we haue ſpoken before.

(d) O fond follie! For ſo any ſimple creature, ſo long as he is led by the Holy Ghoſt, can neuer erre. (e) Vntruth, vain & childiſh. For S. Hierome ſpeaketh plainly of authority: *Si* Authoritas *quæritur*, Maior eſt Orbis Vrbe.

The Biſhop of Saritburie.

Sir Defender (ye ſay) ſpeaketh like a liberal gentleman. **Againe ye ſay,** No ſir, maugre your ſcoffing head. **Theſe and other like words, M. Harding, are fitting and ſeemely for your perſon, and may wel become your merry wit.**

Where we ſay, Let the Biſhop of Rome be of greater power then any General Councel; **ye anſwer vs readily,** And ſo he is. **Where we ſay,** Let him be of more Wiſdome then all other Biſhops; **ye anſwer againe,** We ſay not ſo. **As if yee would allow the Pope**

Authoritie

Authority and Power without Wisdome. Yet wise men haue said, that Power without Wisdome is the Kingdome of Folly.

The Pope aboue Generall Councels.

The Pope (you say) maugre your scoffing head, shalbe greater then the Church. And yet shal not the part be greater then the whole. Awake a little, M. Harding, & expound vs your dreame. The whole we speake of, is the whole Church of Christ. And, I trow, by your learning the Pope is a Part or Member of the same. Otherwise ye must tell vs, that the Pope is no part of the Church of Christ. Which thing, all circumstances considered, were not hard to be granted.

But the Pope (say you) beeing but a part, is greater then the whole Church. Ergo, say I, it must nœds follow, that the part is greater, then the whole. Neither was it my scoffing head, as it pleaseth you to say, that framed this reason. Your owne Doctor Gerson, the Director of the Councel of Constance, saw it, and vttered it aboue a hundred and fifty yeres agoe. Yet was he not therefore thought to be a Scoffer. These be his words: Quærere vtrùm Papalis Authoritas sit maior quam Ecclesia, redit in idem, acsi quæreretur, vtrùm totum sit maius sua parte: *To demand whether the Authority of the Pope be greater then the Authority of the Church, is as much as if a man would demand whether the whole bee greater then the part.* You see, M. Harding, these be Gersons words, and not mine. Therefore ye might with more sobriety haue spared your scoffing at scoffing heads. *Io. Gerson. De potestat Ecclesiast. Consid. 7.*

Some of your friends haue said, Si totus mundus sententiaret in aliquo negotio contra Papam, videtur quòd standum esset Sententiæ Papæ: *If the whole world should giue sentence in any matter against the* Pope, *it seemeth we ought rather to stand to the* Popes *iudgement, then to the iudgement of all the world.* Albertus Pighius saith: Certius est iudicium Papæ, quàm iudicium Generalis Concilij, aut totius Orbis terrarum: *The iudgement of the* Pope *is more certaine, then is the iudgement of a* General Councel, *or else of all the whole World.* Another saith: Papa virtualiter est tota Ecclesia: *The* Pope *by power is the whole Vniuersal Church.* Another saith: Potestas solius Papæ excedit potestatem residuæ Ecclesiæ: *The* Popes *only power exceedeth the power of al the* Church *beside.* Another saith: Papa non potest subijcere se Concilio Generali: *The* Pope *cannot submit himself to a* General Councel. Vpon these worthy foundations ye haue built vp the Popes Infinite and Vniuersall power: And therefore ye say, Sir Defender would seeme to grant you of free gift, that hee must needs grant perforce, whether he wil or no. *9. quæst. 3. Nemo. In Glossa. Alber. Pigghius Eccles. Hierar. Lib. 6. Ca. 13. Hermans, De Potestat. Pap. His præmissis. Petr. de Paud. De Potestate Papæ, Art. 4. Ext. de Indiciis. Cùm venissent. Ioã. Andr. Bernar. Citatur à Pico Mirandul. In quæst. An Papa sit supra Concil. Picus Mirandul. eodem loco.*

At this notwithstanding, M. Harding, others of your more indifferent Doctors would haue told you another tale. S. Bernard saith: Quæ maior superbia esse potest, quam vt vnus homo toti Congregationi iudicium suum præferat, tanquam solus habeat Spiritum sanctum: *What greater pride can there be then that One man should esteeme his owne iudgment more then the iudgement of al the Church as if he only had the Spirit of God?* Whereunto Picus Mirandula addeth these words: Imò simplici potiùs Rustico, & Infanti, & Aniculæ, magis quàm Pontifici Maximo, & mille Episcopis, credendum est, si isti contra Euangelium, illi pro Euangelio faciant: *Nay, wee ought to beleeue a simple plaine Husbandman, or a Child, or an Old Woman, rather then the* Pope *and a thousand* Bishops, *if the* Pope *and the* Bishops *speake against the* Gospel, *and the others speake with the* Gospel.

The Bishops in the Councel of Ferraria say thus: Quacunq; facultate Romana Ecclesia prædita sit, Vniuersali tamen Ecclesiæ, quam Generalis Synodus præsentat, inferior est: *With whatsoeuer power the* Church of Rome *be endued, yet is it inferiour to the* Vniuersall Church, *that is represented by the* General Councel. But perhaps ye wil say, This was a Councel of Rebels and Schismaticks, for that the Bishops assembled there were not so appliable vnto the Pope. *Concil. Ferrar. Sessione 10. Conc. Basil. Inter Epist. Synodales.*

The Bishops in the Councel of Basil say thus: Etsi Papa sit Caput Ministeriale Ecclesiæ, non tamen est maior tota Ecclesia. Alioqui, errante Pontifice quod sæpe contingit & contingere potest, tota erraret Ecclesia: *Although the* Pope *be the Ministerial head of the* Church, *yet is he not greater thē al the* Church. *Otherwise whensoeuer the* Pope *erreth which thing hapneth oftentimes, and may wel happen, the whole* Church *should likewise erre.* Againe they say: Nonnulli os suum ponentes in Cœlum, potestatē Romani Pontificis supra potestatem Sacrorum Generalium Conciliorum, contra Iuris diuini & humani Veritatē, à sanctis Patribus aliàs declaratam, exaltare nituntur: *Many men setting their face against the heauen go about to exalt the power of the Bishop of Rome aboue the power of* holy generall Councels, *cōtrary to the Truth of the Law both of God & Man, declared vntoo vs by the Holy Fathers.* *In appendice Conc. Basil. Sacrosanct. Generals. In ead. appendice. Et primo.*

Againe they say: Ecclesia Romana non est Vniuersa, sed est de Vniuersitate Corporis Mystici, id est, Ecclesiæ: Et sic est Membrum dicti Corporis Mystici, vt patet per Beatum Gregorium. Igitur ex quo est membrum dicti Corporis, non est, nec esse potest Caput illius. Cùm differentia sit inter Caput & Membra: *The* Church of Rome *is not* Vniuersall, *but a part of the Vniuersal Mystical Body of Christ, which is the Church: and so is it a member* *In ead. appendice. Eod. Cap.*

of Christs said Body Mystically, as it appeareth by S. Gregory. *Therefore forasmuch as it is a Member of the said Body, it is not, neither can it be the Head of the same Body. For there is a difference betweene the Head and the Body.*

The Pope is not Pastour of the Vniuersal Church.

Likewise againe they say: Allegant, Papam impunè posse tollere Constitutionem Concilij Generalis, contra prohibitionem ipsius Concilij Generalis: supponentes Papam esse Pastorem Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ. Sed ipsorum suppositum est falsum: & consequenter ipsorum assertio super eo fundata est falsa: *They say, The* Pope *may safely abolish the* Decree of a General Councel, *notwithstanding the same* General Councel *haue decreed the contrarie: supposing that the* Pope *is the Bishop of the Vniuersal Church. But their supposall is false: and so consequently false is their Doctrine that they haue built thereupon.*

Nicol. Cusan. de concord. lib. 2. Cap. 17.

But lest you should say that al these Bishops and Fathers in the Councels of Ferraria, and Basil, **were inflamed with Schismatical Spirits, or possessed with Diuels,** Nicolaus Cusanus, **being himselfe a Cardinal, and a Child of the Church of Rome, hath by expresse words auouched the same. Thus he saith:** Quia sedentes in ipsa Sede ab hominibus assumuntur, deuiabiles, & peccabiles, & nunc maximè, mundo ad finem tendente, & malitia excrescente, sua potestate ad ædificationem data, ad destructionem abuntur, quis dubitare potest, sanæ mentis, Vniuersale Concilium tam in abusum, quàm in abutentem, potestatem habere, &c. Vniuersaliter dici potest, Vniuersale Concilium esse omni respectu tam supra Papam, quàm supra Sedem Apostolicam: *Forasmuch as the* Popes *sitting in the* Apostolike Sea of Rome, *be chosen of men, and bee such as may erre, and sinne, and now specially, the world drawing towards an end, and wickednesse increasing,* abuse their Power to the destruction of the Church, *that was giuen them for the rearing vp, & furnishing of the Church, what mã, hauing his right wits, can doubt but a General Councel hath Authority, as wel ouer the abuse, as also ouer the* Pope *that hath made the abuse? Vniuersally it may be said, that the* Vniuersal Councel is in euery respect as wel aboue the Pope, as also aboue his Apostolike Sea.

The Pope aboue Generall Councels.

Heere is specially to be noted, that Cardinal Cusanus **saith,** *The* Pope *sitting in his* Apostolike Sea, *abuseth his* Vniuersal power, *and that to the destruction of the Church.*

D. Cole.

Therefore, M. Harding, this part of your Booke, among the rest, would more aduisedly haue been considered. D. Cole **himselfe, notwithstanding otherwise wel enclined vnto your faction, yet in this point is wel content to giue you ouer. Thus he saith of himselfe: I hold herein rather with** Gerson, that the Councel is aboue the Pope. The Pope (ye say) in one respect, as he is a man, in his owne singuler person may happen to erre: But in another respect, as he is Head Pastor, and Chiefe Bishop, and is placed in Peters Chaire, he cannot erre.

Appellatio Vniuers. Paris. à Leone 10. An. 1517.

And thus as the Heathens in old times imagined their Centaurus **to be halfe a Man, and halfe a Horse; or their** Ianus **to haue two faces, the one behinde, and the other before; euen so haue you imagined two** Popes **in one Body, the one going backward, the other forward: the one bearing Light, the other Darknesse: the one deceiued, the other not deceiued: the one speaking Truth, the other Falshood: and yet both these** Popes **incorporate together in one Person. Giue vs leaue therefore, M. Harding, to say now as the whole** Vniuersity of Paris **said, not long sithence, vnto** Pope Leo: A Domino nostro Papa, iam non bene consulto, appellamus: *Wee appeale from our* Lord the Pope, *being as now not well aduised.* **We appeale from the** Pope **that hath erred so shamefully, vnto that** Pope **that cannot erre.**

Hier. ad Heliodorum, de laude vitæ solitariæ.

Certainly S. Hierome **saith:** Non est facilè stare in loco Pauli, tenere gradum Petri, iam cum Christo regnantium: ne fortè veniat Angelus, qui scindat Velum Templi tui qui Candelabrum tuum de loco moueat: *It is no easie matter to stand in* Peter *or* Pauls *place now reigning with Christ: lest the* Angel *come, and rent a sunder the Veile of thy Temple, and remoue thy Candlestick from his place.*

Part. 2. Cap. 3. Diuis. 5.

The place of S. Hierome **to** Euagrius **is answered before.**

The Apologie, Chap. 5. Diuision 2.

How thē, if the Pope **haue seene none of these things, & haue neuer read either the** Scriptures, **or the Old** Fathers, **or yet his own** Councels? **How if he fauor the** Arians, **as once** Pope Liberius **did? Or, haue a wicked, and a detestable opinion of the life to come, & of the immortality of the Soule, as** Pope Iohn **had but few yeers sithence? Or, to encrease his own Dignity, do now corrupt other** Councels, **as** Pope Zosimus **corrupted the** Councel **holden at** Nice **in times past; & do say, that those things were deuised & appointed by the Holy Fathers, which neuer once came into their thought: &, to haue the full sway of Authority, do wrest the** Scripturs, **which thing, as** Camotēsis **saith, is an vsual custom with the** Popes?

How

How if he haue renounced the Faith of Christ, & become an Apostata, as Lyranus saith, many Popes haue bin? Yet for al this, shal the Holy Ghost with turning of a hand, knocke at his brest, and euen whether he wil or no, yea, & wholy against his wil, kindle him a light, so as he may not erre? Shal he straightway be the Headspring of al Right, & shall al the treasures of wisdome and Understanding, be found in him, as it were laid vp in store? Or, if these things be not in him, can he giue a right, and apt iudgement of so weighty matters? Or, if he be not able to iudge would he haue, that those matters should be brought before him alone?

The Pope aboue Generall Councels.

M. Harding.

To your how ifs and what ifs, I could soone make an answer by the contrarie. (a) And Sir, how if the Pope haue seene al these things, the Scriptures, Fathers, and Councels? What haue ye then to say? is not your tale then at an end? Were your matter good, and your self wise, you would not so commonly vse that weake kinde of reasoning. But to a number of your how ifs, and what ifs, for the Readers sake, to put away al scruple, I giue you this answer.

Sapient. 8. Rom. 8. Math. 16. Luke 22.

Gods wisdome (as the Scripture saith) disposeth al things sweetly, and in one instant foreseeth the end, and meanes that be necessary to the end. If he promise any man life euerlasting, withall he giueth him grace also to do good deeds, whereby to obtaine the same. Whom he hath glorified (saith S. Paul) them he hath iustified and called. So where as he hath by force of his Praier made to the Father promised to Peter, and for the safety of the Church (b) to euery Peters Successour, that his faith shal not faile, and therefore hath willed him to confirme his Brethren, that is, to remoone al doubts and errors from them: we are assured, he wil giue him such wit, diligence, learning & vnderstanding, as this firmnesse and infallibitie of Faith, and confirming of brethren requireth. Shal we stand in doubt whether that happeneth in things supernatural, which we see to be in things natural, that who giueth the end, he giueth also things that pertaine to the attaining of the end? If God would promise vs abundance of corne for the next yeere to come, what were more foolish then to doubt and say like to this Defender, how if, and what if men wil not til the ground nor sow any seed? Doubtlesse if they sow, they shall reape: if they sow not, neither shal they reape. But what? We may gather of the promise of God, that we shal haue not only faire & seasonable weather, whereby the fruits of the earth may proue plentiful, but also that the husbandmen shal imploy their endeuour, paines, and labour. For the abundance of corne so promised shal not be giuen but to such, as til, sow, and trauel. Euen so where as Christ hath promised to the (c) Successours of Peter firmnesse of Faith, to the Apostles and their Successours the Spirit of Truth, and likewise to Councels gathered in his name, we must perswade our selues, that nothing shal want necessary for the controuersies touching Faith, to be decided.

That you say of Liberius the Pope is starke false (d). He neuer fauoured the Arians. The most ye can find against him, is, that he was cõpelled by the greater persecution of Constantius the Emperor, to subscribe to the Arians. Neither is that by the ancient Writers of the Ecclesiastical stories constantly affirmed. but of the chiefe of them not spoken of, where most occasion was to signifie it, if it had so beene: of some denied, of some mentioned not as true, but as a false rumor bruted abroad of him. By which rumor it seemeth (e) S. Hierome was deceiued, remaining in the East, far from the places where the Truth might more certainly be knowne. But were it true, that he subscribed, as Peter denied Christ, yet being done (f) for lacke of Charity, and not by error in Faith, wel might that fact be slanderous to the Church, but it was not a decree made in fauour of the Arians, neither to confirme that heresie.

Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 15. Lo. de viris il. Iustribus in Chronicis.

That you report of Pope Iohn the 22. is likewise most false. The worst that Marsilius of Padua, and William Ockam Heretikes wrote of him to flatter the Emperour Ludouicus of Bauaria, is, that he had taught openly (g) (which also is referred to the time before he was Pope) that the soules of the iust see not God vntill the day of iudgement. That he had a wicked and a detestable opinion of the immortality of the soule, there was no such his opinion, but it is your false slander, by which your wicked and detestable malice imagined to deface the Church, and specially the authority of the holy Sea Apostolike. No story of any estimation mentioneth, that he was of that first opinion after he came to be Pope, much lesse that he gaue any Definitiue sentence of any such matter. But contrariwise (h) when as he prepared himselfe to go to the Definition of that question concerning the seeing of God. which iust soules haue before the day of Iudgement, as Benedictus the eleuenth *in sua extrauagante* saith, he was preuented by death, so as he might not do it.

You belie Zosimus: (i) he corrupted not the Councel of Nice: but signified to the Bishops of Aphricke assembled in Councel at Carthage, the truth concerning the Canons of the Nicene Coūcel. The same may be proued by Iulius the first, by the Epistle of (k) Athanasius and other Bishops of Egypt, Thebais and Libya, written to Marcus the Pope of the original of the 72. Canons of the Nicene Councel, that remained in safe custody in the Church of Rome, subscribed with the hands of the Fathers that at the same Councel were present. And what credit was to bee giuen to the contrary information of only twenty Canons that was returned from the Bishops of Constantinople and Alexandria (l) when Heretikes before had burned the Bookes, where the whole number was contained, and left but those twenty, that al Bookes now commonly haue?

If we should allege Camotensis & Lyra, you would cal them the blacke guard and set little by them. First shew vs where they haue that you allege out of them. M. Iewel allegeth that of Camotensis in another place. But where it is, he keepeth it to himselfe, and of himselfe it is likely it proceeded. For his dealing is such, as any false practise in respect of him may seeme credible. Albeit what worshipful Doctor ye meane by Camotensis (m) I know not. Peraduenture ye meane Camotensis, otherwise called Iuo. I haue cause to gheese, that so it should be. And yet foure Bookes of sundry Prints both English & Latin so haue. If there be any such, as I suppose there is not, he is very obscure not worth the naming.

(a) What then? Should he therfore be aboue General Councels? Sadly and sagely, and much to the purpose.

(b) Vntruth fõd & childish. For Christ praied no more for Peter then for others; nor euer made mention of Peters Successors. O worthy and graue reasons!

(c) Vntruth. For Christ neuer entred into such couenant with Peters Successours.

(d) Vntruth, plainly reproued by S. Hierome.

(e) S. Hieromes authority refused as a man writing rashly he knew not what.

(f) The Pope denieth Christ, for lack of Charity, but not for lack of Faith.

(g) Vntruth manifest. See the Answer.

(h) Vntruth, cõtrary to that M. Harding said immediately before For he held this error in the time of his Popedom.

(i) Vntruth manifestly reproued by the Councel of Aphrica.

(k) These be very vaine & childish forgeries.

(l) Vntruth without any fauor of wit or learning. Why should M. Harding allege so foolish Fables?

(m) If ye know him not, then may you best blame your ignorance.

The

Whether the Pope may erre or no.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here ye say, And Sir, how if the Pope haue seene all these things, the Scriptures, the Fathers, the Councels? What haue you then to say? Is not your tale then at an end? No verily, M. Harding. I would further desire God to giue him grace, to vse them well, and to his glory. Notwithstanding your owne Doctours wil soone put al these your whats and what ifs, out of question. For concerning the Popes great and high learning, Alphonsus de Castro saith, as he hath beene alleged before: Constat, plures Papas adeò illiteratos fuisse, vt Grammaticam penitùs ignorarent: *It is certainely known, that sundrie* Popes *haue been so vnskilful in learning, that they neuer vnderstood their* Grammar. And this he speaketh, not of one Pope only, but of sundry. But (you say) Christ hath praid for Peter, and made sure promise that his faith should neuer faile. Therefore the Pope is wise: the Pope is learned: the Pope is Catholike: the Pope cannot er. Al this, and a great deale more, the Pope may claime only by vertue of Christs praier. Now therefore if the Pope should er or be in Heresie, he might sue Christ in an Action of Couenant, and require him to performe his promise. So saith the Prophet Micheas: Sacerdotes in mercede docebant, & Prophetæ in pecunia diuinabant: & super Dominum requiescebant, dicentes, Nonne est Dominus in medio nostrum? *The* Priests *taught the people for hire, and the* Prophets *prophesied for money: and yet they rested themselues vpon* Gods promise, *saying*, And is not the Lord in the mids amongst vs? So the Valentinian Heretikes said sometime of themselues: Nos salutem de Priuilegio status possidemus: *We haue our safety by the Priuiledge of our state.* We cannot miscarry: we cannot er: But the Prophet saith: *Euery man is a liar: Accursed be he that trusteth in Man.* Your owne Doctour Alphonsus saith: Omnis homo errare potest in Fide, etiamsi Papa sit: *Euery man may erre in* Faith: *yea, although he be the Pope.*

Alphons. contra hæres. li. 1. ca. 4.

Mich. 4.

Tertul aduers. Valentinian.

Psalm. 118.

Hierem. 17.

Howbeit, that your vnlearned Reader may the better consider, how safely he may giue credit to your bare word, whether the Pope may be deceiued in Faith or no, it may easily appeare by these few examples. Who so listeth to seeke may finde moe. Pope Marcellinus offered vp Incense, and made Sacrifice vnto Diuels. Tertullian saith: Episcopum Romanum agnoscentem iam Prophetias Montani, Priscæ, Maximillæ, &c. *The* Bishop of Rome, *wel liking now the* Propheties (or Heresies) of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, &c. Vpon which words Beatus Rhenanus noteth thus: Episcopus Romanus Montanizat: *The* Bishop of Rome *fauoureth the Heresie of* Montanus. Pope Liberius was an Arian Heretike, as hereafter it shal better appeare. Pope Honorius was condemned for an Heretike in two General Councils. In the Councel of Constantinople, the words of his condemnation be alleged thus: Anathematizari curauimus Honorium, qui fuerat Papa Antiquæ Romæ: quia in omnibus mentem Sergij sequutus est, & impia dogmata confirmauit: *We haue caused* Honorius, *the late* Pope of old Rome, *to be accursed: for that in all things he followed the minde of* Sergius the Heretike, *and confirmed his wicked Doctrines.* Alphonsus de Castro saith: Anastasium Papam fauisse Nestorianis, qui Historias legerit, non dubitat: *Whosoeuer hath read the stories or course of time, cannot doubt, but Pope* Anastasius *fauoured the* Nestorian Heretikes. In the very Legend of Hilarius it is mentioned, that Pope Leo was an Arian Heretike. In a Synod holden at Rome against Pope Hildebrand, it is written thus: Incendio tradidimus Decreta eorum Hæretica: *We haue burnt their* Heretical Decrees. Pope Sylvester 2. was made Pope by Necromancy, and in recompence thereof, promised himselfe both Body and Soule vnto the Diuel.

Concil. Tim. 1. Tertull. contra Proxeam. Beat. Rhenan. Hier. in præfat. de viris illustr. Concil. Nicenum 2. Act. 7. Conc. Constant. 6. Act. 13. Alphons. lib. 1. ca. 4. In Legenda Hilarij. Synod. Roman. in Fasciculo rerum sciendarũ impresso Colon. 1553. Ioannes Stella Venetus.

Hulderichus the Bishop of Augusta in Germany, reprooueth the Restraint of Priests Marriage by these words: Periculosum huius Hæresis Decretum: *The dangerous Decree of this Heresie.*

Epist. Hulderici ad Nicolaũ Papam.

Notwithstanding, I haue seene the same Epistle vnto P. Nicolas together with another Epistle to like purpose, written in old Volume of very ancient Record, vnder the name of Volusianus the Bishop of Carthage. But, what need we to touch all the particulars? The Doctors of the Great Schoole of Sorbona in Paris, haue determined in their Articles, that S Peter himselfe erred in the Faith. The Councel of Basil condemneth Pope Eugenius by these words: Eugenium contemptorem Sacrorum Canonum: Pacis, & Veritatis Ecclesiæ Dei perturbatorem notorium: Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ Scandalizatorem: Simoniacum: Periurum: Incorrigibilem. Schismaticum: à Fide Deuium: pertinacem Hæreticum, &c. *We condemne and depose* Pope Eugenius *a despiser of the holy Canons, a disturber of the Peace & Vnity of the Church of God: a notorius offender of the whole Vniuersal Church: a Simoniste: A forsworne man: a man Vncorrigible: a Schismatike: a man* false from the faith, *and a wilfull* Heretike.

Eras. in Annot. in epist. ad Gal. ca. 2. In faciem illi restiti. Conc. Basil. Sess. 34 24. Quæst. 3. Hæresis. In Conc. Constantiæ Appendice, c. Inprimis Quinimò idem Iohan. Pap. 22. dixit, & pertinaciter asserit.

Of Pope Iohns Heresie, touching the immortality of the soule, we shall speake more hereafter. S. Hierome saith: Qui Scripturam intelligit aliter, quàm sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat, quo scripta est, licèt ab Ecclesia non recesserit, tamen Hæreticus appellari potest:

Whosoeuer

Whosoeuer otherwise vnderstandeth the Scriptures, *then the sense of the Holy Ghost requireth, by whom they were written* (as it is most certaine, the Pope in infinit places both hath done and doth) *although he be not departed from the* Church, *yet he may well be called an Heretike.*

Now, if Idolaters, Montanists, Arians, Monothelites, Nestorians, Deniers of the Immortality, Simonists, Sorcerers, Maintainers of Filthinesse, and other obstinate and wilful Heretikes may erre, then, whatsoeuer M. Harding and his Fellowes shall say to the contrary, it is easily seene, that the Pope may erre.

Verily, the Councell of Basil saith thus: Multi ex summis Pontificibus in Hæreses & Errores lapsi esse dicuntur, & leguntur: Certum est, Papam Errare posse: Concilium sæpè condemnauit atque deposuit Papam, tam ratione Fidei, quàm Morum: *It is reported and read, that many* Popes *haue fallen into* Erroures and Heresies: It is certaine, that the Pope may Erre: *The* Councell *hath oftentimes condemned and remooued the* Pope, *in respect as well of his heresie in* Faith, *as of his leaudnesse in life.* Visellus saith: Summorum Pontificum quidam pestilenter errauerunt: *Certaine of the* Bishops of Rome *haue beene in* pestilent Heresies. Your owne Glosse saith: Certum est, quòd Papa errare potest: *It is certaine that the* Pope *may erre.* Another of your Doctors saith: Interdum possit aliquis esse, qui esset à Sede remouendus: vt si esset Fœmina, vel Hæreticus: sicut fuerunt aliqui: & ob hoc non numerantur in Catalogo Paparum: *The* Pope *may sometimes be such a one, as may seeme worthy to be remooued: as if he were a* Woman *or an* Heretike. *And certaine such there haue been: and therefore they be not reckoned in the Calendar of the* Popes. Another saith: Aliqui Papæ inuenti sunt flagitiosi & Hæretici: *Some* Popes *haue beene found wicked men and Heretikes.* Another saith: Et Papa, & Episcopi sunt deuiabiles à Fide: *Both* Popes *and* Bishops *may wander from the Faith.* Another saith: Papa mandans aliquid fieri, quod sonet in Hæresim, turbat statum Ecclesiæ, & non est ei parendum: *The* Pope *commanding anything to be done, that soundeth of Heresie, troubleth the state of the* Church, *and wee may not obey him.* Another saith: Papa potest esse Hæreticus, & de Hæresi iudicari: *The* Pope *may be an* Heretike, *and of* Heresie *may be iudged.*

All these were the Popes vndoubted friends. But now let vs heare the Pope himselfe. Pope Pius 2. otherwise called Æneas Syluius, saith thus: Quid si criminosus Papa contraria Fidei prædicet, Hereticisque Dogmatibus imbuat Subditos? *What if a notorious wicked Pope* teach things contrary to the Faith, *and with* Hereticall Doctrine *peruert his Subiects?* He could neuer haue moued this question if he had thought it a matter impossible, that euer the Pope should be an Heretike.

I would not stand so long in so cleere a case, were it not, that M. Harding, all this notwithstanding, telleth vs so sadly, and biddeth vs beleeue it vpon his warrant, that the Pope vndoubtedly can neuer erre. Stanislaus Hosius the greatest tickler of that side, blusheth not to say thus: Numerentur omnes, &c. *Reckon all the* Popes *that euer were from* Peter, *vntill this* Iulius, *that now is: there neuer sate in this chaire any* Arian, *any* Donatist, *any* Pelagian, *or any other, that professed any maner* Heresie. Yet neuertheless your owne Doctor Alphonsus saith: Non credo aliquem esse adeò Impudentem Papæ assentatorem vt ei tribuere hoc velit, vt nec errare, nec in Interpretatione Sacrarum literarum hallucinari possit: *I beleeue, there is no so* shameless a flatterer of the Pope, *that will grant him this Prerogatiue, that he can neuer erre, nor be deceiued in the expounding of the* Scriptures. Heer, M. Harding, your owne principal Doctor Alphonsus calleth al them that maintaine your Doctrine, and say as you say, The shameless flatterers of the Pope. Certainly, I thinke, it may safely be said: If a man wil take the view of all Christendome, he shal not find so many Heretikes in any one See whatsoeuer, as may be found in the See of Rome. And for that cause perhaps Franciscus Petrarcha calleth Rome, Asylum Hæresium, & Errorum: The Sanctuary of Errours and Heresies: And in his Italian Sonets, he calleth it, The Schoole of Error, and the Temple of Heresie.

As for Nicolas Lyra, ye doubt of our dealing, for that the Printer hath not quoted the place. It may please you therefore to peruse his Notes vpon the sixteenth Chapter of S. Matthew. There among others, ye shal find these words: Ex hoc patet, quod Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus, ratione Potestatis, vel Dignitatis Ecclesiasticæ, vel Secularis: Quia multi Principes, & Summi Pontifices inuenti sunt apostatasse à Fide: *Hereby it appeareth, that the Church standeth not vpon men, in consideration, either of their Power, or of their Dignity, either Ecclesiasticall or Temporall. For many Princes and* Popes haue been found to haue straied from the Faith. Therefore Baldus saith, Cautela est, quòd quis dicat, Credo quod credit Sancta Mater Ecclesia: non quod credit Papa: *It is to be marked, that a man may say, I beleeue, that the Church beleeueth: but he may not say,* I beleeue, that the Pope beleeueth. His meaning is, that the Pope may be deceiued, and beleeue amisse. Yee say, Christ,

naciter credidit animam hominis cum corpore humano mori, & extingui, ad instar animalium brutorum.

Whether the Pope may erre or no.

Conc. Basil. inter epist. Synodales.
Visellus. 24. Q. 1. Arrecta. in Glossa.
Iob. de Parisijs, de potest. Reg. & Pap. cap. 18.
Gerson. an liceat appellare à Pap. Hostien. de concessione præbendæ. Proposuit. Extra de Electione. Significasti. Abb.
Æneas Syl. de Conc. Basil. li. 1.

Hosius in confessione Petricouien. cap. 29.
Alphons. contra hæres. li. 1. ca. 4.

Franc. Petr. epi. 20. Schola di errore, e Tempio di Eresia.

Nicol. Lyra, in Matth. cap. 16.

Baldus de offic. præsid. 1. Sæpe.

Whether the Pope may erre or no.

Christ praied for Peter, Ergo the Pope cannot erre. But where was Christs Praier then, when so many Heretikes were Popes in Rome? Will ye say, that Christ praid for Arians, for Nestorians, for Montanists, for Monothelites, for Simonists, for Idolaters, for Necromancers, for Poisoners, for Murtherers, and for Dame Ioane too? Or that by the vertue of Christs Praier, none of these could euer Erre: or that the Popes errours must go for Truth, or his Heresies be holden as Right Religion, only because you tell vs, that whatsoeuer ye say, he cannot erre? Of M. Harding, I shewed you before, that Christ praied not only for Peter, but also for all the rest of his Disciples. Origen saith, as he is before alleged: *Orig in Matt. Tract. 1.* Num audebimus dicere, quòd aduersus vnum Petrum non prævalituræ sint Portæ Inferorum: aduersus cæteros Apostolos prevalituræ sint? *Shall we dare to say, that the Gates of Hell shall not prevaile against* Onely Peter? *and that the same Gates shall prevaile against all other the Apostles?* S. Cyprian saith: *Cypr in Oratione Dominicâ* Rogabat pro delictis nostris, sicut ipse declarat, cùm dicit ad Petrum: Ego rogaui pro te, ne deficiat Fides tua: *Christ praied* (not for Peter only, but) *for our sinnes, as he himselfe declareth, saying vnto* Peter, *I haue praied for thee, that thy Faith should not faile.* S. Augustine *Aug. de verbis Domin. secund. Luc. Serm. 36.* expounding the same words, saith thus: Ego rogaui Patrem pro vobis, ne deficiat Fides vestra: *I haue praied* (not only for Peter, but also) *for you, that your Faith should not faile.* Chrysostome *Chrys. in Mat. hom 33. in opere imperf.* saith: Omnis Christianus, qui suscipit Verbum Petri, Thronus fit Petri: & Petrus sedet in eo: *Euery Christian man, that receiueth the word of* Peter, *is made* Peters Chaire, *and* Peter *himselfe sitteth in him.*

Otherwise, M. Harding, they are not all Peters that sit in place of Peter. S. Ambrose *Ambr. de Pœnit. lib. 1. ca 6.* saith: Non habent hæreditatem Petri, qui fidem Petri non habent: *They haue not Peters inheritance, that haue not the* Faith *of* Peter.

Hier. in Sophoniam cap. 1. S. Hierome saith: Auferet Dominus nomina vanæ gloriæ, & admirationis falsæ, quæ versantur in Ecclesia: *God will take away these names of vaine glory and false ostentation, that are vsed in the* Church. Wher we say, Pope Liberius fauoured the Arians, that (ye say) is stark falle. And yet, ye know, S. Hierome is the reporter of that falshood. But S. Hierome (ye say) was deceiued. In such Reuerence and Regard ye haue the Doctors and learned Fathers of the Church. Ye beleeue them no farther then ye list. I doubt not, but S. Hierome might better say, M. Harding is deceiued. If S. Hieromes authority suffice you not, you may take also the authority of S. Augustine. For S. Augustine saith, as he is alleged by Cardinall Cusanus, that Pope Liberius gaue his hand and consent vnto the Arians. Certainly Alphonsus your owne Doctor saith: De Liberio Papa, constat fuisse Arianum: *Touching Pope* Liberius, *it is well knowne he was an* Arian. Platina saith: Liberius vt quidam volunt, in rebus omnibus sensit cum Hæreticis: *Pope* Liberius, *as some say, was in all points of one iudgement with the* Arian Heretikes.

Pope Liberius Hieron. de Ecc. Scriptorib. In Fortunatiano.

Nicol. Cusan. De Concordan. lib. 2. cap 5. Alphons. contra hæres li. 1. ca 4. Plat in Liberio Antonin. part. 2 Tit. 10. c. 4. §. 5 Iouerius. Her. Gigas. Historia Longobardica. Erasm in annot in Hier. contra Luciferian. Nicol Cusan de Concordan. lib. 1 cap. 14.

Antoninus the Archbishop of Florence saith: Liberius Papa consensit præceptis Augusti (Ariani) vt vnà cum Hæreticis communicaret: *Pope* Liberius *so consented to the commandements of the* Arian Emperor, *that he communicated with the* Heretikes. So saith Iouerius in the Abridgement of Councels. So saith Hermannus Gigas. So saith your verie Legend commonly called Historia Longobardica. Among others Erasmus saith: Ariana Hæresis, & Romanum Pontificem inuoluit, & ipsos Imperatores: *The* Arians Heresie *intangled and wrapt both* Pope *and* Emperor. By the Pope namely he meaneth Pope Liberius.

Cardinall Cusanus saith: Liberius, & Honorius, & alij in Cathedra Petri aliquandiu sedentes in errorem Schismaticum seducti ceciderunt: *Pope* Liberius *and* Honorius, *and others sitting in Peters* Chaire, *haue fallen into Schismaticall error, and haue been deceiued.*

Yet you doubt not to say, S. Hierome was shamefully deceiued, and wrote of ignorance, he knew not what, and all is false.

Pope Iohn.

Likewise ye say, That we report of Pope Iohn is most false and impudent. Our report is, *That Pope* Iohn *denied the immortality of the soule*: not thoroughly and altogether, but only in that he said, Vntil the time of the Last iudgement, the Soule lieth still, as in a trance, as doth the Body, without sense of ioy or paine. Wherein he not only withstood the Expresse Word of God, but also vnwares quite ouerthrew his owne whole Kingdome of Purgatory, which is the greatest and fairest of all his three Crownes. For what anaile his Pardons and Trentals, if the soule lie still asleepe vntill the day of Iudgement, and feele no paine? Verily after the last Iudgement, by common consent, there shall be no Purgatory, no Trentall, no Masse, no Pope, no Pardon. Now if there be no place of Purgatory, neither before, nor after the last iudgement, then may we wel conclude, that absolutely and without doubt, there is no Purgatory. The first authors of this errour, as S. Augustine saith, were the Heretikes called Arabici.

Aug ad Quod vult deum, hæres 83.

Gerson Serm. 1 in Fest. Paschal.

Touching Pope Iohns errour, Gerson saith thus: Iohannes Papa 22. decreuit, &c. Pope Iohn 22. *decreed, that the Soules of the wicked should not be punished before the day of the last Iudgement: which error the* Vniuersitie of Paris *condemned for Heresie, and caused the Pope to recant,*

recant. One of your owne companions of Louaine saith: Pope Iohn kept this errour secretly to himselfe, and neuer had the open consent of the Church of Rome. And for better excuse hereof he saith: Petrus non Fidem Christi, sed Christum, salua Fide, negauit: *Peter denied not the Faith of* Christ, *but his Faith saued, he denied no more but only* Christ. And so by this pretty shift of your Louanian Diuinity, ye haue both Christ without Faith, and also Faith without Christ. Thus M. Harding, it is plaine by your owne Doctours and Fellows, that our report of Pope Iohn, is neither a false slander, as you say, nor proceedeth of detestable and wicked malice. *Copus Dial. 1. pag. 50. pag. 51.*

Monkes, Nunnes, Friars.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. What shall I say, but al is false? It is a foule thing, M. Iewel, & a wicked impudencie thus to belie the Doctours. Certaine it is, Gerson neuer said it, nor in *Sermone Paschali*, as you report, nor any where else, that this Pope Iohn made any such decree. Neither was his error as you vntruly burden him, &c. That ye write touching this Pope either proceedeth of malice, or of ignorance, &c. The errour of Pope Iohn 22. was not, that the soules of the wicked be not punished before the day of the last Iudgement, but that the soules of the good see not the face of God before the last daie. His position was conceiued with these termes, as we finde it in Adrianus that learned Pope, and in the Extrauagant of Pope Benedictus vndecimus who succeeded him next: *Anima purgatæ ante finale Iudicium non habent Stolam, quæ est clara, & facialis visio Dei.* *M. Harding fol. 64. a.* *M. Harding fol. 65. a.*

Of this question some Doctours then held the Affirmatiue, some the Negatiue. Amongst them that held the Negatiue, this Pope Iohn 22. was one before he was Pope, and perhaps also afterward. But he held it only as his priuate opinion. *M. Harding fol. 65. b.*

Now this was an error in Pope Iohn, I denie not: yet for the same is not he to be counted an Heretike: as neither S. Irenæus, Theophylactus & S. Bernard are, who seeme to haue beene of the same opinion. Gerson saith: *Propter, quod apparet Falsitas Doctrinæ Papæ Iohannis 22 quæ damnata fuit cū sono Buccinarū, vel Tubarum cora Rege Philippo Auunculo tuo per Theologos Parisienses.* Remember, good Reader, this error of Pope Iohn 22. was not condemned by the Diuines of Paris, when he was Pope, but before, whē he was a priuate Doctor, and liued in the Realm of France &c. And so by this Purgatory is not taken away at all, as your scoffing tale that liketh you so wel, pretendeth it to be: Neither were the Heretikes, that of S. Augustine are called *Arabici*, the first authors of this error, as you say, but the Armenians and Grecians, if we may beleeue Guido. Now touching that you haue alleged out of the Councel of Constance, I maruel with what face you bring it in: & what a great falshood is it to put in your Booke the name of Pope Iohn 22. for Pope Iohn 23. The name of this Iohn 23. was before he took vpō him to be Pope, Balthazar de Cassa, as there ye haue it declared, &c. Neither was he a true Pope, lawfully elect, but an Vsurper, as two others were with him at the same time. So by this place ye haue proued no Heresie against Pope Iohn 22. nor against any tru Pope at al, but only haue shewed your self a shamelesse shifter, and one that hath a more malicious mind to hurt the authority of the Pope, thē matter of iust accusatiō against him. *Fol. 66. b.* *Fol. 66. a.* *67. a.*

The Answer. Al this is true, no doubt. For M. Hardings sawes must go for Gospel. First, good Reader, I wil tel thee, what man this Pope Iohn was, & then make answer to euery peece hereof in order. The next Pope before him was Clemens the fifth, that caused Franciscus Dandalus the Ambassador of Venice, to come before him tied in an iron chaine and to wallow vnder his Table, as a Dogge, while his Holinesse sate at Supper. Otherwise the indignation he had conceiued against the Venetians, could neuer be swaged. The fourth Pope after him was Vrbanus the fourth, that toke fiue of his Cardinals vpon displeasure, & tied them vp in Sackes, and threw them out into the Sea. As for this Pope Iohn himselfe, he turned Bishoprickes into Abbies, and Abbies into Bishoprickes, Bishoprickes into Archbishoprickes, and Archbishoprikes into Bishoprickes: one Bishoprick into two, and two into one: Cities into Townes, and Townes into Cities: And thus was euermore altering and neuer contented. Pope Clement his predecessour being dead, the Cardinals, after they had long contended among themselues about the election of a Pope, and could not agree, they committed the whole matter in trust vnto this Iohn, being then also himselfe a Cardinal, that he should chuse whom he best liked, and end the strife, nothing doubting, but he would haue chosen one of the same Cardinals that they had named. But he hauing the whole power in his owne hand, like a man of trust, forgat al others, and chose himselfe, and so was Pope by his owne election. Being Pope, he excommunicated Lodouicus the Emperour, for that he had attempted to execute some part of his Emperial office without his Licence. By meane whereof he inflamed al Christendome with such discord and hatred, and deadly warres, as could not afterward be quenched in thirty yeares. He said, he had power to raise vp Emperors and to depose them at his pleasure: and that, whensoeuer the Empire is void, the Pope is Emperor: and that there is no power aboue the Pope. *Sabell. Ennead. 9. lib. 7.* *Sabell. Ennead. 9. lib 9.* *Nancl. Gerera. 44.* *Nancl. Gerera. 44.* *Naucler.* *Carion. pro sua voluntate.* *Paralipomen. Vrspergensis.*

And whereas certaine Preachers, loathing the intollerable ambition, and lozolinesse of the Clergy that then was, had told the people openly in their Sermons, that Christ and his Apostles were simple and poore, and possessours of nothing, he caused them to be taken and condemned, and burnt as Heretikes. Which thing, saith one, he did, the better to iustifie his owne greedinesse. For at the time of his death he left in his Treasury fiue and twenty thousand thousand Crownes in ready gold: which thing was the more to be wondred at, for that not long before the same, Pope Iohn had ioined in war with Robert the King of Apulia, in defense of the State of Genua: in which warre, as Antoninus Florentinus *Anselmus Rid. millies viginti quinque millia.*

Anton part. 3. Ti. 21. cap. 4. rentinus ſaith, ſuch abundance of gold and treaſure was ſpent on both ſides, as might haue bought a good kingdome. Such a one, M. Harding, was Pope Iohn: whoſe Doctrin you may not in any wiſe ſuffer to be ſtained. And therefore, touching the matter it ſelfe, you haue minced it prettily. It was no Hereſie, you ſay, but onely an Errour. And why ſo? I trow, becauſe this Iohn was no inferiour Biſhop, nor priuate man, but a Biſhop of Biſhops and a Pope. For in any other poore man it had beene an Hereſie. The Arabians and Armenians many hundred yeares before were condemned and holden as Heretikes for the ſame. So bleſſed a thing is it to be a Pope.

M. Har. 65. b.

Pope Iohn 22.

But if this Errour were no Hereſie in Pope Iohn, then a great many, that ſo charged him, did him great wrong, and were much to blame. Antoninus ſaith, Iohannes, 22. Sermonem faciens in publico Conſiſtorio, dixit quædam hæreſim ſapientia: Pope Iohn, *ſpeaking openly in the Conſiſtory, vttered certaine words ſauoring of Hereſie:* and therefore he ſaith, that of many he was iudged an Heretike. Chriſtianus Maſſæus ſaith: Iohannes Papa 22. miſit Pariſios duos, qui hanc hæreſim prædicarent: Pope Iohn *ſent two Preachers to Paris, to ſet forth this Hereſie.* Nauclerus ſaith: Imo Iohannem Papam 22. magni & multi Theologi, ſcientia, & vita probati dogmatizabant eſſe hæreticum: *Nay, many great and famous Doctours of Diuinity, notable, aſwel for their learning, as for their Life, publiſhed Pope Iohn to be an Heretike.* So many Hiſtoriographers, and ſo many, and ſo notable Doctors of Diuinity may be witneſſes ſufficient to proue one Heretike, if he were not a Pope.

Ang. ad Quodvult deum. Pope Iohn an Heretike.

Anton part. 3. tit. 21 ca. 6. §. 15. Aſſerebant ex eo ipſum eſſe Hæreticum.

Maſſa. lib. 18. anno 1332.

Naucl. Genera. 45.

Gerſon ſaith not, Iohannes Papa decreuit: Pope Iohn *decreed.* This (you ſay) is a fonle thing, and a wicked impudency. *The Anſwer.* It is no manly part, M. Harding, to ſtriue and wrangle about words when the matter is plain. If Gerſon ſaid not, Pope Iohn *decreed theſe things*, yet he ſaid, Pope Iohn *publiſhed and taught theſe things*. And a man would thinke, that Teaching and Publiſhing were not much leſſe, then Decreeing. Gerſons words be plaine, euen as you your ſelfe haue alleged them: Propterea apparet falſitas Decretæ Papæ Iohannis 22. *Hereby appeareth the falſhood of the Doctrin of* Pope Iohn. Chriſtianus Maſſæus ſaith: Papa Iohannes prædicauit errorem: Pope Iohn *preached or ſet foorth this errour.* And it is ſaid, the Popes Will muſt needs ſtand for a Law.

M. Har. 64. b. Decreed.

Maſſa l. 18. de Tranſ. Epiſcopi.

Quanto. Before he was Pope.

You ſay, Remember good Reader, this errour of Pope Iohn 22. was not condemned by the Diuines of Paris when he was Pope, but before when he was a priuat Doctor, and liued in the Realm of France. *The Anſwer.* Thou muſt beleeue M. Harding, good Reader, be his tale neuer ſo vnlikely, yea though he ſpeak impoſſibilities. This errour of Pope Iohn (ſaith he) was condemned in the preſence of Philip the French King, not whē Iohn was Pope, but before, when he was a priuat man. Now, I beſeech thee, good Reader, for thy better ſatisfaction, conſider wel the yeares and ages, aſwel of this King Philip the firſt, as alſo of this Pope Iohn the two and twentith. It appeareth by al Writers whatſoeuer, that this Iohn was conſecrated Pope at Auenion anno 1316 and that Philippus Valeſius was crowned King in France, anno 1328. By which Computation it is plaine that this Iohn was Pope thirteene yeares before this Philip was King. This Storie is euident and agreeably confeſſed by al that haue written: yet it pleaſeth M. Harding, to take it by the top, and to turne it backward: and to tell vs of himſelfe only, without further authority, that Philip Valeſius was King, and ſate in place of Iudgement, to heare cauſes of Religion, thirteene yeares at the leaſt, before this Iohn was Pope. Thus by M. Hardings handling, Pope Iohn when he was Pope, yet was no Pope: and Philip was a King thirteene yeares at the leaſt, before he was King. Such pretty verities M. Harding can ſhape vs for his aduantage.

Whē he liued in France.

Yet, M. Harding, you tell vs, That this Iohn was condemned by the Diuines of Paris, not when he was Pope (God forbid: for then muſt we confeſſe that the Pope was an Heretike) but before when he was a priuate Doctor, and liued in the Realme of France. Here is a marueilous caſe, M. Harding. An Heretike by your confeſſion may be a Pope. But a Pope in no wiſe may be an Heretike. This Iohn (you ſay) was hereof condemned, when he was a priuate man and liued in France. I pray you M. Harding, and where liued he afterward being Pope? Loke vp your Chronicles. Where was Pope Iohns abode? Where was his Conſiſtory? Where was his Court during al that whole time, while he was Pope? Perhaps you thinke, it was at Rome. For there ſate S. Peter: There is the continuance of his Succeſſion: and thereof the Popes are called the Biſhops of Rome. If you ſo thinke, M. Harding, your thought deceiueth you. For indeed it is wel knowne, that Pope Clemens the fifth, that was the next Predeceſſour before Pope Iohn 22. remoued himſelf, & al his traine from Rome to Auenion in France, in the yeere of our Lord 1302. From which time, during the ſpace of threeſcore and foureteene yeeres following, the Popes continued ſtil at Auenion and neuer returned backe to Rome. It was in vaine therefore for you to ſay, Pope Iohn at the time of his Condemnation, was no Pope, but only a priuat man and liued in France. For during the whole time of his Popedome, he continued ſtil in

Sabel. Ennead. 9. lib. 7.

Platina.

France

France at Auenion. And being foure ſcore and ten yeres of age, he died at Auenion, and at Auenion was buried in the Cathedral Church, where his body reſteth vntill this day, and not in Rome. Pope Iohn 22.

Say no more therefore, M. Harding, that Pope Iohns errour was condemned in Paris, and blowne out with Trumpets in the preſence of the King, not when he was Pope, but only when he liued in Priuate Eſtate. For all the Hiſtoriographers that haue written hereof will ſone controle you. Antoninus ſaith: Pope Iohn *held this error in the time of his Popedome, and pronounced words ſauouring of Hereſie openly in the Conſiſtory (being Pope.)* Nauclerus ſaith: Imò Papam Iohannem magni & multi Theologi, Scientia & vita probati, Dogmatizabant eſſe Hæreticum propter errores certos: Quos tamen die obitus ſui dicitur tepidè reuocaſſe: Et eius Succeſſor Benedictus eos errores fertur publicè damnaſſe. *Nay many great and famous Diuines, of great Learning and good Life, proclaimed* (not one or other by the name of Iohn, but) Pope Iohn, *by the name of* Pope, *to bee an Heretike for certaine errours: Which errours notwithſtanding it is ſaid that he Coldly reuoked at the time of his death.* (But not before, neither then but coldly.) *Againe it is ſaid, that* Pope Benedictus, *his next Succeſſor, openly Condemned the ſame errours.* Chriſtianus Maſſæus ſaith: Papa Iohannes prædicauit errorem, &c. Miſitque Pariſios duos, alterum Dominicanum, alterum Franciſcanum, qui eandem Hæreſim prædicarent, &c. Pope Iohn *preached and profeſſed an errour, &c. And ſent two Preachers to* Paris, *the one a Blacke Friar, and the other a Gray Friar, to maintaine the ſame Hereſie. But one* Thomas, *a Preacher of* England, *withſtood the* Pope. *Him the* Pope *tooke, and threw into priſon. Herevpon the King ſummoned a Councell vnto his Palace in* Vinciana Sylua. *The whole aſſembly ſubſcribed againſt the* Pope. *Immediatly the King ſent to* Pope Iohn, *and willed him to reforme his errour, and to ſet the Preacher at liberty: and ſo he did.*

Nauclerus Generat. 45. Anno 1324. Tepidè.

Benedictus Condemnat. Maſſæus, Lib. 18. An. 1332.

Thus you ſee, M. Harding, That Pope Iohn, being Pope, ſtood in errour: That Pope Iohn was condemned for an Heretike: That Pope Iohn profeſſed and preached falſe Doctrine: That Pope Iohn ſent out Preachers to maintaine his Hereſie, and they were Friars: That Pope Iohn was controlled by an Engliſh Preacher: That Pope Iohn was reproued by a Councell: That Pope Iohn was willed by the King to reforme his errour. And yet can you tell vs, all this notwithſtanding, that Pope Iohn was then a Priuate man, and no Pope at all.

Further you ſay: Touching that you haue alleged out of the Councell of Conſtance, what a great falſhood is it to put in your Booke the name of Pope Iohn 22. for Pope Iohn 23? The name of this Iohn 23. was (before he tooke vpon him to be Pope) Balthazar de Caſſa, as there ye haue it declared. Neither was it certaine that he held that deteſtable opinion. Howſoeuer it be, Pope Iohn 23. was not a true Pope lawfully elect, but an Vſuper. *The Anſwer.* And what if I ſhould here confeſſe an errour, M. Harding? Or what if I ſhould ſay, I had not aduiſedly conſidered the Storie, but had taken one number for another? yet haue you not one Heretike Pope Iohn the leſſe, but one the moe. For howſoeuer ye number them, as it ſhal wel appeare, both were Iohns, and both were Popes, and both were Heretikes. But as you can ſo fauorably tell vs, it is no Hereſie in a Pope, wilfully to maintaine an open error touching the ſtate of the ſoule: ſo I truſt of your courteſie ye will not ſo haſtily condemne it for hainous Hereſie, if a man happen only to miſreckon the name or number of a Pope. For more then that you cannot make it. Otherwiſe it may happen that you your ſelfe, euen in this ſelfe ſame place, may finde your ſelfe in like error, and yeld your ſelfe to be an Heretike. For where you ſay, It was Benedictus vndecimus that followed Iohannes 22. Onuphrius calleth him Benedictum decimum: and Sabellicus ſaith it was Benedictus duodecimus. In this reckoning, if euery miſnumbring of a Pope be an Hereſie, by your iudgement we muſt néeds haue two Hereſies at the leaſt. As for Balthazar à Coſſa, whom ye call Pope Iohn 23. Platina calleth him Pope Iohn 24. Onuphrius calleth him, euen as I did, Pope Iohn 22. & not as you do, Pope Iohn 23. And the other Iohn, whom you cal Pope Iohn 22. he calleth Pope Iohn 21. Looke on your Bookes, & you ſhal finde it. Now, M. Harding, you ſee the very cauſes of all this error: and yet no great cauſe why you ſhould ſo fiercely vpbraid vs with ſo great falſhood. The matter wherewith this Pope Iohn the latter was charged, was this, as it is ſpecially obiected againſt him in the Councell of Conſtance: Quin imò dixit, & pertinaciter credidit, Animam Hominis cum Corpore humano mori & extingui, ad inſtar Animalium Brutorum: Pope Iohn *ſaid, and ſtubbornly beleeued, that the Soule of Man dieth together with the Body, and is conſumed to nothing, as the Soule of Brute Beaſts.* Therefore, M. Harding, the greateſt fault ye can finde in me in this behalfe is this, that ſeeking to finde Heretikes among the Popes, I thought there had béene but one Pope Iohn condemned of Hereſie, whereas indéed there were two.

M. Har. 66. b.

M. Har. 67. a.

Sabel. Enn. 9.

You ſay, This Hereſie was obiected only againſt Pope Iohn 23. but neuer prooued. But is was

Pope Iohn 22.

obiected against him, M. Harding, in the Councell of Constance, and of his part neuer purged. Seeke his Purgation where ye will, ye shall neuer finde it. And the want of Purgation is called in Law, a plaine Conuiction.

Yet the better to countenance a bad matter, you say, This latter Pope Iohn was no true Pope, nor lawfully chosen, as apperteined. Who saith so, M. Harding, but only your selfe? And what is your owne only Authority against all others? In the Councel of Constance, where al the Enormities and Villanies of this Pope Iohns whole life were blased abroad, yet this Article of his Election, and title of Popedome, was neuer laid to his charge. Platina, touching his Election, saith thus: Bononiæ omnium consensu Pontifex creatur: *This* Iohn *was chosen* Pope *at* Bononia, *by the consent of al the Cardinals.* Hauing the consent of al the Cardinals, he wanted none, no not one. And what Election can be more Canonicall, or Lawful, then when the voices of all the Electours agree together? Certainly in any reasonable iudgement he was much more Lawfully chosen then Pope Iohn 22. that chose himselfe. And yet was that Pope Iohn a Lawfull Pope. Indeed the other two Popes were set vp in Schisme and Diuision, only by a part of the Cardinals. But Pope Iohn 23. was Lawfully chosen by the consent and agreement of the whole: and had he not beene charged with other crimes, he had neuer beene remoued.

Platina in Iohan. 24.

To conclude, you say, The Heretikes that of S. Augustine are called Arabici, were not the first Authours of this errour. But the Armenians and Grecians, if we beleeue Guido. *The Answer.* And why so, M. Harding? Did not the Arabian Heretikes hold this same errour? Verily S Augustines words are plaine: Arabici dixerunt, animas cum corporibus mori atque dissolui: & in fine Sæculi vtrunque resurgere. But you say, The Armenians were the Founders of this error and they were long before the Arabians. For I trow, so saith your Guido. But examine you better the course of times. You may happen to finde your errour. S. Augustine saith, The Arabians were in the time of Origen, wel neere foure score hundred yeres agoe. As for the Armenians, Alphonsus saith, *They began about eleuen hundred yeres agoe, after the Counsel of* Chalcedon, about the yere of our Lord 450. that is to say, two hundred and fifty yeres after the Arabians. Now, M. Harding, tell vs, I pray you, whether of these two sorts of Heretikes was the former? Is it not a likely matter, that the Arabians, that were foure score hundred yeres agoe, learned first their Heresie of the Armenians, that followed two hundred and fifty yeres after them?

Aug. ad Quodvult-deum.

Arabici. Anno 212.

Alphonsus. de Hæresib. lib. 2.

De Adam & Eua Armeny, Ann. 450.

As for Guido the Carmelite Frier, no doubt, he was a wise and a worthy Doctor, to be brought forth for a Witnesse against the Authority of S. Augustine.

Now, that the truth of your words may appeare the better, let vs lay forth a Brief hereof by way of Comparison, as in a Table.

M. Harding.	*The Answer.*
This was an errour in Pope Iohn 22. I deny not. Yet for the same is not he to be counted an Heretike.	*Antoninus.* Pope Iohn vttered words of Heresie. And many iudged him to be an Heretike. *Massæus.* Pope Iohn sent Preachers to Paris to maintaine his Heresie.
M. Harding.	*The Answer.*
Gerson neuer said, that *Pope Iohn* made any such Decree.	*Gerson.* Pope Iohn professed and taught this Heresie. *Massæus.* Pope Iohn preached and published this errour. Prædicauit errorem.
M. Harding.	*The Answer.*
This error of *Pope Iohn* 22. was not condemned by the Diuines of Paris, in the presence of the King, when he was *Pope*, but before, when he was a Priuate Doctour,	Pope Iohn 22. was Pope thirteene yeres before King Philip was King. *Antoninus.* Pope Iohn spake words sauouring of Heresie, in the Consistorie, that is to say, being Pope. *Nauclerus.* The most famous Diuines proclaimed Pope Iohn, being Pope, to be an Heretike. *Massæus.* Pope Iohn preached error, and sent Preachers abroad to maintaine his Heresie.
M. Harding.	*The Answer.*
Pope Iohn was condemned before he was *Pope*, when hee liued in the Realme of *France*.	Pope Iohn, during the whole time of his Popedome, continued stil at Auenion in France, and neuer departed thence to Rome. *Sabellicus.*

M. Harding.

M. Harding. *The Answer.*

Pope Iohn held this errour only as his priuate opinion.

Gerson. Pope Iohn professed and taught this Doctrine.
Massæus. Pope Iohn preached it, and sent out Preachers to maintaine it, and imprisoned them that durst to withstand it.

Pope Iohn 22.

M. Harding. *The Answer.*

You name Pope *Iohn* 22. for *Pope Iohn* 23.

Onuphrius calleth him, as I doe, Pope Iohn 22.
Platina calleth him Pope Iohn 24. and not as you do Pope Iohn. 23.
Instead of one Heretical Pope Iohn, we haue found two, and the latter much more horrible then the former.

M. Harding. *The Answer.*

This heresie was obiected against *Pope Iohn* 23. in the Councell of Constance, but neuer proued.

This Heresie was obiected against Pope Iohn, but neuer purged.

M. Harding. *The Answer.*

Pope Iohn 23. was neuer lawfully chosen.

Platina. Pope Iohn was chosen at Bononia, by the consent of al the Cardinals. Whose hath the consent of all the Electors, is Lawfully chosen.

M. Harding. *The Answer.*

The *Arabians* were not the Authors of this error, but the *Armenians.*

S. Augustine. The Arabians were the Authours hereof.
The Arabians were two hundred and fiftie yeeres before the Armenians.

So many waies, M. Harding, haue you corrupted and altered the truth of this storie. And yet you thinke it lawful for you to crie out against vs, All is false: Wicked Impudencie: Ye belie the Doctors: Yeare malicious: Ye are ignorant: Ye are shameleſſe shifters.

For the rest, ye say, We bely Pope Zosimus: He corrupted not the Councell of Nice. For trial whereof I referre my selfe to my Former Replie vnto your Answer. Certainelie whatsoeuer Learned man wil stand to the denial heereof, he must needs want colour in his face. The fraud was notoriouslie found, and detected to the whole world by the Ancient Learned Fathers, Cyrillus and Articus, the one being Patriarke of Alexandria, the other of Antioch, and was reproued and published by two hundred and seuenténe Bishops, openlie in the Councell of Aphrica. The pœnish forged Epistle that ye allege vnder the name of the learned godly Father Athanasius: The fantasticall burning of the Canons of Nice without fire, with other your like childish vanities, scarcelie meet children to play withall, are likewise answered.

Pope Zosimus. *Art.* 4. *Diu.* 6. *Concil. Aphr. Can.* 101.

An epistle forged vnder the name of Athanasius.

One of your owne Louanian companie confesseth, that in the Late Councel of Florence the Greekes there made open complaint, that the Bishop of Rome had corrupted the Canons of the Councell of Nice. Alypius the Bishop of Tagasta, speaking heereof in the Councell of Carthage, saith thus: Adhuc tamen me mouet, quoniam cùm inspiceremus Græca Exemplaria huius Synodi Nicenæ, ista ibi, nescio qua ratione minimè inuenimus: *Yet this thing moueth mee, that when we examined and conferred the* Originals of the Nicene Councell, written in Greeke, *I know not by what meanes, these things we found not there.*

The Councell of Nice corrupted. In the Replie. *Art.* 4. *Diu.* 6. *Copw pag.* 78. *Conc. Florens. Sessione* 20. *Concil. Carthag.* 6. *ca.* 4.

Addition. *Addition.* Howbeit, all this may bee easilie holpen by a Writ of Errour. For you will say, Pope Zosimus alleged the Councell of Sardica, in stead of the Councel of Nice. And heerein he was deceiued: and this was his whole fault. If this were all the fault, M. Harding, yet were it a great fault for Christs Vicar, and S. Peters Successor, in maintenance of his owne inordinate Ambition, to allege one Councell for another, and therewith to face downe two hundred and seuenténe Bishops in Generall Councell. If it were the Councell of Sardica, and not of Nice, why then did Pope Zosimus, so often and so stoutlie allege it for the Councell of Nice? How durst he say, he had seene it, he had read it, and had the verie true Copie of it in his Librarie in Rome? Why did he cause the Bishops of Aphrica, to send so many hundred miles, to Constantinople in Thracia, to Alexandria in Egypt, and to Antioch in Syria, to search the originals of the Councell of Nice, himselfe knowing there was no such thing written in the Councell of Nice?

Whether the Pope may erre or no.

Was this plaine dealing M. Harding? Was this no corruption of a Councell? The Law ſaith: Magna negligentia culpa eſt: Magna culpa dolus eſt: *Great negligence is a fault, and a great fault is guile and falſhood.*

As for the Councell of Sardica, Nicolaus Cuſanus ſaith: Sardicenſe Concilium pro ſtatuto Niceni Concilij per Legatos Apoſtolicæ Sedis falſò fuit allegatum: *The Councell of Sardica, was deceitfully or falſly alleged by the Legates of the Apoſtolike See of Rome, ſent from* Pope Zoſimus *inſtead of a Canon of the* Councell of Nice. Beare, M. Harding, I beſeech you of your courteſie, forget not this: Nicolaus Cuſanus one of your principall Doctors telleth you, that Pope Zoſimus and his Legates deceitfully and falſly alleged the Councel of Sardica under the name of the Councell of Nice.

Nicol. Cuſan. De Concordia, Lib. 2. Cap. 25.

But yet let vs ſee, Of what authoritie and credit was this Councel of Sardica? Nicolaus Cuſanus ſaith: Auguſtinus non putauit illud Concilium eſſe Catholicum, ſed potius Arianum: S. Auguſtine *held not the* Councell of Sardica *for a Catholike Councell, but rather for a* Councell of Arian Heretikes. It goeth hard with the Pope, M. Harding, when he is driuen to leaue all Catholike Councels, and to hold by ſuch euidence.

Nicol. Cuſan. De Concordia, Lib. 2. Cap. 15.

Merrily Cuſanus opening his owne iudgement touching the ſaid Councell of Sardica, ſaith thus: Verum eſt, ipſos Patres Aphricani Concilij (in quo & S. Auguſtinus interfuit) in Epiſtola ad Cœleſtinum ſcribere, ſe hanc Conſtitutionem nulla Patrum Synodo inueniſſe Conſtitutam. Quare ſatis poſſet dubitari, an Sardicenſis Concilij Conſtitutio exiſtat. *It is certaine that the Biſhops in the* Councell of Aphrica (*among whom alſo was* S. Auguſtine) *in their Letters vnto* Pope Celeſtine *write thus, that they neuer found this Conſtitution decreed in the Councell of any Biſhops: wherefore it may well be doubted whether this be a Conſtitution of the* Councell of Sardica, *or rather no.* Thus, M. Harding, you ſee Pope Zoſimus falſly alleged a Canon of the Councell of Sardica, for a Canon of the Councell of Nice: You ſee, the ſaid Councell of Sardica, whereby ye would hold, was a Councell of Heretikes: You ſee, your owne Doctor Cuſanus doubteth whether euer there were any ſuch Canon written, or no, either in the Councell of Nice, or in the Councell of Sardica, either by Catholikes, or by Heretikes. And yet will you ſay, It cannot be prooued that Pope Zoſimus was a Corrupter of Councels?

Epiſt. Boniſ. 2. ad Eulalium.

Yet Pope Bonifacius, to ſaue the Credit of the See of Rome, was forced to ſay, and publiſh openlie, that the ſaid Alypius, and Aurelius the Biſhop of Carthage, and S. Auguſtine the Biſhop of Hippo, and two hundred and foureſcore other Biſhops, that had eſpied and reuealed this falſhood, were all enflamed and led by the Diuell. And one of your owne ſudden Doctors of Louaine ſaith: Hæc omnia, tanquam ſomnia, tanquam fabulæ, tanquam ſuperflua, abolita, antiquata, calcata ſunt: *All theſe* Decrees (*of theſe* Councels of Carthage and Aphrica) *are aboliſhed, and repealed, and trodden vnder foot, as Dreames, and Fables, and things ſuperfluous.* This, M. Harding, is the weighing of your Councels. If they like you, they are the erpreſſe Voices of the Holy Ghoſt: If they like you not, they are Dreames, and Fables, and things Superfluous.

Copus pag. 93.

Iohan. Camotenſis.

Camotenſis (ye ſay) is ſome worſhipfull Doctor, ſuch as by our owne iudgement might paſſe in the Blacke Gard. Yet was he a Biſhop, M. Harding, in all reſpects farre better then either your Leontius, or your Hippolytus, or your new found Clemens, whom ye call the Apoſtles Fellow, or your vaine fable of Amphilochius. Ye would ſeeme to finde fault with the name; and thinke we ſhould not haue written Camotenſis, but rather Iuo Carnotenſis. Your ghoſte ye ſhew vs: but reaſon thereof ye ſhew vs none. Ye might as well haue ſaid, Fulbertus Carnotenſis, who being verie much conſumed and ſpent with ſickneſſe, as it is learnedly noted among other your Writers, for a reſtoratiue, ſuckt our Ladies breſt, and by vertue thereof was made whole. Ye might likewiſe haue ghelſed it had beene Iohan Sariſburienſis, otherwiſe called by ſome, Rupertus Carnotenſis. For he ſaith: In Eccleſia Romana ſedent Scribæ & Phariſæi: *In the* Church of Rome *ſit, the Scribes and the Phariſeis.* But indeed this Writers name is Iohannes Camotenſis alleged by Cornelius Agrippa. His words be theſe: Angelis præcipiunt: Poteſtatem habent in Mortuos. Vim faciunt Scripturis, vt habeant Plenitudinem Poteſtatis. Ipſe Papa iam factus eſt intolerabilis: Eius pompam & faſtum nullus Tyrannorum vnquam æquauit. Legati Romanorum Pontificum ſic bacchantur in Prouincijs acſi ad flagellandam Eccleſiam Satan egreſſus ſit à facie Domini: *They lay their Commandements vpon the Angels of God: They haue power vpon the Dead: They wreſt and racke the Scriptures, that they may haue the Fulneſſe of Power. The* Pope *himſelfe is now become vntolerable. No Tyrant was euer able to match him in Pompe and Pride. The* Popes Legates *keepe ſuch reuell in Kingdomes and Countries, as if* Satan *were ſent abroad from the face of the Lord, to ſcourge the Church.* This is not your Iuo Carnotenſis: It is Iohannes Camotenſis: And this is his iudgement of your Church of Rome.

Herm. Rid. Io. Sariſburienſis in Polycratico.

Cornel. Agrip. de vanit Scientiarum.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 6. *Diuision* 1.

VVHat wil ye say, if the Popes Aduocates, Abbats and Bishops **dissemble not the matter, but shew themselues open enemies to the** Gospel, **& though they see, yet wil not see, but wry the** Scriptures, **and wittingly and knowingly corrupt and counterfeit the** Word of God, **and foulely & wickedly apply to the** Pope **al the same things which euidently & properly be spoken of the** Person of Christ **only, not by no means can be applied to any other: And what though they say,** The Pope is al, and aboue al? **Or,** That the Pope can do as much as Christ can doe: **And,** That one iudgement place, and one Councel House, serueth for the Pope, and for Christ, both together? **Or,** That the Pope is the same Light which should come into the World: **which words** Christ **spake of himselfe alone: And,** That whoso is an euill doer, hateth & flieth from that Light? **Or, That al the other Bishops haue receiued of the** Popes Fulnesse?

Whether the Pope may erre or no.

Host. ca. Quanto. Abbas Panor. De Elect. ca. venerabilis. Cornel. Episc. in Conc. Trid.

M. Harding.

You haue neuer done with your what ifs. Your Interpreter, good Gentlewoman, that fauoureth your pleasant Diuinity so much, seemeth to be weary of it her selfe. For here she turneth your *Quid si*, into What wil ye say if. And now Sir, doe you demand of vs, as Madam Interpreter maketh you to speake, what we wil say? Forsooth, for this you allege against the Popes Aduocates, Abbats, & Bishops, we say, that the most part is very false and slanderous: somewhat may bee taken for truth in a right sense. As for the Aduocates, I minde not to be their Aduocate, neither haue they need of my helpe. Let them answer one for another: Hostiensis for Abbat Panormitane, and he for Hostiensis. In good sooth, were those excellent men at this day liuing, I thinke verily they would not doe you that honor, as to answer you themselues. Or if they would vouchsafe to doe you so much, I doubt not but they would make short worke with you, and take you vp roundly for halting, with one word, *Mentiris*, dashing al your allegations, which word in your Diuinity is a Verbe Commune.

Thus leauing Hostiensis and Panormitane to defense of the Canonists, telling you by the way, that in questions of Diuinity we stand not alwaies to their sayings; we answer you on the behalfe of Cornelius the Bishop of Bitonto in Italy (for him ye meane, I suppose, putting in your margent the name of Cornelius only) that he neuer said *the Pope is the Light which should come into the world, in that sense as it is spoken of Christ. If you were hardly charged to shew where he said it, or where he wrote it you would be found a lier, as in many other points you are found already. That he neuer wrote it in any of his eloquent Italian Sermons, set forth in print, I am assured. And more hath hee not set forth, Now it remaineth that you tel vs where he saith so,* or else confesse your slanderous lie.

* Vntruth, blasphemous, vnadui sedly defended. For the words be plaine. Papa Lux venit in Mundū.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Where ye say, M. Harding, I thinke yee haue learned of a child, that Mentiris **is a** Verbe Commune, **if ye hold on as ye haue begun, ye wil shortly alter the property thereof to your selfe, and make it hencefoorth a** Verbe Priuate. **Touching** Hostiensis **and** Panormitane, **I wil say nothing, but only refer you to the places.**

As for Cornelius **the** Bishop of Bitonto, **forasmuch as, contrarie to your Nature, ye plead ignorance, and say ye cannot finde the place, reade therefore these words in his Oration openly pronounced in your Late** Chapter at Trident: Quis erit tam iniustus rerum æstimator, qui non dicat, Papa Lux venit in Mundum? sed dilexerunt homines Tenebras magis quàm Lucem. Omnis qui malè agit, odit Lucem. & non venit ad Lucem, vt non arguantur opera eius, quia mala sunt: *Who will so vniustly weigh things, but he wil say,* The Pope is the Light that is come into the world? But men haue loued Darknesse more then (the Pope, **that is**) the Light. *Whosoeuer doth euill, hateth the* Light, *and commeth not to the* Light, *lest his workes should be discouered, for that they be euill.*

Conc. Trident. Sub Paulo 3. *Oratio Cornel. Episc. Bitontin.*

The Apologie, Chap. 6. *Diuision* 2.

Shortly, what though they make Decrees expressly against Gods Word, **and that, not in hucker mucker, or couertly, but openly, and in the face of the world: must it needs yet be Gospel straight, whatsoeuer they say? Shal these be** Gods Holy Army? **Or, will Christ be at hand among them there? Shall the** Holy Ghost **flow in their tongues, or can they with truth say, We and the** Holy Ghost **haue thought so?**

M. Harding.

After a great many of your foolish and false what ifs, you conclude shortly with What if they make Decrees expressly against Gods Word, and that openly in the face of the world? Hereto we answer, requiting your what if with another what if, and say, What if the Learned and Holy Fathers, &c.

The Apology, Chap. 6. Diuision 3.

Hosius contra Brent. Lib. 2.

The Spirit of Truth in Annas and Caiaphas.

Christ worthy to die.

Indeed Peter Asotus **and his Companion** Hosius **stick not to affirme, that the same** Councel, **wherein our** Sauiour Iesus Christ **was condemned to die, had both the** Spirit of Prophecying, **& the** Holy Ghost, **and the Spirit of Truth: And, that it was neither a false, nor a trifling saying, whē those Bishops said,** We haue the Law, & by our Law he ought to die: **And, that they, so saying, did light vpon the very** Truth of Iudgement: **(for so be** Hosius **words) and, that the same plainly was a iust Decree, whereby they pronounced, that** Christ **was worthy to die. This, me thinketh, is strange, that these men are not able to speake for themselues, and to defend their owne cause, but they must also take part with** Annas **and** Caiaphas **against Christ. For if they wil cal that a Lawful and a good** Coūcel, **wherein the** Sonne of God **was most shamefully condemned to die the death, what** Councel **will they then allow for false, and naught? And yet (as all their** Councels, **to say truth, commonly be) necessity compelled them to pronounce these things of the Councell holden by** Annas **and** Caiaphas.

M. Harding.

Such vnhoneſt toies better become Brentius, that shameleſſe railing Heretike. Now to you, Sir Defender. You belie Hosius, as Brentius, of whom you borrowed this, belied the reuerent Father Petera Soto. Either you haue readen the place of Hosius, or you haue not. If you haue not, then are you to blame to say so much euil that you know not. If you haue readen the place, then is your fault plaine malice, in putting that to Hosius, the contrary whereof you finde in the place by your selfe alleged, by which you lead vs, as it were by the hand, to behold and consider your owne dishonesty. How iust cause you haue to reprehend Hosius, for that he wrote against Brentius in defense of Petrus a Soto, touching the Councel in which Christ was condemned by Caiaphas, it should best appeare to him that would read the whole place where Hosius treateth that matter. The same would I here haue rehearsed, to the discouering of your false dealing, and shameleſſe lying, were not the same very long.

(a) A discreet & a worthy Proctour. The Acts were naught, & the sentence good.

The sentence was, that Christ should die the death.

(b) This Truth of Iudgement was, That the Sonne of God was a Blasphemer, and had deserued to die.

(c) Vntruth. For thus said Caiaphas: and his iudgement Hosius defēdeth as true and Godly.

(d) Christ, by Hosius iudgmēt was guiltie of death.

First, this is the truth touching the whole: (a) The Acts of those Priests of the Iewes Synagogue were wicked, and contrary to Christ. (a) But their Sentence, though themselues were neuer so euil, was not only true, but also to mankinde most profitable. And S. Iohn in his Gospel witnesseth, it was the oracle of God. For when, after long deliberation of the Councel, Caiaphas the high Bishop and President of that Councel had pronounced his sentence, whereunto al the rest almost gaue their consent, It is expedient for vs, that one man die for the people, and not that al the Nation perish; the Euangelist thereto added his verdict, saying, This he said, not of himselfe, but whereas he was high Bishop of that yeere, he Prophecied. Therefore let this be the true conclusion of the whole matter: The Acts of that Councel were wicked, the sentence was true, and good. Now Hosius treateth this matter so learnedly, and so substantially, as you cannot truly take any aduantage of his words to reprehend him. He staieth himselfe vpon the Scripture, a good ground to stand vpon. Which Scripture refereth doubtful and hard questions to the Priests of the Leuitical Order. Of whom it is said, *Iudicabunt tibi Iudicij Veritatem.* (b) They shal shew vnto thee the Truth of Iudgement. In this Iudgement, saith Hosius, though it were neuer so wicked, yet was the Truth of Iudgement. How that might be, there he proueth it to Brentius by most manifest argument.

Where ye impute to Hosius, to haue said that the same plainly was a iust decree, (c) whereby they pronounced that Christ was worthy to die, that is your slanderous lie, not Hosius saying. (c) For he saith the cleane contrary, and that sundry times, that it was a wicked Councel & most vniust decree. God forbid any Christian man should say that Christ was worthy to die. (d) He saith, it might haue bin truly pronounced by Caiaphas, that he was guilty of death. And there he sheweth how, very religiously & wisely admonishing the Reader, that he was most innocent, & deserued not to die. And thus Sir you may see, we take not part with Annas & Caiaphas, as you raile, and yet be able, God be thanked, to defend our true cause, & declare you to the world to be false Teachers. Therefore belie vs no more.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

God Christian Reader, this whole matter concerneth only the credit and certainty of Generall Councels. Sotus **and** Hosius **say, whatsoeuer is determined in** Councel, **must be taken as the vndoubted** Iudgement and Word of God. **Whereunto the Godly Learned Father** Iohannes Brentius **replieth thus:** *Councels sometimes haue erred, and haue vtterly wanted the* Spirit of God, *as it may appeare by that in a* Councel *the Sonne of God was condemned, and indeed to die the death.* Hosius **answereth:** *When* Annas *and* Caiaphas *sate as* Presidents *in the* Councel, *and* Christ *the Son of God was by them condemned to die, yet neuertheleſſe the same* Councel *had the assistance of the* Holy Ghost, *& the vndoubted* Spirit of Truth.

Hosius Lib. 2. contra Brent.

For, speaking of the same Councel, **he saith thus:** Vides, Brenti, quemadmodum non defuerit Sacerdotio Leuitico Spiritus Propheticus, Spiritus Sanctus, Spiritus Veritatis:

Ye

Ye see friend Brentius, *how that the* Leuitical Priesthood (**that pronoũced sentence of death against Christ**) *wanted not the* Spirit of Prophesie, the holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth: Againe he saith: Ex quo tempore primus parens noster de vetito ligno gustauit, factus est Mortis Reus Christus Dei, &c. Nec falsum fuit illud, quod dixerunt, Nos legem habemus & secundum Legem hanc debet mori: *From the time, that our first Father tasted of the forbidden fruit,* Christ the Son of God became guilty of death: *Neither was it false, that the Iewes said,* We haue a Law, and according to that Law he ought to die. **With this** Spirit, **I trow, he was inspired that wrote this** marginal note **vpon your** Decrees: Iudęi mortaliter peccâssent, nisi Christum crucifixissent: *The* Iewes *had committed mortal sin, if they had not nailed Christ vnto the Crosse.* **Againe** Hosius **saith:** Nulla esse potest tanta Pontificum improbitas, quæ impedire queat, quo minùs vera sit illa Dei promissio, Qui indicabunt tibi iudicij Veritatem: *Be the wickednesse of Bishops neuer so great, it can neuer hinder, but that this promise of God shall euer be true,* The Bishops shal shew thee the truth of Iudgement. *Pag. 62. b.* The spirit of truth in Annas & Caiaphas. *Pag. 63. a. Diſt. 13. Item in margine.*

This therefore, M. Harding, is your Doctors meaning: it is sufficient that Bishops **only** mæt in Councel. **God wil supply al the rest. Whatsoeuer they determine, the** Holy Ghost **wil** assist **them: they cannot erre. All this is as true, as that** Hosius **your Doctor saith:** Annas and Caiaphas could not erre in pronouncing Sentence of death against Christ. *Hosius contra Brent. pa. 63. b.*

But for excuse hereof, somewhat to salue a sorry matter, ye tel vs a long tedious tale, without head or fut: that your Reader may think ye say somewhat, ye cry out aloud, Shamelesse railing Heretikes, we belie Hosius, we belie Sotus. Our false dealing, our shamlesse lying, we are impudent and continue in lying. **These, M. Harding, be the proues and grounds of your Doctrine, and the most sauoury, and fairest flowers in your garland.**

The substance of your tale is this: The Acts of the Councel, where Christ was condemned were leaud and wicked: But the Sentence of death pronounced by the Bishops against Christ, was iust & true. **And thus by your dalliance in darke words, and by your blind Distinction betweene Act and** Sentence, **ye seeke shifts to mocke the world. Ye should plainly haue told vs, what were these** Sentences: **and what were these Acts: and what great difference ye can espy betweene Act and** Sentence: **or when euer yee heard of** Sentence in Iudgement **without Act: or of perfect Act without** Sentence: **or how then** Sentence **of the** Iudge **may be true, if the Act be false: or how the Act may be right, if the** Sentence **be wrong. For the Act is a direction to the** Sentence: **and the** Sentence **groweth vpon the Act. For your credits sake, leaue these toies, M. Harding. Ye haue vsed them ouerlong. They are too childish for a child: they become not your grauity: they deceiue the simple.**

Indeed I can easily beleeue, that neither Sotus, **nor** Hosius **was euer so wicked to say, that** Christ **was rightly and worthily done to death. Howbeit he that saith:** The Sentence of death pronounced in Councel against Christ, **was iust and true, seemeth indeed to say no lesse. For if the** Sentence **of Christs death were iust, then had** Christ **vndoubtedly deserued to die. The very case and course of your Doctrine vndoubtedly forced them thus to say. For if al** Councels **be good and holy, without exception, then must that also bee a good and a holy** Councel, **that was assembled against God and against his** Christ.

Hosius **your Doctor to make the matter plaine, saith thus:** Iudas ne sit, an Petrus, an Paulus, Deus attendi non vult: Sed solùm hoc, quod sedet in Cathedra Petri, quod Apostolus: quod Christi Legatus: quod Angelus est Domini exercituum: de cuius ore Legem requirere iussus es. Hoc solum spectari vult. Si Iudas est, quandoquidem Apostolus est, nihil te moueat, quòd Fur est: God *will neuer haue thee consider, whether the* Pope be a Iudas *or a* Peter, *or a* Paul. *It is sufficient, only that he sitteth in* Peters *Chaire: that he is an* Apostle, *that he is Christs* Ambassador: *that he is the* Angel of the Lord of Hostes: *from whose mouth thou art commanded to require the Law. This thing only Christ would haue thee to consider. Be he* Iudas, *for asmuch as he is an* Apostle, *let it not moue thee, though he be a* Theefe. *Hosius in Confessione Petricouien cap. 29.*

But Caiaphas **said** *It is good, that one man die for the people, lest al the people perish. Ergo,* **say you,** Caiaphas **had the** Spirit of God. **Alas, M. Harding, although you little passe for your** Diuinity, **yet why haue you no more regard vnto your** Logicke. **Euery child knoweth, that this is a** Paralogismus, **or a deceitfull kinde of reasoning, called** Fallacia Accidentis. **And that ye may the better espie your ouersight, like as ye say,** Caiaphas prophesied blindly, himselfe not vnderstanding, what he said, *Ergo,* he had the holy Ghost: **Euen so may yee say:** Balaams Asse reproued his Master and spake the truth, as Caiaphas did: *Ergo,* Balaams Asse had the holy Ghost. S. Paul **saith:** *No man can say,* The Lord Iesus *but in the* Spirit of God. **Hereof by your** Logike **ye may reason thus:** The Diuel said vnto Christ, I know that thou art Christ the Sonne of the liuing God; *Ergo,* the Diuel had the Spirit of God. 1. Cor. 12.

It pitieth me, M. Harding, to see your follies. Although Caiaphas **vnwares & against his wil by the enforcement and power of God, at one only time spake words of Truth,**

as

as did also Balaams Asse, and the Diuel, yet it followeth not, that we should therefore at all times runne to Caiphas to seeke the Truth.

Aug. epist. 58.

Pope Iohn 22.

S. Augustine saith: Quando Deus voluit, etiam mutum iumentum rationabiliter loquutum est. Nec ideò admoniti sunt homines, in deliberationibus suis, etiam Asinina expectare consilia: *When it pleased* God, Balaams Asse *being a dumbe beast, was able to speake as a man: Yet are not men therefore commanded in all their Consultations and doubtful cases to seeke* counsell of an Asse.

As for the Lies, Shames and Slanders, ye would so liberally lay vpon vs, it may please you, to take them freely home againe. If ye be ful freight and haue store sufficient of your owne, yet may you diuide them among your pore Louanian Brethren. It shalbe a worke of Supererogation. For yewisse, they haue of their owne enough alreadie. To conclude, your whole drift herein is, to force your Reader to haue a good opinion of Annas and Caiphas that condemned Christ to die the death: for that, as Hosius saith, they had the Spirit of Prophesie, the Holy Ghost, and the Spirit of Truth: and therefore could not erre in their iudgement.

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuision. 1.

BVT wil these men (I say) reforme vs the Church, **being themselues both the persons guilty, and the Iudges too? Will they abate their owne Ambition & their Pride? Will they ouerthrow their own causes, & giue sentence against themselues, that they must leaue off to be vnlearned** Bishops, **Slowbellies, Heapers together of Benefices, Takers vpon them as Princes and Men of War? Will the** Abbats, **the** Popes **deare darlings iudge the** Monke **for a Theefe, which laboureth not for his liuing: & that it is against al Law to suffer such a one to liue & to be found either in City or in Country, al of other mens charges? Or else, that a** Monk **ought to lie on the ground, to liue hardly with Hearbs, & Pease, to study earnestly, to argue, to pray, to worke with hand, and fully to bend himself, to come to the Ministery of the** Church? **In faith, as soone wil the** Pharisеis, **and** Scribes **repaire againe the** Temple of God, **and restore it vnto vs a House of Prayer, in stead of a Denne of Theeues.**

M. Harding.

Ye leape with a light skip from one thing to another, neither dwel yee long in any one point, but in lying.

But ye say, they be both the persons guilty, and the Iudges also. Iudge, doubtlesse they be. For their vocation is lawful, ye cannot disproue it. Guilty also they be, we denie not, but whereof? Of frailelyuing, not of false teaching **for commonly they teach nothing**). And where? In the Court of conscience, (a) not in the Court of man. Or if any of them be, both before this Councel, and in this Councel godly Orders haue beene decreed for holesome reformation.

(a Vntruth. For their life is notorious to the world.

As for Monkes, ye may not looke now, that either they get their liuing only by their hand labour, or that they be bound to the hard discipline which Monkes liued in, for twelue hundred yeers past. Now be other daies, other maners. Such great austerity is to be woundred at, and to be wished for. But whether the Religious men of our time be to be compelled thereto, I leaue it to wise consideration. If it may be lawful to direct vs in such spirituall cases by an old example of externe prudency, me thinketh the discretion of Iacobs answer to his Brother Esau is worthy to be thought on. When Esau courteously offered his Brother Iacob returning from Mesopotamia with al his traine of houshold & cattel to goe with him and keepe him company, the rest of the iourney that remained from the place of their first meeting; Iacob ful mildly said, Sir, you know, if it like your Lordship, that I haue here with me tender Babes, (b) Ewes with Lambe (b) and Kine with Calfe: if I our labour them with fast going, my flockes wil die al in a day: May it please your Lordship to goe before me your seruant? I wil follow after the flocke faire and soft, so as I shall see my little ones able to beare it. Genes. 33.

(b) M. Hard. likeneth his Monkes to droues of Cattell.

Likewise if there be not a discreet moderation vsed, but all Monkes be rigorously driuen to the austerity of life they liued in of old time, in this so great looseness of maners, specially the discipline of al religions being so far slaked in comparison of the ancient seuerity, it is to bee feared, we shall rather see Cloisters forsaken (**which God grant**) then a godly reformation procured (**which will neuer be.**)

In the end of this Paragraph, ye shew your selfe to despaire of our amendment. God giue you grace so to doe for your parts, as we may haue good cause to hope better of you. But whether we amend our faults or otherwise, what pertaineth that to the iustification of your new Gospel, and to the disproofe of the Catholike faith by vs defended? you know, it is no good argument *à moribus ad Doctrinam.* Who would not hisse you, and trampe you out of schooles, if ye made this fond reason: The Papists liues be faultie, *ergo*, their teaching is false? To this head all the reasons of your Apologie in effect may be reduced: and they hold *Per locum topicum noui Euangely à malis moribus.* (c) Doth not Christ himselfe confute all such your feeble reasons, where hee saith, The Scribes and Pharisies sit in the chaire of Moses, whatsoeuer they say to you, do ye, but after their workes doe ye not? Math. 23.

(c) Here M. Harding compareth the Pope & his Bishops with the Scribes and Pharisеis.

The

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Monkes, Nunnes, Friars.

Ye say, If your Monkes and Friars should now be forced to keepe the old discipline & seuerity of their Foundations, they would rather breake their Cloisters, and leaue altogether. **And therefore by a fit comparison, ye resemble them to the beauie droues of** Iacobs cattell. **Whereby yee seeme secretly to giue vs to imagine, that the** Monkes Cowle **is not alwaies so holie a weed as is pretended.** S. Hierome **describing the life and order of** Monkes **in his time** saith **thus:** Nihil arrogant sibi de continentia supercilij. Humilitatis inter omnes contentio est. Quicunque nouissimus fuerit, hic primus putatur. In veste nulla discretio, nulla admiratio. Vbicunque placuerit incedere, nec detractionis est, nec laudis. Ieunia neminem subleuant: nec defertur inediæ: nec moderata saturitas condemnatur. Suo Domino stat vnusquisque, aut cadit. Nemo iudicat alterum, ne à Domino iudicetur: *They brag not of their sole or single life. All their contention is, who may be most humble. Whosoeuer is last, hee is counted first. There is neither difference nor wondring in apparell. Howsoeuer it pleaseth a man to goe, he is neither slandered for it, nor commended. No man is aduanced for his Fasting. Neither is abstinence praised, nor sober refreshing condemned. Each man either standeth or falleth to his Lord. No man iudgeth other, lest of the Lord he himselfe be iudged.* *Hier. ad Martellam, vt commigret Bethlehem.*

But (ye say) your Monkes now adaies are waxen nice and cranke. Such extreame rigour and seuerity they may not beare.

Such holy men they were, of whom Sulpitius Seuerus **writeth:** Sedentes munera expectant, atque omne vitæ decus mercede corruptum habent, dum quasi venalem præ se ferunt sanctimoniam: *These* Friars *sit still, and looke for money: & haue all the beauty of their life corrupted with hire, setting their holinesse out to sale.* **Of such holie persons,** S. Hierome **telleth vs:** post cœnam dubiam Apostolos somniant: *After they haue well filled their bellies, they dreame of the Apostles.* **In like sort he writeth of certaine Monkes:** Apud hos affectata sunt omnia: Laxæ manicæ: Caligæ follicantes: Vestis crassior. Crebra suspiria: Visitatio Virginum: Detractio Clericorum: Et si quando Dies Festus venerit, saturantur ad vomitum: *Among these men, all things are counterfet: Their wide sleeues, their great boots: their course gowne: their often sighes: their visiting of Virgins: their backebiting of Priests. And if their come a Holy day, they eat vntill they be faine to perbrake.* *Sulpitius Seuerus in Chronic. Hier. ad Eustochium de Virginitate seruanda. in eadem epist. ad Eustochium.*

This, no doubt, is that holinesse that Christ brought into the World.

Nicolaus Cusanus a Cardinall of the Church of Rome, **thus setteth out the whole life and holinesse of your** Monkes: Apud plures non nisi habitus extrinsecus remansit, & nihil de Spiritu Fundatoris: *In the most part of them there appeareth only an outward shew in their apparell: but they haue left themselues no part of their Founders Spirit.* *Nicol. Cusanus Excit. lib. 9. Anima.*

Againe he saith: Fallacia illorum, qui sub habitu Christi apparent, vix potest sciri, ob suam varietatem. Nam alius quidem sub hac veste, alius sub alia, alius sub capitio, alius sub hoc Religionis signo, alius sub alio se Christo militare asserit: Licèt penè omnes non quæ Christi, sed quæ sua sunt quærant. Omnes enim studentauaritiæ a maximo vsque ad minimum: *The falshood of them that walke vnder the apparell of Christ can hardly be knowen, they are so diuers. For they all say, they serue Christ, one vnder one weed, another vnder another: One vnder a Cowle, another vnder a Hood: one vnder one badge of Religion, and another vnder another. Notwithstanding, the whole sort of them, for the most part, seeke their owne, and not that pertaineth to Iesus Christ. For they are all bent to couetousnesse, euen from the greatest to the least.* *Nicol Cusanus Excitat lib. 7. Moneta.*

These are your Monkes, **M. Harding, this is their holinesse.** They haue no part of their Founders Spirit: They seeke their owne: They seeke not the glory of Christ.

But your life (ye say) is no preiudice to your Faith: **Howsoeuer you liue, yet is your Doctrine** right **good and Catholike: and that ye proue by the words of** Christ: The Scribes and Phariseis sit on Moses chaire: *Whatsoeuer they say to you, doe ye: but after their workes doe ye not.* Matth. 23. **If this be the best claime ye can hold by, then suffer vs, M. Harding, to say to you, as** Christ **sometime said to them, whom ye confesse to be your** Fathers: *Woe be vnto you, yee* Scribes and Phariseis, ye Hypocrites. Ye deuoure and rauen vp poore Widowes houses, *vnder the colour of long praier. Outwardly ye seeme holy: but within ye are full of hypocrisie and wickednesse.* *In eodem capite*

S. Augustine **saith vnto the old Heretikes called the** Manicheis: Dicitis, non oportere omnino quæri, quales sunt homines, qui vestram sectam profitentur: sed qualis sit ipsa professio. Quid vobis fallacius, quid insidiosius, quid malitiosius dici aut inueniri potest? *Ye say, we may not examine what men they be that professe your sect: but only what is their profession. What thing can there be found more false, more deceitfull, more malicious then you are?* *August. de moribus Manich lib 2 ca. 19. & 20.*

Thus said S. Augustine **to the** Manicheis. **Take heed, M. Harding, lest the same may be said to some of you.**

The

The Freedome of the Councell of Trident.

The Apologie, Chap. 7. Diuision. 2.

There haue been, I know, certaine of their own companions, which haue found fault with many errours in the Church, as Pope Adrian, Æneas Syluius, Cardinall Poole, Pighius, and others, as is afore said: they held afterwards their Councel at Trident, in the selfe same place, where it is now appointed. There assembled many Bishops and Abbats, & others, whom it behooued for that matter. They were alone by themselues: whatsoeuer they did, no body gainsaid it: for they had quite shut out & barred our side from al maner of assemblies: & there they sate sixe yeers feeding folkes with a maruellous expectation of their doings. The first six Moneths, as though it were greatly needfull, they made many determinations of the Holy Trinity, of the Father, of the Son, & of the Holy Ghost, which were godly things indeed, but not so necessary for that time. Let vs see, in al that while, of so many, so manifest, so often confessed by them, & so euident Errours, what one Errour haue they amended? From what kind of Idolatry haue they reclaimed the people? What Superstition haue they taken away? What peece of their tyranny & pompe haue they diminished? As though al the World may not now see, that this is a Conspiracie, & not a Councell: and that these Bishops whom the Pope hath now called together, be wholly sworn and become bound to beare him their faithful allegeance, & wil do no maner of thing, but that they perceiue pleaseth him & helpeth to aduance his Power, and as he wil haue it: or that they reckon not of the number of mens voices, rather then of the weight and value of the same: Or, that Might there doth not oftentimes ouercome Right.

M. Harding.

(a) Vntruth manifest, as hereafter it shall appeare.

(b) A slanderous vntruth. M. Caluin was euer an enemie vnto the Arians.

(c) Vntruth most impudent. For their owne confessed & known errours, they neuer once touched.

(d) Vntruth confessed by M. Hardings owne Fellowes, Read the Answer.

(e) O profound Diuinity!

As you proceed, you talke your pleasure of the godly & learned Fathers assembled in the late Councell of Trent. By the way, as your maner is, you drop lies. Of which one is, that they had quite shut out & barred your side from all maner of assemblies: (a) which is a foule lie. That the first six moneths they occupied themselues with making many determinations of the holy Trinity: that also is another lie. For then the world had no need of any new determinations or decrees concerning the Trinity: what it shall haue hereafter by occasion of your chiefe Master Iohn (b) Caluines Doctrine, it is more feared then yet perceiued.

Where ye would faine see of so many, so manifest, so often confessed by themselues, & so euident errours, what one errour they haue amended: they are not like to satisfie your longing. And yet they haue taken order for the amendment (c) of so many as they know. Neither is any of the same about any point of our Faith, but about things of lesse weight. Your exaggeration of the termes, so many, so manifest, so often confessed by them, & so euident, reporteth in one sentence your so many, so manifest, so often confuted by vs, & so euident lies. When you follow your hot humour and aske, from what kinde of Idolatrie the Fathers of the Tridentine Councel haue reclaimed the people, you go too far. Whatsoeuer blasphemie ye vtter in Bookes & Sermons against the adoration of the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, we know no kind of Idolatry vsed in the Church: (d) Neither is any Idolatry committed by vs in worshipping of Saints in praying to them, nor in the reuerence we exhibit to their Images, as ye beare the people in hand. (e) As I cannot wel take a haire from your lying beard, so wish I, that I could plucke malice from your blasphemous heart.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Whether the learned men of our side were shut out from the right and liberty of your Councell or no, it may soone appeare, partly by that is alreadie said: partly by that shall be said hereafter. Verily the Pope for his Premunire, wil not suffer any Bishop to giue voice in Councell, vnlesse he haue him first solemnly sworne to the See of Rome, and therefore they be all called his Creatures. So Cicero saith, Verres when he had bribed and spoiled the whole Iland of Sicilia, thought it not good, to suffer his name or anie part of his doings to come in hazard, but only before a Iudge or Arbiter of his owne.

Part. 1. Diuision. 19.

Part. 6. ca. 8. Diuision. 1.

Cic. in Verrem Actione. 1.

Therefore the French Kings Embassadour, as it is said before, protested thus openlie euen in your said Councell: Minùs legitima, minusque libera dicuntur fuisse illa Concilia: qui aderant, ad voluntatem alterius semper loquebantur: *These* Councels *are counted neither so free, nor so lawfull, as they ought to be: they that were there, spake euermore to please an* other: (by which other, he meant the Pope.)

In Conc. Trid. Anno. 1562.

And for that cause, the Emperours Maiesty, by his Embassadour Hurtadus Mendoza, solemnly protested against the assemblie of the same Councell. His words be these: Ego

Anno. 1547.

Iacobus

Iacobus Hurtadus Mendoza, nomine Pientissimi, & Inuictissimi Domini mei, Caroli Cæsaris Romani Imperatoris, ex illius speciali mandato, ac nomine totius Sacri Romani Imperij, aliorumque Regnorum ac Dominiorum suorum protestor, Nullam posse esse authoritatem assertorum legatorum Sanctitatis Vestræ, & eorum Episcoporum qui sunt Bononiæ, Sanctitati vestræ maiori ex parte obnoxiorum, atque ab illius nutu omnino pendentium, vt in Religionis, & morum Reformationis causa, &c. Legem præscribant: Iames Hurtado Mendoza, *in the name of the most godly, and most mighty Prince my Lord* Charles, the Roman Emperour, *by his speciall Commission, and in the name of the* whole Roman Empire, *and all other his Realmes and Dominions, doe protest, that the authority of the pretensed Legates of your Holinesse and of such other* Bishops, *as be now at* Bononia, (vnto which town the Councel of Trident was then adiourned) *for the most part bound vnto your Holinesse, & wholy hanging vpon your becke, is of no force, namely to make Lawes in cause of Reformation of Religion, and maners.*

Citatur ab Illyric. in Protestationecontra Cõcil. Trident.

The placing of Ambassadours.

Paralipomen. Vrsperg.

And that it may appeare in what obedience, and seruile subiection, all Bishops be vnto the Pope, Æneas Syluius, otherwise called Pope Pius the Second, saith thus: Quòd si Episcopus Papæ contradicat, etiam vera loquendo, nihilominùs peccat contra Iusiuradum Papæ præstitum: *If a* Bishop *speake against the* Pope, *yea although hee speake the truth, yet neuertheleſſe he sinneth against the Oth that he hath made vnto the* Pope. Therefore whereas at the late Conference at Norenberg, it was required by the Princes & States of Germany, that al Bishops comming to the Councell, might both be discharged from their Oth made to the Pope, & also sworn to speake & to promote the truth, the Popes Legate there made answer in great disdain, that it might not so be: For that so the Popes hands should be bound. Hereby M. Harding, a blinde man may easily see the forme and fredome of your Councels. If the Bishops be fear'd to say the truth, then is the Pope left in bondage.

Æneas Syl. ad Capitulũ Moguntinum.

Whether your Fathers in the Chapter at Trident, sate there sir whole Moneths, debating and reasoning about the Trinity, or no, of certaine knowledge, I cannot tell. But certainely, what thing else they did, either in all that time, or long after, you can hardlie shew vs. Therefore, if they did not this, forasmuch as nothing else appeareth of their doings, we must imagine, they sate mute in a mummery, and said nothing. Notwithstanding Cassander saith, they bestowed one whole Summer in great and holy Disputations about meaner matters then the Trinity: I meane, onely about the Communion of the Cup. Martinus Kemnitius saith, They held Disputations there and kept great stirre, seuen whole Monthes together, about the Iustification of Faith and Workes: and yet in the end, left it worse then they found it. We say, You your selues haue espied many disorders in your Church of Rome, as it is plaine by your owne confessions. To reckon them all in particular, it were too long. I haue partly touched them heretofore. Albertus Pighius confesseth, there be Abuses in your Masse. The French Kings Ambassadour at your late Tridentine Chapter, saith thus: Vel Præfectorum Ecclesiæ incuria, vel etiam (ne quid grauius dicam) præpostera pietate, irrepsisse in Ecclesiam res nonnullas Antiquatione, Abrogatione, vel Moderatione dignas, fateamur necesse est: *We must needs confesse, that either by the negligence of the Bishops, or by some disordred opinion of Holinesse (for I will say no more:* he meaneth fallhood and mockery and wilful auarice) *certaine things are brought into the* Church, *worthy either to be put away and abolished, or at least to be qualified.*

Ioh. Sleidanus Anno 1523. li. 4. Hoc enim esse colligare manus Pontificis.

Cassander in Consultatione de Communione sub vtraque specie: In præfatione. Anno 1562.

Mart. Kemnitius in Examin. Conc. Trident. pag. 638.

Albert. Pighius, In cõtrouer. De Miss prima. In Concil. Trident. an. 1562.

Picus Mirandula besought Pope Leo 10. to abate the vaine multitude of your Ceremonies, to reforme your Prayers, and to cut off your Fables.

Picus Mirand. ad Leonẽ Pp. 10 In Concil. Lateran.

One of your owne Louanian Fellowes saith: *Euen now adaies many good men mislike so many* appeales to Rome: Some others finde fault with your Pardons: Some with your Simony: some with your Stewes: some with your licencious keeping and maintaining of Concubines.

Copus Dialog. 1. pag 115.

I will not enlarge the matter further. These and other like things are confessed by your selues. Other greater matters I will not touch. For in cases of Faith for your credits sake, ye may grant no maner errour. For otherwise it might be thought, ye haue neither the Faith, nor the Life of Christian men.

Now therefore tell vs, M. Harding, what one Abuse of all the Abuses in your Masse, what one Disorder, or Deformitie, of so many Disorders and Deformities in your Church: What one vaine Ceremonie: What one Childish Fable: What Appeale to Rome: What Simony: What Pardon: What Stewes: What Courtheghians: What Concubines haue ye reformed? If ye redresse not those grosse and sensible abuses, that yée see with your eies: how then will yée redresse other more secret matters that pertaine only to Faith, and bée not seene? If yée will not reforme your open Stewes, when will yée reforme the Church of God? But yée are bold to assure vs, that there is no kinde of Idolatry, nor euer was any in your whole Church of Rome. Notwithstanding

Idolatry in the church of Rome.

ding ſome others of your beſt Learned Friends haue thought otherwiſe, as it ſhall appeare.

Firſt, Epiphanius ſaith of certaine Perſians, named Maguſæi, Idola quidem deteſtantur: tamen Idolis cultum exhibent: *They abhorre the ſight of* Idols: *yet they fall downe & worſhip* Idols. And what if a man would ſay the ſame of your Clergy of Rome? Verily, notwithſtanding ye would ſeeme to miſlike of Idols, yet your Churches and Chappels are ful of Idols. Againe he reporteth certaine words of S. Paul, as vttered of him by the ſpirit of Prophesie: Erunt Mortuis cultum Diuinum præſtantes, quemadmodũ etiam in Iſrael impiè coluerunt: *They ſhall giue godly honor vnto dead men, like as alſo they did in* Iſrael.

Epiph. lib. 3. in Oratione de fide Catholica.

Οἱ τιθέντες μὲν βδελυττόμενοι εἰδώλους ὃ φρονοῦσιν.

Epiphan. cõtra Collyridian.

What opinion ye haue had of Saints departed, I néd not here to remember. Cardinal Bembus in an Epiſtle vnto the Emperour Charles 5. calleth the Bleſſed Virgin, Deminam Deam noſtram: *Our Lady and Goddeſſe*. Your great Hercules Lipomanus crieth out in his marginal agonie: Ecce quàm potentiſſima eſt Sancta Dei genetrix: & quemodò nullus ſaluus fieri poſſit niſi per eam! *Behold how mighty is the holy Mother of God, and how no man may be ſaued, but by her!* If this be not manifeſt Idolatry, it may pleaſe you to giue it ſome other name.

Bembus in epiſt ad Carolum 5.

Lipomanus. Pag. 289.

It ſeemeth this errour began to ſpring long ſithence, euen in the time of the Old Fathers: and that hereof Fauſtus the Heretike, toke occaſion thus to charge the Catholikes for the ſame: Idola vertiſtis in Martyres; *Yee haue changed the Heathen Idoles into your Martyres*. Further ye ſay, the Reuerence that ye giue vnto Saints Images is no Idolatry. Yet Polydorus Virgilius ſpeaking hereof, ſaith thus: Quia Sacerdotes populum non docent, & vulgo ex vſu ſuo tacere putantur, idcircò eò inſaniæ deuentum eſt, vt hæc pars Pietatis parùm differat ab Impietate: *For that the* Prieſts *inſtruct not the people, and are thought to hold their peace for gaines ſake, the matter is brought to ſuch a dotage, that this part of Deuotion differeth but little from extreame wickedneſſe.*

Auguſt. contra Fauſtum, li. 20. cap. 21.

Polyd. Virg. De inuentorib. rerum, li. 6. ca. 13

And Ludouicus Viues ſaith, he ſeeth no great difference betweene many Chriſtian men worſhipping their Images, and an Heathen man adoring his Idols. Catharinus one of your great Doctours of Trident ſaith thus: An licet Adorare Imagines ipſas, & illis cultum præbere? Sunt qui hoc omnino negent, & clament eſſe Idololatriam. Videntur autem non futilibus Argumentis moueri: nec abſque Maiorum, imo etiam Scripturarum authoritate: *Whether is it lawful to worſhip the very Images or no? Some men ſay nay, and tell it Idolatry. And they ſeeme to be mooued with no light Arguments nor without the authority, as well of the Fathers as of the Scriptures.*

Ludou. Viues in li. de ciuit. Dei.

Catharinus in libello de Imaginibus.

Iacobus Nanclantus ſaith: Non ſolùm fatendum eſt, Fideles in Eccleſia Adorare coram Imagine, ſed & Adorare Imaginem, ſine quo volueris ſcrupulo: quin & eo illam venerari cultu, quo & prototypon eius. Propter quod, ſi illud habet Adorari Latria, & illa habet Adorari Latria: *We muſt grant, that the Faithfull people in the Church, do not only* worſhip before the Image, *but alſo* worſhip the Image it ſelfe: *and that without any maner ſcruple of Conſcience, whatſoeuer. And further, They* worſhip the Image with the ſelfe ſame honour wherewith they worſhip the thing it ſelfe, that is repreſented by the Image. As if the thing it ſelfe be worſhipped with godly honor, then muſt the Image it ſelfe likewiſe bee worſhipped with godly honour. Hereto agreeeth one other of your late Writers, Iacobus Payua. And another of your like Doctors ſaith: *This is the very vſe and practiſe of your Church of Rome.* But Robertus Holcot ſaith: This kinde of worſhipping is plaine Idolatry. Therefore, I trow, there hath beene ſome Idolatry in the Church of Rome. Ye will ſay, Ye know the Image is no God. And this ye think, is excuſe ſufficient. But ſo likewiſe ſaid the Heathens of their Idols: and yet as S. Auguſtine ſaith, they were Idolaters notwithſtanding.

Iacob. Nãclãtus in epiſt. ad Rom. cap. 1.

Iacob. Payua li. 9. Fortalitium Fidei.

Rob. Holcot. in librum Sapien. Lection. 158.

Aug. de verbo Domini, ſecundum Math. Serm. 6.

Ang ad Quod-vult-deum. Hæreſ. 7.

Ye will ſay, *It is the Image of an Apoſtle of Chriſt or of God himſelfe, & therefore it can be no Idolatrie.* But S. Auguſtine ſaith: Marcellina colebat Imaginem Ieſu & Pauli, & Homeri, & Pythagræ, Adorando, Incenſumque ponendo: Marcellina *worſhipped the Image of Ieſus, and of* Paul, *and of* Homer, *and of* Pythagoras, *by kneeling vnto them, and burning Incenſe before them*. Yet neuertheleſſe ſhe was an Idolater. The Saracens this day make their Sacrifices in Mount Mecha, not to Diuels, or Heathen Gods, but to Abraham, to Iſaac, and to S. Thomas: yet are they not therefore excuſed of Idolatry. Gregorius the Biſhop of Nyſſa, S. Baſils Brother, ſaith thus: Qui Creaturam Adorat, etſi in nomine Chriſti id faciat, tamen Simulachrorum Cultor eſt, Chriſti nomen Simulachro imponens: *He that worſhippeth a Creature, notwithſtanding he doe it in the name of Chriſt, yet is he a worſhipper of Images as giuing the name of Chriſt vnto an Image.* By theſe few, M. Harding, it may ſone appeare, that your Churches are not void of all Idolatry.

Greg. Nyſſen. in Orat. funebri de Placilla.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 7. *Diuision,* 3.

And therfore we know that diuers times many good men & Catholike Bishops did tarry at home, and would not come, when such Councels were called, wherein men so apparently laboured to serue factions, and to take parts, because they knew they should but lose their trauell, and do no good, seeing whereunto their enemies mindes were so wholly bent. Athanasius denied to come, when he was called by the Emperour to his Councell at Cæsaria, perceiuing plainly he should but come among his Enemies, which deadly hated him. The same Athanasius, when he came afterward to the Councell at Syrmium, and foresaw what would be the end by reason of the outrage and malice of his Enemies, he packed vp his carriage, and went away immediately. Iohn Chrysostome, although the Emperor Constantius commanded him by foure sundry Letters, to come to the Arians Councell, yet kept he himselfe at home still. When Maximus, the Bishop of Hierusalem, sate in the Councell of Palestine, the Old Father Paphnutius tooke him by the hand, and led him out at the doores, saying, It is not lawfull for vs to conferre of these matters with wicked men. The Bishops of the East would not come to the Syrmian Councell, after they knew Athanasius had gotten himselfe thence againe. Cyril called men backe by Letters from the Councell of them which were named Patropassians. Paulinus the Bishop of Trier, & many others moe, refused to come to the Councell at Millaine, when they vnderstood what a stirre & rule Auxentius kept there: for they saw it was in vaine to goe thither, where not reason, but faction should preuaile: and where folke contended, not for the Truth, & right iudgement of the matter, but for Partialitie and Fauour.

Hist. Tripart. lib 10 *ca* 13. *Ruffin. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 17.

And albeit those Fathers had such malicious and stiffenecked enemies, yet if they had come, they should haue had free speech at lest in the Councels.

M. Harding.

First, here I note the falshood of the Lady Interpreter, who turneth the Latine speaking of Athanasius *Cùm vocatus esset ab Imperatore ad Concilium Cæsariense*: When he was called by the Emperor to * *his* Councell at Cesaria. Where by adding the word *his* of her own, shee (or a worse shrew vnder her name) goeth about to perswade, as Heretikes do, that the Councels be to be accounted the Councels of Temporall Princes, not of Bishops: & that they be the heads of them, not the Bishop of Rome. Thus much to her. Now Sir, to you Defender. All these examples serue you to no purpose. It is not denied you, but that in cases men may refuse to come to Councels. Your examples declare, that Catholike Bishops shunned to come vnto the vnlawfull Councels of Heretikes. But ye, holding strange opinions, condemned by the Church, denie to come to the lawfull Councels of Catholike Bishops. When ye haue prooued vs to bee Heretikes, I mean the Fathers of the late Councel, then may ye iustly allege the example of Athanasius Chrysostome, Maximus, Paphnutius, Cyril, Paulinus, & such other, for not comming to the Councell.

* And why not, as well as M. Har. may call the whole Church the Popes Vineyard pag. 283. b. Or, all the Bishops thorow the World, the Popes sheep? Page 308. b.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Had you not had a shrewd sharpe wit, M. Harding, and a very good liking of the same, ye could neuer haue made your selfe so great sport of so small a matter. The Lady Interpreter pitieth your case, and wisheth you a little more discretion, and would be much ashamed to answer your follies.

If the Councell we speake of were not the Emperors Councell, then much lesse was it the Popes Councell. For in those daies, as hereafter it shall be declared more at large, Councels were summoned by Emperors, and not by Popes. And what reason haue you to shew vs, that the Councell, being summoned by the Emperor, might not be called the Emperours Councell, as well as the Pope, being admitted and allowed by the Emperour, might be called the Emperours Priest? Odoacer in the third Councell of Rome, in the time of Pope Symmachus, said thus: Miramur, prætermissis nobis, quicquam fuisse tentatum: Cùm etiam, Sacerdote nostro superstite, nihil sine nobis debuisset assumi: *We marueil that any thing was attempted without our knowledge, forasmuch as* our Priest (he meaneth the Pope) *being aliue, nothing may be done without vs.* As the Pope may be called the Emperors Priest, so may the Councell be called the Emperors Councel, without any impeachment of Christian Faith. Againe, why might not a Generall Councell, holden in Rome be called the

In Concil. Romano 3. *Sub Symmacho. pp.*

Emperours Councell, as well as a Generall Councell holden in France might be called the Kings Councell? Gerson speaking of a Councell holden in Paris, saith thus: Infamare Regem cum Generali Concilio suo conati sunt: *They sought to diffame the King with his* Generall Councell. It was a Generall Councell, and a Councell of Bishops; and yet was it called the Kings Councell. Liberatus saith: Flauianus Episcopus Eutychem ad Concilium suum venire præcepit: Flauianus *the Bishop* (not of Rome, but of Antioch) *commanded* Eutyches *to come to his Councell.* Hereafter, M. Harding, ye may take time to study for some better quarrell. Surely this was very simple.

Gerson. Trilogus in Materia Schismatis.

Liberat. ca. 11.

Ye excuse Athanasius, Chrysostomus, Maximus, Paphnutius, Hilarius, Cyrillus, Paulinus, and other Learned Bishops, and holy Fathers, for not appearing at Generall Councels; for that they were summoned to appeare before Heretikes. As for the Fathers of your late Tridentine Chapter, whatsoeuer they were, ye must in any wise call them Catholikes. Yet notwithstanding, ye may remember, that by such good Catholikes as you be, the same Holy Fathers, Athanasius, Chrysostomus, Maximus, Paphnutius, Hilarius, Cyrillus, Paulinus, and others were called Heretikes. Hilarius saith: Congreget nunc Auxentius quas volet in me Synodos, & Hæreticum me, vt sæpe iam fecit, publico titulo proscribat: *Now let* Auxentius, *the Arian Heretike, call what Councels he list against me: and by open Proclamation, let him publish me for an Heretike, as he hath oftentimes done already.* The Arian Heretikes said, that the Catholike Christians, whom they called Homousians, which in their meaning was as much as Heretikes, were the cause of all diuision.

Hilar. contra Arianos & Auxentium.

Theod. lib. 2. cap. 3.

S. Hierome saith vnto Marcus: Hæreticus sum: Quid ad te? Quiesce. Iam dictum est: *I am an Heretike: What is that to thee? Hold your peace: Ye haue told your tale.* By like right Christ himselfe, by certaine your Ancient Fathers, was called a Samaritane, a Deceiuer of the people, and an Heretike. And, if it may please you soberly and aduisedly to consider the matter, ye shall find thorowout the whole Body of the Scriptures, that no People made euer so great crakes of the Church, as they that were the deadly enemies of the Church: nor none were so ready to condemne others of Heresie, as they that indeed were themselues the greatest Heretikes.

Hier. ad Marcum Presbyterum Celedensem.

The Apology, Chap. 8. *Diuision* 1.

BVt now sithence none of vs may be suffered so much as to sit, or once to be seen in these mens meetings, much lesse suffered to speake freely our minde: And seeing the Popes Legates, Patriarkes, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbats, all being conspired together, all linked together in one kinde of fault, & all bound by one oth, sit alone by themselues, & haue power alone to giue their consent, and at last, when they haue al done, as though they had done nothing, bring all their opinions to be iudged at the will & pleasure of the Pope, being but one mã, to the end he may pronounce his owne sentence of himselfe, who ought rather to haue answered to his cõplaint: Sithence also the same Ancient and Christian Liberty, which of al right should specially be in Christian Councels, is now vtterly taken away from the Councell: For these causes, I say, wise & good men ought not to marueil at this day, though we doe the like now, that they see was done in times past in like case, of so many Fathers and Catholike Bishops: which is, though we chuse rather to sit at home, & leaue our whole cause to God, then to iourney thither: where as we neither can haue place, nor be able to do any good: where as we can obteine no audience: whereas Princes Embassadours be but vsed as mocking stocks: & where as also we be al condemned alreadie, before triall: as though the matter were afore-hand dispatched, and agreed vpon.

M. Harding.

*A sage peece of counsell and meet for a Doctor of Diuinity.

If I wist ye would take my councell in good part, & listen vnto it, *as it standeth you vpon, I would aduise you to call in all the bookes of your Apologie, & that with no lesse diligence then ye went about to suppresse the Bookes of my answer to M. Iewels challenge at their first comming abroad. That done, to cast bruits abroad, that the Apology was made & counterfeited by some craftie Papist, to bring you quite out of credit with all the world. So might ye perhaps in time recouer some part of your lost estimation. For while your books be in mens hands, they shalbe an euident witnesse to all the world of your shameleſſe lying.

The Booke of the Canons & Decrees of the Councell hath been printed almost in all parts of Christendome. Looke who list, in euery Booke he shall find three seuerall solemn Safe-conducts, granted by the Councell, & confirmed by the three Popes, vnder whom the same was celebrated. Which Safe-conducts

ducts containe first, in most ample wise, ful Liberty, Power, Authority, and assurance for al & singular persons of all Germany, of what degree, state, condition, or qualty soeuer they be that would come to that œcumenical and generall Councel, to conferre, propound, and treat with al freedome, of al things to be treated there, and to the same Councel freely and safely to come, there to tarry and abide, and to offer and put vp Articles, so many as they thought good, as wel in writing, as by word, and with the Fathers, and others thereto chosen to conferre, and without any repoches or vpbraidings to dispute, also at their pleasure safely againe from thence to depart.

The Popes Safe-conduct.

An extension to other Nations:

The same Holy Councel in the Holy Ghost lawfully assembled, the same Legates de Latere of the See Apostolike being president in it, to al and singular others which haue not communion with vs in those matters that be of Faith, of whatsoeuer Kingdomes, Nations, Prouinces, Cities, and Places, in which openly and without punishment is preached, or taught, or beleeued the contrary of that which the holy Roman Church holdeth, giueth Faith publike, or Safe-conduct, vnder the same forme and the same words with which it is giuen to the Germanes.

This being most true, as the better part of the world seeth, and the Bookes and publike instruments extant doe witnesse, your excuse of your refusall to come to the Councel, as Bishops of other Christian Realmes did, is found false. (a) Ye had all free liberty and security granted vnto you for that behalfe, in so ample and large maner as mans wit could deuise.

The second cause why ye came not, is, for that the Popes Legates, Patriarkes, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbats, all being conspired together, al linked together in one kind of fault, and al bound in one Oath, sit alone by themselues, and haue power alone to giue their consent. What is here that should let you to ioyne with others for procuring vnity & peace in Christendome? Complaine ye of the Fathers concord and agreeing together? (b) That is a signe the Spirit of God, Author of charity & vnitie gouerneth their hearts. In that respect they seeme to come together in the holy Ghost. And indeed had ye gone thither, your heresies had been confuted, your selues required to yeeld, and to conforme you to the Catholike Church; or else ye had beene anathematized, accursed, and condemned.

Your third cause is, for that the determinations & Decrees of the Councel be referred to the Pope. To that we haue answered before. The Pope confirmeth all, being head ouer the Councel. (c) Doth not the Queene so pardy confirme your acts of Parliament, by giuing her roiall assent vnto them at the end of the Parliament? What thing can be done perfectly by a body without the head? And who might better confirme Councels, then he, whose Faith in pronouncing sentence rightly and duly, in matters concerning Faith, we are assured by Christs praier to be infallible?

Your fourth cause is, forasmuch as the Ancient and Christian libertie, which of right should specialie be in Christian Councels, is now vtterly taken away. This cause is not different from your first.

Your fifth cause is a false lie, that Princes Embassadors be vsed but as mocking stockes. (d) Truth it is, they haue most honourable seats in all Councels. In this Councell they sate by the Legates. Euery Ambassador hath his place there according to the degree of honor, the Kingdomes, Common Weales, States, and Princes be of, from whence and from whom he commeth.

The sixth and the last cause ye alledge for your not comming to the Councel, is, for that ye be condemned already before trial, as though the matter were aforehand dispatched & agreed vpon. Indeed (e) your heresies for the more part be and haue bin condemned aboue a thousand yeeres past. And therefore they are not now to be called to a new triall, as though the Church vntill this day had beene deceiued, and so many Fathers ouerseene. This notwithstanding, may ye wel say, touching that point, your matter is aforehand dispatched and agreed vpon. For they know what ye can say, and see that yee say nothing, but only stand wilfully and stubbornely in your false opinions and fleshly pleasures.

(a) A ful discreet kinde of mockerie. They offer men libertie to come and speak, but reserue the whol iugdement to themselues.

(b) They agree together against God and his Christ.

(c) But who made your Pope a King? And when wil he giue his reall consent against himselfe?

(d) They are allowed a place, but touching iudgement they may say nothing

(e) Vntruth, without any colour of honest shame.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

We neuer suppressed any of your Bookes, **M. Harding, as you know: but are very well contented to see them so common, that as now children may play with them in the Streets. Your manifest** Vntruths: **your simple** Conclusions: **your often contrarieties to your selfe: your new found** Authors: **your childish** Fables: **your vncourteous** Speeches: **your racking, corrupting, and misreporting of the Doctors therein contained, haue much bewraied the miserable feblenesse of your cause. Your fellowes haue no cause greatly to glorie in such helps, no more then in other your like Pamphlets, vnmeet of any wise man to be answered. This was your only and speciall pollicie in the time of your late Kingdome: Ye suppressed, and called in, and burnt all our Writings whatsoeuer, yea the verie** Testament **and** Gospell **of Christ, truly translated into English, naming them Heretical and Vnlawful Bookes. And if any man had concealed and kept vnto himselfe for his comfort any such Booke written by any of our side, by most terrible and bloody Proclamations ye made it Felonie. So much ye despaired and doubted your owne follies.**

As for the Bookes of our Apology, **they haue been spread so farre, and printed so often in** Latine, **in** Italian, **in** French, **in** Dutch, **in** English, **that as now it were hard to suppresse them. Touching the shamelesse lying, wherewith ye charge vs, we are wel content to stand to the iudgement of the wise. Certainely it shameth vs much, to see so litle shame in your Writings.**

Ye say: The Pope gaue out his safe conduct to al the Princes & free Cities and to the whole people of Germany, to come to the Councel, to propound, to dispute at their pleasure, & when they should think it good, freely & safely to return with a large extention to other Nations, as ye say to like purpose

But first, M. Harding, what safety can there be in his Safe-conduct, that is not able to saue himselfe? Pope Eugenius the Fourth, if he had come to the Councell of Basil, as you know, had beene quite deposed from his Popedome, all his Safe-conducts notwithstanding. Pope Iohn 22. gaue out as sure a Safe-conduct for the Councel of Constance, as Pope Pius could deuise any for your late Chapter of Trident: Yet notwithstanding all his Safety, being himselfe present in the Councell, he was pulled out of Peters Chaire, and depriued of his Dignity, and strip out of his Pontificalibus, and turned home againe in his Minoribus, and allowed onely to be a Cardinall, and no longer to be a Pope. Ye may remember Cicero saith: Qui multorum Custodem se profiteatur, eum sapientes sui primùm capitis aiunt Custodem esse oportere: *Wisemen say, Whoso will take vpon him to saue others, ought first to saue himselfe.*

Concil. Basil. Sess. 3. & 4.

Conc. Constan. Sessione 234.

Cicero Philippica. 12.

And what credit may we giue to your Safe-conducts? Iacobus Nachiantes the Bishop of Chioca, for that he had simpred out one halfe word of truth to the misliking of the Legates, was faine to run to Rome, to creepe to the Popes feet, and to craue Pardon. Yet shamefully betraied, and cruelly murdered Iohn Husse & Hieronimus Pragensis, in your Councell of Constance. Neither the Protection of the Emperour, nor the Popes Safe-conduct was able to saue them. No, your selues haue already ruled the case in your saie Councell. For thus ye say: Fides non est seruanda Hæreticis: *Ye may hold no Faith vnto them that ye call* Heretikes. Such is the Safety and Libertie of your Councels.

Illyric. in Protest. cont. Concil. Tridentin. Pag. 77.

Conc. Constan. Sessione 19.

Ye say: Our learned men were allowed to Propound, to Talke, to Dispute. What should this auaile? For ye reserued the Determination and whole Iudgement to your selues; and your selues are sworne to submit your whole Iudgement to the Pope, and without his Iudgement to Iudge nothing. And how may this seeme a Free Councell, where the guiltie partie shall be the Iudge?

Io. Fabritius in Recusatione Concil. Trid.

Ye say: There is an extention granted to other Nations. All this is true indeed. But this same Truth descrieth your open mockerie. For if ye had seene the Instrument it selfe, in the end thereof you should haue found your said Extension restrained onely to them that would Repent, and Recant the Truth of God, which you call Errour, and yeld themselues thrall vnto the Pope.

Iohan. Sleidã. lib. 23. histor. 3 Anno 1552.

Howbeit, not long sithence, the Bishops of your said Chapter at Trident were verie loth to allow any tolerable Safe-conduct at all, either to the Germans, or to any others.

But ye say: If we had come to your Chapter, we had beene confounded. No doubts, by the reuerend Authoritie of your Amphilochius, your Abdias, your Leontius, or some other like Doctors whom ye haue so laiedie raked out of your Chanels, or at least by your Firy Arguments of Swords and Faggots: for such proues must helpe you when others faile.

The agreemẽt of the Tridentine Fathers.

As for the gay stuffe that your Tridentine Fathers, after their Mature Deliberation, as they call it, and more then twentie yeares studie, haue sent vs out lately into the World, it is too simple to mocke Children. Had they not beene men impudent and void of all shame, they would rather haue stollen home secretly in the darke, and haue vttered nothing.

We find no fault with you, M. Harding, for that your Bishops and Abbats agree together: but for that they agree together as did Herod and Pilate, the Sadducees and Pharisees against Christ.

Mat. 22. & 26.

Neither may you well vaunt your selues of your great agreements. Yee may remember that two of the Principall Pillars of your Chapter, Dominicus á Soto, and Catharinus, dissented euen there openly and shamefully, and that in great points of Religion: and wrote the one mightilie against the other: the one charging the other with Error and Heresie, and could neuer yet be reconciled.

Domin. à Soto. Catharinus.

Notwithstanding, against other points of Gods Truth both they and the rest ioined stoutly together. S. Augustine saith: Tunc inter se concordant, quando in perniciem Iusti conspirant. Non quia se amant, sed quia eum qui amandus, simul oderunt: *Then they agree together, when they conspire to destroy the* Iust: *not for that they themselues loue one another, but for that they both hate him whom they ought to loue.* Of such kind of Consent, S. Hierome, although to a far contrarie purpose, imagineth Iouinian thus to say: Quòd me damnant Episcopi, non est ratio, sed conspiratio. Nolo mihi ille, vel ille respondeat, quorum me Authoritas opprimere potest, docere non potest: *That the* Bishops *condemne me, there is no Reason in their doings, but a Conspiracie. I would not that this man, or that man should answer me, which may oppresse me by their Authority, and cannot teach me.*

Aug. in Psal. 36. concione 2.

Hier. in Apologetico ad Dominionem.

Whether it be conuenient that the Pope, being notoriously accused of manifest corruption in Gods Religion, should neuertheless be the whole & only Iudge of the same, and pronounce sentence of himselfe, let it be indifferently considered by the wise.

ff. De iurisdict. omniũ iudicũ.

The Law saith: Qui iurisdictioni præest, non debet sibi Ius dicere: *No man may be his*

his owne Iudge. Such Authority (ye say) Kings haue in Parliaments. Hereof I am not able to dispute. The Princes right many times passeth by Composition: and therefore is not euermore one in al places. Howbeit, the Pope is a Bishop, and not a King, and other Bishops be not his Subiects, but his Brethren.

The Freedome of the Councell of Trident.

Your fourth Obiection is but a Cauil: ye say, Ye mocke not Princes Ambassadors, but place them next vnto your Legates: to sit stil, I trow, and to tel the Clocke. For voice in iudgement ye allow them none. Thus ye proine their Authoritie, and allow them Honour, and set them aloft to say nothing. Notwithstanding whether the Emperours and Princes Ambassadours may sit so neere to the Popes Legates, or no, I cannot tel. Verily the Emperour himselfe may not be so bold to presse so neere vnto the Pope. For thus it is ordered in your Booke of Ceremonies: Aduertendum est, quòd locus vbi sedet Imperator, non sit altior loco vbi tenet pedes Pontifex: *This is to bee noted, that the place where the Emperour sitteth* (in General Councell) *be no higher then the place where the Pope setteth his feet.* That is to say, the Emperour must sit at the Popes footstoole, and no higher. And this, saith your Magister Ceremoniarum, is a thing specially to be noted.

Ceremoniar. Rom. li. 1. Sect. 14. ca. 2.

All the parts of our Religion, which you call Heresies, ye say are already condemned, iust a thousand yeres past. If al this be not true, then haue you foulely abused your pen, to slander Gods truth, and to beguile the world. But I pray you, M. Harding, leaue some part of your wont, and tell vs the Truth. Was the Publike Ministration of the Holy Sacrament, was the Holy Communiõ in both kinds, was the publike order of common praier in the common knowne tongue, was the withstanding of the Ambition and Pride of Rome, condemned for Heresie so long agoe? How could you dare thus to say, and the same to publish so openly and so boldly vnto the world, if ye had any regard to your sayings? It would haue wonne you some good credit, if ye could haue told vs in what Generall Councell, vnder what Emperour, by what Doctors, by what Catholike Learned Fathers, these great Errours were thus condemned: as now ye roaue only at large, and fed your simple Reader with your emptie Calendars of thousands of yeres, and speake at randome. If it had beene true, ye would better haue shewed it: but being most vntrue, as you know it to be, for very shame ye should neuer haue said it.

The Apologie, Chap. 9. Diuision 1. and 2.

NEuertheless, we can beare patiently and quietly our owne priuate wrongs. But wherefore do they shut out Christian Kings, and good Princes, from their Conuocation? Why do they so vncourteously, or with such spight, leaue them out, &c, as though either they were not Christian Men, or else could not iudge, will not haue them made acquainted with the causes of Christian Religion, nor vnderstand the State of their owne Churches?

Or, if the said Kings & Princes happen to intermeddle in such matters, and take vpon them to do that they may do, that they be commanded to do, and ought of duty to do, and the same things that we know both Dauid & Salomon, and other good Princes haue done, that is, if they, whiles the Pope and his Prelats slug and sleep, or else mischieuously withstand them, do bridle the Priests sensuality, and driue thẽ to do their duty, and keepe them stil to it: If they do ouerthrow Idols, if they take away Superstition, and set vp againe the true worshipping of God, why do they by and by make an outcry vpon them, that such Princes trouble all, and presse by violence into another bodies office, and do therein wickedly and malaperly? What Scripture hath at any time forbidden a Christian Prince to be made priuy to such causes? Who, but themselues alone, made euer any such Law?

(a) Vntruth, vain and vnaduised: Read the Answer.

M. Harding.

(a) Ye confound the offices of the Spirituall Gouernours, and Temporall Magistrates. What Kings and Princes may doe, what they be commanded to doe, and ought of dutie to doe, in Gods name let them doe, and well may they so do. Who is he that gainsaith? If by the pretensed example of Dauid and Salomon ye (b) animate them to intermeddle with Bishoply offices, then beware they (say wee) that Gods vengeance light not vpon them for such wicked presumption, which lighted vpon King Ozias for the like offense. 2. Paral. 26.

(b) Vntruth. It is not our Doctrine. But why emboldeth you the Pope to intermeddle with Princes Offices?

Ye teach Princes to vse violence against Priests, as though their faults could not be redressed by the

(c) Prelates

(c) Your Prelates be as blam worthy & as negligent as the Priests.

(c) Prelates of the Clergie, of whom ye speake by spightful surmise, as though God had vtterly withdrawn his holy Spirit from them But forasmuch as Christ assisteth his Church alwaies, & shall neuer faile in things necessary, it is not to be doubted, but the Church shall euer be prouided of some good Gouernors, so as though some slug and sleepe, yet some others shall wake, and diligently attend their charge. Priests haue their Ecclesiastical Courts, where their defaults & offenses may duly & Canonically be punished, and the offenders by Priestly discipline be redressed. Neither is it conuenient for a King to come into Priests Consistories, (d) nor to call Priests before him to his owne seat of iudgment.

(d) Vntruth, reprooued by the Ancient practise of the Church, as it shall appeare.

So many as be necessary to minister, and performe those things that appertaine to the building vp of Christs Body the Church, vntil it come to his perfection, S. Paul reckoneth by name in his Epistle to the Ephesians, saying, that Christ hath to that end placed in his Church (e) some Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangelists, some Shepheards and Teachers. Kings and Princes be not there named, as they who haue their proper ranke. That the people be to be stirred by vs to more feruent deuotion to worship God, and some perhaps to be warned of some cases of superstition, we grant. But that any other maner or kinde of worshipping of God is either by vs or by temporall Princes to be set vp in Christs Church, that we deny.

(e) Marke, that Popes & Cardinals in this rank are not named.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

We Confound not these Offices, M. Harding, as ye best know: but rather we teach each man carefully to attend his owne office. You and your Fathers haue brought Confusion of Offices into the Church of God, in that ye haue made your Pope Heire apparet vnto the Empire, and haue armed him with all maner Authority, Spirituall and Temporall, and haue giuen him the right of Both Swords.

Dist. 22. Omnes For thus your owne Pope Nicolas telleth you stoutly in his owne behalfe: Christus Petro Æternæ Vitæ Clauigero, Terreni simul & Cœlestis Imperij Iura commisit: Christ *hath committed vnto* Peter, *the Key-bearer of Euerlasting Life, the right as well of the Earthly, as also of the Heauenly Empire.* No doubts. For Christ by his Commission made Peter a King of this world, and dubbed him accordingly with Sword and Scepter, and bade him sit vnder his Cloth of Estate. Thus, by your Doctrine, Priesthood, Kingdome, Popedome, Empire, are all conueied wholy into one mans hands: and so by your handling, one man is Priest, King, Pope, and Emperour, all at once. This perhaps vnto the wise may seme to be some Confusion of Offices.

2. *Paral.* 26. Touching that ye write of the rash attempt of King Ozias, ye seme not to vnderstand, neither our words, nor your owne. For we teach not Princes to offer vp Incense in Sacrifice, as Ozias did: or by intrusion to thrust themselues into Bishops romes: or to Preach, or to minister Sacraments, or to Binde, or to Lose: but only to discharge their owne Offices, and to doe that dutie that Dauid, Salomon, Ezechias, Iosias, and other Noble and godly Kings did, and euermore was lawful for the Prince to doe. As for right of Place, and Voice in Councell, it pertaineth no lesse to the Prince then to the Pope, as hereafter it shall better appeare.

Ye say: Christ shal alwaies assist his Church, and shall euermore prouide her of good Gouernors. Thus, be your negligence and careleslie slothfulnesse neuer so great, be your liues neuer so lose, be you Dumbe Dogs, not able to barke, be you Lanterns without Light, be you Salt without sauour, yet ye euermore dreame sweetly of Christs Promise, and assure your selues vndoubtedly of his assistance: euen as he that sometime said, Pan curat oues, cumumque magistros. Would God your Bishops would doe their duty, and do it faithfully: The world should haue lesse cause to complaine. Notwithstanding, Christ is euermore mindeful of his Promise. For when he seeth his Church defaced, and laid waste, he raiseth vp faithful Magistrates, and godly Princes, not to doe the Priests or Bishops duties; but to force the Priests and Bishops to do their duties.

But ye say: Christ hath placed in his Church some Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangelists, some Pastours, some Teachers. Kings (ye say) and Princes be not there named. Hereof ye conclude, *Ergo*, The Prince may not cause the Abuses of his Church to bee reformed, nor ouersee the Priests and Bishops if they be negligent, nor force them to do their duties.

I maruel, M. Harding, where ye learned so much Logicke. How frame ye this Argument? In what Mood? In what Figure? With what cement can ye make these silly lose peces to cleaue together? It pitieth me to see your case. For by like forme of Argument, and with much more likelihood of Reason, we may turne the same against your selfe, and may say thus: Christ hath placed in his Church some Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangelists, some Pastours, some Teachers: The Pope and his Cardinals are not here named: Apostles they are not; for the Apostles were but twelue: Prophets they are not; for they Prophecy nothing: Euangelists they are not; for they Preach not: Pastours or Feeders they are not; for they Feed not: Doctours or Teachers they are not; for they Teach not: Ergo, by this Authoritie of S. Paul, and by your owne Argument, the Pope and his Cardinals be vtterly excluded, and may not meddle with the charge of the Church of God.

In

In such good substantial sort Pope Paulus 3. not long sithence, reasoned against the Emperour Charles the Fifth: En ego supra Pastores meos; *Behold saith* God Almighty, *I will punish my* Priests and Bishops for their negligence and wickednesse: Ergo, saith Pope Paulus, The Prince or Emperor may not punish them: as though when the King or Emperor punisheth the wicked by Gods appointment, God himselfe were not the punisher. *Epist. Paul. 3. ad Carolum. 5.*

A Bishop conuented before the Magistrate

In this your maner of reasoning, M. Harding, there are welnere as many errours, as there be words. The first is, Ignoratio Elenchi: which is the grossest Fallax of all the rest. Secondly ye conclude without either Mood or Figure: as a very child may easily see. Thirdly, ye reason à Meris Particularibus, or à non Distributo ad Distributum. Fourthly, these words, Rule or Charge of the Church, are words of double and doubtful meaning. And therefore your Syllogismus, such as it is, must nedes stand of foure termes, which errour in reasoning is too simple for a child.

Touching these words, Rule and Charge, which I said, are double and doubtful, notwithstanding we say, both the Prince and the Bishop haue Charge of the Church, yet the Prince and the Bishop haue not both one kinde of Charge. The Bishops Charge is, to Preach, to Minister Sacraments, to Order Priests, to Excommunicate, to Absolue &c. The Princes Charge is, not to doe any of these things himselfe, in his owne person, but only to see that they be done, and orderly and truly done by the Bishops.

I grant there be many special priuiledges granted vpon great and iust considerations of the meere fauour of the Prince, that a Priest being found negligent or otherwise offending in his Ministery, should be conuented and punished, not by the Temporal or Ciuill Magistrate, but by the discretion of the Bishop: yet must you remember, M. Harding, that al these and other like priuiledges passed vnto the Clergy from the Prince, and not from God, and proceded only of special fauour, and not of right. For from the beginning, you know, it was not so.

And therefore to say, that a Prince or Magistrate may not lawfully cal a Priest before him, to his owne seat of iudgement, or that many Catholike & Godly Princes haue not so done, and done it lawfully, it is most vntrue. The Emperour Iustinian himselfe, who of all others most enlarged the Churches Priuiledges, saith thus: Nullus Episcopus inuitus ad Ciuilem, vel Militarem Iudicem in qualibet causa producatur, vel exhibeatur: nisi Princeps iubeat: *Let no* Bishop *be brought or presented against his will, before the Captaine, or Ciuill Iudge, what soeuer the cause be:* vnlesse the Prince shall so command it. Hereby it appeareth the Bishop was bound to make his answer before the Magistrate if it had beene the Princes pleasure. *Cod. li. 1. de Episco. & Clericis. Nullus.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. *Iustinian* in the Law that you rehearse, M. Iewel, is to be vnderstanded to speake of Ciuil and Temporal cases: & that in those cases no Bishop should be brought before the Lieutenant and Ciuil Magistrate, except the Prince so command it. It is a *Maxim*, & a principle with the Lawiers, that such Lawes speaking indefinitely, must be vnderstanded by another Law, that speaketh specially & particularly, &c. It had bin your part to haue vnderstanded those words *In qualibet causa*, spokē there indefinitely by the other Lawes, that speak more specially. But then had you lost a peeuish Sophisticall argument, and men had not knowne your worthy skill in the Law, which no doubt will appeare great by your practise. *The Answer.* We must take these words, you say, to be spoken of Ciuill or Temporall cases only: in which only cases, you grant the Temporall Iudge may call a Priest before him, by the commandement of the Prince. Herein I will not greatly contend against you. Notwithstanding Iustinians words be general, and include all kindes of cases. For thus he saith, as I haue alleged his words: In qualibet causa, that is, *What soeuer the Action be, be it Ecclesiasticall, be it Ciuill.* But, that you may the better conceine both Iustinians meaning, and also the weaknesse & vanity of your Glosse, Phocius the Patriarke of Constantinople saith thus: Clerici Constantinopolitani, si nolint actores apud patriarcham agere, à solis præfectis prætorio iudicātur, siue conueniantur, siue cōueniantur, tam pro priuatis, quàm pro Ecclesiasticis: *The Priests of Constantinople, if they will not plead before the* Patriarke, *are iudged only before the* Lord Chancellar, *whether they plead or be impleaded: and whether it be their owne priuate matter, or Ecclesiastical.* Howbeit, by this exposition it appeareth, if the case be Temporal, that then a Priest may be conuented before a Temporal Iudge. But what say you then to Thomas Becket? He alone, as you know, withstood all the Bishops of this Realme, and would neuer yeld, that a Priest although he were a Theefe or a Murtherer, should submit himself to Temporal Iudgement. Theft and Murther doubtlesse be Cases Temporall. And it was the expresse will and commandement of the Prince. Yet, as I haue said, Thomas Becket would neuer yeld, that the Temporall Magistrate should iudge of it: and therefore the Pope made him a Saint. Now if he did well, why doe you by this exposition controle his doing? If in so doing he did *M. Harding fol. 379. b.* *Guil. Neubrigens. li. 2. ca. 16*

A Biſhop conuẽted before the Magiſtrate

did euill, why was he Sainted for the ſame? Doth the Pope make folkes Saints for euil doing?

As for the reſt, whereas it pleaſeth you to make your ſelfe ſome pretty ſport, and to ſay, Men had not knowne the worthy skil I haue in Law &c. Deſpiſe not, M. Harding, leſt you your ſelfe be deſpiſed. For ought that I know, the Law is your profeſſion, no more then mine.

The Emperour Martianus commandeth, if the cauſe be criminall, that the Biſhop be conuented before the Lieutenant: Vt coram præſide conueniatur.

Addition. M. Harding. The Law *Cum Clericis*, hath not theſe words, *Vt coram præſide conueniantur*, nor any clauſe or ſentence ſounding to that purpoſe. For trial wherof, I refer me to the Booke. Addition.

Cod. de Epiſc. & Clericis L. Cum Clericis.

The Anſwer. The Book wil condemn you, M. Harding. The words there are plain: Cum Clericis in iudiciũ vocaris pateat Epiſcopalis Audientia, volentibus tamen actoribus, ſiactor diſceptatic nẽ ſanctiſſimi Archiepiſcopi noluerit experiri eminentiſſimæ tuæ Sedis examen tam de ſuis, quàm de Eccleſiaſticis negotijs ſibimet nouerit expetendum: qui in nullo alio foro, vel apud quenquam alterum Iudicem, eoſdem Clericos litibus irretire, & Ciuilibus, vel Criminalibus negotijs tenet innectere: *Whereas Prieſts when they be ſued in Law, may haue acceſſe to the Biſhops audience.* (if the plaintiffe think it good, and none otherwiſe) *if the plaintiffe will not yeeld himſelfe to ſtand to the moſt holy Archbiſhops iudgment, then let him know, that he muſt come to the triall of your moſt high Court, whether it be in his own, or in Eccleſiaſtical eaſes. Neither ſhall it be lawfull to the ſaid plaintiffe to implead the ſaid Prieſt in any other Court, or before any other Iudge (ſauing only before the Archbiſhop, or before him being the Preſident or Lieutenant there) whether the matters be Ciuill or elſe Criminall.* Here you ſee, that the plaintiffe, if he thought it good, might ſue a Prieſt before the Lieutenant, yea & that in Cauſes Eccleſiaſticall: and that the Prieſt was bound to make his appearance, and to ſtand to his iudgement: yet wil you tell vs, M. Harding, that in this Law there are no ſuch words, nor any clauſe or ſentence to that purpoſe? Or can you without bluſhing ſo vainly blaſe your margin with M. Iewels forgeries?

If the plaintiffe thinke it good.

To the triall of your Court.

In cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

11. *qua. Clericum nullus.*

Pope Innocentius 3. himſelfe confeſſeth, that the Pope may make a Lay man his Delegate, to heare and determine in Prieſts cauſes. The like thereof yee may finde in your owne Gloſſe: Papa Laico delegat cauſam Spiritualem: *The* Pope *committeth the hearing of a Spirituall matter vnto a Layman.*

Addition. But forasmuch as M. Harding ſaith, It is not written, Papa delegat, but Si Papa delegat, which neuertheleſſe is nothing elſe, but an empty quarrell, he may alſo finde this ſelf ſame ſentence in the ſame place ſpecially noted without any Si, or condition at all. The words there are theſe: Clericus coram Sæculari quandoque conuenitur: *A Prieſt ſometimes is called to make anſwer before a Temporall Iudge.* Addition.

Yea further ye ſhall find euen in the Popes owne Decrees, that the Pope hath committed a Spiritual matter in a cauſe of Simony to be heard and ended by a Woman: and that Brunichildis being a Woman, by vertue of the Popes Commiſſion, ſummoned a Biſhop to appeare, and ſolemnly to make his Purgation before her. Notwithſtanding, in your Gloſſe vpon the ſame it is noted thus: Fuit tamen hic nimium Papaliter Diſpenſatum: *The* Pope *was too Popelike in this Diſpenſation.*

2. *Quæſt.* 4. *Menna.*

M. Har. 382. *a*

Addition. M. Harding. But what if wee cannot finde in the Popes Decrees, to which you refer vs, that the Pope euer committed a Spirituall matter in a cauſe of Simony to be heard & ended by a Woman, and that *Brunichildis* had neither Commiſſion from the Pope to ſummon a Biſhop, nor euer ſummoned a Biſhop to appeare, and ſolemnly to make his Purgation before her? What then ſhal we ſay, but that M. Iewel is a ſhameleſſe falſifier, and a deceiuer of al that beleeue him? &c. Addition.

M. Har. 383. *a*

I beſeech you Sir, where is it ſaid in all this Decree, that the Pope committed a Spiritual matter in a cauſe of Simonie to be heard & ended by a woman? &c. In the Text it is not, nor in the Gloſſe, that you ſo ſolemnly allege. Had your Lawier forgotten to tel you, or were you ſo ſimple that you could not conceiue that which is commonly ſaid, *Maledicta Gloſſa quæ corrumpit textum? &c.* To let paſſe your ſcoffing & your Miniſterlike interpretation, let vs come to the matter &c. You ſay, the Pope cõmitted a Spiritual matter in a cauſe of Simony to be heard and ended by a woman. And this is a vaine tale and vntrue fanſie of yours, not able to be gathered by any word of that Decree. For the cauſe of Simony was heard and ended by the Pope, and the Biſhop was abſolued and ſent home (or elſe M. Harding ouer boldly reporteth vntruth as his maner commonly is to doe.) And a cauſe once heard and determined by the Pope, is not wont to be committed afterward to the hearing & determination of a Woman. After this, as though this lie had not been loud enough, you tel vs that *Brunichildis* ſũmoned the Biſhop to appeare before her &c *Brunichildis* being ſo holy, ſo vertuous, ſo religious a Lady, as S. Greg. reported ſhe was, it is to be preſuppoſed, that ſhe wold not diſquiet a good & innocẽt man, nor put him to further troble.

M. Har. 383. *b*

The Anſwer. A ſhameleſſe falſifier (you ſay) A deceiuer of them that beleeue him, Scoffing & Miniſterlike interpretation; As though this lie had not bin loud enough, &c. This eloquence, M. Harding, becommeth no man but your ſelfe. It is reaſon, ye ſhould haue the whole glory of it without

without copartner. Howbeit, such intemperance of speech, and such vnciuill dealing wil win smal credit to your cause in the iudgemēt of the wise. You say, It cannot be found, that Queene *Brunichildis* had any such Commission from the Pope. You hunt wantonly and roaue at pleasure, M. Harding, and will finde nothing but that may like you. But Pope Gregories Commission is so plaine, that I maruell, with what good countenance you could denie it: sauing that I see you are armed with boldnesse to deny what you list. These be Pope Gregories own words: Purgationem ante te, duobus sibi Sacerdotibus iunctis, eundem ex se præbere tuo commissmus arbitrio: *I haue giuen Commission to your discretion, that the said Bishop, taking to him two other Priests or Bishops, shall make his Purgation before you.* And thus he said to Brunichildis, being the Queene of France. Is not this enough to proue, that the Pope gaue Commission that the Bishop should make his Purgation before the Queene? Is not here the plaine & expresse word Purgatio? Are not here two other Priests or Bishops appointed to be Compurgators? Is not heere the Latine word Commissimus? whereby the Pope gaue the Queene to vnderstand, that he had sent her his speciall Commission? Are not here these other two Latine words, Ante te, that is to say, before thee or in thy presence? Are not here these other two Latine words, Tuo Arbitrio, whereby it is signified, that the matter was committed to her Discretion? Doth not the same Pope immediatly afterward in the same Decree straitly charge the said Queene Brunichildis that she should not require the said Bishop to cleare himselfe by any Vulgar Purgation, as by standing in scalding water, or by bearing a gad of burning iron in his bare hand, as many then vsed to try their innocencie, and to purge themselues? Sought you so busily for these things, M. Harding and could you not finde them? Or could you see all these things in a heape together and yet could you see nothing? Or al this notwithstanding, can you so assuredly tell vs, that the Pope neuer committed any Spirituall matter to be heard by a woman? Or, that the Queene had no Commission to any such purpose from the Pope? The Pope himselfe saith, Yea: you onely say, Nay. And may we safelie giue credit to you alone against the Pope?

A Bishop conuented before the Magistrate

2. *Quæst.* 4. *Menna.*

Purgation.

Compurgatours.

Commissimus.

Ante te.

Vulgaris Purgatio.

It is not likely (you say) that being once purged before the Pope, he should afterward be purged again before a Woman. It is not likely (you say) that Brunichildis being so holy, so vertuous & so religious a Lady would disquier a good & an innocent man, or put him to any further trouble, after his cause had bin heard & ended by the Pope. And are not these good & substantiall likely reasons, M. Harding? Or, were it not well worth the while, that your Reader, contrarie to the Popes plain words should beleeue you & rather yeld to such prety likelihoods? Is it not likely that M. Harding, so boldly maintaining manifest falshood, wil euer giue place to any truth? I beseech you, how had this Bishop made his sufficient Purgation before the Pope? By what words of Gregory can you learne it? Indeed he offered an oath for himselfe. And so far forth only, and none otherwise he was purged. But there was no Proclamation giuen out vnto his accusers, if any man had to allege against his Purgation, neither had he any man there to be his Compurgator. Nor was he fully restored vnto his fame, nor had the Pope thoroughly concluded and ended the matter. And therefore he committed it ouer, to be ended at home before the Queene. For the Law saith: Ibi fieri debet Purgatio, vbi quisq; est infamatus: vt ibi moriatur malum, vbi contigit: *There ought euery man make his Purgation, where he is defamed: that the euill may die, and haue an end, where it began to spring first.* To be short, whereas you tell vs, M. Harding, that Queene Brunichildis had no such Commission from the Pope, the Expositor of that Decree, if it might haue pleased you to haue seen him, would haue taught you the contrarie. For thus he saith: Papa mandat Reginæ, vt indicat eidem Episopo purgationē cum duobus Sacerdotibus: Et delegatur hic Laico negotium spirituale: Et Episcopus expurgatus corā Papa, cogitur adhuc corā muliercula se purgare: *The* Pope *giueth Cōmission to the* Queen *to appoint the said* B. *to make his purgation together with two other* Priests: *Againe: Here a Spiritual matter is cōmitted ouer to a Lay person:* And again: *A Bishop being purged (in part & after a sort) before the Pope, yet neuertheless is compelled afterward to purge himself before a Woman.* I know not what I should say further, Committere is Latine to giue Commission: Purgatio, in English is a Purgation: Simony is a Spirituall Cause: Queen Brunichildis was a lay person: Ante Reginam, is, before the Queene: The text is plaine: The Glosse is plaine: The words are plaine: The sense is plaine. The Pope himselfe saith: *I haue giuen out my Cōmission, that the Bishop should appeare before the* Queen. The Expositor saith: *A Spirituall cause is committed to the iudgement of a person Temporall.*

M. Harding fol. 383. b. M. Ha. 384. a.

In Margarita

2. *Quæst.* 4. *Menna.*

Yet M. Harding, it is lawfull for you to say, M. Iewel is a loud liar, and a shameful falsifier, & a deceiuer of all them that wil beleeue him. Thus may you lawfully and boldly say: For full well it becommeth you thus to say, as a man that reckoneth not what he say.

The Emperor Constantinus wrote thus vnto the Bishops that had been at the Councell

Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 22.

cel of Tyrus: Cuncti quotquot Synodũ Tyri compleuistis, sine mora ad pietatis nostræ castra properate: ac re ipsa, quàm sincerè, ac rectè iudicaueritis, ostendatis: idq; coram me quem sincerum esse Dei Ministrum, ne vos quidem negabitis: *All ye that haue bin at the* Councel of Tyrus, *come without delay vnto our Campe, and shew mee plainely and without colour, how vprightly ye haue dealt in iudgement: and that* euen before my selfe, *whom you cannot deny to be the true Seruant of God.*

A Bishop conuented before the Magistrate

Authen. constitutione, 123.

Iustinian **the** Emperour, **in the** Law **that he maketh touching the** Publike praiers of the Church, **saith thus:** *We command all* Bishops and Priests, *to Minister the holy Oblation, and the Praier at the holy Baptisme, not vnder silence, but with such voice, as may be heard of the faithfull people, to the intent, that the hearts of the hearers may bee stirred to more deuotion, &c.* **Afterward he addeth further:** *And let the* Holy Priests *vnderstand, that if they neglect any of these things they shall make answer therefore at the dreadfull Iudgement of the Great God and our Sauiour Iesus Christ.* And yet neuertheless we our selues vnderstanding the same, will not passe it ouer, nor leaue it vnpunished.

Hereby we see, that Godly Princes **may summon** Bishops, **to appeare before them euen in** Causes Ecclesiasticall, **to receiue such punishment, as they haue deserued. Likewise the** Emperor Constantinus **in his Letters vnto the people of** Nicomedia, **speaking of the wilfull errors & heresies of** Priests **and** Bishops **saith thus:** Illorum temeraria præsumptio, mea, hoc est, Ministri Christi, manu coërcebitur: *Their rash attempts shall be represſed by my hand, that is to say, by the hand of Christs Seruant.*

Theodoretus lib. 1. cap. 19.

M. Hard. 387. *Addition.* ☞ **M. Harding.** Where you say, that the Emperour spake of the wilful errors & heresies of the Priests & Bishops, & adde not Arian Priests & Arian Bishops, you declare your malicious heart against Priests & Bishops. But I wil leaue that cankred spight of yours, &c. Why do you not report the Emperors words as they are in your author? wil you neuer leaue this accustomed vile corruption? *The Answer.* **And wil you neuer leaue this vanity, M. Harding? You say,** I speak of errors & heresies of Priests and Bishops, **but I adde not,** Arian Priests and Arian Bishops. **And therein, you say,** I declare my malicious heart. **Of such good words your gentle hart toucheth no more. It is your skil with such terrors & outcries to amaze the simple. For no wise man, I trow, would thus demeane himselfe without some cause. I said not,** the Errours and Heresies of Arian Priests and of Arian Bishops. **What then? Thinke you therefore I meant the** Errors and Heresies of Catholike Priests, and Godly Bishops? **Or can any man imagine Heresies without an Heretike? Fie M. Harding, such wantonnesse is not fit for your grauity: when I spake of** Errors **and** Heresies, **a verie Babe might wel know I spake onlie of** Heretikes, **and of none others.** Addition. ☞

But I haue not reported the Emperours **words as I found them. And this in your accustomed curteous speech, you call my** accustomed vile Corruption. **Howbeit indeed, I corrupt no part of the** Emperours **words. He speaketh none otherwise, but as I report him. Adde hardly the words that you would seeme to mille. You can adde nothing to the meaning. Thus saith** Theodoretus, **euen as you haue translated him your selfe:** *If any man be inflamed boldly and vncircumspectly at the remembrance and commendation of those Wicked and Pestilent Heretikes, his boldnesse shall be represſed straightway by my working, that is to say, by the Minister of God.* **This is all that I say, M. Harding: I say no more.** ☜

Aug. contra epist. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 7.

So likewise saith S. Augustine **vnto the** Donatists: An fortè de Religione fas non est vt dicat Imperator, vel quos miserit Imperator? Cur ergo ad Imperatorẽ Legati vestri venerunt? *Is it not lawfull, that the Emperor or the Emperors Deputy should pronounce in a case of* Religion? *Wherefore then went your owne Embassadors to the* Emperour?

M. Ha. 388. a. *Addition.* ☞ **M. Harding.** S. *Augustine* reasoning against Parmenian the Donatist, took aduantage of his own doings, not as allowing the appeale to the Emperour, but as prouing him vnreasonable, who for aduantage would appeale to the Emperour, and when the Emperour had pronounced sentence against him, would striue & repine at the sentence, and say, that he being a Temporall Prince ought not to punish Bishops, &c. S. Augustine in his talke against the Donatists, cannot be said to allow the Emperors authority in cõdemning of Bishops & other Ecclesiastical causes. For he, answering another Donatist that said, *Non debuit Episcopus proconsulari iudicio purgari,* said, if he be worthy to be blamed, whom the Temporall Iudge hath absolued, wheras he himselfe did not require it, how much more are they to be blamed, which would haue a Tẽporal Prince to be Iudge in their cause? By this it appeareth that he thought that Princes could not be Iudges ouer BB. Moreouer he reporteth that Constantine who appointed Iudges to heare their cause did it, *à Sanctis Antistibus veniã petituros,* as minding to aske pardon of the holy Bishops for his fact. And the same Emperor, seeing their importunity in repairing to him, as Iudge, said, *O rabida furoris audacia! Sicut in causis Gentilium solet fieri, appellationẽ interposuerunt.* *The Answer.* **The very story hereof is this:** The Donatian Heretiks, **being condemned by an assembly of Bishops in** Aphrica, **and appealing for aid vnto the** Emperour, **were by his authority appointed ouer by special Cõmission to be iudged by** Miltiades the Bishop of Rome, **with certaine others. Wherein two things are especially to be noted: First,** Addition. ☞

that

that the Pope in thoſe daies thought not himſelfe to be Superiour to the Emperour, but could be contented to be his Delegate, and to receiue authoritie by his Commiſſion: Againe, that the Pope was not appointed to iudge alone, but had other Biſhops ioined with him. The Donatians being condemned before the Pope and the other Commiſſioners, and once againe appealing to the Emperour, were eftſoones appointed ouer by like Commiſſion to be iudged by the Biſhop of Arle in France, with certaine others. And heere alſo it is to be noted, that in thoſe daies, it was lawfull to appeale from the Pope, and that an inferior Biſhop might lawfully iudge of his iudgements. But the Donatians ſeeing themſelues condemned by the Biſhop of Arle, as they were before by the Biſhop of Rome, laſt of all appealed to the Emperours owne perſon, complaining of the partialitie of the Biſhop of Rome, and of the Biſhop of Arle, as at whoſe hands they could find no iuſtice. In the end, being likewiſe condemned by the Emperour himſelfe, they found themſelues alſo greeued with his Maieſtie, and condemned his iudgment to, as they had done the others. Heereof S. Auguſtine ſaith thus: Iudex eligitur Imperator: Iudicans contemnitur Imperator: *They chuſe the* Emperour *to be their Iudge: and after iudgement they deſpiſe the* Emperor. This is it that the Emperour ſo much miſliked in the Donatiſts. Therefore he abhorred them as impudent and peruerſe Wranglers, that ſeeing iudgement ſo many waies, and ſo cleerelie paſſe againſt them, yet would not ſubmit themſelues to anie order. Such, this day, M. Harding, is the peruerſneſſe and impudencie of all them, that ſeeing their follies laid open to the World by Gods holie Word, and ſo manie kingdomes and Countries departing from them, yet neuertheleſſe haue hardned their faces againſt all ſhame, and will neuer yeeld to the confeſſion of anie one errour. Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith vnto the Donatiſts, as we likewiſe may ſay vnto you: Quid vultis amplius homines, quid vultis amplius? *O ye men, tell me, what would ye haue more? What more would ye haue.*

Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

The Pope the Emperours Delegate.

Appeale from the Pope.

A Biſhop conuẽted before the Magiſtrate

Aug. epiſt. 162.

Aug. in eadem epiſt.

As touching the matter that lieth betweene vs, the queſtion is this, Whether a Prince may be Iudge in Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, or no. He may not, ſay you. Heere we allege the example of the godlie Chriſtian Emperor Conſtantinus, who being only a Temporall Prince, neuertheleſſe tooke vpon him to iudge in Cauſes Eccleſiaſticall betweene the Donatian Heretikes, and the Catholikes. Vnto this you anſwer: Thus he did, *à Sanctis Antiſtitibus veniam petiturus*, as minding to ask pardon of the Holy Biſhops for his fact. For what his fact, M. Harding? Why deale you ſo darkely? Will you tell vs, that Conſtantinus knew in his conſcience he did ill, and committed Sacrilege, and wickedly intruded vpon the Biſhops Offices, and wilfully deſerued Gods vengeance, as did Oziss, or Oza, and yet would doe it notwithſtanding vpon the hope of pardon? Verilie this had been the ſinne of Preſumption, which ſome men haue reckoned, as the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, that ſhal neuer be forgiuen, neither in this life, nor in the life to come. Or do you thinke that theſe holy Fathers would ſo eaſily haue forgiuen ſo great an offence, ſo preſumptuouſly committed againſt God? Or is it likelie, that the Emperour Conſtantinus, for thus doing, ſtood Excommunicate ipſo facto, and was therfore diuided from the Sacraments and Prayers, & all other Communion and comfort of the Church? Or that afterward he waited three daies together bareheaded and barefoot, as did that Noble Emperour Henry 4 vpon Pope Gregory 7. to receiue abſolution for his ſins? I know you dare to ſay many things. But thus much I trow, you dare not ſay. What Pardon then was it, that the Emperour minded to ſeek at the Biſhops hands? Indeed the place it ſelfe is very darke, and ſuch as whereof it is hard to gather a readie and perfect ſenſe. Thus ſtand the words: Atque vtinam, ſaltem ipſius iudicio, inſaniſſimis, animoſitatibus finem poſuiſſent, atque, vt eis ipſe ceſſit, vt de illa cauſa poſt Epiſcopos iudicaret, à Sanctis Antiſtitibus poſtea veniam petiturus, dum tamen illi quod vlterius dicerent, non haberent, ſi eius ſententiæ non obtemperarent, ad quem ipſi prouocauerunt, ſic & illi aliquando cederent veritati?

Sabell. Ennead. 9. lib. 38.

If ye vnderſtand this ſentence thoroughly, M. Harding, ye are more then Dauus: ye are as good as Oedipus. Notwithſtanding that filly ſenſe that you haue imagined, cannot poſſiblie be gathered heereof by any reaſonable order of conſtruction. This only is it, that S. Auguſtine ſaith, The Emperour minded to excuſe himſelfe vnto the Biſhops, not for that he had dealt in a cauſe Eccleſiaſticall, but for that he had dealt therein, after that it had been twice heard and determined by the Biſhops. Theſe are his words: Ipſe eis ceſſit, vt de illa cauſa, poſt Epiſcopos iudicaret, à Sanctis Antiſtitibus poſtea veniam petiturus. You know right well, M. Harding, Veniam petere, is not alwaies to aske Abſolution, as for ſome hainous offence againſt God. Bona tua Venia dicam: dabis mihi hanc Veniam, &c. are phraſes commonly vſed among the Learned. In this place S. Auguſtine ſaith, The Emperour minded courteouſly to excuſe his doing vnto the Biſhops, for that calling the matter before himſelfe, that had been before thoroughlie conſidered and debated by them, he might ſeeme to iudge of their iudgements, and to call their doings into queſtion

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question. This onely was the thing that he would haue excused. And this was his courtesie only, and not his duty.

As for the hearing of Ecclesiasticall Causes, which is the matter that lieth betweene vs, he neither thought he offended God therein, for any thing that may appeare, nor minded to aske pardon for the same. For he did no more therein then was lawfull for him to doe, nor euer was there any Pope so vnciuill that durst to condemne him for so doing. S. Augustine saith plainly in the same Epistle: Diximus, Fœlicem Aptungitanum ad Constantini iussionem, Proconsularibus gestis fuisse Purgatum. Ait quidam, Non debuit Episcopus proconsulari iudicio purgari: quasi verò ipse sibi hoc comparauerit, ac non Imperator ita quæri iusserit: ad cuius curam, de qua rationem Deo redditurus esset, res illa maximè pertinebat? *We told you, that* Fœlix *the* Bishop of Aptungita, *was purged before the Lord* Lieutenant *by the commandement of the* Emperour. *But one of the* Donatian Heretikes *saith, A Bishop should not haue made his Purgatiõ before the* Lieutenant: *As though it had bin the* Lieutenants *seeking, and not rather the Emperours commandement: to whose charge, whereof he shall yeeld account vnto God, that matter specially did belong.* Behold these words, M. Harding: Lay them abroad: Cast no cloud ouer them: S. Augustine telleth you, that the Purgation of a Bishop, notwithstanding it were an Ecclesiasticall matter, yet belonged specially to the Emperours charge. And thus he saith euen in the selfe same Epistle and place that you haue alleged. And yet must we beleeue you vpon your word, that the Emperour could not deale herein without offending of God, and craning of Pardon? Againe S. Augustine saith: An fortè de Religione fas non est, vt dicat Imperator? Cur ergo ad Imperatorem Legati vestri venerunt? *What, Is it not lawfull perhaps, that the* Emperour *should giue sentence in a case of Religion? Wherefore then did your Legates sue to the* Emperour? Here M. Harding marke this by the way: They that said the Emperour might not be Iudge in Ecclesiasticall cases, were Donatian Heretikes. For S. Augustine and the Catholikes said the contrarie. Againe S. Augustine saith: Si criminis non est, prouocare ad Imperatorem, non est criminis audiri ab Imperatore. Ergo, nec ab illo, cui causam delegauerit Imperator: *If it be no fault to appeale to the* Emperor, *then is it no fault to be heard or iudged by the* Emperour. *And so consequently it is no fault to be Iudged before him, to whom the cause was committed by the* Emperor. S Augustine presupposeth and taketh it as a ground, that it is no fault, neither to appeale to the Emperour, nor to be iudged before his Maiesty, be the cause neuer so much Ecclesiasticall.

Specially belongeth to the Emperours charge.

Aug. epist. 162.

Ad cuius curã res ea maximè pertinebat.

August. contra epist. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Aug. epist. 162. Non est criminis.

Now, M. Harding, if there were no fault committed by the Emperour, why should you thus force him to craue Pardon.

Photius the Patriarke of Constantinople saith thus: Clerici Constantinopolitani, si nolint actores apud Patriarcham agere, à solis præfectis prætorio iudicantur, siue conueniant, siue conueniantur, tam pro priuatis, quam pro Ecclesiasticis: *The Priests of* Constantinople, *if they will not plead their matters before the* Patriarke, *then are they iudged only before the* Lord Chancellour, *whether they be Plaintiffes or Defendants, and whether their cause be priuate or* Ecclesiasticall.

Photius de peccatis & iudicio Episc. Tit. 9.

Againe he saith: *Bishops, Priests, and Monkes are to be sued before the* Lord Deputy *or* President *of the Country: or if they be found in the City of* Constantinople *where the* Emperour *hath his Court, then are they to be sued* only before the Lord Chancellour.

In eodem Tit. Apud Præsides prouinciarum. Apud solos præfectos prætorio.

Likewise Balsamon expounding a Canon of the Councell of Antioch, alleged this sentence of Iustinian: Patriarcha debet rationem reddere Imperatori, & ab eo corrigi: *The* Patriarke *is bound to make his answer before the* Emperour, *and of him to receiue correction.* And thus he speaketh of a cause Ecclesiasticall, as by the place it may appeare. Againe he saith: Patriarcha ab Imperatore, qui Ecclesiæ habet potestatis scientiam, iudicabitur, fortè vt sacrilegus, vel malè de Fide sentiens, vel alicuius alius criminis reus. Hoc enim nos iudicialiter factum esse vidimus diuersis temporibus: *The* Patriarke *shall be iudged of the* Emperour, *hauing the knowledge of the Ecclesiasticall Power, whether the matter be of* Sacrilege or of Heresie, *or of any other crime. For this haue we seene done often times in forme of Iudgment.*

Balsamon.

Conc. Antioch. Canon. 12.

What would ye haue more, M. Harding? Heresie is a Cause Ecclesiasticall: The Patriarke is a Bishop: The Emperour is a Ciuill or Lay Magistrate. Yet Balsamon telleth you, that this Bishop in this cause, is to be tried before the Emperour: and that he himselfe hath oftentimes seene the same iudicially put in practise, no restraint or Law being to the contrary.

Balsamon, eodem loco.

Gerson standing before the French King, and answering his Aduersaries in a Cause Ecclesiasticall, said thus vnto him: Loquimur sic ad eos, Rex Serenissime, te audiente, te Iudice: *Thus we say to them, O most gratious King in your hearing: your Grace shall be Iudge.* Heere you see, M. Harding the Cause is Ecclesiasticall, and the Iudge is the King.

Gerson. Trilogus. In materia schismatis.

But what speake we of other Priests and Inferiour Bishops? The Popes themselues

ſelues, notwithſtanding al their Vniuerſall power, haue ſubmitted themſelues, and made their Purgations before Kings and Emperours. Pope Liberius made his humble appearance before the Emperour Conſtantius: Pope Sixtus was accuſed, and made his Purgation before the Emperour Valentinian: Pope Leo 3. being accuſed by Paſchalis and Campulus, pleaded his cauſe before Carolus Magnus at Rome, not yet choſen Emperour. Pope Iohn 22. was accuſed of Hereſie, and forced to recant the ſame vnto Philip the French King. *Theod. Lib. 1. Cap 16. 2. qua 4. Manda ſtus. 2. q. 4. Auditũ.*

Pope Leo 4. in this wiſe humbly ſubmitted himſelfe vnto the iudgement of Lewis the Emperour: Nos, ſi incompetenter aliquid egimus, & in Subditis iuſtæ Legis tramitem non conſeruauimus, veſtro admiſſorum noſtrorum cuncta volumus emendare iudicio: *If we haue done any thing out of order, and if we haue not followed the right courſe of the Law ouer our Subiects,* we will amend all our faults by your Maieſties iudgement. *Gerſon in Sermone paſchal. 2 qua. 7. Nos ſi.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. If this ſubmiſſion had not beene made voluntarily by them, not King nor Cæſar could haue had Authority or power to be Iudges ouer them. The good Emperor Conſtantine ſaid to the Biſhops, *Vos non poteſtis ab hominibus iudicari*: You cannot be iudged of men, that is, of Lay-men. *The Anſwer.* This is wiſely conſidered, M. Harding, and for good aduantage. Lay men be men: All others be Angels. Otherwiſe if Biſhops were Men, as others be, then could no Prieſt or Biſhop be iudged before them: For Conſtantinus ſaith: Vos non poteſtis ab hominibus iudicari: *You cannot be iudged by men.* And yet in the ſelfe ſame place he ſeemeth to ſay, that a Biſhop may not be iudged, neither before any other Biſhop, nor before the Pope himſelfe, or any other Creature, but only before God alone. For thus he ſaith vnto the Biſhops: Iſtæ accuſationes veſtræ opportunum tempus habent Magni Iudicij diem, & Iudicem tunc omnibus iudicaturum: *Theſe quarrels of yours haue a meet time of triall, I meane the day of Great Iudgement, and a meet Iudge, that ſhall iudge ouer all.* Happy are you, M. Harding, that may do what you liſt, and neuer come to anſwer before the day of our Lord. *M. Harding fol. 389. a.* *Sozomen. li. 1. cap. 17.*

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M. Harding. Pope Liberius, you ſay, made his humble appearance before Conſtantius. It is true. But Liberius dealing with the Emperor Cõſtantius, was ſuch as became a Biſhop of the Apoſtolike See. For in that cauſe he would neither be ouerborne by the Authority of the Emperour, nor yeeld vnto his wickednesſe againſt Athanaſius for a long time, (yet at length he yeelded, and ſubſcribed too, as it became a Biſhop of the Apoſtolike See) much leſſe acknowledge him for his Superiour, or Iudge. (And yet Pope Gregory, that followed long after Pope Liberius, called the Emperour his Lord & Maſter: *Ego ſum veſter Seruus, & Imperator: Ego ſum veſtræ iuſſioni ſubiectus: Imperatori obedientiam præbui.* Theſe be his words) As for Pope Sixtus, it is certaine he made his Purgation before the Emperor Valentiniã. But he did it of Humility, &c. The Emperor of himſelf had no power to ſummõ the Pope to his Iudgement ſeat, nor any Iuriſdiction to force him to make his Purgation before his Maieſty. He gaue him licence to heare his Purgation. Concerning Leo the 3. and Leo the 4. their caſe is like, &c. And therefore we ſay, the Emperour was not their Iudge, nor Superiour by any Princely Authority, but by theſe Popes permiſſion and appointment. *Gregor. lib. 3. Epiſt. 61.*

The Anſwer. O what a bleſſed thing it is to be a Pope! Be he neuer ſo wicked, yet if hee be alſo ſtout and wilfull, and refuſe Iudgement, then may he not be iudged by any Creature vnder Heauen, neither by King, nor by Emperour, nor by the Church, nor by the whole people of God. For ſo it is enacted by Pope Innocentius himſelfe: Kings and Emperours liue vnder Lawes; but the Popes Prerogatiue is, to do what him liſteth, without controlement, or feare of Lawes. And ſo is it true that Ennodius ſaith: Succeſſores Petri, vnà cum Sedis priuilegijs, peccandi quoque licentiam accepiſſe: *That the Succeſſors of* Peter, *together with the Priuileges of their See, haue alſo gotten free liberty to doe ill.* ☜☞ *9 qu. 3. Nemo. Ennodius.*

Your owne Gloſſe ſaith: Papa poteſt dare poteſtatem Imperatori, vt deponat ipſum: & eſſe in omnibus illi ſubijcere: *The* Pope *may giue the* Emperour *power to depoſe himſelfe: and may in all things ſubmit himſelfe vnto him.* Now, M. Harding if the Pope may giue the Emperour this Authority, what Scripture haue you to the contrary, why the Emperor may not take it of himſelfe? To be ſhort, Franciſcus Zabarella ſaith: Papa accuſari poteſt coram Imperatore de quolibet crimine notorio: & Imperator requirere poteſt à Papa rationem Fidei: *The* Pope *may be accuſed before the* Emperour *of any notorious crime: and the* Emperour *may require the* Pope *to yeeld an account of his Faith.* *Concil. Tom. 1. Diſt 63. in Synodo. In Gloſſa.* *Fran. Zabarel. de Schiſmate, & Concilio.*

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. Zabarella ſaith not, as you report, *Papa poteſt accuſari coram Imperatore, &c.* Theſe words, *coram Imperatore*, are of your owne interlacing, and bee not in the Author. You ought to bee aſhamed, ſo foulely to corrupt your Authors, and deceiue the people. Againe, Zabarella ſaith not, *Imperator requirere poteſt à Papa rationem Fidei.* They are your words, M. Iewel. That which Zabarella ſaith, is this: *Si Papa erit ſuſpectus de Hæreſi, poteſt Imperator ab eo exigere, vt indicet quid ſentiat de Fide.* Now Sir, to require a man to yeeld an account of his Faith, and to require him to declare what hee thinketh touching the Faith, are two diuers things. *The Anſwer.* You ought to bee aſhamed, you ſay: Verily and ſo I am, and ſo ought I to bee in your behalfe, M. Harding, to ſee your Vanity. Theſe words, coram Imperatore, are not interlaced *M. Har. 391. b*

M. Har. 392. A Bishop conuēted before the Magistrate

by mee: you may easily finde them in the Authour. Wherein I will vse no other prose but onely the verie same words that you your selfe haue alledged. These they be: *Nec quæritur quam moueat, quòd Imperator est Laicus, vt ex hac putet esse inconueniens, quòd se intromittat de Clericis. Non enim semper prohibetur iudicare de Clericis. Sed tunc prohibetur, quando non subest ratio specialis*: Let no man be moued for that the Emperour is a Lay man, to thinke it therefore a thing vnconuenient that hee should intermeddle with Priests causes. For he is not alwaies forbidden to iudge of Priests. But then is he forbidden, when there is no speciall cause.

You see therefore, M. Harding, that vpon some cause (him specially moouing) the Emperour may lawfully iudge in Ecclesiasticall matters. Againe you say: Zabarella saith not, *Imperator requirere potest à Papa rationem Fidei*: But thus he saith: *Imperator exigere potest à Papa, vt iudicet quid sentias de Fide.* Here haue I put Requirere in stead of Exigere; and, rationem Fidei, in stead of quid sentiat de Fide. To require a man to yeeld an account of his Faith, and to require a man to declare what he thinketh touching the Faith, (say you) are two diuers things. Is not here a wonderfull difference, and a foule corruption of Authors, M. Harding? Is not this a foule deceiuing of the People? Are not these weighty and worthy matters to be proclaimed and published to the world? I marueil if you be not ashamed in your owne behalfe.

The words of Zabarella are plaine: Imperator exigere potest à Papa, vt iudicet quid sentiat de Fide: *The* Emperour *may require the* Pope *to shew him what he thinketh of the Faith.* That is to say, The Emperour may require the Pope to yeeld a reckoning of his Faith. Where also it is to be noted, that the Pope may be an Heretike, or at least suspected of Heresie. For thus saith Zabarella: Si Papa erit suspectus de Hæresi. Crie out therefore, M. Harding, no more of deceiuing the people. For, as it appeareth, the Pope himselfe may be an Heretike, and a deceiuer of the people.

Now therefore, M. Harding, I report mee to your owne indifferent iudgement, how true it is that yee say, It is not conuenient for a King to call Priests before him to his owne Seat of Iudgement. Verilie this Note ye might haue found Glossed in your owne Decretals: Quæritur, Quis exemit Clericum de Iurisdictione Imperatoris, cùm priùs esset illi subiectus? Dicit Laurentius, quòd Papa de consensu Principis: *A question is moued, Who hath exempted a Priest from the Iurisdiction of the Emperour, whereas before he was subiect to the Emperours Court?* Laurence *saith, The* Pope *hath exempted him by the consent of the* Prince. Yee see therefore, M. Harding, your Priests, Abbats, and Bishops, haue their Priuileges and Exemptions, not by any right of Gods Word, but onlie by the Popes Policie, and by the speciall fauour of the Prince.

Extra de Maiorit. & Obed. cap. 2. in marg.

The Apologie, Chap. 9. Diuision 3.

They will say to this, I ghesse, Ciuill Princes haue learned to gouerne a Common Wealth, and to order matters of warre: but they vnderstand not the secret Mysteries of Religion. If that be so, what is the Pope, I pray you, at this day, other then a Monarch, or a Prince? Or, what be the Cardinals, who must be none other now but Princes and Kings Sons? What else be the Patriarkes, and, for the most part, the Archbishops, the Bishops, the Abbats? What be they else at this present in the Popes kingdome, but worldly Princes, Dukes, and Earles, gorgeously accompanied with bands of men whithersoeuer they goe: often times also gaily arraied with Chaines and Collars of Gold? They haue at times too, certaine Ornaments by themselues, as Crosses, Hats, Miters, & Palles: which Pompe the Ancient Bishops, Chrysostome, Augustine, & Ambrose neuer had. Setting these things aside, what teach they? what say they? what doe they? How liue they? I say not, as may become a Catholike Bishop, but, as may become a Christian man? is it so great a matter to haue a vaine Title, and by changing a garment only, to haue the name of a Bishop?

M. Harding.

(a) Vntruth, manifest. For wee moue no Prince to take vpon him the Bishops office.

The duty of Ciuill Princes consisteth in ciuill matters: The dutie of Bishops, in Spirituall things: That serueth to the preseruation of mens persons: This to the Saluation of their Soules. Euerie High Priest (saith S. Paul) that is taken from among men, is ordeined for men in things apperteining to God. (a) Ye moue Temporall Princes to take vpon them the Office of the Pope, and Bishops, as though it were a thing so indifferent, and so common, that when Bishops be negligent, Temporall men may doe their

their stead. But the reason which to this end ye make, is so slender, as (I weene) few Princes that feare God will be greatly moued to aduenture that thing so much subiect & thrall to Gods reuenge. (b) In effect your reason is this, cõsider it who wil: They of the Clergy be no other but Ciuil Princes: Ergo, Temporall Princes may bear the office of Bishops. Sir, both your Argument is naught, & your Antecedẽt is false. For although Bishops had but a Title, & the name of Bishops by changing a garment only, as you say, yet that defect in them should not giue ability to the meere Lay, as to Kings & Queenes, to do the Office of Bishops. Now is your Antecedent manifestly false: For the Bishops of the Catholike Church, which in scoffe ye cal the Popes Kingdome, be duly ordinated and consecrated.

Though the Pope haue a Princely Dominion, & some other Bishops of Christendome haue Dukedomes & Earledomes, though they ride well accompanied with men & horse, yea though some of the, otherwise then becommeth that vocation, do weare Chaines & Collars of Gold, (c) as you belie them: though they haue other ornaments to their states perteining, which greeueth you much in comparison of the (d) beggery of your married estate, yet all this imbarreth the not, but that they be Bishops.

Though they teach not, though they say not, though they doe not, though they liue not as becommeth Bishops, neither as becommeth euen a Christian man, (e) as you raile, al this notwithstanding, yet be they Bishops, though euil Bishops. Neither for al this may it be lawful for Lay men to take their office vpon them. (f) Iudas was an Apostle, til the rope choaked him. Neither for his wickednesse might Steuen, Matthias, or any other of the Disciples, of his owne presumption, haue stept into his roome. Now as this is true, so is your railing talke false, which malice hath stirred you to vtter.

(b) Vntruth. For this is our Reason: A Temporall Prince, say you, may not meddle in Ecclesiastical causes? But the Pope, say we, is nothing else but a Temporall Prince, Ergo, by your iudgment the Pope may not meddle in Ecclesiastical Causes.
(c) Vntruth: Read the Answer
(d) O glorious
(f) The Pope

Thraso! Then was the Apostles state much more beggerly. (e) This railing is not ours, but S. Bernards. by M. Harding compared with Iudas.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Bishops entangled in worldly affaires.

Once againe we tell you, M. Harding, we confound not these Offices: notwithstanding you so often and so leaudly report vs to your owne discredit. Our Princes neuer tooke vpon them the Office of Bishops: but your Bishops haue taken vpon them the Office of Princes. Of your Bishops it is written in your owne Councels: Eccè iam penè nulla est actio sæculi, quam non Sacerdotes administrent: *Behold, there is now in a maner no worldly affaire, but* Priests and Bishops *haue it in hand.* Such Bishops be they of whom S. Chrysostome writeth thus: Qui non credunt Iudicium Dei, nec timent, abutentes Primatu suo Ecclesiastico sæculariter, conuertunt eum in sæcularem: *They that neither beleeue, nor feare the Iudgement of God, abusing their Ecclesiasticall Dignity in Secular sort, turne the same into Secular Dignity.* Such Bishops they be of whom S. Hierome saith thus: Ipsi sibi & Laici sunt, & Episcopi: *They themselues be to themselues both* Lay men, *and* Bishops *too.* And againe: Adorant Dominum & Melchom, qui Sæculo pariter & Domino putant se posse seruire, & duobus Dominis satisfacere, Deo & Mammonæ, qui militantes Christo obligant sese negotijs Sæcularibus, & eandem Imaginem offerunt & Deo & Cæsari: *They worship the* Lord, *and* Melchom *both together, thinking that they may serue both the World, and the Lord, and satisfie two Masters at once,* God and Mammon: *who fighting vnder Christ, bind themselues to worldly affaires, and offer vp one* Image, both to God, and to Cæsar.

Conc. Macrẽse. Citatur. ab Illyric. inter Testes Veritatis. Pag. 121.
Chrys. in Matth. Homil 35.
Hieron. contra Luciferianos.
Hier. in Sophoniam, Cap. 1.

And therefore Cardinall Cusanus saith: Maxima ex hac re deformitas oritur, quòd Prælati tantùm sæcularibus curis inuigilant: *Heere of groweth a great deformity, that* Bishops are bent only to worldly cares. Marke well these words, M. Harding, he saith: Your Bishops are bent only to worldly cares.

Conc. Trident. Sub Paulo 3. Admonitio Legator.

If ye will beleeue none of these, yet your Popes owne Legates, in your late Chapter at Trident, speaking of your Priest like Apparell, say thus: Nihil â Laicis, præterquam in Vestis genere, ac ne in hoc quidem differunt: *Our Priests differ nothing from* Lay men, *saue only in Apparell: nay indeed they differ not so much from them, as in Apparell.*

Ye say: Your Bishops are gay and gallant, attended and garded with Princelike routs, both behind and before. And therefore ye make no smal account, specially in respect of our estate, which you call beggerly. In such disdaine the Heathens sometime said, *That* Christ *was the* Beggerliest and Poorest *of all the* Gods *that were in Heauen.* Howbeit, our Bishopricks, saying that certaine of your Fathers haue shamefully spoiled them, are now euen as they were before. Certainly the Poorest Bishopricke in England, as it is reported, is better in reuenues then some three of your Popes Italian Bishopricks in the Kingdome of Naples. Howbeit, the Gospell of Christ standeth not by Riches, but by Truth: In comparison of the one, we make small reckoning of the other.

Auentinus lib. 3. de Ruperto: Christum omnium Deorum esse pauperrimum.

Neuertheless, the wise and godlie haue euermore found fault with the Ecclesiastical brauerie of your Roman Clergie. S. Bernard saith: Inde est, quem quotidiè vides, Meretricius Nitor: Histrionicus Habitus: Regius Apparatus. Inde Aurum in Frenis, in Sellis, in Calcaribus: *Therehence commeth their Whorelike Fineneſſe: their Plaiers Weed: their Princely Apparell. Therhence commeth their Gold in their Bridles, in their Saddles, and in their Spurs.* Againe he saith: Incedunt nitidi & ornati, circumamicti varietatibus, tanquam Sponsa procedens de Thalamo suo. Nonne si quempiam talium eminùs procedentem aspexeris, Sponsam potiùs putabis, quàm Sponsæ Custodem? *They goe trimly and finely in their colours*

Bernar. in Cãtic. Serm. 33. Holcot in Sapien. Lect. 23.
Bernar. in Cãtic. Serm. 77.

as if a Spouse should come from her Chamber. If thou shouldest suddenly see one of them setting a farre off, wouldest thou not rather thinke it were a Spouse, then the keeper of the Spouse?

Ecclesiasticall brauery in Apparell.

Laurentius Valla, **although bitterly, yet not vnpleasantly, thus expresseth your Lordly brauery:** Existimo, si qua inter Dæmones, qui aerem incolunt, ludorum genera exercentur, eos exprimendo Clericorum cultu, fastu, luxu, exerceri, & hoc scenici ludus genere maximè delectari: *I thinke if the Diuels in the aire haue any games among them, to make sport withall, they are most busily occupied in counterfeiting the* apparell, and attire, and Pride, and riot of Priests, *and haue greatest pastime in this kind of Mascarie*

Laur. Valla de Donat. Const. Paralipomen. Vrspergen.

Pope Bonifacius 8. **in a great Iubilee, and in a solemne procession, went apparelled in the Emperors Robes, and had the Crowne Emperiall one his Head, and the Sword of Maiesty borne before him, as an Emperour.**

This Spirituall Iollity, **M. Harding, liketh you well. Notwithstanding** S. Bernard saith: Dæmonum magis quàm Ouium sunt hæc pascua. Scilicet, sic factitabat Petrus: sic Paulus ludebat: *These be pastures for* Diuels, *not for Sheepe. No doubt, euen thus did* Peter: *euen such pastime plaid* S. Paul.

Bernardus. de Consideratione, ad Eugenium. Lib. 4.

Ye tell vs further: Though they teach not, though they say not, though they doe not, though they liue not as becommeth Bishops, nor as becommeth a Christian man, yet be they Bishops notwithstanding. **Herein we will not greatly striue. For so the** Wolfe, **if he once get a sheephooke and a cloke, may be a Shepheard: and a blind man, if he get once into the Watch Tower, may be a Spie. But miserable are the poore sheep that so are fed: miserable is that poore Cattle that so is watched.**

8. *Qua.* 1. *Qui Episcopatum.*

S. Augustine saith: Episcopatus est nomen Operis, non Honoris; vt intelligat se non esse Episcopum, qui præesse dilexerit, non prodesse: *A* Bishops *office is a name of Labour, and not of Honour: that whoso loueth to rule, and not to profit, may vnderstand himselfe to be no* Bishop. **Againe he saith of such a one:** Canis impudicus dicendus est, magis quàm Episcopus: *He ought rather to be called a shameleſſe* Dogge *then a* Bishop.

Augustin. 2. Qua. 7. Qui. nec. Augus.

As for that ye say, Your Bishops be duly Ordinated and Consecrated, S. Augustine **replieth:** Ipsum Characterem multi & Lupi, & Lupis imprimunt: *Touching the outward Consecration of a* Bishop, *many giue it to Wolues, and be Wolues themselues.*

Aug. cont. Donatist. Lib. 6.

S. Bernard speaking of your Priests and Bishops, saith: Habitu Milites: Quæstu Clericos: Actu neutros exhibent. Nam neque vt Milites pugnant: neque vt Clerici euangelizant. Cuius ergo Ordinis sunt? Cùm vtriusque esse cupiunt, vtrunque deserunt: vtrunq; confundunt. Vnusquisque, inquit, in suo ordine resurget. In quo iste? An qui sine Ordine peccauerunt, sine Ordine peribunt? Vereor, non alibi Ordinandus, quàm vbi nullus Ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitat: *In their Apparell they are* Souldiers: *In their gaines they are* Priests *and* Bishops: *but in effect and indeed, they are neither of both. For neither doe they fight in the field, as doe* Souldiers; *nor doe they preach, as* Priests *and* Bishops. *Of whether Order therefore be they? Whereas they would be of both Orders, they forsake both, and confound both.* S. Paul *saith, Euery man shall rise againe in his owne Order. But in what Order shall these rise? Whether, forasmuch as they haue signed without Order, shall they perish without Order? I feare me, they shall be Ordered none other where, but where as is no Order, but Disorder, and horrour Euerlasting.*

Bern. de Consider. ad Eugenium. lib. 3.

I. Corint. 15.

Thus plainely speake your owne Doctors, touching your Clergy: **which plainnesse it pleaseth you, M. Harding, to call** false and malicious railing.

The Apology, Chap. 10. *Diuision* 1.

Surely to haue the principall stay and effect of all matters committed wholly to these mens hands, who neither know, nor wil know these things, nor yet set a iot by any point of Religion, **saue that which concerneth their belly and riot; & to haue them alone sit as** Iudges, **& to be set vp as Ouerseers in the Watch Tower, being no better then blind Spies: Of the other side, to haue a** Christian Prince, **of good vnderstanding and of a right iudgement, to stande still like a Blocke, or a Stake, not to be suffered neither to giue his Voice, nor to shew his Iudgement, but only to wait what these men shal wil & cõmand, as one which had neither eares, nor eies, nor wit, nor heart, and whatsoeuer they giue in charge, to allow it without exception, blindely fulfilling their Commandements, be they neuer so Blasphemous & wicked, yea although they command him quite to destroy all Religion, and to Crucifie againe** Christ himselfe: This surely,

surely, besides that it is proud and spitefull, is also beyond al right and reason, and not to be endured of Christian and wise Princes. For why, I pray you, may Caiaphas and Annas vnderstand these matters, and may not Dauid and Ezechias do the same? Is it lawfull for a Cardinall, being a man of warre, and delighting in Blood, to haue place in a Councell? And is it not lawfull for a Christian Emperour, or a King? Supreme Head. Supreme Gouernor.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Hereto M. Harding, saith nothing, but that he hath often times said before.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision.* 1.

VErily we grant no further Libertie to our Magistrates, then that we know hath both been giuen them by the Word of God, and also bin confirmed by the Examples of the very best gouerned Comon Wealths

M. Harding.

If a man should aske you where that word of God is, that maketh a Temporal Prince Supreme Head of that part of the Church which he hath gouernment of in all Ciuill matters, I am sure you can bring forth, a no other word of God, then that wherein S. Peter and S. Paul willeth al men to obey the Superiour Powers, especially Kings. Which thing was written to al Christian men, whiles they liued vnder Heathen Princes and Infidels, as Claudius Cæsar & Nero were, whom (I suppose) ye wil not say to haue been Heads of the whole Church, as they were Monarchs, and Princes of the whole world. If then by those Scriptures which cannot proue Nero (being a (b) persecutor of Christs Church) to haue beene Head of the same, you wil now proue that other Princes are Supreme Heads of the Church; it seemeth that either you make Nero Head of the Church with them, or giue more vnto them then the word of God will beare. And as for examples of good Common Weales, shew vs but one since Christs Ascension, wherein before Luthers time, any Emperor Christian, or other Prince did attribute that Title vnto himselfe, and we wil say, that when you speake of Common Weales, in the plural number, you make but one lie: but in case you shew vs no one Common Weale that hath so done, then you lie in the plurall number. Yea further, if at this day the Common Weales in Christendome, not onely that are Catholike, but the best also of those that are Lutherish and new fangled, doe abhorre from that strange and vnheard Title of (c) Supreme Head of the Church, why doe you say, that yee haue either Word of God for it, or example of approued Common Weales?

(a) Vntruth. For we allege many other places besides, as it may soone appeare.

(b) Then cannot the Pope bee Head of the Church: For he hath persecuted the Church, as Nero.

(c) Much adoe about nothing: For our Prince hath not this Title. But Queene Mary had and vsed the same Title of Supreme Head, as many waies it may be prooued.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Concerning the Title of Supreame Head of the Church, wee néede not to search for Scripture to excuse it. For first, we deuised it not: Secondly, we vse it not: Thirdly, our Princes at this present claime it not. Your Fathers, M. Harding, first entituled that most Noble and most Worthy Prince, King Henry the Eighth, with that Vnused and Strange Stile as it may wel be thought, the rather to bring him into the talke and slander of the world.

Howbeit, that the Prince is the Highest Iudge, and Gouernour ouer all his Subiects whatsoeuer, as well Priest, as Lay men, without exception, it is most euident, by that hath béene already said; by that shall be said hereafter; by the whole course of the Scriptures, and by the vndoubted practise of the Primitiue Church. Verily the Prince, as it shal afterward better appeare, had Both the Tables of the Law of God euermore committed to his charge: as well the First, that pertaineth to Religion, as also the Second, that pertaineth to Ciuill Gouernment.

But now, M. Harding, if a man would aske you, by what Word of God your Priests and Bishops haue exempted themselues from the iudgement and Gouernment of their Princes: or, by what Word of God the Princes hand is restrained more from his Clergy, then from other his Subiects: or, by what Word of God ye would stablish Two Supreme Gouernors in one Realme, I maruel in what Scriptures ye would seeke to finde it. Your owne Doctors and Glossers say, as it is before alleged: Quæritur, quis exemit Clericum de Iurisdictione Imperatoris, cùm priùs esset illi subiectus? Dicit Laurentius, quòd Papa de consensu Principis; *Question is moued, who hath exempted the* Priest *from the Iurisdiction of the* Emperour, *whereas before he was his subiect?* Laurentius *saith*, (not the Word of God, but) *the* Pope *exempted him by the consent of the* Prince. *Extra. de Maiorit. & Obed. cap. 2. in mar.*

Further, M. Harding, we beseech you, by what Word of God can your Pope claime himselfe to be the Head of the Vniuersall Church of God? Where is it recorded? Where is it written? In what part of the Testament, New or Old? In what Law? In what Prophet? In what Epistle? In what Gospel? Where is his Headship? Where is his

Supreme Head. Supreme Gouernor.

Vniuersall Power? If ye can finde it, then may ye shew it: If it cannot be found, then should ye not say it. As for that you and other your fellowes haue alleged before, for proofe hereof it is so childish, and so weake, that I thinke ye cannot now come again with the same, without blushing.

Touching the Right that we say belongeth vnto all Christian Princes, it hath bin inuested and planted in them from the beginning. For, to leaue other authorities of the Scriptures, Pope Eleutherius himselfe wrote thus vnto Lucius, sometime King of this Realme of England: Vos estis Vicarius Dei in Regno, iuxta Prophetam Regium: You are Gods Vicar within your owne Realme, *according to the Prophet* Dauid.

Epist. Eleuthe. Citatur inter Leges Edwardi Primi.

Paul the Bishop of Apamea writeth thus vnto the Emperor Iustinian, in a cause mere Ecclesiasticall, touching Religion: Transtulit ipsum Dominus, vt Plenitudinem directionis vestræ custodiret Serenitati: *Our Lord hath taken Pope* Agapetus *away, that he might leaue the fulnesse of order* (concerning these Heretikes, Dioscorus and Eutyches) *vnto your* Maiestie.

Quinto Synod. Act. 1. pissim.

Tertullian saith: Colimus Imperatorem, vt hominem à Deo secundum, solo Deo minorem: *We worship the Emperour, as a man next vnto God, and inferiour only vnto God.*

Tertullian ad Scapulam.

And notwithstanding the name of Head of the Church belong peculiarlie & onlie vnto Christ, as his onlie Right and Inheritance, (for as the Church is the Bodie, so Christ is the Head) yet may the same sometimes also be applied in sober meaning, and good sense, not onely vnto Princes, but also vnto others, farre inferiour vnto Princes. Chrysostome saith: Videntur mihi istæ mulieres Caput fuisse Ecclesiæ quæ illic erat: *It seemeth vnto me,* that these women were the Head of the Church *that was at* Philipi. Likewise again, speaking of the Emperour, he saith thus: Læsus est qui non habet parem vllum super terram, Summitas & Caput omnium super terram hominum: *We haue offended him that in the Earth hath no peere, the* Top *and the* Head of all men in the world. If he were the Head of all men, then was he the Head, not onely of Bishops and Cardinals, but also of the Pope himselfe, vnlesse the Pope were no man.

Chrys. in ep. ad Phil. Hom. 13. A woman head of the Church. *Chry. ad popul. Ant. Hom. 2.*

To conclude, our Princes neede no more to claime their lawful Authority and Emperiall Right, by the example of Nero, whereof ye haue moued much vntimely and wanton talke, then your Pope needeth to claime his Vsurped and coloured Power by the Examples of Annas and Caiphas.

The Apology, Chap. 11. Diuision 2.

For besides that, a Christian Prince hath the charge of Both Tables committed to him by God, to the end he may vnderstand, that not Temporall matters only, but also Religious and Ecclesiasticall Causes pertaine to his Office, &c.

M. Harding.

You will prooue, that Ecclesiastical causes pertaine to a Kings office, because he hath the charge of both Tables. If you mean that a King is bound to keepe both Tables of the Law, so is also euery priuate man. And yet as no priuate man is Supreme Head of the Church by keeping them, so neither the King is proued therby the (a) Supreme Head. If you meane that the king ought to see others to keepe both Tables of the Law: that may he doe either in appointing temporal paines for the transgressors of the, or in executing the said paines vpon the transgressors. But as he cannot excõmunicate any man for not appearing when he is called, so can he not iudge all causes of Law. For if a man sin only in his heart, as for example, in Murder, or Aduoutery, the King cannot haue to do with him: and yet the tru Supreme Head of the Church shall haue to doe with him. For that malicious & sinful thought (b) shal neuer be forgiuen, except the party come to be absolued of their Successors, to whom Christ said, Whose sinnes ye forgiue, they are forgiuen; and whose sins ye reteine they are reteined. To commit murder in hart, is a sin, and it is reteined vntill it be forgiuen. (c) Neither can it be forgiuen, vntil he that is iudge, by the Keie of discretion, perceiue that it is to be forgiuen. Which he cannot know vntill it be confessed with a contrite heart by him who only knoweth it, and is bound to tel it for absolutions sake. If then there be a Iudge who can see the Law kept in an higher point, and beyond the reach of a King, surely the King shall not be Supreme Head, sith another is more like to God then he: As who is iudge of the inward conscience, whereunto no King reacheth, but * only the Minister of Christ, who is the Spiritual King, * and hath giuen the Keies of his Kingdome to his Ministers.

(a) A graue Disputer Yee conclude against that that is not auouched.
(b) Vntruth, fõd and manifest, & leading directly to de peration.
(c) Vntruth, ioined with blasphemy. Read the Answer.
* A fond folly. For this Key is giuen no more to the Pope, thẽ to any other simple Priest.

Iohn 20.

Mat. 16.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here, M. Harding, ye roue and wander without a marke, and reply to that that was not spoken. I maruell whereof you can spin your selfe such idle talke. For we neither call our Princes the Heads of the Church of Christ, (it was your Fathers inuention, & not ours) nor say we, they haue power, either to Excommunicate, or to Binde, or to Loose; nor haue we leasure to make such vaine conclusions.

Thus we say, the Prince is put in trust, aswell with the First as with the Second Table

Supreme Head. Supreme Gouernor.

Table of the Law of God, that is to say, as well with Religion, as with Temporall Gouernment, not onlie to kepe and performe the contents of Both Tables in his own person (for so much euery priuate man is bound to do) but also to see, that al others his Subiects aswell Priests as Lay-men, each man in his calling, doe duly keepe them. This is it, that no priuate man is able to doe. Therefore S. Augustine saith: In hoc seruiunt Domino Reges, in quantum sunt Reges, cùm ea faciunt ad seruiendum illi, quæ non possunt facere, nisi Reges: *Herein* Kings *serue the Lord, in that they be* Kings, *when they doe those things to serue him, that no man can doe, but only* Kings. We say not the Prince is bound to do the Bishops dutie. And therefore it is the grater follie of your part, M. Harding, to obiect it so often. Wise men vse not so to aduenture their wordes in vaine. But thus wee say, The Prince is bound to see the Bishops to doe their duties. *Aug. in epist. 50. ad Bonif.*

But what meant you, so far out of season to talke so fondly of your priuy Confession, of Binding, and Loosing, & power of Keies? For as it is said before, we say not, that Princes may either Binde or Loose, or Minister Sacraments, or preach the Gospell, or sit downe and heare Confessions. Therefore with all this great adoe, ye soine only at your owne shadow, and hit nothing.

Ye say full discreetly, If a Man sin only in his heart, the king cannot haue to do with him, for that he cannot enter, to know his secrets. Here I beseech you, M. Harding, what entrance then hath the Pope to know the secrets of the Heart? Perhaps yee will say, the Pope may know all the world by Cõfession. But S. Augustine saith: Quid mihi est cum hominibus, vt audiant cõfessiones meas? &c. Vnde sciunt cùm à me ipso de me ipso audiunt, an verũ dicam? quandoquidẽ nemo scit hominum quid agatur in homine nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est: *What haue I to do with these men, that they should heare my* Cõfessions, &c. *How know they, when they heare me report of my selfe, whether I say true or no? For no man knoweth what is in man, but the spirit of man that is within him.* Again he saith vnto ỹ people: Intrantes vos & exeuntes possumus videre. Vsq; adeo autẽ non videmus, quid cogitetis in cordibus vestris, vt neq; quid agatis in domibus vestris videre possimus: *We may see you comming in & going forth. But we are so far from seeing the thoughts of your harts, that we cannot see, what you do at home in your houses.* Likewise againe he saith: Quid singulorum quorunq; modo conscientiæ dixerint, ad aures meas, quia homo sum, peruenire non potuit. Ille, qui absens est præsentia Corporis, sed præsens est Vigore Maiestatis, audiuit vos: *What euery of your consciẽces hath said, it could not enter into my eares, for that I am but a mortall man. Notwithstanding,* Christ *that is absent, as touching the Presence of his* Body, *but present by the power of his* Maiesty, *hath heard you well.* It is not the Pope, but God only, that trieth the reines and searcheth the heart. *Aug. Confess. lib. 10. cap. 3.* *August in Psal. 126.* *August. in Psal. 127.*

Yet ye say, the true Supreame Head of the Church shall haue to doe with him, that sinneth only secretly in his heart: For that malicious and sinful thought (you say) shal neuer be forgiuen except the party come to be absolued of their Successors, to whom Christ said, Whose sins yee forgiue, &c. This, M. Harding, is the Supreme Follie of all other Follies. For first, where euer heard you, that the Pope would once vouchsafe to heare Confessiõs? and if he would; yet by your own Doctors iudgemẽt, the Pope hath no more power to Binde & to Loose, then any other pore simple Priest. As I haue shewed you before: Alphonsus de Castro saith: Quando absoluit simplex Sacerdos, tantum absoluit de Culpa, sicut Papa: *When a* Simple Priest *absolueth, he absolueth as much touching the fault, as if it were the Pope himselfe.* Origen saith: Quæ sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium communia, &c. Quod si nos idem loquimur, quod Petrus loquutus est, efficimur Petrus: *The words that follow, as spoken vnto* Peter, *are common vnto all. If we speake the same that* Peter *spake then are we made* Peter. Euen in the Popes owne Glosse vpon his Decretals it is noted thus: In necessitate Laicus potest, & audire Confessiones & absoluere: *In case of necessity a Lay man may both heare Confessions and also giue absolutions.* Yet will ye not say, that euery Lay man is Peters Successor. *Alph. de hæres. lib. 2. de Absolutione.* *Orig. in Mat. Tract. 1.* *Extra. de offic. Iudicis Ordin. Pastoralis. In Glossa.*

To what purpose then serueth all this your vaine talke, M. Harding, The true Supreme Head of the Church shal haue to doe with him that sinneth onely in his heart? For euery Simple Priest hauing the keie of Gods word, entreth into the heart, and hath to do with the same as well, and asmuch, and as deepely as the Pope: and in respect of being Iudge of the Conscience, is aboue Kings and Princes, no lesse then he.

But where ye say, The malicious & sinful thought shal neuer be forgiuen, except the party come to be Absolued of their Successors, to whom Christ said, whose sins ye forgiue &c. This Doctrine is not only strange and false, but also full of desperation. Your owne Gratian saith: Latentia peccata non probantur necessariò Sacerdoti confitenda: *It is not proued* (by any sufficient authority of Scriptures or of Doctors) *that secret sins are of necessity to be vttered in Confession vnto the Priest.* Again he saith: Datur intelligi, quod etiam, ore tacente, veniam *De pœnit. dist. 1. Quis alias quando.* *De Pœn. dist. 1 Conuertimini.*

veniam consequi possumus: *It is giuen vs to vnderstand, that we may obtaine pardon, although we vtter nothing with our mouth.* **And againe:** Non Sacerdotali iudicio, sed largitate Diuinæ Gratiæ peccator emendatur: *The sinner is clensed, not by the* Iudgement of the Priest, *but by the abundance of* Gods grace. **Againe he saith:** Confessio Sacerdoti offertur in signum veniæ, non in causam Remissionis accipiendæ: *Confession is made vnto the* Priest, *in token of forgiuenesse already obtained: not as a cause of Forgiuenesse to be obtained.* **Your very** Glosse **saith:** Apud Græcos Confessio non est necessaria: quia non emanauit ad illos Traditio talis: *Among the Christians in* Græcia, Confession of sinnes is not necessarie: *for that this Tradition neuer came among them.* **Yet, M. Harding, I trow, ye will not say, but their sinnes may be forgiuen.**

In eodem cap. De Pœnit. dist. 1. Omnis qui. De Pœn. dist. 5 In Panitent. In Glossa.

Certainly Chrysostome **saith:** Solus te Deus confitentem videat: *Let God onely see thee making the Confession of thy sinnes.*

Chrys. de Confess. & Pœnit.

It was very much therefore, M. Harding, for you, so assuredly, and so precisely to say, that sinnes can neuer be forgiuen without your priuie Confession: and specially thereby to proue the Vniuersall Headship of the Pope.

Supreme Head.

Supreme Gouernor.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision.* 3.

Besides also, that God **by his Prophets often, & earnestly commandeth the** King **to cut down the Groues, to breake downe the** Images **& Altars of** Idols, **and to write out the** Booke **of the** Law **for himselfe: and besides that, the** Prophet Esaias **saith:** A King ought to be a Patron, and a Nurse of the Church, &c.

M. Harding.

Your second argument for the Ecclesiastical power of Kings is, because God bade thē to cut down superstitious groues and ouerthrow idols: (a) as though this were not an office of executing a commandement, rather then of decreeing any thing. The Authority to diseerne an Image of Christ frō an idoll of the Diuel, belongeth to them, who know, that an image is a name of arte, which is of God, an idoll is a name of false worshiping, which is of the Diuel. So that an Image is godly, an idol diuelish. When the Priest hath iudged this or that to be an Idol, or when it is euident, that so it is, then the King shall doe well to breake it down. (b) But if the King will breake downe the image of Christ, when the Priest telleth him it is a godly representation and no Idol: then the King doth more then his office requireth, and shall not only not procue his supremacy, but also shall incur danger to bee reiected of God, as King Saul was, when he despised to keepe the commandement of Samuel the high Priest. 1. Reg. 15.

(a) The King is the Priests executioner.

(b) O vanity of vanities! Aaron the Bishop set vp the golden calfe and cried vnto the people, This is thy God. But Moses the Ciuill Magistrate or Prince, brake it downe.

Whereas you alleage for a Kings Ecclesiastical power, that he was cōmanded to write out the booke of the Law for himselfe; why left ye out that which followeth there immeadiatly: *Accipiens exemplar à Sacerdotibus Leuiticæ tribus?* The King must write out a Booke of the Deuteronomie: but the example thereof he must receiue of the Priests that be of the Tribe of Leui. If in Spirituall matters the King were aboue the Priests (c) why had he not the keeping of the Law in his owne hands? Why must he take it of the Priests? Why did not rather the Priests come to him, sith the inferior taketh al his right of the Superiour? If the Priests must giue the holy Scripture vnto the King, then verily must he take such as they giue him, and with such meaning as they giue vnto it. So that if you had not (d) falsified the meaning of Gods word by leauing out halfe the sentence, this place had proued against you. It is to bee weighed to what end a King is required to haue & to read that holy Book. Verily not to take vpon him the part of a Iudge in causes of Religion: but as there it is expressed, to the intent he learne to feare his Lord God and keepe his words and ceremonies in the Law commanded, and that his heart be not lifted vp into pride aboue his brethren, &c.* I omit that you read, *Librum legis*, whereas the Church readeth Deuteronomium,* it were too long to enter into that disputation. The booke of the law signifieth the whole Law, the Deuteronomy is but one of the fiue bookes. Deut. 17.

(c) Ful discreetly As though kings had not Officers to keepe their Records.

(d) Vntruth For we haue falsified no part hereof, as it shal appeare *Heere M. Harding would faine say somewhat if hee wist what it were. Read the Answer

Where Esay calleth a King a Patron of the Church, I haue not found. But were it he called him so, it betokeneth, that he should defend the Church from worldly enemies, as in repelling the Turkes, in expelling Heretikes and such like kingly acts. Which proueth no spirituall supremacy, but vnder God a fealty and seruiceable power. I finde where Esay saith; *Et erunt Reges nutricij tui & Reginæ nutrices tuæ*: Kings shall be thy fosterers and Queenes thy nurses. But not euery nurse or fosterer is aboue him who is nourished. (e) A faithfull seruant often times fostereth the master: yet is he not aboue his master. Besides S. Hierome vnderstandeth the Kings whō Esay nameth, to be the Apostles, according to which sense it maketh nothing to the purpose as it is alleged for. Cap. 49.

(e) By this prety conclusion, the king is the seruant, and the Priest is the Master.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

All Christian Princes are much beholden to you, M. Harding: ye make them so like to Polyphemus **the** Giant, **after his eies were stricken out, that is to say, to a man mighty in body and great in bones: but starke blinde, and no way able to guid himselfe.** A King **ye say,** may not take vpon him to iudge or pronounce in matters of Religion, be they neuer so cleere: **but onely must hearken and be ready to execute whatsoeuer shal be thought good & commanded by your** Bishops, **as if he were only your** Bishops man. **So saith your holy Father** Pope Bonifacius 8: Gladius materialis excercendus est manu Regum & Militum: Sed ad nutum & patientiā Sacerdotis: *The Materiall or Temporall Sword must be vsed by the*

De Maior. & Obed. Vnam Sanctam.

hand

hand of Kings and Souldiers: but at the becke and ſufferance of the Prieſt: by which Prieſt he meaneth the Pope.

But Dauid ſaith: *Now ye Kings, haue vnderſtanding: Be learned, ye that iudge the Earth.* Pſal.2. God Kings haue oftentimes reformed Religion, and haue lawfully controlled and corrected, and depoſed idle and wicked Biſhops: as before in place conuenient it is largely prooued. The Emperour Iuſtinian threatneth, if the Biſhop offended in ſaying the publike Seruice, or in the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, that then he himſelfe would vſe his authority ouer him, and ſee him puniſhed. Fraciſcus Zabarellus ſaith: *That for any crime notorious, the* Emperour *may ſummon the* Pope *to appeare before his Maieſty, and may require him to yeelde a reckoning of his Faith.* And yet will ye ſay, *The* Emperour *is ſtill the* Popes *man and may iudge nothing in cauſes of Religion without him.* *Authen. Conſtitut.123.* *Franc. Zabar. De Schiſma. & Concil.*

The King (ye ſay) is not able to iudge, whether an Idoll be an Idoll or no, but by the leading and teaching of the Prieſt. So well ye wiſh all Chriſtian Princes were inſtructed, that they ſhould not be able, either to ſee or to ſpeake without you. But what if your Prieſts ſay, as it hath often happened, God is an Idoll, and an Idoll is God? Light is Darkneſſe, and Darkneſſe is Light? What if they ſay, Greatis Diana the Goddeſſe of Epheſus. What if they condemne the innocent, and ſay, as they ſometime ſaid of Chriſt, *Vnleſſe this man were a malefactor, we would neuer haue brought him to thy hand.* Yet muſt the Prince neuertheleſſe draw his ſword, and ſtrike, when and whomſoeuer the Prieſt biddeth: and blindly execute his wicked will? Indeed, M. Harding, you ſay preciſelie: If the matter decreed bee Spirituall and appertaining to Faith, the Prince ought to obey without queſtion or grudge. Likewiſe againe ye ſay: It ſhal be enough for you, to doe as the Succeſſors of Peter bid you to doe. Chriſt now requireth of you not to obey Peter and Paul, but to obey him that ſitteth in their Chaire. Whatſoeuer ye ſay, true or falſe. For this, no doubt, muſt be your meaning. Eſay.5. Act.19. Iohan.18. *M. Harding pag.302.a.* *M. Harding pag.192.a.*

The King was bound to write out the Booke of the Law: This (ye ſay) prooueth not the Kings Superiority ouer the Prieſts. No verily, M. Harding: neither was it alleged by vs to that purpoſe. Neuertheleſſe heereby it appeareth, that God would haue the King to bee learned in his Lawes. *pag.192.b.*

But the King *muſt receiue the* Booke *of the* Prieſt, *and of none other*: Therefore, ſay you, the Prieſt is aboue the King. Mee thinketh, M. Harding, euen for your credits ſake, yee ſhould looke better to your Logicke. For what auaileth the deliuerie of a Booke to make the Prieſt either higher or lower? When the Pope is at his Conſecration, the Cardinall that is his Orderer, deliuereth him a Booke of the Epiſtles and Goſpels. Will ye therefore conclude, that the ſaid Cardinal is aboue the Pope? Marry God forbid.

The Prince iudgeth in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes. *Ceremon. lib.1. Sect.2.*

Gods meaning touching this Ceremonie, was this, that the Kings Booke ſhould bee true and faultleſſe. And therefore God commanded him to take a Copie thereof out of the Regiſtrie or Records, which were thought to be void of al corruption, and were euermore kept in the Temple, vnder the cuſtodie of the Prieſts. Paulus Phagius ſaith: *Euery priuate man was commanded to haue one Booke ſeuerally to himſelfe: but the King was commanded to haue two. And forasmuch as the King was a Publike perſon, therefore God willed him to take his Copy out of the publike Records of the Temple.* *Paul. Phag. in Deut. cap.17.*

Your owne Hugo Cardinalis ſaith: Accipiet exemplar à Sacerdotibus: non à quibuſlibet, ſed à bonis: vbi nihil fucatum eſt: nihil corruptum: *He ſhall take his Copy of the* Prieſts, *not of euery* Prieſt *what ſoeuer, but of the good: that in the ſame Copy there be nothing, neither coloured, nor corrupted.* *Hugo in Deut. cap.17.*

All this, M. Harding, will hardly prooue your ſtrange concluſion, that the Prieſt was Superiour to the King: It ſeemeth much better to prooue the contrary, that the Prieſt was the Kings Inferiour, and his Subiect, and his Clerke of Records, as being appointed to keepe his Bookes. So S. Auguſtine ſaith, the Iewes this day keepe the very true Bookes of the Scriptures: albeit, not for their owne vſe, but only for ours. And thereofore hee ſaith they be not our Superiours, but our Seruants. *Auguſt. contra Fauſt. li.16.ca.21. & in Pſal. 58. & ſæpe alibi*

Certainly, concerning the Kings and Prieſts of the Old Law, one of your own friends, whom for many cauſes ye may not wel refuſe, ſaith thus: In Veteri Lege Sacerdotium indignius erat Poteſtate Regia & ei Subiectum: *In the* Old Law, *the* Prieſts *Office was Inferiour to the* Prince *and Subiect vnto him.* *Ioh. de Pariſijs, de Poteſt. Reg. & Papali, ca.5.*

Ye ſay, If the Prieſt muſt giue the holy Scriptures to the King; then verily muſt he take ſuch as they giue him, and with ſuch meaning as they giue vnto it. Yea, I trow, though they teare their robes againſt Chriſt, as Caiaphas did, and crie out, He blaſphemeth, yet muſt we by your iudgment, euermore ſeeke to them for the ſenſe and meaning of the Scriptures. For this is the ground and foundation of your Diuinity: The Scripture of God hath none other ſenſe, but as it ſhall pleaſe the Prieſt to giue vnto it. But S. Chryſoſtome ſpeaking of the ſame Prieſts and Biſhops, from whom we haue receiued the ſelfe ſame Scriptures, ſaith thus:

Literæ

Chrysost in Genesim, hom. 8. Literæ quidem Legis apud illos sunt: Sensus autem apud nos: *The Letters or words of the Scriptures are with them, but the true meaning of them is with vs.*

Deutero-nomie. A Copy. A Double.

Heere you much disaduantage your selfe, and as you say, omit that we read, *Librum Legis*, whereas the Church readeth, *Deuteronomium*, for that, as you say, it were too long for you to enter into that disputation. Therefore, M. Harding, we will patiently abide your leasure, vntill ye haue found out the whole mysterie, & considered it better. In the meane season, it shal not be good for you, to be ouerranke with your Commentaries, vntill ye better vnderstand the Text. Certainely the wise and learned thinke, that heerin ye are much deceiued. For whereas the words are these: Describit sibi Deuteronomium Legis huius, they thinke that Deuteronomium, in this place is not put for any one certaine seuerall Booke of the fiue Bookes of Moses, as it is otherwise commonlie vsed, but rather for a Copie, or a Draught of the whole Law. And in this sense, they say, that Δευτερόνομιον is none other but Ἀντίγραφον, that is to say, a Copy or a Double. The Italian translation hath thus: *Esso si scriuero questo Doppio de la Legge.* The French Translation hath, Le double. Leo Iudas translateth it thus: Describet sibi Exemplum Legis huius. *He shall write out for himselfe a* Copy *of this Law.* And for some proofe heereof, it is thus written in the Booke of Iosh-ua: *Afterward* Ioshua *read out of the words of the* Law, *both the blessings and the curses, according to euery thing that is written in the Booke of the* Law. *And there was not one word of all the things that* Moses *commanded, but* Iosua *read the same before the whole* Congregation of Israell. Thus ye see, M. Harding, that this word Deuteronomium in this place signifieth not the fifth Booke of Moses, as you imagine, but a full Copy of all the Law. And therefore eftsoones I tell you, ye are much deceiued.

Quesito Doppio Le Double.

Iosua. 8.

Where we allege the words of the Prophet Esay: Kings *shall be thy Fosterers*, and Queenes *thy Nurses*: (ye say) Euery Nurse or Fosterer is not aboue him that is nourished. Faithfull seruant often times fostereth his Master. Yet is not he aboue his Master. So loth ye are, the King should be Superiour to a Priest. And thus haue ye brought about by your handsome conclusions, that your Priests be the Masters, and Kings their Seruants. And therefore it is discreetlie noted in your Glosse: Imperator Romanus est Procurator, siue Defensor Romanæ Ecclesiæ: *The* Emperour of Rome *is the Steward or Bailiffe of the* Church of Rome.

Dist. 98. Si imperat. in Glossa.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision.* 4. *and* 5.

I say, besides all these things, we see by Histories and by Examples of the best times, that good Princes euer tooke the administration of Ecclesiasticall matters to pertaine to their duty.

Moses being a Ciuill Magistrate, & chiefe guide of the people, both receiued from God, & deliuered to the people all the order for Religion, & Sacrifices, and gaue Aaron the Bishop a vehement and sore rebuke for making the Golden Calfe, and for suffering the Corruption of Religion.

Exod. 32.

M. Harding.

(a) Vntruth. For at that time hee was no Priest.

(b) Vntruth. For it proueth the contrary. Read the answer.

(c) Vntruth confessed by M. Hard. friends. For in the time of Moses law the Priest was inferiour to the Prince.

(d) Substantial arguments, whereby to proue the Pope a King.

* Discreetly reasoned. For al this pertaineth as wel to a Simple Priest, as to the Pope.

Moses was not only a Ciuill Magistrate, (a) but also a Priest. In that he had both offices (b) it proue-eth that a Priest may haue both; but not contrariwise that a King may haue both. For the greater may include the lesse, but the lesse cannot include the greater. (c) The office of a Priest is the highest of all, (d) And Christ comming naturally of the Kings line from Dauid in the Trbe of Iuda, yet esteemed that honour nothing in respect of that he was a Priest according to the order of Melchisedech. Therfore Melchisedech also being both Priest & King, was not yet said to bee the figure of Christ so much cõcerning his kingdom as his priesthood. For Dauid said of Christ, Thou art a Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech. As for his kingdome it was included in his Priests office. And therfore whe we speake of Christs Kingdome, though in euery respect he be the very King indeed of all Kings, and Lord of al Lords; yet we assigne it also to haue bin vpon the Crosse, *Vo regnauit a ligno Deus*, where God raigned from the wood. According to the same meaning, whereas the people of Israell were called *Regnum Sacerdotale*, a Priestlie Kingdome. S. Peter writing to the Christians, turned the order of the words, calling the Church of Christ *Sacerdotium Regale*, a Kinglie Priesthood. Moses was both a Priest and a Ciuill Gouernour, as being a figure of Christ, who ioined both together making the tribe of Iuda which was before Kingly, now also to be Priestly. Therefore S. Augustine vpon those words of Dauid. Moses and Aaron are in the number of his Priests; concludeth that Moses must needs haue beene a Priest. * For (saith he) if he were not a Priest, what was he? * *Nunquid maior Sacerdote esse potuit*, could he be greater then a Priest? As who should say, there is no greater dignity then Priesthood. And seeing Moses had the greatest dignity, for he ruled all, & consecrated Aaron high Bishop, & his sonnes Priests, therefore himselfe must needs haue beene a Priest, (e) Now if Moses were both, & his chiefe office was Priesthood, it followeth by that example, that the Pope may rule temporally, but not that a king may rule spiritually. Thus you haue gained nothing by this example.

Iustin. in Dial. aduers. Tryph. Exod. 19. 1. Pet. 2. Psal. 99.

(e) Louanian Logicke. Moses consecrated Aaron: *Ergo* the Pope is a King.

The

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here, M. Harding hath many great words of small weight. The finall conclusion and Summa Summarum, is this: The Pope must needs be a King. And that he proueth as his maner is, by these his yong vntidy arguments: Moses being a Ciuill Magistrate or a Prince, had also the Priesthood and was a Priest: *Ergo*, saith he, The Pope being a Priest, must haue also the Kingdome and be a King. And thus he peeceth these matters handsomely together, as though, what soeuer were once in Moses, ought of necessity to be also in the Pope. But if a man should desire him to proue his argument, and to make it good, and to shew vs how these peces may be framed together, I think he would be faine to take a day. First, whether Moses were a Priest, or no, it is not certaine. As for that M. Harding allegeth these words of Dauid: Moses & Aaron in Sacerdotibus eius, he himselfe wel knoweth that the Hebrew word there is doubtfull, and signifieth aswell a Prince as a Priest. And therefore we cannot necessarily conclud by force of these words that Moses was a Priest: It is sufficient that he was the Captaine and Prince and had the leading of the people.

The Pope is a King. Moses a Priest.

Psal. 98.

S. Hierome saith: Vnus Legis, alter Sacerdotij Regulam tenuit: Moses *held the rule of the Law*: Aaron *the rule of* Priesthood. *Hier. in Psalm.* 98.

Againe he saith: Emisit ante faciem nostram Mosen Spiritualem Legem & Aaron Magnum Sacerdotem: *God sent out before our faces*, Moses (not as the Priest, but as) *the Spiritual Law, and* Aaron *the great Priest*. Euen Hugo your owne Doctour, touching the same words, saith thus: Moses etc. &c. *Notwithstanding* Moses were not a Priest, *yet because he hallowed the peoples praiers, &c. he was called a Priest. For in the* Scriptures *Great and Noble men are called by the name of* Priests. *Hieron. in Michaam, cap. 6.* *Hugo in Psal.* 98.

Here your Hugo telleth you, that notwithstanding Moses were called a Priest, yet indeed he was no Priest.

Who so listeth to know more hereof, let him read Sanctus Pagninus, Dauid Kimchi, Nicolaus Lyra, &c.

But if Moses indeed were a Priest, ye should do wel, M. Harding, to resolue vs: First whether he were a Priest, borne, or else afterward made a Priest? A Priest borne, I trow, ye wil not say. If ye say he was afterward made a Priest, then tel vs by what Bishop or other Creature was he Consecrate? At whose hands receiued he Authority? When, where, and to what purpose? What Priestlike Apparel euer ware he? Or in what Office or Ministery euer shewed he himselfe to bea Priest? S. Paul saith: *A* Priest *is appointed to offer vp Oblations and Sacrifices for sinne*. What Oblations or Sacrifices for sinne, can ye tel vs, that Moses offered? If he were neither borne a Priest, *nor* made a Priest, *nor euer knowne by office to be a* Priest, then was he, I trow, a very strange Priest. Hebræ. 9.

If Moses were the highest Priest and head of the Church, & Aaron likewise the highest Priest, and in so much the Head of the Church tw, aswell as he, then had the Church two Highest Bishops, and two Heads both together: which thing were monstrous, not only in speech, but also in Nature.

Notwithstanding, whether Moses at any one certaine time were a Priest or no, it is a matter not worthy the striuing. Certaine it is, that before the Law was written, Kings and Princes, and the best borne, and inheritours, and the wealthiest of the people, were euer Priests. S. Hierome saith: Hebræi tradunt, Primogenitos functos Officio Sacerdotum & habuisse Vestimentum Sacerdotale: quo induti, Deò Victimas offerebant, antequam Aaron in Sacerdotium eligeretur: *The* Hebrew Rabbins *say, that the First borne children did the office of the* Priests, *and had the Priestlike apparell, and wearing the same, offered vp their Sacrifices vnto God, vntill the time, that* Aaron *was chosen into the* Priesthood. *Hier. in Quæst. Hebraicis in Genesim.*

Againe he saith: Priuilegium offerendi Primogenitis, vel Maximè Regibus debebatur: *The Priuiledge of offering vp Sacrifice was due to the First borne of the children, but most of all vnto Kings*. The Heathen Roman Emperours, as Vespasianus, Traianus and others, to increase their Maiesty towards their Subiects, beside the state of the Empire, would also be called Pontifices Maximi. *Hier. in Iob cap. 1.* *Di. 10. de capit. in Glossa.* *Inter acta Gelasij.*

Therefore we wil grant M. Harding, seeing he hath taken so much paines about a matter not worthy so long talke, that Moses for some little short time bare the Office of a Priest. Yet neuertheless had he no Ordinarie Priesthood: neither was he a Priest more then for the space of two or three houres, only vntil he had consecrated Aaron and his children and no longer. Immediately afterward, al this great Priesthood was at an end. One of your owne Doctours, M. Harding, saith thus: Non erant Sacerdotes Legales, Dignitate & Officio, sicut Aaron: Licet in necessitate, & propter Defectum Sacerdotum, aliquos actus Sacerdotum fecerint: vt quòd Moses inunxit Aaron: propter quòd Moses Exod. 29. *Iob. de Parisijs cap* 18.

Sacerdos

The Pope is a King.

Sacerdos dicitur in Psalmo: *The First borne were not* Priests *in Office, and dignity, as* Aaron *was: notwithstanding in case of necessity and for lack of* Priests, *they did some part of the* Priests *Office: as that* Moses *anointed or consecrated* Aaron: *for which thing* Moses *in the* Psalme *is called a* Priest.

This, M. Harding, is that foundation, that must néeds beare the burden of your whole Church of Rome. The Pope (ye say) must be a King, because Moses was both Prince & Priest. And yet your owne Fellowes say, Moses by office and dignity was neuer Priest. Ye say, The Pope being a Bishop may be a King; but of the other side a King may in no wise be a Bishop. And thus either vnwittingly or willingly, ye seeme to ouerthrow your owne position. For the example that ye groũd vpon, of Aaron, & Moses proue quite the contrary. For Moses being a Prince, did also the Office of a Bishop. But Aaron being a Bishop did neuer the Office of a Prince. Therefore hereof ye might better conclude, that a Prince may be a Bishop, but a Bishop may not be a king. Strengthen your bolts therefore, M. Harding, & shaue thē better before ye so suddenly, I wil not say, so rudely, shoot them frō you.

Extra. de Maiorit. & Obed. Solit. in Glos. H

Neuertheless ye say, The Priesthood which is the more, may containe the kingdome being the lesse. In this respect, I trow, your Glosse, as it is said before, compareth the Pope to the Sunne, and the Emperour to the Moone, and findeth out substantially by good Geometricall proportion, that the Pope is iust seuen and fifty times greater then the Emperour.

Ioh. de Parisijs de potest. Reg. & Papali, ca. 5.

Howbeit your owne Doctours say, as I haue likewise shewed before, that in the Law of Moses, the Prince was greater then the Priest.

That ye allege of the Priesthood and kingdom of Christ, serueth you to smal purpose. For, I beseech you, what Crowne, what Scepter, what Sword bare Christ? What Ecclesiasticall Priesthood had he, but only that he executed vpon the Crosse? Verily touching any Ciuil shew or outward Office, as he was no King, so was he no Priest. As he said,

Iohn 18

My Kingdome is not of this world. So might he also haue said, My Priesthood is not of this world. Otherwise, he was both King and Priest, in power and vertue, but not apparently in outward Office.

Ioh. de Parisijs. De potest. Pap. cap. 8.

One of your Fellowes saith thus: Patet, per Sanctos Expositores, quòd Christus non habuit in Temporalibus, Authoritatem vel Iudicium. Sed dare potuit, & dare habuit Virtutis Documentum: *It appeareth by the holy Expositours that Christ had neither Authority, nor Iudgement in things Temporall. But hee could both giue and had to giue Instructions of Vertue.*

As for these two words of S. Peter,

1. Pet. 2.

Ye are a Kingly Priesthood, ye would not haue alleged them to this purpose, had ye not béene in your dreame. For thinke you, that S. Peter calleth the whole *Body of the Church of Christ*, a Kingly Priesthood, for that you fansie your Pope to be together both Priest and King? Certainly, the Church of God was a Kingly Priesthood, before either the Church of Rome was a Church, or the Pope of Rome was a Pope. Ye should haue some care to deale more reuerentlie with the Word of God, for it is holie. S. Peters meaning is this, that euery faithfull Christian man is now, after a Spiritual or Ghostlie meaning, not only a Priest, but also a King: and therefore he calleth the whole Church, a Kingly Priesthood. Tertullian saith thus: Nonne & Laici Sacerdotes sumus? Regnum quoque nos, & Sacerdotes Deo & Patri suo fecit: *And wee that bee Lay-men, are we not Priests? Truly* Christ *hath made euen vs a* Kingdome *and* Priests *vnto his Father.* S. Augustine saith: Hoc Sacerdotio Regali consecrantur omnes pertinentes ad Corpus Christi, Summi & Veri Principis Sacerdotum: *With this* Roiall Priesthood, *all they are consecrate that pertaine to the* Body of Christ, *which is the high and true* Prince of Priests. Againe he saith: Omnes sunt Sacerdotes, quia membra sunt vnius Sacerdotis: *All bee Priests because they are the* members of one Priest. S. Ambrose saith: Omnes Filij Ecclesiæ Sacerdotes sunt: *All the Children of the Church be* Priests.

Tertull. in Exhor. ad Cast. Apocal. 1. August. 2. Euang. lib. 8. cap. 40. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, li. 20. c. 10 Ambr. in Luc. lib. 5. cap. 6.

S. Hierome saith: Genus Sacerdotale & Regale sumus omnes, qui Baptizati in Christo, Christi censemur nomine: *All we are the Priestly and Kingly kinred, that beeing Baptized in Christ, are called* Christians *by the name of* Christ.

Hieron. in Malac. cap. 1. Chrys. 2. Cor. Homil. 3.

Chrysostome saith: Et tu in Baptismo, & Rex efficeris, & Sacerdos & Propheta: *Euen thou in thy* Baptisme, *art made both a* King, *and a* Priest, *and a* Prophet.

Now M. Harding, let vs take the view of your Priestly conclusions.

Moses once did one part of the Bishops Office in consecrating Aaron and his Children: and that neuer at any time else, neither after nor before. Againe: Christ hath a Spirituall Priesthood, and a Spirituall Kingdome: for otherwise Ordinary Priesthood, and Earthly Kingdome he had none. Againe: S. Peter called the whole Church of Christ, a Kingly Priesthood: *Ergo*, say you, *The* Pope *beareth both the office of a* Priest, *and also the Right & State of an earthly King.*

To dissemble all other the fond weakenesse of these follies, Christ himselfe saith to the Pope,

Pope, and to all other Priests and Bishops: *The Kings of Nations rule ouer them, and they that are great, exercise Authority ouer the people*: But it shall not be so amongst you. Math. 20.

S. Cyprian saith, as he is alledged by Gratian: Christus actibus proprijs & Dignitatibus distinctis, officia Potestatis vtriusque discreuit: Christ *by seuerall duties, and distinct honors, hath set a difference betweene the offices of both Powers.* *Dist.* 10. *Quoniam idem.*

Whereupon your owne Glosse saith: Hic est Argumentum, quòd Papa non habet vtrunque Gladium: *Here is a good Argument that the Pope hath not both Swords*: that is to say, that the Pope is not both Priest and King. *Glossa.*

S. Bernard saith thus vnto Pope Eugenius: Planum est, quòd Apostolis interdicitur Dominatus. Ergo tu tibi vsurpare audes, aut Dominans Apostolatum, aut Apostolicus Dominatum. Planè ab alterutro prohiberis. Si vtrunque similiter habere vis, perdes vtrumque. Alioqui ne te putes exceptum illorum numero, de quibus conqueritur Dominus, dicens, Ipsi regnauerunt, & non ex me. *It is plaine, that* Temporall Dominion *is forbidden the Apostles. Now therefore thou, being Pope, dare to vsurpe either the* Apostleship, *being a* Prince, *or the* Princehood, *being the* Successor of the Apostles. *Doubtlesse from the one of them thou art forbidden. If thou wilt indifferently haue both, thou shalt lose both. Otherwise thinke not, thou canst be excepted from the number of them of whom the Lord complaineth,* They haue made themselues Kings, and not by me. *Bernar. de con. Lib.* 2.

The Pope is a King.

Concerning the place of S. Peter, one of your company saith, it nothing furthereth the Popes Kingdome. Thus he saith: Sacerdotium dicitur Regale, à Regno, non huius mundi, sed Cœli: S. Peter *calleth vs a* Kingly Priesthood, *of the* Kingdome *of* Heauen, *not of the* Kingdome *of this world*. Yet is this the selfe same Kingdome that the Pope craueth, and that by the Authority of S. Peter. *Ioan. de Parisijs. cap.* 18.

Notwithstanding one of your Louanian company hath sent vs home lately other newes from Louaine. His words be these: Vos estis Regale Sacerdotium: *You are a* Kingly Priesthood, *as who should say, the* Priesthood *before was not* Kingly, *for that then* Kings *ruled ouer* Priests: *but now is the* Priesthood Kingly, *for that to it bee subiect euen* Kings *themselues*. Thus vnlesse your Priests may rule Kings, and Princes, and all the World at their pleasure, ye thinke they haue no Kingly Priesthood. *Dorm. fol.* 40.

In the Councell holden at Macra in France it is written thus: Solus Dominus noster Iesus Christus verè fieri potuit & Rex & Sacerdos. Post Incarnationem verò, & Resurrectionem, & Ascensionem eius in Cœlum, nec Rex Pontificis Dignitatem, nec Pontifex Regiam Potestatem sibi vsurpare præsumpsit: *Onely our* Lord Iesus Christ *might truly bee both* Priest *and* King. *But sithence his Incarnation, and Resurrection, and Ascension into Heauen neither hath the* King *presumed to take vpon him the dignity or office of a* Bishop, *nor hath the* Bishop *presumed to vsurpe the power and maiesty of a* King. *Concil. Macr. Citatur ab Illyric. inter Testes Veritatis, pag.* 121.

To bee short, M. Harding, wee say not, as you so often and so vntruly haue reported of vs, that the King may in any wise execute the Bishops Office: but thus wee say, and because it is true, therefore wee say it: The King may lawfully correct and chastise the negligence and falshood of the Bishop: and that in so doing, he doth onely his owne Office, and not the Bishops.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision* 6.

Iosua also, though he were none other then a Ciuill Magistrate, yet as soone as he was chosē by God, and set as a Ruler ouer the people, he receiued cōmandments, specially touching Religiō and the Seruice of God. Iosua Cap. 1.

Iosua.

M. Harding.

There is no doubt but Iosua receiued commission and commandement to worship God, but none to rule Priests in spirituall matters. Yea rather he was commanded to goe forth and come in at the voice and word of Eleazarus the High Priest, he and all the children of Israel. Do not these men prooue their matters handsomely?

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Iosua was commanded to go in and out, and to be directed by the voice of Eleazarus the High Priest. Therefore (ye say) in spirituall causes the Priests may not be controlled by the Prince. Ye deliuer out your Arguments, M. Harding, before they be ready. These peces would haue beene better tied together.

Though the Prince be commanded to heare the Priest, yet if the Priest be negligent, or deceiue the people, he may by his Ordinary Authority controle the Priest.

When Aaron the High Priest had consented to the making and worshipping of the golden Exod. 32.

Iosua.

golden Calfe, Moſes being then the Temporall Prince, rebuked him ſharply vnto his face: and in ſo doing, did not the Biſhops Office, but onely his owne. As touching Iosua, whom ye would faine haue reſtrained from all Eccleſiaſticall Cauſes, he cauſed the People to be Circumciſed: He cauſed Altars for their bloody Sacrifices to be reiected: He cauſed the Prieſts to make their Sacrifices: He cauſed the Deuteronomie to be written in ſtones: He cauſed both the Bleſſings and the Curſes of God to be pronounced: He ſpake openly to the People, and fraied them from Idolatry. All theſe were Cauſes, not of Ciuill Policy, but of Religion. S. Auguſtine ſaith: In hoc Reges Deo ſeruiunt, ſicut eis Diuinitùs præcipitur, in quantum ſunt Reges, ſi in ſuo Regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant; non ſolùm quæ pertinent ad humanam ſocietatem, verùm etiam quæ ad Diuinam Religionem: *Herein* Kings *ſerue God, as it is commanded them from aboue, in that they be Kings, if within their Kingdome they command good things, and forbid euill*; not onely in things perteining to Humane Fellowſhip, or Ciuill Order, but alſo in things perteining to Gods Religion. He may ſee therefore, M. Harding, how handſomely ſoeuer we proue our matters, that of your part hitherto they are but vnhandſomely and coutſly anſwered.

Auguſt. contra Creſconium, Lib. 3. Cap. 51.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. Diuiſion 7.

1. Paralip. 13.

King Dauid ordereth matters in Religion.

King Dauid, when the whole Religion of God was altogether brought out of frame by wicked king Saul, brought home againe the Arke of God, that is to ſay, he reſtored Religion againe, and was not only amongſt the himſelfe, as a Counſeller and furtherer of the worke, but he appointed alſo Hymnes and Pſalmes, put in order the companies, and was the only doer in ſetting forth that whole Soiemne Triumph, and in effect ruled the Prieſts.

M. Harding.

As Dauid reſtored all things to good order after the euill king Saul ſo did Queene Mary redreſſe diſorders before committed. But as Queene Mary did it by the conſent of Prieſts, ſo king Dauid in Prieſtly matters called for Sadoch and Abiathar. Indeed Dauid paſſed other Princes herein, becauſe he had the* gift of Prophecy, whereby he wrote Pſalms, which to this day we ſing. But al this maketh nothing to prooue him Iudge in Spirituall matters. He did not vſurpe the Authority to ſacrifice, to diſcerne the Leaper, and to doe the like things of Prieſtly charge.

* An il compariſon, for that the one ſet vp, the other pluckt downe.

* A ſimple ſhift, God wot. For other Kings that did the like, were no Prophets.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

King Dauid (ye ſay) reſtored Religion by meane of the Prieſts. Nay verily, M. Harding: for by meane of the Prieſts the Religion vtterly was decaied. Therefore ye ſpoile that moſt Noble Prince of his worthy praiſes, and giue them to others that neuer deſerued them. The Holy Tabernacle was broken and loſt: the Arke of God was kept, not in the Temple, but in a priuate mans houſe: the people had no Common place to reſort vnto, to heare Gods will: they had each man his owne Priuate Chapell in their Hilles and Groaues. And all this was done by the ſlothfulneſſe and negligence of the Biſhops.

Dauid therefore called the Biſhops and Prieſts together: He ſhewed them in what ſort the Religion of God was defaced: He willed them to bring the Arke into Sion: He was preſent himſelfe: He appointed and ordered the whole Triumph: He aſſigned which of the Leuites, and in what order they ſhould ſerue before the Arke: He allotted Aarons Children, which were the Prieſts, to walke each man in his ſeuerall Office.

1. Paralip. 16.
1. Paralip. 24.
2. Paralip. 8.

So likewiſe it is written of King Salomon touching the ſame: King Salomon, *according to the Decree and order of his father* Dauid, *appointed the Offices of the Prieſts in their ſeuerall Miniſteries, and the* Leuites *each man in his Order, that they ſhould praiſe God, and miniſter before the Prieſts. For ſo* Dauid *the man of God had commanded.* Likewiſe it is written of King Ioſaphat: *He appointed and ordered the* Leuites *and* Prieſts.

2. Paralip. 19.

Thus then did theſe Godly Princes: and thus doing, they vſurped not the Biſhops Office, but only did that they lawfully might do, and apperteined wholly vnto themſelues.

Where ye ſay, Dauid was a Prophet, and not only a King, as though he had done theſe things by vertue of his Prophecy, and not by the right of his Princely Power, this poore ſhift is very ſimple: For notwithſtanding King Dauid were a Prophet, yet King Ioſaphat, and other Princes that did the like, were no Prophets: neither doe we read of any other Prophet that euer attempted to do the like: nor did Dauid theſe things, as a Prophet, but as a King.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision* 8.

King Salomon built vnto the Lord the Temple, which his Father Dauid had but purposed in his minde to do: and after the finishing thereof, hee made a godly Oration to the people, concerning Religion and the Seruice of God. He afterward displaced Abiathar the Priest, and set Sadok in his place. 2. Paralip. 6. 3. Regum. 8.

M. Harding.

Salomons building of the Temple, and praying therein, prooueth no Supremacie ouer the Priests in Spirituall things. His putting of Abiathar out of his dignity and roome, * was like to that Queene Mary did to Cranmer: Whom shee might haue remooued for Treason, as Salomon laid the like to Abiathar, yet shee chose rather to burne him for Heresie. But this prooueth *only an outward execution of Iustice, without any preiudice to the Substance of our question: which is, whether a Temporall Prince may determine the causes of Religion or no. 3. Reg. 2.

* Vntruth. For what Superiour Bishops authority vsed Salomon in the Deposition of Abiathar?

* Vntruth, manifest. Read the Answer.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The deposing of Abiathar, yee say, was onely the execution of outward iustice; like to that Queene Mary did to Doctor Cranmer the Archbishop of Canturbury. Wherein ye shew your selfe to be much ouerseene. For these comparisons are in no wise like. Salomon, by his Princely authority, lawfully deposed the High Priest Abiathar: But Queene Mary Deposed not, nor could she by your Canons lawfully Depose the Archbishop of Canturbury: nor doe you thinke it in any case lawfull, that a Bishop should be Deposed by a Prince. For Deposition (ye say) is a Spirituall punishment, and only belongeth vnto a *Bishop*. And your Law saith: Eius est Destituere, cuius est Instituere: *Hee may depose a Priest, that hath authority to place a Priest*. Therefore these two Princes doings were not like. But touching the High Priest Abiathar, King Salomon Summoned him to appeare before him: King Salomon sate in Iudgement, and heard the Accusations wherewith he was charged; King Salomon pronounced Sentence against him: King Salomon Deposed him: King Salomon appointed Sadoch to succeed him. If all this be not sufficient, ouer and besides these things, King Salomon placed the Arke of God: King Salomon Sanctified and Hallowed the Temple: King Salomon offered vp burnt Sacrifice: King Salomon directed and ordered the Priests in their seuerall Offices: King Salomon blessed the whole people: And as it is written, *The* Priests and Leuites *left not ought vndone, of all that was commanded them by the King*. If these cases be not Spirituall, tell vs then, what cases may be allowed for Spirituall? Thus the godly King Salomon, thought it lawful for him to deale, not only in matters of Temporall Gouernment, but also in Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall cases of Religion. Therefore M. Harding, it is but a toy that ye tell vs of the Execution of outward Iustice.

King Salomon iudgeth in Spirituall cases.

2. Paralipom. 5. 6. 7. 8.

2. Paralip. 8.

Concerning that most Graue, and Godly, and Learned Father, the Archbishop of Canturbury, with whom ye did what soeuer your pleasure was, God grant his blood be neuer required at your hands.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision*, 9.

After this, when the Temple of God was in shamefull wise polluted through the naughtinesse and negligence of the Priests, King Ezechias commanded the same to be cleansed frō the rubble & filth, the Priests to light vp Candles, to burne Incense, and to do their Diuine Seruice according to the Old and allowed Order: The same King also commanded the Brasen Serpent, which then the People wickedly worshipped, to bee taken downe, and beaten to powder. 2. Paralip. 29. 4. Regum. 18.

* Vntruth. For the Priests did nothing, but against their wils. Read the Answer.

M. Harding.

How often shal I tel you, that this prooueth no more, but that good Kings doe good deeds, maintaining true Religion, and pull downe the false, as the Constable of France burned the Pulpits of the Huguenots in Paris? But these facts proue not that Kings and Constables be Iudges of Religion, which is good, and which is euil: which true, which false. For therein they * follow the iudgment and aduice of Priests and Prophets, who be about them, as * Esaias was at hand with good King Ezechias, to direct his doings: and so was Elizeus with King Iehu.

This is far from the purpose. For Esaias and Elizeus neither were Priests, nor had the execution of Priestly Offices.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Ezechias. King Ezechias (ye say) and other Kings followed the aduice and iudgement of the Priests and Prophets. **This tale, M. Harding, is not only vnlikely, but also vntrue. For ye know that** Elias and Elizeus, **notwithstanding they were the** Prophets of God, **yet were they neither** Priests, **nor** Bishops, **nor had any maner of Ordinary Ministration in the Church. The** Bishops **and** Priests **of whom ye speake, had disordered and wasted Gods whole** Religion. **The** Holy Place of God **was full of filthinesse: The Gates of the** Temple **were shut vp, that no man might enter in: The people had turned away their faces from the** Tabernacle of the Lord: **There was no Incense: There was no Sacrifice. All these things had happened through the negligence and wickednesse of the** Priests. **In the** Old
2. Paralip. 29. Latine Text **it is written thus:** Sacerdotes & Leuitæ, tandem Sanctificati, obtulerunt Holocausta: *The* Priests *and* Leuites, *at the last, or with much adoe, were Sanctified, and offered vp*
2. Paralip. 30. *Sacrifices:* **Vpon which place the** Latter Translation **saith thus:** Sacerdotes & Leuitæ pudore suffusi, Sanctificauerunt se: *The* Priests *and* Leuites, *euen for verie shame, Sanctified themselues.* **So ready were they to call vpon, and to further the King in his godly purpose. They held backe what they could, and yeelded to nothing, but with** much adoe, and for very shame. **They did nothing, but by the Kings Commandement: and made him a reckoning of their doings.**

Howbeit, perhaps ye will discharge this whole matter with one Ordinary excuse, and tell vs, that all these were but Temporall Cases.

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision* 10.

1. Paralip. 17. King Iehosaphat, **ouerthrew and vtterly made away the Hill** Altars **and** Groues, **whereby he saw Gods Honour hindered, & the people holden backe with Priuate Superstition, from the ordinary** Temple, **which was at** Ierusalem: **whereto they should by order haue resorted yeerely from euery part of the** Realme.

M. Harding.

Ye put vs in minde to consider how that your selues are those Priuate Hil Altars, & darke Groues. For ye be they that stop the people from the common Temple of Christendom, the Catholik Church: out of which is no Saluation, the head whereof sitteth in Peters Chaire at Rome. For setting order both in matters of Common Weale, & others, Iehosaphat said thus, concerning Religion: *Amarias Sacerdos & Pontifex vester, in iis quæ ad Deum pertinent, præsidebit:* Amarias the Priest and High Bishop, for such matters as perteine to God, he shal be head ouer you.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

All this whole matter, touching as wel King Iehosaphat, **as also** Amarias **the High** Priest, **is answered in that is past before.**

The Apologie, Chap. 11. *Diuision.* 11.

King Iosias, **with great diligence put the** Priests **and** Bishops **in minde of**
4. Regum 12. **their duties: King** Iohas **bridled the Riot and Arrogancie of the** Priests:
4. Regum. 10. Iehu **put to death the wicked** Prophets.

M. Harding.

The putting of Priests and Bishops in mind of their duty, is not a Supremacie in determining Ecclesiasticall causes. And whereas you say, that king Ioas bridled the riot & arrogancie of the Priests;
* Ye might haue found it. 4. Reg. cap. 12. if it were so, it was well done: but *I find not those words in the Text. Concerning that Iehu did, it is a * meere Temporall Office to put false Preachers & Heretikes to death. Neither can it belong to
* But he iudged them; and condemned thē for false Prophets: This was no meere Temporall Office. Priests, vnlesse they haue also ciuil iurisdiction. Much lesse doth that act proue, that Kings be Supreme Heads of the Church, and ought to be iudges in controuersies and questions of Religion.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Concerning the Storie of King Iohas, **I report me to that is written of him in the** Booke of Kings. **He sequestred the** Oblations **of the people, which the** Priests **had bestowed leaudly and wantonly vpon themselues, and by his owne Authority turned the same to the Reparations of the** Temple. **Of** King Iosias **it is written thus:** Constituit Iosias
4. Regum 12. Sacerdotes in officiis suis: King Iosias *appointed the* Priests *to minister in their seuerall offices:*
2. Paralip. 35. And againe: Mundauit Iudam & Hierusalem ab Excelsis & Lucis: King Iosias *cleansed and rid* Iuda *and* Hierusalem *from their Hill* Altars *and their* Groues.

But

But ye will say, He did all things by the discretion of the Priests and Bishops. This thing indeed is necessarie, while the Priests and Bishops be Learned and Godly. But King Iosias did far otherwise: for he sent the Bishop himselfe vnto Olda the Propheteſſe, to learne the Discretion and Iudgement of a Woman: and so was directed in matters of Highest Religion by a Woman, and not by a Priest. 4. Regum 22.

These Examples be so manifest, that one of your Fellowes of Louaine is faine thus to excuse the matter by ouermuch Antiquitie: If we would in these daies (saith he) vse in all points the Examples of the Old Law, there would follow an huge number of inconueniences. It is no good reason, to say that therefore our Kings now adaies must haue the like authority. Thus saith he: As though the Princes right were now abated and altered, as the Ceremonies of the Law; and were otherwise now then it was before: Or, as if the Comming of Christ into the world, and the Preaching of the Gospell, had purposely been to represse and pul down the Seat of Kings. *Dorm. fol.* 37. *Dorm. fol.* 39.

The Apologie, Chap. 12. *Diuision* 1.

AND, to reherse no moe Examples out of the Old Law, let vs rather Consider sithence the Birth of Christ, how the Church hath been gouerned in the time of the Gospel. The Prince is a Iudge in Ecclesiastical Causes.

M. Harding.

If we consider the Office of a King in it selfe, it is (a) one euery where, not onely among Christian Princes but also among Heathen. (a) The definition of a King, which agreeth to Iulius Cæsar, or to Alexander the great, as they were Monarkes & Princes, is one with the definition of a King which agreeth to Henry the Eighth, or to Charles the fifth. (b) So that no more could King Henry, a King, meddle with Religion, then Alexander, or Iulius Cæsar. (c) His place is chiefe among the Lay, euen when they are in the Church at the Seruice of God; and (c) without the Church in all Temporall things and causes, he is ouer the Priests themselues.

(a) Euen so Iupiter, or Baals bishop, was as well a Bishop as the Bishop of Rome

(b) Neither can the Pope meddle more with Religion, then Annas or Caiaphas.

(c) Vntruth. For if the Bishop had offended, he was subiect to the Prince, as well within the Church, as without.

And because all these examples are taken out of the Old Testament, I will giue thee a true resolution out of the same Booke, what authority Priests had, and what authority Kings had. Moses gaue this rule, cõcerning the same matter. If (saith he) thou perceiue an heard & doubtful iudgement to be with thee between blood and blood, cause and cause, Leaper and Leaper, and seest the words of the Iudges within thy gates to varie, arise, and go vp to the place which thy Lord God shall chuse, and thou shalt come to the Priests of the stocke of Leui, and to the Iudge that shall be for the time, and thou shalt demand of them, who shall shew the truth of iudgement to thee. Deut. 17.

But neither the Priest by this place may meddle with that iurisdiction which belongeth to the Temporall Iudge, neither the Iudge with that which was Spirituall, and belonging only to the Priest. For of such causes Azarias the Priest and Bishop said to King Ozias, It is not thy Office, Ozias, to burn incense vnto our Lord. It is the Office of the Priests: That is to say, of the Sons of Aaron, who are consecrated to doe such Ministeries. But this the King might doe euen in matters of Religion: (d) When the High Priest had giuen sentence, he might see the execution thereof to be done. But (e) otherwise whatsoeuer King or Temporal Iudge might not do in his owne person, (e) much lesse might he Iudge whether another did well therein, or no. And thus much concerning the Old Testament. 2. Paral. 26.

(d) The Prince is Executioner to the Priest.

(e) Vntruth, euident. Reade the Answer.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

The Office of a King, ye say, was no more in King Henry the Eighth, or in Charles the Fifth, then it was in the Heathen Princes, Iulius Cæsar, or Alexander the Great. And therefore, yee say, a Christian Princes Office standeth only in Matters Temporall: And for that cause ye often call him, a Meere Lay, Temporal Prince: as if he were in Authority not much better then an Heathen Magistrate.

Euen so, M. Harding, is your Pope no more a Bishop or perhaps much lesse a Bishop, then Annas and Caiaphas: Neither is your Priest more a Priest, then the Priest of Dagon, or Baal. The difference standeth not in Office, but only in Truth. Yet neuertheleſſe yee know that Heathen Princes had euermore a Souereigne Authority not only ouer their Priests and Bishops, but also ouer all Cases of Religion.

Aristotle saith: Βασιλεὺς τῶν θεσπρεπῶν τῶν θείων κύριος: The King, *that is, Lord and Ruler of things that pertaine vnto the* Gods. *Aristot. Politicor. Lib.* 3.

And therefore Socrates in his Story saith: Imperatores vnà complexi sumus, &c. *Wee haue also herein compriſed the* Emperours Liues, *for that sithence the* Emperors *were first Christened, the affaires of the* Church *haue hanged of them, and the greatest* Councels *both haue beene, and are kept by their aduice.* *Socrat. Lib.* 5. *In Proœmio:* τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πράγματα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκρέμετο.

Ye say: The Prince in doubtful cases was commanded to take Counsel of the Highest Priest. This is true. But will ye conclude heereof, that the Highest Priest may say and doe what he listeth, without controlement? What if the High Priest would answer thus, as hee answered sometime indeed: *This Christ is a* Samaritane, *a deceiuer of the people, and hath a Diuell?* What if he teare his owne roabes for anger, and crie out, He blasphemeth: hee is worthy to die? Yet must the Emperour nedes giue care vnto him, and beleeue him,

The Prince is a Iudge in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.

without exception? Certainly in the Old Law, if the Biſhop either had bene negligent in his Office, or of malice or ignorance had anſwered Vntruth, hee was euermore vnder the generall controlment of the Prince.

Within the Church (ye ſay) the Prince is inferiour to the Prieſt, notwithſtanding without the Church hee is in Temporall caſes aboue the Prieſt. Thus ye fetch your matter round, within without, and round about, with all the Circumſtances: as if Princes were as changeable as your ſelfe, and would be other without then they are within.

Indeed in that the Prieſt doth his Office, in that he either openeth Gods Will, or declareth his threats, or rebuketh ſinne, or Excommunicateth, and cutteth off a dead member from the Body, ſo farre forth the Prince, be hee neuer ſo mighty, is inferiour vnto him. But in this reſpect the Prince is inferiour, not onely to the Pope, or Biſhop, but alſo to any other ſimple Prieſt: And the Pope himſelfe, in this reſpect, is inferiour to his Confeſſour, bee hee neuer ſo poore a Prieſt. So the Emperour Conſtantinus was wont to ſay to the Godly Biſhops: Be you Biſhops within the Church, and I will be Biſhop without. But if the Biſhop had beene faultie, either in Negligence, or in Faſhood, whether he had beene within the Church, or abroad, hee was alwaies to be controlled by the Prince.

Ye ſay: When the High Prieſt had giuen Sentence, the Prince might ſee the execution thereof to be done. And thus ye make the Emperour the Popes man, to put his Sentence in Execution. So Pope Bonifacius 8. telleth you: Materialis Gladius excercendus eſt manu Regum & Militum, ſed ad nutum & patientiam Sacerdotis: *The Temporall Sword muſt be drawn by the hand of Kings and Souldiers: but at the becke and ſufferance of the Prieſt.*

9. qu. 3. Nemo. In Gloſſa. Ab Enſ. de vita Conſt. Orat. 4. De Maioritate & Obedientia, Vnam Sanctã. Iohan. de Parijs, cap 18.

But I beſeech you, at whoſe becke did King Salomon Depoſe Abiathar the High Prieſt? At whoſe becke did Ioſias, and other Godly Princes, of whom we haue ſaid before redreſſe the Religion of God, which the Prieſts ſo ſhamefully had decaied: At whoſe becke did they rebuke the careleſſe negligence of the Prieſts? Verily one of your owne Doctours ſaith: In Veteri Lege, Sacerdotes qui Reges inungebant, indubitanter Regibus ſubdebantur: *In the Old Law, the Biſhops that anointed the Kings, out of doubt were Subiects vnto the Kings.*

Augu. Epiſt. 166. ad Donatiſtas.

And S. Auguſtine ſaith: Quando Imperatores Veritatem tenent, & ipſa Veritate contra Errorem iubet, quiſquis illud contempſerit, ipſe ſibi iudicium acquirit. Nam & inter homines pœnas luit, & apud Deum frontem non habebit, qui hoc facere noluit, quod ei per cor Regis ipſa Veritas iuſſit: *When the Emperor holdeth the Truth, and by force of the ſame Truth gineth out Lawes & Proclamations againſt Error, whoſoeuer deſpiſeth the ſame, procureth iudgement againſt himſelfe. For he ſhal bee puniſhed before men, and before God he ſhall haue no face, that refuſed to doe that thing, that the* Truth it ſelfe, through the heart of the Prince, hath commanded him.

The Apologie, Chap. 12. Diuiſion 2.

The Chriſtian Emperours in the old time appointed the Councels of the Biſhops. Conſtantine called the Councell at Nice: Theodoſius the firſt called the Councell at Coſtantinople: Theodoſius the ſecond called the Councell at Epheſus: Martian called the Councell at Chalcedon.

M. Harding.

(a) A diſcreet diſtinctiõ. As if the Emperor receiued his authority ſiõ the Pope.
(b) Vntruth, manifeſt as it ſhall appeare.
(c) Al the Biſhops thorowout the whole world are the Popes ſheep
(d) Vntruth. For the Emperor may ſummon Councels whether the Pope will or no.
(e) Vntruth. For Syluester was dead long before the ſummoning of the Councell.

The calling or ſummoning of Councels may be done (a) either by way of Authoritie, which the callet himſelfe hath; or by way of Authority, which he taketh of another. If Conſtantine, the two Theodoſians, and Martian, called the foure firſt Generall Councels by their Authority onely, then were they no Generall Councels; neither could their Decrees binde the whole world. For although they were great Emperors, yet was not the whole Chriſtian world vnder them. And therefore thoſe Chriſtian Biſhops, who liued in Perſia, in Æthiopia, in Scotland, in Scythia, or in any other Land not ſubiect to the Emperour, were neither bound to come, nor bound to obey the Lawes made by them, who were not their Superiours. But if it be farre from reaſon, that a Generall Councel ſhould not binde all Biſhops, and all Chriſtians, it is alſo farre from reaſon, to ſay that Emperours called Generall Councels by their owne only Authority. Indeed they called them by the aſſent of the Biſhop of Rome, (b) who being the Generall Shepheard of Chriſts Flocke, and therefore alſo of all Biſhops, might command (c) al his Sheepe to come together, except they were reaſonably to be excuſed: and they were bound to heare his voice, and to obey his decree. So that although ye proued the Emperors to haue ſummoned and called the foure firſt Councels, yet were ye not able to proue they did it (d) without the aſſent of the Biſhops of Rome, which for the time ſate in Peters Chaire. And by the force of that aſſent the deed muſt take effect. And thus much generally.

Now to proue vnto you that (e) S. Silueſter aſſented to the calling of the firſt Councel at Nice, it is to be conſidered, that he only hath Authority to ratifie, who hath authority to command, and to giue aſſent and ſtrength from the beginning. For none other difference is between commanding, aſſenting, authorizing,

authorizing & ratifying but that assenting is common to them all; commanding is a thing that goeth before the fact, auctorizing is the making of a thing good by present agreeing to it, while it is done, ratifying is the allowing of it whē it is done. If then I shew both that the Pope did ratifie the calling of the generall Councels & auctorize them; I shew much more that he assented to the calling of them. The auctorizing is prooued, by reason he sent his Legates to euery of them. As (f) S. Syluester sent Osius Cordubensis of the Prouince of Spaine vnto Nice, with Victor & Vincentius, Priests of the City of Rome. Of which the last two, being themselues no Bishops, yet for that they were Legates of the chief Bishop, did in(g)the first place put vnto the decrees of that Councell their consent & names, writing after this sort: *Prouenerabili viro Papæ & Episcopo nostro Sylvestro subscripsimus*: Wee haue subscribed for the reuerend man our Pope & Bishop Sylvester. And at the very (h)same time that the generall Councell was kept at Nice, S. Sylvester called another Councell in Rome, at the which two hundred seuenty & fiue Bishops were assembled. And it is expressly written in the same Councell; *Sylvester coll. git vnive. sim Synodum Episcoporum cum consilio Augusti vel matris eius*: Sylvester gathered together the whole Synod of the Bishops with the counsell of the(i)Emperor or * his mother. Why his counsell was needful, it appeareth there. Because the Emperor bare the charges of their diet & carriage. So that his counsel was necessary, not chiefly for Religion, but rather for supportation of the charges of so great a iourney. For then neither was the Bishop of Rome, nor other Bishops endued with so large possessions as they were afterward.

Now to returne to the Councell of Nice. The Emperour was indeed the cause of their comming together, aswell for that himselfe perswaded that meane of concord, as also for that liberally he defraied the charges. Yet called he not the Bishops of his owne head. And that these men might haue seene in the Ecclesiasticall History, where Ruffinus writeth: *Tum ille ex Sacerdotum sententia apud Vrbem Nicæam Episcopale Concilium conuocat*: The Emperour calleth together a Councell of Bishops according to the determination of the Priests. Hee did it according as it seemed * good to the Bishops. (k) And shall we thinke the Bishop of Rome was none of them that consented to the calling? Yes verily hee was the chiefest of all. How can it otherwise seeme? For when all the Decrees were made, *Placuit vt hæc omnia mitterentur ad Episcopum Vrbis Romæ Syluestrum*: It was thought good that all those acts and decrees should bee sent to * Sylvester Bishop of the City of Rome. If hee were the last that had the view and confirming of al things, there is no doubt but he had a voice & great authority in calling the Councel.

What other is that, which Socrates in his Ecclesiasticall History witnesseth, saying: *Cum vtique Regula Ecclesiastica iubeat non oportere* (l) *præter sententiam Romani Pontificis* * *Concilia celebrari*; Whereas the Ecclesiasticall rule commandeth, * that no Councels ought to be kept beside the determinate consent of the Bishop of Rome. We know (saith Athanasius and the Bishops of Egypt assembled in Councell at Alexandria) that in the great Councell of Nice of 318. Bishops it was with one accord by all confirmed there, that without the determination of the Bishop of Rome, neither Councels should bee kept, nor Bishops condemned. I omit here as a thing well knowen, how Constantine the Emperor refused in expresse words, to be iudge ouer Bishops, saying, that God had giuen them power to iudge of him; much lesse did he arrogate to himselfe only & chiefly authority to summon Councels or to iudge Bishoply affaires. As for me (saith Valentinian the Emperor) inasmuch as I am but one of the people, it is not lawfull to search such matters; (hee speaketh of the Heretikes doctrines) but let the Priests, to whom this charge belongeth, be gathered together within themselues where they will, &c.

Concerning the second Councell, which was the first of those that were kept at Constantinople, it may be that Theodosius called it, as Constantine called the first at Nice. But what authority Damasus bare in the same, it appeareth partly by that he had his (n) Legates there, partly also by that Photius Patriarke of Constantinople writeth in his Epistle to Michael Prince of Bulgaria. Where hauing declared the comming together of the Patriarkes of Alexandria and Ierusalem, he saith thus: *Quibus haud multò post & Damasus Episcopus Romæ eadem confirmans atque idem sentiens accessit*; To which (Patriarkes of Alexandria and Ierusalem) not long after, Damasus the Bishop of Rome ioined himselfe, confirming (o) and determining the same matter. Thus much saith Photius of the second Councell, the confirmation whereof he doth attribute not to Theodosius the Emperor, but to Damasus the Pope.

But what did Theodosius then? (will some man say) Did he nothing? Yes verily he did very much, as in the said Epistle Photius recordeth. Then did great Theodosius (saith hee) indeed worthy of great praise rule the Empire, who was himselfe also a defender & maintainer of godlinesse. Behold what the Emperors part was, not to sit in iudgement of matters of Religion, and (p) determine which was the true faith, but to defend it & maintaine it. And that thou maist see, Reader, plainly, what Theodosius thought of Religion, whom these Defenders would make a Iudge in causes of Religion; I aduise thee to read the ninth Booke of the Tripartite History, where appeare many great arguments of his owne faith, which he published to the world from Thessalonica in a Publik Law to be such, as Peter had taught the Romans (q) and as Damasus who succeeded Peter, taught at that day, requiring all his subiects to beleeue the same. He required not them to follow his owne priuate faith, but Peters faith, and the Popes faith. And whereas there were two Bishops of Alexandria at that time, the one, whose name was Peter, holding with the Bishop of Rome, the other named Lucius, not so; Theodosius commanded his subiects to beleeue as Peter did, who followed the first Peter and Damasus the Bishop of Rome.

Touching the third generall Councell, it was kept indeed vnder Theodosius the younger at Ephesus. But he was not supreme head there. Yea rather who knoweth not, that Cyrillus beeing himselfe Patriarke of Alexandria, yet was President at Ephesus, beating the stead and person of Pope Celestine? If Cyrill was in stead of the Bishop of Rome there President (r) who may doubt, but that he was Supreme head of the Church, in whose name the President sate? Doth the President of the Queenes Maiesties Councell vse to sit at her Councell in the name of any other inferiour person? If Theodosius were Supreme and Chiefe, why sat not Cyrill in his name as President? But seeing that Photius writeth, and Nicephorus also, that Cyrill Archbishop of Alexandria sate in the stead of Celestine Pope of Rome ouer that Councell kept at Ephesus, vndoubtedly it cannot be denied, but that Celestine was Supreme Head, as well of the Church as of the generall Councell.

(f) Vntruth, vain and vnaduised. For neither was Hosius Sylvesters Legate, nor was Sylvester then aliue.

(g) Vntruth impudent. For they had the fourth place in the Councell, and subscribed after Eustathius.

(h) Vntruth, vnlesse a dead man may summon Councels.

(i) By the counsell of the Emperor or of his mother wisely, hee woteth not whether. And yet the Emperours Mother was dead before, *Sozom. li. 2. cap. 2. & 3.*

(k) Full Clerkly prooued. For Ruffinus saith, the Emperour herein followed the aduice of Alexander the Bishop of Alexandria, &c. but of the Pope there is no mention.

(l) Vntruth fondly forged. For Sylvester was dead long before.

(m) Vntruth, standing in plain corruption of the words. See the Answer.

(n) So had sundrie other Bishops.

(o) Other Bishops likewise gaue their consents and confirmed, &c. Yea had they no authority to summon Councels.

(p) Vntruth manifest. For Theodosius the Emperour expressly determined, what should bee holden for Christian Faith.

(q) Vntruth, guilefully enclosed. For Theodosius willed his subiects to follow as well the faith of sundrie other Bishops as the Popes. (r) A fond folly. For the Bishop of Rome had euermore the First Place in Councels. Yet was hee not therefore the Head of the Church.

Lib. 10. cap. 1. Marke, ex sacerdotum sententia.

Ex summ. Nicæ Concil.

Hist. trip. lib. 4. cap. 9. Epistola Ægypt. Pontificum.

Ruffi. li. 10. c. 2 Hist. Trip. lib. 7 cap. 12.

Photius in Lib. de Concilys.

Ruffi. li. 11. c. 3

Lib. 14. cap. 34

It is not therefore only to be considered, that Theodosius sent abroad his messengers to summon the Fathers to the general Councell, but also it is to be considered (s) by whose authority it was done. If in our time it had pleased the Emperor Ferdinand of famous memory to haue sent his messengers to the Kings and Princes of Spaine, France, England, Hungary, Bemeland, Pole, and to the Estates and Dukes of Italy & Germany, to summon them to the Councel, which the Pope thought good to indict at Trent; I thinke verily the Pope would haue thanked the Emperour for it, and himselfe should haue saued so much charges as men of experience know such an enterprise to require. But now sith the Pope hath of his owne sufficient to beare the Charges of such affaires he asketh not any more of the Emperor, such expences as in old time to that necessarie purpose by the Emperors was allowed.

(s) No doubt by the authority of the Pope. And so was the Emperour onely the Popes man.

Last of al Martian (say you) called the fourth Generall Councell at Chalcedon. We answer Hee called it not in such sort as ye meane, as wit, as Supreme Head and Ruler thereof, but as one able to send Messengers for the Bishops about the world, and to sustain the charges also willing to see peace & concord in the Church of God. Who list to read the Epistles of Pope Leo to Pulcheria the Empresse, to Martian Emperour himselfe, to Thodosius, to Flauianus Archbishop of Cõstantinople, to the Synod first assembled at Ephesus, afterward for certaine causes at Chalcedon; in the same Epistles he may see both the cause of the Councel, and what (t) conference was had thereof with the said Leo Bishop of Rome, whose sent first to Ephesus, Iulianus a Bishop, Renatus a Priest, and Hilarius a Deacon, and afterward to Chalcedon, Paschasinus & Lucentius Bishops, and Bonifacius a Priest, to represent his Person. In one of the said Epistles written to the Second Synod at Ephesus, Leo saith thus: *Religiosissima Clementissimi Principis fides, &c.* The most religious Faith of our most clement Prince, knowing it to pertain chiefly to his renowne, if within the Catholike Church no branch of error spring, hath deferred this reuerence to Gods ordinances, as to vse the authoritie of the See Apostolik to atchieue the effect of a holy purpose, as though he were desirous by the most blessed Peter himselfe, that to bee declared, which in his Confession was praised. By which words it is plaine, that in matters of Religion the Emperor Proceeded not vpon his own head, but (u) was directed by the See of Peter. What shall I say more?

(t) Vntruth. For the Councel was summoned to Chalcedon, quite contrary to the Popes will. Read the Answer (u) Vntruth, most manifest. Read the answer.

If the Emperour first Christened the Pope, let the Emperour bee superior in things to Godward. But if the Pope Christened the Emperour, (as (x) Sylvester did Constantine) let the spirituall Father in that degree of rule be aboue the spirituall Childe.

(x) Vntruth. For he was Christned by Eusebius the Bishop of Nicomedia, long after that Sylvester was dead,

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

No man could vtter so many Vntruths **together, with such affiance, without some cunning. First, M. Harding, ye beare vs in hand, that the** Emperours **of the World in those dates summoned** Councels, **not by their owne authority, but by the authority and warrant of the Pope. As if the Popes authority at that time, had beene many degrees aboue** the Emperour. **Notwithstanding** Pope Pius 2. **as you know, saith thus:** Ante Nicenam Synodum vnusquisq; sibi vixit: & paruus respectus ad Romanam Ecclesiam habebatur: *Before the Councell of Nice, each Bishop liued seuerally to himselfe: and little regard was there then had to the Church of Rome.* Pope Innocentius **complaineth, that hee had not authority sufficient, to force** Pelagius, **being but one man to come before him: much lesse had he authority sufficient, to command and call the whole World. Pope** Leo **both was an humble suter himselfe vnto the** Emperour Martianus, **that it would please his** Maiesty **to command a** Councel **and also intreated other** Bishops **to promote the cause. Thus hee writeth:** Humiliter ac sapienter exposcite, vt petitioni nostræ, qua plenariam indici Synodum postulamus, Clementissimus Imperator dignetur annuere: *Make sute with discreet and humble Praier, that our most* Gracious Emperour *would vouchsafe to grant our request, in that we haue desired a* Generall Councel. **It is not likely that Pope** Leo **would thus haue written, if his owne Authority had beene sufficient.**

Æneas Syluius in epist. 288.

Inter Epistolas Aug. epist. 96.

Leo ad Clerũ & plebem constant. epist. 23.

Nay it is the more vnlikely, that the Emperor **should herein at any time vse the authoritie of the Pope, for that the Pope himselfe was neuer able to summon** Bishops **as hereafter it shall appeare, but onlie by the authority of the** Emperour. Pope Damasus **commanded the** Bishops **of the East, to come to** Rome: **Howbeit not in his own name for that had beene no warrant, but by the** Emperors **speciall letters.** Eusebius **saith thus;** Exemplar Regiarum Literarum, quibus iubet Romæ Episcoporum Concilium celebrari: *This is a Copy of the Emperours Writ, whereby he commanded a Councell to be kept in Rome.* **As for the Pope, notwithstanding all his** Vniuersal power, **he was commanded by the** Emperors **summon, to bee present at** Councels **as well as others.**

Theod. li. 5. c. 9. διέπεμψε δὲ βασιλικὰς γράμματα καλοῦντα.

Eusebius lib. 10. cap. 5.

In the Councell **of** Chalcedon **it is written thus:** Eodem tenore à pijssimis & Christianissimis Imperatoribus, Sanctissimus noster Papa Romanæ Ecclesiæ præpositus Leo, vocatus est; *By order of the same* Writ, Our most holy Pope Leo, *ruler of the* Church of Rome, *was called to the Councell by the most godly and most Christian Emperours.*

Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. pag. 748

Zozomenus **saith:** Constantinus scripsit ad omnes præsides Ecclesiarum, vt ad diē adesset: Ad Episcopos Apostolicarum Sedium: Ad Macarium Hierosolymitanum: ad Iulium Romanũ, &c. *The* Emperor Constantinus *sent out his Letters vnto al the Rulers of the Churches, that they should meet al at* Nice *vpon a day: vnto the* Bishops of the Apostolike Sees: vnto Macarius *the* Bishop of Hierusalē: and vnto Iulius the B. of Rome &. *But* Iulius *excused his absence because of his age.* **Otherwise of Obedience & Duty towards the**

Zozom. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Theod. li. 1. c. 7. βίβλους ἀπέστειλε θεῖος.

Emperour

Emperour, he was as much bound to haue made his appearance there, as the reſt of his Brethren.

The Summoning of Councels.

Ye ſay, If the Emperour ſhould haue ſummoned the Councell by his owne authority, then the Biſhops of Perſia & Scotland, which Countries were not then vnder the obedience of the Roman Empire, would not haue appeared vpon the Summon, and ſo it had beene no generall Councell. This cauill wanteth both truth and ſauour. For proofe whereof, I wil bring forth your ſelfe, M. Harding, to reproue your ſelfe. Ye ſhould not ſo ſone haue forgotten your owne Decree, ſpecially conceiued and publiſhed in this ſelfe ſame Booke. Thus you ſay: theſe be your owne words: A Councell is not accounted General, becauſe Biſhops of all Countries vnder Heauen be aſſembled, but becauſe many be aſſembled and al be lawfully called. Otherwiſe your late Chapter of Trident, with your worthie number of forty Prelates, whereof certaine were onlie May Biſhops, otherwiſe by you called Nullatenſes, could neuer haue beene a Generall Councell.

M. Harding fol. 329. a.

Nicolaus Cuſanus ſaith: Authoritas Concilij non ita dependet à congregante, vt niſi à Papa congregetur, non ſit Concilium: quia tunc omnia Octo Vniuerſalia Concilia non fuiſſent firma: quoniam per Imperatores conuocata leguntur. Et Romanus Pontifex ad inſtar aliorum Patriarcharum, Diuales Sacras iuſſiones, de veniendo, aut mittendo ad Concilium, recepit: *The authority of a Councell dependeth not of him by whom it was ſummoned, that vnleſſe it be ſummoned by the Pope, it can be no Councell. For ſo we ſhould auoid all the firſt eight Generall Councels. For we read, they were ſummoned by Emperours, and not by Popes. And the Pope receiued the Emperours Maieſties Commandement to come or ſend to Councels as other Patriarks did.*

Nicol. Cuſan. de concord. Cathol. li. 2. ca. 25.

Certainlie it cannot appeare, that there was anie Biſhop either of Scotland, or of England then called Britaine, at anie of the firſt foure Councels, either at Nice, or at Epheſus, or at Conſtantinople, or at Chalcedon. Yet are theſe Councels neuertheleſſe called Generall.

Touching the reſt, the Emperour, was then the onlie Monarke of the World: and as Chryſoſtome calleth him, Summitas & Caput omnium ſuper terram hominum: *The top and head of all men in the World.* No doubt whoſoeuer would then haue refuſed the Emperours Summon, much more would he haue refuſed the Summon of the Pope.

Chryſ. ad Pop. Antioch. hom. 2

To qualifie the matter, ye ſay, the Emperour did theſe things, although not by the Popes Warrant, yet at the leaſt by the Popes conſent, and neuer otherwiſe. Heere likewiſe is another Vntruth. For the Emperour commanded Councels, both when he would and whither he would, whither the Pope would or no, manie times without anie maner of regard had to his pleaſure. Pope Leo wrote thus vnto the Emperour Theodoſius. Omnes noſtræ Eccleſiæ, Omnes manſuetudini Veſtræ cum gemitibus & Lachrimis ſupplicant Sacerdotes, vt Generalem Synodum iubeatis intra Italiam celebrari: *All our Churches, and all our Prieſts moſt humbly beſeech your Maieſty with ſobs and teares, that ye will command a Generall Councell to be holden within* Italy. In like ſort he moued the Clergie of Conſtantinople, to be ſuters vnto his Maieſty for the ſame: yet neuertheleſſe the Emperour continued ſtil in his purpoſe: and contrarie to the Popes humble petition, kept the Councell, not in Italy, but at Chalcedon, where alſo, as it is ſaid before, Pope Leo himſelfe was ſummoned to appeare by the Emperours commandement, with other Biſhops.

Leo ad Theodoſium, epi. 14:

Of ſuch authority was the Popes conſent in Summoning of Councels. Ye humblie craued it vpon his knees with ſighes and teares, and could not get it. And therefore Nicolaus Cuſanus ſaith: Habetur ex præſcriptis vna concluſio, ſcilicet in Concilijs Romanum Pontificem in condendis ſtatutis generalibus non habere eam poteſtatem, quam quidam adulatores illi contribuunt: *Heereof we haue one Concluſion, that in Generall Councels, and in making of Lawes Generall, the Biſhop of Rome hath no ſuch Power, as* certaine flatterers *would allow him.* Take heed therefore, M. Harding, leſt for your great paines in a deſperate cauſe ye be taken for one of the Popes flatterers.

Nicol. Cuſan. De Concord. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 12.

Hereof Æneas Syluius which afterward was Pope Pius 2. ſaith thus: Ex hiſce authoritatibus mirum in modum ſe putant armatos, qui Concilia negant fieri poſſe ſine conſenſu Papæ. Quorum ſententia, ſi vt ipſi volunt, inuiolata perſiſtet, ruinam ſecum Eccleſiæ trahet. Quid enim remedij erit, ſi criminoſus Papa perturbet Eccleſiam: ſi animas perdat: ſi peruertat malo exemplo populos: ſi denique contraria Fidei prædicet, Hæreticiſq; Dogmatibus imbuat ſubditos? Sinemuſne cum ipſo cuncta ruere? At ego, dum veteres lego Hiſtorias, dum Actus perſpicio Apoſtolorum, hunc equidem morem non inuenio, vt Soli Papæ Concilia conuocauerint: Nec poſt, tempore Conſtantini Magni, & aliorum Auguſtorum, ad congreganda concilia quæſitus eſt magnoperè Romani conſenſus Papæ: *By theſe authorities they think thẽſelues armed, that ſay, No Councell may be kept without the cõſent of the Pope. Whoſe iudgmẽt if it ſhould ſtand, as they would haue it, would draw with it the decay and*

Æneas Syluius, de Concil. Baſilien. lib. 1.

The Summoning of Councels.

and ruine of the Church. For what remedie were there then, if the Pope himselfe were vitious, destroied soules, ouerthrew the people with euill example, taught Doctrine contrary to the Faith, and filled his Subiects full of Heresies? Should we suffer all to goe to the Diuell? Verily, when I read the old Stories and consider the Acts of the Apostles, I find no such order in those daies, that only the Pope should Summon Councels. And afterward in the time of Constantine *the Great, and of other Emperours, when Councels should be called, there was no great account made of the Popes consent.* Cardinall Cusanus *saith:* Negligente aut contradicente Papa, Imperator potest præceptiuè Synodos indicere, ad prouidendum fluctuanti Ecclesiæ: *If the Pope be negligent, or if he say nay, the* Emperour *to stay the wauering state of the Church, may* command Councels by his owne authority. **Thus the** Emperour Sigismund, **called a** Councel at Constance: **notwithstanding it stood** Pope Iohn **much vpon, neuer to yeld his consent vnto it. For in the same** Councell **he was depriued, and of a** Pope **was made a** Cardinal.

Cusan. de Concordia Cathol. Lib. 3. cap. 15.

We say, The Pope had no authority to cõfirme Councels. *Ergo,* Much more he had authority to call Councels. **And here ye tell vs a very solemne tale, what is Commanding: what is Assenting: what is Authorizing: what is Ratifying: as if it had beene somewhat to the purpose. But if your reason hold, then must Generall Councels haue many callers. For as I shall heereafter sufficiently prooue, not only the** Pope **or the other principall** Patriarkes, **but also all other** Bishops **that were present, yea** Emperors, Kings Lieutenants, **and** Counsellers **had authority to** Confirme Councels.

Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 23.

Zozomenus **saith:** Nec Romanus, nec Vincentinus, nec alij confirmarunt: *This Councel was Confirmed, neither by the Bishop of Rome, nor by the Bishop of Vincentia, nor by the rest of the Bishops.* **Whereby it appeareth, that in Confirmation of** Councels **all other** Bishops **whatsoeuer, had as good right and authority as the** Bishop **of** Rome. **And the** Emperour Martianus **saith:** Sacrosancto nostræ Serenitatis edicto venerandam Synodum confirmamus: *We Confirme the Reuerend Councell by the Holy Edict of our Maiesty.* **Thus you see, that not only all** Bishops, **but also** Emperors **and** Lay Princes **had authority to confirme** Councels. **Now therefore, M. Harding, if it be true that you say, that whosoeuer hath authority to** Confirme Councels, **much more hath authoritie to call** Councels, **then must it needs follow, that not onlie** Kings **and** Emperors, **but also al** Bishops **thorow the World, haue authoritie to call** Councels.

Concil. Calced. Act. 3. pag. 804

We say, Pope Syluester sent that famous learned Father Hosius, the Bishop of Corduba, to the Cõcel of Nice, to represent his person. **This may wel passe among the rest of your truths. For neither was** Hosius **there in the** Popes **behalfe, but in his owne: nor was** Pope Syluester **then aliue or able to send him, during the whole time of the** Nicene Councell, **notwithstanding anie thing that your Fabular** Peter Crabbe **hath said to the contrarie. As for** Hosius **the** Bishop of Corduba, **of what authoritie and estimation he was in al** Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, **it may appeare by these words of** Athanasius: In qua Synodo Dux ille, & Antesignanus non fuit? Quæ Ecclesia istius præsidentiæ non pulcherrima monumenta retinet? *In what* Councell *hath not* Hosius *beene Chiefe and President? What Church is without some notable remembrance of his gouernment?* **Certainly, M. Harding, it seemeth he was a great deale to good to be sent so farre in a dead mans errand.**

Athanas. Apologia. 2.

Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Notwithstanding, Iulius **being then** Bishop of Rome, **for that he was vnable to trauell because of his age, sent thither two** Priests, Vitus **and** Vincentius, **to supplie his roome. Thus he did not of pride, the better by his absence to maintaine a state, but only for that he was forced of necessitie so to doe. For if he had beene able to trauell so farre, he had beene forced to goe thither himselfe. Therefore** Pope Agatho **afterward thus excused his absence vnto the** Emperours: Christianissimi Domini Filij, secundum pijssimam iussionem Mansuetudinis vestræ, pro Obedientia quam debuimus, præsentes confamulos nostros misimus: *My most Christian Lords and Children, according to the most godly Commandement of your Maiesties, and according to the obedience that we owe of duty, we haue sent these present our Fellow Seruants.*

Conc. Constantinopol. Act. 4. ad Heraclium, & Tiberium Impp. pag. 288.

Other Bishops **in like cases of age or infirmity did the like. For example,** Lucifer, **the** Bishop of Sardinia, **sent** Herennius **and** Agapetus: **and** Paulinus **sent** Maximus **and** Calemerus **to the** Councell **of** Nice **to be in their steads.**

Athan. ad Antio. Tom. 2.

We say, Vitus **and** Vincentius **for that they were the** Popes Legates **had therefore the First place in** Subscription **among the** Bishops. **Here is another great** Vntruth. **For** Theodoritus **saith: the First and Chiefe of all that company, both in place and in speech, was not** Vitus **or** Vincentius, **the** Popes Legates, **but** Eustathius **the** Patriarke **of** Antioch.

Theodor. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Sozomenus lib. 1. cap. 16.

Touching these two the Popes Legates, Zozomenus **placeth them only in the Fourth rowme:** Athanasius **saith:** Subscripserunt, Hosius ab Hispania, Iulius Romanus per Archidamum & Philoxenum Presbyteros: *They Subscribed their names to the* Councell, Hosius *that came out of Spaine, and* Iulius the Bishop of Rome, *by* Archidamus, *and* Philoxenus *Priests*

Athanasius Apologia. 2.

Priests, that were his Legats. By which words he alloweth the Bishop of Romes Legats the second place in Subscription, but not the First. And thus ye see, Hosius the Bishop of Corduba, subscribeth before Iulius the Bishop of Rome.

In the Councell of Aphrica, Philippus and Asellus the Popes Legates, had the Last place in Subscription after al others. In the Councel of Chalcedon, Philippus one of the Popes Legates had an hundred and seuen and fifty others to Subscribe before him. *Conc. Aphric. cap* 100. *Conc. Chalced. Act.* 1. *Sanct.*

These Fathers, I trow, would not haue béne so vnmanerly in their dealing, if they had taken the Pope for the Head of the whole Vniuersall Church, to haue placed his Legat behind so many. Further ye say, At the very same time that the Generall Councell was kept at Nice, S. Sylvester called another Councell in Rome. This, I trow, M. Harding, is another vntruth, vnlesse ye haue power to raise vp dead men to kéepe Councels. For Sylvester was dead long before.

The Summoning of Councels.

Sozomenus saith Vitus and Vincentius were sent to Nice, not by Pope Sylvester, who then was dead, but by Pope Iulius, that was the second after him. The like may easilie appeare by Athanasius, Theodoretus, Nicephorus and others. Beda also in his Chronicles telleth you that the Councell of Nice was holden not in the time of Pope Sylvester, who then was dead, but in the time of Pope Iulius. *Sozom. lib* 1. *cap.* 16. *Athanas. Apologia* 2. *Theod. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. *Niceph. lib* 8 *cap.* 14. *Beda in Chronicis.*

Therefore, M. Harding, you must néds deuise two Councels of Nice about one time: two Sylvester Popes: two Writers of this one Story, the one true, the other false. Otherwise this fraile stuffe will neuer hold. Ye are ouer easie to credit Fables.

The Councel that ye imagin was holden in Rome by Pope Sylvester is nothing else but a great heap of childish vanities. The holy discréet learned Fathers say there: Nemo Presbyterorũ Chrisma conficiat: quoniam Christus à Chrismate vocatur: Præsul Summus non iudicabitur à quoquam. Quoniam scriptum est: Non est Discipulus supra Magistrum Neque ab Augusto, neque ab omni Clero, neque à Regibus, neque ab omni Populo Iudex iudicabitur: *No* Priest *may make or hallow the* Chrisme: *For* Christ *of* Chrisme *hath his name: The* Highest Prelate *(that is, the* Pope*) may bee iudged of no man: For it is written,* The Scholer is not aboue his Master. *The Iudge* (that is, the Pope) *shall not be iudged neither by the Emperour, nor by all the Clergie, nor by Kings and Princes, nor by the whole people.* Such and other like good stuffe haue you in your Councel of Rome. *Conc. Rom cap.* 5 *cap.* 3. *cap.* 20.

Notwithstanding of what credit soeuer this Councel were, yet M. Harding, it vtterly ouerthroweth your whole purpose. For if euer there were any such Councell summoned in Rome, it was summoned not by Sylvester the dead Pope, but by the authority of the Emperour that then was aliue. So Eusebius writeth of the Councell of Rome holden in the time of Pope Meltiades, as it is said before: Exemplar Regiarum Literarum, &c. *Here is a Copy of the* Emperours Writ, *whereby he hath commanded a* Councell of Bishops *to be kept at* Rome. *Euseb. lib.* 10. *cap.* 5.

Likewise the Bishops assembled in the Councell of Constantinople, wrote vnto the Bishops in the Councell of Rome: Cum indixissetis, &c. After ye had called a Councell to Rome, ye warned vs also to come thither, *as the Members of your owne Body, by the most godly* Emperours Writ. *Theod. lib.* 5. *cap.* 9.

By these it appeareth, if there were any such Councell called to Rome, it was called by the Emperour, and not by the Pope.

Ye say, The Emperour in such affaires was aduised euermore by the Bishops. This is not vnlikely, and therefore easily may be granted. Notwithstanding, for ought that ye can finde, he was more aduised oftentimes by some other Bishops, then by the Pope, as it shall appeare. Eusebius touching the Emperour Constantinus writeth thus: Quasi Communis quidam Episcopus à Deo constitutus, Ministrorum Dei Synodos conuocauit: *As if he had beene one* Common Bishop *appointed by God, he appointed* Councels *of* Bishops *to assemble together.* Ruffinus saith: The Emperour was aduised hereto by Alexander the Bishop of Alexandria, and by other Bishops & Priests of Ægypt. Here is no mention of the Pope. In the like cases of Ecclesiasticall affaires, Athanasius was an earnest suiter vnto the Emperour Constantius: Dioscorus vnto Theodosius, and so others vnto other. *Euseb. De vita Constantini, Oratione* 1. *Ruff. lib.* 1. *ca.* 1 *Art.* 4. *dist.* 29. *Soc. li.* 2 *ca.* 17 Μὴ δεῖν τινὰ γνώμην τῶν ἐπισκόπων κανονίζειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

But of the Popes omnipotent consent, without which, ye tell vs, no Emperour may summon a Councel, there is no man that maketh mention. *Cassiod. lib* 4. *cap.* 16. *Regula iuris. Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus debet approbari.*

Ye say, There ought no Councell to be kept without the determinat consét of the Bishop of Rome. This also is another of your Vntruths, standing in the manifest corruption of the words of Socrates, as in my Former Replie I haue declared more at large. The words of Socrates be these: Non licet scribere Ecclesiastica Decreta præter sententiam Episcopi Romani: *It is prouided that* Ecclesiastical Lawes *be not made without the cõsent of the* Bishop of Rome. For that the Bishop of Rome was one of the Foure Great Patriarkes, whose assents in all Generall Councels were thought necessary. But Socrates meaneth such Ecclesiasticall

Lawes

Lawes, as pertaine to the whole Church of God. For this is a rule agreeable to reason, That toucheth all, must be allowed by all.

The Summoning of Councels.

Now whereas ye haue exchanged the Allowing of Canons, into the Summoning or Calling of Councels, it may please you to remember, that Allowing of Canons was common to all the Members of the Councel, and specially to the Foure Principall Patriarkes, as it is said before: But the Authority of Calling Councels belonged onely to the Emperour.

That ye allege of Athanasius is a vaine and shamelesse forgery, as I haue otherwhere declared more at large. Such Religion, such Doctours. Such follie is worthy no other Answer.

Soz. li. 6. ca. 7. Valentinian the Emperour (ye say) accounted himselfe as one of the people: and therefore said, It was not lawfull for him to examine matters of Religion. Thus he said, either of humility, or else for want of time. His forraine Enemies, his Warres, and his Ciuill Cares had filled his head with other thoughts. *Nicephor. Lib. 11. cap. 3.* Nicephorus imagineth him thus to say: Mihi negotijs occupato, & Reipublicæ curis distento, res huiusmodi inquirere non est facile: *For mee, being thus occupied with Businesse and Publike Cares, it is not easie to inquire of such matters.* Otherwise, that Ecclesiasticall Causes be within the Princes Charge, I doubt not but hereafter it shall well appeare. King Odoacer said vnto Pope Symmachus, and vnto the Clergy of Rome, as it is alleged once before: *Concil. Roman. 3. Cap. 2.* Miramur quicquam tentatum fuisse sine nobis: Nam viuente nostro Presbytero, sine nobis nihil tentari oportuit: *We marueil that any thing was attempted without vs: For without vs nothing should haue beene done so long as* our Priest (he meaneth the Pope) *was aliue.*

After this ye fill the house full with Patriarkes of Constantinople, Patriarkes of Alexandria, Patriarkes of Hierusalem, Princes of Bulgaria, and with other like great and stately persons. The Conclusion hereof is this, That Pope Damasus gaue his consent to the Councell of Constantinople. All this, M. Harding, ye might some haue obteined with more fauour, and lesse adoe. Howbeit, ye may not hereof well reason thus, The Pope consented vnto the Councell: *Ergo*, The Pope had Authority to call the Councell, let children wonder at your Logicke.

In the meane while, ye say, the Emperour Theodosius ruled the Empire: whereby ye giue vs to vnderstand, that he had no charge ouer the Church. And thus ye continue still to enrich your selfe, and to heape your Reader with Vntruths.

Post Conc. Ephesinum primum. Certainely the Bishops in the Councell of Constantinople wrote thus in humble wise vnto the same Emperor Theodosius: Obsecramus Clementiam tuam, vt quemadmodum Literis honorasti Ecclesiam, quibus nos conuocasti, ita finalem Conclusionem nostrorum Decretorum corrobores sententia tua & Sigillo: *We beseech your* Maiesty, *that as you haue honoured the* Church *by your Letters wherewith ye haue called vs together, so it may please you to* Confirme the finall Conclusion *of our Decrees with your* Sentence, *and with your* Seale.

The Emperor limiteth the Catholike Faith.

Further, as it appeareth by your owne Allegation, the same Emperour Theodosius toke vpon him to bound and to limit the Catholike Fath, and that euen in the Body of his Ciuill Lawes: which thing neither could he haue done without Judgement, nor would he haue done without authority. But if ye meane, that by this Determination of the Emperour Theodosius, that Faith only should be taken for Catholike, that was then professed by Pope Damasus, and should afterward be professed by others succeeding in Peters Chaire, then haue ye secretly conueied vs in another Vntruth. The place it selfe will some reproue you. *Cod. Theodosian. lib. 16. Tit. de Fide Catholica. Cunctos Populos.* The Emperours words be these: Cunctos populos in tali volumus Religione versari, quam Diuinum Petrum Apostolum tradidisse Romanis, Religio vsque nunc ab eo insinuata declarat: quamque Pontificem Damasum sequi clarer, & Petrum Alexandriæ Episcopum, virum Apostolicæ Sanctitatis: *Wee will all men to walke in that* Religion *which Holy* Peter the Apostle *deliuered to the Romans, as the Faith first enkindled by him and still continued vntill this day, doth declare: which* Religion *also it is plaine that* Pope Damasus *followeth, and* Peter the Bishop of Alexandria, *a man of Apostolike holinesse.* Here the Emperour Theodosius commandeth his Subiects to follow, as well the Faith of Peter the Bishop of Alexandria, as of Damasus the Bishop of Rome.

Cod. Theodos. lib. 16. Tit. 1. Soz. li. 7. ca. 9. And yet in the next title following he openeth his owne meaning in this wise by other Examples more at large: Episcopis tradi omnes Ecclesias mox iubemus, quos constabit vti Communione Nectarij Episcopi Constantinopolitanæ Ecclesiæ, & Timothei, &c. *We command that forthwith the* Churches *be restored to all* Bishops, *of whom it shall appeare, that they Communicate with* Nestorius *the* Bishop of Constantinople, *or with* Timotheus: *or such as shall haue Fellowship or agreement in Faith with the* Bishops of Alexandria *in* Ægypt: *and with* Pelagius *the* Bishop *of* Laodicea: *and with* Diodorus *the* Bishop *of* Tarsus in Asia: *and with* Amphilochius *the* Bishop *of* Iconium: *and with* Optimus *the* Bishop *of* Antioch: *and with*

with Helladius *the* Bishop *of* Cæsaria: *and with* Orreius *the* Bishop *of* Melite *and with* Gregorius *the* Bishop *of* Nyssa: *and with* Terennius *the* Bishop *of* Scythia: *and with* Marmarius *the* Bishop *of* Martianopolis. Euery of these seuerall Bishops, M. Harding, by the Emperours iudgement, in triall of the Catholike Faith, had as great Authority and weight, as had Damasus the Bishop of Rome.

The Summoning of Councels.

But Pope Cœlestinus, ye say, desired Cyrillus the Bishop of Alexandria to represent his person, and to supplie his rowme in the Councel of Ephesus, that is to say, to haue the First Place in the Councel. For the First Place in all Ecclesiasticall Assemblies was allotted to the Bishop of Rome: The Second to the Bishop of Constantinople: The Third to the Bishop of Alexandria: The Fourth to the Bishop of Antioch: The Fifth to the Bishop of Hierusalem. *Dist. 22. Renouantes.*

This packing of places therefore, betweene Cœlestinus and Cyrillus, was a Mysterie purposely canuelled, to keepe the Bishop of Constantinople, whom the Pope euermore enuied, out of countenance. For by this policy the Bishop of Alexandria, that should haue had the Third Place, was handsomely thrust into the First: and the Bishop of Constantinople, which in the Bishop of Romes absence should haue had the First Place, was remoued downe to the Second.

Howbeit, what auaileth all this, M. Harding, to further your purpose, and to proue that Councels were summoned by the Pope? Verily it appeareth not hitherto, that either Cœlestinus, or Cyrillus, or any other Bishop, had any such Power or Authority to summon Councels. This is it that ye should haue proued. As for the First or Second Place in Councels, we moued no question.

Againe ye seeme to say, The Pope of right was euermore President in all Councels. This if ye know, it is another Vntruth: if ye know it not, it is an errour. For it is plaine, that in the First Councel of Nice Pope Iulius was not President, but Eustachius the Bishop of Antioch. The Popes Legates, as it is said before, were placed beneath in the fourth rowme: In the Fifth Councel of Constantinople, Menna the Bishop of the same City, was President, and not the Pope. In the Second Ephesine Councell, Dioscorus the Bishop of Alexandria was President. In the Second Councel of Carthage it seemeth Gennedius was the President. *Theod. li. 1. ca. 7. Euagr. li. 4. ca. 38. Niceph. lib. 17. cap. 27. Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. Dosc. Exactis. Cons. Carthagin. 2.*

Nicolaus Cusanus, after he had well debated this matter, saith thus: In Concilijs fuit semper Præsidentialis Romani Pontificis Authoritas, sine qua Vniuersale Concilium non fuisset, dummodò saltem interesse voluisset, aut potuisset: *The* Bishop *of* Rome *had alwaies Authority to be* President *in* Councels, *otherwise the* Councel *had not beene Generall: so that the* Bishop of Rome *either would, or could be present at the* Councel. For otherwise he was not President. Therefore of your part, M. Harding, it was a great Vntruth, to say, The Pope of right was euermore President in all Councels. Againe, Cusanus saith: Imperatore in persona existente, reperio eum semper præsedisse. In Sexta Synodo Constantinus Imperator præsedit in medio cum decem de maioribus Patritijs, & ad leuam eius Vicarij Senioris Romæ, &c. *When the* Emperour *was present in person, I finde that he was alwaies* President. *In the Sixth* Councel of Constantinople Constantinus *the* Emperour *was* President, *and sate in the midst with ten of his greatest Lords: and at his left hand sate the* Popes Legates, &c. This, M. Harding, is very farre from your reckoning. *Nicol. Cusanus De Concord. Lib. 3. Cap. 16*

This Dignity then passed not by Inheritance, or by Succession, as the Pope now would seeme to claime it; but either by choice of the Councel, or by consent of the Prince. Thus Hosius, the Bishop of Corduba in Spaine, not by right of his place but for the worthinesse of his person, was appointed President in the Councel of Sardica. And Athanasius speaketh of him in this wise with great admiration: Cuius non fuit Concilij Princeps! *In what* Councel *hath not* Hosius *beene the* President, *or* Chiefe? *Sozomen. Lib. 3. Cap. 11. Theodo. Lib. 2. Cap. 15. Athanas. Apologia 2. & Epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.*

Ye say: Pope Sylvester Christened the Emperor Constantinus, & therefore was his spiritual father. This may passe among your other Truths. For your Popes, by their Omnipotent Power, may minister Sacraments being dead. It is knowne, that as long as Sylvester was aliue, Constantinus was neuer Christened. And yet, notwithstanding all this were true, M. Harding, yet your cause thereby were little surthered: vnlesse perhaps ye will reason thus: Pope Sylvester Christened the Emperour: Ergo, The Pope hath Authority to call Councels. Howbeit, vnlesse this Argument be better digested, your very Sophisters of Louaine will hardly allow it. But indeed that whole tale, touching the Christening of the Emperour Constantine, is nothing else, but a peuish fable. Constantius, the Emperours owne Sonne, vtterly denieth that Sylvester euer Baptized Constantinus his Father. Eusebius saith, Constantinus was Christened, not in the flourishing state of his age, but only a little before he died: not in Rome, but at Nicomedia, in the Kingdome of Epirus: not in a corner, but in the presence of many Bishops: and, as S. *Inter Acta Liberij, ca. 6. Euseb. de vita Constan. Orat. 4. ca. 41. Socrat. Anno ætatis suæ 63. συγκλήτου τῆς Ἐπιτείτου.*

Hier. in Chron. Ambr. de obitu Theodosij.

Hierome saith, not by Pope Sylvester that then was dead, but by Eusebius the Bishop of Nicomedia. For proue whereof S. Ambrose saith: Constantino in vltimis constituto, Gratia Baptismatis omnia peccata dimisit: *The Grace of Baptisme forgaue* Constantine *all his sinnes, euen at the ending of his life.* Therefore, M. Harding, we must néeds say, that either your tale is vntrue, which is not strange; or else Constantine was twice Baptized, which is very vnlikely.

Cardinal. Polus de Baptismo Constantin. Pag. 87.

Cardinall Poole séeing the matter to palle so clére, telleth vs roundly in one word, that Eusebius and Constantius were Arian Heretikes, & therefore refuseth the whole Story written by Eusebius, touching the Christening of Constantine. But, somewhat to sooth you in your tale, let a Fable stand for Truth, and let vs grant you an impossibility, that Constantine was Baptized by Pope Sylvester being dead: yet will you néeds gather hereof, that therefore the Emperour is Subiect to the Pope? Or, that the Pope hath Authoritie to call Councels? What will you then say when the Emperour is Baptized by some other Priest, or Bishop, or by a Midwife? Shall euery of these therefore require to haue, and to doe the like? Or must we beléeue, that such a Priest, Bishop, or Midwife, shall haue Authority to call Councels? Indéed this were a good short way to get Supremacie. But it might haue pleased you to remember, that the Cardinall of Ostia vseth alwaies of Office to Consecrate the Pope. Yet, I trow, ye will not therefore place him aboue the Pope. Elizæus anointed King Iehu: yet was he not therefore aboue the King. Your owne Doctor saith: Quòd hoc Argumentum non concludat, patet: quia in Veteri Lege Sacerdotes qui Reges inungebant, indubitanter Regibus subdebantur: *It appeareth, that this* Argument *is nothing worth, and concludeth nothing. For in the* Old Law, *the* Priests *that anointed the* Kings, *were vndoubtedly subiect to the* Kings.

The Summoning of Councels.

Iohan. de Parisijs, cap. 19.

Euseb. de vita Const. Orat. 3.

Theod Lib. 1. cap 9.

Soz. li. 1. c. 16.

To conclude, what right Emperours had in Summoning of Councels, by these few Authorities and Examples following it may soone appeare. Eusebius saith: Constantinus Synodum Oecumenicam collegit, & Episcopos, vt vndique accelerarent, honorificis literis conuocauit: (Not the Pope, but) Constantine *the* Emperour *gathered a* General Cóncell, *and by honourable Writs called the* Bishops *of all Countries to repaire thither.* Theodoretus saith: *A great and a holy* Councel *was gathered to* Nicæa, *by the* Grace of God, *and* (not by the Pope, but) *by the* Godly Emperour Constantinus. Sozomenus saith: (Not the Pope, but) *The* Emperor Constantine *wrote vnto all the Rulers of the Churches, that they should be at* Nice *by a day: to the* Bishops *of the* Apostolike Sees, *to* Marcarius *the* Bishop of Hierusalem, *and to* Iulius *the* Bishop of Rome. In which words this also may be noted, that the Pope then was vnder the Emperors Summon, no lesse then others.

Concil. Constãtino 1.

Athanas. De Synodis Arimin. & Seleuc.

Chrys. Epist. 1. ad Innocent.

Ambros. in Cõcil Aquil.

Hieron in Epitaphio Paulæ.

Leo Epistol. 9. ad Theodosium Imperatorem.

In the Councel of Constantinople the Bishops wrote thus vnto the Emperour: Ex mandato tuæ Pietatis Constantinopolim conuenimus: *We are come to* Constantinople (not by the Popes Authority, but) *by your* Maiesties Commission. Athanasius saith: Ab Imperatore Præfectíq; Literæ sequentes in omnem partẽ missæ sunt, eos qui illuc iturí essent, conuocantes: *These* Letters *or* Writs *following were sent out into all places* (not from the Pope, but) *from the* Emperor *and his* Lieutenants, *summoning them that should come vnto the* Cõcell. S. Chrysostome saith: *We went in, and humbly besought* (not the Pope, but) *the* most Christian Prince, *to call a* Councel S. Ambrose, speaking of himselfe, and of other Bishops, being then at the Councel of Aquilea, saith thus: Nos conuenimus Aquileiam iuxta Præceptum Imperatoris: *We are met together at* Aquileia, *by the Commandement of the* Emperor, (and not of the Pope.)

Soz. li. 4 c 22.

Soc. li. 2. ca. 8.

Theo. l. 2. c. 15.

Ruf. li. 1. ca. 19.

Soz. li. 6. ca. 7.

Inter Acta Liberij.

Leo ad Anatolium.

S. Hierome saith: Orientis atque Occidentis Episcopos, ob quasdam Ecclesiasticas dissensiones, Romam Imperiales Literæ contraxerunt: *To stay certaine Ecclesiastical dissensions,* (not any the Popes Letters of Commandement, but) *the* Emperors Writs *caused the* Bishops *as well of the* East, *as of the* West, *to draw to* Rome.

The Pope lũblie desireth the Emperor to summon a Councell.

Of Pope Leo we haue said before. Being Pope, and, as M. Harding imagineth, able to summon the world with a becke, thus he writeth to the Emperor Theodosius: Dignetur Pietas vestra supplicationi nostræ annuere, vt intra Italiam haberi iubeatis Episcopale Concilium: *We beseech your* Godly Maiesty *to grant vnto our humble request, that it may please you to command a* Councel *of* Bishops *to be holden within* Italy.

Sozomenus saith: *The* Arians *besought* (not the Pope, but) *the* Emperour Constantius, *to command a* Councel *to be holden at* Antioch. *The same* Arians *afterward besought* (not the Pope, but) *the same* Emperor Constantius *to summon another* Councel *at* Millaine. Againe Sozomenus saith: *The* Catholike Bishops *sent* Hypatianus *their Ambassador to intreat* (not the Pope, but) *the* Emperor, *that to redresse certaine Errours, they might haue leaue to meet together.* Pope Liberius saith: *A* Councel *is holden at* Millaine (not by my Authority, but) *by the* commandement of the Prince. Pope Leo saith: *The* Great Councell of Chalcedon *was summoned* (not by himselfe, but) *by the trauell of* Martianus *the* Emperour. The Emperour

rour Constantius *commanded two seuerall* Councels *to be kept at one time, the one at* Seleucia *in* Isauria *in the* East, *the other at* Ariminum *in* Italie *in the* West. Socrates saith: *Sithence the* Emperors *were first Christened, the state of the Church hath hanged on them, and the greatest* Councels *haue beene, and be kept by their aduice.* *Soc. li. 2. ca. 35. Socrat. Lib. 5. In præmio.*

Thus many Ancient Councels we are able to shew you summoned by Emperors. Now shew you, M. Harding, either that the Emperour did all these things by the Authoritie of the Pope, or that the Emperour was only the Popes Summoner, to call to Councell such and so many, as it should like his Holinesse to command, or that the Pope did euer summon any one Ancient Generall Councell by his owne only right, without further Commission from the Emperour; then will we say, ye haue said some thing. As for all that ye haue now said, in good sooth it is lesse then nothing.

The Apology, Chap. 12. *Diuision* 3.

And when Ruffine the Heretike had alleged for his Authority a Councell, which, as he thought, should make for him, S. Hierome his Aduersary, to confute him, Tell vs, (quoth he) What Emperor commanded that Coūcell, to be called? The same S. Hierome againe in his Epitaph vpon Paula, maketh mention of the Emperours Letters, which gaue commandement to call the Bishops of Italie and Græcia to Rome, to a Councell. Ruffinus.

M. Harding.

Besides that ye * doe strangely to cal Ruffine an Heretike, we say that S. Hierome might wel demand what Emperor summoned that Councel, which was neuer summoned. Againe, we confesse that some Emperours haue summoned both Latine and Greeke Bishops. * But ye prooue not that any did it as supreme head, and as Iudge in matters of Religion, but by the consent of the Bishops of Rome, as I haue declared before.

* Vntruth, proceeding of ignorance, as it may soone appeare.

*Read the former Answer.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Were you not a stranger in your owne Bookes, M. Harding, ye would not thinke it so strange a matter to heere Ruffinus called an Heretike. S. Hierome doubted not so to cal him. Thus he saith: Dum mihi inconstantiæ crimen impingit, se Hæreticum, &c. Ita vertit Origenem, vt qui in Trinitate Catholicum legeret, in alijs Hæreticum non caueret: *While* Ruffinus *chargeth me with inconstancie, he prooueth himselfe to be an* Heretike, &c. Ruffinus *hath so translated* Origen *into* Latine, *that whoso findeth him Catholike touching the* Trinitie, *should neuer suspect him in any thing else to be an* Heretike. Againe he saith vnto him: Solos Hæreticos non recipimus, quos vos solos recipitis: *Only* Heretikes *we receiue not into our houses: and yet them only you receiue.* *Hier. in Apologia cont. Ruffin.* *In eadem Apologia.*

Anastasius the Bishop of Rome hath thus published his iudgment of the same Ruffinus: Omni suspicione sepositâ, Ruffinum scito, quòd propria mente Origenis dicta in Latinum transtulit, ac probauit. Nec dissimilis ab eo est, qui alienis vitijs præstat assensum. Illud tamen scire te cupio, ita haberi â nostris partibus alienum, vt quid agat, vbi sit, nec scire cupiamus: *All suspition set apart, know thou that* Ruffinus *hath translated* Origen (the Heretikes) *words into* Latine, *according to his owne liking*, and well alloweth the same. *And whosoeuer giueth his consent vnto another mans fault, is not vnlike vnto him. Notwithstanding, thus much I would haue thee to know, that* Ruffinus *is so farre from our fellowship, or profession of* Faith, *that we desire not to know, neither what he doth, nor where he is.* *Anast. ad Episcop. Hieroſol. Apud Hieron. Tom. 4.*

Vincentius saith, that S. Hierome charged Ruffinus with the Pelagian Heresie. Erasmus saith: Ruffinus non fuit alienus ab Origenistarum Hęresi: Ruffinus *was not cleere from the* Origenians Heresie. Againe, speaking of the same Heretikes, he saith: Huius rei Dux & Signifer Aquileiensis Ruffinus fuit. Againe: Notat, nescio quem, ipsum opinor, Ruffinum, qui in eam Heresim inductus est à Magistro quopiam, &c. Againe: Monet, vt exposa factione Origenistarum, eos etiam eijciat, qui clam & obliquè essent Origenistæ, Ruffinum, & illius amicos: *The Captaine and Standard bearer of this* Heresie, *was* Ruffinus of Aquileia, &c. Againe: S. Hierome *heere noteth some body, I know not whom: but I thinke* Ruffinus *himselfe, that was brought into this* Heresie *by some Teacher, &c.* Againe: *He warneth his friend, that hauing renounced the* Origenian Heretikes, *be would likewise renounce ethem that priuily and in secret were* Origenian Heretikes, *meaning* Ruffinus *and his friends.* *Vinc. in Speculo, Ti. 17. Ca. 99. Eraſm in vita Hieronymi. Eraſ. in Epiſt. Hier. ad Princip. In Schol. Eraſm. in Argum. Epiſtolæ Theophili, ad Hieronym. Eraſm. de libris Origenis.*

Likewise againe he saith: Ruffinus grauissima suspicione premebatur, quòd esset Origenista. Sub hoc enim titulo Arianorum Hæresis conata est repullulascere: Ruffinus *was grieuously suspected to be an* Origenian Heretike. *For vnder that name the* Arian Heresie *began to reuiue.* Thus ye see, M. Harding, it was not so great an Heresie, to say that Ruffinus was an Heretike.

The Apologie, Chap. 12. Diuision. 4.

Continually, for the space of Fiue Hundred yeeres, the Emperor **alone appointed the** Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, **and called the** Councels **of the** Bishops **together.**

We now therefore maruell the more at the vnreasonable dealing of the Bishop of Rome, **who knowing what was the** Emperours **right, when the** Church **was well ordered, knowing also that it is now a common right to all Princes, for so much as kings are now fully possessed in the seuerall parts of the whole** Empire, **doth so without consideration, assigne that office alone to himselfe, and taketh it sufficient in summoning a** Generall Councell, **to make that man that is** Prince **of the whole world none otherwise partaker thereof, then he would make his owne seruant.**

M. Harding.

(a) This is M. Hardings modestie. Read the Answer next going before this, sauing one.

Where you say, The Emperour alone celebrated, kept, or held Councels, for so is your Latine, (a) it is too impudently faced, without any face, without proofe, without truth. They were celebrated or holden (b) by the Popes Legates, the Patriarkes and Bishops, and not by Emperours. Albeit, Emperours might sit in them (c) but not as Iudges. And they haue euer beene called *Episcopalia Concilia*, not (d) *Imperatoria*; Councels of Bishops, not of Emperours. And diuers Councels, not accounted Generall, were kept by Bishops before any Emperour was Christened: As those which were kept by S. Peter in Hierusalem, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles: in the time of Victor the Pope, in Palestina, and other places, concerning the keeping of Easter: at Rome, about the time of Pope Fabian, against the Nouatian Heresie: at Antioch, against Paulus Samosatenus, and many others. All which Councels were kept, not only without the presence of the Emperours person, but (e) also without his Power, or Authority. And yet if he were head of the Church, it could not haue beene done without him. Actes 15.

(b) Vntruth, plaine and euident. For many times the Popes Legats were vnderlings, and inferiour vnto others.

If you say, He was not then Christened, I answer, that Christianity is no part of his Imperiall Power. It is a Spirituall Power, whereby he is made the sonne of God. He may thereby be ruled by a Christian Bishop. But verily he hath no Power giuen to him, whereby he may rule Bishops. (f) Baptisme maketh a man the Childe of the Church. But (fi) it is imposition of hands, in consecrating a Christian Priest to be a Bishop, that giueth him rule ouer others, and not the Sacrament of Baptisme. Therefore Emperours were not the holders or keepers of Councels the first fiue hundred yeers. Yea three hundred were fully expired before the Emperour professed openly the Christian Faith. So much the lesse may you maruell that now the Bishop of Rome calleth and keepeth Councels chiefly by his owne authority. (g) For hee succeedeth Peter, not Nero. He took his authority of Christ immediatly, not of the people of Rome. Be the Emperor Christian, or not Christian, the Bishop of Rome, by (h) nature of his Bishops Office, is not only alwaies a Christian man, but also a chiefe Priest.

(c) Vntruth. For the Emperours Embassadours sitting in Councell, were called *Illustrissimi Iudices.*

(d) No more were they called *Concilia Papalia.*

Where you say, the Bishop of Rome in summoning the late Councell, did besides good consideratiõ, in that he made a man, that is Prince of the whole world, no otherwise partaker thereof, then he would make his owne seruant: you forget your selfe foulely, & seeme to reckon little what you speake, so you vtter your malice. For who is that whom you call Prince of the whole world? What contradiction is this? said you not in the same sentence before, that Kings are now fully possessed in the seuerall parts of the whole Empire? How then call you Ferdinand (i) Prince of the whole world? Well, this is but one of the common ornaments of your Rhetoricke. Sir, the Emperour Ferdinand, of famous memory, was not so abused of Pius the fourth, that blessed man, Bishop of Rome in these our daies. Ye rather are they who abuse the Emperours Maiesty: For yee depose him cleane from his Seat. ye find fault that euer Leo the Third made an Emperour in the West. Ye complaine openly, that the Emperiall Maiesty had not continued still at Constantinople; belike to the intent the Turke might now haue had it, who is knowen to suffer in his Dominions all Faiths and Religions: For which cause it may seeme ye fauour him. As for Pope Pius that now is, he deferred the old priuilege of honor vnto the Emperour Ferdinand, without the old burthen. For whereas in old times (k) Councels were holden by Authority of the Pope, (k) as Socrates witnesseth, yet the Emperour bare the charge of calling the Bishops together. But now the Pope himselfe bare a great part of that burthen, & communicated his purpose fully with the Emperor, Lib. 5. cap. 1.

(e) So were the most part of the same Councels kept without either the presẽce or the power, or authority of the Pope.

(f) O folly of follies. As if the Emperors power were either increased, or empaired by his Baptisme.

(g) A subst anti- all good reason.

(i) It is written in your owne Glosse, *Iura communia dicunt, quòd Imperator est Dominus Mundi.* (k) Vntruths, two together, For neither was it so, nor doth Socrates record it so.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Whether it were the Emperour **alone that appointed** Ecclesiasticall Councels, **it may appeare by that we haue alreadie said.** The Pope alone **Iassure you it was not. May the** Emperour, **as it is said and proued before, often times held such Assemblies, when and where himselfe listed, whether the** Pope **would or no. The** Popes **dutie was only to appeare amongst other Bishops when he was called.**

I grant such Councels **had their name of** Bishops, **and were called,** Concilia Episcopalia, **for that matters there were specially ordered by the discretion and iudgment of the** Bishops. **But will you therefore conclude, that the same** Councels **perteined nothing**

to

to the Prince? Certainlie the Emperour Conſtantinus commanded al the Biſhops to appeare before him, and to yeld him a reckoning of their Determination in the Councell. This was the tenor of his Writ: Quotquot Synodum Tyri habitam compleuiſtis, ſine mora ad Pietatis noſtræ Caſtra properetis: ac re ipſa, quâ ſincerè ac recte iudicaueritis, oſtendatis: idq; coram me, quem ſincerum eſſe Dei Miniſtrum ne vos quidem ipſi negabitis? *As many of you as haue kept the* Councell at Tyrus, *repaire to our Campe without delay, and ſhew me indeed how ſincerely & rightly ye haue proceeded: and that* euen before me, *whom you your ſelues cannot denie to be the* Sincere Seruant of God.

Peters Succeſſours.

Soz. li. 2. c. 28. Socr. li. 1. c. 33.

Athanaſius was the greateſt traueller in the Councel of Nice, againſt the Arians: yet was he then no Biſhop, but onlie a Deacon. Your owne Ceremoniarie of Rome telleth you, that Abbats haue right and authoritie to determine and ſubſcribe in Councell, as well as Biſhops: and yet were they neuer called the Councels of Abbats, but onlie of Biſhops. Therefore, M. Harding, this gheſſe is ouer ſimple, and ſerueth you not. But heereof we haue ſufficiently ſaid before.

Tripart. Hiſt. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

Chriſtianity (ye ſay) is no part of the Emperiall Power. Ye might likewiſe haue ſaid, Chriſtianity is no part of the Papall Power. Verily it cannot well appeare that Peter & Paul had euer any ſuch Chriſtianity. The Emperours right is neither increaſed, nor abated by his Baptiſme. Whether he be faithfull, or vnfaithfull, hee is the Miniſter of God, and beareth the Sword to punish ſinne.

Ye ſay: The Pope ſucceedeth Peter, and not Nero: Therefore he calleth and keepeth Councels chiefly by his own Authority. Of ſuch proper Arguments, M. Harding, we maruel not much, though ye make no ſtore. Howbeit, ſome men haue thought ye doe S. Peter great wrong, appointing him ſuch children to be his Heires. For many of them in all their dealings haue reſembled Nero more then Peter. S. Bernard ſaith thus vnto Pope Eugenius: In his ſucceſſiſti, non Petro, ſed Conſtantino: *In theſe things ye haue ſucceeded, not* Peter *the Apoſtle, but the* Emperour Conſtantine. Pope Adrian the fourth was wont to ſay, Succedimus, non Petro in docendo, ſed Romulo in parricidio: *Wee ſucceed, not* Peter *in teaching, but* Romulus *in killing our brethren.*

Bern. de Conſiderat. lib. 4. Citatur ab Illyric. inter Teſtes veritat. pag. 387.

Eraſmus ſaith: Pontifices nunc ſunt Vicarij Iulij Cæſaris, Alexandri Magni, Crœſi, Xerxis: non Chriſti, non Petri: *The* Popes *now are the Vicars of* Iulius Cæſar, *of* Alexander the Great, *of* Crœſus, *and of* Xerxes: *not of* Chriſt, *nor of* Peter. It is written in a Sermon, bearing the name of S. Ambroſe: Qui debuerint eſſe Vicarij Apoſtolorum, facti ſunt Socij Iudæ: *They that ſhould haue beene the Apoſtles Vicars, are now become* Iudas *fellowes.* Robertus Gallus, that liued welneere three hundred yeres paſt, imagineth Chriſt thus to ſay of the Pope: Quis poſuit Idolum hoc in ſede mea, vt imperaret Gregi meo? *Who ſet this Idol in my roome, and made him ruler ouer my Flocke?* And bring to vile in his owne houſe, how can he be glorious in the Houſe of God?

Eraſm. in Adagio. Sileni Alcibiadis

Ambr. Citatur ab Illyric. inter Teſt. pag. 142.

Rob. Gal. ca. 5.

Yet (you ſay) the Pope is alwaies, not only a Chriſtian man, but alſo a chiefe Prieſt. (not by faith but) by the nature of his Office. Euen ſo your Gloſſe telleth you: Papa Sanctitatem recipit à Cathedra: *The Pope receiueth his holineſſe of his Chaire:* that is to ſay: *of the nature of his Office.* Cardinal Cuſanus ſaith: Veritas adhæret Cathedræ, &c. Veritas per Chriſtum Cathedræ alligata eſt, non perſonis. Ait enim, Super Cathedram Moſi ſederunt Scribæ & Phariſæi: *The Truth cleaueth faſt to the Popes Chaire, &c. Chriſt hath nailed his Truth to the Popes Chaire, and not to his perſon: For he ſaith, The Scribes & Phariſeis are placed in* Moſes Chaire. Another ſaith: Tametſi Papa non ſit bonus, tamè ſemper præſumitur eſſe bonus. In Papa ſi deſint bona acquiſita per meritum, ſufficiunt quæ à loci Prædeceſſore præſtantur: *Notwithſtanding the Pope be not good, yet he is euer preſumed to be good. If the Pope lacke good vertues of his owne, the vertues of* Peter *his Predeceſſor are ſufficient.*

Diſt. 19. Sic omnes. In Gloſ. Nicol. Cuſ. ad Bohem. epi. 2.

Diſt. 40. Non nos. In Gloſſa.

Part heereof hath beene touched before.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ M. Harding. You beare your Reader in hand, that Nicolaus Cuſanus wrote a Booke entituled, *De Authoritate Eccleſiæ & Concily, ſupra & contra Scripturam.* Now M. Iewell, if you be able to ſhew vs any Booke of Cuſanus ſo entituled, either in print, or in Authentike written hand, I will ſay that you wil prooue your ſelfe a truer man then euer I tooke you to be, &c. *The Anſwer.* This matter, M. Harding, you haue blazed out with ſuch eloquence as is moſt meet for a man of your ſobriety. Indeed at what time I wrote mine Anſwer, I had not that Booke of Cuſanus, nor could not get it by any meanes, but was faine therin to vſe the report and credit of Matthias Flacius Illyricus, whom I thinke you will not denie to bee a man of good reading. His words hereof are theſe: Nicolai Cuſani ſententia de Authoritate Eccleſiæ & Concilij, ſupra & contra Scripturas. Hereupon you cry out in the mildneſſe of your ſpirit: A ſhameleſſe Man: A falſe Harlot: An impudent Liar: Growen to ſuch impudencie: A Slanderer: A bragger: A Boaſter of great reading, &c. O, M. Harding, it were much fitter for a wiſe man to be ſober, then thus to rare. But you paſſe along boldly and conſtantlie, as your maner is.

M.Ha.412.a.

Peters Succeſſours.

M. Harding. Wel, ſay you, perchance you will ſay, though the Title be alte red, yet the words out of the ſame Epiſtle be truly recited, wherein conſiſteth the chiefe effect and principal purpoſe. If you ſo ſay, you will be proued no leſſe a lier, and falſe reporter herein, then you haue bin in the reſt. And for example herein I will bring euen the very firſt place that you haue alleged out of him. You tel vs. pag. 55, that thus he ſaith: *Sequuntur Scripturæ Eccleſiam, & non e conuerſo:* The Scriptures of God follow the Church: but contrariwiſe, the Church followeth not the Scriptures. You haue here clipped the Authors ſentence, and quite altered the ſenſe. His words are theſe: *Eccleſia igitur, ſicut recipit Scripturam, ita & interpretatur: Sequuntur Scripturæ Eccleſiam, quæ prior eſt, & propter quam Scripturæ, & non e conuerſo:* The Church, as it receiueth the Scripture, ſo doth it expound the ſame. The Scriptures therfore do follow the Church, which is the former, and for the which the Scripture is ordained, & not contrariwiſe. Cuſanus words in their right forme, doe both ſtand well, and haue a good meaning. But your falſe changing of them cauſeth them to import an intollerable derogation of the Scriptures, without any colour of truth. For as it is moſt true, that the Church was before the Scriptures, that is to ſay, the written word of God, and that the Scriptures were ordained and appointed for the Church, ſo it is very falſe, that the Scriptures do follow the Church, and the Church not the Scriptures. For why hath the Church receiued the Scriptures, but to follow them, and to put them in Execution, both in our inward beliefe, and in our outward actions? Doe you not bluſh, M. Iewel, thus wilfully to peruert that (with your falſe iuggling, and conueying away of thoſe words, *Quæ prior eſt, & propter quam Scripturæ*) which before had a good right ſenſe? You thought belike you ſhould neuer heare hereof againe, nor be called to any reckoning; or elſe ye would haue had more regard to your good name & honeſty, &c. You thought you would paſſe Illyricus an ace in falſhood, although hee be his crafts maſter therein.

The Anſwer. **A fierce Oratour you are, and a fauourable Interpreter M. Harding.** Cardinall Cuſanus **muſt needs be defended, and ſtaied vpright in reſpect of his Dignity, and whatſoeuer he hath written, it muſt haue a right good Catholike meaning. But poore M. Iewell muſt bluſh, and be aſhamed of his iuggling. But I pray you M. Harding, are not theſe** Cuſanus **your Doctors owne words? Doth he not ſay plainely,** Sequuntur Scripturæ Eccleſiam, & non e conuerſo? *The Scriptures follow the Church; but contrariwiſe, the Church followeth not the Scriptures?* **You ſay,** There be other words between, *Quæ prior eſt, & propter quam Scripturæ:* **That is to ſay,** *The Church was before the Scriptures, and the Scriptures are to ſerue the Church.* **Is this the matter, M. Harding, that muſt make M. Iewel to change his colour? Or are theſe words ſufficient to put** Cuſanus **from his meaning? Firſt he ſaith,** The Scriptures follow the Church. **Doth he afterward by theſe words recant the ſame, and tell vs, that the** Church followeth the Scriptures?

You will ſay, Cuſanus **ſaith not,** The Scriptures follow the Church in Authoritie, but onely in time: **For he ſaith,** The Church was before the Scriptures. **So might he haue ſaid,** Moſes **was before** Chriſt: **or, The** Law **was before the** Goſpel: **or, The** Synagogue **was before the** Church. **But what had this beene to his purpoſe? Awake a little, M. Harding, and remember your ſelfe. Was this the queſtion that lay betweene** Cardinall Cuſanus **and the** Bohemians, **Whether the** Church, **or the** Scriptures **were former in time? Or, if it were not the queſtion, would he ſpeake ſo much, and ſo vainely, as you often times doe, beſides his purpoſe? Leaue, leaue this trifling, M. Harding. It will not helpe you: Learne rather to vnderſtand your Doctors meaning by himſelfe.**

The matter, as you know, was this: The Bohemians **required the** Holy Communion in both kindes, **and therein alleged the warrant of the Scriptures. For** Chriſt, **ſaid they, ordained and miniſtred the** Communion **in both kindes.** Cuſanus **defended the abuſe and diſorder of the** Communion in one kinde only, **and therein alleged the warrant of the** Church of Rome. **Hereof this iſſue grew betweene them, whether they ought in caſes of** Religion **to follow the** Church of Rome, **or rather the** Scriptures: **To this** Cuſanus **ſaith. The** Church of Rome **is aboue the** Scriptures. **This he laieth as a Foundation of the whole. And therefore of the** Scriptures **he ſpeaketh full meanly, and verie coldlie, or rather diſdainefully, as it ſhall appeare, and alloweth all Power and Authority to the** Church of Rome. **Theſe things conſidered, I beſeech you, to what purpoſe had it beene for** Cuſanus **to ſay, The** Church **was before the** Scriptures? **For the queſtion was not, whether the** Church, **or the** Scripture **were the elder, but whether of theſe two, in trial of the Truth, we ought rather to follow.**

Cuſan. ad Boham. Epiſt. 2.

Cuſan. Excitationem. li. 2. Non diceret. Excita. lib. 6. Vbi Eccleſia.

Now concerning the Authoritie of the Church, Cuſanus **ſaith thus:** Veritas adhæret Cathedræ Petri: Vniuerſa Catholica Eccleſia ad Petri Cathedram conglobata, à Chriſto nunquam recedet: Hæc eſt vna, quæ tenet & poſſidet omnẽ Sponſi ſui Domini Poteſtatem: Veritas Cathedræ per Chriſtum alligata eſt, non perſonis: Extra Romanam Sanctam Catholicã Eccleſiam non eſt Salus: Quàm firma eſt ædificatio Eccleſiæ? Quia nemo decipi poteſt etiam per malum Præſidentem. Si dixeris, Domine obediui tibi in præpoſito, hoc tibi ſufficiet ad Salutem: etiamſi præpoſitus de oneribus humeris tuis impoſitis, præceptis & ſolutionibus rationem ſit Deo redditurus. Tu enim per obedientiam, quam facis præpoſito, quẽ Eccleſia tollerat, decipi nequis, etiamſi præceperit alia quàm debuit. Quare Sententia Paſtoris ligat te pro tua Salute, propter, bonũ obedientiæ, etiamſi

amsi iniusta fuerit. Nam ad te non attinet cognoscere, quòd Sentẽtia sit iniusta, nec conceditur tibi, vt non obedias, si tibi iniusta videatur. Nulla enim esset obedientia, si in tuo arbitrio esset de Sententia Pastoris iudicare. Præsumit enim Ecclesia de illa Sentẽtia: cui si tu obedieris, magna erit merces tua. Obedientia igitur irrationalis est consummata obedientia, & perfectissima: scilicet, quando obeditur sine inquisitione rationis, sicut iumentum obedit Domino suo, &c. *The truth cleaueth fast to* Peters *Chaire: The whole Vniuersall Catholike Church rolled vp to* Peters *Chaire, shall neuer depart from Christ: This Church* (of Rome) *is that only Church that holdeth & possesseth all the power of the Lord her spouse: Christ hath tied his Truth to the Chaire, not to the persons of the Bishops: without the Holy, Catholike Church of* Rome *there is no saluation: How strong is the building of the Church? For no man can be deceiued, no not by an euil Bishop: if thou say vnto God, O Lord, I haue obeied thee in my Bishop, this shall suffice thee vnto saluation: notwithstanding the Bishop of his part shall yeeld an account vnto God for the burdens that he hath laid vpõ thy shoulders, for his commandements, & for thy paiments. For thou canst not be deceiued by thy obedience that thou yeeldest to the Bishop, whõ the Church suffereth, although he command thee other things then he ought to do. Therefore the Bishops sentence, although it be vniust, bindeth thee for thy Saluation, because of the goodnes of obedience. For it behoueth not thee to know that his Sentence is vniust: nor is it lawful for thee to disobey it, although thou take it to be vniust. For it were no obedience at all, if it were in thy power to iudge of the sentence of thy Bishop. For the Church presumeth his Sentence to be good: which Sentence if thou obey, thy reward shall be great. Obedience therefore without reason is a full and most perfect obedience: That is: when thou obeiest without requiring of reason, as a horse is obedient to his Master.* **With such colors** Cusanus **adorneth & blazeth the Maiestie of the** Church of Rome, **and such obedience and bondage he requireth to be yeelded vnto the same.** So must we be obedient vnto the Pope, as a Horse is obedient vnto his Master.

Peters Successors.

No man can be deceiued.

Vnto Saluation.

Obedience without reason:

As a Horse is obedient to his Master.

Now let vs consider in what regard he hath the Scriptures of God, **so shall we see how far he placeth the one in authority before the other. Thus therefore he saith to the** Bohemians: Dicitis præcepto Christi obediendum esse primo loco, deinde Ecclesiæ: & si aliud præceperit Ecclesia, quàm Christus, non Ecclesiæ, sed Christo obediendum esse. Certè in hoc est omniũ præsumptionũ initium, quando iudicant particulares suum sensum in Diuinis Præceptis conformiorẽ, quàm Vniuersæ Ecclesiæ. Intellige, Scripturas esse ad tempus adaptatas & variè intellectas, ita vt vno tempore secundũ currentem vniuersalẽ ritum exponantur: mutato ritu, iterũ Sententia mutetur. Non mirum, si praxis Ecclesię vno tempore interpretetur Scripturã vno modo, & alio tempore alio modo. Nam intellectus currit cum Praxi. Intellectus enim qui cum Praxi concurrit, est Spiritus viuificãs. Fatuũ est ergo argumentũ, velle Vniuersalẽ Ecclesiæ ritum, ex Scripturis Prædecessorũ arguere. Legitur enim, Apostolos non tradidisse Fidẽ per Scripturas &c. Hæc est omniũ sanè intelligentiũ Sententia, qui Scripturarum authoritatẽ, aut intellectũ in Ecclesiæ authoritate fundant, quæ vnam accipit, & alteram abijcit: & non è conuerso, Ecclesiæ firmamentum in Scripturarũ authoritate locant. Dicetis forsitan quomodo mutabuntur Præcepta Christi authoritate Ecclesiæ, vt tunc sint obligatoria, quando Ecclesiæ placuerit? Dico, nulla esse Christi Præcepta, nisi quæ per Ecclesiam pro talibus accepta sint. Mutato iudicio Ecclesiæ, mutatũ est & Dei iudicium: *You say, we must first obey Christs Cõmandement, & afterward the Church. And if the Church cõmand vs to do otherwise thẽ Christ cõmandeth, we must then obey Christ, & not the Church. Verily herein standeth the beginning of all presumption, when particular men thinke their own iudgement to be more agreeable to Gods commandements then the iudgemẽt of the Vniuersal Church. Vnderstand thou that the* Scriptures are appointed to serue the time, and haue diuers vnderstandings: so that at one time they may be expounded after the vniuersall, common and ordinarie custome: *and that the same custome being changed, the meaning of the Scriptures may likewise be changed. No maruell though the Practise of the Church at one time doe expound the Scriptures after one sort, and at another time, after another sort, for the vnderstanding of the Scriptures, runneth with the practise of the Church. For the vnderstanding that runneth with the practise is the quickening Spirit. It is a foolish enterprise to goe about to reproue the Vniuersall order of the Church by the Scriptures of our Ancestors. For we read that the Apostles deliuered not the Faith by the Scriptures. This is the iudgement of all that be wise, that* build and found the authority & vnderstanding of the Scriptures in the authority of the Church, *which receiueth one Scripture & refuseth another: but contrariwise they build not the stay of the Church in the authority of the Scriptures. Perhaps you wil say, How shal Christs Cõmandements be changed by the authority of the Church, that they shall binde vs, when the Church shall think it good? I tell thee,* There is nothing to be taken for Christs Cõmandement, vnlesse it be so allowed of the Church.

Nic. Cusan. ad Boham. epi. 2. Pag. 832. Pag. 833. Ep. 7. p. 857. Ep. 2. p. 833. Pag 834. Epist. 3. p. 838.

First Christ.

Præsumptio.

Scriptures serue times.

Scriptures changed.

Scriptures follow practise.

A foolish enterprise.

Faith not by Scriptures.

Church not foũded in the Scriptures.

Christs Commandement without the Church is no Commandement.

Whea

Peters Succeſſors.

When the Church hath once chãged her iudgemẽt, Gods iudgemẽt is likewiſe chãged. Heereby, M. Harding, may you know Cardinall Cuſanus iudgement, touching the Scriptures of Almighty God. The Scriptures, ſaith he, follow the practiſe of the Church, not only in time as you ſay, but alſo in authority and in credit. As for your Commentaries, they are too ſimple, and ouer partiall, and a great way beſide the Text. Now iudge you indifferently, M. Harding, whether Cuſanus ſay not, as I haue alleged him: Sequuntur Scripturæ Eccleſiam, & non è conuerſo: *The Scriptures follow the Church, but contrariwiſe the Church followeth not the Scriptures.* To conclude, heereby may ye iudge of the Title of theſe Epiſtles, wherewith you finde your ſelfe ſo much incombred: De Authoritate Eccleſiæ, ſupra & contra Scripturas: *Certainely it is manifeſt by his plaine words, that he placeth the authority of the* Church, *not only aboue, but alſo againſt the authority of the* Scriptures.

There were neuer ſo manie Heretiks in any one See, as haue bin in the See of Rome, as I haue already ſufficiently and fullie proued. And yet ye ſay, The Pope cannot erre. There were neuer ſo notorious examples, or as Platina calleth them, Monſters of filthie life: Yet (yee ſay) they are all holy Fathers, & hold their Chriſtianity by nature of Office. Howbeit, your Doctor Alphonſus ſaith: Quamuis credere teneamur ex Fide, Verum Petri Succeſſorem eſſe Supremũ Paſtorẽ totius Eccleſiæ, non tamen tenemur eadẽ Fide credere Leonẽ aut Clementẽ eſſe verũ Petri Succeſſorẽ: *Although we be boũd to beleeue that the true Succeſſor of Peter is the Higheſt Paſtor of al the Church, yet are we not boũd with like Faith to beleeue, that* Pope Leo, & Pope Clemẽt *are the true Succeſſors of* Peter. Iohn ỹ Baptiſt ſaid rightly vnto ỹ Phariſeis ỹ likewiſe made vaunts of their Succeſſion: *Neuer ſay Abrahã is your Father. For God is able euen of theſe ſtones to raiſe vp Children vnto* Abrahã. Chryſoſtom ſaith: Non locus Sanctificat hominẽ, ſed homo locũ: Nec Cathedra facit Sacerdotẽ, ſed Sacerdos Cathedrã: *The Place Sãctifieth not the Man, but the Man ſanctifieth the Place. Neither doth the Chaire make the Preſt, but the Prieſt maketh the Chaire.* Nazianzene ſaith: Non locorum eſt Gratia, ſed Spiritus: *The grace of God goeth not by place, but by the holy Ghoſt.*

Platina in Benedict. 4.
Alphonſus aduer. hæreſ. li. 1. cap. 9.
Matth. 3,
Chryſ. in opere imperf. hom. 43
diſt. 41. Multi.
Greg. Nazianzen. in ſanctũ Lauacrum.

Chryſoſtome ſaith: Omnis Chriſtianus qui ſuſcipit Verbum Petri, fit Thronus Petri, & Petrus ſedet in eo: *Euery Chriſtian man which receiueth the word of Peter, is made Peters Chaire, and S. Peter reſteth in him.*

Chryſoſt. in Mat. hom. 33.

But heere haue you found out a foule contradiction in our wordes. Who is he (ſay you) whom ye call the Prince of the World? Not the Pope, M. Harding, leſt ye ſhould happilie be deceiued: notwithſtanding your Fellowes haue ſo often told vs, Papa totius Orbis obtinet principatum: *The Pope hath the Princehood of all the world.*

In ſexto lib. 3. Titul. 16. cap. Vnico.

The Emperours Maieſtie we finde oftentimes entitled by this name: but your Popes Holineſſe ſo entitled we finde neuer: vnleſſe it be ſome certaine late Decrees & Gloſſes of his owne. Albeit, you of late haue much abated the Emperours honour, and made him onlie the Popes man. For thus ye ſaie: Imperator (Occidentis) eſt procurator, ſiue Defenſor Romanæ Eccleſiæ: *The* Emperour *(of the* Weſt*) is the Proctor or Steward of the* Church of Rome.

Diſt. 98. Si Imperator. In Gloſſa.

Yet Chryſoſtome ſaith: Imperator eſt Summitas & Caput omnium ſuper Terram hominum: *The Emperour is the Head and Toppe of al men vpon the Earth.* In the Councell of Chalcedon, the Emperour is called, Dominus Vniuerſi Mundi: *The Lord of the whole World.*

Chryſoſt. ad Pap. Antio. homil. 2.
Concil. Chal. Act. 1. in nomine.

Perhaps ye wil ſay, The ſtate of the Empire is now impouerished: and therefore the Emperour hath loſt his title. Yet your owne Doctors and Gloſſers could haue told you, Iura communia dicunt quod Imperator eſt Dominus Mundi: Notwithſtanding the decay of the Empire, *The common Lawes ſay, that the Emperour is the Lord of the World.* Robert Holcote ſpeaking of the Emperour of Germanie, ſaith thus: Hic eſt Rex Regũ, cui omnes ſubditæ ſunt Nationes & Populi, &c. *The Emperour is the King of Kings, vnto whom all Nations and Countries be in ſubiection.*

Extra de Maiorit. & Obedient. vnam Sanctam. in Gloſſa.
Holcote in Sapien. Lect. 199.

The Romans of late yeeres wrote thus vnto the Emperor Conradus: Excellentiſſimo & præclariſſimo Vrbis & Orbis totius Domino, &c. *Vnto the moſt Excellent & moſt Noble Emperor, the Lord both of the City of Rome, and alſo of al the whole World.* Therefore, M. Harding, to moue this vaine quarrell without ſome cauſe, it was great folly.

Otho Friſingenſis.

Councels (ye ſay) in old times were holden by authority of the Pope. For proofe whereof ye allege Socrates in the eighth Booke, and the ſecond Chapter: But Word or Sentence ye allege none. Howbeit it was a great ouerſight to allege the Eighth Booke of Socrates, whereas Socrates himſelfe neuer wrote but Seuen, and ſo farre to ouerleape your Authour. Notwithſtanding this ſmall Errour may well bee diſſembled amongſt ſo many. Howbeit, touching the thing it ſelfe, ye may as eaſily finde it in the Eighth Booke of

of Socrates, that neuer was written, as elsewhere. For indeed amongst all that euer he wrote, this thing certainly, that you allege, he wrote neuer.

The Apologie, Chap. 12. *Diuision* 5.

And although the modesty and mildenesse of the Emperour Ferdinando be so great, that he can beare this wrong, because peraduenture he vnderstandeth not well the Popes packing, yet ought not the Pope of his holinesse to offer him that wrong, nor to claime another mans right as his owne.

Constantine in the Councell of Nice.

The Apologie, Chap. 13. *Diuision* 1.

BVT hereto some will replie: The Emperor indeed called Councels at that time, ye speake of, because the Bishop of Rome was not yet growen so great as he is now, but yet the Emperor did not then sit together with the Bishops in Councell, nor bare any stroke with his authority in their Consultations. I answer, nay, that is not so. For as witnesseth Theodore, the Emperour Constantine, not only sate together with them in the Councell of Nice, but gaue also aduice to the Bishops, how it was best to trie out the matter by the Apostles, and Prophets writings, as appeareth by these his owne words: In disputation (saith he) of matters of Diuinity, we haue set before vs to follow, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. For the Euangelists and the Apostles workes, and the Prophets sayings, shew vs sufficiently what opinion we ought to haue of the will of God.

M. Harding.

For the sitting of Emperors in Councels, you treat a common place not necessary. No man euer denied, but Emperours may sit in them, we acknowledge two sorts of sitting: one for the Assessours, another for the Iudges. (a) No Emperour euer sate as a Iudge in Councell. But many both Emperours in person, and their Lieutenants for them haue sitten, as being ready to assist and defend that which the Bishops had iudged and decreed.

(a) Vntruth, For Cusanus saith; Inuenio Imperatores in concilijs iudicia fecisse, Read the Answer.

Diuina Constant. lib. 3. Trond. lib. 1 cap. 7. Ἐκαθέζετο καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀρχιερεύς.

What maner a seat great Constantine had in the first Councell at Nice, Eusebius in his life, & Theodoritus doth declare. After that all the Bishops were set in their seats to the number of 318. in came the Emperour last with a small companie. (b) A low little chaire being set for him in the middest, hee would not sit downe before the Bishops had reuerently signified so much vnto him; and as Theodoritus writeth, not before he had desired the Bishops to permit him so to do. Now thinke you that the Supreme Head of the Church should haue (c) come in last, and haue sitten (d) beneath his subiects, and haue staid to sit vntill they had as it were giuen him leaue?

(b) Vntruth enclosed: for this low little Chaire was al of beaten gold, and was set in the highest place of the Councell.

Neither consulted he with the Bishops, but required them to consult of the matters they came for, as Theodorite witnesseth. Neither spake he there so generally as you report, nor framed his tale in that sort, as you faine, (e) Vniuersally of the will of God, (e) but of the Godhead, saying; That the Bookes of the Gospels, and of the Apostles, and the Oracles of the Prophets do plainly teach vs what we ought to thinke of the Godhead, περὶ τῆς θεότητος. For the controuersie about which the Arians made so much adoe, was touching the equality of the Godhead in Christ, and his consubstantiality with God the Father. And by those words and other, which there be vttered, he tooke not vpon him to define or iudge, but only to exhort them to agree together in one Faith. For among those Bishops certaine there were that fauoured the Heresie of Arius. Such examples you bring for defense of your part, as make much against you. Not that you delight in making a rod for your selfe, but because you haue no better: and somewhat must you needs say, lest the stage you play your part on, should stand still.

(c) Vaine folly. For the Prince neuer commeth into the Parliament house, before the Lords be set.

(d) Vntruth. For Sozomenus saith; Erat thronus ille maximus, & alios omnes superans,

(e) Vntruth, euident. For Cassiodorus expoundeth it thus; Quid de diuina Lege Sapere debeamus.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Emperours (ye say) sate in Councels, as Assessours only, but not as Iudges. That is to say, they sate by the Bishops and held their peace, and told the clocke, and said nothing. Yet your Doctours say, Assessor Episcopi non potest esse Laicus: *The Assessour of a Bishop may not be a Lay man.* But touching the matter it selfe, Eusebius that was alwaies neare about the Emperour Constantine, and wrote his life, and was present at the Councell, saith thus: Constantinus quasi communis quidam Episcopus à Deo constitutus, Ministrorum Dei Synodos conuocauit: nec dedignatus est adesse, & considere in medio illorum, consorsqué fieri ipsorum, &c. Constantine *as if he had beene a common Bishop appointed by God, called together Councels of Gods Ministers: and disdained not himself to sit in the mids amongst them, and to be partaker of their doings.* Againe Constantinus himselfe saith thus: Ego interessem

De Præscriptis Statu. §. Assessorem Gemmianus.

Euseb in vita. Concil. Orat. 3. cap. 16. ὡς ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς τῶν ἐξ ἴσου

Concilio

Concilio tanquam vnus ex vobis: *I was preſent at the Councell amongſt you, as one of you.* Againe Euſebius ſaith: Vnus & vnicus Deus inſtituit Conſtantinum Miniſtrum ſuum, & Doctorem Pietatis omnibus terris: *The One and Onely God, hath appointed* Conſtantine *to be his Miniſter and the Doctor of true godlineſſe vnto all Nations.* And Theodoritus ſaith: Laudatiſſimus Rex Apoſtolicas curas ſuſcipiebat animo ſuo: at Pontifices, non ſolum non ædificare Eccleſiam, ſed etiam illius fundamenta labefactare conabantur: *The good Emperour had Apoſtolike cares in his heart: But the Biſhops did not only not build vp the Church of God, but alſo ouerthrew the foundations of the ſame.* M. Harding ſaith: The Biſhops did all, and the Emperor did nothing. But Theodoritus ſaith: *The* Emperor *built vp that the* Biſhops *had throwen downe.*

συγχωρεῖ συμπαρεῖναι. *Euſeb. eodem. loco.* *Theod lib. 1. cap 24.*

Conſtantine in the Councell of Nice.

And againe Euſebius ſaith: Conſtantinus erat Vocaliſſimus Dei præco, & quaſi Seruator ac Medicus animarum: Conſtantine the Emperor *was a moſt cleere Preacher of God, and as it were, the Sauiour and Phyſitian of ſoules.* In this ſort Nicephorus writeth vnto the Emperor Emmanuel Palæologus: Tu es Dux profeſſionis Fidei noſtræ, &c. *Your* Maieſty *is the Captaine of the Profeſſion of our Faith: your* Maieſty *hath reſtored the Catholike and Vniuerſall Church. Your* Maieſty *hath reformed the* Temple of God *from Merchants, and Exchangers of the Heauenly Doctrine, and from Heretikes by the word of* Truth.

Euſeb. in vita Con. Orat. 3. cap. 10. *Niceph. in præfatione ad Emmanuelem.* *Theod li. 1. c. 7.* εἰσελθὼν τὸ ἐπίπεδον δὲν κόσμῳ τῷ ἁρμόττοντι ἅπαντα κατεῖχε σύνεδρα. Παίτοι γε ἐξωκεστῶτων δὴ συνθήματι τὸν βασιλέα εἰσιέναι δὲν ἰδίλου: σμικρὸς μὲν αὐτῷ κατέκειτο δίφρος χρυσοῦ πεποιημένος.

Ye ſay, When the Biſhops were ſet, in came the Emperour laſt with a ſmal company. Whereof ye would haue vs to gather, that he came only as an inferiour perſon, & not as a Iudge. Howbeit Theodoritus ſaith: Cõſtantinus iuſſit Epiſcopos ingredi: Conſtantine commanded the Biſhops to goe in.

And Euſebius ſaith: Sedit tota Synodus reuerenter, vt par fuit, cum ſilentio expectans aduentum Principis: *The whole Councell ſate in reuerent and comely order, quietly and in ſilence looking for the Princes comming.*

This is no good proofe, M. Harding, that the Emperor in the Councell was inferiour to the Biſhops. Nay the Biſhops were commanded to take their places, to ſit in ſilence, and to wait for the Emperours comming, as it becommeth Subiects to wait for their Prince. Againe he ſaith: Signo, quo aduentus Imperatoris indicatus eſt, dato, omnibus exurgentibus, ipſe deinde ingreſſus eſt medius, tanquam aliquis Dei Cœleſtis Angelus: *When the Watch word was giuen, that the Emperor was come, the Biſhops ſtood vp from their places, and his Maieſty paſt along thorow the middeſt of them, as if he had beene an Angell of God.*

But the Emperour (ye ſay) ſate vpon a little low ſtoole, and therein ſhewed him ſelfe inferiour to the Biſhops. Yea, M. Harding, but Euſebius ſaith, that the ſame little low ſtoole was made of whole beaten gold: and therein, I trow, as low as ye place him, he was ſomewhat aboue the Biſhops.

Ye ſay, he ſate alow, and in the midſt of the Biſhops. And heerof ye conclude, he was their Inferiour. So Iulius Cæſar notwithſtanding he were the Emperour of Rome, yet when he came into the College of Poets, he was well contented to be placed in the loweſt rome: and yet was he not therefore their Inferiour.

But touching the Emperor Conſtantines place in the Councel, Euſebius ſaith thus: Acceſſit ad ſummum gradum ordinum: *He went vp to the higheſt riſing of all the benches.* Sozomenus ſaith: Imperator peruenit ad Caput Concilij, & ſedit in Throno quodam, quem ipſe ſibi fecerat. Erat autem Thronus ille Maximus, & alios omnes ſuperans: *The Emperor went vp to the head or higheſt place of the Councell, and ſate downe in a Throne of Eſtate, that he had prepared for himſelfe. But this Throne was very great, and far paſſed all the reſt.* In the meane ſeaſon the Popes Legare ſate, as it is ſaid before, neither in the firſt place, nor in the ſecond, nor in the third, but in the fourth. Whereby it ſeemeth to appeare plainly, that Conſtantinus the Emperor had this place in the Councell aboue all the Biſhops.

Euſeb. de vita Conſt. Oratio 3 cap. 10. Προελθὼν δὴ τὴν πρὸ τῆς τῶν τιμημάτων ἀρχῆς. Μίσγεσθαι δὲ ἦν ἄτοπος, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπερφέρων.

Notwithſtanding, ſithence that time the Pope hath determined, it muſt now be otherwiſe. His order is this, as it hath beene alleged before: Sedes Imperatoris parabitur, &c. The Emperors Seat *ſhall be prepared next vnto the* Popes Seat, *and ſhall haue two ſteps ioined vnto the ſame: but neither ſo broad nor ſo long as be the* Popes. *It ſhall be apparelled with cloath of Gold: but Canopie ouer the head it ſhall haue none. Howbeit, this thing is ſpecially to be marked, that the place, whereupon the* Emperour *ſitteth, may be no higher then the place where the* Pope *ſetteth his Feet.* Thus we ſee, the Emperour is allowed to ſit at the Popes footſtoole: but in any caſe to mount no higher.

Ceremonia lib. 2. Sect. 14. ca. 2 *Et aduertendum quòd locus vbi ſedet Imperator, non ſit altior loco, vbi tenet pedes Pontifex.*

The Emperour (ye ſay) ſtood ſtill (no doubt, with Cap in hand) and durſt not ſit downe without leaue: And thereby teſtified himſelfe to be inferiour to the Biſhops. Theſe cold concluſions, M. Harding, will hardly ſerue you. For Traianus being the Emperour of Rome, was contented himſelfe to ſtand aſide, and for honours ſake, commanded the Conſuls to ſit downe: Yet was he not therefore Inferiour in dignity to the Conſuls.

Helena

Helena the Empreſſe apparelled her ſelfe like a Seruant, and miniſtred vnto the Holy Virgins, and gaue them water to their hands, as if indeed ſhe had beene their Seruant: yet was ſhe not therefore Inferiour vnto the Virgins.

The ſame Emperour Conſtantine at the time of the Eccleſiaſticall Sermons, ſtood vpright and would not ſit, for the reuerence that he bare to the Word of God. Yet was he not Inferior to the Preacher. This was that good Emperors modeſty and humility, M. Harding, but not his dutie. It were wiſdome for Princes to take heed, they commit not ouermuch to your hands. For whatſoeuer they once yeeld of meere curteſie, ſtraightway ye claime it as your owne.

Conſtantine in the Councell of Nice.

Ruffin. li. 1. c. 7. Euſeb. in vita Conſt. Orat. 4. cap. 33. Soz. li. 1. ca. 18 Καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς καθίζειν ἐκελεύσθη.

Howbeit touching the Emperours ſitting in the Councell it was farre otherwiſe then you report it. Sozomenus ſaith: Imperator reſedit in Throno, qui illi paratus fuerat; & Synodus iuſſa eſt ſedere: *The* Emperour *ſate downe in his* Chaire of Eſtate *prouided for him: and* (then) *the Councel was commanded to ſit downe.* Hereby it appeareth the Emperor needed not the Biſhops leaue, but rather gaue leaue to the Biſhops.

No doubt, that godly and milde Prince being in that reuerend aſſembly, bare himſelfe with much reuerence. And therefore Euſebius ſaith: He ſate not downe before the *Biſhops had beckoned vnto him.* But he added withall: Poſt Imperatorem, idem fecerunt omnes: *(Not before, but) After that the Emperour was ſet, they ſate downe al together.* Now, M. Harding, if he that ſate firſt in the Councel, were the Head of the Church, as you ſeeme to ſay, then may I reaſon thus: The Pope or his Legate in that Councel ſate not firſt: *Ergo*, the Pope then was not Head of the Church.

Euſeb. in vita Conſt. Orat. 3. cap. 10. ὁ σφόδρα, ἢ τὰς ὑποκλίσεις ὑπομείνας ἐκεῖνος ἐκάθιζε τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μετ' ἐξουσίας.

Againe, the Emperor in that Councel ſate Firſt: *Ergo*, by your owne concluſion, the Emperour was the Head of the Church. Certainly the Pope himſelfe ſaith plainly: The Emperour Constantine was the Preſident or Ruler of the Nicene Councel. His words be theſe: Conſtantinus Præſidens Sanctæ Synodo, quæ apud Nicæam congregata eſt: Conſtantinus *the* Emperor, *being Preſident of the holy Councell that was kept at* Nice. Theſe be not our words but the Popes, regiſtred euen in his owne Records. Therefore, I truſt, ye will not refuſe to giue them credit.

12. *Que.* 1. *Fut. Greg.*

But you ſay, The Emperour determined and defined nothing. Yet the Emperour himſelfe, contrary to your ſaying, ſaith thus: Ego ſuſcepi, & perfeci res ſalutiferas, perſuaſus Verbo tuo: O Lord I tooke in hand, and brought to paſſe wholeſome things, being perſwaded by thy word.

Euſeb. in vita Conſt. Orat. 2. cap. 54.

And againe, writing hereof vnto the Biſhops of ſundry Churches, he ſaith: Ego vobiſcum interfui, tanquàm vnus ex vobis. Non enim negauerim, conſeruum me veſtrum eſſe: Qua de re mihi maxime gratulor: *I was preſent at the* Councel *with you, as one of you. For I cannot denie my ſelfe to be your* Fellow Seruant, *in which thing I muſt reioyce.*

Euſeb. in vita Conſt. Orat. 3. cap. 16.

Likewiſe againe he ſaith: Ego Nicæam contraxi magnum numerum Epiſcoporum: Cum quibus, cùm eſſem vnus ex vobis, & conſeruus veſter vehementer eſſe cupiẽ, etiam ipſe ſuſcepi inquiſitionem veritatis: *I cauſed a great company of* Biſhops *to come to* Nice: *with whom together,* I tooke in hand the examination of the truth, beeing my ſelfe one of you, *and much deſiring to be therein your Fellow Seruant.*

Socr. li. 1. cap. 9 Καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξέτασιν ἀνεδεξάμην.

Likewiſe ſaith Euſebius: Imperator, quaſi luculentam facem accendens, ne quæ occultæ erroris reliquiæ ſupereſſent, oculo Regio circumſpexit: *The Emperour, as hauing inkindled a great flame, looke well about with his Princely eie, that no priuy remnants of Errours ſhould reſt behinde.*

Euſeb. in vita Conſt. Orat. 3. cap. 11. ἵνα μὴ λάθοι τι μνημεῖον.

The Biſhops in the ſame Nicene Councel, being at variance amongſt themſelues, offered vp their Bookes of accuſation, not vnto the Pope or to his Legates, of whom they had then no great regard, but vnto the Emperor. Neither did the Emperors put ouer their quarrels vnto the Popes iudgement, but vnto the iudgement of God. Againe, the ſame Emperor Conſtantine ſaith: If any Biſhop wickedly offend, by the hand of Gods ſeruant, that is to ſay, by my hand, he ſhalbe puniſhed.

Socr. li. 1. ca. 8. Theodoret. lib. 1. cap. 19.

To be ſhort, Cardinal Cuſanus ſaith: Sciendum eſt, quòd in vniuerſalibus octo Concilijs, vbi Imperatores interfuerunt & non Papa, ſemper inuenio Imperatores, & Iudices ſuos cum ſenatu Primatum habuiſſe & officium Præſidentiæ per interloquutiones, & ex conſenſu Synodi, ſine mandato, concluſiones, & iudicia feciſſe. Et non reperitur inſtantia in octo Concilijs, præterquam in tertia Actione Concilij Calcedonenſis: *Wee muſt know, that in the eight Generall Councels, where the* Emperours *were preſent, and not the* Pope, *I euermore finde, that the* Emperours *and their* Iudges, *with the* Senate, *had the* Gouernment *&* Office of Preſidence, *by hearing and conferring of matters: and that they made Concluſions & Iudgements, with the conſent of the* Councel, *and without any further* Commiſſion. *And there is no maner inſtance or exception to bee found in the firſt Eight* Councels, *ſauing onely in the third Action of the* Councel of Chalcedon.

Card. Cuſan. de Con. li. 3. ca. 16

Here

Conſtantine in the Councell of Nice.

Here ye ſée plainly by the authority of Cardinal Cuſanus, one of your owne ſpeciall Doctours, that in the Eight firſt Generall Councels, the Emperor was Preſident and not the Pope.

Whereas the Emperors willed the Biſhops to conclude their matters by the Apoſtolical and Prophetical Scriptures, He ſpeaketh not (ſay you) ſo generally as we report him, nor frameth his tale in that ſort, as we faine, vniuerſally of the wil of God, but of the Godhead. For τὸ θεῖον in your fanſie ſignifieth only the Subſtance and Nature of God, and not Gods Wil, or his Religion. Here, M. Harding, it were ſome point of learning, to know what skilfull Greeke Reader told you this tale, that τὸ θεῖον is nothing elſe, but the Godhead, or Nature of God. Verily Caſſiodorus in plaine wiſe tranſlateth it thus: Euangelici & Apoſtolici libri erudiunt nos, quid de Sacra Lege ſapiamus: *The* Bookes of the Euangeliſts and Apoſtles *teach vs, what we ought to thinke* (not only of the Subſtance and Nature of God, but alſo) *of the* Holy Law.

Tripart. Hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Theod. li. 1. c. 7 περὶ θείων παραδόσεων.

Therefore Theodoretus addeth further theſe words: Accipiamus explicationes quæſtionum noſtrarum ex dictis Sancti Spiritus: *Let vs take the reſolution of our queſtions out of the words of the* Holy Ghoſt. And immediately before he ſaith: De rebus Diuinis diſputantes, præſcriptam habemus Doctrinam Sancti Spiritus: *In our Diſputations* (not onely of the Godhead, but alſo) *of* Godly matters, *wee haue laid before vs the Doctrine of the* Holy Goſpel. In like ſenſe S. Hilary ſaith: Non eſt relictus hominum eloquijs de Dei rebus alius, præterquam Dei Sermo. Omnia reliqua & arcta, & concluſa, & impedita ſunt, & obſcura: *In matters touching God, there is no ſpeech left vnto men, but onely the Word of God. All other Authorities be ſhort, and narrow, and darke, and troubleſome.* Beleeue them not henceforth, M. Harding, that tell you, that τὸ θεῖον, ſignifieth onely the Subſtance and Nature of Gods Diuinity. For as ye may eaſily ſée, your Gloſſe is vaine, and fighteth directly againſt the Text.

Hilar. de Trin. li 7. De rebus Dei περὶ τῶν θείων.

The Apologie, Chap. 13. Diuiſion, 2.

The Emperour Theodoſius (as ſaith Socrates) did not only ſit amongſt the Biſhops, but alſo ordered the whole arguing of the cauſe, and tare in peeces the Heretikes Bookes, and allowed for good the iudgement of the Catholikes.

(a) As if a priuat Councel were no Councel.
*Fond folly. As though the Emperor could cõdemn the Heretikes or allow the Catholikes, without iudgement.
(b) A worthy reaſon. The Emperour ſought meanes to abandon Hereſies: Ergo, he iudged not whether part was the truer.
(c) Vntruth, contrary to the plaine ſtory.
(d) And how could he make choiſe without iudgement?
(e) Thus M. Harding maketh the Emperour a diſſembling hypocrite.
*A fond cauil. It was a priuate Councel of ſundry Biſhops, and the Iudgement therof was ſpecially directed by the Emperor.

M. Harding.

It is a wonder to ſee, how theſe men abuſe the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories. Whereas they talke a little before of the ſitting of Emperors in Generall Councels, a man would thinke, that now alſo Theodoſius had beene ſaid to haue ſitten among Biſhops (a) in ſome General Coũcel. But there is no ſuch matter. Theodoſius the Emperor conferred with Nectarius the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, how al Chriſtiã men might be brought to an vnity in Faith. And after that Nectarius had learned of Siſinnius a great Clerke, the beſt way to be, if al the Heads of each Hereſie and Sect, might be induced to be iudged by the old Fathers and Doctours of the Church; the godly Emperor hearing this aduiſe, cauſed both the Heretikes and Catholikes alſo to write each of them ſuch things as each of them had to ſay for his Beliefe. And after praier made, reading ouer al the writings, *he reiected the Arians, the Macedoniãs, & the Eunomians, * embracing only their ſentence, who agreed vpon the conſubſtantiality of the Sonne of God. Here (ſay theſe Defenders) Theodoſius did not only ſit among the Biſhops, but alſo ordered the whole arguing of the cauſe, tearing the papers of the Heretikes, & allowing the iudgement of the Catholikes. To which obiectiõ, I make this Anſwer. Firſt, that Theodoſius here took counſel of Nectarius the Biſhop and followeth it. Secondly, that he intended not to iudge, whether opinion of al the Sects were truer, (b) but only ſought how to rid the Church of controuerſies. Otherwiſe he would not only haue taken counſel of Nectarius the Catholike Biſhop, but alſo of the Arians, Macedonians, and Eunomiãs. For he is not a right Iudge that calleth one ſide only to him, & in iudgemẽt is ruled by it. If then it be plaine, that the Emperor only conſulted with Catholikes, it is no leſſe plaine, (c) that he ſate not Iudge vpon the Catholikes. What did he then? Verily hee entended to execute that iudgement, which the Biſhops had pronounced at Nice, and therefore hee conferred only with men of that ſide. And becauſe he was inſtructed, that by diſputation no good ſhould come, he choſe this way, to make all to write their opinions. Not that he minded now to learne his faith out of their writings, ſith hee had learned that long before, and profeſſed the ſame in his Baptiſme: but he ſought a way, whereby to put al Heretikes to ſilence. Therefore hauing read al the writings, and hauing made his praier to God for grace, (d) to chuſe the better ſide, which alſo he made, not doubting of his Faith (for elſe he were an Infidel, and vnworthy to be a Iudge, euen in the Temporal matters among Chriſtians) but partly he declared that all goodneſſe is to be asked of God, (e) partly he would the Heretikes to vnderſtand, that he went not to worke with affection, but with the feare of God. Thus hauing praied and read the writings, he executed the iudgement of the Nicene Councel, and reiected thoſe Heretikes.

Iacob. 1. 1. Cor. 4.

Now to returne to the words of the Apology, how ſay they, that the Emperor not only ſate among Biſhops, but alſo *cauſæ diſceptationis præfuit*, was chiefe Ruler & Moderator of the reaſoning & debating of the matter? They cannot ſay thus, as of a Councel, whereof they talke. * For there was no Councel indicted, not only by the Pope, but neither by the Emperour, nor by any other Archbiſhop. * It was a priuate calling together of certaine heads of each Sect, and not a ſolemn ordinary Councel. If there were

were no Councel of Biſhops, no ſitting of Biſhops: if no ſitting, no preſidence at al. How then was Theodoſius Preſident, and Iudge of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes?

If we ſhal report the thing as it was in truth done, onely Theodoſius vſed a politike way to put Heretikes to ſilence. Other iudgement he tooke not vpon him, as he that proteſted alwaies, that Spirituall cauſes, and controuerſies of Doctrine, could not better be decided, then by Biſhops. For which ſaying S. Ambroſe praiſed him. So that we are ſure of Theodoſius, that he neuer meant to intermeddle with Eccleſiaſtical matters, (f) otherwiſe then to execute the Biſhops Decrees.

In Actis Concil Aquileien.

(f) Thus the Emperor is become the Biſhops man

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Heere (ye ſay) it is a wonder to ſee how theſe men abuſe the Eccleſiaſtical Stories. It was a Priuate Councel (yee ſay) whereat Theodoſius was preſent, and not a Generall. **As if this poze helpe were ſufficient to ſalue the matter: Dz, as if a** Priuate Councel **were no** Councell: **Dz, as if an** Emperor **might ſit as a Iudge in** Priuate Councels, **but not in** Generall. **I cannot blame you, M. Harding foz ſeeking ſuch ſhifts. A ſimple ſticke may make a ſtay. The Storie in briefe is this:** Theodoſius **the** Emperor, **the better to bring his** Churches **into** Vnitie, **Commanded an Aſſembly of the Biſhops and beſt Learned to appeare** *Sozom. Lib. 7. Cap. 12.* **beſoze him, and each part to wzite a ſeuerall Confeſſion of his** Faith, **that he himſelfe might iudge betweene them, which** Faith **were the beſt. Hauing receiued their wzitings,** *Socr. l. 5 ca. 10.* **he willed Publike Pzaiers to be made, and alſo both openly and pziuately pzaied himſelfe, that it might pleaſe God to aſſiſt him with his Holy Spirit, and to make him able to iudge iuſtly.**

Then he peruſed and conſidered each Confeſſion **aſunder by it ſelfe: allowed only the** Catholikes, **and condemned the** Confeſſions **that were wzitten by the** Arians, **and** Eunomians, **and tare them in peces. This is the true repozt of the Stozy, M. Harding. Whatſoeuer ye haue added hereunto, as your maner is, it is your owne. Now whether the** Emperor Theodoſius **tooke vpon him to** Heare **and** Determine Eccleſiaſticall Cauſes of Religion, **oz no, I repozt me to your owne indifferent iudgement.**

But ye will ſay: The Emperour preſumed not to iudge any thing of himſelfe, but was wholly ruled by the Biſhops, as the executer of their willes. **And hereof, ye ſay,** ye are wel aſſured. **Thus by your handling, ye make the** Prince **onely your** Biſhops man, **to ſtrike blindely whomſoeuer your** Biſhop **ſhal command: to Condemne, to Depziue, to Spoile, to Kill his owne Subiects: not of any Iudgement, oz Knowledge, but onely vpon the doubtfull Credit, and at the pleaſure of your** Biſhop. **So ſimple make ye this** Godly Emperor **in his dealing. He willed the Congregation to pzay: He pzaied himſelfe, that God would direct him with his** Spirit, **and giue him wiſdome to diſcerne the Truth: He Conferred the** Confeſſions: **He weighed each Reaſon: He allowed one ſide foz true and Godly: Al the reſt he condemned foz falſe and wicked.** And yet (yee ſay) ye are ſure of Theodoſius, that he intended not to iudge whether of all theſe Sects were the truer. **And ſo, by your diſcretion, hee both Allowed and Condemned, without Iudgement, he knew not what.**

Dioſcorus Iuuenalis. Thalaſſius.

The Apologie, Chap. 14. *Diuiſion.* 1.

IN the Councel of Chalcedon, a Ciuil Magiſtrate **Condemned foz Heretikes by the Sentence of his own mouth, the** Biſhops, Dioſcorus, Iuuenalis, **and** Thalaſſius, **and gaue Iudgement, to put them down from their Dignities in the** Church.

M. Harding.

Where true & good matter wanteth, for defenſe of this cauſe, theſe men care not what they bring, ſo they make a ſhew of ſome learning, to deceiue the vnlearned. Firſt, for condemnation of Heretikes, by ſentence of a Ciuil Magiſtrate, they allege the name of the long Councel of Chalcedō, not ſhewing in what Action, or part thereof it may be found. True it is, that al theſe three are named in that Councel, Dioſcorus, Iuuenalis, and Thalaſſius. (a) But that al three were condemned, we finde not. Much leſſe, that they were condemned by any Ciuil Magiſtrate, doe wee finde. The condemnation of Dioſcorus, Archbiſhop of Alexandria, was pronounced by the Legates of the Pope of Rome, in form as followeth. Patchaſinus hauing asked the conſent of the Fathers preſent in the Council, to the condemnation of Dioſcorus after his faults rehearſed, with his two fellowes, Lucentius Biſhop of Tuſculum, & Bonifacius Prieſt of the great Church of Rome, ſaid: The moſt holy and bleſſed Archbiſhop of the great & elder Rome, Leo, by vs, and by this preſent holy Synod, with the thrice moſt bleſſed, and worthy of all praiſe, Peter the Apoſtle, * who is the rock and * higheſt top of the Catholike Church, and who is the * foundation of the right Faith, hath depriued Dioſcorus, as wel of the dignity of his Biſhopricke, as alſo of his Prieſtly Miniſtery. This was the ſentence pronounced by the Popes Legates in the name of the Biſhop of Rome, vnder the Authority of Peter. Which ſentence the whole Councel allowed. This being true, how did the Ciuil Magiſtrate condemne Dioſcorus? Was then the Biſhop of Lilybæum, or the Pope, in whoſe name he gaue ſentence, a Ciuil Magiſtrate? (b) What is impudency, what is licencious lying, what is deceitful dealing, if this be not?

Act. 3.

(a) Vntruth, encloſed, ſtanding in ignorance: for if M. Harding had read the Councel, hee might haue found it.

* This was ſpoken cuē like the Popes Legat. for S. Paul ſaith: Chriſt was the Rocke, &c.

(b) This is the patience of M. Hardings Spirit. When hee ſhall read the Councell, and ſee his owne errour, he wil be colder.

(c) Vntruth, vain and childish. For then there belonged no such Authority to the See of Rome.

(d) Vntruth, shameles aboue measure: For they neuer asked pardon for sitting without the Popes authority.

(e) M. Harding is wel assured, before he know.

(f) Manifest Vntruth. Read the Answer.

Of Iuuenalis Archbishop of Hierusalem, and Thalassius Archbishop of Cæsaria in Cappadocia, thus much I say: They might well haue a rebuke for misusing themselues in the second Councel at Ephesus, where they sate like Iudges, (c) without Authority of the See of Rome; (which as Lucentius said in the Synode of Chalcedon, was neuer orderly done, neither was it lawfull to be done) they might, I say, take a rebuke for so presuming besides the Popes Authority: But forasmuch as they (d) maintained not their fact, but among other Bishops of the East, cried out, *Omnes peccauimus: Omnes veniam postulamus*: We haue al sinned: We all beseech pardon. Yea forasmuch as Iuuenalis reiected the faulse vpon Elpidius, who did not command Eusebius the accuser of Eutyches to come in, and Thalassius said, hee was not cause thereof, it may wel be, they were pardoned, although the honorable Iudges and Senate said vnto them: *In Iudicio Fidei non est defensio*: In a Iudgement of Faith, this is no excuse. But in case they were deposed, (e) then are we sure (f) it was not done by the Ciuil Magistrates, otherwise then that they might allow and execute the sentence of Depofition before giuen.

Acton. t. 2. nunc transl.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Dioscorus Iuuenalis. Thalassius.

Copus Dialog. 1. Pag. 28. Conc. Chalced. Act. 1 pa. 831.

If the Councel of Chalcedon seme ouer long, with better reading ye may make it shorter. That Dioscorus, Iuuenalis, and Thalassius, were all three condemned in that Councel. That (ye say) ye finde not. Howbeit, if yee had sought it better, yee might some haue found it. One of your owne Friends of Louaine saith, that herein ye were too much ouerseene. The very words, truly recorded in the Councel, are these: Videtur nobis, iustum esse, eidem pœnæ Dioscorum Reuerendum Episcopum Alexandriæ, & Iuuenalem Reuerendum Episcopum Hierosolymorum, & Thalassium Reuerendum Episcopum Cæsariæ Cappadociæ, subiacere: & à Sancto Concilio, secundùm Regulas, ab Episcopali dignitate fieri alienos: *Vnto vs it seemeth right, that* Dioscorus *the Reuerend Bishop of* Alexandria, *and* Iuuenalis *the Reuerend Bishop of* Hierusalem, *and* Thalassius *the Reuerend Bishop of* Cæsaria *in* Cappadocia, *should be put to the same punishment, and by the holy* Councel, *according to the* Canons *should be remoued from their* Episcopal dignities. The which words ye might also haue found fully reported in Euagrius.

Euagr. Lib. 2. Cap. 4.

Leo Epist. 40. ad Anatolium.

Likewise also saith Pope Leo touching the same: De nominibus Dioscori, Iuuenalis, & Eustachij (vel potiùs, Thalassij) ad Sacrum Altare non recitandis, dilectionem tuã hoc decet custodire: *Touching the names of* Dioscorus, Iuuenalis, *and* Eustachius, (or rather, Thalassius) *not to be rehearsed at the Holy Altar*, (which was the Communion Table) *yee must keepe this order.*

But ye say: Notwithstanding these Bishops were condemned in the Councel, yet the Ciuil or Lay Iudges condened thẽ not. For they were there (ye say) only to see good order, & to keepe peace. This, M. Harding, is your owne only idle gheese, without any maner further Authoritie, only grounded vpon your selfe. Certainly the words of the Councel be plaine: Gloriosissimi Iudices & amplissimus Senatus dixerunt: *The most* Noble Iudges, *and most worthy* Senate *said.* Likewise saith Euagrius: Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐψηφίσαντο ταῦτα: The Lords of the Emperors Councel decreed these things.

Conc. Chalced. Actio. 1.

Euagr. Lib. 2. Cap. 4.

Neither were the Ciuill Iudges then so scrupulous, to thinke they might not deale in Cases of Religion, as it may well appeare by their words. For thus they say: Gloriosissimi Iudices & Amplissimus Senatus dixerunt, De Recta & Catholica Fide perfectiùs sequenti die, conuenienti Concilio, diligentiorem Examinationem fieri oportere, perspicimus: *The most* Noble Iudges, *and most* worthy Senate, *said*, *We see that touching the* Right Catholike Faith, *the next day, when the* Councell *shall meet, there must be had a more diligent Examination.*

Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. pa. 831.

And when the matters were concluded and published, the Bishops of the East brake out into fauourable shouts, in this sort: Iustum & Rectum Iudicium: Vita Longa Senatui: Multi anni Imperatori: *Iust and Right is this Iudgement: Long life vnto the Senate. Many yeeres vnto the Emperour.* For in all cases, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall, the Emperour was Iudge ouer all. Whatsoeuer the Councel had determined, without the Emperors consent it had no force. And therefore both the Bishops, and other Temporal Iudges in the Councel, vsed often times to suspend, and to stay their Decrees in this sort: Videtur nobis iustum, si placuerit Diuinissimo & Pijssimo Domino nostro: *Vnto vs it seemeth right, if it shall also like our most vertuous and most godly Lord (the Emperour.)* In the end they conclude thus: Omnibus quæ acta sunt, ad Sacrum Apicem referendis: *So that all our doings be remitted to the Emperours Maiesty.* All which words are borrowed, as the rest, out of the Ecclesiasticall Story of Euagrius.

Conc. Chalced. Act. 1. pa. 831. Euag. lib. 2. ca. 4. εἰ παραιτεῖται τὸν θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότην.

Ye say: Iuuenalis and Thalassius might wel haue a rebuke for sitting like Iudges in the Second Councel of Ephesus, without Authority of the Pope. O, M. Harding, either ye are much deceiued, and presume to speake before ye know, which were great follie; or else yee speake directly against your knowledge and Conscience, and willingly seeke to deceiue others, which

which were great wickednesse. Verily ye might easily haue knowen that these three Bishops were condemned, not for intruding vpon the Popes Authority, as ye haue imagined, but only for condemning other Godly Bishops, wickedly, and without cause. The words of the Councell are plaine: Glorioſiſſimi Iudices dixerunt, Vos quidem primitùs docuiſtis, quia per vim & neceſſitatem in pura charta coacti eſtis ſubſcribere ad damnationem ſanctæ memoriæ Flauiani. Orientales, & qui cum ipſis erant, Reuerendiſſimi Epiſcopi, clamauerunt, Omnes peccauimus, Omnes veniam poſtulamus: *The moſt Noble Iudges ſaid, Ye haue heere proouèd before vs, that ye were driuen by force and violence, in a blanke paper to ſubſcribe your names to the condemnation of* Flauianus *of godly memory. The Biſhops of the Eaſt, and other Reuerend Biſhops that were with them, cried out,* We haue all offended, We all deſire pardon. This indeed was their fault, M. Harding: All that you imagine, of vſurping the Popes Authority, is but a fantaſie. For the Popes Huge and Vniuerſall Authority, whereby now he claimeth the whole Iuriſdiction of all the World, at that time was not knowen.

Dioſcorus. Iuuenalis. Thalaſſius. *Concil. Chalcedon. Action* 1.

The ſame Councell of Chalcedon, maketh him equall in Authority and Dignity, with the Biſhop of Conſtantinople. The words be theſe: Sedi Senioris Romæ, propter Imperium Ciuitatis illius, Patres conſequenter Priuilegia reddiderunt. Et eadem intentione permoti centum quinquaginta Deo amantiſſimi Epiſcopi, æqua Sanctiſſimæ Sedi Nouæ Romę Priuilegia tribuerunt; rationabiliter iudicantes, Imperio & Senatu Vrbem Ornatam, equis Senioris Regiæ Romæ Priuilegijs frui, & in Eccleſiaſticis, ſicut illa, Maieſtatem habere negotijs: *Vnto the See of the Old Rome, in conſideration of the Empire of that City Our Fathers haue accordingly giuen Priuileges. And vpon like conſideration, the hundred and fifte godly Biſhops haue giuen* equall and like Priuileges to the City of New Rome; (whereby is meant the City of Conſtantinople) *for that they thought it reaſonable, that the ſame* City of Conſtantinople, *being now adorned with* Empire and Senate, *ſhould alſo haue* Priuileges Equall with Rome the Elder, and haue the ſame Maieſty and Authority in Eccleſiaſtical affaires, that Rome hath. *Concil. Chalcedon. Act.* 16. *Conſulatis.*

Thus ye ſee, your Pope had not then a Power Peereleſſe ouer all the World: but was made Like, and Euen, and Equall, in all reſpects, to one of his Brethren. Therefore if the Biſhop of Rome were the Head of the Church, then was the Biſhop of Conſtantinople likewiſe the Head of the Church. And if the Biſhop of Romes Power were Vniuerſall, then was the Biſhop of Conſtantinoples Power Vniuerſall, as well as his. For the Councell alloweth as much Eccleſiaſticall Authority to the one Biſhop, as to the other.

Now ſhortly to conſider the whole ſubſtance of your talke: Firſt, ye ſay, Theſe three Biſhops, Dioſcorus, Iuuenalis, & Thalaſſius, were neuer condemned in the Councell of Chalcedon. This ye ſee, is One Vntruth. Secondly, ye ſay, The ciuill Magiſtrate neuer condemned them. This is Another Vntruth. Thirdly, ye ſay, Iuuenalis and Thalaſſius were rebuked for ſitting as Iudges in Councell, without the Popes Authority. Theſe are two other Vntruths. For neither had the Pope any ſuch Prerogatiue at that time, nor was this the Cauſe of their Condemnation. And yet, as if ye would run vs ouer with terrour of words, ye cry out with a courage, What is impudencie, what is licentious Lying, what is deceitfull dealing, if this be not?

Touching theſe fierie termes, M. Harding, I dare not anſwer you. But as for plaine lying without a difference, if ye know not what it is, looke thorow your owne Bookes, and ye cannot faile of it. Verily it is to publiſh Vntruths ſo largely, and ſo liberally, as you haue done, only vpon affiance of the ſimplicity and ignorance of your Reader, without regard or feare of God or Man.

The Apology, Chap. 14. *Diuiſion* 2.

In the Third Councell at Conſtantinople, Conſtantine a Ciuill Magiſtrate, did not onely ſit amongſt the Biſhops, but did alſo ſubſcribe with them. For ſaith he, We haue both read and Subſcribed.

M. Harding.

The ſubſcribing is not the matter, but the iudging. Conſtantine ſubſcribed to the Councell as now all Chriſtian Princes, being required, ought to ſubſcribe to the Tridentine Councell. * But Conſtantine vſed not this ſtile when he ſubſcribed, *Definitis ſubſcripſi*, I haue ſubſcribed with giuing definitiue ſentence. * For to ſubſcribe, it apperteined only to Biſhops.

* A vaine Diſtinction.
* Vntruth, manifeſt, Read the Anſwer.

The Apologie, Chap. 14. *Diuiſion.* 3.

In the Second Councell called Arauſicanum, the Princes Embaſſadors, being Noble Men borne, not only ſpake their mind touching Religion, but

ſet to their hands alſo, as well as the Biſhops. For thus it is written in the latter end of that Councell: Petrus, Marcellinus, Felix, and Liberius, being Moſt Noble Men, and famous Lieutenants, and Captaines of France, and alſo Peeres of the Realme, haue giuen their conſent, and ſet to their hands. Further, Syagrius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, Cariattho, & Marcellus, men of very great honour, haue ſubſcribed.

M. Harding.

What if all the Lay-men of the World had ſubſcribed by the word of conſenting or agreeing to the Biſhops Decrees, each one writing thus, as in that cauſe the old maner was; *Conſentiens ſubſcripſi?* What other thing is prooued thereby, then that they thought it neceſſary to allow that which Biſhops had determined? Which we wiſh ye would doe.

The Apologie, Chap. 14. *Diuiſion* 4.

The Temporall Magiſtrate Subſcribeth in Councell.

If it be ſo then, that Lieutenants, Chiefe Captaines, and Peeres **haue had Authority to Subſcribe in** Councell, **haue not** Emperors **and** Kings **the like Authority?**

M. Harding.

Kings and Queenes not only might, but ought to ſubſcribe when they are required.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Heere, M. Harding, yee are driuen to many ſhifts. Some of you ſay, that Princes Embaſſadours and Ciuill Magiſtrates had no right to Subſcribe in Councell, but only by licence and ſufferance of the Biſhops. Some others haue found out a certaine difference in Subſcriptions. The Biſhop (ye ſay) Subſcribed in one Forme, and the Ciuill Magiſtrate in an other. The Biſhop thus: *Definiens ſubſcripſi*; By giuing my Definitiue Sentence, I haue ſubſcribed: The Lay Magiſtrate thus: *Conſentiens ſubſcripſi*; Giuing Conſent heerto, I haue Subſcribed. Thus haue you found out a knot in a raſh, and deuiſed a Diuerſitie without a Difference. Certainely in the Old Councels there appeareth only one Forme of Subſcriptions, and no mo. And afterward theſe two words, Definiens and Conſentiens, wherein you imagine ſo great a difference, were vſed indifferently, as well of Biſhops, as of others, as each man was beſt affected. Sometime the Biſhop Subſcribed, Conſentiens: Sometime the Lay man Subſcribed, Definiens, without ſcruple. In the Councell of Chalcedon it is written thus: Ego Dorotheus Epiſcopus Conſenſi & Subſcripſi: I Biſhop Dorothee haue Conſented and Subſcribed, &c. Likewiſe it is written in the Councell of Paris: Ego Probianus Epiſcopus Bituricenſis Conſenſi & Subſcripſi: I Probiane the Biſhop of Bourges haue Conſented and Subſcribed. Marius Victorinus ſaith: Nicenæ Fidei multa Epiſcoporum millia Conſenſerunt: *Many thouſand* Biſhops Conſented *vnto the* Nicene Faith.

Conſentiens Subſcripſi. *Conc. Chalced. Act.* 1. *pa.* 780. *Conc. Pariſien. Marius Victorin. contra Arianos. Lib* 2. Definiens. Subſcripſi. *Euag. li.* 2. *c.* 4. *Soz. li* 4. *c.* 15. ὥστε ἡμῶν συνεδρεύειν κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς γραφὰς συνελθόντων ἀλλήλοις, καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγτέων ὅπως ἂν βέλτιστα δοκῇ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

Of the other ſide, the Lay Prince in Councell hath had Authoritie, not only to Conſent and agree vnto others, but alſo to Define and Determine, and that in caſes of Religion, as by many euident Examples it may appeare. Euagrius ſaith, as it is before alleged: Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐψηφίσαντο τάδε: *They that were of the Senate of the* Lords *of the* Councell, Determined *theſe things.* Sozomenus ſaith: Imperator Conſtantinus iuſſit decem Epiſcopos Orientis, & totidem Occidentis, quos Synodus deſignaſſet ad Aulam ſuam venire, & ſibi exponere Decreta Concilij, vt ipſe quo conſideraret, an ſecundùm Scripturas inter ſe conueniſſent, & de rebus agendis, quæ optima viderentur, Determinaret: *The* Emperour Conſtantine *commanded, that ten* Biſhops *of the Eaſt, and ten of the Weſt, choſen by the* Councell, *ſhould repaire to his* Court, *and open vnto him the* Decrees of the Councell, *that his* Maieſtie *might conſider whether they were agreed according to the* Scriptures; *and that he might further* (not only Conſent, or agree, but alſo) Determine, *and* Conclude *what were beſt to be done.* Æneas Syluius, which afterward was Pope Pius 2. ſaith thus: Viſum eſt Spiritui Sancto, & nobis: Vnde apparet, alios quàm Epiſcopos in Concilijs habuiſſe vocem Decidentem: *It ſeemeth good to the* Holy Ghoſt, *and to vs: Heereby it appeareth, that ſome others beſide* Biſhops *had a voice* Definitiue in Councels. And againe he ſaith: Nec ego cuiuſuis Epiſcopi Mendacium, quamuis ditiſſimi, Veritati præponam pauperis Presbyteri. Nec dedignari debet Epiſcopus, ſi aliquando ignarus & rudis, ſequacem non habeat multitudinem: *Neither will I ſet more by any* Biſhops Lie, *be he neuer ſo rich, then I would ſet by any* Prieſts Truth, *be he neuer ſo poore. Neither may the ignorant and vnlearned* Biſhop *diſdaine, if hee ſee the people vnwilling to follow him.*

Æneas Syluius de geſtis Cõcil. Baſil. lib. 1. *Eodem loco.*

Gerſon, quæ veritates ſint credendæ.

Gerſon ſaith: Iudicium & Concluſio Fidei, licèt Authoritatiuè ſpectent ad Prælatos & Doctores,

Doctores, ſpectare tamen poſſunt ad alios quàm Theologos, Deliberatio ſicut & cognitio, ſuper his quæ Fidem reſpiciunt. Ita vt ad Laicos etiam hoc poſſit extendi; & plus aliquando, quàm ad multos Clericorum: *Notwithſtanding the* Iudgement and Concluſion of Faith *belong by Authority vnto* Biſhops *and* Doctors, *yet aſwell the* Deliberation *hereof, as alſo the* Knowledge *and* Iudgement, *concerning matters that touch the* Faith, *may belong vnto others too, beſides the Diuines, or Doctors, & profeſſors of* Diuinity. *Yea it may ſomtimes be extended euen vnto the* Lay men: and more ſometimes vnto them, then vnto many Prieſts.

The Temporal Magiſtrate Subſcribeth in Councell.

The Emperour Iuſtinian in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes **often times vſeth theſe words:** Definimus, Mandamus, Iubemus, &c. *We* Determine, *we* Conclude, *we* Command, *we* Bid. **Touching** Biſhops **he writeth thus:** Definimus, vt nullus Deo amabilium Epiſcoporum foris à ſua Eccleſia, plùs quàm per totum annum, abeſſe audeat: *Wee* Define, *or* Determine, *that none of the* Godly Biſhops *ſhall dare to be abſent from his* Church, *more then by the ſpace of one whole yeere.* **Heere ye ſee the** Temporall Prince in an Eccleſiaſticall Cauſe ſaith, Definimus. **To be ſhort,** Pope Nicolas **himſelfe** ſaith, **writing vnto the** Emperour Michael: Vbinam legiſtis Imperatores Anteceſſores veſtros, Synodalibus Contentionibus interfuiſſe? Niſi fortè in quibuſdam, vbi de Fide tractatū eſt: quæ Vniuerſalis eſt, quæ omnium Communis eſt: quæ non ſolum ad Clericos, verum etiam ad Laicos, & ad omnes omninò pertinet Chriſtianos: *Where haue you read, that your* Predeceſſors, *being* Emperours, *were euer preſent at our Diſputations in* Councels; vnleſſe happilie it were in certaine caſes, whereas matter was moued touching the Faith? *For Faith* is Vniuerſall, and Common to all: and pertaineth not onlie vnto Prieſts, but alſo vnto Lay men: and generally and thorowly to all Chriſtians.

Anthe. Colla. 1. Tit. 6. Quomodo oport. Epiſcop. Diſt. 96. Vbinam.

Nicolaus Cuſanus ſaith: In Sexta Synodo Baſilius imperator Patriarchalium Sedium Vicarijs & Patriarchis in Subſcriptione ſe poſtpoſuit ex humilitate, tota Synodo rogante, vt ſe preponeret: *In the Sixth Councell of* Conſtantinople, *the* Emperour Baſilius *ſubſcribeth his name after the Legates of the Patriarkall Sees, and after the* Patriarks: But this he did of humility. *For the whole* Councell *beſought him to ſubſcribe his name before all others.* **Thus ye ſee, M. Harding, by the Popes own Iudgement, that Cauſes and Diſputations of the** Faith **belong as well to the** Temporall Prince, **as to the** Pope.

Nicol. Cuſan. de Concordan. lib 3. cap. 16.

The Apology, Chap. 14. Diuiſion 5.

Truly there had been no need to handle ſo plain a matter as this is, with ſo many words, & ſo at length if we had not to do with thoſe men, who for a deſire they haue to ſtriue, & to win the Maſterie, vſe of courſe to deeme al things, be they neuer ſo cleere, yea the very ſame which they preſently ſee, and behold with their owne eies.

M. Harding.

The matter ye ſpeake of, is ſo cleer, that frō the beginning of the world to this day no ſecular Prince can be named, who by the ordinary power of a Prince, without the gift of Prophecy, or ſpecial reuelation, did laudably intermeddle with Religion, as a Iudge & Ruler of ſpiritual cauſes The reaſon thereof is cleere. Religion is an order of diuine worſhipping, belonging to God only; whereupon no man hath power, but he that is called thereto by God He is called in the iudgement of men, who can ſhew his calling outwardly, as by conſecration and impoſition of hands, Prieſts and Biſhops are called to be the
Mat. 16. & 18 diſpenſators of the myſteries of God. In that conſecration, the keies of knowledge and diſcretion, the power of binding and looſing is giuen.* If a ſecular Prince cannot ſhew the keies giuen to him, how dareth he to aduenture to break vp, rather then to open, the claſped Booke of God, the doore of the Church, and the gates of the Kingdome of Heauen? Wherefore S. Ambroſe ſaid vnto Valentinian,
Lib. 5. Ep. 32. *Quando audiuiſti, Imperator, in cauſa Fidei, Laicos de Epiſcopo iudicaſſe?* When haſt thou heard, Emperour, Lay men to haue beene Iudges of a Biſhop in the cauſe of Faith? And yet now theſe men thinke that which S Ambroſe neuer heard of, not only to haue beene vſed continually, the firſt fiue hundred yeeres after Chriſts birth, but alſo to be as cleere a matter, as if we beheld it with our eies.

* Vntruth, euident as by ſundry examples it ſhall appeare.

* O Vaine man! What pertaine theſe Keies to Generall Councels? For by thē euery poore Prieſt hath as good right in Councell as the Pope.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

The Temporall Prince (ye ſay) hath not the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen: *Ergo*, hee may not iudge in Eccleſiaſticall Cauſes, nor giue *Deffinitiue Sentence in Generall Councell.* **This is a very ſilly poore Argument, M. Harding, as heereafter it ſhall appeare. But** S. Ambroſe **ſaith vnto** the Emperour Valentinian: *When did your* Maieſty *euer heare, that in a* cauſe of Faith Lay men *were* Iudges *ouer* Biſhops? **Heere, M. Harding by the way,** S. Ambroſe **giueth you to vnderſtand, that vnleſſe it be in a** cauſe of Faith, **a** Lay man **may be** Iudge ouer a Biſhop: **which thing is contrary, not onely to your former** Doctrine, **but alſo to the whole courſe and practiſe of your** Church of Rome.

Part. 6. cap. 9. Diuiſ. 2.

The Prince may deale in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.

Howbeit, touching the meaning of theſe words, it behoueth vs to know, Firſt, the cauſe wherefore S. Ambroſe ſo ſhunned and fled the Emperours Iudgement: Next, before what Iudges he deſired to be tried.

Firſt, the Emperour Valentinian at that time was verie young, as well in Age, as alſo in Faith: He was not yet Baptized: He knew not the Principles of Chriſts Religion: He was an Arian Heretike, and beleeued not the Godhead of Chriſt, but bent all his ſtudy and power to maintaine the Arians: Yee would haue thruſt out the Chriſtians, and would haue poſſeſſed the Heretikes in their Churches: and to that end had raiſed his Power, and filled Millaine full of Souldiers: He ſaid, *It was lawfull for him to doe what him liſted.* Briefly, his whole dealing was full of force and violence, ſuch as hath been ſeene in ſome Countries not many yeares ſithence.

Allegatur Imperatori licere omnia.

In conſideration hereof, S. Ambroſe worthily refuſed him to be his Iudge: and therefore he ſaid vnto him: Tolle Legem, ſi vis eſſe certamen: *Take away the rigour of your* Law, *if ye will haue the matter tried by diſputation.* Againe: Noli te grauare, Imperator, vt putes te in ea quæ diuina ſunt, Imperiale aliquod ius habere: Noli te extollere: Eſto Deo ſubiectus. Scriptum eſt, Quæ Dei Deo, quæ Cæſaris Cæſari: *O my Lord, trouble not your ſelfe to thinke you haue any Princely Power ouer thoſe things that pertain to God. Vaunt not your ſelfe: Be ſubiect vnto God. It is written,* Giue vnto God that belongeth vnto God: Giue vnto Cæſar that belongeth vnto Cæſar.

Ambroſ. lib. 5. epiſt. 33. Mandatur denique, Trade Baſilicam.

Ambroſ. lib. 5. Epiſt. 32. ad Valentin. lib. 5. Epiſt. 33.

But as S. Ambroſe ſaith, The Emperor hath no power ouer Gods cauſes, ſo may we likewiſe, and as truely ſay, The Pope hath no power ouer Gods cauſes. S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Siquidem eſt in Cauſa Fidei, fuge illum, & euita: non ſolùm ſi homo fuerit, verùm etiam ſi Angelus de Cœlo deſcẽderit: *If it be a* Matter of Faith (wherin he ſeeketh to abuſe thee) *flee him, and ſhun him; not only if he be a man, but alſo if an* Angel *ſhould come down from Heauen.* Thus it appeareth, S. Ambroſe refuſed not the Emperours Power, & Authority of Iudgement in Caſes Eccleſiaſticall, but onely his wilfull Ignorance, and his Tyranny, for that he knew his iudgement was corrupted, and not indifferent.

Chryſo. ad Hebræ. Hom. 34.

Ambroſ. lib. 5. Epiſt. 32. Dicentes de Fide, in Eccleſia coram populo deberi tractari.

And for that cauſe he ſaith: Veniſſem, Imperator ad Conſiſtoriũ Clementiæ tuæ, &c. *O my Lord, I would haue made mine appearance at your Conſiſtory, to haue vttered theſe things in your Preſence, if either the* Biſhops, *or the People would haue ſuffred me. For they told me, that* Matters of Faith *ought to be diſputed in the* Church openly before the People. Againe he ſaith: Veniant ſanè, ſi qui ſunt, in Eccleſiam: Audiant cum Populo: non vt quiſquam reſideat Iudex, ſed vt vnuſquiſq; de ſuo affectu habeat examen, & eligat quẽ ſequatur: *Let them hardly come to the* Church: *Let them hearken together with the People: not that any man ſhould ſit as Iudge, but that euery man may after his own minde examine the matter, and ſo chuſe whõ he may follow.* Of ſuch Tyranny in Councels Athanaſius likewiſe cõplaineth: Quo iure contra nos Synodũ vllam conſtituere potuerunt? Aut qua fronte talem Conuentũ Synodũ appellare audent, cui Comes præſedit? Vbi Spiculator apparebat? Vbi Commentarienſis, ſiue Carcerarius, pro Diaconis Eccleſiæ aduentantes introducebat? Comes Imperio vtebatur: Nos à militibus ducebamur: *By what Law could they keepe a* Councell *againſt vs? Or with what face could they call ſuch an* Aſſemblie *by the name of a* Councel? *wheras the Lord* Lieutenãt *was Preſident, where the Hangman was Apparitor, where the* Iailer *preſented the Suters in ſtead of the* Deacons *of the Church? The* Liuetenant *did all things by Authority and Commandement: We were taken by the* Souldiers, *and carried to Priſon.*

Athan Apol. 2 Poteramus.

Athan. ad ſolitariam vitã agentes. Has Literas.

Therefore he ſaith: Fiat Eccleſiaſtica Synodus longè à Palatio: vbi nec Imperator præſtò eſt, nec Comes ſe ingerit, nec Iudex minatur: & vbi Solus Timor Dei ad omnia ſufficit, &c. *Let there be made an* Eccleſiaſtical Synod, *farre from the* Emperors *Palace: whereas neither the* Emperor *is preſent, nor the* Liuetenant *thruſteth in himſelfe, nor the* Iudge *with his threats maketh men afraid but whereas the feare of God to all purpoſes is ſufficient.* For this cauſe S: Ambroſe refuſed to be tried by the Emperour Valentinian: That is to ſay, as then it was, by a raſh young man; by a man Vnbaptized, and therefore no Chriſtian, by a Tyrant; and by an Arian Heretike, that vtterly denied the Godhead of Chriſt.

Otherwiſe Athanaſius himſelf was wel contented to commit his whole cauſe vnto the Emperour. For thus he ſaith: Poſtulamus cauſam iſtam Pientiſſimo Imperatori reſeruari: apud quem licebit, & Iura Eccleſiæ, & noſtra proponere. Planè enim confidimus eius Pietatem, cognitis noſtris rationibus, nequaquam nos condemnaturam eſſe: *We require that the* Emperours *moſt godly and moſt* Religious Maieſtie *may haue the hearing of the ſame matter: Before whom wee may open both our* Churches *Right, and alſo our owne. For wee haue good hope, that his* Godlineſſe, *vnderſtanding our Reaſons, will neuer condemne vs.*

Athan. Apol. 2 Cùm multas

Likewiſe

Likewise S. Augustine saith vnto the Donatian Heretikes: An fortè de Religione fas non est, vt dicat Imperator, vel quos miserit Imperator? Cur ergo ad Imperatorem vestri venere Legati? Cur eum fecerunt causæ suæ Iudicem? *Is it not lawfull for the Emperour or his Deputy to giue* Sentence *in a matter of* Religion? *Wherfore then went your Embassadors to the Emperour? Why made they him the Iudge of their cause?*

Aug. contra epist. Parmeniani, lib. 1.

The Prince may deale in Ecclesiasticall Causes.

Thus, M. Harding, it appeareth, that you in defrauding Emperours, and Kings of their Emperiall and Princely Right, are faine to take part with the Donatian Heretikes.

As for vs, we claime no other right in Ecclesiasticall causes, vnto our Christian Princes this day, then that may well appeare, hath bene iustly vsed both by Constantinus the Emperour, and also by other Catholike and Godlie Princes.

Liberatus ca. 11.

The Emperour Theodosius wrot thus vnto the Councel of Chalcedon: Quoniam scimus Magnificentissimum Florentium Patritium esse Fidelem, & probatum in recta Fide, volumus eum interesse audientiæ Synodi, quoniam Sermo de Fide est: *For that wee know the most* Noble Florentius *to be faithfull and well approued in the* Right Faith, *therfore we will that he be present at the hearing and debating of cases in the* Councel, *forasmuch as the* Disputation is of the Faith.

Dist. 96. Vbinam.

For Pope Nicolas himselfe saith, as it is alleged before: Fides Vniuersalis est: Fides omnium communis est: Fides non solum ad Clericos, verùm etiã ad Laicos, & ad omnes omninò pertinet Christianos: * Faith *is Vniuersall*: Faith *is common to all*: Faith *pertaineth not onely vnto* Priests, *but also vnto* Lay men, *and generally to all* Christians.

* He speaketh of questiõs of Faith mooued in Councels

As touching the Pope and his Vniuersality of Power, in, and ouer all Councels of Bishops, we may rightly say, as Athanasius saith of Constantius the Arian Emperor: Obtendit in speciem Episcoporum Iudicium: sed interim facit quod ipsi libet. Quid opus est hominibus titulo Episcopis? *He maketh a shew of* Iudgements *or* Determinations *of* Bishops: *In the meane while he doth what he listeth himselfe. What are we the neere for these men, that beare only the name of* Bishops? Such commonly be the Popes Prelates. Whatsoeuer learning they haue besides, Diuinity is commonly the least part of their studie. And therefore when they are assembled in Councel, they may well iudge by Authority, but not by Learning.

Athan. ad Solitariam Vitam agentes.

Verily Luitprandus saith: Imperator vti experientia didicimus, intelligit negotiã Dei, & facit, & amat ea: & tuetur omnibus viribus & Ecclesiasticas res, & Ciuiles. Sed Iohannes Papa facit contra hæc omnia: *We see by experience, that the* Emperor vnderstandeth Gods causes, *and fauoureth, and performeth the same: and with all his power maintaineth both* Ecclesiasticall and Temporall matters. *But* Pope Iohn *doth all the* contrary.

Luitprandus. Iohan. 13.

The Apologie, Chap. 14. Diuision, 6.

The Emperour Iustinian made a Law to correct the behauiour of the Clergie, and to cut short the insolent leaudnesse of the Priests. And albeit he were a Christian and a Catholike Prince, yet put he downe from their Papall Throne, two Popes, Syluerius and Vigilius, notwithstanding they were Peters Successours, and Christs Vicars.

M. Harding.

Iustinians Law concerning good Order to be kept among Priests Morally was good, and bound them by the force of reason. If he made any other Law touching matters of Religion, Pope Ioannes then being, approued it, or at the least, Iustinian * asked approbation thereof, * as it may appeare in his own Epistle, wherein he confesseth in the fact it selfe, that his Lawes could not bind in supernaturall causes belonging to faith except the head of the Vniuersall Church confirme them. Syluerius & Vigilius were deposed rather by Theodora the Empresse, then by Iustinian the Emperour. * Yee doe wrong to impute that wicked Tiranny vnto him. * He is not to be burdened therewith, vnlesse the man be countable for his wiues iniquities.

* Vntruth. For he did but conferre with the Pope touching his Lawes. Touching the asking of allowance there appeareth nothing.

* Vntruth. For it was no Tyranny, but iust iudgement. And Iustiniã gaue Belisarius great thãks for so doing.

Howsoeuer it was, that extraordinarie violence and tyranny cannot iustly be alleged to the defense of your falle assertion. Neither would your selfe haue mentioned the same, if yee could haue found better matter. As hungry Dogs eat dirty Puddings, according to the Prouerbe, cleane enough for such vncleane Writers, so your foule matters be defended by foule facts.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Iustinian (ye say) might well make some Moral Law to keepe Priests and Bishops in good order. Wherein neuertheleſſe Pope Paul 3. condemneth you vtterly. For thus he writeth, and reasoneth substantially against the Emperor Charles the Fifth: Ecce ego super Pastores meos: *Behold, saith Almighty God, I my selfe wil ouersee my shepheards: Ergo,* saith Pope Paulus

Ezechiel. 34.

Paul.3. in epi. ad Carol.5.

Paulus, *The* Emperour *may not deale with the maners of* Priests *and* Bishops. Thus it appeareth the Pope and M. Harding cannot agree.

The Prince may deale in Ecclesiastical Causes.

Howbeit, the Emperours made Lawes, Touching the Holy Trinity: Touching the Faith: Touching Baptisme: Touching the Holy Communion: Touching the Publike Praiers: Touching the Scriptures: Touching the keeping of Holy daies: Touching Churches and Chappels: Touching the Consecration of Bishops: Touching Non Residences: Touching Periurie, &c.

Balsam.de Fide, Titulo 1.

Balsá. de peccatis epi. tit.9.

Bals. in Conc. Chal. cap. 12.

Balsam in Canon. Apost. Can. 14.

Balsa. in Canon. Apost. Can. 16.

Cod.de Sacrosanct.Ecc. omni innouatione.

Liberat ca.13. Imperatoris Patrocinio.

Cod. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. Omni innouatione.

Theod.lib.1. cap.20.

Ministri Dei, hoc est, mea manu coercebitur.

Auth.Tit.123

Authen.coll. 1 Quomodo oporteat Episcopos.

Authen.col.9. Tit 15.de Sanctiss. Episcopis.

Iubemus Beatissimos Archiepiscopos, Senioris Romæ, &c.

Auth.tit. 133. Ansig.l.1.c.13

Carol. Magn. lib.6. cap. 162.

Auth.col.1. ti. 6. Quomodo oporteat. Glos. in verbū sancim⁹

Cod. de Sum. Trin. & fid. cathol. inter Cluras.

Addition. ☞ Michael an Emperour of the East, contrary to the custome & order of the Church, made a Law that no Monke should serue the Ministery in any cure. The Emperour Iustinian giueth licence to a Bishop, to release a Priest from part of his Pennance and to restore him to the Ministery. Emperours had authority to appoint Patriarkal Sees and that not by warrant from the Pope, but as Balsamon saith: Secundū Potestatem illis desuper Datam: *According to that Power that is giuen to them from above.* By the Ecclesiasticall Lawes, no Bishop may giue orders without his own Dioceese. Yet Balsamon saith: Characterem dare extra Diocœsim Imperatorio iussu permissum est. *A Bishop being without his own Dioceese may giue orders, so that the* Emperour *so command him.* Here we see, the Emperours commandement is aboue the Law of the Church. By the Apostles Canons, a Priest may not wander from one Dioceese or Cure to another. Yet Balsamon saith: Nota, quòd etiam Imperatori concessum est, facere Clericorum translationes: *Marke thou, that the* Emperour *hath a Priuilege to translate* Priests *from one Cure to another.* ☜

Addition. ☞

It were much for you, M. Harding, to say, as now ye would seeme to say, *All these were Morall Lawes, and pertained onely to good order.* But the Pope (ye say) allowed the Emperors Ecclesiastical Lawes; Otherwise of the Emperors owne authoritie, they had no force. The truth hereof, by the Particulars may some appeare.

By one of the Emperours Lawes, it is prouided, *That the* Bishop of Constantinople *shall haue* Equal Power and Prerogatiue *with the* Bishop of Rome. This Law the Pope could neuer breake. And yet that notwithstanding, Liberatus saith: *It holdeth still by the* Emperours Authority, *whether the* Pope *will or no.* Againe it is prouided, in the same Law that Churches of Illyricum, in their doubtfull cases, shall appeale to Constantinople, and not to Rome.

Ministri Dei, hoc est, mea manu coercebitur.

The Emperour Constantine saith: *If the Bishop moue trouble* (by Doctrine or otherwise) *by my hand he shall be punished: for my hand is the hand of Gods Minister.*

Iustinian the Emperor in his Law commandeth, *That the Priest or Bishop in pronouncing the Publike Praiers, and in the Ministration of the Sacraments, lift vp his voice, and speake aloude that the people may say* Amen, *and be stirred to more Deuotion.* Againe he saith, as it is noted in the Glosse vpon the Authentikes: Papa Temporalibus immiscere se non debet: *The Pope may not intermeddle with Temporall Causes.*

Auth.Tit.123

Authen.coll. 1 Quomodo oporteat Episcopos.

Authen.col.9. Tit 15.de Sanctiss. Episcopis.

Iubemus Beatissimos Archiepiscopos, Senioris Romæ, &c.

In the same Lawes the same Emperour Iustinian saith: *We command the most Holy Archbishops and Patriarches of* Rome, *of* Constantinople, *of* Alexandria, *of* Antioch *and of* Hierusalem. The same Emperour Iustinian commandeth: *That all Monkes either be driuen to studie the Scriptures, or else be forced to Bodily Labor.* Carolus Magnus made a Law, *That nothing should be read openly in the Church, sauing only the Canonical Bookes of the holy Scriptures. And that the faithfull people should receiue the holy Communion euery Sunday.* I leaue the rehearsall of infinite other like examples.

Ansig.l.1.c.13

Carol. Magn. lib.6. cap. 162.

Auth.col.1. ti. 6. Quomodo oporteat. Glos. in verbū sancim⁹

Cod. de Sum. Trin. & fid. cathol. inter Cluras.

Now, M. Harding, will you say, or may we beleeue, that all these, and other like Lawes were allowed by the Pope? Verily certains of them are made directly against the Pope.

Indeed your Glosser saith: Ad quid intromittit se Imperator de Spiritualibus, vel Ecclesiasticis, cùm sciat ad se non pertinere? *Wherefore doth the Emperour thus busie himself with these Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall matters, seeing he knoweth they are no part of his Charge?* To so profound a question, after a solemne study, he deuiseth this answer: Dic, quòd Authoritate Papæ hoc facit: *Say thou, that he doth it by the Popes Authority.* And then the whole matter is discharged, and all is well.

Notwithstanding, some likelihood hereof ye would seeme to gather, euen out of Iustinians owne words. For thus he saith vnto the Pope, although far otherwise the Pope haue forced him to say: Omnia quæ ad Ecclesiarum statum pertinent, festinauimus ad notitiā deferre vestræ Sanctitatis. Necessariū ducimus, vt ad notitiam vestræ Sanctitatis peruenirent. Nec enim patimur quicquam, quod ad Ecclesiarū Statum pertinet, vt non etiam vestræ innotescat Sanctitati: quæ Caput est omniū Sanctarum Ecclesiarū: *Whatsoeuer things pertain to the state of the Churches, we haue speedily brought to the knowledge of your* Holines. *We thought it necessary that your* Holines *should haue knowledge thereof. We suffer*

not

not any thing, that concerneth the State of the Churches, *but it be brought to the knowledge of your* Holinesse, *which is the* Head or Chiefe of all the holy Churches.

f The Prince may deale in Ecclesiasticall Causes.

The Emperour willeth the Pope to take knowledge of his Lawes, for that he was the Chiefe of the Foure Principall Patriarkes, and in respect of his See, the greatest Bishop of all the World: for which cause also he calleth him, the Head or Chiefe of all Churches. So Iustinian saith: Roma est Caput Orbis Terrarum: Rome *is the Head of all the World.* So S. Chrysostome saith: Caput Propheterum Elias: Elias *the Head of the Prophets.* So saith Prudentius: Sancta Bethlem Caput est Orbis: *The Holy Towne of* Bethlem *is the Head of the World.*

So Nazianzene calleth S. Basil, τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμὸν, Oculum Orbis Terrarum: *The Eie of all the Earth.* So Iustinian calleth the Bishop of Constantinople, an Vniuersall Patriarke: Epiphano Vniuersali Patriarchæ.

Cod. de Veteri iure Enucleādo. Chrys. ad Romanos, hom. 18. Prudentius in Enchiridio. Nazian. in epist. ad Basil. 14.

These and other like words, passe oftentimes in fauour as Titles of Honour. But they import not alwaies that Vniuersall Gouernment or Infinite authority, that the Pope hence hath imagined. But touching the Confirmation and allowance of the Emperours Lawes, in these words of Iustinian, yee find nothing: vnlesse ye will say, Notitia, is Latine for Allowance: or Peruenire, is Latine to Confirme.

Auth. Col. 1. Vt determinatus.

The Emperours purpose was, as it plainlie appeareth by his words, by these and all other meanes to bring the See of Rome into credit. For thus he saith: Properamus, Honorem, & Authoritatem crescere Sedis vestræ: Omnes Sacerdotes Vniuersi Orientalis Tractus, & subijcere, & vnire Sedi Vestræ Sanctitatis properauimus. Plus ita Vestræ Sedis crescet authoritas: *We labour, to aduance the Honour and Authority of your See: we labour to subdue and to ioine all the Priests of the East part vnto the* See of your Holinesse. *Thus shall the Authority of your See the more increase.*

Cod. de Summa Trinit. & Fide Cathol. Inter Cleras.

Notwithstanding, it is noted by the learned of your owne side, that these Epistles betweene the Emperour and the Pope, in the Oldest allowed Bookes, are not found: and therefore are suspected to sauour of some Roman forgerie. Whereby it is easie to vnderstand, that vntill the time of the Emperour Iustinian, which was welnere fiue hundred yeres after Christ, the Bishops of the East Church were not subiect to the Bishop of Rome, and that for so long time, the Pope was not yet knowen for the Head of the Vniuersall Church of God. One of your owne allowed Doctors saith thus: Dicere, quòd Princeps non potest facere Leges, vel eis vti, quousque fuerint approbatę per Papam, falsum est: *To say that the Prince cannot either make or vse his Lawes before the Pope haue allowed them, it is plainly false.* Abbate Panormitane to qualifie the matter, saith thus: Lex Principis Præiudicialis Ecclesijs, non extenditur ad Ecclesias, nisi expresse approbetur per Papam: Sed, si fauet Ecclesijs, intelligitur approbata, nisi expresse reprobetur: *The Princes Law, if it be Preiudiciall or hurtfull to the Church, is not extended vnto the Church, vnlesse it bee expresly allowed by the Pope: but if it be profitable for the Church, we must thinke it is allowed, vnlesse it be expresly disallowed.*

Greg. Haloander & Azo. Extra. de Constit. sanct. Maria. Numer. 9.

But here, M. Harding, this one thing ye may note by the way, that notwithstanding you cannot finde by anie shift or colour, whereof ye lacke no store that the Pope hath Authoritie to allow the Emperours Lawes, yet of the other side, we are able readily to finde, that the Emperour hath Authority to allow the Popes Lawes. For so the Emperour Iustinian himselfe saith: A præcedentibus nos Imperatoribus, & à nobis ipsis rectè dictum est, Oportere Sacras Regulas pro Legibus valere: *It is wel said both by other Emperors our Predecessors, and also by vs, that the holy Canons must be holden for Lawes.*

Auth. Col. 1. Quomodo oporteat. Extra. de Iuramen. Calum. Inhærentes.

Likewise saith Pope Honorius 3. Imperator Iustinianus decreuit, vt Canones Patrum vim Legum habere oporteat: *The Emperour* Iustinian *hath decreed, that the* Canons of the Fathers *shall haue the force of Lawes.*

Authen. De Eccles. diuersis capitulis. κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων δέχεσθαι. *Aug epist. 48. Cod. de Veteri Iure Enuclean. lib. 1. Auth. Tit. 133.* μηδὲν ἄλογον εἶναι εἰς ζήτησιν τῆς βασιλείας.

But what can be so plaine, as that Iustinian hereof writeth himselfe? These be his words: Nisi intra præscriptum tempus ad Ecclesias suas redeant, deponantur, & alij in illorum locum surrogentur, idque Authoritate & vi huius præsentis Legis: *Vnlesse Bishops and Priests repaire againe vnto their Churches by a day appointed, let them be deprived from their liuings, and let others be placed in their roomes* (not by the authority of the Pope, but) by the force and authority of this present Law. So saith S. Augustine: Reges in Terris seruiunt Christo, faciendo Leges pro Christo: *Kings in the World serue Christ, in that they make Laws for Christ.* Likewise saith Iustinian: Legum Authoritas & Diuinas & Humanas res bene disponit: *By the authority of the* (Emperours) *Lawes, both Heauenly and Worldly things are well ordered.* And againe: Nullum genus rerum est, quod non sit penitùs quærendum Authoritate Imperatoris. Is enim recipit à Deo communem gubernationem & principalitatē super omnes homines: *There is no kind of thing but it may be thorowly examined by the* authority of the Emperour. *For he receiueth from* God a Generall Gouernment, *and* Principality

ouer

Conc Constant. 5. Act 1.

ouer all men: that is, aſwell of the Clergy, as of the Laitie. So ſaith Paulus the Biſhop of Apamea, vnto the ſame Emperor Iuſtinian, vpon the death of Agapetus the Biſhop of Rome: Tranſtulit ipſum Dominus, vt plenitudinem directionis veſtræ cuſtoditet Serenitati: *Our Lord hath taken the Pope away, that he might reſerue the whole fulneſſe of order vnto your* Maieſty.

The Prince may deale in Eccleſiaſticall Cauſes.

Touching the Depriuation of the two Popes, Syluerius and Vigilius, ye ſay, it was done only by Theodora the Empreſſe, and not by the Emperor Iuſtinian: And therein, ye thinke, ye haue taken vs in ſome great aduantage. Notwithſtanding, in your owne Pontificall it is written thus: Beliſarium interrogauit Imperator, quomodo ſe haberet cum Romanis: vel quomodò in loco Syluerij ſtatuiſſet Vigilium. Tunc gratias ei egerunt Imperator & Auguſta: *The* Emperor *demanded of his* Captaine Beliſarius *how he had done with the* Romans: *and how he had depoſed* Pope Syluerius, *and placed* Vigilius *in his ſtead. Vpon his anſwer, both the* Emperor *and the* Empreſſe *gaue him thankes.* Now ye know, it is a Rule in Law: Ratihabitio retrotrahitur, & mandato comparatur: *The* Allowance *of a thing done, is as good as a* Commiſſion *for the doing.*

Concil. Tom 2. in vita Vigilij.

ff. In Regulis iuris.

Some of your friends haue ſaid: Totus Mundus non poteſt deponere aut Iudicare Papam: *The whole World cannot Depoſe or Iudge the Pope.* Yet Eutropius ſaith: Si quando Imperialis Legatus mitteretur à Principe, vt Romanus Pontifex proficiſceretur Conſtantinopolim ad Imperatorem, omni neglecta occaſione, ibat, etiamſi pro certo ſciret, ſe iturum in exilium: *If the Emperors Embaſſador had commanded the* Biſhop of Rome *to appeare at* Conſtantinople *before the Emperor, he went ſtraightway without excuſe, yea* although he certainely knew, that he ſhould be baniſhed. Hæc I leaue ſundrie examples of Emperours, that by their authority haue depoſed not only other Biſhops, but alſo Popes: as the example of Honorius that Depoſed Pope Bonifacius: Of Theodoricus that depoſed Pope Symmachus: Of Otho, that Depoſed Pope Iohn 12. Of Henry that Depoſed Pope Benedictus 9. and that, as it is recorded, not by wilfull might or tyranny, but Imperiali, & Canonica Cenſura: *By his Emperiall, and by the Canonicall Cenſures.* Yea one of your owne friends ſaith thus: Populus commendabilitèr Zelo Fidei commotus, Conſtantinum Papam, qui erat Eccleſiæ in ſcandalum, priuauit oculis, & Depoſuit: *The people of* Rome, *moued with the zeale of Faith, tooke Pope* Conſtantine *and pulled out his eies, and Depoſed him, for that he was ſlanderous vnto the Church: and they deſerued great praiſe for the ſame.*

Eutropij. appendix. de Syluerio.

Ennodius: Inter Decreta Bonif. 1.

Ioh. de Pariſijs, de Poteſt. Reg. & Pap. c. 14.

Howbeit (ye ſay) theſe two Popes, Syluerius and Vigilius were good men, and godly Fathers; and therefore the remouing of them was violence and tyranny. And hereto ye applie the vnſauoury Similitude of your Homely Puddings. Notwithſtanding, what Vertue or Holineſſe was in either of theſe men, it may ſone appeare by the Storie. Pope Syluerius was choſen Pope by Corruption and Symony, contrary to the will of the Clergy: Pope Vigilius accuſed him of Treaſon, for that he would haue betraied the City of Rome to the Gothians. As for Pope Vigilius, your Pontificall ſaith: *He was a falſe witneſſe againſt his Predeceſſor* Pope Syluerius: *He ſought vndue meanes to remoone him, and to place himſelfe: He kept him in Priſon, and ſterued him for hunger: He gaue a great ſumme of mony to procure the Popedome to himſelfe: He killed his owne Notary: He killed a yong man being a Widowes Sonne, And of theſe crimes he was accuſed before the* Emperour. Such Vertue and ſuch Holineſſe the world found in them. Therefore the godly Emperour in remouing of them, vſed neither extraordinary violence, as you ſay, nor iniurous tyranny.

Idem, eodem loco.

Concil. Tom. 2. In Syluerio.

Euagrius. lib. 1. cap 19.

Pontificale, in Vigilio.

Iob. de Pariſijs, cap. 14.

Your owne fellowes ſaith: Si Papa ſit incorrigibilis, nec Cardinales poſſint per ſe amouere ſcandalum de Eccleſia, tunc in ſubſidium iuris, deberent ſupplicando inuocare Brachium Sæculare. Et tunc Imperator, requiſitus à Cardinalibus, deberet procedere contra Papam: *If the Pope be vncorrigible, and the* Cardinals *be not able of themſelues to remoone the offenſe from the* Church, *then ought they, for aid of the Law, by way of intreaty, to call vpon the Secular Power. And then the Emperour being thus deſired, ought to proceed orderly againſt the Pope.*

Fran Zabarel, De Schiſmate. & Concilio.

Franciſcus Zabarell ſaith, as he is alleged before: Papa poteſt accuſari coram Imperatore, de quolibet crimine notorio: Et Imperator requirere poteſt à Papa rationem Fidei: *The Pope in any notorious crime may be accuſed before the Emperour: and the Emperour may require the Pope, to yeeld a reckoning of his Faith.*

The Apologie, Chap. 15. Diuiſion. 1.

LEt vs ſee then, ſuch men as haue authority ouer the Biſhops, ſuch men as receiue from God Commandements concerning Religion, ſuch as bring home againe the Arke of God, make Holy Hymnes, ouerſee the Prieſts, build the Temple, make Orations touching Diuine Seruice, cleanſe the

the Temples, destroy the Hill Altars, burne the Idols Groues, teach the Priests their duties, write thē out Precepts how they should liue, kill the wicked Prophets, displace the High Priests, summon together Holy Councels, sit together with the Bishops, instructing thē what they ought to do, examine, condemn, & punish Heretikes, be made acquainted with matters of Religion; subscribe and giue Sentence to the Determinations of Councels: and do all these things, not by any other Mans Commission, but in their owne name, & that both vprightly and godly: shal we say, It pertaineth not to such men, to haue to do with Religion? Or, shal we say, A Christian Magistrate, which dealeth amongst others in these matters, doth either naughtily, or presumptuously, or wickedly? The most Ancient and Christian Emperours and Kings that euer were, did occupy themselues in these matters, and yet were they neuer for ths cause noted either of wickednesse, or of presumption. And what is he that can finde out either Princes more Catholike, or Examples more notable?

The Popes power Supernatural

M. Harding.

Now then Kings & Emperors, * who haue their first authority by the poficiue Law of Nations, not by supernaturall grace from God, as Priests haue; who can haue no more power then the people hath, * of whom they take their Temporall iurisdiction; Who haue euer (a) bin anointed and blessed by Bishops whosoeuer blesseth, being greater then he that is blessed; shall we say that such Kings and Emperors haue authority to rule the Church (b) whose Sons they are? To be supreme Heads ouer them whom they ought to kneele vnto for absolution? To controule their Spirituall Iudges? Whom if they sin by humanities frailty, they (c) ought to couer with their clokes (c) as the great Constantine said; to degrade them of whom they must be Baptized, Anointed, Crowned and Buried?

* Vntruths, three together, open and manifest. Read the Answer.

(a) Vntruth, confessed by M. Hardings owne Doctours.

(b) And is not the Pope a son of the Church? Then is he not the son of God. (c) Vntruth for that so the Prince ought to doe, Constantinus neuer said it.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Now, M. Harding, ye huddle vp hastily your poore Arguments in heaps together. One or two of them only I minde to touch: The rest are not worth the stirring. First, ye say, The Popes power is of God, The Princes power is only of Man. The one Supernatural, the other Natural. In such sort your Pope Nicolas aduanceth and magnifieth his own Chaire. For thus he saith with a lolly courage: Illud verbum quo constructum est Cœlum & Terra, quo denique omnia facta sunt Elementa, Romanam fundauit Ecclesiam: *The Word of God whereby Heauen and Earth was made, and whereby all the Elements were fashioned, the same word founded the* Church of Rome. As if the Church of Rome and other Churches were not all of one Foundation. Another of your Popes Retainers saith: Papatus est Summa Virtus Creata: *The Popedome is the Highest Vertue or Power that euer God made: that is to say, The Popedome is aboue* Angels, Archangels, Thrones, Dominations, *and all the* Powers, *in, vnder, or aboue the* Heauens. Another saith euen as you say, and as I haue partly said before: Rex per hominem fit: Sacerdos autem proximè nascitur ex Deo ipso: Quantùm Deus præstat Sacerdoti, tantùm Sacerdos præstat Regi: *The King is made by man: But the Priest is immediately begotten of God. As much as God excelleth the Priest, so much the Priest excelleth the King.*

Dist. 22. omn.

Ioh. de Parisijs, De potest. Reg. & Pap. ca. 25.

Stanislaus Orichonius in Chimæra. fol. 97. & 99.

And notwithstanding all this Supernatural power be as well in the simplest Priest, as in the Pope, yet another of your Doctors saith: Papa eligitur secundum Ius diuinum: alij verò Episcopi secundum Ius humanum: *The Pope is chosen by the* Law of God: *but other Bishops are chosen by the Law of Man.* Thus ye thinke no colour too deare to paint out the Popes face, and to make it shine faire and glorious.

Pet. de Palud. de potest. Curator. Art. 6.

But the Princes power (ye say) is Temporal and Naturall, and only from beneath, and only of Man, & therefore can be no greater then man may giue him. This is your Louanian Diuinity, M. Harding: So highly ye estéme the Dignity and Maiesty of the Prince. But God himselfe saith: Per me Reges regnant: Kings rule by me, (and not by Man.) S. Paul saith: Non est potestas, nisi à Deo: *There is no* Power or Princehood, *but from* God. Likewise Christ himselfe said vnto Pilate: *Thou couldst haue no Power ouer mee, vnlesse it were giuen thee* (not from Man, but) from aboue. To like purpose the Empereror Iustinian saith: Maxima in omnibus sunt dona Dei, & superna collata Clementia, Sacerdotium & Imperium, &c. Ex vno eodemque Principio vtraque procedentia Humanam exornant vitam: *Priesthood and Princehood be in al things the greatest gifts of God, giuen vnto vs frō the Mercy aboue,*

Prouerb. 8. Rom. 13. Iohan. 19. *Anth. Col. 1.* *Quomodo oporteat Episcopos. Maxima.*

These

Gloſſa. In Verbum Vtraque. *Theſe two flowing* (not the one only from Man, and the other from God, but) *both from one Originall, doe adorne and beautifie the Life of Man.* Upon which woꝛds it is noted in your Gloſſe: Idem Principium habent, & parum differunt: Prieſthood *and* Princehood *came one* Originall, *and ſmall difference.* Ye ſaith not, as you ſay, The oddes betwæne theſe two is ſo great, as is betwæne Naturall and Supernatural: betwæne Heauen and Earth: oꝛ betwæne God and Man. But he ſaith plainly, Prieſthood and Princehood haue one Originall and little oddes and ſmall difference. Theodorus Balſamon ſaith thus: Nota Canonem, qui dicit, Spirituales dignitates eſſe præſtantiores ſæcularibus, ſeu mundanis dignitatibus. Sed ne hoc eo traxeris, vt Eccleſiaſticæ dignitates præferantur Imperatorijs: illis enim ſubijciuntur: *Marke well this Canon, that ſaith, The Spirituall dignities are better then the Temporall or Worldly dignities. But ye may not gather thereof, that the* Dignities of the Church are aboue the Dignity of an Emperour, for they are ſubiect and inferiour to him. Thus you ſee, M. Harding, how eaſily your light coniectures may deceiue you. And therefoꝛe another of your Doctours ſaith: Supponunt quòd Poteſtas Regalis ſit Corporalis, & non Spiritualis; Et quòd habeat Curam Corporum, & non Animarum: quod falſum eſt: *They imagin that the* Princes power *is only* Bodily, *and not* Ghoſtly: *and that the* Prince *hath the charge of mens* Bodies, *but none of their* Soules: but this is ſtarke falſe.

The Popes Power Supernatural

Balſamon in Sexta Synod. Canon. 7.

Ioh. de Pariſijs cap. 18.

Ioh. de Pariſijs, de poteſt. Regia. & Papal. c. 25

And whereas you ſo highly extol your Popes Vniuerſall Power, as if it were Supernaturall and heauenly, and came onely from God. Another of your Doctours ſaith: Ea quæ ſunt Iuriſdictionis Papæ, non ſunt ſupra Naturam & Conditionem negotij, nec ſupra Cõditionem hominum. Quia non eſt ſupra Conditionem hominis, quod homines præſint hominibus. Imo naturale eſt quodammodo: *Such things as belong to the Popes Iuriſdiction, are not aboue Nature, nor aboue the Condition of the thing it ſelfe, nor aboue the Capacity of a Man: For it is not aboue the Nature of a Man, for Man to rule ouer Men. Nay rather, in a ſort, it is Naturall.*

Now, M. Harding, if the Princes power be from God aſwell as the Popes: If the Popes power concerning iuriſdiction be Naturall aſwel as the Princes: If they flow both from one Originall: If they haue ſo ſmall difference, what meant you then by theſe odious Compariſons, ſo highly and ſo ambitiouſly to aduance the one, and ſo diſdainfully and ſcoꝛnfully to abaſe the other? What meant you ſo vainly to ſay, that Kings and Emperours haue their authority by the poſitiue Law of Nations: and Popes haue their authority by the Supernaturall grace of God? Touching the Princes power, we are certainly aſſured by Gods holy Word, it is from God. As foꝛ the Popes Infinite and Vniuerſal power thoꝛowout the whole Scriptures, from the Geneſis vnto the Apocalyps, vnleſſe it be the power of Darkeneſſe, ye can find nothing.

Herueus de poteſt. Pa. cap. 18.

Yée ſay, Kings haue euermore beene Anointed and Bleſſed by Biſhops. This is another foule Vntruth. Foꝛ you might eaſily haue knowne, that Chriſtian Kings in old times were neuer Anointed. Your own Doctour ſaith: In Nouo Teſtamento non legimus quod Sacerdotes debeant inungere Reges: nec etiã nunc obſeruatur in omnibus Regibus Chriſtianis: vt patet in Regibus Hiſpaniæ: *Wee read not in the New Teſtament, that Prieſts or Biſhops ought to Anoint Kings. Neither is that order at this day vſed amongſt all Kings that be Chriſtened: as it appeareth by the Kings of* Spaine. Foꝛ they are not Anointed. Againe ye ſay, and that ye bring in as a ſpecial good argumẽt of your ſide, The Emperor kneeleth to the Prieſt for Abſolution: Ergo, The Emperour is not the Head of the Church. How may a man anſwer ſuch follies better then with the like folly. *The Pope himſelfe by your owne Decrees, is bound to Confeſſe his Sinnes, and kneeleth downe to a Simple Prieſt for Abſolution.* Foꝛ your Canoniſts ſay: Papa tenetur confiteri peccata ſua vni Sacerdoti: Et Simplex Sacerdos poteſt illum ligare & abſoluere: *The* Pope *is bound to confeſſe his Sinnes to ſome one Prieſt: and a Simple Prieſt may both Binde him and Abſolue him.* Ergo, by your owne Concluſion, The Pope is not Head of the Church. Such a handſome Pꝛoctour the Pope hath gotten to pꝛomote his Cauſe.

With ſuch pꝛety ſtuffe, M. Harding, ye thinke to ouerrun and to conquer the Woꝛld.

The Apologie, Chap. 15. Diuiſion. 2.

Wheꝛefoꝛe, if it were lawful foꝛ them to do thus, being but Ciuil Magiſtrates, and hauing the chiefe Rule of Common Weales, what offence haue our Princes at this day committed, that they being in the like degree, may not haue leaue to do the like? Oꝛ what eſpecial gift of Learning, oꝛ of Judgement, oꝛ of Holineſſe haue theſe men now, that they, contrary to the cuſtome of al the Ancient and Catholike Biſhops, who vſed to confer with Princes and Peeres, concerning Religion, do now thus reiect

reiect and caſt off Chriſtian Princes from knowing of the cauſe, and from their meetings?

M. Harding.

We anſwer, It was * neuer lawful in any Temporal Prince, to iudge in Cauſes of Religion. Neither did any Prince before this time euer vſe it.

* Vntruth, as it may eaſily appeare by that hath beene ſaid before.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

This is another of your Abſolute Truths, M. Harding. For anſwer whereof, it may pleaſe you indifferently to weigh that I haue written a little before touching the ſame. *Part. 6. Ca. 14. Diuiſ. 4. & 5.*

The Apologie, Chap. 15. Diuiſion. 3.

Wel, thus doing, they wiſely and warily prouide for themſelues, and for their Kingdome, which otherwiſe they ſee is like ſhortly to come to naught. For if ſo be, they, whom God hath placed in greateſt Dignity, did ſee & perceiue theſe mens practiſes, how Chriſts Commandements be deſpiſed by them, how the Light of the Goſpell is darkened, & quenched out by them, and how themſelues alſo be ſubtlely beguiled and mocked, and vnawares be deluded by them, and the way to the Kingdome of Heauen ſtopped vp before them; no doubt they would neuer ſo quietly ſuffer themſelues, neither to be diſdained after ſuch a proud ſort, nor ſo deſpightfully to be ſcorned and abuſed by them. But now through their owne lacke of vnderſtanding, and through their owne blindneſſe, theſe men haue them faſt yoked, and in their danger.

Affiance in Darkneſſe.

M. Harding.

Biſhops (a) cannot vphold their Kingdome by wrong doing. (b) That is the way to pul them downe. Therefore we are wel aſſured, that your Schiſmatical Superintendentſhip cannot ſtand, though al the power of the world were bent to hold it vp. Your wicked ſtate is not planted of God, and therefore it ſhal be rooted out. It is God that ruleth: It is God that ſetteth vp, and putteth downe. This ſtate of Chriſts Church hath cõtinued, & the ſucceſſor of Peter hath gouerned it; whereas the greſidleſſe building of al the Hereticks, frõ Simon Magus downward, to this day hath failed. Luther is rotten, and his new found Religiõ decaied, and the Pope ſitteth in Peters Chaire, & ſo ſhal his ſucceſſors to the end.

Ye would men to beleeue, that Emperors & Kings are deceiued by the Popes & Biſhops. But I pray you, what is the cauſe that Princes cannot eſpy theſe deceits (if any ſuch were) as wel as ye? If themſelues lack your knowledge, yet haue they wiſe mẽ about them, who for their duries ſake, & their allegeance to them, would ſoone aduertiſe them, how by the Biſhops they be ſubtilly beguiled & mocked.

(a) Otherwiſe it were not the Kingdome of Darkneſſe.

(b) When they bee once eſpied: and not before.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Of the maintenance of your Kingdome, M. Harding, Chriſt ſaid vnto certaine of your Forefathers: Hoc eſt tempus veſtrum, & Poteſtas Tenebrarum: *This is your time, and the Power of Darkneſſe. Blinde they are, and the Guides of the Blinde. If the Blinde lead the Blinde, they will both fall into the ditch.* The Lion, or wild Bull, be they neuer ſo cruell or great of courage, yet if yée may once cloſely couer their eies, yée may eaſily lead them whither yée liſt, without reſiſtance. Euen ſo doth the Pope hoodwinke and blindfold the Princes of the World, and hold them in Ignorance: which done, hée maketh them to hold his Stirrup, to lead his Horſe, to knéele downe, and to kiſſe his Shooe, and to attend vpon him at his pleaſure. But if they knew either him, or themſelues, they would not doe it. Luke 22. Mat. 15.

S. Chryſoſtome ſaith, as it is noted before: Hæretici Sacerdotes claudunt Ianuas Veritatis. Sciunt enim, ſi manifeſtata eſſet Veritas, quòd ipſorum Eccleſia eſſet relinquenda: & ipſi de Sacerdotali Dignitate ad Humilitatem venirent popularem: Hereticall Biſhops *ſhut vp the gates of the Truth. For they know, that if the Truth be once laid open, their Church ſhall be forſaken: and they, from their* Pontificall Dignity, *ſhall bee brought downe to the baſeneſſe of the people.* *Chryſoſt. in Opere imperfect. Homil. 44.*

Petrus Ferrarienſis, in conſideration hereof, complaineth thus: O miſeros Imperatores, & Sæculares Principes, qui hæc & alia ſuſtinetis, & vos ſeruos Eccleſiæ facitis: Et Mundum per eos infinitis modis vſurpari videtis: nec de remedio cogitatis: Quia prudentiæ & ſapientiæ non intenditis: *Alas, miſerable are yee, the* Emperours and Princes of the World, *that abide theſe and other like things* (at the Popes hands) *and make your ſelues ſlaues vnto their* Church. *Yee ſee the world is by innumerable waies miſerably abuſed by them:* *Pet. Ferrarien. Citatur ab Illyrico, inter Teſtes Veritatis.*

yet yee neuer bethinke your ſelues of any remedie, becauſe yee apply not your mindes to wiſdome and knowledge.

Hier. in Eſaiã. Lib. 9. 30.

S. Hierome ſaith: Vt ſagittent in obſcuro rectos corde. Iſti tantam ſibi aſſumunt Authoritatem, vt ſiue Dextra doceant, ſeu Siniſtra, id eſt, ſiue bona, ſiue mala, nolint Diſcipulos ratione diſcutere, ſed ſe Præceſſores ſequi. Tunc hi, qui priùs decipiebant, nequaquam vltrà ad eos valebunt accedere, poſtquam ſe ſenſerint intellectos: *To ſtrike in the darke thē that be ſimple of heart, theſe men challenge vnto themſelues ſuch Authority, that whether they teach with the Right hand, or with the Left, that is to ſay, whether they teach good things, or bad, they will not haue their Diſciples, or Hearers, with reaſon to examine their ſayings, but onely to follow them, being their Leaders. For then they which before deceiued the people, can no more come vnto them, after they once perceiue they be eſpied.*

Affiance in Darkneſſe.

The Apology, Chap. 16. Diuiſion 1.

VErily we for our parts, as we haue ſaid, haue done nothing in altering Religion, vpon either Raſhneſſe, or Arrogancy: nor nothing, but with good leaſure, and great conſideration. Neither had we euer intended to doe it, except both the manifeſt & moſt aſſured Wil of God, opened to vs in his Holy Scriptures, and the regard of our own Saluation, had euen conſtrained vs thereunto. For though we haue departed frō that Church, which theſe men call Catholike, & by that meanes get vs enuy amongſt thē that want ſkil to iudge, yet is this enough for vs, & it ought to be enough for euery wiſe & good man, and one that maketh account of euerlaſting Life, that we haue gone from that Church which hath power to err: which Chriſt who cannot erre, told ſo long before, it ſhould err: & which we our ſelues did euidently ſee with our eies, to haue gone frō the Old Holy Fathers, & from the Apoſtles, & from Chriſt himſelfe, and from the Primitiue & Catholike Church of God: & we are come, as neere as we poſſibly could, to the Church of the Apoſtles, & of the Old Catholike Biſhops & Fathers: which Church, we know, was ſound & perfect, &, as Tertullian termeth it, a Pure Virgin, ſpotted as then with no Idolatry, nor with any foule or ſhameful fault: and haue directed, according to their Cuſtomes and Ordinances, not only our Doctrine, but alſo the Sacraments, and the forme of Common Praier.

M. Harding.

Ye haue treated thereof after your accuſtomed maner, that is to ſay, with all Vntruth and Lies.

Ye come in with many gay words: whereto with guilty conſcience inwardly ye ſay, yea, thereto with lying tongue outwardly, doe ye not ſay, nay?

This generation of looſe Apoſtates, inceſtuous Vow-breakers, Sacrilegious Church-robbers, deſpiſers of all Holineſſe, breakers of the dead mens Willes, ouerthrowers of al ancient order & diſcipline.

If it be ſo, where be your Signes? Where be your Miracles? Where bee the examples of your rare Vertue and Holineſſe.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

The reſt of your ſpēch we will paſſe ouer, as talke of courſe. Touching your curious demand of Signes and Miracles, Pope Leo may anſwer you. For whereas certaine of your Forefathers in old times ſaid, *if hee be the* King of Iſrael, *let him come downe from the* Croſſe, *and we will beleeue:* Pope Leo ſaith thus vnto them: Non erat veſtræ Cœcitatis arbitrio, ſtulti Scribæ, & impij Sacerdotes, oſtendenda potentia Saluatoris: *Ye fooliſh Scribes, and wicked Prieſts, the Power of our Sauiour was not to be ſhewed at the diſcretion of your Blindneſſe.* God ſheweth his Miracles when, and where, and to whom he will.

Matthæ. 27. *Leo in Serm. de Paſſione Dom.*

S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: In fine temporis concedenda eſt poteſtas Diabolo, vt faciat Signa vtilia: vt iam Miniſtros Chriſti non per hoc cognoſcamus, quia vtilia faciunt Signa, ſed quia omninò hæc Signa non faciunt: *In the end of time, Power ſhalbe giuen to the* Diuel, *to worke* profitable Signes, *and* Miracles: *So that then we cannot know the* Miniſters of Chriſt *by that they worke* profitable Miracles, *but by that they* worke no Miracles at all.

Chryſ. in Matthæ, Hom. 49.

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Non dicat, Idcò verum eſt, quia illa vel illa mirabilia fecit, vel iſte, vel ille: aut quia homines ad memorias mortuorum noſtrorum orant, & exaudiuntur: aut quia illa vel illa ibi contingunt, &c. Remoueantur iſta, vel Figmenta mendacium hominum, vel portenta fallacium Spirituum: *Let no man ſay, Therefore it is true for that this man, or that man, hath wrought this or that* Miracle: *for that men make their* Praiers *at the*

Aug. de vnit. Eccleſ. cap. 16.

Tombes

Tombes *of our dead, and obteine their desires: or for that these or these* Miracles *be wrought there, &c. Away with these things: They may be either the* Iuglings and Mockeries of deceitfull men, or else Illusions of lying Spirits. The Patterne of Faith.

Againe, S. Chrysostome saith: Per Signa cognoscebatur, qui essent Veri Christiani qui Falsi. Nunc autem signorum operatio omninò leuata est: Magis autem inuenitur apud eos qui falsi sunt Christiani: *In old times it was knowen by* Miracles, *who were the* True Christians *and who the* False. *But now the working of Miracles is taken quite away, and is rather found among them that be false Christians.* *Chrys. in Matthæ. Hom. 49.*

Therefore S. Augustine saith: Contra illos Mirabiliarios cautum me fecit Deus meus, dicendo, In nouissimis diebus exurgent Pseudoprophetæ, facientes Signa & Portenta, vt inducant in errorem, si fieri possit, etiam Electos: *Against these Mongers of Miracles, my God hath armed me, saying, In the latter daies there shall rise vp false Prophets, working Signes and wonders, to deceiue the Elect of God, if it be possible.* *Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 13.* Matthæ. 24.

Neither is the Gospell of Christ preached this day vtterly without Miracles. The Blinde see: The Dumbe speake: Your Idols are fallen: Your Great Babylon is come to ground. These, M. Harding, if you haue eies to see them, are no small Miracles. S. Chrysostome saith: The Conuersion of the world is a Miracle. S. Augustine saith: Modò Caro Cœca non aperit oculos Miraculo Domini: Et Cor Cæcum aperit oculos Sermone Domini: *Now adaies the Blinde Flesh openeth not her eies by the* Miracle of our Lord: *But the* Blind Heart *openeth his eies at the* Word of our Lord. And againe: Modò Aures Corporis surdæ non aperiuntur: Sed quàm multi habent clausas Aures Cordis, quæ tamen, Verbo Dei penetrante, patescant. *Now adaies the deafe Eares of the Body be not opened: Yet many there are that haue the Eares of their heart shut vp; which Eares notwithstanding are opened by entring of the* Word of God. *Chrysost. in 1. Cor. Hom. 6.* *Aug. de verbis Domin. secund. Mat. Ser. 18.* *Eodem loco.*

Therefore we may rightly say to you with other words of S. Augustine: Quisquis adhuc Prodigia, vt credat, inquirit, magnum est ipse Prodigium: qui, mundo credente, non credit: *Whosoeuer yet requireth* Miracles, *to bring him to the* Faith, *is himselfe a great Miracle, that, the world beleeuing, remaineth still in vnbeleefe.* *Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 22. c. 8.*

Whereas the Pharisees said of Christ, *Let him now come downe from the Crosse, and we will beleeue him*; S. Hierome saith vnto them, Etiamsi de Cruce descenderit, similiter non credideretis: *Yea although he should come downe from the Crosse, yet would ye not beleeue him.* *Hieronymus in Matt. 27.*

But it were a woe to behold the glorious countenance of your Miracles, M. Harding. Your Crosses can speake: your Idols can goe: your Images can light their owne Lamps: your Holy Water is able to calme the Sea, to chase away Mise, and to make barren women to conceiue. If you doubt hereof, conferre with M. Cope, one of your owne Louanian company, or with that worthy Prelate the Bishop of Verona, your Holie Father Lipomanus. I am ashamed to remember the things that you are not ashamed, euen now in these daies, to publish in writing. Howbeit, such Religion, such Miracles. S. Hierome saith: Mendacium Antichristi Christi Veritas deuorabit: *The* Truth of Christ *shall deuoure and consume the* Falshood of Antichrist. *Copus Dial. 1. Pag. 18.* *Hieronymus ad Algasiam.*

The Apology, Chap. 16. Diuision 2.

And, as we know both Christ himselfe, & all good men heertofore haue done, we haue called home againe to the Originall and first Foundation, that Religion which hath been foulely neglected, & vtterly corrupted by these men. For we thought it meet, thence to take the Patterne of reforming Religion, from whence the ground of Religion was first taken; because this one reason, as saith the most ancient Father Tertullian, hath great force against all Heresies: Looke whatsoeuer was first, that is true: and whatsoeuer is latter, that is corrupt. Irenæus oftentimes appealed to the Oldest Churches, which had bin neerest to Christs time, & which it was hard to beleeue had been in error. But why at this day is not the same cõmon regard and consideration had? Why returne we not to the Patterne of the Old Churches? Why may we not heare at this time amongst vs, the same saying which was openly pronounced in times past in the Councel at Nice, by so many Bishops and Catholike Fathers, and no body once speaking against it: τὰ ἀρχαῖα κρατείτω: Hold still the Old Customes.

M. Harding.

Ye say much in your own commendation, but lies be no proofes. Ye haue not called Religion home againe to the Originall and first Foundation, as ye say: but ye haue quite ouerthrowen all true Religion

(a) Heere followed ſomewhat touching the Sacrament, and Sacrifice, which matters are otherwhere anſwered more at large.

(b) Irenæus neuer knew the diſorders and deformities that now are in the Church of Rome.

(c) Vntruth. For as now, it is all vnfaithfully peruerted.

(d) Vntruth, manifeſt, and apparent to all the world.

ligion from the Foundation. As for your Apiſh noueltie, ye haue taken the patterne therof frõ Satan Author of diuiſion, the ancient enemie of Chriſt, & of his true Religion. We admit the ſaying of Tertullian (though it be not altogether as ye allege it) that this reaſõ hath great force againſt al Hereſies: Whatſoeuer was firſt, that is true: Whatſoeuer is latter, that is corrupt. Of the bleſſed Sacrament Chriſt ſaid firſt, &c. (a) *Contra Prax. eam.*

Ye would ſeeme to be faine, that we followed the aduice of Irenæus. We are content with all our hearts. And with Irenæus we appeale to that Tradition which is from the Apoſtles, which (as he ſaith) is kept in the Churches by Prieſts that ſucceeded thẽ. With Irenæus, leauing other Churches, whoſe ſucceſſions of Biſhops it were a long worke to rehearſe, we require to haue recourſe, for triall of our Faith to the Traditiõ of Doctrine of the Roman Church, which he termeth, Greateſt, Oldeſt, beſt known to all, founded & ſet vp by the two moſt glorious Apoſtles, Peter and Paul. We appeale to the Faith of that Church, taught abroad in the world, and by ſucceſſions of Biſhops brought downe vnto vs. For to this Church, (b) ſaith Irenæus, muſt all the Church of Chriſt repaire, whereſoeuer it be, for that it is the chiefe of al, & for that the Tradition of the true Doctrine, which the Apoſtles left behind them, (c) is there faithfully kept. Wherefore if ye would, after the counſell of Irenæus, reſort to Rome for deciſion of the Controuerſies that be betwixt you and vs, and would them to be tried by that ſenſe of Doctrine, (d) which hath continued by ſucceſſions of Biſhops euen from Peter to Pius the Fourth, now Pope, & would ſtand to the Authority of that See Apoſtolike, all ſtrife were ended, we ſhould be at accord. But we haue little hope ye will follow this Godly Counſell of S. Irenæus, that bleſſed Martyr, whoſe body your brethren, the Huguenots of France, villanouſly burned at Lyons, Anno Do. 1562. after it had reſted there thirteene hundred yeeres, and more. *Lib. 3. Cap. 3.*

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Iren. li. 3. ca. 3. Valde longum eſt, omnium Eccleſiarum enumerare Succeſſiones.

The Preeminence that Irenæus giueth to the Church of Rome, ſtandeth in Conſent, and Vnity, and Agreement of Doctrine; not in Superiority, or Gouernment ouer all the World. For proofe whereof, ye may vnderſtand that Irenæus in the ſame place likewiſe ſpecially noteth the Church of Smyrna, planted by Polycarpus; and the Church of Epheſus, planted by S. Iohn; and generally ſundrie other great Churches, planted by men of Apoſtolicall Dignity: vnto which he willeth vs in like maner to repaire: and not only to the Church of Rome. The Emperour Theodoſius willeth his Subiects to conforme themſelues in Doctrine, not only to the Roman Biſhop, but alſo, either to Nectarius the Biſhop of Conſtantinople: or to Timotheus the Biſhop of Alexandria: or to Pelagius the Biſhop of Laodicea: or to Diodorus the Biſhop of Tharſus: or to Amphilochius the Biſhop of Iconium: or to Optimus the Biſhop of Antioch: or to Helladius the Biſhop of Cæſarea: or to Otreius the Biſhop of Melite: or to Gregorius the Biſhop of Nice: or to Terennius the Biſhop of Scythia: or to Marmarius the Biſſiop of Martianopolis. Vnto all and euery of theſe notable great Churches, the Emperour willeth all other inferiour Churches to repaire.

Cod. Theodoſ. Lib 16. Tit. 3

Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 2.

By ſuch Examples the Fathers in the Councell of Chalcedon were contented to direct their Faith. For thus they brake out in a generall ſhout: Omnes ita credimus: Leo Papa ita credit: Cyrillus ita credit: Leo & Anatolius ita credunt: *All we beleeue thus*: *Pope* Leo *beleeueth thus*: Cyrillus (*the Biſhop of* Alexandria) *beleeueth thus*: Leo *and* Anatolius (*the Biſhop of* Conſtantinople) *beleeue thus.*

Tertul. contra Marcion. lib. 4.

So ſaith Tertullian: Videamus quod lac à Paulo Corinthij hauſerint: ad quam Regulam Galathæ ſint recocti: quid legant Philippenſes, Theſſalonicenſes, Epheſij: quid etiam Romani de proximo ſonent, quibus Euangelium Petrus & Paulus, ſanguine quoque ſuo ſignatum, reliquerunt: *Let vs ſee what milke the* Corinthians *ſucke of* S. Paul: *after what Patterne the* Galathians *were reformed*: *what the* Philippians *reade, what the* Theſſalonians, *what the* Epheſians: *what ſound the* Romans *giue, that are ſo neere vs, vnto whom* Peter *and* Paul *haue left the* Goſpell, *ſealed and confirmed with their Blood.* In like ſort writeth

Nazian. Epiſt. 18.

Gregory Nazianzene of the Church of Cæſarea: Cuiuſlibet Eccleſiæ, tanquam Corporis Chriſti, habenda eſt ratio; maximè verò noſtræ (Cæſarienſis) quę & ab initio fuit, & nunc eſt, Mater propè omnium Eccleſiarum: Eam Chriſtiana Reſpublica, velut Centrum ſuum Circulus, vndique obſeruat, non ſolùm propter Orthodoxam Doctrinam vbique ab initio prædicatam, ſed etiam propter conſpicuam Concordiæ Gratiam, quem diuinitus accepit: *We muſt make great account of all* Churches, *euen as of the* Body of Chriſt; *but ſpecially of this our* Church of Cæſarea; *for that it hath been from the beginning, and ſtill is in a maner* the Mother of all Churches. *The whole* Chriſtian Common Weale *beholdeth this* Church *of euery ſide, euen as the* Circle *beholdeth the* Center; *not only for the* Catholike Doctrine *that from thence hath been publiſhed euery where, but alſo for the notable* Grace of Concord *that it hath receiued from aboue.*

Thus the Ancient Godly Fathers willed the Faithfull to haue recourſe vnto euery of theſe Churches, of Smyrna, of Epheſus, of Conſtantinople, of Alexandria, of Laodicea, of Tharſus, of Iconium, of Antioch, of Cæſarea, of Melite, of Nice, of Scythia, of Martianopolis, of Corinthus, of Galatia, of Philippi, of Theſſalonica, of Epheſus, and of Rome: not for any ſecret vnremoueable vertue in them conteined, but only, as Irenæus ſaith,

faith, for that the Tradition and Doctrine of the Apostles had continued there still without corruption.

Iren. li. 3. ca. 3.

Therefore Tertullian saith; Percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc Cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsidentur: apud quas ipsæ Authenticæ Literæ eorũ recitantur, sonantes vocem, & repræsentantes faciem vniuscuiusq; Proxima est tibi Achaia: habes Corinthum. Si non longè ps à Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiã tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autẽ Italiæ adiaces, habes Romam: vnde nobis quoq; Authoritas præstò est: *Run ouer and behold the* Apostolike Churches, *whereas the* Apostles Chaires *are yet still continued, and whereas the* Authenticall Writings *of the* Apostles *are openly pronounced, sounding ouer the voice, and representing the face of each one of them. The next Countrey to you is* Achaia: *There haue you the* Church of Corinth. *If ye be not far from* Macedonia, *there haue ye the* Church of Philippi, *and the* Church of Thessalonica. *If ye may go ouer in* Asia, *there haue yee the* Church of Ephesus. *If yee border neere to* Italie, *there haue yee the* Church of Rome, *from whence wee also (dwelling in* Aphrica) *may with speed receiue authority.*

Iren. li. 3. ca. 3. In qua semper conseruata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis Traditio.

Tertul. de præscript. contra Hæreticos.

The Patterne of Faith.

Againe, touching the name of a Church Apostolike, whereby ye would euermore seem to vnderstand the Church of Rome, he saith thus: Tot ac tantæ Ecclesiæ, vna est illa ab Apostolis Prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ, & omnes Apostolicæ, dum vnam omnes probant vnitatem: *These so many, and so great* Churches, *are all that same one* first Church *planted by the* Apostles, *from whence issued all the rest.* And so are they *all* first Churches, *and all* Apostolike, *in that they all follow one* Vnity.

Tertul. de præscript. contra Hæreticos.

Thus the Ancient Fathers taught the people to reforme themselues by the Example and Doctrine, not onely of the Church of Rome, but also of all other Notable Apostolik Churches.

Neither were they directed onely by the Authority of Ancient Churches, but also by the Authority of certaine particular worthy men. For resolution in cases of doubt, some sent to S. Augustine: some to S. Hierome: some to the Bishops of France: some to the Bishops of Rome: and some to others. S. Hierome thus writeth vnto S. Augustine: Tu, vt Episcopus in toto orbe notissimus, debes hanc promulgare Sententiam, & in Assensum tuum omnes Coepiscopos trahere: *Thou, as the most notable* Bishop *in all the world, oughtest to publish this* Decree, *and to draw al thy* fellow-Bishops *vnto thy Iudgement.* Yet was S. Augustine the Bishop of Hippo in Aphrica, not of Rome. Certainly where soeuer any flame of Truth and Learning may appeare, out of what place soeuer it breake forth, men will of themselues willingly and greedily flee vnto it.

Euseb. li. 5. ca. 3.

Aug. Epist. 11.

Damasus the Bishop of Rome wrote vnto S. Hierome in doubtfull Cases, to know his Counsel. S. Hierome himselfe saith: Filius meus Apodemius de Oceani Littore, atq; vltimis Galliarum finibus, Roma prætérita, quæsiuit Bethlehem: *My son* Apodemius, *comming from the shoare of the* Ocean Sea, *and from the furthest Coast of* France, leauing Rome, *sought for* Bethlehem (*where I dwell, to conferre with me.*)

Damas. Hier. Hieronym. ad Algasiam.

Thus we see, Godly men, desirous to know the Truth, and to be resolued of their doubts, left the Bishop of Rome, with all his Cardinals, and went eight hundred miles further to seeke Counsel of poore Hierome. Likewise S. Ambrose saith: Post Alexandrinę Ecclesiæ, Episcopi quoq; Romanæ Ecclesiæ Definitionem, per Literas plerìq; meam adhuc expectant Sententiam: *After the Resolution of the* Church of Alexandria, *and also of the* Bishop *of the* Church of Rome, *many men yet write Letters vnto me, and would also vnderstand my iudgement.* Pope Liberius himselfe writeth thus vnto Athanasius the Bishop of Alexãdria: Si mecũ sentis, quæso subscribas, quò certiores reddamur, num eiusdẽ nobiscũ suffragij sis, eademq; statuas de Vera Fide: vt & ego securior efficiar, tuaq; mãdata indesinenter obeam: *If ye be of my Iudgement, then I beseech you to subscribe* (your name vnto these Articles) *that I may be out of doubt, whether you think as I think, touching the* True Faith: *and that I may be the better confirmed in my selfe, and may euermore* doe your Commandements *without delay.* Here you see, your Head of the Church offereth himselfe with al his Vniuersall Power, to be at the Commandement of another inferiour Bishop. Bernard being but an Abbat, writeth thus vnto Pope Eugenius: Aiunt, non vos esse Papam, sed me. Et Vndiq; ad me confluunt, qui habent Negotia: *They say that I am* Pope, *and not you: and one euery side, they that haue sutes, come running vnto me.*

Ambr. lib. 10. Epist. 83.

Apud. Athan. Tom. 1.

Ber. Epist. 238

Thus were men wont to seeke for Counsel, not onely at Rome, but also whersoeuer it might be found. And therefore was Origen called, Magister Ecclesiarum, *The* Enformer *or* Master *of the* Churches. S. Basil, Canon Fidei, *The Ruler of the Faith.* Eusebius Samosatensis, Regula Veritatis, *The Standard of the Truth.* Athanasius, Orbis oculus, *The eie of the World.* And in doubtfull Cases they were as diligently sought vpon as the Pope.

Hier. in Apol. aduers. Ruffin. Nazianz. ad Simplicium. Nazianz. ad Heronem. Gregor. Li. 12. Ind. 7. ca. 9.

The Paterne of Faith.

Here by the way it were a worthy matter to consider some of the Profound and Learned Resolutions that we haue receiued from the See of Rome. Augustine the Italian Monke, whom some haue called the Apostle of England, demanded of Pope Gregorie, by way of great counsell whether a Woman with Childe might be Baptized, or no: and how long afterward it might be lawfull for her to come to the Church.

Inter Decret. Zachariæ.

Bonifacius the Apostle of Germany, demanded the like questions of Pope Zachary, whether Iaies, Dawes, Storks, Beauers, Otters, Hares, and Wilde Horses, be mans meat, or no: What order were to be taken with Man, or Horse, hauing the falling sickneſſe: At what time of the yeere it may be lawfull, or wholesome, for folkes to eat Bacon: and, if a man list to eat it Raw, how old it ought to bee before he eat it: What may bee done, if a Priest haue a blacke in his eie: Who may hallow oile: Who may weare the Pall: At what time, in what place, in what sort, ouer or vnder, openly or secretly, it may be lawfull to weare it.

Inter Decret. Alexandr. 3. Part. 30. ca. 2. Simaculam in oculo.

Inter Decret. Gregor. 2. ad Bonifacium.

To these, and other like doubtfull and profound questions, the Pope hath giuen out his Answers, and that in such graue and solemne sort, as if no other creature vnder Heauen, besides his Holinesse, were able to vnderstand such high Mysteries.

Aug. de Ciu. l. 20. c. 26. Viues.

There fell out sometime an Odious quarrel betweene the Thomists and Scotists, whether the Blessed Virgin were conceiued in sinne, or no. The one side said, Yea: the other cried, Nay. There were learned men of both sides: Parties grew: The Schooles were inflamed: The World was troubled: No Conference, no Doctor, no Councel, was able to quiet the matter, and to make them friends. The Scotists alleged for themselues the Councell of Basil: The Thomists cried out, the Councel of Basil was disorderly summoned, and therefore vnlawfull. In the midst of this heat, Pope Sixtus toke vpon him to be Iudge betweene them, and to determine the bottome of the cause. In conclusion, when all the World looked to be resolued, and satisfied in the question, the Pope commanded both the Thomists and the Scotists to depart home, and to dispute no more of the matter, but to let all alone: and so left them as doubtfull as he found them. This was a Resolution for a Pope.

Ioh. Calvin. de Reliquijs.

A great contention fell out betweene them of Ratispone in Germany and the Abby of S. Dennis in France, whether of them had the whole Body of S. Dennis: for that either part said, and bare the world in hand, they had the whole. To Rome they went: The Pope sate sadly in Iudgement, and examined their Allegations, & grew to conclusion: and in the end gaue his aduised and definitiue Sentence that either part, as well they of France, as also the others of Germany, had the whole Body of S. Denis: and that whosoeuer would say nay, should be an Heretike. Of such substance and certainty are the Oracles of your See of Rome.

Nic. Cusan. ad Boham. epist. 2.

Some of your friends haue said: Veritas per Christum Cathedræ alligata est, non personis: Christ *hath fastened his* Truth, *not to the Popes persons, but to his* Chaire. Meaning therby that the Pope, whatsoeuer he decree or say, sitting in S. Peters Chaire, cannot erre. And thus by this Doctors Iudgement, we are taught to giue credit rather to the Popes Chaire, then to the Pope.

Ex. Ir. 5. c. 23. Cyprian. ad Pompeium. Inter Epistol. Aug. Epist. 91. Eraſm. Ambr. de Sacr. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Yet neuertheleſſe the same Irenæus, whom yee haue here alleged, openly reproued Pope Victor: and S. Cyprian likewise reproued Pope Steuen; for that they thought, notwithstanding their Chaire, they were in error. Eraſmus speaking of the Answer of Pope Innocentius vnto the Councel of Carthage saith thus: In hac Epistola, & Dictionem, & Ingenium, & Eruditionem, tali Præsule dignam, cogimur desiderare: *In this Epistle we misse both Eloquence, and Wit, and Learning, meete for such a Prelate.* S. Ambrose saith: In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam: Sed tamen & nos Homines sensum habemus. Ideò quod alibi rectiùs seruatur, & nos rectè custodimus: *I desire in all things to follow the* Church of Rome. *Howbeit, we our selues, for that we be men, haue vnderstanding and Iudgement too. Therefore whatsoeuer is better kept in other places, we do wel to keepe the same.*

Arnulph. in Con. Remen.

But touching the State of Rome that now is, Arnulphus said openly in the Councell of Remes: Cùm hoc tempore Romæ nullus sit, vt fama est, qui Sacras Literas didicerit, qua fronte aliquis illorũ docere audebit, quòd non didicerit? *Forasmuch as now adaies, as it is reported, there is none in* Rome (neither Pope, nor Cardinal) *that hath Learned the* Scriptures, *with what face dareth any of them to teach vs that thing that he himselfe neuer learned.*

Hiero. in Osee Lib. 1. Cap. 4.

It is not sufficient to say, The Pope sitteth in Peters Chaire. As Antichrist may sit in place of Christ, so may Iudas sit in the place of Peter. S. Hierõe saith: Bethel, quæ priùs vocabatur Domus Dei, postquã Vituli in ea positi sunt, appellata est Bethauen, id est, Domus inutilis, & Domus Idoli: Bethel, *that before was called the* House of God, *after that* Hieroboams

Hieroboams golden Calues *were set vp in it, was called* Bethauen, *that is to say, a* House vnprofitable, *and the* House of an Idol. And what marueil is it if the like haue happened to the Church of Rome.

The Paterne of Faith.

Therfore we thinke it better to examine and try the grounds of your Religion by the Word of God, that is one, and vniforme, and endureth for euer, then by your touch of Rome, that is so vncertaine, and so mutable, and so often hath deceiued vs. S. Cyprian saith: Si ad Diuinæ Traditionis Caput & Originem reuertamur, cessat error humanus: *If we returne to the* Head and Originall *of the heauenly* Tradition (which is the Word of God) *all humane error gineth place.* *Cyprian ad Pompeium.*

Touching the rest of your needlesse talke, our Brethren in France, whom in your pleasant maner ye call Huguenotes, burnt not the Body of Irenæus. They knew hee was a Blessed Martyr of God: and his Body sometime the Temple of the Holie Ghost. Without any reproach or villanie, either done or meant to that Holy Father, if they burnt any thing which also may well be doubted, they burnt onely an Idoll, that you had so vnreuerently set vp against the Glorie of God. Chrysostome saith: Ioseph moriens, ait, Ossa mea efferetis hinc vobiscum, ne Ægyptij memores beneficiorum eius, Corpus iusti haberent in occasionem Impietatis: Ioseph *lying in his death bead, said vnto his Children, and Nephews, ye shall carrie my bones with you forth out of* Ægypt: *Lest the* Ægyptians *remembring the good things he had done, should vse that good mans* Body *to an occasion of* Wickednesse or Idolatry. *Chrysost. in Gen. hom. 67.*

So saith S. Augustine: Nemo conscius erat sepulchri Mosis, ne populus, si cognouisset vbi esset, adoraret: *No man was made priuie to* Moses Graue: *lest, if the people had known where his* Body *had beene, they should adore it.* *Aug. de mirabili, Sacr. Scri. li. 1. ca. vltimo.*

Your obiection of the Sacrifice is otherwhere answered more at large. S. Augustine saith: Nunc manibus non offerimus Carnem, sed corde & ore offerimus laudem: *Now we offer not vp flesh with our hands, but with heart and mouth we offer praise.* Againe he saith: Intùs habeo Sacrificium, quo flectam Deum meum: *Within my selfe I haue a* Sacrifice, *wherewith I may pacifie my* God. *In the Former Reply. Art. 17. Aug. contra Iudæos, cap. 9. August. in Psalm. 41.*

The Apologie, Chap. 17. *Diuision* 1. & 2.

WHen Esdras went about to repaire the ruins of the Temple of God he sent not to Ephesus, although the most beautifull & gorgeous Temple of Diana were there: & when he purposed to restore the Sacrifices and Ceremonies of God, he sent not to Rome, although peraduenture he had heard that there were the solemne Sacrifices called Hecatombæ, & other called Solitorilia, Lectisternia, and Supplicationes, and Numa Pompilius Ceremoniall Bookes, or Manuals, or Portueses, containing the seruice of their Gods. He thought it enough for him, to set before his eies, and follow the patterne of the Old Temple, which Salomon at the beginning builded, according as God hath appointed him, and also those Old Customes and Ceremonies which God himselfe had written out by speciall words for Moses.

The Prophet Aggæus, after the Temple was repaired again by Esdras, and the people might think, they had a very iust cause to reioice on their own behalfe, for so great a benefit receiued of Almighty God, yet made he them all burst out into teares, because that they which were yet aliue, & had seen the former building of the Temple before the Babylonians destroied it, called to minde, how far off it was yet from that beauty & excellency which it had in the old times past before. For thē indeed would they haue thought the Temple worthily repaired, if it had answered to the ancient Pattern, & to the Maiesty of the first Temple. S. Paul, because he would amend the abuse of the Lords Supper which the Corinthiās euen then begun to corrupt, he set before them Christs Institution to follow, saying: I haue deliuered vnto you that thing that I first receiued of the Lord. And when Christ confuted the error of the Pharisеis, ye must, saith hee, returne to the first beginning: for from the beginning it was not thus. And when he found great fault with the Priests for their vncleannes of life, & couetousnesse

toulneſſe, & would cleanſe the Temple from all euill abuſes, This houſe, ſaith he, at the firſt beginning it was a houſe of Praier, wherein al the people might deuoutly and ſincerely pray together. And ſo it were your part to vſe it now alſo at this day. For it was not builded to the end it ſhould be a den of Theeues. Likewiſe alſo the good & commẽdable Princes mentioned of in the Scriptures, were praiſed ſpecially by theſe words that they had walked in the waies of their Father Dauid: that is, becauſe they had returned to the Firſt & Original Foundation, and had reſtored the Religion euen to the perfection wherein Dauid left it. And therfore when we likewiſe ſaw, that all things were quite troden vnder foot by theſe men, and that nothing remained in the Temple of God, but pittiful ſpoiles, and decaies, we reckoned it the wiſeſt & the ſafeſt way, to ſet before our eies thoſe Churches, which we know for a ſurety that they neuer had erred: yet neuer had neither Priuate Maſſe, nor Praiers in a ſtrange & Barbarous language, nor this corruption of Sacraments, and other toies.

And forſomuch as our deſire was to haue the Tẽple of the Lord reſtored anew, we would ſeek none other Foundation, then the ſame which we knew was long ago laid by the Apoſtles, that is to wit, Our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. And forſomuch as we heard God himſelfe ſpeaking vnto vs in his Word, and ſaw alſo the notable examples of the Old and Primitiue Church: again, how vncertaine a matter it was to wait for a Generall Councel, & that the ſucceſſe therof would be much more vncertaine: but ſpecially, forſomuch as we were moſt aſcertained of Gods wil, & therefore coũted it a wickednes to be too careful, & ouercombred about the iudgements of mortal Men, we could no longer ſtand taking aduiſe with fleſh & blood, but rather thought good to doe the ſame thing that both might rightly be done, & hath many a time bin done, alwel of other good men as alſo of many Catholik BB. that is, to remedy our own Churches by a Prouincial Synod. For thus we know, the Old Fathers vſed to put matters in experience, before they came to the Publik Vniuerſal Coũcel. Ther remain yet at this day ſundry Canons, written in Councels of free Cities, as of Carthage vnder Cypriã, as of Ancyra, Neocæſarea, & Gangra, which is in Paphlagonia, as ſome think, before that the name of the General Councel at Nice was euer heard of. After this faſhiõ in Old time did they ſpeedily meet with & cut ſhort thoſe Heretiks the Pelagians, and the Donatiſts at home, by priuate diſputation, without any General Councel. Thus alſo when the Emperor Cõſtantinus euidently & earneſtly took part with Auxentius the Biſhop of the Arians faction, Ambroſe the Biſhop of the Chriſtians, appealed not vnto a General Councel, where he ſaw no good could be done, by reaſon of the Emperors might and great labor: but only to his own Clergy and people, that is to ſay, to a Prouinciall Synod. And thus it was decreed in the Coũcel at Nice, that the Biſhops ſhould aſſẽble twice euery yeere. And in the Councell at Carthage it was decreed that the Biſhops ſhould meet together in each of their Prouinces, at leaſt once in the yeer: which was done, as ſaith the Councel of Chalcedon, of purpoſe, that if any Errors or Abuſes had hapned to ſpring vp any where, they might immediately at the firſt entrie be deſtroied, euen where they firſt began. So likewiſe when Secundus & Palladius reiected the Councel of Aquileia, becauſe it was not a General & Commõ Councel, S. Ambroſe Biſhop of Millain, made anſwer, that no man ought to take it for a new or ſtrãge matter that the BB. of the Weſt Part of the World did call together Synods, & make Priuat Aſſẽblies in their Prouinces, for that it was a thing before that time not ſeldom vſed by the Biſhops of the Weſt Church & by the Biſhops of Græcia vſed oftentimes, & commonly to be done. And ſo

Charles

Charles the great, being Emperour held a Prouinciall Councell in Germany, for putting away Images, contrary to the Second Councell at Nice. Neither pardy euen amongst vs is this so very a strange & a new trade. For wee haue had ere now in England, Prouinciall Synods, and haue gouerned our Churches by home-made Lawes. What should one say more? Of a truth, euen those greatest Councels, & where most Assembly of people euer was, (whereof these men vse to make such an exceeding reckoning) compare them with al the Churches which throwout the world acknowledge & professe the Name of Christ, & what els, I pray you, can they seem to be, but certaine Priuate Councels of Bishops, & Prouinciall Synods? For admit peraduenture Italy, France, Spaine, England, Germany, Denmarke & Scotland meet together: if there want Asia, Græcia, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Ægypt, Æthiopia, India, and Mauritania, in all which places there be both many Christian men, and also Bishops: how can any man, being in his right mind, thinke such a Councell to be a Generall Councell? And where so many parts of the world do lacke, how can they truly say, they haue the consent of the whole world? Or what maner of Counsell ween you, was the same last of Trident? Or how might it be a Generall Councell, whereas out of all Christian Kingdomes and Nations there came vnto it but only forty Bishops, & of the same, some so cunning that they might be thought meet to be sent home againe, to learne their Grammar, and so wel learned, that they had neuer studied any part of Diuinity?

M. Harding.

Your waiting for a Generall Councell, was not vncertaine. For at the setting forth of your Apologie, it was farre and well entred and almost ended. Whatsoeuer successe thereof should follow, ye ought not to haue refused it, (a) being in all respects lawfull.

(a) Vntruth. For in many respects it was vnlawfull.

Your assurance of Gods will is none. That is but your common by word, as it hath alwaies beene of Heretikes. Ye ought to haue shewed good euidence for your being sure of Gods will, before ye attempted these great and dangerous changes in Religion. Neither becommeth it you to call the determinations of a Generall Councell, the iudgments of mortall men, so much as concerneth declaration of necessary points of Faith, but the prompting and teaching of the Holy Ghost.

As for your Prouinciall Synod, it was none. Synods cannot be kept without Bishops. Before ye claime the name of a Synod for your packing and hudling together, ye must prooue your selues Bishops, which ye are not able to do. Whatsoeuer ye say (b) there were neuer good men, nor Catholike Bishops, that kept Prouinciall Synods, contrary to approoued and lawfull Generall Councels, (c) as your Synod is most contrary. Neither can ye pretend, that ye followed any old Fathers, putting things in experience before the coming to an Vniuersall Councell.

(b) Vntruth, by many examples soone reproued.

(d) Vntruth For our Synod is most agreeable to the old Councels.

Your Councell Prouinciall holden in Germany by Charles the Great, against the second Nicene Councell Generall, (d) is a false forged matter, as the Booke against Images is, which one Eli Phili the man in the Moones sonne, Caluine, Illyricus, and other Heretikes haue fathered vpon that most godly and Catholike Emperour.

(d) A great Vntruth As it may soone appeare.

The Councell which ye meane, was a godly and a Catholike Councell, holden at Franckford by Pope Adrian and Charles the Great, *against the wicked Councell of the Heretikes, named *Image-breakers which they held a little before that at Constantinople, which of those Heretikes was called the seuenth and generall of the Catholikes *Pseudosynodus*, that is to say, the false or forged Councell. Of both these Councels, thus writeth Abbas Vrspergensis so much commended of Melancthon. The Councell which a few yeers before was assembled at Constantinople, in the time of Irene and Constantine her son, of them called the seuenth and Generall, (in this Councell holden at Franckford) was repealed and put away by consent of all, as void and superfluous, so as from thencefoorth it should be named neither the seuenth nor ought else.

*In præfat. ad Duc. Bauariæ.

* Vntruth. For the words be plaine: *Pseudosynodus* pro adorandis Imaginibus, *abdicata est.* *Ado.*

If you beleeue not this as the witnesse of a Catholike Writer, then beleeue Anselmus Rid an earnest professour of your owne the newest Gospel, who writeth that Adrian the Bishop of Rome, & King Charles, at the Councell holden at Franckford, execrated and accursed as Hereticall, the Councell of the Empire of Constantinople and of the Greekes, which they held for the abolishing of Saints Images. Those be his very words; Beleeue Peucerus Philip Melancthons Sonne in law, writing that the Councell of Nice was kept by common consent of the Greeke Emperor & of Charles. If the second Councell of Nice which was altogether for Images, was holden by consent of Charles, how held he a Councell in Germany, for putting away Images, against the Councell of Nice? Beleeue Carion, & specially Pantaleo of Zurich, a man of your owne, the most Euangelicall Religion, who vpon warrant of the authority of Regino, writeth that the Councell of Franckford abrogated and disanuiled the Greekes Councell, that was against the worship of Images. Briefly, how falsly you and sundry other of your sect haue herein belied that worthy Prince Charles the Great, it may easily appeare by that Paulus Æmylius writeth of him. That he sent twelue Bishops out o France to the Councell then holden at Lateran in Rome, in which the Image-breakers false name and forged Councell was abrogated.

*In Catalogo autorum & primum, &c. Lipsiæ impresso anno 1550. In additionibus ad Carion. Pantaleo.

Where, of Generall Councels ye make priuate and prouinciall Synods, ye do besides learning, reason, and custome of the Church. A Councell is not accounted generall, because Bishops of all Countries vn-

der

(e) By this rule the Councell of Trident was no Generall.

(f) Vntruth, without shame or measure.

(g) Vntruth, manifest. Reade the Records & Subscriptions of the same Councell.

der Heauen be assembled, (e) but because many be assembled, and all be lawfully called. Else in times when Heresies raigne, the Church should neuer haue the necessary remedie of a Generall Councell: for alwaies Heretikes would refuse to come to it, as ye haue, to come to the late Councell at Trident.

In Persia, Media, Ægypt, Mauritania, I weene ye find few Bishops at this day, nor many in the other Countries which ye reckon, and those in maner altogether ignorant and schismatikes. Yet the Patriarkes of Assyria, or Syria Orientalis, and of Armenia, who of late yeeres were at Rome, haue for their Prouinces both subscribed to the Councell of Trent (f) and receiued the whole Decrees of the same for their people.

Your report of forty Bishops onely present at the Councell of Trent, and of their slender learning is as true as your Doctrine contrary to that Councell is, (g) that is to say, in plaine termes, stark false. It is well knowen there were at this late Councell of Trent in this Popes time welneere two hundred Bishops.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

What hope we might conceiue of your Late Chapter of Trident, **we were sufficiently warned by the former, holden vnder** Pope Paulus 3. **and** Pope Iulius 3. **wherein, notwithstanding your many yeeres study, and great conference of so many, and so learned, and so excellent, and so much adoe, yet in the end, ye were neuer able, neither to suppresse your open Stewes, nor to auoid your** Priests Concubines, **nor to cause your Bishops to be resident vpon their charge, and to doe their duties, nor to resolue vs, whether the** Pope **be aboue the** Councell, **or the** Councell **aboue the** Pope. **In the Summon and first entrie of your Assembly there,** Pope Paul **had forgotten** Christ, **and left him quite out of Company, and supplied the want of him with the authority, of** Peter **and** Paul, **as it is plaine and euident by his Bull. Another of your** Reuerend Fathers **there, maketh** Mary **the** Blessed Virgin, Equall with Christ, and calleth **her, his** most Faithfull Fellow: Fidelissimam Christi Sociam. **Another of the same Companie telleth vs, that the** Pope **is the** Light, that is come into the World: Papa Lux venit in Mundum. **To be short, the whole Issue and Conclusion of all your doings there, by the full agreement of all your Fathers,** hangeth **vpon the** Popes **onlie pleasure, as by expresse words vttered in the sixth Session of the same** Councell **it may appeare. And, by your** Doctrine, **the** Pope **may not be controlled, whatsoeuer he doe, neither by the** Clergie, **nor by all the whole** World. **And whatsoeuer the** Pope **shall will to stay or passe, your** Doctours **tell vs:** His only Will **must** stand for Law.

Omnipotentis Dei benignitate & Apostolorum Petri, & Pauli auctoritate freti.
Ambros. Catharinus.
Cornel. Episc. Bitontinus.
Sessione 6.
Salua semper in omnibus Sedis Apostolicæ Authoritate.
9. qua. 3. nemo.
Ioh. Sleidan.
Anno. 1551.
Illyr. in protest. aduers. Concil. Trid. pag. 84.
Aug. de Vnitat. Eccles. Ca. 10.
Eod. lib. cap. 7.
Extra. de Constang & Affin. Non debet.
1. Cor. 9.
Hilar. contra Arianos & Auxentium.
Basil. epist. 72.
Σὺνοδον δὲ ἀσεβῶν πῶς ἀποκαλεῖτε, μὴ ἐχόντων ἐπισκόπους αὐτοὺς λέγειν. Κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀσεβεῖς εἶναι αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖτε, ἐπεὶ ἐν αἱρετικοῖς ἡμᾶς πεποιῆσθε ἀσεβεῖς.
Basil. epist. 82.
φεισάμενος τῷ μὴ εἰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν ἐλθεῖν, ἀσεβοῦντάς ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἐπισκόπους.

For these and other like causes, both the Emperour Charles 5. **and also** Francis **the** French King, **besides sundrie other** Christian Princes, **made open Protestation against your said** Tridentine Conuenticle, being then remooued to Bononia, **and said, it was no lawfull** Generall Councell, **but onlie an assemblie of a few certaine persons, to serue one mans affection, and to seeke for gaine. Such is the opinion that your owne Princes haue of your Assemblies.**

It becommeth vs not (ye say) to call the determinations of your Generall Councels, the iudgment of mortall men. **Yet it became** S. Augustine **to call the same,** Concilia Contendentium Episcoporum: *The* Councels *of quarrelling* Bishops.

And againe: Humanarum contentionum animosa & pernicioſa certamina: *The bold and hurtfull contentions of worldly quarrels.* **If it like you not, that your** Councels **should be called the** Iudgments of men, **then call them, as** S. Augustine **doth,** *The Councels of quarrelling Bishops:* **or,** *The hurtful contentiõs of worldly quarrels.* **But what need we many words? Your owne** Panormitane **saith:** Leges Summorum Pontificum, & Conciliorum appellantur Statuta Humana: & sic stricte non possunt dici ius Diuinum: *The Lawes and Determinations of Popes, and Councels, are called the Determinations and* Lawes of men, *and so in strait maner of speech, they cannot be called the* Lawes of God.

Ye say, We are no Bishops, and therefore haue no authority to hold a Synod. **Euen so your Fathers in old time said, that** S. Paul **was no** Apostle, **and that** S Basil **and** S Hilary **were no** Bishops. **Of** S. Paul, **it is plaine, therefore he saith in his owne Defense:** *Am not I an Apostle? Am not I a free man? Haue I not seene the Lord Iesus?* S. Hilary **saith of himselfe:** Auxentius de persona mea calumniatus est, damnatum me à Saturnino, audiri, vt Episcopum non oportere: *The* Heretike Auxentius *laieth a quarrell to my person: and forasmuch as* Saturninus **the** Heretike, *hath condemned me, he saith, I may not be heard as a* Bishop.

Likewise the Arian Heretikes **vsed to say, that** S. Basil **and other like learned and Catholike Fathers of that time were no** Bishops. S. Basil **thereof writeth thus:** *They call the Councell of Catholike* Bishops, a Councell of wicked men: *neither will they once vouchsafe to name them* Bishops, *lest they should seem to allow the Decrees, that they haue made against the. And they challenge them to be no Bishops for that, as they say, they are the Captaines of a wicked Heresie.* **In like sort he writeth vnto** Patrophilus, **of the Heretike** Eustathius: *He taketh great heed, lest he should happily be forced to call vs* Bishops. **Thus,** M. Harding, **in denying vs**

vs to bee Bishops, yee doe none otherwise, but as other your Predecessours haue done before you.

Of the Bishops and Prelats of your side, I wil say nothing. What your own friends haue thought of them, I haue said before.

As for vs it shall be sufficient, if we be onely the voice of a Crier in the Wildernesse. Marke 1.
S. Paul to auouch his Apostleship, said openly thus: Gratia Dei sum id quod sum: *By the* 1. Cor. 15.
Grace of God, *I am, that I am.*

Councels Generall repealed by Prouinciall.

Ye say, A Prouinciall Councell may not repeale a Councel Generall. As if the authority of your Councels stood onely in number, and not in truth. Howbeit the simple truth of God shall ouerweigh falshood, be it neuer so generall. But euen thus said Auxentius, the Arian Heretike, against S. Hilary. These be his words: Ego quidem, piissimi Imperatores, existimo, non oportere sexcentorum Episcoporum Vnitatem, post tantos labores, ex contentione Paucorum hominum refricari: *My most* gracious Lords, *in my iudgement, it is not meet, after so great paines taken, for the contentious striuing of a few, to hazard the consent & Vnity of* Six hundred Bishops. Thus the Heretike Auxentius alleged great multitudes of his cõpanions against S. Hilary, and the Catholikes: which he said, were but a few.

Notwithstanding, it were no hard matter to shew euident examples of General Cõcels, that haue bene ouerruled by Particulars. The Generall Councel of Nice determined as you say, but you say it vntruly, that all appeales, out of all parts of the world, should lie to Rome. Yet the Particular or Prouincial Councel of Aphrica, saith: Si prouocandum putauerint, non prouocent, nisi ad Aphricana Concilia. Ad transmarina autẽ qui putauerit appellandum, a nullo intra Aphricam in Communionem recipiatur: *If they* *Conc. Aphric. cap. 92.*
shall thinke it good to appeale, let them not appeale but only to such Councels, *as shall bee holden within* Aphrica. *But whosoeuer shal appeale beyond the* Seas (that is to say, to the Bishop of Rome) *let no man within* Aphrica *receiue him to his* Communion.

The Generall Councel of Nice durst not to dissolue Priests Mariage: The Particular Councel of Carthage dissolued it vtterly. The order of Priuate or Auricular Confession, which in your fantasie, was receiued generally throughout the whole Church of God, was notwithstanding quite abolished in the Church of Constantinople, only by the particular aduice of Nectarius. *Sozo. li. 1. c. 23. Concil. Carthag 2. cap. 2 Soc. lib. 5. ca. 9*

Your Blacke Friars, in their Particular Chapters, haue controlled and cut off the Generall Determination of the Councel of Basil, touching the conceiuing of our Lady in Originall sinne. And Albertus Pigghius by his like Particular authority, telleth you, that as well this Councel of Basil, as also the Councel of Constance, being both General (in that they said, The Councel is aboue the Pope) *Decreed plainly against* Nature, *against the manifest* Scriptures, *against all* Antiquity, *and against the* Catholike Faith of Christ. *Aug. de Ciuit. lib. 20. cap. 6. Vines. Albert. Piggh. in Hierarch.*

Certainly, the Truth of God is not bound neither to person nor to place. Wheresoeuer it be, either in few or in many, it is euermore Catholike, euen because it is the Truth of God. In the Councel of Constantinople, it is written thus: Definierunt pariter, vt si quid in Prouincia qualibet emergeret, Prouinciæ Concilio finiretur: *The Fathers agreed* *Hist. Trip. lib. 9. cap. 13.*
all together, that if any matter should happen to grow in the Prouince, by a Councel of the Prouince *it should be ended.* Likewise saith Isidorus: Manifestum est, quòd illa, quæ sunt per vnamquanque Prouinciam, ipsius Prouinciæ Synodus dispenset, sicut Niceno constat decretum esse Concilio: *It is cleare, that matters happening in euery* Prouince, *by a* Prouincial Synod *may be ordered, as it is concluded in the* Councel of Nice. Likewise S. Ambrose saith: Sciebant esse consuetudinem, vt in Oriente, Orientalium esset Concilium: Intra Occidentem, Occidentalium: *They knew it was a Custome that a* Councell of the East Bishops *should be holden in the* East, *and a* Councel of the West Bishops *should be holden apart in the* West. S. Augustine saith: Literas Episcoporum, & per Sermonem fortè Sapientiorum cuiuslibet in ea re peritioris, licet reprehendi, si quid in eis fortè a Veritate deuiatũ est: Bishops Letters, *if they swarue any thing from the* Truth, *may be controlled by the discretion of* *any other man, that hath more skill in the matter.* *Ibid. in Præfat. in Concilia.* *In Concilio Aquileien.* *Aug. de Baptism. cõtra Do. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

In like sort Abbat Panormitane your owne Doctour saith, as it hath bene alleged before: In concernentibus Fidem, etiam dictum Vnius Priuati esset præferendum dicto Papæ, si ille moueretur melioribus rationibus Noui & Veteris Testamẽti: *In matters concerning the Faith, the saying of any one* Priuate man *were to be taken before the saying of the* Pope, *if he were mooued with better reasons of the* Old and New Testament, *then the* Pope. *Extra, de Electi. & Electi potest. Significasti. Abb.*

Howbeit we haue not by our Prouincial Councel remoued or shaken the authority of any one Ancient Generall Councell, M. Harding. For of all the Ancient Councels that haue bene, touching the cases that lie betwene vs in controuersie, ye are not yet able to allege one. We haue vpon good causes remoued your Vanities and vnseemly Follies: and haue restored againe, so much as in vs lie, the Decrees and Canons of the Ancient Councels.

Hincmarus Rem. c. 1. 20.

Councell of Frankford.

Councels. Hincmarus the Biſhop of Remes, ſaith thus: Cùm duarum aut trium Prouinciarum Præſules in vnum conueniunt, ſi Antiquorũ Canonum inſtitutione muniti, aliquid prædicationis, aut dogmatis inſtituunt, quod tamen ab Antiquorum Patrum dogmatibus non diſcrepit, Catholicum eſt, quod faciunt: & fortaſſe dici poteſt, Vniuerſale: *When the* Biſhops *of two or three* Prouinces *meet together, if they by the warrant of the* Old Councels *appoint any matter of Preaching or doctrine, ſo that it diſagree not from the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, it is Catholike that they doe, and perhaps may be called* Vniuerſal. Such are our doings, M. Harding: they agree with the doings of the ancient Fathers, and haue the warrant of the Councels of the Primitiue Church, and therefore they are Catholike.

The credit of the Emperour Charles booke, reporting the Decrees of the Councel of Frankford, touching the Adoration of Images, I leaue wholly to the indifferent diſcretion of the Reader.

It was Printed not at Geneua, as you ſurmiſe, but in Paris. The ſetter out proueth it not to be forged by many good and likely reaſons. An ancient Copy of the ſame is yet ſtill to be ſeene in Rome in Laterane, euen in the Popes owne Library. Auguſtinus Steuchus the Maſter of the ſame Library, reporteth the ſame. The Emperour Ludouicus, Sonne vnto Charles, wrote a Booke yet extant, and remaining in France, to like purpoſe. Eckius alſo beareth witneſſe vnto the ſame Booke of the Emperour Charles, although vntruly and guilefully, as his maner is. For he ſaith that Charles wrote foure Bookes in Defenſe of Images, whereas indeed the Bookes are directly written againſt Images.

Aug. Steuc. de Donat. Conſt. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Ecki. de Imaginibus.

Although ye thinke Eli Phili, or I know not who, may eaſily be charged with corruption and forgery, yet why the Pope himſelfe ſhould corrupt and forge his owne Booke in his owne Library againſt himſelfe, it were hard for you to ſhew good reaſon.

Auentin. fol. 337.

The Councel of Franckford (ye ſay) was Godly and Catholike, and made Decrees againſt Image breakers, in the behalfe of Images. Yet notwithſtanding Auentinus ſaith: In Frankfordienſi Concilio Scita Græcorum, de Adorandis Imaginibus, reſciſſa ſunt: *In the* Councel of Frankford the Græcians *Decrees for the* Adoration of Images, *were quite aboliſhed.*

Regino.

Regino ſaith: Pſeudoſynodus Græcorum, quam pro Adorandis Imaginibus fecerunt, reiecta eſt: *The* Falſe Councel *of the* Greekes, *which they had made for* Adoration of Images, *was repealed in the* Councel of Frankford.

Ado.

Likewiſe Ado ſaith: Pſeudoſynodus, quam Græci Septimam vocant, pro Adorandis Imaginibus, abdicata eſt penitus: *The* Falſe Councel, *which the* Greekes *call the ſeuenth, wherein Decrees were made* for the Adoratiõ of Images, *was there vtterly put away.*

Hincmar. c. 20.

Hincmarus the Archbiſhop of Remes, ſpeaking of the ſame Councel of Frankford ſaith thus: Pſeudoſynodus Græcorum deſtructa eſt, & penitus abdicata. De cuius deſtructione, non Modicum Volumen, quod in Palatio adoleſcentulus legi, ab eodẽ Imperatore Romam eſt per quoſdam Epiſcopos miſſum: *The* Falſe Councel *of the* Greekes *was repealed and vtterly ouerthrowne in the* Councel of Frankford. *Whereof, when I was a yong man, I read a prety big Booke in the* Popes Palace in Rome, *which Booke was ſent thither by certain Biſhops from the ſaid* Emperor Charles.

Citãtur in libro Carol. Magni.

Certaine words of the ſaid Lewd or Falſe Councel of the Greekes, amongſt others are theſe: Qui timet Deum, Adorat Imagines, vt filium Dei: Qui Adorat Imaginem, dicit, Hoc eſt Chriſtus, non peccat: Peccat qui nõ Adorat Imaginem. Qui non Adorat Imaginẽ, eſt Hæreticus: Imago Adoranda eſt eodem cultu, quo Sancta Trinitas: *He that feareth* God Adoreth an Image, *as he would* Adore the Sonne of God: *He that* Adoreth an Image, *and ſaith,* This is Chriſt, *offendeth not: He offendeth that* Adoreth not an Image: *He that* Adoreth not an Image, *is an Heretike: wee muſt* Adore an Image *with the ſame Reuerence wherewith we* Adore the holy Trinity.

Now whether theſe and other like worthy ſayings and ſentences were to be reproued, or no, it may pleaſe you, M. Harding, to conſider.

That Councel (ye ſay) is called General, not whereunto al Chriſtian Nations do reſort indeed, but whereunto al Chriſtian Nations are lawfully ſummoned. As this anſwer is true, and not denied, ſo by the ſame, your late Councel of Trident, may in no wiſe be called General. For what lawfull Summons ſent your Pope Pius either to Peter Gian into Æthiopia: or to other Biſhops and Chriſtians in India or (Europa onely, and that not whole, excepted) what Summons ſent he into any other Kingdome or Country of the World?

But ye ſay, In Perſia, Media, Egypt, Mauritania, & in other Coũtries adioining, there are few Chriſtians at this day to be found. Yet the authors of Nouus Orbis, deſcribing the ſtate of the world ſay thus: In all Countries whitherſoeuer ye come, there be ſome Chriſtians. Againe: In India many Kings and Princes profeſſe Chriſt. And againe: In Armenia and Cilicia, in a maner the whole people is Chriſtened. Onely they are ſubiect to the Cham of Tartary. Their Prieſts be married: and whoſo is vnmarried may be no Prieſt.

Nouus Orbis.

Ye say: The Patriarkes of Assyria and Armenia (that neuer saw neither the one Country, nor the other) were at Rome (ye know not when) and subscribed to al the Articles of your Councel of Trident. M. D. Harding, ye can get no great credit by open mockery. It is no hard matter for your Pope, out of his owne gard, to make such Patriarkes enow, one for Hierusalem, another for Constantinople, another for Alexandria, another for Antioch, another for Sidon, another for Tyrus: And I maruell if there be not some Patriarke, one or other, for Sodome and Gomorrah. These poore Holy and Hungry Fathers are contented at al times to yeld their Submissions, and to set their hands to whatsoeuer they shall be required, and in the names of those Countries that they scarcely euer heard of, to confesse the Pope, their maker, to be al, and more then all. With such vaine shewes and visards it pleaseth you to smoth the world. *Fol.* 324. A Councel general.

If ye doubt hereof, ye may easily finde that one Augustinus de Roma, in your late Councell of Basil, bare the name of the Archbishop of Nazareth in Iurie: and yet, poore man, had he neuer seene Nazareth in all his life. Likewise, that one Petrus Paludensis, a poore Frier Obseruant, not long sithence, bare the name of the Patriarke of Hierusalem: and yet had he neuer seene Hierusalem, nor knew which way to goe to it. But what need moe Examples? Your owne Ceremoniary of Rome telleth you thus: Consueuerunt Antiqui ponere Patriarchas quatuor Ecclesiarum Principalium, inter Episcopos Cardinales mixtim. Nostro tempore ponuntur immediatè post Cardinales. Sunt enim quodammodò Titulares: *They were wont in old times to place the* Patriarkes *of the foure Principal Churches together with the Cardinall Bishops, one with another. But now adaies they are placed next beneath al the* Cardinals. *For in a maner they haue now nothing else, but the name of* Patriarks. Such guests were your Patriarkes of Assyria and Armenia, that subscribed to your Councel of Trident. They bare the names of these Countries, M. Harding: but the Countries they had neuer seene. *Conc. Basilien. Petr. Paluden. Patriar. Hierosolymitanus. Ceremoniarum lib. 1. section. 3.*

It is most certaine, that the Christian Patriarkes, and Bishops of those Countries, will neither Communicate with the Pope, either in Sacraments, or in Prayers, nor any wise yeeld to his Authority, nor giue any maner of honour or reuerence to his person, no more then to Mahomet, or Antichrist, as I haue sufficiently shewed before.

Touching the Number of Bishops present at your Former Assembly at Trident, I referre my selfe to the Records of the same. If ye finde there more then Forty Bishops, I am content to lose my credit. And yet of the same number, Blind Sir Robert of Scotland, as I haue said before, and M. Pates of England, were silly poore Bishops, God knoweth, endewed only with bare names, without Bishopricks. In your latter assembly, two of your Holy Fathers were slaine there presently in Aduoutery. By meane of which misfortune, your number by so much was abated. *Flacius Illyric. in protestatione aduersus Concil. Tridentin.*

These be the great worthies of the world: These, Cornelius Bitontinus, one of the same Company, calleth the Starres of the Churches, and the Mighty Army of Gods Angels. These haue power to determine matters that they neuer vnderstood, by Authority only, but not by knowledge.

Alphonsus de Castro, as I haue shewed you before, saith thus: *It is certaine, that some Popes be so voide of Learning, that they vnderstand not the* Grammar Rules. Erasmus, speaking of sundry the great Learned of your side, saith thus: Sibi videntur Semi-dei, miro supercilio præ se despicientes Grammaticos: Qui si Grammaticæ litarint, non ad hunc modum se pueris deridendos propinarent: *They thinke themselues* halfe Gods, *and with high looke they despise* poore Grammarians: *But if they had well Learned their* Grammar, *they would not offer such occasions, that Children and Babes should scorne at their folly.* *Alphon. aduersus Hæreses, Lib. 1. Cap. 4. Erasm. in Epistolam Hieron. ad Eustochiũ.*

Concerning the whole matter, your Doctours of Sorbona in Paris haue concluded thus: Vt Concilium legitimè congregetur, sufficit, quòd solennitas & forma Iuris solenniter sit seruata. Quia si quis trahere velit hoc in disputationem, vtrùm Prælati, qui ibi sedent, habeant Rectam Intentionem, & vtrùm sint Docti, & vtrùm habeant Scientiam Sacrarum Literarum, & animum obediendi Sanæ Doctrinæ, esset processus in infinitum: *That the* Councell *be lawfully assembled, it is sufficient that the Solemnity and forme of Law be solemnly obserued. For if a man would cast doubts, whether the* Bishops *that sit in* Councell *haue a good Meaning, and whether they bee Learned, and whether they be skilful in the* Scriptures, *and whether they haue a minde to obey sound Doctrine, or no, then we should neuer make an end.* *Articul.* 22.

These be they, M. Harding, to whom ye would haue vs to giue eare, whatsoeuer they say, euen as to the Secretaries of the Holy Ghost. But S. Augustine saith: Ecclesiæ inter nos agitur causa, non mea. Ecclesia in nullo homine spem ponere, à suo didicit Redemptore: *It is the* Churches *cause that we talke of: It is not mine. The* Church *hath learned of her* Redeemer, *to put no trust in any man.* *August. contra Crescon Lib. 3. Cap. 80.*

The Apologie, Chap. 18. *Diuision* 1.

The building of Gods Church.

HOwsoeuer it be, the truth of the Gospell of Iesus Christ dependeth not vpon Councels, **nor as** S. Paul **saith, vpon the Iudgements of Mortall Creatures. And if they which ought to be carefull for** Gods Church, **will not be wise, but slacke their duty, and harden their hearts against** God, **and his** Christ, **going on still to peruert the right waies of the** Lord, God **will stir vp the very stones, and make children and babes cunning, that there may euer be some to confute their lies.**

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Hereto M. Harding answereth nothing else, but thus: The Councel is the Schoole of Truth: The Bishops cannot foreslow their duties: The Church of Rome cannot erre. **Which tales we haue so often, and not without wearinesse heard already.** Petrus de Palude, **amongst other your Doctours, saith:** Non est credendum, Ecclesiam Romanam errasse à Fide. Ipsa enim potest è contrario cum Christo dicere, Ego Testimonium perhibeo de meipsa, Testimonium meum verum est: *No man may beleeue that the* Church of Rome *may erre from the* Faith: *Contrariwise that* Church *may say with* Christ, I beare witnesse of my selfe: & my witnesse is iust and true. **Therefore so long as the** Church of Rome **can speake for her selfe, there is no doubt but all is well.**

Petr. de Palude de Potest. Papæ. Artic. 4.

The Apologie, Chap. 18. *Diuision* 2.

For God **is able (not only without** Coūcels, **but also, wil the** Coūcels, **nil the** Councels) **to maintaine & aduance his own** Kingdom. Ful many be the thoughts of mans heart (**saith** Salomon) but the Counsel of the Lord abideth stedfast: There is no wisdom, there is no knowledge, there is no counsell against the Lord. Things endure not (**saith** Hilarius) that be set vp with mans workemanship: By another maner of means must the Church of God be builded and preserued: For that Church is grounded vpon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and is holden fast together by one corner stone, which is Christ Iesus.

Hilarius in Psalm. 126.

M. Harding.

Where ye say, that by another maner of meanes the Church of God must be builded and preserued, shew vs what other means they are, & we must say ye are very cunning men, who correct, I wil not say, *Magnificat*, but Christs owne ordinance for gouernment of his Church, who hath ordeined * Apostles, Prophets, Euangelists, Shepheards, & Teachers, (as is before mentioned) *In ædificationem Corporis Christi*, To the building vp of the Body of Christ, which is his Church. Ye shal pardon vs if we beleeue S. Paul before you. We see what is the marke ye shoot at, that the lawful successors of the Apostles, Prophets, & Euangelists, & the lawful Shepheards & Doctors being put from the building of Christs Body the Church, your selues may take the worke in hand, and gouerne al. Set your hearts at rest: It shal not be so.

*By this reckoning it appeareth not, that God euer ordeined Popes or Cardinals, to build his Church.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Indeed Christ hath ordeined Apostles, Prophets, Euangelists, Pastours, **and** Teachers, **for the gouernment of his** Church; **notwithstanding the same be not alwaies allowed to sit in** Councels, **nor be alwaies knowne by** Rochets, **or** Miters. **If** God **had not prouided other** Pastours **and** Feeders, **besides your** Prelats, **the whole Church might starue for hunger.** S. Pauls **Words be true: but your idle Constructions are vntrue. We finde not fault with** Gods Ordinance: **but we reioyce in** Gods Mercy, **for that it hath pleased him to visit his people, and to discouer the multitude of these Vanities, wherewith you haue so long, and so vncourteously, beguiled the World. Therefore we correct not** Magnificat, M. Harding, **as you say: but rather we humbly sing,** Te Deum laudamus, *and reioyce in* God *our* Sauiour. **The right and onely way of building** Gods House, **is, to lay the Foundation thereof vpon the** Euerlasting Word and Will of God. S. Paul **saith:** *Other Foundation no man can lay, but the same that is laid already, which is* Christ Iesus. **The** Prophet Esay **saith,** To the Law (**of** God) and to the Testimony. *If they speake not according to this Word, they shall haue no morning Light.* **Therefore** S. Hilary **saith, as it is alleged in the** Apology: Aliter extruenda, aliter custodienda Ecclesia est: Fundamentum eius super Prophetas & Apostolos collocandum est. Ecclesia ita à Deo, id est, Doctrinis Dei, ædificata,

1. Corinth. 3. Esai 8.

Hilarius in Psalm. 126.

ædificata, non concidet: *Otherwise must the* Church *be built, and otherwise must it be kept. The Foundation of it must be laid vpon the* Apostles *and* Prophets. *The* Church *being thus built by* God, *that is to say, by the* Doctrine of God, *shall neuer fall.*

The Apologie, Chap. 19 *Diuision.* 1.

BVt maruellous notable, and to very good purpose, for these daies, be S. Hieromes **words**: Whomsoeuer (saith he) the Diuell hath deceiued, and entised to fall asleepe, as it were, with the sweet and deadly enchantments of the Maremaids the Sirens, those persons doth Gods Word awake vp, saying vnto them, Arise thou that sleepest: Lift vp thy selfe, and Christ shall giue thee light. Therefore at the comming of Christ, of Gods Word, of the Ecclesiasticall Doctrine, and of the full destruction of Niniue, and of that most beautifull Harlot, then shall the people, which heeretofore had been cast in a transe vnder their Masters, be raised vp, and shall make haste to go to the Mountaines of the Scripture: & there shall they find Hils, I meane Moses, & Ioshua the son of Nun: other Hilles also, which are the Prophets: and Hilles of the New Testament, which are the Apostles, and the Euangelists. And when the people shall flee for succour to such Hils, and shall be exercised in the reading of this kind of Mountaines, though they find not one to teach them, (for the haruest shalbe great, but the labourers few) yet shall the good desire of the people be well accepted, in that they haue gotten them to such Hilles, and the negligence of their Masters shalbe openly reprooued. **These be** S. Hieromes **words, and that so plaine, as there needeth no Interpreter. For they agree so iust with the things we now see with our eies haue already come to passe, that we may verily thinke he meant to foretel, as it were, by the Spirit of Prophecie, and to paint before our face the Vniuersall state of our time: the fall of the most gorgeous** Harlot Babylon: **the repairing againe of** Gods Church: **the blindnesse and sloth of the** Bishops, **and the good will and forwardnesse of the people. For who is so blinde, but he seeth these men be the** Masters, **by whom the people, as saith** S. Hierome, **hath been led into error, and lulled asleepe? Or who seeth not that** Rome, **that is their** Niniue, **which sometime was painted with faire st colours, now, her visard being pulled off, is both better seen, and lesse set by? Or who seeth not, that good men, being awaked, as it were, out of their dead sleepe, at the light of the Gospell, and at the voice of** God, **haue resorted to the** Hilles of the Scriptures, **waiting not at all for the** Councels **of such** Masters.

Hieronymus in Naum. Cap. 3.

Ephes. 5.

M. Harding.

Ye wrest the saying of S. Hierome to your purpose, that is to say, so as it may seem to be spokē again the Church that now is, wherein ye make him a Prophet. And that this place might sound the more against the Clergy, to the commendation of the people, & to stirre them to read the Scriptures, after your accustomed maner, ye sticke not to adde somewhat of your owne in one place; to take away a little of the Doctor in another place; to alter the words in another place. Who looketh so narrowly for trifles all of this, as your Secretary thought maliciously when he wrote it, by diligent conference of this Apologie with S Hierome, he shall find it.

Now concerning the right sense of the place, S. Hieromes intent was not to foretell & paint before our face (as you say) the vniuersall state of our time, but to tell & declare the meaning of the Prophet Nahum, (a) signifying the state of the time now past, to wit, the time of Christs first comming into the World: for the words do expresly speake thereof. After S. Hieromes exposition, by Niniue, that Prophet meaneth the world: by the Assyrian King, the Diuell. And there he prophecieth the ruine of the world and of the Diuell, at the comming of Christ. S. Hierome (b) speaketh neuer a word of your Harlot Babylon, whereof ye and your vnlearned Ministers haue neuer done babling, meaning thereby the Holy Roman Church.

(a) Vntruth. For S. Hierome in the same place saith: *Hæc in consummatione Mundi magis complentur, &c. Hucusq; de mundi ruina.*

(b) Vntruth. For he speaketh often times of her: and saith plainly that Rome is Babylon.

First you, Sir Defender, that penned this geare, haue plaid a false part, by diuiding the one member of the sentence into two: or rather, by putting in one word, & leauing out another. For where S. Hierome hath thus, *Et consummationis Niniue speciosissimæ quondam Meretricis*, whereby he meant the vndoing of the Diuels power in the world once, that is to say, (c) before the comming of Christ, a most beautiful harlot, that you might giue occasion of reproch to the Roman Church, which, falsifying the Doctors sēse, you vnderstād by Niniue, you haue set it forth thus: *Et consummationis Niniue, & speciosissimæ Meretricis.* Then you descant vpon it, as though S. Hierome had so written, & say, that he setteth before our face the fall of the most gorgeous Harlot Babylon, which you interpret to be Rome. And then further corrupting S. Hieroms sēse, you make him to speak of the repairing again of Gods Church, as though at this

In Comment. in Nahum. Cap. 3.

(c) As though sithence the Birth of Christ there neuer had been neither Niniue, nor Babylon, nor Ignorance, nor Negligence in the Clergy.

this day it were by default of the Catholike Clergy, fallen downe, & should be set vp againe by you & your Ministers: also of the blindnes of the Bishops of our time, that they be the masters by whom the people hath been led into error, and lulled asleepe. And heereto ye adde, as saith Hierome, where S. Hierome saith not so, neither of the masters at Christs first comming, but of the Diuell, who brought the people asleepe, by whom he vnderstandeth (d) not the people that liueth now, but them that were deceiued by the Diuell vnder euill masters, before the comming of Christ.

(d) No doubt, if there be credits sufficient in this Commentarie.

But because this Defender thinketh he hath acquited himselfe like a Clerke, by alleging this place out of S. Hierome, against the Catholike Church, I require all the learned to reade ouer what S. Hierome writeth vpon the end of the Prophet Nahum from these words of the Text, *Ecce super montes pedes euangelizantis & annuntiantis pacem*, forth to the end of the Chapter, & most diligently to mark that goeth immediately before the place by this Defender alleged. As for thee, good Reader, that vnderstandest not the Latine tong, I assure thee, S. Hierome speaketh those words of *Heretikes, * of Teachers of euil Doctrine, of such as will not heare the voice of the Church, of which sort this new English Clergy is. And in that discourse he commendeth to true beleeuers, not only the Hilles, that is, the written Scriptures, but also the Doctrine of the Church (as thou seest in the allegation put in the Apology) and before that he commendeth likewise *Latibula Doctorum*, the Caues of the Doctors, in which the faithful people also, as by flying to the hils, couch themselues safe from danger of the Diuell, stirrer of Heresies. So that if the place be wel scanned, by that allegation they shall seem to haue made a rod to whip themselues. The whole place being ouer long to recite heere, a sentence or two, that are specially meant of such as they be, may suffice.

Jn Nahum 2.

* As though the Popes Clerkes were not Heretikes & teacher of false doctrine

Rome. Niniue. Babylon.

Vae itaque his, &c. Woe then to those which are Teachers of peruerse Doctrines in Niniue, by which is signified the World. And aptly to them it is said, Thy Shepheards haue slept, for they haue giuen sleep to their eies, and slumbering to their eie-lids. And therefore haue they not found a place for our Lord, nor a Tabernacle for the God of Iacob. Neither haue they heard out of Ephrata, that is to say, *Frugifera Ecclesia*, the fruitfull Church. Nor haue they found the Church in the thickets of the woods. Neither only the Shepheards of this rifraffe (*mixticij huius*, he meaneth by *συμμικτοι*, which is the word of the seuenty Translators, all sorts of people deceiued by false Teachers) and of the locust (they are the Captaine Heretikes) which in time of frost sitteth in the hedges, haue slept: but by the King of Assyrians (who is the Diuell) they haue been lulled asleepe. For alwaies it is the study of the Diuell, how he may bring asleepe waking soules. Thus S. Hierome. Psalm. 131.

Now I report me to those that haue eies to see, whether our new Clergy may not seeme those whom the Diuell lulled asleep (gladly I vse their owne terme) in their new deuices, in their own liked conceits, in their Schismes and Heresies, in their vniust possession of Benefices and Bishopricks, those yet liuing, to whom the right belongeth, in their presumption of that Office they are not duly called vnto, in their malice toward the Church, in the continuall satisfying of their fleshly lusts, and in their vnlawfull and lecherous imbracings.

Let them feare the dreadfull saying of S. Hierome, following straight after their allegation: *Non est sanitas contritioni tuæ, &c.* There is no health for thy bruize: Thy wound sweileth. Therefore the rifraffe of Niniue cannot be healed, because he laieth not downe his pride, and the wound is alwaies fresh, and daily he is wounded, whiles the diuell strike at him. And when all commeth to all, there is no health for his bruize. For although he seeme to himselfe whole, yet is his soule broken, and crushed with the beetle of the whole earth, that founceth downe vpon it. And it is not healed, because continually it is lifted vp with pride. But if it become humble, and submit it selfe to Christ, a contrite and humble heart Psalm. 50. God despiseth not. Thus describeth S. Hierome these men. Neither let them say, they submit themselues to Christ, whom and whose Gospell they haue so much in their mouthes, vntill they follow his Doctrine, saying of the Gouernors of his Church, He that heareth you, heareth me: and he that despiseth Luc. 10. you, despiseth me. And thus much for answer to the place of S. Hierome.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Heere is a maruellous worke: Sir Defender singeth descant, and quiteth himselfe like a Clerk. He altereth S. Hieromes minde: He saith S. Hierome saith so, whereas S. Hierome saith not so: He, of proud Niniue, hath made the Church of Rome: He, of the Diuell, hath made Antichrist: He babbleth about Babylon: He diuideth one sentence into two: He putteth in one word, and leaueth out another: He is lulled asleepe: He scattereth his rifraffe: He doth, and saith. **I know not what, whatsoeuer it shall please M. Harding of his courtesie to report.**

Touching this hainous imagined corruption, and altering of S. Hieromes minde, S. Chrysostome **saith:** Qui mendax est, neminem putat verum dicere, ne ipsum quidem Deum: *He that himselfe is a liar, imagineth that no man saith the Truth, no not God himselfe.* **With such corruption and change of words,** Palladius, **a leand fellow thought himselfe sometime able to charge** S. Hierome. S. Hieromes **words thereof are these:** Concionatur me esse Falsarium: me Verbum non expressisse de Verbo: pro Honorabili, dixisse Charissimum: Hæc & huiusmodi nugæ meæ crimina sunt: *He preacheth and publisheth abroad, that I am a Falsary: that I haue not precisely translated word for word: that I, in stead of this word,* Honourable, *haue written these words,* dearely beloued. *These things, and such trifles, are laid to my charge.*

Chrys. in Mat. Hom. 19. in opere imperfecto.

Hieronymus ad Pamma. de optimo genere interpretandi. Tom. 2.

To these follies S. Hierome **answereth thus:** Cùm ipsa Epistola doceat, nihil mutatum esse de sensu, nec res additas, nec aliquod dogma confictum, faciunt ne isti intelligendo vt nihil intelligunt: & dum alienam imperitiam volunt coarguere, produnt suam: *Whereas the Epistle it selfe declareth, that there is no alteration made in the sense, and that there is neither matter of substance added, nor any Doctrine imagined, verily, by their great cunning, they proouе themselues fooles, and seeking to reproue other mens vnskilfulnesse, they betray their owne.*

In eadem Epist.

Yet

Ye say: S. Hierome in these words spake nothing, neither of the Church of Christ, nor of your Clergy of Rome. **For triall whereof, let** S. Hierome **himselfe be heard to speake, as a witnesse indifferent of himselfe. First, in other places he saith thus:** (**To this place we shall resort afterward**) Dicimus, Non venient super nos mala. Audiamus sententiam Domini: Sion, & Hierusalem, & Mons Templi speculatorium, & visio pacis, & Templum Christi in Consummatione, & in fine: *We say, There shall no hurt come vpon vs. Let vs heare the saying of our Lord.* Sion, *and* Hierusalem, *and the Mount, that is the Watch Tower of the Temple, and the sight of peace, and the* Temple or Church of Christ shal be consumed, and brought to an end. *Hieronym. in Micha. Cap. 3.*

Rome.
Niniue.
Babylon.

These words be plaine, not onely that the haut Lady Niniue, **but also that the** Church or Temple, **that beareth the** Name of Christ, **shall be consumed and brought to an end.**

Likewise he saith: Quos Deus inseruit ex Oleastro in radicem Bonæ Oliuæ, si illi immemores recesserint à Conditore suo, & adorauerint Assyriam, cur illos Deus non euertat, & ad eandem sitim reducat, in qua priùs fuerunt? *Euen they whom God hath grafted from out of the wilde Oliue tree, into the root of the good Oliue* (**that is to say, the Children of the** Church) *If they forget themselues, and flee from their* Maker, *and worship the* King of Assyria (**that is to say,** Antichrist, **or any other** Creature **that is not God**) *why may not God ouerthrow them, and bring them to the same thirst and drouth they were in before?* *Hieron. in Sophoniam, ca. 2.*

Marke, M. Harding, S. Hierome **applieth these words, not onely vnto** Niniue, **but also vnto the** Church of God. **Againe he saith:** Abominatio Desolationis, intelligi potest omne Dogma Peruersum: quod cum viderimus stare in Loco Sancto, id est, in Ecclesia, debemus fugere de Iudæa ad Montes: The Abomination of Desolation *may be taken for any* Wicked Doctrine: *which when we shall see standing in the* Holy Place, *that is to say, in the* Church of Christ, *then wee must flee from* Iury, *to the* Mountaines (**of the** Scriptures.) *Hier. in Mat. Ca. 24. Lib. 4*

And againe likewise he saith: Paxillus auferetur de loco Fidei, hoc est, de Ecclesia, per impietatem quotidiè succrescentem: & qui super eum antè pependerant Fide, postea infidelitate frangentur, & cadent, & peribunt: *The pinne or barre* (**whereby hee meaneth** Christ, **for that the Faithful hang vpon him, as in a house things are hanged vp safely vpon a** Pin) *shal be taken away from the place that was Faithful, that is to say from the Church, because of the wickednesse that daily groweth. And they that before hung vpon him by Faith, afterward by infidelity shall be broken downe, and fall, and perish.* *Hieron. in Esai Cap. 23.*

Whatsoeuer Glosse **ye shall giue to the other words of** S. Hierome, **certainly these words are plaine and euident, and will not easily receiue your** Glosse. **Likewise** S. Gregory, **speaking, not of the** First comming of Christ, **but of the time that is described to be before the end of the world, saith thus:** In diebus illis Ecclesia, quasi quodam senio debilitata, per Prædicationem parere filios non valebit: *In those daies the* Church, *as being ouermuch weakened with age, shal not be able by preaching to beare Children.* *Gregor. in Iob. c. 9. lib. 19. c. 29*

Now touching your Clergy, S. Hierome **himselfe saith:** Ipsi quoque Sacerdotes, qui Legem Domini docere deberent, & subiectos sibi populos à Leonis furore defendere quodam stupore infatuati, vertentur in amentiam: *The* Priests *themselues that ought to teach the* Law of our Lord, *and to defend the people committed to their charge, from the furie of the* Lion, (**that is the** Diuell) *being amazed, and bereft of their wits, shall be turned into madnesse.* *Hier. in Ieremi. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

Againe he saith: Scit Rex Assyrius non posse se oues decipere, nisi Pastores antè consopierit. Semper Diaboli studium est, vigilantes animas consopire: *The* King of Assyria (**that is the** Diuell) *knoweth that he can neuer deceiue the Sheepe, vnlesse first hee cast the* Sheepheards *into a transe. It is euermore the* Diuels *pollicie, to lay watchfull soules asleepe.* *Hieronym. in Naum. 3.*

And therefore againe he saith: Auferet Dominus nomina Vanæ Gloriæ, & Admirationis falsæ, quæ versantur in Ecclesia. Sed & nomina Sacerdotum cum Sacerdotibus, qui frustra sibi applaudunt in Episcopali nomine, & in Presbyterij Dignitate, & non in opere: God *will take away the* names of Vaine Glory, *&* Falſe Credit, *that are in the* Church, *and the* names of Priests, *together with the* Priests *themselues, that vainly boast themselues of the* Names of Bishops, *and of the* Dignity of Priesthood, *but doe nothing,* **Hitherto, I trow, it is plaine, that** S. Hierome **by these words, meant not only** Niniue, **as you say, but also the** Church, **and the same** Church **that is called the** Church of God. *Hieron. in. Sophoniam, ca. 1.*

Hier. in Catal. Scrip. Eccles. in Marco.

But about Babylon (**ye say**) **ye neuer make an end of babling. What babling then I pray you, made** S. Hierome, **when he said,** Petrus in prima Epistola, sub nomine Babylonis, Romam significat? S. Peter *in his first Epistle, meant* Rome, *vnder the name of* Babylon.

Aug. de Genes. cont. Manich. Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

S. Augustine **saith:** Roma est quasi Secunda Babylon: Rome *is as the Second* Babylon.

Againe he saith: Ciues Babyloniæ nos fecerunr: Dimisimus Creatorem: Adorauimus Creaturam: Dimisimus eum à quo facti sumus: Adorauimus illud quod fecimas: *They haue*

Aug. in Ps. 77.

haue made vs the Citizens of Babylon: (**For**) *we haue left our Creator and haue worshipped a Creature: we haue left him that made vs; and haue adored that thing that we made our selues.*

Primasius in Apoc. cap. 16.

Likewise saith Primasius: Tunc Babylon cadet, quando nouissimè potestatem persequendi Sanctos acceperit: *Then shall* Babylon *come to ground, when she shall last of all take power to persecute the* Saints of God.

In idem caput.

And againe: Vidi mulierem sedentem super vestem coccineam, plenam Nominibus Blasphemiæ, habentem Capita Septem. Septem Capita dicit Septem Montes: Romam, quæ super Septem Montes præsidet, significans: *I saw a Woman sitting vpon a scarlet robe, full of Names of Blasphemie,* hauing Seuen Heads. Seuen Heads hee calleth the Seuen Mounts, vpō which Rome was built: *meaning therby,* Rome *that sitteth vpon Seuen Hils.*

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 18. ca. 22. Viues.

Ludouicus Viues, **your own very friend saith thus:** Hieronymus, ad Marcellam scribens, non aliam existimat describi, &c. S. Hierome *writing vnto* Marcella, *thinketh there is none other* Babylon *described by* S. Iohn *in his* Reuelations, *but the* City of Rome.

Ambros. Ansbert. in Apocal. Lib. 6

Ambrosius Ansbertus **saith:** Vbi est illa dudum super omnium Regna exaltata, Inclyta Roma, Babylon Secunda: *Where is that* Noble Rome, *aduanced of late aboue all* Kingdomes, the Second Babylon?

I passe ouer Beatus Rhenanus, Auentinus, Petrarcha, Dantes, **and a great number of other your owne Doctors, mentioned before in place more conuenient: All whom ye may not of your courteise charge with babling.**

The people shall flee to the Scriptures

Ye say: S. Hierome meant not the state of our time, but onely the state of the time now past: **that is to say, as it is said before,** The time of Christs first comming into the world. **And this, in your Margin, ye call the right sense of** S. Hierome, **truly reported. Howbeit, your Reader, that hath eies to see, may easily finde that this is your owne only sense, M. Harding, and not** S. Hieromes. **For I beseech you, how was** Niniue **fully destroied, or what** Gospels **were there written, at the** first comming of Christ into the World? S. Hieromes **meaning and speech is plaine:** The people, before the Second Comming of Christ, which shal be in Glory, shall leaue their negligent and idle Schoolemasters, which haue of long time deceiued them: and shall flee to the Mountaines of the Scriptures. And albeit they finde not one to teach them, yet shal their desire and endeauor be accepted before God, for that they haue sought vnto these Mountaines: and the negligence and slothfulnesse of their Masters shall be reproued.

Hieronymus in Naum Cap. 3.

The true sense of S. Hieromes words.

Chrys. in Gen. Homil. 35.

To like purpose S. Chrysostome **saith:** Fieri non potest, vt is qui Diuinis Scripturis magno studio feruentiq; desiderio vacat, semper negligatur. Licèt enim desit nobis hominis Magisterium, tamen ipse Dominus, supernè intrans in corda nostra, illustrat mentem: rationi iubar suum infundit: detegit occulta: Doctorq; fit eorum quæ ignoramus: tantùm si nos ea, que à nobis sunt, afferre velimus: *It cannot possibly be, that hee that with earnest studie and feruent desire* readeth the Scriptures, *should euermore be forsaken. For although we want the instruction of Man, yet God himself from aboue entering into our hearts, lightneth our minde: powreth his beames into our wits: openeth things that were hidden, & becommeth vnto vs a Schoolemaster of that we know not: only if we will doe so much as in vs lieth.*

Hier. in Esai Lib. 13. Ca. 49.

So saith S. Hierome: Postquam conuersi fuerint, & Clarum Christi Lumen aspexerint, pascent in vijs, & in semitis Sanctarum Scripturarum: & dicent, Dominus pascit me, & nihil mihi deerit: *When they shall be turned, and shall behold the Cleere light of Christ, they shall feed in the paths and waies of* Holy Scriptures: *and shall say,* The Lord feedeth mee, and I shall want nothing.

Psalm. 23.

Hieronymus in Naum. Cap. 3.

Againe he saith: Circundabit sibi, quasi murum firmissimum, Scripturarū Doctrinam, ne ad interiora eius possit hostis irrumpere: *He will enclose himselfe with the Doctrine of the Scriptures, as with a strong wall, that the enemie may not enter into his heart.* **Againe he saith:** Hæc est via: Ambulate in ea. Neque ad dextram, neq; ad Sinistram. Tunc omnes Errores, & Idola, & Similitudines Veritatis comminues, atq; disperges, & ita iudicabis immunda, vt ea menstruatæ mulieris sordidissimo Sanguini compares: *This is the way: Walke in it. Goe neither to the Right hand, nor to the Left. Then shalt thou breake and scatter all Errors, and Idols, and* Counterfeit likenesse of the Truth: *and shalt iudge them to be so filthy, that thou shalt liken them to most vile and lothsome Blood.*

Hiron. in Esai Lib. 9. Ca. 30.

But forasmuch as yee say, All these words of S. Hierome pertaine vnto some other matter, **I know not what,** and not vnto the ouerthrow of Babylon, or fall of Antichrist that shall be before the end of the world, **notwithstanding** S. Hieromes **words of themselues be plaine enough, yet it may please you to consider these words of** S. Chrysostome, **touching the same. Thus he saith:** Tunc qui in Iudæa sunt, fugiant ad montes, id est, qui sunt in Christianitate, conferant se ad Scripturas. Montes sunt Scripturæ Apostolorum, & Prophetarum, &c. Sciens Dominus tantam confusionem rerum in nouissimis diebus esse futuram, ideò mandat vt Christiani,

Chrys. in Matthæ. Homil. 49.

Christiani, qui sunt in Christianitate, volentes firmitatem accipere fidei veræ, ad nullam rem fugiant, nisi ad Scripturas. Alioqui si ad alias res aspexerint, scandalizabuntur & peribunt, non intelligentes quæ sit Vera Ecclesia. Et per hoc incident in Abominationem Desolationis: *Then let them that be in* Iewrie, *flie to the* Mountaines: *that is to say, let them that be in* Christs profession, *flie to the* Scriptures. *The* Scriptures of the Apostles & Prophets be the Mountaines, &c. *Our Lord knowing that there should be such confusion in the last daies, therfore cõmandeth, that Christian men, that beleeue in Christ, willing, o haue an assurance of the* True Faith, *should haue recourse to nothing else, but vnto the* Scriptures. *Otherwise if they haue regard to any other thing, they shall be offended and perish, not vnderstanding what is the* True Church. *And by meane heereof they shall fall into the* Abomination of Desolation.

The people shall flie to the Scriptures.

Here, M. Harding, no Gloſſe will ſerue you. Certainly theſe words were ſpoken not of the First comming of Chriſt into the World, as you imagine, but of the Kingdome of Antichriſt, and of the End and Conſummation of the World.

Heereof S. Gregory ſaith thus: Eccleſia poſt eoſdem dies, quibus deprimitur, tamen circa finem temporum grandi prædicationis Virtute roborabitur: *The* Church *after theſe daies of her affliction, ſhall afterward notwithſtanding be ſtrengthened with great Power and might of Preaching.* *Greg. in Iob. c. 29. lib. 19. ca. 9.*

The Apologie, Chap. 20. *Diuiſion.* 1.

But by your fauour, ſome will ſay, theſe things ought not to haue been attempted without the Biſhop of Romes commandement, forſomuch as he only is the knot and band of Chriſtian Society. He only is that Prieſt of Leuies Order, whom God ſignified in the Deuteronomie, from whom counſell in matters of weight, and true iudgement, ought to be fet: and whoſo obeieth not his iudgement, the ſame man ought to be killed in the ſight of his brethren: and that no Mortall Creature hath Authority to be Iudge ouer the Pope whatſoeuer he do: that Chriſt raigneth in Heauen, and the Pope in Earth: that the Pope alone can doe as much as Chriſt or God himſelf can do, becauſe Chriſt and the Pope haue but one Conſiſtory: That without him is no Faith: no Hope: no Church: and who ſo goeth from him, quite caſteth away & renounceth his own Saluation. Such talke haue the Canoniſts, the Popes Paraſites, but with ſmall diſcretion or ſoberneſſe. For they could ſcantly ſay more, at leaſt they could not ſpeake more highly of Chriſt himſelfe.

M. Harding.

What ſome will ſay wee know not. We tell you that your charge of Religion and manifold Hereſies ought not to haue beene attempted at all, neither without the Biſhop of Romes commandement, nor with his commandements. Touching the Biſhop of Rome himſelfe you haue neuer done with him. Hee is a great blocke in your way. And ſo hath he euer been in the way of all Heretikes. Yet could he neuer by you or them be remoued. To your ſcoffes againſt him, and belying of the Canoniſts before by you vttered, and here idly repeated, my former anſwer may ſuffice.

The Apologie, Chap. 20. *Diuiſion* 2.

As for vs, truly we haue fallen from the Biſhop of Rome vpon no maner of worldly reſpect or cõmodity. And would to Chriſt, he ſo behaued himſelfe, that this falling away had not needed: But ſo the caſe ſtood, that vnleſſe we left him, we could not com to Chriſt. Neither will he now make any other league with vs, then ſuch a one as Nahas the King of the Ammonites would haue made in times paſt with thẽ of the City of Iabes, which was to put out the right Eie of each one of the Inhabitants, and ſo to receiue them into his friendſhip. Euen ſo will the Pope pluck from vs the Holy Scripture, the Goſpell of our Saluation, & all the Confidence which we haue in Chriſt Jeſu, as the eie from our head, and vpon other condition can he not agree vpon peace with vs.

M. Harding

M. Harding.

Ye are not fallen from the Biſhop of Rome only, which were a damnable ſchiſme, but yee are fallen from Chriſts Church. Your compariſon of the Pope with King Nahas is not verie agreeable But Sirs, ye ſpeake more maliciouſly then credibly. Be ye good Chriſtian men, and conforme your ſelues to the Catholike Faith (and denie Chriſt and his Goſpell: For this alſo ye ſhould haue added) and I warrant you, the Pope will not plucke from you, neither the Scriptures, nor your confidence in Chriſt Ieſu, no more then he doth from vs.

The Apologie, Chap. 20. Diuiſion. 3.

The Pope cannot Erre.

For whereas ſome vſe to make ſo great a vaunt, that the Pope is only Peters Succeſſor, **as though thereby he carried the** Holy Ghoſt **in his boſome, and could not erre, this is but a matter of nothing, & a very trifling tale. Gods grace is promiſed to a good minde, & to any one that feareth him, not vnto Sees and Succeſſions.** Riches, **ſaith** S. Hierome, may make one Biſhop to be of more might then the reſt: but al Biſhops **whatſoeuer they be,** are the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles. **If ſo be the Place and Conſecration only be ſufficient, why then** Manaſſes **ſucceeded** Dauid, & Caiaphas **ſucceeded** Aaron. **And it hath been often ſeene, that an Idol hath bin placed in the Temple of God. In old time** Archidamus the Lacedemonian **boaſted much of himſelfe, how he came of the blood of** Hercules, **as the** Pope **this day boaſteth himſelf of the Succeſſion & Place of** Peter. **But one** Nicoſtratus **in this wiſe abated his pride: Nay, quoth he, thou ſeemeſt not to deſcend from** Hercules. **For** Hercules **deſtroied euil men, & thou makeſt good men euill. And when the** Phariſes **bragged of their Linage, how they were of the kindred & blood of** Abraham. Yee, **ſaith Chriſt,** ſeeke to kill me, a man which haue told you the truth, as I heard it from God. Thus Abraham neuer did. Ye are of your Father the Diuell, and will needs obey his will.

Iohn 8.

M. Harding.

The Pope ſucceedeth Peter in authority and power. But whereas the Sheepe of Chriſt continue to the Worlds end, he is not wiſe that thinketh Chriſt to haue made a ſhepheard temporary, or for a time, ouer his perpetual flocke. Then what ſhepheardly endowment our Lord gaue to the firſt ſhepheard, at the inſtitution of the ſhepheardly office of the Church: that is he vnderſtanded to haue giuen ordinarily to euery Succeſſour. To Peter hee gaue that he obtained by his prayer made to the Father, that his Faith ſhould not faile. Againe to him he gaue grace that to performe, the performance whereof at him he required, to wit, that he confirmed and ſtrengthened his Brethren, wherefore the grace of ſtedfaſtneſſe, of faith, and of confirming the wauering & doubtful in Faith, euery Pope obteineth of the holy Ghoſt for the benefit of the Church. And ſo the Pope although he may erre by perſoned error, in his own priuate iudgement, as a man, and as a particular Doctor in his own opinion: * yet as hee is Pope, The Succeſſor of Peter, The Vicar of Chriſt in Earth, the Shepheard of the Vniuerſall Church, in publike iudgement, in deliberation and definitiue ſentence *he neuer erreth; * not neuer erred. For whenſoeuer he ordaineth or determineth any thing by his high Biſhoply authority, intending to binde Chriſtian men to performe or beleeue the ſame, hee is alwaies gouerned and holpen with the grace and fauer of the holy Ghoſt. This is to Catholike Doctors a very certainty, though to ſuch doughty Clerkes as ye are, it is but a matter of nothing and a very trifling tale.

*Vntruth, ioined with impudent flatterie and extreame folly.

* This place of S. Hierome is anſwered before Part 2. chap. 3. Diuiſion 5.

Gods grace in one reſpect is promiſed both to a good mind, and to one that feareth God; and alſo in another reſpect to the ſucceſſors of Peter. S. Hieroms ſaying to Eugrius, which now you haue alleged three or foure times, will not handſomely ſerue you for ſo diuers points, as a ſhipmans hoſe for diuers legs. * Once againe I tel you, thereby he meaneth nothing elſe, but that the greatnes of Rome ought not to giue authority to a wrong priuate cuſtome, (by which, Deacons in certaine caſes were preferred before Prieſts) againſt the right generall cuſtome of the World. And Biſhops be the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, we grant, yet is the Pope the Succeſſor of Peter, * who was ſhepheard of al Chriſts Lambes and Sheepe, and therefore alſo * of the Apoſtles themſelues and ſo hath a higher authority.

* Peter was the Shepheard and the Apoſtles the Sheepe. A vaine vntruth without fauour, Cyprian ſaith; *Chriſtus parem dedit Apoſtolis omnibus poteſtatem.*

The Pope Succeedeth in power, but not in holineſſe.

As for your example of Archidamus, who boaſtingly fetched his Petigree from Hercules, you muſt conſider, Succeſſion of Vertue alwaies followeth not ſucceſſion of blood Now we doe acknowledge in the Pope a Succeſſion of Shepheardly power, euen ſuch as was in Peter. * Which power is not taken away by lacke of Peters holineſſe.

* All this may be called the Succeſſion of folly.

Chriſt likewiſe by his anſwer to the Phariſeis, though hee affirmed they ſucceeded not Abraham in loue of truth, and that for their mallice they were of their father the Diuel: yet he denied not, but that they came lineally of Abraham and were of his blood, though not of his godlineſſe. Such Succeſſion meane not we ſpeaking of the Pope, whoſe Succeſſion is denied of Peter: but the Succeſſion of power and authority, * and of infallibility of Faith in iudgement and ſentence definitiue.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Heere we haue found one Pope with two capacities. In one respect he is a Man: in another respect he is more then a Man: but whether in that respect he be Angell, or Archangell, it is past in silence. One way he succeedeth Peter: another way he succeedeth I know not whom. One way he may Erre: another way though he would neuer so faine he cannot Erre. In his Bed, at his Table, on Horsebacke, or elsewhere, we may well mistrust him: for in these places he may be deceiued aswell as others. But in Councell, in Consistory, and in Place of iudgement, it is most certaine, ye say, he cannot erre. For in these places he hath the Holy Ghost I trow, at his commandement. His Power Pastorall, his Succession in authority and infallibility of Faith, his Place, his Chaire, and his Consecration, are sufficient for euer to preserue him from errour. To like purpose Salust sometime said of Cicero: Aliud stans, aliud sedens, de Republica sentit: *While he standeth vp he hath one minde, touching the common State, when he sitteth downe he hath another.* It is fit for a Pope to haue shift of mindes. Apolloes Nunne, while shee sate mewed in her caue, was inspired and Prophesied and gaue Oracles: but after that shee came abroad, she was no wiser, then another woman. Thus your Doctors say, as it is before reported: Veritas adhæret Cathedræ: Papa Sanctitatem ricipit à Cathedra: *The* Popes Truth *is fastened vnto his Chaire: The* Pope *from his Chaire receiueth his* Holinesse.

The Pope cannot Erre.

Salustius in Ciceronem. Nic. Cusan. ad Bohemos ep. 2.

It shameth me, M. Harding, to see you so vainely occupied about these vanities. Wee may well be liberall in dealing heereof. They cost you but little: they are only your owne. Scriptures, Doctors or Councels to witnesse your sayings ye allege none. For further declaration of this whole matter, I beseech thee, good Christian Reader, to consider the short treaty that I haue written before touching the sundry Errors and euident Heresies, that haue been notablie found in Popes. Alphonsus de Castro, one of M. Hardings owne speciall Doctors, saith: Non dubitamus an Hæreticum esse, & Papam esse, coire in vnum possint, &c. Non enim credo aliquem esse adeò Impudentem Papæ Assentatorem, vt ei tribuere hoc velit, vt nec Errare, nec in Interpretatione Sacrarum Literarum hallucinari possit: *We doubt not whether one man may be a* Pope *and a* Heretike *both together. For I beleeue there is none so* shameleſſe a flatterer of the Pope, *that will say* (as you say, M. Harding) *The* Pope *can neuer* Erre *nor be deceiued in the Exposition of the* Scriptures. There is no flatterer so shameleſſe, that will so say.

Part. 6. cap. 5. Diuision. 2. Alphons. De Hær. li. 1. ca. 4.

Likewise Erasmus saith: Si verum est, quod quidam asseuerant, Romanum Pontificem Errore Judiciali Errare non posse, quid opus est Generalibus Concilijs? Quid opus est in Concilium accersere Iurisconsultos, ac Theologos eruditos? Si Papa pronuncians labi non potest, cur datus est Appellationi locus, vel ad Synodum, vel ad eundem rectiùs edoctum? Quorsum attinet, tot Academias in tractandis Fidei quæstionibus distorqueri, cùm ex vno Pontifice, quod verum est, audire liceat? Imò qui fit, vt huius Pontificis decreta cum illius Pontificis decretis pugnent? *If it be true that some men say, that the* Bishop of Rome can neuer erre in Error of Iudgement, *what need we then so many* generall Councels? *And in the same, what need we so many* Lawyers and learned Diuines? *If the* Pope *cannot Erre in giuing sentence, wherefore lieth there any appeale from the* Pope, *either to a* Councell, *or else to the* Pope himselfe, *being better informed? What need we to trouble so many* Vniuersities, *in discussing of Matters of Faith, whereas we may learne the Truth of the* Pope alone? *Nay how commeth it about that one* Popes Decrees *are found* contrary to anothers, if it be so certaine, that the Pope, whosoeuer he be, and whatsoeuer he say, can neuer Erre.

Eras. in Annot. in 1. Cor. 7.

That ye speake of Peters Succession, is vaine and childish. Of such follie Athanasius saith: Persuasus est in Magnitudine Vrbium Religionem esse sitam: *This wise man imagineth that Religion standeth in the* Greatnesse of Cities. S. Hierome saith: Potentia Diuitiarum, & Paupertatis Humilitas, vel Sublimiorem, vel Inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Cæterùm omnes Apostolorum Successores sunt, *The wealth of Riches and the basenesse of Pouerty maketh a Bishop neither Higher nor Lower.* But all Bishops be the Apostles Successors.

Athan. In Apoleg. Secunda. Hieronym. ad Enagrium.

The Apology, Chap. 21. *Diuision* 1.

YEt notwithstanding, because we will grant somewhat to Successiõ tell vs, hath the Pope alone succeded Peter? And wherein, I pray you? In what Religiõ, in what Office, in what peece of his life hath he succeded him: What one thing (tell me) had Peter euer like vnto the Pope, or the Pope like vnto Peter? Except peraduenture he will say thus: That Peter, whẽ he was at Rome, neuer taught the Gospell, neuer fed the Flock, took away

away the keies of the Kingdome of Heauen, hid the Treasures of his Lord, sate him downe only in his Castle of S. Iohn Laterane, & pointed out with his finger all the Places and Chambers of Purgatory, & kindes of punishments, committing some poore Soules to be tormented, & other some againe suddenly releasing thence at his owne pleasure, taking Mony for so doing: or that he gaue order to say Priuate Masses in euery Corner: or that he mumbled vp the Holy Seruice, with a loud voice, and in an vnknowen language: or that he hanged vp the Sacrament in euery Temple, & one euery Altar, and carried the same about before him whither soeuer he went, vpon an ambling Iannet, with lights and bels: or that he Consecrated with his holy Breath, Oile, Wax, Wooll, Belles, Chalices, Churches, and Altars, or that he sold Iubilees, Graces, Liberties, Auousons, Preuentions, First fruits, Palles, the wearing of Palles, Bulles, Indulgences, and Pardons: or that he called himselfe by the name of the Head of the Church, the Highest Bishop, the Bishop of Bishops, alone most holy: or that by vsurpation, he tooke vpon himselfe the right and authority ouer other Bishops Churches: or that he exempted himselfe from the power of any Ciuell Gouernment: or that he maintained warres, and set Princes together at variance: or that he sitting in his Chaire, with his Triple Crown full of Labels, with sumptuous and Persianlike gorgeousnesse, with his Royall Scepter, with his Diademe of gold, and glittering with stones, was carried about, not vpon a palfray, but vpon the shoulders of Noble men. These things, no doubt, did Peter at Rome in times past, and left them in charge to his Successours, as you would say, from hand to hand: for these things be now adaies done at Rome by the Popes, and be so done, as though nothing else ought to be done.

Peters successours.

M. Harding.

The Pope alone hath succeeded S. Peter, Aske you wherein? In what Religion? In what Office? We tell you, he succeeded in Peters chaire, in which he sate at Rome, and ruled the Church, in Christian Religion (a) in that office which Christ committed to Peter when he said, *Pasce Oues meas:* Feed my Sheep. Than with Office he neuer gaue greater, nor with like circumstance of charge, (b) nor to any other gaue he it, then to Peter. For to him alone he said, Feed my Sheep. What aske ye vs of this Officers life?

(a) Vntruth. For the Pope feedeth not.

(b) Vntruth. For the same power was giuen to all the rest.

(c) And well proued.

You aske what thing had Peter euer like vnto the Pope, or the Pope like vnto Peter? Wee tell you. Peter had authority to feed Christs sheep, like vnto the Pope. And the Pope hath authority to feed Christs sheep, like vnto Peter. (e) Like power, like commission. Hee that gaue them authority to feed, gaue them also authority to doe whatsoeuer may partaine to feeding.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

For that ye tell vs so many faire tales of Peters Succession, we demand of you, wherein the Pope Succeedeth Peter: You answer, He succeedeth him in his Chaire: as if Peter had been sometime installed in Rome, and had sate solemnly all day with his Triple Crowne in his Pontificalibus, and in a Chaire of Gold. And thus hauing lost both Religion and Doctrine, ye thinke it sufficient, at least to hold by the Chaire, as if a Souldier that had lost his Sword would play the man with the Scabberd. But so Caiaphas succeeded Aaron: So wicked Manasses succeeded Dauid: So may Antichrist easily sit in Peters Chaire.

Dist. 40. *Multi.*

Chrysostome saith: Non Cathedra facit Sacerdotem: sed Sacerdos Cathedram: Nec locus Sanctificat Hominem: sed Homo locum: *It is not the* Chaire, *that maketh the* Bishop: *but it is the* Bishop *that maketh the* Chaire. *Neither is it the* Place *that halloweth the* Man, *but it is the* Man, *that halloweth the* Place. Likewise S. Hierome saith: Non Sanctorum Filij sunt, qui tenent loca Sanctorum: *They are not alwaies the Children of* holy men *that sit in the roomes of* holy men.

Dist. 40. *Non est facile.*

He doth great wrong vnto S. Peter that placeth such a one in such a Chaire: For neither is the Pope in any thing like S. Peter: nor was S. Peter in any thing like the Pope. When Simeones saw, that Arsacius an vnlearned & an vnworthy old doting Man, was placed in Chrysostomes roome, he cried out, Prò pudor, Quis, Cui? *Out for shame: what a sorry hinde is this? & in whose place haue we set him?* Euen so may we iustly say of the Popes sitting in Peters Chaire, Prò pudor, Quis, Cui? If he haue any regard of himselfe, he cannot thinke of S. Peter without blushing.

Niceph. li. 13. *cap.* 28.

The

The Apology, Chap. 21. *Diuision* 2.

Or contrariwise, peraduenture they had rather say thus, that the Pope doth now al the same things, that we know Peter did many a day agoe: that is, that he runneth vp & downe into euery Country to preach the Gospel, not only openly abroad, but also priuately from house to house: that he is diligent, and applieth that businesse, in season & out of season, in due time and out of due time: that he doth the part of an Euangelist, that he fulfilleth the work and ministery of Christ, that he is the watchman of the House of Israel, receiueth answers & words at Gods mouth: & euen as he receiueth them, so deliuereth thē ouer to the people: That he is the Salt of the Earth: That he is the Light of the world: That he doth not feed himselfe, but his flock: that he doth not intangle himselfe with the worldly cares of this life: that he doth not vse a Soueraignty ouer the Lords people: That he seeketh not to haue other men Minister vnto him, but himselfe rather Ministreth vnto others: that he taketh all Bishops as his Fellowes and Equals: that he is Subiect to Princes, as to persons sent from God: that he giueth to Cæsar, that which is Cæsars: and that he, as the Old Bishops of Rome, did without contradiction, calleth the Emperor, his Gracious Lord. Vnlesse therefore the Popes doe the like now adaies, as Peter did, there is no cause at all, why they should glory so much of Peters name, and of his Succession.

M. Harding.

The Pope now runneth not vp and downe into euery Country, hee goeth not openly and priuately from house to house, and to euery Alehouse, as ye would him to doe, like one of your Ministers: Neither I trow, ye Masters that be Superintendents your selues, thinke it conuenient that ye go from house to house, to preach your Gospel at these daies. And would ye the Pope to abase himselfe to that ye think becommeth not your selues? he hath (as meet it is) other fit men to help to beare his burden with him. And whereas one body sufficeth not for so great & so many affaires; for counsel, he hath many heads; for ouersight, many eies; for care, many hearts; for preaching, many tongues; for worke, many hands; for knowledge, many eares; for expedition of matters, many feet; for the great weight of his charge, many shoulders. Briefly, for al necessary and behoueful cases, conuenient helps. The like helps would S. Peter vse, were he now liuing.

The Bishop of Saxisbury.

To speake of the Popes running vp and downe from Alehouse to Alehouse, it is great folly. It should bee sufficient, if he would goe from Church to Church, and remember his Charge, and Feed the Flocke, and Preach the Gospel. Ye say, The Pope hath many heads, many eies, many hearts, many tongues, many hands, many eares, many shoulders. And thus, of your Pope ye make a Monster, with many eies, eares, tongues, and hearts of others, and none of his owne. A wise man sometime said: Improbè facit, qui, cùm alienis oculis omnia ei agenda sint, postulet aliorum vitas committi sibi: *It is but lewdly don, if a man, that must ouersee all things with other mens eies, desire to haue the liues of others committed ouer to his charge.* *Titus Liuius.*

God giue him eies to see, and eares to heare, and heart to vnderstand: that hee may know the time of Gods Visitation.

The Apologie, Chap. 22. *Diuision,* 1.

MUch lesse cause haue they to complaine of our departing, & to cal vs againe to be fellowes & friends with them, & to beleeue as they beleeue. Men say, that one Cobilon a Lacedemonian, when he was sent Ambassador to the King of the Persians, to treat of a league, & found by chance them of the Court playing at Dice, he returned straightway home againe, leauing his message vndon. And when he was asked why he had slacked to do the things which he had receiued by publik Cōmission to do, he made answer, he thought it should be a great reproch to his Cōmonwealth to make a league with Dicers. But if we shold cōtent our selues to returne to the Pope, and to his Errors, & to make a couenant, not onely with

with Diers, but also with men farre more vngracious, and wicked, thē any Diers be: besides that this shold be a great blot to our good name, it should also be a very dangerous matter, both to kindle Gods wrath against vs, and to clog and condemne our owne soules for euer.

M. Harding.

(a) We flie wicked company, as he did.
(b) Vntruth. For where did Christ euer send vs to the B. of Rome?
(c) By this rule the Pope is left voide of life: for that he is diuided from Christ, that is the head.

Ye doe wel to compare your selues with this Cobilon. * For indeed(a) ye doe as he did. Ye were sent(b) by Christ to his Vicar, Peters Successour, to be fed and gouerned like sheepe vnder the shepheard. Christ and his Church be a perfect body, he the Head, the true beleeuers knit together in charity the members, each one in his order and degree. He is the vine, we the boughes and branches. (c) What member cut off from the body, liueth? What bough broken from the tree, groweth? As euery such member dieth, and bough withereth, so if ye remaine not in the Catholike Church, which is the body of Christ, ye draw no life from the head, ye haue no part of the Spirit that from thence redoundeth to euery member, ye haue no portion of the vital iuice that issueth from the root. Then what remaineth, but that ye be cast into the fire? For this cause S. Cyprian and other Fathers oftentimes haue said, that out and besides the Church, there is no saluation.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Christ neuer told vs, neither of any his Vicar Generall: nor of Rome: nor of Lateran: nor of Peters Chaire: nor willed vs to haue recourse to the Bishop of Rome, more then to any other seuerall Bishop. Therefor, M. Harding, we must reckon this amongst the rest of your vntruthes.

It is true that you say, A member diuided from the body cannot liue. But your conclusion is vntrue, like the rest. For Rome is not the Body, but onely a Member of that Body: Rome is not the Tree, but only a Bough: Rome is not the Head, but only a Spring: And therefore, seeing it is now diuided from that Body: seeing it is broken from that Tree: seeing it is cut off from that Head, it is no maruel, though it be seered, though it be withered, though it be left drie, without either Spirit or Life: as this day it appeareth to the eies of all them, that will behold it.

The Apologie, Chap. 22. Diuision. 2.

For of very truth, we haue departed from him, who we saw had blinded the whole World this many a hundred yeere: from him, who too far presumptuously was wont to say, He could not erre, & whatsoeuer he did, No mortall man had power to condemne him, neither King, nor Emperor, nor the whole Clergy, nor yet al the people in the World together, no though he should carry away with him a thousand Soules into Hel: from him who tooke vpon him Power to command, not onely men, but euen the Angels of God, to go, to returne, to lead Soules into Purgatory, and to bring thē backe againe when he list himself: who Gregory saith, without al doubt, is the very forerunner & standard bearer of Antichrist, and hath vtterly forsakē the Catholike Faith: From whom also these ringleaders of ours, who now with might and maine resist the Gospell, & the truth, which they know to be the truth, haue ere this departed euery one of their owne accord & good wil: and would euen now also gladly depart from him againe, if the note of inconstancy and shame, and their own estimation among the people, were not a let vnto them. In conclusion, we haue departed from him, to whom we were not bound, and who had nothing to say for himself but only, I know not what, Vertu or Power of the place where he dwelleth, and a continuance of Succession.

M. Harding.

*M. Hardings reuerend Fathers cōtinued twenty yee stogether in Hypocrisie.

As ye confesse your departing, so would God ye vnderstood your guilt.

Those reuerend Fathers and godly learned men, whose roomes ye hold wrongfully, whom it liked your interpreter to cal ringleaders, resist not the Gospel, but suffer persecution for the Gospel. Your Gospell, that is to say, your vile heresies & blasphemies, worthily they detest. Your new troth, that is to say, your false & wicked lies, they abhor. Neither euer departed they from any part of the duty of Catholike men, * by their owne accord and good will, as ye say. * But wherein they stept a side they were compelled by such feare, as might happen to a right constāt man, I mean the terror of death, which as Aristotle saith, of al terrible things is most terrible. Now because yet they finde the terrour of a guilty

conscience,

conſcience,more terrible then death of their perſons,they intend, by Gods grace aſſiſting them,neuer ſo to ſteppe aſide againe, but rather to ſuffer whatſoeuer extremities. Whoſe blood, or the blood of any of them, if God to his honour ſhall at any time permit you to draw, which ſo much ye thirſt, ſoone after looke ye for the returning of the Iſraelites againe: that Text being then fulfilled, *Completæ ſunt iniquitates Amorrhæorum.*

Truth preuaileth.

Were not they wel aſſured of the truth,moſt certaine it is,whatſoeuer ye ſay,they would not make ſo fooliſh a bargaine as your ſelues doe, as to buy vaine eſtimation among the people, with the certaine loſſe of their ſoules.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Certaine of your friends (**whom yee call** Reuerend Fathers) ſuffer impriſonment (*yee ſay*) and perſecution for the Goſpell. **Notwithſtanding, it is not ſo long ſithence the ſaid** Reuerend Fathers **were themſelues the Burners and Perſecutours of the** Goſpell. **Such complaint ſometime made** Arius **the wicked** Heretike. **For thus he writeth:** *I* Arius, *that ſuffer perſecution for the Truth, that euer preuaileth.* Ruffinus, **notwithſtanding he were a great** *Epiphanius.* Διὰ τῆν ἀλήθειαν διωκόμενος. **fauourer of the** Origenian Heretikes, **yet he ſaid euen as you ſay:** Noſtra Fides perſecutionis Hæreticorum tempore, cùm in Sancta Alexandrina Eccleſia degeremus, in Carceribus & Exilijs, quæ pro fide inferebantur, probata eſt. *While we lined in the* Holy Church of Alexandria, *in the time of the perſecution of Heretikes, our Faith was proued in Priſons and Baniſhments, which were laid vpon vs for the Faiths ſake.* *Hier. aduerſus Ruffin. Lib. 2.* **Vnto whom** S. Hierome **in his pleaſant maner anſwereth thus:** Miror quòd non adiecerit, Vinctus Ieſu Chriſti: Liberatus ſum de ore Leonis; Alexandriæ ad beſtias depugnaui: Curſum conſummaui: Fidem ſeruaui: Supereſt mihi Corona Iuſtitiæ: *I marueil much that he ſaid not further,* Ruffinus *the Priſoner of Ieſus Chriſt: I was deliuered out of the Lions mouth: I was throwen amongſt wilde beaſts at* Alexandria: *I haue paſt my Courſe: I haue kept the Faith: Now there remaineth for me the* Crowne of Righteouſneſſe. *Hier. eod. loco.*

Thus the Wolfe, when he is reſtrained from ſpoile and rauen, may likewiſe complaine of Perſecution.

S. Hierome **writing vnto** Apronius **of the ſtate of the** Eaſt Churches, **where he then lined, ſaith thus:** Hic quieta ſunt omnia. Etſi enim venena pectoris non amiſerint, tamen os impietatis non audent aperire. Sed ſunt ſicut aſpides ſurdæ, obturantes aures ſuas: *All things heere are quiet. For albeit they haue not left the poiſon of their hearts, yet they dare not open their wicked mouthes: But they are as the deafe Serpents, ſhutting vp their eares, and will heare nothing.* *Hieronym. ad Apronium.*

The ſaid Reuerend Fathers, **that as now ſit ſo firmely of your ſide, not long agoe, were well contented both to maintaine, and to publiſh the contrary, as wel as you.** Howbeit all this (**you ſay**) they did not of good wil, but only of feare, and of ſuch feare as may happen vpon a conſtant man. **That is to ſay, of mere** Hypocriſie **and** Diſſimulation, **and by open flattering of their** Prince.

And thus, to ſaue your Fathers from being Schiſmatikes, ye are wel content to make them Hypocrites. Thus ſay you. But your ſaid Reuerends **themſelues would haue tolde you farre otherwiſe.**

Doctour Gardiner **of himſelfe ſaith thus:** In the diſcuſſing and triall of the truth, I did not ſo eaſily content my ſelfe. But I ſo framed my ſelfe, that as it had beene in asking the iudgement of al my ſenſes, vnleſſe I perceiued that I firſt of al heard them with mine eares: ſmelled them with my noſe, ſaw them with mine eies, and felt them with mine hands, I thought I had not ſeene enough. *Steph. Gardin. de vera Obed.* He examineth the matter with al his ſenſes.

Againe he ſaith: This aduiſed conſideration hath pulled away all ſcrupulous doubts: And by the working of Gods grace, hath conueied and brought them into the light of the Veritie. Hee is perſwaded by the working of Gods grace.

And againe: Indeed, to tel you at a word, **that compelleth me, that compelleth all men,** euen the mightie power of the Truth. He is compelled by the power of the Truth.

Likewiſe ſaith Doctor Bonner, **touching the ſame:** The matter was not raſhly taken in hand: but with Iudgement and Wiſdome examined and diſcuſſed. **Againe he ſaith:** The Biſhop of Wincheſter had long agoe thorowly boulted this matter, euen vnto the branne. *Doct. Bonner in Præfation. in veram Obed.* He examineth the matter to the vttermoſt.

If theſe tales be true, M. Harding, then is your tale moſt vntrue. If ye wil iuſtifie your ſelfe, ye muſt needs condemne your Reuerend Fathers. **Certainely your tales being** directly contrarie, **to make them both true, it is not poſſible.**

But heere ye beginne to fray vs with your Prophetical! threats. If we once begin to touch your blood, then (*ye ſay*) your Louanian Iſrael immediately afterward ſhall be reſtored. **I thinke you meane,** Domus Iacob de populo Barbaro.

In ſuch blind Prognoſtications **I haue no ſkill. God often times ſuffereth iniquitie and falſhood to preuaile for a ſeaſon, to chaſten the vnkindeneſſe of his people. Let his wil**

Truth preuaileth.

be done with mercy, as it ſhall ſæm good in his eies. But if ye preuaile againe, yæ ſhall preuaile to your owne confuſion. Well ye may repreſſe the Truth of God, as your Fathers haue often done before: but vtterly to abolish it ye ſhall neuer be able.

Chryſ. in Orat. contra Iudæos.

Such vaine hope had the Iewes in old times to recouer their Religion and Ceremonies, and vtterly to ouerthrow the Goſpell of Chriſt. They conſpired together, got Maſons and Carpenters, and began to caſt the Foundation, to repaire their Temple. Immediatly the Emperour Conſtantine raiſed a power, and ſet vpon them, and put them to the ſword, as Rebels and Traitours. Others that he ſpared aliue, he made ſlaues, and cut off ſome their tongues, ſome their hands, ſome their eares, ſome their noſes: ſome he burnt in the face, and ſo ſent them abroad for an example, from Towne to Towne, throughout the world.

Ambroſ. Lib. 5. Epiſt. 29.

Afterward, when the wicked Emperour Iulian, in deſpight of Chriſt, had giuen the Iewes leaue to build and repaire their Temple, as is ſaid before, and the Princes power aſſiſting them, no power ſæmed able to withſtand their purpoſe, then God himſelfe from Heauen aboue encountred with them. Earthquakes brake out, and ouerthrew their buildings. Lightnings fell downe, and burnt both the tooles in their hands, and the coats on their backs. Then was the Goſpell of Chriſt more beautifull, and more glorious, than euer it had bæn before.

Gregor. in primum Regum Ca. 3. li. 3. c. 5.

S. Gregorie ſaith: Tulerunt Dagon, & reſtituerunt eum in locum ſuum, hoc eſt, in Templo, vbi Arca Dei poſita fuerat. Quid eſt ergo Dagon in locum ſuum reſtituere, niſi Idololatriæ ſtatum ſubtili conſideratione perquirere? Et quia, quò ſubtiliùs Idololatriæ error aſpicitur, eò veriùs condemnatur, ſubiunctum eſt, Rurſus diluculo ſurgentes, inuenerunt Dagon iacentem ſuper faciem, coram Arca Domini: *They tooke the Idoll* Dagon, *and reſtored him againe into his place: that is to ſay, in the Temple of God, where the Arke of God was placed before. And what is it to reſtore againe* Dagon *into his place, but diſcreetly and aduiſedly to examine the ſtate of Idolatrie? And foraſmuch as the better the* Errour of Idolatrie *is ſeene, the better it is condemned, therefore it followeth further, They riſing in the morning, found* Dagon *lying flat vpon his face, before the Arke of the Lord.*

Euen ſo M. Harding, if ye raiſe vp your Dagon once againe, once againe he ſhall come to ground, and ſhall ſquat his hands and fæt, and be vtterly diſmembred by the fall, and ſhall lie groueling, as a blocke, before the preſence of the Arke of God. There is no Counſell againſt the Lord.

Prouerb. 21.

The Noble Prince Ioſua, after that he had once, by Gods Commandement, deſtroied the City of Iericho, adiured all his poſterity in this ſort: Accurſed be he before the Lord, that ſhall ſtand vp, and reſtore againe this City of Iericho. In the death of his eldeſt ſonne he ſhall lay the foundation: and in the death of his yongeſt child he ſhall cloſe the gates.

Ioſua 6.

Theod. Eccleſ. hiſt. fol. 285. in Gr co. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ παλαιῶν ἐστι θέσεως.

Theodoretus ſaith: *The wicked ſhall not be able to preuaile againſt God. But if they once get the ouer hand, yet ſhall they come downe againe, as it is written by the* Prophet Eſay.

As for drawing of your blod, yæ næd not ſo greatly to complaine. The Goſpell of Chriſt is not blody. It hath hitherto preuailed without any one drop of all your blod. God giue you grace to repent, leſt your owne blod be vpon your owne head in the Day of the Lord. Fire, and Sword, and mercileſſe Crueltie, are the onely inſtruments of your Doctrine. And therefore yæ ſæme now to ſay in your blind hope, as curſed Eſau ſometime ſaid of his brother Iacob: Venient dies luctus patris mei, & occidam Iacobum fratrem meum: *The daies ſhall come that my Father ſhall die: Then will I kill my Brother Iacob.*

Geneſis 27.

Athan. ad ſolitariam vitam agentes.

Athanaſius ſaith: Cædi Chriſtianorum proprium eſt: Cædere autem Chriſtianos, Pilati & Caiaphæ officia ſunt: *It is the part of Chriſtians, to ſuffer perſecution: but to perſecute the Chriſtians, it is the very office of* Pilate *and* Caiaphas.

Aug contra Epiſtol Fundamenti, Cap. 1.

We will ſay vnto you with S. Auguſtine: Illi in vos ſæuiant, qui neſciunt quo cum labore verum inueniatur, & quàm difficilè caueantur errores: *Let them perſecute you, and vſe cruelty ouer you, that know not what a labour it is to find the truth, and how hard it is to beware of errour.*

Againe he ſaith: Nemo de præteritis inſultat Erroribus, niſi qui diuinam Miſericordiam expertus non eſt, vt careret Erroribus. Tantùm id agamus, vt errores aliquando finiantur: *No man vpbraideth other with errours paſt, but he that hath not felt Gods Diuine Mercie to be void of errours. Let this be our only labour, that errours at laſt may haue an end.*

We will ſay of you as S. Peter ſometime ſaid of Simon the Sorcerer, when the people for anger, ſæing his fallhod, would haue ſtoned him to death: Imo viuat, & Regnum Chriſti creſcere videat, vel inuitus: *Nay, nay, let him liue, and let him ſee the Kingdome of Chriſt to grow and proſper euen againſt his will.* Thus M. Harding may we ſay to you. As for your blod, we long not for it.

Abdias in Petro.

The

The Apologie, Chap. 23. *Diuision* 1.

AND as for vs, we of al others haue most iustly left the Pope. For our Kings, yea euen they which with greatest Reuerence did follow and obey the Authority and Faith of the Bishops of Rome, haue long sithence found & felt the yoke and Tyranny of their kingdome. For the Bishops of Rome sometime tooke the Crowne from the Head of our King, Henrie the Second, and compelled him to put aside al his Princely Estate & Maiesty, & like a meere Priuate man, to come vnto their Legate with great submission & humility, so as al his Subiects might laugh him to scorne. More then this, they caused Bishops, and Monkes, & some part of the Nobilitie, to be in the field against our King Iohn, and set all the people at liberty from their oaths, wherby they ought allegeance to their king: & at last, wickedly, and most abominably, they bereaued the same King, not only of his kingdome, but also of his life. Besides this, they Excommunicated and cursed King Henry the Eight, that most famous prince, and stirred vp against him, sometime the Emperour, sometime the French King: and, as much as in them was, put our Realme in hazard, to haue beene a very prey, and spoile vnto the Enemie. Yet were they but fooles and mad men, to thinke, that either so mighty a Prince could be fraid with bugs and rattles, or else, that so Noble and great a Kingdome might so easily, euen at one mossell, be deuoured and swallowed vp.

Persecutiõ.

M. Harding.

Concerning the case betweene these three Kings of England, and the Bishops of Rome, for the time being, I say little. If they did wel, and the Bishops euill, they haue their reward, the other their punishment: If otherwise, or howsoeuer, each one at Gods iudgement shall haue his deserued measure. But be it granted, all were true ye say, though we know the more part to be false. What though King Henry the Second were euill treated of Pope Alexander, about the murdering of S. Thomas the Archbishop of Canturbury, & King Iohn likewise of that zealous & learned Pope Innocentius the third, &c.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Notwithstanding the Pope, as his maner hath beene, raise Commotion within the Realme, and arme the Subiects against their Soueraigne, and pull the Crowne Emperiall from his head, yet by your Doctrine, whosoeuer dare speake in his Princes right, is a fole, and killeth himselfe: as if there were no life or saluation, but only vnder the frantike gouernment of the Pope. Such obedience and loialty the Pope hath taught you towards your Prince.

The Apologie, Chap. 23. *Diuision.* 2.

And yet, as though al this were too little, they would needs haue made al the Realme Tributary to them, & exacted thence yeerely most vniust and wrongful Taxes. So deare cost vs the friendship of the Citie of Rome. Wherefore, if they haue gotten these things of vs by extortion, through their fraud & subtil sleights, we see no reason why we may not plucke away the same from them againe, by lawful waies, & iust meanes. And if our Kings in that darknesse & blindnesse of the former times, gaue them these things of their own accord & liberality, for Religions sake, being moued with a certaine opinion of their fained holines: now, when the ignorãce & error is espied out, may the Kings, their Successors, take them away againe, seeing they haue the same Authority the Kings their Ancestors had before. For the gift is void, except it be allowed by the wil of the giuer: & that cannot seeme a perfect Wil, which is dimmed and hindered by error.

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As for Peter pence, and what other sums of mony soeuer were yeerely paid to the Church of Rome, whichwere not by extortion and subtill sleights by the Popes gotten; as ye slander, but freely and dis-

ſcreetly by the Prince & the Realme,* for a great cauſe granted. It is not a thing that ſo much grieueth the Pope, as your departure from the true Faith & Church doth, as it may well appeare by that which happened in Queene Maries raigne, in which time, although the Pope were acknowledged, yet himſelf neuer was knowen to haue demanded his Peter pence, or any other yeerely paiments againe. But what is this to your Schiſmes & Hereſies? This helpeth you nothing for anſwer to the haineus crime of your Apoſtaſie. The liberality of our Countrie to the See of Rome, which is the mother of al the West Churches, hath beene ſo ſmall in compariſon of certaine other Realmes, as with the honour of the Realme it might not ſeeme to finde it ſelfe grieued therewith. Yet heere ye ſet a Gnat to an Elephant, & make great adoe about a little. The Realme is not ſo much enriched by retaining that ſmal ſumme from the Pope, as it is diſhonoured by your vndiſcreet talke, ſauouring altogether of miſery & niggardneſſe. Ye ſhould haue ſhewed better ſtuffe at leaſt in the end of your Booke. The laſt Act of a Fable, by rules of Poetry, ſhould be beſt. Ye haue done like a fooliſh Poet, making your end ſo bad. The Pope ſeeketh not your money: he ſeeketh you. He ſeeketh the ſafety of your ſoules.* He ſeeketh, like a good Shepheard, how to reduce the ſtraied ſheepe of England vnto the fold of Chriſts Church. God grant we may ſee his good intent happily atchieued.

* No doubt. For the very cauſe hereof was auarice and treachery.

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*But remember the old Verſe: Curia Romana nanon captat Quem ſine lana.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

The Pope hath enriched himſelfe, and gotten the treaſures of the World into his owne hands, not by fraud or guile, as you ſay, but only by the free liberality of Kings and Princes: Yet S. Auguſtine ſaith: Non poſſumus dicere, Nemo nos inuaſores arguit: Violentiæ nullus accuſat: Quaſi non maiorem interdum prædam à Viduabus Blandimenta eliciant, quàm Tormenta. Nec intereſt apud Deum, vtrùm vi, an circumuentione quis res alienas occupet; dummodò quoquo pacto teneat alienum: *We cannot ſay, No man chargeth vs with extortion: No man accuſeth vs of violence. For often times of poore Widowes a man may get more by flattery, then by racking. And there is no difference before God, whether a man hold another mans goods by open violence, or by guile, if the thing that hee holdeth be not his owne.*

Aug. de verbis Domin. ſecund. Mat. Ser. 19.

But how may this by your learning, M. Harding, be called the Liberality of the Prince? He is liberal, that is free in beſtowing of his owne. But you tel vs, that all the Temporal goods of the world are the Popes, and not the Princes: and that the Prince hath nothing, but by fauour and ſufferance of the Pope. Your Doctours words be theſe Papa eſt Dominus omnium Temporalium, ſecundùm illud dictum Petri, Dabo tibi omnia Regna mundi: *The Pope is the Lord of all Temporall goods, according to that ſaying of* S. Peter (that S. Peter neuer ſpake: for they are the words of the Diuel) *I will giue thee all the Kingdomes of the World.*

Archidiac. de Hæreſ. Ver. Et quia. tanta. fol. 15.

Another of your Doctors ſaith thus: Dicunt, quòd ſolus Papa eſt verus Dominus Temporalium, ita quòd poteſt auferre ab alio quod aliàs ſuum eſt. Sed Prælati cæteri, & Principes, non ſunt Domini, ſed Tutores, Procuratores, & Diſpenſatores: *They ſay, that the Pope only is the very Lord of Temporall things, ſo that he may take from any man, that is his owne. As for other Prelates and Princes, they be the Ouerſeers, and Farmours, and Stewards of worldly things, but not the Lords.* And Matthias Pariſienſis ſaith, that Pope Innocentius 3. called King Iohn the King of England, Vaſalbum ſuum, that is to ſay, his Feod-man, or his Tenant, meaning thereby, that the Realme of England was the Popes, and not the Kings. If all this be true, how can the Kings of England, in granting any thing to the Pope, bee counted liberall? Verily it is an eaſie kind of liberality, for a man to giue that thing that is not his owne.

Matth. 4. *Citatur à Felino, de Offic. & Poteſt. Iudicis delegati. Ex parte. 1. Iohan. de Pariſijs, de Poteſt. Reg. & Papal. Matth. Pariſ. in Iohan.*

But the Pope (ye ſay) ſetteth no more by al his reuenues out of Englād, then an Elephāt by a gnat & that therfore, during the whole time of Queene Mary, he neuer demanded of vs any maner of yeerely paiment. We muſt beare with your error heerein, M. Harding, for that ye neuer were the Popes Collector, and therefore not much acquainted with his Bookes. Otherwiſe ye might haue remembred, that Cardinal Poole, being not the Pope, but only a Legate, or meſſenger from the Pope, had a thouſand pounds paid him yeerely out of one Biſhopricke in England towards the prouiſion of his kitchin. Ye might haue remembred, that all the Biſhops of England paid the Pope the whole firſt fruits of al their Liuings, which, by anie common eſtimation, amounted to more ſomewhat then a Gnat. And although I were neuer neither skilful, nor curious in the Popes Collections, yet, as wel for the diſcouery of ſo great vntruth, as alſo for the better ſatisfaction of the Reader, I haue thought it good briefly and by the way, to touch what may be found in old Records of good credit, touching the ſame.

First therefore the Archbiſhop of Canturbury paid vnto the Pope for his Annates, or First fruits, at euery vacation, ten thouſand Florens, beſides other fiue thouſand Florens for the vſe and right of his Pall.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke paid likewiſe for his First fruits, ten thouſand Florens, and as it is thought, other fiue thouſand Florens for his Pall.

The Biſhop of Elie paid for his First fruits ſeuen thouſand Florens.

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The Biſhop of London paid for his Firſt fruits three thouſand Florens.
The Biſhop of Winchester paid for his Firſt fruits xij. thouſand Florens.
The Biſhop of Exceter paid for his Firſt fruits ſix thouſand Florens.
The Biſhop of Lincolne paid for his Firſt fruits fiue thouſand Florens.
The Biſhop of Lichfield and Couentrie paid for his Firſt fruits three thouſand Florens.
The Biſhop of Hereford paid for his Firſt fruits one thouſand and eight hundred Florens.
The Biſhop of Sarisburie paid for his Firſt fruits foure thouſand and fiue hundred Florens. And ſo the reſt, each man accordingly after his rate.

Here is to be noted, that a Floren is an Italian Crowne, of the value of foure ſhillings and ſix pence ſterling.

Thus much I haue noted onely for example. By theſe few the diſcreet Reader may eaſily gheſſe the Exactions and paiments of the other Biſhops.

The whole value of the Popes Firſt fruits throughout Europe, as I finde in one Record (although very vnperfect, ſo that it lacketh ſundry great, knowen, and notable Biſhopricks, as Durhã, Carlile, Worceſter, Norwich, Bath, Chicheſter, which with many other moe Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks, as well within the Dominions of our Kings of England, as alſo in ſundry other Chriſtian Kingdomes and Countries, are left vnreckoned) ariſeth to the ſumme of two thouſand thouſand, foure hundred threeſcore thouſand, eight hundred, forty and three Florens. *Legatio Adrian. Papæ 6. Excuſa Wittenb. Anno* 1538.

Notwithſtanding ye make your Pope as big as an Elephant, yet, M. Harding theſe reckonings are ouer huge, in any reſonable proportion, to be reſembled to a Gnat. Here I leaue out the yeerely perquiſities that the Pope made of his Elections, Preuentiõs, Diſpenſations, Pluralities, Trialities, Totquots, Tolerations: for his Bulles, his Seales, his Signatures: for Eating Fleſh, for Egs, for White meat, for Prieſts Concubines, and for other like merchandiſe, I know not what. The ſumme whereof notwithſtanding amounteth to more then nine hundred thouſand Florens. As for your Smokefarthings and Peter pence, I make no reckoning, by the vile & contemptuous report whereof, ye ſhew your ſelfe, not only ignorant and vnſkilfull in that ye write, which argueth ſome follie, but alſo iniurious vnto your Countrey. Read Matthias pariſienſis, and ye ſhall finde both by what tyrannie & treacherie, and alſo what maſſes and intollerable ſummes of mony, the Popes Miniſters haue carried out of this Realme.

The Pope (ſaith he) being diſeaſed with a ſpirituall dropſie, that is to ſay, with an vnquenchable thirſt of mony, ſhooke out all the Prieſts purſes, and ſpoiled the Abbeis of al their Treaſures *Anno.* 1215.

Againe: *The* Pope *made a Decree in* Rome, *that the goods and monies of all Biſhops and Prieſts, deceaſed within* England, *ſhould be taken to his vſe.* *Anno* 1246.

The Pope *gaue ſtrait commandement to the* Biſhops of England, *that all Parſons and Vicars, being reſident vpon their Benefices, ſhould pay yeerely vnto him the third part of all the values of their ſaid Benefices; And that all Parſons and Vicars being not reſident, ſhould pay vnto him yeerely the one full halfe part of their Benefices. All theſe paiments to continue during the ſpace of three whole yeeres.* Which amounteth at the leaſt to the ſumme of a hundred and threeſcore and ten thouſand pounds. *Eodem Anno.*

The Biſhops of England, after great and forceable intreaty, agreed together to giue the Pope a Contribution of eleauen thouſand Markes. *Anno* 1247.

At that time the poore Prior of Wincheſter was forced to pay yeerely three hundred three ſcore and fiue Markes towards the furniture of the Popes Table. *Eodem. Anno.*

The Pope made a ſtrait Decree, that all Biſhops elect ſhould immediatly trauell out of England to Rome, to attend vpon his Holineſſe, as Matthias ſaith, Vt Romanorum loculos impregnaret, in ruinam Regni Angliæ: *To ſtuffe the* Romans *purſſes, and to decay the Kingdome of* England. *Eodem Anno.*

The Pope had the Tenths of all the Spirituall Liuings in England, during the ſpace of ten whole yeeres. *Matthæ. Weſtmonaſterienſis. Anno* 1301.

Ruſtandus the Popes Legate, exacted intollerable great paimẽts of the Clergy of England, in a Synod holden in London, as Matthias ſaith, Per ſcripta Papæ, plena iniurijs & iniquitate, quæ poſſent patientiſſimum cor virulenter ſauciare: *Al this he did by the Authority of the Popes Letters, ful of iniuries and iniquity: which were able moſt cruelly to wound any heart, were it neuer ſo patient.* The Biſhop of London & Worceſter anſwered the Popes Legate, that they would rather loſe their liues, then they would giue their conſent to ſo open iniurie, and ſeruitude, and intollerable oppreſſion of the Church. *Anno* 1255.

The King had entred into an Obligatiõ, to pay vnto the Pope two hundred thouſand

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markes, beſides other fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. **For paiment whereof the** Biſhop of Hereford, **being then the** Popes Agent, **had bound the** Biſhops of England, **before they were ware. Such like prettie Gnats your Pope can ſtraine, if Kings and Princes will giue him leaue.**

Iohannes Sarisburienſis, **otherwiſe called** Rupertus Carnotenſis, **in the familiar talke that he had with** Pope Adrian 4. **ſaid thus vnto him:** Ipſe Romanus Pontifex omnibus
Ioh. Sarisbur. fere eſt intollerabilis: Lætatur Spolijs Eccleſiarum: Quæſtum omnem reputat Pietatẽ:
Lib. 6. Cap. 24. Prouinciarum diripit ſpolia, acñ Theſauros Crœſi ſtudcat reparare: *The Pope is now become intollerable almoſt to all the World: He reioiceth in the ſpoile of Churches: All maner of gaine he counteth Holineſſe: He maketh ſuch hauocke of* Kingdomes *and* Prouinces, *as if he had intended to repaire againe* Crœſus Treaſurie. **Againe:** *His Legates ſo rage and*
Lib. 5. Cap. 16. *rampe for mony, as if the Infernall furies were ſent from Hell to goe at libertie.* **What ſhall we næd many wordes?** Ambition and Auarice haue no bottome. Matthias Pariſienſis
Acſi mittatur ab inferis Teſiphone, vel Megêra. **ſaith:** In Romana Curia omnia poſſunt pecuniæ: *Mony may doe all things in the* Court of Rome. **And he calleth theſe vnſatiable prollings of the Pope,** Quotidianas Extortiones, *daily extortions.* **Againe he ſaith, that the** King of England, **vpon a verie friuilous & fond matter, made true paiment vnto** Pope Alexander **the fourth, of** nine hundred and
Anno 1247. *Anno 1257.* fiftie thouſand markes. Which thing (**he ſaith**) is horrible & abominable to be thought.
Quod eſt horribile cogitatu. **To be ſhort, that you may the better view the bigneſſe and quantitie of your** Gnat, Do-
D. Bonner, in præfatione in libell. Stephani Gardineri, De vera. Obediẽt. ctor Bonner **hereof writeth thus:** *The* Popes *prey in* England *was ſo great, that it came to as much almoſt as the Reuennes of the Crowne.*

Therefore Matthias **ſaith:** Imperator reprehendit Regem Angliæ, quòd permitteret terram ſuam tam impudenter per Papam depauperari: *The* Emperour *friendly reproued* Henry the 3. King of England, *for that he ſuffered his Kingdome ſo impudently to be impoueriſhed by the Pope.*

Anno 1240. **Againe he ſaith:** King Henrie the Third **made open complaint by his** Embaſſador in
Anno 1215. the Councell of Lions in France, of the Popes innumerable Exactions.

Likewiſe he ſaith before: Rex Henricus 3. repreſſit impetum Legati, propter violentiam Denariorum: *The King ſtaied the attempts of the* Popes Legate, *touching his intolerable greedineſſe in prolling for money.*

Ye ſee therefore, M. Harding, neither is this Gnat **ſo little, as by your ſcornfull compariſon, to the great diſhonour of this** Noble Realme, **ye would ſeeme to make it: nor is the griefe and complaint thereof ſo new, as ye beare vs in hand.** King Canutus, **the** King
Wilihelmus Malmesbur. of England, **almoſt fiue hundred yeeres agoe, being at** Rome, **wrote home to the** Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, and States of the Realme, **on this wiſe:** Conqueſtus ſum item coram Domino Papa, & mihi valdè diſplicere dixi, quòd mei Archiepiſcopi in tantum angariabantur immenſitate pecuniarum, quæ ab eis expetebantur, &c. *Alſo I haue made*
Anno 1031. *my complaint vnto the Pope, & told him, that it much miſliketh me that my* Archbiſhops *ſhould be vexed with ſuch vnreaſonable ſummes of money required of them.*

Anno. 1094. **Likewiſe** Matthias Pariſienſis **writeth of** King William **the** Conquerour: Concipiens indignationem contra Papam, allegauit, quòd nullus Archiepiſcopus, vel Epiſcopus, de Regno ſuo, ad Curiam Romanam, vel ad Papam, haberet reſpectum. King William, *vpon diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the* Pope, *ſaid that no* Archbiſhop, *or* Biſhop *of his* Realme, ſhould from thenceforth haue regard either to the Court of Rome, or to the Pope.

All this notwithſtanding, ye ſay the Pope is an Elephant: **and all theſe ſummes, in compariſon of his treaſures, are but a** Gnat.

Verily all theſe, and other farre greater reckonings, the Realme of England is well able to defray. Neither make we any account of the money, but of the deceitfull conueying of the money: neither is it diſhonourable to the Realme, **to repreſſe theſe leaud and iniurious mockeries, and to preſerue the ſubiect from open ſpoile. Other** Kings & Countries **haue often times done the ſame.** Lewis the French King, **whom for his Holineſſe**
Ludouicus. **they haue made a** Saint, **hereof complaineth thus:** Exactiones impoſitas per Romanam Curiam, quibus Regnum noſtrum miſerabiliter depauperatum eſt, leuari aut colligi nullatenus volumus: *Theſe Exactions, or paiments of money, laid vpon vs by the Court of Rome, by meane whereof our Realme is miſerably impoueriſhed, we will not in any wiſe to be leauied or gathered.* **The gaines and pelferies that the** Phariſeis **made of the people, were**
Matth. 23. **not ſo great. Neuertheleſſe** Chriſt **ſaid vnto them,** Woe be vnto you, ye Scribes and Phariſeis, that rauen vp poore widowes houſes, vnder pretenſe of long praying.

I know you make no great account of Laurentius Valla, **yet thus he writeth touching the vnſatiable ambition and greedineſſe that in his time he ſaw in the** Church of Rome: Quid ergo, Sũme Pontifex, omnes Reges ac Principes Occidentis ſpoliare Vrbibus, aut cogere, vt annua tibi tributa pẽſitent, ſententia eſt? At ego contra exiſtimo, iuſtiùs licere

Principibus

Principibus ſpoliare te Imperio omni quod obtines: *What then, my Lord Pope, is it your minde to ſpoile all the Kings and Princes of the Weſt, of their Townes and Territories, or elſe to force them to beare you an yeerely tribute? Nay, in my iudgement it were farre meeter that they ſhould ſpoile you of all that Empire that you haue gotten.* Thus wrot Laurentius Valla an hundred yeeres and more before Luther began to preach. And therefore whatſoeuer hee were, I trow, at leaſt he was no Lutheran. The Popes Exactions.

Rome (ye ſay) is the Mother Church of all the Weſt. And therefore, I trow, wee are bound to pay whatſoeuer paiments ſhe ſhall require. If we allow ſuch ſimple reaſons, then is the Pope likewiſe bound to pay to the Church of Hieruſalem whatſoeuer paiment ſhee ſhall require. For Hieruſalem is indeed the Mother Church, not only of the Weſt, but alſo of all the whole World. Howbeit, it is a cruell Mother that deuoureth vp her owne Children, S. Paul ſaith: Non debent filij parentibus theſaurizare, ſed parentes filijs: *The children ought not to lay vp treaſure for their parents, but the parents for their children.* But Iohannes Sarisburienſis in his Polycraticon ſaith: Roma nunc non tam matrem exhibet, quàm nouercam: Rome *now ſheweth her ſelfe not ſo much a naturall* Mother, *as a* Stepdame. For ſhee ſpoileth and deuoureth her Children. 2. Corint. 12. *Lib. 6. Cap. 24.*

This defender (ye ſay) in making his end ſo bad, hath plaied the part of a fooliſh Poet. Yeere M. Harding, we haue good cauſe to thinke your Diuinity is waxen cold, ſeeing you are thus driuen to plead in Poetrie. But may we beleeue the Church of Rome is of late growne ſo Holy, that money is now become the vileſt part of all her Play? Certainely if your Pope once loſe his money, all his Plaiers will ſone fit a cold. One of your owne Doctors ſaith thus: Ceſſante tali redditu, qui maximus eſt, attenta hodierna Tyrannide, Sedes Apoſtolica contemneretur: *If this rent* (of Simony) *which is very great, were once ſtaid, conſidering the* Tyranny of Princes that now is, the Apoſtolike See of Rome would be deſpiſed. In which words thus much is alſo to be noted by the way, that whatſoeuer Prince will not ſuffer the Pope to take what him liſteth, muſt be taken, and iudged as a Tyrant. Therefore Iohannes Andreæ, one of your greateſt Canoniſts, ſaith thus: Roma fundata fuit à Prædonibus, & adhuc de primordijs retinet: dicta Roma, quaſi rodens manus. Vnde verſus, Roma manus rodit: Quos rodere non valet odit: *The firſt foundation of* Rome *was laid by* Theeues: *and hitherto ſhe fauoureth ſtill of her beginning, and is called* Roma, quia rodit manus. *Thereof commeth the common verſe,* Rome biteth you by the hands. And whom ſhe cannot bite, them ſhe hateth. *Felin. de Offic. & Poteſtat. Iudicis delegati. Ex parte 1.* *In Sexto. de Elect. & Elect. poteſt Fundament. In Gloſſa.*

The ſtate of the Roman Popedom ſprung firſt of money, and encreaſed by money, and ſtandeth now neither by Truth of Doctrine, nor by ſeuerity of Diſcipline, nor by Prayer, nor by Holineſſe, nor by ought elſe, but onely by money. Set money apart, and the Pope is equall with other Biſhops. Codrus Vrceus ſaith: Pontifex Maximus, ſi non Virtute, tamen Pecunia: *The* Pope *is the greateſt* Biſhop, *although not in* Vertue, *yet at leaſt in* money. Therefore we may ſay of the Pope as Diphilus ſometime ſaid of Pompeius: Noſtra miſeria Magnus es. *Codrus Vrceus Serm. 1.* *Cicero ad Attic. Lib. 2.*

Baptiſta Mantuanus, ſpeaking of the ſtate of Rome, ſaith thus:

Venalia nobis
Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria, Sacra, Coronæ,
Ignis, Thura, Preces, Cœlum eſt venale, Deúſque.

Amongſt vs in Rome, Churches, Prieſts, Altars, Maſſes, Crownes, Fire, Incenſe, Prayers, and Heauen are ſet to ſale. Yea God himſelfe amongſt vs may be had for money. *Budæus in Pandectis.*

Budæus ſaith: Sanctiones Pontificiæ non moribus regendis vſui ſunt: ſed propemodum dixerim, Argentariæ faciendæ Authoritatem videntur accommodare: *The* Popes, Canons *ſerue not now to guide mens liues: but if I may ſo ſay, they ſerue rather to make a banke and to get money.*

Bernard of Clunice ſaith thus:

Roma dat omnibus omnia dantibus: Omnia Romæ
Cum Pretio: *Bernar. Cluniacen. in Satyra.*

Rome *giueth all things to them that giue all things: All things at* Rome *will paſſe for* money.

Euen in the Popes owne Decretals ye ſhall finde it noted thus: Roma eſt Caput Auaritiæ. Idcò omnia ibi venduntur: Rome *is the* Head *of all couetous trechery. And therefore all things there are ſet to ſale.* *In ſexto. de Elect. & Electi. Poteſt. Fundament. In Mar.*

Yea Thomas Becket himſelfe, whom a little before ye called a Saint, when for his wil-

The Popes Exactions.

full disobedience, and Treason committed against his Prince, he had for aide and succour fled to Rome, and saw that nothing would be wrought there without money, thus hee wrote thereof to the Bishop of Menze: Mater Roma facta est Meretrix, & prostituta est pro mercede: Rome our Mother *is become an* Harlot, *and for* money *and* Meed *laieth her selfe to sale*. To be short, ye know that our Fathers, long sithence, were wont to say,

In Epistola ad Archiepiscop. Moguntinum.

Curia Romana non captat Ouem sine lana:

The Court of Rome *will not take the sheepe without the fleece.*

Therefore, M. Harding, your Poet concluded in good order, and went not so far besides his Rules. For money is both the First and the Middle, and the Last Act of al your Fable.

Matth. 25. Christ sometime thrust such Buyers, Sellers, Brokers, and Scorsers, out of the Temple: But contrariwise, ye haue receiued in Buyers and Sellers, and thrust out Christ, and so haue turned the House of God into a Caue of Theeues. S. Paul saith thus

Actor. 20. vnto the people of Ephesus: Argentum & Aurum nullius concupiui: *I haue desired no mans* Gold or Siluer. Upon which words, in the Glosse it is noted thus: Per hoc Lupi cognoscuntur, qui talia concupiscunt: *Hereby they that desire such things, are knowen for Wolues.*

1. qua. 1. *Nunquam Diuinatio* S. Hierome saith: Quia Prophetæ pecuniam accipiebant, Prophetia eorum facta est Diuinatio: *For that the Prophets fell to taking of money, therefore their Prophecie was become a Soothsaying*: that is to say, it was of the Diuell, and not of God.

Thus, M. Harding, to conclude, whatsoeuer fault yee can finde with the Defenders Poetry, verily, by the iudgement of your neerest friends, Money was the best part of all your Fable.

The Recapitulation of the Apologie.

THus thou seest, good Christian Reader, it is no new thing, though at this day the Religion of Christ be entertained with despights and checks, being but lately restored, and as it were, comming vp againe anew; for somuch as the like hath chanced both to Christ himselfe, and to his Apostles: yet neuertheless, for feare thou maiest suffer thy selfe to be led amisse, and to be seduced with these exclamations of our Aduersaries, we haue declared at large vnto thee the very whole maner of our Religion, what our Faith is of God the Father, of his onely Sonne Iesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost, of the Church, of the Sacraments, of the Ministery, of the Scriptures, of Ceremonies, and of euery part of Christian Beleefe. We haue said, that we abandon and detest, as plagues and poisons, all those old Heresies, which either the sacred Scriptures, or the Ancient Councels haue vtterly condemned: That we cal home againe as much as in vs lieth, the right Discipline of the Church, which our Aduersaries haue quite brought into a poore and weake case: That wee punish all licentiousnes of life, and vnruinesse of maners, by the old and long continued Lawes, and with as much sharpenesse as is conuenient, and lieth in our power: That we maintaine still the state of Kingdomes, in the same condition & state of honour, wherein wee found them, without any diminishing, or alteration, reseruing vnto our Princes their Maiesty & worldly preeminence, safe & without empairing, to our possible power: That we so haue gotten our selues away frō that Church, which they had made a Den of Theeues, and wherin nothing was in good frame, or once like to the Church of God, and which, by their own cōfessions, haderred many waies, euen as Lot in times past gat him out of Sodome, or Abraham out of Chaldee, not vpon a desire of contention but by the warning of God himself: And that we haue searched out of the Holy Bible, which we are sure cannot deceiue vs, one sure forme of Religion, and haue returned againe vnto the Primitiue Church of the Ancient Fathers and Apostles, that is to say, to the ground and beginning of things, vnto the very foundations and headsprings of Christs Church.

Neither

Neither haue we tarried in this matter for the Authority or consent of the Tridentine Councell, wherein we saw nothing done vprightly, nor by good order: where also euery body was sworne to the maintenance of one man: where Princes Embassadors were contemned: where not one of our Diuines could be heard, and where parts taking and ambition was openly, and earnestly procured and wrought: but as the Holy Fathers in former time, and as our predecessors haue commonly done, we haue restored our Churches by a Prouincial Conuocation, & haue cleane shaken off, as our duty was, the yoke & tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, to whom we were not bound: who also had no maner of thing like, neither to Christ, nor to Peter, nor to an Apostle, nor yet like to any Bishop at al. Finally, we say, that we agree amongst our selues, touching the whole iudgement and chiefe substance of Christian Religion, and with one mouth, and with one spirit doe worship God, and the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Wherefore, O Christian and Godly Reader, forsomuch as thou seest the Reasons and Causes, both why we haue restored Religion and why we haue forsaken these men, thou oughtest not to maruell though wee haue chosen to obey our Master Christ, rather then men. S. Paul hath giuen vs warning that we should not suffer our selues to be carried away with such sundry learnings, and to flie their companies, specially such, as would sow debate and variance, cleane contrary to the Doctrine which they had receiued of Christ and the Apostles.

Long sithence haue these mens crafts and trecheries decaied and vanished & fled away at the sight and light of the Gospel, euen as the Owle doth at the Sun rising. And albeit their trumpery bee built vp, and reared as high as the Skie, yea euen in a moment, and as it were of it selfe, falleth it downe againe to the ground and commeth to naught.

For you must not thinke that all these things haue come to passe by chance or at aduenture: It was Gods pleasure, that against all mens wils welnigh, the Gospel of Iesus Christ should be spread abroad thorowout the whole World at these daies. And therfore men following Gods commandement, haue of their owne free will resorted vnto the doctrine of Iesus Christ.

And for our parts, truly we haue sought hereby, neither Glory, nor Wealth, nor Pleasure, nor Ease. For there is plenty of all these things with our Aduersaries.

And when we were of their side, wee enioied such Worldly commodities much more liberally and bountifully, then we doe now.

Neither do we eschew Concord and Peace. But to haue peace with man, we may not be at war with God. The name of Peace is a sweet and pleasant thing, saith Hilarius: But yet beware, saith he, Peace is one thing, and bondage is another. For if it should so be, as they seeke to haue it, that Christ should be commanded to keepe silence, that the truth of the Gospell should be betraied, that horrible errors should be cloked, that Christian mens eies should be bleared, and that they might be suffred to conspire openly against God: this were not a Peace, but a most vngodly couenant of seruitude. There is a Peace, saith Nazianzene, that is vnprofitable: againe, there is a Discord, saith he, that is profitable. For we must conditionally desire Peace, so far as is lawfull before God, and so far as wee may conueniently. For otherwise Christ himselfe brought not Peace into the World, but a Sword. Wherefore if the Pope will haue vs reconciled to him, his duty is first to be reconciled to God: For from thence, saith Cyprian, spring Schismes and Sects, because men seeke not the Head, and haue not their Matth. 10.

their recourse to the Fountaine (of the Scriptures) and keepe not the Rules giuen by the Heauenlie Teacher: For, saith he, that is not Peace, but Warre: neither is he ioined vnto the Church, which is seuered from the Gospel. As for these men they vse to make a Marchandize of the name of Peace. For that Peace, which they so faine would haue, is only a rest of idle bellies. They and we might easily be brought to attonement, touching all these matters, were it not that ambition, gluttony & excesse doth let it. Hence commeth their whining: their hart is on their halfepenny. Out of doubt their clamors and stirres be to none other end, but to maintaine more shamefully and naughtily ill gotten goods.

1. Tim. 6. Now adaies the Pardoners complaine of vs, the Dataries, the Popes Collectors, the Bawds, and others which think gaine to be godlines, and serue not Iesus Christ, but their own bellies. Many a day agoe, and in the old World, a wonderfull great aduantage grew heereby to these kindes of people. But now they reckon al is lost vnto them that Christ gaineth. The Pope himselfe maketh a great complaint at this present, that Charity in people is waxen cold. And why so, trow ye? Forsooth because his profits decay more and more. And for this cause doth hee hale vs into hatred, al that euer he may, laying load vpon vs with despightfull railings, and condemning vs for Heretikes, to the end, they that vnderstand not the matter, may thinke there be no worse men vpon Earth, then we be. Notwithstanding, in the meane season we are not ashamed in this behalfe: neither ought we to be ashamed of the Gospel. For we set more by the glory of God, then we doe by the estimation of men. We are sure, all is true that we teach, and we may not either goe against our owne conscience, or beare any witnesse against God. For if we deny any part of the Gospell of Iesus Christ before men, he on the other side will deny vs before his Father. And if there be any, that will still be offended and cannot endure Christs Doctrine, such say wee, be blinde and leaders of the blinde: the Truth neuertheless must be preached and preferred aboue all: and we must with patience wait for Gods iudgement.

Let these folke in the meane time, take good heed what they doe, and let them be well aduised of their own Saluation, and cease to hate and persecute the Gospel of the Sonne of God, for feare lest they feele him once a redresser & reuenger of his own cause. God will not suffer himselfe to be made a mocking stocke. The World espieth a good while agoe, what there is a doing abroad. This flame the more it is kept downe, so much the more with greater force & strength doth it breake out and flie abroad. The vnfaithfulnesse of men shall not disapoint Gods faithfull promise. And if they shall refuse to lay away this their hardnesse of heart, and to receiue the Gospel of Christ, then shall Publicanes, and sinners goe before them into the Kingdome of Heauen.

God and the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, open the eies of them all, that they may be able to see that blessed hope, whereunto they haue been called: so as we may together in one, glorifie him alone, who is the true God, and also that same Iesus Christ, whom he sent downe to vs from Heauen: vnto whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, bee giuen all Honour and Glory Euerlastingly. So be it.

FINIS.

To M. Harding.

IT appeareth, M. Harding, by that yee haue lately ſent vs ouer, and ſpecially by the vnpleaſant verdure of your ſpeech, that my Reply hath ſomwhat diſordered your quiet minde. Which thing notwithſtanding I might eaſily haue gheſſed, was not vnlikely to come to paſſe, ſpecially, being before not vtterly vnskilfull of your affections: Yet as I haue neuer ſought to write any thing, that of purpoſe and iuſtly might offend you, (the right of the cauſe and defence of the truth euermore forepriſed) euen ſo am I now right ſorry, to ſee you ſo vnable to maſter your paſsions, and ſo vnaduiſedly to make them open to ſo many. If it grieue you in reſpect of your credit, for that I haue thus diſcouered your errors; that was your fault, it was not mine. If yee had not made your errors knowen, they ſhould neuer of my part, haue beene diſcouered. If you knew how ſorry I am in your behalfe, ye would not ſo impatiently be offended.

It miſliketh you, that I haue alleged ſo many Doctors and Councels, and as you ſay, haue ſo ambitiouſly painted my Margine with ſo many Authorities, both Greeke and Latine. Yet you for your part haue not ſpared, ouer and beſides theſe two tongues, to paint your Margine for a ſurcharge, with words in Hebrew: beſides other ſuch rankes of your Engliſh Scholies, ſo many, ſo thicke, and ſo cloſſe together, that it were a hard matter, to force in one word of Truth to ſtand amongſt them. It is no courteous dealing, M. Harding, to reproue that in others, that you ſo commonly doe your ſelfe.

If the number of Doctours haue offended you, I doe not maruell: A cowardly challenger would alwaies wiſh the Defendant to come vnarmed vnto the fight. If I had alleged either no Doctours at all, or nothing to purpoſe, as your wont commonlie is to doe, yee would haue borne it a great deale better. Howbeit my authorities of Doctours and Councels be they neuer ſo many, yet as you haue vſed them, are few enow. For of the whole number, by your good skill, more then three parts are left vntouched And indeed this was the wiſeſt way. Children where they cannot read thinke it beſt to skippe ouer.

Whereas I examine and lay abroad all the parts and branches of your Arguments, and ſhew how directly ye grow to your Concluſions, that your Reader may ſee, by what weapons ye ſeeke to maſter him, this you ſay, is a kind of ſcoffing. Yee tell me, I rake and alter, and abuſe your Arguments, and play with ſhadowes of mine own. But M. Harding, if ye will haue your Arguments to paſſe ſmoothly without controulement; then learne henceforth to make them better. Ye are ouer-tender, if ye looke to ſpeake what ye liſt, and yet to heare nothing but to your liking: and to ſend abroad ſuch ſimple wares to ſerue the people, and yet may ſuffer no man to tell you of it. Verily, where ye ſay, I haue of purpoſe changed your Arguments, if ye make them otherwiſe then I haue made them, hauing alwaies an eie vnto your Concluſion, ye ſhall be forced to make them worſe. Touching the Scoffes, wherewith ye finde your ſelfe ſo much agreeued, doubtleſſe, who ſo had that grace that is in you, as may well appeare thorowout all your Bookes, might ſoon deſerue to be called a Scoffer.

Where you ſay, you and your Fellowes haue eſpied a thouſand foule great lies in my writings: had not one of you been a great Father of Lies, yee could neuer haue hit ſo readilie vpon the number. Such an auditor, I trow, was hee that found vs out eleuen thouſand lies in Sleidans ſtorie. The verie true multitude heereof and the hugeneſſe of the heape, as it bewraieth well your ſtomacke, ſo in any indifferent iudgement, it decaieth the credit of your reckoning. A man may reſonablie thinke it is as poſsible to finde two hundred and fiftie Vntruths in your Booke, as in mine to finde a thouſand.

Laurent. Surius Carthuſian. in præfat. in Nauclerum.

Verilie,

Verily, as I neuer minded to defend any thing, whatſoeuer that in any my writings ſhall be found amiſſe, ſo I ſee by the view of your accounts, it were no hard matter with your eies to finde Vntruthes in the Goſpell. For whatſoeuer I ſay, be it neuer ſo true, yet if it like not your taſte, it is a lie. Whatſoeuer I allege or tranſlate, it is corupted. So euill is my lucke; I can touch nothing, but it is either too much or too little, or too ſhort or too long; or too blacke or too white; or one way or other it ſtandeth awrie. If I tranſlate

M. Harding, Reioinder, Fol. 203. b.

Nonnulli Sacerdotes, Sundrie Prieſts, *ye cry out, a corrupter, a falſary. I ſhould haue ſaid,* Certaine Prieſts: *or* Some Prieſts: *but I ſhould not in any wiſe haue ſaid,* Sundry Prieſts, *for that were an Hereſie.*

M. Harding, Reioinder, Fol. 115. b.

If I tranſlate ὁμοτρόφους, Vnà nutritos, Fed together, *yee tell the World, it is falſhood it is foule corruption. Thus ye ſay, I ſhould haue tranſlated it,* Eodem Cibo alitos: Fed with one kinde of Meat: *as if* ὁμοῦ *in Greeke, were not* Vnà *in Latine, or had not relation to the place. Deale herein with your friends, M. Harding, as you may: the Greeke Reader will allow you no ſuch tranſlations. If I happen to ſay,* M Harding ſaith, The thing that we receiue in the Sacrament is no Bread, *ye cry Alarma;* Looke, *ye ſay,* in my Booke, Reader: M. Iewel is an vntrue man: Here he is taken with a lie: Marke well: I ſay, it is not Bread: I ſay not, It is no Bread, Not Bread, *ye ſay,* No Bread, *ye ſay not. As if there were ſo many miles diſtance betweene* No *and* Not.

M. Harding, Reioinder, Fol. 163. b.

Theſe and ſuch like be the ſhamefull Vntruthes and horrible Lies, that you and your Fellowes with great ſeeking and diligence haue eſpied. And thus if a man happen to vſe Enſis *for* Gladius, *or* Nam *for* Enim, *or* Que *for* Et, *ye thinke it cauſe ſufficient to make a Tragedie. Howbeit, I doubt not, but in my reply, being ſo long, and ſo full of neceſſaray allegations, ye may happen to find ſome ouerſights of greater importance. And in acknowledging and reforming of the ſame, ye ſhall finde me as ſharpe and eager as your ſelfe. But theſe few examples I haue touched by the way, that it might appeare, how inquiſitiue and fierce ye are to ſeeke occaſions: and that your Reader may ſee, ye hunt wantonlie and run riot, and open oft times without a cauſe. Yet notwithſtanding if ye can tell vs ſadlie, as your maner is, that M. Iewell bringeth trifling obiections and traſh, and pelfe, and nothing to purpoſe without learning, without reaſon, without wit; that he racketh, that he ſtretcheth, that he wringeth, that he wreſteth, that he nippeth and clippeth the Doctors and Councels: (for theſe be the words whereby ye thought yee might beſt vtter your pretty fanſies:) if ye can cry out* falſe parts, falſe reports, falſe dealings, falſe Merchants, falſe ballance, falſe dice, and all is falſe: *If yee can ſay,* Lo, Sir Defender, ye wrangle, ye trifle, ye are taken tardy, ye haue proued nothing, ye haue nothing to anſwer: *If ye can thus ſay, and ſay it boldly, it ſhall be ſufficient, all is ſafe: your friends will thinke ye haue ſaid ſomewhat, and that ye would neuer haue framed ſuch a countenance to ſay nothing.*

Ye tell vs ful often, we are no Biſhops. I trow, for that we haue not ſworne our obedience to the Pope. *And therefore ye giue the world to vnderſtand, we can conſecrate no Miniſters, we can hold no Synods, we can do nothing. Euen ſo certaine your Forefathers in Olde times told* S. Paul, *He was no* Apoſtle, *and others afterward by like authoritie told* S. Baſil *and* S. Hilary, *they were no* Biſhops. *But, M. Harding, they were* Falſe Apoſtles, *they were* Arian Heretikes *that ſo told them. It booteth not to trie our titles before you. We will onely ſay with* S. Paul: By the grace of God we are that we are. *And we truſt we haue not his Grace in vaine.*

2. Cor. 9.

1. Cor. 15.

But ſpecially and aboue all other things, and that thorowout all your three Bookes yee ſay, that Sir Defender *is vnlearned: that his beſt skill is in a few figures of Rhetorick: that he hath neither Greeke, nor Logike, nor Philoſophie, nor Diuinity: that hee hath read no kind of Doctours, nor New, nor Old, nor of his owne, nor of others: that all the furniture of his Booke was brought to his hand, ſome by Greeke Readers, ſome by Schoolemaſters, ſome by Ciuilians, ſome by Canoniſts, ſome by Summiſts, ſome by Gloſſers, ſome by others: that he hath nothing elſe but patched Note-bookes, huddled together by ſnaps and pecces. Some part heeerof, or rather the whole altogether, without exception, to doe you pleaſure, I would eaſilie haue granted you, M. Harding, vpon ſmal*

M. Hard. Confutat. 214. a. & 259. a. And commonly in other places.

ſute,

ſute, with more fauour and leſſe adoe. Take from mee what learning ye liſt; diſtraine it and pound it at your pleaſure, I will neuer trouble you with Repleuin. Howbeit, if yee vtter all this of your indifferent iudgement and certaine knowledge, yet is it impertinent; for wee pleaded of Faith, and not of Learning; if otherwiſe yee ſpeake it of heat of minde, and abundance of choler, and thereupon thus proclaime it to the World, it is great folly. Truly yee neuer ſaw Sir Defenders *Bookes, nor neuer ſet your foot within his ſtudy. A wiſe Iudge will ſeldome pronounce before hee know. If it ſhall pleaſe you, for triall hereof, to ſend your friend, hee may happily ſee that Sir Defender hath all theſe* Summiſts, *and* Canoniſts, *and* Greeke-readers, *and* Schoolmaſters *of his owne.*

Notwithſtanding, it may become vs both to ſay, as a Heathen wiſe man ſometime ſaid: This onely thing wee know, that wee know nothing. *Gods truth dependeth not of our knowledge. Our tongues ſhall ceaſe, and our knowledge ſhall faile: but the* Glory of God *ſhall ſtand for euer. For my part, I will ſay to you with* S. Auguſtine: Quære doctiores: ſed caue præſumptores: Seeke others of more learning: but beware of them that preſume of learning. *If any praiſe fall out in this reſpect, beſtow it freely vpon your* Greeke-readers *and* Schoolemaſters, *who in your iudgement haue beſt deſerued it. It ſhall be ſufficient for mee to haue ſaid the truth; which though it appeare neuer ſo ſimple, yet is able to remoone a Mountaine of Learning. But happie are your* Brethren of Louaine, *that are ſo ſpeedilie growen Learned vpon the ſudden, not by great ſtudie, I trow, but rather by deſtinie. As ſoone as they had once ſauoured the ſoile of that Countrey; they lookt onely vpon two poore Titles of the* Law, De Maledicis, *and* De Clerico promoto per Saltum: *and ſuddenly they were transformed, and now goe for* Doctours. Socrates.

As for your learning, M. Harding, we neuer reproued it. Howbeit greatly to feare it, we haue no cauſe. God giue you grace, ye may wholly turne it to his glorie; leſt in the day of the Lord it bee laid againſt you. Hee is ouer well learned that bendeth his learning againſt God. But if we be ſo vtterly void of all maner of learning, painting, as you ſay, our Bookes and Margins, with the Names and Authorities of ſo many Doctors, *what may your friends then thinke of you, that ſtanding ſo long in the Defenſe of your* Priuate Maſſe, *are not yet able to allege one* Doctour, *nor* Greeke, *nor* Latine, *nor one nor other? It ſeemeth great maruell yee ſhould haue ſuch abundance of* Doctours, *and ſhew ſo few, ſpecially where it ſtandeth you ſo much vpon to open your ſtore. Conſider, I beſeech you, your late Reioinder; wherein, as it is thought, nothing of your part is left vntouched. Of the ſeuen and twenty Articles contained in my* Replie, *yee haue taken vpon you onely to anſwer One. And yet of the ſame One, yee haue ſcarcelie touched the tenth part. Your purpoſe ſhould haue beene heerein by euident* Examples *and good* Authorities, *ſubſtantiallie to haue prooued your* Priuate Maſſe. Extra. lib. 5.

Now conſider the order and plainneſſe of your dealing. Yee beſtow welneere the third part of your Booke about the Sacrifice: *as though there were no* Sacrifice *without* Priuate Maſſe. *All the reſt ye conſume in idle diſcourſes, and needleſſe talkes, of* Conſecration, *of the* Intention of the Prieſt, *of* mingling the water with the wine, *of* the name of the Maſſe, *of* Tranſubſtantiation, *of* Reall Preſence, *of* Church Feaſts, (*which in Old time were called* Agapæ) *of* Singuler Communion, *of* Communion of Faith, *of our* Vnion with Chriſt, *of ſending abroad the* Sacrament, *of* Prieſts Wiues, *of* Vowes, *of* Bigamie, *of* Good Workes, *of* Onely Faith, *of* Publike praier in a tongue vnknowne, *of* Ceremonies, *of* Formes, *of* Accidents, *of the* Epiſtles Decretall, *of* Clemens, Cletus, Anacletus, Abdias, Leontius, &c. *Heereof yee haue told vs ſuch things, as perhaps we knew before, and were not hard to be known, and pertained full little to the purpoſe. Yee ſhould rather haue prooued, that within the firſt ſixe hundred yeeres after Chriſt, ſome one or other of the Holy* Learned Catholike Fathers Miniſtred the Holy Communion openly in the Church, and receiued the Sacrament alone, not diuiding the ſame to any other, the whole multitude of the people ſitting or ſtanding by and looking on him. *This was the matter that lay betweene vs. Heereunto ye ſhould haue laide your force. This was it, ye ſhould*

haue

haue proued. For proofe of ſuch things as needed no proofe, yee haue brought foorth great ſhewes of learning. But as touching your Priuate Maſſe, *which onely yee had taken in hand to proue, yee haue hitherto proued nothing. Your Reader, M. Harding, can neuer bee neither ſo ſimple, nor ſo partiall, but hee muſt needs haue an eie vnto your iſſue, and remember, what you had in hand. If amongſt ſo many and ſo learned words, hee finde not one word of that hee ſought for, may not hee thinke hee hath loſt his labour, and that there is ſome follie in your fardle? May he not ſay with himſelfe;* Quo nunc ſe proripit iſte? *What ſhall I make of theſe vagaries? What meaneth this man to ſhoot ſo faire beſide the marke? He muſt needs perceiue by your ſilence, that notwithſtanding your ſo many faire and liberall promiſes, yet the thing he ſought for cannot be found. Nay you your ſelfe, for excuſe hereof, by expreſſe words haue told vs plainly,*

M.Hard.Reioind. fol.281. a & fol.88.a. It might be, that none receiued the Sacrament with the Prieſt. *And againe,* Whether the Prieſt had alwaies a company to receiue with him, or ſomtimes receiued alone, that is a circumſtance of a fact: the proofe whereof by manifeſt teſtimonies cannot with reaſon be demanded. *Againe:* It is contentious to put vs to proofe of the circumſtance. *Againe;* It forceth not, whether we bring forth Teſtimonies of the ſixe hundred yeeres, or no. *Againe;* Whether I can ſhew, that a Maſſe was ſaid without company preſent to receiue with the Prieſt that ſaid it, or no, what skilleth it? *Againe*, I muſt tell you, that I ſeeke not for Priuate Maſſe, which to finde, your ſcoffing pretendeth me to be deſirous. I ſeeke not for that which I acknowledge not. *And againe;* It forceth not greatly, whether it may be proued or no: *Which is as much as if he had told vs in plainer wiſe, that for the ſpace of ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, ye can heare no tidings in any* Doctor *or* Councel, *of your* Priuate Maſſe. *Which thing thus of your part confeſſed, to our purpoſe is ſufficient.*

M.Hard.Reioind. fol.281. a & fol.88.a. M.Hard. in his Reioinder, in the Preface to the Reader, &c. In the ſame Preface, &. ij. M.Hard.Reioin fol.210,a. Reioin. 219 a.

M. Harding in his Anſwer, fol.29.a. Reioinder, fol. 267.b.

Now touching the authority of your Amphilochius, *not long ſithence, yee thought his force had been inuincible. And therefore ye ſtood vp aloft and braied aloud;* Now M. Iewel and his Conſacramentaries doe ſtagger, I doubt not. *And for that cauſe, as if it had been ſome great worthy* Author, *yee alleged him ſeuen times, with ſpeciall reuerence in your Booke. And yet now at the laſt, yee are content for ſhame to turne him ouer, and to let him goe. Perhaps ye thought for the while, a weake threed was ſufficient to lead the people; and that, as folkes vſe ſometimes to pleaſe children, yee might quench their thirſt with an empty Cup. Thus much hitherto, touching ſome parts of your* Reioinder.

M.Hard.Confut.fol. 162.b. Con fol.162.a M.Har.Confut.fol.163. b. Confut.251.a. & deinceps. 2.Cor 4. M.Har.Confut. fol. 117.a Luke.22.

Concerning your Former Booke, *which ye haue entituled,* A Confutation, *I need to ſay nothing. By the iudgement of the Wiſe it ſaith ſufficiently of it ſelfe. But what meant you, M. Harding, therein to make ſo large diſcourſe, I will not ſay, in the Defenſe,* (*for that word your friends may not beare*) *but at the leaſt, in fauour of* Open Stewes; *and to call the ſame,* Malum neceſſarium, *that is to ſay, although an ill thing, yet ſuch a thing, as no good Commonweale may be without it? What meant you to that purpoſe to ſhew vs the name and authority of* S. Auguſtine? *muſt wee thinke that* S. Auguſtine, *was a Proctour or Patron for your* Stewes? *What meant you thus to vpbraid vs in the end:* In good ſooth Maſters, yee are too young to controle the Citie of Rome in her doings? *what needed you to beſtow ſo fine eloquence in ſo foule a cauſe? Is vice growne ſo cold in* Louaine, *that it muſt now bee inflamed and authoriſed by open writing? What meant you to allege the* Prophet Dauid, *the* Euangeliſt S. Matthew, *and* S. Paul *the* Apoſtle, *for proofe of your* Pardons? *Will ye tell vs, that* Dauid, Matthew, *and* Paul *were* Pardoners? *Or if yee dare to tell vs ſo, muſt wee beleeue you? If you ſo manifeſtly mocke vs with open follies, how may wee truſt you in higher Myſteries?* S. Paul *ſaith; Though our outward man be corrupted, yet our inward man is renewed day by day. Heere you tell vs in great ſooth, that theſe words vndoubtedly ſerue to proue* Purgatory. *Chriſt ſaith vnto* Peter, I haue prayed for thee, &c. *Therefore ye ſay,* Chriſt now requireth vs, not to bee obedient to Peter or Paul, but to the Pope that ſitteth in their Chaire. Chriſt *ſaith;* The

Sonne

Sonne of Man came not to deſtroy, but to ſaue: Ergo, *ſay you*, The Bread and Wine in the Sacrament loſe no part of their former vertues: but remaine in Formes and Accidents, euen as they were before: *as if the Sonne of God had come downe from Heauen to ſaue* Accidents. M. Har. Confut. fol. 192. b. M. Har. Confut. fol. 99. a.

Thus ye nip off the ſenſe and meaning of the Holy Scriptures, *and feed vs onely with emptie words, as if yee would picke away the corne, and giue vs the chaffe: or conuey away the iewels, and throw vs the bagge. O M. Harding, be not wilfull: let your owne conſcience lead you. Was this the meaning of* S. Paul? *Was this the comming of Chriſt into the world? Was this the ſenſe of the Holy Ghoſt? I will not ſay, what* Old Doctor *or* Ancient Father, *but what* Summiſt, *what* Canoniſt, *what* Child, *what* Heretike, *euer either ſo vnaduiſedly or ſo vnreuerently vſed the* Word of God?

I leaue the miſconſtruing and falſifying of ſo many Fathers: *the allowing and ſoothing of manifeſt forgeries: the vpholding of abuſes and open errors: your weake proofes: your ſillie coniectures: your ſimple gheſſes: your great ouerſights: your bold affirmations: your heapes of vntruthes: your diſdainfull ſcornes: your immoderate ſcoffes: your vngentle and vnciuill words; as for example,* Villaines, Theeues, Fooles, Diſards, Lourdaines, &c. *I leaue other your vnmanerly and vncleanlie ſpeeches;* Hungrie dogges eat dirtie puddings: As common as Lice with Beggers: They ſerue the belly, and the things beneath the bellie. *Theſe bee your words, M. Harding; you may not deme them. Theſe be the flowers and ornaments of your Bookes.* Confut. 318. b. Confut. 250. b.

But was this a Preſent, M. Harding, meet either for the modeſtie of a Virgin, *or for the* Maieſty *of a* Prince: *ſpecially ſuch a* Virgin, *and ſuch a* Prince, *ſo Chaſt, ſo Graue, ſo Learned, ſo Wiſe, ſo Vertuous, ſo Godly, as Chriſtendome ſeldome hath ſeene the like? What? thought you that either her wiſdome could not eſpie your frauds and mockeries, or that her chaſt eares could quietly beare your loathſome talke? Or thought you by the weight of ſuch reaſons to mooue Mountaines, and to worke wonders, and to force her* Maieſtie *to leaue* Chriſt *and his* Goſpell, *and come to* Louaine *to follow you?*

Yee threape her Maieſtie *fondlie with kindneſſe, and, as yee would haue the world imagine, with good liking and fauouring of your ſide; as if her* Maieſtie *hauing beene brought vp from her cradle in the knowledge and feare of* God, *and through Gods great mercie, and according to his knowen Will, by the good aduice and counſell of the States of her* Realme, *hauing reformed the* Houſe of God, *from the filth and ſoile of your deuices, ſhee ſtood now in a mammering, and were not able to diſcerne either* Falſhood *from* Truth, *or* Darkneſſe *from* Light; *or as if your errours were not ſo groſſe, that a blind man may grope them with his fingers.*

Ye tell her Maieſtie, *ſhe hath neither* Parlament, *nor* Law, *nor* Church, *nor* Clergy: *The Church of England ye commonly call the* Tower of Babylon, *the* Synagogue of Antichriſt, *and the* Schoole of Satan: *ye charge her Maieſtie with diſordered proceedings, with maintenance of Infidelitie, of Sacrilege, of Schiſme, of Hereſie; For your poſſible power, yee diſhonour her Maieſtie both abroad and at home; where yee may get credit to your follies, yee ſlander the gouernment; yee diſquiet her Maieſties louing Subiects; ye breed ſeditions; ye procure rebellions; ye hazard her eſtate. And yet dare ye to powder all this poiſon with a few diſſembled and ſugred words, and to offer the ſame vnto her Maieſtie for a Preſent? Well, M. Harding, if yee had foreſeene the thankes that her Maieſtie moſt iuſtlie yeelded you for your trauels, ye would not haue beene ſo bold, ſo rudely to preſſe into her preſence. It behooued you to bee aduiſed, not onely what yee wrote, but alſo what Perſonage ſhould view your writings.* Confut. fo. 42. a. & ſo thorow out the whole Booke. Confut. fo. 5. a 15. a. 38. a. 49. & ſo thorow the whole.

If ye ſhall happen to write heereafter, ſend vs fewer words and more learning. If ye ſhall deuiſe to talke any more of your Priuate Maſſe, leaue your vagaries, and goe directly to the purpoſe. Tell vs no more ſuch long tales, either of the Sacrifice, or of other matters ſo farre from the queſtion. It is no good Logike to ſhift off the thing yee haue in hand, and to mocke your poore Reader with another. Tread not ſo nicely and ſo gingerly, M. Harding; Say not your Maſſe is a circumſtance, and a matter of Fact, and ſtandeth only vpon ſuppoſals and gheſſes, and therefore needeth no further proofe. Reioin. 232. b. 233. a.

Why

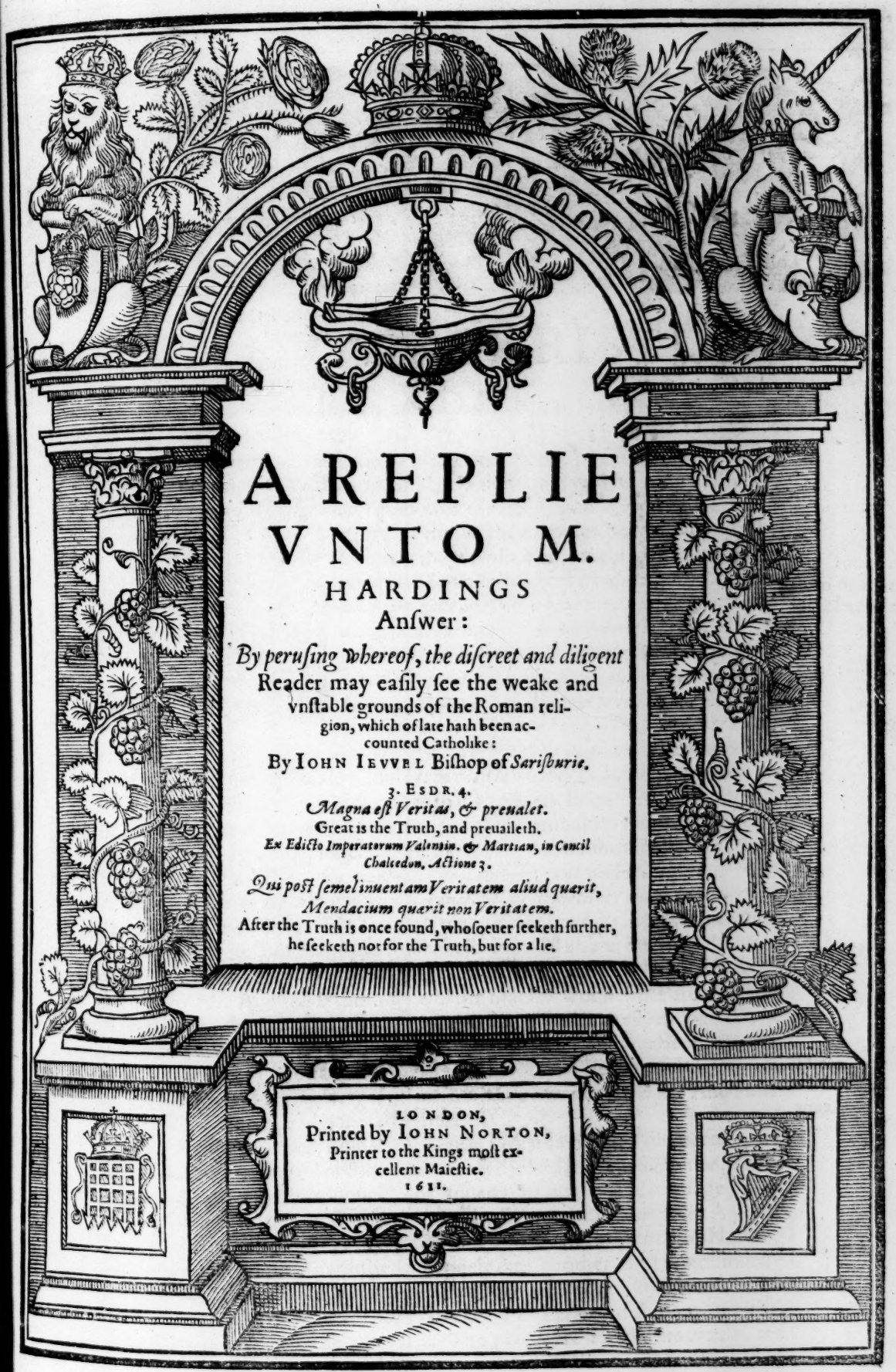
why ſhould yee ſo trifle with the ſimple? This is the iſſue that falleth out betweene vs; Whether any one of the Ancient Learned Fathers, &c. euer ſaid your priuate Maſſe, &c. *This it is that is denied. If ye proue not this, what ſoeuer ye proue, ye proue nothing. Bring out ſome learned* Father; *ſhew ſome* Catholike Doctor; *keepe them no longer forth-comming. The world looketh ye ſhould deale plainly.*

Deny no more the manifeſt Truth; auouch no more the open falſhood; let there bee ſome probability and likelihood in your ſayings. Leaue your immoderate and vncourteous talks. They are tokens of ſtomacke, and not of learning. Therein ye haue deſerued the honour aboue all others. In ſuch kind of Eloquence no man can match you, but your ſelfe. A good cauſe might haue been pleaded with better words. The more vntemperate and fiery ye ſhew your ſelfe without cauſe, the more in the end will appeare your folly. If yee haue hitherto taken any pleaſure in ſpeaking ill, at my hand, by hearing ill, ye ſhall not loſe it. If ye bring vs moe fables of your Pardons *and* Purgatories; *If ye feed vs as yee haue done with* Vntruths; *If ye depraue the* Scriptures; *If ye falſifie the* Doctours; *If yee conclude without* Premiſſes; *If yee place your* Antecedent at Rome, *and your* Conſequent at Louaine; *If ye ſtuffe ſo much Paper, and blot ſo many leaues, and ſhew vs nothing: briefly, if yee write none otherwiſe then ye haue done hitherto, no wiſe man will greatly feare your force.*

Deceiue not the ſimple. They are bought with price. They are the people of God, for whom Chriſt *hath ſhed his* Bloud. *Your ſhifts be miſerable. Ye trouble your ſelfe as a bird in the lime. The more ye ſtirre, the faſter ye cleaue: the longer ye ſtriue, the weaker ye are. Ye cannot bridle the flowing Seas; ye cannot blind the Sun-beames. Kicke not ſtill againſt the ſpurre; Giue place vnto the glory of God. Will ye, nill yee, the* Truth *will conquer. God giue vs both humble hearts, and the people eies to ſee, that all fleſh may bee obedient to his will. Amen.*

From London 27. Octobris, 1567.

Iohn Sarisbury.



A REPLIE VNTO M. HARDINGS Anſwer:

By peruſing whereof, the diſcreet and diligent Reader may eaſily ſee the weake and vnſtable grounds of the Roman religion, which of late hath been accounted Catholike:

By IOHN IEVVEL Biſhop of *Sariſburie.*

3. ESDR. 4.

Magna eſt Veritas, & preualet.

Great is the Truth, and preuaileth.

Ex Edicto Imperatorum Valentin. & Martian, in Concil Chalcedon. Actione 3.

Qui poſt ſemel inuentam Veritatem aliud quærit, Mendacium quærit non Veritatem.

After the Truth is once found, whoſoeuer ſeeketh further, he ſeeketh not for the Truth, but for a lie.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN NORTON,
Printer to the Kings moſt excellent Maieſtie.
1611.

VNTO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

Eruſing a certaine Booke lately ſet foorth in the name of M. Harding; and weighing the ſubſtance, and parcels of the ſame, good Chriſtian Reader, I called to minde theſe wordes ſpoken ſometime by Socrates the Philoſopher, touching his accuſers, in his owne defence before the Iudges: *My Lords, in what ſort your affections haue beene ſtirred with mine accuſers eloquence, while yee heard them ſpeake, I cannot tell. But well I wot, for mine owne part, I my ſelfe whom it toucheth moſt, was almoſt perſwaded to beleeue, that all they ſaid was true: yea, although, it were againſt my ſelfe. So handſomely they can tell their tale: and ſo likely, and ſo ſmoothly they conueigh their matters. Euery word they ſpake had appearance of trueth. And yet in good ſooth they haue ſcarcely vttered one word of trueth:* Thus then ſaid Socrates to his accuſers. Euen ſo may I ſay now of M. Harding. For both in truth of matter, and alſo in probability of vtterance they are much alike. Ariſtotle, touching the darkneſſe, and doubtfulneſſe of naturall worldly things, ſaith thus, *Quadam falſa probabiliora ſunt quibuſdam veris: Certaine falſehoods (by meanes of good vtterance) haue ſometimes more likelihood of Trueth, then Trueth it ſelfe.* For Trueth is many times brought in ſimple, and naked, in poore aray. But Falſhood muſt needs apparell and attire her-ſelfe with all her furnitures. Thus, many times we are deceiued, and embrace Falſhood in ſteed of Trueth. And this is the miſerie of the ſimple. For neither are they able to teach themſelues: nor haue they, wherwith to diſcerne their teachers. There was neuer, neither error ſo horrible, but the Simple haue receiued it: nor poiſon ſo deadly, but the ſimple haue drunken it. In this ſort S. Hierome ſaith, *Infidelitie was ſometime publiſhed among the Simple, vnder the name of Faith*: And Antichriſt ſhall be adored, and honored in ſteed of Chriſt.

Plato in Apologia Socratis.

Hieron. contra Luciferianos.

Touching the ſtate and iſſue of the matter: whereas I, vpon iuſt occaſion offered, and onely in regard of the trueth, ſometime ſaid in great audience, that in any of theſe caſes heere mooued, our Aduerſaries are not able to allege, either any one ſufficient clauſe, or ſentence out of the Scriptures, Councels, or Ancient Fathers, or any certaine vſage, or example of the Primitiue Church; M. Harding hath heere alleged, and publiſhed, not onely one, or other, but as he himſelfe ſaith, and as it is thought of many, great numbers of ſuch Authorities of Scriptures, Councels, and Doctors, both Greeke, and Latine, and many ancient, and euident examples to the contrarie. The places are noted: the wordes are cleere: It cannot be denied: and, as it is ſuppoſed, all the world is not able to

anſwer it. It ſeemeth now an vndoubted trueth, that as well theſe, as alſo all other the Doctrines and Orders of the Church of Rome, haue beene deriued directly from Chriſt himſelfe, and his Apoſtles: and haue continued the ſpace of fifteene hundred and thirtie yeeres at the leaſt. Therefore ſome haue wiſhed my wordes had beene more warily qualified, and vttered with more circumſpection. Euen this is it, that Ariſtotle ſaid, *The ſhew of trueth beareth often more likelihood, then trueth it ſelfe.* There is no way ſo eaſie, to beguile the Simple, as the name, and countenance of Ancient Fathers. The Arian Heretikes alleged for themſelues the ancient Father Origen: The Neſtorian Heretikes alleged the Councell of Nice: The Donatian Heretikes alleged S. Cyprian: the Pelagian Heretikes alleged S. Ambroſe, S. Hierome, and S. Auguſtine: Dioſcorus the Heretike alleged Gregorius, Cyrillus, and Athanaſius: and complained openly in the Councell, euen in like ſort, and as iuſtly, as M. Harding doth now: *Ego defendo dogmata Sanctorum patrum. Ego illorum habeo teſtimonia, non obiter, nec in tranſcurſu, ſed in ipſorum libris poſita. Ego cum Patribus eijcior. I maintaine the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers. I haue their witneſſes, not vttered by chance, or by the way, but written in their Bookes. I am excommunicate, and caſt out, and baniſhed with the Fathers.* If the Diuell can ſhew himſelfe, as the Angel of light: and if Falſe Prophets can come in the name of Chriſt: much more may ſome others come in the name, and vnder the colour of certaine Fathers.

In Conc. Chalcedo. Action. 1.

But good Chriſtian Reader, for thy better vnderſtanding, leſt happily thou be deceiued, it may pleaſe thee to know, that theſe Anthorities, alleged here by M. Harding, are neither new, nor ſtrange, nor vnknowne to any man of mean learning, but haue beene both often brought in, and alleged by others, and alſo weighed, and examined, and thorowly confuted long agoe. Indeed M. Harding hath added of himſelfe ſome beautie of his eloquence and maieſtie of words: and yet not ſo much, nor ſuch, but it may eaſily be anſweared, although not with like eloquence, whereof in theſe caſes there is no need, yet at leaſt with more trueth. I truſt, by indifferent conference heereof, thou ſhalt ſoone ſee the Ancient Fathers, Some that neuer were, by M. Harding ſurmiſed, and counterfeited: ſome vntruely alleged: Some corruptly tranſlated: Some peruerſly expounded: Some vnaptly, and guilefully applied. Their words ſometimes abridged: ſometimes enlarged: ſometimes altered: ſometimes diſſembled: Fabulous, and vnknowne Authorities newly founded: Childiſh arguments fondly concluded: To bee ſhort, infinite Vntruthes, and knowen Vntruthes boldely auouched. In conſideration heereof S. Auguſtine crieth out, *O rerum Naturæ obſcuritas: quantum tegmen eſt Falſitatis? O the Darkeneſſe of Naturall things: What a couert haue lies to lurke in?* Therefore Socrates ſaith: *We may not beleeue euerie Argument that is ſhewed vs, vpon the ſight. But muſt open it, and ſearch it, and looke it through.* For oftentimes it ſeemeth otherwiſe then it is. It ſeemeth ſtrong without, and is weake within. King Ageſilaus when hee withſtood his enemies, of policie, to couer the ſmalneſſe and weakeneſſe of their bodies, had bombaſted, and embоſſed out their coates with great quarters, that they might ſeeme bigge, and mightie men, and that his ſouldiers, therewith were much diſmaide, after hee had ouerthrowen, and ſlaine them in the field, pulled off their coats, and ſtript them, and left them naked: and when hee had cauſed his Souldiers to behold the poore, lither, ſlender, wearish bodies, nothing like that they ſeemed before, then ſaid hee vnto them: *Lo, theſe bee they, of whom yee ſtood ſo much afraid: theſe bee their great bodies: theſe bee their mightie bones.* Euen ſo, good Reader, if thou ſtande in feare of theſe M. Hardings Authorities, and Arguments, and thinke them terrible, and inuincible, for that they are embоſſed, and wrought out by arte: take them, rippe them, open them, ſearch them, weigh them, ſtrippe them naked, ſhake them

Auguſt. de mor. Manich. li. 2. ca. 16.

out

out, conferre them with the places, from whence they were taken: consider the Causes, and the Circumstances, what goeth before, what commeth after: marke the Storie of the time: examine the Iudgement of other Fathers: and thou shalt maruell, wherefore thou stoodest so much afraid, or euer thoughtest them to be inuincible.

It were aboue all things to be desired of God, that his heauenly Trueth might passe foorth without these contrarieties and quarrels of iudgements: and manie godly wise men are much offended to see it otherwise. But thus it hath beene euer from the beginning. Cain was against Abel: Esau against Iacob: The kingdome of Darkenesse was euer against the Kingdome of Light: The Scribes, and Pharisees were grieued with Christ: Celsus, Porphyrius, Iulianus, Symmachus were grieued with the glorie of the Gospell. Christ himselfe is the stone of offence, laide to the Resurrection, and ruine of manie. But through these offences, and contentions the Trueth of God breaketh out, and shineth more glorious.

Blessed therefore be the name of God, that hath offered this occasion. For I haue no doubt in God, but of this necessarie conflict, through his mercy, there shall issue some sparkle, to the glory of his holy name. For as Moses Rodde deuoured the Roddes of the Sorcerers; euen so will the Trueth of God deuour Errour. Darknesse cannot stand before the Light. Tertullian saith, *Scriptura diuina Hæreticorum fraudes, & furta conuincit, & detegit: The holy Scripture discloseth, and confoundeth the subtleties, and robberies of Heretikes.* And Nehemias saith, *Great is Veritie, and preuaileth.* 3. Esdr. 4.

But M. Harding threatned aforehand, that mine Answer (bee it true, bee it false) shall soone bee answered. Howbeit, if he will not dissemble, but deale plainly, and laie out the whole, and answer the whole, as he seeth I haue dealt with him, perhaps it may require him some longer time. But if hee dismember my sayings, and cull out my words, and take choise of my sentences, without regard what goeth before, or what commeth after: or, if hee send vs ouer such pretie Pamphlets, as hee lately Printed together, and ioyned with the Turkish Newes of Malta, I warne him before hand, I may not vouchsafe, to make him answer.

Notwithstanding, before he addresse himselfe to his second Booke, I would counsell him, first, to consider better the ouersightes, and scapes of his former Booke: and further, to thinke, that, whatsoeuer he shall write, it will be examined, and come to triall. And let him remember, it is not sufficient to call vs Sacramentaries, and Heretikes: or to condemne our Books for pelfe, and trash, and fardles of lies, before he see them. For these things will now no longer goe for Arguments. But before all things, let him write no more vntruths: For thereof he hath sent vs enough already: Let him no more wrest, and racke the Scriptures: Let him no more neither misallege, nor misconstrue, nor corrupt, nor alter the holy Fathers: Let him no more imagine Councels, and Canons, that he neuer saw: Let him no more bring vs, neither his Amphilochius, nor his Abdias, nor his Hippolytus, nor his Clemens, nor his Leontius, nor any other like childish forgeries: nor his Ghesses, nor his Visions, nor his Dreames, nor his Fables: Let him no more bring one thing for an other. And, to bee short, let him bring no moe Contradictions in his owne tales, nor be found contrarie to himselfe. Otherwise, the more he striueth, the more he bewraieth his owne cause.

Now, good Christian Reader, that thou maiest be the better able, both to satisfie thine owne Conscience in these cases, and also to vnderstand, as well, what is said, as also, what is answered of either partie, I haue laide foorth before thee M. Hardings Booke without any diminution, fully, and wholly, as hee himselfe gaue it out. And to euery parcell thereof, according to my poore skill, I

haue laide mine Anſwer: whether ſufficient, or inſufficient, thou maiſt be Iudge. To thee it is dedicated: and for thy ſake it is written. Heere muſt I ſay vnto thee, euen as S. Hierom ſaith to his Reader in the like caſe: *Quæſo, Lector, vt memor Tribunalis Domini, & de iudicio tuo te intelligens iudicandum, nec mihi, nec Aduerſario meo faueas: néue perſonas loquentium, ſed cauſam conſideres; I beſeech thee good Reader, that, remembring the Iudgement ſeat of the Lord, and vnderſtanding, that as thou doeſt iudge, ſo thou ſhalt be iudged, thou fauour neither me, nor mine Aduerſarie that writeth againſt me: and that thou regard not the perſons, but onely the cauſe.*

Aduerſus error. Iohã. Hieroſolymitani.

God giue thee the Spirit of Vnderſtanding, that thou maieſt be able to iudge vprightly: God giue thee eies to ſee, that thou maieſt behold the comfortable, and glorious face of Gods Trueth: that thou maieſt know the good, and mercifull, and perfit will of God: that thou maieſt grow into a full perfit man in Chriſt, and no longer be blowen away with euery blaſt of vaine Doctrine: but maieſt be able to know the Onely, the True, and the liuing God, and his only begotten Son Ieſus Chriſt: To whom both, with the Holie Ghoſt be all Honor, and Glory for euer and euer: Amen.

(***)

From London, the vi. of Auguſt. 1565.

IOHN IEVVEL *Sarisburien.*

AN ANSWER TO
M. HARDINGS Preface.

IT misliketh you much, M. Harding, that in so many and sundrie cases by me moued, wherein standeth the greatest force of your religion, I should say, You, and others of that part are vtterly void, not onely of the Scriptures, but also of the old Councels, and ancient Fathers: and that in such an Audience, I should so precisely, and so openly discouer the wants, and weakenesse of your side. And therefore, *The greater my heape riseth, the lesse,* say you, *is mine aduantage.*

Whereunto I may easilie replie, The larger is mine Offer, the more will your discréet Reader mislike the insufficiencie of your Answer: and the more enlarged is your liberty, the lesse cause haue you to complaine.

Wise men, ye say, *would more haue liked greater modestie.* Verily, the men, that you call wise, would haue thought it greatest modestie, to haue dissembled, and said nothing. But what may the same wise men thinke of your modestie, that hauing so often made so large, and so liberall offers, of so many Doctours, are not able in the end to shew vs one.

Neither looke we so fiercely, nor shake we the sword so terribly, as you report vs. This was euermore your, and your fellowes speciall, and peculiar commendation: Who besides your fierce, and cruell lookes, and besides the shaking, and terrour of your sword, haue also hewen, and cut, and slaine, and filled your hands with the blood of your brethren.

Wherefore, ye should not take it in such griefe, that, onely for distinctions sake, by so ciuill, and courteous a name we call you our *Aduersaries.* For, finding you armed with sword, and fire, and embrewed with our blood, we might well haue spared you some other name. That I said yée haue no such assurance of the ancient Fathers, as ye haue borne vs in hand, and as your friends vpon your credit haue beléeued, I said it not, neither of ambition as you expound it, nor of malice; but forced thereto by your importunity, and with great griefe of minde.

Therefore yée did mé the greater wrong, to say, *I came vaunting, as Goliah, and throwing foorth my gloue, like a chalenger, and proclaiming defiance to all the world.* In these words, M. Harding, Wise men may finde some want of your modestie. For, who so auoucheth the manifest, and knowen trueth, and saith, that you both haue béene deceiued your selues, and also haue deceiued others, ought not therefore to be called Goliah. And, notwithstanding you haue aduentured your selfe, to be the noble Dauid, to conquer this Giant, yet for as much as ye haue neither Dauids sling in your hand, nor Dauids stones in your scrippe, and therefore not likely to worke great maisteries, yée may not loke, that the Ladies of Israel with their Lutes, and Timbrelles will receiue you in triumph, or sing before you, *Dauid hath conquered his tenne thousands.* Ye rather is Goliah, that setteth his face against the heauens, and his foot in Emperous neckes: and openeth his mouth awide, to vtter blasphemies: That soundeth out these words into all the world, *I cannot erre: I haue all lawes, both spirituall, and temporall in my breast: I am aboue all generall Councels: I may iudge all men: but all the world may not iudge mee, be I neuer so wicked: I am King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: I can doe, whatsoeuer Christ himselfe can doe: I am all, and aboue all: all power is giuen to mee, as well in heauen, as in earth.* Yée know whose words these be, by whom they are spoken, by whom they are defended, and to whom they are applied. This seemeth to be the very expresse, and liuely image of Goliah: That Goliah, I say, whom now you se knockt in the forehead, and falling downe, not with force of worldly power, but onely with

Extra. de Constitu. Licet. De Electio. & Elect. potestate Significasti. 9. qu. 3. Nemo. De Maiorit. & Obedient. Vnã Sanctam. In Glossa. In Concil. Laterã. Sub Iulio.

with that little rough deſpiſed ſtone of Gods euerlaſting and heauenly woꝛd. Touching, that moſt woꝛthy, and learned Father, ſometime your Maſter, D. Peter Martyꝛ, whom ye would ſeeme ſomewhat to commend, not foꝛ his Doctrine, from which you haue ſo ſuddainely fallen away, but onely foꝛ his modeſtie: it cannot bee doubted, but he, being at Poiſſy in that woꝛthy aſſembly, in the preſence of the King, and of other the Pꝛinces, and Nobles of that Realme, both did, and ſpake, that might ſtand with the truth of the cauſe, and alſo might well become his owne perſon. But being demanded his iudgement in theſe caſes, he would haue anſwered euen as we doe, and would much haue marueiled, that any learned man would ſay the contrarie. Not long ſithence ye made the Pulpits ring, that your Maſſe, and all other your whole Doctrine, was aſſured vnto you by Chꝛiſt, and his Apoſtles, and that foꝛ the ſame ye had the vndoubted continuance, and ſucceſſion of fifteene hundꝛed yeeres, the conſent of all the old Councels, Doctours, and Fathers, and all Antiquitie, and the Vniuerſall allowance of the woꝛld. Thus ye doubted not then to ſay, without feare of controlment of God, oꝛ man. Many thouſands thought ye dealt ſimply, and would not deceiue them: and thereforꝛe were eaſily led to beleeue you.

In this caſe, Chꝛiſtian duty, and charity required, that the truth, and certainty of your tales ſhould be opened, that the ſimple might vnderſtand ye had deceiued them, and that of all that your ſo large talke, and countenance of Antiquitie, you were, as you wel know, vtterly able to auouch nothing. Whereas it ſo much offended you, that I ſhould ſo pꝛeciſely auouch the Negatiue, and require you to pꝛoue your Affirmatiue, wherof ye would ſeeme ſo well aſſured, it may pleaſe you to conſider, that S. Gꝛegoꝛie writing againſt Iohn the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, that had intitled himſelfe the Vniuerſall Biſhop of the whole woꝛld, reſted himſelfe likewiſe vpon the Negatiue. His woꝛds be theſe: Nemo
Lib. 4. epiſt. 13 deceſſorum meorum hoc ſuperbo vocabulo vti conſenſit: Nemo Romanorum Pontificum hoc Singularitatis nomen aſſumpſit: *None of my Predeceſſours euer conſented to vſe this arrogant Name: No Biſhop of Rome euer tooke vpon him this name of ſingularitie.* S. Auguſtine, when he had reckened vp all the Biſhops of Rome, befoꝛe his time, added thereto by a
Aug. epiſt. 165 Negatiue, In hoc ordine ſucceſſionis, nullus Donatiſta Epiſcopus inuenitur: *In this order of ſucceſſion there is found no Biſhop, that was a Donatiſt.* Yet neither S. Auguſtine, noꝛ S. Gꝛegoꝛie was euer condemned foꝛ Goliath. By the like Negatiue, you, M. Harding, your ſelfe ſay, although vntruly, as you doe many other things beſides, *That neither M. Iuel,*
In the 3. Article, and in the 15. Diuiſion. *nor any one of his ſide is able to ſhew, that the publike ſeruice of the Church in any nation, was euer for the ſpace of ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, in any other tongue, then in Greeke, or Latine.* And yet we may not thereforꝛe call you, either Goliath, oꝛ Therſites, oꝛ by any other like vncourteous name. You ſay, *I take preſumptuouſly vpon me, to haue read all things, and to bee ignorant of nothing*: onely becauſe I ſay, you in theſe caſes can alledge nothing. And why ſo? Can no man diſcrie your wants, and diſcloſe your vntruthes, without pꝛeſumption? You ſay, ye haue the conſent of all Doctours, of all ages, and of all times, of your ſide: ſhall we thereforꝛe ſay, that you vaunt your ſelfe of your knowledge, oꝛ, that you know all things, and are ignoꝛant of nothing? You ſay, *Ye haue all the Doctours.* I ſay, and true it is, *Ye haue not one Doctour.* The difference of theſe ſayings ſtandeth only in this, that the one is true, the other vntrue: That your Affirmatiue cannot be pꝛoued: My Negatiue cannot be repꝛoued. But touching vaunt of reading and knowledge, there is no difference.

Howbeit, foꝛaſmuch as this Negatiue ſo much offendeth you of our ſide, let vs hardly turne it of your ſide: And let vs ſay ſo, as it may beſt like you to haue vs ſay: That it cannot appeare, by any ſufficient clauſe, oꝛ ſentence, either of the Scriptures, oꝛ of the old Doctours, oꝛ of the Ancient Councels, oꝛ by any example of the Pꝛimitiue Church, either that the Pꝛieſt then receiued the Holy Communion together with the people: oꝛ that the Sacrament was then miniſtred vnto the people vnder both kindes: oꝛ that the publike pꝛaiers were euer ſaid in the vulgar oꝛ knowen tongue: oꝛ that the whole people thereto ſaid Amen, within the ſpace of ſix hundꝛed yeeres after Chꝛiſt. Let vs ſay further, that Chꝛiſt himſelfe, and all his Apoſtles ſaid Pꝛiuate Maſſe, and receiued the holy Sacrament ſeuerally alone: that all the ancient Fathers miniſtred the halfe Communion only vnder One Kind: that all the common Pꝛaiers were euery where ſaid in a ſtrange learned tong, vtterly vnknowen vnto the people. This offer is frée and liberall. And what can you deſire moꝛe? But perhaps it ſhameth you to ſay ſo much. Foꝛ, albeit ſome of you haue often ſaid it, yet the vntruth thereof is manifeſt, and ſheweth it ſelfe.

Only yée wiſh, *I had vſed ſome greater modeſtie.* And would you, that I ſhould haue ſaid, *Ye haue one ancient Doctour directly, and plainly of your ſide,* and ſo in that place, and in that pꝛeſence, foꝛ Modeſties ſake, to haue auouched open vntruth, as you, and others had
11. quæſt. 3. Nolite. done befoꝛe? O M. Harding, in theſe caſes a meane way is no way. Accurſed is that Modeſtie, that diſpleaſeth the truth of God. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Veritatem negat, qui eam

non

non liberè prædicat. *He is a Renouncer of the Truth, that dareth not freely say the truth.*

Ye say, *I haue sought vp certaine small questions of light importance, wherein the ancient Doctours haue not trauelled,* as not daring to enter into matters of greater weight. Howbeit, it séemeth ouer much for you, to limit, and appoint eche man, what he should preach at Pauls Crosse. Neither is it much materiall, whether these matters be great, or small: but, whether you, by colour of the same, haue deceiued the people.

But would ye haue vs now at last beléeue, that your Masse, your Transubstantiation, your Reall Presence, your Adoration, your Sacrificing of the Sonne of God, and your Supremacie of Rome be so small matters? Ye told vs not long sithence, there were no other matters so great, as these. And may we thinke, that your religion is now greater, now smaller: and increaseth, and vadeth: and waxeth, and waneth, as doth the Mone? Verily Pope Nicholas would haue ioyned your Transubstantiation to the Créed, & would haue made it the Thirtenth Article of our Faith. And Pope Boniface the eight saith, *that to be subiect to the Church of Rome, is of the necessity of Saluation.* And Pope Nicolas saith, *Whosoeuer denieth the authoritie and preeminence of that See, is an Heretike.* *Extr. de Maiorit. & Obed. Vnã Sanctam. Dist. 22. Omnes.*

Notwithstanding, how great, or small these matters be, it forceth not. Inuent, you had learned them in very small time: and, as now, ye auouch them with very small proufes. And, how small, and light soeuer you would now haue them to appeare, yet for the same, yee haue made no small adoe. Nothing ought to be taken for small, wherewith so great multitudes of Gods people may be deceiued.

The matters wherewith Christ charged the Pharisies, were not so great. Yet Christ saith vnto them, *Ye straine a gnat, and swallow a Camell.* S. Paul saith, *A little leauen soureth a whole lumpe of dough.* A haire is small, yet we read, it hath choked a bigge man. Plato saith, *Robberie is no lesse in a small matter, then in a great.* The Ciniphes were but small: yet are they reckened among the great plagues of God. Matth. 23. 1. Cor. 5.

They that first beganne to maintaine that arrogant presumptuous title, of Vniuersall Bishop, which now the Bishop of Rome challengeth wholly to himselfe, said it was but a small matter. But Gregorie saith, Alia sunt friuola, & innoxia: alia sunt friuola, & noxia: *Some things are small, and doe no hurt: Some things are small, and doe great hurt.* *Gregor. lib. 6. epist. 30.*

And comparing the same with the pride of Antichrist, who should call himselfe, Deus, (that is to say, God) hée saith thus: Si spectes quantitatem vocis, duæ sunt Syllabæ: Si pondus iniquitatis, est vniuersa pernicies: *If ye weigh the quantity of the word, it standeth in two syllables: If the weight of the wickednesse, it is an vniuersall destruction.* *Ibidem.*

Though these matters were small, yet the Vntruthes, and Errours that thereof haue risen, are not small. Remoue the same, and your greatest Religion will fall to nothing.

To conclude, if these matters bé Great, they are the more worthie to bé considered: if they be Small, there is the lesse hurt in leauing of them, and the more wilfulnesse, in defending of them: Verily, the whole World is weary of them. Christ saith: Qui in modico iniquus est, & in maiori iniquus est: *Hee that is wicked in the Small, is also wicked in the Great.* Luk. 16.

You say, *Wee flie and forbeare the iudgement of the learned, and shake out these things with great admiration onely amongst the simple.* As Alexander the King of Macedonia made himselfe a God, and had much talke of his father Iuppiter amongst the Barbarians: but amongst the Grékes that were wise and able to iudge, and knew him well enough, hée was content to talke of other matters.

This comparison, M. Harding, is odious, and sauoureth ouermuch of your choller. We hunt not for any admiration or opinion of Godhead among the people. We preach not our selues, but Christ Iesus.

But thus the Pearisies said of Christ himselfe: *These rascals are accursed, they haue no learning, they know not the Law. Amongst them will hee be. There hee raigneth like a Prince. There he seeketh to be made a God.* Hére might I eftsones put you in remembrance of him that hath so long abused, and mocked the whole World, both Princes and Subiects: aswell learned as vnlearned: accounting them all as wilde and barberous: and hath suffered himselfe openly to bé proclaimed and published by the name of God. The words be knowen: Dominus Deus noster Papa: *Our Lord God the Pope:* And againe: Constat Papam à pio Principe Constantino Deum appellatum: Et Deum ab hominibus iudicari non posse, manifestum est. *Extra. Io. 22. Cum inter. In Glossa.*

Alexander stood in some awe and reuerence of the Wise: but this man despiseth both Wise and Vnwise: Learned and Vnlearned, and all the World. *Dist. 96. Satis euidenter.*

It was somewhat out of season, for you in this place to intreat of the validitie of your Canon, and so earnestly to labour to proue it faultlesse, before any man had begunne to touch

touch it, or to proue it faultie. It is supposed, that some part thereof was deuised by Leo: and afterward augmented by Gelasius: and after that, by one, whom S. Gregorie calleth Scholasticus: and after againe by Gregorius himselfe: and that at last, about eight hundred and fiftie yeares after Christ, it was brought to some perfection, and made vp by Pope Sergius. As now, it is more closely pronounced, and more reuerently vsed, then either the Epistle or the Gospell.

Gregor. lib. 7. epist. 63.

But, whether there be any fault therein, or none, I leaue that to you, M. Harding, to be better considered by your selfe. Your Doctour Durand saith thus: Cum Sacerdos orauerit pro Hostia Transubstantianda, eamque Transubstantiatam Patri obtulerit, orat pro ipsius acceptatione: *When the Priest hath prayed for the Transubstantiation of the Hoste, and hath offered the same, being Transubstantiate, vnto God the Father, afterward he praieth, that God will fauourably accept it.*

Durand. lib. 4. parte. 2.

S. Paul saith: *Christ is the Mediatour betweene God and man.* But here by your Canon, contrariwise, the Priest is made a Mediatour betweene God and Christ.

1. Tim. 2.

The Priest a Mediatour betweene God, and Christ.

And now your selfe M. Harding, at your Masse, and in the highest Secrets of your Canon, desire God the Father, to loke fauourably vpon Iesus Christ his owne Sonne, at your request. Your wordes be plaine, and euident: No interpretation, or shift is able to salue them. Now if it be meete you should intreat God the Father to be mercifull vnto Christ his Sonne, and to behold him fauourably for your sake, then may you say there is no fault in all your Canon.

You seeme to complaine that I leaue out prayer for the dead, and Inuocation of Saints: And that thing you amplifie largely with many words. And yet I thinke, you would not haue vs beleeue, that these points of your Religion be greater then your Sacrifice, or then your Masse.

Verily, touching the first, I heard once, when you your selfe blew downe the Paper Walles, as ye then called them, and vtterly quenched all the Painted Fiers of Purgatorie. For the other S. Chrysostome saith: Homines vtuntur Atriensibus. In Deo nihil est tale, Sine Mediatore exorabilis est: *Men vse Porters, and Vshers. But in God, there is no such thing. Hee is easie to be intreated, yea without a Mediatour.* Againe he saith: Nihil tibi opus est Patronis apud Deum. Neque enim tam facilè Deus audit, si alij pro nobis orent, quam si ipsi oremus, etsi pleni simus omnibus malis: *Thou needest no Attourney to speake to God. For God doth not so soone heare vs, when others pray for vs, as when we pray for our selues: yea although we be full of all sinne.* S. Ambrose likewise saith: Iste se non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt Creaturæ, & relicto Domino, conseruos adorant. Nam & ideo ad Reges per Tribunos, & Comites itur: quia homo vtique est Rex, & nescit quibus debeas Rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem, quem nihil latet, omnium enim merita nouit, ad promerendum, suffragatore non est opus, sed mente deuota. Vbicunque enim talis loquutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi. *These men thinke, they doe no ill, giuing the honour of God vnto a Creature: and leauing the Lord, adore their fellow seruants. For therefore we haue accesse to Kings by Knights, and Marshals, for that the King is a mortall man, and knoweth not to whom he may commit his kingdome. But God knowet h all mens merits, and there is nothing priuie from him. Therefore to obtaine his fauour, we need no spokes-man, but a deuout minde. Whersoeuer such a one shall speake, God will answer him.*

In a Sermon preached in S. Maries Church in Oxford.

Chrysost. de Pœniten. hom. 4.

Chrysost. de profectu Euangelij.

Ambros. in 1. cap. ad Roman.

Whereas ye vntruly say, we lay on load of slanders, to deface the Church; you may remember, that there were sometime that charged S. Steuen, S. Paul, and Christ himselfe in like sort, for that they seemed likewise to speake vnreuerently against the Church. And against the Prophet Ieremie, they cried out, euen as you doe now, *The Temple of God! The Temple of God.*

Hieremy 7.

But he defaceth not the Church, that defaceth the defacers of the Church: and wipeth off the soile of your errours, that her face may shine, and appeare more glorious. When Christ mourned ouer the City and Temple of Hierusalem: or when he said: *Ye haue made my Fathers house a denne of theeues.* And when Esay said: *O how is this beautifull Citie* (that then was the Church of God) *become an harlot?* Or, when the Prophet Ieremie said: *Who will giue abundance of water vnto mine eies, that I may mourne day and night for the sinnes of my people?* We may not thinke, that Christ, Esay, and Ieremie were defacers of the Church. He hindreth not health, that sheweth the disease. He despiseth not the Church, that setteth Christ before the Church. The Church is our Mother: But Christ saith: *Who so loueth his Father, or Mother more then mee, is not meet to be my Disciple.* He despiseth not his Mother, that lamenteth the captiuitie of his Mother, and deliuereth her from the hands of theeues.

Esay 1.

Hieremy 9.

Matt. 10.

But we haue set vp Altar against Altar: Or rather, as yan say: *We haue ouerthrown Altars, and all together:* And so haue erected a new Church, a new Gospell, and a new religion

of

of our owne. Verily, M. Harding, we haue ouerthrowne nothing, but that Gods good will was should be ouerthrowen. Christ saith, *Euery plant, that my heauenly Father hath not planted, shall bee rooted vp.* An Altar we haue, such as Christ, and his Apostles, and other holy Fathers had, which of the Grækes was called ἱερὰ τράπεζα, *The holy table*: And of the Latines, Mensa dominica; *The table of the Lord*: And was made, not of stone, but of Timber: and stood not at the end of the Quier, but in the middest of the people, as many waies it may appeare: And other, or better Altar, than Christ, and these holy Fathers had, wee desire to haue none: and specially any such Altar, as hath beene purposely set vp against the Altar of Christ. Matth. 15.

But you of your side, haue said, *Heere is Christ, and there is Christ*: And so haue erected vp, not only Altar against Altar: and Church against Church; but also Christ against Christ. So Leo seemeth to say of you: Ecclesiæ nomine armamini: sed contra Ecclesiam dimicatis: *Ye arme your selues with the name of the Church: and yet ye fight against the Church.* So saith Nazianzene: *Ye striue for Christ, against Christ himselfe.* Matth. 24. *Leo in epist. ad Palestines. Nazianzenus In Apologeti.*

But you seeme, to set light of mine age, and to disable my knowledge in Diuinity: as though it were much pertinent vnto these matters, either to calculate mine age, or els to examine the order of my studie. I may say with Origen: Gratias ago Deo, quod ignorantiam meam non ignoro: *I thanke God, that I am not ignorant of mine ignorance.* But whatsoeuer want either is, or is surmised to be in me, it ought not to preiudice the truth of God.

And yet I see no great cause, why any man should seeke so greatly to disaduantage mee in respect of mine age, or studie. For it is well knowen, that I, although vnworthy of that degree, proceeded Bachelar in Diuinity in the Vniuersity of Oxford one whole yeere, and more before M. Harding. Indeed, I grant, I could not read all the Councels, and old Fathers of the Church, both Grækes and Latines, in seuen daies, as M. Harding could. And yet, so much had I read, that I marueiled, M. Harding would euer enterprise, so much to abuse the names of the holy Fathers. *Anno Domini 1551. anno Eduardi 6. quinto.*

But knowledge oftentimes is vaine, and puffeth vp the minde. God make vs learned to the kingdome of God, that we may humble all our knowledge to the obedience of faith.

It reioyceth me much, that ye say, ye loue mee, and in respect of our old friendship, and loue haue thus written to me. Howbeit, our old priuate friendship needed not so many publike witnesses. Ye say, *ye will follow the latter part of* Chiloes *counsell*: Oderis, tanquam amaturus: *Hate so, as afterward thou maist loue.*

Betweene which your two sayings, of hating, and louing, I know not how, you include a plaine contradiction: Vnlesse ye will say, Ye can hate, and loue in one respect both together. But I take it in the best sense, wherein, I doubt not, but ye meant it.

Howbeit, touching your friendly aduice, I may answer you likewise, with another peece of Chiloes *counsell*: Obsequendum est amico vsque ad aras: *A man may follow his friends counsell, so it be not, either against God, or against his conscience.* The people of Alexandria said vnto Timotheus; Etsi non communicamus tecum, tamen amamus te: *Although we communicate not with you, yet we loue you notwithstanding.* Yee promise to deale herein, without either gall or bitternesse: *For that, as you say, Glikes, Nippes, and Scoffes, Bittes, Cuttes, and Girdes* (these bee your words) *become not your stage.* And doubtlesse, such kind of dealing, as it is most commendable in it selfe, so it seemeth most fitting for them that trauell in Gods cause. Christ saith, *Learne of me, for I am meeke and gentle.* Matth. 11. *Liberatus. cap. 16.*

But whose words then be these, M. Harding? From what spirite haue they proceeded? Vpon what stage were they spoken? These words, I say, wherewith ye seeme so much, and so often to solace your selfe, and to refresh your Spirits: *Goliath, Therſites, Rash, Presumptuous, Wicked, Vnlearned, Ignorant, Peeuish, Lucians, Scoffers, Coggers, Foisters, Peart, Insolent, Vaunters, Braggers, Sectaries, Schismatikes, Heretikes, Sacramentaries, Newe masters, New Fanglers, False Reporters, Slaunderers of the Church, Terrible Seducers, The enemies of the Sacrifice, The enemies of the Church, The Ministers of the Diuell, Sitters in the Chaire of Pestilence, Monsters, Heathens, Publicanes, Turkes, Infidels, Antichrists, and Forerunners of Antichrist?* *Termes vsed commonly by M. Harding through his whole booke.*

These words be yours, M. Harding, not only, for that they be vttered by you, but also, for that they pertaine directly, and properly vnto your selfe. With these, and other like pearles ye haue thorowly beset your whole Booke, that it might the more glitter in the eie of your Reader. Herewith your stage is fully fraught. Some man would thinke it were Vetus Comœdia. So faithfull ye seeme to be in keeping your promise. If ye vtter such words of pure loue, and friendship, what then may we looke for, if ye once begin to hate? They say, the Scorpion embraceth louingly with his feete: but smiteth his poison with his taile. Thus ye suffer the tempests of your affections sometime to blow you out, and to tosse you off from the shoare. In a man of professed grauity, reasons had beene more conue-

nient,

nient, then reproches. Such eloquence might better become ſome of your yonger Janniz-zers: who, as their friends ſay here, haue not yet learned to ſpeake otherwiſe.

As for theſe words, and theſe ſtages, they may not well chaſe vs away from the Goſpell of Chriſt. It is not needfull for vs, to heare your good reports: but it is moſt needfull for vs, to ſpeake the truth.

The aduertiſement, that you allege out of Salomon (*There is a way that vnto a man ſeemeth right, but the end thereof leadeth vnto damnation*) is common, and toucheth vs both, aſwell you, as me: or rather, ſomewhat more you, than me. Ye were once deceiued before, by your owne confeſſion. But they, that haue indifferently weighed the cauſes, and ſuddennelle of your change, haue thought, ye are as much, or rather much more deceiued now.

Marke, I beſeech you, M. Harding, what ye were lately, and what ye would now ſeeme to be: what way ye troad then: and what way ye tread now. The difference is no leſſe, then is betweene Light, and Darkeneſſe; Life, and death: Heauen, and Hell. So great a change would require ſome good time of deliberation.

But if you be thoroughly changed, as you ſay, and if ye be touched indeed, either with the zeale of God, or with the loue of your brethren, be not then aſhamed to tell vs, what things God hath done for you. Let your Reader vnderſtand, that you your ſelfe ſometime were that man, of whom Salomon ſpeaketh: That you ſomtime were in a way, that ſeemed right, and yet the end thereof led to damnation: That you ſometime bent your whole heart, and ſtudie to deface the Church of God: That you preached ſo many yeares together directly contrary to your conſcience: That you ſometime wittingly, and willingly, and of purpoſe, and malice, deceiued Gods people: That you ſometime were the Miniſter of the Diuel, a Turke, an Heathen, an Infidell, a forerunner of Antichriſt: and that from this ruefull ſtate ye were ſuddenly changed, not by reading, or conference of the Scriptures, or ancient Fathers, but only for that ye ſaw the Prince was changed.

Thus muſt ye deale, M. Harding, if ye deale truely. So will your friends thinke, ye diſſemble not now, as you did before: but are moued only of true zeale, and pure conſcience. Certainly either, as we ſay, ye are now deceiued: or, at the leaſt, as your ſelfe muſt needes grant, not long ſithence, ye were deceiued. And S. Auguſtine ſaith: Hoc eſt erroris proprium, vt quod cuique diſplicet, id alijs quoque oportere exiſtimet diſplicere: *This is the very nature of Errour, that, whatſoeuer miſliketh any man, he thinketh all others ſhould likewiſe miſlike the ſame.*

Auguſtin. De Gene. contra Manichæ.

Such is the miſerie of Adams children: their heart is euermore inclined vnto ill, and errour. Hereof falſe Prophets oftentimes take occaſion to ſay, *Good is ill, and ill is Good: Light is Darkeneſſe, and Darkeneſſe is Light.* And oftentimes the people is wilfully ledde away, and cannot abide to heare ſound doctrine: but turne their eares to heare fables.

Therefore Salomons counſell is wiſe, and good. And for that cauſe we truſt not our owne eies to chuſe our waie: but we call vnto God with the Prophet Dauid, *O Lord, ſhew vs the way, that we may walke in*: We ſeeke vnto him that ſaith, *I am the way, the Truth, and the Life: I am the Light of the World: whoſo followeth mee, walketh not in darkeneſſe, but hath the Light of Life.* And we thanke God, that with his Daie-ſpring from aboue hath viſited vs, and directed our feet into the way of peace: into the ſame way, that Chriſt hath ſhewed vs, and the holy Apoſtles, and ancient Catholike Fathers haue troden before vs.

Pſalm. 142. Iohn 14. Iohn 8.

Touching your exhortation to humility, and the deniall of my learning, which, I truſt, of your part proceedeth from a meeke, and humble ſpirit, I may ſafely deny that thing, that I neuer auouched. It cannot ſhame me to ſay, that S. Hierome ſaid: Dicam illud Socraticum, Hoc tantum ſcio, quòd nihil ſcio: *I will ſay, as Socrates ſometime ſaid, This thing onely I know, That I know nothing.* In theſe caſes, as I ſeeke no praiſe, ſo I feare no reproch. Whatſoeuer want is in me, there be others, that can ſupplie it. Howbeit, I neuer vnderſtood, but Verity, and Humility might well ſtand together.

Hieron. in præfa. in Abdiam.

Where you ſay, whatſoeuer ſkill, or knowledge I haue, or had, I haue euermore bent it onely to the reproch and ſlander of the Church, it is no great maſterie, M. Harding, to ſpeake ill. But I truſt, God himſelfe that iudgeth iuſtly, iudgeth otherwiſe. If there bee in me, I ſay not, any talent, but onely any mite of a talent, my prayer vnto God is, and euer was, it may be beſtowed wholy to the honour, and comfort of his Church.

And yet may not you, M. Harding, neither ſet ſuch ſtoare by your ſelfe, nor ſo much abaſe, and diſcredit others, as though beſides you, and your fellowes, there were no man meete to be counted learned. When the Iewes, in contempt of all others, boaſted themſelues to be the only ſtocke, and blood of Abraham, S. Paul by an humble kind of preſumption doubted not in all reſpects to compare with them in this wiſe: *Hebrewes they be: and ſo am I. Iſraelites they be: and ſo am I: The ſeed of Abraham they be: and ſo am I.* Againe he ſaith, *Thus doe I, and thus will I doe, that in the things, whereof they glorie, they may be found to*

2. Corin. 11.

be

ly as we are. I will force this comparison no further. Such contention is but vaine. O M. Harding, this saying is common vnto vs both: *By the grace of God we are that we are. O that his grace be not in vs in vaine.* 1. Corin. 15.

For my part, both at your request, and also without your request, I vtterly denie my learning. And touching my Bishoprike, if that in any part happen to greeue you, I denie it to: I denie mine estimation: I denie my name: I denie my selfe. Only the Father of Christ, and the truth of God I cannot denie. Or with this Faith, or for this Faith, I trust I shall end. I cannot withstand the Spirit of God. I cannot say, the consent of all the Ancient Catholike Fathers was an heape of errours, and a linke of Heresies. Although you, M. Harding, could denie all together at an instant, and vpon the sudden, yet beare with others that cannot so easily doe the same.

Touching D. Fisher, I scoffed neither at him, nor at any others. Only I laid out the imperfection of certaine their arguments: which if they were weake, and many waies faultie, the fault was not mine: I made them not. D. Fishers Argument was this: *We are sure, there is Purgatorie:* Ergo, *the Popes Pardons be good, and available.* I shall be forced in perusing your Booke, to disclose many like infirmities and follies in your arguments, M. Harding. Yet notwithstanding I will not scoffe. But happy are you, that may call vs *Gospellers, New Maisters, Patriarkes*, and I know not what, and to write, what you list, without scoffing. In the end of your foretalke, which is before the shewing of your Booke, ye thinke all the world singeth Sanctus, Sanctus, and receiueth you with Ozanna. And therefore ye will euery body to come, and subscribe. Howbeit, it seemeth, this request is verie sudden, and out of season. You should first haue shewed vs, both whereunto we should subscribe, and also your Authorities, and Reasons, wherewith ye would force vs to subscribe. But the old learned Father Tertullian saith thus of the Valentinian Heretikes: Habent artificium, quo prius persuadent, quam doceant. Veritas autem docendo suadet, non suadendo docet: *These Heretikes haue a kind of cunning, and a policie, whereby they perswade vs first, and teach vs afterward. But the Truth perswadeth vs by teaching: and not teacheth vs by perswading.* *Polydo. de Inuent. rer. lib. 8. cap. 1.* *Tertull. aduersus Valentinian. lib. 1.*

King Agesilaus, the better to embolden his Souldiers to the fight, with a certaine iuice wrote this word, Victorie, in the palme of his hand: and afterward being at his Seruice, as the maner then of the Heathens was, he laid his hand so written, closely and secretly vpon the heart of the Sacrifice, and so printed it with the said word, Victorie: and immediately shewed the same vnto his Captaines, and Souldiers, as if it had beene written by the Gods. The simple Souldiers, not vnderstanding this policie, and thinking the whole matter had indeed beene wrought by miracle, grew full of courage, not doubting, but their Gods, that had written, Victorie, would also giue them Victorie.

By like policie, and to like purpose, it seemeth, you, M. Harding, would beguile your Reader: and, that you lacke in strength, would win by politie: and, that you want in reasons, would gaine in words: that the simple may thinke you haue the Victorie, because you haue written, Victorie, with your pen.

But you are not yet equall with the credit of Pythagoras. It is not sufficient for your Scholars to say, Ipse dixit: M. Harding hath said it. Euery man will not thinke it is so, because you can write it, or print it, or say it is so. As for my selfe, I will say with S. Hierome: Cupio discere, & Discipulum me profiteor, dummodo doceant: *I would faine learne, and make a vow to be their Scholar, so they would teach mee.* First ye should haue giuen vs leaue, to haue perused your whole Booke. And when we had well weighed your vntrue Allegations, your vaine Constructions, your new petite Doctours, your Corruptions, your Forgeries, your Dreames, your Fables, and the huge multitude of your vntruthes, then hardly ye should haue called vs to subscribe.

Howbeit, M. Harding, this is no force sufficient to subdue the world. It was not thought, ye had beene so weakely appointed. It is not enough for you, thus odiously to vpbraid vs in your anger, and to call vs new Maisters, and Heretikes. That lesson might haue serued you long ago, before ye were espied. It behoueth you now, to haue some stronger arguments, specially fighting against God.

For my part, notwithstanding I were thoroughly perswaded long before, yet am I now some deale the more satisfied by these your trauels. For, touching your want of Scriptures, Councels, Doctours, and Examples of the Primitiue Church, I am well, and fully confirmed by the slendernesse of your proofes.

And I doubt not, but some of these, that now be about you, being, I trust, not frowardly carried away with wilfull malice, but hauing the feare of God, and a reuerent zeale to doe the best, although perhaps not knowledge sufficient to iudge what is best, after they shall vnderstand some part of your dealing herein, will by Gods grace, begin somewhat to

forethinke themselues of their iournie, and to cast some doubts of your credit. S. Augustine saith: Iuris forensis est, vt qui in precibus mentitus sit, illi ne prosit, quod impetrauit: *The Law is this, that whoso hath made a false suggestion, shall lose whatsoeuer he haue gotten by the same.*

August. in Iohan. tract. 7.

O M. Harding, Credit without truth, is no credit. Your worke is ouer weake: It hath no foundation: It cannot stand. Chrysostome telleth you, *Such is the nature of error, It vadeth of it selfe, and will come to ground without resistance.* Remember the place ye sometime stood in: Remember from whence ye are fallen: Remember the causes of your fall. It is no shame to rise againe. God is able to restore you. The wise man saith: *There is confusion that bringeth grace, and glorie.* God hath endued you largely with great gifts. Turne the same to the obedience of the faith of Christ. As there is wisedome in seeking the Victorie, so there is wisedome in giuing place. Follow the same Counsell ye giue others. Denie your owne learning: denie your owh estimation: denie your selfe. Giue the Glory vnto God.

Chrysostom. de laudibus Pauli hom. 5.

Ecclesi. 4.

Iohan. 9.

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OF PRIVATE MASSE.

THE FIRST ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

IF any learned man of our aduersaries, or if all the learned men that be aliue, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any olde Catholike Doctour or Father, or out of any olde Generall Councell, or out of the holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the Primitiue Church whereby it may clearely and plainly be proued, that there was any Priuate Masse in the whole World at that time for the space of six hundred yeres after Christ, &c. The conclusion is this: As I said before, so say I now againe, I am content to yeld and to subscribe.

M. Harding. The First Diuision.

EVery Masse is publike, concerning both the Oblation and also the Communion, and none priuate. For no man offereth that dreadfull Sacrifice priuately for himselfe alone, but for the whole Church of Christ in common. The Communion likewise of the Sacrament, is a publike feast by Christ through the ministery of the Priest in the same, (1) prepared for euery faithfull person; from partaking whereof none is excluded, that with due examination hauing before made himselfe ready, demandeth the same. And so being common by order of the first institution, and by (2) will of the ministers, it ought to be reputed for common, not priuate.

That others doe so commonly forbeare to communicate with the Priest, it is through their owne default and negligence, not regarding their owne Saluation. Whereof the godly and carefull rulers of faithfull people haue sithence the time of the Primitiue Church, alwaies much complained.

The 1. vntruth. For there is no such preparation

The 2. vntruth. There appeareth no such will in the Minister.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

THere appeareth small hope that M. Harding will deale plainely in the rest, that thus maketh his first entrie with a cauil. For whereas the matter is knowen and agreed vpon, it is great folly to picke quarrel vpon the word. Euery Masse (saith he) is common, and none priuate. If it be so, then hath hee already concluded fully on our side, For if there be no Priuate Masse at all, then was there no Priuate Masse in the Primitiue Church, which was my first assertion.

But, M. Harding, as may be gathered by his maner of prowes, is not yet well resolued, neither what is Priuate, nor what is Masse. For in the 22. Article of his Booke, intreating of the Accidents of Bread and Wine, to the intent to auoid the grosse absurdities that follow Transubstantiation, he saith: These matters were neuer taught in open audience, but priuately disputed in the Schooles, and set abroad by learned men in their priuate writings. There he calleth that thing priuate, that is disputed in open audience, in the hearing of fiue

Pag. 182. b.

M. Harding maketh common priuate, and priuate common.

hundred or moe, and is set abroad to the knowledge of the World: and here the thing that is done by the Priest and his boy alone in a corner, he calleth common. Thus he maketh words to sound, what him listeth, sometime common to be priuate, sometime priuate to be common, at his pleasure.

And as touching Masse, sometime he maketh it the Sacrifice: sometime the Communion: sometime the Prayers: and so semeth not yet well to know vpon what ground to stand.

These reasons be answered afterward more at large.

His first reason is this: The Sacrifice of the Priest is common: therefore the Masse is common. Here might be demanded, Who gaue the Priest authoritie to make his Sacrifice: and, without authoritie, how can he make it? But if his Sacrifice be common, why doth he giue it these priuate titles; This for the liuing: This for the dead: This for a friend: This for himselfe?

His second reason is this: It is a feast: and therefore it is common: and thus he inducth one errour with an other. For if it be a feast, how is it receiued by one alone? If it be receiued by one alone, how can it seeme to be a feast? But he saith, it is prepared for all. Verily it is but small prouision to serue so many. The Priest himselfe knoweth this is vntrue. He prepareth for himselfe, and not for others: He speaketh to himselfe, and not vnto the congregation: He receiueth himselfe alone, and not with his brethren. Therefore in this respect we must nods say, the Masse is priuate, and not common.

Hermannus Contractus. Nicolaus Lyra in 14. cap. Danielis.

The third reason touching the will of the Minister, is very vncertaine. For neither can the Priest, by his working, alter natures or make that thing common, which is priuate: nor can any man certainly know, what thing the Priest willeth. For what if his will be to worke Necromancie or Sorcerie, as it is reported of Pope Hildebrand? Or what if his will be to poison some body, as Henry the Emperor was poisoned in the Communion bread: Pope Victor in the Chalice? Or what if his will be to worke fained miracles, as Lyra saith, many are wrought in the open Church by the Priest to mocke the people? Doubtlesse if the Priests will may be known, either by his words or by his doings, or by his gesture, or by his prouision, or by the quantity of his Bread and Wine, or by his whole vsage and practise, it may soone be seene, his will is to make a priuate banket, and not a common.

Ambros. 1. Cor. 11.

These be very weake foundations to build vpon. Of the same M. Harding might rather and far better haue gathered the contrary. For if it be the common Sacrifice of the whole Church, it should be offered by the whole Church, as S. Ambrose saith: Vt multorum oblatio simul celebretur: *That the oblation of many may be made together.*

Hier. 1. Cor. 11.

If it be a common feast of the whole Church, it should be receiued commonly of the whole Church. And therefore S. Hierome saith: Dominica cœna omnibus debet esse communis: *The Lords Supper must be common to all*: and that not for these simple shifts that M. Harding and his fellowes haue deuised. S. Hieromes reason is this: Quia Dominus omnibus Discipulis, qui aderant, æqualiter tradidit Sacramenta: *Because the Lord gaue the Sacraments equally to all the Disciples that were present.* These words be plaine: *Equally* and *To all the Disciples.* And therefore saith S. Hierome, according to this example, the Lords Supper must be common.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuision.

The 3. vntruth.

Therefore in this respect wee doe not acknowledge any priuate Masse, but leaue that terme to Luthers Schoole where it was first deuised, and so termed by Satan himselfe, seeking how to withdraw his Nouice Luther from the loue and estimation of that most blessed sacrifice, by reasoning with him against the same in a night vision, as himselfe recordeth in a little booke which he made, *Dimissa angulari & vnctione Sacerdotali.*

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

This tale against that godly man Doctour Luther, is scornefull and slanderous, blazed abroad by Pigghius, Hosius, Staphylus the runnagate, and such others, only of wilfull malice and hatred of the truth, and therefore not worthy to be answered. Doctour Luther sheweth what terrible tentations the Diuell laieth to trappe man withal, taking occasion sometime of well doing, sometime of euill: sometime of truth, sometime of falshood. And for example, he sheweth that the Diuell on a time assaulted him, not in visible forme, but by dreadfull suggestions in his conscience, as it were, thus calling him to remembrance: *These many yeeres thou hast said Masse, thou hast shewed vp Bread and Wine to be worshipped as God, and yet now thou knowest it was a Creature and not God, Thereof followed Idolatrie, and thou wert the cause thereof.* All these things he saw to be true by the testimony and light of his owne conscience, and therefore confessed he had offended, and yelded himselfe vnto God. The Diuels purpose was to lead him to despaire: but God mercifully deliuered him. And this is Doctour Luthers whole, and onely meaning in that place, that no man

of

of himſelfe is able to withſtand ſuch aſſaults and tentations of the enemie, but onely by the power and mercy of God. This (good Reader) is that *Schoole of Satan*: This is that wonderfull Tragedie, whereat M. Harding maketh ſuch horrible exclamations. If hée thinke it ſo hainous a matter for a godleſſe man to be vexed by the Diuel, perhaps he will alſo find ſome fault with Chriſt, that was carried by the Diuell into the mount: or with S. Paul, that had the Angell of Satan to buffet him: or with a great number of his Poſtuiſe Saints, whoſe Legends are full of viſions of Diuels, with other like childiſh fables. As for Luther, the Doctrine that he taught in his Schole touching this point, is the very Goſpell of Chriſt, and therefore it increaſeth and entreth into the hearts of men, and the lies and ſlanders of the enemies ſhall neuer be able to preuaile againſt it. Matth. 4. 2. Cor. 12.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

Yet we denie not but the Fathers of ſome ancient Councels, and ſithence likewiſe S. Thomas, and certaine other Schoole Doctors haue called it ſometimes a Priuate Maſſe, but not after the ſenſe of Luther and his ſcholars, but onely as it is contrary to publike and ſolemne, in conſideration of place, time, audience, purpoſe, rites, and other circumſtances. The variety and change of which, being things accidentary, cannot vary or change the ſubſtance or eſſentiall nature of the Maſſe. M. Iewel, an earneſt profeſſor of the new doctrine of Luther, and of the Sacramentaries, calleth as they doe, that a Priuate Maſſe whereat the Prieſt hauing no company to communicate with him, receiueth the Sacrament alone.

2. Concil. Valen. cap. 4. Concil Tiburien. Decretal. lib. 3. tit. 41. cap. 2. de conſecrat. diſt. 1. ex Aug. quod quidam Greg. tribuunt. Greg. ex Regiſt. lib. 2. ad Caſſerium cap. 9. & 3. Parte Summæ quæſt. 83.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

M. Harding by a Rhetoricall Correction vpon better aduice, putteth himſelfe in remembrance that there is mention made of Peculiar and Priuate Maſſes, as he ſaith, In certaine ancient Councels, and in the Schoole Doctours. He might haue named Steuen Gardiner, and Albertus Pighius, that wrote the defenſe of Priuate Maſſe, and he himſelfe acknowledgeth abuſes and errours in the ſame. Yet will he not, I trow, confeſſe that either of them both was the Diſciple of Satan. *In the Biſhops Booke. Alb. Pighius in locis communib. de Priuata Miſſa.*

Here M. Harding ſtandeth vpon termes and ſaith, The Maſſe is called Priuate in reſpect of place, time, audience, and other circumſtances. And euen ſuch hée their priuate Maſſes for the moſt part ſaid in ſide Iles, alone, without company of people, only with one boy to make anſwere, ſo priuate, that the people of God is thereby depriued and robbed of all comfort. And thus it ſéemeth Thomas vnderſtandeth the Priuate Maſſe. For thus he ſaith: In Miſſis priuatis ſufficit, ſi vnus ſit præſens, ſcilicet Miniſter, qui populi totius perſonam gerit: *In Priuate Maſſes it is ſufficient if there be one preſent, I meane the Clerke that ſtandeth in ſtead of the whole people.* *Part. 3. quæſt. 83. art. 5.*

Touching the allegations in the margine, the Schole Doctours are all of very late yéres: The place of S. Auguſtine is forged and not S. Auguſtines: the place of S. Gregory nothing to purpoſe, not once naming priuate Maſſe: the Councels that are called ſo ancient, were all at the leaſt ſeuen hundred yéres after Chriſt, and ſo without the reach of my compaſſe.

But to agrée vpon termes, and not to ſtie the name of Maſſe, although it be very ſeldome, and for the moſt part neuer found in the Old Catholike Writers: that we call the Common or Publike Maſſe, whereas the Prieſt and people receiue the holy Communion together, which was the ancient order of the Apoſtles and holy Fathers in the Primitiue Church. But whereas the Prieſt receiueth the Sacrament himſelfe alone, without diſtribution made vnto others, that we call the Priuate Maſſe, yea although the whole parith be preſent and loke vpon him. For a thing may be priuate, although it be done by the publike Miniſter, and for the people, and in the middes of all the people. And thus Thomas of Aquine ſéemeth to take theſe words Priuate and Common. *Firſt* (ſaith he) *the people is prepared to receiue by the Common praier of all the people, which is the Lords Praier: and alſo by the Priuate Praier, which the Prieſt offereth ſpecially for the people.* Here the Praier is called priuate, notwithſtanding it be made by the Prieſt, for the people and in the mids of the Congregation. *Publike Maſſe* *Priuate Maſſe* *3. Part. q. 183. ar. 4. In explanatione Miſſæ Romanæ.*

M. Harding. The 4. Diuiſion.

Againſt this Priuate Maſſe, as he termeth it, he inueigheth ſore in his Printed Sermon which he preached at Pauls Croſſe the ſecond Sunday before Eaſter in the yeere of our Lord 1560. as hee intituleth it; ſhunning the accuſtomed name of Paſſion Sunday, leſt (as it ſeemeth) by vſing the terme of the Catholike Church hee ſhould ſeeme to fauour any thing that is Catholike. In which Sermon he hath gathered together, as it were, into one heape, all that euer he could finde written in derogation of it, in their bookes by whom it hath beene impugned.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Marke (gentle Reader) how small occasions this man taketh hold at, contrary to this promise, to serue his intemperate humour of speaking euill. What, thinketh he, that all folke are Heretikes that name the daies otherwise than they be named in his Portuise? So may he some condemne the Greekes, and (the Church of Rome onely excepted) all other Christians throughout the World, who, as I reckon, neuer had the name of Passion Sunday in their Calender, or vse of speaking. So may he condemne all such as call Parasceue, good Friday, or the Italians, that contrary to the Portuise call the first weke in Lent the *Carneuale*. Indeed the Portuise calleth that day not only Passion Sunday, but also the Sunday Iudica, and taketh the one name to be as Catholike as the other. God be thanked we are not ashamed of Christs Passion, as hauing nothing to glory in but only the Crosse of Christ, and his Passion: neither doe we refuse your fantasies because they be Catholike as you surmise, but because they be your owne, deuised by your selfe of late daies; many of them contrary to Gods holy word, and are not Catholike.

Dominica Iudica. Galat. 6.

Inuectiues I made none, neither doe we vse the Pulpit to that purpose, but soberly & far otherwise than M. Harding seemeth to vse his pen. I spake of the abuses of Christs last Supper, hauing thereto occasion of these words of S. Paul: *The thing that I receiued of the Lord, the same haue I deliuered vnto you*: who in his time seemeth to finde fault with the Corinthians for the same. Neither is the Supper of Christ so priuileged, but it may be abused, as appeareth by the very confession of our aduersaries, who denie not, but that there be abuses and errours cropen into the Priuate Masse.

1. Cor. 11.

Albertus Pighius de priuata Missa.

The 4. vntruth. For the old Fathers neuer commonly called it so.

The 5. vntruth. For Christ speaketh not one word of any Sacrifice.

The 6. vntruth. For S Andrew said the Communion and not the Masse.

The 7. vntruth. For this Abdias neuer saw Christ in the flesh; it is a very Legend of lies.

The 8. vntruth. For there is no maner token or shew of priuate Masse.

The 9. vntruth. For it is the very forme of the Communion, & nothing like the priuate Masse.

* Faith cõfirmed without words. S. Paul saith, faith commeth by hearing.

The 10. A burde of vntruthes.

The 11. vntruth. For they contain the very order of the Cõmunion.

The 12. vntruth. For it is the very expresse order of the Cõmunion. It is no priuate Masse.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuision.

Although hee pretend enmity against priuate Masse in word, yet indeed whosoeuer readeth his Sermon, and discerneth his spirit, shall easily perceiue that he extendeth his whole wit and cunning vtterly to abolish the vnbloudy and daily Sacrifice of the Church, (4) commonly called the Masse. Which as the Apostles themselues affirme in Clement their Scholar and Fellow, being vnbloudy, hath succeeded in place of the bloudy Sacrifices of the old Law, and is by Christs commandement frequented and offered to remembrance of his passion and death, and to be vsed all times vntill his comming. But whatsoeuer he or all other the forerunners of Antichrist, speake or worke against it, all that ought not to ouerthrow the faith of good and true Christian men, hauing for proofe therof beside many other places of holy Scripture, the figure of Melchisedech that was before the Law, the prophesie of Malachy in the Law, and lastly and most plainly the (5) institution of Christ in the New Testament. Which he left to the Apostles, the Apostles to the Church, and the Church hath continually kept and vsed thorow the whole World vntil this day.

Pro Sacrificio crucem, vinum & panem. *Eucharistiam & mysticum sacrificium, quod in memoriam Domini per Symbola corporis & sanguinis ipsius celebratur.* *Clemens Constitutionum Apostolicarum lib. 6. cap. 23.* *Abdias lib. 7. Historiæ Apost.* *Concilium Constantinopol. in Trullo, cap. 32.* *Epist. ad Bur. degal. Concil. Apostol. S. cap. 28.* *In Euseb. Hierarch. cap. 3.* *Act. 17.* *Lib. 4. contra hæres. cap. 32.*

Touching Doctours, they haue with one consent in all ages, in al parts of the World, from the Apostles time forward, both with their example, and also testimony of writing, confirmed the same faith. They that haue been brought vp in learning, and yet through corruption of the time stand doubtfull in this point, let them take paines to trauell in study, and they shal find by good ancient witnesse of the Priests and Deacons of Achaia, that (6) S. Andrew the Apostle, touching the substance of the Masse, worshipped God euery day with the same seruice as Priests now do, in celebrating the externall Sacrifice of the Church. They shall find by witnesse of Abdias first Bishop of Babylon, who was the Apostles scholar (7) and saw Christ our Sauiour in flesh, and was present at the passion and martyrdome of S. Andrew, that S. Matthew the Apostle celebrated Masse in Ethiopia a little before his Martyrdome. They shall find by report of an ancient Councell general, that S. Iames wrote a Liturgie or a forme of the Masse. They shall find that Martialis one of the LXXII. Disciples of Christ, and Bishop of Burdeaux in France, sent thither by S. Peter, serued God in like sort. (8) They shal find in Clement the whole order & forme of the Masse, set forth by the Apostles themselues, and the same celebrated by them after our Lord was assumpted, before they went to the ordering of Bishops, Priests, and the vij. Deacons, according to his institution, and the same right so declared by Cyrillus Bishop of Ierusalem *In Mystagogicis orationibus*. They shal find the same most plainly treated of, (9) and a forme of the Masse, much agreeable to that is vsed in these daies in writing set foorth by S. Dionyse, whom S. Paul conuerted to the Faith, of whom it is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, who had conference with S. Peter, Paul and Iohn the Euangelist, and much acquaintance with Timothy.

* Thus doe I giue thee, good Christian Reader, but a taste as it were of proofes without allegation of the words, for confirmation of thy faith concerning the Blessed Masse out of the Scriptures, Apostles, and Apostolike men. (10) I do further referre thee to Iustinus the Martyr and Philosopher, to Ireneus the Martyr and Bishop of Lions, who liued with the Apostles scholars. To the old Bishop and Martyr Hippolytus, that liued in Origens time, who in his oration *De consummatione mundi*, extant in Greek, maketh Christ thus to say at the generall iudgement vnto Bishops: *Venite Pontifices, qui puré mihi Sacrificium die noctéque obtulistis, ac pretiosum corpus & sanguinem meum immolastis quotidie*: Come ye Bishops that haue purely offered Sacrifice to me day and night, and haue Sacrificed my pretious Body and Blood daily. (11) Finally, I referre them in stead of many, to the two worthy Fathers, Basil and Chrysostome, whose Masses be left to the posterity at this time extant. (12) Amongst all Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus is not to be passed ouer lightly, who at large expoundeth the whole Masse vsed in Hierusalem in his time, the same which now we find in Clement, much like to that of Basil and Chrysostome, and for the Canon and other principall parts, to that is now also vsed in the Latine Church.

In mystagogicis orationibus.

As for the other Doctours of the Church that followed the Apostles and those Apostolike men, many in number, excellent in learning, holy of life, to shew what may be brought out of their workes, for proofe of this matter, that the oblation of the Body and Bloud of Christ in the Masse is the Sacrifice of the Church, and proper to the New Testament, it would require a whole volume; and therefore not being mooued by

M. Iewels

M. Iewels challenge to ſpeake ſpecially therof, but as it is priuate after their meaning, and many good treaties in defenſe of this Sacrifice being ſet foorth already in print; at this preſent I will ſay nothing, thinking heereof as Saluſt did of Carthago that great Citie, that it were better to keepe ſilence, than to ſpeake few.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

God grant vnto all his people the ſpirit of wiſdome and vnderſtanding, that they may be able to diſcerne the ſpirits, whether they be of God, or no, that they may take hæd of falſe Prophets, and giue care to the voice of the Prince of Paſtours, and flie the voice of ſtrangers, and beware of blinde guides that ſo often haue deceiued them. Eſay 11. 1. Iohn 4. Matth. 7. Iohn 10. Matth. 23.

Hære M. Harding a little ouermuch inflameth his choler, and whom he liſteth he calleth the enemies of the Sacrifice, and the forerunners of Antichriſt, and what not? euen with the ſame ſpirit that the Phariſeis ſometime ſaid: Stæuen had ſpoken againſt the holie Temple: or Chriſt had vttered blaſphemie againſt God. I will not anſwer heat with heat, but in ſuch kind of eloquence will rather giue place. *Forerunners of Antichriſt.* Act. 7. Matth. 26.

As touching the matter, M. Harding knoweth that S. Gregory calleth him the forerunner of Antichriſt, not that ſaith, Chriſt hath made a full Sacrifice for ſinne once for all vpon the Croſſe, but that vanteth himſelfe aboue his brethren, as did Lucifer, and nameth himſelfe an Vniuerſall Biſhop ouer the whole Church of Chriſt. Such a one S. Gregory calleth the forerunner of Antichriſt. *Ad Conſtantiã Aug. ep. 78. l. 4 Ad Mauritium Imperat. l. 7. epiſt. 197.*

And whereas he calleth vs at his pleaſure the enemies of the holy Sacrifice, woe were vnto vs, if we had not that Sacrifice. We know that Chriſt is that Lambe of God, that hath taken away the ſinnes of the world, and that there is no name or Sacrifice vnder Heauen, where by wee can be ſaued, but onely the name and Sacrifice of Jeſus Chriſt. And becauſe wee know that this Sacrifice is ſufficient, therefore we flie to no Sacrifice made by man. Iohn 1. Act. 4.

The Sacrifice, ſaith M. Harding, commonly called the Maſſe. But why ſheweth hee not, of whom it is ſo called? Verily, neither the Hebrewes in their tongue, nor the Greekes in their tongue, nor Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles, nor Tertullian, nor S. Cyprian, nor Origen, nor Lactantius, nor S. Hierome, nor S. Auguſtine in any Bookes vndoubtedly knowen for theirs, nor his owne Doctors, Clement, Abdias, Hippolytus, euer vſed the name of Maſſe. Therefore it is maruell that hee would ſay the Sacrifice is ſo commonly called the Maſſe. If it might haue pleaſed him to ſay, that he himſelfe and his fellowes ſo call it, he had done right. *Commonly called the Maſſe.*

But hære is brought in a whole troupe of Doctors in a ranke: Melchiſedech, Malachias, Clemens the Apoſtles fellow, the Deacons of Aſia; Abdias the Apoſtles Diſciple, and Biſhop of Babylon, that ſaw Chriſt in the fleſh; S. Andrew, S. Iames, Martialis, Dionyſius, who had conference with Peter, Paul, and Iohn; Iræneus, Iuſtinus Martyr, Hippolytus Martyr, Baſil, Chryſoſtome, Cyril of Ieruſalem, and all the reſt of the Doctors in all ages, and in all parts of the World. And who would not be afraid to ſee ſuch an armie come againſt him? Howbeit (gentle Reader) be of good chære. All this is but a camiſado: Theſe be but viſards: they bee no faces. They are brought in like Mummers for a ſhew, and ſay nothing. That M. Harding lacked in weight, hee would nœds make vp in tale: and ſo vſeth this onely as a flouriſh before the fight: and as a ſtreame blowen vp with winde and weather carrieth with it much froth and filth by the very rage and drift of the water: euen ſo M. Harding in this place flowing and wandring ouer the bankes with *Copia verborum*, by the violence and force of his talke, carrieth a great deale of errour and vntruth along before him. Notwithſtanding, thus hath hee giuen thee, good Chriſtian Reader, as hee ſaith, a taſte of his proofes without allegation of any words for confirmation of thy faith concerning the Maſſe. Miſerable is that faith, that in ſo weightie matters can bee confirmed with bare names by bearing nothing. I marueil that M. Harding euer durſt either to allege ſuch authorities, as hee knoweth the moſt hereof be, or thus openly to mocke the World. For briefly to touch Melchiſedech, Malachias, and the inſtitution of Chriſt, what weight can there appeare in theſe reaſons? Melchiſedech brought forth Bread and Wine to banket Abraham, and his armie, being weary of the chaſe: Or Malachias Prophecied that all the Nations of the World ſhould be turned vnto God, and ſhould offer vnto him a pure Sacrifice: Or, Chriſt ordained his laſt Supper amongſt his Diſciples, and bade them doe the ſame in his remembrance: Ergo, there was Priuate Maſſe in the Church. Who euer made any ſuch arguments in any Schoole? What, will M. Harding make folke beleeue, that Melchiſedech, Malachias, or Chriſt, ſaid Priuate Maſſe? Or doth he thinke that theſe reaſons muſt be taken becauſe he ſpeaketh the word? *For confirmation of Faith.* Geneſ. 14. Malach. 1. Matth. 26.

But hee will ſay, Melchiſedech and Malachias, ſignified the Sacrifice of the New

Clemens.

Testament. Wee denie it not. But did they signifie a Sacrifice done by one man alone, in a strange language, the people loking on him, and no man knowing what hee meaneth? Why may wee not thinke rather they signified the Sacrifice of the Holy Communion, whereas the whole people doth lift vp their hands and hearts vnto Heauen, and Pray, and Sacrifice together, reioycing in the Crosse of Christ, and so celebrating the Lords death vntill hee come? For the Sacrifice that is Prophesied by Malachie, as it is expounded by Tertullian, S. Hierome, and other Holie Fathers, is the Sacrifice of Praier, and contrite heart, as hereafter in the Seuententh Article it shall further appeare.

Touching the witnesses here alleged, first I marueil that M. Harding would euer bring them forth, but much more that he would thus set them out, with such circumstances of commendation, as that they saw Christ in the flesh, or that they were the Apostles fellowes. For he knoweth well, that many of them are little worthy of such credit, as partly being euer doubted of, and suspected to be written, not by them whose names they beare, but by Heretikes, to whom M. Harding seemeth now to flie for aid: partly also obscure, vnknowen, vnacquainted, not read, not seene, not heard off in the World before this time. But most of all I marueil that he would euer hazard his cause on these witnesses, who, as he himselfe very well knoweth, will speake against him. And therefore he hath here cunningly suppressed their words, and hath only made a muster of their names, but would suffer them to say nothing.

Clement.

And that thou (good Reader) maist haue a taste hereof, and see the faithfulnesse of their dealing, let vs first consider Clemens, who as it is reported here, was the Apostles fellow. The title of the booke seemeth to be De Apostolicis traditionibus: that is, Of Orders taken & deuised by the Apostles of Christ, for the better gouernment of the Church. A worthy booke, no doubt, and in all ages to be had in great price, if men had bene perswaded it had bene written indeed by Clement. But S. Hierome by the report of Eusebius maketh mention only of one Epistle of Clements, that he thought worthy to be receiued, which Epistle notwithstanding is not now to be found. One other Epistle of Clements he speaketh of, but he saith it was neuer allowed by the Church. And further S. Hierome saith: *Certaine other Bookes there are reported to be abroad in the name of Clement, as the disputation of Peter and Appion, which bookes were neuer in vse amongst our Fathers, neither contain they pure and Apostolicall Doctrine.* Thus much S. Hierome.

Hier. de Eccles. script. orib.

Books counterfeited in S. Clements name.

Now whence then commeth M. Hardings Clement? It was found very lately in the Ile of Candie, by one Carolus Capellius, a Venetian, written in Greeke, and in their Countries, neuer heard off nor seene before.

Petrus Crab in 1. Tom. Concil.

Here the Reader, be he neuer so simple, yet must he thinke thus much with himselfe: Clemens was Bishop of Rome, as it is thought next after S. Peter: And were the Bishop of Romes Bookes, and such Bookes, so strange, so holy, and of such weight, kept in Candie so farre off from Italy, in an Iland in the Sea, and not in Rome? written in Greeke, and not in Latin? And could such a worthy worke deuised by all the Apostles, and set forth by the Apostles fellow, be laid vp in secrecie for the space of a thousand, fiue hundred yeares and more, and no man misse it? Thus much the Reader may soone consider with himselfe, be he neuer so simple.

But what if this Booke were neuer written by S. Clement? What if it were written by no honest man? What if it were written by an Heretike? Verily, it was a common practise in old times, to set wicked bookes abroad vnder the names and titles of the Apostles, and other godly Fathers. Leo sometime Bishop of Rome, writeth thus: Apocryphæ Scripturæ, quæ sub nominibus Apostolorum multarum habent seminarium falsitatum, non solùm interdicendæ, sed etiam penitus auferendæ, atque ignibus tradendæ sunt: *Secret Scriptures, which bearing the names of the Apostles, containe a nurcery, and occasion of much falshood, are not onely to be forbidden, but also vtterly to be taken away, and to be committed to the fire.* By this we see, that the Apostles names were borrowed sometimes to auouch Heresies and wicked Doctrine.

Decretal. Leon. 1. Can. 15.

As touching Clemens, Gelasius writeth thus, and for that he was Bishop of the same See, it is the more likely he should know the truth: Pauca quæ ad memoriam venerunt, & Catholicis vitanda sunt, decreuimus esse subdenda. Inprimis, Ariminensem Synodum à Constantino Cæsare Constantini filio congregatam mediante Tauro præfecto, extunc, & in æternum, confitemur esse damnatum. Item Itinerarium nomine Petri Apostoli, quod appellatur sancti Clementis, libri octo Apocryphi: *We haue thought good* (saith Gelasius) *to note certaine Bookes which are come to knowledge, and ought to be auoided of Catholike people. First, the Councell holden at Ariminum, gathered by Constantius the Emperor, the son of Constantinus, by meane of Taurus the Lieutenant from thencefoorth, & for euer we iudge worthy to be condemned.*

Dist. 15. Sancta Romana.

condemned. Likewise the Iournall of Peter the Apostle, bearing the name of Clement, eight bookes are secret (vnlawfull) writings. Thus we see diuers bookes of Clement condemned by name, and but one Epistle onely allowed for good; and this Volume, here alleged by M. Harding, conteining eight bookes, as it is noted by Peter Crab, fully agreeing in number of bookes with the other condemned by Gelasius. To be short, Cardinall Bessarion alleging a parcell of the same booke of Clement, that hath bene hidden so long, writeth thus of it: Licet hæc Clementis verba inter Apocryphas Scripturas commemorari soleant, placet tamen eis in præsentiarum tanquam veris assentiamur: *Albeit the words of Clement be accounted amongst secret (vnlawfull) writings, yet for once we are content to receiue them, as if they were true.* Thus M. Hardings Clement is disallowed by Eusebius, and by S. Hierome, mistrusted by Bessarion, condemned by Gelasius, kept forth-comming in close prison for the space of a thousand and fiue hundred yeres: yet must we now, without refusall, stoope vnto him, and take him as the Apostles fellow.

Abdias.

Petrus Crab. 1 Tom. Concil.

Bessar. de Sacrament. Eucharistiæ.

One other of these Witnesses is Abdias, and he is brought in with all his Titles: the Bishop of Babylon, planted there by the Apostles: one that was conuersant with Christ, and heard him preach, and saw him in the flesh: and was present at the martyrdome of S. Andrew. With all other circumstances that may gather credit among the simple. Of this Abdias somewhat must be spoken, and so much the more, for that his name is so glorious. He was sought out, and found, and set abroad of very late yeres, vnder the name of Abdias, by one Wolphgangus Zazius, a man that taketh great paines to force men to beleeue it is the very selfe same Abdias that he maketh himselfe to be: and therefore he saith, he was one of the Lxij. Disciples, ordered Bishop by the Apostles, and that S. Luke the Euangelist, writing the Acts of the Apostles, borrowed many whole stories, word by word, out of him. Then was S. Luke very vnthankfull, that neuer once made mention of his Author.

Abdias.

But whosoeuer, or whatsoeuer this Abdias were, his owne words doe so bewray him, that a blinde man may see it was not he. He maketh many shamelesse lies, that he was present with Christ, and at the most part of the Apostles doings: and yet were the Apostles then, according to Christs commandement, gone into the whole World, some into Italie, some into Asia minor, some into Scythia, some into India, some into Æthiopia, and were many thousand miles asunder. In his Fable of Iphigenia he saith that the people tooke her brother Beor, being then Christened by S. Matthew, and made him King, and that he reigned afterward in Æthyopia the space of lxiij. yeres: and further maketh mention of Egesippus, that liued aboue one hundred and threescore yeres after Christ. If Abdias were aliue all this while, he might be likened to Iohannes de temporibus, who, as the French storie recordeth, liued in France aboue three hundred yeres. A lier must be circumspect, and mindfull what he say. If he saw Christ in the flesh, it is not likely he euer saw Egesippus, that was so long after Christ: If he saw Egesippus, it is not likely he euer saw Christ. Thus if he report truth in the one, he lieth in the other: and so, whether he lie, or say truth, he cannot be Abdias.

Marci 16.

Abdias in vita Matthæi.

Gaguinus. Paul. Æmil.

Touching the substance of his booke, it is nothing else, for the more part of it, but a vaine parish tale, laid out with falshood, wicked Doctrine, and curious conference and talke with Diuels: things farre vnmeet for that grauity and Maiesty of the Apostles of Christ, as it may soone appeare vnto the Reader.

It may be gathered by S. Augustine in sundrie places, that some part of this booke was written by certaine Heretikes, named the Manicheis, and auouched by them as the very true storie of the Apostles. For he reporteth the Fables of S. Thomas, of S. Matthew, of S. Andrew, of the Lion that slew the man that had striken S. Thomas, of the Dogge that brought the same mans hand vnto the Table, of Maximilla wife vnto Egis, and other like tales, euen in such order as they be set forth by this Abdias.

August. contra Faustum, li. 11. & li. 22. ca. 80.

Against one Adimantus he writeth thus: They (that is, the Manicheis) read Secret Scriptures, which they themselues say are pure and perfect: in which Scriptures it is written, that S. Thomas cursed a man, and that afterward a Lion slew him, &c. And in another place he saith: Attendite qualia sint quæ scribuntur de Maximilla, vxore Egetis: illam noluisse viro debitum reddere: donasse & suppositisse Euclam ancillam, & alias similes fabulas: *Behold what things they be that be written of Maximilla, wife vnto Egis: that shee (being once Christened) would no more yeeld dutie vnto her husband: but set Euclia her maid in her owne place, and other like Fables.*

August. contra Adimantum, cap. 16.

Aug. de Fide, contra Manichæos, cap. 30.

All these, and such like tales, thus disallowed by S. Augustine, are reported by M. Hardings Abdias in great sooth. I thought it not amisse to speake hereof the more at large, for that I saw a Booke so full of Tales, so lately found out, without any good shew of Credit, to be fathered vpon the Apostles Disciple, and sent into the World with such a countenance.

Abdias. Martialis.

nance. S. Augustine seemeth in diuers places to haue giuen his iudgement of the same. Writing against the Aduersarie of the Law and Prophets, he hath these words: He hath brought forth Witnesses out of Secret Scriptures, vnder the names of the Apostles, Iohn and Andrew; which writings, if they had bene theirs, they had bene receiued of the Church. The like iudgement hereof seemeth to be giuen by Gelasius, who also saith, that such writings, according to an ancient custome, and by a singular prouision, were not read in the Church of Rome, for that they were thought to be written by Heretikes.

August. contra Aduersarium Legis & Prophetarum, Lib. 1. Cap. 20.

Dist. 15. Sancta Romana.

Thus is this Abdias a Booke, as it is apparent, full of manifest lies, and, as it may be supposed by S. Augustine and Gelasius, written and fauoured by Heretikes, and refused of the Church: Vpon such a one, good Reader, M. Harding will haue thee to stay thy Faith.

As for the rest of these new Witnesses, although I minde to take no great exception against them, yet M. Harding knoweth there is scarcely one of them, but may be doubted of.

Martialis.

Martialis was lately found in France, in the Citie of Lemouica, in an arch of stone vnder the ground, so corrupt and defaced, that in many places it could not be read, and was neuer seene in the world at any time before.

Dionysius. Erasm. contra Parisienses.

Dionysius, although he be an ancient Writer, as it may many waies well appeare, yet it is iudged by Erasmus, Iohn Colet, and others many, graue and learned men, that it cannot be Areopagita, S. Pauls Disciple, that is mentioned in the Acts.

Liturgia Iacobi.

S. Iames Liturgie hath a speciall prayer for them that liue in Monasteries: and yet it was verie rathe to haue Monasteries built in all S. Iames time.

Liturgia Chrysostomi, edita à Claudio du Sanctes.

Chrysostomes Liturgie prayeth for Pope Nicolas by these words: Nicolai Sanctissimi & Vniuersalis Papæ longa sint tempora: *We pray God send Nicolas that most Holy and Vniuersall Pope, a long time to liue.* But Pope Nicolas, the first of that name, was the second Pope after Pope Ioane the woman, in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred fifty and seuen, almost fiue hundred yeares after Chrysostome was dead: And likewise in the same Liturgie, there is a prayer for the Empire and victorie of the Emperor Alexius. And the first Emperor of that name was in the yeare of our Lord a thousand and foure score, after the decease of Chrysostome seuen hundred yeares. Now it were very much for M. Harding to say, Chrysostome prayed for men by name seuen hundred yeares before they were borne. I trow that were Prophecying, and not praying.

Pope Ioane.

Thou seest, Christian Reader, what Doctors here be brought, as M. Harding saith, to ground thy Faith and Saluation vpon. If he could haue brought any better, I trow he would haue spared these. But such Doctrine, such Doctors. These doubtfull Authorities, I trust, will set mens consciences out of doubt.

Now, notwithstanding it be something troublesome, yet shall it not be from the purpose, for triall of these mens faithfull dealing, to examine some of M. Hardings owne Witnesses, and to heare what they will depose. All these, as it is said, auouch the Sacrifice, otherwise called the Masse: and not onely these, but also all others, of all ages and times, and that, in a maner, in the selfe same order and forme that now is vsed.

Fol. 11. a. lin. 1.

Here M. Harding much abuseth both his owne learning, and also the trust and credit that many haue in him. For he knoweth well, that the Apostles had neither the forme, nor the order, nor the name of Masse.

Dumbe Witnesses.

Howbeit, if all these beare witnesse to the Masse, why speake they not? Why come they forth so dumbe? What, haue they nought to say in this behalfe; or is their word not worth the hearing? Or are they so old that they cannot speake? Or must we needs beleeue M. Harding without euidence?

M. Hard. alleageth Witnesses against himselfe.

But what if neither Clement the Apostles fellow, nor Abdias, nor S. Iames, nor Basil, nor Chrysostome, nor any other of all these here alleged, speake one word of Priuate Masse? What if they haue not so much as the name of Masse? What if they testifie plainly against M. Hardings Masse? What if they testifie fully and roundly with the Holy Communion? It were great shame for M. Harding, to flie from his owne Witnesses, and very much for me to stand to be tried by them that are brought in such a thing to depose against me.

Liturgia Iacobi.

And to begin first with S. Iames, the order of his Liturgie, which M. Harding calleth Masse, standeth thus: Sacerdos ait, Nullus eorum qui orare non possunt, nobiscum ingrediatur. Diaconus ait, Cum timore, & fide, & dilectione, accedite: Populus respondet, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Deinde impertit Clero: Cum autem attollunt Diaconi Discos & Calices, ad impertiendum populo, Diaconus ait, Domine benedic: Which words may be turned thus: *The Priest saith, Let not one of them that may not pray, enter*

enter in with vs. The Deacon saith, With reuerence, and faith, and loue, approch ye neere. The people answereth, Blessed is hee that commeth in the name of the Lord. After this he ministreth vnto the Clergie. But when the Deacons take vp the Dishes and Cups, to minister vnto the people the Deacon saith, Lord blesse. Here, by the order of S. Iames Masse, the people answereth the Priest in their owne tongue: prouision is made for the whole Congregation in Dishes and Cups: they be called to receiue the Communion: and they doe receiue all together. Now let M. Harding be Iudge, whether S. Iames leaue record to the Priuate Masse, or to the Communion.

M. Hard. Witnesses against himselfe.

Dishes and Cups.

Abdias, although he report many vntrue tales, yet he reporteth not one word of Priuate Masse, but much to the contrarie. Writing the life of S. Thomas, and shewing in what sort he ministred the holy Communion, he saith thus: Eucharistiam diuisit his quos supra memorauimus, id est, populo: *He diuided the Sacrament vnto the people, of whom we spake before.* And againe, in the life of S. Mathew, who, as M. Harding beareth vs in hand, without all question, said Masse in Æthiopia, he writeth thus: Cumque respondissent, Amen, & mysteria Domini celebrata essent, & Missam suscepisset omnis Ecclesia: *When they had answered, Amen, and the mysteries of the Lord had beene celebrate, and the whole Church had receiued the Communion.* Where the whole Church answereth the Priest, and receiueth the Communion together, I reckon, M. Harding will hardly call that a Priuate Masse.

Abdias in vita S. Tho. Apost.

Abdias in vita S. Mat. Apost.

Iustinus Martyr, another of M. Hardings Witnesses, in his second Apologie vnto the Emperor Antoninus, declaring the Innocencie of the Christian people that then liued vnder great persecution, and shewing the maner of their assemblies, writeth thus: *Before the end of our praiers wee kisse each of vs one another. Then is there brought vnto him that is the chiefe of the Brethren, Bread, and a Cup of Wine and Water mingled together: which hauing receiued, he praiseth God, and giueth thankes a good space: and that done, the whole people confirmeth his praier, saying,* Amen, *After that, they that among vs be called Deacons, giue vnto euery of them that be present, part of the Bread, and likewise of the Wine and Water that are consecrate with thanksgiuing, and carry the same home vnto them that happen to be absent.* Here is a full Communion, and no Priuate Masse.

Iustin. Martyr in 2. Apologia.

ἐπευφημεῖ.

Dionysius, another of the Witnesses, and, as M. Harding saith, the Apostles scholar, openeth the whole order of the Ministration in his time, writing namely and purposely of that matter. *The Priest* (saith he) *beginneth the holy Psalmodie, and the whole body of the Church singeth with him. Then followeth in order the reading of the holy Scriptures, which is done by the Ministers. After that the* Catechumeni, *that is, they that are newly come vnto the Religion of Christ, and are not yet baptized, and* Energumeni, *that is, such as are molested with euill Spirits, and such others as are inioyned to penance, are commanded foorth. And so there remaine such as are meet to haue the sight and Communion of the holy things.*

Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. cap. 3.

It followeth: *And shewing foorth the gifts of the holy Sacraments, he goeth to the Communion himselfe, and likewise exhorteth others.* And a little after that: *The Priest, vncouering the bread that came couered, and in one cake or loafe, and diuiding the same into many portions, and likewise diuiding the vnitie of the Cup vnto all, Mystically, and by way of a Sacrament, he fulfilleth and diuideth vnitie.*

τὸς ἄρτους τῶν θεουργιῶν ὑποδίξας.

συμβολικῶς.

It followeth againe: *Then the Minister receiuing himselfe, and distributing the holy Communion vnto others, in the end concludeth with holy thanksgiuing, together with all the whole holy companie of the Church.* I beleeue M. Harding himselfe will say here is yet but bare witnesse for his Priuate Masse.

τῆς θεουργικῆς κοινωνίας μεταδούς.

In the Liturgie of S. Basil, which is also brought for a witnesse in this matter, the Priest praieth thus: All we receiuing of one Bread, and of one Cup, &c. It followeth: The Priest diuideth the Holy Bread into foure parts: the Quire singeth the Communion, and so they Communicate all.

Liturgia Basil. Et sic communicant omnes.

Another witnesse is Chrysostome: His Liturgie, or, as M. Harding delighteth to speake, his Masse, is thus ordred: After that the Priest hath Communicate with the Ministers, then the great doore is set open: The Priest sheweth forth the Cup vnto the people, saying, *With the feare of God, and faith, and loue, approch ye neere.* The Deacon saith: *Come ye neere in peace.* The people answereth: *In the name of the Lord.* Againe, The Deacons receiue the Communion. Afterward the Mysteries be carried vnto a place, where the people must communicate.

Liturgia Chrysostomi.

Ignatius, another Witnesse, writing vnto the people of Philadelphia, hath these words: Vnus Panis Pro omnibus fractus est, & vnus Calix omnibus diuidebatur: *One Bread was broken for all, and one Cup was diuided vnto all.*

Ignatius ad Philadelphien.

What needeth it me to discourse further of the rest: By these few, I doubt not, it may some appeare, how faithfully these men allege the Catholike Fathers, only amasing the Reader

Hippolyt. Martyr.

Reader with naked names. Here we se, such as cannot Communicate, are commanded forth: The whole Church prayeth, singeth, and receiueth the holy Sacraments all together. Such Masses they be that the old Catholike Fathers can witnesse of. And of other Masse they know none. M. Harding himselfe confesseth that in the Primitiue Church the people receiued the Communion euery day.

Yet notwithstanding, for his priuate Masse he alledgeth the names of Doctors of the Primitiue Church. And so, like a craftie Apothecarie, in his markes or papers he hath the Masse: but in his boxes he hath the Communion.

But he will say, he alledged all these Doctours by way of digression, to an other purpose, to prooue the Sacrifice. First, there is very small proofe in such Witnesses as say nothing: and besides that, it is a simple kinde of Rhetoricke, to vse so large digressions from the matter, before ye once enter into the matter. And as touching the Sacrifice, if you haue any at all, you haue it onely of the institution of Christ: otherwise you haue none. But we are sure, we haue Christs institution. Wherefore it followeth, we haue the Sacrifice that Christ appointed.

Hippolytus Martyr.

Touching Hippolytus, the Bishop and Martyr, that, as M. Harding saith, liued in Origens time, and is now extant in Greeke, it is a very little booke, of small price, and as small credit, lately set abroad in print, about seuen yeres past; before neuer acquainted in the World. Such be M. Hardings ancient Authorities for his Masse. It appeareth, it was some simple man that wrote the booke, both for the Phrases of speech in the Greeke tongue, which commonly are very childish, and also for the truth and weight of the matter. He beginneth the first sentence of his booke with, Enim, which a very child would scarcely doe. He hath many vaine gheses of the birth and life of Antichrist: He saith, and sothly auoucheth, that Antichrist shall be the Diuell, and no man, and shall onely beare the shape of a man: Yet S. Paul calleth Antichrist, The man of Sinne. Besides this, he hath a further fantasie, that Antichrist shall subdue the Kings of Egypt, Aphrica, and Æthiopia, and that he shall build vp againe the Temple of Hierusalem: And that S. Iohn, that wrote the Bookes of Apocalyps, or Reuelations, shall come againe with Elias and Enoch, to reproue Antichrist. And all this saith he, without either warrant of the Scriptures, or Authoritie of the Church. And writing that booke, namely vpon the Prophet Daniel, he allegeth the Apocalyps of S. Iohn, in the stead of Daniel, which is a token either of great ignorance, or of maruellous obliuion. Moreouer he saith, that the Soules of men were from the beginning, which is an Heresie, with other dreames and fantasies many moe. This is M. Hardings Catholike Doctour. Concerning the place of him here alledged, *Venite Pontifices, qui purè mihi Sacrificium die noctéque obtulistis, ac pretiosum Corpus & Sanguinem meum immolastis quotidiè*; If he will precisely build vpon the words, then must all other Priests stand backe, & haue no place in Heauen, but Bishops only. For although they offer vp, as M. Harding saith, the daily Sacrifice, yet it is well knowen, according to the nature and vse of the word, they are Priests only, and not Bishops. If he will make reckoning of this word, *Quotidiè*, Daily, then where shall the Bishop of Rome and his Cardinals stand, that scarcely haue leasure to Sacrifice once thorow the whole yere? And if it be Christ himselfe that they offer vp vnto the Father, as they say, how is the same Christ offered vp vnto Christ himselfe? How is Christ both the thing that is offered, and also the partie vnto whom it is offered? But there is no inconuenience to a man in his dreame. And if it be the Masse that Hippolytus here speaketh of, how is it offered both day and night? For Hostiensis saith, It is not lawfull by the Canons, to say Masse in the night season, sauing only the night of Christs Natiuity.

Hippolyti Martyris Fragmenta.

2. Thessal. 2. *Reuelabitur homo peccati.*

Hostiē. in summa, de celebratione missarum.

But the meaning of Hippolytus seemeth to be this, that all Faithfull people in this respect be Priests and Bishops, like as S. Peter also calleth them, and that euery of them by faith, maketh vnto God a pure Sacrifice, and both day and night, as it were, renueth and applieth vnto himself that one and euerlasting Sacrifice of Christs pretious Bodie, once offered for all vpon the Crosse. Thus are the words of Hippolytus plaine and without cauill, and thus shall Christs calling be very comfortable.

1. Petri 2.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuision.

Now this presupposed, that the Masse standeth vpon good and sufficient grounds for the stay of all true Christian mens beleefe: let vs come to our speciall purpose, and say somewhat of Priuate Masse, as our Aduersaries call it.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The grounds he here speaketh of, be his Doctours, such as he hath already brought forth, laid vp in great secresie, and hidden from all the world, by the space of one thousand yeres,

yeares and more, and now of late found out by chance: ſome in Iſlands in the Sea: ſome in Arches vnder the ground: ſome ſo defaced with mould and canker, that it was hard to gheſſe their meaning: ſome full of impudent lies and fables, one parcell not agreeing with another: ſome deuiſed and written by Heretikes, and euer miſtruſted and condemned of the Church: yet euery of theſe, as M. Harding well knoweth, fully reporting the Holy Communion, and manifeſtly teſtifying againſt Priuate Maſſe. Theſe be M. Hardings great grounds. Now iudge thou gentle Reader, what worthy building may ſtand vpon the ſame. Doubtleſſe this beginning is very ſimple.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuiſion.

The chiefe cauſe why they ſtorme ſo much at Priuate Maſſe, is, for that the Prieſt receiueth the Sacrament alone: which thing they expreſſe with great villanie of words. Now in caſe the people might bee ſtirred to ſuch deuotion, as to diſpoſe themſelues worthily to receiue their houſell euery day with the Prieſt, as they did in the Primitiue Church, when they looked hourely to be caught, and done to death in the perſecution of Paynims, that they departed not hence *ſine viatico*, without their voiage prouiſion: what ſhould theſe men haue to ſay? In this caſe perhaps they would finde other defaults in the Maſſe, but againſt it in this reſpect only, that it is priuate, they ſhould haue nothing to ſay at all. So the right of their cauſe dependeth of the miſdoing of the people, which if they would amend, theſe folke ſhould be driuen either to recant, or to hold their peace. To other defaults of the Maſſe, by them vntruly ſurmiſed, anſwer ſhall be made hereafter. Now touching this.

Where no fault is committed, there no blame is to be imputed.

Priuate Maſſe proceeded firſt of the negligence and miſdoing of the people.

That oftentimes the Prieſt at Maſſe hath no compartners to receiue the Sacrament with him, it proceedeth of lacke of deuotion of the peoples part, not of enuie or malice of his part.

The feaſt is common: (13) all be inuited: they may come that liſt: they ſhall be receiued that be diſpoſed and prooued: None is thruſt away that thus commeth: it may be obtruded to none violently, ne offered to none rathly. Well, none commeth. This is not a ſufficient cauſe why the faithfull and godly Prieſt, enflamed with the loue of God, feeling himſelfe hungry and thirſty after that heauenly food and drinke, ſhould be kept from it, and imbarred from celebrating the memorie of our Lords death, according to his commandement; from his dutie of giuing of thankes for that great benefit; from taking the Cup of Saluation, and calling vpon the name of God: for theſe things be done in the Maſſe.

Lacke of deuotion cauſe of Priuate Maſſe. The 13. vntruth. For they inuite no man.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

God be thanked, both our life, and maner of teaching, notwithſtanding theſe ſlanderous reports, is void of villanie. Or if there had beene any defect in vs, this man, of his courteſie, ſhould not haue ſupplied it with another villanie.

M. Hard. confeſſeth, that in the Primitiue Church there was no Priuate Maſſe.

Here M. Harding granteth, that the people in the Primitiue Church receiued the holy Communion euery day, and ſo conſequently vnalwares he confeſſeth, that in the Primitiue Church was no Priuate Maſſe; which, as he ſaith, came in afterward by the negligence and vndeuotion of the people. It is great pitie that ſo good a thing, as it is ſuppoſed, ſhould haue no better beginning. One ſpeciall principle of theſe mens Doctrine, is, to imbarre the people from reading and vnderſtanding of the Scriptures, and to ſuffer them to know nothing; for that, as ſome of them haue ſaid, they be Dogs and Swine, and therefore ſhould not pretious ſtones be laid before them. Yet now muſt their negligence be the rule of Chriſts Religion. This is laid as the ground and foundation of the whole cauſe, and therefore it ought the better to be conſidered.

M. Hard. Articul. 15. Diuiſ. 7. Fol. 155. b.

Eckius, Pigghius, Hoſius, and others, haue often cried out amaine in their Bookes and Pulpits, *Where was your Religion, before Luther firſt began to preach?* So may we likewiſe ſay, And where was your priuate Maſſe, which is the Crowne of your Kingdome, before your people firſt began to grow negligent, and to want deuotion? Some haue ſaid, the Church is gouerned by the Pope: ſome, by the General Councels: ſome, by the holy Ghoſt. M. Harding ſaith better, it is not amiſſe that the Church be gouerned by the negligence and vndeuotion of the people.

Charity (ſay they) is cold, and the people is careleſſe. But therefore hath God appointed Paſtours and Miniſters to ouerſee and controle the people, and not to ſuffer them to periſh in their negligence. Were it a matter of tithes, or other paiments, the people ſhould be called vpon, and not ſuffered in any wiſe to be negligent: neither ſhould their negligence ſtand for excuſe. How much leſſe ſhould it be ſuffered, when the caſe toucheth God? The Biſhops and Fathers in the ſecond Councell holden at Barcara in Spaine, decreed thus: *If any man reſort vnto the Church, and heare the Scriptures, and for negligence or wantonneſſe withdraw himſelfe from the Communion of the Sacrament, and in the reuerend myſteries do breake the rule of diſcipline: we decree, that ſuch a one be put out of the Catholike Church, vntill he haue done penance, and ſhewed the fruits of his repentance, that hauing obteined pardon, he may be receiued againe to the holy Communion.*

Ex editamento Conc. Brac. 2. cap. 84. Sen ex Synod. Graco collectio. Proluxuria ſua Chryſoſt. Epiſt. ad Epheſ. hom. 3.

Thus the Godly Fathers in old time did not flatter and fauour the peoples negligence in this caſe, as M. Harding and his fellowes doe; but exhorted, warned, reproued, rebuked

buked them, called them malapert, and impudent, that would be present, and not receiue: and excommunicated them for their negligence. But these men contrariwise turne away their faces from their brethren, and suppresse their voice, and will not be heard, and speaking nothing, but in an vnknowen tongue, and find no fault with the people, but rather make them beleeue, that they receiue for them, and apply Christs death vnto them by their Masse, and that the very hearing thereof is sufficient for them, and meritorious: and thus, as much as in them lieth, they increase the negligence of the people, and discourage them from the holy Communion.

The cause of the peoples negligence.

The people is taught nothing, they vnderstand nothing, they heare nothing, and, hauing only a few childish and vnseemely gestures, they see nothing, neither comfort, nor memorie of Christ, nor benefit of his passion. And this is the cause of their negligence: therefore they stand thus backe, and withdraw themselues.

The Pope and his Cardinals as negligent as the people.

Howbeit, what needeth M. Harding thus to charge the people with negligence and vndeuotion? The Pope himselfe, and his Cardinals, doe scarcely Communicate once in the yeere, but are as negligent, and as vndeuout therein, as the most part of the people.

The feast (saith M. Harding) is common: All are inuited: They shall be receiued that be disposed and prooued. If this Feast be common, it must needs be common to very few: for the prouision is very little to serue many. That all be called in the Latine Masse, it is a great and manifest vntruth. For neither the Priest, nor the Deacon, either by word, or by gesture, calleth them: nor haue they any preparation for them, if they were called. Yet are these men not ashamed to say, They shall be receiued that be disposed and prooued.

Preparation of the minde, before the Communion.

Euery man ought humbly to prepare and dispose his heart, before he presume to heare or receiue any thing that toucheth God. For God is Spirit, and we are Flesh: God in Heauen, and we in Earth. Pythagoras, being but an Heathen, was wont to say: Non loquendum de Deo, sine lumine: *we ought not to speake of God, without light*, that is, without premeditation and good aduisement, who it is, of whom we speake. And the Pagans, in their Sacrifices, were wont to remember their Priest with these words: Hocage: the meaning whereof was, *Dispose thy minde: It is God vnto whom thou speakest.* The wise man saith, *Before thou pray, prepare thine heart, and be not as a man that tempteth God.* Likewise in old times, they that were called Catechumeni, were warned afore hand to prepare their hearts, that they might worthily receiue Baptisme, as it is decréd vnder the name of Clement, whose words be these: *Let him prepare himselfe in all things, that after three moneths ended, vpon the holy day he may be Baptized.* S. Augustine also exhorteth the Catechumeni, likewise to dispose their minds against their time of their Baptisme. Thus ought euery man to examine and prepare himselfe, before he heare Gods word: before he presume to open his mouth to pray vnto God: before he receaue the sacrament of Baptisme: and namely before he come to the holy Communion. And therfore the Priest giueth warning vnto the people with these words: Lift vp your hearts: which words, as S. Augustine saith, were commonly vsed in the holy Mysteries.

Eccles. 18.

Clem. Epist. 3. August. Tract. 10. & 11. in Iohan.

August. de bono Perseuerantiæ, Lib. 2. Ca. 13.

But I thinke M. Harding heere by these words, *prepare* and *dispose*, meaneth Priuie Confession, which many haue vsed, as a racke of mens consciences, to the maintenance of their tyrannie. [a] Peter Lombard saith, without it there is no way to Heauen. [b] Innocentius the third commandeth, that whosoeuer is not confessed, neither be suffred to come into the Church being aliue, nor to be buried when he is dead. Hugo writeth thus: *I am bold to say, whosoeuer commeth to the Communion vnconfessed, be he neuer so repentant and sorry for his sinnes, certainely he receiueth vnto his iudgement.* So violent the late Writers haue beene in erecting things of their owne deuices. Otherwise the old Fathers, notwithstanding sometime they speake of Confession, yet they require it with more modestie, and many of them require no such thing at all.

[a] *Sent. lib. 4. Dist. 17.*

[b] *Innocent. 3. in Concil. Lateran. Cap. 21. Hugo, de potestate Ecclesiæ.*

Chrysostom. de Pœnitentia.

Chrysostome saith: *Let the Court (where thou yeeldest thy selfe guiltie) be without witnesse: Let God alone see thee.* And againe: *If thou be ashamed to shew thy sinnes to any man, then vtter them euery day in thy heart. I say not, goe, confesse thy sinnes vnto thy fellow seruant, that may vpbraid thee with them: but confesse them vnto God, that is able to cure them.* And againe thus he imagineth God to speake vnto a sinner: Mihi soli dic peccatum tuum priuatim, vt sanem vlcus: *open thy sinne priuately to me alone, that I may heale thy wound.* And Theodorus, sometime Archbishop of Canturburie, saith: Græci, & totus Oriens confitetur soli Deo: *The Greekes, and all they of the East, confesse themselues only to God.* Thus much I thought good to touch heereof, lest it should be thought there is none other way for a man to prouue and dispose himselfe, but onely by Auricular Confession. The meaning of these words of S. Paul, *Let a man examine himselfe*, standeth in two points, in Faith and Repentance. Faith conteineth the truth of our beleefe: Repentance concerneth the amendment of our life: which kinde of examining endureth all our life long. But to say, or thinke, we are

Ἁμάρτυροι ἐστὸ διάγνωσμα.

Chrysostom. in Psal. 50. Ho. 2. Chrysostom. de Lazar. hom. 4. De Pœnitentia, Dist. 1. Quidam Deo.

all

all examined, and diſpoſed one onely day in the yeare, and that of cuſtome, not of Holineſſe, and not one day before, nor one day after, it is childiſh, it is ſuperſtitious, it is Jewiſh, it is no perſwaſion meet for the people of God. If Chryſoſtome were aliue, hee would crie out: O præſumptionem! O conſuetudinem! *O what preſumption! O what a cuſtome is this!* And S. Ambroſe would ſay: *If thou be not worthy euery day to receiue, then art thou not worthy once in the yeere.*

The negligence of the people

Chryſ. ad pop. Antioch. ho. 61
Ambroſ. de Sacram. li. 5. c. 4.
Leo Epiſt. 81.

But grant it, that charity and deuotion is fainted in the people: May wee yet thinke, that the ſame reſteth whole and ſound in the Clergie? Or that the deuotion of the Prieſts aboundeth more now, than it did in the Primitiue Church? For then the Prieſt miniſtred the holy Communion but once in a day, vnleſſe the multitude of the Communicants had beene ſo great, that it required double miniſtration. But now the Prieſt may ſay two, three, or moe Maſſes in one day, yea although hee haue no man to receiue with him. I would it were not as the Prophet ſaith: Qualis populus, talis Sacerdos: *As the people is, ſuch is the Prieſt.* Verily Bonifacius talking of the change of the holy Cups, which in the Old times had beene Treene, and in his time were made of Gold: *Then,* ſaid hee, *wee had Treene Cuppes and Golden Prieſts: but now wee haue Golden Cuppes, and Treene Prieſts.* S. Bernard complaineth thus of the ſtate of the Clergie in his time: *O Lord, wickedneſſe hath proceeded from the Elder Iudges thy Vicars, which ſeeme to rule thy people. Wee cannot now ſay, As the people is, ſo is the Prieſt: for the very people is not ſo (wicked) as is the Prieſt.* And the ſame S. Bernard in the Synod holden at Reimes in France, in the preſence of the Pope ſpake theſe words: Nunc non habemus mercenarios pro paſtoribus: nec lupos pro mercenarijs: ſed pro lupis habemus Diabolos: *Now haue wee not Hirelings (to rule the flocke) inſtead of Shepheards: nor Wolues inſtead of Hirelings: but inſtead of Wolues we haue Diuels.*

Eſay 24.

Bonifacius de Con. diſt. 1. vaſa.
Bernardus de conuerſione Pauli.
Bernardus in Concilio Remenſi.

Iohannes Vitalis, a Cardinall of Rome likewiſe complaineth: *And of the Prieſts of this age* (ſaith he) *The Prophet Eſay hath written thus: The Paſtours themſelues are void of vnderſtanding, they haue all followed their owne way, euery one, euen from the higheſt to the loweſt.* Wherefore if want of deuotion and looſeneſſe of life may breed negligence in the people, why may not the like want, and as great looſeneſſe, breed the like negligence in the Prieſts? And if negligence be excuſe ſufficient, to warrant the people to communicate but once in the yeare, why may not the ſame negligence cauſe the Prieſts to ſay Maſſe but once in the yeare? For it is not the loue of God, as you ſurmiſe, neither the hunger or thirſt of Heauenly food, that maketh the Prieſt ſay Maſſe, but order of foundation, cuſtome, hire or wages for his labour.

Iohan. Vitalis Cardinalis, in Speculo.
Eſay 50.

Now let vs view the weight of M. Hardings reaſons: The people is negligent and vndeuout; *Ergo*, The Prieſt may ſay Maſſe alone. This argument is very weake. But the next that is gathered of the ſame is much weaker: The people is negligent now; *Ergo*, there was Priuate Maſſe in the Primitiue Church. For this only was my deniall: and this hath M. Harding taken in hand to proue. It is called Petitio principij, whereas one weake thing is proued by another, as weake as it. So might M. Harding ſay; The people will not heare the word of God; Ergo, the Prieſt may go into the Pulpit, and Preach alone. *For Chriſts Supper* (as S. Auguſtine ſaith) *is a Sermon, and the Prieſt therein Preacheth and vttereth the death of the Lord.*

Aug. de Trinit. lib. 3. cap. 4.

Againe, if onely the negligence of the people haue enforced Priuate Maſſe, how then came it into Colleges, Monaſteries, Cathedrall Churches, yea, euen into the very holy Church of Rome, whereas be ſuch numbers of Clerkes, Vicars, Monkes, Prieſts, and Prebendaries, that the Emperor Iuſtinian was faine to ſtay the increaſe of them, all idle, all in ſtudy and contemplation, all void from worldly cares, all confeſſed, all in cleane life, all prepared? Wherefore haue they Priuate Maſſe? Yea wherefore haue they ſo many Maſſes ſeuerally, at diuers Altars, and many of them at one time? Wherefore doe not they communicate together, as it appeareth they did in the Primitiue Church. Doubtleſſe this groweth not of the negligence of the people.

Authen. Collat. prima vt determinatus ſit numerus Clerico.

As for the people, they are not ſo negligent nor vndeuout as M. Harding heere chargeth them. They are Gods people, glad to bee inſtructed, and deſirous to follow, and whereſoeuer the Goſpell is receiued, ready to giue teſtimony thereof, and to increaſe the ſame by the holy Communion of Chriſts Bodie and Blood, in great companies, and whole congregations all together.

But what ill lucke is this, that they whom M. Harding ſo often condemneth for Heretikes can be ſo deuout: and he and his Catholikes thus remaine without deuotion? Let the people be taught: let them heare the holy Miniſtration in their owne tongue, that they may vnderſtand the holy myſteries, and feele comfort and ſweetneſſe in the ſame: let them ſee examples of diligence in the Clergy; then will they be no longer negligent. Then

ſhould M. Harding perforce giue ouer his Priuate Maſſe, as ſaying that the whole right of his cauſe hangeth only of the negligence and miſdoing of the people.

M. Harding. The 8. Diuiſion.

The 14. vntruth. The Sacrifice is ſpecially named in the Communion booke. And in the Maſſe it ſelfe Conſecration is not named.

But the enemies of this holy Sacrifice ſay, that this is againſt the Inſtitution of Chriſt. God forbid, the Inſtitution of Chriſt ſhould not be kept.

But it is a world to ſee, how they crie out for the Inſtitution of Chriſt, by whom it is moſt wickedly broken. For whereas in Chriſts Inſtitution concerning this Sacrament, three things are contained, which he himſelfe did, and by his commandement gaue authority to the Church to doe the ſame, the Conſecration, the Oblation, and the Participation; wherein conſiſteth the ſubſtance of the Maſſe: they hauing quite abrogated the other two, (14) and not ſo much as once naming them in their Bookes of Seruice, now haue left to the people nothing but a bare Communion, and that after their owne ſort; with what face can they ſo buſily cry for Chriſts Inſtitution, by whom in the chiefe points the ſame is violated?

The 15. vntruth. For S. Baſil thinketh the number is part of Chriſts Inſtitution; *Exercitationis ad pietatem, Sermone 4.*

Of Conſecration and Oblation, although much might be ſaid heere a gainſt them, I will at this time ſay nothing. Concerning Participation, the number of Communicants together in one place that they tangle ſo much of as a thing ſo neceſſary, that without it the Maſſe is to be reputed vnlawfull, (15) is no part of Chriſts Inſtitution. For Chriſt ordained the Sacrament after Conſecration and Oblation done, to be receiued and eaten. And for that end he ſaid; *Accipite, manducate, bibite*; Take, eat, drinke: heerein conſiſteth his Inſtitution.

* The Apoſtles vſed & ordained the Communion of a number, & neuer any priuate receiuing of the Prieſt alone.

Now as for the number of Communicants, how many ſhould receiue together in one place, and in what place, what time, ſitting at table (as ſome would haue it) ſtanding or kneeling, faſting, or after other meats; and whether they ſhould receiue it in their hands or with their mouthes, and other the like orders, maners, and circumſtances; all theſe things pertaine to the ceremonie of eating, the Obſeruation whereof dependeth of the Churches ordinance, and not of Chriſts Inſtitution. And therefore S. Auguſtine writing to Ianuarius, ſaith; *Saluator non præcepit, quo deinceps ordine ſumeretur, vt Apoſtolis, per quos diſpoſiturus erat Eccleſiam, ſeruaret hunc locum*: Our Sauiour gaue not commandement in what order it ſhould bee receiued, meaning to reſerue that matter * vnto the Apoſtles, by whom hee would direct and diſpoſe his Church. Epiſt. 118.

The 16. vntruth. Chriſt appointed a number, although no certaine fixed number.

Wherefore the receiuing of the Sacrament being the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and the maner, number, and other rites of receiuing, (16) not fixed nor determined by the ſame, but ordered by the Churches diſpoſition; whether many or few, or but one in one place receiue; for that reſpect, the Miniſtration of the Prieſt is not made vnlawfull.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

It liketh M. Harding to call vs wicked, and the enemies of the Sacrifice; and to ſay, wee iangle of the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and yet our ſelues breake Chriſts Inſtitution. I muſt heere proteſt in the name of many: We are not enemies of the Sacrifice and Croſſe of Chriſt, but of the errours, abuſes, and ſacrilege of the Maſſe, which now are maintained to the open derogation of the Sacrifice, and Croſſe of Chriſt.

As touching Chriſts Inſtitution, forget not, good Chriſtian Reader, that M. Harding confeſſeth, there are three things therein contained, which, as he ſaith, Chriſt himſelfe did, and by his commandement gaue authoritie to his Church to doe: the Conſecration, the Oblation, and the Participation. Heere he leaueth quite out the Annunciation of Chriſts Death, thinking perhaps, it is no matter eſſentiall of Chriſts Inſtitution. Of theſe three (he ſaith) we haue broken two: the Conſecration and Oblation, and ſo haue onely a bare Communion.

1. Cor. 11. *Ye ſhall ſhew foorth the Lords death.*

But whereby may it appeare to M. Harding, that wee haue thus broken Chriſts Inſtitution? Is it becauſe we communicate together with the people? or becauſe wee miniſter the Sacrament vnder both kindes? or becauſe wee ſhew forth the death of Chriſt? or becauſe we doe that Chriſt did, and commanded vs to doe?

Conſecration.

Concerning Conſecration, he doth great wrong to charge vs with the breach thereof, before he himſelfe and others of his ſide be better reſolued wherein ſtandeth Conſecration. For Scotus and Innocentius tertius, and certaine others ſay, that this word Benedixit, *He bleſſed*, worketh Conſecration. The common opinion is, that it is wrought by theſe words, *This is my Body*. Some thinke that Chriſt ſpake theſe words twice, firſt ſecretlie to himſelfe, and afterward openly, that the Apoſtles might vnderſtand him. Cardinall Beſſarion Biſhop of Tuſculum, writeth thus: *The Latine Church following Ambroſe, Auguſtine and Gregory, thinketh that Conſecration ſtandeth in theſe words, This is my Body: But the Greeke Church thinketh the Conſecration is not wrought by theſe words, but by the Praier of the Prieſt, which followeth afterward: and that according to S. Iames, S. Chryſoſtome, and S. Baſil.* By theſe it appeareth, that they themſelues of that ſide, are not yet fully agreed vpon their owne Conſecration.

Tho. & Bonauen. in 4. Sent. Beſſar. de Sacramento Euchariſtiæ.

In the tenth Article.

Howbeit, by whatſoeuer words Conſecration is made, it ſtandeth not in the abolliſhing of natures, as M. Harding teacheth: nor in preciſe and cloſe pronouncing of certaine appointed words: but in the conuerting of the naturall Elements into a godly vſe: as wee ſee in the water of Baptiſme. For Chriſt ſaid not, *Say yee this, or by theſe*

these words go and Transubſtantiate or change natures: But thus he ſaith, *Doe this in my remembrance.* And ſo, *The Bread that we breake, is the Communication of Chriſts Body: and as often as we eat of that Bread, we do declare and publiſh the Lords death.* This is well noted and opened by S. Auguſtine: *Put the words of God* (ſaith he) *vnto the Element, and it is made a Sacrament. For what power is there ſo great of the water (in Baptiſme) that it toucheth the Body and waſheth the heart, ſauing by the working of the word? Not becauſe it is ſpoken, but becauſe it is beleeued: and this is the word of Faith, which wee Preach.* The word of Faith, which wee Preach, ſaith S. Auguſtine, not the word which wee whiſper in ſecret, is the word of Conſecration. 1. Cor. 10. 1. Cor. 11.

Conſecra.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 80. Accedat verbum ad Elementum, & fit Sacramentum.

With what honeſt countenance then can M. Harding ſay, that wee haue no Conſecration? We pronounce the ſame words of Conſecration that Chriſt pronounced: wee doe the ſame that Chriſt bade vs doe: wee proclaime the death of the Lord: we ſpeake openly in a knowne tongue, and the people vnderſtandeth vs: wee Conſecrate for the Congregation, and not onely for our ſelues: wee haue the Element: wee ioine Gods Word vnto it: and ſo it is made a Sacrament. Yet ſaith M. Harding wee haue no Conſecration. And can hee thinke, that a Prieſt of his ſide doth Conſecrate, that whiſpereth his words cloſely, and that in a ſtrange tongue, in ſuch ſort as no man heareth or vnderſtandeth him: that often times himſelfe knoweth not neither the words of Chriſt, nor the ſenſe of the words: nor the vſe, nor the end of the Sacrament: that exhorteth no man: that ſpeaketh to no man: that if hee doe Conſecrate, doth Conſecrate onely for himſelfe, and not for others: that doth neither that Chriſt did, nor that Chriſt commanded to be done? If we Conſecrate not, can he thinke that ſuch a one doth Conſecrate?

And whereas he ſaith further, that wee haue no maner of Oblation in our Communion, he ſhould not himſelfe ſpeake manifeſt vntruth, hauing taken vpon him as he ſaith, to reforme falſhood. For he knoweth wee offer vp vnto God in the Holy Communion, our ſelues, our Soules, our Bodies, and Almes for the poore: Praiſes and Thankſgiuing vnto God the Father for our Redemption: and Prayer from a contrite heart, which, as the Old Catholike Fathers ſay, is the Sacrifice of the New Teſtament. To conclude, wee offer vp as much as Chriſt commanded vs to offer. Indeed wee offer not vp Chriſts Bodie to bee a Propitiatorie Sacrifice for vs vnto his Father. For that Sacrifice is once wrought for all vpon the Croſſe, and there is none other Sacrifice left to bee offered for ſinne. *Tertull. contra Marcionem, li. 4. & aduerſus Iudeos. Euſebius de Demonſtratione, lib 1.* Hebr. 10.

But, ſaith M. Harding, we make no mention of any Sacrifice in all our Miniſtration: Therefore wee breake Chriſts Inſtitution. This reaſon impeacheth Chriſt himſelfe as well as vs: for Chriſt himſelfe in his whole Miniſtration ſpake not one word of any Sacrifice, no more than we doe. Therefore by M. Hardings Logicke, Chriſt himſelfe brake his owne Inſtitution.

Whereof he concludeth, that we haue nothing but a bare Communion: which concluſion is as true as the premiſſes. Gods name be bleſſed, we haue a holy Communion to the great comfort of the godly. But in M. Hardings Maſſe there is neither Communion, nor any other conſolation at all: but only a number of light and bare geſtures and ceremonies, farre vnmeet for ſo graue a purpoſe. But what ſhould moue this man thus ſcornefully to ieſt at the holy Miniſtration, and to call Chriſts ordinance, A bare Communion? Others call it the Myſticall Supper: others the holy Diſtribution: Bare or naked, no man, I trow, durſt euer to call it, but M. Harding. One of his owne Doctours comparing Conſecration and Communion together, ſaith thus: Communio ſacra maior eſt in effectu ſanctitatis, quàm Conſecratio: *The holy Communion in effect of Holineſſe is more than Conſecration.* And againe: Conſecratio eſt propter Communionem: Ergo, Communio maius eſt Conſecratione; *Conſecration is for Communion. Therefore is Communion greater than Conſecration.* *M. Harding ieſteth at the ordinance of Chriſt. Alexander de Hales, 4. q. 35. mem. 2. Ibid. ſolu. 2.*

A little before M. Harding ſaid, in Chriſts Inſtitution three things are contained: Conſecration, Oblation, Participation. Immediately after, as a man that had ſuddenlie forgotten himſelfe, he ſaith, The number of the Communicants together in one place, that they iangle ſo much of as a thing ſo neceſſary, is no part of Chriſts Inſtitution. It is no marueil though he can ſo ill agree with the old Catholike Doctours, that falleth thus out ſo ſuddenly with himſelfe. For if Participation be not neceſſarie, how is it a part of Chriſts Inſtitution? If it be a part of Chriſts Inſtitution, how is it not neceſſarie? He would faine conueigh Chriſts Inſtitution, and his Maſſe both vnder one colour. But they are contraries, the one of them bewraieth the other. As for the Prieſt, hee taketh no part of the Sacrament with others, which is the nature and meaning of this word *Participation*, but receiueth all alone. Thus it appeareth by M. Hardings owne confeſſion, that Priuate Maſſe hauing *M. Harding hath forgotten himſelfe.*

no Participation of the Priest with others, and therefore no Participation at all, is no part of Christs Institution.

I grant, certaine circumstances, as fasting, sitting, standing, knéling, and other like Ceremonies about the holy Ministration, are left to the discretion of the Church. But this is a very simple argument: Certain Circumstances may be altered; *Ergo*, The Priest may receiue alone. Christ himselfe hath already determined the case. For albeit hée haue appointed no certaine number of Communicants, yet hath hée by speciall words appointed a number. For these very words: *Take ye: Eat ye: Drinke ye all: Diuide ye among your selues: Do ye this in my remembrance: Ye shall set foorth the Lords death*: These very words, I say, cannot be taken of one singular man, but necessarily import a number.

Matth. 26. Luke 22. 1. Cor. 11.

Aug. epist. 118. ad Ianuarium.

Yet saith M. Harding, S. Augustines words be plaine: Saluator non præcepit, quo deinceps ordine sumeretur: vt Apostolis, per quos dispositurus erat Ecclesiam, seruaret hunc locum: *Christ gaue no commandement, in what order it should be receiued: to the intent he might leaue that matter to his Apostles, by whom he would dispose his Church.* Therefore saith M. Harding, The number of Communicants is at libertie, and the Priest may receiue alone.

S. Augustine in that place speaketh not one word of any number, but only of the time of receiuing, whether it might séeme conuenient to Minister the Communion after Supper, as Christ did to his Disciples, and some vsed then to doe, as appeareth by the words that follow: Nam si hoc ille monuisset, vt post cibos alios semper acciperetur, credo quòd eum morem nemo variasset: *For if Christ had commanded that the Sacrament should euer be receiued after other meats, I beleeue no man would haue changed that order.* It is wrong dealing to bring one thing for another: to allege number in stead of time: and of S. Augustines words to conclude that S. Augustine neuer meant. For that S. Augustine requireth a number of Communicants, it appeareth by that immediately in the same place he allegeth the words of S. Paul: Quapropter fratres, cùm conuenitis ad manducandum, inuicem expectate: *Wherefore brethren, when ye meet together to eat (the Communion) wait one for another.* Which words M. Harding thought best cunningly to dissemble. In other places S. Augustine, like as also S. Hierome and others, witnesseth that the whole people daily receiued together, and generally intreating of the holy Communion, he speaketh euermore of a number, and neuer of one alone.

Aug. in eadem epist. ad Ianuarium. 118.

1. Cor. 11.

Inuicē expect. Aug. de Serm. Dom. in monte 12. in Iohan. tract. 26. Hieron. ad Lucinium. Idem in Apolog. aduers. Iouinian.

Now whereas M. Harding saith, Christ left such matters to the determination of the Church, and to that purpose séemeth to allege, as others doe, these words of S. Paul: Cætera cum venero disponam: *Touching the rest, I will take order when I come*: This kinde of Doctrine vnto the Old Fathers séemed very dangerous. For S. Augustine saith: Omnes insipientissimi Hæretici, qui se Christianos vocari volunt, audacias figmentorum suorum hac occasione Euangelicæ sententiæ colorare conantur, vbi Dominus ait, Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed ea non potestis portare modò: *The most peeuish Heretikes that bee, that would faine be called Christians, doe colour the bold enterprises of their fantasies, by occasion of this saying of the Gospell, whereas the Lord saith, Yet haue I many things to say vnto you, but yee are not able now to beare them.*

1. Cor. 11.

Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 97.

But if the Church haue determined this matter for Priuate Masse, as M. Harding saith: In what Councell, at what time within fiue hundred yéeres after Christ, and in what place was it determined? Who was witnesse of the doing? Who was President? Who was present? This is it that the Reader would faine learne. And M. Harding thinketh it best to proue it by silence. Howbeit it is already confessed, that Priuate Masse came in, not by Christ, or by any of his Apostles, or by the authoritie of the Church, but onely by the deuotion and negligence of the people.

It is wonderfull to sée how handsome constructions these men make of these words of S. Paul: *Touching the rest I will take order when I come.* For vpon these words they build their Priuate Masse, euen in such forme as it is now vsed in. As if S. Paul should say thus: *At my comming I will take order, that ye shall haue Masse in a strange tongue: that ye shall receiue alone: that ye shall not looke and wait one for another, notwithstanding any my former commandement: that ye shall not need to meet together: that one shall receiue for all the rest: and so at my comming I will vndoe whatsoeuer hitherto I haue ordained.*

M. Hardings argument.

I may not now dissemble the value of M. Hardings argument: Christ (saith he) ordained the Sacrament after Consecration and oblation done, to be receiued and eaten; *Ergo*, the number of Communicants together is no part of Christs Institution.

What, thought M. Harding that none but children and fooles should read his Booke? For how lowsely hang these parts together? The Sacrament must be receiued after Consecration: Ergo, The number of Communicants is not necessary. There is not one péece hereof that either is true in it selfe, or agréeth with other.

For touching Consecration, if hee will precisely follow the words of the Euangelists, which

which wrote the ſtory, *Chriſt firſt tooke the Bread, and bleſſed it: and brake it: and gaue it, and ſaid, take ye: Eate ye:* and afterward, this being ſaid and done, he added the words of Conſecration, *This is my Body.* Thus the Euangeliſts witneſſe contrary to M. Harding, that the receiuing was firſt, and the Conſecration afterward. Matth. 26. Luke 22. 1. Cor. 11.

Concerning the force of M. Hardings argument, it concludeth directly againſt himſelfe. For if Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament to the intent it ſhould be firſt Conſecrate, and then receiued of a company, it muſt needs follow, that receiuing with company is part of Chriſts Inſtitution: as it is alſo auouched by Cardinall Beſſarion the Biſhop of Tuſculum. His words be theſe: Hoc ipſe ordo rerum poſcebat: primum Conſecrare, deinde Frangere, poſtea Diſtribuere: quod nos in præſentia facimus: *This the very naturall courſe of things required: firſt to Conſecrate, then to Breake, and after to Diſtribute: which thing wee alſo doe at this day.* And Gabriel Biel: Conſecratio ad vſum, qui eſt manducatio, tanquam ad finem quodammodò proximum ordinatur. Quia Chriſtus accepit panem, benedixit, & dedit Diſcipulis, vt manducarent: *Conſecration is ordained for a vſe, which is the eating, as it were for an end. For Chriſt after he had taken the Bread, bleſſed it, and gaue it to his Diſciples to eat.* *M. Harding concludeth againſt himſelfe.* *Beſſar. de Sacrament. Euchariſtiæ.* *Biel. lect. 26.*

And againe: Conſecratio non eſt ſemper finis Conſecrationis, ſed potius vſus fidelium. Ad hoc enim Conſecratur Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti, vt fideles illis vtantur manducando: *Conſecration is not the end of Conſecration, but rather the vſe of the faithfull. For to that end is the Body and Blood of Chriſt Conſecrate, that the faithfull may vſe them in eating.* Thus M. Harding frameth arguments againſt himſelfe. *Biel. lect. 38.*

M. Harding. The 9. Diuiſion.

But if they allege againſt vs the example of Chriſt, ſaying that he receiued not it alone, but did Communicate with his twelue Apoſtles, and that wee ought to follow the ſame: I anſwer, that wee are bound to follow this example, *Quoad Subſtantiam, non quoad externam Ceremoniam*: For the Subſtance, not for the outward Ceremony, to the which pertaineth the number and other rites, as is aforeſaid. Chriſts example importeth neceſſity of receiuing only: (17) the other rites, as number, place, time, &c. bee of congruence and order. (18) In which things the Church hath taken order, willing and charging that all ſhall Communicate that be worthy and diſpoſed. And ſo it were to be wiſhed as often times as the Prieſt doth celebrate this high Sacrifice, that there were ſome, who worthily diſpoſed, might receiue their rites with him, and bee partakers Sacramentally of the Body and Blood of Chriſt with him. But in caſe ſuch doe lacke, as wee haue ſeene that lacke commonly in our time, yet therefore the continuall and Daily Sacrifice ought not to bee intermitted. For ſith this is done in the remembrance of Chriſts oblation once made on the Croſſe for the Redemption of all mankinde, *therefore it ought daily to bee celebrated thorowout the whole Church of Chriſt, for the better keeping of that great benefit in remembrance: and that though none receiue with the Prieſt. And it is ſufficient in that caſe, if they that bee preſent, be partakers of thoſe holy Myſteries ſpiritually, and Communicate with him in Praier and Thankſgiuing, in Faith and Deuotion, hauing their minde and will to Communicate with him alſo Sacramentally when time ſhall ſerue.* M. Hard. refuſeth Chriſts example. The 17. vntruth: For number is not only of congruence, but alſo of Inſtitution. The 18. vntruth. The Church of Rome hath take no ſuch order. *A weak reaſon. This is onely M. Hard. Gloſſe.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Here is great paine taken, to proue that Chriſtian men in the miniſtration of Chriſts Supper are not bound to follow the example of Chriſt; all learning alſo ſhewed to beguile the ſimple with a vaine diſtinction of Subſtantia and Accidens. S. Hilary writing of the leaud dealing of the Arians vſed in racking of the Scriptures, ſaith thus of them; Aut ita ſcribuntur fides, vt volunt: aut ita vt volunt, intelliguntur. *Their Faiths muſt either bee ſo written as they will: or elſe they muſt be conſtrued and taken as they will.* *Hilar. ad Conſtant. Auguſt.*

The queſtion that lieth betweene vs ſtandeth not in this point, Whether wee ought to doe euery thing that Chriſt did; but, Whether we ought to do that thing that Chriſt both did himſelfe, and alſo commanded vs to doe, and was afterward practiſed by the Apoſtles and holy Fathers that had the Spirit of vnderſtanding and knew Chriſts meaning, and was neuer broken vntill the negligence and vndeuotion of the people, as M. Harding confeſſeth, brought in the contrary.

Chriſt ſaid not, Do this in Hieruſalem, or in this parlar, or after ſupper, or at this table, or being ſo many together, or ſtanding, or ſitting, but he ſaid thus, *Do yee this*: that is, Take ye Bread: bleſſe it: breake it: giue it *in my remembrance.* This is not a Ceremoniall Accident; but the very end, purpoſe, and ſubſtance of Chriſts Inſtitution. And therefore S. Paul ſaith: *The Bread that we breake is the participation of the Lords body: and all we are one Bread and one Body, as many as are partakers of one Bread.* Matth. 26. Luke 22. 1. Cor. 10.

Yet ſaith M. Harding, We are bound to follow Chriſts example in things that bee of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament, not in things that be of order and congruence. Here vnawares he ſeemeth to confeſſe that his Maſſe whatſoeuer ſubſtance it beare, yet is void both of good order and alſo of congruence. But what wicked wilfulneſſe may this be? To miniſter the Sacraments of Chriſt, as Chriſt himſelfe did, and commanded to be done, is called an Accident Ceremoniall,

Daily Sacrifice.

Ceremoniall, that may well be changed: But for the Priest to speake in a strange vnknowen tongue; to turne his face from the people; to minister vnto himselfe alone; and to vse an infinite sort of childish ceremonies, which neither Christ, nor his Apostles euer either vsed or thought of: all these are holden for things substantiall, and of importance, and be defended as necessary and may not be changed. Such power haue these men to change Accidence into Substance, and Substance into Accidence when they list.

The Church (saith M. Harding) hath charged and ordered, that no man that is worthy and disposed, shalbe refused. O miserable is that Church, whereas no man, no not so much as one, is well disposed! Heere in few words he condemneth the whole Church of Rome, euen the whole College of Cardinals: amongst whom, as he saith, there is not one well disposed and worthy: and therefore they all withdraw themselues from the Communion. But Chrysostome saith: *If thou be not worthy to receiue the Communion, then art thou not worthy to be present at the Praiers.* Therefore M. Harding should driue his vnworthy people from the Church, and not suffer them to heare his Masse.

Chrysostom. ad popul. Antiochen. Homil. 61

They imagine that any man, be he neuer so great a sinner, may pray to God, and haue free accesse to the throne of Maiesty. Only they thinke a sinner may not receiue the holy Communion. But it is written: *Let him depart from his wickednesse, whosoeuer calleth vpon the name of the Lord.* Whosoeuer is a member of Christ, and may boldly call God his Father, may also be bold to receiue the Communion.

Hebr. 4. 2. Tim. 2.

If M. Harding wish indeed that the people would prepare themselues, and Communicate with the Priest, as he pretendeth; Why doth he not exhort and moue the people? Why doth he not prouide for them? Why doth he rather defend his sole receiuing contrary to his owne wishing, and contrary to the example of Christ, as he himselfe confesseth? Doubtlesse there are many godly men among the people, and oftentimes more vertuously disposed a great deale than the Priest. Neither is it of their vnworthinesse, that they abstaine so often; nor of their worthinesse, that they receiue once in the yere, but only of custome.

But if the people be slacke, yet must the Priest doe the Daily Sacrifice, saith M. Harding, that is, he must offer vp Christ vnto his Father for the sinnes of the World. Herein appeareth the wanton follie of this people. That they may doe, and are commanded to doe, they will not doe: but that they cannot doe, that they will needs doe. The matter being so weighty, and not yet throughly beleeued, it had beene good for M. Harding to haue made proofe thereof by the authority of S. Augustine, S. Hierome, or some other old Catholike Doctour, within the compasse of six hundred yeres: but he bringeth forth only an Article or Decree of his owne making. Sith this is done (saith he) in the remembrance of Christs oblation once made on the Crosse for the Redemption of Mankinde, Therefore it ought daily to be celebrated thorowout the whole Church.

Lest any errour grow hereof, it is to be noted, that these words, Daily Sacrifice, and Daily Bread, are sometimes vsed in the holy Fathers, and both applied vnto the Body of Christ: but farre otherwise, and to other purpose, than M. Harding meaneth, as it shall soone appeare. The old Fathers call that the Daily Sacrifice that Christ made once for all vpon the Crosse: for that as Christ is a Priest for euer, so doth the same his Sacrifice last for euer: not that it is daily and really renued by any mortall creatures, but that the power and vertue thereof is infinite in it selfe, and shall neuer be consumed. So saith S. Augustine: Tibi hodiè Christus est, tibi quotidiè resurgit: *To thee this day is Christ: and to thee daily he riseth againe.* So likewise saith S. Hierome: Quotidiè nobis Agnus occiditur, & Pascha quotidiè celebratur: *Vnto vs euery day the Lambe is slaine: to vs euery day the Easter Feast is kept.* And in like sort writeth Germanus a later writer: Panis quotidianus est Christus, qui, est, & antè fuit & manet in sæcula: *Our daily Bread is Christ, which is now, and was before, and endureth for euer.* Thus in Christs behalfe is that most pretious Sacrifice euerlasting.

Daily Sacrifice. Daily Bread.

De verb. Dom. in Euan. secundum Lucam. Serm. 28.

Hieron. in 1. ad Corint. cap. 5.

Germanus in Eccles. rerum Theoria.

Likewise the same one Sacrifice is euerlasting, not only in it selfe, for that the vertue thereof is daily effectuall in vs, and endureth for euer, but also of our behalfe, in that we doe daily offer vp vnto God our Sacrifices of praises and thanksgiuing for that so mercifull and wonderfull worke of our redemption. And this kinde of daily Sacrifice, beside a great number of other old Doctours, the godly Father Irenæus hath taught vs to make: His words be these: Sic & nos quotidiè offerre vult munus ad Altare frequenter sine intermissione. Est ergo Altare in Cœlis: Illuc enim preces & oblationes nostræ diriguntur: *Euen so hath God willed vs daily to offer vp our Sacrifice at the Altar without ceassing. Therefore our Altar is in heauen: for thither our praiers and oblations are directed.* Thus is that Sacrifice once offered vpon the Crosse rightly called our Daily Sacrifice, in like phrase of speach as is this of Tertullian: Nos Sabbatum non septeno quoque die celebramus, sed omni die:

Irenæus li. 4. cap. 34.

Tertull. aduersus Iudæos.

We

We keepe the Sabbath, not euery ſeuenth day, but euery day. But M. Hardings fantaſie, that is, that the Miniſtration of the Sacraments is the Daily Sacrifice, includeth a manifeſt vntruth. For afterward he graunteth himſelfe, that vpon Good Friday there is no ſuch Oblation made, and that (as he ſaith) by the order of the Apoſtles. And againe he knoweth, that the Grecians in the Lent time neuer vſed to Conſecrate, but onely vpon Saturdaies and Sundaies, as it appeareth by the ſixth Councell holden at Conſtantinople, and by the Councell of Laodicea. And of the vſe of the Latine Church therein in his time, S. Ambroſe writeth thus: Omni hebdomada offerendum eſt, etiamſi non quotidiè peregrinis, incolis tamen vel bis in hebdomada: *Euery weeke we muſt celebrate the oblation, although not euery day vnto ſtrangers, yet for the inhabitants, yea ſometimes twice in the weeke.* I trow M. Harding will not ſay, that the thing that is one day left vndone, or that is only done vpon the Saturdaies and Sundaies, or, as S. Ambroſe ſaith, twice in the weeke, is notwithſtanding done euery day.

Daily Sacrifice.

Articul. 2. Diuiſ. 23. fo. 44. b. Sexta Synod. Cõſtant. c. 52. Concil. Laodic. Can. 49. Ambro. in 1. ad Timoth. cap. 2. Non quotidiè,

Yet it is well to be thought, that both S. Ambroſe, and other learned Biſhops in the Latine Church, and the Fathers in the Councell of Conſtantinople, and Laodicea for the Greeke Church, vnderſtood what was the Daily Sacrifice.

Verily that Sacrifice that Chriſt once made vpon his Croſſe, endureth for Good Friday, and all daies in the Lent, and euery day in the yeere, and for euer: and therefore is iuſtly called our Daily Sacrifice.

M. Hardings reaſons.

Chriſts death muſt be kept in remembrance; *Ergo*, The Prieſt is bound to ſay daily Maſſe, yea although there be no man to receiue with him. Alas how holdeth this poore argument? Or how may we make it good? Is there none other meane to remember Chriſts death, but onely by ſaying Priuate Maſſe? Or is not euery one of the people bound to remember the ſame, as dayly, and as often as the Prieſt? It is a very ſimple ſequele, onely vpon remembrance of Chriſts Death to found the Maſſe. Doubtleſſe the Maſſe, as it is now vſed, vtterly drowneth and defaceth all maner remembrance of the Death of Chriſt.

But to put a little more weight to this ſilly reaſon, whereas M. Harding ſaith, The Prieſt ought daily to Sacrifice, yea although there be no man to receiue with him; I will ſay further in his behalfe: If this Sacrifice be ſo neceſſarie, as it is ſuppoſed, then is the Prieſt bound to Sacrifice euery day, yea although he himſelfe receiue not. For the Sacrifice and the Receiuing are ſundry things, as it is alſo noted in a late Councell holden at Toledo in Spaine: Quidam Sacerdotes vno die plurima offerunt Sacrificia, & in omnibus ſe oblationibus à Communione ſuſpendunt: *Certaine Prieſts there be, that euery day offer many Sacrifices, and yet in euery Sacrifice withhold themſelues from the Communion.* Thus hath M. Harding found his Daily Sacrifice, and loſt his Priuate Maſſe.

De Con. diſt. 2. Relatum eſt.

Another reaſon.

The receiuing with compahie is no ſubſtantiall part of Chriſts Inſtitution; *Ergo*, Wee are not bound therein to follow Chriſts example. Firſt, this Antecedent is falſe, as it is already proued. And if it were no part of the ſubſtance of Chriſts Inſtitution, yet are we neuertheleſſe bound to his example, becauſe he hath commanded vs ſo to doe.

If Chriſts example haue no more weight of our ſide, let vs turne the ſame to M. Hardings ſide, and ſee how handſomely it will conclude: Chriſt miniſtred the Communion to his Diſciples all together; *Ergo*, The Prieſt may receiue alone.

Conſider, good Reader, what credit theſe men deſerue to haue, that are thus faine to ſhun and flie the example of Chriſt. S. Paul, to rectifie the Corinthians, thought no way better, than to call them backe to Chriſts example. For thus he ſaith: *That I receiued of the Lord, the ſame haue I deliuered vnto you.* Likewiſe ſaith S. Hierome, Dominica Cœna omnibus debet eſſe communis: quia ille omnibus Diſcipulis ſuis qui aderant, æqualiter tradidit Sacramenta: *The Lords Supper muſt be common to all.* And that hee proueth by Chriſts example, *Becauſe Chriſt gaue the Sacraments equally to all his Diſciples that were preſent.*

1. Cor. 11. Hieron. in 1. Cor. 11.

But whoſe example followeth M. Harding, when he ſaith his Priuate Maſſe? When did either Chriſt, or any of his Diſciples, or any one of the old Catholike Doctors, minſter in that ſort? If he follow none of theſe, let him not blame others, if they refuſe to follow him.

M. Harding. The 10. Diuiſion.

M. Iewell, and many other of that ſide, thinke to haue an argument againſt Priuate Maſſe of the word *Communio*, as though the Sacrament were called a Communion in conſideration of many receiuers together. And therefore in his Sermon oftentimes he maketh an oppoſition betweene Priuate Maſſe, and the Communion, and alleging diuers places where mention is of a Communion, interreth of each of them an argument

Communio.

The 19. vntruth. For of communicating together, it was called *Communio.*

argument against Priuate Masse. But this argument is weake, and vtterly vnlearned, as that which proceedeth of ignorance. (19) For it is not so called because many, or, as M. Iewell teacheth, the whole Congregation Communicateth together in one place; but because of the effect of the Sacrament, for that by the same we are ioyned to God, and many that be diuers, be vnited together, and made one Mysticall Body of Christ, which is the Church, of which Body, by vertue and effect of this holy Sacrament, all the faithfull be members one of another, and Christ is the head. Thus diuers ancient Doctours doe expound it. And specially Dionysius Areopagita, where speaking of this Sacrament, he saith: *Dignissimum hoc Sacramentum, sua præstantia reliquis Sacramentis longè antecellit, atque ea causa illud meritò singulariter Communio appellatur. Nam quamuis vnumquodque Sacramentum id agat, vt nostras vitas in plura diuisas, in vnicum illum statum, quo Deo iungitur, colligat, attamen huic Sacramento Communionis vocabulum præcipuè ac peculiariter congruit*: This most worthy Sacrament is of such excellencie, that it passeth all other Sacraments; and for that cause it is alonely Called the Communion. For albeit euery Sacrament be such as gathereth our liues, that be diuided asunder many waies, into that one state, whereby we are ioyned to God, yet the name of Communion is fit and conuenient for this Sacrament specially and peculiarly, more than for any other. By which words, and by the whole place of that holy Father, we vnderstand that this Sacrament is specially called the Communion, for the speciall effect it worketh in vs, which is to ioine vs neerely to God, so as wee bee in him, and he in vs; and all we that beleeue in him, one body in Christ. And for this indeed wee doe not Communicate alone. For in as much as the whole Church of God is but one house, as S. Cyprian saith, *Vnus est domus Ecclesiæ, in qua omnis editur*: There is one house of the Church, wherein the Lambe is eaten: And S. Paul saith to Timothie, that this house of God is the Church of the liuing God: whosoeuer doth eat this Lambe worthily, doth Communicate with all Christian men, of all places and Countries, that bee in this house, and do the like. And therefore S Hierome a Priest, shewing himselfe loth to contend in writing with S. Augustine a Bishop, calleth him a Bishop of his Communion. His words be these: *Non enim conuenit, vt ab adolescentia vsque ad hanc ætatem in monasterio cum sanctis fratribus labore desudans, aliquid contra Episcopum Communionis meæ scribere audeam, & cum Episcopum, quem ante cœpi amare, quàm nosse*: It is not meet (saith he) that I, occupied in labour from my youth vntill this age, in a poore Monasterie with holy brethren, should be so bold, as to write any thing against a Bishop of my Communion, yea and that Bishop, whom I began to loue ere that I knew him. Thus wee see, that S. Hierome and S. Augustine were of one. (20) Communion, and did Communicate together, though they were farre asunder: The one at Bethlehem in Palestina, the other at Hippo in Aphrica. Thus there may be a Communion, though the Communicants be not together in one place.

Eccles. Hierar. cap. 3.

De Cæna Dom.

1. Tim. 3.

Inter Epist. Augustini, t. pag. 14.

The 20. vntruth, rising of the ambiguitie or doubtfull taking of this word, Communion.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Whereas of the nature of this word Communio, which is most commonly vsed in all the old Fathers, I toke occasion to say that the Priest ought to communicate with the people, for that otherwise it cannot iustly be called a Communion, M. Harding maketh answer, as a man well broking his owne learning, That this reason is weake and vnlearned, as proceeding altogether of ignorance. **Here to leaue all contention of learning, and only to haue regard vnto the truth, if the very nature of this word,** Communio, **import not a thing to be common, as it is supposed, much lesse may it, as I iudge, import a thing to be priuate.**

Communio.

It is named Communio, saith **M. Harding, of the effect that it worketh in vs, because by the same we are ioined vnto God, not because many communicate together in one place. And for proofe hereof, he allegeth the authoritie of** Dionysius: **wherein he doth great wrong to that good old Father, alleging his authoritie for the Masse, that neuer spake word of the Masse.**

It is granted of all, without contradiction, that one end of all Sacraments is to ioine vs vnto God, as Dionysius saith **here of the Holy Communion, and** Paul **likewise of the Sacrament of Baptisme:** *Ye are all the children of God by Faith in Christ Iesus: For as many of you as are Baptized in Christ, haue put on Christ.* **And** Chrysostome saith, *That by baptisme we are made bone of Christs bones, and flesh of Christs flesh.*

Galat. 3.

Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Ephes. Homil. 20.

Another end is to ioine vs all together. And so likewise writeth S. Paul **of Baptisme:** Nos omnes in vnum Corpus Baptizati sumus: *All we are Baptized into one Body.* **And therefore** saith S. Augustine: In nullum nomen Religionis, seu verum, seu falsum, coagulari homines possunt, nisi aliquo signaculorum, vel Sacramentorum visibilium, consortio colligentur: *Men cannot be brought into any name of Religion, be it true or false, vnlesse they be ioined together with the band of visible Signes or Sacraments.*

1. Cor. 12.

Contra Faust. Manich. li. 19. *cap.* 11.

And notwithstanding Dionysius **speaketh plainly of both these ends, yet it pleaseth M. Harding in his allegation only to name the one, and to conceale the other, and by the affirmation of the one, vntruly to conclude the denial of the other. And as touching the latter of these two ends, the same** Dionysius, **in the same Chapter that M. Harding here allegeth, writeth thus:** Sancta illa vnius & eiusdem Panis, & poculi communis, & pacifica distributio, vnitatem illis diuinam, tanquam vnà enutritis, præscribit: *That holy, common, and peaceable distribution of one Bread, and one Cup, preacheth vnto them a heauenly vnity, as being nan fed together.* **And** Pachymeres **the Greeke Paraphrast, expounding the same place, hath these words:** τὸ γὰρ ὁμοδίαιτον καὶ ὁμόσιτον ἐπ' εἰς μνήμην ἄγει τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον: *For that common diet and consent farther bringeth vs into the remembrance of the Lords Supper.*

Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. cap. 3. ὁμοσιτίαν, ἀυτοῖς ἐνθεον ὡς ὁμοτραπέζοις νομοθετεῖ.

Pachymeres Paraphrastes.

Whatsoeuer

Communio.

Whatsoeuer M. Harding haue said, I reckon it will hereby appeare vnto the indifferent Reader, that these words doe sufficiently declare both the common receiuing of the Sacrament, and also the knitting and ioining of many together.

Now let vs examine this reason: The Communion hath his name of the effect, for that it ioineth vs vnto God: Ergo, saith M. Harding, it signifieth not the Communicating of many together. Surely this Argument is very weake: I will not say, It is vnlearned, or proceedeth of ignorance. Hee should need a new Logicke, that would assay to make it good.

Nay, it may much better be replied: What effect can this Sacrament haue, or whom can it ioine to God, but only such as doe receiue it? Or, What effect can the Sacrament of Baptisme worke, but only in them that receiue Baptisme? Without all question, the effect that Dionysius meant, standeth not in this, that one man saith a Priuate Masse, and receiueth the Sacrament alone: but in this, that the people praieth, and receiueth the Holy Communion together, and thereby doth openly testifie, that they bee all one in Christ Jesus, and all one amongst themselues. And therefore Chrysostome saith: Propterea in Mysterijs alter alterum amplectimur, vt vnum multi fiamus: *For that cause in the time of the Mysteries we embrace one another, that being many, we may become one.* *Chrysostom. ad popul. Antioch. Homil. 61.*

Howbeit, in plaine speech, it is not the receiuing of the Sacrament that worketh our ioining with God. For whosoeuer is not ioined to God before hee receiue the Sacraments, he eateth and drinketh his owne iudgement. The Sacraments bee Seales and Witnesses, and not properly the causes of this coniunction. Otherwise our children that depart this life before they receiue the Communion, and all the godly Fathers of the Old Testament, should haue no coniunction with God. Wherefore S. Augustine saith: *No man may any wise doubt, but euery faithfull creature is then made partaker of Christs Body and Blood, when in Baptisme he is made the member of Christ: and that he is not put off from the fellowship of that Bread and that Cuppe, although before either hee eat that Bread, or drinke of that Cuppe, he depart this world, being in the vnitie of Christs Bodie. For he is not depriued from the partaking and benefit of the Sacrament, so long as he findeth in himselfe that thing that the Sacrament signifieth.* Likewise S. Cyprian: Nos ipsi Corpus Christi effecti, & Sacramento, & re Sacramenti, Capiti nostro coniungimur & vnimur: *Wee our selues being made the Bodie of Christ, both by the meane of the Sacrament, and also by the thing it selfe of the Sacrament, or represented by the Sacrament, are ioined and vnited vnto our Head.* Roman. 4. *Aug. in Serm. ad Infantes.* *Beda* 1. *Cor.* 10 *Cypr. de Cœna Domini.*

But S. Cyprian saith: *The whole Church is but one house, in which the Lambe is eaten.* And S. Hierome, notwithstanding he dwelt in Bethlehem, so many miles off from S. Augustine, being then at Hippo in Aphrica, yet hee calleth him a Bishop of his Communion: Ergo, saith M. Harding, The Priest that saith Masse alone in Rome, Communicateth together with another Priest that saith Masse alone in India. Here S. Cyprian and S. Hierome are violently drawen in, and forced to witnesse the thing that they neuer knew: and so M. Harding, as his maner is, concludeth a falshood. *Cypr. de Cœna Domini.* *Inter Epistolas Aug. Epist.* 14.

The Holy Communion was so often and so generally frequented amongst all Christians in the Primitiue Church in all their Assemblies and Congregations, that at length the very companie and fellowship of them was called Communio, taking name of that action that was most solemnly vsed among them at their meetings. And therefore to giue somewhat more credit to M. Hardings words, S. Augustine saith: Mulier illa est Communionis nostræ: *That woman is of our Communion.* Likewise againe: Donatus non nisi in sua Communione Baptismum esse credit: Donatus *thinketh there is no Baptisme, but only in his Communion.* And S. Hierome, writing vnto Damasus Bishop of Rome, hath these words: Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum sequens, beatitudini tuæ, id est, Cathedræ Petri, Communione consocior: *I following no chiefe, but onely Christ, am ioined by Communion to thy holinesse, that is to say, to Peters Chaire.* In these places this word, Communio, signifieth not the Ministration of Sacraments, but a side, a part, or a fellowship, or consent in Articles of Religion. And in this sense S. Hierome called S. Augustine a Bishop of his Communion: that is, of his Faith, of his Minde, of his Doctrine, of his Religion. *Aug. in Epist. ad Eusebium.* *Aug. Retract. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 21. *Hieronym. ad Damasum.*

Here may be noted by the way, that S. Hierome saith not, S. Augustine is a Bishop of my Masse, but of my Communion. For M. Harding knoweth, that neither of them both euer said Priuate Masse, and therefore could not Communicate the one with the other in saying Masse.

But for clearer answer to the words of S. Hierome, the Communion or fellowship of the Church standeth in sundry respects: For wee Communicate together, either in consent of minde, as it is written of the Apostles, *They had all one Heart, and one Minde:* Or in knowledge of God, as Christ praieth for his Apostles vnto his Father, *That they may be one, as thou and I be one:* And S. Paul to the Philippians, *I thanke my God alway, that yee* Actor. 4. Iohan. 17. Philippen. 2.

are

Galat. 3. *are come to the Communion of the Gospell*: Or in one Christ, as Paul saith, *There is now no bondman: there is now no freeman: but all are one in Christ Iesus.* To be short, wee Communicate in Spirit, in Praiers, in Loue: Wee are all washed with one Bloud: wee are all fed with one Body: wee haue all one hope of our Vocation: and all together with one heart and one voice, be wee neuer so farre asunder, doe glorifie God, the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Communio.

Roman. 15. *Cypr. de Cœna Domini.* And this is that only house wherein the Lambe is eaten, grounded vpon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets. In this house we dwell, M. Harding: Heere we walke together with consent: Heere we eat that Lambe of God, being all brothers, and members of one body, and all one in Christ Iesus. God restore you once againe into the same

Psalm. 54. house, that you may open the eies of your heart, and see from whence you are fallen.

Apocalyp. 2. Where you say, two diuers Priests saying Masse, may Communicate together, notwithstanding they be in sundry Countries, it may some be granted. For they Communicate together in wickednesse, in breaking of Gods Commandement, and in deceiuing of the people: euen in like sort as the wicked children Communicate in wickednesse with

Matth. 23. their wicked fathers: as Christ seemeth to say to the Phariseis: *At your hands shall be sought for all the iust Blood that hath beene spilt, from the Blood of Abel the iust, vnto the Blood of Za-*

Luke 11. *charie. Fill ye vp the measure of your Fathers.*

Now these things noted, wee may the better take the view of M. Hardings Arguments.

1 The whole Church (saith he) thorow the world is but one house: *Ergo*, The Priest may say Priuate Masse.

2 The faithfull that be farre asunder, doe Communicate together in consent of minde: *Ergo*, They doe Communicate in receiuing the Sacraments.

3 S. Augustine and S. Hierome did Communicate in Faith and Doctrine: *Ergo*, They did Communicate together in saying Masse. If S. Paul might haue had some conference with M. Harding, and haue found out these reasons, he would neuer haue found such fault with the Corinthians, neither would he haue written thus vnto them: Inuicem expectate: *Wait ye all, one for another.* Which words euen Hugo Cardinalis expoundeth thus: Vt vna sit mensa: Non habeat quilibet mensam suam: *Let there be one Table for all: and let not euery man haue his sundry Table.*

Hugo Cardinalis.

But who can better expound S. Hieromes words than S. Hierome himselfe? Thus he writeth vnto Theophilus against Iohn Bishop of Hierusalem: Quod scribit, nos tecum pergere Romam, & Ecclesiæ Communicare ei, à qua videmur Communione separati, non necesse est ire tam longè: Et hîc in Palæstina eodem modo ei iungimur. Et ne hoc quod procul sit: In viculo Bethlehem Presbyteris eius, quantum in nobis est, Communione sociamur: *Whereas he writeth that I am going with thee to Rome, to Communicate with the Church there, from which wee be diuided by Communion, it is nothing needfull to goe so farre. For being heere in Palestine, wee are ioined to the same Church in like maner. And let him not make matter, that it is so farre off. For being heere in the little Towne of Bethlehem, as much as in vs lieth, wee ioine in Communion with the Priests of Rome.* He saith, *As much as in vs lieth*, whereby he excepteth only the vse of the Sacraments together. For otherwise they had Communicated thoroughly in all things, and these words, *As much as in vs lieth*, should not haue néeded.

Hieron. aduersus Iohan. Hierosolymitan.

As much as in vs lieth.

The errour of these M. Hardings reasons is called Fallacia æquiuocationis, that is, a falshood in reasoning, rising by the craftie handling of one word that hath two or moe significations, whereby one thing is laid forth in shew, and another is concluded. This word Communio, being one, importeth two things, Consent in Religion, and the Ministration of the Holy Mysteries: The one is spirituall, the other corporall: The one requireth circumstance of place, the other requireth no place. Therefore to say, S. Hierome and S. Augustine, being so farre asunder, did Communicate in Religion: Ergo, They did Communicate in breaking and receiuing the Sacrament, hath no more order in sequele, than if M. Harding would reason thus: S. Hierome and S. Augustine did Communicate in Spirit: Ergo, They did also Communicate in Body: Or thus: Their Spirits were together: Ergo, Their Bodies were together. So might he as well say, The

4 Reg. 5. Spirit of Elizæus was with Giezi his man vpon the way: Ergo, The Bodie of Elizæus

1. Cor. 5. was with Giezi vpon the way: Or, The Spirit of Paul was with the Corinthians: Ergo, His Body was with the Corinthians.

By this Argument M. Harding might very direcly haue concluded against himselfe: The whole Church of God is but one house, and all the members of the same doe Communicate together in Faith and Spirit: Hereof wee may found the Maior: Euery particular Church ought to be a resemblance of the whole Church: and this particular Communion

munion ought to bee a resemblance of that generall Communion: That generall Communion is common to all, and euery member receiueth his part: Ergo, The particular Communion ought to be ministred commonly vnto all, and euery member to receiue his part. Communio.

Or thus: The Ministration of the holy Communion representeth the coniunction and fellowship that we haue in Faith: And as S. Cyprian saith, *That Christian men are ioined together with vnseparable Charitie, the Lords Sacraments doe declare.* But Christian people being assembled in one Church, doe Communicate in Faith all together: Ergo, being so assembled, they ought to Communicate in Sacraments all together. *Cyprian. ad Magnum.*

But M. Harding of the nature of this word Communio, seemeth to fashion out sarre other Arguments.

It is called Communio, saith he: Ergo, It may be Priuate.

It is called Communio: Ergo, It may be receiued of one alone.

It is called Communio: Ergo, The Priest may receiue it without Communicants.

O, M. Harding, weigh your Arguments better, before you send them thus abroad. You shall lesse offend God and your owne conscience: you shall lesse deceiue your brethren: and children shall take lesse occasion to wonder at you.

Now to adde a little more hereunto touching the nature of this word Communio, wherein you so vncourteously charge all others with ignorance, and lacke of learning, as it pleaseth you to doe throughout your whole booke, I thinke it not amisse to shew you what certaine Writers, both old and new, haue thought and written in that behalfe. I need not here to allege the words that S. Paul vseth touching the Holy Communion: *Wee are all one Bread, all one Body, as many as doe Communicate of one Bread:* Neither that S. Hierome saith, *The Lords Supper must be common:* Neither that Chrysostome, *The thing that is the Lords, they make Priuate: But the Lords things are not this seruants, or that seruants, but common to all:* Neither that S. Augustine saith, Hunc cibum & potum societatem vult intelligi Corporis, & membrorum suorum: *Hee would haue vs to vnderstand, that this Meat and Drinke is the fellowship of his Body, and of his members:* Neither that Chrysostome saith, Quidnam appello Communicationem? Idem ipsum Corpus sumus. Quidnam significat Panis? Corpus Christi. Quid fiunt qui accipiunt? Corpus Christi. *What call I the Communication, or Communion? Wee are all one selfe same Body. What signifieth the Bread? The Body of Christ. And what are they made that receiue it? The Body of Christ.* Although these Fathers by these words doe manifestly declare, that the Holy Mysteries in their time were diuided commonly to the whole people; yet will I take no aduantage thereof, for that M. Harding will replie, They come not precisely to the nature of this word Communio. 1. Cor. 10. *Hieron. 1. Cor. 11. Chrys. 1. Cor. Homil. 27. Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 26. Chrys. 1. Cor. Homil. 24. Significat.*

Therefore I will note one or two others, and such as M. Harding cannot denie, but they speake directly to the matter. Pachymeres a Greeke Writer, the Paraphrast vpon Dionysius, hath these words: παύτην δὲ τὴν κοινωνίαν λέγει, διὰ τὸ τότε κοινωνεῖν τοὺς ἀξίους πάντας τῶν μυστηρίων: *Therefore* (saith hee) *hath this Father* Dionysius *called it the Communion, for that then all they that were worthy, did Communicate of the holy Mysteries.* Thus Pachymeres, a man of late yeeres, wrote vpon the same Booke of Dionysius: and we may safely thinke, he vnderstood his Authours minde as well as M. Harding. He saith, Communio is so called of that we doe Communicate together: but M. Harding thinketh otherwise, and constantly saith, it is not so. *Pachymeres in Dionys. cap. 3.* Κοινωνία. *Dicitur Communio, quia omnes Communicant.*

Haimo writing vpon S. Pauls Epistles, saith thus: Calix appellatur Communicatio, quasi participatio, quia omnes Communicant ex illo: *The Cup is called the Communication, which is as much as participation, because all doe Communicate of it.* *Haimo in 1. ad Cor. 10.*

Hugo Cardinalis saith thus: Post hoc dicatur Communio, quæ appellatur, vt omnes Communicemus: *Afterward let the Communion be said, which is so called, that wee should all Communicate.* And he saith further: Vel dicitur Communio, quia in Primitiua Ecclesia populus Communicabat quolibet die: *Otherwise* (saith he) *it is called the Communion, for that the people in the Primitiue Church did Communicate euery day.* *Hugo Cardinalis in Speculo Eccl-sia.*

Gerardus Lorichius: Dicitur Communio, quia concorditer de vno Pane & vno Calice multi participamus: Et Communio participationem & communicationem significat: *It is called* Communio, *because we doe Communicate together agreeably of one Bread and one Cup: And this word* Communio *is as much as participation, or receiuing of parts.* *De missa publica proroganda.*

Micrologus: Non potest propriè dici Communio, nisi plures de eodem Sacrificio participent. *It cannot iustly be called a* Communion, *vnlesse many doe receiue together of one Sacrifice.* If M. Harding will not beleeue vs, yet I hope hee will beleeue some of these. They be all his owne. It were much for him to say, they bee all ignorant and vnlearned, and not one of them vnderstood what he wrote. Certainly their age will giue it them, they are no *Micrologus de Eccles. obseruationib. apud Cassand. de Liturgijs, cap. 22.*

Basil. exercit. adpietat. Ser. 4

no Lutherans. S. Basil reporteth an Ecclesiasticall Decree, or Canon, that at the receiuing of the Holy Communion, which he calleth Mysticum Pascha, there ought to bee twelue persons at the least, and neuer vnder.

M. Harding. The 11. Diuision.

The 21. vntruth. M. Hard. saith, The Priest doth Communicate, and not Communicate both together: which is a contradiction in nature.

The 22. vntruth. This order was taken, not for euerie sicke party, but for persons excommunicate.

What if foure or fiue of sundry houses, in a sickenesse time, being at the point of death, in a parish, require to haue their rites ere they depart? The Priest after that hee hath receiued the Sacrament in the Church, taketh his naturall sustenance, and dineth, and then being called vpon, carrieth the rest a mile or two to the sicke, in each house none being disposed to receiue with the sicke; he doth that he is required. (21) Doth he not in this case Communicate with them? And doe not they Communicate one with another, rather hauing a will to Communicate together in one place also, if opportunitie serued? Else if this might not be accounted as a lawfull and good Communion, and therfore not to be vsed, the one of these great inconueniences should wittingly be committed: (22) That either they should be denied that necessarie victuall of life at their departing hence, which were a cruell iniurie, and a thing contrarie to the examples and godly ordinances of the Primitiue Church: Or the Priest, rather for companies sake than of deuotion, should receiue that holy meat after that he had serued his stomacke with common meats; which likewise is against the ancient Decrees of the Church. Euen so the Priest that receiueth alone at Masse, doth Communicate with all them that doe the like in other places and Countries.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

He that séeth no marke, must shoot by aime. What, saith M. Harding, if foure or fiue men of sundrie houses within one Parish bée at the point of death, and require their rights, and the Priest haue dined? Hereupon hee thinketh may be grounded an Argument inuincible for his Masse. But what if the Priest were fasting? Should hee then say foure Masses to serue all foure? And what if no man happen to be sicke? Then hath M. Harding lost a good Argument. Alas, must hee leaue all the old Doctours and Holy Fathers, and begge at deaths doore, to get somewhat to helpe his Masse? In this case, saith M. Harding, either the Priest must Communicate after hee hath dined, which is against the Canons: or the sicke man must receiue alone, which is proofe sufficient for the Masse: or else he must passe without that necessarie victuall, which were a cruell iniurie, and a thing contrarie to the Primitiue Church. To answer these points, if the Priest, notwithstanding his dinner, Communicate with the sicke, then hath M. Harding yet found no Priuate Masse. And it appeareth by S. Augustine, and certaine old Canons, that in the Primitiue Church both the Priest and people sometimes Communicated together after supper.

Aug. ad Ianuarium, Ep. 118. Conc. Carthagin. 3. Can. 6.

And why is this prouision thought so necessarie? Or why is it counted so cruell an iniurie, if the sicke man passe without it? Shall no man be saued that so departeth? Indeed that were a cruell iniurie. Infinite numbers of children, and others, depart this life in Gods mercie, without that victuall. In the Primitiue Church this order was thought expedient, not for the sicke, for they in their health receiued [a] daily, and in their sickenesse had the Sacrament ordinarily sent [b] home vnto them: but for persons excommunicate, and inioined to penance, who vpon great and notorious crimes could not bee suffered to Communicate with the rest of the faithfull, sometimes during their whole life, but onely when they should depart the world. This extremitie was vsed for terror of others, and such reconciliation was thought necessarie at the end, for solace of the party, that he should not vtterly be swallowed vp in despaire, but might perceiue hee was receiued againe amongst the faithfull, and so depart comfortably, as the member of Christ. And therefore it was decréed by the Councell of Carthage, *That if any man after such Reconciliation had recouered his health again, he should neuertheless not be receiued to the Communion of the Church, but only be admitted to the common Praiers.* Thus farre forth, and in this case, this prouision was counted necessary in the end.

[a] *Aug. de Sermon. Domini in Monte, cap. 12.*
[b] *Iust. Martyr Apologia 2.*

Concil. Carth. 6. Can. 13.

Howbeit, I confesse, sometimes it was otherwise vsed, and at last grew to such superstition, that it was thrust into mens mouthes after they were dead, as wee may see by the Councell of Carthage forbidding the same. But if the people would now Communicate euery day, as they did then, or at least oftener than they doe now, then should not this matter séeme so necessarie at the end as it is héere pretended: and so had M. Harding lost another Argument.

Concil. Carth. 3. Can. 6.

But let vs grant M. Harding his whole request: Let his Priest come and minister to the sicke. What maketh all this for his Priuate Masse? The members of these Arguments hang together like a sicke mans dreame, not one péece like another. For if héere be a Masse, which of the two is it that saith this Masse? Is it the sicke man, or the Priest? The Priest hath dined, and therefore may not: The sicke man is no Priest, and therefore cannot. Héere would M. Harding faine finde a Masse, but he can finde no man to say

say his Masse: and so hath hitherto found no Masse at all. And thinketh hee to proue his Masse by that thing that is no Masse.

Againe, grant we this action of the Priest not only to be a Priuate Masse, but also the necessity of the sicke considered to be lawfull: Yet could not this President make it lawfull to bee done openly in the Church, whereas is no such case of necessitie. The circumstances of place, of time, of cause, of end, of maner of doing be not like. In case of necessitie a dispensation was granted to the Priests of Norwey to Consecrate the Mysticall Cup without Wine: for that Wine being brought into that Countrey, by meane of the extreme cold cannot last. Yet was it neuer thought lawfull for all other Priests in all Churches generally to doe the same. *Volatter. lib. 7.*

M. Harding. The 12. Diuision.

Now if either the Priest or euery other Christian man or woman, might at no time receiue this blessed Sacrament, but with moe together in one place, then for the enioying of this great and necessarie benefit, we were bound to condition of a place. And so the Church deliuered from all bondage by Christ, and set at libertie, should yet for all that be in seruitude and subiection vnder those outward things which S. Paul calleth, *Infirma & egena Elementa*, weake and beggerly ceremonies, after the English Bibles Translation. Then when S. Paul, blaming the Galathians, saith, Ye obserue daies, and moneths, and times; for this bondage hee might likewise blame vs and say, Yee obserue places. But S. Paul would not wee should returne againe vnto those which he calleth Elements, for that were Iewish. And to the Colossians hee saith, wee be dead with Christ from the Elements of this world. Now if wee except those things which bee necessarily required to this Sacrament by Christs Institution, either declared by written Scriptures, or taught by the Holy Ghost, (23) as bread and wine mingled with water for the matter, the due words of Consecration for the forme, and the Priest rightly ordered, hauing intention to doe as the Church doth, for the ministerie; all these Elements and all outward things be subiect vnto vs, and serue vs being members of Christs Church. In consideration whereof S. Paul saith to the Corinthians; *Omnia enim vestra sunt, &c.* All things are yours, whether it be Paul, either Apollo, either Cephas; whether it be the World, either life, either death, whether they be present things, or things to come, all are yours, and ye Christs, and Christ is Gods. Galat. 4. Euen so S. Paul calleth them; στοιχεῖα. The 23. vntruth. The mingling of wine and water together is neither Catholike nor necessarie. Scotus.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

If it bee lawfull neither for the Priest nor for any other Christian man or woman to receiue alone; then, saith M. Harding, wee must needs condition of a place to receiue together. Yéere these words, euery other Christian man or woman, that hee hath taken in by the way, are an ouerplus, and quite from the purpose. For the question is moued, not of any other man or woman, but of the Masse, and onely of the Priest that saith the Masse. Now, to condition of a place, saith M. Harding, were as bad as to obserue moneths and daies, which thing S. Paul vtterly forbiddeth: it were a very Iewish Ceremonie: it were an Element of this World, and so a miserable seruitude of the Church. But from such bondage Christ hath deliuered vs. Galat. 4.

I know not well whether M. Harding scoffe and dally herein for his pleasure, or speak soothly as he thinketh. If he dally, it becommeth not the matter: if he speake soothly and as he thinketh, then he hath not well aduised himselfe, neither from what seruitude Christ by his blood hath deliuered vs, nor of what libertie S. Paul speaketh. Certaine it is, Christ hath not deliuered vs from honest Ciuil Policies, without which no State, neither Ecclesiasticall nor Ciuill can be maintained: but from the curse of the Law, wherein wee rested vnder sinne: and from the ceremonies and ordinances giuen by Moses, which for that they were weake, according to the imperfection of that time, therefore S. Paul calleth them the Elements of this World. Galat. 3.

Héere M. Harding séemeth by the way to touch the English Translation of the Bible, which calleth such Elements Beggerly Ceremonies, himselfe being not able to translate it better. And yet if he were well apposed, I thinke hee would hardly yéeld any great difference betweene the Greeke word πτωχὰ and the Latine word Egena, and this English word Beggerly. Which word if it séeme to homely, yet S. Hierome in his exposition is as homely; calling it vilem intelligentiam Traditionum. And yet the Prophets abase it further. Hieremie calleth such Ceremonies so abused, and others deuised by men, Chaffe, Swill, Mosse and Dreames: Esay, Filth: Zachary, Curses: Ezechiel, Mans dung, and other like. *Beggerly Ceremonies. πτωχὰ. Egena. Hieron. ad Galat. cap. 4.*

From this seruitude, saith Paul, God hath deliuered you. Now are yée free, and no more bond: now are yee the children and heires of God. From this libertie the Galathians were fallen away to the seruile obseruation of Circumcisions, Washings, and other Ceremonies of the Law. Therefore of this liberty and of this bondage S. Paul speaketh, and of none other. Galat. 4.

To condition of a place, saith M. Harding, were méere Iewish: For as S. Paul saith to the Galathians, *Ye obserue moneths and daies*, so might he say vnto you, *Ye obserue places*. Thus he saith, as though he himselfe had no choice of place to say his Masse in. Yée moueth

Mingling of water and wine.

neth talke of place, whereof wee had no question: but the number of Communicants, whereof S. Paul so plainly speaketh, hée thought best to salue with silence. If these men account all vtter things to be Worldly Elements, then must they take away the Bread and Wine in the holy Ministration: the water in Baptisme: the words of the Gospell: the whole Ministerie, and all kinde of Ciuill policie. All these bée vtter creatures, giuen to vs by God to be vsed freely, without seruile obseruation or subiection of Conscience. For God hath appointed these things for vs, not vs for them.

M. Harding shifteth number into place.

But will our aduersaries now at last defend the Libertie of the Church, or complaine of Bondage? O good Reader, they deale not simply: they dissemble: they meane it not. They haue defiled the Lords Sacraments with a multitude of superstitious and childish Ceremonies, and haue annexed vnto the same a déepe charge of Gods high displeasure, and burthen of conscience. They teach the people of God in this sort: O touch not this! O taste not this! They burden the peoples consciences with choice of meats. They restraine lawfull Matrimonie, the restraint whereof is a yoke intolerable, and a snare of mens liues, and as S. Paul calleth it, the Doctrine of Diuels. They heare S. Augustine complaine, that by meane of such traditions, which hée calleth mens presumptions, the Church of Christ was in worse case in his time, than euer was the Synagogue of the Iewes. They heare others of late yéres likewise complaine much of the same. Yet would they neuer, nor yet will they yéeld, that any one of all their vaine Ceremonies bee released, no not now, hauing had, as they call it, a Generall Councell for that purpose. And can these men stand forth to complaine of bondage? Or will they restore vs the libertie of the Church?

Coloss. 2.
1. Cor. 7.
1. Tim. 4.
Aug. ad Ianuarium, epist. 118
Bernardus Clarenallen.
Gerson Cancellari. Parisien.

M. Hardings Libertie.

Howbeit M. Harding hath well disclosed himselfe hérein, that this libertie is nothing else, but to doe what him listeth: and his bondage nothing else, but to bee subiect vnto God. For hé addeth immediately, that the mingling and blending of Water and Wine together, and the intention of the Priest, are things necessarily required to the Consecration of this Sacrament. Of the first héreof, the superstition onely excepted, no man maketh any great account. Indéed S. Cyprian, and certaine old Fathers speake of it, and force it much: and Iustinus Martyr calleth it, ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος: The Cuppe of Water and mixture. But neither Christ, nor any of his Disciples euer gaue Commandement of it: neither was it at any time in the Church Vniuersally receiued, or accounted necessarie. For Scotus and Innocentius witnesse, that the Grécke Church in their time vsed it not. Wherefore it cannot bee iudged Catholike. And touching the necessitie thereof, Scotus saith in plaine words: Huic vino apponere aquam non est simpliciter necessarium de necessitate Sacramenti. Yéere wée sée, these Doctours agrée not. M. Harding saith: This mixture is necessary to the Sacrament. Scotus saith: *It is not necessarie.*

Cypr. contra Aquarios.
Iustin. in Apolog. 2.
Ioh. Scotus in 4. Senten. dist. 11. quæst. 6.
Innocentius de officio Miss. part. 3. cap. 4.

The mingling of wine and water is not necessarie.

Now to reueale the secrets of M. Hardings Mysteries touching the same: that one drop, or two must be powred on the ground; how much thereof must be put to the Wine, that there may be made a conuenient mixture; what becommeth afterward of the same Water; whether it bé turned into a thinne flegme, or into Christs bloud by meane of mixture, or into a Sacrament of Ablution, to wash the rest away, it would require longer talke, and not necessarie at this present. Neither would I now haue moued one word héreof, sauing that this man thus vanteth himselfe to be the restorer of Christian Libertie.

The Intention of the Priests.

Whereas hé saith: The Priest must haue Intention to doe that the Church doth: vnlesse hé be well assured of the Churches doing hérein, he cannot be sure of his owne Intention; and so must he say Masse with intention to doe, he knoweth not what. Now it appeareth that the Church is not yet resolued vpon one Intention. For the Intention of the Church of Rome is to worke the Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine: The Grécke Church had neuer that Intention, as is plaine by the Councell of Florence. The Intention of the Church of Rome is to Consecrate with Christs words: The Intention of the Grécke Church is to Consecrate with Prayers. And whether of these Churches shall the Priest follow with his Intention? This is the very dungeon of vncertaintie. The heart of man is vnsearchable. If we stay vpon the Intention of a mortall man, wee may stand in doubt of our owne Baptisme.

Concil. Florent. sessione vltima.
Bessarion de Sacramento Eucharistiæ.

M. Hardings arguments.

Christ hath deliuered vs from the Elements of this World: Ergo, the Priest may say Priuate Masse. We are forbidden to obserue moneths and daies: Ergo, the Priest may receiue alone.

Thus hé reasoneth, as if S. Pauls words were written that hé might thereby proue what himselfe listeth. Indéed, the Bread, the Wine, the Water, and the Priest himselfe are Worldly creatures, and therefore subiect vnto Christian Liberty no lesse than

than place or time. Yet may not M. Harding therefore haue the Communion ministred without either Priest, or Bread, or Wine: neither Baptisme ministred without water. Christ hath deliuered vs from the subiection and superstitious vsing of the creatures, but not from the creatures themselues: Otherwise by the same forme of reason M. Harding might as well haue concluded thus: Apollo, Paul, Peter, Life, and things to come are Worldly creatures: for so saith S. Paul, euen as M. Harding hath alleged: All things are yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollo, or Peter, or the World, or Life, or things to come. But Christ hath deliuered vs from worldly creatures: Ergo, Christ hath deliuered vs from Paul, Apollo, Peter, from the World, from Life, and from things to come. Such arguments M. Harding hath brought to proue his Masse. Intention. 1. Cor. 3.

M. Harding. The 13. Diuision.

Againe, whereas the ancient and great learned Bishop Cyrillus teacheth plainely and at large, the marueilous vniting and ioining together of vs with Christ, and of our selues into one bodie by this Sacrament: seeing that all so vnited and made one bodie, bee not for all that brought together into one place, for they bee dispersed abroad in all the World; thereof wee may well conclude, that to this effect the being together of Communicants in one place is not of necessitie. His words bee these, much agreeable to Dionysius Areopagita afore mentioned: *Vs igitur inter nos & Deum singulos vniret quamuis corpore simul & animo distemus, modum tamen adinuenit, consilio patris & sapientia sua conuenientem. Suo enim corpore credentes per Communionem mysticam benedicens, & secum, & inter nos, vnum nos corpus efficit. Quis enim eos qui vnius sanctiscorporis vnione in vno Christo vnita sunt, ab hac naturali vnione alienos putabit? Nam si omnes vnum panem manducamus, vnum omnes corpus efficimur: Diuidi enim atque seiungi Christus non patitur.* Cyrill. lib. 11. cap. 16. That Christ might vnite euery one of vs within our selues, and with God, although wee bee distant both in Body and also in Soule, yet hee hath deuised a meane conenable to the counsell of the Father, and to his owne wisdome. For in that he blesseth them that beleeue, with his owne Body through the mysticall Communion, hee maketh vs one Bodie both with himselfe, and also betweene our selues. For who will thinke them not to bee of this naturall vnion, which with the vnion of that one holy Bodie, be vnited in one Christ? For if we eat all of one Bread, then are we made all one Body; for Christ may not be diuided nor done asunder.

Thus wee see after this ancient Fathers Learning grounded vpon the Scriptures, that all the faithfull blessed with the body of Christ, through the mysticall Communion bee made one body with Christ, and one body betweene themselues. Which good blessing of Christ is of more vertue, and also of more necessitie, than that it may be made frustrate by condition of place, specially where as is no wilfull breach, nor contempt of most seemely and conenable order.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

As I can easily yeld in part that these two Fathers Cyrillus and Dionysius agree together, as it is heere touched: So if M. Harding can proue that this same Cyrillus euer said Priuate Masse, or in any of all his works once vsed the name of Masse, I wil as gladlie yeld vnto the whole. But if Cyrillus neuer spake word of the Masse, how is he here brought in to proue the Masse? Howbeit these men know, it is an easie matter to mocke the ignorant with the glorious name of Catholike Fathers.

Cyrillus saith, that as many as beleeue in Christ, whether they be farre or neere, Iewes or Gentiles, Free or Bond, they are all one Body in Christ Iesus. This thing neither is denied, nor in any point toucheth the Priuate Masse. We confesse, that Christ by the Sacrament of Regeneration, as Chrysostome saith, hath made vs Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bones, that we are the members, and he is the head. We confesse also, that all the Faithfull are one Body, all indued with one Spirit. And be that distance neuer so great, yet are we one anothers members. *Chrys. in epist. ad Ephes. hom. 20.*

This marueilous Coniunction and Incorporation is first begun and wrought by faith, as saith Paulinus vnto S. Augustine: Per fidem nostram incorporamur in Christo Iesu Domino nostro: *By our Faith wee are incorporate or made one Body with Iesus Christ our Lord.* Afterward the same incorporation is assured vnto vs, and increased in our Baptisme: So saith S. Augustine: Ad hoc Baptisma valet, vt Baptizati Christo incorporentur, & membra eius efficiantur: *To this auaileth Baptisme, that men being Baptized, may be incorporate into Christ, and made his members.* And for that wee are very imperfect of our selues, and therefore must daily proceed forward, that we may grow into a perfect man in Christ, therefore hath God appointed, that the same incorporation should be often renued and confirmed in vs by the vse of the holy Mysteries. Wherein must be considered, that the said holy Mysteries doe not begin, but rather continue and confirme this incorporation. First of all, wee our selues must be the Body of Christ: and afterward wee must receiue the Sacrament of Christs Body: as it is well noted by S. Augustine: Corpus Christi si vis intelligere, Apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus: Vos estis Corpus Christi, & membra: Mysterium vestrum in Mensa Domini positum est: Mysterium Domini accipitis. Ad id, quod estis, respondetis, Amen. Audis, Corpus Christi, & respondes, Amen. Esto membrum Corporis Christi, vt verum sit Amen tuum: *If thou wilt vnderstand the Body of Christ, heare what S. Paul saith to the faithfull: Ye are the Body and the members of Christ: Your Mystery* *Paulinus & Therasia ad Aug. epist. 31. Aug. de Baptismo parvulorum. De Con. Dist. 4 Ad hoc. Aug. in Sermone ad infantes. Citatur à Beda in 1. Cor. 10.*

stery is set on the Lords Table: Ye receiue the Mysterie of the Lord. To that thing that ye are, ye answer, Amen. Thou heare'st, The Body of Christ, and saiest, Amen. Be thou a member of Christs Body, that thy Amen may be true.

Neither may wee thinke that Christs Bodie must grossly and bodily be receiued into our bodies. S. Cyprian saith: *It is meat not for the belly, but for the minde.* And S. Augustine saith: Crede, & manducasti: *Beleeue in Christ, and thou hast eaten.* And Cyrillus that is here alleged, writeth thus against the obiections of Theodoretus: *Wee doe not maintaine the eating of a man vnreuerently, drawing the mindes of the faithfull vnto grosse and prophane imaginations: Neither doe wee submit these things vnto mans fantasie, that be receiued onely by pure and tried faith.* Therefore saith Athanasius: *It is spirituall meat, and spiritually is digested in vs.*

Cypr. de Cœna Domini.
De Con. dist. 2. Vt quid Augustin.
Cyrillus contra obiectiones Theodoreti.
Athanasius in illa verba, Si quis dixerit verbum.

Thus is Christ set forth vnto vs in that most holy Supper, not to bee receiued with the mouth: For that, as Cyrillus saith, *Were a grosse and prophane imagination:* but to be embraced with a pure and a single faith: and as Athanasius saith, to be eaten as spirituall food, and spiritually to be digested into all his members. Thus are we all one Bodie, and one spirit in Christ, for that Christ is in all vs, and all wee in him. And because the holy Ministration representeth the same vnto our eies, therefore S. Augustine calleth it the Mysterie of vnity. Thus doth the holy Communion knit and ioine vs together, be we in number neuer so many, and in distance neuer so far asunder. For therein we professe that we are all seruants in one house, and resort all to one table, and feed all of one spirituall food, which is the flesh and bloud of the Lambe of God. Which thing Paulinus seemeth very well, and in plaine maner to open vnto S. Augustine by these words: Non mirum, si & absentes adsumus nobis, & ignoti nosmet nouimus, cùm vnius Corporis membra simus, vnum habeamus caput, vna perfundamur gratia, vno pane viuamus, vna incedamus via, eadem habitemus in domo: *It is no marueil though we both being absent, are neuertheles present together: and being vnacquainted, yet know one another: seeing we be the members of one Bodie, and haue one head, and are powred ouer by one grace, and liue by one bread, and walke in way, and dwell in one house.* I thought it good to accompany Cyrillus with these other ancient Fathers, for the better vnderstanding of his meaning.

Augustinus de Con. dist. 2. Quia passus.

Paulinus epist. ad August. 33.

Hereof M. Harding seemeth to reason thus: By the Communion all faithfull are ioined both vnto God, and also betweene themselues: Ergo, the Priest may say Priuate Masse. Little thought that good Father, that his words should euer bee thus vsed, or so violently forced to such Conclusions. But let vs driue this argument a little further, that the inconuenience and the errour may the better appeare.

Onely the Priests in their Priuate Masses receiue the Communion: Ergo, for that action and time only the Priests are made one Bodie of Christ. And then further, That Body of Christ is the whole Church: Ergo, The Priests by their Priuate Masses are made the whole Church.

But that thou maist plainly see, Christian Reader, wherein M. Harding was thus deceiued: thou must vnderstand, that Cyrillus taketh his reason, as farre as it toucheth the Communion of the Sacrament, as wee vse to say in Schooles, Ab effectis, and not A causis. But M. Harding turneth it quite contrary: as if it were taken A causis, and not Ab effectis. And that Cyrillus so reasoneth, it is soone seene. For the receiuing of the Sacrament is not the efficient cause that wee are made one Body in Christ, but a token and testimony, or as S. Paul saith, the Seale and Confirmation of that effect. For Iudas receiued the Sacrament as well as Peter did: yet was not Iudas a member of Christs Body as Peter was. And many infants and others faithfull and godly bee very members of that body: and yet by occasion of death, or otherwise, neuer receiue the Sacrament of Christs Bodie.

Rom. 4.
Signaculum.

And notwithstanding M. Harding hath thus altered his Authors meaning, yet shall hee very hardly thereof in good order conclude his Masse. But hee may of the same very well and directly conclude the Communion. For if the Communion in that it is receiued of many, be a testimonie and a declaration that all faithfull are one Body in Christ, as Cyrillus meaneth, then ought the same Communion to bee receiued together of many: otherwise it is no such testimonie, or declaration as is supposed. The Antecedent or first proposition hereof, is proued by sundry old Fathers. S. Cyprian saith: *With what loue and concord all faithfull Christians are ioined together, the Lords Sacrifice doth declare.* And Anselmus a man of latter yeres: Frangimus & diuidimus panem in multas partes, ad designandam vnionem charitatis accipientium: *Wee breake and diuide the Bread into many parts, to declare the vnity of the loue of them that receiue it.* Here note Anselmus saith, this declaration of vnity standeth in receiuing of the Sacraments, and not onely in looking on. Neither doth Cyrillus say, *They that heare Masse, but they that receiue the Mystical Benediction,*

Cyprian. ad Magnum.
Anselm. in 1. Cor. 10. Accipientium.
Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 11. cap. 26.

diction, are one Bodie with Chriſt, and alſo betweene themſelues. Like as S.Paul alſo ſaith: *The Bread that wee breake is the Communication of the Lords Body. And we being many, are all one Bread and one Body, as many as be partakers of one Bread.* 1.Cor.10.
Whereunto agree theſe words of S.Hierome ſpoken in the behalfe of Chriſt: Benedic hæreditati tuæ, quam per Corporis & Sanguinis mei Myſterium in Eccleſia congregaſti: *Hier. in Eccleſiaſt.cap.3.* *Bleſſe thine inheritance which thou haſt gathered together in the Church, by the Myſterie of my Bodie and Bloud.* And Dionyſius: *De Eccleſiaſt. Hierar.cap.3.* *The common and peaceable diſtribution of one and the ſame Bread and Cuppe, preſcribeth a godly concord vnto them, as vnto men fed together with one food.* And thus, as M. Harding hath truly ſaid, Cyrillus and Dionyſius agree in one: but both together againſt him; both vtterly condemning his Priuate Maſſe. ὡς ὁμοτεχνοις.

M. Harding. The 14. Diuiſion.

The 24. vntruth. For there appeareth no ſuch thing in any ancient Father.

And therfore that one may communicate with another, though they be not together in one place (which M.Iewel denieth, with as peeuiſh an argument of the vſe of excommunication, as any of all thoſe is, that he ſcoffeth at ſome Catholike writers for) (24) and that it was thought lawfull and godly by the Fathers of the ancient Church, neere to the Apoſtles time, it may be well prooued by diuers good authorities.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

I vſed the Pulpit as a place of reuerence, and not of ſcoffing. Only I thought good to lay out the weakneſſe of ſundrie reaſons alleged on your ſide, that the people might ſee vpon how ſlender grounds your Religion ſtandeth. And thus I did, hauing iuſt occaſion thereunto of the vniuſt reports moued in corners by you and others, whereby you beare the people in hand, that all our doctrine was light and childiſh, and not worthy the hearing. Therefore that the people hauing taken ſome taſte of the arguments on both parts, might be the better able to iudge of both, I ſhewed forth this argument of Pope Innocentius: *The Sunne is greater than the Moone:* Ergo, *The Pope is greater than the Emperour:* And the Gloſſe in the margin vpon the ſame: *The Sunne is ſeuen and fifty times greater than the Moone:* Ergo, *The Pope is ſeuen and fifty times greater than the Emperour.* And likewiſe the argument of Pope Bonifacius the eight: In principio creauit Deus Cœlum & Terram, non in principijs: *In the beginning, and not in ſundry beginnings, God made Heauen and Earth:* Ergo, *The Pope hath the Soueraigntie ouer all Kings and Princes.* Ye that ſheweth the weakneſſe of theſe arguments and ſuch other, deſerueth not therefore by and by to be called a ſcoffer. *De Maiorit. & obedient. cap. Solitæ.* *De Maiorit. & obedient. Vnam Sanctam.*

Further, touching Excommunication, I ſaid thus: If the Prieſt that ſaith Maſſe in Louaine may Communicate with the Prieſt that ſaith Maſſe in Calicute, (which is M. Hardings greateſt ground for his Priuate Maſſe) then hath the Church ſo farre forth as toucheth the Prieſts, loſt the whole vſe of Excommunication. For the party Excommunicate being a Prieſt, might ſay, hee would ſay Maſſe, and ſo receiue the Communion, euen with the Biſhop of whom hee were Excommunicate, whether hee would or no. This ſaying M. Harding hath condemned for peeuiſh, by his authoritie only, and not by reaſon. *Excommunication.*

Indeed the Church of Rome, as it hath loſt the whole vſe of the holy Communion, ſo hath it alſo the whole vſe of Excommunication. For theſe two words bee of contrary natures, and the one of them hath his name of the loſing of the other. In the Primitiue Church, as all the godly were freely receiued to the holy Myſteries, ſo by the authority of the Spirit of God, the apparent wicked and vngodly were remoued, and that with great diſcretion, according to the enormity and qualitie of the faults: as it is ſpecially noted by Gregorius Neocæſarienſis, in a Canon touching the ſame. The greateſt offenders were vtterly excluded from the Congregation, as men not meet to bee in the companie of the godly. Others were ſuffered to enter into the Temple, and to heare the Sermon, but at the beginning of the prayers they were remoued, as men not meet to pray with their brethren. Others were ſuffered to bee preſent at the prayers, but at the beginning of the Communion were willed to depart. The reſt were the godly that remained ſtill, and heard the Sermon, and continued in prayer, and receiued the holy Myſteries all together. The order hereof is declared by Caſſiodorus out of Socrates: Stant rei, & velut in lamentationibus conſtituti: & cùm ſacra celebratio fuerit adimpleta, Communionem non percipiunt: *They ſtand wofully, and as it were men in lamentation and in heauineſſe: and when the holy celebration is ended, they receiue not the Communion.* It followeth: Conſtituto verò tempore, velut quoddam debitum exoluentes, cum populo Communionem participant: *At the time appointed, as if they had diſcharged a certaine debt, they Communicate together with the people.* Thus the offenders were put from the Communion, and all the reſt receiued together. And therefore it is decreed by the Canons of the Apoſtles, *That all Faithfull that enter into the Church, and heare the Scriptures, and doe not continue out the prayers, nor receiue the Communion, ſhould be excommunicate, as men working the trouble an diſ-* *Gregorius Neocæſarienſis. Lugentes. Audientes. Precantes.* *Hiſtor. tripar. lib.9.cap.35.* *Canon. Apoſt. Canon.9.*

Excomunication.

order of the Church. And the people said vnto Timotheus being a Bishop of the Arians, and neuertheleſſe a man of milde and gentle nature, and ſhunning his companie for the one, and yet louing him for the other: Although we communicate not with thee, yet we loue thee notwithſtanding.

Now if M. Hardings principle ſtand for good, that the Prieſt ſaying his Priuate Maſſe may receiue the Communion with all others in other places that doe the like, then can no Prieſt bee Excommunicate. For notwithſtanding neither any other Prieſt, nor any of the people will receiue with him, yet may he ſay a Priuate Maſſe, and by M. Hardings new deuice ſtraightway communicate with them all.

But for better declaration of this matter, it is commonly taught in Scholes, that Priuatio præſupponit habitum, that is, that the leſing of a thing firſt preſuppoſeth the hauing of the ſame: for no man can loſe that thing that he hath not. Therefore to ſay there is excommunication from the Sacraments, whereas is no Communion of the Sacraments: or that he is put from the Lords Table, that neither is at, nor comming to the Table: or that he is Excommunicate, that is only forbidden to heare Maſſe: or that the people both ſufficiently receiue the Sacraments by the mouth of the Prieſt: Verily, this kinde of learning in the Primitiue Church would haue ſeemed not onely peeuiſh, but alſo phantaſticall and meere franticke. Thus the Bishop of Rome (as it is ſaid) vſeth to Excommunicate Locuſts, Snakes, Caterpillers, and other like Wormes: and Coniurers vſe to Excommunicate their Diuels: as though theſe Creatures, ſauing the force of their authoritie, were otherwiſe meet enough to receiue the Communion.

M. Harding. The 15. Diuiſion.

Irenæus writing to Victor Biſhop of Rome concerning the keeping of Easter, as Euſebius Cæſariensis reciteth, to the intent Victor ſhould not refraine from their Communion, which kept Easter after the cuſtome of the Churches in Aſia founded by S. Iohn the Euangeliſt, ſheweth, that when Biſhops came from forren parts to Rome, the Biſhops of that See vſed to ſend to them, if they had beene of the Catholike Faith, the Sacrament, to receiue; whereby mutuall Communion betweene them was declared. Irenæus his words be theſe; *Qui fuerunt ante te Presbyteri, etiam cum non ita obſeruarent, Presbyteris Eccleſiarum (cum ad me accederent) Euchariſtiam mittebant*: The Prieſts (by which name in this place Biſhops are vnderſtanded) that were afore thy time, though they kept not Easter as they of Aſia did, yet when the Biſhops of the Churches there came to Rome, did ſend them the Sacrament. (25) Thus thoſe Biſhops did Communicate together before their meeting in one place.

Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 24.

Gratianus. hoc: sine quibuſdam noſtris.

The 25. vntruth. For Irenæus ſaith not, they did Communicate together.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

This ſtorie is common and knowne to many. The Weſt Church in keeping of Easter day followed S. Peter: the Eaſt Church followed S. Iohn, and kept it otherwiſe. Hereof grew contention, and brake out into cruell heats. Victor the Biſhop of Rome on the one ſide, and Polycarpus the Biſhop of Smyrna on the other ſide; both godly men, and both Martyrs. Each part would haue the other to yeld. Victor being a man of a fiery nature, was minded to Excommunicate the whole Church of Aſia, and all others whatſoeuer, that in keeping of Easter day would not follow the Church of Rome. Irenæus the Biſhop of Lions hearing thereof, wrote vnto him a ſharpe letter out of France, willing him in any wiſe to proceed no further: for that it might tend to ſuch a breach, as would not afterward be recouered. Among other words he ſaith thus, as it is here alleged: *The Prieſts that were (in Rome) before thee, notwithſtanding they kept not the Eaſter as they of Aſia doe, yet they ſent the Sacrament vnto the Prieſts of thoſe Churches when they came to Rome.* Hereof M. Harding concludeth: Ergo, Theſe Biſhops did Communicate before they met together; and noteth alſo by the way in the margin, that the Greeke in Euſebius differeth from the common Tranſlation of Ruffinus. And yet is the ſame Tranſlation alleged and vſed in the Booke of Councels among the Decrees of Victor. But if M. Harding had marked the matter well, he ſhould haue ſeene that his owne Tranſlation in Engliſh varieth alſo ſomewhat from the Greeke.

Concil. tomo 1. inter decreta Victoris.

In this ſhort ſtorie three things ſpecially may be noted. Firſt, that Irenæus a Biſhop of France durſt to write ſo roughly to the Biſhop of Rome, without any ſtile of Superiority, only calling him and all others before him Biſhops of Rome, by the name of Prieſts.

Secondly, that ſo notable learned men and Martyrs of Chriſt, agreeing otherwiſe in the Subſtance of Religion, yet notwithſtanding in certaine ſmall matters of no great weight, contended and ſtriued ſo extremely, and ſo long, and could in no wiſe be reconciled. Which thing well conſidered, M. Harding hath leſſe cauſe to triumph, if God haue ſuffered any ſuch ſparkle of diſſenſion in the ſpeciall members of his Church in theſe daies.

Thirdly, where was then that great ſuperiorite of the Biſhop of Rome, when notwithſtanding his threats and commandements, the Church of this Iland of Britaine welneare vntill ſeuen hundred yeeres after Chriſt, in the keeping of Easter day followed

Beda Eccl. hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 25.

the

the maner of the Greeke Church, without any regard therein had to the Church of Rome?

But to the matter: These Bishops (saith M. Harding) Communicated together before they met. If hee meane in Faith and Religion, it is not denied: if in the vse of the Sacraments, it is not proued. In my iudgement, this word Eucharistia, in this place of Irenæus, signifieth not the Sacrament already consecrate, but rather other common Bread, wherewith one Bishop vsed then to present another, as with a speciall token of consent in Religion, and Christian concord: which Bread the receiuer afterward, if he thought it good, might vse at the holy Ministration. In that sense it seemeth Paulinus wrote vnto S. Augustine: Panem vnum sanctitati tuæ charitatis gratia misimus, in quo etiam Trinitatis soliditas continetur. Hunc Panem tu eulogiam esse facies dignatione sumendi: *In token of mutuall loue, I haue sent vnto thee one loafe of Bread, in which also the soundnesse of the holy Trinitie is contained. This loafe you shall cause to be a louing present of my behalfe, vouchsafing to receiue it.* And in the next Epistle following: Quinque Panes misimus tibi, pariter & filio nostro Licentio. Non enim potuimus in benedictione secernere, quem cupimus eadem nobis gratia penitus annectere: *Fiue loaues haue I sent vnto thee, and vnto my sonne* Licentius. *For I could not seuer him in blessing, whom I desire thorowly to ioine with vs in grace.* Whereby it may appeare, that this Bread was not the Sacrament: and namely by that Paulinus writeth in another place: Panem vnum, quem vnanimitatis indicio misimus charitati tuæ, rogamus vt accipiendo benedicas: *I pray you to take and blesse this one loafe, which I haue sent vnto you in token of vnitie.* If it had beene already Consecrate, hee would not haue desired S. Augustine to haue blessed it.

Paulin. ad August. Epist. 35.

Paulin. ad August. Epist. 36.

Paulin. ad August. Epist. 31.

But Irenæus vseth this word Eucharistia, which is taken for the Sacrament. I answer: It might so be called, for that it was prepared for the Sacrament. Howbeit, herein I will not striue. Tertullian nameth it Hospitalitatis Contesseratio, and seemeth to speake it of the Sacrament: which thing being also granted in this place of Irenæus, let vs now see M. Hardings reasons.

Tertull. de prescriptione aduersus Hæreticos.

The Bishop of Rome, saith he, sent the Sacrament vnto them that came out of Asia: Ergo, There was Priuate Masse.

This conclusion is farre set, and hangeth losely. For I might demand, Which then of the three said Masse? He that sent the Sacrament, or hee that receiued it, or else the Messenger that brought it? It were a strange matter to see a Masse, and yet no man to say Masse. Verily Irenæus hath not one word, neither of the Communion, nor of the Masse: vnlesse M. Harding will say, that Mittere is Latine to Communicate: or Mittere Eucharistiam is Latine to say Masse.

Mittere Eucharistiam.

If it were Common Bread, then was it but a present: If it were the Sacrament, then was it to be receiued, not straight vpon the way, or perhaps late in the night, or in the Inne at the common table among other meats: but afterward at his pleasure in his Congregation. Thus wee see this place first is doubtfull: and being neuer so plaine, yet it proueth nothing for Priuate Masse. But immediately after followeth a manifest mention, in what order the Bishops vsed then to Communicate together: which thing M. Harding thought better to dissemble. Cùm res ita haberent, Communicabant inter se mutuo, & in Ecclesia Anicetus concessit Eucharistiam Polycarpo: *The matters betweene them thus standing, they Communicated together, and* Anicetus *in the Church granted the Sacrament or the Ministration of the Sacrament vnto* Polycarpus.

τῶν δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων, ἐκοινώνουν ἑαυτοῖς: καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν Εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ.

Here marke, good Christian Reader, then they Communicated, saith Irenæus, when they met in the Church: and not before they met together, as M. Harding saith. Anicetus, as Irenæus saith, receiued the Sacrament with Polycarpus in the Church, and not as M. Harding seemeth to say, in his Inne or Hostrie.

Now the truth of the matter standing thus, what hath M. Harding here found for his Priuate Masse?

M. Harding. The 16. Diuision.

Iustinus the Martyr likewise describing the maner and order of Christian Religion of his time, touching the vse of the Sacrament, saith thus: *Finitis ab eo qui præfectus est, gratijs & orationibus, & ab vniuerso populo facta acclamatione; Diaconi, quos ita vocamus, vnicuique tunc temporis præsenti, Panis, & aqua, & vini consecrati, dant participationem, & ad eos qui non adsunt, deferunt*: When the Priest hath made an end of thankes and Prayers, and all the people there to haue said *Amen*, they which wee call Deacons, giue to euery one then present, Bread, and water, and wine Consecrated, to take part of it for their housell: and for those that bee not present, they beare it home to them. Thus in that time they that serued God together in the common place of praier, and some others that were absent, letted from comming to their companie by sickenesse, businesse, or otherwise, (26) Communicated together, though not in one place; and no man cried out of breaking the Institution of Christ.

The 26. vntruth: for Iustinus speaketh not one word of Communicating together.

And because M. Iewell is so vehement against Priuate Masse, for that the Priest receiueth the Sacrament alone, and triumpheth so much, as though he had won the field, making himselfe merry with these words, indeed without a cause: Where then was the Priuate Masse? Where then was the Single Communion

munion all this while? He meaneth for the space of six hundred yeeres after Christ, as there he expresseth: I will bring in good euidence and witnesse, that long before S. Gregories time that he speaketh of, yea from the beginning of the Church, faithfull persons, both * *Men and Women*, receiued the Sacrament alone, and were neuer therefore reproued, as breakers of Christs Institution. And ere I enter into the rehearsall of the places which I am able to shew for this purpose, one question I demand of M. Iewell: If they which remained at home, of whom Iustinus Martyr writeth, receiued the Communion by themselues alone lawfully, why may not the Priest doe the same in the Church, seruing God in most deuout wise in the holy Sacrifice of the Masse, lacking compartners without any his default? Haue the Sacramentaries any Religion to condemne it in the Priest, and to allow it in Lay folke? What is in the Priest, that should make it vnlawfull to him, more than to the people? Or may a Lay man or woman receiue it kept a long time, and may not a Priest receiue it foorthwith, so soone as he hath consecrated and offered? And if case of necessitie be alleged for the Lay, the same may no lesse bee alleged for the Priests also, wanting compartners without their default. For otherwise the memorie and recording of our Lords death should not according to his commandement be celebrated and done. Well, now to these places.

* M. Hard. bringeth one thing for another: Sole Receiuing in stead of Priuate Masse: men and women in stead of the Priest.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

God Reader, behold not the names of these Fathers here alleged, but rather weigh their sayings. M. Harding hath brought them for his Masse: but they witnesse clearely and fully against his Masse: and of all others, none more pregnant or plaine than Iustinus Martyr: wherof thou hast good occasion to consider how faithfully these men demeane themselues in the allegation of the Doctours. Iustinus, touching this matter, writeth thus: *Towards the end of the prayers each of vs with a kisse salueth other. Afterward, vnto him that is the chiefe among the brethren, is deliuered Bread, and a Cup mingled with Wine and Water; which he hauing receiued, rendreth praise and glorie vnto the Father of all things, in the name of the Sonne and the holy Ghost, and yeeldeth thankes a great space, for that he is thought worthy of these things. Which being orderly done, the people blesseth or confirmeth his prayer and thanksgiuing, saying,* Amen, &c. *This ended, they that among vs be called Deacons, deliuer to euery of them that be present, the Bread, Wine, and Water, which are Consecrate with thanksgiuing, and carry of the same to them that be absent.* Here is set forth the whole and plaine order of the Holy Ministration vsed in the Church at that time. The Priest prayeth and giueth thankes in the Vulgar tongue: The whole Congregation heareth his words, and confirmeth the same, saying, Amen: The Holy Communion is ministred to the people in both kindes: And all the whole Church receiueth together. I maruell much wherein M. Harding can liken any part hereof to his Priuate Masse, vnlesse it bee for that, as hee said before, euery Priuate Masse is common; so he will now say, euery Communion is Priuate.

Iustin. Martyr in Apologia 2.

πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπιφωνεῖ λέγων, Ἀμήν.

The order of the Holy Ministration in Iustinus time.

Let vs a little compare Iustines Masse and M. Hardings Masse both together. And to passe by all other circumstances of difference, in Iustines Masse all the people did receiue: In M. Hardings Masse none of the people doe receiue. In Iustines Masse none abstained: In M. Hardings Masse all abstained. In Iustines Masse a portion was sent to the absent: In M. Hardings Masse there is no portion deliuered, no not vnto the present. With what countenance then can any man allege the Authoritie of Iustine, to proue the antiquitie of Priuate Masse?

Iustines Communion and M. Hardings Masse compared together.

M. Iewell triumpheth (saith M. Harding) and maketh himselfe merry, as if hee had won the field. No, no: M. Iewell triumpheth not: but giueth all triumph, victorie, and glorie, vnto God, that will subdue all them that withstand his Truth, and make his enemies his footstole.

Psalm. 110.

I will bring good euidence and witnesse (saith M. Harding) that from the beginning of the Church, faithfull persons, both men and women, receiued the Sacrament alone. I haue no great cause to doubt these Witnesses: for, excepting only the Fable of Amphilochius, and Iohn the Almonar, which were not worth the reckoning, I alleged all the rest in mine owne sermon. I knew them, and had weighed them, and therefore I alleged them. That certaine godly persons, both men and women, in time of persecution, or of sickenesse, or of other necessitie, receiued the Sacrament in their houses, it is not denied, neither is it any parcell of this question.

But if M. Harding could haue proued, that any man or woman in the Primitiue Church euer said Priuate Masse, then had he answered somewhat to the purpose.

He reasoneth to reason thus: Some receiued the Sacrament alone: Ergo, There was Priuate Masse.

The follie of this Argument will the better appeare by the like:

Women receiued the Sacrament alone: Ergo, Women said Priuate Masse.

But (saith M. Harding) it was lawfull for Lay men to receiue alone: why then was it not lawfull for the Priest? If he could haue proued his Masse by Priests, he would neuer haue sought helpe at Lay mens hands. Howbeit, this doubt is soone answered:

For

For he knoweth by his owne learning, that it is lawfull for a Priest to say Masse: Yet is it not lawfull for a Lay man to doe the same. Of the other side, it is lawfull (as he saith) for the Lay man to receiue in one kinde: yet is not the same lawfull for the Priest. But if hee will needs take a president of Lay men for Priests to follow, let him rather reason thus: This maner of Priuate receiuing at home, was not lawfull for the Lay men: for it was abolished by godly Bishops in Generall Councell: Ergo, it was not lawfull for the Priest to say Priuate Masse. *Concil. Cesaraugustan. ca. 3.*

M. Harding. The 17. Diuision.

Proofes for priuate Masse. In 2. ad vxorē.

Tertullian exhorting his wife, that if he died before her, she marry not againe, specially to an Infidell, shewing that if hee did, it would bee hard for her to obserue her Religion, without great inconuenience, saith thus: *Non scies maritus quid secretò ante omnem cibum gustes? Et si scieris, Panem, non illum credis esse qui dicitur*: Will not thy husband know what thou eatest secretly before all other meat? And if he doe know, he will beleeue it to be Bread, and not (27) him who it is called. Hee hath the like saying also in his Booke *De Corona Militis*: which place plainly declareth vnto vs the beleefe of the Church then in three great points, by M. Iewell and the rest of our Gospellers vtterly denied. The one, that the Communion may bee kept: the second, that it may be receiued by one alone, without other companie: the third, that the thing reuerently and deuoutly before other meats receiued, is not Bread, as the Infidels then, and the Sacramentaries now beleeue: but he who it is said to be of Christian people, or who it is called, that is, (28) our Maker and Redeemer, or, which is the same, our Lords Body. And by this place of Tertullian, as also by diuers other ancient Doctours, wee may gather, that in the times of persecution the maner was, that the Priests deliuered to deuout and godly men and women, the Sacrament Consecrated in the Church, to carrie home with them, to receiue a part of it euery morning fasting, as their deuotion serued them, so secretly as they might, that the Infidels should not espie them, nor get any knowledge of the holy Mysteries. And this was done because they might not assemble themselues in solemne Congregation, for feare of the Infidels amongst whom they dwelt. Neither should the case of necessitie haue excused them of the breach of Christs Commandement, if the Sole Communion had beene expressly forbidden, as we are borne in hand by those that vphold the contrarie Doctrine. And Origen, that ancient Doctour, and likewise S. Augustine, doe write of the great reuerence, feare, and warinesse, that the men and women vsed in receiuing the Sacrament in a cleane linnen cloth, to carry it home with them for the same purpose. S. Cyprian writeth of a woman that did the like, though vnworthily, after this sort: *Cùm quædam arcam suam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit, manibus indignis tentasset aperire, igne inde surgente, deterrita est, ne auderet attingere*: When a certaine woman went about to open her Chest, wherein was the holy thing of our Lord, with vnworthy hands, she was fraid with fire that rose from thence, that she durst not touch it. This place of S. Cyprian reporteth the maner of keeping the Sacrament at home, to be receiued of a deuout Christian person alone at conuenient time. The example of Serapion, of whom Dionysius Alexandrinus writeth, recited by Eusebius, confirmeth our purpose of the single Communion. This Serapion, one of Alexandria, had committed Idolatrie, and lying at the point of death, that hee might be reconciled to the Church before hee departed, sent to the Priest for the Sacrament. The Priest being himselfe sicke, and not able to come, gaue to the lad that came of that errant, *Parum Eucharistiæ, quod infusum iussit sani præberi*, A little of the Sacrament, which he commanded to be powred into the old mans mouth. And when this solemnitie was done (saith the Story) as though he had broken certaine Chaines and Giues, he gaue vp his ghost cheerefully.

In Serāt lapsis.

Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 44.

The 27. vntruth. For the translation is wilfully corrupted. *It*, violently turned into *Him*.

The 28. vntruth. For the Sacrament was neuer called our Maker or Redeemer by any of the old Fathers.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding shooteth faire, but farre from the marke. To proue Priuate Masse in the Primitiue Church, for lacke of Priests, he allegeth Tertullians wife, certaine women out of Cyprian, and Serapions boy: not the fittest people that might haue beene found to say Masse. And yet, that the follie might the more appeare, hee hath besides giuen a speciall note in the margin of his Booke, by these words, Proofes for Priuate Masse: whereof I conceiue some hope, that he minded no more to slip away vnder the colour of single Communion, as he hath done hitherto; but simply and plainly, as he hath here noted vnto the world, to stand vpon the bare termes of Priuate Masse. For else his note was not worth the noting.

As touching Tertullian, we must remember, that the faithfull in that time, for feare of the Tyrants vnder whom they liued, were often driuen to pray asunder. Wherefore when they might priuily assemble together, besides that they presently receiued there, they reserued certaine portions of the Mysteries, to be receiued afterward in their houses at home, to put them daily the better in remembrance, that they were the members of one Church.

This maner of the Church considered, Tertullian being a Priest, as S. Hierome writeth of him, and hauing a wife, wrote vnto her an exhortation, that if it chanced to please God to take him first from the world, that she would remaine still vnmaried, or at the least not match with any Heathen, shewing her the dangers that thereof might ensue; that she should be suffered neither to keepe the solemne feasts, nor to watch, nor to pray with the Congregation. Among other things he saith thus: *And will not thy husband know what thou eatest before other meats? And if hee know it, hee will beleeue it to bee Bread, but not that Bread that it is called.* *Hieronymus de Eccles. Script. Tertullian a maried Priest.* *Tertull. Lib. 2. ad vxorem.*

Here

Gospellers.

Here M. Harding, as if the Gospell of Christ were become odious vnto him, in scorne and disdaine calleth vs Gospellers, by the name of that Gospell that he so wilfully hath forsaken, returning to his old vomit. And out of these words of Tertullian, three things (he saith) he will teach vs: of which three things notwithstanding his Priuate Masse is none. Of the first we haue to speake otherwhere. Of the second there is no question. In the third M. Harding hath manifestly corrupted both the words and meaning of Tertullian. He saith, The thing that wee receiue, is no Bread: But so Tertullian saith not. His words be these: *Thy husband will thinke it (onely) Bread, and not that Bread that it is called:* That is to say, the Sacrament of Christs Bodie, or the Mysterie of any holy thing, as Christian men beleeue of it: like as Chrysostome also saith of the water of Baptisme:

Chrys. in 1. ad Cor. Homil. 7. Ethnicus cùm audit lauacrum Baptismi, persuadet sibi simpliciter esse aquam: *A Heathen, when he heareth of the bath of Baptisme, beleeueth it is nothing else but plaine water.*

But that the thing which our bodily mouth receiueth, is very Bread, both the Scriptures, and also the old Catholike Fathers haue put it out of doubt. S. Paul fiue times in one Chapter nameth it Bread.

1. Cor. 11.

Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 4. cap. 14. Cyrillus saith: *Christ vnto his faithfull Disciples gaue peeces of Bread.* And S. Augustine saith: *The thing that ye see is Bread, as your eies beare you witnesse.* I passe by Gelasius, Theodoretus, Chrysostome, Origen, Iustinus Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens, and others, who all together with one consent haue confessed, that in the Sacrament there remaineth the nature and substance of Bread. Wherefore it is much presumed of M. Harding, to say, there remaineth no Bread, specially hauing nothing to beare him in his Authour here alleged.

In Sermone ad Infantes: citatur à Beda.

1. Cor. 10.

Tertullian falsified by M. H. Ludou. Viues De Ciuit. Dei, lib. 2. cap. 13. Iohn 19. *Petrus Crini. lib. 13. cap. 6. Codrus Vrceus Sermon. 8.* Iudicum 12.

Yet for aduantage he hath also falsified Tertullian, Englishing these words, Illum Panem, *Him*, as if it were the person of a man: as Thomas Valois, writing vpon S. Augustine, De Ciuitate Dei, hath turned this word Apex, which was the tuft or creast of the Flamines hat, into a certaine Chronicler that wrote Stories: Or as the Diuines of late yeres, vpon the Gospell of S. Iohn, of this Greeke word Lonche, which signifieth a Speare, haue made Longinus, the Blinde Knight. If Tertullian had not meant Illum Panem, *That Bread*, he would not haue said Illum at all: but rather, Illud, referring the same vnto Corpus. A small difference betweene *Him* and *It*. So was there small difference betweene *Sibboleth* and *Shibboleth*. Yet was it sufficient to descrie the Traitour.

Cyrillus contra obiectiones Theodoreti.

And whereas M. Harding thus hardly and violently, contrarie to the phrase and manner of speech, and as it may be doubted, contrarie to his owne knowledge and conscience, hath translated Illum Panem, *Him*, so as, to my remembrance, neuer did man before, meaning it was the very person of a man that the woman had in her hand, and did eat before other meats; Cyrillus saith: Non asseueramus anthropophagiam: *We teach not our people to eat the person of man.*

Tertull. de Corona Militis. Tertull. contra Marcion. li. 1. Aug. ſt. contra Maximinum, lib. 3. cap. 22. Chrysost. in 1. Cor. Hom. 7.

But who can better expound Tertullians minde, than Tertullian himselfe? In his Booke, De Corona Militis, speaking of the same matter, he calleth it Sacramentum Eucharistiæ, *The Sacrament of Thanksgiuing*. And against Marcion he writeth thus: Christus non reprobauit Panem, quo Corpus suum repræsentat: *Christ refused not the Bread, wherewith he representeth his Body*. And S. Augustine likewise saith: In Sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid significent: *Touching Sacraments, wee must consider, not what they be indeed, but what they signifie*. So also saith S. Chrysostome: Ego non aspectu iudico ea quæ videntur, sed mentis oculis Corpus Christi video: *I iudge not those things which are seene, after the outward appearance: but with the eies of my minde I see the Body of Christ.*

This is the thing that the husband, being an Heathen, could not see. For, beleeuing not in Christ, he could not vnderstand that the Bread should be the Sacrament or Mysterie of Christs Bodie.

Sine gemitu, sine suspicione panis, an veneni.

And that this was the very meaning of Tertullian, it may well appeare by the words that immediately follow: *This husband* (saith he) *will doubt whether it bee poison or no, and therefore will dissemble, and beare for a while, that at length he may accuse his wife for poysoning, before a Iudge, and doe her to death, and haue her dowrie.*

1. q. 1. *Interrogo vos.* *Idem de temp.* *The word of Christ is no lesse than the Body of Christ.*

Touching S. Augustine and Origen, the portion so taken was to bee vsed with reuerence, as being the Sacrament of Christs Body: and so ought we also reuerently to haue and to order the water of Baptisme, the Booke of the Gospell, and all other things that be of God: as the Iewes were also commanded to keepe their Manna reuerently in a golden pot. *Tell me,* (saith S. Augustine) *Whether of these two things trow ye to be the greater, the Bodie of Christ (meaning thereby the Sacrament of Christs Bodie) or the word of Christ? If ye will answer truly, ye must needs say, that the word of Christ is no lesse than the Body of Christ. Therefore looke with what diligence yee take heed when the Body of Christ is ministred vnto you, that no part thereof fall vnto the ground, euen so with like diligence must ye take heed, that the word of God bring*

being once receiued, be not lost from a pure heart. Likewise S. Chrysostome touching the same: Si hæc vasa sanctificata ad priuatos vsus transferre sic periculosum est, in quibus non est verum Corpus Christi, sed Mysterium Corporis Christi continetur: *If the matter be so dangerous, to put these sanctified vessels vnto priuate vses, wherein is contained not the very Body of Christ, but the Mysterie or Sacrament of Christs Body, &c.* All these Authorities do declare, that the Sacraments of Christ ought discretly and reuerently to be vsed. *Chrys. in opere imper. hom. 11. The very Body of Christ is not conteined in the holy vessels.*

The Storie that S. Cyprian reporteth, as it sheweth the maner of keping of the Sacrament, so it semeth also to shew, that God was offended with the same: The like whereof hath often bene seene in the Water of Baptisme, and in other Holy things, as appeareth by Nicephorus, and others in sundry places. Therefore this Authoritie serueth M. Harding to small purpose, vnlesse it be to prowe, that as God was then displeased with Sole receiuing in priuate houses, so he is now displeased with Sole receiuing in the Halle. *Cypr. de lapsis, Sermon. 5. Niceph. li. 14. cap. 17.*

Concerning the Storie of Serapion, here are interlaced many faire words for increase of credit, that it was written by Dionysius Alexandrinus, and recited by Eusebius, as though the sicke man had only desired his Houseell before hee departed, and nothing else. But the speciall matter whereupon the Storie is grounded, is passed by. Eusebius recordeth in plaine words, that the Booke wherein Dionysius wrote this Storie, was intituled, De Pœnitentia. Whereby he giueth to vnderstand, that the Sacrament then was not generally sent home to all mens houses, but onely vnto them that were excommunicate, and might not receiue in the Congregation among the faithfull, and now lay in despaire of life.

The case stood thus: Serapion in the time of persecution, for feare of death, had offered Sacrifice vnto an Idoll. The faithfull being therewith sore offended, put him out of their Congregation, and gaue him ouer to Satan. He being thus left as an Heathen, and an Idolater, might neither resort to the common Church, nor Pray, nor receiue the Holy Communion, or any other Spirituall comfort among his brethren. So hard the Church was then to be intreated for them that had fallen backe into Idolatrie. After he had made all meanes, and had with teares besought his brethren, and was no way considered, through heauinesse of minde he beganne to drope, and fell sicke, and for three daies lay speechlesse, and without sense. The fourth day being somewhat reuiued, he said to them that were about him, O how long will ye keepe me here! Send for one of the Priests, (that I may be restored before I depart.) *Euseb. Lib. 6. Cap. 45.*

His minde was tormented with consideration of the state he stood in, for that he had forsaken God. The Priest being sicke himselfe, in token he was restored, and might depart as a member of Christ, sent vnto him the Sacrament by his boy. The rest that M. Harding addeth (And this solemnitie being done, saith the storie, as though hee had broken certaine Chaines and Giues, hee gaue vp the spirit cheerefully) All this is set to, either by Ruffinus, or by some other, I know not by whom, and is no part of the Storie. For neither doth Dionysius, nor Eusebius, in the Originall make any mention either of solemnitie, or of Chaines or Giues, or of cheerefulnesse of Serapions departing, but only thus: *And swallowing downe a little, straightwaies he yeelded vp the ghost.* As for his ioifull departure, I doubt nothing. But any great solemnitie there could not bee betweene a man in that case, and a boy alone, specially hauing no such outward pompe as hath bene vsed of late, to make it solemne. *Ruffin. Lib. 6. Cap. 34.* μικρὸν γευσάμενος, εὐθέως ἀπέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα.

Now must I desire thee, gentle Reader, to haue an eie a little backward to M. Hardings note, giuen thee for a remembrance in the margin, by these words, Proofes for Priuate Masse: which note must néeds bee in the end and conclusion of all his Arguments. Therefore of these Stories here by him reported, wee must conclude thus: Tertullians wife, and the woman of whom Cyprian speaketh, receiued the Sacrament alone: Ergo, Tertullians wife, and the other woman said Priuate Masse. Or thus: Serapions boy ministred the Sacrament to his master: Ergo, Serapions boy said Priuate Masse. For if the conclusion be otherwise, we conclude one thing for another. And indeed M. Harding may as certainly say, This action was a Masse, as hee can say, Serapions boy was a Priest.

M. Harding. The 18. Diuision.

Of keeping the Sacrament secretly at home, and how it might be receiued of deuout persons alone without other companie, I weene none of the ancient Doctours wrote so plainly, as S. Basil in an Epistle that he wrote to a noble woman, called *Cæsaria*, which is extant in Greeke, where hee saith further, that this maner began not in his time first, but long before. His words be these: *Illud autem in persecutionis temporibus necessitate cogi quempiam, non præsente Sacerdote aut Ministro, Communionem propria manu sumere, nequaquam esse graue, superuacaneum est demonstrare, propterea quòd longa consuetudine, & ipso rerum vsu confirmatum est. Omnes enim in Eremo solitariam vitam agentes, vbi non est Sacerdos, Communionem domi seruantes, à seipsis Communicant.*

In

Receiuing with the hand.

In Alexandria verò, & in Aegypto, vnusquisque eorum qui sunt de populo, plurimum habet Communionem in domo sua. Semel enim Sacrificium Sacerdotis consecrante & distribuente, meritò participare & suscipere, credere oportet. Etenim & in Ecclesia Sacerdos dat partem, & accipit eam is qui suscipit, cum omni libertate, & ipsam admouet ori propria manu. Item igitur est virtute, siue vnam partem accipiat quisquam à Sacerdote, siue plures partes simul. As concerning this, that it is no greeuous offence for one to be driuen by neceſſitie, in times of perſecution, to receiue the Communion with his owne hand, no Prieſt nor Deacon being preſent, it is a thing ſuperfluous to declare, for that by long cuſtome and practiſe it hath beene confirmed, and taken place. For all they which liue a ſolitarie life in wilderneſſe, where no Prieſt is to be had, keeping the Communion at home, doe Communicate with (29) themſelues alone. And in Alexandria, and in Egypt, euery one of the people, for the moſt part, hath the Communion at home in his houſe. For when as the Prieſt hath once Conſecrate and diſtributed the Hoſt, it is reaſon we beleeue, that wee ought to be partakers of it: and he that taketh it, receiueth it without all ſcruple of conſcience, and putteth it to his mouth with his owne hand. And ſo it is of one vertue, whether any body take one part of the Prieſt, or moe parts together. Thus farre S. Baſil. In this ſaying of Baſil it is to be noted, Firſt, that neceſſitie heere hath reſpect to the lacke of Prieſt and Deacon, ſo as (30) in that caſe the Sacrament might bee receiued of a faithfull perſon with his owne hand. And that for the ratifying of ſo doing, he allegeth continuance of cuſtome, which for vs, in this point of the Sole receiuing, may in more ample wiſe be alleged. 1 2

Againe, that holy Eremites, liuing in wilderneſſe, apart from companie, and alſo the deuout people of Alexandria and Egypt, receiued the Communion alone in their Cels and houſes. Furthermore, that the Hoſt once Conſecrated of the Prieſt, is algates to bee receiued, whether of many together, or one alone, by him it ſeemeth not to force. 3 4

Finally, that whether a man take at the Prieſts hand the bleſſed Sacrament in one peece, or moe peeces, and receiue them at conuenient times, when deuotion beſt ſeruеth; the vertue, effect, and power thereof is one. By which authoritie, reſeruation is auouched. Doubtleſſe where he ſpeaketh ſo precisely and particularly of ſundry caſes touching the order of receiuing, if he had beene of M. Iewels opinion, that the Sacrament may not be receiued of one, without a certaine number of Communicants together, hee would not ſo haue paſſed ouer that matter in ſilence, much leſſe written ſo plainly of the contrarie. Now that the Communion thus kept in wilderneſſe and in Egypt, places of extreme heat, where wine in ſmall quantitie, as is for that purpoſe conuenient, cannot be long kept from ſowring, and changing his nature, was in the forme of Bread only, and not alſo of Wine; I deferre to note it heere, becauſe it pertaineth to the thretteenth of the next Article. 5

The 29. vntruth. For M. Harding hath corrupted the tranſlation. The words (*with themſelues alone*) are not in S. Baſil.

The 30. vntruth. For S. Baſil ſaith, The Communicant receiued with his owne hand, eateth in the preſence of the Prieſt.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

This place of S. Baſil we might haue ſafely paſſed ouer, without preiudice of our cauſe, as touching other things impertinent, and not once making mention of the Maſſe. Yet ſeeing it hath pleaſed M. Harding thus to colour and to emboſſe out this ancient Father, as if he alone of all others ſpake moſt plainly of his ſide, hauing notwithſtanding both in this very ſelfe ſame place, and alſo in other words immediately before, which M. Harding thought beſt of purpoſe to diſſemble, manifeſt record againſt Priuate Maſſe, I may not well vtterly leaue him in ſilence.

Firſt the caſe being ſuppoſed lawfull for the people, both men and women, to take ſome portion of the Sacrament home with them, and to receiue it alone ſecretly, and at their pleaſures: to make further doubt whether the partie ſo hauing it, might touch it, and receiue it with his owne hands, was a very nice queſtion, and meet for a Gentlewoman, as Cæſaria was, to demand. And ſo it ſeemed alſo to S. Baſil, as may appeare by his anſwer. For whoſoeuer hath conſidered the old Fathers, ſhall finde this matter fully debated by the continuall practiſe of the Church.

Cypr. Serm. 5. De Lapſis. S. Cyprian **ſheweth that in his time the people receiued the holy Myſteries of the Deacons with their hands: and that one that had committed Idolatrie, and afterward came to receiue the Communion amongſt the faithfull, opened his hand, and found the Sacrament turned into aſhes.**

Tertull. Lib. 2. ad vxorem. **The like maner of receiuing is recorded alſo by** Tertullian. Dionyſius **Biſhop of** Alexandria, **hath theſe words in an Epiſtle vnto** Siſtus **the Biſhop of** Rome, **touching the ſame, ſpeaking of one that had receiued the Communion in the Church:** *After hee had heard the thankſgiuing, and had ſounded* Amen *with the reſt, and had beene at the Table, and had reached foorth his hand to receiue the holy Food, &c.*

Euſebius lib. 7. Cap. 8. Reached foorth his hand. Clemens of Alexandria **thus vttereth the maner of the Church there:** *When certaine haue diuided the Sacrament, as the order is, they ſuffer euery of the people to take part of it.*

Clem. Alexan. Strom. Lib. 1. Nouatus **the Heretike, when hee miniſtred the Communion to the people, vſed to ſweare them by that they had in their hands, that is to ſay, by the Sacrament, that they would no more returne to** Cornelius.

Euſeb. Lib. 6. Cap. 42. S. Auguſtine **writing againſt certaine letters of** Petilian, **ſaith thus:** *I ſpeake of him, whoſe Croſſe of peace ye receiued at the Miniſtration, and in whoſe hands ye laid the Sacrament.* **I leaue the Story betweene** S. Ambroſe **and the** Emperour Theodoſius, **and other ſundry like authorities to the ſame purpoſe.**

Aug. contra literas Petiliani, lib. 2. cap. 23. Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 17. **Yet becauſe many haue beene ſuperſtitiouſly led, and ſimply ſeduced herein, by the Doctrine of them that ſay,** *O taſte not this, O touch not this, which are nothing elſe* (**as** S. Paul ſaith) *but commandements and Doctrines of men, hauing a ſhew of wiſedome in ſuperſtition, and abaſing*

Ad Coloſſ. 2.

abasing of the minde; I thinke it not amisse to note one speciall place out of the Councell of Constantinople concerning the same. The words of the Councell be these: *Wee doe in no wise admit them, that instead of their hand, make to themselues instruments of gold, or of any other matter, for the receiuing of the holy Communion, as men more regarding a dead mettall, than the Image of God. And if any Priest receiue such persons with such instruments vnto the Communion, let him be Excommunicate, and him likewise that bringeth them.*

Receiuing with the hand.

Conc. Constantin. 6. cap. 101.

But if this Gentlewomans doubt were not, whether a Lay man might safely touch the Sacrament, but only whether it were lawfull for any such one to minister the same vnto his owne mouth, S. Basil saith it is no question. Custome already hath made it good. For saith he, both the Eremites in the Wildernesse, and euery of the people in Ægypt and Alexandria, for the more part, haue the Sacrament at home, and each of them both minister it vnto himselfe. *Basilius ad Cesariam patritiam.*

Yea, euen in the Church, after that the Priest hath distributed a portion of the Sacrament, he that hath receiued it, putteth it to his mouth with his owne hand, without any remorse or doubt of conscience: and whether he receiue one portion of the Priest, or more, the effect and strength thereof is all one. This is the very meaning of S. Basil: albeit, for plainnesse sake, reseruing the sense, I haue somewhat altered the words. But much I maruell how M. Harding can gather hereof his Priuate Masse.

Touching his fiue speciall notes, if we grant them thoroughly euery one, yet is he nothing neare his purpose. For his Masse is none of them.

The Eremites Sole receiuing, as it nothing hindereth vs that denie not the fact, so it nothing furthereth him, vnlesse he will haue Lay men and women to doe so still.

The reason that S. Basil maketh of custome and continuance, being well considered, is very weake, both for many other good and iust causes, and also for that the same custome, as it was neuer vniuersally receiued, so vpon better aduice, by order of the Church, it was cleane abolished. For wise men in Gods causes haue euermore mistrusted the authoritie of Custome.

The Heretikes in old time named Aquarij, that in the holy ministration vsed Water only and no Wine, notwithstanding they manifestly brake Christs Institution, as our Aduersaries do now, yet they vpheld their doings therein by long custome. But S. Cyprian being then aliue wrote thus against them: Victi ratione opponunt consuetudinem, quasi consuetudo sit maior veritate &c. *Being ouercome with reason, they defend themselues by custome, as though Custome were better than the Truth. We may not prescribe of Custome, but we must ouercome with reason. Custome without Truth is the mother of errour.* *Ad Iubaian. De Hæreticis Baptizan. Cyprian. ad Quirinum. Cyprian. ad Pompeium contra Epistolam Stephani.*

But be it that both the Reason were good, and the Custome that long sithence hath bin abolished, had remained still: Yet is not M. Harding able out of this place precisely and vndoubtedly to proue his Priuate Masse. For if a man should say, it may possibly be, that these Eremites did not Minister seuerall each man to himselfe alone, but one of them vnto the rest of the Eremites dwelling in the wildernesse, as it appeareth diuerslie, they had times to meet and to pray together: Or, that the houholders in Ægypt and Alexandria, ministred not onely to themselues, but also to their whole seuerall families, as it is written of Hippolytus Martyr, that being a Lay man, he receiued the Communion of Iustinus being a Priest, and bare it home, and Ministred the same to his Wife, his Children, and his seruants. If a man would thus say, perhaps M. Harding would better bethinke himselfe of his Conclusions. This sense may seeme to stand very well with S. Basils words: notwithstanding M. Harding in his Translation into English, hath openly falsified the same. For whereas it is written in the Greeke, and so likewise in the Latine, *They receiue of themselues*: Which may well be vnderstanded, that one of them receiued of another for want of a Priest, he hath otherwise wrested it to come to his tune, and hath turned it thus: They doe Communicate with themselues alone; Wherein albeit I will not greatly striue, yet neither this word *Alone*, nor these words *with themselues*, can be found either in the Greeke, or in the Latine. ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσι.

This long allegation of S. Basils words, with all the furniture thereof, may shortly be gathered into this reason: These Eremites being no Priests receiued alone: Ergo, these Eremites being no Priests said Priuate Masse.

Further M. Harding saith, This sole receiuing was allowed by custome: Ergo, Priuate Masse likewise is lawfull by custome.

This reason goeth round against himselfe. For it may be well replied: This Sole receiuing was an abuse, and therefore was abolished by the Church notwithstanding custome: Ergo, Priuate Masse likewise is an abuse: and ought to be abolished notwithstanding custome.

Now let vs see, whether these very selfe words of S. Basil here alleged by M. Harding make any thing for the holy Communion. And what authoritie can be against vs, if M. Hardings owne authorities, yea as himselfe vanteth, The most manifest and plainest of all his authorities, be found with vs? For triall hereof we must resort, not into the wildernesse, whereas was neither Priest nor Deacon, as it is confessed, but vnto the Churches that were in S. Basils time. So shall we sone see, whether the Ministration then vsed were a Communion, or a Priuate Masse.

Basil. ad Cesariam patriciam.

S. Basil in the same place saith thus: *Wee do Communicate foure times in the weeke: vpon the Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday.* If we may found any thing vpon words, he saith, *Wee Communicate*: he saith not, *Wee say Masse.* And thus, saith S. Basil, *wee doe foure times in the weeke.* Then had they not the daily Sacrifice, whereupon Priuate Masse is grounded. He much misreckeneth himselfe, that saith, that thing is daily done, which is done but foure times in seuen daies.

No Daily Sacrifice.

πλειόνων &. ἐικότως.

Moreouer S. Basil saith: *After the Priest hath once Consecrate and diuided the Sacrifice, we must thinke that wee ought to receiue and to be partakers of it* accordingly. For in the Church the Priest giueth part, and the Communicant receiueth it with all freedome of conscience, and with his owne hand putteth it to his mouth. Therefore is the vertue all one, whether it bee one portion only that hee receiueth of the Priest, or moe together.*

Here marke well, good Reader, how many waies S. Basil ouerthroweth M. Hardings Masse.

1 S. Basil saith, *Wee do Communicate*: M. Harding in his Masse doth not Communicate.

2 S. Basil *Diuideth and Distributeth*: M. Harding diuideth indeed, but distributeth nothing.

3 In S. Basils Masse, *The people receiueth*: In M. Hardings Masse the people receiueth not.

4 In S. Basils Masse, *Each man receiueth with his owne hand*: In M. Hardings Masse no man receiueth, no not with the Priests hand.

5 In S. Basils Masse, the people, besides that they receiued presently there, *Had portions also deliuered them to receiue at home*: In M. Hardings Masse there is no portion deliuered vnto the people, no not so much as presently to be receiued in the Church.

6 In S. Basils Masse, *Each man receiueth and eateth for himselfe*: In M. Hardings Masse, the whole people eateth by the mouth of the Priest. O what meaneth M. Harding to bring such witnesses for his Masse, as doe so openly witnesse against his Masse! Who may trust him in the darke, that thus dealeth in the light?

M. Harding. The 19. Diuision.

It appeareth euidently by witnesse of S. Hierome also, that this custome of receiuing the Communion priuatly at home, continued among Christian men at Rome not only in time of persecution, but also afterward when the Church was at rest and peace, so as the case of necessity cannot heere serue them for maintaining of their strange negatiue in this point. These be his words: *Scio Romæ hanc esse consuetudinem, vt fideles semper Christi Corpus accipiant, quod nec reprehendo, nec probo. Vnusquisque enim in suo sensu abundat. Sed ipsorum conscientiam commenio, qui eodem die post coitum Communicant, & iuxta Persium, noctem flumine purgant: Quare ad Martyres non audent? quare non ingrediuntur Ecclesias? An alius in publico, alius in domo Christus est? Quod in Ecclesia non licet, nec domi licet. Nihil Deo clausum est, & tenebræ quoque lucent apud Deum. Probet se vnusquisque, & sic ad Corpus Christi accedat*: I know this custome is at Rome that Christian folke receiue the Body of Christ daily, which I doe neither reproue nor allow. For euery man hath enough in his owne sense. But I appose their conscience which doe Communicate that same day as they haue done wedlocke worke, and as Persius saith, Doe rince night filth with running water. Why dare they not goe to Martyrs shrines? Why goe not they into the Churches? What, is there one Christ abroad, and another Christ within the house? Whatsoeuer is not lawfull in the Church, neither at home is it lawfull. To God nothing is hidden: yea darkenesse also shineth before God. Let euery one examine himselfe, and so come to the Body of Christ. S. Hierome reproueth this in the Romans, that whereas S. Paul ordained that for cause of Praier married folke should at times forbeare their carnall embracings, they notwithstanding that, though they had doing with their wiues, yet receiued their rites neuertheless daily. And yet what day they had so done, they durst not goe to Churches where Martyrs tombes were, there to receiue our Lords Body. For it is to bee vnderstanded for better knowledge heereof, that such as knew themselues to haue done any vncleannesse were afraid in Old time to come to Martyrs Sepulchres. For there commonly by miracle such things were bewraied, and many times by open confession of the parties, whether they would or no. Erasmus in his scholies vpon this place of S. Hierome saith thus: Of this place we gather, that in the Old time euery one was wont to receiue the Body of Christ at home in his house, that would. Hee saith further: *Idem videtur innuere Paulus, cum ait: An domos non habetis ad manducandum?* S. Paul (saith hee) seemeth to meane the same thing where hee saith: Haue yee not houses to eat in? Thus Erasmus gathereth proofe of Priuate, or as M. Iewell ieereth, Single Communion, out of the Scriptures, and he was as well learned in them as M. Iewell is. Yet herein I leaue Erasmus to his owne defense. By this wee may vnderstand, that in the ancient times of the Church the receiuing of the Communion of one by himselfe alone, *was well allowed. And though it was done but by one faithfull person at once in one place, yet was it called a Communion both of S. Basil, and also of S. Hierome, cleane contrarie to M. Iewels sense. It is to bee iudged that they knew the Institution

In Apoc. cl. versu Iona.

Erasmus speaketh of priuate receiuing: but not one word of Priuate Masse.

* S. Hierome reproueth this custome. Thus he saith: *That is not lawfull in the Church, is not lawfull at home.*

Heerof speaketh S. Hierome *ad Vigil. S. Aug. epistola* 137. and Sulpitius Seuerus *in vita S. Martini dial.* 3. cap. 7.

tion of Christ, so well as hee, or any other of these new Masters, and that their conscience was such, as if Christs ordinance therein had beene broken, they would not haue winked at it, ne with their vngodly silence confirmed such an vngodly custome. Verily for excuse of this sole receiuing, necessity cannot iustly be alleged.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

How often will M. Harding allege the old Doctours against himselfe? Heere he bringeth in S. Hierome, and the first words that he could finde for his purpose, were these: *I know the Custome at Rome is this, that the Christian people there receiue the Body of Christ euery day.* It semeth this Custome grew first from Peter, and was planted in Rome. A man may heere well demand, when the custome was that the people should Communicate daily together, where then was the Custome of Priuate Masse? *Hier. in Apologia aduersus Iouinianum. Where was then the Priuate Masse?*

Besides this, M. Harding to proue the Custome of the peoples receiuing at home, hath alledged S. Hierome, that earnestly reproueth that Custome, & would not haue them receiue at home. S. Hieromes words be these: *Why dare they not go to the Temples built in the remembrance of Martyrs? Why go they not to the Church? What, is there one Christ abroad, and another Christ at home?* If the people did well, why doth S. Hierome thus reproue them? If they did ill, why doth M. Harding thus allow them?

Heere M. Harding interlaceth other matter of the office of wedlocke, the word of Persius the Pagan Poet, and the superstitious Ceremony of the Heathens, as I take it, little pertaining vnto his Masse. Wheras the whole people receiued the holy mysteries euery day, the man and wife remembring sometimes what they had done betweene themselues, and thinking themselues for the same not to be in so cleane state of life as the rest were, for that cause forbare the Church for the time: and hauing the Sacrament sent vnto them, receiued it priuately at home. Vnto this Superstition S. Hierome himselfe gaue great occasion, many times both writing and speaking vnsemely of the state of Mariage, in defense whereof S. Augustine wrote a Booke against Iouinian, entituled, *De bono coniugij*: And S. Hierome afterward was driuen to make his answer by way of purgation vnto Pammachius for the same. In this errour were diuers of the old Learned Fathers. Tertullian saith: *I allow not Marriage: for fornication and that, stand both in one thing.* Origen saith: *No man can offer the continuall Sacrifice, that is to say, the Sacrifice of Praier, vnlesse he be a Virgin.* S. Hierome saith: *It is good not to touch a woman: therefore it is ill to touch a woman.* Vpon occasion of which errour, the people sometime forbare the Churches where Martyrs were buried. Wherein M. Hardings Translation swarueth much from the Originall. For in stead of *Churches* he hath translated, *Martyrs Shrines*, as though the bones of holy men had then beene shrined, and offerings made vnto them, as of late yeres hath beene vsed. *Tertull. in exhortatione ad Castitatem. Origen. in Numeros hom. 23. Hieron. aduersus Iouin. lib. 1. M. Harding corrupteth S. Hierome.*

True it is, Almighty God for the testimony of his Doctrine and Truth, hath often times wrought great miracles, euen by the dead Carcases of his Saints, in witnesse that they had beene his messengers and the instruments of his will. But as these were good inducements at the first to lead the people to the truth, so afterward they became snares, to lead the same people into errour: and that euen in the time of the old Fathers aboue eleuen hundred yeres agoe. S. Augustine saith: *I know many worshippers of Graues and Images, that drinke and quaffe disorderly ouer the dead, and offer meat vnto their Carcases, and bury themselues ouer the buried, and make account, that euen their very drunkennesse and gluttony is a Religion that pleaseth God.* Gelasius saith: *It is reported that with procession they furnish vp their Churches, built in the name of dead men, and the same, for ought that I can learne, while they were aliue not altogether good faithfull men.* S. Martin on a time came to a Chapell built in the name of a holy Martyr. But afterward he learned by reuelation, that the same Martyr had beene sometime a common Theefe, and for a robbery had beene put to death, and by errour of the people was honoured for a Saint. Likewise S. Augustine saith: *Some there be that carry about Martyrs bones to sale: and yet it may well be doubted, whether euer they were Martyrs or no.* *Aug. de morib. Eccles. & Manich cap. 34. Idem. Confession. lib. 6. cap. 7. Gelasius Can. 2 De Con. dist. 1. Placuit. Sulpitius in vita Martini. De opere Monachorũ. ca. 28.*

Thus much briefly and by the way of the Reliques and miracles of Martyrs bones: for that M. Harding vpon so small occasion seemeth to touch them in such sort, as if he would haue them shrined and set vp againe.

As for the Matrimony of the godly, as S. Paul saith: *It is cleane and honourable in all estates.* And therefore S. Chrysostome saith: *Vse thy Marriage with sobriety, and thou shalt bee the chiefe in the Kingdome of Heauen.* And the same Chrysostome expounding these words of S. Paul, *Marriage is honourable*, writeth thus: *Heere he toucheth the Iewes that reckon the Marriage bed to bee vncleane, and that a man rising from the same cannot bee in cleane life. But O you most vnkinde and most insensible Iewes! The thing is not filthy that God hath granted of nature vnto man, &c.* Ad Hebræ. 3. *Chrys. ad Hebræos, homil. 7. Chrys. ad Hebræos, homil. 8.*

Touching Eraſmus, M. Harding hath already refuſed his authority, and turned him ouer to his owne defence. Where he ſaith, *Euery man was woont in old times to receiue the Sacrament ſeuerally at home*: it would much better haue ſounded of M. Hardings ſide, if Eraſmus had ſaid: *Euery man was wont then to ſay Maſſe ſeuerally at home.* And albeit in that ſhort note vpon S. Hierome hee ſeeme to vnderſtand theſe words of S. Paul, (*haue yee not houſes to eat and drinke in*) of the priuate receiuing of the Sacrament: yet otherwhere writing of purpoſe and good deliberation vpon the ſame, he ſaith, S. Paul meant it onely of common meats, and not of the Sacrament. In his Paraphraſe hee expoundeth it thus: *Paraphraſis Eraſmi in 1. Corinth. 11.* Hic vnanimitatis Chriſtianæ Myſterium agitur &c. *Heere is practiſed the Myſterie of Chriſtian vnity, and not prouiſion made for the belly. For that ought ye to doe in your priuate houſes, and not in the publike Congregation. If ye would fill your bellies, haue ye not houſes, where ye may doe it by your ſelues alone?* And againe: *If any man be ſo greedy of meat that he cannot tarry, let him eat at home.* Thus, ſaith M. Harding, Eraſmus gathereth the Priuate Maſſe out of the Scriptures. M. Harding is ouer quicke in his Concluſions. He maketh himſelfe ſure of the Conſequent, before he ſee the Antecedent. For Eraſmus hath not one word there, neither of Priuate Maſſe, nor of Single Communion. How then can he get that of Eraſmus, that Eraſmus himſelfe hath not? Neither is this any neceſſary forme of reaſon: Men receiued the Sacrament in their houſes: Ergo, they receiued the Sacrament alone. For they might receiue in their ſeuerall houſes with their wiues and families all together, as it is already proued by the example of Hippolytus Martyr. And S. Hierome ſaith: *Hieron. in Apologia aduerſus Ioninianum.* *The Sacrament was ſent home to the man and wife.* Otherwiſe it might be ſaid, God commanded that euery man ſhould eat the Eaſter Lambe in his houſe: Ergo, God commanded that euery man ſhould eat that Lambe alone. Howbeit I make ſmall account of this matter, as nothing touching the Priuate Maſſe: but onely ſhew the fableneſſe of theſe Concluſions.

The Communion. Yet ſaith M. Harding, both S. Hierome and S. Baſil call it the Communion, notwithſtanding it were priuately receiued: which is cleane contrary to M. Iewels ſenſe. But neither S. Hierome, nor S. Baſil euer called it the Maſſe, and that little furthereth M. Hardings ſenſe. They call it a Communion, not for that he that receiued it, communicated with others in other places, as M. Harding geſſeth: but for that it was a portion of the holy Communion miniſtred and diuided openly in the Congregation to be receiued of the faithfull.

The reaſon that M. Harding heereof gathereth muſt needs be this: The husband and his wife receiued the Sacrament at home: Ergo, the Prieſt ſaid Priuate Maſſe. He muſt needs bee very ſimple, that will be led by ſuch ſingle proofes. S. Hieromes plaine words neceſſarily import the contrary. For if this were the cuſtome in Rome for the ſpace of foure hundred yeares, that the people ſhould Communicate euery day, then muſt it needs follow, that during that time, there was no cuſtome there of Priuate Maſſe. *No priuate Maſſe in Rome.*

M. Harding. The 20. Diuiſion.

A heape of Simple geſſes without ſenſe or ſauour.

Damaſus Biſhop of Rome in S. Hieromes time writeth *In libro Pontificiali*, that Milciades Pope and Martyr, ordained that the Sacrament in ſundrie portions conſecrated by a Biſhop, ſhould be ſent abroad among the Churches for cauſe of Heretickes, that the Catholike people of the Churches (which word heere ſignifieth as the Greeke word παροικία doth, ſo as it is not neceſſary to vnderſtand that the Sacrament was directed only to the materiall * Churches, but to the people of the Pariſhes) might receiue the Catholike Communion, & not communicate with heretikes. Which doubtleſſe muſt be vnderſtanded of this priuate and ſingle Communion in each Catholike mans houſe, and that where Heretikes bare the ſway, and Prieſts might not be ſuffered to conſecrate after the Catholike vſage. Elſe if the Prieſts might without let or diſturbance haue ſo done, then what need had it beene for Milciades to haue made ſuch a prouiſion for ſending abroad hoſts ſanctified for that purpoſe, by the Conſecration of a Biſhop? The place of Damaſus hath thus: *Milciades fecit, vt oblationes conſecratæ per Eccleſias ex conſecratu Epiſcopi (propter Hæreticos) dirigerentur*: Milciades ordained that conſecrated hoſts ſhould be ſent abroad amongſt the Churches, prepared by the Conſecration of a Biſhop. The two words, *propter Hereticos*, for Heretikes, added by Ado, the Writer of Martyrs liues, openeth the meaning and purport of that Decree.

* A Church by M. Hardings iudgement ſignifieth a priuate houſe.

M. Hard. otherwiſe reporteth theſe words, than he findeth them.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

This geſſe is one of the weakeſt of all the reſt, and therefore M. Harding hath ſtaid it vp one euery ſide with other geſſes, that one geſſe might helpe another. The firſt geſſe is, what Damaſus ſhould meane by theſe words, Propter Hæreticos.

2 The next geſſe is, that this order was taken by Milciades, againſt certaine Heretikes, that in the holy Miniſtration kept not the Catholike Church.

3 The third geſſe is, that this word Eccleſia, muſt needs ſignifie the people of the Pariſhes, and not the materiall Church.

4 The fourth geſſe is, that the Sacrament was then Conſecrate in little round Cakes, as of late hath beene vſed.

The

The firſt geſſe is, that the Sacrament was ſent to euery ſeuerall houſe: which muſt haue beene an infinite labour to the Deacon that carried it and wonderous painfull.

The firſt geſſe is, that firſt euery huſband receiued the Sacrament in his houſe alone: and ſo the wife: and ſo the ſeruants: and ſo likewiſe the children, euery one ſeuerally by himſelfe alone. Which thing I reckon M. Harding himſelfe thinketh not very likely. So many geſſes are heere in a throng heaped together. Which if I denie altogether, M. Harding is hardly able to proue: If I grant him altogether without exception, yet all are not able to proue his Priuate Maſſe.

First in this place of Damaſus neither is there mention of any Maſſe, nor any perfect ſenſe or reaſon in the words. For thus it is written: Miltiades fecit vt oblationes conſecratæ per Eccleſias ex conſecratu Epiſcopi dirigerentur, quod declaratur fermentum: *Miltiades cauſed that the Oblations Conſecrate by the Churches by the Conſecration of the Biſhop ſhould be directed, which is declared leauen.* Neither is there any kind of thing either going before or following after, whereby we may geſſe the meaning. It is much to ſee ſo learned a man as M. Harding is, ſo ſtanked of authorities, that he is thus driuen to proue his Maſſe by ſuch places as be vtterly void of ſenſe and reaſon. But a man muſt vſe ſuch weapons as may be gotten.

In libro Concil. impreſſo Colon. Anno 1551.

M. Harding allegeth authorities without ſenſe or reaſon.

The two words, Propter Hæreticos, that are patched in by Ado, a man of late yeres, as they do nothing helpe the ſenſe, ſo haue they no helpe of the ſtorie of that time. For a man may well demand of Ado this new Doctor, what were theſe ſtrange vnknowen heretikes without name, that you at the laſt for a ſhift haue eſpied out? where began they? where dwelt they? what taught they? how long continued they? who maintained them? who confuted them? what Councels condemned them? For it ſeemeth ſomewhat ſtrange, that there ſhould be companies and routs of Heretikes in the World, that no man euer knew but Doctour Ado.

And whereas M. Harding putteth in of his owne, beſides his booke (for Damaſus hath no ſuch thing, nor any other thing like) that theſe new found Heretikes in the miniſtration kept not the Catholike vſage, he ſhould haue ſhewed for his credits ſake, what other vſage they kept that was not Catholike: for his word is not yet Canonized. The World will beléeue neither him nor Ado, without ſome proofe.

M. Harding addeth of himſelfe beſide his Authour.

Further to increaſe abſurdities, he ſaith, by theſe words, per Eccleſias, is meant, not the materiall Church, but the people of the Church: that is to ſay, in plainer termes, Eccleſia, is not a Church, but a priuate houſe. I grant the Greeke word παροικία, out of which our Engliſh word *Pariſh*, ſeemeth to haue beene taken, ſignifieth a congregation, or meeting of neighbours, or a company dwelling within ſome ſpace together, whether it be in compaſſe more or leſſe. So ſaith Euſebius: *Dionyſius writeth vnto Baſilides the Biſhop of the diuiſions of Pentapolis.* [a] Athanaſius ſaith, that Demetrius toke vpon him the Biſhoprick of Alexandria, and τῶν παροικιῶν, *of the diuiſions in Ægypt*. In theſe places and certaine others that might be alleaged out of Baſil, Nazianzene, and other Greeke Fathers, this word παροικία ſeemeth to ſignifie a Biſhoprick, or a Dioceſſe, and not a ſeuerall Pariſh. And therefore Irenæus thus writeth vnto Victor Biſhop of Rome: *The Prieſts of Rome, meaning thereby the Biſhops there, ſent the Sacrament* τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν, *to them that came out of other Dioceſſes or Diuiſions.* And Euſebius thus writeth of Hippolytus: ἐπίσκοπος ἄλλης τινὸς παροικίας: *He being Biſhop of another diuiſion.* Thus much touching this word παροικία, being moued therto by the ſtrange interpretation of M. Harding. Certainly, I thinke, he himſelfe will ſay, that ſithence the Church was once in peace, neither this word Eccleſia, nor this word Parochia, euer ſignified a priuate houſe, in any kinde of Writer, or in any time.

Eccleſia, *a priuate houſe.*

παροικία.

[a] *Euſebius lib. 7. cap. 25.* περὶ κατὰ πεντάπολιν παροικιῶν ἐπισκόπου.

[a] *Athanaſius in epiſt. de ſententia Dionyſij ad verſus Arian.*

[b] *Euſebius hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 23.*

But, ſaith M. Harding, Adoes Heretikes (for Damaſus ſpeaketh of none) bare all the ſway, and would not ſuffer the Catholike people to communicate in the Church. Therefore we muſt néeds vnderſtand heere priuate houſes. Alas, when did Heretikes euer beare ſuch ſway in the Church of Rome? Or if they did at any time, as it is vntrue, vnleſſe he meane the Soueraigne Heretikes, the Pope and his Cardinals, yet, May we thinke, that the Catholikes were ſo weake in the common Church being altogether, and ſo ſtrong in their owne houſes being alone? Or, Were theſe Heretikes able to withſtand a whole Congregation, and not able to withſtand one ſingle man by himſelfe?

Soueraigne Heretikes.

Marke well, good Reader, how handſomly M. Hardings arguments hang together. He muſt néeds thinke thee to be very vnſenſible, that hopeth thou wilt yéeld to ſuch geſſes.

To leaue a great number of other like abſurdities, M. Hardings arguments are framed thus: The Sacrament was receiued in Priuate houſes (albeit there appeareth no ſuch thing by Damaſus) Ergo, one man receiued alone. Surely then had that man a

very empty house, hee might well sing, Tanquam passer solitarius in tecto. It is more likely that being a godly man, he would desire his wife and family to receiue with him, as I haue said before.

Againe, the Sacrament was sent among the Parishes: Ergo, there was Priuate Masse. The force of this reason may some be seene. But who said this Masse, whether it were the messenger or the receiuer, I leaue it to M. Harding to consider. He might better haue concluded thus; The Bishop sent the mysteries abroad for the people to Communicate; Ergo, he meant a Communion, and no Priuate Masse.

Further, he saith, this was done in time of necessitie, because of Heretikes, and yet by the same he defendeth the Masse vsed now without any such necessitie; and that in the Church of Rome, where, he saith, can be no Heretikes.

Concil. Laodicin. cap. 14. To conclude, this maner of sending abroad the Sacrament was afterward abolished by the Councell holden at Laodicea.

Thus is M. Harding driuen to goe by gesse; to imagine strange Heretikes; for shew of some antiquitie to allege vaine Decrees without sense; to auouch such orders as he knoweth were long sithence condemned; & to comment the same with his owne Glosses.

M. Harding. The 21. Diuision.

The 31. vntruth. For Rome is now become the *Mother of Fornication.* Apocal. 17.

Heere haue I brought much for priuate and single Communion, and that it hath not onely been suffered in time of persecution, but also allowed in quiet and peaceable times, euen in the Church of Rome it selfe (31) where true Religion hath euer beene most exactly obserued aboue all other places of the world, and (32) from whence all the Churches of the West haue taken their light; as the Bishops of all *Gallia*, that now is called France, do acknowledge in an Epistle sent to Leo the Pope, with these words; *Vnde Religionis nostræ, propitio Christo, fons & origo manauit*: From the Apostolike See by the Mercy of Christ, the fountaine and spring of our Religion hath come. *Epist. Leonis.*

The 32. vntruth. For the faith of the West church came not first from Rome.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding pretendeth priuate Masse, & concludeth Single Communion.

M. Harding vseth a strange kinde of Logicke: He pretendeth Priuate Masse, and concludeth single Communion. And why might he not aswell plainly and without colour, conclude his priuate Masse? Doubtlesse the wise Reader may some gather thus; If he could finde it, he would not conceale it.

This talke of the Church of Rome in this place was needlesse, as nothing seruing to priuate Masse. Yet is it generally confessed by all men, that Rome is the eldest Church that we know founded in this West part of the world; and that the Churches of France, and other Countries, at the beginning had both the confirmation of Doctrine, and also other great conference and comfort from thence: like as also the Church of Rome had from Hierusalem, and Antioch, and other great Churches in the East. But that the first that euer preached the Gospell in France, were sent from Rome, I reckon it not so easie to be proued. For some say, that Nathaniel, whom Christ commendeth to be the true Israelite, preached at Trire and Bituriges: Lazarus, whom Christ raised, at Marsiles: Saturninus at Tolouse, long before Peter came to Rome. S. Paul, as it is thought, after his deliuerie vnder Nero, went into Spaine, sent Titus into Dalmatia, and Crescens into Galatia, or, as Epiphanius readeth it, into Gallia: Ioseph of Arimathæa came into England. And yet it appeareth not that any of these were sent by Commission from Rome. But why doth M. Harding thus out of season rush into the commendation of the Church of Rome, that was so long agoe? It had beene more to purpose to haue viewed the state of the same Church, as it standeth now. But as one once said, Ye shall not now finde Samnium in Samnio, because the Citie of Samnium was sackt and raced vp, and vtterly ouerthrowen: euen so I heard M. Harding sometime say, He had sought for the Church of Rome in Rome it selfe, and yet could not finde the Church of Rome. The Bishops, Cardinals, and Priests do neither teach, nor exhort, nor comfort, nor any other part of their duties: The people, as it is already confessed, is careless and void of deuotion. S. Barnard saith: O Domine, Sacerdotes tui facti sunt tonsores: Prælati, Pilati: Doctores, Seductores: *O Lord, thy Priests are become shearers: thy Prelates, Pilates: thy Doctours, Deceiuers.* If a Church cannot erre, then may wee say of it, as Euripides sometimes said of the City of Athens: ὦ πόλις, πόλις, σὸς εὐτυχὴς εἰ μᾶλλον, ἢ κλεινῶς φρονεῖς: *O City, City, thy lucke is far better than thy wit.*

Nathaniel. Lazarus. Saturninus. 2. ad Timoth. 4 Ephiphanius contra Alogos.

M. Harding. The 22. Diuision.

More could I yet bring for confirmation of the same, as the example of S. Hilaria the Virgin in the time of Numerianus; of S. Lucia in Diocletians time done to Martyrdome; of S. Maria Ægyptiaca, and S. Ambrose, of which euery one, as ancient testimonies of Ecclesiasticall histories, and of Paulinus do declare, at the houre of their departure hence to God, receiued the holy Sacrament of the Altar for their voiage prouision alone. But I iudge this is enough; and if any man will not be perswaded with this, I doubt whether with such a one a more number of authorities shall any thing preuaile.

The

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Now M. Harding higheth himselfe vnto the end of his authorities: and for speed is content to passe by the stories of Hilaria, Lucia, Maria Ægyptiaca, and others written, I suppose, in Legenda Aurea, of whom, as it appeareth, he is certaine that they said Masse a little before their departure hence. The like is also auouched for certaine, of S. Ambrose lying in his death-bed. But this thing seemeth marueilous in my iudgement, that notwithstanding S. Ambrose were Bishop in Millaine two and twenty yeares and more, being also so holy a man, as few the like in those daies, yet M. Harding cannot learne, that euer he said Priuate Masse, but only when he lay breathlesse in his death-bed.

Paulinus in vita Ambros.

M. Harding. The 23. Diuision.

Now that I haue thus prooued the single Communion, I vse their owne terme, I desire M. Iewell to reason with me soberly a word or two. How say you sir? Doe you reproue the Masse, or doe you reproue the Priuate Masse? I thinke, whatsoeuer your opinion is heerein your answer shall be, you allow not the Priuate Masse. For as touching that the oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ done in the Masse, is the Sacrifice of the Church, and proper to the New Testament, (33) commanded by Christ to be frequented according to his institution: if you deny this, make it so light as you list, all those authorities which you deny vs to haue for proofe of your great number of articles, will be found against you: I meane Doctors, Generall Councels the most ancient, the examples of the Primitiue Church, the Scriptures: I adde further reason, consent vniuersall and vncontrolled, and tradition. If you deny this, you must denie all our Religion from the Apostles time to this day, and now in the end of the world, when iniquitie aboundeth, and charitie waxeth cold, when the Sonne of Man comming shall scarcely finde faith in the earth, begin a new. And therefore you, M. Iewell, knowing this well enough, whatsoeuer you doe in deed, in word, as it appeareth by the little booke you haue set foorth in print, you pretend to disallow, yea most vehemently to improoue the Priuate Masse.

The 33. vntruth. For Christ neuer commanded or named any such Sacrifice.

Great words without ground.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Hitherto M. Harding hath brought Doctours without Reason: now he bringeth Reason without Doctours. And how say you sir? (saith he) Doe you reproue the Masse, or doe you reproue Priuate Masse? I trust he hath not so soone forgotten whereof he hath discoursed all this while. Neither doth the matter rest vpon that point, what I list to allow, or disallow: but what he can proue, or not proue, by the Scriptures, and by the ancient Councels and Fathers.

But marke well, good Christian Reader, and thou shalt see how handsomely M. Harding conueigeth and shifteth his hands to deceiue thy sight. First he hath hitherto forborne both the name, and also the proofe of Priuate Masse, and onely hath vsed the words of Sole Receiuing, and Single Communion: and so hath taken paines to proue that thing that was neuer denied: and that thing that we denie, and wherein the whole question standeth, he hath left vtterly vntouched. Now he demandeth, whether I reproue the Masse, or the Priuate Masse? What meaneth this, that Priuate Masse, and Sole Receiuing, be so suddenly growen in one? Surely M. Harding well knoweth, that the nature of these words is not one. Neither whosoeuer receiueth alone, doth therefore of necessitie say Priuate Masse. This so sudden altering of termes may breed suspicion.

That he further interlaceth of the Sacrifice of the New Testament, is another conueiance, to blinde thy sight, as vtterly nothing making to this purpose.

For neither doth the Sacrifice import Priuate Masse: nor doth Sole Receiuing implie the Sacrifice. Yet for short answer, we haue that only Sacrifice of the New Testament, that is, the Body of Iesus Christ vpon the Crosse, that Lambe of God, that hath taken away the sinnes of the World: the vertue of which Sacrifice endureth for euer. To this euerlasting Sacrifice, the Sacrifice that is imagined in the Masse, is meere iniurious.

And whereas M. Harding saith, If you deny this, you must denie all our Religion, from the Apostles time vntill this day; These be but empty words, without weight, and proue nothing.

In my little booke (saith he) I disallow the Priuate Masse. If he finde fault with my Booke, for that it is little, he might consider, it is but a Sermon, and therefore no reason it should be great. Yet is it a greate deale longer than either Hyppolitus Martyr, or the Fable of his Amphilochius, of whom, notwithstanding their shortnesse, he maketh no small account. And where he saith, I disallow Priuate Masse, I disallow that thing that infinite numbers of godly and learned men haue disallowed, and that M. Harding himselfe, not long sithence, openly and earnestly disallowed, both in Schooles and Pulpits, vntill he was suddenly perswaded to the contrarie, only by the alteration of the State. Of these two words, Priuate

uate Masse, I can no better say, than S. Gregorie sometime said of that Antichrist should
Li.6.Epist.30. be called Deus, God: Si quantitatem vocis perpendimus, sunt duæ syllabæ: sin pondus iniquitatis, vniuersa pernicies: *If we weigh the quantity of the word, they are but two syllables: but if we weigh the weight of wickednesse, it is an vniuersall destruction.*

M. Harding. The 24. Diuision.

Vpon this resolution, that the Masse, as it is taken in generall, is to be allowed; I enter further in reason with you, and make you this argument: If Priuate Masse, in respect onely of that it is Priuate, after your meaning, be reproueable, it is for the single Communion, that is to say, for that the Priest receiueth the Sacrament alone: but the single Communion is lawfull yea good and godly: *Ergo*, the Priuate Masse in this respect, that it is Priuate, is not reproueable, but to be allowed, holden for good and holy, and to be frequented. If you deny the first proposition, or *Maior*, then must you shew for what else you doe reproue Priuate Masse, in respect only that it is Priuate, than for the single Communion. If you shew any thing else, then doe you digresse from our purpose, and declare that you reproue the Masse. The *Minor* you cannot denie, seeing you see how sufficiently I haue prooued it. And so the Priuate Masse, in that respect onely it is Priuate, is to be allowed for good, as the Masse is.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Out of all these former Authorities of Tertullians Wife, Monkes in the Wildernesse, Lay men, Women, and Boies, M. Harding gathereth this conclusion, which, as he would haue folke thinke, standeth so soundly on euery side, that it cannot possibly be auoided.

The Priuate Masse is single Communion:
Single Communion is lawfull:
Ergo, Priuate Masse is lawfull.

This Syllogisme vnto the vnskilfull may seeme some what terrible, as a visard vnto a childe, that cannot iudge what is within it. But M. Harding that made it, knoweth it is vaine, and worth nothing. And that it may the better appeare, I will open the errour by another like.

The ministration of Priuate Masse is a single Communion:
Single Communion is lawfull for a woman:
Ergo, The ministration of Priuate Masse is lawfull for a woman.

It is all one kinde of argument, of like forme, and like termes. And as this is deceitfull, so is the other likewise deceitfull. The errour is in the Second Proposition, which is called the Minor: and that shall ye soone see, if you turne the same Minor, and make it an vniuersall, and say thus in M. Hardings argument:

All maner Single Communions be lawfull:

Or in the other argument,

All maner Single Communions are lawfull for a woman. So shall ye soone finde out the follie.

Further, Medius Terminus, that holdeth and knitteth the argument, must agree with the Subiectum and Predicatum, in circumstance of time, of place, of person, of subiect, and part of subiect: with which circumstances a thing may be lawfull; and without the same may be vnlawfull. For example, It is thought lawfull for a woman to Baptize at home: but it is not thought lawfull for a woman to Baptize in the open Church: yet is the thing all one: but the circumstance of place being changed, changeth the whole. Againe, It is lawfull for a Priest to minister the Sacrament in the forenoone, and in the Church: but it is not lawfull for a Priest to minister the Sacrament after he hath dined, or in his bed: Yet was it lawfull for S. Ambrose and others so to receiue the Sacrament. We see therefore, there is great matter in alteration of the circumstance.

These things perhaps may seeme ouer curious, and therefore I passe them by, giuing thee neuertheless, gentle Reader, to vnderstand, that without consideration hereof, thou maiest be deceiued. Set the head in his naturall place betweene the shoulders, and there is a man: Set the same head in the breast, or otherwhere out of his place, and there is a monster.

Now touching M. Hardings Syllogisme, thou maiest see that the Minor, or Second Proposition is not true, as they terme it, Simpliciter, and without exception. For the Single Communion was neuer so taken for lawfull, but only in consideration of circumstances, and cases of necessitie: which cases being either remoued, or better examined, the same kinde of Single Communion is no longer thought lawfull. Therefore thou maist thus say to M. Harding: *How say you sir? Doe you allow the examples that yee haue brought to proone your Masse by, or doe you not allow them?* If you allow them, why then suffer ye not Women to carry home the Sacrament, and to keepe it in Chests and Napkins,

kins, as they did of old? If you allow them not, becauſe they were abuſes, why then ſeeke you to proue your Maſſe by the ſame, and ſo to eſtabliſh one abuſe by another? Now let vs looke a little backe to the note that M. Harding ſet out in the Margin for our remembrance, by theſe words, Proofes for Priuate Maſſe. That it might ſeeme lawfull for a Prieſt to ſay Priuate Maſſe, he hath brought in examples of Lay men, Women, Sicke folke, and Boies. Alas, doth M. Harding thinke it was the maner in old times, that Lay people ſhould ſay Maſſe? Or was there no Prieſt all this while in the World, for the ſpace of 600. yeares, that Women and Children muſt come forth to proue theſe matters? Or was there no difference then betweene Sole Receiuing, and Priuate Maſſe? Or ſhall we thinke, that Women and Boies did then Conſecrate the Holy Myſteries, or offer vp Chriſts Body, or make Sacrifice for quicke and dead, or apply Chriſts death vnto others? Where is M. Hardings Logicke become? Where is the ſharpneſſe of his wit?

But marke, good Chriſtian Reader, how farre he ſwarueth from that he hath taken in hand. I demand of the open Church: He anſwereth me of Priuate Houſes. I demand of Prieſts: He anſwereth me of Women, Boies, and Lay men. I demand of the Maſſe: He anſwereth me of that thing that himſelfe granteth is no Maſſe. I demand of the right Vſe of the Holy Supper, that ought to ſtand: He anſwereth me of Abuſes, that be abolished. I demand of the vſage that then was ordinarie: He anſwereth of neceſſitie, and caſes Extraordinarie. Iudge thou therefore how well and ſubſtantially he hath hitherto performed his promiſe.

How aptly M. Harding anſwereth to the queſtion.

M. Harding. The 25. Diuiſion.

Marry I denie not, but that it were more commendable, and more godly on the Churches part, if many well diſpoſed and examined, would be partakers of the bleſſed Sacrament with the Prieſt. But though the Clergie be worthily blamed for negligence herein, through which the people may be thought to haue growen to this ſlackneſſe and indeuotion, yet that notwithſtanding, this part of the Catholike Religion remaineth ſound and faultleſſe. For as touching the ſubſtance of the Maſſe it ſelfe, by the ſingle Communion of the Prieſt, in caſe of the peoples coldneſſe and negligence, it is nothing impaired. Elſe if the publike Sacrifice of the Church might not be offered without a number of Communicants receiuing with the Prieſt in one place, then would the ancient Fathers in all their writings ſome where haue complained of the ceaſing of that, which euery where they call, *Quotidianum & iuge Sacrificium*, The daily and continuall Sacrifice: of which their opinion is, that it ought (34) daily to be Sacrificed, that the death of our Lord, and the worke of our redemption might alwaies be celebrated, and had in memorie, and wee thereby ſhew our ſelues, according to our bounden dutie, mindefull and thankfull. But verily the Fathers no where complaine of intermitting the daily Sacrifice, but very much of the ſlackneſſe of the people, for that they came not more often vnto this holy and wholſome baniket: and yet they neuer compelled them thereto: but exhorting them to frequent it worthily, left them to their owne conſcience.

The vndeuotion of the people groweth of the negligence of the Clergie.

The 34. vntruth. For the Fathers ſay not ſo, but plainly the contrarie.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

The Painter that purtraied out in colours Medea killing her owne childe, by the ſkill he had in painting, made to appeare in her face two contrary affections: For in the one ſide he expreſſed extreme Furie, that bade her kill: and in the other ſide motherly Loue and Pity, that bade her not kill. Such two contrarie affections wee may here ſee in M. Harding, both painted and ſet out in one face. For notwithſtanding, for his credits ſake, he aduance his Maſſe, and deface the holy Communion with all that he is able; yet here againe, for conſcience ſake, of the other ſide he confeſſeth, that the Communion is the better: and ſo rippeth vp all that he hath ſewed before, and willeth others to aſſent vnto him, before he can aſſent vnto himſelfe. Gods name be bleſſed, that is thus able to force out his truth, euen by the mouthes of them that openly withſtand his truth. But neither ſhould he in ſuch diſdaine, and ſo often, call vs new Maſſers and Goſpellers, for defending that himſelfe knoweth and confeſſeth to be the better: nor after the holy Communion was once reſtored, ſhould he haue drawen the people againe to the Priuate Maſſe: that is, by his owne confeſſion, from the better to the worſe.

Concil. Nicen. 2. Action. 4.

M. Hard. confeſſeth that the Communion is better than his Maſſe.

But, ſaith M. Harding, In caſe of negligence of the people, if the Prieſt receiue alone, the ſubſtance of the Maſſe is not impaired. This difference in termes of Subſtance and Accidents, in Chriſts Inſtitution, is newly found out, and hath no warrant, neither of the Scriptures, nor of the old Fathers. Howbeit, Chriſts example in doing, and commandement to doe the ſame, may not be taken for a ſhew or Accident, but for the effect and ſubſtance of his Supper. *Doe this*, ſaith Chriſt, *the ſame that you haue ſeene mee doe: Take, Bleſſe, Breake, Diuide, in my remembrance.* Which words S. Chryſoſtome expounded thus: Hoc facite in memoriam beneficij mei, ſalutis veſtræ: *Doe this in remembrance of my benefit, and of your Saluation.* This is no Accident, or light fantaſie, that may be left at our pleaſure, but the very ſubſtantiall point of that Sacrament, which we are ſpecially commanded, to

Matth. 26.

Ad populum Antiochen. Hom. 61.

continue

1. Corint. 11. *continue vntill he come*: and for want whereof S. Paul saith, *That Supper is not the Lords Supper.*

Daily Sacrifice.

Certainly Alexander of Hales, and Humbertus, two of M. Hardings owne Scholastical Doctours, are full against him in this point. Alexander saith: *Consecration is for the Communion: therefore of both the Communion is the greater.* Humbertus saith: Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, id est, benedixeritis, fregeritis, distribueritis, in mei memoriam facietis. Quia quodlibet horum trium, sine reliquis fiat, perfectam memoriam Christi non repræsentat: *As often as ye shall this doe, that is to say, as often as yee shall Blesse, Breake, and Distribute, yee shall doe it in my remembrance. For whatsoeuer one thing of these three things bee done without the rest, it representeth not the perfect remembrance of Christ.* And thinketh M. Harding, that the Sacrifice whereof neither Christ nor his Disciples euer spake one word, is the Substance of his Supper? and the Mysticall Distribution in remembrance of his death, whereof he gaue vs such a strait commandement in so manifest and so plain words, is no part of the substance?

Par. 4 q. 35. m. 2. Solu. 2. Humbert. contra libell. Nicetæ Monachi. Ex Cassandro.

The allegation of which Sacrifice to this purpose is méere vaine. The old Fathers neuer complained of ceasing thereof, because they knew it could neuer cease. For the strength and vertue of Christs Sacrifice resteth in it selfe, and not in any diligence of doing of ours. *Christs being a Priest after the order of* Melchisedech, *hath offered vp one Sacrifice for all vpon his Crosse: Full and perfect*; therefore we need none other: *One and euerlasting*; therefore it needeth no renuing: *By priuilege giuen to Himselfe Only*; therefore it cannot be wrought by any other.

Heb. 7. & 10.

This Sacrifice notwithstanding is renued, and freshly laid out before our eies, in the Ministration of the holy Mysteries, as it is well recorded by sundry of the old godly Fathers. S. Augustine saith: *Was not Christ once offered in himselfe? Yet that notwithstanding, by way of a Sacrament, he is offered euery day vnto the people, not at Easter onely, but also euery day: And he saith no vntruth, that being demanded the question, saith, Christ is offered. For if Sacraments had not a certaine likenesse of the things whereof they be Sacraments, then should they indeed be no Sacraments. And of this likenesse many times they beare the names of the things themselues: as the Sacrament of Christs Body, by a certaine maner of speech, is the Body of Christ.*

Aug. Epist. 23. ad Bonifacium.

Likewise againe he saith: Cùm non obliuiscimur munus Saluatoris, nonne Christus quotidiè nobis immolatur? Ex ipsis reliquijs cogitationis, & ex ipsa memoria, quotidiè nobis sic immolatur, quasi quotidie nos innouet: *When we forget not the gift of our Sauiour, is not Christ daily offered vnto vs? Through the remnants of our cogitation, and by way of our very memorie, Christ is so offered vnto vs euery day, as if hee daily renued vs.* And againe likewise he saith: Holocaustum Dominicæ Passionis eo tempore offert quisque pro peccatis suis, quo eiusdem Passionis Fide dedicatur, & Christianorum fidelium nomine Baptizatus imbuitur: *At that time doth euery man offer vp the Sacrifice of Christs Passion for his sinnes, when hee is indued with the Faith of Christs Passion, and being Baptized, receiueth the name of faithfull Christians.*

Augustinus in Psalmum 75.

Aug. in Epist. ad Rom. sub finem.

Thus is the Sacrifice of Christs Passion expressed in the holy Ministration: and yet not as M. Harding imagineth, by any Action there done by the Priest alone, but by the Communion and participation of the people, as S. Augustine also otherwhere witnesseth: Dum frangitur hostia, & Sanguis in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud quàm Dominici Corporis in Cruce immolatio designatur? *While the oblation is broken, and the Blood* (that is, the Sacrament of the blood) *is powred into the mouths of the faithfull, what other thing is there expressed or signified, but the sacrificing of the Lords Body vpon the Crosse?*

De Con. dist. 2. ex sententia Prosperi. Designatur.

This Sacrifice of Christ on his Crosse, is called the Daily Sacrifice, not for that it must be renued euery day, but for that being once done, it standeth good for all daies, and for euer. What force then is there in this reason: *The Fathers neuer complained of ceasing of the Daily Sacrifice:* Ergo, *They had Priuate Masse?* For it may be answered in one word, they had the Holy Communion euery day, and therefore they complained not. Howbeit, neither is the Holy Communion that Daily Sacrifice it selfe, but a memorie of the same: neither was the Communion then ministred euery day. For proofe whereof, I would with M. Harding to marke this Epistle, sent from the Councell of Alexandria, in the defense of one Macarius, who was charged by his enemies, that he had forcibly entred into the Church, and broken the Cup of the Holy Ministration. They make his defense in this maner: *The place where they say the Cup was broken, was no Church, nor any Priest at that time neere thereabout: and touching the day, it was no Sunday. Seeing then there was no Church in that place, nor Ministration of the Sacraments, nor the day required the same, what maner Cup was it then, or when, or where was it broken?* It appeareth plainly by these words of the Councell, that they had no Ministration of the Sacraments at that time in Alexandria, but only vpon the Sundaies. And yet no man euer complained of the

Epistola Synodalis Concil. Alexandrini. Communion only vpon the Sunday.

the ceasing of the Daily Sacrifice notwithstanding. For they knew that the Sacrifice of Christs death is Daily, and for euer, and can neuer cease.

Daily Sacrifice.

M. Harding. The 26. Diuision.

S. Ambrose witnesseth that the people of the East had a custome in his time to be houseled but once in the yeere. And he rebuketh sharply such as follow them, after this sort: *Si quotidianus est ille panis, cur post annum illum sumis, quemadmodum Græci in Oriente facere consueuerunt?* If it be our daily meat (saith hee) why takest thou it but once in the yeere, as the Greekes are wont to doe in the East? S. Augustine writeth the same thing almost with the same words. And in the second Booke, *De sermone Domini in Monte*, the twelfth Chapter, expounding the fourth petition of our Lords Prayer, *Giue vs this day our daily Bread*, shewing that this may be taken either for materiall Bread, either for the Sacrament of our Lords Body, or for Spirituall meat, which he alloweth best; would, that concerning the Sacrament of our Lords Body, they of the East should not mooue question, how it might be vnderstanded to be their daily Bread, which were not daily partakers of our Lords Supper, (35) whereas for all that, this Bread is called daily Bread: There hee saith thus: *Vt ergo illi taceant, neque de hac re sententiam suam defendant, vel ipsa authoritate Ecclesiæ sint contenti, quod sine scandalo ista faciunt, neque ab eis qui Ecclesijs præsunt, facere prohibentur, neque non obtemperantes condemnantur:* Wherefore that they hold their peace, and stand not in defense of their opinion, let them bee content at least way with the authoritie of the Church, that they do these things without offense thereof taken, neither be forbidden of those that be ouer the Churches, neither be condemned when they disobey. Heere we see by S. Augustine, that they of the Orient, who so seldome receiued the Sacrament, were holden (for all that) Christian people, by the Authoritie of the Church: none offense thereof was taken, neither were they inhibited of their custome: and though they obeied not their spirituall gouernours, mooning them to receiue more often, yet were they not condemned, nor excommunicated.

The 35. vntruth. For S. Augustine saith, *Hic in istis panibus non intelligitur quotidianus panis.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding findeth small force herein to proue that he seeketh for. S. Ambrose rebuketh the slacknesse of some of his people, that receiued so seldome, and wisheth them to Communicate daily all together. Wherein he quite ouerthroweth the Priuate Masse.

Ambr. lib. 5. de Sacram. ca. 4.

As for S. Augustine, I must néeds say he hath taken wrong, and is ill vsed at M. Hardings hand, as being by violence and perforce made both to suppresse that he would say, and also to say that he would not say: and yet in the end saith not one word for Priuate Masse, but plainly to the contrarie. First he would haue S. Augustine say, that the Sacrament of Christs Body, to them of the East, was their daily Bread, yea although they daily receiued it not. This matter of it selfe is not weighty. Yet S. Augustine saith farre otherwise, not in any other of his Bookes, but euen in the selfe same sentence, wherehence M. Harding had these words. For he addeth immediately: Vnde probatur, non hunc in illis partibus intelligi quotidianum Panem. Nam magni peccati crimine arguerentur, qui ex illo non accipiunt quotidiè: *Whereby it appeareth, that they of the East vnderstand not the Sacrament to be their daily Bread. For then were they guilty of great sin, that do not daily receiue it.* But touching Priuate Masse, he saith thus euen in the same place: Panis quotidianus potest accipi pro Sacramento Corporis Christi, quod quotidiè accipimus: *The daily Bread may be taken for the Sacrament of Christs Body, which we receiue euery day.* S. Augustine saith, the people then receiued the Sacrament euery day: whereof it followeth necessarily, that the Priuate Masse was then said neuer a day.

Aug. de Serm. Dom. in mont. cap. 12.

M. Hard. falsifieth S. Augustines minde.

The Sacramẽt is not the daily Bread.

The Sacramẽt receiued euery day.

But the Grecians custome was to receiue once only in the yeere: Ergo, The Priest at other times receiued alone. No, saith S. Augustine, this custome or negligence was not vniuersall among all the people of Græcia, but among a certaine of them only. For thus he saith: Plurimi in Orientalibus partibus non quotidiè Communicant: *Many in the East parts doe not daily Communicate.* Wherein may be well implied, that some daily did Communicate. Otherwise the exception of *many* had beene in vaine. And that the rest did daily Communicate, it may plainly appeare by these words of S. Augustine in the same place: Vel Authoritate Ecclesiæ sint contenti, quod sine scandalo ista faciant: *Let them hold themselues content with the Authoritie of the Church, that they may thus doe without offense.* These words doe necessarily import, that the rest receiued the Communion, and yet, that notwithstanding, were not offended with the negligence of their brethren that receiued not. For if the negligence had beene generall, and the whole people had abstained all together, as they doe now in the Church of Rome, there had bin no cause at all, why one of them in that respect should be offended with another.

Plurimi.

Augustinus. In the Greeke Church some receiued the Communion euery day.

Now touching the matter it selfe, Iesus Christ, the Sonne of God, is our daily, and euerlasting food, not to be remoued and renued after certaine daies, as the shew Bread of the Iewes, but to stand before the Mercy Seat of God for euer. *Our daily Bread* (saith Germanus) *is Christ, that is, and was before, and continueth for euer.* Likewise S. Augustine saith: *Not the Bread that passeth into our body, but the Bread of euerlasting life, which sustaineth the substance of the soule.*

Germã. in rerũ Eccl. theoria. Aug. de verbis Domin. secund. Luc. Serm. 28.

A Sacrament of this food is the Bread that Christ commanded to be blessed, broken, and

and deliuered in his remembrance: which alſo may be called the daily Bread: not for that it is daily receiued, but for that there is no day excepted, but it may be receiued euery day. And that in ſuch places, where as the Sacrament was not daily receiued of the people, it was not receiued priuately and daily of the Prieſt, for continuance of the daily Sacrifice, as M. Harding ſurmiſeth, it appeareth well by ſundry good records. And to leaue [1] S. Baſil, Ad Cæſariam Patritiam: The [2] Councell of Laodicea: The [3] Councell of Conſtantinople holden in Trullo: and the Synodall [4] Epiſtle ſent from the Biſhops of the Eaſt part, in the defenſe of Macarius; S. Auguſtine ſaith: Huius rei Sacramentum alicubi quotidiè, alicubi certis interuallis dierum, in Dominico præparatur, & de Menſa Dominica ſumitur: *The Sacrament of this thing is prepared, or conſecrate in the Church, and receiued of the Lords Table, in ſome places euery day, in ſome places vpon certaine daies.* Likewiſe alſo ſaith S. Ambroſe: *Euery weeke wee muſt celebrate the Oblation, although not euery day vnto ſtrangers, yet vnto the inhabitants at leaſt twice in the weeke.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: the Sacrament was miniſtred *at certaine daies:* S. Ambroſe ſaith: *ſometimes twice in the weeke*: and not euery day. But what record hereof can be plainer than the Councell of Toledo? The words in Engliſh be theſe: *There be ſundry Prieſts in* Spaine, *that touching the praier that the Lord taught, and commanded daily to be ſaid, ſay the ſame only vpon the Sunday, and vpon no day elſe.* Hereof we may very well gather, that if the Prieſts in Spaine ſaid the Lords Praier only vpon the Sunday, for ſo much as the Communion is neuer miniſtred without the Lords Praier, therefore the Prieſts in Spaine miniſtred not the Communion, but onely vpon the Sunday.

Ambr. de Sacram. li. 5. ca 4 The Sacrament called the daily Bread.
[1] Baſil. ad Cæſariam.
[2] Conc. Laodicen. ca. 49.
[3] Conc. Conſtãtinopol. ca. 52.
[4] Concil. Alexandr. Epiſtola Synodalis.
Aug. in Iohan. Tract. 26.
Ambr. in epiſt. ad Tim. 1. c. 4.
Concil. Toletan. 4. ca. 9.
The Cõmunion miniſtred onely vpon the Sunday.

These things well conſidered, the weakneſſe of M. Hardings ghelles may the better appeare. For where his ſaith, Some of the people withdrew themſelues; *Ergo*, No man did receiue: Or, Many abſtained; *Ergo*, The Prieſt receiued alone: theſe reaſons be of no value, neither are worthy of any anſwer. For of the ſame premiſſes the contrary will rather follow. S. Auguſtine ſaith: *Many in the Eaſt part abſteined*: Hereof we may well gather; Ergo, Some abſteined not: Otherwiſe he ſhould haue ſaid, All abſteined, and not ſome. Then further, Some abſteined not; Ergo, Some receiued with the Prieſt. So did not the Prieſt receiue alone. And ſo hath not M. Harding yet found his Priuate Maſſe.

M. Harding. The 27. Diuiſion.

S. Chryſoſtome many times exhorting his people to prepare themſelues to receiue their rites, at leaſt at Eaſter, in one place ſaith thus: What meaneth this? The moſt part of you be partakers of this Sacrifice but once in the yeere, ſome twice, ſome oftner. Therefore this that I ſpeake, is to all, not to them only that be heere preſent, but to thoſe alſo that liue in Wilderneſſe. For they receiue the Sacrament but once in the yeere, and peraduenture but once in two yeeres. Well, what then? Whom ſhall we receiue? Thoſe that come but once, or that come often, or that come ſeldome? Soothly, we receiue them that come with a pure and a cleane conſcience, with a cleane heart, and to be ſhort, with a blameleſſe life. They that bee ſuch, let them come alwaies: and they that be not ſuch, let them not come, not ſo much as once. Why ſo? Becauſe they receiue to themſelues iudgement, damnation, and puniſhment. The ancient Doctours, ſpecially Chryſoſtome and Auguſtine, be full of ſuch ſentences. *Is 10. 40. d Hō. 83.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

It is needleſſe to anſwer ſuch places as make no ſhew of proofe. Chryſoſtome, as M. Harding well knoweth, hath neither heere, nor elſewhere, either the name, or the ſenſe of Priuate Maſſe. Onely he exhorteth the people to examine and prepare themſelues, and ſo to come worthily to the Lords Supper. Now if M. Harding thinke he may ſound his Maſſe vpon this place, he may alſo preſume the like of S. Paul, that where he ſaith, Probet ſeipſum homo, *Let a man examine himſelfe*: he meant to erect Priuate Maſſe.

M. Harding. The 28. Diuiſion.

Now to this end I driue theſe allegations, leauing out a great number of the ſame ſenſe. Although many times the people forbare to come to the Communion, ſo as many times (36) none at all were found diſpoſed to receiue, yet the holy Fathers, Biſhops, and Prieſts, thought not that a cauſe why they ſhould not daily offer the bleſſed Sacrifice, and celebrate Maſſe. Which thing may ſufficiently be prooued, whether M. Iewell, that maketh himſelfe ſo ſure of the contrarie, will yeeld and ſubſcribe, according to his promiſe, or no. Of the daily Sacrifice, theſe words of Chryſoſtome be plaine: *Quid ergo nos? Nonne per ſingulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, ſed ad recordationem facientes mortis eius: & vna eſt hoſtia, non multa, &c.* Then what doe we? Doe we not offer euery day? Yes verily we doe ſo. But we doe it for recording of his death. And it is one hoſt, not many. Heere I heare M. Iewell ſay, though againſt his will, I grant the daily Sacrifice, but I ſtand ſtill in my negatiue, that it cannot be ſhewed there was euer any ſuch Sacrifice celebrated, without a Communion, that is, as they will haue it, without ſome conuenient number to receiue the Sacrament in the ſame place with the Prieſt. For proofe of this, theſe be ſuch places as I am perſwaded withall. The better learned men, that be of more reading than I am, haue other, I doubt not.

The 36. vntruth. M. Harding is able to ſhew no ſuch caſe.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Heere M. Harding notably betraieth himſelfe, laying forth, for a countenance, a few of Chryſoſtomes words, and the ſame nothing to the matter, hewing and mangling them

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as him liſteth beſt, requiring alſo ſubſcription, as vpon ſufficient proofe: and yet in the ſame place and with one breath, himſelfe ſecretly confeſſing the inſufficiencie and weakeneſſe of his proofe.

Theſe words of S. Chryſoſtome, as they make nothing for Priuate Maſſe, ſo do they very well declare what the old Fathers meant by theſe words, Oblation and Sacrifice, in the Holy miniſtration. Chryſoſtome compareth the Sacrifices of the Iewes in the Law, with the Sacrifice of Chriſt in the Goſpell. Hee ſaith, the Sacrifices of the Law were many and vnperfect, and therefore daily renued: This of the Goſpell is one and perfect, and therefore euerlaſting. And reſembleth the ſame vnto a ſouereigne ſalue, which being once laid on the wound, healeth it by thoroughly, and needeth no more laying on. *Chryſoſtom. ad Hebr. hom. 17.*

He ſaith further, that we of the Goſpell haue a Sacrifice alſo, and that daily, but in remembrance of that Sacrifice once made vpon the Croſſe. And although we Sacrifice in ſundrie places, yet, ſaith he, the Sacrifice is but one, becauſe it hath relation vnto that one Sacrifice of Chriſt. And therefore he addeth: Quomodò vna eſt hoſtia, & non multæ? Quia ſemel oblata eſt, oblata eſt in ſancta ſanctorum. Hoc autem Sacrificium exemplar illius eſt: *How is it one oblation and not many? Becauſe it was once offered, it was offered into the holy place: but this Sacrifice* (meaning the miniſtration of the Sacrament) *is an example of that.* And what he meaneth by this word Exemplar, he ſheweth a few lines before: Quæ formam tantùm alicuius habent, Exemplar oſtendunt, non autem virtutem. Sicut in Imaginibus exemplar hominis habet imago, non etiam virtutem: *The things that beare onely a likeneſſe, ſhew the ſamplar of ſome other thing, but not the power of the ſame: as an Image ſheweth the paterne of a man, but not the power of a man.* Hereof S. Chryſoſtome concludeth thus: *The thing that we doe, is done in remembrance of that thing that was done before. For Chriſt ſaid, Do this in my remembrance.* Hereby it appeareth in what ſenſe the old Fathers vſed theſe words, Oblation and Sacrifice. *Chryſoſtom. ad Hebr. hom. 17.* *Exemplar.*

But what doth all this further M. Hardings Priuate Maſſe? Or if it further it not, what doth it heere? It is but a faint concluſion to ſay,

Chryſoſtome had the daily Sacrifice:
Ergo, Chryſoſtome had Priuate Maſſe.

Soothly (good Reader) if it had liked M. Harding to haue giuen thée leaue to reade the next lines following in Chryſoſtome, thou mighteſt eaſily haue ſeene the whole order of the holy Miniſtration in his time. For thus hee ſaith vnto the people: Per ſingulos dies intras in Eccleſiam: *Thou commeſt daily to the Church.* Whereby wee ſee, the Prieſt was not in the Church alone. Then touching the receiuing, he ſaith: *The Deacon at that houre calleth the Holy, and by that voice, as it were beholdeth the peoples ſpots. For like as in a flocke where as bee many ſound ſheepe, and many infected, the one muſt needs be ſundred from the other: euen ſo fareth it in the Church. For ſome are ſound, and ſome are ſicke. And by that voice the Deacon diuideth theſe from them. For that voice of his falling into our eares, as it were a hand, remoueth and ſhutteth foorth ſome, and other ſome it taketh in, and preſenteth them to the Congregation.* I ſend thée not vnto other places of Chryſoſtome, which be both many moe, and farre plainer than this: but only vnto this ſame place, out of which M. Harding hath picked as much as he thought good. *M. Harding nippeth Chryſoſtomes words.* *Vocat ſanctos.* *Sancta ſanctis.*

Chroſoſtome ſaith: *The people reſorted daily to the Church: The Deacon ſundred them with his voice, the ſound from the ſicke: the one part to receiue, the other to abſtaine: the one part he ſhut out at the time of the holy Communion: the other he brought in, and preſented to the Congregation.* This was the ordinary practiſe of the Church in Chryſoſtomes time: where we ſee plainly by his owne report, that he receiued not alone.

Yet ſaith M. Harding, For proofe of this, theſe following bee ſuch places as I am perſwaded withall. By this cold concluſion, hee cutteth off credit from all that hee hath hitherto ſaid, as not making ſhew ſufficient to winne his purpoſe, and ſo condemneth his note made in the Margin, which was, Proofes for Priuate Maſſe: and laieth al the burden of his grounds vpon theſe other ghelles that hereafter follow. Verily hitherto, for any thing that may appeare by his Booke, notwithſtanding his long time, his much reading, and great conference with all his fellowes, hee hath not yet found either the name of Priuate Maſſe, in any Old Catholike Writer, or the Sole Receiuing of the Prieſt. If hee will haue the world to beléeue him, and ſubſcribe, hee muſt leaue his ghelles and bring ſome ſound and ſubſtantiall proofes.

M. Harding. The 29. Diuiſion.

Soter Biſhop of Rome, about the yeere of our Lord 170. who ſuffered Martyrdome vnder Antoninus Verus the Emperor, for order of celebrating the Maſſe, made this Statute or Decree; *Vt nullus Presbyterorum ſolemnia*

Epistles Decretall.

solennia celebrare præsumat, nisi duobus præsentibus, sibique respondentibus, & ipse tertius habeatur: quia cum plenarie ab eo dicitur, Dominus vobiscum, & illud in secretis, Orate pro me: apertissimè conuenit, vt ipsius respondeatur salutationi: This hath beene ordained, that no Priest presume to celebrate the solemnitie of the Masse, except there be two present, and answer him, so as he himselfe be the third. For whereas he saith (as by way of speaking to many) *Our Lord be with you*, and likewise in the secrets, *Pray you for me*: It seemeth euidently conuenient, that answer be made to his salutation accordingly. Which ancient Decree requireth not that all people of necessity be present; (37) much lesse, that all so often times should Communicate Sacramentally: which thing it requireth neither of those two that ought to be present. If of the bare words of this decree a sufficient argument may not be made for our purpose, inducing of the affirmation of that one thing there specified, the deniall of that other thing we speake of, which maner of argument is commonly vsed of our aduersaries; then more weight may bee put vnto it in this case: for that whereas the receiuing of Christs Body is a farre greater matter, than to answer the Priest at Masse, if that holy Bishop and Martyr had thought it so necessarie, as that the Masse might not be done without it; doubtlesse of very reason and conuenience hee would and should haue specially spoken of that, rather than of the other. But for that hee thought otherwise, he required only of necessitie the presence of two, for the purpose aboue mentioned.

De Cons. dist. 1. can. Hæc quæ statuta.

The 37. vntruth. For all that were present, were willed either to Communicate, or to depart. A bare collection.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Polydorus de inuentoribus rerum.

Some say, this Decrée was made by Pope Anacletus: some others say, by Soter, and so they séeme not to bée yet throwly resolued vpon the Authour. But if wée had not good cause to doubt of the authoritie of these Decrées and Epistles Decretall, we would the lesse doubt of their Doctrine. It was euermore the common practise of deceiuers to blaze their doings by the names of such as they knew to bée in estimation in the World. For to passe by Homer, Hesiod, Cicero, Plautus, and such others counted learned and famous among the Heathens, in whose names many counterfet bookes were set abroad, S. Paul himselfe willeth the Thessalonians not to suffer themselues to be drawen from their faith, *Neither by spirit, nor by talke, nor by letters as sent from him.* By which last words he signifieth, that letters sometime were falsified and set abroad in his name. So were there giuen out Gospels in the name of Peter, Thomas, and other the Apostles: and other matters of small weight in the names of Augustine, Hierome, Ambrose, Cyprian, and other like. This was vnto some a common pastime: and many godly Fathers complaine much of it.

2. Thess. 2.

Wherefore wée ought the lesse to maruell, if the like haue happened vnto Anacletus, Euaristus, Soter, and such others, as followed immediately in Rome after the Apostles time.

Dist. 19. de Epistolis. Anno secundo Edwardi sexti.

Gratian sheweth that the Decretall Epistles haue béene doubted of among the learned. And Doctour Smith, although his authority be not great, declared openly at Pauls Crosse, that they cannot possibly be theirs, whose names they beare. And to vtter some reasons shortly for proofe thereof, these Decretall Epistles manifestly depraue and abuse the Scriptures, as it may soone appeare vnto the godly Reader vpon the sight. They maintaine nothing so much, as the state and kingdome of the Pope: and yet was there no such state erected in many hundred yéres after the Apostles time: they publish a multitude of vaine and Superstitious Ceremonies, and other like fantasies, farre vnlike the Apostles doctrine: They proclaime such things, as M. Harding knoweth to bée open and knowen lies.

Dist. 97. Iuxta Sanctorum.

Anacletus, that was next after Peter, willeth and straitly commandeth, that all Bishops once in the yéere doe visit the entrie of S. Peters Church in Rome, which they call Limina Petri. Yet was there then no Church yet built there in the name of Peter. For Pope Cornelius saith (as he is alleged) that he first toke vp S. Peters body, and buried the same in Apolloes Church in Rome, at the least one hundred and forty yéeres after that Anacletus was dead. Pope Antherus maketh mention of Eusebius Alexandrinus and Felix, which lined a long time after him, and therefore was it not possible for him to know them. Fabianus writeth of the comming of Nouatus into Italie; and yet it is cleare by S. Cyprian and by Eusebius, that Nouatus came first into Italie in the time of Cornelius, which was next after him. And to leaue a number of other coniectures, which may be hereafter more aptly touched some other where, neither S. Hierome, nor Gennadius, intreating of the Ecclesiasticall Writer, nor Damasus writing purposely of the liues of the Bishops of Rome before him, euer made any mention, either of such Epistles or of any such Decrées: which they would not haue dissembled, if there had bene any such extant, or knowen in their time. Thus haue I briefly giuen a taste of these Decretall authorities, that the Reader may the better vnderstand of what credit they ought to be.

In Decretal. Cornely.

Cypr. li. 1. ep. 3. Eusebius, li. 6. cap. 42.

Now touching the matter, that by this Decrée of Soter Bishop of Rome, it should then be lawfull for the Priest there to say Masse, hauing onely two others in his companie, the state and storie of the time considered, it séemeth very vnlikely. For both S. Augu-

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1 ſtine and S. Hierome, who liued two hundred and fiftie yeeres after Soter, haue record- *Aug. epiſt. 118 ad Ianuarium.*
2 ded, that the people of Rome euen in their time, vſed to receiue the Communion together euery day: which practiſe can hardly ſtand with that is here imagined. The words alſo *Auguſt. in Ioh. Tract. 26.*
themſelues implie a manifeſt contrarietie. For this word Solennia, which here is vſed ſeemeth to import a ſolemne companie or reſort of the people. And yet this Soter requiring to this action onely the companie of three perſons, neuertheleſſe calleth it, Miſſarum *Hieron. in Apologia aduerſus Iouinianum.*
Solennia.

3 As touching the cauſes mentioned in this Decree, which are, that the Prieſt may ſeeme conueniently and aptly to ſay in the plurall number, *The Lord be with you*, and, *Brethren pray you for me*: It may well be doubted, whether Dominus vobiſcum, or Orate pro me Fratres, were any part of the Liturgie of Rome in Soters time. For Damaſus which was *Damaſus in epiſt. ad Hieron.*
Biſhop of Rome two hundred and fiftie yeeres after that, writeth vnto S. Hierome, that things were done with ſuch ſimplicitie in the Church of Rome in his time, that vpon the Sunday there was nothing elſe but ſome Epiſtle of the Apoſtle, or ſome Chapter of the Goſpell read openly vnto the people: which whether be meant of the holy miniſtration or no, I leaue further to be conſidered.

4 Further, this ſame Soter requireth, that both theſe two, and as many others as be preſent, make anſwer vnto the Prieſt: wherein is included both neereneſſe of place for the people to ſtand in, and to heare, and alſo a common knowen tongue: which both are contrarie to M. Hardings Maſſe.

5 Moreouer, touching theſe two, whoſe preſence is required, queſtion is moued by the *De Con. diſt. 1. Hoc quoq;. In Gloſſa.*
Canoniſts, whether they ought to be two Clerkes, or two Laymen: or one Clerke and one Lay man: or one man, and one woman. The Reſolution whereof is, that they muſt be two Clerkes.

6 Howbeit, the matter is otherwiſe determined, that if the Maſſe be publike, there muſt *Summa Angeli Miſſa 38.*
needs be two at the leaſt: but if it be a Priuate Maſſe, that then one is ſufficient.

7 Gerſon likewiſe ſaith, that the Prieſt may well ſay, Dominus vobiſcum, although *Gerſon contra Floretum li. 4.*
there be but one preſent at his Maſſe. For it may be preſumed, ſaith he, that the Prieſt ſpeaketh not only vnto that one, but alſo vnto the whole Church. Thus wee ſee notwithſtanding Soters determination, the number of two for a ſhift may well be abridged.

8 Pope Innocentius hath yet another ſetch to helpe the matter. Hee ſaith, Though there *Innoc. lib. 2. ca. 20. de off. Miſſ.*
be but one there, yet may the Prieſt neuertheleſſe ſay, Dominus vobiſcum: becauſe it may be thought, there be Angels there to ſupplie mens roomes.

9 Againe, that there were any ſuch ſecreſies in the Maſſe in the time of Soter, it were very hard for M. Harding to proue. For then euery peece of the Maſſe was ſpoken aloud, that the people might heare it, and ſay Amen. And indeed to ſay vnto the people, *Pray for me Brethren and Siſters*, as it is now vſed in the Maſſe, vnleſſe the people may heare and vnderſtand the ſame, it is a mockerie. And yet Durandus ſaith: Sacerdos ante ſecretellam *Durand. lib. 4.*
voluens ſe ad populum dicturus, Orate fratres, &c. debet dicere, Dominus vobiſcum ſub ſilentio: *The Prieſt before the little ſecret turning himſelfe to the people to ſay, Brethren pray for me, muſt ſay, The Lord be with you, vnder ſilence.*

Now ſaith M. Harding, Soters Decree is not that theſe two ſhould communicate with the Prieſt, but only requireth their preſence; *Ergo*, It is likely the Prieſt receiued alone; which is an argument much vſed among our aduerſaries. But what if theſe two will not come, neither to Communicate, nor to be preſent at all? Verily by M. Hardings minde the Prieſts deuotion ought not to ſtay for want of companie. For theſe be his very words a little before: Well, none *Pag. 12.*
commeth; This is not a ſufficient cauſe why the faithfull and godly Prieſt enflamed with the loue of God, feeling himſelfe hungrie and thirſtie after the heauenly food and drinke, ſhould bee kept from it, &c. This is a cauſe ſufficient, ſaith Soter: It is no ſufficient cauſe, ſaith M. Harding. The iudgement hereof I referre vnto the Reader.

Touching the force of the argument wherewith hee chargeth vs by the name of his aduerſaries, I truſt there doth already appeare ſome difference betweene our proues and his ghelles. But the argument that he meaneth, and not very plainly vttereth, is called in the Schooles, Argumentum ab authoritate negatiuè: which is thought to bee good, whenſoeuer proofe is taken of Gods word, and is vſed not only by vs, but alſo by S. Paul, and by many of the Catholike Fathers. S. Paul ſaith: *God ſaid not vnto Abraham, in thy ſeeds all nations ſhall be bleſſed, but in thy ſeed, which is Chriſt.* And thereof hee thought hee made a good argument. *Ad Galatas 3.*

Likewiſe ſaith Origen: *The Bread which the Lord gaue vnto his Diſciples, ſaying vnto them, Take and Eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to bee reſerued vntill the next day.* Such *Orig. in Leuit. homil. 5.*
arguments Origen and other learned Fathers thought to ſtand for good, whatſoeuer miſliking M. Harding hath found in them. This kinde of proofe is thought to hold in Gods

Commandements, for that they bee full and perfect, and God hath specially charged vs, that we should neither put to them nor take from them: and therefore it saueth god vnto them that haue learned of Christ, Vnus est magister vester Christus: *Christ onely is your* Matth. 23. *Master*: and haue heard the voice of God the Father from heauen, Ipsum audite: *Giue* Matth. 17. *eare vnto him*. But vnto them that adde to the word of God what them liketh, and make Gods will subiect vnto their will, and breake Gods Commandements for their owne traditions sake, vnto them it saueth not good. To conclude, if this maner of reasoning be good, why doth M. Harding remoue it? If it be naught, why doth he vse it, and that euen in the same place where he doth remoue it?

But (saith M. Harding) Soter required only the presence of two, and these two were not commanded to Communicate: *Ergo*, the Priest did receiue alone, and so there was vndoubtedly Priuate Masse. But marke well a little (good Reader.) If these two were bound to Communicate with the Priest, then notwithstanding this Decree, M. Harding hath not yet found his Priuate Masse. Then consider this Decree written in the name of Pope Calixtus: Peracta *De Con. dist. 2. Peracta.* Consecratione, omnes Communicent, qui noluerint Ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim & Apostoli statuerunt, & Sancta Romana tenet Ecclesia: *The Consecration being done,* *De Con. dist. 1. Episcopus Deo.* *let all Communicate, vnlesse they will be remoued from the Church. For so the Apostles appointed, and so holdeth the holy Church of Rome.* By this decree these two were bound either to Communicate with the Priest, or to depart forth of the Church. If they did Communicate, then hath M. Harding here no Priuate Masse: If they departed forth, then could the Priest say no Masse at all: for Soter at least requireth the presence of two.

Againe, the argument that M. Harding gathereth out of this Decree,

Three persons were present,

Ergo, Two of them did not receiue,

is vtterly vnsensible and void of reason. Rather he might haue concluded thus:

Soter willeth that two be present;

Ergo, much more he willeth that the same two doe Communicate.

It may also stand with reason, and with the common practise of the Church at that time, that these two whose presence Soter requireth, were Priests or Deacons, or otherwise of the Clergy, and that ouer and beside the company of the people, as indeed it is determined by the Glosse. And so this Decree of Soter agreeth with another Decree of Anacletus made *De Con. dist. 1. Hoc quoque. In Glossa.* to the like purpose, that is, *That the Bishop at the ministration haue about him a certaine num-* *De Con. dist. 1. Episcopus Deo.* *ber of Deacons, Subdeacons, and other Ministers, besides the common multitude of the Lay people.* And likewise with another Decree of the same Soter, that is, *That euery Priest making the* *De Con. dist. 1. Vt illud.* *Sacrifice, haue by him another Priest to assist him, and to make an end of the ministration, if any quame or sickneſſe happen to fall vpon him.* And this assistance of the Priest is required notwithstanding the presence of others, either of the Clerkes, or of the Laity.

Now being Priests or Clerkes, and being present at the ministration, the Law specially constrained them to receiue the holy Communion with the Minister, as it appeareth by this Decree written in the Canons of the Apostles: *If any Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon, or* *Canon. Apost. Can. 9.* *any other of the Clerkes, after the Oblation is made, doe not Communicate, either let him shew cause thereof, that if it be found reasonable he may be excused: or if hee shew no cause, let him bee Excommunicate.*

Thus whosoeuer these two were, whose presence Soter required, whether they were of the Laitie or of the Clergie, the Law constrained them to receiue together with the Priest: and therefore M. Harding hath hitherto found a Communion, and no maner token or inkling of his Priuate Masse.

M. Harding. The 30. Diuision.

In a Councell holden at Agatha a Citie of France then called *Gallia*, about the time of Chrysostome, an old Decree of Fabianus Bishop of Rome and Martyr, and also of the Councell Elibertine, in the time of S. Syluester, *Anno Domini* 314. was renued, that all secular Christian folke should be houseled three times euery yeere, at Easter, Whitsontide and Christmas. It was there also decreed, that they should heare the whole Masse euery Sunday, and not depart before the Priest had giuen blessing. So they were bound to heare Masse euery Sunday, and to receiue the Communion but thrice in the yeere. The selfe same order was decreed in the Councell of Orleance. Then of like, specially in small Townes and Villages, they had Masse without the communion of many together sometimes.

Priuate Masse proued by likelihood.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding alleged Councels that cannot be found.

M. Harding knoweth well, that these Decrees which he here allegeth, could neuer be found written, neither in the Councell holden at Agatha in France, nor at the other Councell holden at Eliberis, now called Granado in Spaine, but were set forth many hundred yeeres after in the name of those Councels, by one Gratian, a man of great diligence, as may

Ex Con. Agath. Can. 31. Missas de Dominica secularibus totas audire, specialiter diebus festiuis ita vt ante benedictionem sacerdotis egredi populus nō præsumat: quod si fecerint, ab Episcopo publicè confundantur. De Con. dist. 1. Cùm ad celebrādas Missas.

may appeare by his gathering; but of no great iudgement, as wée may sée by his choice. Yet hœre M. Harding shufleth a great many of them together, that the one may the better countenance the other. To heare Masse.

But let vs receiue the authoritie of these Decrées, and grant there was no errour committed by Gratian in his gathering: yet will they stand M. Harding in small stead. For as in many other matters they vtterly cast him, so they nothing relœue him for his Masse. For thus it is concluded by both these Councels: Qui in natali Domini, Paschate, & Pentecoste non Communicant, Catholici non credantur, nec inter Catholicos habeantur: *They that receiue not the Communion at Christmas, Easter and Whitsontide, let them not be taken nor reckoned for Catholike people.* It appeareth by these generall Councels, that in the whole Church of Rome, sauing only a few Masling Priests, there is not one man worthy to be accounted Catholike. *De Con. dist. 2. Seculares.*

And to draw nére to the purpose, who so will narrowly view the points of these Decrées, shall sone sée they cannot stand with the very forme and order of the Church of those daies. For besides that I haue already proued by the authoritie of S. Hierome, and S. Augustine, that the holy Communion was then ministred vnto the people in Rome euery day: Fabianus also Bishop of Rome, which is likewise brought forth hére for a witnesse, hath plainly decréed, not that the people should heare Masse euery Sunday, as it is sothly warranted by M. Harding, but that they should receiue the Communion euerie Sunday. His words bée plaine: Decernimus vt in omnibus Dominicis diebus Altaris oblatio ab omnibus viris, & mulieribus fiat, tam Panis, quàm Vini: *Wee Decree that euery Sunday the oblation of the Altar be made of all men and women, both of Bread and of Wine.* Hére besides that in these words is included the receiuing of the Communion *euery Sunday*, may be noted also by the way, that by this authoritie of Fabian, men and women made the Sacrifice of the Altar, and that of Bread and Wine, and therefore after the order of Melchisedech. Therefore S. Bernard saith: Non solus Sacerdos sacrificat, sed totus conuentus fidelium: *Not onely the Priest sacrificeth, but also the whole companie of the faithfull.* These things well considered, the sense, that M. Harding would so faine wring out of these Decrées, will séeme vnlikely. *Inter Decreta Fabiani, ca. 7.* *Bernar. in Sermone in die Purific. tom. 2.*

Moreouer, when did S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Chrysostome, or any other learned Father or Doctour of that age, euer vse this maner of speech, Audire Missas, *To heare Masse?* Certainly this phrase was so farre vnacquainted and vnknowen in that World, that the very Originals of these Decrées haue it not: but onely haue these words, Tenere Missas, *To hold Masse*: as may bee séene in the Booke of Councels, noted purposely *in the Margin.* The Italians this day séeme to speake farre better. For of them that heare Masse, and vnderstand not what they heare, they say, Videre Missas, that is, not to heare, but to sée Masse. *Con. Agath. Can. 31.*

And forsomuch as M. Harding séemeth to delight himselfe with this kinde of speech, To heare Masse, to the intent he may make some simple body beléeue, that the people hearing that they vnderstand not, are neuertheless well and deuoutly occupied, and therein follow the order of the Primitiue Church; I will also demand of him, what learned Doctour or ancient Father euer tooke Hearing, in that sense. Surely Christ in the godly, ioineth hearing and vnderstanding both together. Thus hée saith: Audite & intelligite: *Heare yee and vnderstand yee.* And the Wise man saith: *If thou giue thine eare, thou shalt receiue knowledge.* And God himselfe in the Deuteronomy saith: *Thou shalt reade the words of this Law, in the presence of all the people of Israel, &c. That they hearing may learne, and feare the Lord your God, and may keepe and fulfill all the words of this Law.* And in the Booke of Kings it is written thus: Loquere nobis Syriacè, nam audimus: *Speake to vs in the Syrian tongue; for wee heare it.* That is to say, *For wee vnderstand it.* And to that vse hath God endued vs with the sense of hearing, that thereby we might learne and attaine knowledge. And therefore Aristotle calleth hearing the sense of vnderstanding. For hearing void of all maner vnderstanding is no hearing. Cicero saith: In illis linguis quas non intelligimus, quæ sunt innumerabiles, surdi profectò sumus: *In the tongues that we vnderstand not, which are innumerable, we are doubtlesse deafe and heare nothing.* By this it appeareth, that the simple people hearing Masse in a strange language, is deafe, and heareth no Masse at all. *To heare Masse.* *Hearing.* Matth. 15. Eccles. 6. Deut. 31. 4. Reg. ca. 18. *Cicero in Tusculanis quæst.*

The Emperour Iustinian likewise saith: Non multum interest, vtrùm abfuerit Tutor, cùm negotium contraheretur, an præsens ignorauerit, quale esset quod contrahebatur: *There is no great difference whether the Tutor were absent when the bargaine was made (in the behoofe of his Pupill) or being present vnderstood not the maner of the bargaine.* Likewise also in another place he saith: Coram Titio aliquid facere iussus, non videtur præsente eo fecisse, nisi is intelligat: *He that is commanded to doe a thing in the presence of Titius, seemeth* *De authoritate & consen. tuto & Cur. Non multum.* *De verbor. & rer significat.*

To heare Masse.

not to doe it in his presence, vnlesse hee vnderstand it. Upon the which words Alciat writeth thus: Quid opus erat eius præsentiam adhibere, qui quod agatur non intelligat? Siquidem aiebat Epicharmus Philosophus, Mentem esse, quæ videt, non oculos. Qui igitur animo non adest, abesse videtur: *What needeth his presence, that vnderstandeth not what is done? For the Philosopher Epicharmus saith, It is the minde that seeth, and not the eies. Therefore he that is not present with his minde* (to vnderstand what is done) *may be taken for absent.*

Andr. Alciat.

I haue alleged these authorities rather than other, for that in them we may see the very light and sense of Nature. Now then can M. Harding thinke, he may steale away inuisible vnder the cloake of these words, of hearing Masse? Verily in the fauour and iudgement of common reason, it is as strange, and as fond a speech to say, I will heare Masse, as it is to say, I will see the Sermon. For what is there in the Masse that the vnlearned can heare? The oblation that they imagine, is an outward action or doing, and therefore is to be seene, and not to be heard: the Consecration, as they vse it, is spoken in silence, and may not in any wise be heard: their Communion is none at all, and therefore cannot be heard. These be the three substantiall parts, whereof, as M. Harding saith, the whole Masse consisteth. Now then can hee say, the vnlearned man heareth Masse, that heareth not one part of the Masse?

To heare Masse.

To see the Sermon.

Folio 12. b.

If by this word *Masse*, hee vnderstand the prayers that bee said in the Masse, the vnlearned vnderstandeth them not, and therefore heareth them not. Chrysostome speaking of him that heareth the prayers in a strange vnknowen tongue, saith thus: Tu recte orasti Spiritu, scilicet, concitatus sonas: sed ille nec audiens, nec intelligens ea quæ dicis, paruam ex ea re vtilitatem capit: *Thou praiest well: for thou soundest out words being moued by the Spirit: but the vnlearned, neither hearing, nor vnderstanding what thou saist, hath thereby but small profit.*

Chrysost. in 1. Cor. hom. 35.

Likewise saith S. Paul: Qui loquitur lingua, non hominibus loquitur, sed Deo: Nullus enim audit: *He that speaketh with tongue, speaketh not vnto men, but vnto God: for no man heareth him.* M. Harding saith, The vnlearned heareth the Masse and other prayers, yea although he vnderstand not one word that is spoken: But S. Paul and S. Chrysostome say, *The vnlearned heareth not, because he vnderstandeth not.* God saith vnto the wicked, and not vnto the godly, *Ye shall heare with your eares, and shall not vnderstand.*

1. Cor. 14.

Esay 9.

Matt. 13.

Now let vs see what M. Harding gathereth out of these two Councels. Then of like (saith he) specially in small townes and villages, they had Masse without the Communion of many together. *Of like*, was neuer good argument in any Schooles.

Of like.

Thou seest (good Reader) the best that here can be had is but a gheese, and as it shall afterward appeare, a very simple and a blinde gheese. It is a wonder to see so great a matter, and so single proofes. You haue taught the people that in your Masse Christ himselfe is Presently and Really Sacrificed for the sinnes of the World: that all that euer he did or suffered for our sakes, is liuely expressed in the same: and that all Kings, Princes and other estates must néeds stope vnto it. And yet was the same for the space of six hundred yeeres, to bee found onely in poore Townes and Villages, and that onely by gheese, and blinde coniecture, and none otherwise? Or could it neuer all that while once enter into any Citie or good Towne? And being so good a thing, can no man tell vs who published it and said it first?

Innoc. 3. in prologo de officio Missæ. Durandus li. 4. Rupertus de Missa.

But what if the very words of these Councels whereupon M. Harding hath founded his Masse, make manifest proofe against his Masse? The words be these: *All Secular Christian folke be bound to receiue the Communion at the least thrice in the yeere.* This Relaxation or Priuilege is granted only vnto the Secular Christians. Whereof it followeth necessarily, that all Ecclesiasticall persons, as Priests, Deacons, Clerkes, and others whatsoeuer of that sort were not excepted, but stood still bound to receiue orderly, as they had done before: and that was at all times whensoeuer there was any ministration. And so by the plaine words of these Councels the Priest receiued not alone: neither hath M. Harding yet found out his Priuate Masse.

But that the whole matter may the better appeare, not by gheese or aime, but by the very Ecclesiasticall order of that age, wee must vnderstand, that these, and such other like Decrées were made, not for the greatest part of the people, that in those daies vsed to Communicate in all their assemblies, but for a few, that were negligent and haled backe. For otherwise the generall order doth well appeare by all the Ecclesiasticall Records of that time.

And whereas M. Harding hath taken exception of small townes and villages, which he gheeseth had then the Priuate Masse, it was decréed and straitly ordered in a Councell holden at Gerunda in Spaine, that all little Churches in the Countrey should conforme themselues vnto the great Cathedrall Churches that were in Cities and Townes, aswell for

Con. Gerunden. can. 1. De Con. dist. 2.

for order of the Communion, as also for Singing, and other Ministration. But by M. Hardings owne grant, there was no Priuate Masse then in Cathedrall Churches. It followeth therefore necessarily (this Councell of Gerunda standing in force) that there was no Priuate Masse then in Townes or Villages.

Missa signifieth the Communion.

And that the people did then commonly receiue the Sacrament euery Sunday, it appeareth by most certaine and vndoubted proues. The Councell holden at Matiscona in Italie hath this Canon: Decreuimus, vt omnibus Dominicis diebus Altaris Oblatio ab omnibus viris & mulieribus offeratur: *Wee haue decreed, that euery Sunday the Oblation of the Altar be offered of all, both men and women.* Likewise the Councell holden at Antisiodorum: Decernimus, vt vnaquæque mulier, quando Communicat, Dominicalem suum habeat. Quod si non habuerit, vsque in alium diem Dominicum, non Communicet: *Wee decree, that euery woman, when shee doth Communicate, haue her Dominicall. If shee haue it not, let her not Communicate vntill the next Sunday.* Likewise Carolus Magnus, a long while after, among other his Ecclesiasticall Lawes, writeth thus: Vt populi Oblationes Sacerdotibus in Ecclesia offerant, & in die Dominico Communicent: *That the people offer their Oblations vnto the Priests in the Church, and receiue the Communion vpon the Sunday.* By these Councels and Decrees it appeareth plainly, without Gheese or Glosse, that the people vsed commonly in all that time, and long after, to Communicate the holy Mysteries euery Sunday. Therefore M. Harding must yet seeke further for his Priuate Masse.

Concil. Matisconen. 2. ca. 4. Concil. Antisiodoren. Ca. 42.

Lib. 6. Ca. 162. Ex Cassandro.

M. Harding. The 31. Diuision.

In that Councell of Agatha we finde a Decree, made by the Fathers assembled there, whereof (38) it appeareth, that Priests often times said Masse without others receiuing with them. And thus much it is in English: If any man will haue an Oratorie or Chapell abroad in the Countrey, beside the parish Churches, in which lawfull and ordinarie assemblie is, for the rest of the holy daies, that he haue Masses there, in consideration of wearinesse of the household, with iust ordinance we doe permit. But at Easter, Christs birth, Epiphanie, the Ascension of our Lord, Whitsunday, and the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, and if there be any other speciall feasts, let them not keepe their Masses, but in the Cities and Parishes. And as for the Clerkes, if any will doe, or haue their Masses, at the aforesaid feasts, in Chapels, vnlesse the Bishop so command, or permit, let them be thrust out from Communion. By this Decree we learne, that then Masses were commonly said in priuate Chapels at home, at such times as the people were not accustomed to bee houseled. For when by commandement and common order they receiued their rites, as in the aforenamed Feasts, then were the Priests prohibited to say Masses in Priuate Oratories, or Chapels, without the Parish Churches. And heereof we may plainly vnderstand, that in such places, Priests customably said Masses of their owne, and of the housholders deuotion, when none of the household were disposed to receiue with them. The like Decree is to be found, *Concilij Aruernensis, cap. 14. Concil. Constantinopol. Generalis in Trullo, ca. 31.*

The 38. vntruth. For there appeareth no such thing: but rather the contrarie.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This obiection being all one with the former, may the sooner be discharged by the former Answer.

Notwithstanding heere we may learne by the way, that the old Fathers, when they vse this word Missa, meane not thereby a Priuate Masse, as M. Harding would faine haue it taken, but a Communion. These be the words: *At Easter, Christmasse, Epiphanie, the Ascension of our Lord, Whitsunday, and at the Natiuity of* S. Iohn the Baptist, *let them hold their Masses,* Teneant Missas, *in Cities or Parishes.* Now it is knowen, and confessed by M. Harding, that in great Parishes and Cities, at their Solemne Feasts, they vsed to haue generall Communions for all the whole people, and no Priuate Masse.

Missa *vsed for the Cõmunion.*

Notwithstanding, for auoiding of errour, it is also further to be marked, that this same word Missa, in the old Writers, sometime signifieth no Masse at all, neither Priuate nor Common; but onely a resort and meeting of the people together in place and time of prayer, as it may sundrie waies appeare, and namely by old Translations out of the Greeke into Latine, touching the same. For that the Greeke Writer vttereth by the word that signifieth an assemblie, or meeting of the people, the same doth the Latine Interpreter often times translate by this word Missa. For example, Sozomenus in Greeke writeth thus: ἐκκλησιαζόντι τῷ λαῷ, that is, when the people came together: that doth Epiphanius Translate into Latine thus: Cùm populus congregaretur ad Missas: *When the people came to Masse.* Likewise Socrates writeth thus in the Greeke: καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζειν: That is to say, *To haue a Congregation or Assemblie by themselues*: that doth Epiphanius Translate into Latine thus: Apud seipsos Missarum celebrare Solennia, that is, *Among themselues to celebrate the solemnitie of the Masse.* In these and many other like places, which I purposely passe by, it must needs be confessed, that Missa cannot any way bee taken for the Masse, but only for an Assemblie of the people. For which cause all maner of common prayers many times are called Missa, as may bee seene in Cassianus, an ancient Writer, and sometime Scholar to S. Chrysostome, In Canone Diuinarum Orationum, and

Missa *vsed for any assembly of the people.*

Soz. li. 7. ca. 5. Epiphan. in tripart. hist. lib. 9. cap. 9. Socr. li. 5. c. 15. Epiph. in Trip. lib. 7. cap. 31.

Cassian. lib. 3. cap. 12.

and in Honorius, and others, sufficient only to be touched. But amongst all other significations, it cannot be found that this word Missa, in any old Writer was euer taken for the Priuate Masse, notwithstanding any thing by M. Harding yet alleged.

Missa in the old Writers neuer taken for Priuate Masse

Now if a man would say, that this Councell of Agatha, that is here brought in by this word Missa, meant nothing else but ordinarie praiers, in which signification the old Writers, as I haue proued, haue often taken it, and so dispensed with them that dwelt farre from the Church, only to haue such ordinarie praiers at home, and for the holy Communion to resort to the parish Churches, perhaps M. Harding should not finde much to replie against it. If he will say, I forge and raise this exposition only of my selfe, without president, it may please him to remember, that the same practise is yet continued vntill this day, in many parishes within this Realme: and that the Law it selfe determineth a difference betweene Ecclesia Parochialis, and Ecclesia Baptismalis.

16. Quæst. 1. Quidã Abbas.

But let this word Missa, in these Decrées bee taken for the Masse, that is to say, for the ministration of the Sacraments: yet is not M. Harding much therefore the nerer to proue his purpose. For, alas, what a simple reason is this, Vpon principall holy daies the Priest receiued the Sacrament solemnly in the Common Church, with all the whole parish: *Ergo*, at other times he receiued alone? Or how hangeth this argument, At certaine times all the people receiued together: *Ergo*, at other times the Priest receiued alone? Or this, The Priest ministred the Sacraments in a Chapell: *Ergo*, hee said Priuate Masse? What leadeth M. Harding thus to say? What, was there no companie at all in the Chapell to Communicate with the Priest? Verily it is prouided by the Decrée it selfe, that there should be a lawfull and an ordinarie companie. And that in such companies, yea and in mens seuerall houses they had the Communion ministred, it is euident by the Preface of the Councell of Gangra against the Heretike Eustachius. These bee the words: In domibus coniugatorum ne orationes quidem debere celebrari persuaserunt, intantum, vt easdem fieri vetent: & oblationibus, quæ in domibus factæ fuerint, minimè Communicandum esse decernant: *They haue perswaded the people, that praiers may not be made in married mens houses: and that so farre forth that they forbid any such praiers to be made, and determine, that no man may Communicate of the oblations made in houses.* Here we haue not only the Communion, but also the ordinarie vse of the Communion in Priuate houses.

Ca. 21. Inquibus est legitimus ordinarius q; conuentus. In Præfatione Con. Gangren.

Now let M. Harding shew vs as much for the ordinarie vse of Priuate Masse, or for any Priuate Masse at all, and that without his surmises and ghesses: and then let him hardly require Subscription.

Thou maist see, good Reader, these be but very poore helpes. In his former allegation he sought his Masse in little Townes and Villages: now hee hunteth for it in Priuate mens houses: and yet cannot finde it. They say, they haue had the vse and possession of their Priuate Masse these fiftéene hundred and threescore yéres, and more. Wherefore it is much to be marueiled, that of so long continuance of time, of so many Doctours and Councels, they haue so slender proofes to bring for it.

Yet for clérer answer vnto M. Hardings blinde ghesses, it appeareth by the plaine words of the same Councell of Agatha, that in those daies the people receiued the Holy Communion together with the Priest, and not the Priest by himselfe alone. The words are these: Lapsi in Hæresim, agentes pœnitentiam, cùm Catechumeni egredi commonentur, discedant: *They that haue fallen into some Heresie, and doe penance for the same, when the Nouices (that be not yet Christened) be commanded to depart out of the Church, let them depart also.* They were commanded forth, not to the intent they should not heare Masse, but that they should not Communicate with the rest. For it is well knowen both to M. Harding, and also to others, that all such as were newly entred into the Faith of Christ, but were not yet Baptized, and were called Catechumeni, after the Sermon was ended, were commanded out of the Church, before the Distribution of the holy Mysteries: and so likewise were the Penitents, that they should not Communicate with the rest of their brethren: which is a manifest and vndoubted proofe, that the rest of the brethren that remained still, did Communicate all together. And so it followeth in the same Canon: Hoc si obseruare voluerint, constituto tempore admittendis ad Altare obseruatio relaxetur: *If they will doe thus, after a time appointed, their penance shall be released, and they shall be admitted againe vnto the Altar,* (which was the Communion Table) there to receiue together with the Congregation, and no more to be commanded forth. Hereunto agreeth another Canon set forth in the name of Siricius, touching the same case, by these words: *Certaine that after their penance haue gone backe again, like dogs vnto their vomit, we decree that they shall ioine in praier only with the faithfull within the Church: and that they may be present at the celebration of the Mysteries, although they bee not worthy: but that they be kept off from the banket of the Lords Table, to the intent, that by this aduertisement being corrected, they may both amend*

Con. Agathen. Can. 60.

Epist. Decretal. Siricij. Offenders kept from the Lords Table.

amend themselues, and also shew example vnto others. Here we may plainly see, that the rest receiued, and those that had offended sate by, and receiued not, for example vnto others. But what example could that haue bene, if they had all receiued altogether?

M. Harding. The 32. Diuision.

Now let vs see what examples of the old Fathers wee haue for the Priuate Masse. Leontius a Greeke Bishop of a Citie in the East Church called *Neapolis*, writeth the life of S. Iohn the holy Patriarke of Alexandria, who for his great charitie, was commonly called [a] *Eleemosynarius*, that is, the almes-giuer, telleth this storie, whereby it appeareth, that at that time Priuate Masse was vsed. Though the Translatour, through ignorance of the time he liued in, turned this life into Latine of meane eloquence, yet for truths sake, I will not let to recite that which I take for my purpose, as I finde it: *Malitiam retinentem quendam induxit eum contra alium Principem, audiens hic magnus Iohannes, monuit eum sæpe, & suasit ad concordiam, & non potuit eum conuertere ad pacem. Statuit ergo ad eum mittit, & adducit eum sanctus, quasi pro publico, & facit Missas in Oratorio suo, nullum habens secum nisi ministrum suum. Cùm ergo Sancta benedixisset Patriarcha, & Orationem Dominicam inchoasset, cæperunt dicere tantum tres illi, Pater noster. Et cum peruenissent ad sermonem qui dicitur, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut & nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris: innuit domestico Patriarcha, vt taceret. Siluit ergo & Patriarcha, & remansit Princeps solus dicens versum, Dimitte nobis, sicut & nos dimittimus. Et statim conuersus sanctus, dixit ei mansueta voce, Vide in quam terribilem vocem dixisti Deo, quoniam sicut ego dimitto, ita & tu dimitte mihi. Et tanquam ab igne flagitium cruciatum, ferens prædictus Princeps, cecidit in faciem ad pedes sancti, dicens, Quæcunque iusseris, Domine, faciet seruus tuus. Et reconciliatus est inimico suo cum omni veritate.* This storie soundeth thus in English: This great Patriarke Iohn, hearing that a noble man bare malice to another noble man, warned him often times of it, and treated with him to be at accord: but he could not bring him to be at peace. Wherefore on a day this holy Father sent for the noble man, and caused him to come to him, as though it were about some matter of the Common Weale. At that time (39) he saith Masse in his Chapell, hauing none other body with him, but his seruant. When the Patriarke had consecrated the Sacrament, and had begun to say our Lords praier, they three only began to say, Our Father, and so foorth. When they were come to these words, *Forgiue vs our trespasses, as we forgiue them that trespasse against vs*, the Patriarke made a becke to his seruant to hold his peace. Then the Patriarke held his peace also, and the noble man remained alone saying foorth the verse, forgiue vs as wee forgiue. Then the holy Father turning himselfe towards him, by and by saith with a milde voice, Consider with how terrible words thou saist to God, that as I forgiue, so forgiue thou me also. Whereat the said noble man, as though he had felt the torment of fire, forthwith fell downe on his face at the holy Fathers feet, saying, My Lord, whatsoeuer thou biddest me thy seruant to doe, I will doe it. And so he was reconciled vnto his enemie without all dissembling.

M. Hard. proueth his Masse by a childish fable.

[a] Iohn the Almonar began to be in estimation in the yeere of our Lord 610.

The 39 vntruth. For there was neuer Priuate Masse said in Alexandria, neither before this time, nor at any time sithence.

Heere M. Iewell will grant, I trow, that this was a Priuate Masse. The place was priuate: the audience not publike, nor common: the purpose touching the noble man was priuate: the Communion also priuate, I meane for the Patriarkes part alone: for beside that the story maketh no mention of any other Communicants, hee could not be assured of that noble man to Communicate with him. For whereas hee could by no meanes before bring him to forgiue his enemie, he had but a small coniecture he should bring it to passe now. And againe, though he had conceiued no distrust of his reconciliation vpon this holy policie, yet we may doubt whether the Patriarke foorthwith, without further and more mature probation, and examination, which S. Paul in this case requireth, would haue admitted him to receiue our Lords Bodie so vpon the sudden. Now for the seruant, it is a strait case that so holy and so great a Patriarke, and Bishop of so populous a Citie, as Alexandria was, vnderstanding that Masse could not be celebrated without breach of Christs institution (as M. Iewell holdeth opinion) except hee haue a number to Communicate with him in the same place; should haue none of his spirituall flocke with him at so weighty a matter of conscience, but one only, and him his owne household seruant. He was not so simple, as not to thinke that the seruant might be letted from receiuing by some sudden pang comming vpon him, or with some cogitation and conscience of his owne vnworthinesse, suddenly comming to his minde. If either this, or any other let had chanced, in what case had the Patriarke beene then? Hee had beene like, by M. Iewels Doctrine, to haue broken Christs institution, and so Gods Commandement, through anothers defect, which were strange. But I iudge that M. Iewell, who harpeth so many iarring arguments against Priuate Masse, vpon the very word *Communion* will not allow that for a good and lawfull (a) Communion, where there is but one only to receiue with the Priest. Verily it appeareth by his Sermon, that all the people ought to receiue, or to be (b) driuen out of the Church. Now therefore to another example of the Priuate Masse.

Priuate Masse. Priuate Fable.

(a) Order was taken, that at the receiuing of the Communion there should bee twelue persons at the least, and neuer vnder. S. Basil, *Exercitationis ad pietatem, Sermon* 4.

(b) This Decree, as it is supposed, was made by Anacletus and Calixtus immediately after the Apostles time. *De Con. dist.* 1. *Episcopus.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This is the best proofe of all others. A short Answer may well serue it. For being but a little viewed, it is able to answer it selfe. There is neither authoritie in the tale, nor weight in the matter. The translation is peeuish: and all without the compasse of six hundred yeres.

S. Augustine saith, that certaine Heretikes in his time, named the Donatists, that they might the rather preuaile in disputation against S. Augustine, and other Christians, and that the world might vnderstand they had some companie of their side, therefore, for a shew, subscribed their articles with the names of certaine that were dead, and often times such as neuer were Donatists. Such a policie me thinketh M. Harding hath here begun to practise. For what is this Leontius that wrote this Storie? Or who euer heard of his name before? I trow he hath raised vp one of the seuen Sleepers to helpe him to Masse. Hee should haue shewed vs, as his maner is, what this strange Doctour was: what Bookes hee wrote: where, when, in what age, and in what credit he liued. If hee had said, This Iohn the Almonar liued aboue six hundred yeres after Christ, and this Leontius,

Aug. epist. 152.

M. Hard. rangeth without the compasse of 600. *yeeres.*

Iohn the Almonar.

tius, that wrote his life, a great while after that, this one circumstance would haue answered the matter wholly. For notwithstanding the rest of this tale were true, yet my assertion standeth still good, that within the space of six hundred yeres after Christ, M. Harding is not able to finde his Priuate Masse.

Vincent. in specul. li. 23. c. 17. Vincentius in his Booke that hee calleth Speculum, writeth thus: *After* Gregorie *was dead,* Bonifacius *ruled the Church of Rome. This* Bonifacius *obtained of the* Emperour Phocas, *that the Church of Rome should be the head of all Churches, and that because the Church of* Constantinople *wrote it selfe by that Title. The next yeere after that,* Augustine *that was called the Englishmens Bishop, died. The yeere following,* Iohn the Almonar *was in great fame, at which time also* Mahomet *first spread his Religion in* Arabia. The same computation of yeres appeareth in Freculphus, Sabellicus, Palmerius, and others. Wherefore M. Harding might well haue spared this tale, as nothing else but bewraying his want of better matter, and prouing that his Masse is of the very age of Mahomet.

An. Dom. 610.

But to leaue both the aduantage of the time, and also the exception against the Author, let vs consider the likelihood of the doing: and if Iohn the Almonar said this Priuate Masse in his Chapell, how safely he might so doe by the order of the holy Canons, which to breake, Damasus saith, *Is blasphemie against the holy Ghost.* M. Hardings Leontius saith, Iohn the Almonar *said Masse in his Oratory at home, being sure of no more companie, but of one of his owne household seruants alone.* But Pope Soter, as it is before alleged by M. Harding,

25. quæ. 1. Violatores.

De Con. dist. 1. Hoc quoque.

straitly commandeth, that no Priest presume to celebrate the Sacrament, *without the companie of two together.* [1] And againe, that no Priest dare to minister, *without the companie of some other Priest.* And in the [2] Councell holden at Orleance it is decreed thus: *It is lawfull for euery Christian man to haue a Chapell in his house: but to haue Masse said there, it is not lawfull.* And in the [3] Councell holden at Laodicea: *It is not lawfull for Bishops or Priests to minister the Oblations at home.* Likewise [4] Pope Felix: *It is not lawfull to minister the Communion at home, but vpon exceeding great necessitie.* The same order was taken in the Councell of Acon, and in sundry other Councels. Which Decrees being so many, and so strait, it is not likely that Iohn the Almonar, being so holy a man, would wilfully breake them all without cause.

[1] *De Con. dist. 1. vt illud.*

[2] *De Con. dist. 1 vnicuique.*

[3] *Conc. Laodicen. Ca. 58.*

[4] *Inter Decret. Felicis Papæ, Decret. 4.*

Neither indeed, if M. Harding will thoroughly behold the matter, shall he finde here any Masse spoken of at all, neither Bread, nor Wine, nor Consecration, nor Oblation, nor Eleuation, nor Altar, nor Vestiment, nor any other thing to the Masse belonging.

And if we agree there was Masse said there, yet may there grow another doubt, which of these three said that Masse: I meane, the Bishop, or the Gentleman, or the Seruant. For here is no more noted, but that they said the Lords praier all three together: which verily is not the maner of Priuate Masse. For there the Priest, as hee receiueth alone, so hee saith the Pater noster himselfe alone. But in the Communion, as the people said the Lords praier all together, as it is noted by S. Gregorie, so they receiued all together. Thus M. Harding bringeth a Witnesse for the Masse, that saith nothing for the Masse. The Law saith: Qui mutum exhibet, nihil exhibet: *Hee that presenteth a dumbe body, presenteth no body.*

Gregor. Lib. 7. Epist. 63.

De verbor. & rer. significat. Apud Labeon.

But hee will reply, here is the very name of the Masse: & facit Missas. And to make the more appearance, M. Harding helpeth it forth with a pretie false translation of his owne. For whereas it is written in the Latine, Cùm benedixisset Sancta; he translateth it thus: *When he had Consecrate the Sacrament:* And likewise these words, Post finem orationum, he translateth thus: *After he had done the praier of Consecration:* notwithstanding he knew right well, that in these words there is no mention at all, neither of any Sacrament, nor of any Consecration. And thus: Vocat ea quæ non sunt, tanquam sint: *Hee calleth things that be not, as though they were:* and yet is not afraid of Lex Cornelia de falsis.

M. Hard. corrupteth and falsifieth his translation.

Roman. 4.

But this, I trow, he himselfe will confesse, is no sincere nor plaine dealing. Yet will he say, here is the very word Missa. It is well knowen, that Missa is no Greeke word, and therefore Leontius, whatsoeuer he were, in his Greeke tongue could not vse it. As for the Translater, seeing he was not able to write true Latine, wee may well thinke he had simple skill in the Greeke.

But grant wee there be no errour in the word: yet will it not necessarily follow, that Missa in this place importeth the Masse. For, as I haue already proued by sundry authorities, Missa is often times vsed for any kinde of praier: as it may further appeare by an Epistle of Chromatius and Heliodorus, sent vnto S. Hierome, touching Gregorie the Bishop of Corduba: and by the words of the Councell of Cabilon. Which thing also very well agreeth with the custome and order of the Church of Alexandria at that time, whereof Nicephorus writeth thus: Quarta hebdomadis die, & ea quæ Parasceue dicitur, Alexandrini

Chromatius. De Con. dist. 1. Solent plures.

Nicepher. lib. 12. cap. 34.

xandrini Scripturas legebant, Doctoribus eas interpretantibus: omniáque, quæ ad Synaxin pertinent, peragebant, præter Diuinorum Mysteriorum perceptionem. Atque eam illi antiquitùs habuere consuetudinem: *At* Alexandria *they read the Scriptures vpon Wednesdaies and Fridaies, and the Doctors or Preachers expound the same. And they doe all things that appertaine vnto the Communion, saning onely the receiuing of the Holy Mysteries. And this custome there they haue had of old.* Iohn the Almonar.

Touching these words, Benedicere Sancta, they doe no more signifie the *Consecration of the Sacrament*, as M. Harding hath translated it, than these words, Extollite manus vestras in Sancta, doe signifie the lifting vp of hands to the Sacrament. Chrysostome in his Liturgie vseth the same maner of speech to a farre other purpose. For after the Communion is ended, and the people ready to depart forth, he writeth thus: Sacerdos Benedicit Sancta, & exuit. Here if M. Harding will take Benedicere Sancta, for Consecration, there must needs follow a great inconuenience, that there were two Consecrations in one Communion: yea and one Consecration after all was ended. It may appeare that Chrysostome by these words meant a solemne prayer to conclude the whole. For it followeth immediately: *O thou that art the fulfilling of the Law and Prophets, Christ our God, thou that hast fulfilled all the dispensation of the Father, fill our hearts with ioy and gladnesse now and for euer.* This Chrysostome calleth Benedicere Sancta: and the same seemeth to bee the meaning of this Leontius, whatsoeuer he were. And notwithstanding all these things were granted, yet is not M. Harding able thereof necessarily to import his Priuate Masse. *Benedicere Sancta.* *Chrysost. in Liturg. ad finem.*

But saith hee, The place was Priuate, the audience was Priuate, the purpose was Priuate: only one noble man, only one seruant, all was Priuate. And further he saith: It was a very strait case, that so holy a Bishop, in so populous a Towne, could finde no man to Communicate with him, but his owne seruant only. Yea doubtlesse, it was a very strait case, that a noble man should be driuen to helpe the Priest to Masse: A strait case for M. Harding to run to Alexandria, a thousand miles beyond all Christendome, to seeke his Masse, and that not in open Church neither, but only in a Priuate Oratorie: A strait case, that for the space of six hundred yeares after Christ, and more, there was not one Priuate Masse to bee found in the whole Church of Rome: A very strait case, that M. Harding is thus forced to leaue S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Chrysostome, and all other the godly learned Fathers, and to take vp of the dust Hippolytus, Abdias, Leontius, and other like new Doctors, without name or credit, such as neuer were thought worthy to be alleged or named before.

Yet hee forceth his ghesses further: The noble man came vnlooked for: The seruant might haue had some sudden pangue, or some conscience of his vnworthinesse, and so the Priest perforce must haue receiued alone. Here to answer ghesse with ghesse, euen so might the Priest also himselfe haue had some sudden pangue or qualme: as indeed it is specially presumed by the Law, that it may so happen: or else some sudden conscience of his owne vnworthinesse: and so had there beene no Masse at all. Alas, these ghesses be too light in so great a matter. *De Con. dist. 1. Vt illud.*

Here further for his pleasure hee saith, M. Iewell harpeth many iarring arguments. Of my arguments I make no vaunt: If they sound well in Gods eares, they are well in tune: God be thanked, wee lead not the people by aimes and ghesses: we reare vp no new Doctors: wee cumber not the peoples eares with lies and fables, as M. Harding doth: wee bring forth neither women nor boies to proue the Communion, as these men are driuen to doe, to proue their Masse.

Moreouer, hee saith in scorne, as his maner is, that we would haue all the people, that will not receiue, to bee driuen out of the Church. O, M. Harding, how long will you thus wilfully peruert the waies of the Lord? You know, this is neither the Doctrine, nor the practise of our Church. Howbeit, the ancient Doctors haue both taught so, and also practised the same. Anacletus saith: *After the Consecration is ended, let all receiue, vnlesse they will bee thrust from the Church.* And Calixtus saith further: *For so is it appointed by the Apostles, and so is it obserued in the Church of* Rome. *De Con. dist. 1. Episcopus. De Con. dist. 2. Peracta.*

Now saith M. Harding, The place was Priuate: *Ergo*, There was a Priuate Masse. A Childe may soone see that this reason hath no hold. For touching that the place was priuate, S. Gregorie saith thus of one Cassius the Bishop of Narnium: *He said Masse* (which is, hee ministred the Communion) *in an Oratorie within his Palace, and with his owne hand he gaue the Body of the Lord, and peace vnto them all.* The like whereof we may see in the Preface before the Councell of Gangra. And in the Tripartite Story it is written thus: Gregorie Nazianzene *at* Constantinople *in a little Oratorie, συναγωγὰς ἐποίει, made assemblies of the people.* Here we see, the action was common, and a full Communion ministred, notwithstanding the place were priuate. *Greg. hom. 37. in Euang. In præfatione in Concilium Gangren. Hist. Tripart. lib. 9. cap. 8.*

Againe

Iohn the Almonar.

Againe he saith, There were but three:
Ergo, But one did receiue.

This reason holdeth as the former.

Consider now, gentle Reader, how aptly M. Harding answereth to the purpose. I demand the authoritie of S. Augustine, S. Hierome, or some other Catholike ancient Father: he answereth me with a childish Fable. I demand of the vsage of the open Church: hee answereth mee with a priuate Oratorie, as though at that time there had beene no Churches built. I demand what was done in the face and sight of the people: he answereth me what he supposeth was done in a corner. I demand of him vndoubted truth and certaintie: he answereth me by coniecture and blinde gheſſe.

I beleeue he would not willingly haue hindred his owne cause. If he could haue found better matter, doubtlesse hee would haue brought it forth. Is this the Antiquitie, is this the Universalitie, that they so much talke and glory of? Is this the common consent of all the World?

1 Thus then, gentle Reader, standeth my Answer to this tale. First, that it was forbidden by many Decrees, to minister the Sacrament in priuate houses: and therefore vnlikely that Iohn the Almonar, being a godly man, would presume to doe the contrarie.

2 Secondly, that this word Missa, vsed heere by the rude and vtterly vnlearned Interpreter, doth not necessarily import the Masse.

3 Thirdly, that M. Harding, the better to furnish out the matter, hath violently, and of purpose, falsified the Translation.

4 Fourthly, that notwithstanding heere were granted the celebration of the Sacrament, yet it cannot be forced thereof, that the Priest receiued alone.

5 Fiftly, that although this were proued a Priuate Masse, yet hath M. Harding vtterly misreckoned himselfe, and so gotten nothing. For it was without the compasse of fiue hundred yeeres.

6 Last of all, hereunto I adde, that the place where these things are imagined to be done, was ill chosen, and very vnlikely to serue this purpose. For M. Harding is not able to proue, that in the Citie of Alexandria was euer any one Priuate Masse said, either before that time, or euer sithence.

M. Harding. The 33. Diuision.

A fabulous tale vnder the name of Amphilochius.

Amphilochius Bishop of *Iconium*, the head Citie of *Lycaonia*, to whom S. Basil dedicated his booke *De Spiritu Sancto*, and another booke intituled *Ascetica*, writing the life of S. Basil, or rather the miracles through Gods power by him wrought, which hee calleth, worthy of record, true, and great miracles: specially such as were not by the three most worthy men, *Gregory Nazianzene*, *Gregory Nyssene*, and holy *Effrem*, in their Epitaphicall, or funerall treatises, before mentioned: amongst other things, reporteth a notable storie, wherein we haue a cleere testimonie of a Priuate Masse. And for the thing that the storie sheweth, as much as for any other, of the same *Amphilochius* he is called *Cœlestium virtutum Collocutor, & Angelicorum ordinum Comministler*: A talker together with the heauenly powers, and a fellow seruant with orders of Angels. The story is this: This holy Bishop Basil besought God in his praiers, he would giue him grace, wisdome, and vnderstanding, so as he might offer the Sacrifice of Christs blood-shedding, *propriis seruandis*, with praiers and seruice of his owne making; and that the better to atchieue that purpose, the holy Ghost might come vpon him. After six daies hee was in a trance, for cause of the holy Ghosts comming. When the seuenth day was come, hee began to minister vnto God, that is to wit, he said Masse euery day. After certaine time thus spent, through faith and praier, hee began to write with his owne hand, *Mysteria manifestationis*, the Masse, or the seruice of the Masse. On a night our Lord came vnto him in a vision with the Apostles, and laid Bread to be Consecrated on the holy Altar; and stirring vp Basil, said vnto him: *Secundum postulationem tuam, repleatur os tuum laude, &c.* According to thy request, let thy mouth bee filled with praise, that with thine owne words thou maist offer vp to me Sacrifice. He not able to abide the vision with his eies, rose vp with trembling, and going to the holy Altar, began to say that he had written in paper thus: *Repleatur os meum laude, & hymnum dicat gloriæ tuæ, Domine Deus, qui creasti nos, & adduxisti in vitam hanc, & ceteras orationes sanctæ ministeriæ*: Let my mouth bee filled with praise, to vtter an hymne to thy glorie, Lord God, which hast created vs, and brought vs into this life, and so foorth, the other praiers of the Masse. It followeth in the story: *Et post finem orationum, exaltauit Panem, sine intermissione orans, & dicens, Respice Domine Iesu Christe, &c.* After that hee had done the praiers of Consecration, hee lifted vp the Bread, praying continually, and saying, Looke vpon vs, Lord Iesus Christ, out of thy holy Tabernacle, and come to sanctifie vs, that sittest aboue with thy Father, and art heere present inuisibly with vs, vouchsafe with thy mighty hand to deliuer to vs, and by vs to all thy people, *Sancta Sanctis*, thy holy things to the holy. The people answered, One holy, one our Lord Iesus Christ, with the holy Ghost, in glory of God the Father, *Amen*.

The people answered: yet was there no people there.

The burying of the Sacrament. Seuen yeeres after he had seene this vision.

Now let vs consider what followeth, pertaining most to our purpose: *Et diuidens panem in tres partes, vnam quidem Communicauit timore multo, alteram autem reseruauit consepelire secum, tertiam vero imposuit Columbæ aureæ, quæ pependit super Altare*: He diuided the Bread into three parts, of which he receiued one at his Communion, with great feare and reuerence, the other he reserued, that it might be buried with him, and the third part he caused to be put in a golden pyx that was hanged vp ouer the Altar, made in the forme and shape of a Doue. After this, a little before the end of this treatise, it followeth how that S. Basil, at the houre that hee departed out of this life, receiued that part of the Host himselfe, which he had purposed to haue interred

enterred with him in his graue, and immediately as he lay in his bed, gaue thanks to God and rendred vp the ghoſt.

That this was a Priuate Maſſe no man can denie. Baſil receiued the Sacrament alone, for there was no earthly creature in that Church with him. The people that anſwered him were ſuch as Chriſt brought with him. And that all this was no dreame, but a thing by the will of God done indeed, though in a viſion, as it pleaſed Chriſt to exhibite, Amphilochius plainly witneſſeth, declaring how that one Eubulus, and other the chiefe of that Clergy, ſtanding before the gates of the Church, whiles this was in doing, ſaw lights within the Church, and men clothed in white, and heard a voice of people glorifying God, and beheld Baſil ſtanding at the Altar, and for this cauſe at his comming foorth fell downe proſtrate at his feet. Here M. Iewell and his Conſacramentaries do ſtagger, I doubt not: for grant to a Priuate Maſſe they will not, whatſoeuer be brought for proſe of it. And therfore ſome doubt to auoid this authority muſt be deuiſed. But whereof they ſhould doubt, verily I ſee not. If they doubt any thing of the bringing of the bread and other neceſſaries to ſerue for Conſecration of the hoſt, let them alſo doubt of the Bread & Fleſh that Elias had in the pond of Carith. Let them doubt of the bread and pot of water he had vnder the Iuniper tree in Berſabee. Let them doubt of the pot of pottage brought to Daniel for his dinner, from Iewry into the Caue of Lions at Babylon, by Abacuk the Prophet. But perhaps they doubt of the authority of Amphilochius that wrote this ſtory. It may well be that they would be glad to diſcredit that worthy Biſhop. For he was that vigilant Paſtour and good Gouernour of the Church, who firſt with Letoius Biſhop of Melite, and with Flauianus Biſhop of Antioch ouerthrew and vtterly vanquiſhed the Heretikes called Meſſaliani, otherwiſe Euchitæ, the firſt parents of the Sacramentary hereſie; whoſe opinion was, that the holy Euchariſtie, that is, the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, doth neither good nor euill, neither profiteth ought nor hurteth. Euen as our Sacramentaries do aſcribe all to faith only, and (40) call the moſt worthieſt Sacrament none other but tokening bread, which of it ſelfe hath no diuine efficacie or operation. Therefore I wonder the leſſe, I ſay, if they would Amphilochius his authority to be diminiſhed. But for this I will match them with great Baſil, who eſteemed him ſo much, who loued him ſo intirely, who honoured him ſo highly with the dedication of ſo excellent workes. I will ioine them alſo with the learned Biſhop Theodoretus, who ſeemeth to giue him ſo ſoueraigne praiſe, as to any other Biſhop he writeth his ſtories of, neuer naming him without preface of great honour, now calling him *Admirandum*, the wonderfull; at another time *Sapientiſſimum*, the moſt wiſe; and moſt commonly *Laudatiſſimum*, moſt praiſe woorthy. If they doubt of Baſil himſelfe, whether he were a man worthy to obtaine by his praier of God ſuch a viſion, it may pleaſe them to peruſe what Gregorius Nyſſenus, what holy Ephrem of Syria, and ſpecially what Gregory Nazianzene wrote of him, which two Gregories be not afraid to compare him with Elias, with Moſes, with S. Paul, & with whoſoeuer was greateſt, and for vertue of moſt renowne. Whereby without all enuie hee hath obtained of all the poſterity to be called *Magnus*, Baſil the Great, much more for deſert of vertue and learning, than thoſe other for merit of Chiualrie, the Great Charles, the Great Pompey, the Great Alexander. If they denie the whole treatiſe, and ſay, that it was neuer of Amphilochius doing, that were a ſhift indeed, but yet the worſt of all and furtheſt from reaſon and cuſtome of the beſt learned, and much like the fact of king Alexander, who being deſirous to vndoe the fatall knot at Gordium, a Towne in Phrygia, hearing that the Empire of the World was boded by an old propheſie to him that could vnknit it, not finding out the ends of the ſtrings, nor perceiuing by what meanes he could doe it, drew foorth his ſword and hewed it in peeces, ſupplying want of skill with wilfull violence. For the authority of this Treatiſe, this much I can ſay. Beſide that it is ſet foorth in a Booke of certaine holy mens liues Printed in Colen, and beſide very great likelihood appearing in the Treatiſe it ſelfe; it is to be ſeene in the Library of S. Nazarius in the City of Verona in Italy, written in Velume for three hundred yeeres paſt, bearing the name of Amphilochius Biſhop of Iconium.

The forcing of this table.

Chriſt and his Apoſtles bring bread from Heauen.

Rather the firſt parents of hypocriticall and idle Monkes.

The 40. vntruth. For we neuer called it ſo.

The glorious painting of a ſhadow.

Set abroad lately with other fables.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

If this ſerue not the turne, nothing, I trow, will euer ſerue. The authoritie of S. Baſil and Amphilochius is ſo great: the matter ſo cleare: the wonder ſo ſtrange: the antiquity ſo ancient: the fable ſo likely: the dreame ſo plaine: The original hereof at Verona, in Italy in the Library of Nazarius, kept as a Relike faire written in velume aboue three hundred yeres agoe: Baſil a worthy Biſhop; Ephrem a holy Father; Amphilochius a man that had conference with the heauenly powers. Not one ſhew or circumſtance left out, that may ſerue to win credit. And what ſhould need ſo much ado, if there were not ſome ſuſpition in the matter? He that neuer ſaw this Booke, nor knoweth the contents thereof, happily by ſuch circumſtances and colours may be deceiued.

But I my ſelfe haue had this vnknowen Doctour in my poore Library theſe twenty yeres and more, written likewiſe in velume, as true, as faire, and of as good record in all reſpects, as that other of Verona, indeed not vnder the name of Amphilochius: but no doubt very ancient, as it may ſome appeare. For the ſame Authour in the ſame Booke hath written alſo the life of Thomas Becket, who liued at the leaſt ſeuen hundred yeres after that Amphilochius, this Writer, was dead. Therefore that ſtory written by him of one that was to come ſo many hundred yeres after him, muſt needs be a propheſie, and not a ſtory.

The very names of old godly Fathers are worthy of much honour. But as it is well knowen, many vaine tales haue beene couered vnder the name of old Fathers. The life of S. Baſil hath beene ſet forth fully and faithfully by ſundry old worthy writers, as by his owne Brother Georgius Nyſſenus, by his deare friend Gregory Nazianzene, by Gregorius Presbyter, by Socrates, by Theodoretus, by Sozomenus, by Nicephorus, touched alſo in diuers places by Chryſoſtome. And notwithſtanding of late yeres he that wrote Vitas Patrum, and Iacobus de Voragine, and Vincentius in ſpeculo, who ſeeme to intitle this

The fable of Amphilochius.

this Booke by the name of Amphilochius, haue furnished the same with many vnsauory vaine tales, yet was there none of them so impudent, once to make any mention of this peruish fable of M. Hardings Masse.

But forsomuch as the glorious name of this holy Father is here brought in to beare witnesse to these matters, and that in the night season in a dreame, and a vision, with the visible appearance of Christ and his Apostles, and the great stay of M. Hardings cause resteth hereupon, and many are amazed with the strangenesse hereof, and many are led away as though it were matter of good truth, and specially for that the Booke is not commonly to be had: and it would be chargeable to send to Verona into Italy for a Copy: suffer me therefore, good Christian Reader, to giue thee some taste of the same, that thou maist be able of thy selfe to iudge further, and to see, by what Doctours, M. Harding proueth his Priuate Masse.

The contents of M. Hardings Amphilochius. Tert. li. 5. contra Marcionem.

To passe ouer the idle talke and conference with Diuels, the Visions, the Dreames, the Fables, and other fantasticall vanities, which are the whole contents and substance of this new Booke, Tertullian hath a good discreet saying: Furibus aliqua semper excidere solent in indicium: *The theefe euermore leaueth somewhat behinde him that he may be knowen by.* Let vs therefore compare M. Hardings Amphilochius with Socrates, Sozomenus, Gregory Nazianzene, Gregory Nyssene, and other old Writers of approued credit, that haue of purpose written S. Basils life.

Socr. li. 4. ca. 21 Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 17. Nazian. in vita Basilij. Gregor. Presbyter in vita Nazianzeni. Nazian. in vita Basilij.

Socrates and Sozomenus say, that Basil in his youth was Libanius Scholar: M. Hardings Amphilochius saith, Basil was Libanius schole fellow.

Nazianzene and Gregorius Presbyter say, that Basil continuing at Cæsaria, was well acquainted with Eusebius the Bishop there, before he went into Pontus: M. Hardings Amphilochius saith, that at his returne from Pontus, which was some after, Eusebius knew him not, neither had euer spoken with him or seene him before.

M. Hardings Amphilochius saith, Basil was Bishop of Cæsaria in the time of the Emperour Iulianus, whereupon also are founded a great many fond fables: Nazianzene his nereest friend saith, he was chosen Bishop there a long while after, in the time of the Emperour Valens, and was not Bishop there at all during the whole time of Iulianus.

Nazian. in oratione 2. contra Iulian. Socrat. lib. 3. cap. 18. Theod. lib. 3. cap. 25. Sozo. li. 6. ca. 2. Theo. li. 3. ca. 2. Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 16. Nazian. in Monodia. Greg. Presbyter in vita Nazianzen.

M. Hardings Amphilochius telleth a long tale, how that S. Mercury being then dead, and a Saint in Heauen, at the commandement of our Lady, toke his owne Speare out of his Chappell where it was kept, and went out with the same into the field, and slew the Emperour Iulian, and that the same Speare was found bloudy afterward: Nazianzene, Socrates, Theodoretus, and Sozomenus say, it could neuer be knowen by whom he was slaine.

M. Hardings Amphilochius saith, Basil foretold the death of Iulian. Theoderetus saith, it was one Iulianus Sabba that foretold it, and not S. Basil.

M. Hardings Amphilochius saith, the Emperour Valens yelded and gaue place vnto Basil: Sozomenus saith, the Emperour continued still his purpose, and would not yeld. M. Hardings Amphilochius saith, Nazianzenus was present at S. Basils Burial: Nazianzene himselfe, that ought to know it best, saith he came afterward, and was not present.

Gregorius Presbyter saith, Nazianzene came a great while after that Basil was buried. M. Hardings Amphilochius is so impudent, that he saith, Nazianzenus came in all haste, and saw the blessed Body, and fell vpon it when it was buried. Whereby it seemeth, that this Amphilochius was not very wise, nor circumspect in his talke. For if Nazianzene saw S. Basils Body, how was it buried? If it were buried, how could he see it?

Againe, M. Hardings Amphilochius saith, Gregory Nazianzene ruled the Apostolike See for the space of 12. yeres. By the Apostolike See he must needs meane either Rome or Constantinople. If he meane Rome, Nazianzene was neuer Bishop there: If he meane Constantinople, where indeed he was Bishop, yet was that neuer called the Apostolike See: and so, whatsoeuer he meant, he made a lie.

Now iudge thou indifferently, good Christian Reader, whether Amphilochius the Bishop of Iconium, S. Basils speciall and nereest friend, writing of him that he knew so well, could possibly so many waies be deceiued. If M. Harding had knowen him better, I thinke, he would haue spared this authoritie. Howbeit Vlpian saith: Etiam monstra & portentosi partus prosunt: *Euen monsters and ill shapen children may goe for children.*

De verbor. & rer. significat. Queret aliquis

To come to the matter, M. Hardings Amphilochius thus telleth on his tale: Basil saith he, being once made Bishop, besought God that he might offer vp the vnbloody Sacrifice with his owne words: he fell in a trance: came againe to himselfe: and so ministred euery

day.

day. On a certaine night Chriſt with his Apoſtles came downe to him from heauen; brought bread with him; awoke Baſil, and bade him vp and offer the Sacrifice. Vp he aroſe; was ſtraight at the Altar; ſaid his prayers as he had written them in his paper; lifted vp the bread; laid it downe againe; brake it in three parts; receiued one; reſerued another to be buried with him; hung vp the third in a golden Doue. And all this was done, Chriſt and his Apoſtles being ſtill preſent, who came purpoſely from Heauen to helpe Baſil to ſay Maſſe.

The fable of Amphilochius

We may now the better beleeue Homer, that Iupiter with his Gods went downe ſometime for his pleaſure to banket in Ethiopia: Or that an [a] Angell euermore miniſtred the Sacrament vnto Marcus that holy Monke: Or that [b] Angels came from Heauen to conſecrate Amphilochius Biſhop of Iconium: [c] Or that the holy Ghoſt was ſent from Heauen to Remigius with a Boxe of Holy Oile: [d] Or that when holy Arnulphus began Matins at midnight, and ſaid, Domine labia &c. and all his Monkes were aſleepe, a number of Angels ſupplied the lacke, and anſwered him, Et os meum annunciabit laudem tuam.

[a] *Sozomenus lib. 6. cap. 29.*
[b] *Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 20.*
[c] *Paulus Æmilius. Gaguinus.*
[d] *Henricus Herfordien. cap. 49.*

But M. Harding layeth on more weight and forceth this fable to his purpoſe: and albeit in the whole tale there is not once the name of Maſſe, yet is he content to take paines cunningly to falſifie the text, and ſeuen times together to tranſlate it only by the name of Maſſe. For with him, Offerre Sacrificium, is to ſay Maſſe; likewiſe, Miniſtrare Deo, is to ſay Maſſe; and Miniſterium miniſtrationis, is the ſeruice of the Maſſe. For as Midas whatſoeuer he touched had power to turne the ſame into gold; ſo M. Harding, whatſoeuer he toucheth, hath a ſpeciall power to turne the ſame into his Maſſe.

M. Harding falſifieth his owne fable.

But let vs a little view the Circumſtances, and weigh the likelyhods of this matter. Baſil beſought God that he might make the Sacrifice with his owne words. And ſhall we thinke hee had more fancie to his owne words than he had to the words of Chriſt? He awoke, ſtood vp, and ſuddenly was at the Altar at midnight. What, ſhall we thinke hee was the Sertine there, or lay all night like Eli, or Samuel, in the Church; and yet being ſo famous a Biſhop had no man to attend vpon him?

He diuided the Bread, and laid vp the third part of it in a golden Doue, that hung ouer the Altar; and yet by his owne tale, his golden Doue then was not yet ready made. For it followeth immediately in the next lines; After Baſil had done theſe things, and had communed with Eubulus, and others, the next day hee ſent for a Gold ſmith, and made a Doue of pure Gold. It behoueth a liar to be mindfull what he ſaith. If this Doue were made before, how was it made afterward? If it were not made before, how could it then hang ouer the Altar? Or how could Baſil put his bread in it before it was made? And to what end was that Bread ſo kept in the Doue? And wherein, or where was the other third part kept, that Baſil thus reſerued purpoſely to be buried, or as M. Harding termeth it, to bee interred with him? Wherein M. Hardings Amphilochius both vttereth words of manifeſt blaſphemie, and alſo ſhamefully belieth that holy Father, and doth him great and open iniurie. It was but fondly done by S. Benet, as Gregory reporteth of him, to cauſe the Sacrament to bee laid vpon a dead mans breſt: and likewiſe it was as fondly done of others that miniſtred the Sacrament vnto the dead, and gaue it into their mouthes: which thing is namely forbidden by the Councell of Carthage.

The golden Doue.

Dialogorum, lib. 2. cap. 24.

Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 6.

But the Sacrament being, as M. Harding would haue the world beleeue, no Bread, no Wine, and ſo no Sacrament at all, but only the Naturall and Reall Body of Chriſt, it were horrible blaſphemie to bury it, and as a dead thing to lay it in the graue.

The burying of the Sacrament.

Further, as this Doctour ſaith, S. Baſil had this dreame or viſion, and reſerued this portion of the Sacrament, immediatly after he was made Biſhop of Cæſarea, and after that as it is cleare by other ſtories, continued Biſhop there, ſeuen yeeres at the leaſt. Now iudge thou (gentle Reader) what kinde of bread that would haue beene after ſeuen yeeres keeping, to bee giuen to a ſicke man in his death bed. So many abſurdities and contrarieties may eaſily be found in the very ſhew and light of this childiſh fable.

The Sacrament reſerued ſeuen yeeres.

Yet ſaith M. Harding, Heere doth M. Iewel with his Conſacramentaries ſtagger and knoweth not what to ſay. Yea verily, M. Harding, we are aſtonied to conſider the wonderfull and iuſt iudgements of God, that any man ſhould ſo wilfully renounce Gods knowen truth, and be thus vtterly giuen ouer to follow lies: or ſo much to preſume of his owne wit and eloquence, that he thinketh himſelfe able to ouerrule and lead all the World with a fable. As for axes or inſtruments to hew vp this knot, wee need none. Euery childe may ſee the ends. It openeth and looſeth it ſelfe. Chriſt commeth with his Apoſtles downe from Heauen to heare Maſſe. The Apoſtles ſing Maſſe by note: Chriſt plaieth the Clerkes part, and attendeth the Prieſt: Amphilochius writeth Thomas Beckets life ſe-

The true Amphilochius.

uen hundred yeres before he was borne: S. Basil lieth all night in the Vestry: He hangeth vp a golden Doue first, and maketh it afterward. He keepeth a portion of the Sacrament seuen yeres together: He receiueth the same in his death bed, and is buried: or as M. Harding delighteth rather to say, is interred with it: besides a multitude of other like follies and fables. This is that wonderfull Gordius fatall knot, that can neuer be opened without an axe.

The true Amphilochius.

And although M. Hardings Amphilochius were a manifest and an impudent liar, yet I confesse, and it is well knowen, that the true Amphilochius of Iconium, was a godly and a worthy Bishop, stout and courageous in suppressing the Messalians, the first parents, as M. Harding here saith, of the Sacramentary Heresies. Howbeit the rest of his brethren, and he himselfe elsewhere saith, Berengarius was the first father of that Heresie. For afterward in the Fifth Article he writeth thus: Berengarius first began openly to sow the wicked seed of the Sacramentary Heresie. So it appeareth that M. Harding neither is resolued in the Heresie, nor can tell when it first began. Notwithstanding the seed that he called wicked, was first sowen, neither by the Messalians, nor by Berengarius, but by Christ himselfe, and by his Apostles.

M. Harding much forgetteth himselfe.

The first Fathers of idle Monkes.

Indeed the Messalians, whom Amphilochius suppressed, were Heretikes, the Fathers of many idle swarmes, yet remaining in the World. They were named in Greeke φαλλιανοι, or ευχιτοι, of their long counterfet praying. S. Augustine saith: *They praied so much, or so fast, that a man that knew it not, would not thinke it possible. They thought it vnlawfull for a Monke to labour for his liuing, and therefore became Monkes, that they might be free from labour.* Thus farre S. Augustine.

Aug. ad Quodvult-Deum.

Theod. Heret. Fabular. lib. 4.

Theodoretus saith: Orationi vacantes, maximam diei partem dormiunt: *They giue themselues to Contemplation, and sleepe the most part of the day.* S. Augustine saith: Tanquam conseruatricem Euangelij prædicant pigritiam: *They highly commend sloth, as if it were the maintenance of the Gospell.* For these causes Amphilochius being the Archbishop of Lycaonia, and Flauianus the Bishop of Antioch withstood them, and draue them from their Diocesses: and Letoius being an earnest and a zealous man vtterly consumed and burnt their Monasteries, or rather as Theodoretus termeth it, their Dennes of Thernes.

De opere Monach. cap. 22.

Theoderetus lib. 4. cap. 11. μᾶλλον ὃ λῃστεῖα καὶ σπήλαια.

These were the Messalians, not the open maintainers of any errour touching the Mysticall Supper: neither doth either S. Augustine or Epiphanius report any such matter of them.

Indeed Theodoretus saith, they had certaine secret instructions among themselues, that Sacraments did at all neither further nor hinder: meaning thereby aswell the Sacrament of Baptisme, as the Sacrament of Christs Body: into which errour they were lead, for that they gaue all perfection and holinesse to their Praiers, and in respect thereof refused the Communion of their Brethren.

But whereas M. Harding saith: This is also our doctrine, and that we teach the people, the Sacrament of Christs body to bee nothing else but tokening Bread; his owne conscience knoweth it is a slander, and will be required of him in the day of the Lord. Our doctrine is, that the Sacraments of Christ, vnto the godly are the instruments of the Holy Ghost: and vnto the wicked are increase of further iudgement. Like as S. Augustine also saith: Sacramentum sumitur quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium. Res vero ipsa cuius est Sacramentum, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad mortem, quicunque eius particeps fuerit. *The Sacrament is receiued of some vnto life, of some vnto destruction. But the thing it selfe* (that is, the Body of Christ) *whereof it is a Sacrament, is receiued of all men to life, and of no man to destruction, whosoeuer be partaker of it.* Here S. Augustine maketh great and manifest difference betweene the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the same. And this is not the Messalian Monkes heresie, but S. Augustines, and the Catholike Faith.

August. in Ioh. Tract. 26.

Now to denie that euer this was Amphilochius doing, that (saith M. Harding) were a shift indeed. Thus he is bold to say, I beleeue, for that he neuer considered the whole Booke. For otherwise he might sone haue seene it is but a rude gathering out of the Tripartite Story in many places word by word, without discretion, with interlacing of lies and fables of his owne, without shame. Neither can M. Harding iustly proue, that euer Amphilochius wrote S. Basils life. For notwithstanding a clause in Nazianzenes Monodia touching the same, as it is now extant in Latine, yet must he vnderstand, that the said clause was thrust in by Volaterane the Translatour, a man that hath peruerted and altered a great part of that Booke, as by conference to any learned man may appeare, and is not to bee found in the Greeke. But false translation maketh no proofe.

Amphilochius neuer wrote S. Basils life.

But, This Booke is found at Verona in Italy; he might aswell haue said, at Falsona. It is written in Velume. This is but a simple allegation. A Calues skin is no sufficient warrant of truth: lies haue beene written in letters of gold.

The

The table of Amphilochius

The allegation of the Booke called ἀσκητικὸν, which M. Harding saith, S. Basil dedicated to Amphilochius, rather hindereth, than further his matter. For Nazianzenus reckoning vp all S. Basils Bookes, passeth that booke by, as none of his. And Sozomenus saith, it was euer doubted of, and thought of many neuer to be written by S. Basil, but rather by an Heretike named Eustathius, a booke full of superstition and wicked doctrine, and namely condemned by the Councell of Gangra.

Nazianzen. in Monodia. Sozom. li. 3. cap. 13. Præfat. in Concil. Grangrense. Eubulus.

But Eubulus *is witnesse of these things:* He peared in at the creuise, and espied what was done. Certainly a mete witnesse for such a matter. I haue heard sometime a man without a name: but here we haue found a name without a man. M. Hardings Amphilochius euer maketh this Eubulus the chiefest man about S. Basil in all his affaires: yet neither doth Basil in any of all of his Epistles, or other workes, nor Nazianzene, nor Socrates, nor Sozomenus, nor Gregorius Nyssenus, nor Gregorius Presbyter, once make mention of any such. Thus much for the credit of M. Hardings Amphilochius.

But if all this were good record and matter of truth, yet were it but a miracle, but a vision, and perhaps but a dreame, but one mans fact, but once done, not in the day time, but at midnight, and that without company and without witnesse. If this Eubulus, which doubtlesse was No Body, had not espied it, No Body should euer haue heard of it.

Now as touching the very Masse, that S. Basil said indeed, we may some learne the order of it without any dreame or vision. S. Basil himselfe in the Liturgie, that beareth his name, plainly declareth the whole order in this sort: *The Priest speaketh thus aloud vnto the people: The whole people maketh answer: One is holy, One is the Lord, One Iesus Christ in the glory of the Father. Then* (saith S. Basil) *the Quire singeth the Communion: and so they Communicate all together.*

Liturgia Basilij

Here may we clearely see the very order and vsage of S. Basils Masse. Here was no Sole Receiuing; no Single Communion: no Priuate Masse; the whole people prayed aloud together with the Priest, and receiued the Communion all together.

And what if M. Hardings owne Amphilochius, notwithstanding all his fables say the same? Can any man desire more substantiall witnesse? Verily his words be plaine, that there was people in the Church with S. Basil, and receiued the Communion at his hand. For thus saith S. Basil euen as it is here written by this Amphilochius: *Vouchsafe O Lord to giue vnto vs, and by vs vnto all the people, holy things vnto the holy; The people answereth, One is holy, &c.* I shuffle not these words, but leaue them euen as this Amphilochius hath written them, and M. Harding himselfe hath here alleged them.

S. Basils Masse is a Communion, and no Masse.

Now marke (good Reader) what helpe M. Harding hath here found for his Priuate Masse. M. Hardings owne Amphilochius saith: *The holy things were giuen vnto all the people:* M. Harding saith: S. Basil receiued alone. M. Hardings owne Amphilochius saith: *there was people in the Church:* M. Harding saith: there was no people there.

M. Harding and his Amphilochius cannot agree.

But this people (saith M. Harding) was Christ and his Apostles. No doubt a strange kinde of people. And Basil being so notable a man for his eloquence, was not able to vtter his minde in his owne mother tongue, but said, *All the people:* and yet saw no people there at all: and, *Giue this to all*, and yet knew there was no body there to giue vnto. Thus may we conclude according to M. Hardings owne construction, that that People was no People: that Christ, no Christ: that Eubulus, no Eubulus: that Amphilochius, no Amphilochius: that Basil, no Basil: that Dowe, no Dowe: and that Masse, no Masse at all. Such be the proofes of Priuate Masse.

M. Harding. The 34. Diuision.

Concil. 41. ad finem Antioch.

Now one place more for proofe of Priuate Masse, at the winding vp of this matter, and then an end of this Article. (41) This place is twice found in Chrysostome in an Homilie vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians, and more plainly in an Homilie *Ad populum Antiochenum*, where he hath these very words, *Multam video rerum inæqualitatem. In alijs quidem temporibus cùm puri frequenter sitis, non acceditis: In Pascha verò licet sit aliquid à vobis parratum acceditis. O consuetudinem! O præsumptionem! Sacrificium frustra quotidianum. Inassum assistimus altari. Nullus qui Communicetur:* I see great inequility of things among you. At other times, when as for the most part yee are in cleane life, yee come not to receiue your rites. But at Easter though yee haue done some things amisse, yet yee come. O what a custome is this! O what a presumption is this! The Daily Sacrifice is offered in vaine. Wee stand at the Altar for nought. There is not one that will be housled.

The 41. vntruth. For Priuate Masse is neuer found in Chrysostome.

Heere is to be noted, whereas Chrysostome saith, the daily Sacrifice was celebrated in vaine, and the Priests stood at the Altar in vaine; it is not to bee vnderstanded of the Sacrifice in it selfe, as though it were in vaine and frustrate; but this is to bee referred to the people, it was in vaine for their part that should haue receiued their Communion with the Priests, who waited daily for them, and cried out as the Maner was, *Sancta Sanctis*, Holie things for the Holy; and after that they had receiued the Bread themselues, shewing the Chalice to the people, said; *Cum timore Dei, & fide, & dilectione accedite.*

accedite. Come yee vp to receiue with the feare of God, with faith and charity. But all was in vaine. (42) For none came: so cold was their deuotion in that behalfe. Now if Chrysostome had cause to complaine of the peoples slackenesse in comming to the Communion, in that great and populous City of Antioch, where the Scriptures were daily expounded and (43) preached, where discipline and good order was more straitly exacted, where in so great number some of likelihood were of more deuotion than others; what is to be thought of many little Townes and Villages thorow the world, where little preaching was heard, where discipline slaked, where the number of the faithful beeing small, and they occupied altogether in worldly affaires, few gaue good example of deuotion to others? Doubtlesse in such places was much lesse resort of the people at the Masse time to receiue the Sacrament with their Priests. And whereas lest this place might seeme plainly to auouch the hauing of Masse without a number Communicating with the Bishop or Priest, for auoiding of this authority, the Gospellers answer by way of coniecture, that in Chrysostomes time the Priests and Deacons Communicated together daily with the party that offered the Sacrifice, though none of the people did; we tell them that this poore shift will not serue their purpose. For though they say some sufficient number euer Communicated with him that celebrated the Daily Sacrifice in that great and famous Church of Antioch, where many Priests and Deacons were, which neither being denied, they shal neuer be able to proue: what may be said or thought of many thousand other lesse Churches thorow the World, where the Priest that said Masse had not in readinesse a sufficient number of other Priests and Deacons to receiue with him, so to make vp a Communion? Of such Churches it must be said, that either the Sacrifice ceased, and that was not done which (44) Christ commanded to be done in his remembrance, which is not to be granted? or that the memory of our Lords death was oftentimes celebrated of the Priests in the daily oblation, without tarrying for others to Communicate with them, and so had these Churches Priuate Masses, as the Churches now adaies haue. Now to conclude, of this most euident place of Chrysostome, euery child is able to make an inuincible argument against M. Iewel for the Priuate Masse, as they call it, in this sort: By report of Chrysostome, the Sacrifice in his time was daily offered, that is to say, the Masse was celebrated; but many times no body came to Communicate Sacramentally with the Priest (45) as it is before prooued; *Ergo*, There were Masses done without other receiuing the Sacrament with the Priests. And then further; *Ergo*, Priuate Masses in Chrysostomes daies were not strange; and then yet one step further there to stay; *Ergo*, M. Iewell according to his own promise and offer, must yeeld, subscribe and recant, **vnto a gheese.**

The 42. vntruth. For there came many both of the people, and also of the Clergie.

The 43. vntruth. For there was no such dailie preaching, as shall appeare.

M Hard. seeketh vp his Masse in little Townes and Villages.

Priuate Masse prooued by a simple collection.

The 44. vntruth. For Christ commanded no such daily Sacrifice.

The 45. vntruth. For this is not yet prooued.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Now is M. Harding come (as he saith) to the winding vp of his Clew: meaning thereby, as may be thought, that the substance of all that he hath alleged hitherto, hangeth only by a twined threed.

This Coniecture is taken out of certaine words of Chrysostome: **and the whole force thereof standeth only vpon this word** Nemo, **which is in English,** *No body.* Chrysostomes **words be these:** *We do daily offer the Sacrifice,* **or (as M. Harding delighteth rather to say)** we doe daily say Masse, *and there is no Body to Communicate:* Ergo, **saith he,** Chrysostome receiued alone. **And so haue we without question a plaine Priuate Masse.**

Chrysost. ad populum Antiochen. homil. 61.

Here would I first know, whether M. Harding will rest vpon the bare words of Chrysostome, or rather qualifie them some what, and take his meaning. If he presse the words so precisely as he seemeth to doe, then is it not Chrysostome himselfe **Communicate. For he was** *Some Body:* **and the plaine words be,** *No body doth Communicate.* **By which words doubtlesse** Chrysostome **himselfe is excluded as well as others. And so there was no Sole receiuing, nor any receiuing at all: and therefore no Priuate Masse.**

If he will rather take Chrysostomes **meaning, it appeareth, his purpose was, to rebuke the negligence of the people, for that of so populous a City, they came to the Holy Communion in so small companies: which companies, he in a vehemency of speech by an exaggeration, in respect of the whole, calleth** *No Body.* **The like maner of speech is vsed also** sometimes **in the Scriptures.** S. Iohn **saith of Christ,** Testimonium eius nemo accipit. **Not for that no body at all receiued his witnesse: For his Disciples, and many others receiued it: but for that of a great multitude very few receiued it. In like phrase** Chrysostome **himselfe saith otherwhere:** Nemo diuina sapit, nemo contemnit ea quæ in terra sunt, nemo attendit ad Cœlum: *No body sauoureth godly things: No body despiseth the things of this World: No body hath regard to Heauen.* **In these words M. Harding must needs confesse, that** Chrysostome **in stead of** *few,* **by heat of speech, and by way of comparison said,** *No body.*

Iohn 3.

Chrys. ad Hebræos, hom. 12.

And albeit this only Answer compared with the maner of Chrysostomes **eloquence, which commonly is hot and feruent, and with the common practise of the Church then, may suffice a man, more desirous of truth, than of contention, yet I haue good hope it may be proued, notwithstanding M. Hardings** Nemo, **that** Chrysostome **neither was alone, nor could be alone at the holy ministration, and therefore could say no Priuate Masse. For if the whole company of the Lay people would haue forsaken him, yet had he company sufficient of the Priests and Deacons, and others of the Quire. And if the whole Quire would haue forsaken him, yet had hee company sufficient of the Lay people, as it may be clerely proued.**

That there was then a great number to serue in the Ministery, it may diuerslie well appeare.

Ignatius

Ignatius calleth Presbyterium, *The sacred Colledge*, the Counsell and companie of the Bishop. *Ignatius ad Trallianos, τὸ ἱερὸν συνέδριον.*

Chrysostome himselfe in his Liturgie saith thus: *The Deacons bring the Dishes with the Holy Bread vnto the Holy Altar: The rest carry the Holy Cups.* By which words appeareth both a number of the Ministerie, and also prouision for them that would receiue. *Chrysostom. in Liturgia.*

Cornelius writeth, that in the Church of Rome there were fortie and sir Priests, seuen Deacons, seuen Subdeacons, forty and two Acolutes, Exorcists, Readers, and other Officers of the Church, fifty and two; Widowes, and other afflicted people that there were relieued, a thousand fiue hundred. *Epist. Cornelij ad Fabiũ Antiochenum, ex Euseb. Lib. 6. Cap. 42.*

Nazianzene complaineth of the number of the Clergy in his time, that they seemed to be moe than the rest of the people. And therefore the Emperour Iustinian afterward thought it needfull to abridge the number, and to make a Law, that in the great Church at Constantinople, where Chrysostome was Bishop, there should not be aboue the number of threescore Priests, one hundred Deacons, forty Women, fourescore and ten Subdeacons, one hundred and ten Readers, and fiue and twenty Singers. Hereby we may see, that Chrysostome being at Antioch, in so populous a City, although he had none of the Lay people with him, yet could not be vtterly left alone. *Nazianzen. in Apologetico. ἢ οἴει σκεδὸν τὸ πλῆθος κατ' ἀριθμὸν, ἢ ὀπόσων ἄρχειν.*

Now if we say, that some of these Priests, Deacons, or other, Communicated with the Bishop, I tell them (saith M. Harding) boldly, and with a solemne countenance, which must needs make good proofe, This is but a poore shift, and will not serue their purpose. But if it be true, it is rich enough: if it agree with Chrysostomes owne meaning, it is no shift; and therefore sufficiently serued our purpose. *In Auth. Collatione prima. Titul. Vt determinatus sit numerus Clericorum.*

And because he sitteth so fast vpon the bare words, and reposeth all his hope in Nemo, if we list to cauill in like sort, we might some finde warrant sufficient to answer this matter, euen in the very plaine words of Chrysostome. For thus they lie: Frustrà assistimus Altari: *In vaine we stand at the Altar. We stand* (saith he) and not *I stand*: and therefore includeth a number, and not one alone. Howbeit, our shifts are not so poore: we need not to take hold of so small aduantages.

It is proued by the Canons of the Apostles, That *if any Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon, or any other of the Quire, after the Oblation is made, doe not receiue, vnlesse he shew some reasonable cause of his so doing, that he stand Excommunicate.* There was then neither such number of Altars, nor such chenisance of Masses, as hath bene sithence. All the Priests receiued together at one Communion. The like Law in the Church of Rome was afterward renued by Pope Anacletus. *Canon. Apost. Ca. 9. ἐκ τῶν κατηλέγχθη ἱερατικῶν. De Con. dist. 1. Episcopus.*

The Councell of Nice decreeth thus: Accipiant Diaconi, secundùm ordinem, post Presbyteros, ab Episcopis, vel à Presbytero Communionem: *Let the Deacons in order, after the Priests, receiue of the Bishops, or of the Priest, the holy Communion.* *Concil. Nicen. Can. 14.*

Likewise the Councell of Carthage: Accipiant Diaconi ex ordine Eucharistiam post Presbyteros, eis dante Episcopo, vel Presbytero: *Let the Deacons receiue the Communion in order after the Priests, either the Bishop or the Priest ministring it.* *Concil. Carthagin. 6. Ca. 18.*

So the Councell of Laodicea: *It is lawfull only for the Priests of the Church to enter into the place where the Altar standeth, and there to Communicate.* *Concil. Laodic. ca. 59.*

So the Councell of Toledo: *Let the Priests and Deacons Communicate before the Altar: the Clerkes in the Quire, and the People without the Quire.* *Conc. Toletan. 4. ca. 17.*

Nicolaus Cusanus writing vnto the Clergie and learned of Bohemia, hath these words: Hoc est singulariter attendendum, quòd Sacerdotes nunquam sine Diacono celebrabant: & in omni Missa Diaconus de manu Sacerdotis accipit Eucharistiam sub specie Panis, & Sacerdos de manu Diaconi Calicem: *This thing is specially to be noted, that the Priest did neuer Celebrate without a Deacon: and that in euery Masse the Deacon receiued the Sacrament in the kinde of Bread, at the Priests hand; and the Priest the Cup at the Deacons hand.* *Nicolaus Cusan. ad Clerum & Literatos Bohemiæ.*

But what needeth much proofe, in a case that is so plaine? Chrysostome himselfe in the Liturgie that commonly beareth his name, followeth the same order. *After that the Priests haue receiued* (saith he) *the Archdeacon commandeth the Deacons to come foorth: and they so comming, receiue as the Priests did before.* This was the very order of Chrysostomes Masse, touching the Clergy, and that by the witnesse of Chrysostome himselfe. *Chrysostom. in Liturgia.*

Now let M. Harding iudge vprightly, whether these shiftes be so poore as he would make them.

But if the whole Clergy had bene so negligent, that not one of them all, being so many, and so straitly charged, would haue Communicated with the Priest, as M. Harding seemeth to condemne them all, onely vpon his owne word, without any euidence; yet let vs see whether M. Hardings Nemo were able of necessitie to shut out all the rest of the people.

Chrysostome

Chrysostome in diuers places seemeth to diuide the whole multitude into three sorts, whereof some were *Penitent*, some *Negligent*, and some *Deuout*. The *Penitent* were commanded away, and might not Communicate: The *Negligent* some time departed of themselues, and would not Communicate: The *Deuout* remained, and receiued together. Now that the *Deuout* remained still with Chrysostome the whole time of the holy Misteries, it is plaine by the very same place that M. Harding heere allegeth for his purpose. For thus Chrysostome saith vnto the people: *Thou art come into the Church, and hast sung praises vnto God with the rest, and hast confessed thy selfe to be one of the worthy, in that thou departedst not forth with the vnworthy.* By these words he sheweth, that some were worthy, and some vnworthy: that the vnworthy departed, and the worthy remained. And againe in the same Homily he saith: *The Deacon standing on high, calleth some to the Communion, and putteth off some: thrusteth out some, and bringeth in some.* Chrysostome saith, *Some are called, and some are brought in,* to Receiue with the Priest. Where then is now M. Hardings Nemo? Verily if there were *some people* with the Priest, then was there no place for *Nobody*. If *Nobody* receiued, then is it not true that Chrysostome saith, that *some receiued.*

Chrysost. ad popul. Antioch. Homil. 61.

Heere, of a false principle, M. Harding, as his wont is, gheseth out the like conclusion: If there were so few Communicants in that populous City of Antioch, where the Scriptures were daily expounded and preached, then it is likely in Country Churches there were none at all. This argument hangeth only by likelihood, as do the rest of his making: and being set in order, it standeth thus: There was no Priuate Masse in the great City of Antioch: Ergo, there was Priuate Masse in the Countrey. Surely (good Reader) this is a very Country Argument, whatsoeuer it seeme to M. Harding.

And further, whereas to aduance the Citie, and to abase the Country, he saith, The people in Cities were daily taught by open Sermons; herein he must needs be content, that his gheste, giue place vnto the truth. For Chrysostome himselfe saith farre otherwise. Thus he speaketh vnto the people in the Citie: Dum per hebdomadam semel vocamus vos, & ignaui estis, & alij quidem non aduenitis, alij autem præsentes sine lucro disceditis, quid non faceretis, si nos hoc continuò faceremus? *Whereas being called by vs but once in the weeke, yet yee be slothfull, and some of you come not at all, and other some being present, depart without profit, what would yee not doe, if wee should call you euery day?* I note not this for that I mislike with daily preaching, but for that vntruth so boldly presumed should not passe vntouched.

Chrys. in Acta Apost. hom. 45. Idem in Matt. Hom. 5.

Yet saith M. Harding, In small Country Churches, either the Priest let cease the daily Sacrifice, or else he receiued alone. But the daily Sacrifice ceased not: for then that had beene left vndone, that Christ commanded to be done: *Ergo*, There was Priuate Masse. O, M. Harding, is it not possible your Doctrine may stand without lies? So many vntruths in so little roome, without shame of the world, without feare of God? Where did Christ euer command you to make your Sacrifice? By what Commission? By what words? Where did Christ will you to doe it euery day? Where did Christ euer call it the daily Sacrifice? Or where euer learned you that the remembrance of Christs death perteineth more to the Priest, than to the people? And if your Masse be that Sacrifice, who euer commanded your Priest to say your daily Masse? What Law, what Decree, what Decretall, what Legantine, what Prouinciall? Or what Priest euer was there that said it daily?

Peccham in his Prouinciall was neuer so strait. He saith no more but thus: Statuimus, vt quilibet Sacerdos, quem Canonica necessitas non excusat, conficiat omni hebdomada saltem semel: *Wee ordaine that euery Priest, vnlesse he be excused by some Canonicall necessitie, doe Consecrate euery weeke once at the least.* There is ods betweene once a weeke, and once a day. And Linwood writing vpon the same, alleggeth these words of S. Augustines: Quotidiè Eucharistiæ Communicare, nec laudo, nec vitupero: *As for receiuing the Communion euery day, I neither praise it, nor dispraise it.* Innocentius the Third noteth, that there were Priests in his time, that would scarcely say Masse at foure times in the yere. And Thomas of Aquine thinketh it sufficient for a Priest, that is not charged with Cure, to say Masse onely vpon principall Feasts. It is also written in Vitis Patrum, that a certaine holy man being made Priest, would notwithstanding neuer say Masse while hee liued. Yet was there none of these euer charged with forefollowing or ceasing the Daily Sacrifice, or leauing vndone that thing that Christ had commanded to be done.

De celebrat. Miss. Can. Altissimus.

De Con. dist. 2. Quotidiè. Extr. de Celebratione Miss. Dolentes. In summ. Parte vltim. Qua. 82. Artic. 1.

Concerning the Priests Sole Receiuing, which is grounded only vpon it selfe, without further proofe; verily I see no cause, but that Nicolaus de Cusa, being a Cardinall of Rome, ought to carry as good credit herein, as M. Harding with all his gheses. He saith, and willeth his words to be specially noted, as it is before touched, that in those dayes the

Nicol. de Cusa, ad Clerum & Literatos Bohemiæ.

Priest

Priest did neuer receiue without the Deacon. Yet hath M. Harding a certaine surmise by himselfe, that the Priests in the Country receiued alone.

But what a wonderfull case is this? The Masse that we must nedes beleeue is so Ancient, so Vniuersall, so Catholike, so Holy, so Glorious, cannot be found, neither in Churches, nor in Chapels, nor in Secret Oratories, nor in Priuate houses, in Towne or City, but must be sought out in some Petie Parish in the Country, and that by coniecture only, and by gheste, and by such Records as directly condemne the whole order of the Masse, and will suffer no man to be present thereat, but only such as will receiue.

For thus saith Chrysostome: *If thou stand by, and doe not Communicate, thou art malapert, thou art shameleſſe, thou art impudent. Thine eies be vnworthy the sight heereof: vnworthy be thine eares. O, thou wilt say, I am vnworthy to be partaker of the holy Mysteries. Then art thou vnworthy to be partaker of the praiers: thou maist no more stand heere, than a Heathen that neuer was Christened.* And touching himselfe, he saith: *Invaine we come to offer the Daily Sacrifice: Invaine we stand at the Altar*: meaning thereby, as may appeare, that if he said Priuate Masse for lacke of companie, it was in vaine. Heere M. Harding seing that his Masse, euen by his owne Authoritie, is shrewdly crackt, and left for vaine, assaieth to saue it as well as he may. *Chryſoſt. ad Epheſ. Homil. 3.*

The Masse (saith he) is not in vaine in it selfe, but vnto the people that will not come. This is a Gloſſe beside the Text: yet let vs take it as it were true. But if hearing of the Masse be a thing pleasant vnto God, and meritorious vnto the people: if Christ be there offered indeed for the sinnes of the World: if the Priest alone may receiue for all the rest: if it be sufficient for the people to Communicate spiritually, as M. Harding hath auouched: then is not the saying of the Masse in vaine, no not vnto the people; no although they neuer would Communicate. Chrysostome saith, *It is in vaine*: M. Harding saith, It is not in vaine. And yet, to see a greater contradiction, M. Harding himselfe in this place saith, It is in vaine vnto the people: And yet the same M. Harding hath said before, It is commanded by Councels: it is sufficient for the people to Communicate in spirit: it is not in vaine vnto the people. *Diuiſion. 9. fol. 13. b.*

If M. Harding will stand vnto the Authoritie of Chrysostome, let him not dissemble, but speake plainly vnto the people, as Chrysostome spake. Let him say to them that come to heare his Masse, *If yee receiue not, ye are shameleſſe, yee are impudent, ye are not worthy to be partakers of the common praiers: depart ye from the Church: yee haue no more place heere, than Turkes and Heathens: Your eies bee vnworthy to see these things: vnworthy be your eares: Our Masses cannot profit you: they are not meritorious for you: they please not God: they prouoke his anger: they are all in vaine.* This is Chrysostomes sense and plaine meaning: and this is a faire winding vp of M. Hardings Clew.

Now let vs examine this inuincible argument, wherewithall euery childe, as M. Harding vanteth, is able to proue the Priuate Masse.

The Maior is this: *The Sacrifice in* Chrysostomes *time was daily offered.*

The Minor is this: *But many times no man came to Communicate with the Priest.*

The Conclusion: Ergo, *There was Priuate Masse.*

Heere the Maior is apparant false: The Minor proued at aduentures, only by blinde gheste, and so not proued at all: Therefore the Conclusion must nedes follow after as it may. Vnleſſe M. Harding loke better to it, I trow it will proue but a Childish Argument.

As for the Maior, it is plaine by the sixth Councell of Constantinople, by S. Augustine vpon S. Iohn, by S. Basil Ad Cæsariam patriciam, by the Epistle of the Councell of Alexandria in the defense of Macarius, and by the Councell holden at Laodicea, and by sundrie other Authorities to that purpose before alleged, that the Sacrifice was not daily offered, as M. Harding imagineth.

Touching the Minor, it is not proued, but hangeth, as I haue said, only by gheste. M. Harding himselfe saw, that this is put a slender proofe: Chrysostome ministred euery day; Ergo, he receiued alone: And therefore he sought further to finde his Single Communion in the Country. But Chrysostome saith, *There is No body to Communicate.* By this it may appeare, as I haue already said, that Chrysostome himselfe did not Communicate, vnleſſe we will say Chrysostome was *No body*, and so *No body* receiued alone, and *No body* himselfe said M. Hardings Priuate Masse. And therefore *No body* may come forth, and iustly require me to subscribe. Thus the Maior being false, the Minor not proued, the Conclusion not following, thou seest, good Christian Reader, what inuincible force M. Harding hath brought to reproue his Masse. *Conc. Conſtantin. 6. Can. 52. Aug. tract. 26. Baſil. ad Cæſar. Concil. Laodic. Ca. 49.*

But because he seemeth to set somewhat by the winding vp of his Clew, it shall not be from

Communion.

from the purpose, to vnwinde it againe, and to lay it abroad, and to consider the stuffing of it, and to see how closely and handsomely it is wound together.

First, there is not one threed of the holy Scriptures in all this Clew, but the plaine example of Christ and his Apostles quite refused.

1 Secondly, the Priuate Masse is founded vpon the negligence, and, as M. Harding calleth it, the vndeuotion of the people.

2 3 Thirdly, there is a way deuised, how two Priests, saying their Masses in diuers Countries, may Communicate together in Breaking Bread, be the distance betweene them neuer so great: and that without any maner warrant of Scripture or Doctor.

4 Fourthly, Lay people, women, sicke folkes, and boies, that receiued or ministred the Sacrament alone, are brought in for this purpose, as though it had beene lawfull then for women or boies to say Masse.

5 Fifthly, because S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Chrysostome, S. Basil, and such others would not serue, there is brought in a great number of Petie Doctours, all of doubtfull credit, and many of them long sithence misliked, and condemned by the Church.

6 Sixthly, the matter is made good by Visions, Dreames, and Fables.

7 Seuenthly, there are alleged Canons of Councels, not extant in any Councell, gathered without great iudgement by one Gratian, and yet none of them neither prouing, nor once naming the priuate Masse.

8 Eightly, because M. Harding could not finde his Masse in the whole Church of Rome within the space of six hundred yeres after Christ, he hath therefore made search at Alexandria in Egypt, at Antioch in Syria, at Cæsaria in Cappadocia, a thousand miles beyond the Limits of all Christendome, where as was neuer Priuate Masse said, neither then, nor before that time, nor neuer sithence.

9 Ninthly, for that he stood in despaire of Cathedrall, and other like great Churches, he hath sought out Chapels, Celles, Oratories, and Priuate houses: and because he had no hope to speed in Townes or Cities, he hath sought out the little Churches in the Country.

10 Tenthly, notwithstanding all this inquirie, he hath not yet found, neither the name of Priuate Masse, nor any Priest that euer ministred and receiued alone.

11 To be short, the whole substance of his proues hangeth onely vpon his owne surmise, without any certainty, or appearance of truth.

These be the contents of M. Hardings Clew, and thus substantially hath he proued the Antiquitie and Vniuersalitie of his Masse.

Now, good Reader, to giue thee onely a taste of some part that may be said of our side, first it is apparent that Christ our Sauiour, at his last Supper, ministred the holy Communion, and no Priuate Masse, and bade his Disciples to doe the same in his remembrance.

Hieron. in 1. *Cor.* 11. Likewise S. Paul willed the Corinthians one to wait and tarry for another, in the holy Ministration, and to conforme themselues to Christs example. Whereupon S. Hierome saith, as it is before alleged: *The Lords Supper must be common vnto all: for the Lord deliuered the Sacraments equally vnto all the Disciples that were present.* And S. Ambrose likewise

Ambros. 1. *Cor.* 11. *Can. Apost. Canon.* 9. *De Con. dist.* 2. *Peracta.* expounding these words, Inuicem expectate, *Waite one for another*, saith thus: *That the Oblation of many may be celebrate together, and may be ministred vnto all.*

De Con. dist. 1. *Episcopus.* In the Canons of the Apostles it is decreed, that if any man resort vnto the Church, and heare the Scriptures, and abstaine from the Communion, he stand excomunicate, as one that troubleth the Congregation.

De Con. dist. 2. *Si non.* The like Decrees are found vnder the names of Calixtus, Anacletus, Martinus, Hilarius, and others: by which it is certaine, that the whole Church then receiued together.

De Con. dist. 2. *Si quis.* [1] Clemens, as M. Harding calleth him, the Apostles fellow, writeth thus: *Let so many Hosts be offered vpon the Altar, as may be sufficient for the people.*

[1] *Clem. epist.* 2. [2] *Aug. de Sermon. Dom. in Mont. lib.* 2. [3] *August. in Psalm.* 10. [4] *Clem. strom. lib.* 1. [2] S. Augustine saith of the Congregation in his time: *Euery day we receiue the Sacrament of Christs Body.* [3] And opening the same more particularly, he saith thus: Vnde confido in eis, quibus heri Communicasti, & hodiè Communicas, & cras Communicabis? *What trust can I haue in them, with whom thou didst Communicate yester day, and doest Communicate to day, and wilt Communicate againe to morrow?*

[4] Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *After that certaine, as the maner is, haue diuided the Sacrament, they giue euery of the people leaue to take part of it.*

Chrysost. in 1. *Cor. Hom.* 27. S. Chrysostome plainly describeth the very order of the Communion that was vsed in his time, by these words: *The spirituall and reuerend Sacraments are set foorth equally to rich and poore: neither doth the rich man enioy them more, and the poore man lesse: they haue all like honour,*

honour, and like comming to them. The Sacraments being once laid foorth (as then the maner was for the people to receiue) *are not taken in againe, vntill all the people haue Communicate, and taken part of that spirituall meat: but the Priests stand still, and wait for all, euen for the poorest of them all.* Communion.

Againe he saith: *There are things wherein the Priest differeth nothing from the people: as when we must vse the fearefull Mysteries. For we are all of one worthinesse to receiue the same.* *Chrys. 2. Cor. Hom. 18.*

S. Gregorie saith, that euen in his time the order was, that in the time of the Holy Communion, the Deacon should stand vp, and say aloud vnto the people: Si quis non Communicat, det locum: *If there bee any body that is not disposed to Communicate, let him giue place.* *Gregor. Dialogor. li. 2. ca. 23.*

This Latine word Missa, in the time of Tertullian and S. Cyprian, signified a dimissing, or a licence to depart, and was specially applied vnto the Communion, vpon, this occasion that I must here declare. They that were then named Catechumeni, that is to say, Nouices of the Faith, and not yet Christened, were suffered to be present at the Communion, vntill the Gospell was ended. Then the Deacon commanded them forth, pronouncing these words aloud: Catechumeni exeunto: Or thus: Ite, Missa est: *Goe ye foorth, Ye haue licence to depart.* Of this dimissing, or departing forth of the Catechumeni and others, the Seruice it selfe was then called Missa. The rest remained still in the Church, and receiued the Communion together with the Priest. Further, the breaking of the Bread, which euen now is vsed in the Masse it selfe, signifieth a distribution of the Sacrament vnto the people, as S. Augustine saith vnto Paulinus, ad distribuendum comminuitur, *It is broken to the end it may be deuided.* Moreouer, the Priest himselfe in his Masse saith thus: *This holy Mixture and Consecration, &c. be vnto mee, and to all that shall receiue it, vnto Saluation.* Thus the very name of the Masse, the very Breaking of the Bread, the very Gestures and Words that the Priest vseth at his Masse, beare manifest witnesse against Priuate Masse. *Missa.* *Isidorus in Lexico.* *The breaking of the Bread.* *Aug. ad Paulin. Epist. 59.*

Here I leaue out a great number of Councels, and Canons, and old Fathers, as Iustinus Martyr, Dionysius, Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Eusebius, with sundry other ancient Writers, both Greekes and Latines: thinking it sufficient by these few to haue giuen a tast of the rest.

Our proofes hang not vpon coniecture, or vncertaine ghesses: we pray not aid of sicke folke, Women, Boies, and Children, for the proofe of the holy Communion, as M. Harding is driuen to doe for proofe of his Masse: we seeke not out secret Oratories, or priuie Chapels: we forge no new Doctours, such as the world neuer knew before, as these men doe for lacke of others: we allege neither Dreames, nor Visions, nor fantasticall Fables.

We rest vpon the Scriptures of God, vpon the authoritie of the ancient Doctors and Councels, and vpon the Universall practise of the most famous Cities and Churches of the world.

These things well compared and weighed together, iudge thou now (gentle Reader) whether M. Harding haue hitherto iust cause, either to blow vp the Triumph with such courage, or to require any man to Subscribe.

OF COMMVNION VNDER BOTH *Kindes.*

THE SECOND ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

OR that there was then any Communion ministred vnto the People vnder one kinde.

M. Harding. The First Diuision.

This being a Sacrament of Vnitie, euery true Christian man ought in receiuing of it to consider how Vnitie may be atchieued and kept, rather than to shew a straitnesse of conscience about the outward forms of

Difference betweene Prieſt and Lay.

of Bread and Wine, to be vſed in the adminiſtration of it: and that ſo much the more, how much the end of euery thing is to be eſteemed more than that which ſerueth to the end. Otherwiſe heerein the breach of vnitie is ſo little recompenſed by the exact keeping of the outward Ceremonie, that according to the ſaying of S. Auguſtine, whoſoeuer taketh the Myſterie of vnitie, and keepeth not the bond of peace, hee taketh not a Myſterie for himſelfe, but a teſtimonie againſt himſelfe. Therefore they haue great cauſe to weigh with themſelues, what they receiue in this Sacrament, who mooued by ſlender reaſons made for both kindes, doe raſhly and dangerouſly condemne the Church, for giuing of it vnder one kinde, to all that doe not in their owne perſons Conſecrate and offer the ſame in remembrance of the Sacrifice once offered on the Croſſe. And that they may thinke the Church to ſtand vpon good grounds heerein, may it pleaſe them to vnderſtand, that the fruit of this Sacrament, which they enioy that worthily receiue it, dependeth not of the outward formes of Bread and Wine, but redoundeth of the vertue of the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt. And whereas vnder either kinde (46) whole Chriſt is verily preſent, (for now that hee is riſen againe from the dead, his Fleſh and Blood can be ſundred no more, becauſe he dieth no more) this healthfull Sacrament is of true Chriſtian people with no leſſe fruit receiued vnder one kinde, than vnder both. The Sacramentaries that beleeue not the truth of Chriſts Body and Blood in this holy Sacrament, I remit to ſundry godly treatiſes made in defenſe of the right faith in that point. I thinke it not neceſſarie heere to treat thereof, or of any other matter, which M. Iewell hath not as yet manifeſtly touched in his Sermon.

The 46. vntruth, proceeding only of the groſſe errour of Tranſſubſtantiation.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

The former Article of Priuate Maſſe, by M. Hardings owne confeſſion, proceedeth not from God, but from the negligence of the people: but the abuſe of the Communion vnder one kinde, from whence ſoeuer it firſt proceeded, ſtandeth now only vpon the willfulneſſe of the Prieſts, who ſéing and knowing the Inſtitution and Commandement of Chriſt, yet notwithſtanding haue deuiſed waies againſt their owne knowledge, violently to repell the ſame. And that the whole caſe may the better appeare, the Queſtion that ſtandeth betwéne vs is moued thus: Whether the Holy Communion at any time, within the ſpace of ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, were euer Miniſtred openly in the Church vnto the People vnder one Kinde. **For proofe whereof, M. Harding hath héere brought in Women, Children, Sicke folkes, Infants, and mad men; that theſe haue ſometimes receiued the one kind, ſome in their priuate houſes, ſome in their death-beds, ſome otherwiſe, as he did before for proofe of his Priuate Maſſe. If in all this long treatie he haue brought any one example, or proofe ſufficient, of the Miniſtration in one kinde, openly vſed in any Church, it is good reaſon he be beléeued. But if he, after all theſe vaunts, hauing publiſhed ſuch a Booke, as al the world, as it is ſuppoſed, is not able to anſwer, haue hitherto brought no ſuch, neither example, nor proofe, then may we iuſtly thinke, there is nothing to be brought at all; but that by his eloquence and faire ſpéech, he ſéeketh to abuſe the ſimplicity and ignorance of his Reader.**

Concil. Baſil. **The** Councell of Baſil, **aboue one hundred and thirty yéeres paſt, made no conſcience to grant the vſe of both kindes vnto the Kingdome of** Bohæmia: **And this** Councell **now** *Conc. Trident.* **preſently holden at** Trident, **vpon certaine conditions, hath granted the ſame to other Kingdomes and Countries: and were it not they ſhould ſéeme to confeſſe the Church of** Rome **hath erred, they would not doubt to grant the ſame freely to the whole World. None of them all can tell, neither when, nor where, nor how this errour firſt began.** *St. G. in the Diuels Sophiſtrie.* **Some thinke it ſprang onely of a certaine ſuperſtition and ſimplicitie of the people. But whence ſoeuer it firſt began, as** Tertullian **writeth of the frowardneſſe that he ſaw in certaine of his time, it muſt now néeds be maintained and made good againſt the truth. His** *Tertull. de virginib. velandis.* **words be theſe:** Conſuetudo initium ab aliqua ignorantia, vel ſimplicitate ſorrita in vſum per ſucceſſionem corroboratur, & ita aduerſus veritatem vendicatur. Sed Dominus noſter Chriſtus Veritatem ſe, non Conſuetudinem, cognominauit. Viderint ergo, quibus nouum eſt, quod ſibi vetus eſt. Hæreſes non tam nouitas, quàm veritas reuincit. Quodcunque aduerſus veritatem ſapit, hoc erit Hæreſes, etiam vetus conſuetudo: *Cuſtome, either of ſimplicitie, or of ignorance, getting once an entry, is inured and hardned by ſucceſſion, and then is defended againſt the truth. But Chriſt our Lord called himſelfe the Truth, and not Cuſtome. Let them take heed therefore, vnto whom the thing ſeemeth new, that in it ſelfe is old. It is not ſo much the nouelty of the matter, as the truth, that reproueth an Hereſie. Whatſoeuer fauoureth againſt the truth, it is an Hereſie, be the cuſtome thereof neuer ſo old.*

To come néere the matter: Vnitie (**ſaith M. Harding**) is the ſubſtance of this Sacrament and who ſo receiueth not the ſame in Vnitie, receiueth a teſtimonie againſt himſelfe. **As this is true, and auouched by** S. Auguſtine, **and of our part not denied, ſo is it alſo true that** S. Ambroſe **writeth:** Indignus eſt Domino, qui aliter Myſterium celebrat, quàm ab eo traditum eſt. Non enim poteſt deuotus eſſe, qui aliter præſumit, quam datum eſt ab Authore: *He is vnworthy of the Lord, that doth otherwiſe celebrate the Myſterie, than it was deliuered of the Lord.* *Ambroſ. 1. Corinth. 11.*

For

For he cannot be denout, that taketh it otherwise than it was giuen of the authour. But this excuse vnder the pretence and colour of vnitie, seemeth to import some default. For what, thinke these folke that vnitie cannot stand without the breach of Christs Institution? Or that the Apostles and holy Fathers, that ministred the Communion vnder both kindes, were not in vnitie? Or that there was neuer vnitie in the Church for the space of a thousand foure hundred and moe yeres after Christ, vntill the Councell of Constance, where this matter was first concluded? Herein standeth that Mysticall Unitie, that one Bread is broken vnto all, and one Cup is deliuered vnto all, equally without difference: and that as Chrysostome saith, in the reuerend Sacrifice, there is no difference betweene the Priest and the People, but all is equall. But our aduersaries haue herein forced a difference betweene the Priest and the People, without cause, and say, There must needs be such a difference.

Whole Christ in either part.

Chry. in 2. Cor. homil. 18.

And when the French King, who vntill this day receiueth still in both kindes, had moued his Clergie, wherefore he might so doe more than others, they made him answer, *For that Kings are anointed aswell as Priests.* Gerson saith, that if Lay men should communicate vnder both kindes aswell as Priests, Dignitas Sacerdotis non esset supra dignitatem Laicorum: *The dignitie of the Priest should not be aboue the dignitie of Lay men.* And Gabriel Biel extolleth the Priest aboue our Lady, and All hallowes, because hee may communicate vnder both kindes, and they cannot. And so haue they altered the Sacrament of equalitie and vnitie, and made it a Sacrament of difference and dissention.

Iohan. Sleidanus, lib. 9. Gerson in Tractatu contra heresim communicandi Laicos sub vtraq; specie. Gabriel Biel.

The fruit of the Sacrament (saith M. Harding) hangeth not of the formes of Bread and Wine. This is a strange forme of speech vnto the ignorant, that knoweth not what these formes meane. Beware, good Reader, for vnder this word there lieth a snare. S. Paul fiue times in one place calleth it Bread: but this man saith, it is the *Forme*, the *Appearance* and *Shew of Bread*. but he would haue thee beleeue that indeed it is no Bread.

1. Cor. 11.

We know well, the fruit of the Sacrament standeth not, neither in the Formes, nor in the Bread or Wine, which are outwardly receiued with the bodily mouth, but in the flesh and blood of Christ, which only are receiued spiritually into the soule.

He addeth further: Whole Christ is vnder either kinde; therefore hee that receiueth in one kinde onely, hath no wrong. If any ancient Doctour had said the same, it might the rather haue beene beleeued. But M. Harding of false principles of his owne, thinketh he may boldly gather the like conclusions. These toies are sufficient to please vaine fantasie: but they are not sufficient to content a godly conscience. But doth M. Harding so surely know that whole Christ is in either kinde, and did Christ himselfe not know it? Or if Christ did know it, was not hee able to breake his owne ordinance, and to prouide for this inconuenience, as well as others? We know, and it is our beleefe, that Christs whole Humanitie both Flesh and Blood is in heauen. But that the same humanitie of Christ is in the Sacrament, in such grosse sort, as is supposed by our Aduersaries, notwithstanding many bold vants thereof made, yet was it hitherto neuer proued. And although this matter bee moued by M. Harding out of season, as being no part of this Question, yet I thinke it not amisse briefly to signifie by the way, what the old Catholike Fathers haue thought of it.

Consentius demandeth this question of S. Augustine, *Whether the Body of Christ being now in Heauen, haue in it blood or no.* Here to leaue S. Augustines answer, it is easie for any man to consider, if Consentius had beene perswaded, as M. Harding would seeme to bee, that Christs Body hath Blood in the Sacrament, hee would neuer haue moued this question of the Body of Christ, that is in Heauen. To leaue these new fantasies, whereof it doth not appeare, that euer the old Catholike Doctours made any report, wee must vnderstand, that the Bread is the Sacrament of Christs Bodie, and the Wine is the Sacrament of his Blood. So saith Beda: Panis ad Corpus Christi Mysticè, Vinum refertur ad Sanguinem: *The Bread in Mysticall maner hath relation to the Bodie of Christ: the Wine hath relation vnto his Blood.* So likewise saith S. Paul: *The Bread that we Breake, is it not the Communication of the Body of Christ? And the Cup of the blessing which wee blesse, is it not the Communication of the Blood of Christ?* S. Paul saith not, each part is in other: but each hath a peculiar signification by it selfe.

Lib. Epist. epist. 146.

Beda in Lucam cap. 22. lib. 6.

But if it were so as M. Harding and certaine others of late daies haue grossly imagined, yet notwithstanding the people taking but one kinde only, receiueth iniurie, as M. Harding may see by Alexander of Hales, and Durandus, and other of his owne Doctours. Alexanders words be these: Licèt illa sumptio, quæ est in accipiendo sub vna specie, sufficiat, tamen illa quæ est sub duabus est maioris meriti: *Although that order of receiuing the Sacrament, which is vnder one kinde be sufficient, yet the other which is vnder both kindes, is of greater merit.* And immediately after: Sumptio sub vtraque specie, quem modum sumendi

Alexand. 4. qu. 53. M. 1.

Whole Christ in either part.

tradidit Dominus, eſt maioris efficaciæ, & maioris complementi : *The receiuing vnder both kindes, which order the Lord deliuered, is of greater ſtrength, and of greater fulneſſe.* And the ſame Alexander againe ſaith : Totus Chriſtus non continetur ſub vtraque ſpecie Sacramentaliter : ſed Caro tantùm ſub ſpecie Panis, & Sanguis ſub ſpecie Vini: *Whole Chriſt is not contained vnder each kinde by way of Sacrament, but the Fleſh only vnder the forme of Bread, and the Blood vnder the forme of Wine.* The like might be reported out of Durandus and others. Heere M. Hardings owne Doctours confeſſe, that the people receiuing vnder one kinde, receiueth not the full Sacrament, nor the Blod of Chriſt by way of Sacrament : and that their doing therein is of leſſe ſtrength and merit, than the doing of the Prieſt. Wherefore M. Harding in ſaying, The people receiuing onely vnder one kinde taketh no iniury, doth the people double iniurie.

Alexand. 4. qu. 40. M. 3. art. 2.

But to paſſe ouer theſe Scholaſticall ſubtle points, it behoueth vs to know, that Chriſt the Sonne of God, appointed the Sacrament of his Body to be giuen in Bread, and the Sacrament of his Blod to be giuen in Wine. Theſe bee the holy Myſteries of Chriſts Body and Blod. Wee may not heere account what may bee in either of them by the drift of vaine fantaſie : but rather we ought to conſider, what Chriſt in the firſt Inſtitution hereof did, and what he commanded to be done. Neither doe wee heere condemne the Church, as it pleaſeth M. Harding vniuſtly to charge vs : but we wiſh and pray to God that his whole Church may once bee reformed after the example and Inſtitution of Chriſt, without whom the Church is no Church, neither hath any right or claime without his promiſe, nor any promiſe without his word.

Now whereas M. Harding ſaith, The reaſons that wee make for the maintenance of Chriſts Inſtitutions are ſo ſlender ; If hee had firſt weighed his owne, perhaps he would the more honourably haue reported ours. I meane not the reaſons that others of that ſide haue taken of mens Beards, of feare of the palſie and ſhaking, or other diſeaſes, or inconueniences that may happen ; but euen of the ſame, that he hath heere planted in the firſt ranke, and entrie of his cauſe. The firſt is this :

1 It is a Sacrament of vnitie ; Therefore if it be abuſed, we may ſeeke no redreſſe.

The ſecond is this : The fruit of the Sacrament dependeth not of the formes of Bread and Wine ;

2 Therefore we may breake Chriſts Inſtitution.

The third is this : Whole Chriſt (as M. Harding ſaith) is in either part of the Sacrament ;

3 Therefore there is no wrong done in barring the people from one kinde. Certainly theſe reaſons ſeeme very ſlender, and ſpecially to countermand the plaine Word of God. The ſentence that S. Baſil vſeth in this caſe is very terrible : *Who ſo forbiddeth the thing that God commandeth, and who ſo commandeth the thing that God forbiddeth, is to bee holden accurſed of all them that loue the Lord.*

Baſil. Moral. Summa ca. 14.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

The 47. vntruth. For the Bread & Wine ſignify the body and blood of Chriſt, the whiteneſſe, the roundneſſe, and other outward formes ſignifie nothing.

The 48. vntruth. For the Church neuer thus miniſtred the Sacrament vnto the people in any open congregation within the ſpace of ſix hundred yeeres.

Now concerning the outward formes of Bread and Wine, (47) their vſe is imployed in ſignification only, and be not of neceſſitie, ſo as grace may not be obtained by worthy receiuing of the Sacrament, vnleſſe both kindes be miniſtred. Therefore in Conſecrating of the Sacrament, according to Chriſts Inſtitution, both kindes be neceſſarie ; foraſmuch as it is not prepared for the receiuing only, but alſo for renuing and ſtirring vp of the remembrance of our Lords death. So in as much as the Sacrament ſerueth the Sacrifice, by which the death and oblation of Chriſt is repreſented, both the kindes be requiſite ; that by diuers and ſundry formes, the Blood of Chriſt ſhed for our ſinnes, and ſeparated from his Body, may euidently be ſignified. But inaſmuch as the faithfull people doe receiue the Sacrament, thereby to attaine ſpirituall grace, and ſaluation of their ſoules, diuerſitie of the formes or kindes that be vſed for the ſignification only, hath no further vſe nor profit. But by one kinde, becauſe in it whole Chriſt is exhibited, abundance of all grace is once giuen ; ſo as by the other kinde thereto ouer added (which giueth the ſame, and not another Chriſt) no further augmentation of ſpiritual grace may be attained. In conſideration of this, the Catholike Church, taught by the holy Ghoſt all truth, whiles in the daily Sacrifice the memorie of our Lords Death and Paſſion is celebrated, for that it is neceſſarie therein, to expreſſe moſt plainly the ſhedding and ſeparating of the Blood from the Body that was crucified ; hath alwaies to that purpoſe diligently vſed both kindes of Bread and Wine. But in diſtributing of the bleſſed Sacrament to Chriſtian people, hath vſed liberty (which Chriſt neuer imbarred by any commandement to the contrarie) ſo, as it hath (48) euer beene moſt for the behoofe and commodity of the receiuers ; and hath miniſtred ſometimes both kindes, ſometimes one kind onely, as it hath beene thought moſt expedient, in regard of time, place, and perſons.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Heere is much talke, and no proofe. I grant, the Prieſt, if he miniſter the Communion orderly, and as he ſhould, doth renue the memorie of Chriſts Paſſion, according to his owne commandement, *Doe this in my remembrance.* Yet all this concludeth not directly, That therefore Chriſts ordinance may be broken. Neither is it yet ſo clerely proued, that the Prieſt in his Maſſe repreſenteth the ſeparation of Chriſts Blod from his Body. For, beſide that there is no ancient Doctour heere alleged for proofe heereof, I might well demand by what words, by what geſture, or to whom doth he repreſent this Separation ? His words be ſtrange ; his geſture ſecret : the people neither heareth

heareth nor ſeth ought, nor knoweth what hée meaneth. And being granted, that the Separation of Chriſts Bodie and Blood, is repreſented in the holy Myſteries, yet holy knoweth M. Harding, that the Prieſt ought more to repreſent the ſame, than the people? Doubtleſſe Chriſts Blood was ſhed indifferently for all the faithfull, as well for the People, as for the Prieſt: betweene whom and the People, as I haue before ſhewed out of S. Chryſoſtome, in this caſe there is no difference. For whereas M. Harding taketh the name of Sacrifice for ſome ſhew of proofe in this matter, it behoueth him to know, that not only the portion receiued by the Prieſt, but alſo the portion that is diſtributed vnto the people, is of the old Fathers called a Sacrifice. S. Auguſtine hath theſe words: *In Carthage the maner was, that Hymnes ſhould bee ſaid at the Altar out of the Booke of Pſalmes, either when the Oblation was made, or when the thing that was offered, was diuided vnto the people.* *Chryſ. in 2. ad Cor. hom. 18.* *Retract. lib. 2.*

By theſe plaine words we may ſée, that both the Prieſt and People receiued one Sacrifice. And Clemens (as M. Harding calleth him, the Apoſtles fellow) ſaith thus: Tanta in Altario Holocauſta offerantur, quanta populo ſufficere debeant: *Let there bee ſo many Sacrifices offered at the Altar, as may ſuffice for the people.* *Clemens epi. 2.*

And whereas it is further ſaid, that the Prieſt by receiuing both parts in ſeuerall, repreſenteth, as it were, vnto the eie, how Chriſts Bodie and Blood were done aſunder, the Scriptures and ancient Fathers haue taught vs otherwiſe, that not any geſture of the Prieſt, but the very miniſtration of the Holy Communion, and the whole action of the people, repreſenteth vnto vs the maner and order of Chriſts death. S. Paul ſaith: *As often as ye ſhall eat this Bread, and drinke this Cup, ye ſhall declare the Lords death vntill he come.* And this S. Paul writeth, not only to the Prieſts, but alſo to the whole congregation of the Corinthians. And in like ſort writeth S. Auguſtine touching the ſame: Cùm frangitur Hoſtia, & Sanguis de Calice in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud quàm Dominici Corporis in Cruce immolatio, eiuſque Sanguinis de latere effuſio deſignatur? *When the Oblation is broken, and the Blood from the Cuppe is powred into the mouthes of the faithfull, what thing elſe is there ſignified, but the offering of the Lords Body vpon the Croſſe, and the flowing of his Blood from his ſide?* Thus it is cléere, that the ſeparation of Chriſts Bodie and Blood is repreſented as well by the People, as by the Prieſt. Wherefore to deuiſe a difference without cauſe, and of the ſame to conclude an errour, it is double follie. 1. Cor. 11. *De Con. diſt. 2. Cùm frangitur.*

The diuerſitie of formes and kindes (ſaith M. Harding) ſerueth for ſignification only, and hath no further vſe nor profit. Notwithſtanding this ſaying were otherwiſe true, yet the iſſue thereof ſéemeth dangerous. It is our part to bée obedient, and not to diſcuſſe or rectifie Gods commandements, and to ſay, any thing that Chriſt the Sonne of God hath appointed vs to doe, is vtterly void of vſe and profit. As for the libertie of the Church that is here claimed, if we ſhould demand where & when it was granted, perhaps the Chartar would not be found. The libertie of the Church is not to be againſt God, nor to controle any his ordinance. Neither hath M. Harding yet proued, that the Church within fiue hundred yeres after Chriſt, in open congregation and aſſemblie of people (which is the ſtate of this queſtion) euer vſed any ſuch kinde of libertie.

In theſe words M. Harding hath priuily couched ſundry arguments, which of what value or force they be, I pray thée (gentle Reader) to vnderſtand.

The firſt is this: The Prieſt conſecrateth the Sacrament: Therefore the People is not bound to receiue in both kindes. 1

The ſecond is this: The Prieſt offereth the Sacrifice and repreſenteth the ſeparation of Chriſts Bodie and Blood: Ergo, It is ſufficient for the people to receiue in one kinde. 2

The third is this: The Church hath her libertie: Ergo, She is not bound to Chriſts Inſtitution. 3

Alas, how ſlenderly hang theſe things together? Yet theſe are the arguments that (as it is ſuppoſed) are neuer able to be anſwered.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

Anti poſſunt nos ſcim præcepta hæc fatere, quamuis Apoſtoli apud Clementem lib. 8. Conſtit. Apoſtolicarum, cap. vlt.

As touching the words of Chriſt, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drinke yee all of this; they pertaine to the Apoſtles only, and to their Succeſſors. For to them (49) only he gaue commandement to do that, which he did in his Supper, as Clement ſaith; to them only, ſaying, Doe this in my remembrance, he gaue commiſſion to conſecrate, offer, and to receiue the Sacrament in remembrance of his death and paſſion, by the ſame words ordaining them Prieſts of the New Teſtament. Wherefore this belongeth not to the Lay-people, neither can it iuſtly be gathered by this place, that they are bound of neceſſitie, and (a) vnder paine of deadlie ſinne to receiue the Sacrament vnder both kindes.

The 49. vntruth. For theſe words pertained aſwell to the people as to the Prieſts, as ſhall appeare.

(a) Here M. Harding altereth the caſe.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

When I reade the wordes of M. Hardings, I am stricken with horrour, to consider the terrible iudgement of God. It is much to be feared, that he, that is led away of this sort, offendeth not of ignorance, for so were the fault the more pardonable, but against the manifest knowen truth, and against the spirit of God. For whereas Christ saith, *Drinke ye all of this*, if he will follow the letter, the wordes be plaine that all should drinke. If he will leaue the letter, and take the meaning, S. Paul hath opened it. For, writing vnto the whole Congregation at Corinth, he saith thus: *As often as ye shall eat this Bread, and drinke of this Cup, ye shall declare the Lords death vntill he come.* If he doubt S. Paul, yet the very practise and continuall order of the Primitiue Church, fully declareth what Christ meant. And they say, Consuetudo est optima interpres Legis: *Custome is the best Interpreter of the Law.* If he will take neither the wordes of Christ, nor Christs meaning, then I knew not how to deale with him.

1. Cor. 11.

Once againe he bringeth forth Clement the Apostles fellow. And what Clement? Verily euen the same, that ministred and deliuered the holy Communion to the faithfull that then were in Rome, vnder both kindes, as appeareth by the long vsage of that Church euen as Christ deliuered it to his Disciples: and M. Harding is not able to shew, that the same Clement euer ministred otherwise. He saith and knoweth that the word Omnes, is against him: the meaning against him: the practise of the Church against him: his owne Clement against him. Yet he beareth his countenance so, as if all were with him. To be short, if Christ, when he said, *Drinke yee all*, meant not that all should drinke, why did S. Paul and all the Apostles, and the whole Primitiue Church expound it and practise it, as though he had meant so? And if he meant so, why doth M. Harding deceiue the World, and say, he meant not so?

But Clement saith, *Christ spake these words*, Doe this in my remembrance, *onely vnto the Apostles.* Therefore (saith M. Harding) these words, *Drinke ye all*, pertaine to the Apostles only, and to their Successours. Vnderstand, good Reader, that Clement in the place here alleged, speaketh not one word, either of one kinde or of both: but only saith thus: *That Christ appointed his Apostles to the office of the holy ministration*, which he calleth the spirituall oblation. Therefore thou maist see, that M. Harding shewing the one thing for another, and of the same concluding what him liketh, cannot seeme to deale plainly.

Spiritualis hostia.

The argument that hereof is gathered, standeth thus: Clement saith, that Christ gaue only vnto his Apostles, the office of the Ministerie, and authority to offer the spirituall Sacrifice: Ergo, these wordes, *Drinke ye all of this*, pertaine nothing to the people. Here is a very faint conclusion. For by force of this reason, he may take from the people both parts of the Sacrament, as well as one, and so leaue them no Sacrament at all.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuision.

The 50. vntruth. For they changed not, but restored the old custome.

And this vnderstood they which aboue one hundred yeeres past, (50) changing the old custome of the Church of receiuing the Communion vnder one kinde, by their priuate authoritie would needs vsurpe the Cup also. For seeing themselues not to haue sufficient proofe and warrant for their doing, of these words, *Drinke yee all of this*, the better to bolster vp their new fangled attempt, they thought it better to allege the words of Christ in S. Iohn; *Except ye eat the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye shall not haue life in you*; which words for all that our new Masters of forty yeeres past, will to be vnderstanded of the spirituall, and not of the Sacramentall eating, as it may be and is taken for both, of the Doctours viewed apart; yet in all that Chapter, there is no mention of the Cup nor of Wine at all. Wherefore they that cry so much on the institution and commandement of Christ, cannot finde in all the Scriptures, neither commandement where he gaue charge the Sacrament so to be giuen, neither so much as any example, where Christ gaue it vnder both kindes to any other than to the Apostles. Whereas contrariwise it may bee shewed of our part, that the Sacrament was giuen vnder one kinde only to the two Disciples that went to Emmaus; For that the Bread which Christ there tooke, Blessed, Brake, and gaue to them, was not simple and common Bread, but the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. For so [a] *Chrysostome*, [b] *Augustine*, [c] *Bede*, and [d] *Theophylact*, with one accord doe witnesse. It appeareth also, that the Communion vnder one kinde was vsed at Hierusalem among Christs Disciples, by that S. Luke writeth in the Acts of the Apostles of the breaking of the bread. If M. Iewell heere thinke to auoid these places by their accustomed figure *Synecdoche*, among his owne sect happily it may be accepted; but among men of right and learned iudgement, that shift will seeme ouer weake and vaine. Now to conclude touching the sixth Chapter of S. Iohn, as thereof they can bring no one word mentioning the Cup or Wine, for proofe of their both kindes; so it sheweth, and not in very obscure wise, that the forme of Bread alone is sufficient, whereas Christ saith; *Qui manducat panem hunc, viuet in æternum*: He that eateth this Bread, shall liue for euer.

Ioan. 6.

Luke 24.

[a] *In Matth. hom. 17.* [b] *De consens. Euangel. lib. 3. cap. 25.* [c] *In Luca.* [d] *In Luca. Act. 2.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

In these wordes M. Harding chargeth not only vs, but also the Apostles of Christ, and all the Fathers of the Primitiue Church, with great ouersight: who in their times ministred the holy Sacrament vnto the vulgar people, as it is now supposed by these men, without any example of Christ, and without Commission.

Touching

Touching the Inſtitution of Chriſt, I haue alreadie ſaid ſo much, as vnto a quiet minde may ſeeme ſufficient. Yet for further declaration, I would demand of M. Harding, what thing he requireth to Chriſts Inſtitution. If *Words*, Chriſts words be plaine: If *Example*, Chriſt himſelfe miniſtred in both kindes: If *Authoritie*, Chriſt commanded his Diſciples, and in them all other Miniſters of his Church to doe the like: If *Certaintie of his meaning*, The Apoſtles endued with the Holy Ghoſt, ſo practiſed the ſame, and vnderſtood, he meant ſo: If *Continuance of time*, Hee bade the ſame to be continued vntill hee come againe. If neither the Words, nor Example, nor Commandement of Chriſt, nor the vnderſtanding and practiſe of the Apoſtles, can warrant vs Chriſts Inſtitution, alas what warrant then haue they, that being vtterly void of all theſe things, only ſtay themſelues, as it is confeſſed by the beſt of that ſide, by the ſimple deuotion of the people? When Chriſt had deliuered both kindes vnto his Diſciples, hee ſaid vnto them, *This doe ye*, the ſame that yée ſée I haue done. But where did Chriſt euer ſay, Miniſter vnto your ſelues one way, and another way vnto the people: or, Receiue ye in both kindes, and let all the reſt receiue in one? *St. Gard. in the Diuels Sophiſtrie.*

Although theſe things be plaine and euident of themſelues, yet that the follie of theſe men may the better appeare, it ſhall be good to heare the report of one of their owne Doctours touching theſe matters. One Gerardus Lorichius, in a Booke that hee wrote, De Miſſa publica proroganda, hath theſe words: Sunt Pſeudocatholici, qui reformationem Eccleſiæ quoquo modo remorari non verentur. Hi ne Laicis altera ſpecies reſtituatur, nullis parcunt blaſphemijs. Dicunt enim, Chriſtum ſolis Apoſtolis dixiſſe, Bibite ex eo omnes. Atqui verba Canonis habent, Accipite & manducate ex hoc omnes. Hic dicant, oro, num & hoc ad ſolos dictum ſit Apoſtolos. Ergo Laicis & à ſpecie panis eſt abſtinendum: Quod dicere eſt hæreſis, & blaſphemia peſtilens, & execrabilis: Conſequitur ergo, vtrunque verbum dictum eſſe ad omnem Eccleſiam: *They bee falſe Catholikes* (ſaith this man) *that are not aſhamed by all meanes to hinder the Reformation of the Church. They to the intent the other kinde of the Sacrament may not be reſtored vnto the Lay people, ſpare no kinde of blaſphemies. For they ſay, that Chriſt ſaid only vnto his Apoſtles*, Drinke ye all of this. *But the words of the Canon* (of the Maſſe) *be theſe:* Take and eat ye all of this. *Heere, I beſeech them, let them tell me, whether they will haue theſe words alſo, onely to pertaine vnto the Apoſtles. Then muſt the Lay people abſtaine from the other kinde of the Bread alſo. Which thing to ſay, is an hereſie, and a peſtilent and a deteſtable blaſphemie. Wherefore it followeth, that each of theſe words was ſpoken vnto the whole Church.* Thus farre Lorichius, an earneſt defender of Tranſubſtantiation, of the Popes Supremacie, and of Priuate Maſſe: leſt M. Harding ſhould ſay, he were one of Luthers Scholars, and ſo except againſt him, as being a partie. And Iulius ſometime Biſhop of Rome, hearing of certaine that vſed to dippe the Bread in the Wine, and ſo to deliuer it to the people, had no way to reforme them, but only by Chriſts Inſtitution. For thus he ſaith: Quod pro complemento Communionis, intinctam tradunt Euchariſtiam populis, nec hoc prolatum ex Euangelio teſtimonium receperunt: *Whereas for accompliſhment of the Communion, they dip the Sacrament and deliuer it vnto the people, they haue not receiued this witneſſe of the Goſpell.* He addeth further: Seorſum enim Panis, & ſeorſum Calicis commendatio memoratur: *For the deliuery of the Bread and the deliuery of the Cup, are mentioned aſunder.* And thus he ſpeaketh of the miniſtration of the Sacrament, that is due not only to the Prieſts, but alſo to the people. *Gerardus Lorichius in 7. parte Canonis.* *De Con. diſt. 2. Cum omne.*

The learned men of Bohæmia ſaw they could haue no hold of Chriſts Inſtitution, and therefore to maintaine their new fangled attempt, as it pleaſeth M. Harding to terme it they were faine to take the words of Chriſt out of the ſixth Chapter of Iohn; *Vnleſſe ye eat the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his Blood, ye ſhall haue no life in you.* But theſe words in the ſixth Chapter of S. Iohn, ſaith M. Harding, our new Maſters will haue expounded of the Spirituall, not of the Sacramentall eating. Of the Bohemians, I cannot ſée why they ſhould be called new fangled. Their requeſt was none other, but that they might continue the order of the Primitiue Church, which Thomas of Aquine ſaith, had continued in diuers Churches from the Apoſtles vntill his time, for the ſpace of a thouſand and three hundred yéeres without controlement. And it may ill become a Chriſtian man, and a Scholar of the Apoſtolike Sée, to call the doing of Chriſt, and of his Diſciples, *New fangled*. Touching their reaſons made in this behalfe, I néed not to ſpeake. Gods name bee bleſſed, they haue preuailed with the beſt learned of the World. Whatſoeuer their premiſſes ſéeme to M. Harding, their concluſion was this, that no mortall Creature ſhould preſume to diſallow the ordinance of the Immortall God. *Part. 3. qu. 80. Art. 12.*

But our new Maſters (ſaith M. Harding) muſt needs haue theſe words of S. Iohn expounded of the ſpirituall eating. If it be either the violence of nature, or the maner of his Catholike doctrine, that driueth M. Harding thus to taunt, hée muſt be borne withall; notwithſtanding

ding it agreeth not with his premise. As touching the vnderstanding of the wordes of Christ in the sixth of S. Iohn, they are not all new maisters, that haue so taken them. For to leaue S. Augustine, Origen, and others of that age, Nicolaus Lyra, a man of latter yeres, saith, The said wordes of Christ must nedes be taken spiritually, and none otherwise. Thus he saith: Ista intelligi debent de manducatione, & potatione spirituali. Quia sequitur, Qui manducat meam Carnem, & bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, & ego in eo. Quod B. Augustinus exponens ait: Hoc est manducare illam escam, & bibere illum potum, in Christo manere, & Christum manentem in se habere: quod nihil aliud est, quàm esse in charitate Christi: *These words must be taken of the spirituall eating and drinking. For it followeth: Hee that eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in mee, and I in him. Which thing S. Augustine expounding, saith thus: This is the eating of that food, and the drinking of that drinke, for a man to dwell in Christ, and to haue Christ in him dwelling: which thing is nothing else, but to be in the loue of Christ.* Here we see, that Nicolas Lyra, a man that liued two hundred yeres agoe, and therefore no very *New Maister*, expoundeth these wordes of the spirituall eating.

Nicol. Lyra in Psalm. 111.

Yet M. Harding saith, The same place may be taken also of the Sacramentall eating. But Lyra thinketh no, and therefore addeth further: Hoc verbum nihil directè pertinet ad Sacramentalem vel corporalem manducationem. Nam hoc verbum fuit dictum diu, antequam Sacramentum Eucharistiæ esset institutum. Ex illa igitur litera, de Sacramentali Communione, non potest fieri argumentum efficax: *These words pertaine not directly vnto the Sacramentall or Corporall eating. For it was spoken long before the Sacrament was ordained. Therefore out of this letter, there cannot be made any good argument for the Sacramentall Communion.*

Nicol. Lyra in Psalm. 111.

Likewise one Michael Væhe, one of late yeres, a man of M. Hardings owne side, touching the same matter, writeth thus: Infirmum est argumentum: Quæ enim de spirituali manducatione dicta sunt, ille ad sacramentalem torquet: *This* (saith he) *is but a weake reason: For the words that be spoken of spirituall eating, he applieth to the Sacramentall eating.* Here may M. Harding see, besides S. Augustine, Origen, and other old Catholike Fathers, whose wordes I haue not alleged, what men hee hath called *New Maisters*. Nicolas Lyra was an English man, and liued two hundred yeres before Luther. Michael Væhe was of late yeres, and wrote namely against Luther. Verily if Christ and his Apostles were now conuersant in the world, vnlesse they would forsake their owne doctrine, they should be called *New Maisters* too, aswell as others.

Michael Væhe tract. 5. *contra Lutherum.*

And notwithstanding these wordes in the sixth Chapter of S. Iohn be spoken and taken of the spirituall eating, as it is already prooued, yet are they oftentimes by the old Fathers applied vnto the Sacrament: but vndirectly, as it is aboue noted by Lyra. To alleg the places, specially being so many, and not vnknowen vnto the Learned, it would be tedious. Christs being at Emmaus, and the Disciples breaking of bread at Hierusalem, because it hath pleased M. Harding to bring them twice, shall bee afterward answered in their places.

The reasons that M. Harding hath here gathered be these: In the sixth Chapter of S. Iohn there is no mention made of the Cuppe or Wine; *Ergo*, the people may receiue vnder one kinde. This reason is very weake: for he may as well conclude of the same wordes; Ergo, The Priest may receiue vnder one kinde: which he himselfe saith is against Christs Institution. He might farre better haue concluded the contrary. The Lay people being faithfull and godly, by Faith, and in their hearts doe indeed and verily drinke the blood of Christ. Therefore they may drinke the Sacrament of the same. And as Eckius a Doctour of that side saith: *The People drinketh in the person of the Priest.* Therefore, they may drinke in their owne person as well and without danger.

Eckius, in locis Communibus.

Another reason is this: It doth not appeare, that Christ euer ministred in both kindes, but onely to his Disciples: Ergo, the people may receiue in one kinde. I marueil, what lucke M. Harding hath to such conclusions. For what necessarie sequell can there bee, either from the Apostles to the people, or from both kindes to one kinde, or from an affirmatiue to a negatiue? The summe of the reason standeth thus: The Apostles are commanded to receiue both kindes: Ergo, The people is not commanded to receiue both kindes. The weaknesse whereof is euident and sheweth it selfe. It will much rather and better follow thus: The people is commanded to receiue as the Apostles receiued, for there is expressed no difference. The Apostles receiued in both kindes: Ergo, the people is commanded to receiue in both kindes. And thus notwithstanding it be here stoutly auouched, that we haue neither example, nor Institution, yet I trust it doth well appeare, that we haue both the example of Christ, that ministred the Sacrament in both kindes: and also Christs Institution, that bade his Disciples to doe the same.

M. Harding.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuision.

Thus our aduersaries haue nothing to bring out of the Scriptures against the vse of the Catholike Church, in ministring the Communion vnder one kind. And yet they cease not crying out vpon the breach of Christs expresse Commandement. And M. Iewell, for his part, in his first Answer to D. Cole, saith, that the Councell of Constance pronounced openly against Christ himselfe. But forasmuch as they are so hot in this point, I will send them to Martin Luther himselfe their Patriarke, that either by his sobrietie in this matter, they may be somewhat colded, or by his and his Scholars inconstancie heerein, be brought to be ashamed of themselues. Though the places be well knowen, as often times cited of the Catholike Writers of our time, against the Gospellers, yet heere I thinke good to rehearse them, that the vnlearned may see how themselues make not so great a matter of this Article, as some seeme to beare the people in hand it is. Luther writeth to them of Bohemia these very words: *Quoniam pulchrum quidem esset, vtraque specie Eucharistiæ vti, & Christus hac in re nihil tanquam necessarium præcepit; præstaret pacem & vnitatem, quam Christus vbique præcepit, sectari, quàm de speciebus Sacramenti contendere:* Whereas it were a faire thing (saith he) to vse both kindes of the Sacrament, yet for that Christ heerein hath commanded nothing, as necessarie, it were better to keepe peace and vnitie, which Christ hath euery where charged vs withall, than to striue for the outward kindes of the Sacrament. Againe his words be these, in a declaration that he wrote of the Sacrament: *Non dixi, neque consului, neque est intentio mea, vt vnus aut aliquot Episcopi, propria authoritate alicui incipiant vtramque speciem porrigere, nisi ita constitueretur & mandaretur in Concilio Generali:* Neither haue I said, nor counselled, nor my minde is, that any one, or moe Bishops, begin by their owne authoritie, to giue both kindes (of the Sacrament) to any person, vnlesse it were so ordained and commanded in a Generall Councell.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

It greeueth M. Harding that we should say, the Councell of Constance decreed against Christ himselfe: and therefore he sendeth vs to Luther himselfe, that, seeing his inconstancie, we may be ashamed of our selues. And thus, with one worde sylLable, he thought it good merrily to refresh himselfe: and yet touching inconstancie, wherein he so triumpheth against D. Luther, he seemeth vtterly to haue forgotten himselfe. For it is knowen to the World, that D. Luther, in all his life, neuer changed but once, and that from manifest errour to the open confessed truth. But M. Harding, vpon how good occasions I will not say, hath changed his Doctrine and whole Faith, twice within the space of two yeares. And so much would I not now haue touched, saying only to put him in remembrance of himselfe.

That the determination of the Councell of Constance was against Christ, besides Gerardus Lorichius, a Doctour of M. Hardings owne Schoole, who affirmeth it in vehement words, what can there be so plaine, as that S. Paul writeth vnto the Corinthians? *That I receiued of the Lord, the same haue I deliuered vnto you.* After he mentioneth each kinde apart, and sheweth, that as Christ toke the Bread, so he also toke the Cup: and that the Apostles receiued both at Christs hands, not only for themselues, but also to the vse and behoofe of the people. Therefore whereas M. Harding crieth so often against vs, that the deliuerie of the Cup vnto the people is no part of Christs Institution, if he had considered these things well, or had conferred herein with the old Catholike Fathers, he would haue better aduised himselfe. For in stead of many, for shortnesse sake, to allege but one, S. Cyprians words in this matter be very plaine: Quidam vel ignoranter, vel simpliciter, in Calice Dominico sanctificando, & plebi ministrando, non hoc faciunt, quod Iesus Christus Dominus & Deus noster, huius Sacrificij Author & Doctor, fecit & docuit: *Some there be, that in sanctifying the Cup, and deliuering it vnto the people, doe not that thing, that Iesus Christ our Lord and God, the Author and Teacher of this Sacrifice, both did and taught.* And addeth further: *If any man be in this errour, seeing the light of the truth, let him returne againe vnto the roote, and vnto the originall of the Lords Tradition.* And after in the same Epistle: *We keepe not the thing that is commanded vs, vnlesse we doe the same that the Lord did.* In these few words S. Cyprian saith, *The Lord both did it, and taught it to bee done:* He calleth it, *The Lords Tradition*: He calleth it, *The Lords Commandement*. And here cannot M. Harding steale away in the mist, and say, S. Cyprian meant all this of the Cup, that the Priest consecrateth for himselfe. For his very words be plaine to the contrary: In Calice Dominico sanctificando, & plebi ministrando: that is, *In sanctifying the Lords Cup, and ministring it vnto the people.* And if S. Cyprian might well write thus against the Heretikes called Aquarij, which in the holy Ministration would vse no wine, but in stead thereof did Consecrate water, and ministred it vnto the people, much more may we say the same against our Aduersaries, which Consecrate and minister vnto the people no Cup at all. Wherefore at the end of the same Epistle he concludeth with these words: *Not to doe that thing that the Lord did, what is it else, than to cast off his word, and to despise his Discipline, and to commit, not worldly, but spirituall robberie and adulterie, while as a man, from the truth of the Gospell, stealeth away both the sayings and doings of the Lord, and corrupteth and defileth Gods Commandements? So is it written in the* Prophet Ieremie: What is Chaffe

De Miss. publica prorogandæ. 1. Cor. 11.

Cyprian. lib. 2. Epist. 3.

Ad originem Traditionis Dominicæ.

Quod mandatum est.

Ierem. 23.

Chaffe in comparison of Corne ? Therefore will I vpon these Prophets, saith the Lord, that steale my words each one of them from his neighbour, and deceiue my people in their lies, and in their errours.

The words that Luther wrote to them of Bohæmia, and the others here reported, were written by him before God had appointed him to publish the Gospell: and therefore are no more to be alleged against him for that he wrote afterward, as note of inconstancie, than M. Hardings Sermons preached openly in the time of King Edward, are to bee alleged against that he writeth now.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuision.

The 51. vntruth. ioined with a slander. Neuer man spake more reuerently of the Oblation of Christ vpon the Crosse.

Thus he wrote before he had conceiued perfect hatred against the Church. But after that he had beene better acquainted with the Diuell, and of him, appearing vnto him sensibly, had beene instructed with arguments against the Sacrifice of the Masse, (51) that the memorie of our Redemption by Christ wrought on the Crosse, might vtterly be abolished, he wrote heereoffarre otherwise: Si quo casu Concilium statueret, minimè omnium nos vellemus vtraque specie potiri: imo tunc primùm in despectum Concilij, vellemus aut vna, aut neutra, & nequaquam vtraque potiri, & eos planè anathema habere, quicunque talis Concilij authoritate potirentur vtraque: *If in any case the Councell would so ordaine, we would in no wise haue both the kindes: but euen then, in despight of the Councell, we would haue one kinde, or neither of them, and in no wise both; and hold them for accursed, whosoeuer by authoritie of such a Councell would haue both.* These words declare what spirit Luther was of. They shew him like himselfe. Whosoeuer readeth his Bookes with indifferent iudgement, shall finde that sithence the Apostles time, neuer wrote man so arrogantly, ne so despightfully against the Church, nor so contrarily to himselfe. Which markes be so euident, that whosoeuer will not see them, but suffereth himselfe to be carried away into errour, hatred of the Church, and contempt of all godlinesse, either by him, or by his scholars; except he repent, and returne, he is guiltie of his owne damnation, vtterly ouerthrowen, and sinneth inexcusably, as one condemned by his owne iudgement. But for excuse heereof, in his Booke of the Captiuitie of Babylon, he confesseth that he wrote thus, not for that he thought so, nor for that he iudged the vse of one kinde vnlawfull, but because hee was stirred by hatred and anger so to doe. His words doe sound so much plainly: *Prouocatus, imò per vim raptus:* I wrote this (saith hee) otherwise than I thought in my heart, prouoked, and by violence pulled to it, whether I would or no. Here I doubt not, but wise men will regard more that Luther wrote when his minde was quiet and calme, than when it was enraged with blustering stormes of naughtie affections.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

There is nothing so easie, as to speake ill. There was nothing further off from Luthers minde, than vpon any determination of any Councell, to minister the Sacrament vnder one kinde, and so to breake Christs Institution into halues. But hee thought it not mat, that Gods truth immortall, should hang of the authoritie of a mortall man, and stand for true no further than it should please a man to allow of it. Notwithstanding, such interest and authoritie the Pope hath claimed to himselfe, forcing the world to beleeue, as he himselfe writeth, *That he hath all right and law in the closet of his brest.* **And one** Sylvester Prierias, **gouernour of** Pope Leoes Palace, **was not ashamed nor afraid to write these words:** A Doctrina Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & Romani Pontificis, sacra Scriptura robur & authoritatem trahit: *The holy Scripture taketh strength and authoritie of the Church and Bishop of* Rome. **This was the thing that** D. Luther **misliked, and thought intolerable. And therefore hee said, hee would haue Gods word receiued, onely because it is Gods word, and spoken by him; not because it is authorized by a** Councell: **and if the** Councell **would allow the Ministration in one kinde, then, he said, he would vse both, because Christ in his Institution appointed both. But if the Bishops in the** Councell **would agree vpon both kindes, as a matter standing wholly in their pleasures, as though they had full power to controle or to ratifie the will of God, then, he said, he would haue no regard vnto the authoritie of such a** Councell, **that setteth it selfe aboue God, but rather would vse one kinde only, or none at all. For this cause** M. Harding **reproueth** Doctor Luther **so bitterly, and calleth him arrogant, because he would not haue Gods will subiect to the will of man.**

Extr. de Const. Licet Roman. Sylvester Prierias, Magister Palatij.

Actor. 16.

Yet it appeareth, that S. Paul **in the like case did the like. For notwithstanding he had** Circumcised Timothy, **yet when he saw certaine come in, that would needs force the same vpon** Titus **also, and so make it necessary, he withstood them stoutly, and would not yeld.**

Galat. 2.

Thus he writeth: *Neither was* Titus, *that then was with me, compelled to be Circumcised, for the comming in of certaine false Brethren, which came vpon vs to trie out our libertie, that we haue in Christ Iesus, to the intent to bring vs into bondage. Vnto whom wee gaue no place by yeelding, no not for any time, that the truth of the Gospell might remaine among you.*

Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Eusebius **in his Story saith, there was an old Law in** Rome, **that no Emperour should** Consecrate a God, **vnlesse the same God had beene first allowed by the** Councell. Tiberius being Emperour, when he heard of the wonderfull workes that were wrought by Christ in Iurie, thought therefore he was a God, and promoted a bill vnto the Councell, that

that Christ might be proclaimed, and taken for a God. But the Councell was otherwise bent, and would allow him for no God. Tertullian laugheth at their follie. His words be these: Apud vos de humano arbitrio diuinitas pensitatur. Nisi homini Deus placuerit, non erit Deus. Homo iam Deo propitius esse debet: *Amongst you the diuinitie and state of God is weighed by mans indgement. Vnlesse God please man, God (amongst you) shall be no God. Now therefore man must be good and fauourable vnto his God.* The like follie seemeth to be in them that thinke Gods truth is no truth, vnlesse the consent of a Councell allow it to be truth. To this same purpose Luther wrote a Booke vnto the Knights of the order of Russia, after they had obtained from the Pope a dispensation to marrie, notwithstanding their vow. He chargeth them, *that in any wise they marrie not by warrant of that dispensation: otherwise* (he saith) *they offend God, and be worse than adulterers, as hauing more regard vnto man, than vnto God: and hauing Gods owne dispensation, as if it were not sufficient, would seeke further for the dispensation of a man.*

Tertull. in Apologetico.

Ad nobiles Ordinis Teutonici.

Luther wrote not this in the despight of any godly Councell, no more than the Prophet Esay, when he said, Inite Concilium, & dissipabitur: *Goe, gather your Councell, and it shall be broken.* But he could not suffer to see Gods glorie so defaced, that a companie of men should presume to allow or disallow his truth, as if it were not true in it selfe, but must fall or stand only at their pleasure.

Esai 8.

The rest that followeth, is nothing else but vnsemely slander. But God be blessed, that hath deliuered that godly man from lying tongues.

But Luther (saith M. Harding) was contrary vnto himselfe. Euen so Marcion the Heretike charged S. Paul, that he spake against the Ceremonies, and yet himselfe shaued his head at Cenchreæ, and obserued the Ceremonies: that hee would not Circumcise Titus, and yet had Circumcised Timotheus: that hee would sometime defend the Law, and sometime repraue the Law: and so was euermore contrarie to himselfe. And he that had M. Hardings spirit, perhaps would no more doubt to finde fault with S. Paul for inconstancie, than with Luther. If Luther were euer contrarie to himselfe, yet might no man worse charge him in that behalfe, than M. Harding. But Luther euermore followed Gods calling, and neuer returned backe vnto his vomit, neither fought against his owne conscience, nor against the manifest knowen truth. And therefore, although hee were contrarie vnto himselfe, as passing from errour vnto truth, yet was he not contrary vnto God.

Actor. 21.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuision.

Now to put this matter, that Luther iudged it a thing indifferent, whether one receiue the Sacrament vnder one kinde, or both, more out of doubt, Philip Melancthon, his scholar, and neerest of his counsell, writeth: *Sicut edere suillam, aut abstinere á suilla, sic alterutra signi parte vti medium esse*: That as it is a thing indifferent to eat Swines flesh, or to forbeare Swines flesh, so it is also to vse which part of the signe a man listeth. By the word *Signe*, he meaneth the Sacrament, liking better that strange word, than the accustomed word of the Church, lest hee might perhaps be thought of the Brethren of his Sect, in somewhat to ioine with the Catholikes.

Iohan. Commun.

Bucer also is of the same opinion, who in the conference that was had betweene the Catholikes and Protestants, for agreement in controuersies of Religion at Ratisbone, confirmed and allowed this Article by his full consent, with these words: Ad controuersiam, quæ est de vna aut vtraque specie, tollendam, cum primis conducturum, vt sancta Ecclesia liberam faceret potestatem, Sacramentum hoc in vna, vel in vtraque specie sumendi. Ea tamen lege, vt nulli per hoc detur occasio, quem vsum tantoperè retinuit Ecclesia, temerè condemnandi, aut inuicem iudicandi: *That the controuersie for the one or both kindes may bee taken away, it shall bee very well done, that holy Church made it free, to receiue this Sacrament in one or both kindes: yet vnder such condition, as heereby no occasion bee giuen to any body, rashly to condemne the vse which the Church hath so long time kept, nor to iudge another.* Soothly hee which would haue it free, and at libertie, to receiue the Sacrament vnder one or both kindes, and holdeth opinion, that the old custome of the one kinde onely is not to bee condemned, seemeth plainely enough to confesse, that nothing hath beene instituted or commanded of Christ, touching this matter, as necessarie to saluation.

Thus we may see plainly, that they which haue diuided themselues from the Mysticall Body of Christ, that is, his Church, who were of greatest learning and iudgement, make it a matter indifferent (as it is indeed of it selfe left to the libertie of the Church) whether the Sacrament be ministred vnder one kinde, or both. And thus much hath beene confessed against M. Iewell and his Sect, not onely by the learned aduersaries of the Church in our time, but also by a learned man of Bohæmia, aboue six score yeeres past. His name is Iohn Przyxam, of whose writings, some are set foorth in print. This learned man, whereas hee endeuoured to proue the vse of both kindes of the words of Christ written by S. Iohn, Except yee eat the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye shall not haue life in you, at length vttereth these words according to the eloquence of his time: *Verùm tamen hîc Deum timens, & mores impios aliorum præcauens, fateor, quòd quascunque personas de Ecclesia Communioni fidelium sub vtraque specie repugnantes, damnare aut hæreticare non intendo*: But heere hauing the feare of God before mine eies, and being well ware I follow not the wicked conditions of others, I grant, that what persons soeuer of the Church repine against the Communion of the faithfull people vnder both kindes, I intend not to condemne them, nor to hold them for Heretikes.

Ioh. de profess. fidei cathol. Cap. 19.

But

A Signe.

But if it bee the Commandement of God, that the Sacrament bee receiued of all vnder both kindes, why ſhould hee be forbidden by the feare of God, to condemne thoſe that withſtand that order of Communion, ſeeing that whoſoeuer goeth againſt Gods Commandement, is worthy to be condemned? Therefore by his teſtimonie, the vſe of one or both kindes is indifferent.

Thus we are able to allege Luther, Melanchon, Bucer, and that learned Bohæmian, for the indifferencie of the Communion, to be miniſtred either vnder one kinde or both: whereby I meane not, that the vſe of the Sacrament is ſo left to euery mans libertie, as he that liſteth may require both kindes, and another may content himſelfe with one kinde. Not ſo. Euery man is bound to follow the order of the Church: but the Church is not bound of neceſſitie, by Gods Commandement, to miniſter it vnder both kindes to the Laitie.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

To proue that the halfe Communion is a thing indifferent, hee bringeth forth the authoritie of Melanchon, Bucer, and a certaine learned man of Bohæmia: ſome of them falſlie alleged, and ſome without any allegation at all. Neither doth he bring them to the intent to take them for his Authors, and to follow them: for they neither in their Bookes, nor in the order of their Churches, euer conſented to the breach of Chriſts Inſtitution. But herein hee bewraieth his want of old Doctors: for hauing the authoritie of them, he would neuer haue alleged any of theſe.

In Melanchon he miſliketh much the maner of his ſpeech, in that he calleth the Sacrament a Signe: which word (as hee ſaith) is ſtrange, and not the accuſtomed word of the Church. Sauing that hee ſeeketh occaſions and quarrels without cauſe, as his wont is, otherwiſe hee knoweth, that a Sacrament hath beene called a Signe, in all times and Ages of the Church.

Lib. 4. diſt. 1. Petrus Lumbardus thus defineth a Sacrament: Sacramentum eſt Signum rei Sacræ: *A Sacrament is the Signe of a holy thing.* And as it is thought, the very ſubſtance and nature of a thing cannot be better knowen, than by the Definition. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Signa cùm ad res diuinas adhibentur, Sacramenta vocantur: *Signes, when they be applied to godly things, be called Sacraments.* And againe, writing of the difference that is betweene the Sacraments of the Old Law, and of the New, he ſaith thus: In Signis diuerſis, eadem Fides: *The Signes being diuers, the Faith is one.* And writing againſt one Adimantus, he ſaith: Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, Hoc eſt Corpus meum, cùm daret Signum Corporis ſui: *The Lord doubted not to ſay, This is my Body, when he gaue the Signe of his Body.* Likewiſe ſaith Chryſoſtome: Si mortuus Ieſus non eſt, cuius Symbolum ac Signum hoc Sacrificium eſt? *If Ieſus died not, whoſe Token and whoſe Signe is this Sacrifice?* And leſt any man ſhould be deceiued in the meaning of this word *Signe*, S. Auguſtine himſelfe hath expounded it thus: Signum eſt res, præter ſpeciem, quam ingerit Senſibus, aliud quiddam faciens ex ſe in cognitionem venire: *A Signe is a thing, that, beſides the ſight it ſelfe which it offereth vnto the ſences, cauſeth of it ſelfe ſome other certaine thing to come into knowledge.* Whereby it may appeare, that this word *Signe* is not ſo ſtrange as M. Harding would haue it ſeeme, nor ſo vnaccuſtomed vnto the Church. Although it miſlike him, that we ſhould doe as the old Fathers did, yet he might giue vs leaue to vſe ſuch words and phraſes as the old Fathers vſed.

Aug. de Doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 3. ca. 6.
In Iohan. Tract. 45.
Auguſt. contra Adimantum, cap. 12.
Chryſ. in Mat. Homil. 83.
Aug. de Doctrina Chriſtiana, lib. 2.
De Con. diſt. 2. Signum eſt.

But (ſaith he) Melanchon and Bucer accounted it a thing indifferent. Indeed theſe godly learned men, when they ſaw that through the malice of their Aduerſaries, they could not obtaine, that Chriſts Inſtitution might vniuerſally be receiued, yet they deſired at the leaſt, it might bee left free, without reſtraint, for euery Church to doe therein as they ſhould thinke good, and that without murmur, or offence of others. And thus farre forth their deſire was it might be iudged free: not that they thought Chriſt had not ordeined the Sacrament to be miniſtred vnto the people in both kindes, or that in it ſelfe it is indifferent, but that the faithfull of God might indifferently and freely vſe it, without controlement, and that it ſhould not be iudged Hereſie, to doe as Chriſt hath commanded.

So the godly Fathers at the beginning, when they could not perſwade the Princes of the world, with their people, to receiue the Goſpell, yet they thought they were gainers, and gaue God thankes, when they might haue place and libertie for themſelues, freely and with quiet conſcience to meet together, and to preach the Goſpell.

This libertie M. Harding cannot like withall. He would haue it free for the whole Church to determine of it: but not for euery Church particular. This is a ſhift to deceiue the ignorant. For he knoweth well, that all other Churches throughout the world, from the firſt planting of the Goſpell vntill this day, doe ſtill miniſter the holy Communion in both kindes, as Chriſt commanded: and that Chriſts Inſtitution was neuer openly and by conſent broken, but only in the Church of Rome: which Church alſo is not vniuerſall, but meere particular: and that the ſame breach, in the ſame Church of Rome, ſprang not of any conſent of Biſhops, or other learned men, but, as it is proued before, onely of the

ſimple

simple deuotion of the people. And doth M. Harding thinke the people may safely breake Christs Institution, without any Generall Councell: and may not safely returne againe to the same, without a Generall Councell? Verily there needeth no Councell, where as nothing is done by Councell. Nestorius.

Touching the indifferencie of this matter, whereupon M. Harding hath built this whole treatie, and in what sort the breach of Christs Institution may same a thing indifferent, I know no better answer, than that is already made by S. Cyprian, who in the like case maketh answer thus: Si quis de antecessoribus meis non hoc obseruauit & tenuit, quod nos Dominus exemplo & magisterio suo docuit, potest simplicitati eius de indulgentia Domini venia concedi: nobis verò non poterit ignosci, qui nunc à Domino admoniti & instructi sumus, &c. *If any of my predecessors haue not followed and kept that thing which the Lord, by his example and commandement, hath taught vs, hee for his simplicitie may bee pardoned: but (if we wilfully offend) there is no pardon for vs, that are already warned and instructed of the Lord. We giue God thankes, that whiles he instructeth vs what wee shall doe for the time to come, hee forgiueth vs that is past, because wee haue erred of simplicitie.* Thus farre forth the breach of Gods ordinance may bee borne withall, by the iudgement of S. Cyprian. But he addeth further: Post inspirationem verò, & reuelationem factam, qui in eo quod erraverat, perseverat, prudens & sciens, sine venia ignorantiæ peccat, præsumptione atque obstinatione superatus: *After that God hath once opened and reuealed (his truth) whoso continueth still in his errour, willingly and wittingly offendeth, without hope of pardon, as being ouercome with Presumption and Wilfulnesse.* *Cyprian. lib. 2. epist. 3.* *Cypr. ad Iubaianum, de Hereticis Baptizandis.*

M. Harding. The 8. Diuision.

And whereas it was ministred in both kindes at Corinth, as it appeareth by S. Paul, and in sundry other places, as wee finde most euidently in the writings of diuers ancient Fathers, yet the Church hath beene mooued by diuers and weighty causes, to take order, that the people should receiue their Communion vnder one kinde, not onely in the Councell of Basil, but also in that of Constance, and long before them, aboue a thousand yeeres, in (52) the first Councell of Ephesus, as many doe probably gather, and namely, Vrbanus Regius, a Doctor of Luthers Schoole, confesseth in his booke *De locis Communibus*. One cause, and not the least, was, that thereby the Heresie of Nestorius might the rather be extinguished, who, amongst other errours, held opinion (53) that vnder the forme of Bread in the Sacrament, is conteined the Body of Christ, without his Blood: and vnder the forme of the Wine, his Blood onely, without his Body. Many other causes mooued those Fathers to take that order, for the auoiding of many inconueniences, dangers, and offences, which might happen in the vse of the Cup, as vnreuerence of so high a Sacrament, whereof Christian people at the beginning had a maruellous care and regard: the lothsomeneſse of many that cannot brooke the taste of Wine: the difficultie of getting, and impossibilitie of keeping Wine from corruption, in Countries situated neere to the North Pole, in that Clime, where is knowen to be great extremity of cold, beside a number of the like. So that it had beene besides reason, to haue bound all to the necessity of both kindes.

The 52. vntruth. For there was no such Canon touched, or once mooued in that Councell.

The 53. vntruth. For Nestorius neuer dreamed of any such folly.

Weighty considerations, wherefore Christs Institution should bee broken.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Ye granteth that S. Paul at Corinth, and sundry other holy Fathers, in their seuerall Churches, ministred the Sacrament in both kindes. Ye might as well haue said, All the Apostles, and all the holy Fathers, sauing for hindering of his cause. But the Church afterward vpon good causes (as it is here alleged) tooke order to the contrary, and namely to confute the Heretike Nestorius.

Here must thou marke, good Christian Reader, the Question is, Whether M. Hardings halfe Communion were euer Ministred openly to the People in the Church, within the space of six hundred yeeres after Christ. For proofe hereof he allegeth, that this order was allowed in the Councels of Constance and Basil, the former whereof was begun and holden in the yeare of our Lord A thousand foure hundred and fourteene, and the same neither Generall, nor euer generally receiued. And what force can he finde herein to prooue his purpose? It is also probably gathered (saith M. Harding) that the same order was taken a thousand yeeres before, in the first Councell of Ephesus. Here he is driuen vtterly to leaue his learning, and, as he commonly doth, only to hold by bare ghesse. But if this new deuice were brought in to confute the Heretike Nestorius, why then tooke it place first in the Councels of Constance and Basil, a thousand yeares after that Nestorius was dead, and his Heresie quite forgotten? If it were so ordered in the Councell of Ephesus, why is there no Act or mention thereof extant in that Councell, nor any learned man, within a thousand yeares after, to record the same? *Anno* 1414.

But Vrbanus Regius, a Doctor of Luthers Schoole, confesseth it. First, Vrbanus Regius departed this life not aboue twentie yeares agoe: and therefore is a very yong Witnesse, to testifie a thing done so long before. Besides this, the Booke of Common Places, that is abroad

Nestorius.

abroad in his name, is nothing else but a heape of things gathered together by long reading, as the maner of Students is, out of diuers and sundrie Bookes, and that as well of the one side, as of the other, onely for helpe of memorie, and increase of knowledge. Neither was that Booke euer corrected or published by him, but onely deliuered to the Printer as it was, by his widow, after his death, as appeareth by Pomeranus, that dedicated that Booke to the Prince of Mensburg. And therefore these collections doe witnesse his diligence, but not his iudgement. As touching that note concerning the Councell of Ephesus, it may be thought he had it out of Alardus, or Michael Væhe, or some other like Writer of this age.

Nestorius amongst other errours (saith M. Harding) held opinion, that vnder the forme of Bread in the Sacrament, is contained the Body of Christ without his Blood, and vnder the forme of Wine, the Blood onely, without his Body. Why should this man thus delight himselfe to vphold one falshood with another? First hee saith, The Councell of Ephesus decreed against both Kindes. This is vntrue, and was neuer yet proued. Next, some cause must bee deuised, that should lead the Fathers to that Decree. Which, as it is heere surmised, was this errour of Nestorius. A cause that neuer was, is good enough to proue the effect that neuer was. Thus is M. Harding driuen, not onely to forge new Doctours, and new Decrees of Councels, but also to imagine New Heresies, such as were neuer heard of before: euen in like sort, and to like purpose, as by some it is supposed, that Aristotle sometime imagined strange and monstrous opinions to bee taught by Democritus, Parmenides, Melyssus, and other old Philosophers: not because they had euer taught or written so indeed, but to the end to finde occasion of talke, and the better to set abroad his owne Learning. If it bee true that is surmised by Nestorius, then M. Hardings whole defense standeth but vpon an Heresie: If it bee vntrue, as indeed it is, then it standeth vpon an open falshood: and so, whether it bee true, or false, it hath a very weake foundation.

As for Nestorius, it is knowen he was a wicked and a blasphemous Heretike, and was worthily condemned by sundrie holy Fathers and Councels. Philastrius, Epiphanius, and S. Augustine, haue written namely of his errours: The Councell of Ephesus, the Councell of Chalcedon, Cœlestinus, Gelasius, Leo, Bishops of Rome, Cyrillus Bishop of Alexandria, haue ript vp and condemned all the branches of his Heresies. Yet none of them all euer charged Nestorius with this new Heresie of M. Hardings making. If there had beene in it any shew of truth, M. Harding, as he is eloquent, would haue laid out all the Circumstances, when this strange errour first began, where, and how long it continued, who wrote against it, and by whom, and in what Councell it was condemned. Verily this great silence declareth some want. It must needs bee a very strange Heresie, that neuer had neither beginning, nor ending: nor defender, nor reprouer: nor mouth to vtter it: nor eare to heare it: nor pen to write it: nor time to last in: nor place to rest in. And if all this had beene true of Nestorius, yet had it beene no reason, that for any one mans priuate errour, Christs Institution should be broken.

But that the vaine follie and manifest falshood of these men may appeare, vnderstand (good Reader) that where as Nestorius dwelt, and his Heresie toke place, in those Countries they haue euermore kept Christs Institution in both kindes: but in these Countries, where as neither the name of Nestorius was euer heard of, but onely vnto a few, nor his Heresie euer reached, there haue they made great Prouisoes against Nestorius, yea a thousand yeares after Nestorius was dead. The rest of the causes, which hee calleth so weighty, are scarcely worth any answer. Some men doe loath Wine: Some people can hardly get, some can hardly keepe Wine: *Ergo*, There must be made a Law generall, that the whole World shall Communicate in one kinde. If the Conclusion had beene, that such as haue these impediments, or wants, might so Communicate, it had beene more tolerable. For, as it is well noted by Pomponius, *Lawes must touch things that happen commonly, and, for the most part, not things that happen to few, or seldome.* Otherwise the like reason may bee made for the Priests: Some Priests, by meane of disease, can taste no Wine: some in certaine Countries can hardly get, some can hardly keepe Wine: Therefore it were well prouided that all Priests should minister vnder one kinde. Certainly, where as Wine may be prouided for the Priest, there may also Wine be prouided for the people. For it were strange to heare, that a Cart or a whole Ship should come laden only with one bottle of Wine into a Country.

De legib. & Senatusconf. & longa consuetudine. ἐκ τὸ πολὺ ἐν ἐξ παραλόγου.

Some say, that the Priests in Russia, for lacke of Wine, vsed to Consecrate in Methegle: Some other say, that Innocentius the eighth, for the like want, dispensed with the Priests of Norwey, to Consecrate without Wine. It were no reason to binde the whole Church to the necessitie or imbecillitie of a few. For otherwise the same want and impos-

Cornel. Agrippa de vanitate scientiarum. Volaterranus.

sibilitie

ſibility, that M. Harding hath heere found for the one part of the Sacrament, may be found alſo for the other. For Arrianus de rebus Indicis, **and** Strabo **in his Geographie, haue written, that there be whole Nations and Countries that haue no Bread. Therefore it ſhould ſeeme neceſſarie by this concluſion, that in conſideration of them, the whole Church ſhould abſtaine from the other portion of the Sacrament alſo, and ſo haue no Sacrament at all.**

Arianus lib. 8.
Strabo.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuiſion.

Now in very deed, if we would grant our aduerſaries, which in no wiſe we doe grant, that it hath been commanded of Chriſt, the Lay people ſhould Communicate vnder both kindes, by theſe words, *Drinke ye all of this*, yet this notwithſtanding, the exact ſtraitneſſe of Gods ordinance may without ſinne in caſes be omitted, in ſuch things which be not neceſſarily to be obſerued of themſelues, or of the preſcript of the Law of nature; ſo that great and weighty cauſes (the rule of charity exactly obſerued) require the ſame. For euident proofe of this, we haue examples both of the Old, and alſo of the New Teſtament. Did not God command, that none ſhould eat of the Shew Bread, but the Prieſt only? Dauid ate thereof, and yet Chriſt cleareth him of all blame. The Law of Circumciſion ſo ſtraitly commanded, was for the ſpace of forty yeeres, by the people of Iſrael quite omitted, whiles they paſſed from Ægypt to the land of Promiſe, and God found no fault with them for it. God gaue the Law of keeping holy the Sabbath day without exception. The Machabees notwithſtanding ſtickt not to arme themſelues againſt Antiochus, and to ſpend that day in the field in their defence, hauing no ſcruple of conſcience for breach of that Law. Many the like examples we finde in the Old Teſtament. But let vs come to the New Teſtament, and to the Sacraments of the time of Grace. In due conſideration of which, wee may finde, that Chriſt hath ſcarcely commanded any outward thing, the moderation, qualifying and ordering whereof, hee hath not left to his Church, as according to the condition of the time, it hath been ſeene moſt expedient for the common preferment, and edifying of the ſame. So that notwithſtanding there be no ſwaruing from the ſcope and principall intent, & no creature defrauded of that good, which by the outward things is to be attained.

Leuit. 24. 1. Regum, 21. Mar. 2. Geneſ. 17. & 34. Exod. 20. 1. Mach. 1.

Touching the Sacrament of Baptiſme, though nothing bee ſaid of the teaching of them that ſhould bee Baptized, neither of the dipping of them into the water, which Chriſts charge in this behalfe giuen ſeemeth plainly to require, Go you (ſaith he to his Apoſtles) and teach all nations, baptizing them &c. and yet the Church hath not feared to Baptize Infants, that be without capacity of teaching; and for the due adminiſtration of this Sacrament, too many haue thought powring or ſprinkling of water vpon them ſufficient. Though this be not ſpoken of, I ſay, it is much to be conſidered to this purpoſe, that the Apoſtles ſtickt not for a time to alter and change the very eſſentiall forme of words, with which Chriſt would this Sacrament to be miniſtred. For whereas he commanded them to Baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, they Baptized in the name of Ieſus Chriſt (54) Only, intending thereby to make that to be of more fame and celebrity. So to returne to the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, whereof we treat, no man can denie, but many things were at the inſtitution of it done by the example of Chriſt, and by him commanded, which now be not obſerued; and yet in that reſpect no fault is found.

Matth. 28.

The 54. vntruth. A foule depratation of the Scriptures.

Chriſt waſhed the Apoſtles feet, and gaue them an expreſſe commandement to doe the ſame, with theſe moſt plaine words; *If I that am your Maſter and Lord haue waſhed your feet, you alſo ought to waſh one anothers feet. For I haue giuen you an example, that as I haue done, you doe likewiſe*: Which commandement of Chriſt according to the outward letter, verily bindeth no leſſe, than theſe words; *Drinke ye all of this*; yet this commandement is not kept, but cleane growen out of vſe. Though it appeare by S. Bernard, who calleth it *Magnum Sacramentum*, a great Sacrament, and long before, by report of S. Cyprian, that Chriſt did not only waſh his Apoſtles feet, but commanded alſo by ſolemne requeſt, and ordained that the Apoſtles afterward ſhould doe the ſame. Whether this ordinance of Chriſt hath beene aboliſhed, for that it ſhould not be thought a rebaptization, as it may be gathered of S. Auguſtiue, or for any other cauſe, it foorceth not greatly. But this is much to be maruelled at, that this ſo earneſtly commanded, is ſo quietly and with ſuch ſilence ſuffered vndone, and in the miniſtration of the Sacrament, the vſe of the cup ſo factiouſly and with ſo much crying out required. Neither in many other rites and ceremonies, we do not as Chriſt did. Chriſt celebrated this Sacrament after that he had Supped; wee doe it in the morning and faſting. Chriſt ſate at the table with his twelue Apoſtles; neither ſit we at a table, neither thinke we it neceſſary to obſerue ſuch number. Chriſt brake the bread; we thinke it not neceſſary to breake the hoſt that is to bee deliuered to the faithfull participants. Heere is to be noted, that S. Cyprian rebuking them, which thought ſprinkling or powring of water not to be ſufficient for Baptiſme, declareth, that the Sacraments bee not to bee eſteemed according to their extreme and rigorous obſeruation or adminiſtration of all the externe elements, but rather according to the integrity and ſoundneſſe of faith of the giuer, and of the receiuer; and that diuine things vſed in a compendious ſort, conferre, and giue neuertheleſſe to the right beleeuers their whole vertue, *lib. 4. epiſt. 7.* Many other commandements of God concerning outward things might heere be rehearſed; which notwithſtanding by little and little in the Church haue beene omitted; as the forbearing of ſtrangled things and blood; which was commanded by God in the Old Teſtament, and according to the pleaſure and aduice of the holy Ghoſt, decreed by the Apoſtles in the New Teſtament. Yet forſmuch as concerneth outward things, both this and many other the like, haue in proceſſe of time growen out of obſeruation, and haue without any ſcruple of conſcience beene abrogated.

Ioan. 13.

In Serm. de Cœna Domini. In Serm. de paſſione Chriſtiana. Ad Iamarium ep. 18.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

The beſt ſtay, that theſe men can lay hold vpon, is to denie Chriſts Inſtitution. And therefore M. Harding ſaith heere, In no wiſe we do not grant it, **which is an argument of good courage, but of ſmall proofe. But he addeth further:** If it were Chriſts Inſtitution, yet notwithſtanding by the authority of the Church, and vpon good conſideration, it might bee broken. **His reaſons be theſe: In the old Teſtament, Dauid did eat the Shewbread, notwithſtanding it were forbidden: the people in the wildernes ceaſed from circumciſion, notwithſtanding it were commanded: the Machabees fought and defended themſelues vpon the Sabbath day, notwithſtanding God had appointed that day to reſt. In the new Teſtament, we**

1. Samuel 21. Ioſue 5. 1. Machab. 2.

In the name of Christ only.

Baptize Infants, that can receiue no teaching: and sometime we thinke it sufficient to sprinkle them or to power them ouer: and the Apostles, contrary to Christs Institution, Baptized in the name of Iesus *Only*. If M. Harding could haue brought any such example or authority, as was required, such poore helps should not haue needed. For these allegations are partly true, partly false, partly not agreeable to that we haue in hand, neither in place, nor in time, nor in the end, nor in the maner of doing, nor in other circumstances, and therefore make little to this purpose.

1. Samuel 21. *Dauid tooke of the Shewbread*, but he was forced thereto by extremity of famine: neither did he euer Decree, that it should be lawfull for all others to doe the like.

Iosue 5. *The people ceased from Circumcision in the Wildernesse*: but they had Gods speciall dispensation so to do, as it is noted by Lyra, for that they were in continuall trauell from place to place, and people being newly circumcised could abide no labour: yet made they no Law, that Circumcision should quite be abolished.

1. Machab. 2. Matth. 12. The Machabees might lawfully defend themselues vpon the Sabbath day. For, as Christ expoundeth the Law: *Man is not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath is made for Man.* And therefore the Iewes did ill, that being besieged vpon the Sabbath day, as Dion saith, stood still, and yelded themselues vnto their enemies. Yet did not the Machabees proclaime, that it should be lawfull vpon the Sabbath to goe to the field.

Dion. Touching Baptisme, first we teach the Fathers and afterward we Baptize their children: and this is no breach of Christs commandement. For after we be once become Gods people, God hath promised, *That he will bee our God, and the God of our children*: and by the Prophet Ezechiel he saith: *Your children be my children.* They that sprinkled them that they Baptized, vsed both the word, and also the element or kinde of water, that was commanded: neither doth it appeare, that Christ gaue any commandement of dipping the party into the water. But these men take quite away from the people, both the element and kinde of Wine, and also the words of Consecration.

Ezechiel 16.

M. Harding falsifieth the words of S. Luke. Last of all, in that he saith, *The Apostles contrary to the institution, Baptized in the name of Christ* Only, besides the mere Sophistication of the matter, he also falsifieth the words, putting that behinde, that S. Luke set before.

And that thou maist the better perceiue the fraud, I must bid thee, Christian Reader, to vnderstand, that in the time of the Apostles, some that were Baptized receiued the holy Ghost in sensible graces, and were able immediately, some to speake sundry tongues, some to worke other miracles. Some others receiue no such miracle, but Baptisme only: as they of Samaria, that were Baptized by Philip. Therefore, saith S. Luke, Peter and Iohn prayed for them, that they also might receiue the holy Ghost in visible tokens, as well as others. For the holy Ghost vntill that time, was come vpon none of them, but only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Iesus: by this word, *Only*, excluding nothing else, but the outward miraculous gifts of the holy Ghost.

Actor. 8.

Only.

But M. Harding transporteth and shifteth S. Lukes words at his pleasure, and placeth this word *Only* in the end, and thereby excludeth the essentiall forme of Baptisme, as if they had bene Baptized in the name of Christ Only, and so not in the name of the Father, and of the holy Ghost. This errour must needs hold by the cauasing of the Scriptures.

To Baptize in the name of Christ, is to Baptize according to the Order, Institution, and commandement of Christ. Neither doe these words, In the name of Christ, import that Baptisme was ministred in the name of Christ only, and in none other name beside: no more than these words, Paul the seruant of Iesus Christ, doe import, that Paul was the seruant of Christ only, and so not the seruant of God the Father, nor of the holy Ghost: or these words that Paul spake vnto the Keeper, Beleeue in the Lord Iesus, doe discharge him from beleeuing in the other two persons of the holy Trinity. Doubtlesse he must be very bold with the Scriptures of God, that will presume hereby to proue, either that the Apostles altered the essentiall forme of Baptisme, or that they proclaimed them Heretikes, that in Baptizing would follow Christs Institution.

Act. 16.

In Sermone de Cœna Domini. Hilar. in Matt. canon 5. 11. 12. 13. Hilar. de Trinit. lib. 10. Bernard. de bonis defendendis. The obiection of washing of feet is common, and hath bin oftened answered. S. Bernard *calleth it a Sacrament.* I grant. But S. Bernard is a Doctour but of late yeeres, and therefore his authority herein must weigh the lighter. Neither doth he so call it according to the nature and common Definition of a Sacrament. For neither was there any certaine element namely chosen, nor any speciall words appointed to make it a Sacrament, nor any promise of grace thereto annexed. Only he calleth it a Sacrament by a generall kinde of taking. And in that meaning S. Hilary saith: *The Sacrament of Praier: The Sacrament of Fasting: the Sacrament of Fulnesse: the Sacrament of Thirst: the Sacrament of Weeping.* And S. Bernard in another place in like sort saith: *The Sacrament of a painted Crosse.* And in this

place

place hée ſaith, that the waſhing of fæt betokeneth the waſhing and purging of veniall ſinnes, which ſignification he calleth a Sacrament.

Waſhing of feet.

But Chriſt ſaith: I haue giuen you an example, that as yee haue ſeene me doe, yee alſo doe the like. Therefore (ſaith M. Harding) this commandement bindeth as well as the other, Drinke ye all of this. How may a man truſt M. Harding in the darke, that will thus deceiue him in the light? For he knoweth that the waſhing of fæt was neither Inſtitution of Chriſt, nor any part of the Sacrament, nor ſpecially appointed to be done by the Apoſtles, nor the breach thereof euer deemed Sacrilege, as Gelaſius writeth of this diſorder of the halfe Communion. Whether the Apoſtles for any time after Chriſts Reſurrection obſerued it or no, it appeareth not. Neither is there any thing, to my remembrance, written of it. As we may perceiue by S. Paul, it was an office more belonging vnto women, than vnto men. And it ſeemeth by S. Auguſtine, that this Ceremony in the Church had relation vnto ſome other cauſe, and not vnto the Inſtitution of Chriſt, neither to the example or practiſe of the Apoſtles. For thus he writeth vnto his friend Ianuarius touching the ſame: *If thou demand, vpon what conſideration this Ceremony of waſhing feet began firſt, notwithſtanding I haue well thought of it, yet can I finde nothing that ſeemeth more likely than this: for that the bodies of them that had appointed to be Baptized* (at Eaſter) *being ill cheriſhed by reaſon of the Lenten faſt, would haue had ſome lothſomneſſe in the touching, vnleſſe they had beene waſht at ſome time before: and that therefore they choſe this day chiefly to that purpoſe, vpon which day the Lords Supper is yeerely celebrated.* Here S. Auguſtine ſaith, it was the fulſomneſſe of the bodies, and lothſomneſſe of the ſenſes, that firſt began this Ceremony, and not the Inſtitution or commandement of Chriſt. But as touching the miniſtration of the Communion in both kindes, it is moſt certaine, that the Apoſtles vſed it, and that Chriſt commanded it to be vſed ſtill vntill his comming.

De Con Diſt. 2 Comperimus.

1. Tim. 5.

Aug. ad Ianuar. epiſt. 118.

With what indifferent iudgement then can M. Harding thus compare theſe things together: a Sacrament with no Sacrament: an Inſtitution with no Inſtitution: a thing that in the Primitiue Church was euery where vſed, with that thing, whereof no proofe can be made, that vpon Chriſts commandement it was euer vſed? Neither did Chriſt therefore ſo abaſe himſelfe, to waſh his Diſciples fæt, to the intent they according to the letter ſhould doe the ſame: but in himſelfe to ſhew them a perfect example of humility. For they were yet in a deepe dreame, that Chriſt ſhould come like a King with all worldly Maieſty, and that they ſhould be Princes, and ſit with him to rule the World. Therefore to breake them out of this ſléepe, he toke vpon him this vile and ſeruile office, that they might ſée, that his comming was to ſerue them, and therefore might learne humility by his example, one of them to ſerue another. In like maner Chriſt ſet a child before his Diſciples, & willed them all to be as children. He bade them to ſhake off the duſt from their ſhoes, and to carrie neither rod nor ſcrip about them, and to ſalute no man vpon the way: not that they ſhould practiſe theſe things according to the rigour of the words, but to the intent that by the ſame, they might be induced to a deeper vnderſtanding. Such was the Sacrament and meaning of the Waſhing of fæt.

Matth. 20.

Matth. 18.
Matth. 10.
Matth. 8.

The reaſons that follow are of like value. For Chriſt ſaid not, Do this after Supper, or ſitting, or at a table, or being ſo many together. Neither did the Apoſtles euer ſo vnderſtand his words. But when he had miniſtred the Sacrament vnto his Apoſtles in both kindes, he bade them do the ſame that he had done: and ſo they vnderſtood his words, and miniſtred the Sacrament vnto the people in both kindes accordingly.

The words of S. Cyprian héere alleged, are ſpoken of ſprinkling or powring on water ouer them that were Baptized: which is but a Ceremony, and therefore ought to bee at liberty, and is not of the ſubſtance of Baptiſme. Neither doth it follow, We may breake a Ceremony; *Ergo*, we may breake the ſubſtance of Chriſts Inſtitution. This reaſon rather maketh againſt M. Harding and his fellowes. For if *Ceremonies ſhould bee vſed freely and without rigour*, as S. Cyprian ſaith, why then be they ſo preciſe in their Oile, their Balme, their Lights, and other things of like value, that be the abuſe thereof neuer ſo great, yet they will remit nothing? And if they bee ſo preciſe, and ſo earneſt in ceremonies and deuiſes of their owne, how much more ought wee to bee earneſt in matters touching the eſſentiall forme of the Inſtitution of Chriſt?

M. Harding. The 10. Diuiſion.

I truſt no man will gather of that I haue ſaid heere, that it is none offence to do againſt Gods commandement. My meaning is farre otherwiſe. Neither ſay I, that this ſaying of Chriſt in Matthew, *Drinke yee all of this*, or that in Iohn; *Except yee eat the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood, yee ſhall not haue life in you*; or other commandements of Chriſt, be not to be kept; But this is that I ſay, and that euery Catholike man ſaith, that the vniuerſall Church doth better vnderſtand which are the commandements of Chriſt, and how they ought to be kept, than *Berengarius, Wickleffe, Hus, Luther, Zuinglius, Caluine, Cranmer, Peter Martyr*,

Martyr, or any their ſcholars and followers, which now be ſundrie ſects. As for example ; God hath thus commanded ; Thou ſhalt not ſweare ; and, Thou ſhalt not kill ; and, If thine eie cauſe thee to offend, pull him out and caſt him away from thee. Whereas certaine Sects of Heretikes, as namely they which be called *Waldenſes* and *Picardi*, by their conſtruction heereof haue maintained opinion, that no oath ought to bee giuen or made in no caſe or reſpect ; likewiſe that in no caſe or reſpect a man may doe another to death ; and alſo that after the outward letter of the Goſpell, ſometime a man is bound to pull out his eie and caſt it from him ; which thing hath beene done by ſome of the *Picardes*, as it is reported, as though elſe Gods commandement were not kept ; this hath ſo beene vnderſtanded by the Catholike Church, confeſſing neuertheleſſe theſe to be Gods commandements, as in time, in place, and in certaine caſes, a man might and ought without breach of commandement, both ſweare and kill ; and likewiſe keepe his eie in his head ; and therein offended God nothing at al. So the Catholike Church vnderſtandeth, *Drinke ye all of this*, to be Chriſts commandement, and of neceſſity to be obſerued ; but of Prieſts only, I meane of neceſſity ; and that when in the Sacrifice of the Church is celebrated the memory of Chriſts death, which in that degree be the ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles, to whom that commandement was ſpecially giuen, when they were conſecrated Prieſts of the New Teſtament ; who ſo did drinke indeed, as S. Marke witneſſeth ; *Et biberunt ex eo omnes*, and they dranke all of it. To theſe only and to none other, the (55) Catholike Church hath euer referred the neceſſity of that commandement. Elſe if the neceſſity of it ſhould pertaine to all, and becauſe Chriſt ſaid, *Drinke ye all of this*, if all of euery ſtate and condition ought to drinke of this Cuppe of neceſſity, how is it come to paſſe, that our aduerſaries themſelues (who pretend ſo ſtrait a conſcience heerein) keepe from it infants and yong children, vntill they come to good yeeres of diſcretion ; ſpecially whereas the cuſtome of the Primitiue Church was that they alſo ſhould be partakers of this Sacrament, as it may plainly be ſeene in S. Dionyſe, Cyprian, Auguſtine, Innocentius, Zoſimus and other ancient fathers ? What better reaſon haue they to keepe the infants from the Cup, than the Anabaptiſts haue, to keepe them from their Baptiſme ? If they allege their impotency of remembring the Lords death, the Anabaptiſts will likewiſe allege their impotency of receiuing and vnderſtanding doctrine, that Chriſts Inſtitution in this behalfe ſeemeth to require.

Matth. 5. Exod. 20.

Marke 14.

The 55. vntruth. For the Catholike or Vniuerſal Church neuer vnderſtood it ſo : but only the Church of Rome which is both late and meere particular.

Thus the aduerſaries of the Church themſelues do agniſe, that the vſe of the Cup in the Sacrament, perraineth not to all of neceſſity. So haue they neither godly charity to ioine with the Church, neither ſufficient reaſon to impugne the Church.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

The beſt defenſe to colour diſobedience, is to improue Gods commandement. Therefore ſaith M. Harding, The halfe Communion is no breach of Chriſts Inſtitution. For Chriſt neuer commanded, that the whole Communion ſhould be miniſtred vnto the people in both kindes. And that (ſaith he) the Church knoweth better, than Luther, or Cranmer, or ſuch others. **Whatſoeuer ordinary light the Church hath, that hath it not of her ſelfe, but of Gods holy Word, that is a Lanterne vnto her feet. And it is no Chriſtian modeſty, to make ſuch boaſts of the gifts of God. Gods holy Spirit bloweth, where it thinketh good.** Daniel **alone** ſaw **the innocency of** Suſanna : **the Iudges and Elders ſaw it not.** Paphnutius **alone was heard againſt all the reſt of the** Nicene Councell. S. Hierome **alone is receiued againſt all the whole** Councell **of** Chalcedon. **And forasmuch as M. Harding delighteth himſelfe with odious compariſons without cauſe, why may not a man likewiſe ſay, The Primitiue Church in the time of the Apoſtles and other Catholike Doctours and old Councels, that miniſtred the whole Sacrament vnto the people in both kindes, vnderſtood Chriſts Inſtitution aſwell as did afterward the** Councell of Conſtance, **in which** Councell, **holden foure ſcore hundred yeers after Chriſt and more, it was determined, that the Laity ſhould content themſelues only with the halfe Communion in one kinde ? But therefore hath God giuen his holy Scriptures, that the Church ſhould be directed and neuer erre. And** S. Auguſtine ſaith : Dominus ſemper veraciter iudicat : Eccleſiaſtici autem Iudices, ſicut homines plærunque falluntur : *The Lord alwaies iudgeth truely : but the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges, for that they be men are often times deceiued.*

Pſalm. 118. Iohn 3. Daniel 13. *Sozomenus lib. 1. cap. 22.* 36. *Quæſt. 2. Tria legitima.*

Auguſt. contra Creſconium Grammaticum lib. 2. cap. 21.

The examples of killing, ſwearing, pulling out of eies, eating of blod and ſtrangled things that are heere brought in, ſtand more for a countenance, than for proofe of the matter. Touching the firſt, God ſaith vnto the priuate man, *Thou ſhalt not kill* : **but vnto the Magiſtrate he ſaith :** *Thine eie ſhall not ſpare : Thou ſhalt not ſuffer the wicked ſorcerer to liue.* **This caſe was neuer doubtfull : or if it were, let M. Harding ſhew, in what Councell it was determined. Touching Oathes, it is forbidden, that any ſhall ſweare vnaduiſedly or without iuſt cauſe, and ſo to abuſe the name of God : but otherwiſe to ſweare before a Judge, in the way of iudgement, iuſtice and truth, God himſelfe hath commanded.**

Exod. 20. Leuit. 20. Deut. 18. Hierm. 4. Matth. 5.

The pulling out of the eie is an allegorie, wherein by a figure or maner of ſpech, one things is conceiued of another, and Chriſts meaning is, that whoſo will follow him, muſt pull out and caſt from him his affections, his goods, and his friends, for the Goſpels ſake, yea though he loue them as his eies. And if the Picard take it otherwiſe, it was an error of ſimplicity, much like the error of Origen, **and certaine others, who, as it is written of them, groſly, and according to the letter, gelded themſelues for the kingdome of heauen : Or the errour of the Biſhop of** Rome, **who vpon ſmall occaſion of theſe words,** Ecce duo gladij hic : *Behold heere be two ſwords* ; **clameth vnto himſelfe both the Spirituall and alſo the Temporall Sword, and ſo the whole Iuriſdiction of all the World.**

Euſeb. lib. 6. cap. 7. *De Maioritate & obedientia, Vnam Sanctam*

The

The forbearing of blod and ſtrangled meats began among the faithfull in the time of the Apoſtles, not as of Gods commandement, or to continue for euer, but only of charity, to beare with the weakneſſe of the Iewes, vntill they might grow to a perfect knowledge in Chriſt: during which weakneſſe, this charitable order among the reſt of the faithfull Chriſtians, continued ſtill, as may appeare by Tertullian, by Arnobius, by Euſebius, by Oecumenius, and others. But after that the Iewes were thoroughly perſwaded, that all creatures of God were cleane, this forbearing, which began only for their ſakes, had an end.

But how can M. Harding applie theſe things to his purpoſe? Or how can he hereby warrant the manifeſt breach of Chriſts Inſtitution? The Church in euery of theſe orders was directed, and guided by Gods word: Touching killing, God ſaith vnto the Magiſtrate: *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer the wicked to liue.* Touching ſwearing, God ſaith: *Thou ſhalt ſweare in truth, in iudgement, and in iuſtice.* Touching pulling out of our eies, S. Paul ſaith: *No man euer hated his owne fleſh, but doth nouriſh and cheriſh it.* And touching blod, and ſtrangled meats, Chriſt ſaith: *The thing that entreth into the mouth, defileth not the man.* And S. Paul ſaith: *Euery Creature of God is good.* Therefore the Church in theſe caſes deuiſed no new thing of hir ſelfe, nor brake any of Gods ordinances, but only followed the word of God.

Hierem. 4.

Epheſ. 5.

Now of the other part, let M. Harding ſhew, what word of God the Church of Rome had to follow, in the ordering of the halfe Communion. Where did Chriſt or his Apoſtles euer ſay, Let not the people receiue the whole Sacrament, as it was ordained at the firſt, but let it be ſufficient for them to receiue one portion? If there be no ſuch commandement to be ſhewed, then be not theſe caſes like. And if the caſes be not like, why doth M. Harding deceiue the World, and compare them thus together, as though they were like? What, troweth he there is no difference betweene obeying Gods commandement, and breaking Gods commandement? Or thinketh he, becauſe it was lawfull for Abraham, hauing Gods commandement, to haue ſlaine his Sonne Iſaac, that therefore it was lawfull for him to ſlay Iſmael alſo, hauing no commandement? It is a dangerous doctrine, to ſay, The Church is Omnipotent, and may allow or diſallow Gods commandements without difference, at her pleaſure. For, as it is diſcretly noted by the Emperours Valentinian and Martian, *Whoſoeuer, after the truth is once found, ſeeketh further, he ſeeketh for a lie, and not for the truth.*

Geneſis 20.

In Edicto Imperat. Valentin. & Martia. in Chalced. Con. Act. 3.

But to miniſter vnto the vulgar Lay people in both kindes (ſaith M. Harding) was not Chriſts Inſtitution. Thus he ſaith, and ſaith it often, and onely ſaith it. Other authority than his owne he bringeth none. The reaſon that moueth him, I weene, is this: for that there was no Lay people at that banket with Chriſt, but the Apoſtles onely. But this reaſon would ſpoile the Lay people not of one part only, but of all together. Surely one Lorichius a Doctour of M. Hardings owne ſide ſaith thus: Ipſius Sacramenti Inſtitutio vult, vt omnes vnà manducemus & bibamus: *The very Inſtitution of the Sacrament willeth, that wee all Eat and Drinke together.* M. Hardings Doctour ſaith: *It is Chriſts Inſtitution.* M. Harding himſelfe ſaith: It is not Chriſts Inſtitution. Whether of them two a man may beleeue, I leaue it to others. Howbeit in the meane time, while theſe Doctours can better agree, it cannot be denied, but Chriſt miniſtred vnto his Diſciples the whole Sacrament in both kindes, and gaue them in charge, in plaine expreſſe words to doe the ſame. But of the halfe Communion in one kinde, Chriſt neither gaue them charge, nor ſpake any one word at all. If M. Harding will replie, that Chriſts words in this caſe be doubtfull, and may be diuerſly taken, yet is that obiection already anſwered. For the Law ſaith: Side Interpretatione Legis quæratur, in primis inſpiciendum eſt quo iure Ciuitas retrò in huiuſmodi caſibus vſa fuerit. Optima enim eſt Legum interpretatio Conſuetudo: *If queſtion happen to be moued touching the meaning of a Law, firſt of all we muſt ſee, what order hath beene vſed in the like caſes in times paſt. For the cuſtome and practiſe of the people is the beſt expounder of the Law.* Now it appeareth plainly, that the cuſtome and practiſe of the pureſt Church in the time of the Apoſtles, and others old Catholike Fathers was, to miniſter vnto the people in both kindes: whereof we may conclude, that the ſame was Chriſts Inſtitution and very meaning. But if M. Harding will applie the authority of cuſtome vnto his purpoſe, for that the common practiſe of the Church of Rome for a few late yeares, hath beene to the contrary, that therefore this was Chriſts meaning, this obiection is alſo ſome anſwered. For both Law and common reaſon ſaith: In ambiguo ſermone non vtrunque dicimus, ſed id duntaxat quod volumus: *In a doubtfull ſpeech we ſpeake not both the things (that may be gathered) but that thing only that we meane.* Now if Chriſt meant both the order that was practiſed by the Apoſtles and Old Fathers, and alſo the contrary order, that of late hath beene practiſed in the Church of Rome, then had Chriſt at one time, and in the ſame

De Miſſa publica prorogandâ.

De Legibus & Senatuſconſult. & longa conſue. Side.

De rebus dubijs. In ambiguo.

ring of one ſentence, not only two, but alſo diuers and contrary meanings, and ſo by M. Hardings iudgement, Chriſt muſt néeds conſtrue his owne wordes in this wiſe: Drinke yee all of this: *I meane, let Prieſts onely drinke of this.* Drinke yee all: *I meane, ſome may not drinke.* Drinke ye all: *I méane contrary, Drinke ye not all. And when I ſay,* Doe yee the ſame that I haue done, *my meaning is otherwiſe, Doe not the ſame that I haue done.* O M. Harding, It is an old ſaying: Maledicta gloſſa quæ corrumpit textum: *Curſed bee that gloſing conſtruction that deſtroieth the text.*

Ye ſay, The Prieſts are bound of neceſſitie to receiue both kindes, but the Lay people is not bound. And ſo ye conclude that Chriſt ordained two ſundry Communions, the one not like the other: the one for the Prieſts, the other for the People. And therefore by your aduice, we muſt correct S. Hierome, that ſaith: *The Lords Supper muſt be common to all.* And likewiſe Chryſoſtome, that ſaith: *In the holy Myſteries there is no difference betweene the Prieſt and the People.* For it is now otherwiſe agréed, that the Lords Supper may not be common vnto all, and that in the Myſteries there muſt be a difference betwéene the Prieſt & the People.

Hieron. 1. Cor. 11. Chryſoſt. 2. Cor. 18.

The obiection that is made of keeping children from the Communion, is but childiſh, and nothing to the matter. For in ſo doing, we diuide not the Myſteries, nor breake any part of Chriſts Inſtitution: no more than when by order of Excommunication, wée remoue the wicked from the whole vſe of the Sacrament.

For notwithſtanding it appeare by S. Auguſtine, S. Cyprian, and others, that Infants in the Primitiue Church in ſundry places were admitted to the holy Communion, yet afterward vpon good aduice, they were iuſtly removed from it; becauſe that being in that age, they were not thought able to examine and proue themſelues according to the Doctrine of S. Paul: and ſo to eat of that Bread, and to drinke of that Cup. In like ſort in the Law of Moſes, notwithſtanding all men children were commanded to bée Circumciſed, yet none were admitted to eat the Paſſeouer, but onely ſuch as could demand what it meant.

The Church (ſaith M. Harding) is the interpreter of Gods minde. The Church knoweth, that this was not Chriſts Inſtitution. Verily if the Church know it now at laſt, ſhe hath béene long in learning this leſſon. For the Olde Catholike Church, as it is well knowen, tooke it farre otherwiſe, and that following the plaine wordes of God, whereby Gods ordinary way is to reueale his minde, and becauſe Chriſt miniſtred vnto his Diſciples in both kindes, and commanded them to doe the ſame, therefore that Church vnderſtood him, euen as his wordes ſounded, and miniſtred vnto the people the whole Communion in both kindes.

Now whereas M. Harding ſaith: The Church of Rome of late yeeres, hath more ſecret intelligence of Gods minde, than the elder Church had at any time before: Mée thinketh hée imagineth Chriſt thus to ſay to his Apoſtles: *Doe the ſame to others, that yee haue ſeene mee doe to you. For a time it ſhall be lawfull: after it ſhall not be lawfull. Now it is my Inſtitution: the time ſhall come when it ſhall be no longer my Inſtitution. After foureteene hundred yeeres there ſhall be a certaine Councell of fiue hundred Biſhops, and eight hundred Monkes and Friars: there ſhall be terrible contention, whether the Pope be aboue the Councell, or the Councell aboue the Pope. One Pope ſhall be depoſed, another ſhall be erected againſt him: and ſo two Popes at one time. The one ſhall excommunicate and curſe, and ſeeke all meanes to depoſe the other. Kings and Princes ſhall be in parts. The whole World ſhalbe troubled. Then ſhall theſe matters be concluded. That I command, they ſhall breake: that I binde, they ſhall looſe.* Vnleſſe M. Harding giue ſuch expoſition to Chriſts wordes, he cannot be greatly relieued by them. Thus haue we reaſon ſufficient, to open the errour of M. Hardings Church and Godly charity, to ioine with the old Catholike Church of the Apoſtles and holy Fathers, which, we doubt not, was the Church of God.

M. Harding. The 11. Diuiſion.

And although heerein we could be content, Infants not to be ſpoken of, yet it may eaſily bee prooued, that the Communion vnder both kindes hath not euer beene generall. And as we doe not condemne it, but confeſſe, it might be reſtored againe by the authority of the Church lawfully aſſembled in a Generall Councel, vpon mature deliberation before had, and a wholeſome remedy againſt the inconueniences therof prouided; euen ſo are we able to ſhew good authority for the defence of the one kinde now vſed in the Church.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding would haue vs put Gods word to daying, and none otherwiſe to be obedient to Chriſts commandement, than if a few Biſhops gathered at Trident ſhall allow it. But wé may anſwer ſuch a Councell as King Ageſilaus ſometime anſwered the Macedonians, thorow whoſe countrie hé deſired to haue paſſage againſt his enemies. For when they had ſent him word, that the matter was great, and that therefore

foꝛe they would well conſider of it: *Let them conſider*, ſaid he, *while they leſt: but in the meane time I will paſſe thorow*. If the Councell, vpon aduice, will reſtoꝛe againe the whole Communion, why then doth Pope Leo call it, *The Hereſie of the Greekes, and of the Bohemians?* Oꝛ why doth Gerſon intitle his Booke, Contra Hæreſim Communicandi Laicos ſub vtraque ſpecie? *Againſt the Hereſie of Communicating the Lay people vnder Both Kindes?* I troꝛw, Councels be not called to reſtoꝛe the woꝛld to Hereſies. The great inconueniences that M. Harding would haue a Generall Councell to make pꝛouiſoes foꝛ, are noted by Gerſon, the greateſt Pꝛomoter of the Councell of Conſtance, and are theſe:

Emmaus.

In Bulla Leonis. 10.

Gerſon.

The liquoꝛ might be ſhed:
It cannot be carried about without danger:
In Winter it would ſome ſoꝛoe, and turne to Vineger:
In Summer it would putrifie, and bꝛæd woꝛmes:
It would be lothſome foꝛ men to dꝛinke:
In ſome Countries it is hard to begotten:
The Lay people ſhould touch the Cup:
Some of them haue Beards, ſome haue Palſies:
The dignity of the Pꝛieſt and Lay man ſhould be all one.

Theſe and other like inconueniences are ſuch as Chꝛiſt and his Apoſtles neuer knew: yet the Councell that is now holden at Trident, vpon mature and ſolemne deliberation, hath pꝛonounced and publiſhed, *If any man will ſay, that theſe be not iuſt cauſes, why the people ſhould ſtand content with the Halfe Communion, accurſed be he.*

And notwithſtanding the Biſhops in that Councell haue already yelded, that certaine Countries and Kingdomes may vſe the whole Communion, accoꝛding to Chꝛiſts Inſtitution, yet haue they added ſo fond conditions vnto the ſame, that all men may ſee they ſit there only foꝛ a countenance to mocke the woꝛld.

M. Harding. The 12. Diuiſion.

And becauſe M. Iewell beareth the world in hand, nothing can be brought for it of our ſide; ſome places I will allege heere, that ſeeme to me very euidently to prooue, that the vſe of both kindes hath not alwaies beene thought neceſſary to all perſons, and that the Communion vnder one kinde hath beene practiſed and holden for good within the ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, that he would ſo faine binde vs vnto.

Heere may be alleged firſt the example of our Lord himſelfe, out of the 24. Chapter of S. Luke, which is ſpoken off before; where it is declared, that he gaue the Sacrament vnto the two Diſciples at Emmaus vnder * the forme of Bread only; which place ought to haue the more weight of Authoritie, in a Catholike mans iudgement, becauſe it is brought by the Councell of * Conſtance, and alſo by the Councell of Baſil, for proote of the Communion vnder one kinde. That it was the Sacrament, the ancient Doctors doe affirme it plainly, and the words conferred with the words of our Lords Supper, doe agree. And that it is not needfull of our owne head to adde thereto the adminiſtration of the Cup, as our aduerſaries do by their figure *Synecdoche*; it appeareth by that thoſe two Diſciples declared to the twelue Apoſtles, aſſembled together in Hieruſalem, how they knew our Lord *in fractione Panis*, in breaking of the Bread to them, which cannot be taken for the Wine. And as ſoone as they knew him in breaking of the Bread, he vaniſhed away from their ſight, ere that he tooke the Cup into his hands, and bleſſed it, and gaue it vnto them (56) as it appeareth euidently enough to S. Auguſtine, to Bede, and to all other that be not wilfully opiniatiue.

Againe, what need is it to vſe violence in this Scripture, and ioine vnto it a patch of our owne deuice, by ſo ſimple a warrant of a figure, ſith that, according to the minde of the learned Fathers, Chriſt gaue heere to the two Diſciples not a peece of the Sacrament, but the whole Sacrament, as it is prooued by the effect of the ſame: and the effect preſuppoſeth the cauſe. For S. Auguſtine confeſſeth by that Sacrament of Bread, (ſo he calleth it *Viatate Corporis participata, remoueri impidimentum inimici, vt Chriſtus poſſit agnoſci*; That thereby they were made partakers of the vnity of Chriſts Body, that is to ſay, made one body with Chriſt, and that all impediment or let of the enemy, the Diuell, was taken away, ſo as Chriſt might bee acknowledged. What more ſhould they haue gotten, if they had receiued the Cup alſo?

* S. Luke nameth neither *Forme* nor *only*.

* In the yeere of our Lord 1414.

The 56. vntruth. For neither S. Auguſtine, nor Beda, nor any other ancient Father hath any ſuch word, but rather the contrary.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

If I would ſpeake only by authoꝛity, and pꝛoue nothing, as M. Hardings wont is, I might anſwer all this matter in thꝛee woꝛds:

Firſt, that the Bꝛead that Chꝛiſt bꝛake at Emmaus, was commmon table Bꝛead, and not the Sacrament.

Secondly, that albeit ſome Wꝛiters ſeeme to call it the Sacrament, yet none of them ſaith, it was miniſtred in one kinde, as M. Harding by his ſlender gheſſes would ſeeme to gather.

Thirdly, although he were able to pꝛoue, that Chꝛiſt ſo miniſtred at that time, and in that place, yet were all this nothing to pꝛoue his purpoſe. Foꝛ we ioine iſſue of the people: he anſwereth of the Pꝛieſts. I ſpeake of the Church: he ſpeaketh of an Inne. And to conclude, by this example it appeareth, that Chꝛiſt himſelfe receiued in one kinde: which one thing ouerthꝛoweth all that M. Harding hath built.

And becauſe he maketh himſelfe ſo ſure and certaine, that Chꝛiſt at Emmaus miniſtred the

Emmaus.

the Sacrament, it may please him to remember, that euen the same Doctours that he hath here alleged, and diuers others of late yeres, vpon good consideration haue said, it was not the Sacrament. S. Augustine saith, the breaking of Bread there was hospitalitie, and intertaining of strangers. His words be these: Quia hospitalitatem sectati sunt, eum, quem in expositione Scripturarum non agnouerunt, in panis fractione cognoscunt: *Because they were giuen to hospitalitie, they knew him in the breaking of Bread, whom they knew not in the expounding of the Scriptures.* Which thing S. Gregory vttereth in plainer maner: Mensam igitur ponunt, Panes ciboſque offerunt, & Deum, quem in Scripturarum expositione non cognouerant, in panis fractione cognoscunt: *They lay the Table, and set foorth Bread and Meat, and God whom they knew not in the expounding of the Scriptures, they know in the breaking of bread.* It were hard to say, the setting foorth of Bread and Meat vpon a Table in an Hostery, was the ministration of the Sacrament. And to leaue Beda and others, that follow the same exposition, Dionysius one of late yeres, and therefore led away with many errours, according to the weakenesse of that time, saith thus: Accepit panem & Benedixit: non tamen in suum Corpus conuertit, sicut in Cœna: sed vt moris est benedicere cibum: *He tooke Bread and blessed it: but he turned it not into his Body, as he did at his Supper: but only as the maner is, to say grace, or to blesse the meat.* So likewise saith Antonius Iulianus: Accepit panem, benedixit, fregit, & porrigebat illis, sicut consueuerat ante Passionem: *Hee tooke Bread, blest it, brake it and gaue it vnto them, as his maner was before his Passion.*

Aug. in Caten in 24. Luc.

Greg. in Euangel. Homil. 23.

Dionys. in 24. Lucæ.

Anton. Iulianus in Postilla maiori.

Nicol. Lyra.

Lyra saith they knew him, for that he brake the Bread so euen, as if he had cut it with a knife. By these Writers it appeareth, it was common Bread that Christ gaue to his Disciples, and not the Sacrament.

And whereas M. Harding allegeth S. Augustine to the contrary, if he had considered the words of one William Wideford, a Doctour of his owne side, which he vseth against Wickliffe, I reckon, either he would haue better aduised himselfe, or else would haue refused his owne Doctour. Widefords words be these: Hic dico, quod non habetur extextu, vel ex Glossa Lucæ 24. vel per antiquos Doctores, quòd ille Panis, quem Christus fregit post Resurrectionem, fuit Consecratus, vel Sacramentalis Ideò inepte, & consequenter dico, quod falsò allegat authoritatem Augustini: *This I say, it cannot be gathered neither by the text of S. Luke, nor by the Glosse, nor by the ancient Doctours, that the Bread that Christ brake after his Resurrection, was the Consecrate or Sacrament all Bread. And therefore, (I say) that foolishly and by consequence that falsly he alleged S. Augustine to this purpose.*

Wil. Wideford contra Wicleuum.

The two Councels of Constance and Basil, thus vnderstood the words of S. Luke: and that saith M. Harding) in a Catholike mans iudgement ought to weigh much. The former of these two Councels was holden but of late daies, aboue fourténe hundred yéres after Christ, and the weight of them is already determined by others. For all the Dominike Friars, and all others, that held with Thomas of Aquine, which thought themselues to be the best learned that were then aliue, vtterly refused the Councell of Basil, and said, it was neuer lawfully called together.

Ludouic. Viues in 20. de Ciuit. Dei, Cap. 26.

And Albertus Pigghius saith, that both these Councels, aswell that of Basil, as the other of Constance, *Decreed against the order of Nature, against the manifest Scriptures, against the authority of all Antiquity, and against the Catholike faith of the Church.*

Pigghius in Hierarchia.

These be the two Councels that M. Harding would haue to weigh so déepely in a Catholike mans conscience. Neither can it iustly be replied, that any of these were Lutherans. For the Dominicke Friars were a hundred yéres before Luther euer preached: And Albertus Pigghius wrote namely and of purpose against Luther. Verily these Councels séeme ouerlight, to weigh downe all the Old Councels of graue and Catholike Fathers that were before them. Touching the authoritie of Councels, because they séeme oftentimes to varie, Gelasius thought it best to take vp the matter thus: In gestis Conciliorum, quotiescunque discors sententia inuenitur, illius Concilij sententia magis tenetur, cuius antiquor & potior extat authoritas: *Whensoeuer contrarietie in sentence is found in the Acts of Councels, let the sentence of that Councell be taken, that hath the elder and better authoritie.* If this determination of Gelasius be good, there is no cause why these two so late Councels should weigh downe any Catholike mans conscience, specially against so many contrary Councels as haue béene before. Doubtlesse it is a maruellous case, that either of these two Councels should at last sée that thing in the words of S. Luke, that the Councell of the Apostles could not sée.

Dist. 50. Domino Sancto.

Yet to helpe M. Harding forthward, let vs grant S. Augustine vnderstood these words of the Sacrament. Indéed he calleth it in the same place, Sacramentum Panis, *The Sacrament of Bread:* meaning thereby, that the substance of Bread in the same remaineth still: but he calleth it not, *The forme or shadow of Bread,* as M. Harding doth. But let vs grant it was the Sacrament.

Now

Now haue an eie (good Reader) to M. Hardings fingers, and marke how he iuggleth with S. Auguſtines words. S. Auguſtine ſaith; Per Sacramentum Panis vnitate Corporis participara: These plaine words it liketh M. Harding to Engliſh thus: Thereby they were made partakers of the vnitie of Chriſts Body, that is to ſay, made one Body with Chriſts. Alas, this was no part of S. Auguſtines minde. Beware good Reader: this man ſeeketh waies to deceiue thee. Lyra himſelfe confeſſeth, that theſe words of S. Auguſtine haue Myſticam Interpretationem, *A myſticall vnderſtanding*: and may not be taken neither of the Sacrament, nor of Chriſts Naturall Body, but of his Body Myſticall, which is the Church: and that whoſoeuer is partaker or member of the Church, knoweth Chriſt: whoſoeuer is without the Church, knoweth not Chriſt. But who can better report the ſame, than S. Auguſtine himſelfe? His words be theſe, plaine and cleere, and in the ſame place: Howbeit M. Harding thought good to diſſemble them: Nec quiſquam ſe Chriſtum agnouiſſe arbitretur, ſi eius Corporis particeps non eſt, id eſt, Eccleſiæ: cuius vnitatem in Sacramento Panis Apoſtolus commendat, dicens, vnus Panis, vnum Corpus multi ſumus: *Let no man thinke he knoweth Chriſt, vnleſſe he be partaker of his Body, that is to ſay, of the Church: the vnitie of which Church the Apoſtle commendeth in the Sacrament of Bread, ſaying, We being many, are one Bread, and one Body.* The Church was that Body, whereof the two Diſciples were made partakers and members, and ſo came to the knowledge of Chriſt. *Aug. de conſenſu Euangeliſtarum. li. 3. c. 25.*

Now, notwithſtanding we haue granted that S. Auguſtine expounded this place of the Sacrament, yet doth not S. Auguſtine ſay, that Chriſt miniſtred the halfe Sacrament to his Diſciples in one kinde only. But ſaith M. Harding, Luke ſpeaketh only of the Bread? Ergo, There was no Wine.

This Argument may be good in M. Hardings Diuinitie: but it is of ſmall force in good Logicke.

As for your Synecdoche, whereby of the part ye vnderſtand the whole (ſaith M. Harding) it is but a patch of your deuice, and will not ſerue. Yet S. Auguſtine, S. Gregorie, Bede, Iulianus, Dionyſius, Lyra, Wideford, and others that vnderſtand theſe words of S. Luke, of hoſpitalitie, muſt néeds craue the warrant of a figure, and vnder the name of Bread, muſt néeds conceiue meat and Wine alſo: otherwiſe there had béene a very ſimple, and a drie Feaſt. Now if M. Harding can allow them the figure of Synecdoche, why may not he as well allow vs the ſame? It is a maner of ſpeech commonly vſed in all the Scriptures.

But Chriſt ſtraightway vaniſhed from their ſight, vpon the breaking of the Bread; and therefore had no leaſure to deliuer the other portion; neither is there any mention made of the Cup. O what miſerable ſtraits theſe men be driuen into! To make vp their tale, they are glad to ſay, that Chriſt lackt leaſure. *But there is nothing written of the Cup.* I grant. Neither is there any thing there written, that Chriſt did Conſecrate the Bread. And this place is priuileged aboue all others. We muſt conceiue no more of it, than is ſpoken. Then was there a Sacrament without Conſecration. Neither is there any thing there written, that either Chriſt himſelfe or the Diſciples did eat the Bread. Thus hath M. Harding, with much adoe, found out at laſt, not a Communion of one kinde, that he ſought for, but a Communion of no kinde at all. And ſo haue we a Sacrament without Sacrament, and a Communion without Communion.

What ſhall I ſay further? If I grant M. Harding his whole demand, yet hath he won nothing againſt me; but very much againſt himſelfe. For the queſtion is moued of Lay people: M. Harding bringeth examples of Chriſt and two Diſciples, who were of the number of the ſeuenty and two, that were ſent abroad to preach the Goſpell, and therefore it may well be thought, they were Miniſters, and not of the Lay ſort. Lyra and others thinke, the one of them was S. Luke himſelfe. Epiphanius thinketh it was Nathaniel. Therefore M. Harding may well gather hereof, that Prieſts may receiue in one kinde: which thing he will in no wiſe grant. But he can conclude nothing againſt the people. Such lucke hath he to allege matter againſt himſelfe. *Lyra in Lucam cap. 24. Epiphan. contra Saturnilinos.*

M. Harding. The 13 Diuiſion.

Heere might bee alleged the place of the Acts in the ſecond Chapter, where mention is made of the Communion of breaking of the Bread, the Cup not ſpoken of: which the Heretikes called Waldenſes did confeſſe, that it muſt be vnderſtanded of the Sacrament, *In confeſſione ad Vladiſlaum*, and likewiſe the place of the 20. Chapter, and ſpecially that of the 27. Chapter of the Acts. (57) where Chryſoſtome, and other Fathers vnderſtand the Bread that S. Paul, in perill of Shipwracke, tooke, gaue thankes ouer, brake, and ate, to be the holy Sacrament.

The 57. vntruth. For Chryſoſtom vnderſtandeth it of common meat.

The

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

He thought it not good to recite the words, as knowing they would not greatly serue his purpose. That the two former places were meant of the Sacrament, it appeareth (saith hee) not only by the Waldenses, but also by the exposition of the old Fathers. Yet could none of them, in either of these places, euer finde out the halfe Communion in One Kinde. But heere is no mention of the Cup: *Ergo*, (saith M. Harding) The Communion was ministred in Bread alone. A learned man, before he conclude so vnaduisedly, should foresee what would follow. M. Harding granteth, as shall hereafter appeare, that if a Priest doe Communicate in One Kinde alone, he committeth Sacrilege: for so it is determined by Gelasius. Now let vs lay these two verities of M. Hardings both together. The first is, If a Priest minister in One Kinde, he committeth Sacrilege: The second is, The Apostles were Priests, and ministred onely in One Kinde: for heere is no maner mention of the Cup. These both be M. Hardings premisses. Hereof it must necessarily follow, and cannot be auoided, that the Apostles of Christ committed Sacrilege. But what will not these men grant, to win their purpose?

M. Hardings Cõclusion, that the Apostles of Christ committed Sacrilege.

The weight of M. Hardings Argument is taken, as they name it in Schooles, ab Authoritate negatiuè: and vnlesse it be in consideration of some other Circumstance, it is so simple, that a very childe may soone answer it. For as he saith heere, There is no mention made, but of breaking of Bread: *Ergo*, There was no Cup: So might he also say, *There is no mention made, but of breaking of Bread*: Ergo, *There was not Christs Body*. Or thus: Iacob went downe into Egypt with threescore and ten soules: Ergo, In his company hee had no bodies. Certainly as the soule in that place importeth the whole man; euen so in the other place, the breaking of Bread importeth the whole Ministration.

Genes. 46.

As for the breaking of Bread in the 27. of the Acts, which place, as it is auouched, Chrysostome vnderstandeth of the Sacrament, verily M. Harding was therein much ouerseene. For the Text is cleere: If S. Paul gaue the Sacrament, being at that time in the Ship, he gaue it only vnto Infidels, that knew not Christ. And Chrysostomes Exposition, euen in the same place, is plaine to the contrarie. For thus he enlargeth S. Pauls words, that he spake to the Mariners: Obsecro vos, vt sumatis cibum: hoc enim ad salutem vestram fuerit: hoc est, ne forsan fame pereatis, cibum sumite: *I pray you take some sustenance. It is behouefull for you, that yee so do. That is to say, take some meat, lest perhaps yee die for hunger.* Now let M. Harding either say these words are spoken of the Sacrament; or confesse that he hath made vntrue report of his Doctor.

M. Hard. misreporteth S. Chrysostome.

M. Harding. The 14. Diuision.

The 58. vntruth. For S. Paul neuer ministred the Comunion so.

It is not to be maruelled at, albeit S. Paul deliuered to the Corinthians the Institution of our Lords Supper vnder both kindes, that yet vpon occasion giuen, and when condition of time so required, (58) hee ministred the Communion vnder one kinde, sith that (without doubt) he tooke that holy Mysterie vnder one kind for the whole Sacrament, as we perceiue by his words, where he saith, *Vnus Panis, & vnum Corpus, multi sumus, omnes qui de vno Pane participamus*: One Bread, and one Body, wee (being many) are, all that doe participate of one Bread. (59) Where he speaketh nothing of the Cup. And likewise by his words, where he speaketh disiunctiuely, as the Greeke and the true Latine Text hath: *Quicunque manducauerit Panem, vel biberit Calicem Domini indignè, reus erit Corporis & Sanguinis Domini*: Whosoeuer eateth the Bread, or drinketh of the Cup of our Lord vnworthily, he shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Whereon dependeth an Argument of the contrarie, that whosoeuer eateth this Bread worthily, or drinketh this Cup worthily, he eateth and drinketh righteousnesse and life.

1. Cor. 10.

The 59. vntruth. For immediatly before he saith, *The Cup of blessing which wee blesse, is it not the Communion of Christs Blood?*

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It is no maruell (saith M. Harding) though S. Paul ministred sometimes in one kind. But it is much to be maruelled, that any Christian man durst euer thus boldly to publish open errour vnder the name of S. Paul. What would not these men take in hand to prooue, that dare thus to allege S. Paul himselfe, against himselfe, and that without any testimonie, or word of S. Paul? Yes marry (saith M. Harding) S. Paul saith, wee being many, are one Bread, and one Body: and speaketh nothing of the Cup. Heere, by the way, M. Harding chargeth S. Paul with manifest Sacrilege. For it is already confessed by all them of that side, that it is Sacrilege, if a Priest, such as S. Paul was, doe minister and receiue the Sacrament vnder one kinde.

M. Harding chargeth S. Paul with Sacrilege.

But (he saith) there is nothing spoken of the Cup. What may we thinke hereof? Whether is this man himselfe blinde, or thinketh he all others to be blinde? Is there nothing there spoken of the Cup? (O good Christian Reader) marke the dealing of this man, and beware of him. Vnlesse thou consider well the places that he allegeth, he may soone deceiue thee. Thus lie S. Pauls words: *The Cup of the blessing, which we blesse, is it not the Communication of the Blood of Christ? The Bread that we breake, is it not the Communication of the Bodie*

die of Christ? For we being many, are one Bread, and one Body, all that be partakers of one Bread.

Here S. Paul **distinctly nameth both parts together, and the Cup before the Bread.** Yet (saith **M. Harding**) there is nothing spoken heere of the Cup. **If he hath dealt faithfully here in, thou maiest trust him further for the rest.** Verily S. Hierome **noteth it thus:** Ideo de Calice primùm dixit, vt posset postea de Pane latius disputare: *Therefore* S. Paul *spake first of the Cup, that he might afterward intreat more at large of the Bread.* *M. Hard. misreporteth* S. Pauls *words.* *Hieronymus in* 1. *Cor.* 10.

Further (saith **M. Harding**) S. Paul vseth a Disunctiue, as appeareth both by the Greeke, and also by the true Latine Text. **Such diligence and circumspection, in searching the Scriptures for defence of a truth, is much to be commended. For there may be often times great weight in one letter, as appeareth by sundry disputations betweene the** Christians **and the** Arians. **But this man seeketh so narrowly, only to finde some conert for his errour.** S. Hierome, Anselmus, Haimo, **and many others, both in the Text and in the Exposition of the same place, vse the Copulatiue. Notwithstanding, to grant M. Harding his Disunctiue, yet if he be so skilfull in the Digest, as in other places of his Booke he would seeme to be, he might some remember, that the very discretion of the Law hath determined, that sometimes Disunctiues stand in stead of Copulatiues, sometimes Copulatiues in stead of Disunctiues:** Sæpè ita comparatum est, vt & Coniuncta pro Disiunctis accipiantur, & Disiuncta pro Coniunctis. *De verb. & rerum significatione.*

But if M. Harding haue so good eie to one little Disiunctiue, and meane vprightly, why doth he so blindely passe by so many Copulatiues in the selfe same place altogether? For S. Paul **saith,** *As often as ye shall eat of this Bread,* And *drinke of this Cuppe:* **And againe,** *Let a man examine himselfe, and so eat of that Bread,* And *drinke of that Cuppe:* **And againe,** *He that eateth* And *drinketh vnworthily, eateth* And *drinketh his owne damnation:* **Here be foure Copulatiues together. And by these it were good reason, that M. Harding should expound his Disiunctiue: specially for that** S. Paul, **recording the Institution, vseth a Copulatiue: and the order of the Primitiue Church, and the Exposition of** S. Hierome, **and others, is agreeable to the same. In such cases** Tertullian **hath giuen a good rule:** Oportet secundùm plura intelligi pauciora. Sed proprium hoc est omnium Hæreticorum: Nam quia pauca sunt, quæ in sylua inuenire possunt, pauca aduersus plura defendunt, & posteriora aduersus priora suscipiunt: *It is meet, that we expound the fewer places according to the moe. But this is the very cast of all Heretikes. For because there be few things to be found in the wood, or in the multitude, therefore they defend a few things against many, and things lately deuised, against the first.* **Thus doth M. Harding, as we plainly see:** *and this* (saith Tertullian) *is the very cast of all Heretikes.* *Likewise also the Cup.* *Tertull. aduersus Praxeam.*

M. Harding. The 15. Diuision.

For this purpose wee haue a notable place in the Hebrew Gospell of S Matthew, which S. Hierome saith, hee saw in the Library of Cæsarea, and translated it. This place is cited by S. Hierome, in his Booke, *De Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus, in Iacobo fratre Domini:* The words touching the Communion, that S. Hierome rehearseth, agree thorowly with those of S. Luke 24. Chapt. *Matthæus sic refert: Dominus autem &c.* Matthew reporteth thus: When our Lord had made an oath, that he would not eat Bread from that houre he dranke of the Cup of the Lord, vntill he saw him raised from the dead. It followeth a little after: *Afferte, ait Dominus, mensam & panem. Statimque addit: Tulit Panem, & benedixit, & fregit, ac dedit Iacobo Iusto, & dixit ei, Frater, comede Panem tuum, quia resurrexit filius hominis à dormientibus:* Bring the Table, and set on Bread, quoth our Lord: and by and by it is added, Hee tooke Bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gaue it to Iames the Iust, and said vnto him, My brother, eat thy Bread: for the sonne of man is risen againe from the dead. No man can doubt but this was the Sacrament. And Wine was there none giuen, for any thing that may be gathered. For it is not likely that S. Iames had Wine in his house then, forasmuch as Egesippus, who was not long after him, witnesseth of him, that he neuer dranke Wine, but at our Lords Supper.

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What shall need long Answer to him that alleageth nothing? Here is no word spoken of the Sacrament, no more than when Christ did eat of the broiled Fish, and of the hony combe. And other proofe thereof there is none brought, but words and boldnesse. For shew and countenance of somewhat, there is brought forth the Gospell of S. Matthew, and that written in Hebrew, as though S. Matthew had written two Gospels, in two sundry tongues: and not only two, but also diuers. I know it is thought of some, that S. Matthew wrote his Gospell in Hebrew, and by report of Theophylactus, S. Iohn the Euangelist translated the same into Greeke. But that there should be any contrarietie or diuersitie of story, or matter, as M. Harding seemeth to meane, I haue not heard. Luc. 24.

But S. Hierome, **in the place here alleged, as he not once nameth the Sacrament, so he speaketh not one word of S. Matthew. Which thing adeth some more distrust to M. Hardings dealing:** S. Hierome **only nameth the Gospell of the Hebrewes, which (he saith) he** *Hieronymus de Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus.*

he himselfe translated both into Greeke and Latine, and is often alleged by Origen. But
Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 24. Eusebius accounteth it for no Gospell, but only among the bastard Scriptures.

Howbeit, whatsoeuer the credit of the Booke be, thus it is written: Christ tooke Bread, and blessed it, and brake it. Heere (saith M. Harding) no man can doubt but it was the Sacrament. I see well he would faine haue it so. Yet is there heere, neither by the Hebrewes Gospell, nor by S. Hierome, any word spoken of the Sacrament. Neither had S. Iames vowed, that he would not minister or receiue the Communion, but that he would eat no Common Bread, before he had seene Christ risen againe from the dead. As for the blessing of the Bread, it was not a thing peculiar to the Sacrament, but a generall maner that Christ obserued, whensoeuer he vsed Gods creatures, as it may appeare throughout the Story of the Gospels. That Christ should then minister the Sacrament, it is but M. Hardings gheste. No old Writer euer saw so much before, no not S. Hierome, that wrote the Story. Yet M. Harding, as though he had learned it in the third Heauen, saith, It is so plaine, that no man may doubt of it.

But be it the Sacrament: *Ergo* (saith M. Harding) There was but one kinde. And how may that be proued? Now must one gheste helpe another. For it is likely (saith M. Harding) that there was no Wine in the house. And why so? Because S. Iames dranke no Wine. If gheستes goe for arguments, this matter is done: Howbeit, it seemeth a very silly gheste, to say, S. Iames dranke no Wine: *Ergo*, He had no Wine in his house. Verily the same Egesippus, that saith S. Iames neuer dranke Wine, saith also, *That hee neuer was anointed, neuer ware wollen cloth, neuer eat flesh in all his life.*

Egesippus. Abdias lib. 6.

Hereof, by M. Hardings Logicke, we may conclude, that he had neither ointment, nor wollen cloth, nor flesh in his house. Yet is there heere another greater inconuenience. S. Hierome saith, that S. Iames continued Bishop in Hierusalem the space of thirty yeres, vntill the seuenth yeare of Nero: if it be true that is heere auouched, that in all his life he neuer dranke Wine, but only at Christs last Supper, then must it follow, that being Bishop in Hierusalem the space of thirty yeres, he neuer said Masse: which thing M. Harding may not well grant: Or else that he Consecrated in one kinde: which thing by Gelasius is adiudged Sacrilege. Which way soeuer M. Harding turne himselfe, into one of these inconueniences he must néeds fall.

Hieron. de Ecclesiæ Scriptoribus.

Againe, if heere be mention indeed of the Sacrament, and no Wine to be had in S. Iames house, then did Christ himselfe receiue in one kind, to whose example, as these men say, Bishops and Priests are bound to stand. Therefore let them no longer deceaue the people, but by Christs example, let both Bishops and Priests content themselues with the halfe Communion, as well as others.

M. Harding. The 16 Diuision.

But because perhaps our aduersaries will cast some mist ouer these allegations, to darken the truth with their cloudy Glosses, which be cleere enough to quiet and sober wits, that giue eare to the holy Ghost, speaking to vs by the mouth of the Church: I will bring foorth such witnesses and proofes for this purpose, out of ancient Fathers, as by no reason or Sophisticall shift, they shall be able to auoid. Many of the places that I alleged in the Article before this, for Priuate Communion, may serue to this purpose very well, and therefore I will not let to recite some of them heere also.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

God wot, it were great wrong to cast a mist ouer darkenesse. But M. Harding hauing alleged such matter for his halfe Communion, as he himselfe seeth may be easily answered, and William Wideford, a Doctour of his owne learning, saith, *Is foolishly and falsly brought in, to serue this turne*; yet he would not passe it ouer without some brauery. But now will he bring in such authorities, so cleere, so forcible, and so inuincible, as cannot possibly be auoided. Howbeit, God be thanked, these Authorities be neither so weighty, nor so strange. I knew them all, and had weighed them well, before I spake any thing in that behalfe. Heere he doubleth a great many things, before by him alleged for his Priuate Masse, indeed seruing as well to the one purpose, as to the other.

Wil. Wideford, contra Wicleuum.

M. Harding. The 17. Diuision.

Melciades that constant Martyr of Christ, and Bishop of Rome, ordeined, that sundry hosts, prepared by the Consecrating of a Bishop, should bee sent abroad among the Churches, and Parishes, that Christian folke, who remained in the Catholike Faith, might not through Heretikes be defrauded of the holy Sacrament. Which can none otherwise be taken, than for the forme of Bread only, because the Wine cannot so conueniently be carried abroad from place to place, in small quantitie, for such vse; much lesse any long time bee kept without corruption.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This Argument hangeth only vpon lacke of carriage. For if it were possible to deuise a way, that the Sacrament might be carried about in both kindes, then were this gheste

ſone anſwered. For otherwiſe Melciades ſpeaketh not one word of the Communion in One kinde. Now that the cartiage of both kindes is not vnpoſſible, the examples of antiquitie doe well declare. S. Hierome writeth thus of Exuperius the Biſhop of Tolouſe in France: Nihil illo ditius, qui Corpus Domini in caniſtro vimineo, Sanguinem portabat in vitro: *There was no man richer than hee that carried the Lords Body in a wicker Basket, and his Blood in a Glaſſe.* *Hieronym. ad Ruſticum.* Likewiſe Iuſtinus Martyr declaring the order of the Church in his time, ſaith thus: Illis, quæ cum gratiarum actione conſecrata ſunt, vnuſquiſque participat: eadem, ad eos qui abſunt, Diaconis dantur perferenda: *Of the things that be Conſecrate (that is, the Bread, Water and Wine) euery man taketh part: The ſame things are deliuered to the Deacons to be carried vnto them that be away.* *Iuſtinus Martyr in Apologia 2.* Here haue we found not only a poſſibilitie, but alſo a common vſage and practiſe of carrying the Sacrament in Both kindes. This is the firſt inuincible argument, that all the World cannot anſwer.

M. Harding. The 18. Diuiſion.

The Councell of Nice decreed, that in Churches where neither Biſhop nor Prieſt were preſent, the Deacons themſelues bring foorth and eat the holy Communion. Which likewiſe cannot bee referred to the forme of Wine, for cauſe of ſowring and corruption if it be long kept.

This Canon is neither found in the Greeke, nor extant in the firſt edition, nor alleged by Gratian.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

This latter clauſe (Ipſi proferant & edant:) *Let them bring it foorth themſelues and eat,* neither is in the Greeke, nor in the Decrees, nor in the former edition of the Councels. Certaine words ſomewhat like are found in Ruffinus in this ſort: Præſentibus Presbyteris, Diaconi ne diuidant Euchariſtiam, ſed illis agentibus, ſolùm miniſtrent. Si verò Preſbyter nullus ſit in præſenti, tunc demum etiam ipſis liceat diuidere: *In the preſence of the Prieſts, let not the Deacons diuide or miniſter the Sacrament, but onely ſerue the Prieſts in their office. But if there be no Prieſt preſent, then let it be lawfull for the Deacons to miniſter.* *Ruffinus libro 1. cap. 6.* Here is very ſmall helpe for M. Hardings purpoſe, vnleſſe perhaps hee will ſay, that Proferre or diuidere, is *to miniſter in one kinde.* But if he thinke this a very fond Tranſlation, as it is indeed, then this authoritie might haue beene ſpared.

M. Harding vpon occaſion of theſe words would haue men beleeue that the Deacon in the abſence of the Prieſt, went to the Pix, and toke out the Sacrament and receiued it. But Ruffinus ſpeaketh not one word neither of taking forth of the Sacrament, nor of the receiuing of the Deacon, but of Diuiding or Miniſtring to the people. And his meaning ſeemeth to be this, that in the abſence of the Prieſt, the Deacon might Conſecrate, and ſo ſerue the people. Which thing notwithſtanding it ſeeme in ſome part contrarie to another Canon of the ſame Councell, namely in the preſence of a Prieſt, yet that it was ſo vſed in the Primitiue Church, it appeareth by moſt manifeſt and certaine proofes. *Canon. 18.* S. Ambroſe imagineth S. Laurence being a Deacon, thus to ſay vnto Sixtus the Biſhop, when he ſaw him led to his Martyrdome: Experire vtrùm idoneum miniſtrum elegeris, cui commiſeris Dominici ſanguinis Conſecrationem: *O Father, trie whether thou haue choſen a fit Miniſter, vnto whom thou haſt committed the Conſecration of the Lords Blood.* *Ambr. officior. lib. 1. cap. 41.* By theſe words we ſee, that Deacons then vſed to Conſecrate. Therefore Eutropius was not well aduiſed, when he without cauſe corrupted and altered S. Ambroſes words, and for Dominici Sanguinis Conſecrationem, read Dominici ſanguinis diſpenſationem. *Eutropius.* For it followeth immediately in S. Ambroſe: Et conſummandorum conſortium Sacramentorum: that is, *The Fellowſhip of perfecting the Sacraments.*

And the Emperour Iuſtinian in his Authentikes, De eccleſiaſticis diuerſis capitulis: *Let the Biſhop appoint vnto the women that be vnder his gouernment, ſuch Prieſt or Deacon as they ſhall chuſe to make anſwer vnto them, or to miniſter vnto them the holy oblation.* *Folio 356. Authen. De Eccle. diuer. capitulis.*

The ſame alſo may euidently be gathered by the ſecond Canon of the Councell Ancyrane: the words be: Diaconi ſimiliter, qui immolauerunt, honorem quidem habeant: ceſſare verò debent ab omni Sacro miniſterio, ſiue a Pane, ſiue à Calice offerendo vel prædicando: *Let the Deacons that haue offered (vnto Idols) keepe their eſtate ſtill. But they muſt giue ouer all holy Miniſterie, both of offering the Bread and Wine, and alſo of Preaching.* *Concil. Ancyran. Can. 2.*

This part of the Deacons office was afterward in ſundrie decrees abrogated. Firſt Bergomenſis in the life of Honorius ſaith: *It was decreed by Zoſimus Biſhop of Rome, that the Deacon ſhould not miniſter in the preſence of the Biſhop or Prieſt.* *Bergomen in Honorio.* And long before that time, order was taken in the Councell holden at Arle in France, that Deacons ſhould not miniſter the Sacrament at all. The words be: De Diaconis, quos cognouimus multis locis offerre, placuit id minimè fieri debere: *Touching Deacons of whom we heare ſay, that they make the oblation in many places, we haue thought it good, that they doe ſo no more.* *Concil. Arelat. 1. cap. 15.*

M. Harding will not denie but theſe bee proofes ſufficient, that the Deacons in thoſe dates vſed to miniſter the holy Communion. Therefore the meaning of the Councell

of Nice, is not that the Deacon should goe to the Priest, and take the Sacrament reserued, as M. Harding seemeth to gather vpon a false text, being neither in the Greeke, nor in the former setting forth of the Councels, nor alleged by Gratian: but that the Deacon in the absence of the Priest might Consecrate the holy Mysteries, and deliuer the same vnto the people, as may well be gathered by the words of Ruffine. But let vs grant M. Harding, that the Sacrament was reserued: yet hath he gotten very small aduantage for his halfe Communion. For if he would say thus: The Sacrament was reserued, Ergo, it was reserued in one kinde, the Sequell of his argument would be to weake. No Logicke could make it good.

I grant, the holy Mysteries were sometimes kept in the Primitiue Church vpon sundrie occasions: but they were kept in both kindes, as manifestly appeareth by Nicephorus, and by the first Epistle of Complaint sent by Chrysostome vnto Innocentius. This being true, as it cannot bee denied, that the Sacrament was reserued in both kindes, what then hath M. Harding gotten by this inuincible argument, for his halfe Communion in one kinde?

Nicephor. lib. 13. cap. 19.

Chrys. epist. 1. ad Innocētium.

M. Harding. The 19. Diuision.

Where often times we finde it recorded of the Fathers, that Christian people in time of persecution receiued of the Priests at Church in fine linnen clothes, the Sacrament in sundry portions, to beare with them, and to receiue it secretly in the morning before other meat, as their deuotion serued them, for the same cause; and in respect of other circumstances, it must of necessitie be taken, only for the kinde or forme of Bread. The places of Tertullian and S. Cyprian be knowen. Tertullian writing to his wife, exhorteth her not to marry againe, specially to an Infidell, if he die before her, for that if she doe, she shall not be able at all times for her husband, to doe as a Christian woman ought to doe. *Will not thy husband know* (saith he) *what thou eatest secretly before all other meat? And in case he doe know it, he will beleeue it to be bread, not* (do) *him who it is called.* S. Cyprian writeth in his Sermon *De Lapsis*, That when a woman had gone about with vnworthy hands to open her Coffer where the holy thing of our Lord was laid vp, shee was made afraid with fire that rose vp from thence, as she durst not touch it. Which doubtlesse must be taken for that one kinde of the Sacrament.

Lib. ad Vxo. rem.

The 60. vntruth. Standing in the false translating of Tertullian.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The matter that hangeth in question betweene vs, is whether the people being assembled together in the Church, at any time within the space limited, receiued the Communion vnder one kinde. M. Harding answereth me, not of the order of the Church, but of seuerall men and Priuate houses. Thus he lieth that thing that should bee proued: and the thing that needeth no proofe, as nothing pertinent vnto the matter, hee proueth onely by coniecture. In the place of Tertullian hee vseth a manifest corruption, as I haue already shewed.

M. Harding falsifieth Tertullian.

His coniectures be these: Women receiued the Sacrament in a linnen cloth; Tertullians wife receiued it at home before meats; S. Cyprian saith, A woman kept it at home in a Chest; *Ergo*, The Sacrament was ministred in one kinde. These be cold ghesses and no proofes. To say, *They had the Bread*: Ergo, *They had not the Wine*, is a very faint reason, and hangeth only of ignorance, for that M. Harding knoweth not, in what order these things were kept. But that women and others kept the Sacrament and carried it about them, and that in both kindes, it is euident, and cannot be denied.

Gregorie Nazianzene thus writeth of his sister Gorgonia: ἐπεὶ τι τῶν ἁγιασθέντων τῷ τιμίῳ σώματι, καὶ αἵματι, ἢ χεὶρ ἐδυσώπησεν, τοῦτο καταμιγῦσα τοῖς δάκρυσι, &c. *If her hand had laid vp any portion of the tokens of the precious Body and of the Blood, mingling it with her teares,* &c. Heere Nazianzene, contrarie to M. Hardings iudgement, saith, she had laid vp both parts. And what should I stand long to heape examples? M. Hardings owne Amphilochius, of whom he seemeth to make so great account, among other his fables, whereof he hath good store, saith: *That a certaine Iew came and receiued among the Faithfull, and priuily caried part of either kinde home with him.* How or wherein, it is not written. Yet will it not follow, M. Harding cannot tell wherein the Iew carried home the Wine: therefore Amphilochius tale is not true.

Nazian. in funere Gorgoniæ.

Amphilochius.

Now if M. Harding had his owne request, yet is he farre off from his purpose. For if he would reason thus: *One woman receiued the halfe Sacrament in one kinde at home*: Ergo, *The people receiued in like sort openly in the Church* (which is the thing that should be proued) this argument would hardly hold.

To bee short, these three examples heere alleged, are nothing else but meere abuses of the Sacrament. And therefore as it appeareth by S. Cyprian, God shewed himselfe by miracle to be offended with it, fraying the woman that so had kept it, with a flame of fire. And it was decreed in the Councell holden at Cæsarauguſta in Spaine: *That if any man receiued the Sacrament, and eat not the same presently in the Church, hee should bee accursed for euer.*

Cyprian. de Lapsis Serm. 5.

Concil. Cæsarauguſt. cap. 3.

euer. Thus M. Hardings reaſons hold only by gheſſe, grounded vpon abuſe, and being granted, yet are not able to proue his purpoſe. Paulinus.

M. Harding. The 20. Diuiſion.

The examples of keeping the holy Sacrament vnder the forme of Bread only, to be in a readineſſe for the ſicke and for others in time of danger, that they might haue their neceſſarie victuall of life, or voiage prouiſion with them at their departure hence, be in maner infinite. Heere one or two may ſerue in ſtead of a number. For though M. Iewell maketh his vaunt that wee haue not one ſentence or clauſe for proofe of theſe Articles, which he ſo defaceth with his negatiue; yet I will not accumulate this treatiſe with tedious allegation of authorities. S. Ambroſe at the houre of death, receiued the Communion vnder one kind, kept for that purpoſe, as it appeareth by this teſtimonie of Paulinus, who wrote his life. And becauſe it may be a good inſtruction to others to die well, I will heere recite his words: *At the ſame time as he departed from vs our Lord, from about the eleuenth houre of the day, vntill the houre that hee gaue vp the ghoſt, ſtretching abroad his hands in maner of a Croſſe, hee praied: wee ſaw his lips moue, but voice wee heard none. Horatius a Prieſt of the Church of Vercels, being gone vp to bed, heard a voice three times of one calling him, and ſaying to him, Ariſe and haſte thee, for hee will depart hence by and by.* Who going downe, gaue to the Saint our Lords Bodie, which taken and ſwallowed downe, hee gaue vp the ghoſt, hauing with him a good voyage prouiſion, ſo as the ſoule being the better refreſhed by the vertue of that meat, may now reioice with the companie of Angels, whoſe life he led in the earth, and with the fellowſhip of Elias.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

It is no vaunt to ſay the truth. Neither did I denie, that euer any one man receiued the Communion in One kinde. For I knew all theſe examples, and the weight of them. Neither is it ſo hard a matter for a man to know them. But this is the only thing that I denied: That you are not able to bring any one ſufficient authoritie or example that euer the whole people receiued the Communion in the open Church vnder one Kinde. Hereupon reſteth that ſtrange Negatiue, wherewithall ye are ſo greeued. This is it that ye ſhould proue, and yet hitherto haue not proued. Ye ſay, ye will not accumulate examples, as though yee had enow to ſpare. Yet haue yee gotten together Sicke folke, Women, Infants, Mad men, Coniectures, Gheſſes, Miracles and Fables: and haue ſpared nothing that might bee found, although it made nothing to your purpoſe. Such is the ſtore of your examples.

Touching Paulinus, that as it is ſuppoſed, wrote this life of S. Ambroſe, I will ſay nothing as of my ſelfe, but onely referre you to Eraſmus, whoſe iudgement yee would ſeeme ſometime not to miſlike. Thus he ſaith: Idem eſt artifex, qui tam multa contaminauit in ſcriptis Hieronymi & Auguſtini, &c. *It is the ſame crafts man, that hath corrupted ſo many things in the writings of S. Hierome and S. Auguſtine, a man euen made to ſuch purpoſe. He had the ſtorie of S. Ambroſes life written by ſome other. Vnto the ſame he ſet a iolly Preface of his owne: he woaue in a great many talkes betweene parties, and thereunto framed a concluſion, and patched on a ſort of Miracles. Compare the very phraſe and maner of ſpeech of the true Paulinus with this fellowes rags, &c.* *Eraſm. in præfatione in Ambroſium.*

This is that Paulinus, whom M. Harding hath choſen for his authour.

Touching the matter, if it bee granted, it neither releeueth M. Hardings purpoſe, nor hindreth ours. For if S. Ambroſe ſtraight vpon receiuing of the Bread yelded vp the ſpirit, and therefore did not receiue the Cup, which thing notwithſtanding is not yet proued, yet will it not follow, that this was the common order of the Church. What example of dying well M. Harding hath heere found, I cannot ſee: vnleſſe hee meane that the Sacrament, onely becauſe it is receiued, hath power to worke Saluation, and to cauſe a man to die well: which is a dangerous doctrine, and by M. Harding already refuſed. For as much as may appeare by the ſtorie, neither did S. Ambroſe in that caſe call for the Sacrament, nor vtter any kinde of word, nor vnderſtood what he receiued: but onely lay ſpeechleſſe, and as ſoone as he had ſwallowed the Bread downe, gaue vp the ghoſt. But this Paulinus in the ſame ſtorie noteth one ſpeciall ſentence of S. Ambroſe, much had in remembrance and commended by S. Auguſtine in his old age, and heere diſſembled by M. Harding, whereof a man may take great comfort, and indeede learne a good leſſon to die well. For he ſaid lying in his death bed: Non ſic vixi, vt pudeat inter vos viuere: nec mori timeo, quia bonum habemus Dominum: *Neither haue I ſo liued, that I am aſhamed longer to liue amongſt you: nor am I afraid to die, for that we haue a gratious Lord.* *Articulo 20.*

M. Harding. The 21. Diuiſion.

Dionyſius Alexandrinus about the yeere of our Lord 200. as Euſebius Cæſarienſis reciteth, manifeſtly declareth, how that an old man called Serapion, was houſeled vnder one kinde at his end. This Serapion after that he had laien ſpeechleſſe three daies, ſent for the Sacrament. The Prieſt for ſickneſſe not able to come himſelfe, gaue to the lad that came of that errand, a little of the Sacrament, commanding him to wet it, and ſo being moiſted, to powre it into the old mans mouth. Thus much is expreſſed by the words there, *Euſebius hiſt. lib. 6. cap. 44.*

as the Greeke is to be construed. The ladde being returned home, moisted with some liquor that diuine meat to serue the old man withall, lying now panting for desire to bee dismissed hence, and to haste him away to Heauen, and powred it into his mouth. For that this old mans mouth and throat had long beene drie by force of his sickneſſe; the Priest who had experience in that case, prouidently gaue warning to moist the Sacrament with some liquor, and so together to powre it into his mouth. Which was so done by the ladde as Dionysius expresseth. Now if the forme of Wine had then also beene brought by the ladde to be ministred, there had beene no need of such circumstance to procure the old man a moisture to swallow down that holy food. And that this was the maner of ministring the Sacrament to old men at their departing, it appeareth by record of Theodoritus, who writeth in his Eccleſiasticall story, how one Bassus an Arch-Priest ministred vnto an old man called Simeones, of great fame for his holineſſe. *Bassus, saith he, as he visited his Churches, chanced vpon holy Simeones that wonder of the World lying sicke, who through feeblenesse was not able to speake nor moone. When Bassius saw he should die, he giueth him his rites before. But after what sort it is to bee marked. Spongia petita Simeoni os humectat atque eluit, ac tum es diuinum obtulit Sacramentum:* Hee calleth for a *sponge* (saith Theodoritus) *and therewith moisteth and washeth Simeones mouth, and then giueth him the holy Sacrament.* If at that time the receiuing of the sacred Cup had beene in vse, such procuring of moisture for the better swallowing downe of the Sacrament vnder one kinde had been needleſſe.

Ἀμφιλόχιος τὸν Ἀσσίου τὸν ἐπισκοπήσαντα τὸν ξυροφάγον ἐπισκοπῆς.

The burying of the Sacrament.

Amphilochius that worthy Bishop of *Iconium* in *Lycaonia*, of whom mention is made in the Article afore this, writeth in the life of S. Basil, that a little before he gaue vp his ghoſt, he receiued a portion of the holy Sacrament, which long before hee had caused to bee kept, to the intent it might be put in his graue with him at his buriall. Which no man can cauill to be any other, than the forme of Bread only.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding rather than hée would séeme to answer nothing, answereth one thing for another. The question is, of the vsage and order of the Church: his answer is of Serapions death bed, as though there had béene no Churches yet erected in those daies.

This Serapion for open Idolatrie by him committed, was Excommunicate from the Church, and vtterly cut off from the company of the faithfull, and that in such extreme sort, for the greater terrour of others, that during his life hée should neuer bée admitted againe. Notwithstanding which extremity, vpon good proofes, and tokens of repentance, leſt the party should bée vtterly swallowed vp with despaire, the Church often times with charitable discretion, remitted some part of that rigour: as may appeare by S. Cyprian, S. Augustine and others, and by Dionysius that wrote this Storie.

Auguſt. epiſt. 180.

S. Augustine speaking of the times of persecution: *Doe not we consider* (saith he) *in what multitudes the people in such danger, resorteth to the Church, some desiring they may be Baptized, some that they may be reconciled from Excommunication, some that they may be admitted to shew their repentance (for their open crimes) euery man desiring comfort, euery man desiring the participation of the Sacrament? In which case if there be no Minister to be had, what misery then followeth them that depart this life either vnbaptized or else bound (in their sinnes?)* Likewise S. Cyprian saith: *In this extreme case of death, the partie Excommunicate should not tarry to bee reconciled by the Bishop (in the presence of the Church, as the order was then) but discharge himselfe before any Deacon, and so depart vnto the Lord in peace.* Therefore the Priest vnderstanding the state the old man Serapion, being Excommunicate, stood in, and being not able for sickneſſe to goe himselfe, leſt he should depart comfortleſſe in desperation, in token that he was reconciled vnto the Church, sent vnto him the Sacrament by the ladde, and sent it not in one kinde only, but in both. For such was the order of the Church then, as it appeareth well by the story of Exuperius, and by Iustinus, and others. And the boy that caried the Sacrament, for more ease of the old man in that case, was warned by the Priest to moist the bread in the Sacramentall Wine that he brought with him, like as Bassus also did vnto Simeones: whom M. Harding highly commendeth for his holineſſe, notwithstanding he were the founder of the Meſſalians, and therefore as hée afterward saith, the first parent of the Sacramentary hereſie. And what hath M. Harding herein found for his halfe Communion? He will say, The boy was commanded to dippe the Bread; and Bassus was faine to wash Simeones mouth; *Ergo*, he receiued in one kinde. Verily Serapions boy were some able to answer this argument. For what sequell is this in reason: The sicke mans mouth was drie; *Ergo*, he could not receiue the Cup? Who would make such reasons but M. Harding? Of this ground he might better reason thus: *The sicke mans mouth was drie:* Ergo, *He could not receiue the Bread.* In my iudgement, the scowring of the sicke mans mouth hath small force to take from him the Sacrament of Christs Blood, and so to proue the halfe Communion.

Hieronym. ad Ruſticum. Iuſtinus, Apologia 2. Theodoret. lib. 4. cap. 11.

As for the fable of M. Hardings Amphilochius, it were great wrong to answer it otherwise than as a fable. For thus it is: *The Bread had beene kept by the space of seuen yeeres or more: S. Basil in his death bed called for it, and receiued it, to the intent,* as M. Harding saith, *it might be buried with him.* The former part hereof, to say, either that the Sacrament was kept the space of seuen yéres, or that at the end of so long time, it was fit to be receiued of

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a ſicke man in his death bed, is méere follie. But to ſay, as M. Harding héere ſaith, that the Body of Chriſt being now immortall and glorious, and at the right hand of God, may bée laid in the graue and buried, is manifeſt and wicked blaſphemie. Abdias ſaith, that S. Matthy the Apoſtle when he was ſtoned to death, deſired that two of the firſt ſtones might be buried with him for a witneſſe againſt them that ſo vſed him: who although hée bée full of like fables, yet hath he ſome reaſon in his fables: but M. Hardings Amphilochius hath none at all.

Now for view of M. Hardings proofes, good Reader, conſider this: I demand of the Lattie: he anſwereth of S. Ambroſe, and S. Baſil, which were Biſhops. I demand of the whole people: hée anſwereth of ſeuerall men. I demand of the vſage of the Church: hée anſwereth of perſons Excommunicate, that were without the Church. I demand of ſufficient and certaine proofes: he anſwereth me by ghéſſes and fables. And theſe be his inuincible arguments, that no man can anſwer.

M. Harding. The 22. Diuiſion.

It hath beene a (61) cuſtome in the Latine Church from the Apoſtles time to our daies, that on Good-Friday, aſwell Prieſts as other Chriſtian people, receiue the Sacrament vnder the forme of Bread only, conſecrated the day before, called the day of our Lords Supper, commonly *Maundie Thurſday*, and that not without ſignification of a ſingular myſterie; and this hath euer beene iudged a good and ſufficient Communion.

The 61. vntruth. without any colour or ſhew of truth.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

This may well bée called a Good Fridaies argument, it commeth in ſo naked without witneſſe. Indéed M. Tonſtall ſaith, it hath béene vſed of old in the Latine Church, but hee durſt not ſay from the time of the Apoſtles, as M. Harding héere ſaith. Yet for augmentation of matter of his ſide, I will ſay further: the firſt Councell Arauſicane holden ſometime in France, and Innocentius the firſt haue added héereto the holy Saturday, which now is called Eaſter Eue, and ſay it is a tradition of the Church, that in thoſe two daies the Sacrament in any wiſe be not miniſtred. The like whereof is written by Socrates of Good Friday, and the Wedneſday before.

Tonſtall. de Euchariſt. Concil. Arauſicanum 1.

Socr. l. 5. ca. 21

Innocen. 1. c. 4.

The ſingular myſterie héereof, M. Harding holdeth ſecret as a myſterie. Innocentius ſaith: *It is becauſe the Apoſtles ran their way that day, and hid themſelues.* Thomas of Aquine and Gerſon ſay: *Becauſe if any had Conſecrate that day while Chriſt lay dead, the Body had been without Blood, and the Blood without the Body.* Others ſay: *If the Sacrament that meane while had beene kept, it would haue beene dead in the Pix.*

Thom. 3. par. de Euch. qua. 76. ar. 2.

Gerſon contra Floret. li. 4.

Hugo Cardinalis ſaith: Quinta feria duæ hoſtiæ conſecrantur, & altera in craſtinum reſeruatur, quod eleganter fit, &c. *Vpon Shire Thurſday two hoſts be Conſecrate, and the one of them is reſerued vntill the next day, which thing is very trimly done. For Chriſts Paſſion is the truth, and the Sacrament is a figure of the ſame. Therefore when the truth is come, the figure giueth place.* These be the greateſt myſteries that I could euer learne touching this matter.

Eleganter.

Tho. 3. par. q. 81. art. 4. Innocent. 3. Hugo Cardinal. in Euang. ſecundùm Lucam cap. 24.

But this (ſaith M. Harding) was euer counted a good Communion. I grant. But yée haue not yet proued, that this was your halfe Communion. For if ye ſay, they Conſecrated the day before: Ergo, They receiued in One kinde onely the day after, this would bée no formall argument. For the Gréeke Church all the Lent long vſed to Conſecrate the Sacrament only vpon Saturdaies and Sundaies, as it is noted in the Councell of Conſtantinople: and vpon other daies they vſed the Communion of things Conſecrate before, and yet had they neuer vntill this day the Communion vnder One kinde. Yet notwithſtanding vnto this maner of the Gréeke Church, [a] M. Tonſtall reſembleth the obſeruation of Good Friday in the Latine Church. So farre is M. Harding off from proouing his purpoſe by Good Friday.

Sexta Synodus Conſtantinopol. Can. 52. τῆ θείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ τῶν προηγιασμένων.

[a] *Tonſtall. de Euchariſt.*

M. Harding. The 23. Diuiſion.

And that in the Greeke Church alſo, euen in the time of Chryſoſtome, the Communion vnder the forme of Bread only, was vſed and allowed, it appeareth by this notable ſtorie of Sozomenus, a Greeke Writer; which becauſe it is long, I will heere rehearſe it onely in English, remitting the learned to the Greeke. When Iohn, otherwiſe named Chryſoſtome, gouerned the Church of Conſtantinople very well, a certaine man of the Macedonian hereſie had a wife of the ſame opinion. When this man had heard Iohn in his Sermon declare, how one ought to thinke of God, hee praiſed his doctrine, and exhorted his wife to conforme her ſelfe to the ſame iudgement alſo. But when as ſhee was led by the talke of noble women, rather than by her husbands good aduertiſements, after that hee ſaw counſell tooke no place, Except (quoth he) thou wilt beare me companie in things touching God, thou ſhalt haue no more to do with me, nor liue any longer with me. The woman hearing this, promiſing fainedly, that ſhe would agrée vnto it, conferreth the matter with a woman ſeruant that ſhe had, whom ſhe eſteemed for truſty, and vſeth her helpe to deceiue her husband. About the time of the Myſteries, ſhe holding faſt that which ſhe had receiued, ſtouped downe, making reſemblance to pray. Her ſeruant ſtanding by, giueth to her ſecretly, that which ſhee had brought with her in her hand. That, as ſhe put her teeth to it to bite it, hardneth into a ſtone. With that the woman

Niſter Eccleſ. hiſt. li. 12. cap. 5. in Greco.

sore astonied, fearing lest some euill should happen vnto her therefore, which came by the power of God, ranne foorthwith to the Bishop, and bewraying her selfe, sheweth him the stone, hauing yet in it the prints of her bit, representing a strange matter and a wondrous colour; and so with teares of her eies besought forgiuenesse, promising her husband she would consent and agree to him. If this seeme to any incredible (saith Sozomenus) that stone is witnesse, which to this day is kept among the Iewels of the Church of Constantinople. By this storie it is cleere, the Sacrament was then ministred vnder One kinde only. For by receiuing that one forme, this woman would haue perswaded her husband, that she had communicated with him, and with that holy Bishop. Else if both kindes had then beene ministred, shee should haue practised some other shift for the auoiding of the Cup, which had not beene so easie.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

I may not disgrace the credit of this story: albeit in Sozomenus and Nicephorus, of both whom the same is recorded, there be sundrie things that may well be sied. But I see no cause yet, wherefore M. Harding should blow the triumph. For in all this long rehearsall there is not one word spoken of the Communion vnder One kinde. The Bread so changed into a stone, and kept for a memorie among the Iewels there, was a witnesse of the womans dissimulation, and not of M. Hardings halfe Communion. Yet (saith he) by this story it is cleere, the Sacrament was then ministred vnder one kinde only. For by receiuing that one forme, the woman would haue perswaded her husband, that she had Communicated with him. Else if both kindes had then beene ministred, shee would haue practised some other shift for the auoiding of the Cuppe, which had not beene so easie. Now truly here is but a cold conclusion, hanging wholly (as it may appeare) only vpon the sleight of a womans wit. For as this woman had diuised to deceiue her husband in the Bread, why might she not as well deuise to deceiue him in the Cup? why might she not take the Cup, and faine that she dranke, and yet drinke nothing? Doubtlesse such dissimulation is sooner wrought in the Cuppe than in the Bread: and she that durst so to dissemble in the one part of Gods Sacraments, would little feare to dissemble in the other.

Here we see the certaintie of M. Hardings ghesses. He reapeth the thing that was neuer sowen, and gathereth of his authours, the thing that was neuer spoken.

But touching the truth of this whole matter, if a man list onely to goe by ghesse, as M. Harding doth, why may hee not thus imagine with himselfe: If this woman would thus dissemble in a case so dangerous, what needed her to take the Bread at her Maids hand, and specially at that time, in that place, and in the sight of the whole people? Or how could shee so openly receiue it without suspition? Or why might she not haue brought it in a Napkin secretly about her selfe? The burden was not great: her faining and hypocrisie had beene the easier. And thus much to answer one ghesse by another.

But that there was no such dismembring of the holy Communion at that time, we may well vnderstand both by S. Basil, Nazianzene, Gregorie Nyssene, and others of that age, and also by these plaine words of Chrysostome: Est vbi nihil differat Sacerdos a subdito: vt quando fruendum est horrendis Mysterijs: *In some cases there is no difference between the Priest and the People: as when they must enioy the reuerend Mysteries.* Besides that, the Greeke Church neuer had this halfe Communion, neither before that time nor neuer sithence. And therefore Pope Leo the tenth, calleth the vse of the whole Sacrament according to Christs Institution, the Bohemians and the Grecians heresie.

Chrysost. in 2. Cor. homil. 18.

M. Harding. The 24. Diuision.

The place of S. Basils Epistles *ad Cesarium*, cannot be auoided by no shift nor Sophistrie of the Gospellers. These be his words: All they which liue the solitarie life in wildernesse, where is no Priest, keeping the Communion at home, communicate themselues. And in Alexandria and in Egypt each of the people for the most part hath the Communion in his house.

Here I might aske M. Iewel how they could keepe wine consecrated in smal measures, as should serue for euery mans housel apart, in those countries of extreme heat, specially in wildernesse, where they had neither Priest, nor Deacon, as in that place S. Basil writeth; for lacke of whom they kept it in store a long time, that they might not be destitute of it at need. Againe, heere I might aske him, whether it was the forme of Bread only, or of Wine also, which Christian men and specially women were wont deuoutly to receiue of the Priests in their cleane linnen or napkins, to bare home with them, taking great heed, that no fragments of it fell downe to the ground, as both Origen, and also S. Augustine doe witnesse. I thinke he will confesse, that linnen cloth is not a very fit thing to keepe liquor in.

Bread and Wine shifted suddenly into formes.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The Gospellers, whom M. Harding so often vpbraideth with that name, as if he himselfe had no part in Gods Gospell, haue little neede to auoid that thing, whereby they fit themselues nothing hindred. For the question is moued of the whole Congregation: answer is made of seuerall persons. Wee speake of the order of Churches: M. Harding answereth of forrests and wildernesse. Verily if he could finde any thing to purpose in the Church, he would not thus hunt the mountaines: neither would he flie for aid into Egypt, if he could finde any neere at home.

The

The ground of this Argument is the impoſſibilitie of képing Wine: which M. Harding hath hitherto vttered by the name of Forme. Now that it is come to ſowring, hee calleth it Wine. There is cunning in ſhifting of termes. But if there be no Wine there remaining, as theſe men would perſwade the world, what ſhall we call it then, that thus ſtandeth in danger of ſowring? Certainly Chriſts Blood will not ſowre, and formes of Wine, without ſubſtance, cannot ſowre: either of theſe both can as well abide the hot Country, as the cold. But Gelaſius ſaith, *There remaineth in the Sacrament the Nature and Subſtance of Bread and Wine.*

Of preſeruing Wines in hot Countries, I will not reaſon. Notwithſtanding, I remember Macrobius ſaith, that as the Country of Egypt is extreme hot, ſo the Wines of the ſame bee extreme cold, and therefore, as it may bee ſuppoſed, the more durable. And although the Country of Naples be very hot, yet the Wines thereof haue beene preſerued the ſpace of fortie or fiftie yeeres, as it is mentioned by Plutarch, Athenæus, and others. Howbeit, this is not much materiall. But as the Wine is in danger of ſowring, ſo is the Bread in danger of moulding, as appeareth by ſundry cautels of the Maſſe therefore prouided. Yet one queſtion would well be heere demanded. If the Wine in the Mountaines of Egypt could not be kept in ſmall quantities a few daies, how then could the Wine that Chriſt changed out of water, in Cana of Galile, be kept at Orleance in France, as a relike, for the ſpace of fiftéene hundred and thirtie yeeres, euer ſithence that time, vntill this day, and that ſtill without ſowring? But let vs yéld, that Wine in the Mountaines could not be kept: yet might it well be had, and kept in Churches, at the leaſt during the time of the Communion: and that to this purpoſe is ſufficient.

Macrobius.

Plutarchus in Lucullo. Athenæus li. 1.

Vinum Architriclini.

The képing of liquor in a linnen cloth, was M. Hardings conceit, more to ſolace himſelfe withall, than much making to the matter. For otherwiſe, as the women receiued the Bread in a cloth, ſo might they receiue the Wine in a viall, or ſome other like thing. And that they ſo did, it may well be gathered by the Storie of Gorgonia, Nazianzens ſiſter: by Exuperius of whom S. Hierome writeth: and by the Fable of the Iew, in M. Hardings owne Amphilochius. And for that M. Harding maketh ſuch ſport with *keeping liquor in a cloth*, it was decréed in the Councel holden at Altiſiodorum, *That the Prieſt ſhould put his oile in a* Chriſmatorie, *and in linnen*, by theſe words: Vt Chriſma Chriſmario & linteo imponant. I doubt not, but M. Harding thinketh a linnen cloth will hold Wine as well as Oile.

Nazian. in Funere Gorgoniæ. Hieronym. ad Ruſticum Narbonen. Concil. Altiſiodoren. Can. 6.

M. Harding. The 25. Diuiſion.

Though I might bring a great number of other places, for the vſe of one kinde, which after the moſt common rule of the Church, was the forme of Bread; yet heere I will ſtay my ſelfe, putting the Reader in minde, that the Communion hath beene miniſtred to ſome perſons vnder the forme of Wine only, and hath beene taken for the whole Sacrament, ſpecially to ſuch, as for drineſſe of their throat, at their death, could not ſwallow it downe vnder the forme of Bread. Whereas it appeareth by S. Cyprian, and alſo by S. Auguſtine, that the Sacrament was giuen to infants in their time; wee finde in S. Cyprian, that when a Deacon offered the Cup of our Lords Blood to a little maid childe, which through default of the Nurſe, had taſted of the Sacrifices that had beene offred to Diuels; the childe turned away her face, by the inſtinct of the diuine Maieſtie (ſaith he) cloſed faſt her lips; and refuſed the Cup. But yet when the Deacon had forced her to receiue a little of the Cup, the yeax and vomit followed, ſo as that ſanctified drinke in the Blood of our Lord, guſhed foorth of the polluted bowels. If the Sacrament had beene giuen to this Infant vnder the forme of Bread before, ſhe would haue refuſed that no leſſe than ſhe did the Cup, that the Deacon then would not haue giuen her the Cup. And that this may ſeeme the leſſe to be wondred at, Iohannes Teutonicus, that wrote Scholies vpon Gratian, witneſſeth, that euen in his time, the cuſtome was in ſome places to giue the Sacrament to Infants, not by deliuering to them the Body of Chriſt, but by powring the Blood into their mouthes: which cuſtome hath beene, vpon good conſideration, abrogated in the Church of Rome, and kept in the Greeke Church, as Lyra writeth vpon S. Iohn.

Sermon 5. de Lapſis.

De Conſecrat. diſt. 4. can. 4. Si quis apud il. in Hæreticos.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Whatſoeuer plentie of ſuch examples M. Harding hath, if he had any better, he might well haue ſpared theſe. Heere hee ſaith, Some old men, for their age and drithe, were ſuffered to Communicate of the Cuppe only, as being not able to ſwallow the Bread. A little before, hee ſaid, That S. Ambroſe lying in his death bed, receiued the Bread only: And that S. Baſil in the like caſe, receiued the Sacrament, being then ſtale and drie, of ſeuen yeeres keeping, and that alone, without Wine. Seneca ſaith: Proprium eſt luxuriæ, gaudere peruerſis: *It is the property of wantonneſſe, to delight in things out of order.*

M. Harding is againſt himſelfe, and ſpeaketh contrary.

Infants (ſaith M. Harding) receiued in one kinde, and thereto hee allegeth the Authoritie of S. Cyprian: which although it made with him to this purpoſe, touching Childréen, yet to other great purpoſes it maketh directly againſt him. For firſt by that place of S. Cyprian, the holy Communion was thought ſo neceſſarie to all the faithfull, that childréen and infants were not excluded: which plainly ouerthroweth the Priuate Maſſe.

Cypr. Serm. 5. de lapſis.

Beſides

M. Hard. alleg-eth S. Cyprian against himselfe.

Besides that, the whole people receiued in both kindes, as it is manifest by S. Cyprians woords: which thing is contrary to M. Hardings halfe Communion.

All this he graunteth touching the people, wherein onely I toined issue: and maketh his whole plea vpon an Infant: and yet of Infants, as he knoweth, I spake nothing. If all that he saith, were proued true, yet hath he gotten but an Infant of his side. But what if this Infant receiued both kindes? Verily there is nothing in Cyprian to the contrarie. And it appeareth by S. Hierome, S. Augustine, and other old Writers, that they that were Baptized, as well children as others, immediately receiued the holy Mysteries in Both kindes. S. Hierome, speaking of one Hilarius, saith thus: Non potest Baptisma tradere sine Eucharistia: *He cannot minister Baptisme without the Sacrament of thanksgiuing.* S. Cyprians woords touching this matter be these: Vbi solemnibus adimpletis Calicem Diaconus offerre præsentibus cœpit, & accipientibus cæteris, locus eius aduenit, faciem suam paruula, instinctu diuinæ Maiestatis, auertere, &c. *After the solemnitie (of the Consecration) was done, and the Deacon began to minister the Cup vnto them that were present, and among others that receiued, her turne was come, the childe, by the power of Gods diuine Maiestie, turned away her face, &c.* Hereby we may well gather, that like as the Priest, the Deacons, and the people receiued, euen so the childe receiued too, without any maner innouation or difference.

Aug. de Eccl. Dogmat. lib. 1. cap. 52. Hieron. contra Luciferian.

He will say, There is mention made but onely of the Cuppe. Therefore the childe receiued not the other kinde. This gheese is ouer slender: yet is it an ordinarie Argument with M. Harding. But it seemeth he doth not well consider the inconuenience that thereof may follow. For so may he as well conclude, that the Priest himselfe, and the Deacons, and the whole people receiued only of the Cuppe. For there is no mention at all made of the other portion.

If the Bread had beene offered to the childe, shee would as well haue refused that, as shee did the Cuppe. This is another gheese, without any necessarie sequell. This effect followed when God would haue it: of whose doings we can giue no reason.

Lyra and Teutonicus liued at the least thirteene hundred yeares after Christ, wherefore their Authoritie in this case must needs seeme the lesse. Yet, for ought that I can see, Lyra is vntruly alleged, as writing to another purpose. Teutonicus in his Glosse in the same place, manifestly corrupteth S. Augustines Text. For whereas S. Augustine speaketh namely of Children, and calleth them, Paruulos, *Little ones*, hee saith in his Glosse, Hoc intellige de adultis: *Vnderstand this of men of ripe yeeres.* When to confirme his errour, he allegeth a custome, but he knoweth not where: and proueth it also, but he knoweth not by whom. For thus he auoucheth it: Secundùm quosdam: that is, *As some men say:* Which was neuer good Witnesse in any Court. Wherefore M. Harding might haue spared these Doctours, without any preiudice of his cause.

M. Harding. The 26. Diuision.

The fourth Councell of Carthago decreed, if a man in sickenesse (who was enioined publike penance) doe demand his houzell, and ere hee die, fall in a phrensie, or become speechlesse, that the Sacrament bee powred into his mouth. To take this for the forme of Wine, we are mooued by the decree of the eleuenth Councell Toletane. Where it is said, that the weake nature of man is wont at the point of death to bee so farre oppressed with drouth, that it may be refreshed by no meanes, vnlesse it be susteined with comfort of drinke. Then it followeth: Which thing we see to be so, at the departing of many, who being very desirous to receiue their voiage prouision of the holy Communion, when the Sacrament was giuen them, haue cast it vp againe: not that they did this through infidelitie, but for that they were not able to swallow downe the Sacrament deliuered to them, but only a draught of our Lords Cup. Howsoeuer this bee taken, it is plaine by this Councell, as by many other ancient Councels and Doctors, that the maner of the Catholike Church hath beene, to minister the Sacrament to the sicke vnder one kinde. *Can. 6.* *Can. 11.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

These Authorities answer themselues. Being euery way granted, yet is M. Harding neuer the nearer. The whole matter we stand vpon, is the open order and vsage in the Church. For proofe hereof, here are brought in Lunatickes and Mad Men. It were a strange sight, to see a Church full of such people. The substance of his Argument resteth onely vpon this gheese, That the Bread cannot bee powred into the sicke mans mouth: and yet hee may learne by the third Councell of Carthage, and by the Abridgement of the Councell of Hippo, *That the Sacrament was then put into dead mens mouthes.* Neither can I see what necessitie is in this reason: The man is frenticke, or lieth speechlesse, which was the suggestion of that Councell: *Ergo*, He cannot receiue the Sacrament all Bread. If there bee danger in the receiuing, there is none more than in the Cup.

Concil. Carth. 3. Ca. 6.

The Canon of the Councell of Toledo here alleged, is not an exposition of this Councell of Carthage, as M. Harding thinketh: but a declaration of a Canon made in the first Councell

Councell of Toledo, as it is plaine by those words: In collatione nostri cœtus relectus est Canon Toletani Concilij primi, in quo præceptum est, vt si quis acceptam à Sacerdote Eucharistiam non sumpserit, velut Sacrilegus propellatur: *In the conference of our Councell, there was read a Canon of the Councell of Toledo, wherein it was ordered, that if any man receiued not the Sacrament deliuered to him by the Priest, the same should be Excommunicate, as a wicked doer.* This Decree semed very strait, specially for that a godly man, by meane of sickness, or other weakenesse of nature, might happen to refuse, or not to receiue downe the Sacrament, but to cast it vp against his will. Therefore the Councell, by way of declaration, determineth thus: That if any man happen so to doe by force of sicknesse, he shall not stand in danger of the Law. *Conc. Toletan. 11. Ca. 11.*

Hereupon M. Harding concludeth thus: It is plaine by this Councell, and by many other Councels and Doctours, &c. Other Councell or Doctour here is none named. This Councell neither maketh any Law touching this matter, nor declareth any order, or maner of publike Ministration: but onely excuseth the inuincible necessitie and weakenesse of nature.

But touching the maner and order of the Church, the same Councell in the selfe same place saith, that the whole Sacrament was offered euen to the sicke: that the sicke did sometime of infirmitie cast it vp againe: which is a good Argument, that they did receiue it: and that Infants did sometime the like: whereof we may gather, that Infants then receiued the Sacrament, and that in such sort as others did. *Si quis acceptam Eucharistiam non sumpserit. Collatam à Sacerdote Eucharistiã reiciunt.*

All these things considered accordingly, M. Harding might well conclude thus against himselfe: It was granted of speciall fauour vnto Lunatickes and mad men, and other sicke persons, that in consideration of their weakenesse, they might Communicate vnder one kinde without danger of the Law: Therefore the rest, that were not so excepted, Communicated vnder both kindes, and that by the very force of the Law.

M. Harding. The 27. Diuision.

Now whereas some say, that the Sacrament to be giuen vnder the forme of Bread, was first dipt in the Blood of our Lord, and would haue so vsed now also for the sicke, and that it is so to be taken for the whole and entire Sacrament, as though the Sacrament, vnder the forme of Bread, were not of it selfe sufficient: let them vnderstand, that this was an old errour, condemned aboue twelue hundred yeeres past by Iulius the first, that great defender of Athanasius; who heereof in an Epistle to the Bishops thorow Egypt, wrote thus: *Illud verò quod pro complemento Communionis intinctam tradunt Eucharistiam populis, nec hoc prolatum ex Euangelio testimonium receperunt, vbi Apostolis Corpus suum Dominus commendauit & Sanguinem. Seorsum enim Panis, & seorsum Calicis commendatio memoratur*: Whereas some deliuer to the people the Sacrament dipt, for the iull and whole Communion, they haue not receiued this testimonie pronounced out of the Gospell, where our Lord gaue his Body and his Blood. For the giuing of the Bread is recorded apart by it selfe, and the giuing of the Cup, apart likewise by it selfe. And whereas some afterward, in the time of Vitellianus, would haue brought in againe this abrogated custome, it was in like maner condemned and abolished, *In tertio Concilio Braccarensi, Can. 1.* *De Con. dist. 2. Ca. Cum omne enim.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

There haue beene many great abuses about the holy Mysteries, not only of late yeres in the Church of Rome, whereof we iustly complaine: but also in the Primitiue Church, euen from the Apostles time. For some there were, that ministred in water onely: some that ministred milke in stead of Wine: some bruized grapes into the Cup, and so ministred: some ministred Bread and Cheese together: some dipt the Sacrament of Christs Body in the Sacrament of his Blood. But neither this follie, whereof Iulius speaketh, nor any other like old follie, was euer renued by any of vs. Indeed M. Harding, and all the rest of that side, haue vsed to breake the Bread, and to dip the third part of it into the Wine, and for the same haue deuised a solemne Mysterie. For some of them say, *It signifieth Christs rising from the dead*: Some, *The faithfull that be yet aliue*: Some others, *The blessed, that be in heauen.* And yet M. Harding knoweth that Iulius calleth it, *A Schismaticall ambition, and a practise contrarie to the Apostles Doctrine.* *De Con. dist. 2. Cum omne. Aug. ad Quodvult-deum.*

We (both heerein, and in all other cases like) follow only Christs Institution: who, as the Euangelists haue written, and as Iulius also recordeth, first gaue the Bread apart, and afterward the Wine likewise apart: and said not only, *Eat this*, but also by expresse words, *Drinke this.* Yet Iuo saith, that for danger of shedding, sometimes the Bread is dipt into the Cup, and so deliuered to the people. *Iuo de diuinis officijs. Cassander.*

This Iulius heere alleged, standeth fully of our side: and therefore I marueil that M. Harding would seeke comfort at his hand. For where he saith, Porrigunt Eucharistiam populis; *They deliuer the Sacrament vnto the people*; hee importeth a Communion: where hee reproueth the errour of dipping, and rectifieth the same by Christs Institution, *And commandeth Both Kindes to be giuen apart*; hee signifieth the whole Communion expressly *Iulius cõmandeth Both Kindes, contrarie to M. Hardings doctrine.*

pꝛeſly in both kindes: and ſo quite ouerthꝛoweth whatſoeuer M. Harding hath hitherto builded.

M. Harding. The 28. Diuiſion.

The queſtion is of the open miniſtration in the Church.

Now I referre me to the iudgement of the Reader, of what opinion ſoeuer hee bee, whether for proofe of the Communion vnder one kinde, wee haue any word, ſentence, or clauſe at all, or no: and whether theſe words of M. Iewell in his Sermon be true or no, where he ſaith thus: It was vſed thoꝛowout the whole Catholike Church, ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſts Aſcenſion, vnder both Kindes, without exception. That it was ſo vſed, yea ſix hundred yeeres, and long after, wee denie not: but that it was ſo alwaies, and in euery place vſed, and without exception, that wee denie: and vpon what grounds we doe it, let M. Iewell himſelfe be Iudge. If ſome of our allegations may be with violence wreſted from our purpoſe, verily a great number of them cannot, the Authoritie of the ancient Fathers, who wrote them, remaining inuiolated. Whereof it followeth, that after the iudgement of theſe Fathers, whereas Chriſt inſtituted this bleſſed Sacrament, and commanded it to be celebrated, and receiued in remembrance of his death, (62) hee gaue no neceſſarie Commandement, either for the one, or for both kindes, (beſide and without the celebration of the Sacrifice) but left that to the determination of the Church. Now that the Church, for the auoiding of vnreuerence, perils, offences, and other weightie and important cauſes, hath decreed it * in two Generall Councels, to bee receiued of the Lay people in one kinde only, we thinke it good, with all humbleneſſe to ſubmit our ſelues to the Church heerein: which Church, Chriſt commandeth to be heard and obeied, ſaying, He that heareth not the Church, let him be to thee as a Heathen, and as a Publican. In doing whereof, we weigh aduiſedly with our ſelues, the horrible danger that remaineth for them, who be authors of Schiſme, and breakers of vnitie. Matth. 18.

The 62. vntruth. For Chriſts Inſtitution perteineth as well to the people, as to the Prieſt.

* Theſe Councels were holden fourteene hundred and fourteene yeeres after Chriſt.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

God Chriſtian Reader, now that M. Harding hath ſaid ſo much as hée is able, it behoueth thee, as thou wilt iudge indifferently betweene vs both, ſo to conſider and marke well the very ſtate and iſſue of the matter, wherein the whole queſtion lieth. The negatiue of our ſide, which ſo much troubleth him, is this: That for the ſpace of ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, it cannot be found in any old Doctor, or Councell, that euer the holy Communion was miniſtred to the people, in the Church, or any open aſſembly, in one Kinde onely, as it is now miniſtred in the Church of Rome. The iſſue therefoꝛe of the whole matter betweene vs, ſtandeth vpon the oꝛder and vſage of the Church.

M. Harding, foꝛ pꝛoofe heereof, hath bꝛought certaine particular examples of Dꝛouth, Infirmities, Sickneſſe, Age, Ineuitable Neceſſities, and Impoſſibilities, and Weakneſſe of Nature. Verily, good Reader, I looke foꝛ other pꝛoofes at M. Hardings hands. Foꝛ all theſe, and other like things, I knew befoꝛe. Hee hath alleged Chriſts bꝛeaking of Bꝛead at Emmaus: the allegation whereof to this purpoſe, one of his owne Doctours ſaith, is meere follie. Hee hath alleged two Women, thꝛee ſicke folke in their death-beds, Perſons Excommunicate, Infants, Phꝛentickes, and Mad Men. *Wil. Wideford.*

Hée allegeth Napkins, Cheſts, Chambers, Mountaines, and Wilderneſſe: and foꝛ further pꝛoofe, hath bꝛought Coniectures, Ghoſtes, Lies, and Fables. He allegeth abuſes, that long ſithence haue beene condemned. Hee allegeth Scriptures, Doctours, and Councels, plainly and directly againſt himſelfe.

Hee is learned, and hath read much: he is eloquent, and can vtter much: yea he is able to make nothing to appeare ſomewhat, and a little to ſeeme much.

Hee hath had good conference with as many as hee thought meet, either within this Realme, oꝛ without. Hee hath ſeene whatſoeuer hath beene written by Cochæus, Eckius, Pighius, Hoſmeiſter, Michael Væhe, Hoſius, Staphylus, and ſuch other of that ſoꝛt. Hee hath had fiue whole yéeres and moꝛe to oꝛder and digeſt his Booke. It toucheth him very néere, that any man ſhould be ſo bold to ſay, *They haue defrauded the people of halfe the Sacrament, and yet can allege nothing for it.* He ſheweth himſelfe much offended, and therefoꝛe ſpareth not his familiar termes, Heretikes, Schiſmatikes, Aduerſaries of the Church, Gods Enemies, and ſuch like. Yet hauing ſo much learning, ſo much eloquence, ſo much conference, ſo much ſtudie, ſo much leaſure, being ſo affected, and ſo offended, yet hath he not hitherto bꝛought one woꝛd, either of ancient Councell, oꝛ of old Doctour, to pꝛoue that thing that is denied: that is, That the Sacrament was euer miniſtred vnto the People in One Kinde, Openly in any Congregation, or in the open order and vſage of any Church. Yet were there Churches then erected: yet were there Pꝛieſts and people then: yet was the holy Miniſtration then openly vſed in foꝛme and oꝛder: and learned men to recoꝛd the ſame. All this notwithſtanding, M. Harding

ding hath hitherto found nothing in the open Miniſtration, in the Congregation and Aſſemblie of the people, whereby to proue his halfe Communion. Wherefore there is no cauſe yet ſhewed to the contrary, but M. Iewell may ſay now as he truly before ſaid in his Sermon, The whole Communion was vſed thorowout the whole Catholike Church vnder Both Kindes, ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſts Aſcenſion, in all Congregations and Churches, without exception. Gelaſius.

But Chriſt hath left theſe matters to the diſcretion and determination of the Church. By what Record may that appeare? M. Hardings word is no Charter. Or if it bee true, where did the Church euer ſo determine of it, within the compaſſe of ſix hundred yeres? S. Auguſtine in this caſe is very reaſonable. His words be theſe: Vbi authoritas deficit, ibi conſuetudo Maiorum pro Lege tenenda eſt: *Where authoritie faileth, there the cuſtome of our Elders muſt hold for a Law.* But hauing Gods Word, and Chriſts Inſtitution, we want no Authoritie. *Ad Caſulanũ.*

The authoritie of the Church is great. I grant: but the cauſes that moued the Church of Rome to breake Chriſts Inſtitution, As the keeping of the Wine, Beards, and Palles, and ſuch like, are not great: Notwithſtanding M. Harding enlarge them much, and call them Important and weighty cauſes. The two Councels of Baſil and Conſtance, where this matter was firſt concluded, as they were at the leaſt fourteene hundred yeres after Chriſt, and therefore not to be alleged in this caſe againſt my aſſertion; ſo the Authoritie of them both hangeth yet in queſtion. For the Thomiſts ſay, the Councell of Baſil came vnlawfully together, and that therefore all their determinations were in vaine. And Pigghius ſaith, the other Councell of Conſtance concluded againſt Nature, againſt the Scriptures, againſt Antiquitie, and againſt the Faith of the Church. Theſe be the two Councels that M. Harding would haue vs yeld vnto. *Ludouic. Viues in 20. li. de Ciuit. Dei, ca. 26.*

Wee are bound to heare the Church, ſaith M. Harding: But much more are wee bound to heare God. This ſaying of S. Cyprian is worthy deeply to be noted: Non ſungitur Eccleſiæ, qui ab Euangelio ſeparatur: *He hath no fellowſhip with the Church, that is diuided from the Goſpell.* And likewiſe writing againſt certaine that abuſed the Cup of Chriſt, miniſtring therein Water in ſtead of Wine, he giueth this Leſſon to all Biſhops, and others, touching the Reformation of the Church: Religioni noſtræ congruit, & timori, & ipſi loco, & officio Sacerdotij noſtri, cuſtodire Traditionis Dominicæ veritatem: &, quod prius apud quoſdam videtur erratum, Domino monente, corrigere: vt cùm in Claritate ſua, & Maieſtate Cœleſti venire cœperit, inueniat nos tenere, quod monuit: obſeruare, quod docuit: facere, quod fecit: *It behoueth the Religion that wee profeſſe, and our reuerence towards God, and the very place and office of our Prieſthood, to keepe the Truth of the Lords Tradition, and by the Lords aduertiſement, to correct that thing, that by certaine hath beene amiſſe: that when he ſhall come in his Glory and Maieſtie, he may finde vs to hold, that hee warned vs: to keepe, that he taught vs: to doe, that he did.* *Cypr. ad Cæcil. Lib. 2. Epiſt. 3.*

M. Harding. The 29. Diuiſion.

Now for anſwer to M. Iewels place alleged out of Gelaſius, which is the chiefe that he and all other (the aduerſaries of the Church) haue to bring for their purpoſe in this point, thus much may be ſaid. First, that he allegeth Gelaſius vntruly, making him to ſound in Engliſh otherwiſe than he doth in Latine. M. Iewels words be theſe: Gelaſius, an old Father of the Church, and a Biſhop of Rome, ſaith, that to miniſter the Communion vnder one kinde, is open Sacrilege. But where ſaith Gelaſius ſo? This is no ſincere handling of the matter. And becauſe he knew the words of that Father imported not ſo much, guilefully he reciteth them in Latine, and doth not Engliſh them: which he would not haue omitted, if they had ſo plainly made for his purpoſe. The words of Gelaſius be theſe: *Diuiſio vnius eiuſdemque Myſterij, ſine grandi Sacrilegio non poteſt peruenire:* The diuiſion of one and the ſame Myſterie, cannot come without great Sacrilege. Of theſe words he cannot conclude Gelaſius to ſay, that to miniſter the Communion vnder one kinde, is open Sacrilege. Gelaſius rebuketh and abhorreth the diuiſion of that high Myſterie, which vnder one forme, and vnder both, is *vnum idemque*, one and the ſame: not one vnder the forme of Bread, and another vnder the forme of Wine: not one in reſpect of the Body, and another in reſpect of the Blood; but *vnum idemque*, one and the ſelfe ſame. The words afore recited, be taken out of a fragment of a Canon of Gelaſius, which is thus, as we finde in Gratian: *Comperimus autem, quod quidam, ſumpta tantùm Corporis ſacri portione, à Calice ſanctificati cruoris abſtineant. Qui procul dubio (quoniam neſcio qua ſuperſtitione docentur adſtringi) aut integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur: quia diuiſio vnius eiuſdemque Myſterij, ſine grandi Sacrilegio non poteſt peruenire:* Which may thus be Engliſhed: But we haue found, that ſome, hauing receiued only the portion, *wherein is the holy Bodie*, abſteine from the Cup of the ſacred Blood: who without doubt (forasmuch as I know not with what ſuperſtition they be taught to be tied) either let them receiue the whole Sacraments, or let them bee kept from the whole: becauſe the diuiſion of one and the ſame Myſterie, cannot come without great Sacrilege. *De Con. diſt. 2. Cap. Cõperimus.* Gelaſius vntruly tranſlated by M. Harding.

Heere might bee ſaid to M. Iewell, Shew vs the whole Epiſtle of Gelaſius, from whence this fragment is taken,

Gelasius.

taken, that we may weigh the circumstance, and the causes why he wrote it, conferring that goeth before, and that followeth: and wee will frame you a reasonable answer. But it is not extant, and therefore your argument, in that respect, is of lesse force.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Neither are wee the aduersaries of the Church, nor Gelasius the chiefest that was bring for our purpose. We follow Christ, as he hath commanded vs, whom it became Gelasius also to follow. But it is a world to see into how many faces and fashions M. Harding is faine to turne himselfe, to auoid this authoritie of Gelasius. He leaueth the whole text of his owne companie, and is glad to run alone. Yea erpounded Gelasius by Leo, as though they wrote both of one thing. And yet others of his owne side say, that Leo wrote of Heretikes, and Gelasius of Catholikes: Leo of the People, Gelasius of the Priests. He complaineth, that the rest of Gelasius is not to be found, as though it were suppressed by some of vs: and yet it is thought the Pope hath it whole in his Librarie. He deuiseth new causes of vnitie of the Mysterie: such as Gelasius neuer knew. He concludeth at the last, that this breach of Christs Institution, and Ministration vnder one kinde, that is now vniuersally vsed in the Church of Rome, was first brought in and practised by the Manichees, which were in old time wicked and horrible Heretikes.

In Pontificali, vt citatur in 1. Tom. Concil. vita Gelasij.

Yea saith, I haue guilefully alleged Gelasius, and to the intent it might the sooner appeare, hee hath noted it specially in the Margin. But if M. Harding himselfe had meant no guile, he would haue shewed plainly, wherein I haue beene guilefull, or what I might haue gotten by this guile, or what aduantage I might haue lost by plainer dealing. For guile without cause is meere follie, and no guile. But I recited the words in Latine, and had forgotten to English them. Now surely that is but a simple guile, and might well haue beene spared out of the Margin.

But my words be these: Gelasius saith, *That to minister the Sacrament in one kinde, is open Sacrilege.* And what guile can he finde herein? This word *Sacrilege*, and *the refusing of the Cup*, are both specially named by Gelasius. There remaine onely these words, *To minister the Sacrament*: and there, saith M. Harding, lieth the guile. Howbeit, therein, as it shall well appeare, I say nothing but that Gelasius saith, and M. Harding himselfe would haue him say. For thus saith Gelasius, The diuision of the Mysteries, whereby he meaneth the Sacrament, is Sacrilege:

The Priest ministring in One Kinde, committeth Sacrilege.

But the Priest that ministreth in One kinde, diuideth the Mysterie:
Ergo, The Priest that ministreth in One Kinde, committeth Sacrilege.

This argument is perfect, and formall, and founded vpon Gelasius words. I trow, this is no guilefull dealing.

The vnitie of the Mysterie, that M. Harding hath heere fantasied, that either part is in other, and therefore harpeth so often, as it were by reports, vpon these words, Vnum & idem, is but his owne voluntarie. He is not able to allege either Gelasius, or any other old Father, that euer erpounded Vnum and Idem in that sort. He calleth it *one Mysteris*, as Hugo Cardinalis saith, (although otherwise a very grosse Writer) Propter vnitatem Institutionis, *For the vnitie of the Institution, and for that the Bread and Wine, being sundry portions, haue both relation vnto one Christ.* And for that cause, by S. Hieromes iudgement, S. Paul saith, Vna Fides, vnum Baptisma: *One Faith, one Baptisme.* And for that also, that being, as I said, two sundry portions, yet they make not two sundry Sacraments, but one only Sacrament. And therefore Durandus, a late Writer, seemeth to say well: In multis locis Communicatur cum Pane & Vino, id est, cum toto Sacramento: *In many places they Communicate with Bread and Wine, that is,* saith he, *with the whole Sacrament.* Of which words the Reader, be he neuer so simple, may easily gather, that the Communion in one kinde is but the halfe Sacrament: and so the diuision of one Mysterie: and so further, the selfe same thing that Gelasius calleth Sacrilege.

Vnum & idem. Hugo Cardinal. 1. Cor. 11.

Hieronym. ad Ephes. li. 2. c. 4.

Durand. lib. 4. ca. 24.

M. Harding. The 30. Diuision.

But for auoiding that our aduersaries would heereof conclude, it is to be vnderstanded, that this Canon speaketh against the Heretikes named *Manuhai*, who in the time of Leo the first, about forty yeeres before Gelasius, went about to spread their Heresie in Rome, and in the parts of Italie. Their heretical opinion was, that Christ tooke not our flesh and blood, but that hee had a fantasticall body, and died not, nor rose againe truly and indeed, but by way of fantasie. And therefore at the Communion, they abstained from the Cuppe: and the better to cloke their Heresie, came to receiue the Sacrament in forme of Bread, with other Catholike people. Against whom Leo saith thus: *Abdicant enim se Sacramento Salutis nostræ, &c.* They driue themselues away from the Sacrament of our Saluation. And as they denie that Christ our Lord was borne in truth of our flesh, so they beleeue not that hee died, and rose againe truly. And for this cause they condemne the day of our Saluation and gladnesse (that is, the Sunday) to bee their sad fasting day. And whereas, to cloke their infidelitie, they dare to bee at our Mysteries, they temper themselues so in the Communion of the Sacraments, as in the meane time they may the more safelie keepe them priuie.

Serm. 4. de quadragesima.

With

With vnworthy mouth they receiue Christs Body; but to drinke the Blood of our Redemption, vtterly they will none of it. Which thing we would aduertise your holinesse of, that both such men may be manifested by these tokens vnto you, and also that they whose diuelish simulation and faining is found, being brought to light, and bewrayed of the fellowship of Saints, may be thrust out of the Church by Priestly authoritie. Thus farre be Leo his words.

Gelasius that succeeded forty yeeres after Leo, imploied no lesse diligence than hee did, vtterly to vanquish and abolish that horrible heresie. Of whom Platina writeth, that he banished so many Manichees as were found at Rome, and there openly burned their Bookes. And because this heresie should none elsewhere take root, and spring, he wrote an Epistle to Maioricus, and Ioannes, two Bishops, amongst other things warning them of the same. Out of which Epistle, this fragment only is taken; wherby he doth both briefly shew what the Manichees did for cloking of their infidelity, as Leo saith; and also, in asmuch as their opinion was, that Christs Body had not very Blood, as being phantastical only, and therefore superstitiously abstained from the Cup of that holy blood; giueth charge and commandement, that either forsaking their heresie they receiue the whole Sacraments, to wit, vnder both kindes, or that they bee kept from them wholly. Heere the words of Leo afore mentioned, and this Canon of Gelasius conferred together, specially the story of that time knowen, it may soone appeare to any man of iudgement, against whom this fragment of Gelasius was written. Verily not against the Church for ministring the Communion vnder one kinde, but against the detestable Manichees, who going about to diuide the mysterie of the Body and Blood of Christ, denying him to haue taken very flesh and blood, so much as in them lay, losed Christ, whereof S. Iohn speaketh; and would haue made frustrate the whole worke of our Redempuon.

1 Iohn. 4.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

To auoid the inconuenience growing of this authority, M. Harding is driuen to auoid the company of Pighius, Hosius, Tapper, D. Cole, and all others his fellowes of that side, and to say that Gelasius wrote this Decree against the Manichees: notwithstanding all they say, he wrote it against certaine superstitious Priests. D. Cole referreth himselfe vnto the construction of the Glosse there written. The words thereof be these: *There were certaine Priests that Consecrated the Body and Blood of Christ in due order: and receiued the Body, but abstained from the Blood. Against them Gelasius writeth.* This gheese of that Glosser, for many good causes seemeth vnlikely: for first it cannot be shewed by any story, neither where, nor when any such Priests were that so abstained: and againe, Gelasius seemeth to write of them that should be taught, not of them that should teach: of them that should be remoued from the Sacraments, not of the Priests that should remoue them: of the sacrilege and wickednesse of the fact, not of the difference of any persons.

De Con. dist. 2. Comperim. In Glossa.

But the Glosse saith notwithstanding, *The Priest consecrated both the Body and the Blood, and receiued the Body, and abstained from the Blood.* Heere would I faine learne of D. Cole, what then became of the Cup. The Priest drank it not: that is certaine: for the Glosse saith so. Againe, the people drank it not; for so saith the Glosse also, and be it true or false, it must be defended.

Then must it néeds follow, that Christs Blood was consecrate to be cast away. D. Cole might haue foreséene, that this Glosse would soone be taken against himselfe. Now let vs sée of this very selfe Glosse, what may be concluded of our side. The Sacrament of Christs Blood was not thrown away; the Priest receiued it not: Ergo, it followeth of very fine force, it was receiued by the people. Thus D. Cole séeking to proue that the people receiued not in both kindes, himselfe vnawares necessarily proueth, that the people receiued in both kindes. Wherefore M. Hardings coniectur carrieth more substance of truth. For the very story and conferrence of time, will soone giue the aduised Reader to vnderstand, that Gelasius wrote this Decree against the Manichees.

Thus much therefore hath M. Harding gotten hereby, that now it appeareth, that the first authours of his halfe Communion were a sort of Heretikes. They held that Christ neuer receiued Flesh of the Blessed Virgin, neither was borne, nor suffered, nor died, nor rose againe. Which errours are manifestly conuinced by the Sacraments. For they are Sacraments of Christs Body and Blood: therefore whoso receiueth the same, confesseth therby, that Christ of the Virgin receiued both Body & Blood. So saith S. Chrysostome: Si mortuus Christus non est, cuius Symbolum & signum hoc Sacramentum est? *If Christ died not indeed, tell me then, whose token or whose signe is this Sacrament?* Tertullian also by a like argument taken of the Sacrament reproueth Marcion, that held that Christ had no Body, but only a shew, and a phantasie of a Body: Christus acceptum Panem, & distributum Discipulis, Corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est Corpus meum, hoc est, figura Corporis mei. Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset Corpus. Cæterùm vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non potest: *Christ hauing receiued the Bread, and giuing the same to his Disciples, made it his Body, saying: This is my Body, that is to say, a figure of my Body. But it could not be a figure, vnlesse there were a Body of a truth. For a void thing, as is a phantasie, can receeiue no figure at all.* Thus the Sacraments do plainly testifie, that Christ receiued not a phantasie or shew of a Body, but a very Body indeed. Therefore the Manichees abstained from the holie Cup, as it appeareth by Leo: notwithstanding S. Augu-

Heretikes the first authors of the halfe Communion.

Chrysostom. in Matt. hom. 83. contra Marcion. li. 4.

Gelasius. *Contra Faustum Manich. lib.20.cap.13.*

ſtine in one place writing, namely againſt the Manichées, ſeemeth to ſignifie the contrary. These be his words: Sacramentum Patris, & Calicis ita laudatis, vt in eo nobis pares eſſe voluerit: *Yee ſo commend the Sacrament of the Bread, and of the Cup, that therein you would make your ſelues equall with vs.* Neither were they indeed able to shew any ſimple cauſe, why they ſhould more ſhun the one portion, than the other. For the Sacrament of the Bread no leſſe confounded their errour, than the Sacrament of the Cup. And as they thought that Chriſts Body was no Body, but only a phantaſie, ſo they likewiſe thought that Chriſts Blood was no naturall Blood, but only a phantaſie. But if they would not beleeue Leo, or Auguſtine, that Chriſt had one Body, how much leſſe would they beleeue M. Harding, that Chriſt hath two Bodies, the one in the Bread, the other in the Cup, and each wholly in the other?

M. Harding. The 31. Diuiſion.

And therefore M. Iewel doth vs great wrong in wreſting this Canon againſt vs, forasmuch as wee doe not diuide this diuine myſterie, but beleeue ſtedfaſtly with heart, and confeſſe openly with mouth, that vnder each kinde, the very fleſh and blood of Chriſt, and whole Chriſt himſelfe is preſent in the Sacrament, (63) euen as Gelaſius beleeued. Vpon this occaſion, in the parties of Italy, where the Manichees vttered their poiſon, the Communion vnder both kindes was reſtored, and commanded to be vſed againe, whereas before (64) of ſome the Sacrament was receiued vnder one kind, and of ſome vnder both kinds. Elſe if the Communion vnder both kindes had beene taken for a neceſſary inſtitution and commandement of Chriſt, and ſo generally and inuiolably obſerued euery where and alwaies without exception; what needed Gelaſius to make ſuch an ordinance of receiuing the whole Sacraments, the cauſe whereof by this Parentheſis (*quoniam neſcio qua ſuperſtitione docentur adſtringi*) plainly expreſſeth? Againe, if it had beene ſo inuiolably obſerued of all vntill that time, then the Manichees could not haue couered and cloked their infidelity, as Leo ſaith, by the receiuing the Communion with other Catholike people vnder one kinde. For whiles the Catholikes went from Church, contented with the only forme of Bread, it was vncertaine, whether hee that came to receiue were a Manichee or a Catholike. But after that for deſcrying of them, it was decreed, that the people ſhould not forbeare the Communion of the Cup any more: the good Catholike folke ſo receiued, and the Manichees by their refuſall of the Cup bewraied themſelues. Whereby it appeareth, that the Communion vnder one kinde, vſed before by the commandements of Leo and Gelaſius, was forbidden, to the intent thereby the Manichees hereſie might the better be eſpied, rooted out, and cleane aboliſhed.

The 63. vntruth. For Gelaſius neuer beleeued ſo.

The 64. vntruth. For no catholike congregation euer receiued the Sacrament in One kinde.

Thus becauſe we doe not diuide the Myſtery of the Lords Body and Blood, but acknowledge, confeſſe, and teach, that Chriſt tooke of the Virgin Mary very Fleſh, and very Blood indeed, and was a whole and pertect man, as alſo God, and deliuered the ſame whole Fleſh to death for our Redemption, and roſe againe in the ſame for our Iuſtification, and giueth the ſame to vs to be partakers of it in the bleſſed Sacrament to liſe euerlaſting; that decree of Gelaſius cannot ſeeme againſt vs iuſtly to bee alleged; much leſſe may hee ſeeme to ſay or meane, that to miniſter the Communion vnder one kinde, is open Sacrilege.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Here M. Harding complaineth, we do him wrong to allege this Canon againſt him, for that he beleeueth, euen as Gelaſius did, that whole Chriſt is in euch part of the Sacrament. It is very much to allege Gelaſius Faith without his words, or to found any new Faith, as this is, without ſome kinde of proofe. This is M. Hardings groſſe errour, and not Gelaſius, or any other of the Catholike Fathers faith. If the holy Fathers had ſo beleeued, they had words and were able to vtter it. If this had beene the faith of the Catholike Church, it had not beene kept ſo long in ſilence.

As for Gelaſius, his owne words are ſufficient to declare his faith. Thus he writeth againſt Neſtorius and Eutyches: Sacramenta, quæ ſumimus, Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti, diuinæ res ſunt: propter quod & per eadem diuinæ efficimur conſortes naturæ. Et tamen eſſe non deſinit ſubſtantia vel natura Panis & Vini: *The Sacraments of Chriſts Body and Blood, that wee receiue, are a godly thing, and therefore by the ſame wee are made partakers of the diuine nature. Yet there letteth not to be the ſubſtance or nature of Bread and Wine.* This was Gelaſius faith touching theſe portions of the Sacrament: *Gelaſius contra Eutychem.*

Now hath M. Harding deuiſed another Myſterie of the wonderfull coniunction of God and Man in Chriſt, whereof Gelaſius ſpake not one word in this place, neither was it any thing to his purpoſe to ſpeake of it. Beſides this, hee imagineth Gelaſius to giue a Law, that no man ſhould diuide that Myſterie, whereas it neuer lay in the power of man to diuide it. Neither had that beene a diuiſion, but an vtter diſſolution of the Myſterie.

Thus, ſo he may ſeeme to ſay ſomewhat, hee weigheth not greatly what hee ſay, examining each thing, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, Non in ſtatera æqua diuinarum Scripturarum, ſed in ſtatera doloſa Conſuetudinum ſuarum: *Not in the iuſt balance of the holy Scriptures, but in the deceitfull and falſe beames of his owne cuſtomes.* *Auguſt. contra epiſt. Parmeniani, lib. 3. ca. 2.*

Of the Cup he maketh the Bread: Of the Bread he maketh the Cup: Of one hee maketh both: Of both he maketh one: Of one Myſterie he maketh another: and thus they deale, euen as Irenæus writeth of the Heretike Valentinus: Ordinem & textum Scripturarum *Irenæus li. 1.*

rarum supergredientes, & quantum in ipsis est, solventes, membra veritatis transferunt, & transfingunt, & alterum ex altero facientes, scelerum multos exhis quæ apta sunt ex Dominicis eloquijs male composito phantasmati: *Peruerting the order and text of the Scriptures and as much as in them lieth, dismembring the limbs of the truth, they alter and transpose matters, and making one thing of another, they deceme many by their vnaptly vse of the Lords words, and come to their ill fauoured phantasme.*

The Mysterie whereof Gelasius speaketh, is the holy Sacrament, which albeit it stand of two parts, yet is it one Sacrament, and not two. The Manichees deuided the same, taking one part, and leauing the other. And this is it that Gelasius calleth Sacrilege.

Here it is further surmised, that Leo and Gelasius by their Decrees, restored the Catholike people againe to the vse of both kindes. This is vtterly vntrue, and may bee ghessed by M. Harding, but cannot any way be proued.

The Decrees of Leo and Gelasius be abroad, and may be knowen. But where are these Decrees? In what Bookes are they written? Or who euer made mention of them? Verily these godly Fathers reproued the Manichees for their Sacrilege, and not the Catholikes: and commanded such as had offended, to correct their faults, and not such as were faultlesse.

But how could the Manichees haue beene knowen, (saith M. Harding) vnlesse the Catholike people among whom they receiued, had Communicated in one kinde? This question is out of course. I might better say: *Nay how could the Manichees haue beene knowen, if they and the Catholikes had receiued in one kinde both alike?* For this is the token that Leo would haue them knowen by: Sanguinem Redemptionis nostræ haurire detrectant: *They refuse to drinke the Blood of our Redemption.* By these words it is clere, that the Cup was offered orderly vnto them, as vnto others, but they refused it.

Thou seest, good Christian Reader, that M. Harding notwithstanding hee driuen to leaue his owne fellowes, to shift one Mysterie for another, to imagine new Lawes, and new decrees, that were neuer heard of, to change himselfe into sundry formes, and to seeke all maner holes to crepe out at, yet at last hath found by the authoritie of Leo, whom he himselfe allegeth, that the Catholike people receiued the whole Communion vnder both kindes, according to Christs Institution: and that the patrons and founders of his halfe Communion were old wicked Heretikes, named the Manichæs: that the same is the diuision of one whole intire Mysterie: and therefore by the authoritie of Gelasius may well be called open Sacrilege.

Now to shew what might be said of our side were labour infinite. For our doctrine taketh no authoritie of Priuate Folke, of Women, of Forcelets, of Napkins, of Sicke Bodies, of Death Beds, of Miracles, of Fables, of Children, and of bad men: which be the only grounds of all that M. Harding seemeth hitherto able to say: But of Christs Institution, of the Scriptures, of the Practise of the Apostles, of the vsage of the Primitiue Church, of old Canons, of ancient Councels, of Catholike Fathers, Greekes, and Latines, Old and New, euen of Clemens, Abdias and Amphilochius; which are M. Hardings peculiar Doctours. S. Chrysostome saith: *In the receiuing of the holy Mysteries, there is no difference betweene Priest and People.* Dionysius saith: *The vnity of the Cup is diuided vnto all.* Ignatius saith: *One Cup is diuided vnto the whole Church.* S. Augustine saith: *We drinke all together, because we liue all together.* But to reckon vp the authorities of antiquity, as I said, it would be infinite. *Chrysostom. in 2. Cor. hom. 18 Eccl. Hiera. cap. 3. Ignatius ad Philadelphien. De Con. dist. 2. Quia passus.*

The Scholasticall Doctours of very late yeres haue seene and testified, that M. Hardings doctrine is but new. Thomas of Aquine saith: In quibusdam Ecclesijs prouide obseruatur, vt populo Sanguis non detur: *In certaine Churches it is prouidently obserued, that the Blood be not giuen to the people. In certaine Churches,* he saith: not in all Churches. *Thom. par. 3. q. 80. art. 12.*

Likewise Durandus: In multis locis Communicatur cum Pane & Vino, id est, cum toto Sacramento: *In many places they Communicate with Bread and Wine, that is to say, with the whole Sacrament. In many places,* hee saith: but not in all places. Likewise Alexander de Hales, a great Schole Doctour: Ita ferè vbique à Laicis fit in Ecclesia: *That the Lay people in the Church for the most part doe. For the most part,* he saith: but not in all parts. And Linwood in his Prouincials: Solis celebrantibus sanguinem sub specie vini conferri sumere, in huiusmodi minoribus Ecclesijs est concessum: *It is granted onely vnto the Priests that celebrate in such small Churches, to receiue the Blood vnder the forme of Wine.* He excepteth only *the small Country Churches,* not the greater Churches in Cities and Townes. All these Doctours liued within the space of three hundred yeres past. So long it was before M. Hardings Doctrine could grow generall. *Durand. li. 4. cap. 42. Alexan. par. 4. q. 55. m. 1. Linwood de sum. Trinit. & Fide Catholi.*

Antoninus saith, that King William the Conqueror that liued a thousand yeres after *Antoninus.*

Christ, caused his whole armie to Communicate, and that as the order was then, vnder both kindes. Haimo, that was not long before him, saith: Appellatur Calix Communicatio, propter participationem: quia omnes Communicant ex illo: *The Cuppe is called the Communication, because of the participation, for that euery man receiueth of it.* Thus is our doctrine confirmed, not only by the Old Doctours, but also by the New.

Haimo in. 1. Cor. 11.

Wherefore M. Harding thus maintaining the open abuse of the holy Mysteries, offendeth against Christs Institution, against the Scriptures, against the perfection of the Sacrament, against the confirmation of the New Testament, against the Tradition and practise of the Apostles, against the ancient Councels against the Canons, against the Doctours, both Old and New. The Apostles of Christ being full of the holy Ghost, so take Christs words as we take them now. And S. Hieronc saith: Quicunq; aliter Scripturam intelligit, quàm sensus spiritus sancti flagitat, quo conscripta est, licèt de Ecclesia non recesserit, tamen Hæreticus appellari potest: *Whosoeuer vnderstandeth the Scriptures otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost requireth, by which Holy Ghost the Scriptures were written, although he be not yet departed from the Church, yet he may well be called an Heretike.*

Hieronym. ad Galat. li. 3. ca. 5

If M. Harding will say, *that was true then, and this is true now,* Then may we answer him as S. Hilary did the Arians: Veritas ergo temporum erit magis, quàm Euangeliorum: *The truth must be as pleaseth the time, not as pleaseth the Gospell.* And further as S. Augustine answered the Donatists: Aliud declamas, aliud recitas, nos post vocem Pastoris nostri, per ora Prophetarum, & os proprium, & per ora Euangelistarum, nobis apertissimè declaratam, voces vestras non admittimus, non credimus, non accipimus: *If yee Preach any otherwise, or tell vs any other tale after we haue once heard the voice of our Shepheard, most plainly declared vnto vs by the mouthes of his Prophets, by his owne mouth, and by the mouthes of his Euangelists, touching your voices, we take them not, we beleeue them not, we receiue them not.*

Hilarius ad Constantium August. Augustin. de vnitate Eccle. cap. 11.

But forasmuch as this is a Mystery of Vnitie, God grant vnto vs such humilitie of minde, that wee may all submit our selues vnto his holy Word, that wee may ioine together in holy and perfect vnity: and as I alleged before out of S. Cyprian; *By his aduertisement redresse that thing wherein certaine haue erred: That when he shall come in his glory, and in his heauenly Maiestie, he may finde vs to hold that he warned vs: to keepe that he taught vs: to doe that he did.* Amen.

Cyprian. ad Cecilium, lib. 2. epist. 3.

OF PRAIERS IN A STRANGE TONGVE.

THE THIRD ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

OR that the People had their Common Praiers then in a strange tongue, that they vnderstood not.

TO furnish out this Article, M. Harding hath laid together a great heape of Stories, Antiquities, Obseruations of Writers, Erections, Propagations, Canons, and Orders of the Church, Cosmography, Situation of Countries, Corruptions, and changes of Tongues, which things he might better haue vsed to some other purpose. Now they serue him more for shew of learning, than for substance of proofe. He hath bestowed vpon this treaty, whatsoeuer he could either deuise of himselfe, or finde in others, adding besides all maner of beauty and force vnto the same, both with weight of sentence, and also with colour of words. Howbeit great vessels be not alwaies full: and the emptier they be, the more they sound. The wise Reader will be weighed with reason, and not with talke. As I said at the beginning, One good sentence were proofe sufficient. And if there be any one such in this whole Booke, I will yeld according to promise. If there be none, then must M. Harding consider better of the matter, and begin againe. Howbeit hee hath done that was the part of a good Orator, that the learned may say, hee hath shewed learning and eloquence: the vnlearned may thinke, he hath said some truth.

M. Harding.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuiſion.

If you meane M. Iewel, *by the peoples Common Prayers*, ſuch as at that time they commonly made to God in priuate deuotion, I thinke they vttered them in that tongue which they vnderſtood: (65) and ſo do Chriſtian people now for the moſt part: & it hath neuer beene reproued by any Catholike Doctor. But if by the Common Prayers you meane the Publike Seruice of the Church, wherof the moſt part hath been pronounced by the Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, and other Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, the people to ſundry parts of it ſaying *Amen*, or otherwiſe giuing their aſſent: I grant, ſome vnderſtood the language theror, and ſome vnderſtood it not; I meane, for the time you referre vs vnto, euen of ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſts conuerſation heere in earth.

The 65. vntruth. For vnder the ſubiection of the Biſhop of Rome, the people for the moſt part pray in Latine.

For about nine hundred yeeres paſt, (66) it is certaine, the people in ſome Countries had their Seruice in an vnknowen tongue, as it ſhall be prooued of our owne Countrie of England.

The 66. vntruth. For this certainty will neuer bee prooued.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

The diſorder of Prayer, that M. Harding hath here taken in hand to defend, is not only repugnant to the Scriptures of God, but alſo contrary to the ſenſe of Nature. For if Birds and Beaſts could ſpeake, as Democritus **the Philoſopher ſometime thought, and as** Lactantius **a Chriſtian Writer ſeemeth partly to ſay they doe, yet being Birds and Beaſts, and void of Reaſon, they would not ſpeake they know not what. Wherefore ſeeing this abuſe appeareth contrary to God, and Nature, and now alſo is miſliked and condemned by the common iudgement of all people, therefore it behoueth M. Harding to leaue his ghеſſes, and ſoundly and effectually ſeeke to proue it.**

Lactantius, Inſtitution. lib. 3. cap 10.

Two ſpeciall things he hath confeſſed in this treaty, which quite ouerthrow his whole purpoſe: The one is, That the Prayers in the Primitiue Church were ſaid in the common knowen tongue: **The other is,** That it were good euen now, that the people vnderſtood their owne Prayers. **This is the plaine ſong, and may well ſtand for the ground: the reſt is altogether deſcant and vaine voluntary, and the moſt part out of tune.**

This diſtinction of Common Prayers, whereof he imagineth ſome to bee made openly by the Miniſter of the Church, ſome ſeuerally by euery of the people in Priuate deuotion, is both vnperfect and alſo needleſſe. For the ſecret prayers that the faithfull make ſeuerally by themſelues, haue euermore been called *Priuate* and neuer *Common*. And in this ſenſe Thomas of Aquine **thinketh that a Prayer made in ſuch ſort by the Prieſt, and in the Church, may be called Priuate.**

Par. 3. quæſt. 183. art. 4.

He thinketh, That the people vttered their ſecret Prayers in the tongue that they vnderſtood, **and ſo he ſaith,** Chriſtian people doe now for the moſt part. **The former part hereof is vndoubtedly true. But for the ſecond,** That Chriſtian people doe ſo now, **Gods name be bleſſed, that hath brought it ſo to paſſe, not by M. Harding or his Catholike Doctours, but by ſuch as they haue withſtanded for the ſame and called Heretikes.**

Touching the Publike Seruice pronounced by the Prieſt, whereunto the people ſaid *Amen*; Some (ſaith M. Harding) vnderſtood the language thereof, and ſome vnderſtood it not. **Here vnawares he implieth a repugnance in reaſon, and a manifeſt contradiction.**

M. Harding implieth a contradiction.

For if ſome of the people vnderſtood it not, how could all the people ſay Amen? S. Pauls **words be plaine:** *How ſhall the vnlearned ſay* Amen, *to thy thankeſgiuing? For he knoweth not what thou ſaieſt.* **This runneth directly againſt M. Harding: All the people gaue their aſſent, and ſaid** Amen, **to the Common Prayers, in the Church:** Ergo, **all the people vnderſtood the Common Prayers. The allegation of the Church of** England **in the time of** Auguſtine, **whereof M. Harding maketh himſelfe ſo ſure, and ſaith with ſuch affiance,** It ſhall be prooued, **when it ſhall hereafter come to proſe indeed, ſhall proue nothing.**

As concerning the diſtinction of Priuate and Common Prayers, betweene which M. Harding would alſo haue a difference of ſpeech, vndoubtedly the tongue that is godly and profitable, and will ſtirre the minde in Priuate deuotion, is alſo godly and profitable, and likewiſe able to ſtirre the minde in the open Church. And I marueil, what reaſon can lead any man to thinke the contrary.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

But to ſpeake firſt of antiquity and of the compaſſe of your ſix hundred yeeres, it is euident by ſundry ancient records, both of Doctours and of Councels, ſpecially of the Councell Laodicine in Phrygia Pacatiana, holden by the Biſhops of the leſſer Aſia, about the yeere of our Lord 364. that the Greeke Churches had ſolemne ſeruice in due order and forme, ſet foorth with exact diſtinction of Pſalmes, and Leſſons of Houres, Dates, Feaſts and times of the yeere, of ſilence and open pronouncing, of giuing the Kiſſe of Peace to the Biſhop, firſt by the Prieſts, then by the Lay people; of offering the Sacrifice, of the only Miniſters comming to the Altar to receiue the Communion, with diuers other ſeemely obſeruations.

Heere M. Hard. wandreth vainly from the purpoſe

Alſo the Latine Churches they had their Prayers and Seruice alſo; but in ſuch fixed order, long after the Greekes. For Damaſus the Pope firſt ordained that Pſalmes ſhould bee ſung in the Church of Rome *Alternatim*, enterchangeably or by courſe, ſo as now wee ſing them in the Quire, and that in the end

Singing.

of euery Pſalme ſhould be ſaid *Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto, ſicut erat, &c.* Which he cauſed to be done by counſell of S. Hierome, that the faith of the 318. Biſhops of the Nicene Councell might with like fellowſhip be declared in the mouths of the Latines. To whom Damaſus wrote by Bonifacius the Prieſt to Hieruſalem, that Hierome would ſend vnto him *Pſallentium Græcorum*, the maner of the ſinging of the Greekes, ſo as he had learned the ſame of Alexander the Biſhop in the Eaſt. In that Epiſtle complaining of the ſimplicity of the Roman Church, he ſaith, that there was on the Sunday but one Epiſtle of the Apoſtle, and one Chapter of the Goſpell rehearſed, and that there was no ſinging with the voice heard, nor the comlineſſe of hymnes knowne among them.

In præfatione Hieronymi ad 2. epiſt. Damaſi Papæ ad Hieronymū Presbyterum. Ita præcepit Damaſus Papa Hieronymo, vt Pſallentium Græcorum, id eſt, Alexandri Epiſcopi Græci, Liber confeſſionum.

About the ſame time S. Ambroſe alſo tooke order for the Seruice of his Church of Millaine, and made holy hymnes himſelfe. In whoſe time (as S. Auguſtine writeth) when Iuſtina, the yong Emperour Valentinians mother, for cauſe of her Hereſie, wherewith ſhe was ſeduced by the Arians, perſecuted the Catholike faith, and the people thereof occupied themſelues in deuout watches more than before time, ready to die with their Biſhop in that quarrell; it was ordained that Hymnes and Pſalmes ſhould bee ſung in the Church of Millaine, after the maner of the Eaſt parts; that the good folke thereby might haue ſome comfort and ſpirituall reliefe, in that lamentable ſtate and continuall ſorrowes. Thereof the Churches of the Weſt foorthwith tooke example, and in euery Country they followed the ſame. In his ſecond Booke of Retractations hee ſheweth, that in his time ſuch maner of ſinging began to be receiued in Aphrica. Before this time had Hilarius alſo the Biſhop of Poyters in France, made Hymnes for that purpoſe, of which S. Hierome maketh mention. *cap. 11.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

We may well ſuffer M. Harding to wander at large in matters that relaine him nothing. If it were lawfull for others ſo to doe, it were no great maſtery to write Bookes. Many matters bee heere heapt together, touching order of Seruice, diſtinction of Pſalmes, Leſſons, Houres, Daies, Feaſts, the giuing of Peace, the forme of Communion, ſinging in the Church, when it began in Græcia, when in Rome, when in Millaine, when in Aphrica, when in France, and when in other places. Theſe be none of the matters that lie in queſtion. And therefore as they nothing further M. Harding to this purpoſe, ſo in other reſpects they hinder him ſundry waies. For in the ſame Councell of Laodicea it is decréed, like as alſo in the Councell of Carthage: *That nothing bee read in the Church vnto the people, ſauing only the Canonicall Scriptures.* Therefore the Leſſons there mentioned, were not taken out of the Feſtiual or Legenda aurea, as hath béene vſed in the Church of Rome: but out of the Chapters of the Holy Bible, as it is now vſed in the Church of England. The Peace giuen to the Biſhop, was not a little Table of Siluer: ſomewhat elſe, as hath béene vſed in the Church of Rome, but a very Kiſſe indéed, in token of perfect peace and vnity in Faith and Religion. So Iuſtinus Martyr ſaith, ſpeaking of the time of the holy Miniſtration, *Wee ſalute each one another with a Kiſſe.* So likewiſe Chryſoſtome and others.

Concil. Laodic. Canon. 59. Concil. Carthag. 3. Can. 47.

In Apologia 2. ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα.

Where he ſaith that the Church of Rome being as then plaine and ſimple, learned the Pſalmodie and other Eccleſiaſticall Muſicke, and the ſinging of Gloria Patri, at the end of euery Pſalme, of S. Hierome and the Biſhops of the Eaſt, he doth vs well to vnderſtand, that then Rome is not the Mother of all theſe things, neither is ſo to be taken.

But where hée further ſaith: Damaſus ordained that the Pſalmes ſhould bée Sung Interchangeably and in ſides, and euen ſo, as they be now Sung in the Quire, meaning, as it ſéemeth, that only the Prieſts and Clerkes Sung, and the people ſate ſtill; it is an open and a manifeſt vntruth. For it is certaine many waies, that the whole people then Sung the Pſalmes altogether.

[a] *Confeſſionum lib. 9. cap. 7.* [b] *Nazianzen. in funebri Oration. de Baſilio.* τὼ ἀκοὴν περιβαλούσῃ τῇ ψαλμῳδίᾳ κατιβεντίδη. [c] *In Pſalm 65.* [d] *Theodoret. lib. 2. cap. 24. Baſil. in epiſt. ad Clericos, Neocæſarien.* Ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις. *Diſt. 92. in Sancta Roma-na.*

S. Auguſtine ſaith: [a] *That S. Ambroſe tooke that order in Millane in time of perſecution and great danger, for the ſolace of the people.* [b] Nazianzenus erpreſſeth the terrible ſound of the people, ſo ſinging together in this wiſe: *When the Emperor Valens was entred into the Church where S. Baſil Preached, and was ſtricken with the Pſalmody, as if it had beene with a Thunder, &c.* [c] The like hath S. Hilary writing vpon the Pſalmes: [d] The like hath Theoderetus of one Flauianus and Theodorus, that firſt deuiſed this order of Singing in the City of Antioch.

But none plainer than S. Baſil: his words be theſe: *The people riſe before day, and bie them to the houſe of Praier, and there, after that in mourning, and in heauineſſe, and continuall teares, they haue confeſſed themſelues vnto God, ſtanding vp from their Praiers, they begin the Pſalmody, and being diuided into two parts, they Sing together, the one part anſwering to the other. And this order (he ſaith) was agreeable to all the other Churches of God.* Certainly it ſéemeth that S. Gregory in his time thought ſinging in the Church to be a thing fitter for the multitude of people, than for the Prieſt. For he erpreſſly forbiddeth the Prieſt to ſing in the Church: but I doe not remember that euer he forbade the people.

Héereof we may gather that Damaſus diuided the whole people into two parts, and willed them to ſing the Pſalmes in their owne knowen tongue, the one part making anſwer by courſe to the other, ſauing only the ſides: nothing like to that is now vſed in M. Hardings Quires.

M. Harding.

Barbarous Tongue.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

Much might be alleged for proofe of hauing Seruice in the Greeke and in the Latine Churches, long before the firſt ſix hundred yeeres were expired, which is not denied. The thing that is denied by M. Iewell, is this, That for the ſpace of ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, any Chriſtian people had their Seruice, or Common Praiers, in a tongue they vnderſtood not: Which they of his ſide beare the world in hand, to be a hainous errour of the Church, and a wicked deceit of the Papiſts. And I ſay, as I ſaid before, that (67) the Seruice was then in a tongue which ſome people vnderſtood, and ſome vnderſtood not: I meane the Greeke tongue, and the Latine tongue, For, that it was within the ſix hundred yeeres, in any other barbarous or vulgar tongue, I neuer read, neither I thinke M. Iewell, nor any the beſt learned of his ſide, is able to prooue. To bee the better vnderſtanded, I call all tongues Barbarous and Vulgar, beſide the Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine.

The 67. vntruth. For M. Harding is not able to ſhew one nation that vnderſtood not their common Seruice.

The Goſpell and the Faith of Chriſt was preached and ſet foorth in Syria and Arabia, by Paul; in Egypt, by Marke; in Æthiopia, by Matthew; in Meſopotamia, Perſia, Media, Bactra, Hyrcania, Parthia, and Carmania, by Thomas; in Armenia the greater, by Bartholmew; in Scythia, by Andrew; and likewiſe in other Countries, by Apoſtolike men, who were ſent by the Apoſtles, and their next ſucceſſors; as in France by Martialis, ſent by Peter; by Dionyſius, ſent by Clement; by Creſcens, as Clement and Hierome writeth; and by Trophinus, S. Pauls Scholar; and by Nathaniel, Chriſts Diſciple, of whom he at Arelate, and this at Bourges and Treueres, preached the Goſpell, as ſome record. In our Countries heere of Britaine, by Fugatiues, Damianus, and others, ſent by Eluthering the Pope and Martyr, at the requeſt of King Lucius, as Damaſus writeth in *Pontificiali*. Other Countries, where the Greeke and Latine tongue was commonly knowen, I paſſe ouer of purpoſe. Now if M. Iewell, or any of our learned aduerſaries, or any man liuing, could ſhew good euidence and proofe, that the publike Seruice of the Church was then in the Syriacall, or Arabicke, in the Egyptian, Æthiopian, Perſian, Armenian, Scythian, French, or Brittaine tongue; then might they iuſtly claime perſcription againſt vs in this Article, then might they charge vs with example of antiquitie, then might they require vs to yeeld to the maner and authoritie of the Primitiue Church. (68) But that doubtleſſe cannot appeare, which if any could ſhew, it would make much for the Seruice to be had in the Vulgar tongue.

Conſtit. Apoſt. lib 7 cap. 46. Liber Scriptor. Eccleſiaſticus. Temporib. Antonini Commodi. Anno Do. 181.

The 68. vntruth. For doubtleſſe it will ſoone be ſhewed.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

M. Harding being now out of his digreſſion, foundeth himſelfe vpon this Principle, that ſome people vnderſtood the common praiers, and ſome vnderſtood them not. But if it might haue pleaſed him to ſhew any one kinde of people, that vnderſtood them not, it had beene ſufficient. But he ſheweth none, neither heere, nor elſe where. Therefore we may coniecture, his ſtore of ſuch things is not great.

He granteth, that the Seruice was commonly ſaid in the Greeke and in the Latine tongue. All other tongues he condemneth for Barbarous: by what authoritie, I cannot tell. For in the reſpect of God. *There is neither Iew, nor Gentile: nor Greeke, nor Barbarous: nor any other diſtinction of tongues: but all are one in Chriſt Ieſus.* **Otherwiſe any tongue, vnto him that vnderſtandeth it not, appeareth Barbarous. And in that ſenſe S. Paul ſaith,** *Vnleſſe I vnderſtand the meaning of the ſpeech, I ſhall be Barbarous vnto him that ſpeaketh: and he that ſpeaketh, ſhall be likewiſe Barbarous vnto me.* **Like as Anacharſis the Philoſopher alſo ſaid,** *The Scythian is Barbarous at Athens: and the Athenian is Barbarous among the Scythians.* **And ſo the Prieſt that praieth in an vnknowen tongue, whether it be Greeke, or Latine, is Barbarous vnto the people: and if he be ignorant, and himſelfe vnderſtand not his owne Praiers, he is Barbarous alſo vnto himſelfe. As for the Latine tongue, which M. Harding ſo fauourably excepteth, it hath no ſuch ſpeciall Priuilege aboue others. S. Paul making a full diuiſion of the whole World, nameth ſome Greekes, and ſome Barbarous: and ſo leaueth out the Latines among the Barbarous. The ſame diuiſion Strabo alſo followeth in his Coſmographie. For thus he ſaith:** Barbaræ ſunt omnes nationes, præter Græcos: *All nations be Barbarous, Beſide the Greekes.* **Afterward the** Romans **miſliking herewithall, as they increaſed the ſtate of their Empire, ſo firſt they excepted themſelues, and in continuance, all other Nations, that would become Prouinces, and be ſubiect vnto them. And therefore** Pope Nicolas **the firſt, made a pitious exclamation againſt the Greeke Emperour** Michaell, **that ſeemed to deface the Latine tongue with that odious name:** Appellatis Latinam linguam Barbaram, ad iniuriam eius qui fecit eam: *Ye call the Latine tongue Barbarous, in deſpight of him that made that tongue.* **Great** Alexanders **modeſtie is much commened, who, as** Strabo **ſaith, would neuer ſort his Subiects by Greekes, and Barbarous: but rather by the difference of God, and Ill.** *For many Greekes* (ſaid he) *be ill people: and many Barbarous be good.* **The like modeſtie might well haue ſerued M. Harding in this place. For many that know the Greeke and the Latine tongues be notwithſtanding vngodly: and many be godly, that know them not. Therefore it is very diſcreetly ſaid by** Beda: Barbara eſt lingua, quæ Deum laudare non poteſt: *The tongue is Barbarous, that cannot ſerue God.*

Galat. 3.

1. Cor. 14.

Strabo, Coſmograph. lib. 1. & 4.

Epiſtola Nicolai 1.

Strabo, Coſmograph. lib. 1.

Beda, 1. Cor. 14.

M. Harding maketh a long diſcourſe of the Apoſtles, and other Apoſtolike mens trauels thorowout the World. If he had ſhewed to what end, we might the better haue knowen

Ephrems Homilies. Act. 2.

knowen his purpoſe. If he will ſay, *The Apoſtles preach in ſundry Countries*: Ergo, *The people had their Common Praiers in an vnknowen tongue*: This argument will hardly hold. For to that end God gaue vnto them the gift of Tongues, that they might deale with all nations in their owne Languages.

Heere are we required to ſhew ſome euidence, that in the Primitiue Church the publike Seruice was in the Syriacall, or Arabicke, or Egyptian, or any other Barbarous tongue: and it is ſtoutly preſumed, that we are able to ſhew none. Whatſoeuer we can ſhew, this is no indifferent dealing.

M. Hard. requireth others to ſhew, being himſelfe able to ſhew nothing.

For M. Harding being required of me to ſhew but one ſentence of proofe for his ſide, and hauing as yet ſhewed nothing, ſuddenly altereth the whole ſtate of the cauſe, and ſhifteth his hands, and requireth me to ſhew. Which thing although I be not bound to doe, by any order of Diſputation, yet that it may appeare that we deale plainly, and ſeke nothing but the truth, I am content, only in one example or two, preſently to follow his will, referring the reſt to another place more conuenient for the ſame.

In the 15. Diuiſion. Hieron. in Epitaphio Paulæ.

And forasmuch as the firſt tongue that he nameth, amongſt others, is the Syriacall, let him read S. Hierome, deſcribing the pompe of Paulaes funerall. Theſe be his wordes: Tota ad Funus eius Palæſtinarum vrbium turba conuenit: Hebræo, Græco, Latino, Syroq; Sermone, Pſalmi in ordine perſonabant: *At her funerall, all the multitude of the Cities of Paleſtine met together. The Pſalmes were ſung in order, in the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, and Syrian tongue.* Heere may be ſeē, that in one Citie foure ſeuerall Nations, in their Common Seruice, vſed foure ſeuerall tongues, among which tongues, is the Syriacall: which thing M. Harding thinketh all the world cannot ſhew. S. Auguſtine willing the Priests to apply their ſtudies to correct the errours of their Latine ſpeech, addeth thereto this reaſon: Vt populus ad id quod planè intelligit, dicat, Amen: *That people, vnto the thing that they plainly vnderſtand, may ſay. Amen.* This of S. Auguſtine ſeemeth to be ſpoken generally of all tongues. M. Harding himſelfe, at the end of his treatie, confeſſeth, that the Armenians, Ruſſians, Æthiopians, Sclauons, and Moſcouites, haue from the beginning of their Faith, in their Publike Seruice, vſed euermore their owne naturall Country tongues. Wherefore, by M. Hardings owne grant, we may iuſtly claime preſcription, and charge him with Antiquitie, and require him to yeld to the Authoritie of the Primitiue Church.

Aug. de Catechizandis rudibus, ca. 9.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuiſion.

Wherefore, M. Iewell in his Sermon, which hee vttered in ſo ſolemne an audience, and hath ſet foorth in print to the world, ſaith more than hee is able to iuſtifie, where hee ſpeaketh generally thus: Before the people grew to corruption (whereby he meaneth the firſt ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt) all Chriſtian men thorowout the world, made their Common Praiers, and had the Holy Communion, in their owne common and knowen tongue. This is ſoone ſpoken, Sir: But it will not by you be ſo ſoone prooued.

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That M. Iewell there ſaid, is proued ſufficiently, vnleſſe M. Harding be able to bring ſome example, one or other, to proue the contrary. Neither is the matter ſo hard of our ſide to be proued. Thomas of Aquine, and Nicolas Lyra, M. Hardings owne Witneſſes, for ſome good part, will proue it for me.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuiſion.

Indeed we finde, that whereas holy Ephrem, Deacon of the Church of Edeſſa, wrote many things in the Syriacall tongue, he was of ſo worthy fame and renowne, that (as S. Hierome witneſſeth) his writings were rehearſed in certaine Churches openly, *Poſt lectionem Scripturarum*, After the Scriptures had beene read: whereof it appeareth to Erasmus, that nothing was wont then to be read in the Churches, beſide the writings of the Apoſtles, or at leaſt of ſuch men as were of Apoſtolike Authoritie. But by this place of S. Hierome it ſeemeth not that Ephrems Workes were vſed as a part of the common Seruice; but rather as Homilies, or exhortations, to be read after the Seruice, which conſiſted in maner wholly of the Scriptures. And whether they were turned into Greeke, or no, ſo ſoone, it is vncertaine.

Lib. de Script. eccleſiaſt.

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M. Harding, contrary to the order of Rhetoricke, would confute our ſide, before hee confirme his owne. But I maruell much to what end he ſhould thus allege Ephrem, vnleſſe it be to heape matter againſt himſelfe. For will he thus frame his reaſon:

Ephrem *wrot ſundry things in his owne mother tongue:*
Ergo, The people had their Seruice in a ſtrange tongue?

Will hee haue this to be allowed, and goe for an Argument? if there were nothing elſe

else here to be gathered, yet hath he touched two things expresly against himselfe. The one is, that nothing was then read in the Church, sauing only the Scriptures, or other matters of Apostolike Authority: which thing is also straitly commanded by the Councell of Carthage. Yet M. Harding, in his Church, euen in the Publike Seruice, readeth Lessons, and Legends of childish Fables. S. Hieroms translation *Concil. Carth. 3. Can. 47.*

The other is, that Ephrems Homilies were pronounced vnto the people in the vulgar tongue: yet M. Harding himselfe pronounceth Gospels, Epistles, and Homilies, and all whatsoeuer, vnto the people in a strange tongue.

But to auoid this inconuenience, he saith, The Homilies were no part of the Seruice. First, how is he sure of that? Certainly, the Latine Homilies be read in the Matins, and accounted part of the Romish Seruice. Againe, what necessary Sequell is this:

The people vnderstood Ephrems Homilies:

Ergo, His Homilies were no part of the Seruice?

Or what leadeth him to thinke, it was profitable for the people to heare and vnderstand Ephrem, and yet was not profitable for them to heare and vnderstand Peter, Paul, or Christ? To be short, he confesseth that Ephrems writings were exhortations to the Greeks people: and yet doubteth whether they were translated into the Greeke, or no: and so he endeth in vncertaintie, and concludeth nothing.

Now let vs see whether the same Ephrem will conclude any thing of our side. First, Theodoretus saith, *He was vtterly ignorant of the Greeke tongue.* Which thing is also confirmed by M. Hardings owne Amphilochius. For in the conference that was betwaene him and Basil, he saith, *He spake by an Interpreter, as beeing not able to speake Greeke himselfe.* Yet was the same Ephrem a Minister in the Church, being, as S. Hierome saith, a Deacon, and as some others write, the Archdeacon of the Church of Edessa. Now let M. Harding shew vs, in what other tongue he could minister the Ecclesiasticall Seruice, but in his owne. If he thinke this coniecture to be weake, let him vnderstand further, that, as Theodoretus reporteth, the same Ephrem made Hymnes and Psalmes in the Syrian tongue: and that the same were sung at the solemne Feasts of Martyrs: and that, as Sozomenus saith plainly, the same Hymnes and Psalmes were sung in the Churches of Syria.

Theodoret. lib. 4. ca. 29. *Amphilochius. Hier. de Eccles. siast. Scriptor.* *Theodoret. lib. 4. ca. 29.* φασὶ δὲ τῶν νικηφόρων μαρτύρων πανηγύρεις ποιεῖ.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuision.

Neither S Hieromes Translation of the Scriptures into the Dalmaticall tongue (if any such was by him made at all) prooueth that the Seruice was then in that vulgar tongue. That labour may bee thought to haue serued to another purpose. But of the Translation of the Scriptures into vulgar tongues, I shall speake hereafter, when I shall come to that peculiar Article. Verily the handling of this present, and of that, hath most things common to both. Thus, that the people of any Country had the Church Seruice in their vulgar and common tongue, beside the Greeke and the Latine tongue, we leaue as a matter stoutly affirmed by M. Iewell, but faintly prooued: yea nothing at all prooued.

See the 15. Diuision of this Article.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding semeth to doubt whether S. Hierome translated the Scriptures into the Sclauon tongue, or no. Yet Stanislaus Hosius, one of the greatest of that side, maketh it very certaine, and putteth it quite out of doubt. His words be plaine: In Dalmaticam linguam Sacros Libros Hieronymum vertisse constat: *It is certainly knowen, that* S. Hierome *translated the Scriptures into the Sclauon tongue.* And likewise Alphonsus de Castro: Fatemur, olim Sacros Libros in Linguam Vulgarem fuisse translatos, beatumque Hieronymum in Linguam Dalmaticam eos vertisse: *We confesse, that in old times the Scriptures were translated into the Vulgar Tongue, and that* S. Hierome *turned them into the Sclauon Tongue.* Neither euer wist I any man that made doubt hereof, but M. Harding. But being granted (saith he) that S. Hierome so translated the Scriptures, yet that prooueth not that the Seruice was then in the Vulgar tongue. God sir: much lesse it proueth, that the Seruice was then among the Sclauons in the Latine Tongue. He saith further, That labour may be thought to haue serued to another purpose. But to what other purpose, he sheweth not. Surely whatsoeuer is thought hereof by M. Harding, M. Eckius, one of his owne Doctours, confesseth that the same S. Hierome, that translated the Scriptures into the Sclauon Tongue, procured also, that the Common Seruice there should be said in the Sclauon Tongue. And it may well be thought, his Translation could serue to no better purpose. I grant, S. Chrysostome, and Origen, in their Sermons, exhort the people to read the Scriptures in their houses at home: which purpose also, no doubts, was very godly. But such priuate reading at home, excludeth not the open reading in the Church. Chrysostome saith, It was the Readers dutie, openly in the Church to pronounce the Scriptures. And S. Augustine saith vnto the people, *The Apostle* S. Paul *witnesseth, that this Psalme which yee haue heard, pertaineth*

Hosius de sacro vernacule legendo. Alphonsus de Haref. lib. 1. cap. 13. *Eccli. de Missa Latinè dicēda. Chrys. in Mat. Hom. 2. & in Genes. hom. 28. Orig. in Leuit. Homil. 9. Chrys. in Acta Apost. hom. 19. Aug. in Ps. 31.*

S. Hieroms tranſlatiõ

Orig. in Leuit. cap. 7.

pertaineth to that grace of God, whereby we are made Chriſtians: therfore I haue cauſed the ſame Leſſon to be read vnto you. I thinke M. Harding will grant, that theſe Leſſons that S. Chryſoſtome and S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of, were vttered in ſuch a tongue, as the people might vnderſtand. For elſe Origen ſaith, Alioqui non fuiſſet neceſſarium, legi hæc in Eccleſia, niſi ex his ædificatio aliqua audientibus præberetur: *Otherwiſe it had not beene neceſſarie for theſe things to be read in the Church, vnleſſe ſome profit might come thereof vnto the hearers.*

Yet notwithſtanding (ſaith M. Harding) theſe matters be ſtoutly affirmed by M. Iewell, and faindy prooued. My proofes were taken out of the manifeſt words of S. Paul, S. Ambroſe, S. Auguſtine, S. Chryſoſtome, Arnobius, Gregorie, and others like: notwithſtanding it pleaſe M. Harding to call them ſo faint. Let vs therefore ſee the weightie reaſons that he and others of his ſide haue made for the contrarie. M. Harding ſeemeth to reaſon thus:

Ephrem made Homilies in the Syrian tongue:

And, S. Hierome tranſlated the Bible into the Sclauon tongue:

Ergo, The Common Seruice was in the Latine or Greeke tongue.

Otho Cardinal. in ſtatutis Synodi Auguſten.

Cardinall Otho ſaith, *There were three tongues written in the title of the Croſſe, the Greeke, the Hebrew, and the Latine:*

Ergo, In one of theſe three tongues, the people muſt haue their Common Seruice.

Eckius de Miſſa Latinè dicenda.

Eckius ſaith, *Chriſt praied Secretly, being in the Mount alone:*

Ergo, The Seruice muſt be in an vnknowen tongue.

These and ſuch like Arguments he brought by them. I leaue it vnto the diſcreet Reader, to iudge their force.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuiſion.

Now concerning the two learned tongues, Greeke and Latine, and firſt the Greeke: that the ſeruice was in the Greeke tongue, and vſed in the Greeke Church, I grant. And to ſhew what is meant by the Greeke Church, the learned doe vnderſtand all the Chriſtian people of that Countrey which properly is called Græcia, of Macedonia, Thracia, and of Aſia the Leſſe, and the Countries adioining. The Prouinces that were allotted to the Patriarke of Alexandria in Egypt, and to the Patriarke of Antiochia in Syria, are of the old Writers called ſometime by the name of the Orientall or Eaſt Church, ſometime of the Greeke Church. Thus much by vs both confeſſed, M Iewell, and agreed vpon; I ſay, that if I can ſhew, that the people of ſome Countries of the Greeke Church, (69) which all had their Common Praiers and Seruice in the Greeke tongue, for the more part vnderſtood not the Greeke tongue, more than Engliſh men now vnderſtand the Latine tongue; then I haue prooued that I promiſed to prooue, that ſome peoples, I meane whole Nations, vnderſtood not their Seruice, for that they had it in an vnknowen tongue.

The 69. vntruth. For it is certaine, that ſundry of y Eaſt nations had not their Seruice in the Greeke tongue, as ſhall appeare.

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The Diuiſion of the Church into Greeke and Latine.

M. Harding firſt hauing diuided the whole world into two Churches, the Greeke, and the Latine, afterward maketh offer to proue his purpoſe. Whereof it may be gathered, that he hath hitherto proued nothing. This diuiſion of the Church, neither is greatly materiall, nor of our part much denied: albeit many waies it ſeemeth vnperfect. For the great Churches of Æthiopia, India, and Scythia, planted by S. Matthew, by S. Thomas, and by S. Andrew, beſides Arabia, Syria, Perſia, Media, Armenia, and a great number of other Countries, which neuer were neither of the Greeke Church, nor of the Latine, are here quite left out. Two propoſitions M. Harding hath here choſen to proue. The one is, that all the Greeke Church had the Common Seruice wholly and thorowly in the Greeke tongue. The other is, that ſome whole Countries in the Greeke Church, vnderſtood not the Greeke tongue.

If both theſe propoſitions bee proued ſoundly and ſubſtantially, without ſurmiſe or gheſſe, then it behoueth me to yeeld. But (good Reader) marke them well both, and conſider the proofes. For if he faile in either of theſe, he proueth nothing, as I hope it will appeare.

M. Harding. The 8. Diuiſion.

A Fallax, or a deceitfull argument.

Now how well I am able to prooue this, I referre it to your owne conſideration. The leſſe Aſia being a principall part of the Greeke Church, had then the Seruice in the Greeke tongue: But the people of ſundrie Regions and Countries of the leſſe Aſia, then vnderſtood not the Greeke tongue: *Ergo,* The people of ſundry Regions and Countries had then their Seruice in an vnknowen tongue. The firſt propoſition, or *Maior,* is confeſſed, as manifeſt: no learned man will denie it: and if any would, it may eaſily be prooued. The ſecond propoſition, or *Minor,* may thus bee prooued: Strabo, who trauelled ouer all the Countries of Aſia, for perfect knowledge of the ſame, neere about the time of S. Pauls peregrination there, who alſo was borne in the ſame, in his 14. Booke of Geographie writeth, that whereas within that *Cherroneſus* (that is, the ſtrait betweene Sea and Sea) there were ſixteene Nations, by report of Ephorus; (70) of them all, only three were Greekes, all the reſt Barbarous. Likewiſe Plinius in the ſixth Booke *Naturalis hiſtoria Cap. 2.* declareth, that (71) within the circuit of that Land were three Greeke Nations only, *Dores, Ioues, Aeolis:* and that the reſt were Barbarous. Amongſt whom the people of Lycaonia was one, who in S. Pauls time, ſpake before Paul and Barnabas in the Lycaonicall tongue.

The 70. vntruth, miſreporting Straboes words. The 71. vntruth, miſreporting y words of Plinie.

The

The Scripture it ſelfe reporteth a diuerſitie of language there, and there about, as it appeareth by the ſecond Chapter of the Acts: Where the Iewes gathered together in Hieruſalem, for keeping of the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, wondering at the Apoſtles, for their ſpeaking with ſo many ſundry tongues, amongſt other Prouinces different in language, they reckon Pontus, and Aſia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Pamphilia: Which two Prouinces are of all attributed vnto the leſſe Aſia: Which maketh a good Argument, that all Aſia the Leſſe had not only the Greeke tongue. And therefore ſo many of them as were of other language, hauing the Seruice in Greeke, had it in a tongue they vnderſtood not. They that will ſeeme to ſearch the cauſe why that Land had ſo great diuerſitie of Languages, impute it to the often change of Conqueſts, for that it was ouercome, and poſſeſſed of diuers Nations: of which euery one coueted, with enlarging their Empire, to bring into the Countries ſubdued, their lawes, their cuſtomes, and their language. Now this being prooued by good and ſufficient authoritie, that in Aſia, of ſixteene Nations, three onely were Greekes, it followeth, that the other thirteene, hauing their Seruice in Greeke, had it not in their owne, but in a ſtrange tongue. For elſe, if they had all naturally ſpoken Greeke, why ſhould not they haue beene called Greekes? Thus wee ſee, it is no new thing, proceeding of a generall corruption in the Church, ſome peoples to haue the Seruice in an vnknowen tongue.

Aſia the Leſſe.

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Take hèd, good Reader: M. Harding hath hère throwen a great Miſt of learning, to dazle thy ſight. Unleſſe thou eie him well, he wil ſteale from thee. Thus he frameth his Syllogiſmus: The leſſe Aſia being a principall part of the Gréeke Church, had then the Seruice in the Gréeke tongue: but ſundry Countries of the ſame Aſia vnderſtood not the Gréeke tongue: Ergo, They had their Seruice in an vnknowen tongue.

Hère is a faire Gloſſe. But be not deceiued. M. Harding knoweth well enough, it is but a Fallace, that is to ſay, a deceitfull Argument, named in the Schooles, Ex meris particularibus: Or, A non diſtributo, ad diſtributum. Unleſſe he amend the Maior, and make it an Vniuerſall, and ſay thus: All Aſia the Leſſe had the Seruice in the Gréeke Tongue, it can in no wiſe hold. That Aſia the Leſſe had the Seruice in Gréeke, it is doubted of no man, nor learned, nor vnlearned. But that all Aſia the Leſſe had throwout in all parts the ſame Seruice, if it be denied, M. Harding, with all his learning, is not able to proue it: and therefore he did better to turne it ouer without any proofe at all.

The diſcloſing of M. Hardings Fallax.

The Minor is this: *Sundry Nations in* Aſia *the Leſſe vnderſtood not the Greeke.* And to proue this, M. Harding hath directed all his drift. But to what end? For neither is it denied by any of vs, nor is it any part of our queſtion. And yet notwithſtanding, is not M. Harding able to proue it with all his gheſſes.

He allegeth the Acts of the Apoſtles, whereas mention is made of ſundry languages, and among the ſame, certaine Prouinces of this Aſia ſpecially named for their difference in ſpeech. But what if anſwer were made, that all there rehearſed, were not diuers tongues, but rather certaine differences in one tongue? Certainly, Beda ſeemeth plainly ſo to ſay. His words be theſe: *Verily this man was with him, for he is of* Galile: *not for that the people of* Galile, *and the people of* Hieruſalem, *vſed ſundry tongues: but for that euery Prouince* (of Iurie) *hauing a peculiar maner of vtterance in their ſpeech, could not auoid the ſame.* And hèrevnto he applieth this Story of the Acts of the Apoſtles.

Actor. 2.

Beda in Luc. ca. 22. li. 6. Ex Hieronymo in Matth. ca. 26.

But ſaith M. Harding, There muſt needs be greater difference betweene theſe Countries of Aſia, and that, becauſe of often ouerthrowes and conqueſts, that there had happened. The coniecture is good. But the greateſt Conquerours that came there, were the Macedonians, the Thebanes, and other Grecians, who (no doubt) planted there the Gréeke tongue, as it may ſone appeare to any man, that can with iudgement conſider of it. S. Paul vnto the Epheſians, the Galathians, and the Coloſſians, dwelling all in this ſame Aſia the Leſſe, wrote in Gréeke. And S. Luke writing of S. Pauls being and preaching at Epheſus, ſaith, It came ſo to paſſe, Vt omnes qui habitabant in Aſia, audirent Sermonem Domini Ieſu, Iudæi ſimul & Græci: *That all they that dwelt in* Aſia, *heard the word of the Lord Ieſus, both* Iewes, *and* Greekes. S. Luke, that had trauelled ouer that whole Country with S. Paul, knew none other Nation there, but Iewes and Greekes: M. Harding hath a gheſſe, there ſhould be ſome other Barbarous people alſo: but what they were, or where about they dwelt, or what tongue they ſpake, he cannot tell. Verily Polycarpus was Biſhop of Smyrna: Gregorius was Biſhop in Pontus: S. Baſil was Biſhop of Cæſaria in Cappadocia: Amphilochius Biſhop of Iconium in Lycaonia: Gregorius, S. Baſils brother, Biſhop of Nyſſa in Caria, or Thracia. All theſe, in ſundry Countries within Aſia the Leſſe, preached openly in the Gréeke tongue, and the vulgar people vnderſtood them.

Actor. 19.

Actor. 19.

Yet (ſaith M. Harding) Strabo being borne in the ſame Countrey, and liuing vnder the Emperours Auguſtus and Tiberius, in the time of S. Paul, writeth in his Geographie, that whereas there were then ſixteene ſundry Nations in Aſia the Leſſe, three only of them were Grecians, and the reſt Barbarous. I know not whether M. Harding be vnwittingly deceiued himſelfe, or wilfully go about

to

Aſia the Leſſe.

to deceiue others. But well I know, that this is no part of Straboes meaning. For Strabo ſpeaketh not this of his owne time, but of the time of Ephorus, that liued well nere fiue hundred yeres before him. This Ephorus reporteth, that in his time there were but three Grecke Nations as yet entred into Aſia, but all the reſt then were Barbarous. And therefore Apollodorus ſaith, that before the battell of Troy, no people of the Grekes at all euer came ouer to dwell there. For if Strabo had meant this of his owne time, to what end ſhould he allege the Record of Ephorus, that liued ſo many hundred yeres before him, for proofe of that thing that he had ſo diligently viewed, and ſene himſelfe? and ſpecially ſeing his purpoſe is not to follow, but to reprowe Ephorus: as it well appeareth by his words. As for Apollodorus, thus he ſaith of him: *Hee ſeemeth not diſcreetly to deale heerein. For he diſordereth and falſly allegeth the words of* Homer. And vnto this conſtruction of Strabo, very well agreeth the place of Plinius here alleged, and concludeth manifeſtly againſt M. Harding, as it appeareth by the very words: In omni eo tractu proditur, tres tantùm Gentes Græcas iure dici, Doricam, Ionicam Æolicam: Cæteras Barbarorum eſſe: *In which whole circuit, it is written, that only three Nations be rightly called Greekes: and that the reſt are of the Barbarians.* In that he ſaith, Proditur, *It is written*, he meaneth by Ephorus, Apollodorus, or ſuch others, as had liued long before. In that he ſaith, Cæteras Barbarorum eſſe, *The reſt be of the Barbarians*; he meaneth, that they had arriued thither, not out of Græcia, as had the other three; but out of other Countries that were Barbarous. But in that he ſaith, Tres tantùm Gentes Græcas iure dici, *That onely three Nations bee rightly, or naturally, called Greekes*; he muſt needs meane that the reſt were called Grekes alſo, although not ſo rightly and naturally as the other. For elſe the exception of this word iure, that is, *rightly or naturally*, had bene in vaine. And thus M. Harding ſeeking to prowe, that the people of Aſia were no Grekes, allegeth Plinius, by whoſe words it appeareth neceſſarily, that they were Grekes.

Strabo, lib. 14. eodem loco. τὰ δὲ πρώτα παραλείπω καταλελυθότα. *Plin. hiſt. natural. lib. 6. cap. 2.*

But M. Harding will force the matter further: Strabo *ſaith, that theſe three Nations excepted, the reſt were Barbarous*: Ergo, *They vnderſtood no Greeke.* And hereupon reſteth his whole prowfe. But this is another falſification of Straboes minde. For Strabo calleth them Barbarous, that vnderſtood and ſpake Grecke. And what better Witneſſe can we herein haue, than Strabo himſelfe? Thus he writeth: Barbariſmum in his dicere conſueuimus, qui malè loquuntur Græcè: non autem in illis, qui Caricè loquuntur. Sic etiam barbariloquos, & barbari ſermonis homines eos accipere debemus, qui malè Græca pronuntiant: *We take a Barbariſmus, or a barbarous maner of ſpeech, to be in them that ſpeake the Greeke diſorderly: and not in them that ſpeake a ſtrange tongue, as is the tongue of the* Carians. *So we ought to take them to be barbarous, or men of barbarous ſpeech, that ill fauouredly pronounce the Greeke.* Thou maiſt ſee (good Reader) with what faith M. Harding allegeth the Authoritie of old Writers. He would prowe by Strabo, that theſe people ſpake no Grecke, becauſe they were Barbarous. And Strabo himſelfe ſaith, notwithſtanding they were Barbarous, yet they ſpake Grecke: Now therefore, ſeing the Syllogiſmus it ſelfe, as I haue ſaid, is a Fallace, the Maior falſe, the Minor falſe, and neither of them any way prowed, and Strabo and Pliny falſly alleged: to gather hereof, that theſe people had their Seruice in an vnknowen tongue, muſt needs ſeeme a ſtrange Concluſion.

M. Harding falſifieth Straboes minde. Li. 14. Geogra.

M. Hardings Syllogiſme.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuiſion.

Heere perhaps M. Iewell, or ſome other for him, replieth, and ſaith, that the people of Aſia commonly, beſide their owne proper language, ſpake the Greeke tongue alſo; and allegeth for the ſame purpoſe S. Hierome, who ſaith, *Galatas, excepto ſermone Græco, quo omnis Orins loquitur, propriam linguam eandem habere, quam Treuiros*: That the Galathians, beſide the Greeke language, which all the Orient or the Eaſt ſpeaketh, haue their owne peculiar tongue, the very ſame that they of Treuers haue. Lo, ſaith this replier, S. Hierome affirmeth, all the Orient to ſpeake the Greeke tongue: *Ergo*, The Seruice in Greeke to them was not ſtrange and vnknowen.

In prooem. lib. Comment. Ep. ad Galat.

To this I anſwer, S. Hierome meaneth, that ſome of all Countries of the Orient, or Eaſt, ſpake Greeke, as the learned men, gentle men, Merchants, all of liberall education, and ſuch other as had cauſe to trauell thoſe Countries. To be ſhort, it was without doubt very common, as being their onely learned tongue for all ſciences, and the tongue that might beſt ſerue to trauell withall, from Country to Country, within the Eaſt, right ſo as the Latine tongue ſerueth to the like intents, For all Nations of the Weſt. And he meaneth not, that all and ſingular perſons, of what degree and condition ſoeuer they were, all vplandiſh people, tillers of the ground, heardmen, and women, ſpake Greeke. For if it had beene ſo, then had they not had peculiar and proper tongues. For it is not for their ſimple heads (for the moſt part) to beare away two languages. In that S. Hierome calleth the Galathians tongue, *propriam linguam*, a proper and a peculiar tongue to that Nation, he doth vs to vnderſtand, the ſame to perteine to all in particular, that is, to euery one of that Prouince, and the Greeke to all in generall, in reſpect of other Nations there, ſo as not of neceſſitie it be vnderſtanded of euery one.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

M. Harding ouermuch paineth himſelfe to prowe that thing that no wiſe man will denie him. For how can it ſeeme likely, that the whole Eaſt, which is in a maner the one halfe

halfe part of the world, containing ſo many, and ſo ſundry Nations, ſhould ſpeake all one tongue: ſeeing wee our ſelues, in this one little kingdome of England, haue the vſe of fiue tongues, and not one of them vnderſtanding another? I maruell that M. Harding alleged not the fables of Herodotus, that Bek in the Phrygians tongue ſignifieth Bread: Ki-ki in the Egyptians tongue, an ointment: Achmach, one of the Guard: or Alila, or Vrotal, in the Arabicke tongue, and ſuch like. For theſe might haue ſtand him in ſtead of good proofes, that all the Nations of the whole Eaſt part of the World ſpake not Greeke. *Herodotus.*

And although wee agree with him in the principall, that in the Eaſt part were vſed ſundry languages, and likewiſe that the Greeke tongue was commonly vſed among the learned, yet his diſtinction of all in Generall, and all in Particular, that he hath heere deuiſed to ſhift off S. Hierome, ſeemeth very homely, and home made. For how can it be a Generall, vnleſſe it include euery Particular? By M. Hardings conſtruction, we muſt take All, for Some: or All, not for the tenth part of all: and by this Rhetoricke, leſſe than halfe is as much as All: and ſo, All, is not All. Thus M. Hardings Generall is a meere Particular: and to conclude, his Generall is no Generall. So weakly and ſo loſely his anſwer ſtandeth.

As touching the Galathians, of whom S. Hierome ſaith, that beſide their owne naturall tongue, they had alſo the vſe of the Greeke, becauſe as Apollodorus ſaith, *They of all others, arriued laſt into that Countrey, it is likely, they kept their owne barbarous ſpeech longer than others.* But, like as whether they of all ſorts ſpake Greeke or no, as M. Harding ſaith, of neceſſitie cannot be proued, ſo indeed it forceth nothing. For he cannot proone thereby, that they that vnderſtood not the Greeke, had their Seruice in the Greeke. Yet is this the Maior, and the ground of the whole, which M. Harding ſo cloſely diſſembleth and paſſeth by. *Strabo Geogr. lib. 14.*

M. Harding. The 10. Diuiſion.

Tract. in Ioan. 117. S. Auguſtine ſpeaking of the title written by Pilate on the Croſſe, ſaith thus; It was in Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine, *Rex Iudæorum.* For theſe three tongues were there in preeminence before all other; *Hebræa, propter Iudæos, in Dei Lege gloriantes: Græca, propter gentium ſapientes: Latina, propter Romanos multis at pene omnibus iam tunc gentibus imperantes:* The Hebrew for the Iewes, that g'oried in the Law of God; the Greeke, for the wiſe men of the Gentiles; the Latine, for the Romans bearing rule at that time ouer many, and almoſt ouer all Nations. Now where he ſaith heere, that the Greeke tongue was in preeminence *Propter Gentium ſapientes*, for the wiſe men of the Gentiles, he diſcuſſeth fully the doubt that might ſeeme to riſe of S. Hieromes ſaying, and ſheweth, that the Greeke tongue was common, not to all the vulgar people of the whole Orient, but to the wiſe men onely, and that for the attaining of learning. And for this it is to bee noted, that the Scripture reporteth the vulgar tongue of the Lycaonians, to haue beene vttered in the hearing of Paul and Barnabas; not by the Magiſtrates, or other the chiefe, but by the vulgar people. *Turba leuauerunt vocem ſuam Lycaonicè dicentes, &c. Act.* 14. And ſo S. Hierome is to be vnderſtanded to ſpeake in that place, not of all men of the Nations of the Eaſt, but rather of a great number, and of ſome perſons of all Nations. For elſe, if all the Eaſt had ſpoken Greeke, the Souldiers that buried Cordianus the yonger Emperour, *apud Circeium Caſtrum*, at Circey Caſtle, neere to the land of Perſie, would not haue written his title of honor vpon his Sepulchre, in Greeke and Latine, in the Perſians, Iewes, and Egyptians tongues, *vt ab omnibus legeretur*, that it might be read of all, as Iulius Capitolinus writeth. Which is an argument, that all the Eaſt ſpake not, nor vnderſtood not the Greeke tongue. As likewiſe that Epiphanius writeth, where hee ſaith thus: Moſt of the Perſians after the Perſicall letters, vſe alſo the Syrians letters. As with vs many Nations vſe the Greeke letters, yea where as in euery Nation in maner, they haue letters of their owne. And others ſome much eſteeme the profound tongue of the Syrians, and the tongue that is about Palmyra, both the tongue it ſelfe, and alſo the letters of the ſame. Bookes alſo haue beene written of Manes in the Syrians tongue. Againe, if all the Eaſt had ſpoken Greeke, ſundry the holy Fathers would not haue beene ſo enuious to the common weale of the Church, as to hide their ſingular workes from the reading of all, which they wrote in barbarous and vulgar tongues, to the commoditie only of their brethren that vnderſtood the ſame: Antonius that wrote ſeuen notable Epiſtles to diuers Monaſteries of Apoſtolike ſenſe and ſpeech, as S. Hierome witneſſeth in the Egyptian tongue. Likewiſe holy Ephrem of Edeſſa, Bardeſanes of Meſopotamia, who wrote very excellent workes in the Syriacall tongue. Euen ſo did Iſaac of Antioch, and Samuel of Edeſſa Prieſts, write many goodly workes againſt the enemies of the Church in the ſame tongue, as Gennadius recordeth. But what ſhall we ſpeake of all the Eaſt? Neither all the Leſſe Aſia and the Countries there adioining, ſpake not Greeke one generation before the comming of Chriſt. For if all had ſpoken Greeke, Mithridates that renowmed King of Pontus, had not needed to haue learned two and twenty languages of ſo many Nations hee was King ouer, to make anſwer to ſuiters, to appoint them Orders and Lawes, and in open audience to ſpeake to them in ſo many languages without an Interpreter, as Plinie writeth. Heere if theſe 22. Nations of 22. ſundry tongues, had alſo beſide their owne language ſpoken Greeke and vnderſtanded the ſame, Plinie would not haue vttered that word *ſine Interprete*, without an Interpreter. And likewiſe that King had taken vaine labour in learning thoſe tongues, where one might haue ſerued his turne.

In Gordiano. Lib. 2. hiſt. 66

Li. de Enſeſſ. aſt Script.

Natura. hiſtor. lib. 7. cap. 24.

Lib. 6 Natu. rall hiſt. cap. 5. Neere to this Kings dominion, in the ſhore of the Sea Euxinus, in the Land of Colchis, there ſtood a Citie named Dioſcurias, ſo much haunted of ſtrangers, that, as Plinie writeth by record of Thimoſthenes, it was reſorted vnto of three hundred Nations of diſtinct languages, and that the Romans for the better expedition of their affaires there, had at length lying in the ſame 130. Interpreters. Now if all the Orient had ſpoken Greeke, as S. Hieromes words ſeeme to import, the Romans ſhould not haue needed to haue maintained there to their great charges, ſo great a number of interpreters, to bee their agents there. But for proofe that all the Orient ſpake not Greeke, what need wee allege prophane Writers? The knowen

place of the Acts maketh mention of ſundrie Nations there, that had diſtinct languages, the Parthians, Medians, and Elamites, &c. Act. 2.

To conclude, they that to maintaine their ſtrange opinion of the Vniuerſall vnderſtanding of the Seruice vſed of old time in the Eaſt Church, ſay and affirme, that all the Orient ſpake Greeke; ſeeme much to diminiſh the Maieſtie, Vtilitie, and neceſſitie of the miraculous gift of tongues, which the Holy Ghoſt gaue in the Primitiue Church, for the better furtherance of the Goſpell. For if all in thoſe parties had ſpoken Greeke, the gift of tongues had beene in that reſpect needleſſe. Hitherto of the Greeke (72) and of the Seruice in that language.

The 72. vntruth. For hee hath not hitherto ſpoken one word of the Seruice.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

This labour may well be called Vanitas vanitatum. For it is a great token of idleneſſe, to be ſo earneſt, and ſo copious in proouing that thing that no man denieth. And yet hee forceth the matter ſo, as if all the right of his cauſe lay vpon it. Hee might as well haue proued that the Indians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Tartarians, vnderſtood no Greeke. It is a leaud kinde of Logicke, ſo ſtoutly to proue that thing that needeth no proofe: and to leaue the thing that ſhould be proued. The title of the Croſſe written in three ſundry languages, as it teſtifieth that the Nations of the Eaſt part of the World ſpake not all one tongue, which thing is not of any wiſe man denied, ſo it proueth plainly againſt M. Harding, that the Death of Chriſt ſhould be publiſhed in all tongues. For as Albertus and Lyra, M. Hardings owne Doctors, haue witneſſed, writing vpon the ſame; Therefore was the Title by Gods ſpeciall prouiſion drawen in the three principall Languages: Vt omnes qui de diuerſis orbis partibus venerant, poſſent illum legere: *That all they that were then come to Hieruſalem out of ſundry parts of the World, might bee able to reade it.* S. Hierome likewiſe ſaith, the ſame title was ſo written: In teſtimonium vniuerſarum gentium: *For the witneſſe of all Nations.* For it was the will of God, that euery tongue ſhould confeſſe that Chriſt is the Lord in the glorie of the Father.

Albertus & Lyra in 19. cap. Iohan.

Hieron. in Eſai lib. 7. cap. 20.

Wherein M. Harding much abridgeth the glorie of the Croſſe of Chriſt, that would the title thereof to pertaine only to the wiſe and learned of the Greekes. For Albertus and Lyra ſay, *It was ſo written that all might reade it.* And as S. Hierome ſaith, *For witneſſe of all Nations.* Neither can wee finde, that there was any great number of Philoſophers preſent at Chriſts death, to read that Title. As for S. Auguſtine, by theſe words, Sapientes Græcorum, he vnderſtandeth *All the Greekes.* For as all the Iewes generally gloried of the Law, euen ſo all the Greekes generally gloried in their wiſedome. And S. Paul ſaith generally of them both: Iudæi ſignum quærunt: Græci ſapientiam: *The Iewes call for ſigns and miracles: and the Greekes call for knowledge.* And therefore one of the Philoſophers ſaid, In old times there were ſeuen wiſe men among the Greekes, but now there are not ſo many fooles: for that they all gloried in their wiſedome.

1. Cor. 1.

The people of Lycaonia ſpake vnto Paul and Barnabas, Lycaonicè: Ergo, ſaith M. Harding, They ſpake no Greeke. But what if S. Luke had ſaid, they ſpake Ionicè, Æolicè, or Doricè, which tongues were adioining faſt vpon Lycaonia; would hee therefore conclude, they ſpake no Greeke? Verily if a man by way of contention would ſay, the Lycaonicall tongue was a corruption or difference of the Greeke tongue, and not a ſeuerall tongue of it ſelfe, M. Harding ſhould haue much adoe to proue the contrary. Doubtleſſe, they worſhipped Iuppiter and Mercurie, that were the Gods of the Greekes, and had the Greeke Sacrifice, as it manifeſtly appeareth by the words of S. Luke, and it may bee credibly gathered, that Paul and Barnabas ſpake to them in Greeke. Howbeit, whether it were ſo, or otherwiſe, ſauing that M. Harding maketh the matter ſo certaine, it importeth nothing.

Act. 14.

But this one thing, good Reader, I giue thee further to conſider. Theſe Lycaonians, as M. Harding confeſſeth, and as plainly appeareth by S. Luke, being yet Infidels, made their praiers vnto their Idols, Iuppiter and Mercurie, in their owne tongue. And may it any wiſe ſeeme likely, that the ſame being afterward become Chriſtians, made their praiers vnto Almighty God, and to Chriſt his Sonne in a ſtrange tongue? If it behoue Idolaters to vnderſtand their owne praiers, much more it behoueth the people of God to doe the like. Certainly if the ſame Lycaonians were now aliue, they would reproue M. Hardings errour in their owne tongue.

Act. 14.

The blaſing of the yong Emperour Gordians graue with fiue ſundrie languages, like as it was needleſſe in this place, as all the reſt, the matter being confeſſed, euen ſo it weigheth very much againſt M. Hardings ſide. For if the barbarous Souldiers of their dutie and allegeance towards their Prince, thought his death worthie to bee publiſhed in ſo many tongues, what may then bee thought of them that cannot ſuffer the Death of Chriſt to bee publiſhed in any one tongue? And if they ſo furniſhed a mortall mans memorie, as Capitolinus ſaith, Vt ab omnibus legeretur: *That it might be read of all men:* Why then doe theſe men ſo hide and burie the immortall memory of the

the glory of Christ, that sauing themselues, they would haue it to be read and seene of no Man?

The allegation of the Persians and Syrians letters: of the tongue vsed about Palmyra: of Epistles written in the Egyptians tongue by Antonius, in the Syrian tongue by Bardesanes, Ephrem, Isaac and Samuel: of Mithridates the King of Pontus, that was able to answer two and twenty Nations, that were his subiects, without an Interpreter; of the resort of three hundred sundrie Nations vnto the City called Dioscurias in Colchis; and once againe of the Miracle of tongues and diuersity of languages in the Acts of the Apostles, hath some shew, and ostentation of learning, and serueth well either to fill vp rome, or else to reproue, and controle S. Hierome: for that he saith; *All the East part of the World speaketh Greeke*: For against vs, that neither write so, nor speake so, it maketh nothing.

We know, that by meane of the great Empire, that the Grækes had gotten ouer many Countries and Kingdomes in all the East, and partly also for that the Barbarous Nations whom they had subdued, had great pleasure in their Philosophie, and other skilfull knowledge, the Græke tongue was learned of many, and carried about into all places of that part of the World: and that Cicero therefore saith; Græca leguntur in omnibus ferè gentibus: *The Greeke tongue is read in maner amongst all Nations.* And S. Augustine likewise; Quos Paulus dixit Græcos, eos etiam Gentium nomine significauit: eò quod hæc Lingua maximè excellit in Gentibus, *Whom Paul called Greekes, them also hee vttred by the name of the Gentiles: for that the same tongue chiefly excelleth among the Gentiles.* And yet we doubt not, but there were other naturall tongues and speeches to, besides the Græke; as the Egyptian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Persian, the Bactrian, the Indian, the Armenian, the Scythian, and many others. And if I list here to dally for pleasure, and vainly to carry away the Reader from the purpose, as M. Harding doth, I could say, that Themistocles a Gentleman of Athens, before he presented himselfe vnto the Great King of Persia, first learned to speake the Persians tongue; that the Nestorian Heretikes translated their bookes into the Persian, Armenian, and Syrian tongue; that S. Augustine saith, that S. Hierome vnderstood the Hebrew, the Græke, the Chaldee, the Latine, the Persian, the Arabick and the Median tongue; and that S. Chrysostome saith; *So many tongues and voices there be of the Scythians, of the Thracians, of the Romans, of the Persians, of the Moores, of the Indians, of the Egyptians, and of a thousand Nations beside.* With many other authorities to like purpose, to auouch the thing, that M. Harding so earnestly proueth, and no man denieth; that the Nations of the East part of the World had seuerall tongues, and spake not all one only tongue.

Cicero pro Archia.

Plutarchus in Themistocle, Liberatus, ca. 10.

Augustin. ad Cyrill. citatur à Petro Crinito, lib. 6. cap. 6.

Chrysostom. in 1. Corin. 14. homil. 35.

Let M. Harding therefore consider better, who they be, that, as he saith, Denie the Maiesty, Vtility, and necessity of the gift of tongues. For we confesse, that the knowledge thereof is necessary, not only for the furtherance, but also for the continuance of the Gospell; neither doe we doubt but by what tongues the Heathens were conuerted vnto God, by the same tongues they made their petitions vnto God; the contrary whereof M. Harding by his silence confesseth he cannot proue. Which notwithstanding, he palleth ouer the matter by these words; Hitherto of the Greeke, and of the Seruice in that language: And so endeth this peece of his treaty with a piety vntruth, hauing indeed proued somewhat of the tongue: but of the Seruice, whereupon his whole cause resteth, not one word at all.

Which thing, that it may the better appeare, let vs lay together the parts and members of his argument. His Maior is this: All Asia the lesse had the Seruice in the Greeke tongue; The Minor, But many Countries of the said Asia vnderstood not the Greeke tongue; The conclusion; Ergo, Many Countries had their Seruice in an vnknowen tongue. The Minor he warranteth but by ghesse only, and none otherwise: although both S. Luke in the nineteenth of the Acts, and also the very story of the times following, be to the contrary. The Maior he toucheth not at all. Therefore his Syllogismus halteth downe right of one side, and concludeth only vpon the Minor. And thus M. Harding shoareth vp his strange doctrine, with a strange Maior, a strange Minor, and a strange conclusion.

M. Hardings Syllogismus.

M. Harding. The 11. Diuision.

Now concerning the Latine tongue, which is the learned tongue of the West. That the Latine Church, or the West Church, for so it is called, had the Seruice in latine, I grant. The chiefe Regions and Countries of the Latine Church, within the foresaid six hundred yeeres, were these; Italy, Aphricke, Illyricke, both Pannonies, now called Hungary, and Austria; Gallia, now France; and Spaine. The Countrie of Germany, Pole and Swethen, and those North parts receiued the Faith long sithence. The Countries of Britaine heere had receiued the Faith in most places, but were driuen from the open profession of it againe, by the cruell persecution of Diocletian the Emperour: at which persecution S. Albane with many others suffered Martyrdome.

The 73. vntruth. For the firſt preaching of ỹ Faith in theſe Weſt Countries came not firſt from [illegible].

The 74. vntruth. For the firſt preachers themſelues ſpake no Latine.

After that theſe Countries had beene inſtructed in the Faith, as things grew to perfection, they had their Seruice accordingly; no doubt ſuch as was vſed in the Churches, from whence their firſt Apoſtles, and Preachers were ſent. And becauſe (73) the firſt Preachers of the Faith came to theſe Weſt parts from Rome, directed ſome from S. Peter, ſome from Clement, ſome others afterward from other Biſhops of that See Apoſtolike: they planted and ſet vp in the Countries by them conuerted, the Seruice of the Church of Rome, or ſome other very like, and that (74) in the Latine tongue only, for ought that can be ſhewed to the contrary. Wherein I referre me only to the firſt ſix hundred yeeres. Now that ſuch Seruice was vnderſtanded of thoſe peoples, that ſpake and vnderſtood Latine, no man denieth. For to ſome Nations that was a native, and a Mother tongue, as the Greeke was to the Grecians.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

The faith came not firſt from Rome.

M. Harding wittingly and willingly auoucheth vntruth. Ad Roman. 15 Theodoret. de curand. Græc. affect. Beda in Hiſto. Anglo. lib. 2. Galfrid. li 8. ca. 4. Auentinus in Hiſtoria Boiorum. 2. Ad Timoth. 4. Tertull. contra Marcion. li. 2. Auguſt. Epiſt. 178.

I finde no fault with M. Hardings Coſmographie: but I trow, Coſmographie in this caſe maketh ſmall proofe. His proofe for the Latine Seruice hangeth vpon two points. The firſt is, that all the faith of the Weſt part of the World, came only from the Biſhops of Rome. The ſecond is, that the planters of the ſame Faith miniſtred the Common Seruice euery where in the Latine tongue. He knoweth well, that either of theſe points is vntrue, and will neuer be proued. And ſomewhat to touch hereof by the way, S. Paul ſaith: *That he himſelfe had filled all places with the Goſpell of Chriſt, euen as farre as Illyricum:* and that not from Rome, but from Hieruſalem: and premiſeth that he would paſſe by Rome into Spaine, as by report of ſome, afterward he did: and Theodoretus ſaith, that Paul came into this Iland, now called England, and here planted the Goſpell. The like is commonly ſurmiſed by the Writers of the Britiſh Chronicles, of Ioſeph of Arimathæa. And although coniectures in ſuch antiquities be often vncertaine and darke, yet it may ſeeme very likely, that the Religion of Chriſt came firſt into this Iland, not from Rome, but from the Greekes: both for that in the keeping of Eaſter day, we followed the Church of Græcia, and not the Church of Rome: and alſo for that, when Auguſtine was ſent in hither by Gregory, we would in no wiſe acknowledge or receiue the Biſhop of Rome. As for Lazarus, Nathaniel, Saturninus, that preached firſt in France, I haue ſaid before. Auentinus ſaith, Lucius, S. Pauls companion, went into Germany: and S. Paul ſaith, Titus went into Dalmatia.

It is knowen that the Church of Rome, for certaine other cauſes, and namely for the great State and Renowme of that City, euen from the beginning was notable aboue all others, and was carefull in enlarging the Glory of Chriſt, and yelded many Martyrs vnto God. Yet may we not thinke that all things therefore came from Rome. For Tertullian calleth Hieruſalem, Matrem & Fontem Religionis: *The Mother and the Spring of Religion.* And S. Auguſtine ſaith; Fides orta eſt à Græcis: *The Faith ſprange firſt from the Greekes.*

Now that he further ſaith, The planters of the Faith in all theſe Weſt Countries, made the Common Prayers euery where in the Latine tongue; beſides that it is manifeſtly falſe, as, God willing, hereafter ſhall well appeare, it hath not, no not ſo much, as any likelihood or ſhew of truth.

For good Reader, conſider this reaſon: The planters of the Faith came from Rome; *Ergo*, They kept euery where the order of Rome. If this argument would hold, then would I likewiſe reaſon thus: *The Church of Rome was firſt planted by them that came from Græcia, or from Hieruſalem:* Ergo, *Rome keepeth the order of Græcia, or of Hieruſalem.* But M. Harding preſuming this of himſelfe, without other proofe, that the Churches of theſe Countries followed the order of the Church of Rome, concludeth further: *Ergo*, They had their Seruice in Latine, as had the Church of Rome. Euery childe ſeeth that this is a Fallax, or a deceitfull argument called, A ſecundùm quid ad ſimpliciter. He might aſwell haue ſaid thus: *They followed the order of the Church of Rome*: Ergo, *They had their Exhortations and Sermons in Latine: for ſo had the Church of Rome.* But is M. Harding ſo vnaduiſed, or ſo negligent in his matters, that he ſeeth not, how aptly his owne argument reboundeth vpon himſelfe? Verily of this ground we may in good forme and truly reaſon thus: *Theſe Churches of the Weſt followed the order of the Church of Rome* (This he himſelfe hath taken as an vndoubted truth.)

M. Hardings reaſon againſt himſelfe.

But the Church of Rome had the Seruice in the naturall knowen tongue (which thing he himſelfe alſo granteth.)

Ergo, *Theſe Churches of the Weſt had the Seruice in the naturall knowen tongue.*

This argument is ſound and perfect, and without Fallax.

Againe, he might eaſily haue ſeene, that of his owne poſition and principle, another neceſſary argument might ſone grow againſt him in this wiſe:

All Churches that receiued their Faith from Rome, kept the orders of the Church of Rome.

But the Church of England followed not the orders of the Church of Rome: as it is moſt manifeſt by the keeping of the Eaſter day, and by refuſing of the Biſhop there, as it is already

ready proued: Ergo, *The Church of England receiued not her Faith from the Church of Rome.* If M. Harding had better aduised himselfe, he would not haue built vpon these grounds.

M. Harding. The 12. Diuision.

M. Iewel alleging for the hauing of the Praiers, and Seruice in a vulgar tongue (as for England, in the English, for Ireland in the Irish, for Duchland in the Dutch tongue, &c.) authorities and examples of the Churches (where in the time of the Primitiue Church, the Greeke and Latine tongue was the vsuall and common tongue of the people) bringeth nothing for proofe of that which lieth in controuersie. Arnobius, saith he, *called the Latine tongue, Sermonem Italum: S. Ambrose in Millaine, S. Augustine in Aphricke, S. Gregory in Rome preached in Latine, and the people vnderstood them.* What then? No man denieth you this. *S. Basil also speaketh of a sound, which the Men, Women and Children made in their praiers to God, like the sound of a waue striking the sea bankes.* What can you conclude of this necessarily M. Iewel? All this may bee vnderstanded of the sounding that one word, *Amen*, answered at the praiers end, which is done now by the Quire, and may be done by the people also, in the lower part of the Church. For S. Hierome leadeth vs so to thinke: who commending the deuotion of the people of Rome, saith in like maner: *Vbi sic ad similitudinem cœlestis tonitrui, Amen reboat, & vacua idolorum templa quatiuntur?* Where else are the Churches and the Sepulchres of Martyrs, with so feruent deuotion, and with so great company resorted vnto? (which words go before where doth Amen giue so loud a sound like the thunderclap out of the aire, so as the Temples emptied of Idols, shake with it, as at Rome?

Hexamer. hom. 4.

In 2. Proœmio comment. ad Galat.

The people speaketh with the Priest at the Mysticall praiers, saith Chrysostome, alleged by M. Iewell. What then? So was it long before, euen in the Apostles time, as we read in Clement, and likewise in S. Cyprian, in Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, and many other. So is it now. For he shall finde in the old Fathers, that to *Per omnia secula seculorum*, (which Chrysostome speaketh of) to *Dominus vobiscum*: (so light as they make of it) to *Sursum corda*: and to *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*, the people answered (75) as now also they answer, *Amen*, & *Cum spiritu tuo*, *Habemus ad Dominum*, *Dignum & iustum est.*

Constitut. Apostolicarum lib 8 ca. 16 in oratione Mystagogica.

The 75. vntruth. For it is not so now. M. Harding knoweth, The people now answereth not the Priest.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here M. Harding taketh in hand to answer the authorities by me alleged, and that with this speciall note of remembrance in the Margin, M. Iewels allegation solued. It appeareth, his solutions be very short. For whatsoeuer authority be alleged, it is sufficient, for him to say, What then? For whereas I said, the Common Seruice and Ministration in the Churches of Rome and Millaine, and other places within Italy, was pronounced vnto the people in Latine, for that then the Latine tongue was the common naturall speech of that Country, and that therefore Arnobius calleth the same Latine tongue Sermonem Italum: and further said, that long after that time, S. Ambrose in Millaine, S. Augustine in Aphrica, and S. Gregorie in Rome Preached vnto the Vulgar People in Latine, and in the same tongue ministred the Common Praiers: all this is sone answered: for M. Harding saith, What then?

I alleged the saying of S. Basil, *That the sound of Men, Women, and Children praying in the Church together, seemed like the sound of the waues beating against the sea bankes:* the saying of S. Hierome, *That the noise of the people sounding out* Amen, *together, was like the sound of a thunder.* Likewise the saying of Chrysostome: Cõmunes preces & à populo, & à Sacerdote fiunt & omnes vnam dicunt orationem. Bene precatur Sacerdos populo, & bene precatur populus Sacerdoti, &c. *Common petitions be made together, both of the people and of the Priest, all together say one Praier. The Priest wisheth well vnto the People, and the People vnto the Priest.* But What then, saith M. Harding? Why, What then? Thinketh M. Harding that the authority of Arnobius, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, S. Basil, S. Hierome, S. Chrysostome, and other holy Fathers is so light, that he is able to blow them all away with these two vaine syllables, What then? He will say: *I grant you the Praiers were vsed in the Greeke and Latine tongue. But ye haue not prooued the same of any other tongue that was barbarous.* I haue already proued the same of the Syrian tongue, which is neither Greeke nor Latine: and therefore by M. Hardings iudgement, meere barbarous. Hereafter, God willing, I shall shew the like largely and at full, of other tongues. In the meane season, it may stand M. Harding in good stead, if it shall please him to shew these priuileges granted vnto the Greeke and Latine tongue, and how they be specially sanctified aboue others: that in them only we may make our common Petitions vnto God, and in other tongues we may not make them. Touching the place of S. Basil, and the other of S. Chrysostome, M. Harding answereth so, as though he had no great regard what he say. For he auoucheth that thing for true, that the simplest of all the people, knoweth to be apparant false, that is, *That the people now answereth the Priest in the time of the holy Mysteries, as they did in Chrysostomes time.* The people (saith he) answered then, as now also they answer. He taketh no shame to say, The people answered the Priest, and yet knoweth, that the people answereth not the Priest. Thus by this Resolution, he answereth that answereth nothing. He answereth that knoweth not, neither what is demanded, nor what to answer. To be short, he answe-

Basil. Hexamer. 4. Hieron. in Secundo proœmio ad Galat. Chrysostom. 2. Corin. hom. 18.

The priuiledge of the Greeke and Latine tongue.

M. Harding auoucheth open vntruth.

reth that holdeth his peace: and ſo, anſwering and not anſwering, in M. Hardings iudge-
Chryſ. in 2. ad Cor. hom. 18. ment is all one thing. But S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Et cum Spiritu tuo, nihil aliud eſt, quàm ea, quæ ſunt Euchariſtiæ, communia ſunt omnia. Neque enim ille ſolus gratias agit, ſed populus omnis: *The Lord be with thy ſpirit,* (which words the whole people anſwereth vnto the Prieſt) *is nothing elſe to ſay, but, The things that pertaine to thankeſgiuing, are all common. For it is not the Prieſt only, that giueth thanks, but alſo all the people.* Likewiſe S. Ambroſe:
Ambroſ. in 1. Cor. 14. Imperitus neſcit finem orationis, & non reſpondet Amen, id eſt, Verum ſit, vt firmetur benedictio. Per hoc enim impletur confirmatio precis, cùm reſpondetur Amen, & omnia dicta rei teſtimonio in audientium animis confirmantur: *The ignorant knoweth not the end of the Praier, and anſwereth not, Amen, that is to ſay, So be it, that the bleſſing may bee confirmed. For thereby the confirmation of the Praier is fulfilled, when Amen is anſwered, and all the words that be ſpoken, by the teſtimony of the thing it ſelfe are confirmed in the mindes of the hearers.* Thus in Chryſoſtomes time the whole People and the Prieſt, in their Common Seruice talkt and prayed together.

M. Harding. The 13. Diuiſion.

A bare Gloſſe. For S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of praiing, and not of preaching.

As for the place hee allegeth out of S. Auguſtine vpon the Pſalmes, it maketh nothing for his purpoſe. S. Auguſtines words bee theſe, otherwiſe than hee reporteth them: *Quid hoc ſit, intelligere debemus, vt humana ratione, non quaſi auium voce, cantemus. Nam & merula, & pſittaci, & cornì, & picæ, & huiuſcemodi volucres, ſæpe ab hominibus docentur ſonare, quod neſciunt*: Hauing praied to God (ſaith S. Auguſtine) that he make vs cleane of our priuie ſinnes, &c. Wee ought to vnderſtand what this is, that wee may ſing with mans reaſon, not with voice, as birds doe. For Owſels, Popiniaies, Rauens and Pies, and ſuch the like birds, oft times bee taught of men to ſound they know not what. Theſe words are to bee taken of the vnderſtanding of the ſenſe, not of the tongue, which the Seruice is ſung in. For the people of Hippo, where hee was Biſhop, vnderſtood the Latine tongue meanly. Which ſenſe cannot rightly and ſafely bee attained of the common people, but is better and more holeſomely taught, by the preaching of the learned Biſhops and Prieſts. *In Pſalm. 11. in expoſition ſecunda.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Firſt he ſaith, S. Auguſtines words be otherwiſe than I repoꝛt them. I aſſure thẽ, god Reader, if this great erreur had bene woꝛth the ſhewing, it had neuer bene ſuffered thus to paſſe in ſilence.

But to ſhift off S. Auguſtines woꝛds, heere is bꝛought in a Gloſſe plaine contrary to the text. For this compariſon (ſaith M. Harding) betweene Men and Birds, muſt bee taken, not of the words, but of the ſenſe and vnderſtanding. And what reaſon leadeth him thus to ſay? Verily Birds are vtterly void of reaſon, and neither vnderſtand the woꝛds they be taught to ſpeake, noꝛ the meaning of the woꝛds. And yet muſt wee onely vpon this ſimple warrant, needes beleeue, that S. Auguſtine compareth Birds with Men in vnderſtanding?

S. Auguſtines meaning is plaine, as is the meaning of other godly Fathers in this behalfe, *That the people ſhould know what they pray, and ſo ſing with reaſon agreeable to a Man, and not chatter with voice as Birds doe. For if they Sing or Pray, they know not what, he ſaith, that for their ſound of voice, and want of ſenſe, they may bee well compared with Owſels or Popiniaies.* This is the very drift of S. Auguſtines meaning. Birds by skill may bee trained to reꝛeꝛd, and ſound Mens woꝛds, although they haue no vnderſtanding of them: As Plinius wꝛiteth of the Rauen, that was taught to ſay, Aue Cæſar Imperator: *All haile Emperour Cæſar*: another that had learned to ſay, Salue Victor Antoni: *All haile Antonius the Conquerour.* And Cælius Rhodiginus wꝛiteth, that Cardinall Aſcanius had a Popiniay, that could pꝛonounce diſtinctly all the Articles of the Creed. With ſuch Birds let vs compare ſuch Men as pꝛay they know not what. *They bee taught to ſound words, but vnderſtand not the meaning of them: neither ſing they with reaſon agreeable to a Man.* Whether theſe woꝛds agree aptly to my purpoſe, oꝛ no, let M. Harding himſelfe be the Iudge. Certainly he ſhall haue much to do, to rack them to ſerue foꝛ his purpoſe. Vnleſſe perhaps he will reaſon thus: *S. Auguſtine exhorteth Men to know what they pray:* Ergo, *They may pray in an vnknown tongue:* Oꝛ thus: *S. Auguſtine willeth Men not to ſing or chatter like Birds:* Ergo, *They may pray, they know not what.*

Celius Rhodigin l. 3. ca. 32.

And if wee receiue M. Hardings gloſſe of *Senſe and Vnderſtanding*, yet ſtandeth hee in caſe, as he did beſoꝛe. Foꝛ if the people vnderſtand not the woꝛds, much leſſe can they vnderſtand the ſenſe and meaning of the ſame woꝛds. Ariſtotle ſaith, Hearing is the peculiar ſenſe of learning: and thereſoꝛe they that heare neuer, can neuer learne. And Cicero
Ci. de Oratore. ſaith: Sententia conſtare non poteſt, ſi verba ſemoueris: *Remoue the words, and their meaning cannot ſtand.* Thereſoꝛe this ſhift helpeth nothing. Vnleſſe he thinke this is a good argument: *The people ought to vnderſtand the meaning of their praiers:* Ergo, *they need not to vnderſtand the words.* S. Auguſtines meaning appeareth in the next woꝛds that immediately follow: Scienter Cantare, naturæ hominis diuina voluntate conceſſum eſt: *To Sing with vnderſtanding,*

Auguſt. in Pſalm. 18.

vnderſtanding, is granted through Gods will, vnto the Nature of man. And therefore thus hee exhorteth the people: Chariſſimi, quod conſona voce cantauimus, ſereno etiam corde noſſe & tenere debemus: *Deerely beloued, that wee haue ſung together with tuneable voice, wee muſt vnderſtand and keepe with pure heart.* But this can we not doe, vnleſſe wee vnderſtand what we pray. Therefore S. Baſil ſaith: Lingua cantet; mens autem ſcrutetur ſenſum eorum quæ dicuntur: *Let thy tongue ſing; but let thy minde ſearch out the meaning of the things that thou ſpeakeſt.* Iuſtinians Conſtitution. *Baſil. in Pſ. 28.*

M. Harding. The 14. Diuiſion.

De Eccleſiaſtica diuerſit. reprou. Conſtitutione 123. Greg. Haloander interprete. Nemo in veteri tranſlatione nihil tale habet. par. poyns. Cap. 1.

The commandement of Iuſtinian the Emperour, which M. Iewell allegeth, that Biſhops and Prieſts ſhould celebrate the holy Oblation, or Sacrifice, which we call the Maſſe, not cloſely, but with vtterance, and ſound of voice, that they might be heard of the people, maketh nothing for the Seruice to bee had in the Engliſh tongue, in the Church of England, or in any other Vulgar tongue, in the Church of any other Nation: but requireth only of the Biſhops and Prieſts, open pronouncing, Vocall, not Mentall: ſpeaking, not whiſpering with the breath onely, in the celebration of the holy Sacrifice, and other Seruice. Wherein hee agreeth with S. Auguſtine, who in his booke *De Magiſtro*, ſaith, that when we pray, there is no need of ſpeaking, vnleſſe perhaps we doe as Prieſts doe, who when they pray (in publike aſſemblie) vſe ſpeaking for cauſe of ſignifying their minde, that is, to ſhew that they pray, not to the intent God, but men may heare, and with a certaine conſent, through putting in minde (by ſound of voice) may bee lifted vp vnto God. Thus much S. Auguſtine there. And this is the right meaning of that Conſtitution. (76) And thus hee ordained for the Greeke Church only, and thereto only it is to bereferred, for that ſome thought the Sacrifice ſhould be celebrated rather with ſilence, (77) after the maner of the Church of Rome, ſpecially at the Conſecration. And as that Conſtitution pertained to the Greekes, and not to the Latines, ſo was it not found in the Latine Bookes, vntill Gregorius Haloander of Germanie, of late yeeres tranſlated the place. And where M. Iewell allegeth this commandement of Iuſtinian, againſt the hauing of the Seruice in a learned tongue, vnknowen to the common people, it is to be noted, how he demeaneth himſelfe not vprightly, but ſo as euery man may thereby know a Scholar of Luther, Caluin, and Peter Martyr. For whereas, by the allegation of that ordinance, he might ſeeme to bring ſomewhat that maketh for the bleſſed Sacrifice of the Church, commonly named the Maſſe, hee diſſembleth the word of the Sacrifice, which Iuſtinian putteth expreſly, τὴν θείαν προσφορὰν, *Id eſt, diuinam oblationem*, The diuine or holy Oblation, and termeth it otherwiſe in his replies, by the name of Common Praiers; and in his Sermon, by the name of the words of the Miniſtration, refuſing the word of the Church, no leſſe than hee refuſeth to be a member of the Church. Thus through Foiſting and Cogging their Die, and other falſe play, theſe new perillous Teachers, deceiue many poore ſoules, and robbe them of the ſure ſimplicitie of their Faith. And where was this Commandement giuen? In Conſtantinople, the chiefe Citie of Greece, where the Greeke tongue was commonly knowen.

The 76. vntruth. For it touched the whole Empire.

The 77. vntruth. For the Prieſts in Rome praied aloud, as appeareth by S. Hierome, Leo, Ambroſe, &c.

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The Gloſſe that M. Harding hath heere imagined, wherewith to defeat this good Emperours whole purpoſe, may ſeeme ſomewhat vnto the ignorant.

Iuſtinian (ſaith hee) ſpeaketh of the open vtterance and ſound of voice, and agreeth with S. Auguſtines place, *De Magiſtro*: Therefore it nothing toucheth Praiers to bee had in the Vulgar Tongue. **Heere is a very Vulgar Concluſion, as (I truſt) hereafter it ſhall appeare. Good Chriſtian Reader, if it ſhall pleaſe thee only to peruſe theſe words of the Emperour Iuſtinian, and of S. Auguſtine, by vs alleged, I will make thee Iudge and Arbitrour of the whole.**

S. Auguſtine ſaith, *Wee neede no vtterance of voice, to pray vnto God. For the Sacrifice of Iuſtice is ſanctified in the Temple of our minde, and in the ſecret Chamber of our heart.* As Clemens Alexandrinus alſo ſaith: *God looketh not for the voices of our tongues to declare our meaning: For before our Creation hee knoweth what thoughts would come into our mindes.* And therefore God ſaith in the Prophet Eſay: Antequam clament, ego exaudiam: *I will heare them, yea before they crie.* *Clem. ſtrom. lib. 7.* Eſay 65.

Hereupon S. Auguſtine demandeth this queſtion: *Wherefore then doth the Prieſt lift vp his voice, and pray aloud, in the open aſſemblie in the Church?* Hee anſwereth: *Not that God, but that men may heare him: that the people, by the ſound of his voice, and vnderſtanding his meaning, may be put in minde, and by conſent be ioined together, and be lifted vp to God.* This is the very meaning and minde of S. Auguſtine, agreeing fully with theſe words of S. Cyprian: *The Prieſt before praier prepareth the mindes of his brethren, ſaying thus:* Lift vp your hearts: *to the intent they may be put in minde, they ought to thinke of nothing elſe, but of the Lord. For not the ſound of voice, but the mind and vnderſtanding, muſt pray vnto the Lord with pure intention.* *Cypr. de Orat. Dominica.*

All this (ſaith M. Harding) pertaineth to the ſenſe and vnderſtanding of the Praier, and nothing to the Vulgar Tongue. **And doth hee thinke the people can vnderſtand the praier, without vnderſtanding of the tongue? S. Auguſtine, if hee were aline, would bee aſhamed to ſee ſuch a Comment vpon his words. He ſaith further:** The Prieſt lifteth vp his voice, not that the people may vnderſtand him, but only for a token, to ſhew that hee praieth. **And thus he maketh the Miniſter of God worſe than a Brazen Trumpet, which, if it giue no certaine ſound, as S. Paul ſaith, no man can prepare himſelfe to warre. This is the iuſt iudgement of God, that who ſo ſeeketh to blinde others, ſhall be giuen ouer, and become blinde himſelfe.** 1. Cor. 14.

And

Iuſtinians Conſtitution.

And notwithſtanding S. Auguſtines minde, concerning the ſpeaking of the Prieſt, be plaine in it ſelfe, yet afterward in the ſame Booke hée openeth it in this maner more at large: Conſtat inter nos, verba eſſe ſigna: At ſignum, niſi aliquid ſignificet, non eſt ſignum: *Wee are agreed vpon this, that the words we ſpeake be tokens. But a token, vnleſſe it betoken ſomething, is no token.* Now if the Prieſt, after M. Hardings conſtruction, vtter his words, which are the tokens of his meaning, in an vnknowen tongue, and the people vnderſtand not what is tokened, according to S. Auguſtines meaning, he ſpeaketh, and yet ſaith nothing: and sheweth tokens, and yet tokeneth nothing. Further, S. Auguſtines words be cléere: *The Prieſt in the Aſſembly ſpeaketh aloud*, Significandæ mentis cauſa, vt homines audiant, &c. *To the end to declare his minde, that men may heare him, and by the ſound of his voice be put in remembrance.* But M. Harding ſaith, No, the Prieſt ſpeaketh not aloud, to the intent to declare his minde, neither that men may heare him, nor be put in remembrance, but only to giue a token that he praieth. And thus by his Gloſſe hée vtterly deſtroieth the text.

Auguſt. de Magiſtro.

The Reſolution of M. Hardings reaſon.

Now let vs reſolue both S. Auguſtines and Iuſtinians words, into their cauſes: which is an infallible way of vnderſtanding. The end of them both is, according to the Doctrine of S. Paul, that the people may ſay, Amen. Then further: *The people muſt anſwer* Amen, *vnto the Praier: Then they muſt vnderſtand the Praier.* Yet further: *The People muſt vnderſtand the Praier: Then muſt the Prieſt vtter the ſame Praier, both with a loud voice, and alſo in the Peoples vulgar Tongue.* Let vs againe reſolue it forward. The Prieſt, by M. Hardings iudgement, may pray openly in a ſtrange Tongue: Then he néedeth not to ſpeake aloud. Hée ſpeaketh not aloud: Then cannot the people vnderſtand him. The people vnderſtandeth not the Prieſt: Then can they not ſay, *Amen.* Thus M. Harding muſt néeds conclude his Gloſſe with the open breach of S. Pauls Doctrine.

M. Hard. vttereth two vntruths in one ſentence.

M. Harding ſaith further: This Law tooke place only in Conſtantinople, and not in the Church of Rome: And ſo he coucheth two manifeſt vntruthes together in one ſentence. But what? will he ſay, Iuſtinian was not Emperour of Rome, or had nothing to doe in the Church of Rome? Verily, he writeth himſelfe the Emperour of Rome, of France, of Almaine, and Germaine, &c. And deposed two Biſhops of Rome, Siluerius, and Vigilius: whereof it may appeare, he had ſomewhat to doe in the Church of Rome.

In. 2. Tom Cõcil. in vita Vigily.

De legatis præſ. con. tab. bon. poſſ. pc. li. 1. generaliter.

Touching this Conſtitution, the Law ſaith: Generaliter dictum, generaliter eſt accipiendum: *The thing that is ſpoken generally, muſt be taken generally.* And it is commonly ſaid: Vbi Lex non diſtinguit, nos diſtinguere non debemus: *Where the Law maketh no diſtinction, there ought wee to make no diſtinction.* And what reaſon hath M. Harding, or what witneſſe more than his owne, that this onely Law toke no place in the Church of Rome? Certainly the reſt of the ſame Nouell Conſtitutions were made not onely for Conſtantinople, or for Rome, but alſo for the whole Empire. And the Emperour Iuſtinian in the ſame Title ſaith thus: *Whatſoeuer things, touching this matter, were needfull for this Imperiall Citie of* Conſtantinople, *wee haue comprifed in a ſpeciall Law for the ſame.* But what néedeth many words? The Emperour himſelfe calleth the Conſtitution that concerneth the Clergy, a Law Generall, by theſe words: κοινῷ τι, καὶ γενικῷ νόμῳ περὶ χειροτονίας, &c. διετυπώσαμεν: We haue enacted by a Generall and a Common Law. And in the Code, intreating namely of Biſhops and Clerks, he hath theſe words: Et hoc non ſolùm in veteri Roma, vel in hac regia Ciuitate, ſed & in omni terra, vbicunque Chriſtianorum nomen colitur, obtinere ſancimus: *This Law we will haue to take place, not only in the Citie of old* Rome, *or in this Imperiall Citie (of* Conſtantinople) *but alſo in all the world, whereſoeuer the name of Chriſtians is had in honour.*

De Eccleſ. diuerſis capitulis. τίνα τε ἰδικῶ περιειλάβομεν νόμῳ. In auth. Colla. 1. vt definitus ſit numer. Cler. In Cod. de Epiſcop. & Cleric. Generaliter.

Leo de Ieiunio, 7. men. Ser. 6. Ambr. de Sacram. li. 4. c. 5. Aug. in Pſ. 54. Hier. in præfat. lib. 2. ad Galat.

And how can M. Harding make himſelfe ſo ſure, that the Church of Rome was neuer ſubiect to this Law? Certainly, both by Leo Biſhop of Rome, and alſo by S. Ambroſe, Biſhop of Millaine, and other holy Fathers, it appeareth otherwiſe. S. Auguſtine ſaith of the Church of Rome: Vnum Pſalmum cantamus: vnum Amen reſpondemus: *We ſing one Pſalme, and we anſwere one Amen.* S. Hierome ſaith: *Euen in* Rome, *at the end of the Praier, the people ſo ſounded out Amen, as if it had beene a thunder clap.*

M. Hard. forgetteth himſelfe.

Againe, if this Conſtitution ſerued only for the Grécke Church, and only the Prieſts there ſpake aloud, and the others of the Latine Church ſpake in ſilence, how then doth M. Harding expound this Law of Iuſtinian by the words of S. Auguſtine, who, as he ſuppoſeth, did the contrary, and was neuer ſubiect vnto that Law? Or how can he make contrarieties agrée together? Hath he ſo ſone forgotten himſelfe? Or will he expound ſpeaking by ſilence: or ſinging out by whiſpering?

To conclude, Iuſtinian ſaith, *Theſe Conſtitutions were generall*: M. Harding alone ſaith, They were not generall, Iuſtinian ſaith, *They tooke place in all the world*: M. Harding alone ſaith,

ſaith, They tooke place only in Conſtantinople. S. Ambroſe, S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, Leo, and others ſay, *They were obſerued in they Church of* Rome: M. Harding alone ſaith, They were neuer obſerued in the Church of Rome. If he will thus deceiue vs in plaine things, how may we then truſt him in doubtfull things?

Iuſtinians Conſtitution.

Gregorius Haloander. whom M. Harding ſæmeth to touch with corruption of theſe Lawes, was a learned man, and a faithfull Tranſlatour: and for his diligence deſerued thankes: and therefore nædeth no excuſe. He addeth nothing more than is to be found in the Originall. In M. Hardings old Tranſlation, euen in this ſame very title, De Eccleſiaſticis diuerſis capitulis, there wanteth a whole leafe, or more, at the beginning, that is found extant in the Græke.

Gregorius Haloander.

Touching Cogging and Foiſting, I marueil M. Harding, being ſo graue a man, would borrow Ruffians termes to ſcoffe with all. As for the Sacrifice of Chriſt vpon the Croſſe, which is repreſented vnto vs in the holy Communion, we beleeue it with our hearts, and confeſſe it with our mouthes. Concerning this word Oblatio, he knoweth well, I tranſlated not the place, but only touched it: neither had I then any maner occaſion to ſpeake of the Sacrifice, but only of Prayers: which thing alſo I did without any Cogging, or any other ſleight, following theſe very words of Iuſtinian: ἢ τὰς ἄλλας προσευχὰς μετὰ φωνῆς προφέρειν: That is to ſay, *To offer vp other Prayers alſo with loud voice.* Neither did I auouch any vntruth by Iuſtinian, as M. Harding hath here done by Iuſtinian and S. Auguſtine both together. I know the holy Miniſtration is named of the holy Fathers ſundry waies: *The Supper of the Lord: The Lords Table: The Communion: The Myſtery: The Sacrament: The Myſticall Table: The Thankſgiuing: The Oblation*: and, *The Sacrifice.* Neither is there any of theſe names, but we vſe indifferently, as occaſion ſerueth.

Now, for ſo much as M. Harding taketh occaſion, for that I paſt this place of Iuſtinian ſo ſhortly ouer, only touching it with one word, as the time then forced me, I thinke it not a miſſe, for the better contentation of the Reader, to lay it out fully, as it lieth. His words be theſe: *Wee command all Biſhops and Prieſts, to miniſter the Holy Oblation, and the Prayer at the holy Baptiſme, not vnder ſilence, but with ſuch voice, as may be heard of the faithfull people: to the intent, that thereof the hearts of the hearers may be ſtirred to more deuotion, and honour giuing to God the Lord. For ſo the holy Apoſtle teacheth, ſaying in the firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians: For if thou only bleſſe with the ſpirit, how ſhall he that ſupplieth the roome of the ignorant, ſay *Amen* (to God) at thy thankſgiuing? For hee knoweth not what thou ſaieſt. Thou giueſt thankes well: but the other is not edified.

Authen. Conſtitut. 123.

1. Cor. 14. τῷ θεῷ.

For theſe cauſes therefore it behoueth, that the Prayer at the Holy Oblation, and alſo other Prayers, be offered with loud voice of the holy Biſhops and Prieſts, vnto our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt. And let the holy Prieſts vnderſtand, that if they neglect any of theſe things, they ſhall make anſwer therefore at the dreadfull iudgement of the great God, and our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. And yet neuerthelleſſe, we vnderſtanding the ſame, will not paſſe it ouer, nor leaue it vnpuniſhed.

Here we ſee, it is lawfull for a godly Prince, To command Biſhops and Prieſts: To make Lawes, and Orders for the Church: To redreſſe the abuſes of the Sacraments: To allege the Scriptures: To threaten and puniſh Biſhops and Prieſts, if they offend.

Now if theſe words of Iuſtinian make not for vs, and that without Foiſting or Cogging, much leſſe make they for M. Harding, vnleſſe he will forme his reaſons thus:

The Prieſt muſt ſpeake aloud:

Ergo, He may ſpeake in an vnknowen tongue.

Or thus: *The people muſt heare the prayer, and anſwer*, Amen:

Ergo, They need not to vnderſtand it.

To be ſhort, whereas, to the intent to bring Gods truth out of credit, and to make it odious among the ignorant, he ſaith, We haue refuſed to be the members of the Church of God; this is only a bitterneſſe of talke, inflamed with malice, whereof it ſæmeth he wanteth no ſtore, and neither furthereth his cauſe among the wiſe nor hindereth ours. If we be no members of the Church, that with all the people euery where to vnderſtand what they pray, to ioine their hearts together, and to be lifted vp vnto God: what then be they that with all the Church to be drowned in ignorance, and the people to know nothing? If S. Paul were now aliue, he would anſwer him as ſometime he anſwered Elymas. For certainly he himſelfe knoweth, *That he wilfully peruerteth the manifeſt way of the Lord.* Act. 17.

M. Harding. The 15. Diuiſion.

That Emperour had dominion ouer ſome Nations, that vnderſtood not the Greeke commonly. Yet no man can tell of any Conſtitution that euer he made, for Seruice there to be had in their Vulgar and Barba-

rous

Examples.

The 78. vntruth. For it ſhall appeare, that wee are able to ſhew manifeſt examples to the contrary.

rous tongue. So many Nations hauing beene conuerted to the Faith, the common people whereof vnderſtood neither Greeke, nor Latine; if the hauing of the Seruice in their Vulgar tongue, had beene thought neceſſarie to their ſaluation, the Fathers that ſtickt not to beſtow their Blood for their Flocks, would not haue ſpared that ſmall paine and trauell, to put their Seruice in Vulgar tongues. If it had beene neceſſary, it had beene done: if it had beene done, it had beene mentioned by one or other.

It appeareth by Arnobius vpon the Pſalmes, by Epiphanius writing againſt Hereſies, and by S. Auguſtine in his Bookes, *De Doctrina Chriſtiana*, that by account of the Antiquitie, there were 72. tongues in the world. Cicero ſaith, that they be in number infinite. Of them all, (78) neither M. Iewell, nor any one of his ſide, is able to ſhew, that the Publike Seruice of the Church in any Nation, was euer, for the ſpace of ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, in any other, than in Greeke and Latine.

Pſal. 104. Ex. contra Haereſ. Haereſ. 39. in Taſcula.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Arnobius, S. Auguſtine, and Epiphanius ſay, there be threeſcore and twelue ſundrie Languages in the World: Cicero ſaith, they be infinite. Heere muſt I note by the way, that Ciceroes words well alleged, doe vtterly confound M. Hardings Doctrine of hearing that thing that the hearers vnderſtand not, in ſuch ſort as he maintaineth the hearing of Maſſe. For thus he ſaith: In his linguis, quas non intelligimus, quæ ſunt innumerabiles, ſurdi profectò ſumus: *In thoſe tongues that we vnderſtand not, which be innumerable, certainly we be deafe.* By which words M. Harding might perceiue, that the ſimple people hearing him at his Maſſe, is ſtarke deafe, and heareth nothing. Yet (ſaith M. Harding) is not M. Iewell able to ſhew, that euer the Publike Seruice was in any other tongue, than in Greeke or Latine. And thus, being required by me, to ſhew any one example, that the people had their Common Seruice in a ſtrange tongue; and (as it appeareth) not able to ſhew any, he altereth cunningly the whole caſe, and willeth me to ſhew. Which thing notwithſtanding I might iuſtly refuſe to doe, by the order of any Schooles, yet I am well content to yeeld to his requeſt, both for the goodneſſe and pregnancie of the cauſe, and alſo ſpecially (good Chriſtian Reader) for the better contentation of thy minde: not doubting, but of thy ſelfe thou wilt be able to finde ſome diſtruſt and want in M. Hardings ſide: who, notwithſtanding ſo many words, and ſo great vaunts, yet is able to ſhew nothing.

Cicero in Tuſc. quæſtionibus.

And to auoid multitude of words, the caſe being plaine, Eckius ſaith: *The Indians had their Seruice in the Indian tongue.* Durandus ſaith: *The Iewes that were Chriſtened, had their Seruice in the Hebrew tongue.* Yet was neither of theſe tongues either Greeke, or Latine.

Eckius in locis Communibus. Durand. lib. 4. Ca. 1.

Nicolas Lyra and Thomas of Aquine ſay: *The Common Seruice in the Primitiue Church, was in the Common Vulgar Tongue.*

Nicola. Lyra, & Thomas in 1 ad Cor. 14.

By theſe few it may appeare, it was but a brauery, that M. Harding ſaid, Neither M. Iewel, nor any of that ſide, is able to ſhew, that the Publike Seruice was in any other tongue, than in Greeke or Latine. For it is eaſie to be ſhewed, euen by the Doctors of his owne ſide.

But what if Doctour Harding himſelfe haue in plaine words confeſſed the ſame? Although he haue wantonlie denied Chriſt, yet (I trow) he will not denie himſelfe. Conſider (good Reader) his owne words, hereafter following in this ſelfe ſame Article.

Fol. 69. Diuiſ. 28. But S. Paul, ſay they, requireth that the people giue aſſent, and conforme themſelues vnto the Prieſt, by anſwering Amen to his praier made in the Congregation. Hereunto M. Harding anſwereth thus: Verily, in the Primitiue Church this was neceſſarie, when the Faith was a learning, and therefore the Praiers were made then in a common tongue, knowen to the people.

What can there be more plainely ſpoken? Heere M. Harding not only confeſſeth that the Common Praiers were pronounced in a Common Tongue, knowen to the people, but alſo further ſaith, the ſame at that time was neceſſary, and auoucheth it with his warrant, Verily. Now quite contrary, as a man that had vtterly forgotten himſelfe, he ſaith, The Common Seruice was neuer ſaid, but either in the Greeke tongue, or in the Latine, and therein he offereth ſtoutly to ſtand againſt M. Iewell, and all others of this ſide: Which thing is eaſie for him to doe, ſeeing he dareth to ſtand ſo ſtoutly againſt himſelfe. Verily his ſayings cannot ſtand both together. If he be true in the one, in the other he muſt needs be falſe.

M. Harding contrarie to himſelfe.

Yet (good Chriſtian Reader) for thy better ſatisfaction, it may pleaſe thee to know, that in the Primitiue Church, the Common Seruice was not miniſtred by one man alone, but by the Prieſt and whole Congregation, all together, as may appeare by the generall conſent of the old Fathers. Clemens Alexandrinus ſaith: In orationibus, veluti vnam vocem habent communem, & vnam mentem: *In the (Common) praiers, they haue all,*

Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. 7.

all, as it were, one voice, and one minde. S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Not onely the Prieſt giueth thankes to God, but alſo all the people: And what doeſt thou maruell to ſee the Prieſt and people in the praiers talke together?* And here to leaue S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Baſil, Nazianzenus, Dionyſius, Areopagita, with many other like Fathers; Iſidorus deſcribing the order of the Church in his time, writeth thus: Oportet, vt quando pſallitur, ab omnibus pſallatur: & cùm oratur, vt ab omnibus oretur: cùmque Lectio legitur, facto ſilentio, æquè audiatur à cunctis: *When they Sing, they muſt Sing all together: When they Pray, they muſt pray all together: And when the Leſſon is read, ſilence being commanded, they muſt heare all together.*

Examples.

Chryſ. in 2. ad Cor. Hom. 18.

Iſidor. de Eccl. offic. ca. 10.

It were very much for M. Harding to ſay, *All theſe things were done in a learned tongue, and that the vulgar people in euery Country vnderſtood either the Greeke, or the Latine.* Yet, for that nothing ſeemeth hard for him to ſay, let vs ſee what the old Fathers will report in that behalfe. I haue already ſhewed by Theodoretus, Sozomenus, and S. Hierome, that the Seruice was in the Syrian tongue.

Old Father Origens words, in my iudgement, ſeeme very plaine. Writing againſt one Celſus a wicked Heathen, he ſaith thus: Græci quidem Græcè Deum nominant, & Latinè Romani, & ſinguli item natiua & vernacula lingua Deum precantur, & laudibus proſe quiſque extollit. Ille enim qui eſt linguarum omnium Dominus, audit quauis lingua orantes, idque non ſecùs, quàm ſi vnam vocem exciperet è varijs linguis expreſſam. Deus enim cùm præſit machinæ vniuerſi, non eſt quaſi vnus aliquis, qui linguam vel Græcam vel Barbaram ſit ſortitus, vt cæteras neſciat: *The Greekes name God in the Greeke tongue, and the Latines in the Latine tongue, and all ſeuerall Nations pray vnto God, and praiſe him in their owne naturall and mother tongue. For he that is the Lord of all tongues, heareth men praying in all tongues, none otherwiſe, than if it were one voice pronounced by diuers tongues. For God, that ruleth the whole world, is not as ſome one man, that hath gotten the Greeke or Latine tongue, and knoweth none other.*

Origen. contra Celſum, lib. 8.

S. Ambroſe ſpeaking of the Iewes that were conuerted to Chriſt, ſaith thus: Hi ex Hebræis erant, qui aliquando Syria lingua, plærunque Hebræa in Tractatibus & Oblationibus vtebantur: *Theſe were Iewes, which in their Sermons and Oblations vſed ſometime the Syrian tongue, and ſometime the Hebrew.*

Ambroſ. in 1. Cor. 14.

S. Baſil writing vnto the learned men of Neocæſaria, and ſhewing in what order the people vſed to reſort to the houſe of praier in the night ſeaſon, and to ſing Pſalmes in ſides, and to pray together: towards the end thereof, hath theſe words: Tanquam ab vno ore, & ab vno corde, Confeſſionis Pſalmum offerunt Domino, & verba pœnitentiæ eorum quiſque propriè aſcribit ſibi: *As it were from one mouth, and from one heart, they offer vp vnto the Lord the Pſalme of Confeſſion, and the words of repentance euery of them appliеth particularly vnto himſelfe.* Hereby it is plaine, that the people in S. Baſils time ſung the Pſalmes together, and vnderſtood what they ſung.

Baſil. in Epiſt. ad Clericos Neocæſarien.

And leſt M. Harding ſhould ſlip away, as his wont is, and ſay, *All this was done in the Greeke tongue, and not in any tongue Barbarous,* S. Baſil hath already preuented him. For immediately he addeth further as it followeth: Horum gratia ſi nos fugitis, fugietis etiam Ægyptios, & vtroſque Lybias, & Thebanos, & Palæſtinos, & Arabas, & Phœnices, & Syros, & eos qui ad Euphratem incolunt, & in vniuerſum omnes, quibus Vigiliæ, & Orationes, & Communes Pſalmodiæ in honore habentur: *If ye flee vs for thus ſinging and praying together, then muſt ye flee the* Egyptians, *and both the Countries of* Lybia, *and the* Thebanes, *and the* Paleſtines, *and the* Arabians, *and the* Phenicians, *and the* Syrians, *and the borderers of* Euphrates: *and generally ye muſt flee all them that haue watchings, and praiers, and common Pſalmodie in eſtimation.* I trow M. Harding will not ſay, *All theſe Nations ſpake Greeke or Latine.*

S. Hierome writing vnto Heliodorus of the death of Nepotianus, ſeemeth to auouch the ſame. Theſe be his words: Nunc Paſſionem Chriſti, & Reſurrectionem ejus cunctarum gentium & voces & literæ ſonant. Taceo de Hebræis, Græcis, & Latinis, quas Nationes ſuæ Crucis Titulo Dominus dedicauit. Beſſorum feritas, & pellitorum turba populorum, qui mortuorum quondam inferijs homines immolabant, ſtridorem ſuum indulce Chriſti fregerunt melos, & totius mundi vna vox eſt Chriſtus: *Now both the voices and letters of all Nations do ſound out Chriſts Paſſion and Reſurrection. I leaue the* Iewes, *the* Greekes, *and the* Latines, *which Nations the Lord hath dedicate with the Title of his Croſſe. The ſauage nature of the* Beſſians, *and people that for their wildneſſe goe clad in skinnes, which ſometimes made Sacrifices of mens Bodies, haue turned their Barbarous ſpeech into the ſweet harmony of Chriſt. Chriſt is now the voice of the whole world.*

Hieronym. ad Heliodorum, Epitaphium Nepotiani.

Æneas Syluius ſaith, that when Cyrillus and Methodius had conuerted the Sclauons vnto God, which was about the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and threeſcore, and were

Æneas Sylu. hiſtor. Bohemica, ca. 13.

Examples.

were ſuiters, that they might miniſter the common praiers, and other Seruice vnto them, in their common Sclauon tongue, and great ſtay was made therein by the Pope and his Cardinals, a voice was heard, as it had beene from Heauen: Omnis ſpiritus laudet Dominum; & omnis lingua confiteatur ei: *Let euery ſpirit praiſe the Lord; and let euery tongue acknowledge him:* And that thereupon they were ſuffered to vſe their owne tongue.

Extra. de Offic. Iudicis Ordinarij. Quoniam in plerisque. Rituum & linguarum.

Touching this matter, Innocentius the Third hath decreed thus: and whether it make for the purpoſe or no, let M. Harding himſelfe be Iudge. His words be theſe: Quoniam in plærisque partibus, intra eandem Ciuitatem atque Diœceſim, permiſti ſunt populi diuerſarum linguarum, habentes ſub vna Fide varios ritus & mores, diſtrictè præcipimus, vt Pontifices huiuſcemodi Ciuitatum ſiue Diœceſium, prouideant viros idoneos, qui ſecundùm diuerſitates rituum & linguarum, diuina illis officia celebrent, & Eccleſiaſtica Sacramenta miniſtrent: *For ſo much as in many places, within one Citie and one Dioceſſe, there be Nations mingled together of many tongues, hauing diuers orders and cuſtomes vnder one Faith, we doe therefore ſtraitly command, that the Biſhops of ſuch Cities, or Dioceſſes, prouide meet men to Miniſter the holy Seruice,* According to the diuerſitie of their maners and tongues.

Iohan. Billet in Summa de diuinis officijs.

Here might I allege much more out of diuers Writers, euen out of Abdias himſelfe, whom M. Harding ſo much eſteemeth. But I will onely note the complaint of one Iohn Billet, concerning this caſe, and ſo make an end. His words be theſe: In Primitiua Eccleſia prohibitum erat, ne quis loqueretur linguis, niſi eſſet qui interpretaretur. Quid enim prodeſſet loqui, niſi intelligeretur? Inde etiam inoleuit laudabilis conſuetudo, vt pronuntiato literaliter Euangelio, ſtatim in vulgari populo exponeretur. Quid autem noſtris temporibus eſt agendum, vbi nullus, vel rarus inuenitur legens, vel audiens, qui intelligat? Videtur ergo potiùs eſſe tacendum, quàm pſallendum: *It was forbidden in the Primitiue Church, that no man ſhould ſpeake with tongues, vnleſſe there were ſome preſent to expound it. For what ſhould ſpeaking auaile, without vnderſtanding? And heereof grew a laudable cuſtome, that after the Goſpell was read literally, it ſhould ſtraightway be expounded in the Vulgar tongue. But what ſhall wee doe in our daies, when as there is either none at all, or very ſeldome, that readeth, or heareth, and vnderſtandeth? It ſeemeth, it were better now to hold their peace, than ſo to ſing.*

Here haue I alleged, for proofe of our purpoſe, of the old Fathers, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, S. Baſil, S. Hierome, Theodoretus, Sozomenus, and Iſidorus: of the latter Writers, Æneas Syluius, Innocentius Tertius, Iohn Billet, Thomas of Aquine, Lyra, Durandus, and Eckius. Therefore I truſt M. Harding will no more denie, but wee are able to ſhew ſomewhat, that the Common Seruice, in the Primitiue Church, was in ſome other tongue, and not only in Greeke or Latine. Now if M. Harding be able to ſhew any ſuch ſufficient example of his ſide, I will yeeld, according to promiſe.

M. Harding. The 16. Diuiſion.

For further anſwer to the Authoritie of Iuſtinians ordinance, wee hold well with it. Good men thinke it meet, the Seruice to be vttered now alſo with a diſtinct and audible voice, that all ſorts of people, ſpecially ſo many as vnderſtand it, may the more be ſtirred to deuotion, and thereby the rather be mooued to ſay *Amen*, and giue their aſſent to it, through their obedience and credit they beare to the Church, aſſuring themſelues the ſame to be good and healthfull, and to the glorie of God. And for that purpoſe, wee haue commonly ſeene the Prieſt, when he ſped him to ſay his Seruice, to ring the ſaunce Bell, and ſpeake out aloud, *Pater noſter*; by which token, the people were commanded ſilence, reuerence, and deuotion.

Saunce Bell. Pater noſter.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Cicero pro Cœlio.

I muſt néeds anſwer M. Harding, as Cicero ſometime anſwered his aduerſarie: Mimi ergo exitus eſt, non Fabulæ: *This geare goeth by geſture, and not by ſpeech.* S. Cyprian declaring the order of the Church in his time, ſaith: Sacerdos ante orationem parat animos fratrum, dicendo, Surſum corda: *The Prieſt, before the praiers, prepareth the hearts of the brethren, ſaying thus vnto them,* Lift vp your hearts.

Cypr. in Orat. Domini.

The Deacons in S. Chryſoſtomes and Baſils time, vſed to call vpon the people with theſe words: Oremus; Attendamus: *Let vs pray; Let vs giue eare.* Like as alſo the Prieſt in the Heathen Sacrifices, was wont to command ſilence, and to ſay to the multitude, Fauete linguis. This was done in the Church of Chriſt, as S. Cyprian ſaith, to put the people in remembrance, that in their praiers they ſhould thinke of nothing elſe, but only of the Lord. And therefore Chryſoſtome ſaith, *The Prieſt in the holy Miniſtration ſpeaketh vnto the people, and the people vnto the Prieſt.* But M. Harding, for eaſe and expedition, hath deuiſed a ſhorter way, to teach the people by a Bell-rope. Hee turneth his backe vnto his Brethren, and ſpeaketh out two words aloud, Pater noſter: and cauſeth the

Chryſ. in 2. ad Cor. Hom. 18.

Sanctus

Sanctus Bell to play the part of a Deacon, to put the people in remembrance, that now they must pray. If any other man would say so much, he were a scoffer: M. Harding speaketh it, and it is good earnest, and cause sufficient to auoid Iustinians Law. Augustus Cæsar warned his sonne in law Tiberius, Vtore, non digito loqueretur: *That hee should speake with his mouth, and not with his finger.* And Cato was wont to say, when he saw two *Augures* meet together, *He marvailed that either of them could abstaine from smiling*: for that their whole profession, and occupation stood in mocking of the people. I will not applie this to M. Harding, notwithstanding he seeme to professe the like. God grant his Bell may remember him to feare God, lest he himselfe be left, *As a sounding peece of Brasse, or as a tinkling Cymball.*

Aphrica.

Sueton. in Aug.

Plutarchus in Catone.

1. Corin. 13.

M. Harding. The 17. Diuision.

Now to say somewhat touching the common praiers or Seruice of the Churches of Aphrica, where S. Augustine preached in Latine, as you say, and I denie not, and thereof you seeme to conclude, that the common people of that Countrey vnderstood and spake Latine, as their vulgar tongue. That the Aphricane Churches had their Seruice in Latine, it is euident by sundry places of S. Augustine in his exposition of the Psalmes, in his Bookes, *De Doctrina Christiana*, and in his Sermons, and most plainly in an Epistle that he wrote to S. Hierome, in which he sheweth, that the people of a City in Aphrica, was greatly mooued and offended with their Bishop, for that in reciting the Scriptures, for part of the Seruice to them, hee read out of the fourth Chapter of Ionas the Prophet, not *Cucurbita*, after the old text, which they had beene accustomed vnto, but *Hedera*, after the new translation of S. Hierome. Now, as I grant that some vnderstood it, so I haue cause to doubt, whether some others vnderstood it, or no. Nay rather I haue great probability to thinke they vnderstood it not. For the bewraying of Hannibals Embassadours to the Romans by their Punicall language, whereof Titus Liuius writeth; and likewise the conference betwixt Sylla the Noble man of Rome, and Bocchus King of Numidia, had by meane of Interpreters adhibited of both parts, as Salust recordeth *In Bello Iugurthino*, declareth, that the tongue of Aphrica was the Punicall tongue before the Romans conquest. Now the same people remaining there vntill S. Augustines time, what should moone vs to iudge that they forgot their owne natiue and mother tongue, and learned a new the Latine tongue? I confesse, that many vnderstood and spake Latine, by reason of the Romans common resort thither, of their lawes there executed, of their garrisons there abiding, and specially of the great multitude of Latine people thither sent to inhabite, *Deductis Colonijs*, by August. the Emperour first, then by Adrianus, and afterward by Commodus, who would haue had the great City Carthago newly reedified, to be called after his owne name, Alexandria Commodiana, as Lampridius writeth. These Roman colonies; that is to wit, multitudes of people sent to inhabite the Country, placed themselues about the Sea coasts in the Chiefe Cities, in Carthago, Vtica, Hippo, Leptis, &c. and there about. And by these meanes the Roman or Latine speech spred abroad there, and became to be very common, as that which remained still among the Inhabitants that were of the Roman kinde, and was learned by long vse and custome of others, dwelling amongst them, specially in the Cities, where the Romans bare the sway & gouernment. For these considerations, I thinke the Latine tongue was there very common. But that it was common to the inward parties of the Country also, and to the vplandish people, amongst whom the old accustomed language is longest kept, as experience teacheth: it is not likely. For though the Nobilitie and Cities change their language to bee the more in estimation, yet the common and base people of the Country, fall not so soon to a change. In this realme of England after William Conquerours time, by occasion of great resort of French men hither, and of our Country men into France, also of the French Lawes, & speciall fauour by the Princes borne, and preferrements bestowed vpon them that spake French, the most part of the Nobilitie, Lawyers, Merchants, Captaines, Souldiers and wealthy folke, had skill in the vnderstanding and speaking of the French tongue; but yet the common and vplandish people spake little or nought at all. Whereof grew this Prouerbe in England of old time, Iacke would be a Gentleman, but Iacke can no French. The like may be thonght of the Latine tongue in Aphrica.

Lib. 3. bell. Punic.

What shall we thinke of the Vplandish people there, when as Septimus Seuerus the Emperour, yea after the Apostles time, had not very good skill in the Latine tongue, but in the Punicall tongue, and that being borne at Leptis? Of whom Aurelius Victor saith thus in Epitome; *Latinis literis sufficienter instructus, Punica lingua promptior, quippe genitus apud Leptim Prouincia Aphrica*: Seuerus was learned in the Latine letters sufficiently, but in the Punicall tongue he was readier, as being borne at Leptis, within the Prouince of Aphrica. Heere the Latine tongue is attributed to instruction and teaching, and the Punicall tongue to nature. Ælius Spartianus writing the life of this Seuerus to Diocletian, sheweth that when his Sister a woman of Leptis, came to Rome to him, *Vix Latinè loquens*, Her Brother the Emperour was ashamed of her, and blushed at her, for that she could scantly speake Latine, and therefore commanded her away, home againe to her Countrey; for these be the very words of Spartianus. Now if such noble personages lacke the Latine speech in the chiefe part of Aphrica, it is soone vnderstanded, what is to be deemed of the common and vulgar people abroad in the Country.

Let vs come downe lower, euen to S. Hieromes time. S. Hierome writing to a noble yong Roman Virgin, called Demetrias being in Aphrica, exhorting her to keepe her selfe in that holy state of Virginity, saith thus; *Vrbs tua quondam orbis Caput*: Thy City once the head of the World, is become the Sepulchre of the Roman people. And wilt thou take a banished husband, thy selfe being a banished woman in the shore of Lybia? What woman shalt thou haue there to bring thee to and fro? *Stridor Punica linqua protacta tibi fescennina cantabit*: The iarring Punicall tongue shall sing thee baudy songs at thy wedding. Lo, in S. Hieromes time, they of Aphrica spake the Punicall tongue, and that by the Sea side where the Romanes of long time had made their abode. Of this may be gathered, that the Latine speech was not in the further parts within the Country very common. S. Augustine in sundrie places of his workes sheweth, that the people of Aphrica called Punikes, spake the Punicall tongue, acknowledging a likenesse and cosenage, as it were to be betweene that and the Hebrew tongue. But most euident witnesse for the Punicall tongue is to bee found in his 44. Epistle, *Ad Maximum Madaurensem.* In which hee answereth him soberly for his scoffing,

In Psalm. Diuersum Iemadum in Serm. 35.

Aphrica.

and iefting at certaine Punicall words in derogation of the Chriſtians; After wondering that hee being an Aphricane borne, and writing to Aphricanes, ſhould finde fault with the Punicall names and words, and after commendation of the tongue, for that many things haue right wiſely beene commended to memorie by great learned men, in Bookes of the Punicall language, at length concluded againſt him thus; *Tamen te certè ibi natum, vbi huiuſmodi linguâ cunabula tractant*: In good ſooth thou muſt be content in thy heart, that thou wert borne there, where the Cradles of ſuch a tongue bee warme againe. By which words he ſeemeth to charge him with an vnnaturall griefe and repenting, that he was borne in that Country where they ſpeake Punicke ere they creepe out of their Cradles; whereby it appeareth, the Mother tongue of thoſe parts of Aphrica which he ſpeaketh of, to be the Punicall, and not the Latine.

To conclude, if they had all ſpoken Latine, and not ſome the Punicall tongue, S. Auguſtine would neuer haue written, *Punici Chriſtiani Baptiſmum, ſalutem; Euchariſtiam, vitam vocant*: That thoſe Chriſtians which ſpeake the Punicall tongue, call Baptiſme in their language, Health or Saluation: and the Euchariſt, Life. Wherefore we ſee, that there were Latine Chriſtians, and Punicall Chriſtians in Aphrica, of whom all vnderſtood not the Latine Seruice. *Li. 1. de Pecc. orum merit. & remiſſ. cap. 24.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Here M. Harding, as his wont is, taketh needleſſe paines without profit, to proue that thing that is not denied. I ſaid, that at the Citie of Hippo in Aphrica, where S. Auguſtine was Biſhop, the Common Seruice of the Church was pronounced in Latine, and that no maruell, for that the whole people there vnderſtood and ſpake the Latine tongue. For anſwer whereof, Replie is made, and that by ghеſſes and likelihoods, that the whole people of Aphrica in all the mountaines, and vplandiſh Countries, was neuer trained vp in the Latine tongue. Which thing neither is denied by me, nor any wiſe toucheth this Queſtion. For it is eaſie to be knowen by S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, and others, in infinite places, that the people of that Countrey had a naturall tongue of their owne, diſtinct from all others, and ſeuerall only to themſelues. And therefore to proue the ſame in ſuch earneſt ſort, by Titus Liuius, by Saluſt, by Aurelius Victor, by Ælius Spartianus, by S. Auguſtine, and by S. Hierome, it was only ſpending of time, without winning of matter. S. Auguſtine ſaith, *Euchariſtia*, in the Punicke tongue was called *Life*: and *Baptiſmus*, in the ſame tongue, was called *Health*: and rehearſeth theſe words, Mammon and Iar, and other like words, and certaine Prouerbs, vſed in the ſame tongue. S. Hierome ſaith that Alma, in the Punike tongue ſignifieth a Virgin, according to the Hebrew. Quintilian ſaith, that this word Mappa, was borrowed of the Punikes, and made Latine, as Rheda and Petoritum were borrowed of the Gaules. Neither is there any reaſon to lead vs, but that they had other words and ſentences of their owne ſufficient to expreſſe their mindes.

Auguſt. de verbis Dom ſecun. Luc. Serm. 35. Aug. in Pſalm. 123. Hieronym. in Eſay li. 3. ca. 7. Lib. 1. ca. 9.

But after the Romans had once ſubdued them, the better to ſtabliſh and confirme their Empire, they forced them to receiue both the Roman Lawes, and alſo the Roman tongue: as they had done before in ſeuerall Countries within Italy, and in other places moe. Which thing vnto ſome ſeemed ſo grieuous, that, as it is reported by Cato, Turrhenus the laſt King of Etruria, notwithſtanding he were content to yeld his Country to the Romans, yet could neuer be won to yeld his tongue. For the better performance hereof, they had it enacted by a Law, that the Iudge in euery Prouince ſhould heare, and determine matters, and pronounce ſentence only in Latine, as it appeareth by theſe words: Decreta à Prætoribus, Latinè debent interponi. By meane whereof S. Hierome ſaith: *The Punike tongue in his time, was much altered from that it had beene before.*

Ex originib. Catonis.

De re iudicata, &c. Decreta.

All theſe things be confeſſed, and nothing touch this caſe, nor ſerue to any other purpoſe, but only to amaze the ignorant Reader with a countenance of great learning.

Hieron. in præfatio. in lib. 2. Comment. ad Galatas.

But that the whole people of the City of Hippo, where the Seruice was miniſtred in the Latine tongue, vnderſtood and ſpake Latine, who can witneſſe better than S. Auguſtine himſelfe, that was then Biſhop of Hippo? And to paſſe ouer that he reporteth of himſelfe, that being borne in Tagaſta a City of Aphrica, he learned the Latine tongue, Inter blandimenta Nutricum: *As he was playing vnder his Nurce*, ſignifying thereby, that his Nurces vnderſtood and ſpake Latine: In his Booke De Catechizandis rudibus, he writeth thus: *Let them know, there is no voice that ſoundeth in Gods eares, but the deuotion of the mind. So ſhall they not ſcorne at the head Prieſts and Miniſters of the Church, if they happen in making their Praiers vnto God, to ſpeake falſe Latine, or not to vnderſtand the words that they ſpeake, or to ſpeake them out of order.* He addeth further; Non quòd iſta corrigenda non ſint, vt populus ad id, quòd planè intelligit, dicat, Amen: Not for that ſuch faults ſhould not be amended, to the end that the people, to the thing that they plainly perceiue, may ſay, Amen. Here S. Auguſtine willeth that the Prieſts vtter their Latine Seruice diſtinctly and truly, that the people may vnderſtand them. Againe he ſaith thus: Volens etiam cauſam

Auguſtin. Confeſſ. lib. 1. cap. 14. De Catechizandis rudibus, cap. 9.

Donatiſtarum

Donatiſtarum ad ipſius humillimi vulgi, & omninò imperitorum, atque idiotarum notitiam peruenire, & eorum, quantum fieri poſſet, per nos inhærere memoriæ, Pſalmum, qui eis cantaretur, per Latinas literas feci. Being deſirous that the cauſe of the Donatiſts ſhould come to the knowledge of the loweſt ſort, and of them that be vtterly ignorant and void of learning, and as much as in vs lay, might be fixed in their memorie, I wrote a Pſalme for them to ſing in the Latine tongue. And Poſſidonius writing S. Auguſtines life, ſaith, that Valerius that was Biſhop of Hippo, before S. Auguſtine, for that he was a Greeke borne, and had ſmall ſkill in the *Latine tongue*, was therefore able to Preach vnto the people and to diſcharge his dutie there.

Aphrica.

Retractation lib. 1. cap. 20.

Poſſidonius in vita Auguſtini cap. 5.

I doubt not, but by theſe few words, it may well appeare, that the people of Hippo vnderſtood the Latine, albeit not in ſuch good order, as they that had learned it at the Schoole: and therefore would often times ſpeake amiſſe, placing one word for another: and Gender for Gender: and Caſe for Caſe: as for example, Dolus for Dolor. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Multi fratres imperitiores Latinitatis, loquuntur ſic, vt dicant, Dolus illum torquet, pro eo, quod eſt, Dolor. And for that cauſe in his Sermons vnto the people, hee ſubmitteth often times himſelfe vnto their capacity. For thus he ſpeaketh vnto the people: Sæpe & verba non Latina dico, vt vos intelligatis: *Many times I vtter words that be no Latine, that ye may vnderſtand me.* And againe he ſaith: Ego dicam Oſſum: ſic enim populus loquamur. Melius eſt, vt nos reprehendant Grammatici, quàm non intelligant populi: *I will ſay*, Oſſum, *for your better vnderſtanding: although it bee no Latine word. And ſo hardly let vs ſpeake. For better is it that the Grammarians finde fault with vs, than the people ſhould not vnderſtand vs.* Hereby it is plaine, that at the City of Hippo, whereof I ſpecially ſpake, the common Seruice of the Church was pronounced and miniſtred in the Latine tongue, for that the whole people there vniuerſally vnderſtood and ſpake Latine.

Auguſt. in Iohan. Tract. 7.
Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 123.
Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 128.

M. Harding. The 18. Diuiſion.

And whereas S. Auguſtine, as you allege him, without ſhewing the place (as your maner is, whereby you may eaſily deceiue the Reader) hath theſe words in his Sermons to the common people diuers times; *Nunc loquar Latinè, vt omnes intelligatis*, Now will I ſpeake Latine, that you may all vnderſtand mee; of that ſaying, if any ſuch be, may be gathered, that ſometime hee ſpake in the Punicall tongue to the Punicall Chriſtians, not vnderſtanding the Latine; but now among the Latine Aphricanes that were of the Roman kinde, and vnderſtood not the Punike, hee would ſpeake Latine, that all ſuch ſhould vnderſtand him.

Who ſo deſireth further to be perſwaded, that the people of Aphrica called *Pæni*, ſpake and vnderſtood their owne Punicall tongue, and not the Latine tongue, as likewiſe the people of Spaine, named *Iberi*, ſpake that language which was proper to them, let him read *Titus Liuius, De Bello Macedonico.* For there he recordeth, that when thoſe of Aphrica, or of Spaine, and the Romans came together for parle and talke, they vſed an Interpreter.

And Vlpianus the Lawyer, a great Officer about Alexander Seuerus the Emperour, at the beginning of Chriſtian Religion, writeth, that *Fidei commiſſa*, may be left in all vulgar tongues, and putteth for examples, the Punicall, and the French, or rather Gallicall tongue.

l. fideicommiſſa.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

I ſée, there is no pardon to be hoped for at M. Hardings hands. Becauſe I noted not in what Booke and Chapter this place is to be found, therefore he beareth men in hand, I ſéeke meanes to deceiue the Reader. If this poore quarrell may ſtand for proofe, then is it no hard matter by the ſame Logike, to conclude the like againſt him. For M. Harding oft times vſeth the authority of S. Auguſtine and other Fathers, without any noting of the places, as his owne Booke is beſt witneſſe: Ergo, M. Harding ſeeketh meanes to deceiue his Reader.

But in my iudgement better it is not to note the places at all, than falſly to note them, as M. Hardings maner is to doe: as where he vntruly allegeth the Decree of the Councell of Epheſus againſt Neſtorius, for the Communion in One kinde: which Decree neither is to be found in that Councell, nor euer was recorded, or mentioned by any old Father: Or where he allegeth the Decree of the firſt Councell of Nice, for the Supremacy of the Biſhop of Rome: himſelfe confeſſing that the ſame Decree was burnt, I know not how, and could neuer yet bée ſéene vntill this day. Verily, this is a ready way to deceiue the Reader. I paſſe by other petite faults: as that he allegeth the ſixth Booke of Ambroſe, De Sacramentis, in ſtead of the fifth: or the xxiiij. Chapter of the ſixth Booke of Euſebius, in ſtead of the xliij. Or that Steuen Gardiner allegeth Theophilus Alexandrinus, in ſtead of Theophylactus: Or the third Booke of S. Auguſtine, De Sermone Domini in Monte, whereas S. Auguſtine neuer wrote but two. The place wherewith M. Harding findeth himſelfe greeued, is to be found in S. Auguſtine, De Verbis Apoſtoli: the words be theſe: Prouerbium notum eſt Punicum: quod quidem Latinè vobis dicam, quia Punice non om-

Folio 23. a.
Folio 18. b.
Contra Archiepiſc. Cantuar. lib. 3.
Contra Arch. Cantuar. lib. 4.
De Verbis Apoſtoli, Serm. 25.

Aphrica.

nes noſtis: *There is a common Prouerbe in the Punicke tongue, which I will report vnto you in Latine, becauſe ye doe not all vnderſtand the Punicke.* Here it is plaine, that the Latine tongue was knowen to all the hearers, and the Punicke tongue only vnto ſome. And therefore in an other Sermon vnto the people, he ſaith thus: Omnes nouimus, Latinè non dici ſanguines, aut ſanguina: *We doe all know,* (reckoning himſelfe with the people) *that theſe words,* Sanguines, *or* Sanguina, *are no Latine*: and againe, as I haue before reported, touching a Latine Pſalme that he made for the common people, he writeth thus: *Being deſirous, that the cauſe of the Donatiſts ſhould come to the knowledge of the loweſt ſort, and of them that be vtterly ignorant and void of learning, and as much as in vs lay, might be fixed in their memory, I wrote a Pſalme for them to ſing in the Latine tongue.*

Auguſt. in Pſalm. 50. Retract. lib. 1. cap 20.

This long rehearſall of all theſe authorities, ſauing that M. Harding gaue the occaſion, was vtterly needleſſe. Notwithſtanding, hereby it is euident, that the people there vnderſtood the Latine, wherein their Seruice was miniſtred: and therefore had not their Seruice in an vnknowen tongue. Now if M. Harding were able to ſhew, that other Cities or Prouinces of the ſame Countrey where the Latine tongue was not knowen, had notwithſtanding the Latine Seruice, it would very well ſerue his purpoſe. Otherwiſe the argument that he would ſeeme to faſhion hereof, is maruellous ſtrange. For thus at leaſt appeareth, he would conclude: Some people in Aphrica ſpake the Punicke tongue: Ergo, they had their Seruice in the Latine tongue. For other argument that he can here gather, I ſee none. The reſt of Titus Liuius, De bello Macedonico, or of Vlpian, De fidei commiſſis, is vtterly out of ſeaſon, and therefore not worthy to be anſwered.

M. Harding. The 19. Diuiſion.

Thus much or more, might heere be ſaid of the language of the people of Gallia, now called France, which then was barbarous and vulgar, and not only Latine, and (79) yet had they of that Nation their Seruice then in Latine, as all the Weſt Church had. That the common language of the people there was vulgar, the vſe of the Latine ſeruing for the learned as we muſt needs iudge; wee haue firſt the authority of Titus Liuius. Who writeth, that a Galloes, or as now we ſay, a French man of a notable ſtature, prouoked a Roman to fight with him, man for man, making his challenge by an Interpreter. Which had not beene done, in caſe the Latine tongue had beene common to that Nation. Next, the place of Vlpianus before mentioned. Then the record of Ælius Lampridius, who writeth that a Woman of the order of the Druides, cried out aloud to Alexander Seuerus, Mammæa her ſonne, the Emperor as he marched forward on a day with his army, *Gallico ſermone*, in the Gallicall tongue, theſe words boding his death, which right ſo ſhorly after followed: *Vadas: nec victoriam ſperes: ne militi tuo credas*: Goe thy way; and looke not for the victory; truſt not thy Souldiers. Laſtly, the witneſſe of S. Hierome; who hauing trauelled ouer that Region, and therefore being skilfull of the whole ſtate thereof, acknowledgeth the people of Treuers, and of that territory, to haue a peculiar language, diuers from Latine and Greeke.

The 79. vntruth, boldly auouched, but no way prooued.

Ad vita Alexandri lib. 7.

Ex vita Alexandri Mam. hau.

In prooem. 2. Comment. ad Galat.

If all that I haue brought heere touching this matter, bee well weighed, it will ſeeme probable, I doubt not, that all ſorts of people in Aphrica, vnderſtood not the Seruice which they had in the Latine tongue. And no leſſe may be thought of Gallia and Spaine. And ſo farre it is prooued againſt M. Iewels ſtoute aſſertion, that within his ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, ſome Chriſtian people had their Common Praiers and Seruice in a tongue they vnderſtood not.

An eaſie proofe without premiſſes.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

A ſhort anſwer may ſerue, where nothing is obiected. This gheſſe ſtandeth vpon theſe two points: The Firſt is this: *The people of Gallia vnderſtood not the Latine tongue:* The Second is this: *That notwithſtanding, the ſame people had their Sernice in Latine:* Whereof the concluſion followeth: Ergo, They had Seruice in an vnknowen tongue. The Maior hereof is proued with much adoe, by Titus Liuius, by Vlpianus, by Ælius Lampridius, and by S. Hierome. He might as well haue added the ſtory of Brennus: Cæſars Commentaries: Quintilian, that nameth two meere French words, Rheda and Petoritum: and Cicero, who in his Oration pro Fonteio, and elſewhere, calleth the men of the Countrey Barbaros. Thus M. Harding taketh great paines to proue that thing that is confeſſed, and needeth no proouing.

Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 9.
Cicero pro Fonteio.

But the Minor, which is vtterly denied, and wherein ſtandeth all the doubt, and without proouing whereof, he proueth nothing, he palleth ouer cloſely and proueth by ſilence. If the matter be doubtfull, it hath the more need of proofe: if it be plaine and out of doubt, it is the ſooner proued. Surely, to ſay without any kinde of proofe or euidence, only vpon M. Hardings bare word, *The people of Gallia had the Latine Seruice*, it is but a very ſimple warrant. For what learning, what authority, what coniecture, what gheſſe hath he, ſo to ſay? Some hold that Ioſeph of Arimathæa, Philip the Apoſtle, Nathaniel and Lazarus, were the firſt that euer opened the Goſpell in France. But theſe foure neither came from Rome, nor to my knowledge, euer ſpake the Latine tongue: They came from Hieruſalem out of Iewrie, and ſpake the Hebrew tongue. Therefore, I reckon, M. Harding will not ſay, that any of theſe foure, erected there the Latine Seruice.

The beſt that he can make hereof, is but a gheſſe and a likelihood: for thus he ſaith: It will ſeeme probable I doubt not. But I aſſure thee, good Reader, it will proue nothing, I doubt

doubt not. For weigh the probability of these reasons: *The people of Gallia had a speech peculiar to themselues, and spake no Latine*: Ergo, *They had the Latine Seruice.* Or thus: *The first preachers in Gallia, came from Hierusalem, and spake the Hebrew tongue*: Ergo, *They ministred the Seruice and common Prayers in the Latine tongue.* These be M. Hardings probabilities, wherewith he doubteth not this matter is proued. France.

But once againe, let vs view the maine reason: The Maior, The people of Gallia vnderstood no Latine; The Minor, The same people had the Latine Seruice; The Conclusion, Ergo, They had Seruice in an vnknowen tongue.

Here M. Harding, we doe vtterly denie your Minor: which vnlesse ye proue otherwise than ye haue hitherto begun, very Children may see, that your conclusion cannot follow. Ye should not so stoutly haue said, ye haue so thoroughly proued the matter, hauing indeed as yet proued nothing.

But that the Seruice in the Churches of Gallia was not said in such order, as M. Harding gheseth, but in a tongue known vnto the people, it is euident by Seuerus Sulpitius in the life of S. Martine. The people of the City of Tours, in France then called Gallia, vpon the vacation of the Bishoprick, were desirous to haue S. Martine to be their Bishop: notwithstanding there were others that thought him a very simple man, and in all respects, vnworthy of any Bishoprick. In this contention the matter fell out in this wise, as Sulpitius sheweth: Cum fortuitò Lector, cui legendi eo die officium erat, intercluſus à populo deſuiſſet, turbatis miniſtris, dum expectatur, qui non aderat, vnus è circumſtantibus, ſumpto Pſalterio, quem primum verſum inuenit arripuit: Pſalmus autem hic erat: Ex ore infantium, & lactentium, perfeciſti laudem, &c. Quo lecto, clamor populi tollitur, & pars aduerſa confunditur: *Whereas by chance the Reader, whose office was to read in the Church that day, was shut out by meane of the throng, and the Ministers were troubled, looking about for him that was not there, one of the company tooke the Psalter and read that verse that came next to hand. The verse of the Psalme was this:* Out of the mouth of Infants and sucklings, thou hast wrought praise. *As soone as that verse was read, the people made a shout, and the contrary part was confounded.* Here we see the practise of the Church of Gallia. The Reader pronounced the Scriptures, and the people vnderstood them. Whether it were in the vulgar tongue, or in the Latine, it was a tongue knowen vnto the people, Therefore M. Harding might haue better aduised himselfe before he thus assured the World, *That the people of* Gallia *had their Seruice vndoubtedly in an vnknowen tongue.* *Sulpitius in vita Martini.*

M. Harding. The 20. Diuiſion.

And thus, all his allegations brought for proofe of his saying in this behalfe, be answered; the place of S. Paul to the Corinthians excepted.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

If haine gheses, without proofe: if the corruption of S. Auguſtine: if the falſifying of the Emperour Iuſtinians Law, may ſtand for an Anſwer, then are my allegations fully answered.

M. Harding. The 21. Diuiſion.

Which ere I answer, I will according to my promise proove, that about nine hundred yeeres past, yea a thousand also, and therefore some deale within his six hundred yeeres, euen in S. Gregorius time, The Seruice was in an vnknowen tongue in this land of England, then called Brittaine, and begun to bee called England, at least, for so much as sithence and at these daies is called by the name of England. Beda an English man, that wrote the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory of the Engliſh Nation, in the yeere of our Lord 731. and of their comming to Britane about 285. recordeth that S. Auguſtine and his company, who were sent hither, to conuert the Engliſh people to the Faith of Chriſt, which the Britans had heere profeſſed long before, hauing a safe conduct granted them by King Ethelbert to preach the Gospell where they would, said and sung their Seruice in a Church, builded of old time in the honour of S. Martin, adioining on the East side of the head City of Kent, whiles the Romans dwelt in Britaine. The words of Beda bee these: *In hac (Eccleſia) conuenire primò pſallere, orare, miſſas facere, prædicare, & Baptizare cœperunt*: In this Church they began first to assemble themselues together, to Sing, to Pray, to say Masse, to Preach and to Baptize. It is plaine, that this was the Seruice. And no doubt, they resorted to it, who beleeued and were of them Baptized, wondring as Beda saith) at the simplicity of their innocent life, and sweetnesse of their heauenly doctrine. In English it was not, for they had no skill of that tongue, as Beda sheweth, *Lib. 1. Cap. 23.* And therefore ere they entred the land, they tooke with them by commandement of S. Gregory. Interpreters out of France. Which Interpreters serued for open preaching, and priuate instruction, exhortation and teaching. In singing and saying the Seruice there was no vse of them. They were Italians and spake no English; neither was this the ordinary seruice of the English Church.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. Anglic. lib. 1. cap. 26.

Hiſt. cap. 25.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Here is a great bulke and no Corne. If empty words might make proofe, then had we here proofe sufficient. First, I will examine euery of these gheses particularly by themselues, and in the end, will shew the true story of this Iland, as it may

be gathered by Tertullian, Origen, Chryſoſtome, Theodoretus, and ſuch other old Writers.

England. Auguſtine

And leſt any man be deceiued by ambiguity of names, this Auguſtine, whom M. Harding calleth Saint, and ſome others, the Apoſtle of England, was not that great learned Father and Doctour of the Church, whom we worthily call S. Auguſtine, but another of the ſame name, as, far vnlike him in learning and holineſſe, ſo alſo two hundred yéres behind him in courſe of age: a man, as it was iudged by them that ſaw him, and knew him, neither of Apoſtolike ſpirit, nor any way worthy to be called a Saint: *But an Hypocrite, a Superſtitious man, cruell, bloody, and proud aboue meaſure.* And notwithſtanding, he withdrew the Engliſh Nation from their groſſe idolatrie, wherein he had no great trauell, yet it is certaine, he planted not Religion in this Realme: for it was planted here, and had growen, and continued ſtill foure hundred yéres and more, before his comming. But it is thought of many, that he corrupted the Religion that he found planted here before, with much filth of Superſtition: and therefore Galfridius ſaith, that the Biſhops, and learned men of this Iland, would none either of him, nor of the Pope, that ſent him.

Galfridus Monemuthen. lib. 8. cap. 4.

And that it may the better appeare, what a one this Auguſtine was, and what opinion the faithfull people of this Realme had of him, I will rehearſe a ſhort ſtory that is written by Beda in that behalfe. *The Biſhops of this Country* (ſaith Beda) *before they would goe to the Councell where as Auguſtine ſhould be Preſident, firſt went vnto a holy wiſe man that liued an Anchors life, and deſired his Counſell, whether that at Auguſtines Preaching, they ſhould leaue the traditions, that they had ſo long vſed, or no. He anſwered, If hee be a man of God follow him. But how ſhall we know, ſaid they, whether he be a man of God, or no? He anſwered againe, If he be gentle and lowly of heart, it is likely enough that hee carrieth the Yoke of the Lord, and offereth vnto you to carry the ſame. But if he be diſdainefull and proud, then it is certaine, hee is not of God, neither ought you to regard what he ſaith. Then ſaid the Biſhops againe: But how may we know whether he be diſdainfull and proud, or no? Prouide ye, ſaith this holy man, that he may be in the Councell ſitting before you come. Then if he ariſe vp from his Chaire at your comming, and ſalute you, Know you, that he is the man of God, and therefore hearken to him. But if hee diſdaine you, and will not once mooue his place, ſpecially ſeeing you are the moe in number, then ſet you as little by him, and diſdaine him too. And as this holy man had told them, ſo did they. When they came into the Councell houſe, Auguſtine ſate ſtill and would not mooue. Whereupon they refuſed him, and would not heare him, as a man diſdainfull and proud of heart, and therfore no man of God. Vpon which refuſal, Æthelbertus the King raiſed his power, and ſlew great numbers of the Britaines, and a thouſand, and two hundred godly Religious men, euen as they were at their praiers.* Hitherto Beda.

Beda li. 2. ca. 2.

Wherefore the authority of this Auguſtines doings, muſt néeds ſéeme the leſſe, yea although it were all true that M. Harding reporteth of him. And further, I truſt, it will be proued, that the things that M. Harding allegeth ſtand without the compaſſe of ſix hundred yéres: and therefore, notwithſtanding they were true, yet cannot greatly further his purpoſe. This Auguſtine vpon his arriuall into England, had a place alotted him in Kent. There he and his company Sung and Praied, and ſaid Maſſe, (this Maſſe was a Communion, as ſhall appeare) and Preached and Baptized. In what language it is not noted by Beda. But bée it in Latine. Hereof M. Harding forméth vp this argument:

> Auguſtine and his company praied together in Latine, for that they were ſtrangers newly ſent in out of Italy, and vnderſtood not the Engliſh tongue:
> *Ergo*, The Engliſh people had the Latine Seruice.

M. Harding ſhould not thus mocke the World. He knoweth well, a Childe would not make ſuch reaſons. For Auguſtine was no Pariſh Prieſt, ne ſerued no Cure, but only had a place ſenerally appointed to himſelfe. Neither did any Engliſh man reſort to his Seruice, vnleſſe it were to ſée the ſtrangeneſſe of his doings. He might as well reaſon thus:

> *The Iewes this day in Venice haue their Seruice in the Hebrew tongue:*
> Ergo, *The people of Italy haue their Seruice in the Hebrew.*

Hitherto, I trow, this matter is but ſimplie proued.

M. Harding. The 22. Diuiſion.

Whereas S. Auguſtine, after that the Engliſh Nation had receiued the Faith, and he had beene Archbiſhop ouer them, hauing found, the Faith being one, diuerſity of cuſtomes in diuers Churches, one maner of Maſſes in the holy Roman Church, another in that of France: for this and certaine other purpoſes, ſent two of his Clergie, Laurence and Peter to Rome, to be aduertiſed amongſt other things what order, maner, and cuſtome of Maſſes, it liked S. Gregory, the Churches of the Engliſh Nation ſhould haue. Hereunto that holy Father anſwered, that what hee eſpied either in the Roman or French, or any other Church, that might bee moſt acceptable to almighty God, hee ſhould chuſe out and gather together, and commend

commend the same to the Church of England, there to be left in custome to continue: *Lib. 1. cap. 27.* If it had then beene thought necessary, the Seruice of the Masse to be in English, or if it had been translated into the English tongue, it is not to be thought that Bede, who declareth all things, concerning matters of Religion, so diligently, specially professing to write an Ecclesiasticall Story, would haue passed ouer that in silence. And if the Masse had beene vsed in the English tongue, the monuments and Bookes so much multiplied among the Churches, would haue remained in some place or other. And doubtlesse, some mention would haue been made of the time, and causes of the leauing such kinde of Seruice, and of the beginning the new Latine Seruice. As certaine of S. Gregories Workes, turned into English by Bede himselfe, haue beene kept, so as they remaine to this day.

England.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here was a short victorie. Peter and Paul could neuer so easily conquer Kingdomes. But this matter stood not so much in winning the vnfaithfull, as in killing the godly. After that was once done, straightwaies Augustine had the Conquest, and was out of hand made Archbishop, and wrote to Rome both thereof, and also for resolution of certaine questions, meet, as he saith, for that rude people of England: As, whether a Woman might be Baptized while she were great with Childe, or after her deliuerie: and how long after she should forbeare the Church: with certaine other secret questions, touching both man and wife, so childish, and so rude, that a man may well doubt, whether Augustine were ruder, or the people. Among other things, he demanded Counsell touching the Masse, for that in diuers Countries he had seene diuers orders of Masses: And yet, good Reader, of them all, *he had seene no Priuate Masse.* For the Masse in Rome at that time was a Communion, as I haue already shewed, and as it appeareth by these words, which the Deacon pronounced at euery Masse aloud vnto the people: *Hee that receiueth not the Communion, let him giue place.* The difference stood in addition of certaine Ceremonies. For the Countries abroad, as we may iudge, kept still that simple order that they had first receiued. But the Church of Rome was euer altering. For Gregorie himselfe, vnto whom this Augustine writeth, added the Introite, and the Antemes, and Alleluia, and willed the Introite to be doubled twice, and the Kyrie eleeson nine times, and added also a certaine portion to the Canon. Of these and other like differences Augustine demandeth: and of the same, Gregorie maketh answer. Hereof M. Harding gheseth thus: It appeareth not by Beda, the Seruice was in English: *Ergo*, The Seruice was in Latine. What kinde of Logicke haue we here? Or how may this reason hold? It concludeth ab authoritate negatiuè. I beleeue, M. Harding himselfe will not allow it. By the like forme of reasoning, a man might as well say: *It appeareth not by* Beda, *that the Preachers instructed or exhorted the English people in English*: Ergo, *They instructed and exhorted the English people in Latine.* Yet againe he gheseth further: There is no Booke to be found of the English Seruice in that time: *Ergo*, The Seruice was in Latine. O what follie is this! Who is able to shew any Booke written in English a thousand yeares agoe? Or if it could be shewed, yet who were able to vnderstand it? There is no Booke to be found of the prayers that the Druydes made in France, or the Gymnosophistæ in India: and will M. Harding thereof conclude, that therefore the Druydes, or the Gymnosophistæ, prayed in Latine? Such regard he hath to his Conclusions.

Beda, l. 1. c. 27.

Platin. in vitis Pontif. Sabellicus, Ennead. 8. lib. 5.

M. Harding. The 23. Diuision.

S. Gregorie himselfe is a Witnesse of right good Authoritie vnto vs, that this Land of England, which hee calleth Brittanie, in his time, that is almost a thousand yeeres past, had the Common Prayers and Seruice in an vnknowen tongue, without doubt in Latine, much in like sort as we haue of old time had till now. His words be these: *Ecce, omnipotens Dominus pene cunctarum gentium corda penetrauit? Ecce, in vna fide Orientis limitem Occidentisque coniunxit: Ecce, linguæ Britanniæ, quæ nihil aliud nouerat, quàm barbarum frendere, iamdudum in diuinis laudibus Hebreum cæpit Halleluia resonare*: Behold, our Lord Almighty hath now pierced the hearts almost of all Nations: Behold, he hath ioined the borders of the East and the West in one Faith together: Behold, the tongue of Britaine, that could nothing else but grash barbarously, hath beguune now of late in diuine Seruice to sound the Hebrew Halleluia.

Euangel. in hom. 34. 6.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

S. Gregorie in that place vpon Iob speaketh not one word, neither of the Latine, nor of the English Seruice. Onely he sheweth the mighty power of God, that had conuerted all the World to the obedience of his Gospell. These be his words: Omnipotens Dominus coruscantibus nubibus Cardinis Maris operuit: quia emicantibus prædicatorum Miraculis, ad Fidem etiam terminos Mundi perduxit. Ecce enim pene cunctarum iam gentium corda penetrauit: Ecce, in vna Fide Orientis limitem Occidentisque coniunxit: *The Almighty Lord with his shining Clouds hath couered the Corners of the Sea: For hee hath brought the ends of the World vnto the Faith, at the sight of the glorious Miracles of the Preachers.*

Gregor. in Iob, lib. 27. cap. 6.

England.

chers. For behold, hee hath well neere pierced thorow the hearts of all Nations, and hath ioined together the borders of the Eaſt and the Weſt, in one Faith. Now, ſaith M. Harding, Gregory is a witneſſe of right good authority, that this Realme of England had the Seruice in an vnknowen tongue. Verely Gregories authoritie in this caſe were right good, if he would ſay the word. But (ſaith M. Harding) S. Gregory reporteth, that the Engliſh people, in the praiſing of God, pronounced the Hebrew Hallelula: *Ergo*, He is witneſſe to the Latine Seruice. This argument may be perfected, and made thus: *The Engliſh people in their praiers ſaid*, Halleluia: Halleluia *is an Hebrew word*: Ergo, *The Engliſh people had the Latine Seruice.*

This is another Syllogiſmus of M. Hardings. God wot he might haue made it better. Of S. Gregories words he might rather haue concluded thus:

The people of England in their praiers pronounced the Hebrew Halleluia:
Ergo, *They had the Hebrew Seruice.*

Which doubtleſſe in the Engliſh Churches had bene very ſtrange: and yet as much reaſon in that, as in the Latine. As for theſe Hebrew words, Halleluia, Amen, Sabbaoth, and other like, they may aſwell be vſed in the Engliſh Seruice, as in the Latine: and at this day are vſed, and continued ſtill in the reformed Churches in Germany: and therefore can import no more the one than the other.

M. Harding. The 24. Diuiſion.

Hee liued in the yeere of our Lord 640.

Anno Dom. 668.

Anno 668.

Bede in the end of his ſecond Booke ſheweth, that one Iames, a Deacon of the Church of Yorke, a very cunning man in ſong, ſoone after the Faith had beene ſpread abroad heere, as the number of beleeuers grew, began to be a Maſter or Teacher of ſinging in the Church, after the maner of the Romanes. The like he writeth of one Eddi, ſurnamed Stephanus, that taught the people of Northumberland to ſing the Seruice after the Roman maner: and of Putta, a holy man, Biſhop of Rocheſter, commending him much for his great skill of ſinging in the Church, after the vſe and maner of the Romanes, which he had learned of the Diſciples of S. Gregorie.

Maruellous proofes.

Anno 680.

These be teſtimonies plaine and euident enough, that at the beginning, the Churches of England had their diuine Seruice in Latine, and not in Engliſh. One place more I will recite out of Bede, moſt manifeſt of all other, for proofe hereof. In the time of Agatho the Pope, there was a reuerend man called Iohn Archicantor, that is, chiefe Chaunter or Singer, of S. Peters Church at Rome, and Abbat of the Monaſterie of S. Martin there; Benedict an Abbat of Britaine, hauing builded a Monaſterie at the mouth of the Riuer Murus, (Bede ſo calleth it) ſued to the Pope for confirmations, liberties, franchiſies, priuileges, &c. as in ſuch caſe hath beene accuſtomed. Among other things, hee obteined this cunning Chaunter Iohn, to come with him into Britaine, to teach ſong.

Becauſe Bedes Eccleſiaſticall Story is not very common, I haue thought good, heere to recite his owne words, thus Engliſhed: This Abbat Benedict tooke with him the foreſaid Iohn, to bring him into Britaine, that hee ſhould teach in his Monaſterie the courſe of Seruice for the whole yeere, ſo as it was done at S. Peters in Rome. Iohn did as hee had commandement from the Pope, both in teaching the ſinging men of the ſaid Monaſterie, the order and rite of ſinging and reading with vtterance of their voice, and alſo of writing and pricking thoſe things that the compaſſe of the whole yeere required in the celebration and keeping of the holy daies: which bee kept in the ſame Monaſterie till this day, and be copied out of many round about, on euery coaſt. Neither did that Iohn teach the Brethren of that Monaſterie onely, but alſo many other made all the means they could, to get him to other places, where they might haue him to teach. Thus farre Bede. I trow, no man will thinke that this Roman taught and wrote the order and maner of ſinging, and pronouncing the Seruice of the Churches of this Land, in the Engliſh tongue. If it had beene deemed of the learned and godly gouernours of Chriſtian people then, a neceſſary point to ſaluation, to haue had the Seruice in the Engliſh, no man had beene ſo apt and fit to haue tranſlated it, as he, who in thoſe daies had, by ſpeciall grace of God, a ſingular gift to make ſongs and ſonets in Engliſh Meeter, to ſerue Religion and deuotion. His name was Cednom, of whom Bede writeth maruellous things. How hee made diuers ſongs conteining matter of the holy Scripture with ſuch exceeding ſweetneſſe, and with ſuch a grace, as many feeling their hearts compunct and prickt with hearing and reading of them, withdrew themſelues from the loue of the world, and were enkindled with the deſire of the heauenly life. Many (ſaith Bede) of the Engliſh Nation, attempted after him to make religious and godly Poetries, but none could doe compareably to him. For he was not (ſaith he alluding to S Pauls words) taught of men, neither by man, that Art of making godly ſongs; but receiued from God that gift freely. And therefore he could make no wanton, trifling, or vaine ditties, but onely ſuch as perteined to godly Religion, and might ſeeme to proceed of a head guided by the holy Ghoſt: *Lib. 4. Cap. 24.* This diuine Poet Cednom, though he made many and ſundry holy workes, hauing their whole argument out of holy Scripture, as Bede reporteth, yet neuer made hee any peece of the Seruice to be vſed in the Church. Thus the Faith hath continued in this Land, among the Engliſh people, from the 14. yeere of the reigne of Mauritius the Emperour, almoſt theſe 1000. yeeres, and vntill the late King Edwards time, the Engliſh Seruice was neuer heard of, at leaſt way, neuer in the Church of England, by publike Authoritie, receiued and vſed.

The 80. vntruth. For his examples reach nothing ſo farre.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

I little thought M. Harding would ſo much haue bewraied his want, to proue his matter by Pipers and Poets, and ſpecially being all without the compaſſe of 600. yeeres. For it is plaine by Beda, that this Iames, the Deacon, liued vnder King Edwine, about the yeere of our Lord 640. Putta and Edda, in the yeere 668. Iohn the Archchaunter, and Cednom, or Cedman (for ſo his name is read in Beda, written in parchment) in the time of

Beda, l. 2. c. 14. *Beda, l. 4. c. 21.* *Beda, li. 4. c. 1.*

of Pope Agatho, in the yere 680. in whose name this Decree is written: Sic omnes sanctiones Apostolicæ Sedis accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius diuina voce Petri firmatæ: *All the Constitutions of the Apostolike See must bee receiued so, as if they were confirmed by the very heauenly voice of* S. Peter. Vnto such a tyrannie the Church of Rome at that time was growen. And the Glosse vpon the same saith: Papa Sanctitatem suam recipit a Cathedra: *The Pope receiueth his holinesse of his Chaire.* Therefore herein M. Harding hath somewhat misreckoned himselfe. Although all the rest were certaine, yet these Witnesses come too late to make good proofe. England. *Distinct. 19. Sic omnes.*

Yet (saith M. Harding) these testemonies bee plaine and euident enough, that at the beginning, the Churches of England had their diuine Seruice, in Latine, and not in English. These be very dumbe Testimonies. For neither Iames the Deacon, nor Iohn the Arch-chaunter, nor Cednom, nor Putta, nor Beda himselfe euer said so. Therefore this matter is proued by M. Hardings ghesse, and not by the words of the Witnesses.

The force of his reason seemeth to weigh thus:

These Musicians taught the Clerkes of England to sing their Seruice after the Roman maner:

Ergo, *They had the Latine Seruice.*

The substance of this argument may the better appeare by some other like:

Triptolemus *taught all Nations to plow the ground after the maner of the* Athenians:

Ergo, *He taught all Nations in the Athenian tongue.*

Or: Abraham *taught the* Egyptians *Arithmeticke and Astronomie:*

Ergo, Abraham *taught the* Egyptians *in the Chaldee tongue.*

For doth M. Harding beleeue, it is not possible to learne the Roman Musicke, without the Roman speech: or that the note cannot be taught, without the Ditty? Verily I reckon him no good Musician, that will say so. By the like reason he might say: Damasus *besought* S. Hierome *to send to him* Græcorum psallentiam, *the musicke of the Greeke Church, to the intent to practise the same in the Church of* Rome: Ergo, Damasus *vsed the Greeke Seruice in the Church of* Rome. *Damasus ad Hieronymum.*

But Beda himselfe is best able to expound his owne meaning. Hauing occasion to intreat of Adrianus and Theodorus, that came into England the yere of our Lord 668. he writeth thus: Sonos cantandi in Ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantio tantùm nouerant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum Ecclesias discere cœperunt: *From that time, they began to learne throwout all the Churches of England, the sounds of singing, or the notes of Musicke, which before that time were knowen only in* Kent. Beda saith, *They learned the Sounds, or Notes, or Harmonie,* and maketh no mention of the Tongue, or Ditty. But let M. Hardings conclusions stand for good:

These Musitians taught the Clerks of Engand to sing after the Roman maner:

Ergo, *They had the Latine Seruice.*

And doth he not see, that he concludeth fully with me, and directly against himselfe: Certainly if the Roman Musicke import the Latine Seruice, then may I well reason thus: *The Churches of England had not the Roman musicke before* Iames *the Deacon of* Yorke, *which liued in the yeere of our Lord* 640. Ergo, *Before that time, the Churches of England had not the Latine Seruice.* Which thing ouerthroweth all that M. Harding hath hitherto spoken, and standeth very well with my assertion. *No Latine Seruice in England within six hundred yeeres.*

Againe, where he saith, *That* Iohn *the Arch-chaunter, that liued in the yeere of our Lord* 680. *taught the Clerkes of England to pronounce the Latine tongue*; it may thereof well be gathered, that before that time, they could not pronounce the Latine tongue: and so before that time, had not the Latine Seruice.

Now, forsomuch as M. Harding saith, By meane of the arriuall and conquest of the English men, who then were Infidels, the Faith was vtterly banished out of this Realme, and remained only in a few Britaines, and Augustine at his comming restored the same againe, and therefore is called of some, the English mens Apostle; I thinke it necessary therefore, shortly to touch somewhat of the state of the Church within this Land, both before the entry of our English Nation, and also in the first time of our being here. Ghildas saith, that Ioseph of Arimathea, that toke downe Christ from the Crosse, being sent hither by Philip the Apostle, out of France, began first to preach the Gospell in this Realme, in the time of Tiberius the Emperour. Nicephorus saith, that Simon Zelotes, about the same time, came into this Iland, and did the like. Theodoretus saith, that S. Paul, immediately after his first deliuerie in Rome, vnder the Emperour Nero, preached the Gospell in this Iland, and in other Countries of the West. Tertullian saith, the Iland of Britaine was subiect vnto Christ in his time. And Origen witnesseth the like of the same Iland in his time: At which time Lucius, the King of this Realme, was Baptized, *Ghildas. Ann. Dom. 38. Nicep. li. 2. c. 4. Anno 38. Theodoret. de curandis Græcorum affect. li. 9. Tertull. aduersus Iudæos. Anno 230. Orig. in Ezechiel. hom. 4. Anno 240.*

England.

Baptized, and receiued the Goſpell, and ſent to Rome to Eleutherius the Biſhop there, for his aduice, couching the ordering of his Church and Realme. Helena being an Engliſh woman, wife vnto Conſtantius the Emperour, and mother vnto Coſtantinus, is notably praiſed for her Faith and Religion, by S. Ambroſe, by Euſebius, by Sozomenus, and others.

Ambr. de obitu Theod.

Euſeb. de vita Conſtan. lib. 3.

Sozom. l. 2. c. 1.

Chryſoſtome ſaith, that in his time, the Iland of Britaine had receiued *the power of the Goſpell.*

Chryſ. aduerſ. Gentiles, to 5.

Now let vs conſider in what ſtate this Realme ſtood, touching Religion, at the coming of Auguſtine, at which time M. Harding ſurmiſeth the whole Faith was vtterly decaied. Firſt Beda ſaith, there were among the Britaines, ſeuen Biſhops, and one Archbiſhop, and one and twenty hundred Monkes, about Bancor: and as he further auoucheth, Plures viri doctiſſimi, *many moe great learned men,* that vtterly refuſed to receiue this Auguſtine with his new Religion.

Beda, l. 2. ca. 2.

Beda, l. 1. c. 26.

As touching the Engliſh Nation, it appeareth by Beda, that the Quéne herſelfe was Chriſtened, and had S. Martins Church appointed her, freely to pray in with her company. Whereof it may be thought, the King was no great enemie vnto the Faith, and therefore the like alſo may well be thought of a great number of the people.

Thus much ſhortly of the firſt planting of the Religion of Chriſt within this Iland and of the continuance of the ſame, from the time of Ioſeph of Arimathea, vntill the coming in of Auguſtine. Now touching the Common Praiers that they vſed among themſelues all that while. Firſt, it were very much for M. Harding to ſay, that S. Paul, or Ioſeph of Arimathea, or Simon Zelotes, being all Hebrewes borne, toke order, that the Seruice héere ſhould be miniſtred vnto the people in the Latine tongue. 1

Againe, Eleutherius the Biſhop of Rome, for generall order to be taken in the Realme and Churches héere, wrote his aduice vnto Lucius the King, in this ſort: Suſcepiſti in Regno Britanniæ, miſeratione diuina, Legem & Fidem Chriſti. Habetis penes vos in Regno vtramque paginam: Ex illis, Dei gratia, per Concilium Regni veſtri, ſume Legem, & per illam, Dei patientia, veſtrum rege Brittanniæ Regnum. Vicarius verò Dei eſtis in Regno illo. *Ye haue receiued in the Kingdome of* Britaine, *by Gods mercy, both the Law and Faith of Chriſt. Ye haue both the New Teſtament, and the Old. Out of the ſame, through Gods grace, by the aduice of your Realme, take a Law, and by the ſame, through Gods ſufferance, rule ouer your Kingdome of* Britaine. *For in that Kingdome you are Gods Vicar.* He willeth him to order matters according to the Law of God. Now the Law of God willeth the Seruice ſo to be ſaid, as the people may vnderſtand it, and giue conſent vnto it, by ſaying Amen: But the people of this Realme could not haue ſaid Amen vnto the Latine Seruice: Therefore no man can well thinke, that King Lucius appointed the Common Seruice to be ſaid in that tongue. Further, it may well be iudged, that the greateſt furtherers of Religion within this Realme, were Græcians, and for order of the Church, had inſtructions euer more from the Gréeke Church, and not from Rome, as it may appeare by the kéeping of the Eaſter day, and by other good coniectures, mentioned by Beda. Now, if the Græcians had refuſed the Common Vulgar Tongue of this Country, doubtleſſe they would haue appointed their owne Gréeke tongue for the Publike Miniſtration, and not the Latine. 2 3

Againe, M. Harding allegeth S. Gregory, that the tongue of this Nation was neuer otherwiſe taught, but only to roare out their barbarous language: how then can he ſo ſuddenly ſay, that from the time of Ioſeph of Arimathea, they had euermore the Seruice in the learned Latine tongue? 4

Gregor. in Iob, lib. 27. cap. 6. Ecce lingua Britanniæ, quæ nil aliud nouerat, quàm barbarum frẽdere.

Beſides this, S. Gregory writing vnto Auguſtine, *willeth him, of the ſundry others that hee had ſeene in diuers Countries, to take ſuch as he could iudge might doe moſt good.* But M. Harding granteth, that at the firſt planting of the Faith, it is neceſſary the Common Praiers be miniſtred in the knowen tongue: Therefore it muſt néeds be thought, that Auguſtiine comming hither, as it is ſuppoſed, to plant the Faith, iudged that thing beſt, that M. Harding ſaith was neceſſarie, and ſo miniſtred the Common Praiers in the knowen tongue. 5

And to conclude, it was moſt méet, that Auguſtine, being purpoſely ſent hither from Rome, ſhould conforme his Church héere, to the Church of Rome. But the Seruice in the Church of Rome was miniſtred then in the Vulgar Tongue, as it is many waies eaſie to be proued: Therefore it behoued Auguſtine likewiſe in the Churches of this Country, to ſée the Seruice miniſtred in the Vulgar tongue.

Howbeit, it ſéemeth by M. Hardings Concluſion, that hée maketh his account onely from the fourtéenth yéere of the Emperour Mauritius, which was in the yéere of our Lord, fiue hundred foure ſcore and ſixtéene: Sithence which time (hée ſaith) vntill

Anno 596.

the

the time of King Edward the Sixth, there was neuer in this Realme, other than the Latine Seruice. I may not greatly blame this diuision. For of the fiue hundred yeeres after Christ, whereupon I ioine with him in issue, liberally and of his owne accord, hee giueth me backe fiue hundred foure score and fifteene, and of so great a number, reserueth vnto himselfe but only foure poore yeeres, and yet is not very certaine of the same. But if Marianus Scotus account be true, that Augustine came into this Realme, not the fourteenth yeere of the Emperor Mauritius, but foure yeeres after, which was iust the fiue hundreth yeere after Christ, then hee reserueth not one yeere at all vnto himselfe, but yeeldeth mee backe all together. Surely Abbas Vrspergensis writeth thus: Gregorius, *in the yeere of our Lord six hundred and three, hauing sent in* Augustine *and* Mellitus, *conuerted* England *to the Faith.* All this hitherto maketh with me, vnlesse M. Harding will say, The people of this Countrey had Christian Seruice before they were Christened.

England.

Marian. Scot.

Ann. Do. 600.

Abbas Vrsperg. in vita Mauritij. Anno 603.

M. Harding. The 25. Diuision.

Now touching the Scripture by M. Iewell, and by all them of that side alleged, for the Seruice to be had in the Vulgar tongue, in the 14. Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, S. Paul treateth of the vse of tongues, so as it was in the Primitiue Church a speciall gift. As the faithfull folke came together to pray, and to heare Gods word, some one man suddenly stood vp, and spake in the Congregation with tongues of many Nations, *Spiritu insufflante*, as Chrysostome saith, that is, by inspiration, or prompting of the Spirit, so as neither others that were present, neither himselfe, after the opinion of Chrysostome, vnderstood what he said; that gift the Apostle did not forbid: for that euery gift of God is good, and nothing by him done in vaine. but dehorted the Corinthians from the vaine and ambitious vse of it: and therefore did much extenuate the same, and preferred propheseying, that is, the gift to interpret and expound Scriptures, farre before it. It was not in the Church, but in the Apostles time, or a very short while after them; and that altogether by miracle, the holy Ghost being the worker of it.

The place of S. Paul to the Corinthians maketh not for a Seruice in the English tongue. 1. Cor. 14. Ioan. 17.

As concerning the order of the Common Praiers, and Publike Seruice, in such sort as wee haue now, and that age had not, S. Paul mentioneth nothing, neither speaketh one word in that whole Chapter, but of the vse of the miraculous gift, as is said before. And therefore his sayings out of that Chapter be not fitly alleged of M. Iewell, and the rest of our aduersaries, against the maner of praiers and Seruice of the Church, now receiued, and of long time vsed, which in the West is vttered in the Latine tongue, not by way of miracle, or peculiar gift, but according to the institution and ordinance of the Church. *Profecto enim cœlum Ecclesia tum fuit. In very deed* (saith Chrysostome) *the Church then was Heauen, when as the holy Ghost administred all things, moderated all the heads of the Church, taught each one with his inspiration. As for vs we keepe but the steps only of those things. We speake two or three of vs, and that a sunder, and one holding his peace, another beginneth. But these be but signes only, and memorials of things. And so when we haue begun he meaneth Dominus vobiscum, & cum spiritu tuo) the people answereth: meaning to signifie thereby, that so in old time they spake, not of their own wisedome, but of the instinct of the spirit of God.* Thus much Chrysostome of the heauenly maner of the Primitiue Church in the Apostles time. Now if in these daies the maner were like, if it pleased the Holy Ghost to powre vpon vs the like abundance of grace, as to doe all things for vs, to rule the heads of all faithfull people, to carry each one of vs with his diuine inspiration, and when wee came to Church together for comfort and edifying, to giue into our hearts, and put into our mouthes by daily miracle what wee should pray, and what we should preach, and how we should handle the Scriptures, in this case no Catholike Christian man would allow the vnfruitfull speaking with strange and vnknowen tongues, without interpretation, to the let and hinderance of Gods word to be declared, and to the keeping of the people only in gazing and wondering, from saying *Amen*, and giuing their assent to the godly blessing and thanksgiuing. But the order of the Church now is farre otherwise. We haue not those miraculous gifts, and right well may we do without them. For the speaking with tongues was in stead of a signe or wonder, not to them that beleeued, but to the vnbeleeuers. And signes be for the vnfaithfull: the faithfull haue no need of them. In Churches, I meane where ancient order is kept, whiles the Seruice is sung or said, the Ministers doe not speake with tongues, or with a tongue, in such sort as S. Paul vnderstood, but they doe read and rehearse things set foorth and appointed to them. S. Paul rebuketh them, who speaking with tongues, letted the Preachers, so as the people present might not be edified. The Latine Seruice is not so done in the Church, as the exposition of the Scriptures be thereby excluded. In the Apostles time they came to Church, to the intent they might profitably exercise the gifts God gaue them, and by the same, specially by the gift of propheseying, edifie one another, and teach one another. Now adaies they come not together to Church, one to teach another, and to expound the Scriptures in common, but to pray, and to heare the opening of Gods Word, not one of another, without order, but of some one, to wit, the Bishop, Priest, Curate, or other spirituall Gouernour and Teacher.

The 21. vntruth. For sundry Doctours, both old and new, allege these words to this selfesame purpose.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

We may safely grant some part of M. Hardings long talke, without preiudice of our cause. Indeed S. Paul in the place alleged, spake of the gift of tongues, as it was a speciall miracle, enduring only for a while, not gotten by labour or study, but freely inspired by the spirit of God.

But the Latine tongue (saith M. Harding) as it is now commonly vsed in the Romane Seruice, is not giuen by any such prompting of the Holy Ghost, nor is now any Miracle at all. Therefore the place of S. Paul cannot be applied vnto it. We grant well, it is no Miracle, as it is now vsed, nor any way sauoureth of the Spirit of God. But this is a great miracle, to see either any man so wicked, that so will vse it: or so impudent, that so will defend it: or so patient, that so will suffer it. This verily is a maruellous miracle.

M. Harding

M. Harding ſæmeth hereof to reaſon of this ſort: S. Paul forbade the Corinthians to vſe the ſpeciall miracle and gift of God, without profiting the Congregation: *Ergo*, Now hauing the Latine tongue without miracle, we may miniſter the Seruice therein, although the Congregation haue no profit by it. **This reaſon is ſtrange, and holdeth as ſimply as the reſt. Yet hath he giuen ſpeciall aduertiſement in the Margin, that this place of** S. Paul **ſerueth nothing to our purpoſe. If this note be ſo certaine, and ſo authenticall as he would ſæme to make it, then were the Doctours, both new and old, that toke it otherwiſe, not well aduiſed. For** Lyra **writing vpon the ſame: ſaith thus**: Si populus intelligat orationem Sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum, & deuotiùs reſpondet, Amen. Ideò dicit Paulus, Si tu Sacerdos benedixeris Spiritu, & populus non intelligat, quid proficit populus ſimplex, & non intelligens? Quapropter in Primitiua Eccleſia benedictiones & cætera omnia fiebant in vulgari: *If the people vnderſtand the Praier of the Prieſt, they are the better brought vnto God, and with greater deuotion they anſwer*, Amen. *Therefore* S. Paul *ſaith, If thou being a Prieſt, bleſſe with thy ſpirit, and the people vnderſtand thee not, what profit then hath the people, being ſimple, and not vnderſtanding thee? Therefore in the Primitiue Church, both the bleſſings, and all other things, were done in the vulgar tongue.* *Lyra in 1. Cor. 14.*

The vulgar tongue, ſaith Lyra, **was vſed in the Primitiue Church, vpon occaſion of theſe words of** S. Paul. **In the Councell of Acon it is written thus**: Pſallentium in Eccleſia Domino mens concordare debet cum voce, vt impleatur illud Apoſtoli, Pſallam ſpiritu, pſallam & mente: *the voice and minde of them that ſing vnto the Lord in the Church, muſt agree together.* *Concil. Aquiſgran. ca. 132.*

The reaſon thereof is taken out of this place of S. Paul: *I will ſing with my ſpirit, I will ſing with my minde.* Chryſoſtome **ſaith,** S. Paul **ſtayeth the whole tenour of this matter vnto the profit of the hearers. Theſe be his words:** Eſt autem quod Paulus dicit huiuſmodi: Niſi dixero quod percipi facilè claréque à vobis poſſit, ſed linguarum munere præditum me eſſe tantùm oſtendam, nullum ex his, quæ non intelligetis, fructum facientes, abibitis. Nam quæ vtilitas eſſe poſſit ex voce non intellecta? *Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. Hom. 35.*

S. Pauls *ſaying ſtandeth thus: Vnleſſe I vtter my words ſo as they may cleerely and plainly be perceiued of you, but only ſhew my ſelfe to haue the gift of tongues, ye ſhall haue no fruit of thoſe things that ye know not. For what profit can yee get of a voice that yee cannot vnderſtand?* **And againe the ſame** Chryſoſtome **ſaith further:** Sic & vos, niſi ſignificantem vocem dederitis, verba (quod dicitur) vento, hoc eſt, nemini facietis: *Euen ſo you, vnleſſe you giue a ſound that may be knowen, as the Prouerbe is, ye ſhall throw foorth your words into the winde, that is to ſay, yee ſhall ſpeake to no man.*

So likewiſe the Emperour Iuſtinian, **where he commandeth all Biſhops and Prieſts to miniſter the Sacraments, and other Praiers, aloud, and with open voice, he admonyſheth the ſame by this place of** S. Paul. **For thus he ſaith:** Sic enim diuinus Apoſtolus docet, dicens, Si ſolùm ſpiritu benedixeris, qui implet locum Idiotæ, quomodo dicet Amen ſuper tuam benedictionem? Non enim intelligit quid dicas: *So the holy Apoſtle ſaith: If thou only bleſſe, or pray with thy ſpirit, how ſhall hee that ſupplieth the roome of the vnlearned, ſay Amen vnto thy bleſſing? For he knoweth not what thou ſaieſt.* *De Eccleſiaſtic. diuerſis capit.*

It appeareth by theſe authorities, notwithſtanding M. Hardings **note, that** S. Paul **maketh ſomewhat for our purpoſe.**

Howbeit, we build not our proofes vpon the miracle and gift of tongues, that laſted but for a while; but vpon theſe expreſſe and plaine words of S. Paul, **which no man can denie**: *He that ſpeaketh with tongue, ſpeaketh not vnto men, but vnto God: For no man heareth him. If the Trumpet giue an vncertaine voice, who ſhall prepare himſelfe vnto the warre? Euen ſo you, vnleſſe yee vtter ſuch words as haue ſignification, how ſhall it be knowen what we ſay? For yee ſhall ſpeake into the winde. I will pray with my Spirit, I will pray with my minde: I will ſing with my ſpirit, I will ſing with my minde. If thou bleſſe with thy ſpirit, how ſhall the ignorant ſay Amen vnto thy thankſgiuing? For he knoweth not what thou ſaiſt. In the Church I had leuer to ſpeake fiue words with my minde, ſo that I may inſtruct others, than ten thouſand words with my tongue. Let all things be done to the profit of the people.* 1. Cor. 14.

Theſe words be euident: The expoſition of Lyra, **of the** Councell **of** Acon, **of** Chryſoſtome, **and** Iuſtinian, **is plaine. And yet muſt we, vpon** M. Hardings **warrant, needs beleeue, that all this maketh nothing for the** English **Seruice to be had in the Church of** England.

M. Harding. The 26. Diuiſion.

The 82. vntruth. The Altars to Communion Tables ſtood in the midſt of the Church as ſhall appeare.

And foraſmuch as all the people cannot heare the Prieſts praiers at the Altar, (which hath from the Apoſtles time hitherto euer beene a place to celebrate the holy Oblation at) turning himſelfe for the moſt part to the Eaſt, according to the Apoſtolike tradition, in what tongue ſoeuer they be vttered, for diſtance of the place they remain in, it is no inconuenience, ſuch admitted into the Quire, as haue better vnderſtanding of that is ſaid or ſung, that the reſt remaine in ſeemely wiſe in the nether part of the Church, and there make their humble praiers to God by themſelues in ſilence, in that language they beſt vnderſtand, conforming themſelues to the Prieſts bleſſing and thankſgiuing, through faith and obedience, with their

brethren

The people taught by ceremonies.

brethren in the Quire, and giuing assent to the same, vnderstanding some good part of that is done, as declared by often preaching, and by holy outward Ceremonies, perceiueable to the senses of the simplest.

Communion Tables or Altars.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

There haue beene Altars (saith M. Harding) euen from the Apostles time, and that euen as it is vsed now, farre off from the Body of the Church. Neither could the people beneath heare the Priest standing about at the Altar, or vnderstand what he meant, but only were instructed by holy reuerend Ceremonies, and gaue consent vnto all that was said by the Priest, and yet knew not what he said.

This man could neuer vtter so many vntruths together without some speciall Priuiledge. For first, where hee saith, The Apostles in their time erected Altars, It is well knowen, that there was no Christian Church yet built in the Apostles time. For the faithfull for feare of the Tyrants were faine to meet together in Priuate Houses, in Vacant places, in Woods and Forests, and in Caues vnder the ground. And may we thinke, that Altars were built before the Church? Verily Origen, that liued two hundred yeres after Christ, hath these words against Celsus: Obijcit nobis, quòd non habeamus Imagines, aut Aras, aut Templa: *Celsus chargeth our Religion with this, that we haue neither Images, nor Altars, nor Churches.* *Origen. contra Celsum, li. 4.*

Likewise saith Arnobius that liued somewhat after Origen, writing against the Heathens: Accusatis nos, quòd nec Templa habeamus, nec Imagines, nec Aras: *Yee accuse vs, for that we haue neither Churches, nor Images, nor Altars.* *Arnobius, li. 2.*

And Volaterranus and Vernerius testifie, that Sixtus Bishop of Rome, was the first that caused Altars to be erected. Therefore M. Harding was not well aduised, so confidently to say, That Altars haue euer beene, euen sithence the Apostles time. *Volaterranus, Vernerius.*

Neither afterward, when Altars were first vsed, and so named, were they straightway built of stone, as Durandus and such others say, they must needs be, and that, Quia petra erat Christus: *Because Christ was the stone.* For Gerson saith, that Sylvester Bishop of Rome first caused stone Altars to be made: and willed that no man should Consecrate at a wodden Altar, but himselfe only, and his Successours there. And notwithstanding both for continuance, and stedinesse, such Altars were vsed in some places, as it appeareth by Gregorius Nyssenus, S. Basils Brother, yet it is plaine by S. Augustine, that in his time in Aphrica they were made of Timber. For he saith: *That the Donatists in their rage wounded the Priest, and brake asunder the Altar boords.* And againe hee saith: *That the Deacons duty was to carrie or remoone the Altar.* Which thing cannot be erpounded of a heape of stones, but only of the Communion Table. And therefore S. Chrysostome commonly calleth it, ἱερὰ τράπεζα, *The holy boord*: and S. Augustine, Mensa Domini, *The Lords Table*, as other Fathers also doe in infinite places. *Durandus li. 4. Gerson. contra Floretum, li. 4. Gregori. Nyssen. de Sancto Baptismate. August. ad Bonifacium, Epistola 50. Augu. in q. veteris & noui Testam. q. 101, Ireneus li. 4. cap. 34. Orig. in Matthe. tract. 25,*

And notwithstanding it were *A Table*, yet was it also called *An Altar*: not for that it was so indeed, but only by allusion vnto the Altars of the old Law. And so Irenæus calleth *Christ our Altar*, and Origen calleth *Our heart, Our Altar*: Not that either Christ, or our hearts bee Altars in deed, but onely by a Metaphor, or a manner of speech. Such were the Altars that were vsed by the old Fathers, immediately after the Apostles time.

Now whether it may seeme likely, that the same Altars stood so farre off from the hearing of the people, as M. Harding so constantly affirmeth: I referre my selfe to these authorities that heere follow.

Eusebius thus describeth the forme and furniture of the Church in his time: Absoluto Templo, ac sedibus excelsissimis ad honorem præsidentium, & subsellijs ordine collocatis, ornato & post omnia Sancto Sanctorum, videlicet, Altari, in medio constituto, &c. *The Church being ended and comely furnished with high Thrones for the honor of the Rulers, and with stalles beneath set in order, and last of all, the Holy of Holies, I meane*, The Altar, being placed in the middest. Eusebius saith not, the Altar was set at the end of the Quire, but in the middest of the Church among the people. *Eusebius li. 10. cap. 4. Ex oratione Panegyrica in Encæniis.*

S. Augustine likewise saith thus: Christus quotidiè pascit: Mensa ipsius est illa in medio constituta. Quid causæ est, ô audientes, vt mensam videatis, & ad epulas non accedatis? *Christ feedeth vs daily: and this is his table* heere set in the middest. *O my hearers, what is the matter that ye see the table, and yet come not to the meat?* In the Councell of Constantinople it is written thus: Tempore diptychorum, cucurrit omnis multitudo cum magno silentio circumcirca Altare, & audiebant: *When the Lesson or the Chapter was a reading, the people with silence drew together* round about the Altar, *and gaue eare.* And to leaue others, Durandus examining the cause why the Priest turneth himselfe about at the Altar, yeldeth this reason for the same: In medio Ecclesiæ aperui os meum: *In the middest of the Church I opened my mouth.* And Platina noteth, that Bonifacius Bishop of Rome, was the first that in the time of the Ministration diuided the Priest from the people. *Augustinus de Verbis Domini secundu Iohan. Sermon. 42. Concil. Constantinop. 5. Act. 1. Durandus li. 5. Platina.*

Communion Tables or Altars.

To leaue further allegations, wee ſee by theſe few, that the Quire was then in the Bodie of the Church, diuided with Railes from the reſt, whereof it was called *Cancelli*, a Chancell, and commonly of the Grækes, Presbyterium, for that it was a place ſpecially appointed vnto the Prieſts and Miniſters, and ſhut vp from all others, for diſturbing the holy Miniſterie, as it appeareth notably by the ſtorie of S. Ambroſe, that willed the Emperour Theodoſius himſelfe to depart forth, and by Nazianzenus in the life of S. Baſil, and by a Decree vnder the name of Clemens, and by the Councell of Laodicea concerning the ſame: and, as it may be gathered by S. Chryſoſtome, at certaine times of the Seruice was drawen with Courtaines.

Theodoret li. 5. cap. 18.
Nazianzen. in vita Baſilij.
De Con. diſt. 2. Sacerdotum.
Concil. Laodicen. ca. 19.

Euen at this day in the great Churches at Millane, Naples, Lions, Mens, and Rome, and in the Church of S. Laurence in Florence the Prieſt at his Seruice ſtandeth towards the Weſt, and ſo hath his face ſtill vpon the people. And therefore Durandus ſaith: *In ſuch places the Prieſt needeth not to turne himſelfe round when he ſaith,* Dominus vobiſcum, *and ſalluteth the people.*

Chryſoſtom. in epiſt. ad Epheſ. hom. 3.
Chryſoſt. in 2. ad Cor. hom. 18
Clemens Strom. li. 7.

And whereas M. Harding imagineth, that the people for diſtance of place, could not heare what the Prieſt ſaid, a man that hath conſidered the old Fathers with any diligence, may ſone ſee, he is farre deceiued. For Chryſoſtome ſaith: *The Deacon at the holy Myſteries ſtood vp, and thus ſpake vnto the people:* Oremus pariter omnes: *Let vs pray all together.* And againe he ſaith: *The Prieſt and the People at the Miniſtration talke together. The Prieſt ſaith, The Lord be with you: The People anſwereth, And with thy Spirit.* Iuſtinian the Emperour commanded, that the Prieſt ſhould ſo ſpeake aloud at the holy Miniſtration, *As the people might heare him.* Clemens Alexandrinus ſaith: Eſt ergo, quod eſt hîc apud nos Altare, terreſtris congregatio eorum, qui ſunt dedicati orationibus: qui veluti vnam vocem habent Communem, & vnam mentem: *The Altar that wee haue, is an earthly Congregation of men giuen to praiers, which haue, as it were, both voice and minde common together.* And to leaue reheartall of others, Beſſarion ſaith: Sacerdote verba illa pronunciante, aſſiſtens populus in vtraque parte reſpondet, Amen: *The Prieſt ſpeaking theſe words, the people ſtanding by, at each part of the Sacrament, or on euery ſide, ſaith* Amen.

Beſſarion de Sacramento Euchariſtiæ.

Now iudge thou, good Reader, what truth may ſeeme to be in that M. Harding addeth hereto: That the people remaining in ſeemely wiſe in the neather part of the Church, was inſtructed by certaine Ceremonies and tokens ſhewed in the Quire, and gaue aſſent and ſaid Amen, vnto the Prieſt praying at the Altar, although they vnderſtood no part of his praier. Certainly, S. Paul ſaith; Quomodo dicet, Amen, ad tuam gratiarum actionem? Quandoquidem neſcit quid dicas: *How ſhall he ſay* Amen, *and giue aſſent vnto thy thankeſgiuing? For hee knoweth not what thou ſaieſt.* So ſaith S. Auguſtine: Vt populus ad id, quod plane intelligit, dicat Amen: *That the people vnto that they plainly vnderſtand, may ſay* Amen. Likewiſe S. Ambroſe: Imperitus audiens, quod non intelligit, neſcit finem orationis, & non reſpondet Amen: id eſt, Verum, vt confirmetur benedictio. Per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis, qui reſpondent Amen: vt omnia dicta veri teſtimonio in audientium mentibus confirmentur: *The vnlearned, hearing that he vnderſtandeth not, knoweth not the end of the praier, neither ſaith Amen: that is to ſay,* It is true: *That the Prieſts Bleſſing may be confirmed. For by them that anſwer Amen, the Praier is confirmed: whereby is meant, that whatſoeuer is ſpoken by the teſtimonie of the truth, be made good in the mindes of the hearers.* Seeing therefore that neither Altars were erected in the Apoſtles time: nor the Communion Table, that then was vſed, ſtood ſo farre off from the Body of the Church: nor the people gaue aſſent to that, they vnderſtood not: ſo many vntruths being found in M. Hardings premiſſes, wee may well and ſafely ſtand in doubt of his concluſion.

1. Cor. 14.

Auguſtin. de Catechizandis rudibus, cap. 9.
Ambroſ. in 1. Cor. cap. 14.

M. Harding. The 27. Diuiſion.

Whereas you, M. Iewel, allege S. Paul for your purpoſe, & make him to ſay thus, otherwiſe than he wrote; If thou make thy praier in the congregation with thy ſpirit, or noiſe of ſtrange words, how ſhall the vnlearned man thereunto ſay Amen? For he knoweth not what thou ſaiſt; you bombaſt this text with your owne counterfet ſtuffing. The tranſlation authorized by King Edward and his Counſell, is truer, and followeth the Greeke neerer, which hath thus; When thou bleſſeſt with the ſpirit, how ſhall hee that occupieth the roome of the vnlearned, ſay Amen, at thy giuing of thankes, ſeeing he vnderſtandeth not what thou faieſt? Heere the Apoſtle S. Paul ſpeaketh of bleſſing or thankeſgiuing with the ſpirit; which ſpirit, what it is, it is not eaſie to declare, after the iudgement of your owne Patriarke, Iohn Caluin. S. Ambroſe taketh it for the ſpirit we haue receiued in Baptiſme, that doth incline and moeue vs ro praier. S. Thomas for the holy ghoſt giuen to vs, for reaſon, and for the power imaginatiue. Eraſmus, for the voice it ſelfe. Iſidorus Clarius, for the power of pronouncing or vtterance; ſome, for the breath that paſſeth the throat; ſome, for the intention; S. Auguſtine very ſubtlely, *Pro apprehenſione quæ ideas concipit, & ſigna rerum.* Caluine in his Inſtitutions, *De Oratione, cap.* 15. for the ſound of the mouth, that is cauſed of the breath of a mans throat, and rebounding of the aire. Chryſoſtome, for the ſpirituall gift, or the gift of the holy Ghoſt to ſpeake with tongues. Which Caluine himſelfe, ſitting in iudgement as it were, vpon this doubtfull matter, alloweth beſt, and condemneth the minde of all others, and alſo his owne though vnawares, as it ſeemeth, and

1. Cor. 14.

and ſo he would condemne your noiſe of ſtrange words likewiſe if he heard it. This text being ſo doubtfull of it ſelfe in ſenſe, ſo put out of tune by your noiſe of ſtrange words, wherewith you deſcant vpon the word Spirit, ſo violently applied by your new fangled expoſition, maketh little to the condemnation of the Latine Seruice in the Latine Church, ſpecially ſeeing that S. Paul meaneth by that miraculous ſpeaking with tongues, vſed or rather abuſed among the Corinthians, a farre different maner of ſpeaking from that ſpeaking whereby the Prieſt vttereth the Common Seruice.

The Prieſt (I grant) ſaying his Seruice to his Pariſh, ſpeaketh with a tongue, but ſuch maner of ſpeaking is not that which S. Paul meant. For the Prieſt vnderſtandeth it for the better part, if hee bee learned, and (83) the people be not vtterly ignorant, becauſe of often preaching, long cuſtome, ſolemne feaſts and vndue Ceremonies. And therefore your argument gathered out of that text, concludeth nothing againſt hauing the Seruice in the learned Latine tongue, not perfectly vnderſtanded of the vnlearned people. Verily, if you admit the exact iudgement of S. Auguſtine concerning this place of S. Paul, then muſt you ſeeke for other Scriptures & proofs of your Engliſh Seruice. For, as he diſcuſſeth this point learnedly, by the tongue, S. Paul meaneth not the Latine, Greeke or Hebrew, among the vnlearned people, or any other alien or ſtrange tongue, but only, and that by way of Metaphor, any maner of vtterance whereby the ſignes of things are pronounced before they be vnderſtanded. And by the Spirit, hee vnderſtandeth not a noiſe of ſtrange words, after your ſtrange interpretation, but as it is heere in a certaine proper and peculiar maner taken, a power of the ſoule inferiour to the minde, which conceiueth the ſimilitudes of things, and vnderſtandeth them not. And things ſo vttered be vttered with the tongue and ſpirit, whether it bee in Engliſh or Latine, or any other language.

The 83. vntruth. For the ſimple people vnderſtandeth not one word or ſyllable of the Latine tongue.

Vide Auguſtinum lib. 12. de Geneſ. ad litteram c. 7. & 8. & 9.

And Sir, although the people vnderſtand not in moſt exact wiſe what the Prieſt ſaith in the Latine Seruice, yet haue they commodity and profit thereby, ſo far as it pleaſeth God to accept the common prayer of the Church, pronounced by the Prieſt for them.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Heere M. Harding hath found a ſport to paſſe the time withall. He maketh M. Caluin a Patriarke, and ſetteth him on high in iudgement, to condemne all the World. S. Pauls meaning is bombaſted and brought out of tune with a noiſe of ſtrange words. And in this point he doubleth and ſheweth copy, and plaieth round about merrily with his owne fantaſie. Wherein he may not be much offended, if I ſay vnto him, as S. Hierome ſaid ſometime vnto S. Ambroſe, for his Commentaries vpon S. Luke: Verbis ludis: ſententijs dormitas: That is, *Your words be pleaſant: but your ſenſes be halfe aſleepe.* *Ruffinus.*

For that I ſaw theſe words of S. Paul, If thou bleſſe with thy Spirit, might ſeeme doubtfull, and diuers expoſitions riſing thereupon, I thought it meet for the more eaſe of the vnlearned, to open what S. Paul might ſeeme to meane by this word Spirit, in that place. And following the iudgement of ſundry old Fathers, I called it a ſound or noiſe of vnknowen words. This is it, that M. Harding heere ſo pleaſantly calleth, Stuffing and bombaſte, and a ſtrange new fangled interpretation. Wherein he ſheweth himſelfe to be ſomewhat ſhort witted, as may ſone appeare. For within a few lines after, expounding theſe words of S. Paul (Quam decem millia verborum in lingua) he himſelfe vſeth the like bombaſte, and the very ſame ſtuffing.

Verily, if hee will vtterly condemne all maner Paraphraſe, or adding of other words for declaration of that ſeemeth hard, or doubtfull in the text, then muſt he needs condemne not only the Septuagints, but alſo all other Interpreters of the Scriptures. Whereof Origen weighing in what ſort the Apoſtle S. Paul allegeth the words of the Prophet Dauid, writeth thus: Sed quòd dixit Apoſtolus, Sicut ſcriptum eſt, Non eſt iuſtus quiſquam, non eſt intelligens, non eſt requirens Deum, Non ijſdem Sermonibus inuenitur in Pſalmo; ſed alij permutantur, alij aſſuuntur, alij relinquuntur. Quod à ſtudioſis quibuſque ſi obſeruetur diligentiùs, puto dari in hoc Apoſtolicam authoritatem, vt cùm Scripturæ teſtimonijs vtendum fuerit, ſenſum magis ex ea, quàm verba capiamus: *But where* (as S. Paul ſaith) *As it is written*, There is not one iuſt man, there is not one of vnderſtanding, there is not one that ſeeketh after God, *This place is not found in the Pſalme by theſe words, but ſome words are altered by S. Paul, and ſome others are added vnto, and ſome are left out. Which thing if the Reader aduiſedly conſider, I thinke that heerein the Apoſtles authority is declared, that when we haue need to vſe the teſtimony of the Scriptures, wee rather take the meaning thereof, than the words.* Origen ſaith, S. Paul both altered the words of the Prophet, and added to, and toke fro: Yet, I truſt, M. Harding will not ſay, *S. Paul bombaſted or ſtuffed the Scriptures.* *Origen. in epiſt. ad Roman. ca. 3. li. 3.*

Perhaps he will replie, S. Paul by this word Spirit, meant not a ſtrange tongue, or a noiſe of vnknowen words: and therefore this ſtuffing is counterfet. And becauſe M. Harding ſaith ſo, perhaps the ſimple Reader will ſo beleeue it. But if the Old Doctours and Fathers ſo expound it, then all this ſtrange mirth and triumph might haue beene ſpared

S. Ambroſe openeth S. Pauls meaning, and ſheweth what he vnderſtood by this word: Spirit, in this wiſe: Si tu benedixeris ſpiritu, hoc eſt, (ſi laudem Dei lingua loquaris ignota audientibus: If thou bleſſe with thy Spirit, *that is to ſay, If thou vtter the praiſe of God in a tongue vnknowen vnto the hearers.* This, I trow, is no bombaſte, nor counterfet ſtuffing *Ambro. in 1. Cor. cap. 14.*

The learned Latine tongue.

Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. 14. Hom. 35.

Eraſmus in 1. Corin. 14.

Dionyſius Carthuſian. in 1. Cor. 14.

Anſelmus in 1. Corin. 14.

Hugo Cardin. citat Gregorii.

Auguſt. ad Quodvult-Deum.

ſing: it is S. Ambroſe **Interpretation. Likewiſe** S. Chryſoſtome **expounding the ſame words, ſaith thus** : Si tu benedixeris ſpiritu, &c. Eſt quod dicit, huiuſmodi: Si peregrina lingua gratias agas, quam nec intelligas ipſe, nec cæteris idem interpreteris, plebeius non poteſt ſubijcere, *Amen.* If thou bleſſe with thy Spirit, &c. *The meaning heereof* (ſaith) S. Chryſoſtome) *is this : If thou giue thankes vnto God* (or pray) *in a ſtrange tongue, which neither thou knoweſt thy ſelfe, nor canſt expound vnto others, the vnlearned cannot ſay*, Amen. *This*, Chryſoſtome **ſaith**, *is S. Pauls very meaning.* **M. Harding ſaith** : No: it is a ſtrange new fangled interpretation. Eraſmus **in his Paraphraſe turneth it thus** : Si tu decantes laudes Dei, ſermone omnibus incognito : *If thou ſing out the praiſes of God, in a tongue vnknowen vnto all thy hearers.* Dionyſius **the Carthuſian likewiſe ſaith thus** : Si tu benedixeris Spiritu, id eſt non verbis, quæ ab alijs intelligantur, ſed tantùm lingua : If thou bleſſe with thy Spirit, *that is to ſay, not with ſuch words as others may vnderſtand, but onely with the tongue.*

Anſelmus **ſaith** : Spiritus meus orat, id eſt, flatus oris mei orat, dum loquor in oratione: My ſpirit praieth, *that is, The breath of my mouth praieth, ſo long as I continue ſpeaking.* **Whatſoeuer opinion M. Harding haue of** Eraſmus, **yet, I trow, of his modeſtie, he will not ſay, that either** Dionyſius **the Carthuſian**, **or** S. Ambroſe, **or** S. Chryſoſtome, **or** Anſelmus, **deuiſed new fangled expoſitions, or deſcanted vpon** S. Paul, **or ſet his text out of tune.**

But (**he ſaith**) the place of S. Paul is doubtfull; S. Ambroſe, S. Auguſtine, S. Chryſoſtome, Iſidorus, Eraſmus, and Thomas of Aquine vnderſtood it diuerſly. **And will hée therefore concludo thus**: Theſe Fathers miſtooke S. Pauls ſenſe; *Ergo*, S. Paul had no ſenſe? **Or**, Diuers Doctours touching this place had diuers iudgements; *Ergo*, we muſt haue no iudgement? **Or muſt we follow none of them becauſe ſome were deceiued? Or muſt wée follow them all together, becauſe they were Doctours? Indéed they diſſented ſomewhat in the taking of this word** Spirit, **as it is euident, but whether it were the holy Ghoſt that** S. Paul **meant thereby or Imagination, or Reaſon, or the Gift of tongues, or the ſound of the mouth, or the power of Vtterance, or the Voice it ſelfe, it is certaine and confeſſed by theſe and all other Doctours and Fathers, that** S. Paul **ſpake of** *an vnknowen tongue*, **and as** S. Gregory **ſaith**, De ſtrepitu oris: *Of the babbling of the mouth*: **and ſo conſequently of** *a noiſe of ſtrange words*, **wherewith M. Hardings tender eares are ſo much offended.**

Now forasmuch as it is auouched, that theſe words of S. Paul **make nothing for our purpoſe, let vs a little examine one or two of M. Hardings reaſons, and ſée, how well he applieth the ſame to his purpoſe. The firſt is this** : S. Paul intreateth of the miraculous gift of tongues: *Ergo*, His words make nothing againſt the Latine Seruice.

Againe : S. Paul willeth, that the Prieſt vtter the common Praiers in the Congregation, in ſuch language as the vnlearned may be edified thereby, and anſwer *Amen*: *Ergo*, (**M. Harding ſéemeth to ſay**) The Prieſt may vtter the Common Praiers in an vnknowen tongue. **Surely theſe arguments would make a ſtrange noiſe in the Schooles, and ſet all Logike quite out of tune. But if** S. Pauls **words make nothing againſt the Latine Seruice, as it is now vſed, what is it then that** S. Paul **condemneth? Why concludeth he thus**: *How ſhall the ignorant ſay* Amen *at thy thankſgiuing? For he knoweth not what thou ſaieſt.* **Why ſetteth he the whole difference in knowing and not knowing? Or what miſliketh he elſe**, *but the ſound or noiſe of a ſtrange tongue*, **whereby he thinketh the people in no wiſe can be edified? If all this be nothing, as M. Harding ſaith, then let him turne the whole courſe of** S. Pauls **words and ſay thus**: *Pray thou in a ſtrange vnknowen tongue, that the people may ſay* Amen: *for ſo may they ſay, although they know not what thou praieſt.*

The allegation of *the learned Latine tongue*, **which M. Harding ſo often vſeth, may ſerue rather to aſtonith the ſimple, than to make any good ſufficient proofe. So the ſubtile old Heretikes**, Marcus **and** Heracleon, **as it is reported by** S. Auguſtine **and** Arnobius, **vſed in their praiers certaine Hebrew, and other ſtrange vnknowen words, to the intent to amaze their hearers with admiration, and the more to commend and ſet forth their treacherie.**

No tongue is to be accounted learned in it ſelfe, but only in reſpect of ſome other thing, and as the learned terme it, Per accidens, , that is, either for the eloquent maner of vtterance, or for the ſubſtance of learned matter therein contained, or for the learning and knowledge of the ſpeaker. **But the Latine Seruice, beſides that it is not eloquent in it ſelfe** (as in déed it néedeth not to be) **ſometimes it holdeth not good congruity, but is vtterly void of reaſon. Wherein let this one example ſtand for many. In the praiſes of the Bleſſed Virgin, it is written thus**; Cuius Dominus humilitatem reſpiciens, Angelo nuntiante, concepit Redemptorem mundi: **By the learning of this learned tongue, wée are taught it was not our Lady, but our Lord, that was mother vnto Chriſt**: for ſo it falleth

out

out in conſtruction, *Our Lord conceiued the Redeemer of the World.* The ſubſtance of the matter therein contained, is ſometimes vaine and full of fables, ſometimes wicked and Idolatrous: the Prieſts, that vtter this tongue, for the moſt part ſuch as are hardly able to make it learned. Pope Zacharie ſaith, that a Prieſt in his time Baptized a Childe by theſe words, In nomine Patria, & Filia, & Spirita Sancta. And S. Auguſtine ſaith, that diuers Prieſts in his time, in their common Latine Seruice, whereas the people vnderſtod the Latine tongue, vttered Barbariſmes, and *Solœciſmes*, that is to ſay, ſpake falſe Latine: and further ſaith: Multa in illis reperiuntur contra Catholicam Fidem: *In theſame praiers many things are found contrary to the Catholike Faith.* Such is this tongue that M. Harding here ſo highly commendeth to be ſo learned. *De Conſecrat. Diſt. 4. Retulerunt. Auguſtin. de Catechizan. rudib. cap. 9. De Con. diſt. 4. Si non.*

But grant we the Latine tongue to be eloquent, copious and learned aboue all others. Yet thinke theſe men that Gods eares be ſo curious, or ſo daintie, that hee can abide no praier, but only in a *Learned language?* Verily S. Paul requireth no bragge of learning to be vttered in the Congregation, but onely plaine ſpéech and vnderſtanding, *That the ſimple may be edified.*

Caligula the Emperour ſet golden loaues, and all other Seruices of whole gold before his gueſts, and bade them eat. Indéed they had a glorious ſight to loke vpon. Yet had they nothing neither to eat nor to drinke, for contentation of nature. Euen ſo would M. Harding ſet his glittering Seruice of Greeke, Hebrew and Latine before the people, and bid them fed. A goodly ſhew, no doubt, to gaze, and to wonder at. But alas, nothing haue they there either to receiue or to taſte of, either to moue them to repentance, or to comfort and quiet their conſcience. It is notably well ſaid by S. Auguſtine: Quid prodeſt Clauis aurea, ſi aperire quod volumus, non poteſt? aut quid obeſt lignea, ſi hoc poteſt? quando nihil quærimus, niſi aperire, quod clauſum erat: *What auaileth a golden Key, if it cannot open that we would haue opened? Or what hurteth a woodden Key, if it be able to open? Seeing wee deſire nothing, but that the thing that is ſhut may be opened.* *Auguſtin. de doctrina Chriſtiana. lib. 4. cap. 11.*

The people (ſaith M. Harding) is not vtterly ignorant what the Prieſt ſaith. They vnderſtand him, although not perfectly, nor in exact wiſe, yet they vnderſtand him. Thus he doubteth and ſtaggereth betweene perfect and vnperfect, as not hauing yet well meaſured the peoples vnderſtanding. For to ſay, The ignorant perfectly vnderſtand the Latine tongue, were againſt the manifeſt truth: to ſay, They vnderſtand no part therof at all, were directly againſt S. Paul: for hee requireth vnderſtanding. Therefore M. Harding diuideth the matter, and ſaith: They vnderſtand the Latine tongue, although not exactly or perfectly: that is to ſay, They vnderſtand neither the Scriptures, nor the praiers, nor any one thing that is ſpoken, nor ſentence, nor word, nor ſyllable, nor letter. They heare the Prieſt ſpeake, and know not what he ſaith. They ſée him turne and geſture, and know not what hee meaneth. This (ſaith M. Harding) is the vnderſtanding of the Latine tongue. But alas, is this the vnderſtanding that S. Paul requireth, *That the people may bee edified, and anſwer* Amen? And what pleaſure hath hee in abridging and bridleing the vnderſtanding of Gods people? Why ſhould they not rather vnderſtand perfectly what the Prieſt ſaith? Why ſhould there be any imperfection in godly things? S. Paul wiſheth that wée may all grow vnto a perfect man in Chriſt Ieſus: and S. Auguſtine wiſheth, that the people may ſay Amen, *To that they plainly and perfectly vnderſtand?* *Ad Epheſ. 4. Auguſtin. de Catechizan. rudib. cap. 9.*

M. Harding. The 28. Diuiſion.

But S. Paul (ſay they) requireth that the people giue aſſent and conforme themſelues vnto the Prieſt, by anſwering *Amen* to his praier made in the Congregation.

Verily, in the Primitiue Church this was neceſſarie, when the Faith was a learning. And therefore the Praiers were made then in a common tongue knowen to the people, for cauſe of their further inſtruction. Who being of late conuerted to the Faith, and of Painims made Chriſtians, had need in all things to bee taught. But after that the Faithfull people was multiplied and increaſed in great numbers, and had beene ſo well inſtructed in all points of Religion, as by their owne accord they conformed themſelues to the Miniſters at the Common Praiers; in the Latine Church the Seruice was ſet out in Latine; and it was thought ſufficient, part of the people in the Quire to anſwer for the whole. And this hath beene eſteemed for a more expedite and conuenient order, than if it were in the vulgar tongue of euery Nation.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Who ſo will maintaine an vntruth, ought to bée circumſpect and to remember well, how his tales may ſtand together. M. Harding a little before wrote thus: Cicero ſaith, Tongues be in number infinite. Of them all, neither M. Iewel, nor any one of his ſide is able to ſhew, that the publike Seruice of the Church in any Nation, was euer for the ſpace of ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt in any other tongue, than in Greeke or Latine. Now contrariwiſe, either of forgetfulneſſe what he hath ſaid before, or of ſome better aduice, hee ſaith thus: Verily in the Primitiue Church this was neceſſary, when the Faith was a learning. And therfore the praiers were made then in a common *M. Harding contrarie to himſelfe.*

tongue known to the people, for cauſe of their further inſtruction. By theſe words he vtterly ouerthroweth, that he ſo confidently ſaid before: and very well confirmeth my aſſertion. M. Iewel may now take his eaſe. For M. Harding himſelfe is able to proue againſt himſelfe, that in the Primitiue Church the Seruice was miniſtred in the common tongue: and that he confirmeth for a veritie, and ſaith, It was neceſſary ſo to bee, and could not bee otherwiſe. Theſe ſayings of M. Hardings being directly contrarie, cannot poſſibly ſtand both together. If the one be true, the other of neceſſitie muſt nœds be falſe.

The reaſon that he gathereth in this place, ſtandeth vpon the diuerſitie of times. Then (ſaith he) the people was ignorant, and needed of all things to be taught. Now they are inſtructed and vnderſtand the Faith, and are increaſed in multitude. Therefore it is better now for expedition, the Seruice be ſaid in a ſtrange language, and that only the Clerke make anſwer to the Prieſt in ſtead of the whole Congregation.

Thus ſaith M. Harding, not by the authoritie of S. Ambroſe, S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Chryſoſtome, or any other like old Catholike Doctour, but only by warrant of late Doctours, Thomas of Aquine, and Nicholas Lyra, the former of which two liued at the leaſt twelue hundred yeres after Chriſt. His reaſon in ſhort is thus: The people now is inſtructed; *Ergo*, They ought to haue their Seruice in a ſtrange tongue.

If M. Harding minde to perſwade the world, he had nèd to bring other arguments. But what if the people be not inſtructed? What if they know nothing, no not the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith? What if there be no man to inſtruct them? What if the Prieſt be euen as is the people, and the blinde lead the blinde? Yet I trow, M. Harding will not alter his new Decrée: but his ſtrange Seruice muſt continue ſtill. Verily the vnderſtanding of God is the ſoule and life of Gods Church: and as it was neceſſary at the firſt planting thereof, ſo is it alwaies neceſſarie for the continuance of the ſame. S. Hilarie ſaith: Eccleſiæ, in quibus verbum Dei non vigilat, naufragæ fiunt: The Churches wherein Gods word is not watchfull, ſuffer wracke. Neither did S. Paul ſay, let this order hold for the time, while the faith is a learning, as M. Harding would haue him ſay: but thus he
1. Corin. 14. ſaith: Hæc quæ ſcribo, Domini ſunt mandata. Omnia ad ædificationem fiant: *The things that I write, are the commandements of the Lord. Let all things be done to edifie.* The edifying of the people, which is the finall cauſe hereof, continueth ſtill; therefore ought the vnderſtanding of the people, which is the efficient cauſe hereof, to continue ſtill.

M. Harding. The 29. Diuiſion.

I grant they cannot ſay *Amen*, to the bleſſing or thankeſgiuing of the Prieſt, ſo well as if they vnderſtood the Latine tongue perfectly. Yet they giue aſſent to it, and ratifie it in their hearts, and do conforme themſelues vnto the Prieſt, though not in ſpeciall, yet in generall; that is to wit, though not in euery particular ſentence of praiſe and thankſgiuing, or in euery ſeuerall petition, yet in the whole. For if they come to Church with a right and good intent, as the ſimple doe no leſſe than the learned; their deſire is to render vnto God glorie, praiſe and honour, and to thanke him for benefits receiued; and withall, to obtaine of him things behouefull for them in this life, and in the life to come. And without doubt this godly affection of their mindes, is ſo acceptable to God, as no vnderſtanding of words may bee compared with it. This requiſite aſſent and conforming of themſelues to the Prieſts, they declare by ſundrie outward tokens and geſtures; as by ſtanding vp at the Goſpell, and at the preface of the Maſſe; by bowing themſelues downe and adoring at the Sacrament; by kneeling at other times, as when pardon and mercie is humbly asked, and by other like ſignes of deuotion in other parts of the Seruice.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Yet once againe M. Harding would make the world beléeue that the ignorant people vnderſtandeth the Latine tongue, although not perfectly; and that they may in generall giue their conſent vnto whatſoeuer the Prieſt ſaith, although they know not one word what he ſaith. And ſo betweene S. Paul and M. Harding there appeareth a plaine contrarietie. For S. Paul ſaith, *The vnlearned cannot ſay* Amen *to thy praier, becauſe hee knoweth not what thou ſaieſt.* Yes (ſaith M. Harding) although he know not what thou ſaieſt, yet may he neuertheleſſe ſay *Amen*. But hereto he laieth his correction: I grant (ſaith he) they cannot ſay *Amen* to the bleſſing and thankſgiuing of the Prieſt, *So well*, as if they vnderſtood the Latine tongue.

O M. Harding, who taught you thus to qualifie the peoples duties? Why do you thus openly deceiue your brethren? Why teach you them to ſay Amen, to edifie themſelues, to be thankfull, and to conforme their hearts vnto God, Not ſo well, but in worſe wiſe, as you your ſelfe confeſſe, than you know they are bound to doe? Your owne tongue confeſſeth againſt your ſelfe, that you leade the people of God from the better, vnto the worſe.

I know the humble affection and deuotion of the heart is more pretious before God,
Iohn 4. than any vnderſtanding or ſound of words. For that inward is the praying in Spirit and

and Truth. And therefore God complaineth of the contrary: *This people draweth neere vnto me with their lips, saith the Lord, but their heart is farre from me.* Matth. 15. Hereof M. Harding gathereth this reason:

The people is deuout, and godly disposed:

Ergo, They must haue their praiers in a strange tongue.

I would M. Harding would consider, and reforme his reasons better. This is too simple: It needeth no answer. Certainly, if the simple people be so deuout, and so reuerentlie disposed in the darknesse, without any teaching, or vnderstanding, much more would they reuerently and deuoutly dispose themselues, if they heare the godly praiers, and vnderstood them.

Kneeling, bowing, standing vp, and other like, are commendable gestures, and tokens of deuotion, so long as the people vnderstandeth what they meane, and applieth them vnto God, to whom they be due. Otherwise they may well make them Hypocrites: but holy or godly they cannot make them. Cœlestinus writeth thus vnto the Bishops of France: Docendi potiùs sunt, quàm illudendi: nec imponendum est eorum oculis: sed mentibus infundenda præcepta sunt: *The people must rather be taught, than mocke: Neither must we deceiue their eies, but must powre wholesome precepts into their hearts.* *Inter Decreta Cœlestin. pp. 1.*

M. Harding. The 30. Diuision.

And whereas S. Paul seemeth to disallow praying with tongue in the Common Assemblie, because of want of edifying, and to esteeme the vtterance of fiue words or sentences, with vnderstanding of his meaning, that the rest might be instructed thereby, more than ten thousand words in a strange and vnknowen tongue, all this is to be referred to the state of that time, which was much vnlike the state of the Church we be now in. The tongue of the praiers which S. Paul speaketh of, was vtterly strange and vnknowen, and serued for a signe to the vnbeleeuers. The Latine tongue, in the Latine Church, is not altogether strange and vnknowen. For beside the Priest, in most places, some of the rest haue vnderstanding of it, more or lesse, and now wee haue no need of any such signe. They needed instruction: wee be not ignorant of the chiefe points of Religion. They were to bee taught in all things: wee come not to Church specially and chiefly to bee taught at the Seruice, but to pray, and to bee taught by preaching. Their praier was not vailable, for lacke of Faith, and therefore was it to be made in the vulgar tongue, for increase of Faith. Our Faith will stand vs in better stead, if wee giue our selues to deuout praier. They, for lacke of Faith, had need of interpretation, both in praiers, and also in preaching, and all other spirituall exercises: wee hauing sufficient instruction in the necessarie rudiments of our Faith, for the rest, haue more need, by earnest and feruent praier, to make sute vnto God, for an vpright, pure, and holy life, than to spend much time in hearing for knowledge. Concerning which thing, Chrysostome hath this saying: *Profectò si orare cum diligentia insuescas, nihil est quod doctrinam tui conserui desideres, quum ipse Deus sine vllo interprete mentem abunde luce afficiat*: Verily, if thou vse to pray diligently, there is no thing why thou shouldest desire teaching of thy fellow seruant, seeing God himselfe doth abundantly lighten thy minde, without any Interpreter. *Contra Anomæ Hom. 3.* The words of Chrysostome much abused.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Here M. Harding, by counterpoints, and by sundrie circumstances of difference, compareth the state of the Primitiue Church and his Church of Rome together, and thereof would seeme to proue, that S. Pauls words, which S. Paul himselfe calleth Mandata Domini, *The Lords Commandements*, stood good onely for that time present, and for no time afterward: as if he would say, Gods Will were mutable, or his Commandements hold only for terme of yeres.

I grant, there appeare great notes of difference betwéene the order of the Primitiue Church, and the order that now is in the Church of Rome. For, to leaue all that M. Harding hath here touched by way of comparison, and to note that may serue here to this purpose; The Rulers there wished and laboured that the people might abound in knowledge: Here their whole labour and studie is, that the people may abound in ignorance. There the Ministers spake with sundrie tongues, that the people of all Nations might vnderstand them: Here the Minister speaketh in a strange tongue, to the intent that no man may vnderstand him. There the simple and the ignorant were made eloquent: Here the Bishops, and Cardinals, and greatest learned, are made dumbe. And to prosecute no further, there appeared in the Primitiue Church the vndoubted workes of the holy Ghost, and the very traces and steps of Christs feet: and therefore Irenæus, and other Old Fathers, in cases of doubt, appealed euermore to the order and example of that Church. And Tertullian saith: Hoc aduersus omnes Hæreses valet, id esse verum, quodcunque prius: id esse adulterinum, quodcunque posterius: *This Marke preuaileth against all Hereses: That is the truth, that was vsed first: that is false and corrupt, that was brought in afterward.* And therefore the holy Fathers in the Councell of Nice made this generall shout, and agreed vpon the same: τὰ ἀρχαῖα κρατείτω: *Let the ancient orders hold still:* reserring themselues thereby, to the vse and order of the Primitiue Church. Contrariwise, *Irenæus lib. 3. cap. 3.* *Tertull. aduersus Praxeam.* *Concil. Nicen.*

wiſe, Valentinus, Marcion, and other like Heretikes, thought themſelues wiſeſt of all others, and therefore vtterly refuſed (as M. Harding and his fellowes now doe) to ſtand
Iren. li. 3. ca. 2. to the Apoſtles orders. Thus Irenæus writeth of them: Dicent ſe non ſolùm Presbyteris, ſed etiam Apoſtolis ſapientiores eſſe, & ſinceram veritatem inueniſſe: *They will ſay, that they are wiſer not only than other Prieſts, but alſo than the Apoſtles, and that they haue found out the perfect truth.* I ſay not, M. Harding is ſo wickedly minded as Valentinus or Marcion was: but thus I ſay; He vtterly refuſeth to ſtand to the Apoſtles orders, and followeth other late deuiſed fantaſies: and therein vndoubtedly doth euen as the old Heretikes Marcion and Valentinus did.

Now let vs conſider M. Hardings reaſons:

1 The ſtate (ſaith he) of the Primitiue Church was farre vnlike the ſtate of the Church we be now in:

Ergo, We are not bound to S. Pauls Commandements.

2 Againe he ſaith: Some one or other in a pariſh vnderſtandeth ſomewhat of the Latine tongue:

3 The people is ſufficiently inſtructed in Religion:

4 They come together now, not ſo much to be inſtructed, as to pray:

Ergo, They ought to haue their Seruice in a ſtrange tongue.

O what meaneth M. Harding thus to deale! Loth I am to make the compariſon: But true it is: Very children doe not vſe to reaſon in ſo childiſh ſort. He knoweth well, that commonly neither any one of the whole Pariſh vnderſtandeth the Latine tongue, nor often times the Prieſt himſelfe. He knoweth that the people of his Church is not inſtructed in Religion, nor no man ſuffered to inſtruct them. And notwithſtanding both theſe parts were granted true, yet could he not any way conclude, that therefore the people ſhould haue their Seruice in a ſtrange vnknowen tongue. Thus neither is the Antecedent true, nor doth the Conſequent thereof follow. Now iudge thou, good Chriſtian Reader, whether theſe proſes beare weight ſufficient to lead thy conſcience.

He ſaith, Praiers in the Common Vulgar Tongue were neceſſarie in the Primitiue Church, for breeding of the Faith. But what thing can he breed by Praiers in a ſtrange tongue? What knowledge, what Faith, what Charitie? The Apoſtles were not void
Luke 17. of Faith: yet they ſaid vnto Chriſt, O Lord increaſe our faith. Chriſt ſpeaking of the latter daies, ſaith thus: When the Sonne of man ſhall come, hee ſhall ſcarcely finde Faith in
Luke 18. the World. Doubtleſſe the thing that was good to reare the Faith, is alſo good to repaire the Faith: and that was then neceſſarie to increaſe Faith, is alſo neceſſary now to continue Faith.

Chryſ. contra Anom. hom. 3. But to what end doth he allege the words of Chryſoſtome? Did that good Father euer miniſter the Common Seruice vnto the people in a ſtrange tongue? M. Harding knoweth, the people vnderſtood Chryſoſtome, what he praied, and anſwered him in their owne
Chryſ. 1. Theſſ. Homil. 3. tongue, and praied with him all together. Or did Chryſoſtome euer checke the people for their knowledge, or diſcourage them from reading the Scriptures? Certainly he often times rebuketh them for not reading, and willeth them to buy the Scriptures, to
Chryſ. in Mat. Hom. 2. read the Scriptures, and to conferre at home with their families, of the Scriptures. And
Chryſoſtom. in Pſalm. 43. whereas M. Harding, to withdraw the peoples hearts from reading, ſaith, the Scriptures are darke, and dangerous, and no man able to wade in them without a guide; S.
Chryſ. ad Coloſſ. Hom. 9. Chryſoſtome contrariwiſe, to encourage the people to reade the Scriptures, ſaith, They be plaine and eaſie, and that the ignorant and ſimple man, by praier vnto God, may attaine the knowledge of them, without any Maſter or Teacher, by himſelfe alone. For
Chryſ. contra Anomeos, Hom. 3. theſe be his words, euen as M. Harding hath alleged them: Profectò ſi orare cum diligentia inſueſcas, nihil eſt, quod doctrinam conſerui tui deſideres, cùm ipſe Deus, ſine vllo Interprete, mentem tuam abundè luce afficiat: *If thou vſe to pray diligently, there is no cauſe why thou ſhouldeſt deſire the teaching of thy fellow ſeruant. For God himſelfe will abundantly lighten thy minde, without any Interpreter.* The like ſaying he hath often other where. Declaring the Storie of Queene Candaces Chamberlaine, he writeth thus: Fieri non poteſt,
Chryſ. in Gen. Hom. 35. vt is qui diuinis Scripturis magno ſtudio feruentique deſiderio vacat, ſemper negligatur: Licèt enim deſit nobis hominis Magiſterium, tamen ipſe Dominus ſuperne intrans corda noſtra, illuſtrat mentem, rationi iubar ſuum infundit, detegit occulta, doctorque fit eorum quæ ignoramus: *It cannot be that any man, with great ſtudie and fernent deſire reading the Scriptures, ſhould ſtill be left deſtitute. For although we lacke the inſtruction of man, yet will God himſelfe, from aboue, enter into our hearts, and lighten our minde, and caſt a beame of light into our reaſon, and open things that be hidden, and become our Teacher of ſuch things as wee know not.* Therefore this place of Chryſoſtome ſtandeth M. Harding in ſmall ſtead, vnleſſe it bee by the countenance of an Ancient Doctour, to make the ſimple beleeue hee hath ſaid ſomewhat. The reaſon that he gathereth hereof, is this: *The vnlearned man, bee hee neuer ſo*

ſimple,

ſimple, may read the Scriptures in his owne Vulgar tongue, and vnderſtand the ſame without a Teacher: Ergo, *The Common Seruice ought to be miniſtred vnto the Lay people in an vnknowen tongue.*

Generall Councels.

M. Harding. The 31. Diuiſion.

I would not heere that any man ſhould lay to my charge the defenſe of ignorance, as though I enuied the people any godly knowledge. I wiſh them to haue all heauenly knowledge, and to be ignorant of nothing neceſſary to their Saluation. Yea, euen with my very heart I wiſh with Moſes, *Quis tribuat, vt omnis populus prophetet, & det Dominus illis ſpiritum ſuum!* O that all the people could prophecie, and were learned in Gods holy word; and that our Lord would giue them his ſpirit! But all the common people to vnderſtand the Prieſt at the Seruice, I thinke wiſe and godly men iudge it not a thing ſo neceſſary, as for the which the ancient order of the Church, with no little offenſe, publike and vniuerſall authority not conſulted, ſhould be condemned, broken, and quite abrogated, by priuate aduice of a few. Num. 11.

If default were in this behalfe iuſtly found, it is knowen to whom the redreſſe pertaineth. Concerning the ſtate of Religion, in all ages the Generall Councell repreſenting the Vniuerſall Church, for all ſores hath ordeined holeſome remedies. Where they be not heard, of whom Chriſt ſaid, He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me; it is to be feared, that concerning the Seruice, the new learned boldneſſe is not ſo acceptable to God, as the old ſimple humilitie. It were good the people, hauing humble and reuerent hearts, vnderſtood the Seruice: I denie not.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

M. Harding witheth vnto the people, All maner of knowledge, that is godly, and heauenly, and neceſſary for their Saluation. **Only his Latine Seruice he would in no wiſe haue them know. Whereby he ſeemeth plainly to grant, that his Latine Seruice neither is godly, nor heauenly, nor neceſſary for the peoples Saluation.**

He would, That all the people were learned in Gods holy word. **And notwithſtanding he know there is no man to inſtruct them, yet may he not ſuffer them either to read the Scriptures, or to vnderſtand any part of their Common Prayers. I trow he would haue them learne only by Reuelation.**

If any fault were iuſtly found (**ſaith M. Harding**) the redreſſe thereof belongeth to the Generall Councell. **I grant, the very name of a Councell is great, and weigheth much. But if there were none other poſſible way to ſeeke redreſſe, then moſt miſerable were the Church of God. If Chriſt and his Apoſtles would haue waited for a Generall Councell, the Goſpell had beene vnpreached, and the Church vnplanted, vntill this day.** It were good (**ſaith M. Harding**) the people vnderſtood the Seruice: I denie not. **Forget not this, good Reader:** That the people vnderſtood their Seruice, M. Harding himſelfe confeſſeth, it were good. **And why ſo? Doubtleſſe becauſe he is forced to ſee and ſay, that it would redound to the glory of God, and to the great comfort and profit of the people. Therefore hee ſaith,** It were good. **Whereof we may well gather this Argument of the contrary: Then: that the people in this braute ſort is kept ſtill in ignorance, not vnderſtanding any portion of their Common Seruice, by M. Hardings owne confeſſion,** It is ill. **And is it not lawfull to doe that is good, to redreſſe that is ill, to ſeeke Gods glory, and the comfort of his people, without conſent of a Generall Councell?**

It appeareth well, God is not bound to ſuch orders. He hath often times reſtored his Church, and reformed Abuſes and Hereſies, by particular conference within ſeuerall Realmes and Countries: as we ſee by theſe Priuate Councels holden at Carthage **vnder** S. Cyprian: **at** Neocæſaria **in** Pontus: **at** Ancyra **in** Galatia: **at** Gangra **in** Paphlagonia: **and by other like, without any conſent of a Generall Councell. So likewiſe ſaith** S. Ambroſe **againſt** Secundus **and** Palladius: *The Biſhops of the Eaſt part, and ſo the Biſhops of the Weſt, haue euer vſed ſeuerally to aſſemble themſelues together, as occaſion was offered, and to reforme their Churches by themſelues, without troubling the whole World.* *Cyprian. to. 2. In 1. to. Cõcil. In Concil. Aquileiẽ. in Collatione cum Palladio.*

But (**ſaith M. Harding**) Chriſt himſelfe hath by ſpeciall words commended the authority of Councels: Qui vos audit, me audit: *He that heareth you, heareth me: and hee that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me.* **We deny not the truth of theſe words: notwithſtanding it is plaine, Chriſt ſpake there no more of a Councell, than of any one priuate man, hauing Commiſſion from him, and doing his Commandement: whereunto the whole Councell is bound to yeeld, no leſſe than others, and without which the Councell, be it neuer ſo Generall, is no Councell. But where did euer Chriſt giue commandement, that the Seruice ſhould be ſaid in a ſtrange vnknowen tongue? Or where did any Generall Councell euer decree it? Once againe I aſke M. Harding, and gently deſire his anſwer, where did any Generall Councell, from the beginning of the world, euer decree, that the people ſhould heare their Seruice in a ſtrange vnknowen tongue? If there be any ſuch Councell, why doth he not ſhew it? If there be none, nor neuer were any, why doth he thus mocke the world with the name of a Councell?** Luke 10.

Cicero ſaith very well of himſelfe: Nihil nobis opus erat Lege, de quibus nihil eſſet actum *Cicero de legib. lib. 3.*

Generall Councels.

actum Legibus: *To reſtore me from exile, I needed no Law, againſt whom there was nothing done by Law.* So may we likewiſe ſay, We need no Councell to reſtore Gods Truth, that was taken away from vs without a Councell. Euery Prince is bound in the whole to ſee the Reformation of his owne Church and Country. Neither will God hold him excuſed if he ſay, I will tarry till all other Princes, and the whole world do the like. Ioſue, that noble Prince, when he had aſſembled all the Tribes of Iſrael before him, thus he ſpake vnto them: Si malum vobis videtur, vt ſeruiatis Domino, optio vobis datur: Ego autem, & domus mea, ſeruiemus Domino: *If yee thinke it ill to ſerue the Lord, yee ſhall haue your choice: but I and my houſe will ſerue the Lord.* It pleaſed God to plant his Church in this Realme, three hundred yeares before the firſt Generall Councell was holden at Nice. The Lords hand is not ſhortned. He is likewiſe able now to reforme the ſame by his Holy Word, without tarrying for a Generall Councell.

Ioſue cap. 24.

Polydor. Hildas. Theodoretus.

Eſai 59.

Howbeit, the world may ſee theſe be but prefects and vaine ſhifts, without any ſimple meaning. They haue now had a Councell of long continuance: They haue heard the great complaints of all Chriſtian Kingdomes and Countries, namely, touching their Common Seruice. M. Harding himſelfe confeſſeth, It were good the people vnderſtood it. Yet notwithſtanding the Councell ſaith, No, it were ill: It were not good: and can in no wiſe abide it. And ſo either the Councell condemneth M. Harding, or elſe M. Harding condemneth his Councell. But Chriſt ſaith vnto vs, *Let the dead bury their dead: Come thou, and follow me.*

Matth. 8.

M. Harding. The 23. Diuiſion.

Yet all ſtandeth not in vnderſtanding. S. Auguſtine ſaith notably, *Turbam non intelligendi vitandam, ſed credendi ſimplicitas tutiſſimam facit*: That is for the common people, it is not the quickneſſe of vnderſtanding, but the ſimplicitie of beleeuing, that maketh them ſafeſt of all. And in an other place: *Si propter eos ſolos Chriſtus mortuus eſt, qui certa intelligentia poſſunt iſta diſcernere, penè fruſtra in Eccleſia laboramus*: If Chriſt (ſaith he) died only for them which can with certaine or ſure vnderſtanding diſcerne thoſe things (concerning God) then is the labour we take in the Church, in maner, in vaine. God requireth not ſo much of vs, how much we vnderſtand, as how much we beleeue, and through beleefe, how much we loue. And when we ſhall all appeare before Chriſt, in that dreadfull day of iudgement, (84) we ſhall not be required to giue an account of our vnderſtanding, but (Faith preſuppoſed) of our Charity.

Contra Manichæum epiſt. fundamenti, cap. Ad Enodium, Epiſt. 101.

The 84. vntruth. For it is written: *Hee that knoweth not, ſhall not bee knowen.* 1. Cor. 14.

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Whereas M. Harding ſaith, All ſtandeth not in vnderſtanding; If he meane thereby profound knowledge, and deepe conceiuing of Myſteries, as S. Auguſtine alſo meant, it may well be granted. Otherwiſe, as touching the Publike Seruice, as Chryſoſtome ſaith, *Vnleſſe the vnlearned vnderſtand what thou praieſt, hee is not edified, neither can hee giue conſent vnto thy praier: thou throweſt thy words into the winde, and ſpeaketh in vaine.* And therefore the very ſubſtance of the Publike Praier reſteth in the vnderſtanding of the hearer.

Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. Hom. 35.

No man may iuſtly preſume of that M. Harding ſaith, Wee ſhall not render account of our knowledge. For at that terrible day of the Lord, we ſhall aſſuredly render account of our wilfull Ignorance. Chriſt himſelfe, vnto whom God hath giuen all Iudgement, ſaith *If the blinde lead the blinde, both ſhall fall into the pit.* And againe: *This is the Condemnation of the World: Light is come into the World, and men loue the darkneſſe more than the light.* This (ſaith Chriſt) is the Condemnation of the world. And the wiſe man ſaith, The wicked at that terrible time ſhall make their mone on this ſort: Aberrauimus à via veritatis, & Iuſtitiæ lumen non fulſit nobis: & Sol intelligentiæ non exortus eſt nobis: *We ſtraied from the way of the Truth, and the light of Iuſtice ſhined not before vs: neither did the Sunne of vnderſtanding ariſe vnto vs.* Chryſoſtome often times complaineth of the peoples negligence in this behalfe: Non ſum, inquis, Monachus: Vxorem habeo & filios, & curam domus. Hoc illud eſt quod omnia quaſi vna quadam peſte corrumpit, quòd Lectionem diuinarum Scripturarum ad ſolos putatis Monachos pertinere, &c. *Thou wilt ſay, I am no Monke: I haue Wife and Children, and charge of houſhold. This is it, that, as it were, with a peſtilence, infecteth all together, that ye thinke the reading of the holy Scriptures belongeth onely vnto Monkes.* He addeth further: Multò eſt grauius, atque deterius, ſuperfluam eſſe putare Legem Dei, quàm illam omninò neſcire. Hæc enim verba ſunt, quæ de diabolica prorſus meditatione promuntur: *The fault is greater, and more greeuous, to thinke Gods Law is ſuperfluous, (and not needfull for thee) than to be ignorant, whether there be any ſuch Law, or no: For theſe words come euen from the perſwaſion of the Diuell.* Againe he ſaith: Hæc diabolicæ inſpirationis operatio eſt, non ſinentis nos aſpicere Theſaurum, ne diuitias acquiramus. Propterea ille ſuadet, nihil omninò eſſe commodi diuinas audire Leges, ne quando ex auditu ſequi videat actionem: *This is the working of the Diuels Inſpiration: Hee would not ſuffer vs to ſee the Treaſure, leſt we ſhould get the riches. Therefore he counſelleth vs, that it vtterly auaileth nothing*

Roman. 14. 2. Cor. 5. Matth. 15. Iohan. 3.

Sapient. 5.

Chryſ. in Mat. Hom. 2.

In eadem hom.

In eadem.

thing, to heare the Lawes of God, lest that vpon the hearing, hee may see our doing follow. Here we see, **the Doctrine of simple ignorance, which M. Harding so stiffy maintaineth, is** called by Chrysostome, *The Diuels Study : The Diuels Iudgement : The Diuels Inspiration.* **And where he saith,** God will call vs to no reckoning of our knowledge, or lacke of knowledge; Chrysostome **plainely auoucheth the contrarie, by these words :** Dices, Non legi : Non est hæc excusatio, sed crimen : *Thou wilt say, I haue not read the Scriptures : This is no excuse, but a sinne.* *Chrys. ad Hebræos, hom. 17.*

Christian simplicitie is not wilfull ignorance, that is to say, to beléeue euery fable that is told, and to examine and know nothing. As Christ saith, *Be yee simple as Doues,* so he **also saith,** *Be ye wise, as Serpents. Take heed ye be not deceiued.* S. Paul **saith,** *He that knoweth not, shall not bee knowen.* Chrysostome **hereof writeth thus :** Paulus ait, Verbum Christi inhabitet in vobis abundanter. Sed quid ad hæc respondent fucis stultiores ? Benedicta omnis anima simplex : Et, Qui simpliciter ambulat, in fiducia ambulat. Hoc videlicet omnium malorum est causa, quòd non multi Scripturarum testimonia in opportunis rebus sciunt adducere. Non enim eo loco simplex pro stulto, aut pro eo qui nihil nouit, intelligendus est : sed pro homine non malo, nec versuto. Nam si ita intelligeretur, superuacaneum fuisset dicere, Estote prudentes, sicut Serpentes : S. Paul *saith,* Let the word of God dwell in you abundantly. *But what will these fooles say heereto ?* O *(say they)* Blessed is the simple soule. And, He that walketh simply, walketh surely. *This is the very cause of all mischiefe, that in cases of necessitie there be not many able to allege the Scriptures. For,* a simple man, *in that place, may not be taken for a foole, or a man that knoweth nothing ; but for a man that meaneth no ill, or worketh no fraud. For if it were to be taken so, it had beene in vaine for Christ to say,* Be ye wise as Serpents. **Therefore M. Harding, in the defense of ignorance, thus alluring the World, that God will not be offended with want of knowledge, deceiueth the people of God, and saith not the truth. The reason that M. Harding hereof gathereth, standeth thus :** Matth. 10. Coloss. 2. 1. Cor. 14. *Chrysost. in Iohan. hom. 16.*

The people, as S. Augustine saith, cannot attaine profound knowledge, and God beareth with their simplicitie.

Ergo, They ought to haue their Seruice in a strange tongue.

M. Harding. The 33. Diuision.

Now though the people know not the Latine tongue, and albeit it were better they had the Seruice in their owne vulgar tongue, for the better vnderstanding of it, yet as it is, forasmuch as (85) it consisteth in maner altogether of the Scriptures, that great profit commeth both to the reader and to the hearer of it, Origen sheweth at large in the twentieth homilie vpon Iosue. Because it were ouer long to bring all that he saith there to this purpose, the summe of the whole may thus be abridged : First, that the heauenly powers and Angels of God, which be within vs, haue great liking in our vtterance of the words of the Scripture. Though we vnderstand not the (86) words we vtter with our mouth, yet those powers, saith hee, vnderstand them, and thereby be inuited, and that with delight, to helpe vs. And speaking of the powers that be within vs, to whom charge of our soules and bodies is committed, he saith, that if the Scriptures bee read of vs, they haue pleasure therein, and be made the stronger toward taking heed to vs, yea, and that if wee speake with tongues, and our spirit praie, and our sense bee without fruit. And there hee allegeth to that purpose the common place of S. Paul to the Corinthians, calling it maruellous, and in a maner a mysterie, shewing how the spirit praieth, the sense being without fruit. After this he declareth the euill powers, and our ghostly enemie the Diuell, by our reading and hearing of the Scriptures, to bee driuen from vs. As by enchantments, saith he, Snakes be staied from doing hurt with their venome, so if there be in vs any Serpent of contrarie power, or if any Snake wait priuily to mischiefe vs, by vertue of the holy Scripture rehearsed (so that for wearinesse thou turne not away thy hearing) he is put away. S. Augustine confirmeth the same doctrine, where he saith, *Psalmus Dæmones fugat, Angelos in adiutorium inuitat :* The Psalme (read deuoutly, or heard) putteth Diuels to flight, and prouoketh Angels to helpe. At length Origen shewing how by meat or drinke we finde remedie for sore eies, though we feele no benefit foorthwith in eating or drinking, he concludeth his speciall part of comparison with these words : In this wise we must beleeue also of the holy Scripture, that it is profitable, and doth good to the soule, *Etiamsi sensus noster ad præsens intelligentiam non capit,* although presently our sense doe not attaine the meaning or vnderstanding, because our good powers by these words be refreshed and fed ; and the contrarie, that is, our aduersarie powers are weakened, and put to flight. At length making obiection to himselfe on the behalfe of his hearers, as though they should lay this doctrine to his charge, for excuse of taking further paines, in preaching and expounding the Scriptures to them, thereto he answereth, and saith, No, no, wee haue not said these to you for that cause, neither haue wee vttered these things to you for excuse, but to shew you, *In Scripturis sanctis esse vim quandam, quæ legenti etiam sine explanatione sufficiat :* That in the holy Scriptures there is a certaine power or strength, which is sufficient for one that readeth it, yea without any expounding of it. This sufficiencie hee referreth (I thinke) to the procuring of the good powers to helpe vs, and to the driuing away the malice of euill powers, our ghostly enemies, that they hurt vs not.

The 85. vntruth. For in the Romish Seruice there are infinite vanities, besides the Scriptures.

The 86 vntruth. For Origē speaketh of the ignorance of the Allegorie, not of the words.

In prologo Psalmorum.

S. August. speaketh of vttering the Psalmes in a knowen tongue.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

It appeareth, M. Harding is not so certaine of his Doctrine, but hee may alter and varie, without discredit. Hee held before for certaine, That the ignorant people vnderstandeth the Latine

M. Hard. altereth his iudgement.

Origen.

Latine Tongue, although not perfectly, or in exact wiſe. Now hée ſaieth to bée reſolued otherwiſe, that they vnderſtand it not at all. Theſe contrarie ſayings will hardly ſtand together, vnleſſe he meane, the peoples vnderſtanding, and no vnderſtanding, is all one thing.

Origen, as hée is héere alleged, ſaith, *That the very reading or hearing of Gods word, profiteth much, and reioiceth the Angels both within and about vs, although wee vnderſtand it not.* For better vnderſtanding hereof, I muſt briefly note certaine particular opinions that this godly Father had of Angels and heauenly powers. And to leaue much that might be ſaid, he held thus: that Angels haue their offices allotted vnto them diuerſly, ſome ouer trées, ſome ouer hearbes, ſome ouer other things: that ſome haue power to teach Grammar, ſome Logicke, ſome Rhetoricke, ſome other Sciences: and that ſome others are appointed to guide and guard vs in this life, and ſhall appeare before God, at the generall Iudgement, to yéeld account of our doings. By theſe it may appeare, what Origen meaneth by the Angels, that, as he ſaith, *be about vs.*

Orig. in Ioſue Hom. 23.
περὶ Ἀρχῶν. lib. 3. cap. 3.
Origen. in Numer. Hom. 20.

His ſaying is very comfortable vnto the ſimple minde, that delighteth in Gods word, although often times not vnderſtanding the déepe ſenſe of it. Of reading the Scriptures, his purpoſe was to ſpeake, and not of hauing the ſeruice or Praiers in a ſtrange tongue. Wherefore M. Harding was the more to blame, thus to wreſt his Authour to a wrong purpoſe. Origen often times exhorted the people to the reading of the Scriptures. Vpon Eſay the Prophet hée writeth thus: Vtinam omnes faceremus illud quod ſcriptum eſt, Scrutamini Scripturas: *I would wee would all performe that is written,* Search the Scriptures.

M. Hard. wreſteth Origen from his purpoſe.
Origen. in Eſa. Hom. 2.

In this place vpon Ioſue he laieth this obiection againſt himſelfe: *It may bee ſaid, The Scriptures bee hard.* Hée anſwereth: *Yet, that notwithſtanding, if thou reade them, they ſhall doe thee good. For the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, if he finde vs occupied in the Scriptures, and exerciſed in the ſtudie thereof, not only vouchſafeth himſelfe to be refreſhed and fed in vs, but alſo ſeeing ſuch a banket prepared, bringeth with him his Father vnto vs.* In the end hée concludeth thus: Hæc idcirco diximus, ne faſtidium capiamus audientes Scripturas, etiamſi eas non intelligamus: *Theſe things haue I ſaid, that we loath not to heare the Scriptures, although we vnderſtand them not.* And thus much Origen ſpake, not of the Grammaticall or plaine vnderſtanding of the Scriptures, that riſeth of the letter, but of the Allegorie, or profound ſenſe, whereunto the vnlearned cannot well attaine. For ſo he expoundeth his owne meaning, writing vpon the Goſpell of S. Matthew: Etiam illi ſaluantur, qui Literam Euangelij, hoc eſt, ſimplicem narrationem, ſequuntur. Sola enim narratio ſimplex ſufficit ſimplicioribus ad ſalutem: *Euen they bee ſaued, that follow the Letter, that is to ſay, the plaine ſtorie of the Goſpell. For only the ſimple ſtorie is ſufficient vnto the ſaluation of the ſimple.* So farre forth may the vnlearned haue profit by reading of the Scriptures, although hee further vnderſtand them not. So likewiſe ſaith S. Auguſtine: Qui diligit Legem Dei, etiam quod in ea non intelligit, honorat: *Whoſo loueth the Law of God, honoureth in it euen that thing that hee vnderſtandeth not.* Likewiſe hée confeſſeth of himſelfe, that at his firſt entrie into the Faith of Chriſt, he receiued great profit by reading the Epiſtle of S. Paul vnto the Romanes, *although he were not then able thorowly to conceiue the meaning of it.* And further, that by the counſell of S. Ambroſe, he read the Prophet Eſay: *And although hee fully vnderſtood him not, yet was he thereby made the meeter to receiue the grace of God.* The like alſo writeth S. Hierome, by way of Prophecie, of the latter daies, before the comming of Chriſt: In aduentu Meſſiæ populus eleuabitur, & prophetabit, qui ſub Magiſtris antè fuerat conſopitus, & ibunt ad montes Scripturarum: Ibi inuenient montes Moſen, & Ioſue filium Naue, montes Prophetas, montes Noui Teſtamenti, Apoſtolos, & Euangeliſtas: Et cùm ad tales montes confugerit, & in huiuſmodi montium fuerit lectione verſatus, ſi non inuenerit qui eum doceat, tamen illius ſtudium comprobabitur, quòd confugerit ad Montes: *At the comming of Meſſias, the people ſhall be lifted vp, and ſhall prophecie, that before lay aſleepe vnder their Maſters: and they ſhall goe to the Mountaines of the Scriptures, and there ſhall they finde Mountaines,* Moſes, *and* Ioſue *the ſonne of* Naue, *the Mountaines of the Prophets, the Mountaines of the New Teſtament, the Apoſtles, and the Euangeliſts. And when they ſhall flee to ſuch Mountaines, and ſhall bee occupied in the reading thereof, if they finde not one to teach them, yet ſhall their endeuour and good will be allowed, for that they haue fled vnto the Mountaines.* Thus may the ſimple haue profit by the reading of the Scriptures, albeit hee fully vnderſtand them not: Thus bee the Angels delighted: Thus is the Diuell moleſted and grieued with the ſame, as Origen himſelfe witneſſeth by theſe words: Dæmonibus ſuper omnia eſt tormentorum genera, & ſuper omnes pœnas, ſi quem videant Verbo Dei operam dare, ſcientiam Diuinæ Legis, & Myſteria Scripturarum, intentis ſtudijs perquirentem: *Vnto the Diuels it is a greefe aboue all kindes of torment, and aboue all paines, if they ſee any man labour*

Aug. in Pſalm. 119.
Aug. Confeſſ. lib. 7. cap. 12.
Aug. Confeſſ. lib. 9. cap. 5.
Hieron. in Nahum cap. 3.
Origen. in Numer. Hom. 27.

labour the Word of God, seeking with earnest minde the knowledge of Gods Law, and the Mysteries of the Scriptures.

Origen.

S. Augustine, as M. Harding allegeth him, saith: *The Psalme chaseth away Diuels*: But S. Augustine giueth not such power vnto a Psalme pronounced only with the lips, in a strange vnknowen tongue: but vnto a Psalme vnderstanded, and beleeued, and pronounced from the heart. For to say, The word of God only because it is written or spoken, is auaileable of it selfe without vnderstanding, as M. Harding seemeth to say, is a superstitious and a Iewish kinde of follie. Chrysostome saw and reproued the superstition therof in his time by these words: Quidam Sacerdotes partem aliquam Euangelij alligant circa collum. Dic Sacerdos insipiens: Nonne quotidie Euangelium in Ecclesia legitur, & auditur ab hominibus? Cui ergo in auribus posita Euangelia nihil prosunt, quomodo cum poterunt circa collum suspensa saluare? Vbi est virtus Euangelij? In figuris literarum, an in intellectu sensuum? *Certain Priests there be that binde a peece of the Gospell about their neckes. Tell me thou foolish Priest: Is not the Gospell euery day read and heard of men in the Church? If the Gospell do not profit a man being put in his eare, how then can it profit him being tied at his necke? For wherin resteth the power of the Gospell? in the form of the letters, or in the vnderstãding of the sense?* So may we say vnto M. Harding: wherein resteth the power of the Psalmes, wherewith the Diuell is vanquished? In the bare sound of the words, or in the sense & meaning of the same? Certainly S. Augustine saith: *The word of God worketh in our hearts*, non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur. *Not because it is spoken, but because it is beleeued.* Likewise saith S. Basil: Non qui ore profert verba Psalmi, psallit Domino, sed quicunque de puro corde proferunt Psalmodiam: *He singeth not vnto the Lord that vttereth the words of the Psalme, but they that from a pure heart pronounce the Psalmody.* Likewise Origen: Fiduciam habet ad Deum, non propter Verba Orationis, vel Psalmi, quamuis videantur bene composita, & de Scripturis electa, sed quia Altare cordis sui bene construxit: *He that praieth hath trust in God, not for the words of his praier, or of the Psalme, although they seeme to be well made, and chosen out of the Scriptures, but because he hath well made vp the Altar of his heart.* This was Origens whole and only purpose. He exhorteth not the people to heare Seruice in a strange language. Neither is M. Harding able to shew, that there was any such Seruice in the whole Church of God, either then in Origens time, or within fewre hundred yeres after him. Onely he incouraged the people to read the Scriptures, yea although they were not able to reach the bottome of them, as it plainly appeareth by his owne words following: In Scripturis Sanctis est vis quædam, quæ legenti etiam sine explanatione sufficiat: *In the holy Scriptures there is a certain vertue sufficient for the Reader, yea although they be not expounded:* And therefore he allegeth these words of S. Paul, *My spirit praieth, but my sense is without fruit*: not to warrant M. Hardings strange order of praier, which neither S. Paul, nor Origen himselfe euer knew; but onely to shew that as God of his mercie helpeth our weakenesse in praying, so likewise in reading the Scriptures he helpeth our weakenesse in vnderstanding. S. Paul saith: Quid oremus, quemadmodum oporteat nescimus: sed ipse spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus: *We know not what to pray, as it is meet for vs to pray: But the spirit of God intreateth for vs with sighes that cannot bee expressed.* Thus, saith Origen, *The Angels of God delight to see vs praying. Thus they delight to see vs reading.* But if they delight only to see vs pray or heare in a strange tongue we know not what, as M. Harding would gather, then are they the Angels of Darkenesse, and not of God.

Auguſt. in prolog. in librum Pſalm.

Chryſoſtom. in Matthæ. in opere imperfecto hom. 43.

Auguſt. Tract. 80. in Iohan.

Baſil. in Pſalm. 29.

Origen. in Matth. Tract. 25.

1. Cor. 14.

Roman. 8.

But of this place of Origen M. Harding gathereth these reasons: The Angels are delighted to heare vs read or pray, although we of our weakenesse know not thorowly what we speake; *Ergo*, the people in Origens time, had the common Seruice in a strange tongue. The errour or fraud hereof, may the better appeare by that I haue afore declared. It is called Fallacia ab Amphibologia, that is, of the doubtfull taking of one word. For this word (Vnderstanding) hath two significations. For we vnderstand the words, and we vnderstand the meaning of the words. Origen saith: *The people vnderstood not the meaning of the Scripture*: Ergo, saith M. Harding, They vnderstood not the words of the Scripture. Againe Origen saith: *They had no full and perfect vnderstanding*: Ergo, saith M. Harding, They had no vnderstanding at all. And therein standeth the fallhod of his argument. And againe, The words that Origen writeth of Reading the Scriptures, M. Harding applieth the same to the common Seruice, and so violently and perforce altereth and depraueth Origens meaning, and concludeth one thing for another. And thus this good Father is drawen in to proue that thing, that he neuer neither knew, nor did nor willed to be done.

M. Harding. The 34. Diuision.

I trust, wise, godly and stedfast men, who be not carried about with euery winde of Doctrine, will bee mooued more with the authority of Origen, a man alwaies in the iudgement of all the Christian world

accounted moſt excellently learned, than with the ſcorning of Caluine, who ſpeaking of the ancient Latine Seruice vſed in England and France, ſaith; *Ad Eccleſiam ex ſeruitio illo nihil fructus redit*: that of the ſound not vnderſtanded, no fruit at all returneth to the Church, vſing that word of deſpight that might better be ſpoken by a Minſtrell of his Pipe and Tabret, than by a Preacher of the Diuine Seruice. Neither herein of with any milder ſpirit ſpeaketh his Diſciple and Subminiſter Theodore Beza, the hot Miniſter of the deformed Churches of France; *Quicunque precatur aliquo communi idiomate quod ipſe non intelligat, pro Dei ludibrio ſunt habenda*: What praiers ſoeuer be made (ſaith he) of any man in a tongue that he vnderſtandeth not, they be to bee taken for a mockerie of God. Whoſoeuer heere alloweth Caluine and Beza condemned of the Church, muſt condemne Origen, for no point neuer ſo prooued or vouched of any, that haue not ſpared him where ſoeuer they could charge him with any errors. If all praiers made in an vnknowen tongue be a mocking to God, as Beza ſaith, then were the praiers vttered by miracle in the Primitiue Church with tongues (which the vtterers themſelues vnderſtood not after the minde of Chryſoſtome) a mocking of God; For I ſee nothing whereby they are excluded from his (87.) generall ſaying and vniuerſall propoſition. Verily this teaching of Beza is not ſound: I weene, if he were out of the protection of his deformed Churches, and conuented before a Catholike Biſhop to giue an account of this doctrine; he would ſtep backe and reuoke that raſh ſaying againe. For elſe he ſhould ſeeme to grant that God gaue at the beginning of the Church, the gift of tongues to be mocks withall: which were very abſurd and blaſphemous. S. Paul wiſheth that all the Corinthians ſpake with tongues, but rather that they prophecied.

In Iſaiam. cap.

Confeſſion. 4. ſection 16.

The 87. vntruth: For this generall ſaying of Chryſoſtome is vntruly reported.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

I marueil much what ſoundneſſe of Doctrine M. Harding can meane, hauing thus taken vpon him to be the Procour of ignorance: or how he can well commend others for conſtancie and ſtedfaſtneſſe, finding himſelfe with ſo light winges ſo often remoued: or wherefore he ſhould ſo highly commend that old Father Origen, at whoſe hands he findeth ſo ſmall reliefe.

That he thus bitterly chargeth that godly learned Father Iohn Caluine, **for ſaying thus:** *Of the vnknowen Seruice there redoundeth no maner profit to the Church*; **it toucheth many others moe, and not him only.** S. Auguſtine **ſaith thus:** Si Moſes mihi Hebræa voce loqueretur, fruſtrà pulſaret ſenſum meum, nec inde mentem meam quicquam tangeret: *If Moſes ſhould ſpeake vnto mee in the Hebrew tongue* (**for that I vnderſtand it not**) *hee ſhould beat my ſenſes in vaine, neither ſhould there any thing thereof enter into my minde.* S. Chryſoſtome **ſaith:** Niſi dixero quod percipi facilè, clareque à vobis poſſit, ſed linguarum more præditum me eſſe tantùm oſtendam, nullum ex his quæ non intelligitis, fructum facientes abibitis, credo. Nam quæ vtilitas eſſe ex voce non intellecta poteſt? *Vnleſſe I ſpeake that you may plainly and clearely vnderſtand, but onely ſhew my ſelfe to haue the gift of tongues, yee ſhall depart away hauing no fruit of thoſe things that ye vnderſtand not. For of a voice that ye know not, what profit can ye haue?* **Againe he ſaith:** Et vos, niſi ſignificantem ſonum dederitis, verba vento, hoc eſt, nemini facietis: *And you vnleſſe ye vtter a ſound with vnderſtanding, ye ſhall ſpeake to the winde, that is to ſay, ye ſhall ſpeake to no Body.* **And to paſſe by all others,** Nicolas Lyra **ſaith thus:** Si tu Sacerdos benedixeris ſpiritu, id eſt, abſque hoc, quod populus intelligat, quid proficit populus ſimplex, & non intelligens? *If thou being the Prieſt, do bleſſe with thy ſpirit, that is to ſay, if the people vnderſtand thee not, what profit hath the ſimple people thereby, not vnderſtanding thee?* **Therefore as M. Harding ſaith,** M. Caluine **in this point was a ſcorner, ſo might he as well haue ſaid,** S. Auguſtine, S. Chryſoſtome, Nicolas Lyra, **and others are all ſcorners.**

Auguſt. Confeſſion. lib. 11. cap. 3.

Chryſoſt. in 1. Cor. 14. hom. 35.

No fruit.

Speake to the winde.

Nicol. Lyra in 1. ad Corin. 14.

No profit.

If all praiers (**ſaith M. Harding**) made in a ſtrange tongue be a mocking of God, as Beza ſaith, then were the praiers vttered by miracle in the Primitiue Church with tongue, which the vtterers themſelues vnderſtood not, after the minde of Chryſoſtome, a mocking of God. **This expoſition of** Chryſoſtome **is very ſtrange and agreeth with few others: and yet is the ſame heere by M. Harding vntruly reported. For** Chryſoſtome **ſaith not, that whoſoeuer in the Primitiue Church vttered the praiers with tongue, vnderſtood not himſelfe what he ſaid, but plaine the contrary. For thus he ſaith:** Linguis loquens ſe ipſum ædificat: quod quidem fieri non poteſt, niſi quæ loquatur norit: *He that ſpeaketh with tongues, profiteth himſelfe: which cannot be vnleſſe he vnderſtand what he ſaith.* **And he addeth further:** Et hactenus quidem diſputat de illis, qui ea, quæ loquuntur, intelligunt: *Hitherto S. Paul diſputeth of them, that vnderſtand what they ſay.* **Heere by it is plaine that M. Hardings generall propoſition is not generally true.** *But others,* Chryſoſtome **ſaith,** *there were that abuſed the gift of tongues, and knew not themſelues what they ſaid.* **And whether this were a mocking of God or no, let M. Harding iudge.** Chryſoſtome **ſaith:** *It was a confuſion of the Church: a bragging and oſtentation of themſelues: without conſideration either of themſelues or of others: that ſuch a one was Simon Magus: that ſuch were the ſewes that betraied themſelues vnto the Diuell.* **And** S. Auguſtine **compareth them vnto Owſels, Pies and Rauens, that crie and chatter they know not what. Therefore I doubt not but** M. Bezaies **expoſition will ſtand, both before God, and alſo before any good Catholike Biſhop.**

Chryſo. 1. Cor. 14. hom. 35.

Eadem homilia.

M. Harding.

M. Harding. The 35. Diuiſion.

The Latin Church. The Pſalmes.

If our new Maſters condemne the Latine Seruice in the Latine Church, for that the people vnderſtand it not, thereof it muſt follow, that the Engliſh Seruice, ſo much of it as conſiſteth of Dauids Pſalmes, which is the moſt part, be alſo condemned. The like may be ſaid of other Nations. For how many ſhall we finde not of the people onely, but alſo of the beſt learned men, that vnderſtand the meaning of them, in what tongue ſoeuer they be ſet foorth? S. Hillary compareth the booke of Pſalmes to a heape of Keies, that be to open the doores of euery houſe of a great Citie laid together. Amongſt whom it is hard to finde which key ſerueth which locke, and without the right key no doore can be opened. S. Auguſtine likeneth the people of Aphrica, ſinging the Pſalmes which they vnderſtood not, to Owſels, Popiniaies, Rauens, Pies and ſuch other birds, which be taught to ſound they know not what, and yet they vnderſtood the tongue they ſung them in. And therefore he exhorteth them to learne the meaning of them at his preaching, leſt they ſhould ſing not with humane reaſon (as it is before recited) but with voice onely as birds doe.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Al your matter is fully anſwered and confuted: For M. Harding hath called vs *New Maſters*: euen with the ſame authority and ſpirit, that Haman **ſaid vnto King** Darius, Eſther 3.8. *The Iewes troubled his Countrey, and profeſſed and vſed a* New Law. **Certainly our Doctrine is Chriſts Doctrine, and hath the teſtimony, not only of the Law and the Prophets, but alſo of the ancient Councels and old Fathers.**

The greateſt proofe for the Latine Seruice, that M. Harding can finde, ſtandeth vpon the bare name of the Latine Church. And yet in that whole Church this day, there is not one Nation, that either ſpeaketh or vnderſtandeth the Latine tongue. Let M. Harding only leaue his portuiſe, and Latine Seruice, then hath he no further cauſe to bragge of his Latine Church. For, as it now fareth, his Seruice taketh not name of his Church, but his Church of his Seruice. Verily, as it is meet, the Seruice ſhould be in Latine in the Latine Church: ſo is it meet the Seruice ſhould be in Engliſh in the Engliſh Church.

We grant, the Pſalmes be hard, as it is alleaged, for the deepe ſenſes and high myſteries and ſecret Prophecies of Chriſt and of his Church therein contained. Beſides that, M. Harding hath found out a bunch of Keies in S. Hilary, **wherewith to ſhut out all the people. Notwithſtanding the right vſe of Keies is rather to open than to ſhut.** Chryſoſtome **ſaith:** Clauis eſt verbum ſcientiæ Scripturarum, per quam aperitur hominibus ianua Veritatis: *The Key is the word of knowledge of the Scriptures, by the which the gate of the Truth is opened vnto men.* **And** Tertullian **likewiſe ſaith:** Clauis eſt interpretatio Legis: *The Key is the expoſition of the Law.* **And therefore Chriſt ſaith:** *Woe be vnto you ye Scribes and Phariſeis, that ſhut vp the Kingdome of God before men, for ye enter not your ſelues, neither ſuffer others that would enter.* **And thus they doe,** ſaith Tertullian: Docentes potius præcepta & doctrinas hominum: *Teaching rather the commandements and doctrines of men.* **But if there be ſo manie Keies bound together, what if M. Harding haue miſſed in his choiſe, and haue taken one key for another?**

Chryſoſt. in opere imperfecto in Matth. ca. 23. *Tertull. contra Marcionē, li. 4.* Matthæ 23.

His reaſon ſtandeth thus: The ſimple people vnderſtandeth not the deepe meaning of the Pſalmes; *Ergo*, They vnderſtand nothing in the Pſalmes. **By this Key M. Harding may happen to ſhut out himſelfe. This is a falſe kinde of reaſoning, whith in the Schooles is called A ſecundum quid ad ſimpliciter. For albeit the people vnderſtand not all the high Myſteries of the Scriptures, yet it followeth not, that therefore they vnderſtand nothing in the Scriptures. For in the Scriptures there is both ſtrong meat for Men, and alſo Milke for Children:** *And in the ſame,* ſaith S. Gregory, *the Elephant may ſwim, and the Lambe may wade a foot.* *Gregorius in Epiſtola ad Leandrum.*

And if the Pſalmes be hard in the vulgar tongue, be they therefore eaſie in the Latine tongue? Or if the Pſalmes be darke, muſt the people therefore haue their Seruice in Latine?

Verily it appeareth both by Dauid himſelfe, and alſo by ſundrie old Fathers, that the ſimpleſt of all the people were able to vnderſtand the Pſalmes. Dauid **exhorteth,** *Yong men and Maides, Old Men and Children, to praiſe the name of the Lord.* **Children were able to receiue Chriſt with Pſalmes, and to ſing aloud,** *Bleſſed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord*; **and applied the ſame aptly vnto Chriſt.** S. Hierome **ſaith:** *The poore husbandman ſung the Pſalmes at his Plough.* **S. Baſil exhorteth the artificer** *to ſing Pſalmes in his ſhop.* Appollinaris **turned the Pſalmes into Greeke verſes, that Children might learne them in the Schooles.** S. Chryſoſtome **ſaith vnto the Father,** *Teach thy Childe to ſing the Pſalmes.* S. Auguſtine **ſaith:** *Pſalmes were purpoſely made, that yong Men and Children might learne to ſing them.* Protogenes **in the ſtead of Poets fables, and other like things, gaue Dauids Pſalmes to Children to expound. And that euery of theſe vnderſtood what they ſung, it may appeare by theſe words of** S. Auguſtine: Simul & cantare videmur, & quod ad ani- Pſalm 138. Matthæ 21. *Hieronymus ad Marcellam.* *Baſil. in Pſalmos.* *Chryſoſt. ad Coloſſ. hom. 9.* *Prolog. in Pſalmes.*

The Pſalmes.

mæ vtilitatem pertinet, docemur: *Both we ſeeme to ſing, and alſo withall are taught that thing that is profitable for our ſoule.* Therefore if any in Aphrica ſung they knew not what, S. Auguſtine **compareth them to Rauens or Popinaes. But will M. Harding thereof conclude thus:** They that know not what they ſing, ſing like Rauens or Popinaes; *Ergo*, The people ought to haue their Seruice in a ſtrange tongue.

Theodoret. lib. 4. cap. 19. In Prologo in Pſalmos.

M. Harding. The 36. Diuiſion.

The reſt of the Scriptures whereof the Seruice conſiſteth, is, though not altogether ſo obſcure as the Pſalmes, yet verily, darker and harder, than that the common peoples groſſe and ſimple wits may pierce the vnderſtanding of it, by hearing the ſame pronounced of the Miniſter in their Mother tongue. And by this reaſon we ſhould haue no Seruice at all gathered out of the Scriptures for default of vnderſtanding.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

The people (**ſaith M. Harding**) is groſſe and ſimple, and cannot vnderſtand the Scriptures by hearing the ſame in their Mother tongue; *Ergo*, They muſt heare it pronounced in the Latine tongue. **I told you that they may the better vnderſtand it. This ſeemeth to be a very ſimple argument, and a groſſe vngentle opinion of the ſimplicity of the people. God is not partiall, neither hideth his truth from the ſimple becauſe he is ſimple: but from the proud and reprobate, becauſe he is wilfull: and ſpecially chuſeth the ſimple of the World, to confound the wiſe. The ſimpleſt and groſſeſt of all them that M. Harding meaneth, is able to heare the voice of the Shepheard, and to follow him, but the ſtranger, of whom he hath beene deceiued by double doctrine, he doubteth him, and refuſeth him, and will not follow.**

Iames 4. Pſalm. 34. 1. Cor. 1.

Iohn 10.

M. Harding. The 37. Diuiſion.

The 88. vntruth. For the vulgar Seruice increaſeth deuotion, as by ſundry authorities it ſhall appeare.

And whereas, of the Seruice in the vulgar tongue, the people will frame leaud and peruerſe meanings of their owne leaud ſenſes; ſo of the Latine Seruice they will make no conſtructions either of falſe doctrine or of euill life. And as (88) the vulgar Seruice pulleth their mindes from priuate deuotion to heare and not to pray, to little benefit of knowledge, for the obſcurity of it; ſo the Latine giueth them no ſuch occaſion: they occupie themſelues whiles the Prieſt praieth for all, and in the perſon of all, in their Priuate praiers, all for all and euery one for himſelfe.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

He that vnderſtandeth what he heareth read (**ſaith M. Harding**) hath his minde wandering, and is drawen abroad with vaine imaginations. But whoſo vnderſtandeth not one word at all, neither what he heareth, nor what he ſpeaketh himſelfe, hath his minde cloſely fixed vpon that he ſpeaketh. **Thus M. Harding, as he hath made a new Diuinity, ſo is he alſo bold to make a new Philoſophie. For naturally, the minde vnderſtanding what it heareth or readeth, and being attentiue vnto the ſame, hath leſſe cauſe to wander and ſtray abroad.** S. Baſil ſaith: Lingua pſallat: Mens autem ſcrutetur ſenſum eorum quæ dicis: vt pſallas ſpiritu, & pſallas etiam mente: *Let thy tongue ſing: and let thy mind ſearch out the meaning of that thou ſpeakeſt, that thou maiſt ſing with thy ſpirit, and ſing alſo with thy mind.*

Baſil in Pſalm. 28.

But foraſmuch as M. Harding ſaith, the vnderſtanding of the Prieſt is a hinderance vnto Priuate deuotion, in fauour whereof he vtterly defaceth the Publike Praiers, it ſhall behoue vs to conſider, what the old Fathers haue thought in that behalfe. Chryſoſtome **thereof writeth thus:** Non æquè exoras, cùm ſolus Dominum obſecras, atquè cum fratribus tuis. Eſt enim in hoc plus aliquid, videlicet, concordia, conſpiratio, copula amoris, & charitatis & ſacerdotum clamores. Præſunt enim ob eam rem Sacerdotes, vt populi orationes, quæ infirmiores per ſe ſunt, validiores illas complexæ ſimul in cœlum euchantur: *Thou doeſt not ſo ſoone obtaine thy deſire when thou praieſt alone vnto the Lord, as when thou praieſt with thy brethren. For heerein there is ſomewhat more, the concord, the conſent, the ioining of loue and charity and the crie of the Prieſts. For to that end the Prieſts are made ouerſeers, that they being the ſtronger ſort, may take with them the weaker praiers of the people, and carry them vp into Heauen.* Likewiſe againe he ſaith: Quod quis apud ſe ipſum precatus accipere non poterit, hoc cum multitudine precatus accipiet. Quare? Quia etiamſi non propria virtus, tamen concordia multum poteſt: *The thing that a man cannot obtaine praying by himſelfe alone, praying together with the multitude he ſhall obtaine. And why ſo? For although not his owne worthyneſſe, yet the Concord and Vnity preuaileth much.* **Thus then ſtood the order of Chriſts Church: The whole multitude gaue care vnto the Prieſt, and at the end of his praier lifted vp their voices vnto heauen all together and ſaid Amen: which voice often times was ſo great, that, as it is alſo ſaid, S. Hierome likeneth it vnto a thunder clap: S. Baſil, vnto the roaring of the Sea. At that time, M. Hardings Priuate deuotion, as it is now vſed in his Church, would haue beene called Priuate Superſtition. And whereas he thus ſtrangely** ſaith, Deuotion is hindred by vnderſtanding: **His owne Doctour,** Nicolas Lyra ſaith otherwiſe **and condemneth him:** Si populus intelligat orationem Sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum

Chryſoſt. de incomprehenſibili Dei natura, homil. 3.

Chryſo. in 2. ad Theſſal. hom. 4.

Lyra in 1. Cor. cap. 14.

um & deuotiùs respondet Amen: *If the people vnderstand the praier of the Priest, they are the better reduced vnto God, and with more deuotion they answer, Amen.* The Emperour Iustinian, where he commandeth all Bishops and Priests to minister the Seruice with a loud voice, giueth this reason withall: Vt nientes audientium ad maiorem animi compunctionem, & ad reddendam Domino gloriam excitentur: *That the mindes of the hearers may be stirred vp to more deuotion, and to render praise vnto the Lord.* And S. Basil saith: Tanquam ab vno ore, & vno corde Confessionis Psalmum offerunt Domino: & verba pœnitentiæ eorum quisque propriè ascribit sibi: *As it were from one mouth, and from one heart, they offer vp vnto the Lord the Psalme of Confession, and the words of repentance euery of them appleth particularly vnto himselfe.* So likewise it is written in the Prologue before S. Augustine vpon the Psalmes: Quomodo debitè potest Deo psallere, qui ignorat quid psallat? *How can hee sing duly (or deuoutly) vnto God, that knoweth not what he singeth?* It is thought by these, notwithstanding M. Hardings contrary and priuate iudgement, that the vnderstanding of the Publike Seruice is no hinderance vnto deuotion, and their authority in this case may serue, vnlesse M. Harding will condemne them altogether, as he doth others, for *New Masters.*

Praiers Common and Priuate.

In Nouellis, de Ecclesiasticis diuersis capitulis.

εἰς πλείονα κατάνυξιν.

Basil. ad Clericos Neocæsar.

Prolog. in Augustin. super Psalmos.

M. Harding. The 38. Diuision.

(88) The Nations that haue euer had their Seruice in the vulgar tongue, the people thereof haue continued in Schismes, errours and certaine Iudaicall obseruances, so as they haue not beene reckoned in the number of the Catholike Church. As the Christians of Moschouia, of Armenia, of Prester Iohn his land in Æthiopia. Bessarion asking by way of a question of the Greekes his Country men, what Church that is, against the which Hell gates shall neuer preuaile, answereth himselfe and saith: *Aut Latina aut Græca est Ecclesia: tertia enim dari non potest. Si quidem aliæ omnes hæresibus sunt plenæ; quas sanctæ Patres, & Generales Synodi condemnarunt*: Either it is the Latine or the Greeke Church; for there is no third that can be granted. For all other Churches be full of Heresies, which the holy Fathers and Generall Councels haue condemned. Wherefore of these Churches no example ought to bee taken for Seruice in the vulgar tongue; as neither of the Churches of Russia, and Morrauia, and certaine other, to whom, aboue six hundred yeeres past, it was granted to haue the Masse in the Sclauons tongue, through speciall licence thereto obtained of the See Apostolike, by Cyrillus and Methodius that first conuerted them to the Faith. Which maner of Seruice, so many of them as be Catholike, for good causes haue left, and vsed the Latine, as other Latine Churches doe. Concerning the rest yet keeping their Sclauon tongue, beside other errours and defaults, for which they are not heerein to be esteemed worthy to be followed, wee may say of them the words of Gregory Nazianzene; *Priuilegia paucorum, non faciunt Legem communem*: The Priuileges of a few, make not a thing lawfull in common.

In Epistola ad Græc.

3. The 89. vntruth. For the Seruice in the vulgar tongue neuer was cause of Schisme or Heresie.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

This argument séemeth to hold thus: Seruice in the vulgar tongue is cause of Schismes and errours; Ergo, within six hundred yeeres after Christ, it was ministred in some place in a tongue vnknowen vnto the people. The force of this conclusion is euident: a very child may soone sée thorow it. If the antecedent were true, then should the Iewes, the Grækes, and the Latines, which euermore had their Seruice in the vulgar tongue, for that cause haue béene full of schismes and errours. S. Augustine, S. Hierome and other Fathers say, that pride and wilfulnesse of minde: Tertullian saith, that knowledge of Philosophie and affiance of learning, hath caused diuision and heresies in the Church, and therefore calleth the Philosophers the Patriarkes of Heretikes. The Bishops in the Councell of Toledo say thus: Ignorantia est mater omnium errorum: *Ignorance is the Mother of all errour.* But that the vnderstanding of the Common Seruice was euer thought the cause of Schisme or errour in the Church, I thinke it was neuer either written or spoken by any old Doctour, either Græke or Latine, or Iew or Gentile. Epiphanius reckoneth vp fourescore sundry heresies, that had béene before his time: S. Augustine reckoneth fourescore and nine. Yet do they not say, that any one of all those heresies euer sprang of vnderstanding the Common Seruice. No man would say thus but M. Harding: Neither will M. Harding thus say, when faction and contention laid apart, he shall either say that he knoweth, or haue regard to that he saith.

Tertull. contra Hermogenem.

Concil. Toletan. 4. ca. 24.

Epiphan. De Heresibus.

Augustin. ad Quod-vult-Deum.

Touching the Christians, which be in infinite numbers in Moscouia, Armenia, Ethiopia, and elsewhere, whom vpon verie short aduice, he hath condemned altogether for Schismatikes, if he would haue credit giuen vnto his tale, it would haue behoued him, both to haue declared their particular errours and heresies, and also substantially to haue proued, that their vulgar Seruice gaue occasion vnto the same.

The Christians of Russia and Morauia (saith M. Harding) afterward vpon good causes receiued the Latine Seruice. Howbeit of all these good causes he vttereth none. But after Cyrillus and Methodius by long preaching and great paines had conuerted them to the faith of Christ, and for the better continuance of that they had begun, were desirous that the people so conuerted might haue their common Seruice in their mother tongue, and the matter stood in suspense at Rome, in the Consistory before the Bishop there and his Cardinals, a voice was

Æneas Syluius hiſtoriæ Bohemice, cap. 13, heard by an Angell from Heauen: Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum: & omnis lingua confiteatur ei: *Let euery Spirit praiſe the Lord, and let euery tongue make confeſſion vnto him.* By this ſtory it appeareth, the Angell of God from Heauen was authour that theſe Nations ſhould haue their Seruice in their common tongue. Now if M. Harding be able to ſhew, that either Euangeliſt, or Angell, or voice from Heauen, euer willed them to leaue their owne naturall ſpeech, and to vſe the Latine, then may hée ſay they had good cauſes ſo to doe. Beſſarions authoritie in this caſe cannot ſéeme great, both for other ſundry cauſes, which I leaue, and alſo for that hée liued at the leaſt fourétéene hundred yéares after Chriſt, and being out of his owne Countrie, and created Cardinall, and Biſhop of Tuſculum, he manifeſtly flattered the Biſhop of Rome.

M. Harding. The 39. Diuiſion.

The 90. vntruth. For the contrary is ſufficiently prooued in the 35. Diuiſion of this Article.

A heape of vntruthes laid together.

Wherefore to conclude, ſeeing (90) in ſix hundred yeerés after Chriſt the Seruice of the Church was not in any other than in the Greeke and Latine tongue, for that any man is able to ſhew by good proofe, and the ſame not vnderſtanded of all people; ſeeing the authorities by M Iewel alleged, import no neceſſary argument, nor direct commandement of the vulgar tongue, but only of plaine and open pronouncing, and that where the tongue of the Seruice was vnderſtanded; ſeeing the Church of the Engliſh Nation had their Seruice in the Latine tongue to them vnknowen, welneere a thouſand yeeres paſt; Seeing the place of S. Paul to the Corinthians, either pertaineth not to this purpoſe, or if it be ſo granted, for the diuerſity of ſtates of that, and of this our time, it permitteth a diuerſity of obſeruation in this behalfe, though ſome likeneſſe and reſemblance yet reſerued; ſeeing great profit commeth to the faithfull people, hauing it ſo as they vnderſtand it not: Finally, ſeeing the examples rehearſed heerein to be followed, be of ſmall authority in reſpect either of antiquity or of true Religion: as the bold aſſertion of M. Iewel is plainly diſprooued, ſo the old order of the Latine Seruice in the Latine Church, whereof England is a Prouince, is not raſhly to be condemned; ſpecially wheras (91) being firſt committed to the Churches by the Apoſtles of our Country, and the firſt Preachers of the Faith heere, it hath beene authoriſed by continuance almoſt of a thouſand yeeres without controle or gaine ſaying, to the glory of God, the wealth of the people, and the procuring of helpe from heauen alwaies to this land.

The 91. vntruth. For the firſt preachers of the faith in this Iland were Greekes, and Hebrewes, and not Latines.

The 92. vntruth, ioined with a ſlander. For our Seruice conteineth nothing contrary to the faith.

And to adde heereunto thus much laſt of all, though it might bee granted that it were good, the Seruice were in the vulgar tongue, as in Engliſh for our Countrey of England. Yet doubtleſſe good men and zealous keepers of the Catholike faith, will neuer allow the Seruice deuiſed in King Edwards time, now reſtore againe, not ſo much for the tongue it is in, as for the order it ſelfe and diſpoſition of it, lacking ſome things neceſſary, and hauing ſome other things (92) repugnant to the Faith and cuſtome of the Catholike Church.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Héere M. Harding it appeareth, yée begin to miſlike your owne dealing, that after ſo many words, and ſo great a countenance of learning, yée ſhould be found ſo nakedly, and ſo vnſenſibly to deceiue the people. And therefore hauing no maner authoritie of ancient Councell or Doctour to allege againſt the Engliſh tongue in the Church of England, yet leſt in the end, hauing ſaid ſo much, yée ſhould ſéeme to ſay nothing, yée begin to find fault with the order of our Seruice, and without any maner of proofe, yée ſay, there are many things therein contained, contrarie to the Catholike Faith; and ſo contrary to your owne knowledge, yée maintaine one vntruth by another.

Tertull. in Apologetico:

you know, that wée ſerue God according to his holy word, and the order of his Primitiue Church. For (as Tertullian ſaith, the Chriſtian people did in his time:) Coimus ad diuinarum Scripturarum commemorationem, ſi quid præſentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoſcere. Certè fidem ſanctis vocibus paſcimus, ſpem erigimus, fiduciam figimus: *Wee meet together to heare the reherſall of the holy Scriptures, if the ſtate of the preſent time do force vs either to forewarne any thing, or elſe to call any thing to remembrance. Verily wee feed our Faith with thoſe holy words, wee confirme our hope, wee aſſure our truſt.* We miniſter the holy Sacraments in pure and reuerent ſort: wée Baptize in the name of God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt: wée receiue the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood from the holy Table: wée make our humble Confeſſion and fall to the ground, and pray altogether, with one heart, and one voice, in ſpirit and truth: and ſpecially wée pray for you, and for ſuch others, that yée may conſider from whence yée are fallen, and repent your ſelues, and returne to God: wée Excommunicate open offenders: wée receiue againe them that ſhew themſelues penitent: wée inſtruct our youth in the Faith of Chriſt: wée make collections and prouide charitably for the poore. Of all theſe things, what one thing is contrary to the Catholike Faith? O M. Harding, it is written, *The mouth that lieth deſtroieth the Soule*: And Chriſt ſaith: *The Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhall neuer be forgiuen, neither in this life, nor in the life to come.*

Sapien. 1. Matth. 12.

Now, good Chriſtian Reader, for the better contenting of thy minde, I beſeech thée to looke backe and to conſider the whole ſubſtance of all that M. Harding hath laid in for proofe of this Article, what weight it beareth, and how well it ſerueth to his purpoſe. He hath intreated largely of ſinging in the Quire, at what time, and where it firſt began: and likewiſe

likewise hath proued by a great long discourse of situation of Countries, and diuersity of tongues, that neither all the East part of the world vnderstood the Greeke, nor all the people of Aphrica, Mauritania, Spaine, and France, vnderstood the Latine: which labour in this case was nothing needfull. But that all the Nations of the East part had their Seruice in the Greeke tongue, and that all the people of Aphrica, Mauritania, Spaine, and France, had their Seruice in the Latine tongue, which thing onely stood in question, and therefore was onely to be proued, he hath hitherto vtterly left vnproued. Touching the Publike Seruice within this Iland, the story of Augustine of Rome, and Edda, and Putta, and other Poets, and singing men, as I haue shewed, standeth him in small stead. Contrarie to his owne knowledge, he saith, that the fourteenth Chapter of S. Paul to the Corinthians cannot necessarily be applied to this purpose. And further he saith, that euen from the Apostles time, the Priest euermore made his Prayers in the Quire, farre off from the hearing of the people: That the ignorant people vnderstandeth the Latine Tongue, although not in most exact wise, or perfectly: That they are now better instructed in the Articles of the Faith, than they were in the time of the Apostles: That it is sufficient for them now to be taught by Gestures and Ceremonies: and, That they haue great profit by hearing their Seruice, although they know not what they heare. Againe he saith, That the Greeke and Latine be learned tongues, and therefore all the Seruice of the Church, throughout the whole World, ought to be ministred in one of them: That all the Psalmes, and all other Scriptures, are hard, and farre passe the capacitie of the people: That vnderstanding of the matter, causeth the minde to wander: And to bee short, That Prayer in the Common Tongue hath euermore bred Schismes and Diuisions in the Church. He hath openly falsified Strabo, Iustinian, Origen, Chrysostome, and others, and hath forced them to say the thing they neuer meant.

This is the whole Summary of all that he had to say. Hereof he would faine to conclude, that within the first six hundred yeare after Christ, the Common Seruice was ministred openly in a tongue vnknowen vnto the people: Albeit, he hath hitherto alleaged neither Scripture, nor Councell, nor Decree, nor Doctor, nor Example, or practise of the Primitiue Church, to proue the same.

Of the other side, it is sufficiently proued of our part, that the fourteenth Chapter to the Corinthians must of necessitie belong to the vse of Common Prayers; and that in the Primitiue Church, the Seruice was euery where ministred in the Vulgar Tongue; and that the Priest and the people prayed altogether. I haue proued, not only that the Nations that vnderstood Greeke or Latine, had their Seruice in the Greeke or Latine tongue, but by Theodoretus, Sozomenus, S. Ambrose, and S. Hierome, that the Syrians had their Seruice in the Syrian tongue: by S. Basil, that the Egyptians had their Seruice in the Egyptian tongue: The Lybians, the Thebanes, the Palestines, the Arabians, and the Phenicians, each of them in their owne tongue: by Origen, that all Barbarous people had their Seruice in their seuerall Barbarous tongues: by Sulpitius, that the people of France, then called Gallia, had their Seruice in the French tongue. S. Hierome saith: Vox quidem dissona, sed vna Religio. Tot pene psallentium chori, quot gentium diuersitates: *The voice is diuers, but the Religion is all one. There be welneere so many companies of people singing, as there be diuersities of Nations.* To be short, I haue proued by S. Chrysostome, and by Lyra, and others, that there can no maner profit redound vnto the people, of prayers made in a strange tongue.

Iustinian. Lyra & Thom.

Hieronym. ad Marcellam.

Seeing therefore M. Hardings Doctrine standeth vpon so simple grounds, as I haue shewed, and serueth only to maintaine ignorance, and the Kingdome of darkenesse, it is now thy part, gentle Reader, to iudge indifferently betweene vs, both how iustly he hath coloured the same with such a face of antiquity, and also how truely and substantially he hath answered my assertion.

OF THE SVPREMACIE.

THE FOVRTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that the Bishop of Rome was then called an Vniuersall Bishop, or Head of the Vniuersall Church.

M. Harding.

Vniuerſall Biſhop.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuiſion.

By what name ſoeuer the Biſhop of Rome was called within ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſts Aſcenſion, this is cleere, that his Primacie, that is to ſay, ſupreme power and authoritie ouer and abeue all Biſhops, and chiefe gouernment of all Chriſts flock, in matters pertaining to Faith and Chriſtian Religion, was then (93) acknowledged and confeſſed. Which thing being ſo, whether then he were called by either of thoſe names that you deny, or no, it is not of great importance. And yet for the one of them, ſomewhat, and for the other, an infinite number of good authorities may be alleaged. But thereof heereafter.

The 93. vntruth. For there was no ſuch power confeſſed. Not one at all.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Touching theſe glorious Names and Titles, wherewith the Biſhop of Rome hath long ſithence furniſhed and beautified his eſtate, M. Harding ſeemeth in part willingly to yeeld: claiming neuertheleſſe the Supreme Power, and Vniuerſall Authoritie, vnto the See of Rome, and that euen from the Apoſtles time: notwithſtanding it was as eaſie a matter for Chriſt to giue Peter the Power and Title both together, as to giue him the Power alone, without the Title. But to auoid errour that might grow by miſtaking of words, him wee call, *The Vniuerſall Biſhop*, or, *The Head of the Vniuerſall Church*, that hath Authoritie aboue all Generall Councels, and fulneſſe of power to expound the Scriptures: to whoſe determinations the whole Church of God muſt of neceſſitie ſubmit it ſelfe without contradiction: whom neither Emperour, nor King, nor Clergy, nor the whole Vniuerſall People, in any wiſe may controle, whatſoeuer he doe: vnto whom all Appeales ought to lie from all places of the world: and who, whereſoeuer he happen to be, hath the full Iuriſdiction of a Biſhop. That euer any ſuch Superiority, or Vniuerſall Power, was giuen by Chriſt to the See of Rome, it will be too much for M. Harding well to proue.

Extra. de elect. & electi. poteſt. Solitæ. De Maior. & Obedien. Vnam Sanctam. 9. Quæſt. 3. Nemo.

But whereas the Biſhop there ſo ambitiouſly craueth to be knowen and taken for the Vniuerſall Biſhop, and Head of the Vniuerſall Church, happy is he, if he doe the dutie of one particular Biſhop, and be found but a member of Chriſts Church. S. Gregorie ſaith: Aduerſus quem portæ prævalent Inferorum, ille neque Petra dicendus eſt, ſupra quam Chriſtus ædificat Eccleſiam, neque Eccleſia, neque pars Eccleſiæ: *He, againſt whom the gates of Hell doe preuaile,* (as they haue often againſt the Biſhop of Rome) *neither may be called the Rocke, whereupon Chriſt doth build his Church, nor the Church, nor any part of the Church.*

Greg. in Caten. in Mat. ca. 16. Gregor. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 34.

Certainly, touching theſe vaine Titles, the ſame Ancient Father S. Gregorie ſaith: Ego fidenter dico, Quiſquis ſe Vniuerſalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari deſiderat, in elatione ſua Antichriſtum præcurrit: *I ſpeake it boldly, Whoſoeuer either calleth himſelfe the Vniuerſall Biſhop, or deſireth ſo to be called, in his pride he is the Forerunner of Antichriſt.*

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

Now concerning the chiefe point of this Article, which is the Primacie of the Pope, Peters ſucceſſour: Firſt, it hath beene ſet vp and ordained by God, ſo as it ſtandeth in force *Iure diuino*, by Gods Law, and not only by mans Law, the Scriptures leading thereto. Next, commended to the World by Decrees of Councels, and confirmed by Edicts of Chriſtian Emperours, for auoiding of Schiſmes. Furthermore, confeſſed and witneſſed by the holy Fathers. Againe, found to be neceſſary by reaſon. Finally, vſed and declared by the euent of things, and practiſe of the Church. For proofe of all this, ſo much might eaſilie be ſaid, as ſhould ſerue to a whole volume.

A heape of vntruths.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Heere M. Harding ſaith, he will trip and dance lightly ouer this Article. And therefore notwithſtanding he would ſeeme to hold De Iure diuino, that is, by the Scriptures, yet for haſte he allegeth not any one word of the Scriptures, as of himſelfe, but only vpon the report and credit of others. Howbeit Pope Zoſimus, in all that long contention he had with the Biſhops of Aphrica, touching theſe matters, neuer alleged any word of the Scriptures, but only the Councell of Nice, which he himſelfe had falſified. And Meltiades writing heereof to the Biſhops of Spaine, ſeemeth to claime only by Cuſtome, and not by any right of Gods word.

Zoſimus in Cõcil. Aphricano. Meltiades in epiſt. ad Epiſcop. Hiſpaniæ.

Iohan. 17. Matth. 38. *In Conc. Lateran. ſub Leone. Reginal. Polus aduerſus H. 8. Regem Angliæ.*

Neuertheleſſe, ſithence that time, they haue found out ſundry places of the Scriptures to auouch their Title, and haue forced the ſame to ſerue their purpoſe. Chriſt ſaith, *All power is giuen to me.* Heereof Stephanus the Biſhop of Patraca concludeth thus: Ergo in Papa eſt omnis poteſtas ſupra omnes poteſtates, tam Cœli, quàm Terræ: *Therefore in the Pope is all power aboue all powers, as well of Heauen, as of Earth.* Some others there be that reaſon thus: Peter *entred into the graue before* Iohn: Peter *drew his net full of fiſh*: *Vnto* Peter

Chriſt

Christ said, Confirme thy brethren: Ergo, *The Pope is head of the Church.* Bonifacius the eighth saith: In principio creauit Deus Cœlum & Terram, non in principijs: *God made Heauen and Earth in the beginning, and not in the beginnings, as in many.* And againe: Spiritualis omnia dijudicat: *He that is spirituall, iudgeth all things*: Ergo, *The Bishop of* Rome *ought to haue an Vniuersall power ouer all the World.* By these, and other like Authorities of the Scriptures, they conclude, that the Pope holdeth his Authoritie not by any ordinance of man, but De Iure diuino, that is, euen by the right of Gods vndoubted Law. And therefore Pope Bonifacius determineth the matter in this wise to hold for euer: Declaramus, Dicimus, Definimus, Pronuntiamus, omninò esse de necessitate Salutis omni humanæ creaturæ, subesse Romano Pontifici: *Wee declare, say, determine, and pronounce, that vndoubtedly it standeth vpon the necessitie of Saluation, for euery mortall creature to be subiect to the Bishop of* Rome. Likewise saith the Glosse vpon the same: Quicquid saluatur, est sub summo pontifice: *Whatsoeuer is saued, is vnder the highest Bishop.* If these clames be good, it is no hard matter to hold by Scriptures.

De Iure diuino.

De Maior. & Obed. Vnam Sanctam. 2. Cor. 2. *De Maior. &c. vt supra.* *Glossa ibidem.*

But forasmuch as they seeme to make greatest account of these words of Christ, Thou art Peter, and vpon this Rocke I will build my Church; therefore, for answer hereunto, vnderstand thou, good Christian Reader, that the old Catholike Fathers haue written and pronounced, not any mortall man, as Peter was, but Christ himselfe, the Sonne of God, to be this Rocke. Gregorius Nyssenus saith: Tu es Petrus, &c. Thou art Peter, and vpon this Roeke I will build my Church. *He meaneth the confession of Christ: For hee had said before*: Thou art Christ, the Sonne of the liuing God. So saith S. Hilarie: Hæc est vna fœlix Fidei Petra, quam Petrus ore suo confessus est: *This is that only blessed Rocke of Faith, that* Peter *confessed with his mouth.* Againe he saith: *Vpon this Rocke of* Peters *Confession, is the building of the Church.* So Cyrillus: Petra nihil aliud est, quam firma & inconcussa Discipuli Fides: *The Rocke is nothing else, but the strong and assured Faith of the Disciple.* So likewise Chrysostome: Super hanc Petram, id est, In hac Fide & Confessione, ædificabo Ecclesiam meam: *Vpon this Rocke, that is to say, Vpon this Faith, and this Confession, I will build my Church.* Likewise S. Augustine: Petra erat Christus, super quod Fundamentum etiam ædificatus est Petrus: *Christ was the Rocke, vpon which Foundation* Peter *himselfe was also built.* And addeth further besides: Non me ædificabo super te, sed te ædificabo super me: Christ saith vnto Peter: *I will not build my selfe vpon thee, but I will build thee vpon me.* All these Fathers be plaine: but none so plaine as Origen. His words be these: Petra est, quicunque est discipulus Christi: Et super talem Petram construitur omnis Ecclesiastica Doctrina. Quod si super vnum illum Petrum tantùm existimas ædificari totam Ecclesiam, quid dicturus es de Iohanne Filio Tonitrui, & Apostolorum vnoquoque? Num audebimus dicere, quòd aduersus Petrum vnum non præualitura sint portæ Inferorum? An soli Petro dantur à Christo Claues Regni Cœlorum? *Hee is the Rocke, whosoeuer is the Disciple of Christ: And vpon such a Rocke all Ecclesiasticall learning is built. If thou thinke that the whole Church is built only vpon* Peter, *what then wilt thou say of* Iohn *the Sonne of the Thunder, and of euery of the Apostles? Shall wee dare to say, that the Gates of Hell shall not preuaile only against* Peter? *Or are the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen giuen only vnto* Peter? By these few it may appeare, what right the Pope hath to claime his Authoritie by Gods Word, and, as M. Harding saith, De Iure diuino. Indeed touching the same words of S. Matthew, S. Hierome writeth thus: Istum locum Episcopi & Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio: *Bishops and Priests, not vnderstanding this place, take vpon them some part of the proud lookes of the* Phareseis. And againe he saith: Nouerint Episcopi, se magis consuetudine, quàm dispositionis Dominicæ veritate, Præsbyteris esse maiores: *Let Bishops vnderstand that they are greater than the Priests, more of Custome, than of the truth of Gods Ordinance.* By this it appeareth, that the Bishop of Rome holdeth by Custome, and not as M. Harding saith, De iure diuino.

Marke 3. *Hier. in Matt. Cap. 16. Lib. 3.*

As for the Decrées of Councels, the Edicts of Princes, the Sayings of holy Fathers, the Necessitie of Reason, and the Practise of the Church, how iustly they be auouched by M. Harding, they shall be seuerally examined, as they come.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuision.

But I in this treatise seeking to auoid prolixitie, hauing purposed to say somewhat to this number of the other Articles, and knowing this matter of the Primacie to bee already largely and learnedly handled of others, will but Trip, as it were, lightly ouer at this time, and not set my fast footing in the deepe debating and treating of it. Trip.

Firſt, as concerning the right of the Primacie by Gods Law, by these ancient authorities it hath beene auouched. Anacletus, that holy Bishop and Martyr, S. Peters Scholar, and of him consecrated Priest, in his Epistle to the Bishops of Italy, writeth thus: *In Nouo Testamento, post Christum, &c.* In the New Testament

Epistles Decretall.

ſtament, the order of Prieſts began, after our Lord Chriſt, of Peter, becauſe to him Biſhopricke was firſt giuen in the Church of Chriſt, where as our Lord ſaid vnto him, *Thou art Peter, and vpon this Rocke I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it: and vnto thee I will giue the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen.* Wherefore this Peter receiued of our Lord, firſt of all power to binde and to looſe: and firſt of all he brought people to the Faith, by vertue of his preaching. As for the other Apoſtles, they receiued honour and power in like fellowſhip with him, and willed him to be their Prince, or chiefe Gouernour.

In an other Epiſtle to all Biſhops, alleaging the ſame text, for the Primacie of the See of Rome, ſpeaking of the Diſpoſition of Churches committed to Patriarkes and Primates, ſaith thus moſt plainly: This holy and Apoſtolike Church of Rome, hath obteined the Primacie, not of the Apoſtles, but of our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe, and hath gotten the preeminence of power ouer all Churches, and ouer the whole flocks of Chriſtian people, euen ſo as hee ſaid to bleſſed Peter the Apoſtle, *Thou art Peter, and vpon this Rocke, &c.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

The authorities here alleged, are full of fogge, and falſe ground, and can abide no taſt ſoting: and therefore M. Harding trippeth them ſo lightly ouer.

Touching this Epiſtle of Anacletus, and other like Epiſtles Decretall, I will only giue a taſte, and leaue the iudgement thereof vnto the Reader.

First, one Petrus Crab, the compiler of the Councels, complaineth much, that the examples from whence he toke them, were wonderfully corrupted, and not one of them agreeing with another; and expreſſeth the ſame by theſe words: Exemplarium intolerabilis nimiaque differentia & deprauatio.

In admonitione ad lectorẽ, ante Decret. Liber.

Againe, Gratian himſelfe, vpon good aduiſe, is driuen to ſay, *That all ſuch Epiſtles ought to haue place, rather in debating of matter of Iuſtice in the Conſiſtorie, than in determining and weighing the truth of the Scriptures.*

Diſt. 20. Decretales.

Beſides this, neither S. Hierome, nor Gennadius, nor Damaſus, nor any other old Father, euer alleged theſe Epiſtles, or made any account of them: nor the Biſhops of Rome themſelues, no not when ſuch euidence might haue ſtood them in beſt ſtead, namely, in their ambitious contention for the Superiority ouer the Biſhops of Aphrica.

The contents of them are ſuch, as a very childe, of any iudgement, may ſone be able to deſcry them.

Clem. Epiſt. 1.

Clemens informeth S. Iames of the order and maner of S. Peters death: yet it is certaine, and Clement vndoubtedly knew it, that Iames was put to death ſeuen yeres before S. Peter.

Hier. de Eccleſiaſt. Scriptor.

Anther. epiſt. 1.

Antherus maketh mention of Euſebius, Biſhop of Alexandria, and of Felix Biſhop of Epheſus: yet was neither Euſebius, nor Felix, neither Biſhop, nor borne all the time that Antherus liued.

Marcell. epiſt. 2. ad Oriental.

Marcellinus ſaith: *The Emperour might not attempt to preſume any thing againſt the Goſpell:* Yet was there then no Emperour aliue, that vnderſtood Chriſt, or knew the Goſpell.

Marcell. epiſt. 2.

Marcellus writeth to the Emperour Maxentius, and chargeth him ſtraitly with the authoritie of Clement: yet was Maxentius an Infidell, a cruell Tyrant, and a perſecutor of the Church: and neither knew nor cared for the name of Clement.

Zephyr. epiſt. 1.

Zephyrinus ſaith: *Chriſt commanded his Apoſtles to appoint the threeſcore and twelue Diſciples:* Yet S. Luke ſaith, Chriſt himſelfe appointed them.

Luke cap. 10.

Luke 3.

S. Luke ſaith: Iohn *the Baptiſt gaue this counſell to the Souldiers, Be ye contented with your wages, &c.* Yet Meltiades quite altereth the whole ſtory, and nameth Chriſt in ſtead of Iohn.

Meltiad. epiſt. 1.

It would be tedious and needleſſe to open all: Theſe few notes may ſuffice for a taſte.

Now touching this Anacletus, whom M. Harding hath furniſhed with his titles, as though it were the very true Anacletus indeed; firſt he ſaith, Clemens was his predeceſſor: Contrariwiſe, Irenæus that liued immediately afterward, and Euſebius ſay, Anacletus was predeceſſour vnto Clement. Whereby it may appeare, that Anacletus wrote this Epiſtle after that he himſelfe was dead.

Anacl. Epiſt. 1.

Iren. li. 3. ca. 3.

Diſt. 93. Iuxta Sanctorum.

He maketh mention of S. Peters Church: yet was there no Church built in the name of Peter within three hundred yeres after Anacletus.

Anacl. epiſt. 3.

Againe, he alleageth the Decrees and Canons of the old Fathers: His words be theſe: Hęc ab antiquis Apoſtolis & Patribus accepimus: *Theſe things haue we receiued of the old Apoſtles and ancient Fathers:* As if the Apoſtles had bene long before him: notwithſtanding S. Iohn the Apoſtle was yet aliue, and Anacletus himſelfe was one of the oldeſt Fathers.

Although by that I haue thus ſhortly touched, the likelihod hereof may ſone appeare, yet I beſeech thee, good Chriſtian Reader, conſider alſo theſe and other like phraſes, and maners of ſpeech, which in theſe Epiſtles are very familiar, and may eaſily be found: Perſecutiones patienter portare: Peto vt pro me orare debeas: Epiſcopi obediendi ſunt,

non

non inſidiandi: Ab illis omnes Chriſtiani ſe cauere debent. Here is not ſo much as the very congruitie and natural ſound of the Latine Tongue. And ſhall we thinke, that for the ſpace of three hundred yeres and more, there was not one Biſhop in Rome, that could ſpeake true Latine? And ſpecially then, when all the whole people there, both women and children, were able to ſpeake it naturally, without a Teacher? Verily the Pope himſelfe ſaith, Falſa Latinitas vitiat reſcriptum Papæ: *False Latine putteth the Popes owne writ out of credit.* *Extr. de reſcriptis, ad audientiam.*

As for the ſubſtance and contents of theſe Epiſtles, they touch nothing, neither of the ſtate of the Church in that time, nor of Doctrine, nor of Perſecution, nor of Hereſie, nor of the office of the Miniſters, nor of any other thing, either agreeable vnto that age, or in any wiſe greatly worthy to be conſidered.

All their drift is, by falſifying of the Scriptures, and by all other meanes, onely to eſtabliſh the State and Kingdome of the See of Rome. Anacletus thus interlaceth the words of Chriſt: Super hanc Petram, id eſt, ſuper Eccleſiam Romanam, ædificabo Eccleſiam meam: *Vpon this Rocke, that is to ſay, vpon the Church of* Rome, *I will build my Church.* And againe: Romana Eccleſia Cardo & Caput eſt omnium Eccleſiarum: Vt enim Cardine oſtium regitur, ita huius ſanctæ Sedis authoritate omnes Eccleſiæ reguntur: *The Church of* Rome *is the Hooke and the Head of all Churches. For as the doore is ruled by the Hooke, ſo all Churches are ruled by the authoritie of this holy See (of* Rome.) Pope Stephanus ſaith: Hæc Sacroſancta Domina noſtra Romana Eccleſia: *This holy our Lady, the Church of* Rome. *Anaclet. epiſt. 1.* *Anaclet. epiſt. 3.* *Diſt. 70. Oportebat.*

And what needed M. Harding to allege only Anacletus, being ſo well ſtored of ſundrie others? For Pope Euariſtus, Alexander, Sixtus, Teleſphorus, Higinus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter: Eleutherius, Victor, and all the reſt of the ancient Biſhops of Rome, whoſe names haue beene abuſed to this purpoſe, agree in one. All they are made to ſay, *Wee are the Vniuerſall Biſhops: We are the Heads of the Vniuerſall Church: All appeales ought of right to lie to vs: We cannot erre: We may not be controlled: For it is written, The Scholar is not aboue his maſter.* If theſe authorities were ſufficient, then were the caſe cleere of M. Hardings ſide. But he ſaw they were forged, and full of vntruth: and therefore he thought it beſt to trip ſo lightly ouer them. As for Anacletus himſelfe, that was Peters Scholar, and the reſt of the ancient Biſhops of Rome, they were holy men, and godly Fathers, and lined in continuall perſecution, and were daily taken, and put to death, and had no leiſure to thinke vpon theſe ambitious and vaine titles.

Epiſtles Decretall.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuiſion.

S. Gregory writing to Mauritius the Emperour, againſt Iohn the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, ambitiouſly claiming and vſurping the name of an Vniuerſall Biſhop, proueth the Biſhop of Rome, ſucceeding in Peters Chaire, to be Primate, and to haue charge ouer all the Church of Chriſt, by Scriptures, thus: *Cunctis Euangelium ſcientibus liquet, &c.* It is euident to all that know the Goſpell, that the cure and charge of the whole Church hath beene committed, by the word of our Lord, to the holy Apoſtle Peter, Prince of all the Apoſtles. For to him it is ſaid, Peter, loueſt thou me? Feed my ſheepe. To him it is ſaid, Behold, Sathan hath deſired to ſift you, as it were wheat, and I haue praied for thee, Peter, that thy Faith faile not. And thou being once conuerted, ſtrengthen thy brethren. To him it is ſaid, Thou art Peter, and vpon this Rocke will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it. And vnto thee I will giue the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen. And whatſoeuer thou bindeſt vpon earth, ſhall be bound alſo in heauen, and whatſoeuer thou looſeſt on earth, ſhall be looſed alſo in heauen. Behold, he receiueth the Keies of the heauenly Kingdome: the power of binding and looſing is giuen to him: the charge of the whole Church and principalitie is committed to him. Thus far Gregorie. But becauſe our aduerſaries, though without iuſt cauſe, refuſe the witneſſe of the Biſhops of Rome in this Article, as vnlawfull witneſſes in their owne cauſe, were they neuer ſo holy Martyrs, or learned Confeſſors; they may vnderſtand, we are able to allege ſundry other authorities to the confirmation hereof, that be aboue all exception.

Iohn. 21. Luc. 22. Matth. 16.

Cunctis vtique Eccleſiæ præpoſitus committitur.

M. Harding cutteth off, and corrupteth ỹ words of S. Gregorie: For it followeth immediately: *Tamen Petrus Vniuerſalis Apoſtolus non vocatur.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

If S. Gregorie were now aline, he would charge M. Harding with open ſhiftie: not only for altering his whole meaning, but alſo for mangling and maimung his very words. M. Harding, to proue that the Biſhop of Rome was called the Vniuerſall Biſhop, alleageth theſe words of S. Gregorie: Ecce, Petrus Claues Regni Cœlorum accipit. Et poteſtas ei ligandi ſoluendique tribuitur. Cura ei totius Eccleſiæ & Principatus committitur: *Behold, Peter receiueth the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen. To him is giuen power both to binde and looſe. The charge and chiefe rule of the Church is committed vnto him.* Thus farre Gregorie, ſaith M. Harding. And why no farther? Was he ſtaied with the Choine-couch, and forced to breake off his tale in the midſt? But marke well, gentle Reader, and thou ſhalt ſee S. Gregory ſet to Schoole, and kept in aw, and not ſuffered to vtter one word more than M. Harding will giue him leaue. The next words that immediately follow *Gregor. lib. 4. Epiſt. 32.*

Petrus vniuersalis Apostolus non vocatur.

follow in the same sentence, are these: Tamen Petrus Vniuersalis Apostolus non vocatur: *Yet* Peter *is not called the Vniuersall Apostle.* M. Harding saith; The Bishop of Rome was called the Vniuersall Bishop. But S. Gregorie, euen in the selfe same sentence that M. Harding hath heere so hastily broken off, saith: Peter *himselfe being the Apostle of Christ, yet was not called the Vniuersall Apostle.* And would M. Harding haue the World beleeue, that the Popes power is greater, and more vniuersall, than S. Peters? These words, M. Harding thought good to nip off in the midst. Such is his dealing in the allegation of the Ancient Fathers. If I list to vse his owne termes, I might well call this, Foisting, or Cogging, or, I know not what. Certainly the Holy Fathers, in the Councell of Constantinople, say thus: Non conuenit Orthodoxis, ita circumtruncatas Sanctorum Patrum voces deflorare. Hæreticorum potiùs hoc proprium est: *It is not meet for Catholike men, thus to chop and to pare the sayings of the holy Fathers. It is rather the very propertie of Heretikes.*

Concil. Constãtinopol. 8. Action. 8.

M. Harding will say, Gregorie misliked this name of Vniuersall Bishop, only in Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople, that so ambitiously and so greedily sought for it: and yet neuertheless claimed the same vnto himselfe, as a title only belonging to the See of Rome: and that we therefore doe wrongfully racke S. Gregorie, forcing his words otherwise than he euer meant. For answer hereunto, it shall behoue vs to consider both what S. Gregorie hath written in generall of this title, and also what speciall claime he hath laid vnto it for himselfe.

Gregor. Lib. 6. Epist. 30.

Thus therefore generally he writeth of it: Ego fidenter dico, Quisquis se Vniuersalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit: *I speake it boldly, Whosoeuer calleth himselfe Vniuersall Bishop, or desireth so to be called, is in his pride the Forerunner of Antichrist, because in his pride hee setteth himselfe before others.*

Gregor. Lib. 4. Epist. 34.

Hac in re à fratre & consacerdote meo contra Euangelicam sententiam, &c. *Heerein my brother and fellow Bishop doth against the meaning of the Gospell, against S. Peter the Apostle, against all Churches, and against the ordinance of the Canons. In this pride of his, what other thing is there tokened, but that the time of Antichrist is euen at hand? For he followeth him, that despising the equalitie of ioy among the Angels, laboured to breake vp to the top of singularity, saying thus, I will aduance my throne aboue the starres of Heauen: I will sit in the mount of the Testament, euen in the corners of the North: I will get mee vp aboue the light of the clouds, and will*

Esai 14.

be like vnto the highest. Againe: Rex superbiæ in foribus est, &c. *The King of pride is euen*

Gregor. Lib. 4. Epist. 38. Sacerdotum est paratus exercitus.

in the Gates: and, a horrible thing to speake, an army of Priests is made ready. For now they play the Souldiers, and beare their heads on high, that were ordeined to be Captaines of humility.

Ita in manuscriptis, Melius quàm exitus.

Againe: *I would haue all men to be great and honourable, so that their honour be no derogation to the honour of God. For whoso will be honoured against God, shall not be honourable vnto me.* Againe: *Neither may you say, that the vsing of this Title is nothing: For if we beare this matter quietly, we ouerthrow the Faith of the whole Church. The agreeing vnto this wicked Title, is the losing of the Faith.* Thus therefore S. Gregorie iudgeth generally of the name of *Vniuersall Bishop*; which name notwithstanding the Bishops of Rome haue sithence chosen, and taken to themselues, that is to say, *That it is vaine and hurtfull: The confusion, the poison, and vtter and vniuersall destruction of the Church: The corruption and losing the Faith: Against the holy Canons: Against* S. Peter *the Apostle: Against the very sense and meaning of the Gospell: Against all the Churches of God, and against God himselfe: That neuer good or holy man would vse such Titles: That whosoeuer vseth them, in so doing, followeth Lucifer, and is the very Forerunner and Messenger of Antichrist.*

Gregor. Lib. 6. Epist. 28.
Gregor. Lib. 6. Epist. 24.
Gregor. Lib. 4. Epist. 39.

Perhaps M. Harding will say, this name belonged peculiarly and only to the Bishop of Rome: and therefore Gregorie reproued Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople, for that he so presumptuously, and by way of intrusion, claimed the same as a right and interest, that was not his. But S. Gregory calleth the same title of Vniuersall Bishop, [a] Typhum Superbiæ, [b] Nomen nouum, [c] Vocabulum temerarium, Stultum, [d] Superbum, Pompaticum, [e] Peruersum, [f] Superstitiosum, Profanum, [g] Scelestum, [h] Nomen erroris, [i] Nomen singularitatis, [k] Nomen vanitatis, [l] Nomen Hypocriseos, [m] Nomen Blasphemiæ: That is to say, *A puffe of Arrogancie, A new name, A Rash, a Foolish, a Proud, a Pompous, a Peruerse, a Superstitious, an Vngodly, and a Wicked Title, A name, of Errour, a name of Singularitie, a name of Vanitie, a name of Hypocrisie, and a name of Blasphemie.* And doth M. Harding thinke, or would he haue the World beleeue, that S. Gregorie would euer take these names and titles from Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople, to the intent to lay them vpon his owne See of Rome? Or is it likely, that M. Harding knoweth S. Gregories minde better than euer S. Gregorie knew it himselfe? Verily, S. Gregorie not onely misliketh these Titles in others, but also disclaimeth the same from himselfe, and from his

[a] *Lib. 6. Ep. 2.*
[b] *Li. 4. Ep. 32.*
[c] *Li. 4. Ep. 38.*
[d] *Li. 4. Ep. 32.*
[e] *Li. 4. Ep. 38.*
[f] *Li. 6. Ep. 24.*
[g] *Li. 4. Ep. 39.*
[h] *Li. 4. Ep. 38.*
[i] *Li. 4. Ep. 32.*
[k] *Li. 4. Ep. 39.*
[l] *Li. 4. Ep. 39.*
[m] *Li. 4. Ep. 39.*

his Sée of Rome for euer. For thus he writeth, and his words be plaine: Nullus Romanorum Pontificum hoc Singularitatis nomen assumpsit: *None of the Bishops of Rome euer receiued this name of singularitie.* Nullus decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo vti consensit: *None of my Predecessours euer consented to vse this vngodly name.* Nos hunc honorem nolumus oblatum suscipere: *We, being Bishops of Rome, will not take this honour being offered vnto vs.* *Greg.li.4.ep. 32.* *Greg.li.4.ep. 36.*

And the reason that hée forceth against the Bishop of Constantinople, may serue aswell against the Bishop of Rome. For thus he saith: Quid tu Christo Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ Capiti, in extremi iudicij dicturus es examine, qui cuncta eius membra tibimet conaris Vniuersalis appellatione supponere? *What answer wilt thou make vnto Christ, that indeed is the Head of the Vniuersall Church, at the triall of the last Iudgement, that thus goest about vnder the name of Vniuersall Bishop, to subdue all his members vnto thee?* This is the very definition of an Antichristian Vniuersall Bishop. Thus the Bishop of Rome attempteth to subdue the whole Church of God, and all the members of Christ vnto himselfe. Therefore by S. Gregories iudgement, he is the Forerunner of Antichrist. And writing vnto Eulogius the Patriarke of Alexandria, he vseth these words: Sanctitas vestra mihi sic loquitur, Sicut iussistis: Quod verbum Iussionis, Peto, à meo auditu remouete. Quia scio quis sim, & qui sitis: Loco mihi fratres estis: moribus patres: *Your holinesse writeth thus vnto me,* As you commanded. *This word of* Commanding, *I beseech you take away from my hearing. For I know both what I am, and also what you are. In place (or dignitie) ye are my brethren, in life and maners, ye are my Fathers.* *Greg.li.7. Epist.30.*

Againe he saith: Ecce in præfatione Epistolæ, &c. *Behold euen in the very preface of the Epistle that you sent vnto me, you haue written the name of that* Presumptuous title, *calling me* the Vniuersall Pope, *notwithstanding I haue forbidden it. I beseech your Holinesse to doe it no more. For you doe defraud your selfe, when you giue another more, than reason would.* *Ibidem.*

The selfe same meaning M. Harding might haue found twice written, euen in the same place of S. Gregorie that he heere alleageth, if it had pleased him to consider, either what went before, or else what followed immediately after. Before, hée writeth thus: Non mea causa, sed Dei est: Nec solus ego, sed tota turbatur Ecclesia. Quia piæ Leges: quia venerandæ Synodi: quia ipsa Domini nostri Iesu Christi mandata Superbi atque Pompatici cuiusdam sermonis inuentione turbantur: *It is Gods cause, it is not mine: Neither only I, but also the whole Church is troubled. For both the godly Lawes, and the reuerend Councels, and the very commandements of our Lord Iesus Christ, are combred with the deuice of this* proud pompous title. *Gregor.li.4. Epist.32.*

Immediately after it followeth thus: Nunquid ego in hac re pijssime Domine propriam causam defendo? *O my most gratious Soueraigne, doe I heerein defend mine owne right?* By these it may appeare, that S. Gregory being Bishop of Rome, would not suffer the name of Vniuersall Bishop to be giuen, neither to any other Bishop, nor to himselfe.

And whereas S. Gregorie saith: *The charge and chiefrie of the whole Church is committed vnto Peter,* in the sense it is spoken in, we denie it not. S. Paul likewise saith of himselfe in like sense: Incumbit mihi quotidiana cura omnium Ecclesiarum: *There lieth vpon me the daily charge of all Churches.* And further saith: *I reckon my selfe to be nothing inferiour in trauell to the highest Apostles.* And will M. Harding hereof reason thus? *2.Cor.11. 1.Cor.11.*

Peter had the charge of the whole Church:
Ergo, The Pope is an Vniuersall Bishop.

Certainly, S. Gregory saith: *Peter himselfe, notwithstanding he receiued the whole charge, yet is he not called the Vniuersall Apostle.* And can the Pope be that thing, that S. Peter himselfe could not be? *Gregor.li.4. Epist.32. Tamen Vniuersalis Apostolus non vocatur.*

S Gregorie driueth his reason thus: *If this title of Vniuersalitie might belong to any man, it should chiefly belong vnto S. Peter: But it belongeth not vnto S. Peter: Therefore it can belong to no man.*

Hereby it is plaine, that the Bishop of Rome challengeth this day a title that S. Peter neuer had; that no holy nor godly man would euer take vpon him, that S. Gregorie vtterly refused, and detested, and called blasphemie. And yet will he seeme to maintaine his estate by the authoritie of this holy Father. If S. Gregorie were now aliue, he would crie out as he did to the Emperour Mauritius: O Tempora! O Mores! *O what a time is this! O what maners are these!* Thus much is M. Harding furthered by the authority of S. Gregory. *Gregor.li.4. Epist.32.*

The 94. vntruth. For S. Cyprian speaketh these words of euery seuerall Bishop, not only of the Bishop of Rome.

The 95. vntruth, standing in the manifest corruption & falsifying of S. Cyprian.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuision.

S Cyprian declaring the contempt of the (94) high Priest Christ Vicar in Earth, to bee cause of Schismes and Heresies, writeth thus to Cornelius Pope and Martyr; *Neque enim aliunde Hæreses obortæ sunt, &c.* Neither haue Heresies or Schismes risen of any other occasion, than of that the Priest of God is not obeied, and that one Priest for the time in the Church, and one Iudge for the time in stead of Christ, is not thought vpon. To whom if the whole brotherhood (95) (that is the whole number of Christian people which bee brethren together, and were so called in the Primitiue Church) would be obedient according to Gods teachings;

Secundum Ma. gistra diuina.

One Bishop.

chings, then no man would make adoe against the College of Priests; no man would make himselfe Iudge, nor of the Bishop now, but of God, after Gods iudgement, after the fauour of the people declared by their voices at the election, after the consent of his fellow Bishops. No man through breach of vnitie and strife, would diuide the Church of Christ; no man standing in his owne conceit, and swelling with pride, would set vp by himselfe abroad, without the Church, a new Heresie.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

If M. Hardings cause were true, hee would not auouch it with such vntruth, and so often corruption of the holy Fathers. If S. Cyprian writing this Epistle to Cornelius the Bishop of Rome, once name him either the High Priest: Or Christs Vicar Generall in earth: Or Vniuersall Bishop: Or Head of the Vniuersall Church: Or say, that the whole brotherhood of all Christian people ought to bee obedient vnto him, as M. Harding vntruly and contrarie to his owne knowledge expoundeth it: Or if either his words or his purpose of writing may seeme any way to lead to that end; then may M. Harding seeme to haue some honest colour for his defense. Otherwise we may iustly say, hee racketh the Doctours, and forceth them to speake what him listeth to serue his turne.

First, it is certaine, that in all that Epistle, S. Cyprian neuer gaue vnto Cornelius any such ambitious title, but only calleth him by the name of Brother. For thus hee saluteth him: *Cyprian vnto his Brother Cornelius sendeth greeting:* and maketh his entrie in this wise: *Deare Brother, I haue read your Letters.* Thus S. Cyprian being Bishop of Carthage claimeth brotherhood and equalitie with the Pope. One speciall occasion of his writing vnto Cornelius, was this amongst others: Cornelius being Bishop of Rome, and hauing excommunicate certaine notorious wicked men, and afterward being threatned, and ill vsed at their hands, began to faint, and to bee wearie of his office. S. Cyprian hearing thereof, wrote comfortably vnto him, and willed him in any wise to proceede, and to deale boldly, and not to yeeld, considering it was Gods cause, and not his owne. Among other words hee saith thus: Christiani non vltrà aut durare, aut esse possumus, si ad hoc ventum est, vt perditorum minas & insidias pertimescamus: *Wee cannot longer continue or bee Christian men, if wee being Bishops, once begin to shrinke at the threats and fetches of the wicked.*

Cyprian. li. 2. Epist. 3.

Vpon occasion hereof hee sheweth, what hurt and confusion of Sects and Schismes, insueth in any Prouince or Dioceese, where as the Bishops Authoritie, and Ecclesiasticall Discipline is despised. *For euery Bishop* (saith S. Cyprian) *within his owne Diocesse, is the Priest of God, and for his time is a Iudge appointed in the place of Christ: and as the Church is one, so ought hee likewise to bee but one.* And thus hee writeth generally of the authoritie of all Bishops, and not onely of the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome. And notwithstanding he directeth his Epistle only to Cornelius, yet are all his reasons generall, and touch both himselfe being Bishop of Carthage, and also all other Bishops whatsoeuer.

Now therefore to draw that thing by violence to one onely Bishop, that is generally spoken of all Bishops, it is a guilefull fetch to mislead the Reader, and no simple or plaine dealing. But M. Harding seemeth to ground his errour, vpon the mistaking of these words of S. Cyprian: Vnus Sacerdos, and Fraternitas vniuersa: That is, *One Bishop*, and *The whole Brotherhood*. For whereas S. Cyprian saith, *There must bee one Bishop in a Church*, hee imagineth there must bee one Bishop to rule ouer the whole Vniuersall Church.

The occasion of M. Hardings errour.

And whereas againe S. Cyprian saith: *The whole Brotherhood must obey one Bishop*, hee gathereth that all Christian people throughout the whole World, which hee vntruly calleth, *The whole Brotherhood*, must bee obedient vnto one Vniuersall Bishop. And thus hee buildeth one errour vpon another. But mistaking of the Doctour maketh no sufficient proose.

It may soone appeare, S. Cyprian meant, that for the auoiding of Schismes and diuisions, there ought to bee onely one Bishop within one Dioceese, and not one Bishop to rule euer all the World. For thus hee expoundeth his owne meaning: Cùm post primum esse non possit quisquam, qui post vnum, qui solus esse debet, factus est, iam non secundus ille, sed nullus est: *Seeing that after the first Bishop is chosen, there can bee none other, whoso is made Bishop after that one, which must needs be alone, is now not the second Bishop, but indeed is no Bishop.*

7. qu. 1. Factus est.

So likewise, when the Heretike Nouatus had by wicked practise diuided the people of Rome into Sects, and had solemnly sworne them that gaue eare vnto him, that they should no more returne vnto Cornelius the Bishop there, and so had rent one Bishopricke into two, and made two Bishops in one Citie: Cornelius complaining thereof vnto

vnto Fabius the Bishop of Antioch, and informing him of the same, writeth thus vnto him: Novatus nescit, vnum Episcopum in Catholica Ecclesia esse debere: *Novatus knoweth not, that there ought to be but one Bishop in a Catholike Church:* not meaning thereby the whole vniuersall Church throughout the world, but onely his owne particular Church of Rome.

The vniuersall Brotherhood.

So when Chrysostome the Bishop of Constantinople, saw Sisinius beare himselfe as Bishop within the same Citie, he said vnto him, *One Citie may not haue two Bishops.* *Eusebius, li. 6. ca. 42.*

So likewise S. Hierome saith, that notwithstanding the power of all Priests by the authoritie of Gods word be one and equall, *yet men by policie to auoid contention, appointed one Priest in euery City,* to order and to direct his brethren. *Socrates li. 6. ca. 22.*

Thus was the vnitie of the whole Church preserued: Thus were all Churches as one Church, and all Bishops as one Bishop. For who so dissented from one, dissented from all. So saith S. Cyprian: Ecclesia cohærentium sibi inuicem Sacerdotum glutino copulatur: *The Church is coupled and ioined in one, by consent of Bishops agreeing together.* *Hieronym. in epist. ad Titum ca. 1.*

Likewise againe he saith: Hanc vnitatem firmiter tenere, & vendicare debemus, maxime Episcopi, qui in Ecclesia præsidemus: vt Episcopatum quoque ipsum vnum, & indiuisum probemus: *This vnitie must we keepe and defend, specially the Bishops and beare rule in the Church, that we may declare indeed, that our Bishopricke is one, and not diuided.* *Cyprian. li. 4. Epist. 9.* And therefore S. Hierome saith: Episcopi nouerint in communi debere se Ecclesiam regere: *Let Bishops vnderstand, that they ought to gouerne the Church in common, or, as all in one.* *Cyprian. de simplicitate Prælatorum. Hieronym. ad Titum, ca. 1.*

In this sense is euery Bishop for his time, as S. Cyprian saith, in the stead of Christ, and to euery such, Christ saith: * *He that heareth you, heareth me: and he that despiseth you, despiseth mee.* And therefore Ignatius saith: *The Bishop in his Church is the forme of God the Father of all: and so much as is possible, resembleth (in his office) Christ our God.* For this cause S. Cyprian saith: *Heereof spring Schismes and Heresies, for that the Priest of God (in euery seuerall Diocesse) is not obeied.* As likewise againe he saith to like purpose: Qui cum Episcopo non sunt, in Ecclesia non sunt: *They that bee not with the Bishop, bee not in the Church.* So likewise Ignatius: *They that be of Christ, are with the Bishop.* * Luke 10. *Ignatius ad Trallianos.* τὸ πᾶν ὡς τῶν ὅλων τύπος. *Cyprian. li. 1. Epist. 3.* *Cyprian li. 4. Epist. 9.* *Ignat. ad Philadelphien.* ὅσοι γάρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ θεῷ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν.

Thus S. Cyprian spake these words generally of the authoritie of all Bishops in their seuerall Dioceses, and not of any speciall authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, as it is here vntruly affirmed by M. Harding.

But he will replie, S. Cyprian saith, Vniuersa fraternitas, that is, *The whole Brotherhood ought to be obedient to that one Bishop.* And that whole brotherhood must nedes be the whole company of all Christian people. Notwithstanding this exposition seeme very large, yet if S. Cyprian himselfe had not opened his owne meaning otherwise, perhaps some man either of simplicitie or of ignorance might so take it. But S. Cyprian, that doubtlesse best knew his owne minde, vnderstandeth these words, Fraternitas vniuersa, not of all the vniuersall company of all Christian people throughout all the World, as M. Harding doth, but of the whole brotherhood within euery seuerall and particular Diocese. For thus he writeth in the next Epistle following: Ferè per prouincias vniuersas tenetur, vt ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi eiusdem prouinciæ proximi quique conueniant, & Episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, &c. Quod & apud nos factum vidimus in Sabini Collegæ nostri ordinatione: vt de vniuersæ fraternitatis suffragio Episcopatus ei deferretur: *This order is in maner kept in all Prouinces, that vnto the due ordering or installing of a Bishop, the Bishops of the same prouince that dwell nerest come together to the people of that Citie, vnto which a new Bishop is appointed: and that the Bishop be chosen in the presence of the people. Which thing wee saw done in the Election and ordering of our fellow Bishop Sabinus, that the Bishopricke was bestowed vpon him by the consent and voices of the* whole brotherhood. Here vniuersa fraternitas, vndoubtedly is vsed for the whole faithfull companie of one Citie. In like maner he writeth vnto Cornelius of certaine that were returned from Schismes and Errours, vnto the vnitie of the Church: Meritò illos reuertentes, summo gaudio & Clerus, & plebis fraternitas omnis excepit: *When they came againe, both the Clergie and the* whole brotherhood *of the people, worthily receiued them with great ioy.* So likewise the Emperour Honorius writeth vnto Bonifacius: *If two Bishops through ambition and contention happen to bee chosen, Wee will, that neither of them bee allowed as Bishop: But that hee onely remaine in the Apostolike See, whom out of the number of the Clergie, godly discretion, and the consent of the* whole brotherhood *shall chuse by a new Election.* *Cyprian. lib. 2. Epist. 12.* *Rescriptum Honorij ad Bonifacium. Quem vniuersitatis consensus elegerit.*

In these places M. Harding cannot denie but these words, Vniuersa fraternitas, Omnis fraternitas, and Vniuersitatis consensus, must nedes be taken for one whole particular Brotherhood within one Prouince or Diocese. In the same sense Origen saith: Qui vocatur ad Episcopatum, vocatur ad seruitutem Totius Ecclesiæ: *He that is called vnto a Bishopricke,* *Origenes in Esaiam, hom. 6.*

The vniuerſall Brotherhood.

is called vnto the ſeruice of the Whole Church. **Likewiſe againe he ſaith:** Plus à me exigitur, quàm à Diacono: plus à Diacono, quàm à Laico: Qui verò Totius Eccleſiæ arcem obtinet, pro Omni Eccleſia reddet rationem: *There is more required of me (being a Prieſt) than of a Deacon: more of a Deacon, than of one of the people: But he that keepeth the watch or Caſtle of the* Whole Church (**which is euery Biſhop in his Dioceſſe**) *ſhall yeeld a reckoning for the whole.*

In theſe places euery particular Church is called the Whole Church. **And therefore** Ignatius **ſaith:** Quid aliud eſt Epiſcopus, quàm quidam obtinens principatum & poteſtatem ſuprà omnes? *What is a Biſhop, but one hauing all rule and power ouer all?*

Origen. in Hieremi. hom. 7.

Ignatius ad Trallianos. τί ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος ἀλλ', ἢ πάσης ἐξουσίας καὶ πάσης κτίσεως κράτος.

Theſe things well weighed, beſides the manifeſt corruption and falſifying of S. Cyprians both words and minde, I doubt not, but the weakneſſe alſo of M. Hardings reaſon may ſone appeare. For vpon this place of S. Cyprian **vntruly reported, hee would ſeeme to reaſon thus:** There muſt be one Biſhop in one Church or Dioceſſe; *Ergo*, There muſt be one Biſhop ouer all the World. **Or thus:** The whole Brotherhood in euery Dioceſſe ought to hearken only to one Biſhop; *Ergo*, All Chriſtian people thorowout the World, ought to bee in ſubiection to the Biſhop of Rome.

Theſe arguments bewray themſelues, and therefore néed no further opening.

All this notwithſtanding, if M. Harding will ſay, S. Cyprians **words muſt néeds import one Vniuerſall Biſhop, and the ſame of neceſſitie muſt be the Biſhop of** Rome; **let him then vouchſafe to reade the Epiſtle that the ſame** S. Cyprian **wrote vnto** Florentius Pupianus. **There ſhall hee finde, that** S. Cyprian **euen in like ſorme and order, ſpeaketh theſe ſelfe ſame words of himſelfe, being as M. Harding knoweth, the Biſhop of** Carthage **in** Aphrica, **and not the Biſhop of** Rome. **His words be theſe:** Vnde Schiſmata & Hæreſes obortæ ſunt, & oriuntur, niſi dum Epiſcopus, qui vnus eſt, & Eccleſiæ præeſt, ſuperba quorundam præſumptione contemnitur, & homo dignatione Dei honoratus, ab hominibus indignis iudicatur? *Whereſence haue Schiſmes and Hereſies ſprung heeretofore, and whereof ſpring they now, but that the* Biſhop, which is one and gouerneth the Church, *by the preſumptuous diſdaine of certaine is deſpiſed, and a man preferred by Gods allowance, is examined and iudged by vnworthy men.* **All this** S. Cyprian **ſpeaketh plainly, and namely of himſelfe, being Biſhop of** Carthage. **Therefore it is great ouerſight to force the ſame only to the Biſhop of** Rome, **and ſtoutly to ſay,** It can be applied vnto none other.

Cyprian. lib. 4. Epiſt. 9.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuiſion.

Of all other authorities, that of Athanaſius and of the Biſhops of Ægypt and Lybia gathered together in a Synod at Alexandria, is to be regarded: Who making humble ſute to Felix then Biſhop of Rome, for aid and ſuccour againſt the Arians thorow the whole Epiſtle, confeſſing the ſupreme authoritie of that Apoſtolike See, vtter theſe very words; *Veſtræ Apoſtolicæ Sedis implorantes auxilium, &c.* Wee humbly beſeech you of the helpe of your Apoſtolike See. Becauſe (as verily wee beleeue) God hath not deſpiſed the praiers of his ſeruants, offered vp to him with teares, but hath conſtituted and placed you and your predeceſſours, who were Apoſtolike Prelates in the higheſt tower or ſupreme ſtate, and commanded them to haue cure and charge of all Churches, to the intent you helpe and ſuccour vs, and that defending vs (as to whom iudgement of Biſhops is committed) you forſlow not through negligence, to deliuer vs from our enemies.

Athanaſius forged.

In primam Concilium. In ſummitate arcis conſtitui.

Now if the Apoſtolike Church of Rome hath obtained the Primacie and preeminence of power ouer all Churches, and ouer the whole flocke of Chriſtian people, of our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe, as Anacletus ſaith: if it be euident to all that know the Goſpell, that the cure and charge of the whole Church hath been committed to the holy Apoſtle Peter, Prince of all the Apoſtles, by the word of our Lord, as Gregorie witneſſeth: if the whole Brotherhood (that is to ſay, all Chriſtian folke) ought to obey the one high Prieſt or Biſhop of God, and the one Iudge that is Chriſts Vicar, or in ſtead of Chriſt for the time, according to the precepts and teachings of God, as Cyprian writeth: if it be God that hath placed and ordained the Biſhop of Rome in the higheſt ſtate of the Church, as Athanaſius, with all the Fathers of that Alexandrine Councell, recordeth: if this, I ſay, be true, then is it eaſily ſeene, vpon how good ground this doctrine ſtandeth, whereby it is affirmed, that the Biſhop of Rome his primacie hath his force by Gods Law, and not only by mans Law, much leſſe by vniuſt vſurpation. The Scriptures by which aſwell theſe, as all other holy and learned Fathers were led to acknowledge and confeſſe the Primacie of Peter and his Succeſſours, were partly ſuch as Anacletus and Gregorie heere allegeth, and Cyprian meaneth; as it appeareth by his third treatiſe, *De ſimplicitate Prælatorum*, and ſundrie moe of the New Teſtament, as to the learned is knowen: of which to treat heere largely and pithily, as the weight of the matter requireth, at this time I haue no leiſure; neither if I had, yet might I conueniently performe it in this treatiſe, which otherwiſe will amount to a ſufficient bigneſſe, and that matter thorowly handled will fill a right great volume. Wherefore, referring the Readers to the credit of theſe worthie Fathers, who ſo vnderſtood the Scriptures, as thereof they were perſwaded the Primacie to be attributed to Peters ſucceſſour by God himſelfe, I will proceed keeping my prefixed order.

Anacletus forged.

S. Gregorie nipped. For the next words immediately following are theſe; *Tamen Petrus Vniuerſalis Apoſtolus non vocatur.*

S. Cyprians minde twice falſified in one place.

The 96. vntruth, ioined with follie, as ſhall appeare.

Whereas the preeminence of power and authority, which to the Biſhop of Rome by ſpeciall and ſingular priuilege God hath granted, is commended to the World by many and ſundry Councels, for auoiding of tediouſneſſe, I will rehearſe the teſtimonies of a few. Among the Canons made by three hundred and eighteene Biſhops at the Nicene Councell, which were in number 70. and (96) all burnt by Heretikes in the Eaſt Church, ſaue xx. and yet the whole number (97) was kept diligently in the Church of Rome in the originall it ſelfe, ſent to Sylueſter the Biſhop there from the Councell, ſubſcribed with the ſaid 318. Fa-

Vide Trauiſ. Turrianum, li. 3. diſcuſſ. 6. num.

The 97. vntruth. For there was no ſuch originall kept in the Church of Rome.

thers

thers hands, the 44. Canon which is of the power of the Patriarke, ouer the Metropolitanes and Biſhops, and of the Metropolitane ouer Biſhops, in the end hath this Decree; *Vt autem cunctis ditionis ſuæ nationibus, &c.* As the Patriarke beareth rule ouer all Nations of his iuriſdiction, and giueth Lawes to them; and as Peter Chriſts Vicar, at the beginning ſet in authoritie ouer Religion, ouer the Churches, and ouer all other things pertaining to Chriſt, was (98) Maſter and Ruler of Chriſtian Princes, Prouinces, and of all Nations: ſo he whoſe Principalitie or Chiefrie is at Rome, like vnto Peter, and equall in authoritie, obtaineth the rule and ſoueraignte ouer all Patriarkes. After a few words it followeth there; If any man repine againſt this Statute, or dare reſiſt it, by the Decree of the whole Councell he is accurſed.

Athanaſius forged.

The 98. vntruth. For there was no Prince or Prouince Chriſtned in S. Peters time.

Iulius that worthy Biſhop of Rome, not long after the Councell of Nice, in his Epiſtle that hee wrote to the 90. Arian Biſhops, aſſembled in the Councell at Antioch againſt Athanaſius Biſhop of Alexandria, reprooueth them for their vniuſt treating of him, ſaith of the Canons of the Nicene Councell, then freſh in their remembrance, that they command, *Non debere præter ſententiam Romani Pontificis vllo modo Concilia celebrari, nec Epiſcopos damnari:* That without the authority of the Biſhop of Rome, neither Councels ought to be kept, nor Biſhops condemned. Againe, that nothing be decreed without the Biſhop of Rome; *Cuncta & maiora Eccleſiarum negotia, tam ab ipſo Domino, quàm ab omnibus vniuerſorum Conciliorum fratribus, ſpeciali priuilegio contraditta ſunt*: To whom theſe and other the weighty matters of the Churches bee committed by ſpeciall priuilege, as well by our Lord himſelfe, as by all our Brethren of the whole vniuerſall Councels. Among other principall points which he reciteth in that Epiſtle of the Nicene Councels Canons, this is one; *Vt omnes Epiſcopi, &c.* That all Biſhops who ſuſtaine wrong, in weighty cauſes, ſo often as need ſhall require, make their appeale freely to the See Apoſtolike, and flee to it for ſuccour, as to their Mother, that from thence they may be charitably ſuſtained, defended and deliuered. To the diſpoſition of which See, the ancient authority of the Apoſtles and their Succeſſours, and of the Canons, hath reſerued all weighty or great Eccleſiaſticall cauſes and iudgements of Biſhops.

Athanaſius and the whole company of Biſhops of Ægypt, Thebaida and Lybia, aſſembled together in Councell at Alexandria, complaining in their Epiſtle to Felix the Pope, of great iniuries and griefes they ſuſtained at the Arians; allegeth the determination of the Nicence Councell touching the ſupreme authority and power of that See Apoſtolike ouer all other Biſhops: *Similiter & à ſupradictis Patribus eſt definitum conſonanter, &c.* Likewiſe (ſay they) it hath beene determined by common aſſent of the aforeſaid Fathers (of Nice) that if any of the Biſhops ſuſpect the Metropolitane, or their fellow Biſhops of the ſame Prouince, or the Iudges, that then they make their appeale to your holy See of Rome, to whom by our Lord himſelfe power to binde and looſe, by ſpeciall priuilege aboue other hath beene granted. Thus much alleged out of the Canons of the Nicene Councell, gathered partly out of Iulius Epiſtle, who wrote to them that were preſent at the making of them, (which taketh away all ſuſpition of vntruth) and partly out of Athanaſius and others, that were a great part of the ſame Councell.

Matthæ. 16.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

A ſcarcrow ſtuft with ſtraw, and ſet vpright, may ſeeme a farre off to bee a man. Euen ſo a forger of lies and fables, prickt vp in the apparell of ancient names, may ſeeme to the ignorant an old Catholike Father. No marueil though this authoritie like M. Harding beſt aboue all others: for it is moſt vaine and ſhameleſſe aboue all others: and therefore meeteſt to helpe vp a ſhameleſſe Doctrine. It is no new practiſe in the Church of Rome, to forge euidence in the name of old Fathers, as, God willing, hereafter it ſhall better appeare. But as for this Epiſtle and certaine others that are carried about vnder the name of that godly Biſhop Athanaſius, I will only rip vp the ſtuffing, and open ſome part of the contents of them, and ſo will not refuſe M. Harding himſelfe to be the Iudge.

Firſt, that they were neuer written in Greeke, and therefore not by Athanaſius, it may appeare by ſundry tokens, and namely by the alluſion of theſe two Latine words, Vertex, and Verturtur: Romana Sedes eſt ſacer vertex, in quo omnes verturtur: *The Latine is rude and barbarous, and many times vtterly void of ſenſe.* The manner of vtterance is childiſh, and babling, emptie of matter, and full of words without meaſure. The ſubſtance of the whole is nothing elſe but flattering and aduancing of the See of Rome, ſtarted vp, and ſet out with lies without ſhame.

Eſay 2. Miche. 4: *Matrix Religionis. . . Nicephor. li. 2. ca. 40. Euſeb. lib. 2. ca. 24. Nicephor. li. 2. ca. 43. Auguſtin. epiſt. 170. & epiſt. 178. Græcia, vnde Fides orta eſt. Concil. Carthaginen. 6.*

The Author hereof ſpeaking of the Church of Rome, ſaith: Inde Eccleſiæ ſumpſere Prædicationis exordium: *From Rome the Churches receiued the firſt preaching of the Goſpell.* But God himſelfe ſaith: Ex Sione exibit Lex, & Verbum Domini de Hieruſalem: *From Sion the Law ſhall proceed, and the word of the Lord from Hieruſalem.* And therefore Tertullian calleth Hieruſalem, *The Mother of Religion.* And Nicephorus ſaith, that Simon Zelotes ran ouer all Aphrica, and preached the Goſpell. Euſebius ſaith, that S. Marke the Euangeliſt firſt erected Congregations, and taught the Goſpell at Alexandria. And Nicephorus ſaith further, that S. Marke went preaching ouer all Egypt, and Lybia, and Cyrene, and Pentapolis, and the whole Country of Barbary, in the time of the Emperour Tiberius, which was at the leaſt ſix yeeres before Peter came to Rome. S. Auguſtine ſaith, the Religion of Chriſt was firſt brought into Aphrica out of Græcia, and not from Rome. Therefore that M. Hardings Athanaſius ſaith, the Church receiued from Rome the firſt preaching of the Goſpell, is an open flattery, and a manifeſt vntruth.

Further this Author ſaith, *That in all cauſes there lay appeales from the Metropolitane to the Biſhop of Rome: and that by the authoritie of the Nicene Councell.* But that thing in the Councell of Carthage, S. Auguſtine being then preſent, was vtterly denied by all the Biſhops

Athanasius forged.

ſhops of Aphrica, Numidia, Mauritania, Byzancena, and Tripolis, to the number of two hundred and ſeuentæne, and by the witneſſe of the three Patriarkes of Antiochia, Conſtantinopolis and Alexandria, was found vntrue.

This Authour ſaith: Fuit ſemper veſtræ Sanctæ & Apoſtolicæ Sedi licentia, iniuſtè damnatos vel excommunicatos poteſtatiuè ſua authoritate reſtituere, & ſua eis omnia reddere: *Your holy Apoſtolike See had euermore a ſpeciall Prerogatiue by your owne authoritie, and by way of power to releeue men vniuſtly condemned or excommunicate, and to reſtore them to their owne.* But it ſhall hereafter appeare, that the Biſhop of Rome at that time had no ſuch power: and that it was not he, that reſtored any man in that caſe by his power, but onely the Emperour.

1.Cor.3. S.Paul ſaith: *Other foundation none can be laid, but only that is laid already, which is Chriſt Ieſus.* And findeth great fault with the Corinthians that ſaid: *I hold of Apollo, I hold of Paul, I hold of Peter.* But M.Hardings Athanaſius ſaith: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper fundamentum tuum Eccleſiæ columnæ, hoc eſt, Epiſcopi, ſunt confirmatæ: *Thou art Peter, and vpon thy foundation the pillars of the Church, which are the Biſhops, are ſurely ſet.* And thus he deuiſeth another foundation beſides Chriſt, and contrarie to S. Pauls Doctrine would haue all the Biſhops of the World to hold of Peter.

But to leaue all other vntruths, wherewith theſe Epiſtles bée ſtuffed full, marke gentle Reader, onely this ouerſight, and thou ſhalt plainely ſée with thine eies, that M. Hardings Doctour is an impudent, and an open lier. For the true Athanaſius himſelfe, of whom wée make no doubt, ſaith, that the Arians at Alexandria burnt the Catholike mens Bookes, and therewithall the Canons of the Councell of Nice, in the time of the Emperour Conſtantius, Iulius being then Biſhop of Rome. Which obſeruation of time appeareth alſo by Socrates in his ſtorie. But M.Hardings Athanaſius is either ſo forgetfull of his lies, or ſo impudent and careleſſe what he ſay, that he maketh pitious complaint of the ſaid burning vnto Marcus, that was Biſhop in Rome before Iulius, and was dead at the leaſt nine yeares before the Canons were burnt. By ſuch Doctours M.Harding vpholdeth the ſtate of Rome.

Athanaſius in epiſtola ad Orthodoxos. *Socrat.lib.2. ca.8.*

As for Athanaſius himſelfe, he neuer vnderſtood the Biſhop of Rome had any ſuch prerogatiue power, nor neuer named him by greater title, than the Biſhop of Rome. And whereas this Epiſtle alleged in the name of Athanaſius, ſoundeth farre otherwiſe, it is no maruell: For it was dated at Alexandria and made in Rome.

Now if the Decretall Epiſtle which M.Harding hath brought in vnder the name of Anacletus, be nothing elſe but forged euidence, as it is ſufficiently declared: If M.Harding haue vncourteouſly vſed S.Gregory, cutting off his tale in the middeſt, and purpoſelie leauing out thoſe words: Tamen Petrus Vniuerſalis Apoſtolus non vocatur: *Yet is not Peter called the Vniuerſall Apoſtle:* which was the onely matter that S.Gregory had then in hand. If S.Gregory ſay: *None of my Predeceſſours Biſhops of Rome, would euer take vpon him the name of Vniuerſall biſhop.* If S.Gregory ſay: *It is the puffe of arrogancy: the word of pride: a new, a pompous, a peruerſe, a fooliſh, a raſh, a ſuperſtitious, a profane, an vngodly, and a wicked name: a name of ſingularitie: a name of error: a name of hypocriſie: a name of vanitie, and a name of blaſphemie: and that whoſoeuer calleth himſelfe, or deſireth to be called by that arrogant name, in the pride of his heart is the forerunner of Antichriſt: and that the quiet and indifferent bearing of the ſame is the deſtruction of the Faith of the Vniuerſall Church.* If M.Harding haue wittinglie and openly falſified the words of S. Cyprian, and that twice together in one ſentence, as he himſelfe cannot denie: If the Epiſtle that he allegeth vnder the title of Athanaſius, be nothing elſe but a ſhameleſſe counterfet, full of vile flattering and apparant lies; then is this former part hitherto but weakly proued, neither can M.Harding truly ſay, His Doctrine ſtandeth vpon good and ſure ground.

Gregor.li.4. Epiſt.32. *Gregor.li.4. Epiſt.36.* *Gregor.li.6. Epiſt.30.* *Gregor.li.6. Epiſt.24.* *Cyprian.li.1. Epiſt.3.*

O what lucke hath M.Harding to ſuch authorities, hauing choice, as hée ſaith, of ſo many, and tripping ouer ſo lightly, to ſpéed ſo ill? His Amphilochius lieth at Verona: His Clemens in Candie: His Martiall in a caue vnder ground: His Canon of the Councell of Epheſus againſt Neſtorius was neuer ſéene, and others otherwiſe miſcarried: The Councell of Nice, wherein was the whole ſtay of the Primacie of Rome, is burnt by the Arians, and ſauing only in Rome, no where elſe in the world to be found.

Cyprian.de Ieiunio & Tentatione. *Ammianus Marcellin.* *Socrat.li.4. ca.24.* *Auguſt.in queſtionib. veteris & noui Teſtamenti, quæſt. 101.*

For anſwer hereunto, mée thinketh theſe words ſpoken generally by S. Cyprian, had then, and haue yet a ſpeciall place in the Sée of Rome: Ambitio dormit in ſinu Sacerdotum: *Ambition ſleepeth in the boſome of Prieſts.* For, to paſſe ouer the great contention that euen at the beginning happened there betwéene Damaſus and Vrſinus, whether of them two ſhould bée Biſhop, in which contention a great number of either part was ſlaine, S. Auguſtine alſo complaineth, that euen the Deacons of Rome in his time, aduanced themſelues farre aboue their eſtate. Theſe be his words: Falcidius, duce ſtultitia,

ſtultitia, & Ciuitatis Romanæ iactantia, Diaconos Presbyteris æquare contendit: Falcidius *lead by follie, and by the courage of the Cuie of* Rome, *would haue Deacons to be nothing inferiour vnto Priests.* Likewiſe S. Hierome ſaith: *The Romans are noted of courteſie, and ſtoutneſſe of minde.* And therefore S. Paul gaue this aduertiſement ſpecially vnto them, aboue all others: Noli altum ſapere, ſed time: *Be not high minded, but ſtand in awe.* Whereforeit is the leſſe to be marueiled, if they haue ſo ambitiouſly at all times attempted dominion ouer others.

The pride of Rome.

Hier. in præfatione ad Galat. Rom. 11.

But M. Harding ſaith, the preeminence of power and authority of the Biſhop of Rome is commended to the World by many and ſundry Councels. Wherein I marueil he alegeth not the Councell of Carthage, of Hippo Regius, and of Aphrica, in which it was decreed thus: Vt primæ Sedis Epiſcopus non appelletur Princeps Sacerdotum, aut Summus Sacerdos, aut aliquid huiuſmodi: ſed tantum primæ Sedis Epiſcopus: *That the Biſhop of the firſt See be not called the chiefe of Prieſts, or the higheſt Prieſt, or by any other like name: but onely the Biſhop of the firſt See:* Or the Councell of Aphrica, where, touching appeale to Rome, it was ſpecially prouided thus: Si prouocandum putauerint, non prouocent, niſi ad Aphricana Concilia, vel ad Primates Prouinciarum ſuarum. Ad tranſmarina qui putauerit appellandum, à nullo intra Aphricam in Communionem ſuſcipiatur: *If they thinke it needfull to appeale from their owne Biſhops, let them not appeale but only vnto Councels to be holden within the Country of* Aphrica. *But whoſoeuer ſhall thinke it needfull to appeale to the iudgement of any beyond the Sea, (that is, to the Biſhop of* Rome) *let no man within* Aphrica *receiue him to his Communion.* Why doth M. Harding ſo warily leaue theſe Councels, that be extant, and to be ſeene, the authoritie whereof was neuer doubted of, and allege only a patch of the Councell of Nice, which he himſelfe confeſſed was burnt, and all the Biſhops of the Eaſt part, who are ſuppoſed to haue made it, proteſt openly, vnder their hands and ſeales, it was neuer made? But M. Harding herein doth much like vnto the Arians, that accuſed Athanaſius, who were not aſhamed to bring in the names of certaine men, as being aliue, to witneſſe againſt him; and yet notwithſtanding, charged Athanaſius with the ſame men, that he had ſlaine them.

Con. Carthag. 3. Can. 26.

Concil Hippo. Can. 27.

Concil. Aphrican. Ca. 6.

Concil. Aphrican. Ca. 92.

Synod. Alexandrina aduerſus accuſatores Athanaſij.

Neither doe I ſee wherefore M. Harding ſhould néed in this caſe to leane to the authoritie of any Councell. For his Anacletus thought it better to make men beléeue hée had his ſuperioritie, *Not from the Apoſtles, but from Chriſt himſelfe.* And Fauſtinus Epiſcopus Potentinus, claiming for the Biſhop of Rome in the Councell of Carthage, and finding himſelfe to haue ſmall hold in this Canon of the Nicene Councell, alleged rather Cuſtome and Preſcription. Theſe be his words: Tractandum eſt cum veſtra beatitudine de Nicenis Canonibus, vt conſeruentur & Conſtituta eorum, & Conſuetudo. Quia aliqua Ordine & Canone tenentur, aliqua Conſuetudine firmata ſunt: *We muſt deale with your holineſſe of the Canons of the Councell of* Nice, *that they may be kept, both the Conſtitutions thereof, and alſo the Cuſtome. For certaine things are holden by Order, and by Canon: and certaine things are made good by Cuſtome.* But Pope Nicolas the firſt vtterly reſuſeth, not onely the Councell of Nice, and all other Councels in this behalfe, but alſo the authoritie of Preſcription and Cuſtome. For thus he ſaith: Animaduertendum eſt, quia non Nicena, non denique vlla Synodus quicquam Romanæ contulit Eccleſiæ priuilegij: quæ in Petro nouerat eam totius iura poteſtatis pleniter meruiſſe, & cunctarum Chriſti ouium regimen accepiſſe: *Yee muſt conſider, that neither the Councell of* Nice, *nor any other Councell, euer gaue any priuilege to the Church of* Rome. *For this Church knoweth, that in* Peter *ſhe hath fully deſerued the right of all power, and hath attained the gouernment of all the ſheepe of Chriſt.*

Anacl. epiſt. 1.

Concil. Carthagin. 6. Ca. 2.

Nicolaus 1. ad Michal. Imperatorem.

But touching the forgerie of this Councell of Nice, the very beginning of the quarrell, and the whole ſtorie ſtandeth thus: One Apiarius a Prieſt of the Church of Sicca in Aphrica, as it appeareth, a very ill man, being iuſtly excommunicate, both by his owne Biſhop, and alſo by a great number of other Biſhops together in the Councell there, appealed from them all vnto Zoſimus then Biſhop of Rome. Zoſimus, without further knowledge of the cauſe, neuer hearing the other partie, pronounced Apiarius to bé innocent, and reſtored him to the Communion. And vnderſtanding there was a Councell gathered in Aphrica touching the ſame, ſent thither Fauſtinus the Biſhop of Potentia, with two other Prieſts of Rome, Philippus and Aſellus, not onely to ſée that the ſaid Apiarius, without any further triall, might bée reſtored vnto his right, but alſo to make plea in the open Councell, that it ſhould bée lawfull for any Prieſt to appeale from his owne Ordinarie, or Metropolitane, or Councell, vnto the Apoſtolike Sée of Rome. The Biſhops of Aphrica anſwered, there was no Law it ſhould bée ſo. Fauſtinus laid forth this Canon of the Councell of Nice, not made by the authoritie of the Biſhops there, but onely deuiſed by the Biſhop of Rome. The Biſhops there, among whom was S. Auguſtine, that famous learned Father, thought it was a forged matter, and therefore ſaid, they would

Concil. Carthagin. 6. Ca. 3. Ca. 4.

The Pope a Forger.

would ſend vnto Alexandria, Antioch, and Conſtantinople, for the very Originall Copies of the ſaid Councell, and deſired the Biſhop of Rome to doe the ſame: and ſaid, that in the meane while they would doe as they had done before. Vpon this Meſſage, and returne of the Anſwer with the true authentike Copies, from Cyrillus the Biſhop of Alexandria, and Atticus the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, it appeared plainely vnto the World, that the Canons were corrupted, and that the Pope had falſified that holy Councell: and to the intent to aduance his Apoſtolike See of Rome, had deuiſed Priuileges and Prerogatiues of his owne. Here might M. Harding well beſtow his termes: Here might he truly ſay: The Pope coggeth and foiſteth the die: The Pope bombaſteth the Canons of Councels, and the Decrees of holy Fathers, with his counterfet ſtuffing. The Biſhops in the Councell of Aphrica hauing thus thoroughly examined the truth hereof, wrote vnto Cœleſtinus, being then Biſhop of Rome, in this wiſe: Decreta Nicena, &c. *The Decrees of the Councell of* Nice *haue committed both the inferiour Clerkes, and alſo the Biſhops, vnto their Metropolitanes. For it was diſcreetly and rightly conſidered, that all matters are to be determined in the places where they began, and that no Prouince can lacke the holy Ghoſt, whereby the Biſhops of Chriſt may be able both wiſely to ſee, and alſo conſtantly to maintaine the right: and ſpecially for that it is lawfull for euery man, that ſhall miſlike the diſcretion of his Iudges, to appeale either to a particular Councell within the ſame Realme, or elſe to the Vniuerſall Councell of the whole world: Vnleſſe perchance ſome man will ſay,* God is able to inſpire the triall of Iuſtice into one man alone (becauſe hee is Biſhop of Rome) and will not inſpire the ſame into a great number of Biſhops meeting together in Councell. *And how may ſuch beyond-ſea-Iudgement be thought good, whereunto the perſons of the witneſſes, which in triall of truth are thought neceſſarie, either for that they bee women, or for the infirmitie of their age, or for many other incident lets, cannot be brought? Now that any ſhould be ſent abroad, as it were, from your holineſſe ſide, wee finde it not decreed in any Councell. As for that you ſent vs lately by our brother* Fauſtinus, *as part of the Councell of* Nice, *we muſt do you to wit, that in the true Councels, which we haue receiued from our holy fellow-biſhop* Cyrillus *of* Alexandria, *and the Reuerend Father* Atticus *the Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *taken out of the very Originals, it cannot be found. And ſend you not any your Clerkes hither to execute Iuſtice at any mans requeſt, leſt we ſeeme to bring the ſmoakie puffe of the world into the Church of Chriſt.* Thus farre the words of the Councell.

They would not thus haue done if they had thought all the Originals and Copies had beene burnt.

Ca. 7. Concil. Aphrican. ca. 102.

Concil. Aphrican. ca. 105.

The Pope taken in manifeſt forgerie.

Fumoſum typhum.

The Biſhop of Rome, when he ſaw he was taken with the maner, and found an open Falſarie, for that the Canons of his making diſagreed from the very Originals, thought it good policie, to ſay, the Originals were burnt by the Arians, and ſo no true Copie now remaining, but his only. And therefore he imagined a Letter to be written in the name of Athanaſius, and other Biſhops of Ægypt, vnto Marcus the Biſhop of Rome, wherein they beſought him a Copie of the Nicene Councell, for that all their Bookes were vtterly deſtroied. But this ſhift was too ſimple. For it were hard for M. Harding to ſhew, what helpe Athanaſius could haue found in any of thoſe Canons, that are now preſumed to bee burnt, wherewith either to relaxe himſelfe in that caſe, or elſe to moleſt and grieue his aduerſaries.

But both Iulius the Biſhop of Rome, and alſo Athanaſius the Biſhop of Alexandria, make mention heereof. Therefore there is no cauſe (ſaith M. Harding) why this matter ſhould bee ſuſpected of any vntruth. This remouing of ſuſpicion, I know not how, ſæmeth ſomewhat to increaſe ſuſpicion. If there were not a ſore, what ſhould it thus need to bee ſalued? Indeed Iulius allegeth a Canon of the Councell of Nice: but M. Hardings Canon he allegeth not. And the compiler of the Councels gaue this note in the Margin touching the ſame: Hoc Statutum ſolùm reducibile eſt ad quintum & ſextum Caput Niceni Concilij: Verùm apertè non inuenitur: *This Decree may onely bee reduced to the fifth and ſixth Chapter of the Councell of* Nice: *But expreſly it is not found.* Such credit is to be giuen to this Iulius in his allegations.

In Epiſtola Decretali Iulij.

Manifeſt forgerie Athan. in epiſt. ad Orthodox.

Socrates lib. 2. cap. 8.

As for M. Hardings Athanaſius, his tale is ſo ſimple, that it will ſone bewray it ſelfe. For, as I noted before, he writeth vnto Marcus the Biſhop of Rome, of the burning of the Bookes: and yet Athanaſius himſelfe certainly knew, that Marcus was dead at the leaſt nine yeares before that burning happened.

Euen ſo the vaine forger of the Emperor Conſtantines great Donation imagineth him to decree, that the Biſhop of Conſtantinople ſhould be ſubiect vnto the See of Rome. And yet neither was the Citie of Conſtantinople at that time built, nor any ſuch name yet knowen in the world, nor any Biſhoprike there erected. A man might ſay, Non ſatis commodè diuiſa ſunt temporibus tibi Daue hæc.

Againe

The Pope a Forger.

Againe the same Athanasius writing vnto Felix, saith: The Arians had falsified the Nicene Councell: But writing vnto Marcus of the same matter, as a man that had vtterly forgotten himselfe, he saith: The Arians had burnt the Councell of Nice. But if it were burnt, how was it falsified? If it were falsified, how was it burnt? These tales hang not well together. But forasmuch as M. Harding would so faine haue the Pope to hold by burnt euidence, if it may please thee (gentle Reader) discreetly to weigh the whole circumstance of the matter, thou shalt sone finde, that all this great adoe was nothing else but a great fable. For first it appeareth by Theodoretus, that the whole Acts, and Copies of the Councell of Nice, were sent abroad vnto all Bishops that were away. And Marius Victorinus writing against Arius, saith, that the same Acts were sent abroad into the whole World, and that Many thousand Bishops subscribed, and agreed vnto them. Which thing being vndoubtedly true, it were very much for M. Harding to say, that all these Copies, in all parts of the World, could bee destroied vpon the sudden, and that all together, in one place, and with one fire, and at one commandement. The Arians neither were so mightie to atchieue it, nor so foolish to attempt it. Certainly the like neuer happened to any other Councell. But what needeth words, where the matter is plaine? The Bishops of Aphrica had the very Copies of these Canons. Alypius the Bishop of Tagasta, in this conference with Faustinus, said: Adhuc tamen me mouet, quoniam cùm inspiceremus Græca exemplaria huius Synodi Nicenæ, ista ibi, nescio qua ratione, minimè inuenimus: *But this one thing much moueth mee, that conferring and examining the Greeke examples of this Nicene Councell, these matters (of the superioritie of the See of* Rome *that is alleged) I know not how, wee found not there.* And Cyrillus the Bishop of Alexandria, being desired, for triall of this matter, to send the true Originall of this Councell, made answer in this sort: Necesse habui fidelissima exemplaria ex authentica Synodo vestræ charitati dirigere: *I thought it needfull to send vnto you the true example of the very authenticke Councell.* Likewise Atticus the Bishop of Constantinople, to the same request answereth thus: Canones sicut statuti sunt in Nicæa Ciuitate a Patribus, in integro ad vos direxi: *I haue sent vnto you the Canons in the whole, euen as they were made and ratified by the Fathers in the Citie of* Nice. Now if these Canons were quite burnt, as M. Harding saith, how were they afterward found whole, as the godly Father Atticus, and the learned Bishop Cyrillus saith? And if they were afterward found whole, how then were they quite burnt before? Or how is it, that no man, neither in Aphrica, nor in Europa, nor in Asia; neither in the East Church, nor in the West, was euer able to see these Canons, but only the Bishop of Rome, that so ambitiously claimeth by them? And if hee haue them indeed, and that of such authenticke record, vnder the hands of the three hundred and eightéene Bishops, as it is boldly auouched, why are they not shewed? Why haue they beene, for the space of these thirteene hundred yeares, still kept inuisible? Verily the Councell of Nice were well worth the shewing.

Athanas. in Epist. ad Felicē.
Athanas. in Epist. ad Marc.
Theodoret. l. 1. ca. 9. & lib. 2. cap. 8.
Marius Victorin. aduersus Arium, lib. 2.
Conc. Carthag. 6. cap. 4.
Con. Carthag. 6. ca. 102.
Con. Carthag. 6. ca. 103.

All these things rightly weighed, may seeme sufficient to descrie a Forger. Yet (gentle Reader) the better to satisfie thy minde, marke how earnestly, and with what cunning, M. Hardings Athanasius forceth on his Fable. Hee thought it not sufficient to say, *The Canons all were quite burnt*, which thing he only saith, and no man else, but because hee saw wise men would replie, There were no such Canons euer made, therefore hee toke paines further, to shew the considerations and causes, and the whole order and circumstance of the making, whereat, hee saith, hee himselfe was present. *Foure score Canons* (saith hee) *were deuised in the whole, whereof forty were laid in in Latine by the Latines: and forty other in Greeke by the Grecians. Of this whole number of Canons* (saith hee) *the Fathers there tooke off ten Canons, and diuided them as they might, most handsomely among the rest, and so made vp only the number of threescore and ten Canons, thereby mystically to represent the threescore and ten Disciples: or else the number of the threescore and ten tongues that be knowen in the world.* Thus of holesome and godly rules of Faith and maners, M. Hardings Athanasius hath leasure to fancie prety Mysteries.

Athan. in epist. ad Marcum.

But for better view hereof, I remember, Cardinall Cusanus, touching the Famous Donation of Constantine, writeth thus: In ipsa scriptura reperi manifesta argumenta falsitatis: *Euen in the writing of it, I haue found manifest tokens of falshood.* The like may bee said of these M. Hardings new Canons: Euen in the vtterance and writing of them, wee may finde plaine contrarietie, and therefore vndoubted tokens of vntruth. For the former twenty Canons, whereof there is no question, were made in the Councell of Nice: but the rest, whereof S. Augustine and the Bishops of Aphrica moued doubt, and whereby the Bishop of Rome would seeme to claime, were deuised at Rome, and not at Nice.

Nicol. Cusan. de Donatione Constantini.

This

The Pope a Forger.

This new Canon, here alleged, saith: *The Bishop of* Rome *hath the rule and soueraigntie ouer all Patriarkes.* But the very true and vndoubted Councell of Nice saith farre otherwise: Antiqua consuetudo seruetur per Ægyptum, Libyam, & Pentapolim: vt Alexandrinus Episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem: quia & Vrbis Romæ Episcopo parilis mos est: *Let the ancient custome be kept thorowout* Ægypt, Libya, *and* Pentapolis: *that the Bishop of* Alexandria *haue the gouernment ouer all these. For the Bishop of the Citie of* Rome *hath the like order.* By this Canon the Bishop of Rome hath no soueraigntie ouer the other Patriarkes, as M. Harding fantasieth, but only a fellowship and equalitie with the rest, to walke carefully within his owne diuision, as others were bound to doe within theirs. And in this Canon these two words, Parilis mos, are specially to be noted, which cannot otherwise be expounded, but onely of like manner, order, and authoritie of Iurisdiction. M. Hardings Canon saith, S. Peter *was Master and Ruler ouer all Christian Princes.* And yet is not M. Harding able to proue, that while S. Peter liued, there was any one Prince Christened in the whole world. And if Peter had had power ouer Kings and Princes, it is not likely hee would haue taken vp his lodging with Cornelius the poore Tanner. In the end he concludeth with a terrour: If any man repine against this statute, accursed be he. Wherein he doth great wrong both to S. Augustine, and also to all the Bishops of Aphrica, Numidia, Mauritania, Pentapolis, and Bizancena: who not onely repined openlie against this Canon, but also said, It was falsified: and rebuked the Pope of pride and ambition for the same.

Concil. Nicen. Can. 6.

Parilis mos.

Actor. 10.

To bee short, what leadeth M. Harding to say, The Bishop of Rome hath these threescore and tenne Canons in safe keeping? Why doth he thus dissemble, and mocke the world? Certainly the Bishop of Rome himselfe vtterly disclaimeth it, and saith, hee hath them not. For thus he writeth touching the same: Viginti tantum capitula Nicenæ Synodi in sancta Romana Ecclesia habentur: sed quo neglectu alia defecerint, ambiguum est: *There are in the Church of* Rome *only twenty Canons of the Councell of* Nice. *But by what negligence the rest are lost, it is not knowen.* The Pope saith, There are but twenty Canons extant: M. Harding saith, There are threescore and ten Canons. I trow, it is no reason wee should beleeue M. Harding, and leaue the Pope.

Dist. 16. Viginti Stephanus pp.

But Steuen the Bishop of Rome saith, there were sometime in Rome the full threescore and ten Canons, which thing he gathereth only vpon this forgerie of M. Hardings Athanasius. And the same being the euidence whereby he holdeth his whole Title, and such euidence as was not to be found elsewhere in all the world, yet cannot he tell neither how he came by it, nor how long he kept it, nor how he lost it. But a thing is well lost, that cannot be auouched, and shewed without shame.

M. Hardinge Athanasius saith, *Power to binde and loose is giuen to the holy See of* Rome *by speciall priuilege aboue all other.* And yet the old Catholike Fathers could neuer vnderstand any such speciall priuilege. S. Cyprian saith: Quamuis Dominus Apostolis omnibus post Resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat, tamen vt vnitatem manifestaret, vnitatis eiusdem originem ab vno incipientem sua authoritate disposuit. Hoc erant vtique & cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædit, & Honoris, & Potestatis: *The Lord, after his Resurrection, gaue vnto his Apostles like power: Yet to declare vnitie, hee disposed by his authoritie the Originall of vnitie, beginning of one. The rest of the Apostles were euen the same that* Peter *was, endued with like fellowship, both of Honour, and of Power.*

Cypr. de simplicitate prælator.

Et Honoris, & Potestatis.

Origen saith: An verò soli Petro dantur à Christo Claues Regni Cœlorum, nec alius beatorum quisquam eas accepturus est? Hoc dictum, Tibi dabo Claues Regni Cœlorum, cæteris quoque est commune: *What, hath Christ giuen the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen vnto* Peter *onely? And shall no holy man else receiue them? Verily this saying,* To thee will I giue the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen, *is common also to the rest.* S. Cyril saith: Apostolis, & eorum in Ecclesijs Successoribus, plenam concessit potestatem: *Christ gaue full power vnto the Apostles, and vnto others that succeeded them in the Churches.* And S. Basil saith: Christus Petrum post se suæ Ecclesiæ Pastorem constituit, & consequenter omnibus Pastoribus & Doctoribus eandem tribuit potestatem: cuius signum est, quòd omnes ex æquo & ligant, & absoluunt. quemadmodum ille: *Christ appointed* Peter *to be Pastor of his Church after him, and so consequently gaue the same power vnto all Pastors and Doctors. A token whereof is this, that all Pastors doe equally both binde and loose as well as he.*

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.

Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 3. cap. 20.

Basil. in Libello de vita solitaria, ca. 23.

Now, if Christ gaue like power to all his Apostles: If the rest of the Apostles were the same that Peter was, endued all with like honour, and like power: If Christs words were common to all the rest: If all Pastours doe equally both binde and loose, as well as Peter; What a Fable then is this, that M. Harding with his Athanasius hath brought in, That power to binde and loose is giuen to the holy See of Rome, by speciall priuilege aboue all others?

Now,

Now, gentle Reader, shortly and simply to lay all the effect hereof before thine eies; M. Hardings Canons were burnt before they were euer made. They were burnt, and yet were they falsified. They were falsified, and yet were they burnt too. This Athanasius informeth Marcus the Bishop of Rome of the burning of them, nine yeres before the fire was made.

The Pope a Forger.

The Pope is found in manifest forgerie, and that by the witnesse of the Patriarkes of Constantinople, and Antioch, and of all the Bishops, and the whole Councell of Aphrica, S. Augustine himselfe being present.

M. Harding saith, The Pope hath the custodie of these Inuisible Canons.

The Pope himselfe saith, he hath none of them.

These Canons be plaine contrarie, not only to the old Catholike Fathers, but also to other Canons of the same Councell.

The Bishops in the Councell of Aphrica openly mislike the Popes attempt in this behalfe, and call it worldly pride, and vaine ambition.

Such warrant hath M. Harding to aduance the state of the See of Rome.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuision.

For further declaration of this matter, it were easie heere to allege the Councell of Sardica, the Councell of Chalcedon, certaine Councels of Aphrica, yea some Councels also holden by Heretikes, and sundrie other: but such store of authorities commonly knowen, these may suffice.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

These Councels are brought forth, all in a mummerie, saying nothing. Therefore I might safely passe them ouer, vntill they had learned to speake somewhat. Yet forasmuch as these men thinke it good policie to huddle vp their matters in the darke, it will not be amisse to rip them abroad, and to bring them forth into the light.

In the Councell of Chalcedon it is decreed thus: Teneat & Ægyptus, vt Episcopus Alexandriæ omnium habeat potestatem: quoniam & Romano Episcopo hæc est consuetudo. Similiter & qui in Antiochia constitutus est: *Let Ægypt hold this order, that the Bishop of* Alexandria *haue the Iurisdiction of all things there: For the Bishop of* Rome *holdeth the same order (within his Diuision.) So likewise let the Bishop of* Antioch. By this Councell, euerie of these Patriarkes had his power limited within himselfe, and none of them to haue dominion ouer other. *Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 16.*

The Fathers in the Councell of Aphrica, wherein M. Harding would seeme to haue some affiance, haue decreed thus: Ne primæ Sedis Episcopus appelletur Princeps Sacerdotum, aut Summus Sacerdos, aut aliquid huiusmodi: sed tantùm primæ Sedis Episcopus: *That the Bishop of the First See be not called the chiefe of Priests, or the highest Priest, or by any other like Title: but only, the Bishop of the First See.* And againe: *If any shall thinke it good to appeale, let them appeale only to Councels to be holden within* Aphrica, *or else to the Primates of their owne Prouinces. But whosoeuer shall appeale beyond the Seas, (that is, to the Bishop of* Rome) *let no man within* Aphrica *receiue him to his Communion.* Thus much onely for a taste. I thinke M. Harding will not gather hereof, that the Bishop of Rome was called Vniuersall Bishop, or the Head of the Vniuersall Church. *Concil. Aphrican. Ca. 6. Can. 102.*

M. Harding. The 8. Diuision.

The Christian Princes that ratified and confirmed, with their Proclamations and Edicts, the Decrees of the Canons concerning the Popes Primacie, and gaue not to him first that Authoritie, as the Aduersaries doe vntruly report, were (99) Iustinian and Phocas the Emperours. The words of Iustinians Edict be these: *Sancimus, secundum Canonum definitiones, sanctissimum senioris Romæ Papam, primum esse omnium Sacerdotum*: Wee ordaine, according to the determinations of the Canons, that the most holy Pope, of the elder Rome, be formost and chiefe of all Priests. *In authen. De Episc. tit.* The 99. vntruth. For Phocas gaue this title to the Bishop of Rome: but Iustinian gaue it neuer.

About threescore and ten yeeres after Iustinian, Phocas the Emperour, in the time of Bonifacius, to represse the arrogancie of the Bishop of Constantinople, as Paulus Diaconus writeth, who vainly, and, as Gregorie saith, contrarie to our Lords teachings, and the Decrees of the Canons, and for that, wickedly tooke vpon him the name of the Vniuersall or œcumenicall Bishop, and wrote himselfe chiefe of all Bishops, made the like Decree and Ordinance, that the holy See of the Roman and Apostolike Church, should be holden for the Head of all Churches. *Lib. 4. hist. Longobardic. c. 36*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Emperours, Princes, and others, haue bene fauourably inclined sometime to the parties, in respect of their places: sometime to the places, for the admiration and reuerence of the parties. Theodosius the Emperour said, *He neuer saw Bishop, that bare himselfe* *Theodoret. li. 5. ca. 18.*

Papa.

Sozom. Lib. 7. cap. 24.

Socrat. Lib. 1. cap. 24.

Authen. de Eccleſiaſt. titulis, Collatione 9.

Ideóque Sancimus.

Cod. de Sacroſanctis Eccleſ. Decernimus Sacroſanctam.

Authen. Colla. 9. de Eccleſiaſt. Titulis.

Cœlius Rhodigin. li. 11. c. 21.

Iupiter Papa.

Cyprian. lib. 2. Epiſt. 7.

Pontius in paſſione Cypriani.

Inter Epiſtolas Auguſtini, Epiſt. 11.

Cod. de Sacroſanctis Eccleſ. Decernimus.

τὸ δευτέρου τάξιν.

Cod. de Sacroſanctis Eccleſ. Omni Innouatione.

ſelfe as a Biſhop indeed, but only S. Ambroſe. Conſtantinus **the Emperour ſaid of** Euſebius **the Biſhop of** Cæſaria: Dignus eſt qui ſit Epiſcopus, non tantùm vnius Ciuitatis, ſed etiam propè vniuerſi Orbis: *Hee is worthy to be the Biſhop, not only of one Citie, but alſo in a maner of the whole World.*

In reſpect of places, they were moued either for their Antiquitie, or for their Authoritie and Ciuill Power, or for the commoditie of the ſituation, or for ſome other good conſideration and circumſtance, to fauour them, and to grant them priuileges aboue others. Thus the Emperour Iuſtinian had a ſpeciall inclination to the Citie of Conſtantinople, **for that it was now growen in wealth and puiſſance, and for the State and Nobilitie thereof,** called Noua Roma, *New* Rome: **And for that it was, as hee ſaith,** Mater pietatis noſtræ, & Chriſtianorum Orthodoxæ Religionis omnium: **That is,** *The Mother of his Maieſtie, and of all Chriſtian men of the Catholike Faith.* **For like conſideration, the Emperour gaue out this ſpeciall Priuilege, in fauour of the Sée of** Rome: Sancimus, ſecundùm Canonum definitiones, ſanctiſſimum Senioris Romæ Papam primum eſſe omnium Sacerdotum: *Wee decree, according to the determination of the Canons, that the moſt holy Pope of the Elder* Rome *be the firſt or formoſt of all Prieſts.* **And by the way, leſt any errour happen to grow of this word** Papa, **it behoueth thée (good Reader) to vnderſtand, that** Papa, **in old times, in the Greéke tongue, ſignified a Father, as appeareth by that** Iupiter **the great Idoll, that was honoured as God in** Bithynia, **was called** Papa, ὁ ζεὺς, ὁ πάππας, Iupiter Papa. **And further, that in** S. Auguſtines **time, and before, the ſame name was giuen, not only or ſpecially to the Biſhop of** Rome, **but alſo generally to all Biſhops. The Prieſts and Deacons of** Rome **write thus vnto** S. Cyprian **the Biſhop of** Carthage: Cypriano Papæ: *Vnto Pope* Cyprian. **And** Galerius **the Iudge, hauing** S. Cyprian **in examination for the Chriſtian Faith, ſaid thus vnto him:** Tu es quem Chriſtiani Papam ſuum nominant? *Art thou he whom the Chriſtians call their Pope?* **So likewiſe** S. Hierome **intitleth his Epiſtles vnto** S. Auguſtine, **being Biſhop of** Hippo: Hieronymus beatiſſimo Papæ Auguſtino: Hierome *vnto* Auguſtine *the moſt holy Pope.* **Thus much only by the way.**

But to returne to the matter, M. Harding may not of euery thing that he readeth, conclude what he liſteth. This Priuilege granted vnto the Biſhop of Rome, **to bée the firſt of all Prieſts, was not to beare the whole ſway, and to ouer-rule all the world; but only in generall meétings and Councels to ſit in place aboue all others; and for auoiding of confuſion, to direct and order them in their doings. The Emperours words bée plaine:** Prærogatiua in Epiſcoporum Concilio, vel extra Concilium ante alios reſidendi: *A Prerogatiue in the Councell of Biſhops, or without the Councell to ſit in order aboue others.* **This Prerogatiue in Greéke is called** πρωτοθρόνια, **that is,** *The priuilege of the firſt place.* **And theſe phraſes, in that Tongue, be knowen, and common:** τὰ πρωτεῖα ἔχειν: τὸ δευτερεῖα: τὸ τριτεῖα: **Like as alſo theſe in the Latine Tongue:** Obtinere primas, ſecundas, tertias: **That is,** *To haue the preeminence of the Firſt, Second, or Third place.* **And that the Emperour** Iuſtinian **meant onely thus, and none otherwiſe, it is manifeſt euen by the ſelfe ſame place that M. Harding hath héere alleged. His words ſtand thus:** Sancimus, &c. Senioris Romæ Papam, primum eſſe omnium Sacerdotum: Beatiſſimum autem Archiepiſcopum Conſtantinopoleos, Nouæ Romæ, ſecundum habere locum: *Wee ordaine, that the Pope of the Elder* Rome *ſhall bee the firſt of all Prieſts: and that the moſt holy Archbiſhop of* Conſtantinople, *which is named* New Rome, *haue the ſecond place.* **Héereby it is plaine, that this Priuilege ſtandeth only in placing the Biſhop of** Rome **in the firſt ſeat, aboue others. But I beſeech thée, gentle Reader, weigh well the words that follow in the ſame Law, and thou ſhalt ſée, both that M. Hardings dealing herein is not vpright, and alſo that the Biſhop of** Rome **was then excluded by plaine words from that Vniuerſall Power which hée now ſo déepely dreameth of. It followeth immediately:** Beatiſſimum Archiepiſcopum Primæ Iuſtinianæ Patriæ noſtræ habere ſemper ſub ſua Iuriſdictione Epiſcopos Prouinciarum Daciæ, & Daniæ, & Dardaniæ, & Myſiæ, atque Pannoniæ: Et ab eo hos ordinari: ipſum verò à proprio ordinari Concilio: & in ſubiectis ſibi Prouincijs locum obtinere eum Sedis Apoſtolicæ Romæ: *Wee ordaine, that the moſt holy Archbiſhop of* Iuſtiniana *the firſt, which is in our Country, ſhal haue for euer vnder his iuriſdiction, the Biſhops of the Prouinces of* Dacia, Dania, Dardania, Myſia, *and* Pannonia: *and that they ſhall bee inueſted by him: and hee onely by his owne Councell: and that he, in the Prouinces ſubiect vnto him, ſhall haue the place of the Apoſtolike See of* Rome. **Héere we ſée the Biſhop of** Iuſtiniana **ſet in as high Authoritie and Power, within his owne Iuriſdiction, as the Biſhop of** Rome **within his. In like ſort the Emperour** Iuſtinian **ſaith:** Eccleſia Vrbis Conſtantinopolitanæ, Romæ Veteris Prærogatiua lætatur: *The Church of the City of* Conſtantinople *exiſteth now the Prerogatiue of* Rome *the Elder.*

Now if the Biſhop of Iuſtiniana **and the Biſhop of** Rome, **in their ſeuerall Diuiſions,**

haue

haue like authority. And if the Church of Constantinople in all prerogatiues and priuileges be made equall with the City of Rome, then is not the Bishop of Romes power Vniuersall, neither can he iustly be called the Head of the Vniuersall Church. Verily Iustinian himselfe writing vnto Epiphanius the Bishop of Constantinople, calleth him, *The Vniuersall Patriarke*: which thing he would not haue done, if he had thought that title of right had belonged to the Bishop of Rome.

The first Bishop.

Authen. vt determinatus sit numerus Clericorum. ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐπιφανίῳ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ.

The argument that M. Harding gathereth of Iustinians words, is this: The Bishop of Rome had the first place in Generall Councels; Ergo, he was an Vniuersall Bishop. Which argument what weight it beareth, I leaue to M. Harding to consider.

But the Emperour Phocas gaue this speciall grant to the See of Rome, that the Bishop there should be called, *The Head of all Churches*. But M. Harding knoweth, this grant was made vnto Bonifacius the third, which was Bishop in Rome in the yeare of our Lord fiue hundred and eight, euen at the same very time that Mahomet first began to plant his Doctrine in Arabia, and therefore maketh nothing to this purpose, as being without the compasse of six hundred yeares. Notwithstanding both Platina and Sabellicus say, that Bonifacius hardly, and with much adoe got the same then to be granted. Howbeit, forasmuch as M. Harding would seeme to found his Supremacy vpon some godly man, it may please thee, good Reader, to vnderstand, that this Phocas being but a Souldier, by treason and conspiracie laid hands vpon his liege Lord and Maister the Emperour Mauritius, and in cruell sort did him to death. The maner whereof was this: First he commanded forth the Emperours yongest sonne, and caused him to be slaine, euen in the sight of his Father: and so the second: and then the third: and afterward the wife: Mauritius heauily looking on, and lamenting, and saying vnto God, *O Lord thou art iust, and iust is thy iudgement*. Last of al, he vsed the like tyranny vpon him also, and laid the Emperour, his Wife, and his Children in a heape together. Afterward during the time of this Phocas, God seemed vtterly to withdraw his blessing: France, Spain, Germany, Lombardy, and the greatest part of the East, fell from the Empire for euer: such a wracke to the state as neuer had beene seene before. After that he had thus liued, and committed sundrie Murders, and other great mischieues (Post multa homicidia, & alia malefacta) the people toke him, and slew him, and threw him into the fire. This was hee, that first proclaimed the Bishop of Rome to be Head of the Vniuersall Church.

Anno Domini, 608. *Platina. Sabellicus.*

Abbas Vrspergensis in Mauritio.

Carion. in Chronicis. Abbas Vrspergensis.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuision.

Of the Doctours what shall I say? Verily this matter is so often, and so commonly reported of them, that their sayings laid together, would scantly be comprised within a great volume. The recitall of a few, shall heere giue a taste, as it were of the whole, and so suffice.

Irenæus hauing much praised the Church of Rome, at length vttereth these words, by which the soueraignty thereof is confessed; *Ad hanc Ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem conuenire Ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui vndique sunt fideles*: To this Church (of Rome) it is necessary all the Church, that is to say, all that be faithfull any where, to repaire and come together, for the mightier principality of the same, that is to wit, for that it is of mightier power and authority than other Churches, and the principallest of all. *Lib. 3.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Touching the Doctours, M. Harding findeth himselfe much troubled with the number of them: yet can he not finde any one of them all, that calleth the Bishop of Rome the Vniuersall Bishop, or Head of the Vniuersall Church.

Irenæus speaketh neither of Supremacie, nor of Headship of the Church, nor of any other Vniuersall power. Therefore M. Harding misteleth his authours tale, and auoucheth that he neuer meant. For Irenæus in that place writeth only against Valentinus, Cerdon and Marcion, which contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles, had deuised sundry strange Heresies and Fantasies of their owne. For triall whereof, he biddeth them to beholde the Churches which the Apostles had planted. *The Church of Ephesus* (saith he) *first instructed by S. Paul, and afterward continued by S. Iohn, is a sufficient witnesse of the Apostles learning. Polycarpus being conuerted, and taught by the Apostles, instructed the Church of Smyrna: and all the Churches of Asia follow it. Yet none of all these Churches euer allowed or receiued your strange doctrine. Yea the very wilde barbarous Nations, that haue receiued the faith of Christ at the Apostles hands, only by hearing, without any booke or letter, if they should heare of these heresies, they would stop their eares.* Thus Irenæus calleth forth these Heretikes, as we doe now our Aduersaries, to be tried by the Doctrine and Churches of the Apostles. But he saith: Valdè longũ est, in hoc tali volumine omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones: *It would be very long in such a booke as this is, to reckon vp the successions of all Churches.* Therefore he resteth specially vpon the example of the Church of Rome, which he calleth, Maxi-

Irenæus, li. 3. ca. 3.

Irenæus, li. 3. ca. 4.

Primatus.

mam antiquiſſimam & omnibus cognitam: *The greateſt, moſt ancient, and knowen to all men.* And ſaith: *By the Example of this Curch, we confound all peruerſe Doctrine.* And addeth further: Ad hanc Eccleſiam, propter potentiorem principalitatem, neceſſe eſt omnem Eccleſiam conuenire, quia in hac, ſemper conſeruata eſt ea, quæ eſt ab Apoſtolis Traditio: *vnto this Church of Rome euery other Church muſt agree.* The reaſon is: *For that in this Church the Tradition of the Apoſtles hath euer beene kept.* So the Emperours Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodoſius *commanded all them to be called Catholikes, that followe the Faith, that S. Peter deliuered vnto the See of Rome.* For the Apoſtles Doctrine is the triall and rule of Faith.

Cod. de Summa Trini. Cunctos popul.

Sozomen. lib. 7. cap. 4.

This Doctrine at the beginning was exactly obſerued in Rome without corruption: and therefore was that Church in reuerence and eſtimation aboue others.

But they will replie, Irenæus ſaith; Propter potentiorem principalitatem: Of theſe words groweth their errour. They dreame of a Kingdome and Principality. But Chriſt ſaith to his Diſciples, *The Kings of Nations rule ouer them:* Vos autem non ſic: *But you may not ſo.* And Origen ſaith; Qui vocatur ad Epiſcopatum, non vocatur ad Principatum, ſed ad ſeruitutem totius Eccleſiæ: *He that is called to be a Biſhop, is not called to a principality, but vnto the Seruice of the whole Church.* The Principality that Irenæus meant, was the Ciuill Dominion, and Temporall ſtate of the City of Rome, in which God had then planted the Empire of the World, and made all Nations ſubiect vnto it. And therefore the Church of God being once inkindled there, was more notable and better knowen vnto all nations. As for the Biſhops of Rome that then were, they had neither lands nor rents, but liued ſtill vnder the ſword in continuall perſecution: as S. Paul ſaith: *The offſcouring of the World, and the vileſt of all people,* farre from any ſhew or colour of Principality. Yet that notwithſtanding, the Church there was called a Principall, and a chiefe Church aboue others, becauſe of the Dominion and Principality of the City. And in this ſenſe Eccleſia principalis, is ſometimes vſed in the old Fathers. In the Councell of Carthage it is written thus: Placuit vt nemini ſit facultas, relicta principali Cathedra, ad aliquam Eccleſiam in Diœceſi conſtitutam ſe conferre: *We thinke it good it be lawfull for no man, leauing the principall Chaire or Church, to goe to any other Church within the Dioceſſe.* Likewiſe Paulinus vnto Alypius: Dominus in ſuis te ciuibus principalem cum principibus populi ſui, ſede Apoſtolica meritò collocauit: *The Lord hath worthily placed thee in the See Apoſtolike, a principall one among his Citizens, with the Princes of his people.* Thus the Principality that Irenæus meaneth, ſtood not in the preaching of the Goſpell, but in the Ciuill eſtate and Worldly Dominion: not in the Biſhop that profeſſed Chriſt, but in the Emperour that was an Heathen: not in the Church, but in the perſecutors & enemies of the Church. Therefore M. Harding reaſoning thus: *Rome had the power and Princehood of the World:* Ergo, *The Biſhop there was Head of the Vniuerſall Church,* ſeemeth not well to weigh his own concluſion. For of the ſame grounds we might well reaſon thus: *Rome now hath loſt that power and Princehood of the World:* Ergo, *The Biſhop there, is not now the Head of the Vniuerſall Church.*

7. Queſt. 1. Placuit.

Inter Epiſtolas Auguſtini, ep. 35.

To be ſhort, If the Church of Rome would now faithfully keepe the Traditions and Doctrine of the Apoſtles, we would frankly yeld her all that honour that Irenæus giueth her. But ſhe hath ſhaken off the yoke of Chriſt, and wilfully breaketh Gods commandements, to the intent to vphold her owne Traditions. For proofe whereof, to paſſe ouer an infinite number of other diſorders, the Biſhop there preſumeth now to intitle himſelfe, *The Vniuerſall Biſhop.* But S. Gregorie ſaith: Nemo deceſſorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo vti conſenſit: *None of my predeceſſours euer conſented to vſe this vngodly name.* Therefore like as Irenæus ſaith of his time, *The Church of* Rome *hath euer hitherto kept the Tradition and Doctrine of the Apoſtles:* Ergo, *All Churches ought to take her for an example, and to agree vnto her.* So may we in contrary wiſe ſay of our time: The Church of Rome hath now broken the Traditions and Doctrine of the Apoſtles: Ergo, No Church ought to follow her example, and to agree vnto her.

Gregor. li. 4. Epiſt. 36.

M. Harding. The 10. Diuiſion.

Andrew followed our Sauiour before that Peter did, *Et tamen primatum non accepit Andreas, ſed Petrus:* And yet Andrew receiued not the Primacie, but Peter, ſaith Ambroſe. *In 2. Cor. 1.*

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

This errour holdeth only of the miſunderſtanding of this word, Primatus: which, by M. Hardings iudgement, muſt needs ſignifie an Vniuerſall Power ouer the whole World. But it is eaſie to be ſhewed, that Primatus, among the Old Fathers, is farre otherwiſe vſed, I meane, for any ſuperioritie, or preferment before others. And firſt to begin with S. Ambroſe, thus he writeth: Eſau per lentem, honorem Primatus amiſit: Eſau *by a diſh of Rice potage loſt the honour of his Primacie.* In like ſort writeth S. Auguſtine:

In Sermon. 35. De Ieiunio.

Eſau

Esau Primatus suos, non propter gallinam, sed propter lenticulam perdidit. Likewise the Councell of Chalcedon in the condemnation of the Heretike Abbat Eutyches, vseth these words: Decernimus eum extraneum esse ab omni officio Sacerdotali, & à nostra Communione, & à Primatu Monasterij: *We decree, that he shall be remooued from his office of Priesthood, and from our Communion, and from the Primacie of his Abbey.* So the Councell of Toledo: Primatu dignitatis honorabiles habentur in palatio: *They are counted honorable in the Court, for the Primacy of their dignitie.* In these places, I reckon, we need not to take Primatus, for an Vniuersall or infinite Gouernment.

Primatus.

August. in Euange. Iohan. Tract. 73.

Concil. Chalcedonen. Actione prima.

Concil. Tolet. 6. ca. 13.

Likewise the same word Primatus, is often taken for the Superiority of euery of the foure Patriarkes, and not only for the dominion that is claimed by the Bishop of Rome. In the Councell of Constantinople it is written thus: Alexandriæ Episcopi solius Orientis curam gerant, seruatis honoribus Primatus Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ: *Let the Bishops of Alexandria haue the charge only of the East, the honour of Primacie euer reserued to the Church of Antioch.* In like maner it is written in the Councell of Chalcedon: Episcopus qui in Antiochia constitutus est, & qui in cæteris prouincijs, habeant Primatus Ecclesiæ Ciuitatum ampliorum: *The Bishop that is appointed for Antioch, and likewise others in other Prouinces, let them haue the Primacies of the greater Cities.* So the Emperours Theodosius and Valentinian wrote vnto Dioscorus the Bishop of Alexandria, as it is reported in the Councell of Chalcedon: Authoritatem & Primatum tuæ præbemus Beatitudini.

Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 16.

Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 1.

Now if this word Primatus, must needs signifie that power and gouernment, that M. Harding fantasieth, then must it follow of necessity, that Esau, Eutyches, the Bishop of Antioch, and the Bishop of Alexandria, had the Vniuersall Power and gouernment of the whole World. But if it may well be taken for any maner preferrement or præeminence, or priority before others, then is M. Hardings argument much abused, and concludeth not so much, as is pretended. Verily Tertullian saith: Tot ac tantæ Ecclesiæ, vna est illa ab Apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ, & omnes Apostolicæ, dum vnam omnes probant vnitatem: *So many and so great Churches, are all that first one Church rested by the Apostles, from whence came all. And so are all Churches both the first, and also the Apostolike Churches, forasmuch as they all allow one truth.*

Tertullian. De Præscriptio. contra Hæreti.

As touching S. Peters præeminence, Cyprian saith: Hoc erant alij, quod Petrus pari consortio præditi, & Honoris, & Potestatis: The rest of the Disciples were euen the same that Peter was, all endued with like fellowship, both of honour and also of power. Euen so saith S. Ambrose too, and that in the very same place that M. Harding hath alleged: Inter Petrum & Paulum, quis cui præponatur, incertum est: *Of Peter and Paul, whether ought to be preferred before other, it is not knowen.* Certainly if Peter had had the Vniuersall souereignety ouer all the Apostles, he should haue had the like ouer S. Paul. And so perhaps M. Harding will say, notwithstanding S. Ambrose by plaine words denieth it: and although S. Gregory say: Petrus vniuersalis Apostolus non vocatur: *Peter is not called an vniuersall Apostle.*

Cyprian. de Simplicitate Prælatorum.

Gregor. lib. 4. Epist. 32.

Of S. Ambrose words, M. Harding reasoneth thus: Peter was the chiefest of the Apostles: Ergo, The Pope is Head of the Vniuersall Church. This argument would be better considered: for as it is, it holdeth but weakely.

M. Harding. The 11. Diuision.

In the Epistle of Athanasius and the Bishops of Egypt to Liberius the Pope, in which they sue for helpe against the oppressions of the Arians, we finde these words: *Huius rei gratia, vniuersalis vobis à Christo Iesu commissa est Ecclesia, &c.* Euen for this cause the Vniuersall Church hath beene committed to you of Christ Iesus, that you should trauell for all, and not bee negligent to helpe euery one. For whiles the strong man being armed keepeth his house, all things that he possesseth are in peace.

This Epistle is forged, and not written by Athanasius.

Luc. 11.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This Epistle vnder the name of Athanasius, besides that it is vaine and Childish, and full of needlesse and idle talke, hath also euident tokens of manifest forgerie. For further answer hereunto, I referre my selfe vnto that is before answered vnto the Epistle written vnder the name of Athanasius vnto Felix.

M. Harding. The 12. Diuision.

Hilarius speaking much to the extolling of Peter and his (100) Successour in that See, saith; *Supereminentem beatæ fidei suæ confessione locum promeruit:* That for the confession of his blessed Faith, he deserued a place of preeminence (101) aboue all other.

De Trinita. lib. 6.

The 100 vntruth. For Hilary speaketh not one word of Peters Successour.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Hilarius by M. Hardings report, speaketh much to the extolling of S. Peter and his Successour in that See. Here is first a great vntruth. For Hilarius in that whole place,

The 101. vntruth, standing in false translation.

ſpeaketh not one word neither of Rome, nor of the Sea, nor of the Succeſſour of Peter. Only he commendeth S. Peters faith, wherein he confeſſed that Chriſt is the Sonne of the liuing God, and ſaith: Hæc fides eſt fundamentum Eccleſiæ: Super hanc Confeſſionis Petram, Eccleſiæ edificatio eſt: *This Faith is the Foundation of the Church: Vpon this Rocke of Confeſſion the Chriſt is built.* And addeth further: *By the Confeſſion of his bleſſed Faith, he obtained a place of preeminence,* as M. Harding addeth of his owne, *aboue all other.* Wherein alſo he committeth another vntruth. For Hilarius ſaith only: *He obtained a ſpeciall place, and ſpeaketh not one word of any other.* * S. Auguſtine ſaith: Petrus pro omnibus dixit, & cum omnibus accepit: *Peter ſpake for all the reſt: and receiued promiſe with all the reſt.* As the Confeſſion was one, ſo the place of preeminence was all one. The preeminence was, that they ſhould be the firſt fruits of Gods Saints: The veſſels of Election: The Fathers of the people: The light of the World: The pillars of the Church: and the Angels of God. That they ſhould ſit vpon twelue ſeats, and iudge the twelue Tribes of Iſrael. This was the ſpeciall preeminence of the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and was equally giuen vnto them all.

De Trini. lib. 6.

** Auguſt. in Iohan. Tract. 11. & 124.*

1. Corinth. 15.
1. Corinth. 4.
Roman. 9.
Matth. 5.
1. Timoth. 3.
Luc. 22.
Act. 7.
Act. 6.
Reuelat. 1.
Reuelat. 2.

But M. Harding cannot beleeue, there is any place of preeminence, but only in Rome, and therefore imagineth, that vpon this confeſſion, Chriſt ſaid vnto Peter: *Bleſſed art thou Simon Bariona, for thou ſhalt be Pope, and ſhalt be exalted aboue thy Brethren, and ſhalt bee furniſhed with all worldly power, and all the Princes of the world ſhall ſtoop vnto theee.* This is the preeminence that by M. Hardings fantaſie, Chriſt promiſed vnto S. Peter.

Of theſe words of Hilary, M. Harding ſeemeth to reaſon thus: Peter obtained a place of Preeminence: Ergo, The Biſhop of Rome is head of the Vniuerſall Church. This argument is open, and ſheweth it ſelfe.

M. Harding. The 31. Diuiſion.

S. Ambroſe confeſſing himſelfe to beleeue that the largeneſſe of the Romane Empire was by Gods prouidence prepared, that the Goſpell might haue his courſe, and bee ſpread abroad the better, ſaith thus of Rome; *Quæ tamen per Apoſtolici Sacerdotij principatum amplior facta eſt Arce Religionis, quàm ſolio poteſtatis:* Which for all that, hath beene aduanced more by the chiefty of the Apoſtolike Prieſthood in the Towre of Religion, than in the Throne of Temporall power. *De vocatione gentium lib. 1. cap. 6.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

These words of S. Ambroſe be true, and not denied, and further no part of M. Hardings purpoſe. But here is a whole ſentence ouerhipt, that quite ouerthroweth his whole purpoſe. The words that immediately goe before are theſe: Quamuis gratia Chriſtiana non contenta ſit, eoſdem limites habere, quos Roma, multoſque iam populorum ſceptro Crucis Chriſti illi ſubdiderit, quos armis ſuis iſta non domuit: *Howbeit the grace of Chriſt is not content to haue the ſame limits that Rome hath: but hath ſubdued moe Nations by the Scepter of Chriſts Croſſe, than Rome euer ſubdued by force of warre.* If the Grace and Saluation of God haue larger limits, and reach further than the power of Rome, how then claimeth the Biſhop of Rome his Vniuerſall power? Many that liue without the compaſſe or obedience of Rome are notwithſtanding partakers of the Grace of Chriſt. How then is it, that Bonifacius the Biſhop there ſaith; Subeſſe Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, pronuntiamus, omninò eſſe de neceſſitate ſalutis: *Wee declare, ſay, determine, and pronounce, that to be ſubiect vnto the Biſhop of Rome, is vndoubtedly of the neceſſity of Saluation.*

Extra. de Maiori. & Obedientia. Vnam Sanctam.

S. Ambroſe, that the Glory of the Goſpell of Chriſt might the better appeare, compareth it with the power and puiſſance of the Empire of Rome; which then ouerreached a great part of the world. One ſaid: Romanos rerum Dominos. S. Ambroſe ſaith: Roma principatum & Caput obtinet Nationum: *Rome hath the Empire and Soueraignty of all Nations.* Thus he ſeemeth to compare the Church with the Citie; the power of the Goſpell, with the power of the Empire; the Scepter of the Croſſe, with the Scepters of the Prince, and the Glory of the one ſide, with the Glory of the other. Although Rome were glorious for the Empire, yet was ſhe much more glorious for the Goſpell. The Emperour there with his power ſubdued Nations; but the Goſpell of Chriſt ſubdued the Emperour. Conſtantinus, Theodoſius, Valentinianus, and other Emperours of Rome, with all their power, confeſſed themſelues to be ſubiects vnto Chriſt. And S. Ambroſe writeth vnto Valentinian the Emperour: Quid honorificentius, quàm vt Imperator dicatur Filius Eccleſiæ? *What can be more honorable, than that the Emperour be called a childe of the Church?* This was the whole and only meaning of S. Ambroſe. And in that ſenſe S. Auguſtine ſaith; Oſtendatur mihi Romæ in honore tanto Templum Romuli, in quanto ego ibi oſtendo memoriam Petri. In Petro quis honoratur, niſi ille defunctus pro nobis? Summus enim Chriſtiani non Petriani: *Shew mee the Temple of Romulus in Rome, in ſo great honour as I will ſhew you there*

Ambroſ. in Sermone 66.

Ambroſ. epiſt. 32.

Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 44.

the

the memory of Peter. And who is honoured in Peter, but he that died for vs? For wee are Christian men, and not Peters men. So likewise Chrysostome: Contigit primum Antiochiæ Discipulos appellari Christianos. Hoc autem Ciuitatum quæ sunt in mundo, cunctarum habet nulla: nec ipsa Romuli Ciuitas: *It chanced, that the Disciples in this City of Antioch were first called Christians. Of all the Cities that bein the World, none euer had this gift, no not the City of Romulus.* Ad populum Antiochen. homil. 17. Therefore S. Ambrose meaning is: that Rome was neuer so noble before for the Empire of the World, as it was afterward for the Gospell of Christ. But S. Ambrose saith: Apostolici Sacerdotij principatum: *The Principality of the Apostolike Priesthood.* With which words worldly eies may sone be dazled. But M. Harding knoweth, that S. Peter being in Rome had no maner shew or state of Princehood. His whole power was spirituall, and stod only in the Preaching of the Gospell, with which armour God is able to pull downe Kings and Princes to the obedience of his Christ. Thus saith God vnto Hieremie: Constitui te super Gentes & Regna: *I haue set thee ouer Nations and Kingdomes.* 2. Cor. 10. Hierem. 1. And S. Peter speaking generally vnto all Christian people, saith Vos estis Regale Sacerdotium: *You are that Kingly Priesthood.* 1. Peter. 2. This principalitie & tower of Religion was not only in Rome, but also in euery place, where the name of Christ was receiued. Albeit, I grant, both for the multitude of Idols that there had bene honoured, and also for the Nobilitie of the Empire, the victory of Christ in Rome appeared most glorious.

Now let vs consider M. Hardings reasoning: The state of Rome was more famous for the Gospell, than euer it had beene before for the Empire; *Ergo*, The Pope was called the Head of the Vniuersall Church. This argument is such as neede th no answer.

M. Harding. The 14. Diuision.

Lib. 1. contra 2. Epistlas Pelagianorum. Ad Bonifacium ca. 1. *Quamuis ipse in ea præminens cathedra sæpius sæculo profuerim.* Lib. 2. de Baptismo contra Donatistas. cap. 17. *Calumniæ auctoritatis obtinuit. Cui primus dare mihi, vel summæ rei cessisse impudentiæ est, vel præcipitis arrogantiæ.*

S Augustine in his 162. Epistle saith; *In Ecclesia Romana semper Apostolicæ Cathedræ viguit principatus*: The Primacy or Principality of the Apostolike chaire, hath euer more beene in force in the Roman Church. The same S. Augustine speaking to Bonifacius Bishop of Rome. This care (saith hee, complaining of the Pelagians) is common to vs all, that haue the office of a Bishop, albeit therein thou thy selfe hast the preeminence ouer all, being on the top of the Pastorall watch-tower. In another place he hath these words; *Cæterum magis vereri debeo, ne in Petrum conti meliosum existam. Quis enim nescit, illum Apostolatus principatum, cuilibet Episcopatui præferendum*: But I ought rather to be afraid, lest I be reprochfull toward Peter. For who is he that knoweth not, that that Principality of Apostleship, is to be preferred before any Bishopricke that is? Another most euident place he hath in his Booke. *De vtilitate credendi ad Honoratum. Cum tamen auxilium Dei, &c.* Whereas (saith he) we see so great helpe of God, so great profit and fruit, shall we stand in doubt whether we may hide our selues in the lap of that Church, which (though Heretikes barke at it in vaine round about, condemned partly by the iudgement of the people themselues, partly by the sadnesse of Councels, and partly by the maiestie of miracles euen to the confession of mankind) for the Apostolike See by successions of Bishops, hath obtained the top or highest degree of authoritie? To which Church if wee will not giue and grant the Primacie, soothly it is a point either of most high wickednesse, or of headlong arrogancie.

The 102. vntruth, standing in the false translation and corruption of S. Augustines words.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

These places of S. Augustine may sone be answered. For here is neither Vniuersall Bishop; nor Head of the Vniuersall Church; nor superiority or dominion ouer all others; nor any other word tending to that end. M. Harding knoweth, that S. Augustine was present at the Councell of Carthage, and gaue his consent, *That the Bishop of the first See, should not be called neither the Prince, or chiefe of Priests, nor the Highest Priest, nor by any other like title.* Concil. Carthaginen. 3. ca. 26.

He knoweth also that S. Augustine afterward confirmed the same in a Councell holden at Hippo Regius in his owne Dioceese. Likewise he knoweth that the same S. Augustine Decreed among other Bishops to the number of 217. in the Councell of Aphrica, that it should not be lawfull for any man of those Countries, to seeke for aid ouer the Seas, and to appeale to the Bishop of Rome: and that whosoeuer so appealed should stand Excommunicate: and so vtterly condemned that Infinite Dominion, and Vniuersall Power, that so many haue sithence dreamed of. Againe, writing vpon the Gospell of S. Iohn, he saith: Petrus erat oculus in Capite: *Peter was an eie in the Head*: He saith not, Peter was the Head. In these words appeareth plainly S. Augustines certaine and vndoubted iudgement touching this matter. The rest, that is here brought in, standeth only vpon M. Hardings gathering. Concil. Hipponen. cap. 27. Concil. Aphrican. cap. 92. August. in Iohan. tract. 13.

It is true, that aswell S. Augustine, as also other godly Fathers, rightly and well, in old times yelded great reuerence to the See of Rome, both for the Antiquity of the Church: and for the honour and memory of S. Peter: and for the constancie of the holy Martyrs, that there had suffered: and also for the purity of Religion, which was preserued there a long time without spot, and might be a standard vnto others. But the greatest increase of outward estimation in the World vnto that See, was the imperiall seat, and Presence of the Prince, as notably appeareth by the first Councell of Constantino-

Concil. Constãtinopol. 1. ca. 5. Distinct. 22. Constantinopolitanæ.

ple. For theſe cauſes S. Auguſtine ſaith: *The See of Rome had the higheſt place, and chiefe preeminence aboue others.*

Perhaps M. Harding will preſſe me further with this word Principatus, which he expoundeth, *The Principality.* Howbeit, I beleeue, he will not ſay, Principatus, ſignifieth an Vniuerſall power or Supreme gouernment: and ſo his aduantage of this word is not ſo great. Verily Princeps, in the Latine tongue, is often vſed for a man, that for his vertue or rome, or any ſingular quality, is to be had in eſtimation aboue others. So Cicero ſaith: Socrates princeps Philoſophorum: Grauitate dicendi princeps Plato: princeps orbis terrarum Pompeius. Like as alſo Chryſoſtome ſaith: Caput Prophetarum Elias: *Elias the Head of the Prophets.* In theſe places, Princeps is taken, not for a Prince or Gouernour, but onely for a man, that for his qualities is to be eſteemed aboue the reſt. And in this ſenſe S. Auguſtine calleth the See of Rome, as it was in his time, Principatus Sedis Apoſtolicæ, and not in reſpect of any Supreme gouernment: for that hee himſelfe in the Councell of Aphrica, as it is already proued, vtterly denied him. I grant, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, The Biſhop of Rome truly and diligently doing the part of a Biſhop, he that then would haue denied him the chiefe preeminence for the reſpects aboue touched, had beene wicked or arrogant. But the ſame Biſhop of Rome now claiming to himſelfe the title of Vniuerſall Biſhop, as S. Gregory ſaith. Is the forerunner of Antichriſt: and the conſenting to the ſame, as the ſame Gregory ſaith, Is the renouncing and forſaking of the faith.

De natura Deorum. De oratore. Pro domo ſua. Chryſoſtom. ad Roma. hom. 18.

Gregor. li. 6. Epiſt. 30. & li. 4. Epiſt. 39.

I could further ſay, that M. Harding in theſe authorities of S. Auguſtine hath left out and tranſpoſed what he thought good: and ſo hath ſhewed no ſimple dealing. In the firſt place, S. Auguſtines words be theſe: Epiſcopus videbat ſe Romanæ Eccleſiæ, in qua ſemper Apoſtolicæ Cathedræ viguit principatus, per Communicatorias literas eſſe coniunctum: *Hee ſaw himſelfe by letters of Conference to be ioined with the Church of Rome, in which Church the chiefe preeminence of the Apoſtolike See had euer flouriſhed.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: *The Biſhop there was ioined with the Church of Rome, not by way of Obedience or Subiection, but by Letters of Conference,* wherein is implied an equality or a fellowſhip. And afterward in the ſame Epiſtle S. Auguſtine ſaith, That Meltiades the Biſhop of Rome with certaine other Biſhops, heard the matter betweene Cæcilianus and Donatus, A caſis nigris, not by any his Vniuerſall or Supreme Power, as M. Harding imagineth, but by ſpeciall Commiſſion from the Emperour. And ſo was the Biſhop of Rome the Emperours Delegate: and that, not in any Soueraigne authority, but fellowlike, and equally ioined with other Biſhops: and, that afterward the ſame cauſe vpon complaint and miſliking of Donatus, was by the Emperour taken out of the Biſhop of Romes hands, and by a new Commiſſion was put ouer to the hearing of the Biſhop of Arle in France. But where was then the Biſhop of Romes Supreme gouernment?

Auguſt. Epiſt. 162.

In the ſecond place M. Harding hath notably falſified, both S. Auguſtines words in the Latine, and alſo his owne Tranſlation in the Engliſh. S. Auguſtines words be theſe: Communis eſt nobis omnibus, qui fungimur Epiſcopatus officio, quamuis ipſe in eo præemineas celſiore faſtigio, Specula paſtoralis: Which words M. Harding by wilfull depranation hath altered thus, Celſiore faſtigio ſpeculæ paſtoralis: and ſo hath left the Aduerbe Communis, without a Subſtantiue, and the principall Verbe, Eſt, without a Nominatiue Caſe: and to ſerue his turne hath cauſed S. Auguſtine to ſpeake falſe Latine. This place of S. Auguſtine may be Engliſhed thus: *The paſtorall Watch Tower is common to vs all, that beare the office of Biſhops: albeit thy preeminence is greater, as ſitting in the higher roome.* M. Hardings tranſlation is thus: *Thou thy ſelfe haſt the preeminence ouer all, being in the top of the Paſtorall Tower:* Wherein theſe words (Ouer all) are not found in S. Auguſtine, but only deuiſed at pleaſure by M. Harding. In the third place beſides, other corruption, he diſſembleth the words that S. Auguſtine in the very ſame place allegeth out of S. Cyprian very well ſeruing to this purpoſe. The words be theſe: Nec Petrus vendicauit ſibi aliquid aut arroganter aſſumpſit, vt diceret ſe primatum tenere, & obtemperari ſibi à nouellis, & poſteris potiùs debere: *Neither did Peter challenge any thing, or proudly preſume of himſelfe, to ſay, that he had the Primacy, and that therefore others as Nouices and vnderlings ſhould bee obedient vnto him.* All theſe things M. Harding diſſembleth, and ſo to furniſh out his matter, and to ſmoth his Reader, he leaueth out what he liſteth.

Augustin. li. 1. Contra Epiſt. Pelagianorum ca. 1.

De Baptiſmo contra Donatiſt. li. 2. ca. 1. Cyprian. ad Quirinum.

M. Harding. The 15. Diuiſion.

The 103. vntruth. For S. Hierome meaneth not the Pope, but any other ſeuerall Biſhop.

The notable ſaying of S Hierome may not be let paſſe, *Eccleſiæ ſalus à ſummi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet: cui ſi non exors quædam, & ab omnibus eminens detur poteſtas, tot in Eccleſijs efficiuntur ſchiſmata, quot Sacerdotes:* The ſafety of the Church hangeth of the worſhip of the high Prieſt (103) (he meaneth the Pope Peters Succeſſour) to whom if there be not giuen a power peereleſſe, and ſurmounting all others, in the Churches wee ſhall haue ſo many Schiſmes as there be Prieſts.

Contra Lutheranos.

The

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

This place of S. Hierome is notably well noted. But if it might haue pleaſed M. Harding to note but the two lines that went before, he ſhould ſone haue ſeene, that this note was not worth the noting. For it is certaine, that S. Hierome there ſpeaketh generally of all Biſhops, and not one word ſpecially of the Biſhop of Rome. He intreateth there of the order of Confirmation, which, he ſaith, by the vſage of the Church, for quietneſſe and vnitie, in many places, was miniſtred onely by the Biſhop, and not by any other Prieſt, and that, he ſaith, Ad honorem magis Sacerdotij, quàm ad neceſſitatem Legis: *More for the honour of the ſtate of Biſhops, than for the neceſſitie of the Law.* And this (as I ſaid) he ſpeaketh generally of all Biſhops. Immediately after he addeth theſe words that M. Harding heere allegeth: Eccleſiæ ſalus. &c. *The ſafety of the Church hangeth of the dignity of the high Prieſt.* Herein S. Hierome agreeth thorowly with S. Cyprian, that is *That for auoiding of Sects and Schiſmes, one high Prieſt, that is to ſay, one Biſhop, was by good policie appointed in euery Dioceſſe, to whoſe doings and Doctrine the reſt of the Clergie ſhould conforme themſelues.* And by this order the vnitie of the Church was well preſerued. S. Cyprian ſaith: Eccleſia coherentium ſibi inuicem Sacerdotum glutino copulatur: *The Church is ioined together by the conſent of Biſhops agreeing in one.* So ſaith S. Hiereme: Singuli Eccleſiarum Epiſcopi, ſinguli Archiepiſcopi, ſinguli Archidiaconi, & omnis ordo Eccleſiaſticus ſuis Rectoribus nititur: *There be ſeuerall Biſhops of Churches, ſeuerall Archbiſhops, and ſeuerall Archdeacons: and all the Eccleſiaſticall Order is ſtaied by the Gouernors.* And the Gloſſe thereupon ſaith thus: Hieronymus probat hîc, plures Prælatos non debere eſſe in vna Eccleſia: ſed ſingulos debere eſſe in ſingulis Eccleſijs: S. Hierome *heere prooueth, that there may not be two or moe Biſhops in one Church: but that a ſeuerall Biſhop muſt bee in euery ſeuerall Church.* To the like purpoſe S. Hierome writeth vpon the Epiſtle vnto Titus: Hæc propterea, vt oſtenderemus, apud Veteres eoſdem fuiſſe Presbyteros, quos & Epiſcopos. Paulatim verò, vt diſſenſionum plantaria euellerentur, ad vnum omnem ſollicitudinem eſſe delatam: *Theſe things haue I ſpoken, to the intent to ſhew, that in old time Prieſts and Biſhops were all one: and that in proceſſe, and by degrees, the whole charge was brought vnto one man (he meaneth within one Dioceſſe) that the occaſions of diſſenſion might be rooted out.* And therefore, as it is before declared, S. Cyprian ſaith, *Heereof ſpring Schiſmes, for that the Prieſt of the Lord is not obeied.* And therefore alſo ſaith S. Hierome, *Vnleſſe the Biſhop haue a ſpeciall power aboue others, there will be as many Schiſmes in the Church, as there be Prieſts.* But all theſe things thus vttered generally of all Biſhops, M. Harding wreſteth and forceth only vnto one Biſhop: and thus, that is Generall, he maketh Speciall, and that is Speciall, he maketh Generall, at his pleaſure: and as before he miſreported S. Cyprian, euen ſo doth hee now likewiſe miſreport S. Hierome, and ſo ſhoareth vp a ruinous matter with the falſification of his Doctours.

Cyprian. Li. 4. Epiſt. 9.
Hieron. ad Nepotian.
7. Queſt. 1. in Apibus.
Hieron. ad Titum, ca. 1.
Cyprian. Li. 1. Epiſt. 3.
Hieron. contra Luciferian.

But M. Harding will ſay, S. Hierome vſeth theſe ſpeciall words, Summus Sacerdos: *The higheſt Prieſt*: which cannot otherwiſe be taken, but only of the Pope. And therefore he gaue this note with a ſpeciall Parentheſis: (He meaneth the Pope, Peters ſucceſſour.) Yet M. Harding knoweth, there is no ſuch neceſſitie, wherefore theſe words ſhould be ſo taken. His owne Amphilochius calleth S. Baſil, Summus Sacerdos: and yet he knoweth S. Baſil was neuer Biſhop of Rome. Euery Biſhop, within his owne Dioceſſe, may be called the higheſt Prieſt, in reſpect of other Prieſts that liue vnder him: And in this ſenſe Lactantius ſeemeth to call euery Biſhop ricke, Maximum Sacerdotium.

Amphilochius.
Lactant. lib. 4. cap. 30.

As for the Biſhop of Rome, S. Hierome aduanceth him not ſo high as M. Harding would ſeeme, but rather maketh him equall and leuell with all other Biſhops. For thus he writeth vnto Euagrius: Si authoritas quæritur, Orbis maior eſt Vrbe. Vbicunque fuerit Epiſcopus, ſiue Romæ, ſiue Eugubij, ſiue Conſtantinopoli, ſiue Rhegij, &c. eiuſdem eſt meriti, eiuſdem Sacerdotij: *If we ſeeke for authority, the world is greater than the City of* Rome. *Whereſoeuer there is a Biſhop, whether he be at* Rome, *or at* Eugubium, *or at* Conſtantinople, *or at* Rhegium, *&c. he is of like worthineſſe, and of like Prieſthood.*

Hieronymus ad Euagrium.

Heere S. Hierome ſpecially, and by name, reckoneth the Biſhop of Rome among others, and maketh him equall to the reſt. And againe he ſaith: Quid mihi profers vnius Vrbis conſuetudinem? *What ſheweſt thou me the order or maner of one City?* So much S. Hierome ſeemeth to ſet by the See of Rome. And to this end S. Cyprian ſaith: Hoc erant cæteri Apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio prædoti, & Honoris, & Poteſtatis: *The reſt of the Apoſtles were the ſame that* Peter *was, all endued with like fellowſhip, both of Honour, and alſo of Power.* And ſo S. Cyprian calleth Cornelius Biſhop of Rome, *his brother*: and Cyrillus calleth Cœleſtinus likewiſe Biſhop of Rome, *his fellow-ſeruant.* And therefore when I heare M. Harding, by his ſtrange interpretation, giue vnto the Biſhop of Rome, *A*

Cypr. de ſimplicitat. Prælator. Cyprian. Li. 1. Epiſt. 3. Cyril. in epiſt. ad Cœleſtin.

Power

Power peereleſſe, and ſurmounting all others: We thinketh I heare Doctour Durandus ſay,

Durand. lib.2. Hic eſt Melchiſedech, cuius Sacerdotium non eſt cæteris comparandum: Ille eſt Caput omnium Pontificum, à quo illi, tanquam à capite membra, deſcendunt, & de cuius plenitudine omnes accipiunt: *This is* Melchiſedech, *whoſe Prieſthood is not comparable vnto others, He is the Head of all Biſhops, from whom all they grow, as members grow from the Head, and of whoſe fulneſſe all they receiue.* We thinketh I heare that is written by the Canoniſts,

**Extrauag. Iohan.22. Cùm inter. In Gloſſa.* Dominus Deus noſter Papa: *Our Lord God the Pope.* And whereas he further ſaith, the ſafetie of the Church hangeth of the high Prieſt, whom he ſuppoſeth to be the Biſhop of Rome, verily S. Gregorie ſaith, Quando is, qui appellatur Vniuerſalis, cadit, vniuerſa Eccleſia, à ſtatu ſuo corruit: *Whenſoeuer he that is called the Vniuerſall Biſhop, falleth, the whole Church from her ſtate muſt needs fall to the ground.*

Impreſſu Lugduni, an.1556. & antea Lugduni, an.1513.

M. Harding. The 16. Diuiſion.

Gregor. Lib.4. Epiſt.76. There is an Epiſtle of Theodoretus, Biſhop of Cyrus, extant in Greeke, written to Leo Biſhop of Rome, wherein we finde a worthy Witneſſe of the Primacie of the See Apoſtolike. His words may thus bee Engliſhed: If Paul (ſaith he) the Preacher of the truth, and trumpet of the holy Ghoſt, ran to Peter, to bring from him a determination and declaration, for them who at Antioch were in argument and contention, concerning liuing after Moſes Law; much more we, who are but ſmall, and vile, ſhall run vnto your throne Apoſtolike, that of you wee may haue ſalue for the ſores of the Churches: (there follow theſe words:)

πολλῆς γὰρ ὁ ὑμῖν πάντα γὰρ ὑμῖν τὸ πρωτεύειν ἁρμόττει: *Id eſt, Per omnia enim vobis conuenit primas tenere:* That is to ſay, For in all things (perteining to Faith or Religion, ſo he meaneth) it is meet that you haue the chiefe doings, or that you haue the Primacie. For your high ſeat or throne is endued with many prerogatiues and priuileges.

ὥσπερ θρόνῳ κοσμεῖται πλουσίως τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κτήματα.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Here might I ſay, that this Theodoret was a deadly enimie of S. Cyrillus, and a Neſtorian Heretike, and condemned by that name in the Generall Councell of Conſtantinople, as appeareth by Euagrius, Nicephorus, and others. Verily, although he were brought into the Councell of Chalcedon by the authoritie and fauour of the Emperour Martianus, yet the Biſhops of Illyricum, Ægypt, and Paleſtine, cried out againſt him, Fides perit: Iſtum Canones eijciunt: Mitte hunc foras, magiſtrum Neſtorij: Nolite iſtum dicere Epiſcopum: Non eſt Epiſcopus: Impugnatorem Dei foras mitte: Hæreticum foras mitte: Iudæum foras mitte: *The Faith is loſt: This man the Canons throw out: Out with this fellow: Out with* Neſtorius *Schoolemaſter: Call him not Biſhop: Hee is no Biſhop: Out with him that fighteth againſt God: Out with this Heretike: Out with this Iew.*

Concil. Conſtãtinop. Actio 5. Euagrius, li.4. cap.37. Nicephor.l.17. cap.27. Cone. Chalced. Actio.1.

But I will not vſe this aduantage. I iudge rather, that this Theodoretus, as he was a man of deepe learning, and great renoune, ſo he was alſo a carefull and godly Biſhop. As for the Neſtorian Hereſie, he defied it in the Councell of Conſtantinople, and openly pronounced, Anathema Neſtorio, *Accurſed be* Neſtorius.

Concil. Cõſtantinop. Actio.8.

In theſe words that M. Harding hath here alleged, he ſaith nothing that of our part is denied. Certainly here is not one word, neither of the Head of the Church, nor of Vniuerſall Biſhop.

But if Theodoretus thinke S. Paul went vp to Hieruſalem, either to viſit Peter, as the Head of the Church, as M. Harding ſeemeth to gheſſe, or elſe to be better reſolued of his Doctrine, as ſtanding in ſome doubt, whether he had thitherto preached the truth, or no, then doth he quite ouerthrow S. Pauls whole meaning. For it is plaine, that S. Paul knoweth not Peter for his Head, but contrariwiſe taketh him as his equall. For thus he ſaith:

Ad Galat.2. Videbant mihi concreditum eſſe Euangelium Præputij, ſicut Petro Circumciſionis: *They ſaw, that I was put in truſt with the Goſpell ouer the Heathens, euen as* Peter *was ouer the* Iewes.

Dextras dederunt ſocietatis. And againe: Iames, Peter, *and* Iohn, *that ſeemed to be the Pillars gaue vnto me and* Barnabas *the right hands of fellowſhip.* Here we ſee, betwéne Peter and Paul, a couenant of equalitie and neither ſuperioritie, nor ſubiection.

Ambroſ. Sermon 66. And therefore S. Ambroſe ſaith, as it is before noted, Inter Petrum & Paulum, quis cui præponatur, incertum eſt: *Betweene* Peter *and* Paul, *whether ought to be preferred before other, I cannot tell.*

Actor.15. Neither went he vp to be better informed of the truth, as being doubtfull of his owne Doctrine. All his reaſoning, and the whole drift of that Epiſtle, is to the contrarie. For thus lie his words: *I neuer conferred with Fleſh and Blood,* (that is to ſay, with any man)

Galat.ca.1. *neither did I returne to* Hieruſalem *to them that had been Apoſtles before me: I receiued not the Goſpell that I haue preached, of any man, but by the reuelation of Ieſus Chriſt. If any preach vnto*

Galat.ca.2. *you any other Goſpell, than that I haue preached, accurſed be he. They that were in chiefe regard among the Apoſtles, touching the truth of the Goſpell, added nothing vnto me. I withſtood* Peter, *euen in the face, and ſpake vnto him before all the people: For hee walked not vprightly, but was worthy to be blamed.* Hereby it may ſufficiently appeare, that S. Pauls going to Hieruſalem

was

was not to bring from Peter a determination of any matter of Truth, that lay in question, as it is heere supposed. And therefore S. Hierome saith: Ad hoc iuit Hierosolymam, vt videret Apostolum (Petrum) non discendi studio, qui & ipse eundem prædicationis haberet authorem: sed honoris priori Apostolo deferendi: Paul *went to* Hierusalem, *to the intent to see* Peter *the Apostle, not to learne any thing of him, as hauing the same Author of his preaching that* Peter *had: but to shew reuerence vnto him that had beene Apostle before him.* And againe: Propterea quindecim ponit dies, vt ostendat non fuisse grande tempus, quo potuerit aliquid a Petro Discere: vt ad illum sensum, à quo cœpit, cuncta referantur, se non ab homine doctum esse, sed à Deo: *Therefore he nameth fifteene daies, to shew that hee had no long time that he might learne any thing of* Peter: *to the intent to drine all his words to that sense, wherewith he began, That he was taught not by man, but by God.* Likewise saith Hugo Cardinalis, a barbarous Writer: Secundum Literam instruimur de mutua dilectione, quam deberent habere Prædicatores & Doctores: quia Paulus venit videre Petrum, quoniam bona audierat de eius Doctrina: *According to the Letter, wee are heere instructed of mutuall loue, which ought to be betweene all Preachers and Doctours. For* Paul *went to visit* Peter, *because he had heard good of his Doctrine.* But what can be so plaine as that is written by Chrysostome touching the same? His words be these: Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec eius egebat voce: sed honore par erat illi: nihil enim hîc dicam amplius: Paul *had no need of* Peter *neither needed he to be taught at his mouth: but he was equall to him in honour. I will say no more.* And immediately after: Sicut nunc multi fratrum nostrorum ad viros sanctos proficiscuntur eodem affectu tunc Paulus ad Petrum profectus est: *Like as now adaies many of our brethren goe to holy men, so then, with like affection, went* Paul *vnto* Peter.

Hieron. in epist. ad Galat. 1. ca.

Hieronym. eodem loco.

Galat. 2.

Hugo Cardinalis in epist. ad Galat ca. 1.

Chrys. in Epist. ad Galat. ca. 1.

As for the rest, that the Bishop of Rome had an estimation, and a credit, and a prerogatiue before others, it is not denied. For of the foure Patriarkes, he had the first place, both in Councell, and out of Councell: and therefore the greatest authoritie and direction of matters in all Assemblies. And this was, τὸ πρωτεύειν: *To haue the first or highest roome*: and πρεσβεῖον, *A dignitie or priuiledge*: Which words M. Harding hath noted in the Margin.

Heere M. Harding seemeth to reason thus:

The Bishop of Rome had a priuilege or dignitie aboue others:

Ergo, He was an Vniuersall Bishop.

This Argument concludeth A genere ad speciem affirmatiuè: and, as M. Harding knoweth, was neuer allowed in any Schooles.

Likewise he seemeth to say,

Paul went vp to Hierusalem, to visit Peter:

Ergo, The Bishop of Rome is Head of the Church.

Such weake geare M. Harding hath brought forth; And yet with his furniture of words it seemeth somewhat. By the same reason he may proue, that S. Iames also was Head of the Church, as well as Peter. For Paul saith, he visited him as well as Peter. And S. Hierome saith of himselfe, *That hee purposely went to* Alexandria, *to see* Didymus: *yet was not* Didymus *therefore Head of the Church.*

Galat cap. 1.

Hieron. in Proœmio in Epist. ad Ephesios.

Indeed Hugo Cardinalis saith: *Heereof it first began, that Bishops and Archbishops made a Vow to visit the Pope, because* Paul *went to* Hierusalem *to see* Peter: And saith further, *That Custome hath added to the same this Commandement, written in the* Deuteronomie: Non apparebis in conspectu Domini vacuus: *Thou shalt not appeare in the presence of the Lord without somewhat.*

Hugo Cardin. in Ep. ad Galat.

Deuter. 16.

M. Harding tripping, as he saith, so nicely ouer the Doctours, hath not yet once touched that thing that was loked for, and that he hath onely, and with such affiance, taken in hand. For notwithstanding a great pompe of words, and the names of many holy Fathers, yet hath he not hitherto shewed, that the Bishop of Rome, within the space of six hundred yeres after Christ, was euer called the Vniuersall Bishop, or the Head of the Vniuersall Church: which thing if he could haue shewed, I beleeue he would not so lightly haue tript it ouer.

M. Harding. The 17. Diuision.

Now let vs see whether this chiefe authoritie may be found necessary by reason. That a multitude which is in it selfe one, cannot continue one, vnlesse it be contained and holden in by one, both learned Philosophers haue declared, and the common nature of things teacheth. For euery multitude of their own nature goeth asunder into many; and from another it commeth that it is one, and that it continueth one. And that whereof it is one, and is kept in vnion or oneneſſe, it is necessary that it be one, else that selfe also shall need the helpe of another, that it be one. For which cause, that saying of Homer was alleged by Aristotle, as most notable: It is not good to haue many Rulers: Let one be Ruler. Whereby is meant, that plurality of soueraigne Rulers is not fit to conteine and keepe vnity of a multitude of Subiects. Therefore

ἐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω.

sith

ſith that the Church of Chriſt is one, (for as there is one Faith, one Baptiſme, one Calling, ſo there is one Church, yea all we are one Body, and members one of another, as S Paul ſaith, and in our Creed wee all profeſſe to beleeue one holy Catholike and Apoſtolike Church) therefore, I ſay, it hath need of one Prince and Ruler, to be kept and holden in. If it be otherwiſe, vnitie muſt needs foorthwith be ſparkled and broken aſunder. And therefore it behooued, that the rule and gouernment of the Church ſhould be committed to one.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

All this is proued by Ariſtotle the Philoſopher, by one verſe of the Poet Homer, and by M. Hardings drift of reaſon, and none otherwiſe. Ariſtotles and Homers authority in this caſe cannot be great. And yet they ſpake only of one Captaine Generall in one field, and of one King in one Realme, whereas number or fellowſhip muſt of neceſſitie breed confuſion. But neither of them euer dreamed this new fantaſie, that one King ſhould rule ouer the whole world.

M. Hardings reaſons would weigh the more, if either Chriſt, or Peter, or Paul, or any old Doctour, or Catholike Father, had euer vſed the ſame. Otherwiſe, S. Auguſtine ſpeaking of Diſcourſe of reaſon in the vnderſtanding of the Scriptures, ſaith thus: Hæc conſuetudo periculoſa eſt. Per Scripturas enim diuinas multò tutius ambulatur: *This maner of expounding is very dangerous. The ſafer way is to walke by the Scriptures.* The force of M. Hardings reaſon cauſed Alexander the ambitious King of Macedonie to ſay, *As the Heauens can haue but one Sunne, ſo may the whole world haue but one King*: And likewiſe Pope Bonifacius the eight to ſay, as is before, In principio creauit Deus Cœlum & Terram: non in principijs: *In the beginning, as in one, God made Heauen and Earth: and not in the beginnings, as in many:* Ergo, *The Pope is Head of the Church.*

Auguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtian. li. 3. ca. 28.

Quintus Curtius.

De Maioritate & Obedientia, Vnam Sanctam.

But (ſaith M. Harding) euery multitude naturally goeth aſunder, and the thing that keepeth it together muſt needs be one. That is to ſay, It is the Pope onely that preſerueth the vnitie of the Church, and maketh it one: And therefore the Pope himſelfe muſt néeds bée one: Otherwiſe, being two, or moe, ſaith M. Harding, they ſhould néed ſome other thing to make them one. And yet he remembreth, that the Councell of Syrmium, to take vp the contention betweene Felix and Liberius, that ambitiouſly ſtroue together for the Sée of Rome, willed them to be Biſhops there both together: which thing notwithſtanding, they meant not therefore neither to diſſolue the vnitie of the Church, nor to make the Church a Monſter with two Heads. And ſo Roſſenſis ſaith: *The Church is one, not becauſe of Chriſt, but becauſe of the Pope, that keepeth it in one.* This reaſon that M. Harding vſeth, is newly deuiſed, and was neuer remembred of any of the Old Fathers. S. Gregorie ſaith: *None of my predeceſſors would euer take vpon him to vſe this vngodly name, to bee called the Vniuerſall Biſhop*: And yet it appeareth not, but the Church was then kept in vnitie.

Sozomen. lib. 4. cap. 14. κοινὴ ἐκκλησία.

Roſſenſis.

Gregor. lib. 4. Epiſt. 32.

Neither can this infinite power, that is imagined, ſtand without infinite great dangers. And forasmuch as it pleaſeth M. Harding to auouch the gouernment of Chriſts Church by Philoſophers and Poets, that neuer knew Chriſt, it may alſo pleaſe him to remember, that his Poets likewiſe ſay, that when Phaeton, an vndiſcreet and a fond yong man, would néeds leape into Phebus his fathers Chariot, to carry the Sun beames about the Heauens, for lacke of ſkill, he ſone ſet a fire the whole world. It may not much diſpleaſe M. Harding, that I compare the Biſhop of Rome with Phaeton, a rath yong man: For S. Gregorie, for the ſame attempt and enterpriſe, as it plainly appeareth by his words, compareth him with Lucifer, and with Antichriſt. And further ſaith, Si hanc cauſam æquanimiter portamus vniuerſæ Eccleſiæ Fidem corrumpimus: *If we take this matter quietly, we deſtroy the Faith of the whole Church.*

Gregor. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 34. & Epiſt. 38.

This reaſon ſtandeth thus: The Church of Chriſt is one:

Ergo, The Pope is an Vniuerſall Biſhop.

Gregor. Lib. 7. Epiſt. 24.

If any man deny this Sequell, I maruell by what Logicke M. Harding will euer be able to make it good.

M. Harding. The 18. Diuiſion.

And whereas theſe Goſpellers ſay, that Chriſt is the gouernour of the Church, and that hee being one keepeth the Church in vnitie; we anſwer, that although the Church be firſt and principally gouerned by Chriſt, as all other things are, yet Gods high goodneſſe hath ſo ordeined, as each thing may be prouided for, according to his owne condition and nature. Therefore whereas mankind dependeth moſt of ſenſe, and receiueth all learning and inſtitution of ſenſible things, therefore it hath need of a man to be a gouernour and ruler, whom it may perceiue by outward ſenſe. And euen ſo the Sacraments, by which the grace of God is giuen vnto vs, in conſideration of mans nature, being ſo made of God, as it is, are ordeined in things ſenſible. Therefore it was behouefull, this gouernment of the Church to bee committed to one man, which at the firſt was Peter, and afterward each ſucceſſour of Peter for his time, as is afore declared. Neither can this one man haue this power of any conſent, or companie of men, but it is neceſſary he haue it of God. (104) For to ordeine and appoint the Vicar of Chriſt, it perteineth to none other, than to Chriſt. For

The 104. vntruth. For Chriſt neuer appointed any ſuch Vicar.

For whereas the Church, and all that is of the Church, is Chriſts, as well for other cauſes, as ſpecially for that we are bought with a great price, euen with his blood, as S. Paul ſaith, how can it pertaine to any other, than to him, to inſtitute and appoint to himſelfe a Vicar, that is, one to doe his ſtead? Chriſts Vicar.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

M. Harding ſtandeth very long in diſcourſing this matter by naturall reaſon. And for that he knew S. Auguſtine ſaith, Si ratio contra diuinarum Scripturarum authoritatem redditur, quamlibet accuta ſit, fallit veriſimilitudine: Nam vera eſſe non poteſt: *If naturall reaſon be alleged againſt the authoritie of the holy Scriptures, be it neuer ſo ſubtile, it beguileth men by a likeneſſe or colour of the Truth: For true it cannot be.* And for that he alſo ſaw, the reaſons he hath brought, are very ſimple, and carry no weight; he hath therefore thruſt a great many of them in a throng together, both to fill the hearers ſenſes, and alſo that the one might the better aid the other. *Aug. ad Mar-cellin. Epiſt. 7.*

For his entry, in mirth and game, he calleth vs Goſpellers. God open the eies of his heart, that he may ſee the brightneſſe of Gods Goſpell, and conſider what it is that he hath refuſed. Surely it is an horrible thing, for a Chriſtian man thus to make mockery of the Goſpell of Chriſt. S. Paul ſaith: Si opertum eſt Euangelium, in illis qui pereunt eſt opertum: *If the Goſpell be couered, it is couered from them that periſh.* 1. Cor. 4.

It miſliketh him, that we build the vnitie of the Church vpon Chriſt only, and not alſo vpon the Pope: and this he calleth theſe New Goſpellers Doctrine. God be thanked, theſe Goſpellers haue good warrant for their Doctrine. S Paul ſaith: Eum dedit Caput ſuper omnia ipſi Eccleſiæ, quæ eſt Corpus eius: *God hath giuen Chriſt to bee Head ouer all, euen to the Church, which is his Body.* And againe: Ille eſt Caput, qui dat ſalutem Corpori: *Chriſt is the Head, that giueth health vnto the Body. Chriſt is our peace: All we are one in Chriſt Ieſus.* Therefore S. Gregorie ſaith: Nos quoque à vobis non longè ſumus, quoniam in illo, qui vbique eſt, vnum ſumus. Agamus ergo ei gratias, qui, ſolutis inimicitijs in Carne ſua, fecit, vt in omni orbe terrarum vnus eſſet Grex, & vnum Ouile, ſub ſe vno Paſtore: *We are not farre away from you, becauſe in him, that is euery where, we are all one. Therefore let vs giue him thankes, that, enmitie being broken in his fleſh, hath cauſed, that in all the World there ſhould be one Flocke, and one Fold, vnder himſelfe, being the one Shepheard.* Theſe places and infinite other like, are good warrants of our Doctrine. Ad Epheſ. 1. Ad Epheſ. 5. Ad Epheſ. 2. *Gregor. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 36. ad Eulogium.* Iohan. 10.

Now if M. Harding be able by the Scriptures, or Holy Doctors, to ſay as much for the Biſhop of Rome, that he is the head of the Church, that is to ſay, the head of Chriſts body: Or, that the Church receiueth influence or health from him: Or, that he is our peace: Or, that we are all one in him: Or, that all the World is one Flocke, and one Fold, and he the one Shepheard: Or, that S. Paul, as he ſaid, There is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſme, ſo he ſaid alſo, There is one Pope: then haue we ſome cauſe to thinke, according to M. Hardings fantaſie, that the vnitie of the whole Church is founded and built vpon the Pope. Certainly it ſeemeth S. Auguſtine would not giue this Priuiledge vnto S. Paul. His words be plaine: Nec Paulus radix eorum erat, quos plantauerat; ſed ille potius, qui ait, Ego ſum vitis: vos eſtis ſarmenta. Caput etiam eorum quomodo eſſe poterat, cùm dicat, Nos omnes vnum eſſe Corpus in Chriſto, ipſumque Chriſtum Caput eſſe vniuerſi Corporis? *Neither was* Paul *the root of them whom he had planted, but rather he that ſaith, I am the Vine, and you are the ſprigs. But the Head of them how could he be, ſeing he himſelfe ſaith, All we in Chriſt are one Body; and, that of that whole Body Chriſt himſelfe is the Head?* If S. Paul, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, could not be Head of the Church, how may we then thinke, that the Biſhop of Rome may be Head of the Church? Ad Epheſ. 4. *Auguſt. contra literas Petiliani. lib. 3. cap. 42.* Iohan. 15. Epheſ. 1. Epheſ. 4.

But mankind (ſaith M. Harding) dependeth moſt of ſenſe: Therefore the whole Church muſt haue one man to rule and gouerne ouer it: and that man is Peters ſucceſſour, and Chriſts Vicar in Earth. I maruell that none of the old Fathers could euer vnderſtand either the neceſſity of this reaſon, or this ſpeciall name and Title of Chriſts Vicar. Howbeit, one true word M. Harding hath vttered amongſt many others, that is, that to appoint Chriſts Vicar, it perteineth only vnto Chriſt, and to none other. Of which ground we may well reaſon thus: Chriſt neuer ordeined, nor appointed, nor once named, the Biſhop of Rome, or his Succeſſour, to be his Vicar, that is, to be an Vniuerſall Biſhop ouer the whole Church: Therefore, by M. Hardings owne Poſition, the Biſhop of Rome hath of long time vſurped a Power, againſt Chriſt, without Commiſſion, and in deed is not Chriſts Vicar. S. Hierome ſaith generally of all Biſhops: Nouerint Epiſcopi, ſe magis Conſuetudine, quàm diſpoſitionis Dominicæ Veritate, Presbyteris eſſe maiores: *Let Biſhops vnderſtand, that they bee greater than the Prieſts, by Order and Cuſtome (of the Church) and not by the Truth of Gods Ordinance.* If Chriſt, as S. Hierome ſaith, appointed not one Prieſt aboue another, how then is it likely, hee appointed one Prieſt *Hieron. in epiſt. ad Titum.*

to

Christs Vicar.

to be, as M. Harding saith, Prince and Ruler ouer all Priests thorow out the whole World.

As for the vniuersall supplying of Christs rome, Tertullian saith, *The Holy Ghost is Christs Vicar:* For thus he writeth: Sedet ad dextram Dei Patris: misit Vicariam vim Spiritus Sancti, qui credentes agat: *Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: and in stead of himselfe, sent the power of the Holy Ghost, as his Vicar, to direct them that beleeue.*

Tertull. de præscription. contra Hæreticos.

But because we are not onely lead inwardly by Gods Spirit, but also outwardly by our senses, therefore hath Christ appointed, not one man to be his Vicar generall ouer all, but euery of his Apostles, and so euery Priest, to be his Vicar within his Diuision. So saith Eusebius Bishop of Rome: Caput Ecclesiæ Christus est: Christi autem Vicarij Sacerdotes sunt, qui vice Christi, legatione funguntur in Ecclesia: *Christ is the Head of the Church: and his Vicars be the Priests, that doe their message in the Church, in the stead of Christ.* Wherefore saith S. Hierome: Potentia diuitiarum, & paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem, vel inferiorem, Episcopum non facit. Cæterùm omnes Apostolorum successores sunt: *The stoutnesse of riches, or the humilitie of pouertie, maketh a Bishop neither higher nor lower: But all Bishops be the Apostles successours.* Other Vniuersall Vicar of Christ there is none named in the Scriptures, vnlesse it be hee of whom S. Paul forewarneth vs: Homo ille sceleratus, filius perditus, &c. *That wicked man, that childe of perdition, that setteth himselfe vp against God, and that so farre foorth, that hee will sit in the Temple of God, and shew himselfe, as if hee were God.* But this Vicar, Christ shall destroy with the Spirit of his mouth.

Euseb. Episcopi Rom. Epist. 2.

Hieron. ad Euagrium, to. 2. pag. 329.

2. Thess. 2.

To conclude, M. Harding seemeth to reason thus: Mankind dependeth most of sense: *Ergo*, The Pope is the Head of the Vniuersall Church. Heere is a very vnsensible argument: no sense, no reason can make it good. By as good Sequell hee might say, *Mankind dependeth most of sense*: Ergo, *One King must rule ouer the whole World.*

M. Harding. The 19. Diuision.

A sort of simple reasons.

Wherefore, to conclude, except wee would wickedly grant, that Gods prouidence hath lacked, or doth lacke to his Church, for loue of which he hath giuen his only begotten Sonne, and which he hath promised neuer to forget, so as the woman cannot forget the childe, she bare in her wombe: reason may soone induce vs to beleeue, that to one man, one Bishop, the chiefe and highest of all Bishops, the successour of Peter, the rule and gouernment of the Church by God hath beene deferred. For else, if God had ordeined, that in the Church should be sundry Heads and Rulers, and none constituted to be ouer other, but all of equall power, each one among their people; then he should seeme to haue set vp so many Churches, as he hath appointed gouernours: and so hee shall appeare to haue brought in among his faithfull people, that vnruly confusion, the destruction of all Common Weales so much abhorred of Princes, which the Greekes call. *Anarchian*, which is a state, for lacke of order in gouernours, without any gouernment at all. Which thing, sith that the wise and politicke men of this world doe shun and detest, in the gouernment of these earthly Kingdomes, as most pernicious and hurtfull; to attribute to the high wisdome of God, and to our Lord Christ, who is the author of the most ordinate disposition of all things in earth, and in heauen; it were hainous, and prophane impietie. Wherefore, if the state of a Kingdome cannot continue safe, vnlesse one haue power to rule, how shall not the Church, spread so farre abroad, bee in danger of great disorders, corruption, and vtter destruction, if, as occasion shall be giuen, among so great strifes and debates of men, among so many firebrands of discord, tossed to and fro by the Diuels, enemies of vnitie, there be not one Head and Ruler, of all to be consulted, of all to be heard, of all to be followed and obeied? If strife and contention be stirred about matters of Faith, if controuersie happen to arise about the sense of the Scriptures, shall it not bee necessarie there be one supreme Iudge, to whose sentence the parties may stand? If need require (as it hath beene often seene) that Generall Councels bee kept, how can the Bishops, to whom the matter belongeth, be brought together, but by the commandement of one head gouernour, whom they owe their obedience vnto? For else being summoned, perhaps they will not come. Finally, how shall the contumacie and pertinacie of mischieuous persons be repressed, specially if the Bishops be at dissension within themselues, if there bee not a supreme power, who towards some may vse the rod, towards other some the spirit of lenitie, with such discreet temperament, as malice be vanquished, right defended, and concord procured, lest if the small sparkes of strife bee not quenched by authoritie at the beginning, at length a great flame of Schismes and Heresies flash abroad, to the great danger of a multitude? Therefore, as there is one Body of Christ, one Flocke, one Church euen so is there one head of that his mysticall Body, one Shepheard, and one chiefe seruant, made steward, ouerseer, and ruler of Christs household in his absence, vntill his comming againe.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Whoso denieth the Bishop of Romes supreme gouernment, saith M. Harding, he vtterly denieth Gods prouidence: and thus the great prouidence of God is brought forth to serue M. Hardings simple reason. The like consideration, as may be supposed, moued Petrus Bertrandus to write this speciall Cloose vpon the Decretals: Non videretur Dominus discretus fuisse, vt cum reuerentia eius loquar, nisi vnicum post se talem Vicarium reliquisset: *Otherwise Christ should not seeme to haue dealt discreetly, sauing his reuerence, vnlesse he had left some one such Vicar behinde him.* And therefore he saith further: Christo data

De Maioritate & Obedientia, Vnam Sanctã. In Glossa.

ta est omnis potestas in Cœlo, & in terra: Ergo Summus Pontifex, qui est eius Vicarius, habet eandem potestatem: *All maner power both in Heauen and Earth is giuen to Christ. Therefore the highest Bishop, which is his Vicar, hath the same power.* Likewise they say: [a] Papa potest facere omnia quæ Christus ipse potest: *The Pope may doe whatsoeuer Christ himselfe may doe.* And, [b] Papæ, & Christi, est vnum Tribunal: *The Pope and Christ haue one Consistorie, and keepe one Court.*

[a] *De Sentent. Excommu. Ca. Si aliquid. Hostien.*

[b] *De translatione Episco. Ca. Quanto Innocen. 3.*

Vpon occasion hereof, M. Harding saieth to reason in this sort: Vnlesse there bee one appointed by God to be the Vniuersall Bishop of the world, hauing Omnia iura in scrinio [c] pectoris sui, *all maner law and right in the closet of his breast:* [d] Cui sit pro ratione voluntas, *Whose pleasure may stand in stead of law:* Vnto whom, whatsoeuer he doe, no man may say, [e] Domine, cur ita facis? *Sir, why doe you so?* And the same neither exhort, nor teach, nor minister Sacrament, nor exercise Discipline, nor doe the dutie either of Bishop, or of Priest, or of Deacon, or any other the meanest officer of the Church, but onely take vpon him to rule, and gouerne the whole Church: Vnlesse there be some such one, then, saith M. Harding, God hath no prouidence, neither is carefull for his Church.

[c] *Extr. de Cõstitutionibus licet Romanus.*

[d] *De transl. Episcop. Ca. Quanto in Glossa.*

[e] *De concessione prebende. Ad Apostolatus, in Glossa.*

If controuersie grow about the vnderstanding and sense of Gods word, if it be necessarie that a Councell be called, if contention fall out betweene any other inferior Bishops; then saith M. Harding, it is necessary, there bee one supreme Iudge, that may infallibly declare Gods meaning, that may summon the Councell, that may heare, and determine matters betweene the Bishops. Touching the searching out of the sense of the Scriptures, S. Augustine giueth sundrie good rules: But this strange rule of recourse to the Pope, he toucheth not, nor taketh it for any rule.

De Doctrina Christian. li. 3.

But they say, The Scriptures be darke: therefore we must seeke the meaning of them in the Doctors. The Doctors agree not: Then must we weigh and trie them by the Master of the Sentences. The Master of the Sentences himselfe sometimes is not holden: then must we seeke further to the Schole Doctors. The Schole Doctors can in no wise agree: there is Scotus against Thomas: and Occam against Scotus: and Alliacensis against Occam: the Nominals against the Reals: the Scholasticals against the Canonists: the contention is greater, and the doubts darker, than euer they were before. Neither is there any resolution to be hoped for, but onely of the Bishop of Rome: whom M. Harding calleth the supreme Iudge: who, as one saith, is Doctor vtriusque Legis. Authoritate, non Scientia: *Doctour of both Lawes, by Authority, not by Knowledge.* Howbeit it appeareth his knowledge and authoritie in such cases are both like. For notwithstanding any his determination, the contention standeth still as it did before. Truely Alphonsus de Castro, a Doctor of the same side, saith: Cùm constet plures Papas adeò illiteratos esse, vt Grammaticam penitùs ignorent, quî fit, vt sacras Literas interpretari possint? *Seeing it is well knowen, that many Popes be so void of learning, that they be vtterly ignorant of their Grammar, how may it be, that they can expound the holy Scriptures?* Thus that supreme Iudge, at whose onely hands M. Harding would haue all the World to seeke for the very sense of Gods word, as Alphonsus saith, may goe to Schole to learne his Grammar. And what if the Pope be an Heretique, as Liberius was an Arian: Honorius an Eunomian: Anastasius was a Photinian: and as Lyra saith, Multi Papæ inuenti sunt Apostatæ: *Many Popes haue beene runnagates of the Faith:* Or what if he be a sorcerer, and haue league and conference with the Diuell, as had Syluester the second? Yet must we needs haue recourse vnto such an one, as vnto the mouth of God, for the certaine sense and meaning of Gods word? Verily in the old times, men that stood in doubt of any matter of learning, and would gladly be resolued, sought vnto the best learned, and not vnto the Pope. Pope Leo himselfe in a case of doubt, thought it good to conferre with other Bishops. The Bishops of Numidia sent, not to the Bishop of Rome to be resolued, but vnto S. Cyprian, and other Bishops within Aphrica. So likewise S. Hierome writeth of himselfe: Ob hanc causam vel maximè Alexandriam nuper perrexi, vt viderem Didymum, & ab eo in Scripturis omnibus, quæ habebam, dubia omnia exquirerem: *For this cause chiefly I went of late to Alexandria, to the intent I might see Didymus, and be resolued by him in all such doubts, as I had found in the Scriptures.* And S. Ambrose saith, that certaine learned men in matter of question, hauing receiued answer, and determination from the Bishop of Rome, yet notwithstanding for their better satisfaction, sought further vnto him. Thus he writeth: Post Romanæ Ecclesiæ definitionem, meam adhuc expectant sententiam: *After the discussing of the Church of Rome, they yet looke for my sentence.*

Baldus.

Alphonsus de Castro, li. 1. Ca. 4.

Alphonsus de Castro, lib. 1. Ca. 4. Nicola. Lyra in Matth. 16. ca. Platina in Syluestro. Leo Epist. 37. ad Episcopum Rauennatem. Cyprian. li. 1. Epist. 4. Hier. in proœmio in Epist. ad Ephes. Ambr. lib. 10. Epist. 83.

As for Generall Councels, it is well knowen, and God willing, shall appeare hereafter more at large, that they were called, and summoned by the Emperours onely, and not by the Bishops of Rome. Sozomenus saith: Imperator præceperat, Concilium Mediolani celebrari: *The Emperour had commanded a Councell to be kept at Millane.*

Sozomenus citatur inter Acta Liberij.

Matters of variance betweene Bishops were taken vp, not onely by the Bishop of Rome, whose greatest practise these many yeres hath bene to inflame, and maintaine discord among Princes, but also sometimes by the Prince, sometimes by Councels, sometimes by other Bishops, sometimes by some inferior persons, that were no Bishops. S. Ambrose was sent for into France, to pacifie the Bishops there. Bernard being but an Abbat, compounded that great dissension, that was betweene Pope Innocentius, and Peter in the Church of Rome. Therefore to these purposes, it is nothing needfull to erect a new Vicar Generall, or to giue any man this Vniuersall power ouer the Church of God.

Ambros. De obitu Valentiniani.
Bernardus in Cantica Canti. Serm. 22.

M. Hardings reasons proceed thus: God is carefull, and hath a speciall prouidence for his Church: Doubtfull places of the Scripture must be expounded: Generall Councels must bee summoned: Bishops being at variance must be reconciled: *Ergo*, The Bishop of Rome is Christs Vniuersall Vicar, and Head of the Vniuersall Church. Otherwise, saith he, the Church can neuer be rightly gouerned, nor preserued in Vnity. But Gods name be blessed for euer. God is able to gouerne his Church, not onely without such a Vicar, but also maugre such a Vicar. Miserable were Gods Church, if it stood onely at the Bishop of Romes gouernment. Long it were to open the lewdenesse and dissolution of his owne Church, that lieth before him. S. Bernard speaking of the same, saith thus: Mali ibi proficiunt: boni deficiunt: *Ill men there goe forward: But good men goe backward.* A planta pedis vsque ad verticem Capitis, non est in ea sanitas: *From the sole of the foot, vnto the crowne of the head, there is no whole part in it.* And againe: Serui Christi seruiunt Antichristo: *They would be called the Seruants of Christ, and yet indeed they serue Antichrist.* If the Bishop of Rome can no better rule a few Churches in one Citie, how then is he able to rule the infinite multitude of the whole Vniuersall Church of God?

Bernard. ad Eugen. li. 4.
Bernard. de Conuers. Paul.
Esai 1.
Bernard. in Cantica Canti.

But God hath other wayes and meanes, whereby he hath euer gouerned his Church. S. Cyprian saith: Idcò plures sunt in Ecclesia Sacerdotes, vt vno hæresim faciente, cæteri subueniant: *Therefore there bee many Bishops in the Church, that one running into Heresie, the rest may helpe.* And againe: *The Church is preserued in vnitie, by the consent of Bishops agreeing in one.* And to this end S. Hierome saith, as is before alleged: Nouerint Episcopi, se debere in commune Ecclesiam regere: *Let Bishops vnderstand, that they ought to rule the Church, as all in one.*

Cyprian. ad Stephan. li. 3. Epist. 13.
Cyprian. li. 4. Epist. 9.
Hieronym. in Ep. ad Titum. Ca. 1.

As for the vnitie, that M. Harding meaneth, it is a vile subiection and seruitude: it is no vnitie. S. Hierome saith: Nomine Vnitatis & Fidei, infidelitas scripta est: Nam illo tempore nihil tam pium, nihil tam conueniens seruo Dei videbatur, quàm vnitatem sequi, & a totius mundi communione non scindi: *Infidelitie hath beene written vnder the name of Faith, and Vnitie. For at that time nothing seemed either so godly, or so meet for the seruant of God, as to follow vnitie, and not to bee diuided from the Communion of the whole world.* They seemed, saith S. Hierome, to follow vnitie, and yet notwithstanding they hung in infidelitie. So likewise saith the wise man: In tanto viuentes ignorantiæ bello, tot & tanta mala pacem appellabant: *Whereas they liued in such a warre of ignorance, so many and so great mischiefes they called Vnitie.*

Hieron. contra Luciferianos.

Sapientiæ 14.

M. Harding. The 20. Diuision.

But heere perhaps some will say, it cannot appeare by the euent of things, and practise of the Church, that the Pope had this supreme power, and authority ouer all Bishops, and ouer all Christs flocke in matters touching Faith, and in cases Ecclesiasticall. Verily, whosoeuer perviseth the Ecclesiasticall stories, and vieweth the state of the Church of all times and ages, cannot but confesse this to bee most euident. And heere I might allege first certaine places of the New Testament, declaring that Peter practised this preeminence among the Disciples at the beginning, and that they yeelded the same, as of right appertaining vnto him. As when he first, and onely mooued them to chuse one in the stead of Iudas, and demeaned himselfe, as the chiefe author of all that was done therein: when he made answer for all, at what time they were gased, and wondred at, and of some mocked, as being drunken with new wine: for that in the 50. day they spake with tongues of so many Nations: when he vsed that dreadfull seueritie in punishing the falshood and hypocrisie of Ananias and Saphira his wife: when variance being risen about the obseruation of certaine points of Moses Law, he as chiefe, and head of the rest, said his mind before all others. Among many other places left out for breuitie, that is not of least weight, that Paul being returned to Damasco out of Arabia, after three yeeres went to Ierusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteene daies. Act. 1. Act. 2. Act. 5. Act. 15.

The 105. Vntruth, ioined with a slander.

(105) But because our aduersaries doe wreathe and wrest the Scriptures (bee they neuer so plaine) by their priuate and strange constructions, to an vnderstanding quite contrarie to the sense of the Catholike Church: I will referre the Reader for further proofe of this matter, to the stories bearing faithfull witnesse of the whole state and condition of the Church in all ages. In which stories, the practise of the Church is plainely reported to haue beene such, as thereby the primacie of Peters Successour may seeme to all men sufficiently declared. For, perusing the Ecclesiasticall stories with writings of the Fathers, beside many other things pertaining heereto, wee finde these practises, for declaration of this speciall authoritie, and power: First, that Bishops, (106) of euery Nation haue made their appeale in their weighty affaires to the Pope, and alwaies haue sued to the See Apostolike, as well for succour, and helpe against violence, iniuries, and oppressions, as for redresse of other disorders. Also, that the malice of wicked persons hath beene represt, and chastised of that authority by Excommunication, Election, and Expulsion out of their dignities, Gal. 1. 1 2

The 106. Vntruth, as afterward it shall appeare.

dignities and roomes, and by other cenſures of the Church. Furthermore, that the ordinances and elections of Biſhops of all prouinces haue beene confirmed by the Pope. Beſide this, that the approuing and diſallowing of Councels haue pertained to him. Item, that Biſhops wrongfully condemned and depriued by Councels, by him haue beene aſſoiled and reſtored to their Churches againe. Laſtly, that Biſhops and Patriarkes after long ſtrifes and contentions, haue at length vpon better aduice, beene reconciled vnto him againe. Peter Head.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Here M. Harding aſſaieth to proue the poſſeſſion and occupation of this Vniuerſall authoritie, by the practiſe both of S. Peter himſelfe, and alſo of other Biſhops in Rome, that followed after him. And touching S. Peter he thinketh it ſufficient to ſay thus: *Peter being among the reſt, ſhewed his aduice firſt before all others, and at the ſound of his words, Ananias and Zaphira fell downe dead:* Ergo, *Peter was the Head, and had an Vniuerſall power ouer the whole Church.* Here be very weake proofes to maintaine ſo great a Title. I thinke M. Harding himſelfe doth not beleeue, that whoſoeuer firſt vttereth his minde in any Councell, or worketh any ſtrange miracle by the power of God, is therefore the Head of all the world. For oftentimes in great Councels, the yongeſt or lowreſt beginneth firſt, and the eldeſt and Head of all ſpeaketh laſt. Certainly, in this aſſemblie of the Apoſtles, after that S. Peter had opened his minde, and all the reſt had done, laſt of all, not S. Peter, but S. Iames pronounced the Sentence, which thing belonged onely to the Head and Preſident of that Councell. He muſt be very ſimple, that will be led with ſuch ſimple gheſſes. Actor. 15.

But whoſoeuer well and thorowly conſidereth S. Peters whole dealing at all times among his Brethren, ſhall ſone ſee, that neither he bare himſelfe; nor the reſt receiued or vſed him, as the Head of the Vniuerſall Church. He calleth the reſt of the Diſciples, his Brethren: he calleth himſelfe Compresbyterum, Fellow elder. He commandeth not, nor chargeth any man, but heareth and intreateth others, as his equals and fellowes: being ſent into Samaria by his Brethren he repined not, as being their Head and Gouernour, but went his way as their meſſenger: and being reproued for going to Cornelius, and dealing with Heathens, he excuſed himſelfe, and came to his anſwer. Actorum 15. 1. Peter 5. Actor. 8. Actor. 11.

The reſt of the Apoſtles, no doubt, honoured S. Peter, as the ſpeciall member of Chriſts body, with all reuerence: but it appeareth not, that any of them euer take him, or vſed him as their Head, or yelded him this Infinite or Vniuerſall power. S. Paul comparеth himſelfe with him in Apoſtleſhip, and ſaith: Mihi concreditum eſt Euangelium Præputij, ſicut Petro Circumciſionis: *To mee is committed the Goſpell among the Heathens, euen as vnto Peter among the Iewes. And Iames, Peter, and Iohn, which ſeemed to be pillars, gaue vnto mee and Barnabas the right hands of fellowſhip.* And afterward he ſaith: *I withſtood Peter euen vnto the face: for that he was worthy to be rebuked.* And againe vnto the Corinthians: Arbitror me nihil inferiorem eſſe eximijs Apoſtolis: *I take my ſelfe to bee nothing inferiour vnto the chiefe Apoſtles.* Whereby it plainly appeareth, that Paul eſteemed and take Peter as his Fellow, and not as his Head. Galat. 2. 2. Corin. 2.

Whereas it liketh M. Harding to ſay, that we wreath and wreſt the Scriptures; if it would haue pleaſed him alſo particularly to ſhew, how, and wherein, he might haue had the more credit. But it is commonly ſaid: Doloſus verſatur in generalibus: *Hee that walketh in generalities, meaneth not plainly.* I truſt the indifferent Reader ſeeth, the Scriptures are plaine enough of our ſide, and need no wreſting. And therefore touching this caſe, S. Cyprian ſaith, as is before alleaged: Idem erant alij, quod Petrus: *The reſt were the ſame that Peter was.* And Origen likewiſe: Nos quoque efficimur Petrus: & nobis dicetur illud, quod huic ſermonem ſequitur: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. Petra enim eſt, quiſquis eſt Diſcipulus Chriſti: *Euen we are become Peter, and vnto vs the ſame ſhall be ſaid, that followeth theſe words:* Thou art Peter, and vpon this Rocke I will build my Church. *For he is the Rocke whoſoeuer is Chriſts Diſciple.* And ſo it is written in S. Auguſtine againſt the Donatiſts: Clarus à Maſcula dixit, Manifeſta eſt ſententia Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti Apoſtolos mittentis, & ipſis ſolis poteſtatem à Patre ſibi datam permittentis: quibus nos ſucceſſimus, eadem poteſtate Eccleſiam Domini gubernantes: *The ſaying of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt ſending out his Apoſtles, and giuing vnto them only the ſame power that he had receiued of his Father, is plaine: into which Apoſtles rooms we haue ſucceeded, gouerning the Church with the ſame power that they did.* These be good witneſſes that wee wreſt not Gods words, but vſe them ſimplie, as they were ſpoken. Cyprian. de ſimplicitate Prælatorum. Origen. in Matt. tract. 1. Auguſt. de Baptiſmo contra Donat. lib. 7. cap. 43.

Now it were a long labour to ſhew at full, how M. Harding, with others of that ſide, haue

haue dealt herein. The words that be specially and only spoken of God himselfe, and of his Christ, it is lawfull for them to applie the same vnto the Pope without any wresting or wresting of the Scriptures. Cornelius a Bishop in the last Councell of Trident vseth these words: Papa lux venit in mundum: sed dilexerunt homines magis tenebras, quàm lucem: *The Pope being the light, is come into the World, but men loued the darknesse more than the Light.* And Stephanus the Archbishop of Petraca, in the Councell of Laterane directly these words vnto the Pope: Tibi data est omnis potestas in Cælo, & in Terra: *Vnto thee is all power giuen both in Heauen and Earth.* Likewise saith Pope Bonifacius: Spiritualis à nemine iudicatur: *The man that is spirituall, is iudged of no man:* Ergo, *No man may iudge the Pope.* And againe: Quæ sunt potestates, à Deo ordinatæ sunt: *The powers that be, are ordained of God:* Ergo, *The Pope is aboue the Emperour.* Now to passe by other like places which are innumerable, whether this be wresting of the Scriptures, or no, I leaue to the discrete Reader to consider. Verily, as I haue said before, Camotensis thus reporteth of them: Vim faciunt Scripturis, vt habeant plenitudinem potestatis: *To the intent they may haue the fulnesse of power, they do violence to the Scriptures, and deuise strange constructions contrarie to the sense of the Church of God.*

Cornel. Episcopus Ritontinus, in Oratione ad Synodum.

Stephan. Archiepiscop. Patracen. in Concil. Lateran. sub Leone, Sessione 10.

De Maioritate & obedient. Vnam Sanctam.

1. Cor. 2.

Rome 13.

Citatur à Cornelio Agrippa, de Vani. scien.

But forasmuch as M. Harding vtterly leaueth the Scriptures, wherein he saith, he hath so simple hold, and referreth the whole right of his cause to the continuall practise of the Church, I trust it shall not seeme neither tedious nor vnprofitable vnto the Reader, only for a taste, and by the way, to touch somewhat concerning the same; nothing doubting, but euen thereby it shall well appeare, that within the compasse of six hundred yeares after Christ, the Bishop of Rome was neuer neither named, nor holden for the Head of the Vniuersall Church.

First of all, The Bishops of other Countries, writing to the Bishop of Rome, call him not their Head, but their Brother or Fellow. S. Cyprian vnto Cornelius writeth thus: Cyprianus Cornelio Fratri: *Cyprian vnto Cornelius my Brother.* The Bishops in the Councell of Carthage vnto Innocentius: Honoratissimo Fratri: *To our most honourable Brother.* And Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople vnto Hormisda: Frater in Christo Charissime: *My deare Brother in Christ.* So likewise Dionysius the Bishop of Alexandria calleth Stephanus and Sistus Bishops of Rome, *his louing Brethren.* So the Bishops of Aphrica call Anastasius, Consacerdotem, *Their Fellow Bishop.* Like as Cyrillus also calleth Cœlestinus: and Marcellus the Bishop of Ancyra calleth Iulius, Comministrum, *His Fellow Seruant.* These words, Brother and Fellow, seeme rather to signifie an Equality betweene Bishops, than any such Soueraigne Power or Vniuersall authoritie, as the Bishop of Rome now claimeth.

Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist. 3.

Concil. Carthaginen. 5.

In Decretal. Hormisde.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 4.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 8.

In Concil. Aphricano.

In Concil. Ephesino.

Epiphan. lib. 3. tom. 1. hæres. 72

Further, touching the order of outward gouernment, the Councell of Nice limiteth vnto the Bishop of Rome not the Iurisdiction of the whole World, but his owne seuerall portion among other Patriarkes. The Councell of Aphrica straitly forbiddeth any man out of that Countrie to appeale to Rome. The foure Patriarkes, of Rome, of Constantinople, of Antioch, and Alexandria, vsed to write letters of conference betweene themselues, thereby to professe their Religion one to an other; which was a token of Fellowship, and not of Dominion. The Councell of Alexandria committed full authoritie to Asterius to visit and to redresse all the Churches in the East part of the World, and to Eusebius, to doe the like in the West: and so seemed to haue small regard to the Bishop of Rome, or to acknowledge him as the Vniuersall Bishop. And what needeth many words? Æneas Syluius being himselfe afterward Bishop of Rome, for certaine proose hereof writeth thus: Ad Episcopos Romanos aliquis sanè, sed tamen paruus, ante Nicenum Concilium respectus erat: *Some regard there was vnto the Bishops of Rome before the Councell of Nice, although but small.* To be short, I trust it shall appeare euen by M. Hardings owne proses, that is to say, by the order of Appeales, by Excommunications, by the allowance of Elections, by the approuing of Councels, by restoring of Bishops, and by receiuing of Schismatikes into fauour, that the Bishop of Rome was not taken for the Head of the Church, nor had any such absolute authority as is supposed. And so M. Hardings six fold proose, which is noted in the Margin, in Conclusion will appeare but single fold.

Concil. Nicen. cap. 6.

Concil. Aphrican. cap. 92.

Litere Synodice.

Gregor. lib. 1. Epist. 25. & lib. 6. Epist. 24.

Ruffinus lib. 1. cap. 29.

Æneas Syluius.

M. Harding. The 21. Diuision.

First, for the appellation of Bishops to the See Apostolike, beside many other, wee haue the knowen examples of Athanasius, that worthy Bishop of Alexandria, and light of the World; who hauing sustained great and sundry wrongs at the Arians, appealed first to Iulius the Pope, and after his death to Felix; of Chrysostome, who appealed to Innocentius against the violence of Theophilus; of Theodoretus, who appealed to Leo. Neither made Bishops onely their appeale to the Pope by their Delegates, but also in certaine cases, being cited, appeare before him in their owne persons. Which is plainly gathered of Theodoretus his Ecclesiasticall story, who writeth thus; Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia (who

(who was the chiefe pillar of the Arians) and they that ioined with him in that faction, falsely accused Athanasius to Iulius the Bishop of Rome.

Appeales.

Iulius following the Ecclesiasticall rule, commanded them to come to Rome, and caused the reuerend Athanasius to be cited to iudgement, *regulariter*, after the order of the Canons. He came: the false accusers went not to Rome, knowing right well, that their forged lie might easily be deprehended. In this cause and defense of Iohn Chrysostome, these Bishops came from Constantinople to Innocentius the Pope, Pansophus Bishop of Pisidia, Pappus of Syria, Demetrius of the second Galatia, and Eugenius of Phrigia. These were suters for Chrysostome. He himselfe treated his matter with Innocentius by writing. In his Epistle among other things he writeth thus; Lest this outragious confusion run ouer all, and beare rule euery where, write (I pray you) and determine by your authoritie, such wicked acts done in our absence, and when we withdrew not our selues from iudgement, to be of no force, as by their owne nature truly they be void and vtterly none. Furthermore, who haue committed these euils (107) put you them vnder the Censure of the Church. And as for vs, sith that we are innocent, neither conuict, neither found in any default, nor prooued guilty of any crime; giue commandement, that wee be restored to our Churches againe, that we may enioy the accustomed charitie and peace with our brethren. Innocentius after that he vnderstood the whole matter, pronounced and decreed the iudgement of Theophilus, that was against Chrysostome, to be void and of no force. This whole Tragedie is at large set foorth by Palladius Bishop of Helenopolis, *In vita Iohannis Chrysostomi*, who liued at that time. By this appeale of Chrysostome, and by the whole handling of the matter, and specially by the purport of his Epistle to Innocentius, the Superioritie of the Pope is euidently acknowledged. And so is it plainly confessed by Athanasius and the Bishops, of Ægypt, Thebais, and Lybia, assembled in Councell at Alexandria, by these words of their Epistle to Fœlix; *Vestrum est enim nobis manum porrigere, &c.* It is your part (say they) to stretch foorth your helping hand vnto vs, because we are committed vnto you. It is your part to defend vs, and deliuer vs: it is our part to seeke helpe of you, and to obey your commandements. And a little after; For we know that you beare the cure and charge of the Vniuersall Church, and specially of Bishops, who in respect of their contemplation and speculation, are called the eies of our Lord, as alwaies the Prelates of your See, first the Apostles, then their successours haue done.

The 107. vntruth. S. Chrysostomes words vntruly reported.

Theodoretus that learned Bishop of Cyrus, beside the Epistle he wrote to Leo for succour and helpe in his troubles, in another that he wrote to Renatus a Priest neere about Leo, saith thus; *Spoliarunt me Sacerdotio, &c.* They haue violently robbed me of my Bishopricke, they haue cast me foorth of the Cities, neither hauing reuerenced mine age spent in Religion, nor my hoare haires. Wherefore, I beseech thee, that thou perswade the most holy Archbishop (he meaneth Leo) to vse his Apostolike authoritie, and to command vs to come vnto your Councell or Consistorie. For this holy See holdeth the Rudther, and hath the gouernment of the Churches of the whole world, partly for other respects, but specially for that it hath euermore continued cleare from stinch of heresie, and that none euer sate in it, who was of contrarie opinion, but rather hath euer kept the Apostolike grace vndefiled. In which words of Theodoretus, this chiefly is to be marked, that the holy See of Rome (as he saith) hath the gouernment of the Churches of all the World, most for this cause, that it was neuer infected with Heresie as all other Churches founded by the Apostles were.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

It is certaine, that the Bishops of Rome, **to attaine the preeminence and fulnesse of power ouer all the World, letted not to vse many ambitious and importune meanes and manifestly to falsifie the Canons of the holy Councell of** Nice. **Sithence which time they haue not bene idle, but haue forged new Canons to this purpose vnder the name of** Clemens, Anacletus, Euaristus, Telesphorus, Higinus, **and other Martyrs: and besides, haue deuised other like Canons of their owne. The Decretall Epistle that is abroad vnder the name of** Iulius, **seemeth to sauour of some corruption, both for sundry other causes, and also for that it agreeth not with the very true Epistle of** Iulius, **which** Athanasius **allegeth in his Apologie: and yet ought both these Epistles to be all one without difference. Wherefore we haue good cause to thinke,** *That all is not Gospell that commeth from Rome.*

Athanasius in Apologia 2.

Thus ambitiously to aduance themselues vnder pretence of such Appeales, ostentimes not vnderstanding the case, as it well appeareth by that is written of Apiarius, **and by the story of** Flauianus **and** Eutyches, **they found fault with good Catholike Bishops, and receiued Heretikes into their fauour: wherewithall the Bishops in the Generall Councell of** Aphrica, **finde themselues much greeued.**

First therefore I must shew, that there lay no such ordinary Appeale from all Countries of the World to the Bishop of Rome, **and that therefore the same is by M. Harding vntruly auouched. That done, I trust, it shall not be hard to answer these places of** Chrysostome, Athanasius, **and** Theodoretus **here alleged. And that there lay not any such Appeale to** Rome, **it is plaine by consent of Generall Councels; by the authoritie of holy Fathers; and by the Lawes and Ordinances of Emperours and Princes: By which grounds, it is easie to vnderstand the practise and order of the Church in those daies.**

In the Councell of Nice **it is Decreed thus:** Ab alijs excommunicati, ab alijs ad Communionem ne recipiantur: *Let not them that stand Excommunicate by one Bishop, bee receiued againe to the Communion by any other.* **M. Hardings Appeales, and these words cannot well stand together. But he will say, The Bishop either of ignorance or of malice may Excommunicate the party wrongfully. In this case the same Councell hath prouided remedie of Appeale, not vnto the Bishop of** Rome, **but vnto a Prouinciall Synod within the**

Concil. Nicen. 1. cap. 5.

Appeales.

Countrey. These be the words: Ergo, vt hæc possint digna examinatione perquiri, recte visum est, per singulos annos, in singulis prouincijs, bis in anno, Episcoporum Concilium fieri, vt simul in vnum conuenientes ex communi Prouincia, huiusmodi quæstiones examinent: *Therefore that these things may be well examined, it is well prouided, that euery yeere in euery Prouince, at two seuerall times, there be holden a Councell of Bishop, that, they meeting together out of all parts of the Prouince, may heare and determine such complaints.*

Concil. Nicen. 1. Can. 5.

Concil. Telen. tempore Zosimi. Can. 17.

The Bishops in the Councell holden at Tela in Spaine, ordained thus: Presbyteri & Clerici, ne appellent, nisi ad Aphricana Concilia: *Let it not be lawfull for Priests or Clerkes to Appeale* (to Rome) *but only to the Councels holden in Aphrica.*

Concil. Milevitan. Can. 22.

So in the Milevitane Councell: Si ab Episcopis appellandum putauerint, non prouocent, nisi ad Aphricana Concilia, vel ad Primates Prouinciarum suarum. Ad transmarina autem qui putauerint appellandum, à nullo intra Aphricam in Communionem recipiantur: *If they thinke it meet to Appeale from their Bishops, let them not Appeale, but only to the Councels of Aphrica, or vnto the Primates of their owne Prouinces. But if they shall make their Appeale beyond the Seas* (that is, to Rome) *let no man in Aphrica receiue them to the Communion.*

Concil. Aphrican. Can. 63.

So likewise in the Councell of Aphrica: Si fuerit prouocatum, elegat is, qui prouocauerit Iudices, & cum eo & ille, contra quem prouocauerit, vt ab ipsis deinceps nulli liceat prouocare: *If appeale be made, let him that shall Appeale, chuse other Iudges of his side, and likewise let the other doe the same against whom he Appealeth: that from them afterward, it be lawfull for neither of them to Appeale.*

Concil. Aphrican. Can. 92.

And againe in the same Councell: Non prouocent nisi ad Aphricana Concilia: *Let them not Appeale, but only vnto the Councels holden within Aphrica,* and so forth word by word, as is alleged out of the Councell of Mileuita. But here I may not well passe ouer Gratians Glosse, touching this matter. For whereas the Councell hath determined, that if any man Appeale beyond the Seas, he stand Excommunicate, Gratian hath expounded and saued it with this prety exception: Nisi forte Romanam Sedem appellauerit: *Vnlesse they Appeale to the See of Rome.* And so by his construction, he excepteth that only thing out of the Law, for which only thing the whole Law was made. For it is plaine and without all question, that the Councell of Aphrica specially, and namely, meant to cut off all Appeales to the See of Rome. And yet those onely Appeales, Gratian by his Construction would haue to be saued.

2. Quæst. 6. ca. Placuit.

But what can be so plaine, as the Epistle of the two hundred and seuenténe Bishops in the Councell of Aphrica, sent vnto Cœlestinus Bishop of Rome, declaring at length both the state and conueiance of the cause, and also their griefe, and misliking of the whole matter. The words lie thus: Decreta Nicena siue inferioris gradus Clericos, &c. *The Decrees of the Councell of Nice, haue euidently committed both the Clerkes of inferiour roomes, and also the Bishops themselues vnto their Metropolitanes: for both iustly and discreetly they prouided, that all maner actions should be determined in the same places where they began: and likewise though that no Prouince should want the Grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby Christian Bishops might be able both wisely to consider, and also constantly to maintaine the right. And specially seeing that liberty is giuen, that if either party mislike his Iudges order, he may lawfully Appeale either to a Conuocation of Bishops within the same Countrie, or else to a Generall Councell. Vnlesse any man will thinke, that God is able to inspire the iustice of triall into one man alone* (meaning thereby the Bishop of Rome) *and will deny the same to a great number of Bishops, being in Councell altogether. And how can your beyond Sea iudgement appeare good, seeing that the witnesses, which be parties necessary, either for that they be women, or for that they be aged and weake, or for many other incident impediments, cannot come vnto it? As for any Delegates that should be sent, as from your side, we finde no such matter determined in any Councell. And touching that you sent vs of late by Faustinus our Fellow-Bishop, as part of the Nicene Councell, in the very true Councels of Nice, which we haue receiued from holy Cyrillus the Bishop of Alexandria, and from Atticus the Bishop of Constantinople &c. we find no such matter, Neither send ye, nor grant ye, your Clerkes to execute causes at any mans request, least we seeme to bring a smokie puffe of worldly pride into the Church of Christ, which vnto them that desire to see God, sheweth the light of simplicity and humility, &c.*

Epistola Aphricani Concilij ad Cœlestinum.

Iustitiam examinis vnicuilibet.

Executores Clericos vestros.

The Bishops of the East part of the World, being Arians, writing vnto Iulius the Bishop of Rome, toke it greuously, that he would presume to ouerrule them: and shewed him, It was not lawfull for him, by any sleight or colour of Appeale, to vndoe that thing, that they had done.

Sozomenus, li. 3. ca. 7.

S. Cyprian finding fault with such running to Rome, and defeating of Iustice, writeth vnto Cornelius the Bishop there in this sort: Cum æquum iustumque sit, vt vniuscuiusq; causa illic audiatur, vbi Crimen est admissum, & singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat vniusquisque, & gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus, opportet

Cyprian. li. 1. Epist. 3.

vtique

Appeales.

vtique eos, quibus præsumus, non circumcursare, nec Episcoporum concordiam cohærentem sua subdola & fallaci temeritate collidere: sed agere illic causam suam, vbi & accusatores habere, & testes sui criminis possint: nisi paucis desperatis & perditis, minor videtur esse authoritas Episcoporum in Aphrica constitutorum, qui iam de illis iudicauerunt, &c. *Seeing it is meet and right, that euery mans cause be heard there, where the fault was committed, and seeing that euery Bishop hath a portion of the Flocke allotted vnto him, which he must rule and gouerne, and yeeld account vnto the Lord for the same, therefore it is not meet, that they, whom we are appointed to ouersee, do thus run about* (**with their Appeales**) *and so with their subtle and deceitfull rashnesse, breake that concord and consent of Bishops. But there ought they to plead their cause, where they may haue both accusers and witnesses of the fault: Vnlesse perhaps a few desperate and leaud fellowes thinke the authoritie of the Bishops of* Aphrica, *which haue already iudged and condemned them, to be lesse than is the authoritie of other Bishops.* *Leaud and desperate.*

Hereby it is clere, that the godly Fathers and Bishops, in old times, misliked much this shifting of matters to Rome, **for that they saw it was the hinderance of right, the increase of ambition, and the open breach of the holy Canons.**

And therefore the Emperour Iustinian, **foreseeing the disorders that hereof might grew, to bridle this ambitious outrage, thought it necessarie for his Subiects, to prouide a strait Law in this wise to the contrarie:** Si quis Sanctissimorum Episcoporum eiusdem Synodi dubitationem aliquam adinuicem habeat, siue pro Ecclesiastico iure, siue pro alijs quibusdam rebus, prius Metropolita eorum, cum alijs de sua Synodo Episcopis, causam examinet & iudicet. Quod si vtraque pars rata non habuerit ea, quæ iudicata sunt, tunc beatissimus Patriarcha Dioceseos illius inter eos audiat, & illa determinet, quæ Ecclesiasticis Canonibus, & Legibus consonant, nulla parte eius sententiæ contradicere valente: *If any of the most holy Bishops, being of one Synod, haue any matter of doubt or question among themselues, whether it be for Ecclesiasticall right, or any other matters, first let their Metropolitane, with other Bishops of the same Synode, examine and iudge the cause. But if both the parties stand not to his and their iudgements, then let the most holy Patriarke, of the same Prouince, heare and determine their matters, according to the Ecclesiasticall Lawes and Canons.* And neither of the parties may withstand his determination. *Auth. de Sanctiss. Episcopis, collatio. 9. Si quis verò.* *Ἐὰν δὲ τινες μέροις ἀντιλέγειν δύναιντο.*

And immediately after: Patriarcha, secundùm Canones & Leges, præbeat finem: *Let the Patriarke, according to the Lawes and Canons,* make an end. *In eodem.* *παρεχέτω πέρας.*

By these words, all Appeales bee quite cut off from the See of Rome.

Likewise the Emperours, Honorius **and** Theodosius, **haue taken Appeales away from the Bishops of** Rome, **and haue commanded the same to be entred before the Bishop and Synode of** Constantinople. **The Law is written thus:** Omni innouatione cessante, vetustatem, & Canones pristinos Ecclesiasticos, qui vsque tunc tenuerunt, per omnes Illyrici Prouincias seruari præcipimus: vt si quid dubitatis emerserit, id oporteat, non absque sententia viri reuerendissimi Sacrosanctæ Legis Antistitis Ecclesiæ Vrbis Constantinopolitanæ, quæ Romæ Veteris prærogatiua lætatur, Conuentui Sacerdotali, & sancto iudicio reseruari: *All innouation set apart, we command, that the old order, and the ancient Ecclesiasticall Canons, which hitherto haue holden, be kept still thorow all the Prouinces of* Illyricum; *that if any matter of doubt happen to arise, it be put ouer to be determined by the holy iudgement and assembly of Bishops, not without the discretion of the most Reuerend, the Bishop of the Citie of* Constantinople, *which Citie now enioieth the Prerogatiue of* Old Rome. *Cod. de Sacrosanct. Ecclesijs, Omni.* *Cod. de Episc. & Clericis. Actor in nullo alio foro, vel apud quenquam alterum Iudicem, Clericos (Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ) litibus tentat irretire.*

Here M. Harding may not forget, that the Church of Constantinople **had as great Prerogatiue in all respects, of Preeminence, Superioritie, and Vniuersalitie of charge, as euer had the Church of** Rome. **Wherefore, if the Bishop of** Rome **were Head of the Vniuersall Church, it must nods follow, that the Bishop of** Constantinople **was likewise Head of the Vniuersall Church.**

And againe, the Emperour Leo **in plainer words:** Omnes qui vbicunque sunt, vel posthac fuerint, Orthodoxæ Fidei Sacerdotes, & Cleri, cuiuscunque gradus sint, Monachi quoque, in causis ciuilibus, ex nullius penitus maioris minorisue sententia Iudicis commonitoria, ad extranea iudicia pertrahantur; aut prouinciam, vel locum, vel regionem quam habitant, exire cogantur: *All that be, or hereafter shall be, Priests or Clerkes of the Catholicke Faith, of what degree soeuer they be, Monkes also, let them not in any Ciuill Actions, be drawen foorth to forraine iudgement, by the Summon or Commandement of any Iudge, more or lesse: neither let them be driuen to come foorth of, either the Prouince, or the place, or the Country, where they dwell.* **Thus, whether the Action were Ecclesiasticall, or Ciuill, the party was to be heard within his owne Prouince, and could not be forced to appeare abroad.** *Cod. de Epis. & Clericis. Omnes.*

Certainly, what good liking S. Bernard had herein, it appeareth by his words. For thus he writeth to Eugenius **the Bishop of** Rome: Quousque non euigilat consideratio tua ad tantam Appellationum confusionem? Ambitio in Ecclesia per te regnare molitur: *Bernar. ad Eugenium, de Consideration. li. 3.*

præter

Appeales.

præter ius & fas, præter morem & ordinem, fiunt. Repertum ad remedium, reperitur ad mortem: Antidotum verſum eſt in venenum. Murmur loquor, & querimoniam communem Eccleſiarum. Truncari ſe clamant, & demembrari. Vel nullæ, vel paucæ admodum ſunt, quæ plagam iſtam aut non doleant, aut non timeant: *When will thy conſideration awake, to behold this ſo great confuſion of Appeales? Ambition and pride ſtriueth through thee to reigne in the Church. Theſe Appeales be made beſide all Law and right, beſide all maner and good order. It was deuiſed for a remedy: it is found turned to death. That was Triakle, is charged into poiſon. I ſpeake of the murmuring and common complaint of the Churches. They complaine they be maimed and diſmembred. There be either no Churches, or very few, but either ſmart at this plague, or ſtand in feare of it.* This is that worthy ground, whereupon M. Harding hath laid the firſt foundation of his Supremacie: A Confuſion, a Death, a Poiſon, a Terror, and Diſmembring of the Churches: practiſed againſt Law, againſt right, againſt maner, and againſt good order: miſliked by the holy Fathers, diſallowed by godly Councels, and vtterly abrogated and aboliſhed by ſundry worthy and noble Princes. This is M. Hardings principall foundation of his Primacie.

But yet theſe men will ſay, Chryſoſtome, Athanaſius, and Theodoretus, being godly Fathers, and holy Biſhops, appealed to Rome, and acknowledged the Popes authoritie, and beſought him to vſe the ſame. For the true vnderſtanding hereof, it ſhall bee neceſſarie to conſider the ſtate that theſe godly Fathers then ſtood in, and the miſerable confuſion of the Eaſt part of the world in thoſe daies. Chryſoſtome thereof writeth thus:

Epiſt. 2. Chryſ. ad Innocentiũ. Certamen eſt totius Orbis: Eccleſiæ vſque ad genua humiliatæ ſunt: Populi diſperſi: Clerus diuexatus: Epiſcopi exules: Conſtitutiones Patrum violatæ: *It is the contention of the whole World: The Churches are brought vpon their knees: The people is ſcattered: The Miniſtrie is oppreſſed: The Biſhops are baniſhed: The Conſtitutions of our Fathers are broken.*

Socrat. lib. 2. Cap. 8. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 6. Athanaſ. in Epiſt. ad ſolitariã vitam agentes. Theodoret. lib. 2. cap. 14. The Emperours Captaine with a band of ſouldiers beſet the Church where Athanaſius was praying: Of the people that was with him, ſome were ſpoiled and baniſhed, ſome trodden vnder the ſouldiers feet, ſome ſlaine where they went. Paulus the Biſhop of Conſtantinople was hanged: Marcellus the Biſhop of Ancyra was depriued: Lucius the Biſhop of Adrianopolis died in priſon: Theodulus and Olympius, two Biſhops of Thracia, were commanded to be murdered. The Emperour had commanded Athanaſius to be brought vnto him, either dead, or aliue.

These godly Fathers, being thus in extreme miſerie, and ſeeing their whole Church in the Eaſt part ſo deſolate, were forced to ſeeke for comfort, whereſoeuer they had hope to finde any: and ſpecially they ſought to the Church of Rome, which then, both for multitude of people, and for puritie of Religion, and conſtancie in the ſame, and alſo for helping of the afflicted, and intreating for them, was moſt famous aboue all others. In like ſort ſometimes they fled for helpe vnto the Emperour. So Athanaſius being condemned in the Councell at Tyrus, fled to Conſtantinus the Emperour: Flauianus vnto the Emperours Theodoſius and Valentinianus: Donatus à Caſis Nigris vnto Conſtantinus. And the Emperours ſometimes called the parties, and heard the matter themſelues: Sometimes they wrote fauourable Letters in their behalfe. The Emperour Conſtance wrote vnto his Brother Conſtantius, to call before him the Biſhops of the Eaſt part, to yeld a reckoning of their doings againſt Athanaſius. The Emperour Honorius gaue his endeuour, that Athanaſius might be reſtored. Conſtantinus the Emperour, vpon Athanaſius complaint, commanded the Biſhops of the Councell of Tyrus to appeare before him. The words of his Summon be theſe: Quotquot Synodum Tyri habitam compleuiſtis, ſine mora ad Pietatis noſtræ Caſtra properetis: ac re ipſa, quàm ſincerè ac rectè iudicaueritis, oſtendatis: idque Coram me, quem ſincerum eſſe Dei Miniſtrum, ne vos quidem ipſi negabitis: *As many of you as were at the Councell of* Tyrus, *high you vnto our Campe or Court without delay, and ſhew vs how ſincerely and vprightly yee haue dealt: and that euen* Before Me, *whom you your ſelues cannot denie to be the ſincere Seruant, of God.*

Athan. Apol. 2. Socrat. Lib. 1. cap. 20. Caſſiodor. li. 4. cap. 20. Ambroſ. li. 10. Epiſt. 78. Auguſt. epiſt. 162. Inter Decreta Iulij, è Sozomeno Sozm. Lib. 8. cap. 28. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 22.

Coram Me.

Thus holy men being in diſtreſſe, ſought helpe, whereſoeuer they had hope to finde it. This ſeeking of remedy by way of complaint, as it declareth their miſerie, ſo it is not ſufficient to proue an ordinarie Appeale.

But it is moſt certaine, and without all queſtion, that Chryſoſtome appealed vnto Innocentius. For M. Harding hath heere alleged his owne words. I grant, M. Harding hath heere alleged Chryſoſtome; but in ſuch faithfull and truſty ſort, as Pope Zoſimus ſometimes alleged the Councell of Nice. Good Chriſtian Reader, if thou haue Chryſoſtome, peruſe this place, and weigh well his words: if thou haue him not, yet be not ouer-haſtie of beleefe. M. Hardings dealing with thee herein is not plaine. The very words of Chryſoſtome in Latine ſtand thus: Ne confuſio hæc omnem, quæ ſub Cœlo eſt, nationem inuadat, obſecro,

Epiſt Chryſoſt. ad Innocent. in Tom. 5. Ep. 1.

Appeales.

ſecro, vt ſcribas, quod hæc tam iniquè facta, & abſentibus nobis, & non declinantibus iudicium, non habeant robur: Sicut neque natura ſua habent. Illi autem, qui inique egerunt, pœnæ Eccleſiaſticarum Legum ſubiaceant. Nobis verò, qui nec conuicti, nec redarguti, nec habiti vt rei ſumus, literis veſtris, & charitate veſtra, aliorumque omnium quorum ante ſocietate fruebamur, frui concedite. **Which words into English may truly be tranſlated thus:** *Leſt this confuſion ouer-run all Nations vnder Heauen, I pray thee write (or ſignifie) vnto them, that theſe things ſo vniuſtly done, I being abſent, and yet not flying iudgement, be of no force, as indeed of their owne nature they be of none: and (write) that they that haue done theſe things ſo wrongfully, be puniſhed by the Lawes of the Church: and grant you, that wee that are neither conuicted, nor reproued, nor found guilty, may enioy your letters, and your loue, and likewiſe the letters and loue of all others, whoſe fellowſhip we enioyed before.* **In theſe few words, M. Harding hath notably falſified three places, quite altering the words that hee found, and ſhuffling in, and interlacing other words of his owne. For theſe words in M. Hardings tranſlation, that ſeeme to ſignifie authoritie in the Biſhop of** Rome, **and to import the Appeale,**

Write, and determine by your authoritie; Put you them vnder the cenſure of the Church; Giue commandement, that we be reſtored to our Churches; *M. Hard. falſifieth, and vntruly trãſlateth S. Chryſoſtome.*

Theſe words, I ſay, are not to be found in Chryſoſtome, **neither in the Greeke, nor in the Latine; but only are prettily conueied in by M. Harding, the better to furniſh and fashion vp his Appeale. He ſeeth well, this matter will not ſtand vpright, without the manifeſt corruption and falſifying of the Doctours. This therefore is M. Hardings Appeale, and not** Chryſoſtomes.

For, that Chryſoſtome **made no ſuch Appeale to the Biſhop of** Rome, **it may ſufficiently appeare, both by** Chryſoſtomes **owne Epiſtles, and by the Biſhop of** Romes **dealing herein, and by the end and concluſion of the cauſe. Touching** Chryſoſtome **himſelfe, hee maketh no mention of any Appeale, nor deſireth the parties to bee cited to** Rome, **nor taketh** Innocentius **for the Biſhop of the whole Church, or for the vniuerſall Iudge of all the World; but only ſaluteth him thus:** Innocentio Epiſcopo Romæ Iohannes: Iohn *to* Innocentius *Biſhop of* Rome *ſendeth greeting.* **And againe, in the ſame Epiſtle, hee vtterly auoideth all ſuch forraine iudgements, according to the determinations of the** Councels of Carthage, Mileuitum, **and** Aphrica. **Theſe be his words:** Neque congruum eſt, vt hi, qui in Ægypto ſunt, iudicent eos qui ſunt in Thracia: *It is not meet, that they that be in* Egypt *ſhould be Iudges ouer them that be in* Thracia. *Ad Innocent. Epiſt. priore.*

Neither do the Biſhop of Romes **owne words import any Appeale, but rather the contrarie: for hee vſed not his familiar words of bidding or commanding, but only in gentle and friendly maner, exhorteth them to appeare; and that not before himſelfe, but only before the Councell of ſundry Biſhops, ſummoned ſpecially for that purpoſe. For thus** Iulius **writeth vnto the Biſhops of the Eaſt:** Quæ eſt cauſa offenſionis? An quia adhortati vos ſumus, vt ad Synodum occurreretis? *What is the cauſe of your diſpleaſure? Is it becauſe we exhorted you to come to the Councell?* **Heere he exhorteth and intreateth them: he commandeth them not: he calleth them to come, not before himſelfe, but before the Councell. Againe he ſaith:** Legati veſtri, Macarius Presbyter, & Heſychius Dyaconus, Concilium indici poſtulauerunt: *Your owne Ambaſſadors,* Macarius *being a Prieſt, and* Heſychius *being a Deacon, required that a Councell might be ſummoned.* **And againe:** Vellem vos magis ad iam dictam Canonicam conuenire vocationem, vt coram Vniuerſali Synodo redditis rationem: *I would you rather to come to this Canonicall calling, that ye may yeeld your account of your doings before the Generall Councell.* **So likewiſe S. Baſil writeth to** Athanaſius, **by way of Councell, in that heauy time of trouble:** Viros igitur Eccleſiæ tuæ potentes ad Occidentales Epiſcopos mitte, qui, quibus calamitatibus premamur, illis exponant: *Send ſome worthy men of your Churches* (**not vnto the Biſhop of** Rome, **but**) *vnto the Biſhops of the Weſt, that may let them vnderſtand with what miſeries we are beſet.* **Likewiſe againe he ſaith:** Viſum mihi eſt conſentaneum, vt ſcribatur Epiſcopo Romæ, vt ea, quæ hîc geruntur, conſideret, detque Concilium: *I thinke it good, ye write to the Biſhop of* Rome, *that he may conſider that is heere done, and may appoint vs a Councell.* *Epiſt. Iulij, in Athanaſij Apol. 2.* *In Apolog. 2.* *Epiſt. Iulij ad Orientales, inter Decreta Iulij.* *Baſil. Epiſt. 48. ad Athanaſ.* *Baſil. ad Athanaſ. Epiſt. 52.*

Neither did the Biſhop of Rome, **by his owne Authoritie, ſummon the Biſhops of the Eaſt, but by the councell and conference of other Biſhops. For ſo** Athanaſius **ſaith:** Miſit omnium Italicorum Epiſcoporum conſilio Iulius ad Epiſcopos Orientales, certum illis Synodi diem denuntians: Iulius *ſent vnto the Biſhops of the Eaſt, by the counſell of all the Biſhops of* Italie, *giuing them to vnderſtand the certaine day of the Councell.* **Which thing Iulius alſo himſelfe auoucheth by theſe words:** Tametſi ſolus ſim, qui ſcripſi, tamen non meam ſolius ſententiam, ſed omnium Italorum, & omnium in his Regionibus Epiſcoporum ſcripſi: *Notwithſtanding I alone wrote, yet it was not mine owne minde only,* *Athan. in epiſt. ad ſolitariam vitam agentes.* *Epiſt. Iulij in Apologia Athanaſij 2.*

Appeales.

onely, that I wrote, but also the minde of the Bishops of Italie, *and of all other Bishops of these Countries.*

Nicephor. lib. 13. cap. 33.

So likewise Innocentius the Bishop of Rome, being very desirous to restore Chrysostome, and to recouer the vnitie of the Church, not of himselfe, or by his owne authoritie, but by the Decree and consent of a Councell holden in Italie, sent Messengers into the East. And sitting with others in the Councell, hee toke not vpon him that vniuersall power, that is now imagined, but had his voice equall with his brethren, as it appeareth by Miltiades Bishop of Rome, that sate with three Bishops of Gallia, and fourteene other Bishops of Italie, to determine the controuersie betwéene Cæcilianus and Donatus à Casis Nigris.

Optatus, lib. 1.

Now to come to the prosecution of the matter. M. Harding knoweth, that the Bishops of the East vnderstood not this singular authoritie or prerogatiue of the Bishop of Rome, and therefore being called, obeied not the summon, nor had any regard vnto his sentence, as it is many waies easie to be séene. Therefore they returned vnto Iulius this answer: Si nostris placitis assentiri volueritis, pacem vobiscum, & Communionem habere volumus. Sin verò aliter egeritis, & eis amplius quàm nobis assentiri iudicaueritis, contraria celebrabimus: & deinceps nec vobiscum congregari, nec vobis obedire, nec vobis vestrisue fauere volumus: *If you will agree vnto our orders, wee will haue peace and Communion with you: But if you will otherwise doe, and rather agree vnto our aduersaries than vnto vs, then will we publish the contrary: and hencefoorth neither will wee sit in Councell with you, nor obey you, nor beare good will either to you, or to any of yours.*

Inter Decreta Iulij Concil. Tomo. 1.

This imperfection and weakenesse of their owne doings, the Bishops of Rome themselues vnderstood, and confessed. For thus Innocentius writeth vnto S. Augustine, Alypius, and others in Aphrica touching Pelagius: Si adhuc taliter sentit, cùm sciat se damnandum esse; quibus acceptis literis, aut quando se nostro iudicio committet? Quod si accersendus esset, id ab illis melùs fieret, qui magis proximi, & non longo terrarum spatio videntur esse disiuncti: *If he continue still in one minde, knowing that I will pronounce against him; at what request of letters, or when will he commit himselfe to our iudgement? If it be good he were called to make answer, it were better some others called him, that are neere at hand, &c.*

Inter Decreta Innocent. epist. 27.

And therefore Iulius the Bishop of Rome, finding his owne infirmitie herein, wrote vnto the Emperour Constans, and opened vnto him the whole matter, and besought him to write vnto his brother Constantius, that it might please him to send the Bishops of the East, to make answer to that they had done against Athanasius. Euen so the Clergy of the Citie of Antioch, in the like case of trouble and spoile, wrote vnto Iohn the Patriarke of Constantinople, to intreat the Emperour in their behalfe. It appeareth hereby, that this Infinite Authoritie, and Prerogatiue Power ouer all the World, in those daies was not knowen.

Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 9.

Concil. Constantinop. quintum Actio. 1.

I thinke it hereby plainly and sufficiently proued, first, that the Bishop of Rome had no authoritie to receiue Appeales from all parts of the World, and that by the Councels of Nice, of Tele, of Mileuitum, and of Aphrica, by S. Cyprian, and by the Emperours Martian and Iustinian: Next, that M. Harding, the better to furnish his matter, hath notoriously falsified Chrysostomes words, three times in one place: Thirdly, that Chrysostomes Letter vnto Innocentius conteined matter of complaint, but no Appeale: which thing is also proued by the very words, and tenour of the Letter, by the Bishops of Romes owne confession, and by the imperfection and weakenesse of their doings. For the Law saith: Iurisdictio sine modica coerctione nulla est: *Iurisdiction without some compulsion is no Iurisdiction.*

De officio eius, cui mandata est Iurisdictio. Mandatam.

Indeed, by way of compromise and agrément of the parties, matters were sometimes brought to be heard and ended by the Bishop of Rome, as also by other Bishops; but not by any ordinarie processe, or course of Law. And so it appeareth, this matter betwéene Athanasius and the Arians, was first brought vnto Iulius: for that the Arians willingly desired him, for triall thereof, to call a Councell. For thus Iulius himselfe writeth vnto the Bishops of the East, as it is before alleged: Si Macario & Hesychio nullam Synodum postulantibus adhortator fuissem, vt ad Synodum, qui ad me scripsissent, conuocarentur, idque in gratiam fratrum, qui se iniuriam pati conquerebantur, etiam ita iusta fuisset mea cohortatio: Iam verò, vbi ijdem illi, qui à vobis pro grauibus viris, & fidedignis habiti sunt, authores mihi fuerint, vt vos conuocarem, certè id à vobis ægri ferri non debuit: *If I had giuen aduice vnto* (your messengers) Macarius *and* Hesychius, *that they that had written vnto me, might be called to a Councell, and that in consideration of our brethren, which complained they suffered wrong, although neither of them had desired the same, yet had mine aduice beene void of iniury. But now, seeing the same men, whom you tooke to be graue, and worthy of credit, haue made sute vnto me, that I should call you, verily, yee should not take it in ill part.*

Epist. Iulij, in Apol. Athan. 2.

Hereby

Hereby it is plaine, that Iulius toke vpon him to call these parties, not by any such Vniuersall Iurisdiction, as M. Harding fansieth, but onely by the consent and request of both parties. And therefore Iulius saith, he caused Athanasius to be cited Regulariter, that is, according to order: for the order of iudgement is, that a man bee first called, and then accused, and last of all condemned: but he meaneth not thereby the order of the Canons, as M. Harding expounded it. For touching Appeales to Rome, there was no Canon yet prouided. The counterfeit Epistle of Athanasius to Felix is answered before. Appeales. *Regulariter.*

Theodoretus was deposed, and banished, and cruelly intreated, as it appeareth by his Letters vnto Renatus: and therefore the words that he vseth, are rather tokens of his miseries and want of helpe, than certaine testimonies of his iudgement. For euery man is naturally inclined to extoll him, and to aduance his power, at whose hands he seketh helpe. *Theodoretus.*

But if it were granted, it was lawfull then for the Bishop of Rome to receiue all manner Appeales, in such order as it is pretended, yet cannot M. Harding thereof necessarily conclude, that the Bishop of Rome was the Head of the Vniuersall Church. For Ostiensis saith, *Appeales may be made, not onely from the lower Iudge vnto the higher, but also from equall to equall.* And in this order, as it shall afterward be shewed more at large, Donatus à Casis Nigris was by the Emperour lawfully remoued from the Bishop of Rome, to the Bishop of Arle in France. Ostiensis words be these: Non nocebit error, si appelletur ad maiorem, quàm debuerit, vel ad parem: *The errour shall not hurt, if the Appeale be made either to a higher Iudge than was meet, or to an equall.* Where also it is thus noted in the Margin: Appellari potest ad parem, si de hoc sit consuetudo: *Appeale may be made vnto the equall, if there be a custome of it.* Hereby it is plaine, that the right of Appeale, by fine force of Law, concludeth not any necessarie superioritie, much lesse this infinite power ouer the whole Vniuersall Church. *Aug. epist. 162. Extra. de Appellationib. in Sexto. Roman. Eccles. in Gloss.*

But M. Harding might soone haue foreseene, that this his first principle of Appeales would easily be turned against himselfe.

First, for that it is well knowen, that Appeales then, euen in the Ecclesiasticall causes, were made vnto the Emperours and Ciuill Princes. 1

Secondly, for that the Bishop of Rome determined such cases of Appeale, by warrant and Commission from the Emperour. 2

Thirdly, for that matters being once heard and determined by the Bishop of Rome, haue beene by Appeale from him remoued further vnto others. 3

As touching the first, that Appeales in Ecclesiasticall causes were lawfully made vnto the Prince, it is cleare by Eusebius, by Socrates, by Nicephorus, and by S. Augustine, in sundry places. Donatus being condemned by threescore and ten Bishops in Aphrica, appealed vnto the Emperour Constantinus, and was receiued. S. Augustine saith: Parmenianus vltrò passus est suos adire Constantinum: Parmenianus *willingly suffered his fellowes to goe vnto the Emperour* Constantinus. Againe he saith: Infero adhuc & verba Constantini ex Literis eius, vbi se inter partes cognouisse, & innocentem Cæcilianum comperisse, testatur: *Heere I bring in the words of* Constantine *out of his owne Letters, wherein he confesseth, that he heard the parties, and found* Cæcilianus *to be innocent.* Likewise he saith: An fortè de Religione fas non est, vt dicat Imperator, vel quos miserit Imperator? Cur ergo ad Imperatorem Legati vestri venerunt? *What, is it not lawfull for the Emperour, or for such as shall be sent by the Emperour, to pronounce sentence of Religion? Wherefore then came your Ambassadours vnto the Emperour?* And so likewise againe: Si nihil debent in his causis Imperatores iubere, si ad Imperatores Christianos hæc cura pertinere non debet, quis vrgebat maiores vestros causam Cæciliani ad Imperatorem mittere? *If Emperours haue nothing to command in these cases, or if this matter nothing touch a Christian Emperours charge, who then forced your predecessours to remoone* Cæcilianus *matter vnto the Emperour?* Therefore the Emperour Constantinus summoned the Bishops of the East, that had beene in the Councell of Tyrus, to appeare before him, to render account of their doings. His words be these: Vtre ipsa quàm sincerè ac rectè iudicaueritis, ostendatis: Idque coram me: *I will you, to make your appearance, and to shew indeed, how sincerely and iustly ye haue dealt:* And that euen before me. By these few examples it may well appeare, that Appeales in Ecclesiasticall causes, in those daies, were made vnto the Prince, and that it was thought lawfull then for the Prince to haue the hearing of the same. Yet was not the Prince therefore the Head of the Vniuersall Church. Certainly S. Gregory thought it not amisse to commit a spirituall matter, touching the purgation of a Bishop, to Brunichilda the French Queene. Notwithstanding it be noted thus in the Glosse: Fuit tamen hic nimium papaliter dispensatum. As touching the Bishop of Romes power herein, it is certaine, he heard such matters of Appeale, by warrant of the Emperours Commission, and not as hauing authoritie *Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5. Socrat. Lib. 1. cap. 21. Nicephor. li. 7. cap 43. Aug. epist. 162. Contra Epist. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 5. Contra Cresconium Grãmati. lib. 3. cap. 71. Contra Epist. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 7. Aug. epist. 68. Socrat. Lib. 1. cap. 22. Gregor. Li. 11. Epist. 8. 2. Quæst. 5. Mennam.*

Appeales.

tie of himselfe. S. Augustine opening the contention betweene Cæcilianus and Donatus à Casis Nigris, vttereth this matter at large, in this wise: An fortè non debuit Romanæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus Miltiades cum Collegis transmarinis Episcopis illud sibi vsurpare iudicium, quod ab Aphris septuaginta, vbi Primas Tigisitanus præsedit, fuerat terminatum? Quid, quod nec ipse vsurpauit? Rogatus quippe Imperator, Iudices misit Episcopos, qui cum eo sederent: *But should not the Bishop of* Rome Miltiades, *with other his fellowes, Bishops beyond the seas, ioined together in Commission, take vpon him the iudgement of that thing that was determined before by threescore and ten Bishops of* Aphrica, *amongst whom the Primate of* Tigisita *sate as President? And what if he neuer tooke it vpon him?* (as of himselfe) *For the Emperor being intreated by the party, sent other Bishops to sit with him.* The very copy of this Commission is yet to be seene, both in Eusebius, and also in Nicephorus. Neither was the Bishop of Rome alone in that Commission, but ioined together with Rheticius, Maternus, Marinus, and Marcus, whom the Emperour calleth his Commission fellowes. The words of the Commission be these: Constantinus Imperator Miltiadi Episcopo Romano, & Marco, &c. Constantinus *Emperour, vnto* Miltiades *the Bishop of* Rome, *and vnto* Marcus. *Forasmuch as sundry letters haue beene sent vnto me from* Anilinus *our most Noble President of* Aphrica, *wherein* Cæcilianus *the Bishop of* Carthage *is accused of many matters by certaine his fellowes of the same Country, &c. Therefore I haue thought it good, that the said* Cæcilianus, *together with ten Bishops his accusers, and other ten, such as he shall thinke meet, saile to* Rome, *that there in your presence, together with* Rheticius, *and* Maternus, *and* Marinus, *your Fellow-Commissioners, whom for that cause I haue willed to trauell to* Rome, *he may be heard, &c.*

Aug. Ep. 162.

Euseb. Lib. 10. Cap. 10. Nicephor. Lib. 7. cap. 43. Colleg. 3.

Heere it is euident to be seene, that the Bishop of Rome was the Emperours Delegate, and in Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction had his authoritie and power, not from S. Peter, but from the Emperour. Whereby it is easie to be gathered, that the Bishop of Romes power was not so vniuersall then, as M. Harding would seeme now to make it; and that the world then vnderstood not this Decree of Pope Clemens the fifth, which, as it is reported, he afterward published in the Councell of Vienna: Omne ius Regum pendet à Papa: *All the right of the Prince is deriued from the Pope.*

Clemens 5.

Neither was the Bishop of Romes determination of such force, but that it was lawfull then for the partie greeued, to refuse his iudgement, and to appeale further. And therefore Donatus, being condemned before Miltiades, appealed from him, and vpon his complaint vnto the Emperour, was put ouer vnto the Bishop of Arle in France, and to certaine others. And in conclusion, vnderstanding that iudgement there would passe against him, last of all, hee appealed to the Emperours owne Person. And the Emperour himselfe confesseth by his Letters, that he sate in iudgement, and heard both parties.

Aug. Epist. 68.

August. contra Cresconium Grammat. lib. 3. cap. 71.

Now if receiuing of Appeales necessarily import this vniuersall power, then was the Emperours power vniuersall: for he receiued all Appeales, out of all Countries, without exception, and that euen in Causes Ecclesiasticall. Againe, then was the Bishop of Romes power not vniuersall: for it was lawfull then to refuse him, and to appeale to some other. And thus M. Hardings reasons run roundly against himselfe.

M. Harding. The 22. Diuision.

For which cause, that See hath euer hitherto of all Christian Nations, and now also ought to bee heard and obeied in all points of Faith. For that See, though it hath failed sometimes in charitie, and hath beene in case, as it might truly say the words of the Gospell, spoken by the foolish Virgins, *Our Lampes bee without light*, yet it neuer failed in Faith, as Theodoretus witnesseth, and S. Augustine affirmeth the same: which speciall grace, and singular priuilege, is to be imputed vnto the praier of Christ, by which he obteined of God, for Peter and his successours, (108) that their Faith should not faile. Therefore the euill life of the Bishops of Rome ought not to withdraw vs from beleeuing and following the Doctrine preached and taught in the holy Church of Rome.

Matth. 25.

The 108. vntruth. For many Popes haue erred in Faith, as shall appeare.

For better credit heereof, that is earnestly to bee considered which S. Augustine writeth, *Epistola 165.* where, after that he hath rehearsed in order all the Popes that succeeded Peter, euen to him that was Pope in his time, he saith thus: *In illum Ordinem Episcoporum, &c.* Into that rew of Bishops, that reacheth from Peter himselfe to Anastasius, which now sitteth in the same Chaire, if any traitour had crept in, it should nothing hurt the Church, and the innocent Christian folke, ouer whom our Lord hauing prouidence, saith of euill Rulers; What they say vnto you, doe yee; but what they doe, doe yee not: For they say, and doe not, to the intent the hope of a faithfull person may be certaine, and such, as being set, not in man, but in our Lord, be neuer scattered abroad with tempest of wicked Schisme. And in his 166. Epistle (hee saith) Our heauenly master hath so farre forewarned vs to beware of all euill of dissension, that he assured the people also of euill Rulers, that for their sakes the seat of holesome doctrine should not be forsaken, in which seat euen the very euill men be compelled to say good things. For the things which they say, be not theirs, but Gods, who in the seat of vnitie hath put the doctrine of veritie.

Matth. 23.

S. August. speaketh generally of all Bishops, and not one word namely of the Bishop of Rome.

By this wee are plainly taught, that albeit the successours of Peter, Christs Vicars in Earth, bee found blame-worthy for their euill life, yet wee ought not to dissent from them in doctrine, nor seuer our selues from them in Faith, forasmuch as, notwithstanding they be euill, by Gods prouidence, for the suretie of his

his people, they be compelled to say the things that be good, and to teach the truth: the things they speake not being theirs, but Gods, who hath put the Doctrine of Veritie in the seate or chaire of Vnitie: which singular Grace commeth specially to the See of Peter, either of the force of Christs praier, as is said before, or in respect of place and dignitie, which the Bishops of that See hold for Christ, as Balaam could be brought by no meanes to curse that people, whom God would haue to be blessed. And Caiphas also prophesied, because he was high Bishop of that yeere, and prophesied truely, being a man otherwise most wicked. And therefore the euill doings of the Bishops of Rome, make no argument of discrediting their Doctrine. To this purpose the example of Gregorie Nazianzene may very fitly be applied, of the Golden, Siluerne and Leaden Seale. As touching the value of Mettals, Gold and Siluer are better, but for the goodnesse of the Seale, aswell doth Lead imprint a figure in wax, as Siluer or Gold. For this cause, that the See of Rome hath neuer beene defiled with stinking Heresies, as Theodoretus saith, and God hath alwaies kept in the Chaire of Vnitie, the doctrine of Veritie, as Augustine writeth: For this cause (I say) it sitteth at the sterne, and gouerneth the Churches of the whole world: For this cause Bishops haue made their Appellations thither, iudgement in doubts of Doctrine, and determination in all controuersies and strifes, hath beene from thence alwaies demanded.

Whether the Pope may erre.

M. Harding compareth the Pope with Balaam and Caiphas.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This is a very poore helpe indeed. M. Harding heere is faine to resemble the Bishops of Rome **touching their Doctrine, to** Balaam, **to** Caiphas, **and to a Leaden Seale: and touching their liues, to** Lamps **without light.** Yet (saith he) all this notwithstanding, we may not therefore depart from them. For Christ saith, The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses Chaire: Doe yee that they say: but that they doe, doe ye not: for they say, and doe not. Matth. 23.

For asmuch as it liketh M. Harding to vse these comparisons, it may not much mislike him, if some man vpon occasion heereof happen to say, as Christ said in the like case: *Woe be vnto you Scribes and Pharises: ye blinde Guides: ye painted Graues: ye shut vp the Kingdome of Heauen before men: ye neither enter your selues, nor suffer others that would enter: yee haue made the House of God, a Caue of Theeues.* Luc. 11.

Certainly Balaam, **notwithstanding he were a false Prophet, yet he opened his mouth, and blessed the people of God:** Caiphas, **although he were a wicked Bishop, yet he prophesied, and spake the truth: A Seale, although it be cast in Lead, yet it giueth a perfit print: The Scribes and Pharises, although they were Hypocrites, and liued not well, yet they instructed the Congregation, and said well: The Maniches, although they were Heretiques, and taught not well, yet outwardly in the conuersation and sight of the world,** as S. Augustine saith, **they liued well. But these, vnto whom M. Harding claimeth the Vniuersall power ouer all the world, neither blesse the people of God, nor preach Gods Truth: nor giue any print of good life, or Doctrine: nor instruct the Congregation: nor say well, as the Scribes and Pharises did: nor, by M. Hardings owne Confession, liue well, as the Maniches did.** S. Augustine saith: Qui nec regiminis in se rationem habet, nec sua crimina detersit, nec filiorum culpam correxit, canis impudicus dicendus est magis, quam Episcopus: *He that neither regardeth to rule himselfe, nor hath washed off his owne sinnes, nor corrected the faults of his Children, may rather be called a filthy dogge, than a Bishop.* Num. 23. & 24. Iohan. 11. *Augustin. Confessi. lib. 3. ca. 6. Retract. lib. 1. cap. 7.* 2. *Quæst. 7. Qui nec.*

Yet, all this corruption of life notwithstanding, M. Harding saith, The See of Rome **can neuer faile in Faith. For Christ said vnto** Peter, *I haue praied for thee, that thy Faith may not faile.* **The like confidence and trust in themselues the Priests had in the old times, as it may appeare by these words of the Prophet** Micheas: Sacerdotes in mercede docuerunt, & Prophetæ in pecunia Prophetauerunt, & super Dominum requiescebant, dicentes: Nonne Dominus est in medio nostri? *The Priests taught for hire, and the Prophets Prophesied for mony: and yet they rested themselues vpon the Lord, and said: Is not the Lord in the middest amongst vs?* **With like confidence the Priests said, as it is written in the Prophet** Hieremie: Non peribit lex à Sacerdote, nec consilium à Seniore: *The Law shall not decay in the Priest, nor Counsell in the Elder.* **But God answereth them farre otherwise:** Nox vobis erit pro visione, & tenebræ pro diuinatione: *Ye shall haue darke night in stead of a Vision: and ye shall haue darknesse in stead of Prophesie.* **Certainly, the very Glosse vpon the Decretals putteth this matter vtterly out of doubt: These be the words:** Certum est, quòd Papa errare potest: *It is certaine, that the Pope may erre.* **And** Alphonsus de Castro: Omnis homo errare potest in Fide, etiamsi Papa sit: *Euery man may erre in the Faith: yea although it be the Pope.* **And for proofe heereof he saith:** De Liberio Papa, constat fuisse Arianum: *Touching Pope Liberius, it is certaine, he was an Arian Heretique.* **Pope** Honorius **was an Heretique, of the sect of them that were called** Monothelitæ, **condemned for the same in the first Councell holden at** Constantinople. **Pope** Marcellinus **openly made Sacrifice vnto an Idole. Pope** Iohn **the 22. held a wicked Heresie against the Immortalitie of the Soule, and for the same was reproued, not by his Cardinals, but by** Gerson, **and the Schole of** Sorbona in Paris. Luc. 22. Mich. 3. Hierem. 18. Mich. 3. 24. *Que.* 1. *in Glossa. Alphons. contra Hæreses lib. 1. cap. 4. Concil. Constantin. 6. Actio. 12. Concil. tomo. 1 in vita Marcellini. Gerson.*

Pope Sylvester **the 2. was a Sorcerer, and had familiar conference with the diuell,** and *Holcot. in lib.*

Whether the Pope may erre.

and by his procurement was made Pope. Pope Anastasius Communicated with Photinus the Heretique, and therefore was forsaken of his Clergie. Pope Hildebrand, that first of all others in these Countries forbade the lawfull mariage of Priests, both for his life, and also for his Religion, is set out at large in a Councell holden at Brixia: where he is called and published to the world, to be a Vitious man: a burner of houses: a Robber of Churches: a maintainer of Murders and Periuries: an Heretique against the Apostolique Doctrine: the old Disciple of Berengarius: a Sorceter: a Necromancer: a man possessed with the Diuell: and therefore out of the Catholique Faith. The Fathers in the Councell of S. Basil say: Multi pontifices in errores & Hæreses lapsi esse leguntur: *We reade that many Bishops of Rome haue fallen into errors and Heresies.* And the Bishop of Rome himselfe saith: *Notwithstanding the Pope draw innumerable companies of people by heaps with him into Hell, yet let no mortall man once dare to reproue him*: Nisi deprehendatur à Fide deuius: *Vnlesse it be found, that he stray from the Faith.* To conclude, Nicolas Lyra is driuen to say: Multi Papæ inuenti sunt Apostatæ: *We finde, that many Popes haue forsaken the Faith.*

Sapien. lecti. 189.
Dist. 19. Anastasius.
Abbas Vrsper. in Chronicis.
Concil. Basil. in epist. Synodali.
Dist. 40. Si Papa.
Nic. Lyra in 16. cap. Matt.

All this notwithstanding, by M. Hardings resolution, the See of Rome neuer failed from the Faith, nor neuer can faile. The Valentinian Heretiques, as Irenæus reporteth were wont to say of themselues, that they were naturally made of an heauenly substance, and therefore néeded not to flee from sinne, as others néeded. For, liued they neuer so wickedly, yet said they, *We are spirituall still: no sinne can hurt vs. For we are as pure tried Gold, which notwithstanding it be laid in a heape of dung, yet keepeth it still the brightnesse and nature of Gold, and receiueth no corruption of the dung.* Euen so these men séeme to say, that whatsoeuer the Pope either beléeue, or speake, or do, his Faith still remaineth sound, and can neuer faile, because he sitteth in Peters Chaire: as if he had a Lease of the Church of God, without any maner Empeachment of Waste. And therefore they say: Quod si totus mundus sentiet in aliquo aduersus Papam, tamen videtur, quòd magis standum est sententiæ Papæ: *If all the world giue sentence in any thing contrary to the Pope, it seemeth, we ought rather to stand to the Popes iudgement, than to the iudgement of all the world.* Againe they say: In Papa si desint bona acquisita per meritum, sufficiunt ea quæ à loci prædecessore præstantur: *If there want in the Pope good things gotten by merit, yet the things that he hath of (Peter) his predecessor in that place, are sufficient.* Likewise againe: Papa sanctitatem recepit à Cathedra: *The Pope receiueth his holinesse of his Chaire.* [a] And Pope Sixtus saith: *that Saint Peter dwelleth in the Bishop of Rome, and directeth him in his doings, and beareth all Burthens.*

Irenæ. li. 1. ca. 1
De electi. & electi. potestate. Significasti.
In Glossa.
Idem Albert.
Pighius lib. 6. Ca. 13.
Dist. 40. Non nos.
Dist. 40. Si Papa.
[a] *Epist. Sixti. 2*

Thus they feast and cheare themselues, and smoth the world with vaine talke. But S. Iohn saith: Nolite dicere, Patrem habemus Abraham: *Neuer say* (Peter or) *Abraham was our Father.* S. Paul speaking of his successors, saith thus: Equidem scio, quòd post discessum meum, ingressuri sint ad vos lupi graues, non parcentes gregi: *I know, that after my departure from you, there shall rauening wolues come among st you, that shall not spare the flocke.* And S. Hierome saith: Non sunt Sanctorum filij, qui tenent loca sanctorum: *They be not euermore the children of holy men, that sit in the roomes of holy men.*

Dist. 19. Sic omnes.
In Glossa.
ἐν ὁλείῳ ὄλεια πάντα.
Matth. 3.
Actor. 20.

Now, whereas M. Harding saith, Christ praied for Peter, that his Faith should not faile, that prayer pertained to all the rest of the Apostles, and not only vnto Peter. Origen saith: Num audebimus dicere &c: *Shall we dare to say, that the Gates of Hell preuailed not only against* Peter: *but shall preuaile against the rest? Why may wee not rather say, that the words that Christ spake, were verified in euery of them, of whom they were spoken?* Nam & quæ prius dicta sunt, & quæ sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium communia: *For both the things that were spoken of before, and also the things that follow, as spoken vnto* Peter, *are common to all.* So likewise Beda expoundeth the same generally of all the faithfull, and not of Peter only. And so Christ himselfe expoundeth his owne words: For thus he prayeth vnto his Father: Pater sancte, serua eos per nomen tuum &c. *O holy Father, saue them for thy names sake. I pray not for them only, but for all them that by their preaching shall beleeue in me.*

Dist. 40. Non est facile.
Origen. in Matt. tract. 1.
Bed. in Lucam Ca. 22.
Iohan. 17.

But (saith M. Harding) *be the Bishop of Romes life neuer so wicked, yet may we not seuer our selues from the Church of Rome.* Howbeit S. Cyprian saith otherwise: Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, & Deum metuens, à peccatore Præposito separare se debet: *The people obeying Gods commaundements, and fearing God, must seuer themselues from the wicked, that ruleth ouer them.* And Pope Nicolas hath straitly commanded vpon paine of Excommunication, that no man should be present, to heare Masse said by a Priest, that he knoweth vndoubtedly to liue in aduoutry. Howbeit in déed, it is not their life only, that the Church of God is offended withall, but also and specially, the filth and corruption of their Religion, the oppressing of Gods word, the open deceiuing of the people, and the manifest maintenance of Idolattie. And what if the Siluer of Rome be turned into Drosse? What if

Cyprian. Li. 1. Epist. 4.
Dist. 32. Nullus.
Esai 1.

the

the City that was Faithfull be become an Harlot? What if they can abide no ſound doctrine? What if they haue made the Houſe of God, a Caue of theeues? What if Rome be become the great Babylon, the Mother of Fornication, imbrewed and drunken with the Blod of the Saints of God? And what if Abomination ſit in the holy Place, euen in the Temple of God? Yet may we not depart from thence? Yet muſt that be the Rule and Standard of Gods Religion? Truly Chriſt ſaith: *Take heed of the leauen of the Scribes and Phariſes*: And God himſelfe ſaith: Exite de illa populus meus, ne participes ſitis delictorum eius, & de plagis eius ne accipiatis: *O my people, come away from her, leſt ye be partakers of her ſinnes, and ſo receiue part of her plagues.* Irenæus ſaith: Presbyteris illis, qui ſunt in Eccleſia, obaudire oportet, qui ſucceſſionem habent ab Apoſtolis: qui cum Epiſcopatus ſucceſſione charisma Veritatis certum, ſecundùm placitum Patris acceperunt: *We ought to obey the Biſhops in the Church, that haue their ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles, which together with the Succeſſion of the Biſhopricke, haue receiued the certaine gift of the Truth, according to the will of the Father.* This holy Father ſaith, Biſhops muſt be heard, and obeyed with a limitation, that is, not all, whatſoeuer they be, or whatſoeuer they ſay, but that haue the vndoubted gift of Gods Truth. And, for that M. Harding ſometh to clayme by the Authoritie of the Scribes and Phariſes, ſaying, *They ſit in Moſes Chaire: and that therefore wee ought to do that they ſay*; S. Auguſtine expoundeth the ſame place in this ſort: Sedendo in Cathedra, Legem Dei docent: Ergo per illos Deus docet. Sua verò ſi illi docere velint, nolite audire, nolite facere: *By ſitting in the Chaire* (is meant) *they teach the Law of God: Therefore it is God that teacheth by them. But if they will teach any thing of their owne* (as the Church of Rome had done, and yet doth aboue number) *then* ſaith S. Auguſtine, *heare it not, then doe it not.*

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2. Timoth. 4. Hierem. 7. Matth. 21. Apocal. 17. Daniel 9. 2. Theſſal. 2. Matth. 16. Apocal. 18. *Irenæus lib. 4. Ca. 43. Auguſtin. in Iohan. tractat. 46.*

M. Harding. The 23. Diuiſion.

Now, that the Biſhop of Rome had alwayes cure and rule ouer all other Biſhops, (109) ſpecially of them of the Eaſt (for touching them of the Weſt Church it is generally confeſſed) beſide a hundred other euident arguments, this is one very ſufficient, that he had in the Eaſt to do his ſtead, three Delegates or Vicars, now commonly they be named Legates. And this for the commoditie of the Biſhops there, whoſe Churches were farre diſtant from Rome. The one was the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, as we finde it mentioned *In Epiſtola Simplicij ad Achatium Conſtantinopolitanum.* The ſecond was the Biſhop of Alexandria, as the Epiſtle of Bonifacius the ſecond to Eulalius recordeth. The third was the Biſhop of Theſſalonica, as it is at large declared in the 82. Epiſtle of Leo, *ad Anaſtaſium Theſſalonicenſem.* By peruſing theſe Epiſtles euery man may ſee, that all the Biſhops of Greece, Aſia, Syria, Ægypt, and to be ſhort, of all the Orient, rendred and exhibited their humble obedience to the Biſhop of Rome, and to his arbitrement referred their doubts, complaints and cauſes, and to him only made their appellations.

The 109. vntruth. For the Biſhops of the Eaſt neuer yeelded ſuch ſubiection to the Pope.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

What we may thinke of the other Hundred proſes, which M. Harding, as he ſaith, hath left vntouched, it may the ſoner appeare, for that this one proſe that is here brought forth in ſtead of all, is not only vntrue, but alſo vtterly without any ſhadow or colour of truth. Theſe authorities of Leo, Symmachus and Bonifacius, forasmuch as they are alleged without words, may likewiſe be paſt ouer without anſwer. Howbeit this Bonifacius the ſecond, in defence of this quarrell, is forced to ſay, that S. Auguſtine that godly Father, and all other the Biſhops of Aphrica, Numidia, Pentapolis, and other countries adioyning, that withſtood the proud attempt of the Biſhops of Rome, and found out their open forgerie in falſifying the Nicen Councel, were altogether inflamed & led by the diuel.

But how doth this appeare to M. Harding, that the Biſhop of Rome had all the Biſhops of the Eaſt in Subiection, to vſe and command them, as his Seruants? In what Councell was it euer decreed it ſhould be ſo? who ſubſcribed it? who recorded it? who euer ſaw ſuch Canons? The beſt plea that Pope Nicolas can make in this behalfe, is, that Peter was firſt Biſhop of Antioch, and after Rome: and S. Marke his Scholar, Biſhop of Alexandria. Whereof, he thinketh it may very well and ſubſtantially be gathered, that the Biſhops of Rome ought to haue all the world in Subiection. Indeed in the counterfet Charter, or Donation of the Emperour Conſtantine, authoritie is giuen to the Biſhop of Rome ouer the other foure Patriarkes, of Antioch, of Alexandria, of Conſtantinople, and of Hieruſalem. But the Biſhops of Rome themſelues, and of themſelues deuiſed and forged this Charter, and that ſo fondly, that a very Childe may eaſily eſpy the folly. For beſide a great number of other vntruths, at that very time, when it is imagined that Charter was drawen, there was neither Patriarke, nor Biſhop, nor Prieſt, nor Church in Conſtantinople, nor the Citie it ſelfe yet built, nor knowen to the world by that name. This notwithſtanding, the Biſhop of Rome vpon this ſimple title, hath be ſet his Miter with three Crownes, in token that he hath the Vniuerſall power ouer the three Diuiſions of the world, Europa, Aſia & Aphrica. And ſo as the king of Perſia in old times

Nicolaus PP. ad Michaelem Imperat.

intitled himſelfe, Frater Solis, & Lunæ, euen ſo Pope Nicolas calleth himſelfe, *The Prince of all Lands and Countries.*

Nicol. PP. ad Michaelem Imperatorem: Princeps ſuper omnem terrã.

But what duty the Biſhops of the Eaſt parts owed to the Biſhops of Rome, whoſoeuer hath read, and conſidered the ſtorie and practiſe of the times, may ſone perceiue. Firſt the Councell of Nice appointed euery of the three Patriarkes to his ſeuerall charge, none of them to interrupt or trouble other: and willed the Biſhop of Rome, as Rufinus reporteth the ſtorie, to ouerſee Eccleſias Suburbanas, which were the Churches within his Prouince and therefore Athanaſius calleth Rome, the Chiefe, or Mother Citie of the Roman Iuriſdiction. And for that cauſe, the Biſhops of the Eaſt in their Epiſtle vnto Iulius, call him their Fellow ſeruant and Cyrillus the Biſhop of Alexandria, writing vnto Cœleſtinus, calleth him his Brother. Fellowes, and Brothers be titles of Equalitie, and not of Subiection.

Concil. Nicen. Can. 6.

Rufin. li. 1. c. 6.

Athanaſi. in Epiſt. ad ſolitariã vitam agentes: Metropolis Romanæ ditionis.

Certaine it is, that ſundry of the Biſhops of Rome began very rathe, to ſeeke this Preeminence, euen with manifeſt forgerie, and corruption of Councels, as is alreadie proued. But the Biſhops of other countries neuer yelded vnto them, nor vnderſtood theſe vaine titles. The Biſhops of the Eaſt, writing vnto Iulius, allege, that the Faith, that then was in Rome, came firſt from them, and that their Churches, as Sozomenus writeth, *ought not to be accounted inferiour to the Church of* Rome: And as Socrates further reporteth, *That they ought not to be ordred by the Roman Biſhop.* Gennadius the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, together with the Councell there, thus writeth vnto the Biſhop of Rome: Curet ſanctitas tua vniuerſas tuas cuſtodias, tibique ſubiectos Epiſcopos: *Let thy Holineſſe ſee vnto thine owne charge, and vnto the Biſhops appointed vnto thee.*

Caſſiodor. li. 4. ca. 24.

Cyril. Epiſt. 27. pag. 294.

Sozo. li. 3. c. 7. τὰ παρὰ ταῦτα τὰ δεύτερα φέρειν οὐκ ἔνιον

Socrat. li. 2. c. 11. μηδὲν κατ' οἰκείαν ἐξουσίαν πράττειν.

The Councell of Alexandria committed the viſitation, and Reforming of all the Churches in the Eaſt, vnto Alterius: and of all the Churches in the Weſt, vnto Euſebius the Biſhop of Vercellæ. By Authoritie of which Commiſſion, Euſebius, together with Hilarius, viſited and corrected all the Churches of Illyricum, France and Italie. A man might ſay, where was then the vniuerſall power of the Biſhop of Rome? S. Baſil ſaith: *The ſtate and ſafety of the Church of Antioch, dependeth of Athanaſius the Biſhop of Alexandria, and not* (as M. Harding heere ſaith) *of the Biſhop of Rome.* And therefore he deſireth Athanaſius to ſee vnto it.

Rufin. li. 1. ca. 29.

Rufin. li. 1. ca. 30. & 31.

Baſil. epiſt. 48.

The Emperours Honorius and Theodoſius appointed ouer all matters of doubt ariſing within the Country of Illyricum, to be heard, and ended before the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, and not before the Biſhop of Rome. And the very Gloſſe vpon the Decres, expounding that ſame Law of Honorius, and Theodoſius, hath theſe words: Imperator dicit, quòd Patriarcha Conſtantinopolitanus habet idem in ſuis ſubditis, quod Papa habet in ſuis: *The Emperour ſaith, the Patriarke of Conſtantinople hath the ſame authoritie ouer the people of his Province, that the Pope hath ouer his.* The Emperours words be theſe Conſtantinopolitana Eccleſia Romæ veteris prærogatiua lætatur: *The Church of Conſtantinople enioyeth now the Prerogatiue of old Rome.* And therefore for more proofe hereof, whenſoeuer any Patriarke in any of theſe foure principall Sees, was newly choſen, he wrote letters of Conference and Friendſhip vnto the other Patriarkes; wherein euery of them declared vnto other their Religion and conſent of Faith. Thus did the Biſhop of Rome vnto others: and thus did others vnto him. This is an infallible token, that their authoritie was equall, and none of them had power and gouernment ouer his fellows. And therefore, when Eulogius the Biſhop of Alexandria had written thus vnto Gregory, being then Biſhop of Rome, Sicut iuſſiſtis, *As ye commanded*; Gregory vtterly ſhunned and refuſed that kinde of writing: for thus he anſwereth him: Hoc verbum Iuſſionis, quæſo, à meo auditu remouete. Scio enim quis ſim, & qui ſitis. Loco mihi Fratres eſtis: Moribus patres. Non ergo Iuſſi, ſed quæ vtilia viſa ſunt, indicare curaui: *I pray you haue away this word of Commanding from my hearing. For I know, both what I am, and alſo, what you are. Touching your place, you are my Brethren: touching maners, you are my Fathers. Therefore I Commanded you not: but only ſhewed you what I thought good.*

Codi. De Sacroſanctis Eccle. lege 6.

Diſt. 22. Renouantes. in Gloſſ.

Cod. De Sacro-Eccle. lege. 6.

Literæ Synodicæ.

Greg. li. 1. epiſt. 24. 25. & li. 6. Epiſt. 5.

Gregor. lib. 7. Epiſt. 30.

Finally, for that Michael Palæologus the Emperour of the Eaſt parts, in the Councell holden at Lions, about the yere of our Lord, 1442. after great intreaty made vnto him by the Biſhop of Rome, had acknowledged the Biſhops of the Eaſt to be ſubiect vnto him, after he returned home againe into his Empire, and was dead, his Clergie would not ſuffer him to be buried. Yet, ſaith M. Harding, *All the Biſhops of Gracia, Aſia, Syria, Ægypt, and to be ſhort, all the Orient, rendred and exhibited their humble obedience to the Biſhop of Rome.*

Paulus Æmilius in Hiſtoria Gallorum, li. 8.

M. Harding. The 24. Diuiſion.

Of the Biſhop of Rome his puniſhing of offenders, by Cenſures of the Church, and otherwiſe, as by Excommunication, Election, Depoſition, and enioyning penance for tranſgreſſions; we haue more examples than

than I thinke good to recite heere. They that haue knowledge of the Ecclesiasticall stories, may remember, how Timotheus Bishop of Alexandria was excommunicated with Peter his Deacon, by Simplicius the Pope: Nestorius Bishop of Constantinople, by Cœlestinus: Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria with Arcadius the Emperour, and Eudoxia the Empresse, by Innocentius, for their wicked demeanour toward Chrysostome: How Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria was deposed, though the whole second Ephesine Councell stood in his defence: How Peter Bishop of Antioch was not only put out of his Bishopricke, but also of all Priestly honour: How Photius was put out of the Patriarkship of Constantinople, into which he was intruded by fauour of Michael the Emperour, at the sute of his wicked vncle, by Nicolas the first.

For proofe of this authoritie. the Epistle of Cyprian which he wrote to Stephanus Pope in his time, against Martianus the Bishop of Arelate in Gallia, maketh an euident argument. For that this Martianus became a maintainer of the Heresie of Nouatianus, and therewith seduced the faithfull people. Cyprian hauing intelligence of it by Faustinus from Lions, aduertised Stephanus of it, and moued him expressly to direct his letters to the people of Arle, by authoritie of which, Martianus should be deposed, and another put in his roome, to the intent (saith he there) the flocke of Christ, which hitherto by him scattered abroad, and wounded, is contemned, may be gathered together. Which S. Cyprian would not haue written, had the Bishop of Rome had no such authoritie.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This reason maketh no great proofe. For it was euer lawfull, not onely to the Bishop of Rome, but also to all other Bishops, both to rebuke, and also to excommunicate wicked doers. Anthymus with his fellowes was excommunicate by euery of the Patriarkall Sees: Paulus Samosatenus, as Nicephorus saith, by all the Bishops vnder Heauen: Auxentius, and Iouinianus, by S. Ambrose: Dioscorus, and Eutyches by the Councell of Constantinople: Cyrillus, albeit he were a Catholike, and a godly Bishop, by all the Bishops of the East. Yet were none of these, that thus vsed the right of excommunication, either Bishops of Rome, or heads of the Vniuersall Church. And, whereas M. Harding saith, we may remember by the Ecclesiasticall stories, that Innocentius the Bishop of Rome excommunicated Arcadius the Emperour, it may please him also to remember, by the same Ecclesiasticall stories, that S. Ambrose excommunicated the Emperour Theodosius: and Anastasius the Bishop of Antioch, both by priuate letters reproued the Emperour Iustinian for his Heresie, and also often times said of him openly in the Church: *Whosoeuer followeth any other Gospell, accursed be he.* Yet was neither S. Ambrose, nor Anastasius the Bishop of Rome.

Concil. Constãtinop. 5. Act. 1.
Nicephor. li. 6. Cap. 28.
Ambros. li. 10. Epist. 81.
Concil. Constãtino. 5. Actio. 5.
Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 10.
Nicephor. lib. 13. Cap. 24.
Theodor. lib. 5. Cap. 17.
Euagr. li. 4. Cap. 37.

As for the Execution of Sentence, and Depriuing, or Deposing of Bishops, M. Harding knoweth, the Bishop of Romes authority was to weake. And therefore Innocentius saith of Pelagius: Quibus acceptis literis, aut quando committet se nostro Iudicio? *Vpon what letters, or when will he yeeld himself to my iudgement?* For this cause Felix the Bishop of Rome, prayed aid of the Emperour Zeno: And the Emperour answered: Admisimus depositionem Anthymi: *Wee haue admitted the deposition of Anthymus.* Otherwise the Popes sentence had beene in vaine. And therefore the Emperour Constantinus saith of himselfe: Si quis Episcoporum inconsulte tumultuatus sit, Ministri Dei, hoc est, mea executione, illius audacia coercebitur: *If any Bishop vndiscreetly moue tumult, his rashe spirit shall be repressed by the hande of Gods Minister, that is,* By my Execution. And likewise the Emperour Iustinian hath set out a law in this sort: Si quis Episcoporum ad ciuitatem tempus transcendit, &c. *If any Bishop passe out his time appointed, and being called home refuse to come: let him be deprined, and put from his Church, and another better chosen in his roome.* (he addeth) by the vertue of this present Law. By the force of this Law Bishops were deposed: For without it, the Pope was not able to put his sentence in execution.

Inter decreta Innocentij.
Concil. Constãtin. 5. Act. 1.
Concil. Constãtinop. 5. Act. 4.
Theodoret. li. 1. Cap. 19.
Anthon. De Ecclesiast. diuersis capitalib. κεφ. τῶν τῆς πατριάρχου νόμων Ἰουστινιανοῦ.

Now, if M. Harding will reason thus:

The Pope excommunicated other Bishops:

Ergo, He was Head of the Church:

Then of the same principle we may well to the contrary reason thus:

The Pope himselfe was Excommunicate by other Bishops:

Ergo, *The Pope was not the Head of the Church.*

Sozomen. lib. 3. Cap. 10.
Dist. 21. In Trullano.
Nicephor. li. 17. Cap. 26.
Concil. Constantinopol. 6. Actio. 13.

For the antecedent, that the Pope was pronounced Excommunicate by other Bishops, it is out of question. For it is recorded in the Ecclesiasticall story, that Iulius being Bishop of Rome was Excommunicate by the Bishops of the East: Pope Liberius was Excommunicate by Dioscorus: Pope Vigilius was Excommunicate by Menna the Bishop of Constantinople. And Pope Honorius was Excommunicate by the sixth Councell holden at Constantinople.

Sozomen. lib. 3. Cap. 10.
κεφ. τοῦ Ἰουλίου τοῦ Ῥώμης κοιμητ.
In Vita Vigilij.

Or if M. Harding repose more force in deposing of Bishops, than in Excommunication, then let him likewise remember, that Pope Iulius was deposed by the Bishops of the East, as it is recorded by Sozomenus: Pope Hildebrand, by the Councell of Brixia: Pope Iohn, by the Councell of Constance: Pope Eugenius, by the Councell of Basil; and two Popes together, Syluerius and Vigilius, by the Emperour Iustinian. Thus

M. Hardings owne grounds ouerthrow his whole building, and conclude plainly against himselfe.

M. Harding. The 25. Diuision.

The 110. vntruth. For the Bishop of Rome confirmed the Bishops of his owne Prouince, but not all Bishops thorow-out the world.

For the Popes authority concerning Confirmation of the Ordinances and Elections of (110) all Bishops, many examples might easily be alleged, as the request made to Iulius by the 90. Arian Bishops assembled in Councell at Antioch against Athanasius, that he would vouchsafe to ratifie and confirme those that they had chosen in place of Athanasius, Paules, Marcellus and others, to whom they had condemned and depriued.

Also the earnest sute which Theodosius the Emperour made to Leo for confirmation of Anatolius, and likewise that Martianus the Emperour made to him for confimation of Proterius, both Bishops of Alexandria, as it appeareth by their Letters written to Leo in their fauour. And as for Anatolius, Leo would not in any wise order and confirme him, vnlesse he would first professe that hee beleeued and held the doctrine which was contained in Leo his Epistle to Flauianus, and would further by writing witnesse, that he agreed with Cyrillus, and the other Catholike Fathers, against Nestorius. For this, if nothing else could be alleged, the testimony of holy Gregory were sufficient to make good credit: who vnderstanding, that Maximus was ordered Bishop of Salonæ a City in Illyrico, without the authority and confirmation of the See Apostolike, standing in doubt, lest perhaps that had beene done by commandement of Mauritius the Emperour, who did many other things wickedly, thereof writeth to Constantina the Empresse thus: *Salonitanæ ciuitatis Episcopus, me, ac Responsali meo nesciente, ordinatus est. Et facta est res, quæ sub nullis anterioribus Principibus euenit*: The Bishop of the City of Salonæ (saith he) is ordered, neither I, nor my Deputie made priuie to it. And heerein that thing hath beene done, which neuer happened in the time of any Princes before-our dayes. Thus it appeareth, that before a thousand yeeres past, Bishops had their Ordination and Election confirmed by the See Apostolike.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

If this reason may stand for good, and whosoeuer hath the allowing of the Election or Consecration of Bishops, must therefore be taken as Head of the Church, then must the Church of necessity haue many Heads. For it is certaine, the allowance hereof pertaineth to many. [a] S. Ambrose saith: *That all the Bishops both of the East and of the West, gaue their consent and allowance to his Election.* Theodosius the Emperour standing in the defence of Flauianus the Bishop of Constantinople saith, [b] *That all the Bishops of the East, of Asia, Pontus, Thracia, and Illyricum, had allowed his Election.* [c] Eudoxius entred into the Bishopricke of Antioch, without the allowance, and consent of Gregorius the Bishop of Laodicea, and of Marcus the Bishop of Arethusa, and of other Bishops that had interest therein: and is reproued for the same. [d] Gregorius Presbyter saith, For that the Election, and Installation of Gregorie Nazianzene was past, before the Bishops of Ægypt, and Macedonia were come, and so made without their consent, that therefore they vtterly refused to allow him, or to admit him as Bishop there, not for any misliking in the partie, but for that they thought themselues defrauded of their voices.

[a] *Ambros. li. 10. epist. 82.*

[b] *Theodoret li. 5. ca. 23.* αἱ τῆς ἑῴας ἐκκλησίαι τῆς φλαβιανοῦ ἀποφάσεως ἀντέχονται.

[c] *Sozom. li. 4. ca. 12.* μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἧς ἡ χειροτονία ἀβέβαιος συνθήκων.

[d] *Gregor. Presb. in vita Nazian.* Ἀντέλεγον τῷ ψήφῳ.

Anacletus decreeth thus: Episcopus non minus, quàm à tribus Episcopis reliquisque omnibus assensum præbentibus, vllatenus ordinetur: *Let a Bishop in no wise be ordred if lesse than three Bishops, all the rest giuing their assent to the same.*

Anaclet. epist. 2

Hereby it appeareth, that to the ratifying of the Election of any one Bishop, the consent of all other Bishops within that Prouince was thought necessary. Which consent they testified among themselues, by writing letters of conference one to another. And therefore, when Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople had intitled himselfe the Vniuersal Bishop, Gregorie counselled Eulogius the Bishop of Alexandria, and other Bishops of the East, neither to write to him, nor to receiue letters from him by that title. Likewise the Bishops of the East, when they had excommunicate Iulius the Bishop of Rome, gaue commandement, that no man should either receiue his letters, or write vnto him, in token they held him for no Bishop.

Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 36.

Sozomen. li. 3. cap. 10.

Neither did onely Bishops allow such Elections, but also both the Prince, and the people. When S. Ambrose being once chosen, and appointed Bishop of Millane, began roughly to deale with the nobles of the Court, and to rebuke their faults, the Emperour Valentinian said: *All this I knew before: and therefore I not onely said not nay, but also gaue my Voice, and Assent to his Election.*

Theodoret li. 4. cap. 7. καὶ συμψηφίζεται τῆς χειροτονίας τὸ γήμμα.

Mourning the Election of Nectarius, Sozomenus writeth in this wise: *The Bishops that were present at the Election, gaue vnto the Emperour in writing sundry names of such as they thought meet for that roome: The Emperour weighing the persons, set his seale vpon Nectarius name, and elected him.*

Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 8. τὸν δὲ κλεκτίλιον ἐπιθεὶς τῷ πλούτιδι χαρτῇ

Gratianus the Emperour at his comming to Constantinople embraced Gregorie Nazianzene, and after some conference with him had, said vnto him: *O Father, vnto thee, and vnto thy labours, God through vs, committeth this Church. Behold, I giue vnto thee this Holie House, and the Stall. And the people besought the Emperour, to set the Bishop in his Chaire.*

Gregorium Presbyter in vita Nazianzeni. ἐκκαθεδίσαι τὸν ἀρχιέρεα τῷ θρόνῳ.

The like might be said of the Consent, and Allowance of the people, Anacletus, as he is commonly

commonly alleged, writeth thus: Sacerdotes à proprio ordinentur Episcopo, ita vt Ciues & alij Sacerdotes assensum præbeant: *Let Priests be ordered by their owne seuerall Bishops, so that the people and other Priests giue their assent thereto.* S. Cyprian saith likewise: *The people being obedient vnto Gods commandements, hath power especially, either to chuse worthy Priests, or to refuse the vnworthy.* *Anaclet. Ep. 2.* *Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist. 4.*

Thus many voices were then thought necessary to the admission of any Bishop. Therefore this serueth no sufficient ground, to proue that the Bishop of Rome is Head of the Church. For M. Harding might some haue seene, that the Bishop of Rome himselfe, touching his owne Election, was wont to be allowed by other Bishops. Verily, S. Cyprian writeth thus of the allowance of Cornelius Bishop there: Vt Cornelium noueris Coepiscoporum testimonio, quorum numerus vniuersus per mundum concordi vnanimitate consensit: *That thou maist know* Cornelius *by the testimonie of his Fellow-Bishops, the whole number of whom throughout the world hath agreed* (to the allowing of his election) *with one consent.* *Cyprian. lib. 4. Epist. 2.*

Afterward, in an Epistle vnto Cornelius himselfe, he writeth thereof more at large: Ad comprobandam ordinationem tuam, facta authoritate maiore, placuit vt per Episcopos omnes omninò in ista Prouincia positos, literæ fierent, vt te vniuersi Collegæ nostri, & Communicationem tuam, id est, Ecclesiæ Catholicæ vnitatem, pariter & charitatem, probarent, pariter & tenerent: *To allow thy Consecration, more authoritie being gathered, I thought it good, that letters should be sent vnto all the Bishops of this Prouince, that all our brethren might both allow and hold, both thee and thy Communion, that is to say, the vnity of the Catholike Church.* *Cyprian. lib. 4. Epist. 8.*

If M. Harding will say, This was not the Confirmation of the Election of Cornelius, it followeth immediately: Sic Episcopatus tui veritas, pariter & dignitas, appertissima luce, & manifestissima & firmissima confirmatione fundata est: *This is the truth and dignitie of thy Bishopricke founded in the open light, and with most manifest and most certaine confirmation.* Thus whensoeuer any Bishop was either installed, or deposed, knowledge thereof was giuen vnto the other Bishops, and the same either allowed, or disallowed by his brethren.

But that the Bishop of Rome ordered and admitted all the Bishops throughout the World, besides that it hath no possibilitie, or colour of truth in it selfe, it is also easie, by good Record and Authoritie, to be reproued. Agapetus Bishop of Rome, about the yeare of our Lord 540. after he had, vpon occasion, Consecrate Menna, the Bishop of Constantinople, he vttered these words in commendation of the partie: Et hoc dignitati eius (Mennæ) accidere credimus, quòd à temporibus Petri Apostoli, nullum alium vnquam Orientalis Ecclesia suscepit Episcopum manibus nostræ Sedis ordinatum: *And this is an augmentation of* Mennaes *dignitie, that sithence the time of* Peter *the Apostle, the East Church neuer receiued any other Bishop Consecrate by the hands of our See.* Now aduise thy selfe (good Reader) whether thou wilt beléeue Pope Agapetus, or M. Harding. *Concil. Constantinop. 5. Act. 2.*

And let not M. Harding finde fault, for that I place the ordering of Bishops in stead of their confirmation. For he himselfe seemeth to make confirmation and ordering both one thing, or at least to ioine them both together. These be his words: Leo would not in any wise order and confirme Anatolius.

Truly Liberatus saith, the maner was in Alexandria, that whosoeuer was chosen Bishop there, should come to the Beare, and lay his Predecessours hand vpon his head, and put on S. Markes Cloke, and then was he sufficiently Confirmed Bishop, without any mention made of Rome. And S. Cyprian writeth vnto the Bishops of Spaine, that Sabinus, whom they had lawfully chosen Bishop, should so continue still, yea notwithstanding Cornelius, being then Bishop of Rome, misliked him, and would not confirme him. And that very Counterfeit Decree of Anacletus, that requireth all Bishops once in the yeare to present themselues in Rome, extendeth not his commandement throughout all the World, but only to the Bishops of the Prouince of Rome. Thus stand the words: Omnes Episcopi, qui huius Apostolicæ Sedis ordinationi subiacent, &c. *All Bishops, that be bound to haue their orders confirmed by this Apostolicke See, &c.* Whereby it may be gathered, that other Bishops were not subiect to the ordinance of that See. And this was the fault that Gregorie found in the Bishop of Salonæ, that being within the Iurisdiction of his Prouince, he was Consecrate without his knowledge. And that Gregorie meant it not of all Bishops, but onely of the Bishops within his owne charge, it is euident by his words. For thus he writeth: Episcopi mei: Episcopi mihi commissi: *My Bishops: Bishops being within my Cure.* And that the City of Salonæ, standing in Illyricum, was sometime within the Prouince of Rome, it is plaine by the epistle that Damasus the Bishop of Rome sent vnto the Bishops of Illyricum. These be his words: Par est, omnes qui sunt in orbe Romano Magistros, consentire: *It is meet, that all the Teachers that be within the precincts of the Roman Iurisdiction, agree together.* *Anaclet. Ep. 3. Dist. 93. Iuxta Sanctorum.* *Liberat. c. 20.* *Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist. 4.* *Gregor. lib. 4. Epist. 34.* *Socrat. Lib. 6. Cap. 23.* πάντας τὰς ἐν τῷ ῥωμαίων κ. ἔθνους ἡγεμόνας.

Whereas

Confirmation of Councels.

Whereas it is alleged, that the Bishop of Rome was required to ratifie the Election of Flauianus, Anatolius, and of the Arian Bishops; that was meant of a generall allowance, such as was common to all Bishops, specially to the foure Principall Patriarkes, and not only to the Bishop of Rome. Neither was the Bishop of Romes admission thought so necessarie, as if he onely had a Voice Negatiue, to take in, and put out, whom he liked; but only of Congruitie and Consent, that it might appeare, there was no Bishop in the Church, but was liked and allowed of all his brethren. For otherwise the Bishops of the East wrote thus vnto Iulius: Si ordinatos à nobis Episcopos, &c. *If you will allow the Bishops that we haue ordered, we will be at peace, and Communicate with you: If not, we will proclaime the contrarie.* And the Emperour Gratian made Nectarius Bishop of Constantinople, contrarie to the mindes of the most part of the Bishops. Therefore M. Hardings argument might better haue bene framed thus: *The Bishop of* Rome *confirmed the Bishops within his owne Prouince, and had no other speciall authoritie to confirme all other Bishops in the world, no more than others had to confirme him: Therefore he was not then taken for the Head of the Church, nor was thought to haue this Vniuersall Power.*

Sozom. Lib. 3. Cap. 8.

Sozom. Lib. 7. Cap. 8.

M. Harding. The 26. Diuision.

That the Bishops of Rome, by accustomed practise of the Church, had authority to approue or disproue Councels, I need to say nothing for proofe of it, seeing that the Ecclesiasticall rule (as we read in the Tripartite storie) commandeth (111) that no Councell be celebrate and kept, without the aduice and authoritie of the Pope. Verily the Councels holden at Ariminum, at Seleucia, at Syrmium, at Antiochia, and the second time at Ephesus, for that they were (112) not summoned nor approued by the Authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, haue not beene accounted for lawfull Councels; but as well for that reiected, as also for their Hereticall determinations. The Fathers assembled in the Councell of Nice, sent their Epistle to Syluester the Pope, beseeching him with his consent to ratifie and confirme whatsoeuer they had ordeined. Isidorus witnesseth, that the Nicene Councell had set forth rules, the which (saith he) the Church of Rome receiued, and confirmed. The second Generall Councell holden at Constantinople was likewise allowed and approued by Damasus, specially requested by the Fathers of the same, thereto. So was the third Councell holden at Ephesus ratified and confirmed by Cœlestinus, who had there, for his Vicars or Deputies, Cyrillus the famous Bishop of Alexandria, and one Arcadius a Bishopout of Italie. As for the fourth Councell kept at Chalcedon, the Fathers thereof also, in their Epistle to Leo the Pope, subscribed with the hands of 44. Bishops, made humble request vnto him, to establish, ratifie, and allow the Decrees and Ordinances of the same. This being found true, for the foure first chiefe Councels, we need not to say any thing of the rest that followed. But for the sure proofe of all this, that chiefly is to be alleged, that Constantius the Arian Emperour made so importune and so earnest sute to Liberius the Pope, to confirme the Acts of the Councell holden at Antioch by the 90. Arian Bishops, wherein Athanasius was depriued, and put out of his Bishopricke. For he beleeued, as Amianus Marcellinus writeth, that what had beene done in that Councell, should not stand, and take effect, vnlesse it had beene approued and confirmed by the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, which he termeth the eternall City.

The 111. vntruth, standing in the wilfull falsifying of the Text.

The 112. vntruth. For in those daies the Bishop of Rome had no authority to summon Councels.

Lib. 4. cap. 13.

Quæ Romanus suscipiens confirmauit Ecclesia. In præfatione Nicæni Concilij. Lib. 15.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Here M. Harding hath auouched two great vntruths, the one in his translation in the English, the other in the allegation of the storie. Touching the first, Cassiodorus in his Latine translation writeth thus: Canones iubent, extra Romanum nihil decerni Pontificem: Socrates in the Greeke, out of which the Latine was taken, writeth thus: χωρὶς παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης, κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας. The English hereof is this: *It is prouided by the Canons, that Rules to binde the Church be not made without the consent of the Bishop of* Rome. Wherein M. Harding hath purposely corrupted and falsified all together, both the Greeke, and the Latine, not reporting one word that he found in the Originall. Κανονίζειν, or, Decerne, he Englisheth to Keepe, or, as he termeth it, to Celebrate a Councell: Παρὰ γνώμην, which is, Præter sententiam, or, as Cassiodorus turneth it, Extra, he Englisheth, without the aduice and authoritie. No, he would not suffer, no not him, in whose quarrell he thus fighteth, to passe without a renew: for where he saw him named in the Greeke, ἐπίσκοπον Ῥώμης, and in the Latine, Romanum Pontificem, The Roman Bishop, he thought it best to leaue both the Greeke and the Latine, and to call him the Pope. And thus, to increase the Popes authoritie, he hath altered and corrupted the whole place, and not translated one word as he found it.

Cassiodor. li. 4. cap. 19.

Socrat. Lib. 2. cap. 17.

Touching the storie, he saith, The Arians Councels were not allowed, for that they were not summoned by the Pope. And yet he knoweth right well, it was no part of the Popes Office in those daies, to summon Councels. For it is euident, euen by the policie and practise of that time, that Constantinus the Emperour summoned the Councell of Nice: Theodosius the first, the Councell of Constantinople: Theodosius the second, the Councell of Ephesus: and Marcianus, the Councell of Chalcedon: And Socrates in his storie saith thus: Idcirco Imperatores in historia complexus sum, quia ex quo tempore cœperunt esse Christiani, Ecclesiastica negotia pendent ab illis, & maxima Concilia de illorum

Socrat. Lib. 5. in præmio. τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτηται ἐξ αὐτῶν.

lorum ſententia & facta ſunt, & fiunt : *Therefore I haue compriſed the Emperours within my Storie, for that ſithence they began to be Chriſtened, the ſtate of the Church dependeth of them, and the greateſt Councels haue beene kept, and be ſtill kept by their aduice.* And the Biſhops in the Councell of Conſtantinople, witneſſe, that they were ſummoned to come to the Roman Councell, by Damaſus the Biſhop of Rome : but they adde withall, *By warrant of the Emperours Letters,* not by any his owne authority. And likewiſe in their Epiſtle to the Emperour Theodoſius, they write thus : Literis, quibus nos conuocaſti, Eccleſiam honore proſecutus es : *Your Maieſtie hath honoured the Church by the Letters, wherewith ye ſummoned vs together.*

Confirmation of Councels.

Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 9. Διὰ τῶν τῆ θεοφιλεστάτῃ βασιλέως γραμμάτων.

As for the Biſhop of Rome, he was not yet of authoritie, able to call a generall Councell. For the World as yet had no ſkill of his Vniuerſall Power ouer all others, neither would they haue appeared vpon his Summon. Gregorius being Biſhop of Rome, could not cauſe the Biſhop of Salonæ, being but one man, to come before him. Thus he writeth by way of complaint, vnto the Empreſſe Conſtantia : Contempto me atque deſpecto, ad me venire ſecundùm iuſſionem Dominorum noluit : *Hee deſpiſed me, and ſet me at naught, and would not come vnto me, according to my Lords the Emperours commandement.* Therefore Leo finding this weakeneſſe in himſelfe, wrote vnto the Clergie and people of Conſtantinople, and willed them to craue a Generall Councell at the Emperours hand : Expoſcite, vt petitioni noſtræ, qua plenariam indici Synodum poſtulamus, Clementiſſimus Imperator dignetur annuere : *Make your requeſt, that the Emperours Maieſtie would vouchſafe to grant my humble petition, wherein I beſought him to ſummon a Generall Councell.* Liberatus ſaid, that Leo the Biſhop of Rome, with other moe Biſhops of Italie, fell vpon their knées, and deſired the Emperour Valentinian, and the Empreſſe Eudoxia, to appoint a Councell, and yet could not obtaine it. Afterward he deſired the Emperour Theodoſius, that he would call a Councell to ſome place within Italie, and the Emperour contrarie to the Biſhop of Romes petition, appointed it to be holden at Epheſus. After that, he made the ſame requeſt to the Emperour Martianus, and the Emperour likewiſe contrarie to the Biſhops humble requeſt, commanded the Councell to be kept at Chalcedon. And whereas Leo had beſought both theſe Emperours, that it might pleaſe them to take a longer day for the Councell, for that the time of the Summon ſeemed very ſhort, and the waies were laid with enemies, and therefore dangerous for the Biſhops to trauell, yet would neither of them alter one day, but charged each man to appeare, as they were ſummoned. And Leo the Biſhop of Rome, withall his Vniuerſall Power, was faine to yéeld. Héereby we may ſone coniecture, how true it is, either that Pope Gelaſius writeth, *That only the Apoſtolike See of* Rome *decreed by her authoritie, that the Councell of* Chalcedon *ſhould be ſummoned :* Or elſe, that M. Harding would haue vs beléeue, *That all Councells were ſummoned by the Pope.*

Liberat. ca. 12. Genibus prouolutis.

Leo, Epiſt. 11. ad Theodoſ. Auguſt.

Leo, Epiſt. 13.

Leo, Epiſt. 50.

Leo, Epiſt. 13. 44. 58.

Neither was the Biſhop of Rome, nor his Legate in his abſence, euermore the Preſident, or chiefe of the Councell. For it is knowen, that in the Councell of Nice, Euſtathius, the Patriarke of Antioch, was the Preſident, and the Biſhop of Romes Legates, Vitus and Vincentius, ſate in the fourth rowme beneath. In the Councell of Conſtantinople, Menna was the chiefe. In the Councell of Sardica, Oſius of Corduba in Spaine : In the Councell of Aquileia, S. Ambroſe of Millaine : In the Councell of Carthage, Aurelius the Biſhop there : In the Councell of Chalcedon, Leo the Biſhop of Romes Legate had chiefe rowme, but by way of intreaty only, and by the Emperours ſpeciall grant, and not of due right, or vniuerſall authority.

Epiſt. Gelaſij ad Epiſcopos Dardaniæ.

But (ſaith M. Harding) the Biſhop of Rome allowed Generall Councels. This is not denied. So did others, not only Patriarkes, or Biſhops, but alſo Ciuill Princes. In the Councell of Chalcedon it is written thus : Diuæ memoriæ Theodoſius confirmauit omnia, quæ iudicata ſunt à Sancta & Vniuerſali Synodo Generali Lege : Theodoſius *the Emperour of godly memorie, hath confirmed all things by a Generall Law, that were determined in the Vniuerſall Councell.* So likewiſe the Emperour Martianus : Sacro noſtræ Serenitatis edicto, venerandam Synodum confirmamus : *By the holy Edict of our Maieſtie, wee confirme that reuerend Councell.* So Euſebius witneſſeth, that the Emperour Conſtantinus confirmed the Determinations of the Councell of Nice. So the Biſhops in the Councell of Conſtantinople wrote vnto the Emperour Theodoſius, by theſe words : Rogamus tuam clementiam, vt per Literas tuæ Pietatis ratum eſſe iubeas, confirmeſque Concilij Decretum : *We deſire your fauour, by your Higneſſe Letters, to ratifie and confirme the Decree of the Councell.*

Concil. Chalcedon. Action. 1.

Concil. Chalcedon. Action. 3.

Euſeb. in vita Conſtantini.

Inter acta Concil. Conſtant. 5.

Now ſeeing it was lawfull for Princes and Ciuill Gouernours, to confirme the Decrees and Determinations of Councels, how can we doubt, but it was lawfull for Biſhops alſo to doe the ſame ? Therefore Theodoretus ſaith, *The Concluſions of the Councell of*

Theodoret. lib. 1. cap. 9. & lib. 2. ca. 8.

Confirmation of Councels.

Victorin.li.2. *Leo epist.60.* *Inter Acta Concil.Chalcedon.* *Regula Iuris.*

Euseb.Oratio 3. de Vita Constan. *Theodoret.li.1.ca.7.* τὰς ἐκκλησίας κανονίζειν. *Leo Epist 61.*

Leo epist.59.

Leo epist.59.

Sozom.li.6. ca.23.

Leo epist.13.

Liberatus ca. 13.

Hieronym.ad Euagrium.

of Nice, were sent abroad to other Bishops, that were away. And Victorinus saith: *that many thousands of Bishops allowed that same Councell, and agreed vnto it.*

Aboue all others, the Subscription and Confirmation of the foure principall Patriarkes was specially required, for that both their charge, and also their countenance and credite was greater than others. Among which foure, the Bishop of Rome was euer the first, and therefore his consent semed to beare greatest weight. And for that cause the Emperour Martianus required Leo the Bishop of Rome, to write vnto the Councell of Chalcedon, and to declare that he gaue his consent to the rule of Faith, that was there determined. And in like sort the Emperour Theodosius, requireth all Bishops to subscribe and to giue their assent to the Councell of Nice. For it is a rule agreeable vnto Law and Reason, Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus debet approbari: *The thing that toucheth all, ought to be allowed by all.* And therefore Iulius being Bishop of Rome pronounced, that all the Acts of the Councell of Antioch were void, and of no force, for that he, being one of the foure Patriarkes, was not called thither, aswell as others. For it appeareth by Eusebius, Theodoretus and others, that to all Generall Councels, all Primates and Metropolitanes were specially summoned. And this semeth to be that Canon that Iulius alegeth, That it was not lawfull to make rules and orders for the whole Church, without the consent of the Bishop of Rome, being one of the foure chiefe Patriarkes, and hauing in his Prouince one great portion of the Church. And therefore Leo Bishop of Rome testifieth his consent to the Councell of Chalcedon by these words: Fraternitas vestra nouit, me definitionem Sanctæ Synodi toto corde complexum esse: *Your brotherhood knoweth that I haue embraced with my whole heart the Determination of that holy Councell.* And likewise vnto the Emperour Martianus he writeth thus: Constitutionibus Synodalibus libens adieci sententiam meam: *Vnto these Constitutions of the Councell, I haue gladly giuen my assent.* The end hereof was not to shew his Soueraigne Power aboue all others, but that the Decrees so ratified by him and others, might be had in more estimation. So Leo himselfe writeth: Clementia vestra arbitratur, malum facilius delendum, si per vniuersas Ecclesias, Definitiones sanctæ Synodi Apostolicæ Sedi placuisse doceantur: *Your Highnesse thinketh this euill will the rather be suppressed, if it be declared thorowout all Churches, that the Decrees of the holy Councell be well liked of the Apostolike See.*

But that the whole ratification of Councels depended, not only of the Bishop of Rome, but also of others, no lesse than of him, it is easie to be proued. The Bishops in the Roman Councell in the time of Damasus, condemned the Councell of the Arians holden at Ariminum, for that neither the Bishop of Rome, whose minde should haue bene knowen before all others, nor Vincentius, nor any of the rest had agreed vnto it. Likewise the Councell of Carthage and of Aphrica are allowed for good, notwithstanding the Bishop of Rome would not allow them. The Councell of Chalcedon decreed, that the Bishop of Constantinople should be in dignity next vnto the Bishop of Rome, and should Consecrate the Metropolitanes of Asia, Pontus and Thracia. This decree Leo the Bishop of Rome very much misliked, and would neuer assent vnto it: yet that notwithstanding, it is in force and continueth still. Liberatus thereof writeth thus: Cùm Anatolius consentiente Concilio Primatum obtinuisset, Legati verò Romani Episcopi contradicerent, à Iudicibus & Episcopis omnibus, illa contradictio susceptа non est. Et licèt sedes Apostolica nunc vsque contradicat, tamen quod a Synodo firmatum est, Imperatorio patrocinio permanet: *When Anatolius by consent of the Councell had obtained the Primacie, and the Bishop of Romes Legates stood against it, their gainsaying of the Iudges and Bishops there was not received. And albeit the Apostolike See of Rome euen hitherto stand against it, yet the Decree of the Councell by the maintenance of the Emperour standeth still in force.* Which thing semeth agreeable to that S. Hierome writeth: Maior est authoritas orbis, quàm vrbis: *The authoritie of the world is greater than the authority of one City*: meaning thereby the City of Rome.

It may appeare by that I haue thus shortly touched, that the Bishop of Rome had authority neither to Summon Councels, nor to be President or chiefe in Councels, nor to ratifie and confirme the Decrees of Councels, more than any other of the foure Patriarkes: and last of all, that Councels, may stand in force, although the Pope mislike them and allow them not. I thinke it will be hard hereof to gather M. Hardings conclusion,

That the Bishop of Rome was Head to the Vniuersall Church.

M. Harding. The 27. Diuision.

Now what authority the Bishops of Rome haue euer had, and exercised in the assoiling of Bishops vniustly condemned, and in restoring of them againe to their Churches, of which they were wrongfully thrust out by Heretikes or other disorder; it is a thing so well knowen of all that read the stories, in which the ancient state of the Church is described, that I need not but rehearse the names only. Athanasius of Alexandria,

Alexandria, and Paulus of Conſtantinople, depriued and thruſt out of their Biſhopricks, by the violence of the Arians, aſſiſted with the Emperour Conſtantius, appealed to Rome, to Iulius the Pope and Biſhop there, and by his (113) authoritie, were reſtored to their roomes againe. So Leo aſſoiled Flauianus the Biſhop of Conſtantinople, excommunicated by Dioſcorus. So Nicolaus the firſt reſtored Ignatius to the See of Conſtantinople, though Michael the Emperour wrought all that hee could againſt it. Many other Biſhops haue beene in all ages aſſoiled, and reſtored to their Churches by the authoritie of the See Apoſtolike, who haue beene (without deſert) excommunicated, depriued, and put from all their dignities. But to haue rehearſed theſe few, it may ſuffice.

The 113. vntruth. For the Emperour reſtored Athanaſius, and not the Pope. Pope Nicolas died in the yeere of our Lord 868.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Athanaſius and Paulus, ſaith M. Harding, being depoſed by the Arians, aſſiſted with the Emperour Conſtantius, appealed to the Pope, and by the Popes authoritie were reſtored. Here I appeale vnto the iudgement and diſcretion of the Reader, that can conſider the ſtate of that time, how likely it may ſeeme, either that Athanaſius ſhould appeale from the Emperour to the Pope, or that the Popes commandement ſhould be of ſufficient force and authoritie againſt the Emperour. For neither was Pope Bonifacius the eighth yet borne, that determined, that the Emperour ſhould be inferiour to the Pope, nor Pope Innocentius the third, or his Gloſſe, that rated the matter by good Geometricall proportion, and pronounced, that the Pope is fifty and ſeuen degrées aboue the Emperour, euen iuſt as much as the Sunne is aboue the Moone; nor Pope Alexander the third, that ſet his foot in the Emperours necke.

De Maior. & Obedien. Vnam Sanctam. Extra. de Maiorit. & Obed. Solite. Et in Gloſſa. Carion in Frederico.

Verily, the Pope then, by his authoritie, was able neither to depoſe, nor to reſtore, nor to call before him any Biſhop, as appeareth by that I haue already alleged of Pope Innocentius, and Pope Gregorie, by their owne Confeſſions. No, Pope Leo himſelfe confeſſeth, that he was not able to remoue a poore Monks, Abbat Eutyches, from his Abbie, but was faine to deſire the Empreſſe Pulcheria to ſée him remoued.

Epiſt. Decretalis Innocen. 27. Gregor. Lib. 4. Epiſt. 34. Leo, Epiſt. 45.

As touching Athanaſius, it was the Emperour Conſtantinus the Great that by his authoritie remoued and baniſhed him, as it appeareth by Socrates: and therefore the Emperour Iuſtinian ſaith, *If any Biſhop offend heerein, let him be depriued by force of this Law.* And as he was baniſhed by the Emperour Conſtantinus the Father, ſo by his ſonne Conſtantinus the Emperour, and not by the Pope, he was reſtored: which thing is teſtified, not only by Socrates, that wrote the ſtorie, but alſo by ſundry Epiſtles and Letters, taken out of the Emperours Records, concerning the ſame.

Socr. li. 1. c. 23. De Eccleſiaſt. diuerſ. capitul. κατὰ τὸν τὸ παρόντος νόμου Nouum.

First it is knowen, that the Emperour Conſtans, that ruled the Weſt part of the world, vnto whom Athanaſius, being depoſed, fled for aid, wrote in his behalfe vnto his brother Conſtantius, that then was the Emperour of the Eaſt, and beſought him, to ſée Athanaſius reſtored vnto his rome. Otherwiſe he threatned, that he himſelfe would come with his power to Alexandria, and reſtore him. Vpon the ſight of which Letters, the Emperour Conſtantius wrote vnto Athanaſius, and willed him to repaire with ſpéed vnto his Court, that he might be reſtored vnto his Countrey: and at his comming, hée directed out his Letters vnto the Clergy and people of Alexandria, commanding them to receiue him with fauour, and to aboliſh all ſuch Acts as they had before made againſt him. To report the whole Letters at large, it would be tedious. Among other words, the Emperour Conſtantius writeth thus: Recipiat voluntate Dei, noſtroque iudicio, Patriam ſuam, pariter & Eccleſiam. And againe: Omnes Epiſcopum, ſuperno iudicio noſtraque ſententia deſtinatum, libenter & piè ſuſcipite: *Let him both by Gods appointment, and by our Decree, recouer both his Country and his Church, &c.* Further ſaith Caſſiodorus: His Literis confidens Athanaſius, redijt in Orientem: Athanaſius, *vpon truſt of theſe Letters, returned againe into the Eaſt.* Likewiſe the Biſhops in the Councell of Hieruſalem wrote abroad Letters of gratulation vpon his returne, in this forme: Debetis ergo etiam, &c. *You ought alſo continually to pray for the Emperours Maieſties, for that, vnderſtanding your deſires, they haue reſtored* Athanaſius *againe vnto you.* And Theodoretus, touching the ſame, writeth thus: Procerum Senatorumque coniuges, &c. *The Lords and Counſellers wiues beſought their huſbands to intreat the Emperours Maieſtie, that he would reſtore* Athanaſius *vnto his Flocke: and ſaid further, vnleſſe they would ſo doe, they would forſake them, and go to him.*

Socr. li. 2. ca. 2. Sozom. Lib. 3. cap. 19. Theodoret. lib. 2. cap. 8. Theodoret. lib. 2. cap. 11. Caſſiodor. li. 4. cap. 31. Caſſiodor. li. 4. cap. 30. Caſſiodor. li. 4. cap. 36. Theodoret. lib. 2. cap. 17.

So likewiſe the Biſhops, that the Arians had depoſed with Flauianus, were reſtored againe by the Emperour, and not by the Pope. For Pope Leo himſelfe thereof writeth thus vnto the Empreſſe Pulcheria: Vos Sacerdotes Catholicos, qui de Eccleſijs ſuis iniuſta fuerunt electi ſententia, reduxiſtis: *Your Maieſties haue reſtored home againe the Catholike Biſhops, which by wrongfull ſentence were thruſt from their Churches.*

Leo, Epiſt. 39.

Pope Nicolas, as vpon occaſion I ſaid before, was the ſecond Biſhop in Rome, after Pope Ioane the Woman, which was almoſt 900. yéeres after Chriſt. Wherefore his authoritie

authority might well haue bene spared. It is well knowne that as the Popes power increased, so the Empire abated. Therefore was Platina forced to say: Perijt & potestas Imperatorum, & virtus Pontificum: *Now the Emperours haue lost their ciuill power, and the Popes haue lost their Holinesse.* In old times the Emperour confirmed the Pope: now the Pope confirmeth the Emperour. In old times the Emperour called the Pope to the Councell: now contrariwise the Pope calleth the Emperour.

Platina in Adriano 2.

As touching the restoring of Athanasius, Pope Iulius intreated the Emperour in his behalfe, which, as it appeareth, was his greatest request. For thus he writeth vnto Liberius: Precamur vt vestris exhortationibus, tam per vos, quàm per Apocrisiarios vestros adiuuemur: *We beseech you, that through your good exhortations, both by your selfe, and by other your agents we may be holpen.* Moreouer for that he was a Patriarke he summoned a particular Councell, and laboured the Bishops. For the Arians said: *There was an Ecclesiasticall Canon, That no man being once deposed should be restored againe, vnlesse hee had first cleared himselfe before a Councell: and that the Bishops that would restore him, ought to bee moe in number than were they, that had deposed him.* And therefore Chrysostome was much blamed of his Aduersaries, for that he being once deposed, had recouered his roome without a Councell of other Bishops. And therefore Flauianus being wrongfully put from his Bishopricke, offered vp his bill of Appeale, not vnto the Bishop of Rome alone, but vnto him with other Bishops. The truth hereof may well appeare by these words of Leo Bishop of Rome vnto the Emperour Theodosius: Omnes partium nostrarum Ecclesiæ, omnes mansuetudini vestræ cum gemitibus & lachrymis supplicant Sacerdotes, vt quia eisdem Libellum Appellationis Flauianus Episcopus dedit, generalem Synodum iubeatis intra Italiam celebrari: *All the Churches of these our Countries, and all the Priests with sighes and teares beseech your Highnesse, that forasmuch as Flauianus hath offered vp his Bill of Appeale vnto them, it may please you to command a Generall Councell to be kept in Italy.*

Epistola Athanasij ad Liberium.
Sozomen. li. 4. ca. 7.
Orientalium Epistola ad Iulium.
Socr. li. 6. ca. 14.
Leonis epist. 24.

In such Councels the Bishop of Rome being sometimes the chiefe, pronounced the party worthy either to be restored, or to be deposed. But that sentence was not alwaies put in execution. The Councell of Antioch deposed Pope Iulius: yet was not Iulius therefore deposed. The Councell of Basil deposed Pope Eugenius: yet Eugenius continued Pope still. The decrée of Bishops in such cases without the Emperours authority was then of small force. And therefore Athanasius himselfe reporteth, that the Emperour gaue his consent to the determination of the Councell of Sardica, and so commanded him to be sent for home.

Sozom. lib. 3. ca. 10.
κῶδικον.
Concil. Basiliē.
Athanas. in Apolog. 2.

But M. Harding will say, The words be plaine, that Iulius restored Athanasius. It is true and not denied. But the meaning of these words is, that Iulius pronounced him cleare in that he was accused of, and therefore worthy to be restored. For it is certaine, and M. Harding well knoweth, that Athanasius vpon Pope Iulius letters was not restored. The like is also written of others. Cassiodorus saith: Maximus quoque restituit beato Athanasio, & Communionem, & dignitatem: *Maximus also restored vnto Athanasius, both his Communion and also his dignity: That is to say, pronounced him worthy to be restored.* For Maximus was not the Bishop of Rome.

Cassiodor. li. 4. ca. 34.
Sozomen. l. 3. ca. 7.
Cassiodor. li. 4. ca. 34.

These things considered, M. Harding may make vp his reason thus: The Pope had no authoritie to restore them that were deposed: Ergo, The Pope was not Head of the Church.

Or thus: The Emperour restored such as were deposed: Ergo, The Emperour was Head of the Church.

M. Harding. The 28. Diuision.

Concerning the Reconciliation of the Prelats of the Church, both Bishops and Patriarkes to the Bishop of Rome, (114) whereby his Primacie is acknowledged and confessed. I need not say much, the matter being so euident. After that the whole Church of Aphrica had continued in (a) Schisme, and withdrawen themselues from the obedience of the See Apostolike, through the entisement of Aurelius Archbishop of Carthago, for the space of one hundred yeeres, (b) during which time by Gods punishment they came into captiuity of the barbarous and cruel Vandals, who were Arians: at the length when it pleased God of his goodnesse to haue pity on his people of that Prouince, sending them Bellisarius the valiant Captaine that vanquished and destroied the Vandales, and likewise Eulalius that godly Archbishop of Carthago, that brought the Church home againe, and ioined the diuided members vnto the whole body the Catholike Church; a publike instrument containing the forme of their repentance, and of their humble submission, was offered and exhibited solemnly to Bonifacius the second then Pope, by Eulalius in the name of that whole Prouince, which was ioifully receiued, and he thereupon foorthwith reconciled. Of this reconciliation and restoring of the Aphricane Churches to the Catholike Church, the mysticall body of Christ, Bonifacius writeth his letters to Eulalius Bishop of Thessalonica, requiring him with the Churches thereabout, to giue Almighty God thankes for it.

But heere if I would shew what Bishops diuiding themselues through Heresie, Schisme, or other enormitie, from the obedience of the See of Rome, haue vpon better aduice submitted themselues to the same againe,

The 114. vntruth. For reconciliation is no necessary token neither of Primacy nor of Subiection.

(a) S. Augustine was one of these Schismatikes.

(b) During the same time Rome it selfe was six times sacked: Which thing M. Harding hath quite forgotten.

againe, and thereupon haue beene reconciled; I had a large Field to walke in. As inferiour Bishops of sundry Prouinces haue done it, so haue the great Patriarkes done likewise. Among them, that, to satisfie the malicious minde of Eudoxia the Empresse, practised their wicked conspiracy against Chrysostome, through which he was deposed and carried away into banishment, Alexander Bishop of Antioch, and Primate of the Orient, was one; (115) who at length stricken with repentance for that he had beene both a consenter and a promoter of that wicked act, submitted himselfe humbly to Innocentius the Pope, and by all meanes sought to be assoiled and reconciled. And therefore sent his Legate, to Rome, to exhibite to Innocentius a solemne instrument of his repentance and lowly submission, and to accept what should be enioyned. By which his humblenesse Innocentius mooued, granted to his petitions, receiued him into the lap of the Catholike Church againe: and thus was he reconciled. Sundrie the like reconciliations of the Patriarkes of Alexandria and Hierusalem to the See of Rome in like cases, might easily be recited; which for auoiding of tediousnesse I passe ouer, as likewise of the Patriaekes of Constantinople, which as we read in ancient stories, haue forsaken the Church of Rome twelue times, and haue beene reconciled to the same againe.

Reconciliation.

The 115. vntruth. For this story is heere interlaced with many vntruths.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

First, M. Harding supposeth, that this Latine word, Reconciliatio, can in no wise stand amongst equals: and besides that touching the Reconciliation of the Church of Antioch, as it shall appeare, he misreporteth the whole story. Upon such grounds these proues be builded. For M. Harding knoweth, that as Submission is made by the Subiect towards the Prince, so Reconciliation in proper maner of speech, is made betweene equall friends.

Concerning that is heere touched of Eulalius, **the matter needeth no long answer. The story being truly knowen is sufficient to answer it selfe. It is certaine, as we haue before declared more at large, and as it plainly appeareth by the Acts of the Councell of** Aphrica, **that** Zosimus **the Bishop of** Rome, **to the intent to aduance himselfe ouer all other Bishops, manifestly falsified the Nicene Councell. This forgery in the Councell of** Aphrica **was disclosed and laid abroad to the eies of all the World. The Bishops there being in number two hundred and seuenténe, saw, that one** Apiarius a Priest, **whom they for his open outrage and wickednesse had Excommunicate, was without any further examining of the matter, onely vpon his bare complaint, admitted againe vnto the Communion, and receiued into fauour, in despight of all their doings, by the Bishop of** Rome.

They saw, that the accusers and witnesses without whom no ordinary iudgement can proceed, either for age, or for sickenesse, and other causes, could not well trauell so farre: Therefore they desired the Bishop of Rome **by their Letters, that hée would bring no such ambitious puffe of vanity into the Church: and made a strait Decrée in the Councell among themselues, that it should not be lawfull for any man to appeale out of** Aphrica **to any forren Bishop. An hundred yéares after that, this** Eulalius **the Bishop of** Carthage, **if it be true, that is reported of him, and not forged at** Rome, **as were many things moe, reconciled himselfe to the Church of** Rome, **in the time of** Bonifacius **the Second, as it is recorded in the Pontificall: for other Record thereof to my remembrance there is none. The words of the Reconciliation be these:** Hanc professionem meam manu mea subscripsi, &c, *This profession I haue subscribed with mine owne hand, and haue directed the same to Bonifacius the holy and reuerend Pope of the City of Rome, vtterly condemning my Predecessours and Successours, and all others that shall goe about to frustrate the Priuileges of the Apostolike See of Rome.* **Likewise** Bonifacius **writeth heereof vnto** Eulalius **the Bishop of** Alexandria **in this wise:** Aurelius Carthaginensis Ecclesiæ olim Episcopus cum Collegis suis, instigante Diabolo, superbire temporibus prædecessorum nostrorum contra Romanam Ecclesiam cœpit: *Aurelius sometime Bishop of Carthage together with his fellowes* (**his fellowes were** S. Augustine, Alypius, **and two hundred and fifténe other Bishops**) *being set on by the Diuell, in the time of my Predecessours, began to beare himselfe disdainfully against the Church of Rome.* **The one of these by a publike instrument vnder his hand and seale, vtterly condemneth and accurseth** S. Augustine, **with two hundred and sixténe other godly Bishops, together with foure Generall Councels, of** Aphrica, Carthage, Mileuitum **and** Hippo: **the other saith, they were all set a worke and prickt forth by the Diuell, and liued out of the Church of God, and died in Schisme.**

Fumosum seculi Typhum.

Inter Decreta Bonifa. 2.

Epist. Bonifa. 2. ad Eulalium.

S. Augustine condemned and accursed, and set on by the Diuell.

If this be true, then ought S. Augustine **no longer to be holden for a Saint, neither to haue any rome in the Calendar.**

But if all these godly Fathers that iustly and truely defended the holy Councell of Nice, **were led with the Diuell, with what spirit then was hée led, that openly and in the sight of all the World, durst to corrupt and falsifie the same Councell? Verily,** Dionysius **the Bishop of** Corinth **complaineth thus:** Rogatu fratrum meorum scripsi, Epistolas: sed illas Apostoli Diaboli alia eximentes, alia interserentes, impleuerunt Zizanijs: quibus væ reponitur: *At the request of my brethren, I wrote certaine Epistles:*

Pope Zosimus a forger of Councels. Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 22. ὅτι τὰς Διαβόλου Ἀποστόλοι ζιζανίων ἐπλήρωσαν.

Reconciliation.

but the Diuels Apoſtles by putting to, and taking fro, haue filled them full of Tares and Cockle. But woe be vnto them.

But in the meane while (ſaith M. Harding) the Country of Aphrica euen by the puniſhment of God was brought into ſubiection, and ſpoiled by the Vandales Here M. Harding entreth into Gods Iudgements, and pronounceth that all this miſerie happned vnto that Countrey, for leauing the See of Rome, which thing he reckoneth all one, with the leauing and forſaking of God himſelfe. Howbeit M. Harding might ſone know, that about the very ſame time, while Aphrica was thus afflicted, the Citie of Rome it ſelfe was ſix times taken by wilde and barbarous enemies, the Viſigotthi, Oſtrogotthi, Heruli, Vandali, Hunni, and Longobardi, within the ſpace of an hundred and forty yeares. The Wals were raſed: the Towers throwen downe: the Houſes burnt: the Nobilitie taken Captiue: the People ſpoiled and baniſhed: the Citie it ſelfe a long time left waſte and deſolate without inhabiter. If M. Harding can gheſſe ſo rightly of the miſeries of Aphrica, how happeth it, that he can gheſſe nothing of ſirfold greater miſeries, that at the ſame time befell vpon Rome? If the Biſhops and people of Aphrica were thus plagued for their Schiſme, wherefore then were the Biſhops and people of Rome plagued, that, as it is ſuppoſed continued ſtill without Schiſme? Notwithſtanding Poſſidonius ſaith, That God of ſpeciall mercie granted S. Auguſtine, who then was beſieged by the enemies, that during his life, his Citie of Hippo ſhould not be taken. And yet was the ſame S. Auguſtine the greateſt diſcloſer of the forgery and pride of the Biſhop of Rome, that is to ſay, the greateſt authour and maintainer of all this Schiſme.

Rome ſix times taken by enemies and ſackt within the ſpace of 140. yeeres. Gregor. lib. 4. Epiſt. 32.

Touching the Reconciliation of Alexander the Biſhop of Antioch, M. Harding for the better furniture of the tale, hath wouen in and interlaced many words of his owne. For in all that is written thereof by Innocentius, there is no maner mention, neither of Solemne Inſtrument of Repentance, nor of accepting of Penance, nor of Subiection or humble Submiſſion. Indeed this Alexander at his firſt entrie into the Biſhoprick of Antioch, finding his Church full of Diuiſion, by meane of one Euſtathius, by his wiſdome and godly exhortations, brought the whole people there vnto vnitie: and afterward wrought the like godly policy in other churches, and ceaſed all the ſtrife that had long continued for the condemnation of Chryſoſtome, and cauſed his name that his enemies had raſed out, to be enrolled againe among other Catholike Biſhops: and likewiſe wrote vnto the Emperour Theodoſius the yonger, and to the Biſhops of other Countries to doe the like. In the end, hauing appeaſed all contentions, in token, not of ſubiection, as M. Harding ſurmiſeth, but of full conſent and agrament, he deſired that his Church might be ioined in Communion and fellowſhip with the Church of Rome, and other Churches of the Weſt, from whence before by reaſon of their Diſſenſions they had bene diuided. Which thing alſo appeareth by the words of Innocentius himſelfe vnto Alexander touching the ſame: Gratias agens Domino, Communionem Eccleſiæ veſtræ ita recepi, vt præ me feram, Apoſtolicæ Sedis Condiſcipulos primos dediſſe cæteris viam pacis: *I giuing God thankes, ſo receiued the Communion and fellowſhip of your Church, that I profeſſe, that you being our Schoolefellowes of the Apoſtolike See, haue firſt opened vnto others the way of peace.* Here Innocentius calleth Alexander his Schoolefellow, not his Subiect or Vnderling. And therefore he calleth him his Schoolefellow of the Apoſtolike See, for that S. Peter ſate firſt at Antioch, and after that in Rome, and for that cauſe, both theſe Seas of Peter the Apoſtle, were called Apoſtolike.

Theodoret. li. 5. cap. 35. Nicephor. lib. 14. cap. 26.

Innocent. epiſt. 37. ad Alexandrum.

Againe in another Epiſtle vnto the ſame Alexander he writeth thus: Voluit Compreſbyter noſter Caſſianus, hanc amicitiarum noſtrarum paginulam, quaſi primitias pacis noſtræ conſcribi, &c. *Caſſianus our fellow-Prieſt, would haue this inſtrument of our friendſhip to be written, as the firſt fruits of our peace. Therefore I greet well your brotherhood, and all others of that Church that are of your minde.* Here Innocentius himſelfe calleth this compoſition an inſtrument of friendſhip, or fellowſhip, not of Repentance or Humble Submiſſion, as it pleaſeth M. Harding vntruly to tranſlate it. Neither doth this word Reconciliation, neceſſarily import a Superiority or a Maſterſhip, but alſo, and that moſt commonly, a Fellowſhip or Equality, as it is ſaid before. So ſaith S. Paul: *Chriſt hath reconciled both the Iew, and the Gentle in one Body.* And what is meant by that Reconciliation, he expounded thus: Omnes vnum ſumus in Chriſto Ieſu: *We are all one in Chriſt Ieſu.* So ſaith Plinie the yonger: Principis eſt reconciliare æmulas Ciuitates: *It is a Princes part to reconcile Cities that contend for the Soueraigntie.* Not that the one may be brought into Subiection to the other: but that they may be made friends, and liue in peace. So likewiſe ſaith Chriſt: Vade, Reconcilieris Fratri tuo: *Go, and be reconciled to thy Brother.*

Innocentij Epiſt. 15.

Ephes. 2.

Galath. 3.

Plini. in Panegyrico.

Matt. 5.

Thus therefore was the Patriarke of Antioch reconciled to the Biſhop of Rome: not as a Subiect vnto his Prince, but, as in a body one member vnto another: and (forſ-

much

much as Innocentius himselfe vseth this word Condiscipuli) as in a Schole, one Scholar vnto his fellow.

Reconciliation.

So whereas there was matter of dissention betwéne the Church of Rome, and the Church of Alexandria, it séemed good to the Fathers in the Councell of Aphrica, to intreat betwéne them, not that the Church of Alexándria should submit her selfe, as vnto her Head, and liue in Subiection, but that they might be reconciled, and liue in peace together. So Liberatus saith, Petrus Moggus *was reconciled vnto Acatius*: not as vnto his Superiour, but as vnto his Brother. In this sense writeth Hormisda Bishop of Rome vnto Epiphanius the Bishop of Constantinople: Æquale studium, & æqualem curam suscipiamus, quibus vna est in Communione & fide amicitia: *Seeing wee haue one friendship in Communion and in Faith, let vs therefore take like study and like care.*

Innocent. Epist. 17. Concil. Aphrican. ca. 68. Liberatus ca. 18. Concil. Constantinop. 5. Actio. 2. Socrates lib. 4. cap. 11.

This maner of Reconciliation is largely set forth by Socrates in his storie, and may be abridged in this sort: The Macedonian Heretikes hauing forsaken their Heresies, sent their messengers Eustathius, Syluanus, and Theophilus vnto Liberius the Bishop of Rome, and to other the Bishops of the West. Liberius vnderstanding, that their Faith agreed fully with the Councell of Nice, and with the Faith that he himselfe and all the other Bishops of the West Church professed, receiued them vnto the Communion, and wrote fauourably vnto the Bishops of the East in their behalfe. These Messengers departing thence, went into Sicily, and in a Councell of the Bishops there, likewise Reconciled themselues vnto them: and being returned home, they sent abroad into all the Churches of those Countries, and willed them to consider the letters sent from Liberius the Bishop of Rome, and from other Bishops of Italy, Aphrica, France, Sicily, and all the West, and to agrée, and to Communicate together with them.

Another like example of Reconciliation we haue made by one Arsenius the Bishop of Hipsilitæ vnto Athanasius the Bishop of Alexandria. The words of the Reconciliation are these: Nos volentes Ecclesiastico Canoni &c. *We desiring to be subiect to the Ecclesiasticall Canon, according to the ancient order, do write these vnto you* (Dilecte Papa) *beloued Pope, and likewise do promise in the name of our Lord, that wee hencefoorth will not Communicate with any Schismatikes, or with any that haue not peace with the Catholike Church, whether they be Bishops, Priests, or Deacons.* This Submission or Reconciliation was made vnto Athanasius: yet was not Athanasius Bishop of Rome.

Athanas. Apolog. Secunda.

This then was the maner of Reconciliation of Churches, without any such Humble Subiection, as M. Harding fansieth, or knowledge or token of Supremacie, or any maner Vniuersall Power.

M. Harding. The 29. Diuision.

The 116. vntruth. For many great questions were neuer remooued to Rome.

The 117. vntruth. For Rome it selfe had her light from Græcia.

Thus hauing declared the Supreme authoritie and Primacie of the Pope by the common practise of the Church, I need not to shew further; how in (116) all questions, doubts, and controuersies, touching Faith and Religion, the See of Rome hath alwaies beene consulted, how the decision of all doubtfull cases, hath beene referred to the iudgement of that See; and to be short (117) how all the World hath euer fetched light from thence. For proofe whereof, because it cannot be heere declared briefly, I remit the learned Reader to the Ecclesiasticall stories, where he shall finde this matter amply treated.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

As Rome hauing atchieued the Empire of the whole World, both for renowme and honour, and also for wisdome and learning, which commonly follow the Empire, was the noblest and most famous of all other Cities; so for commoditie of accesse out of all Kingdomes and Countries, both of the East, and of the West, and also out of Aphrica and Ægypt, and other Countries of the South, and also for receiuing of Questions, and Resolution of doubts, it séemed to be planted in the fittest place of all the World. For as Thucydides calleth the Citie of Athens, *Græcia of all Græcia*, so some called the Citie of Rome in those daies of her honour, Epitome orbis terrarum: *The abridgement of the whole world.* The admiration of this glorie drew such resort of people thither, that Beda a learned man of this Countrie being there, and séeing the multitude of strangers that came only to gaze and to sée newes, expounded these foure solemne letters, S. P. Q. R. in this wise: Stultus Populus Quærit Romam: *Foolish folke flie to Rome.* Therefore for opportunitie of the place, and expedition of answer, many matters of question and doubtfull cases were brought thither. Many, I say, but not all. For men that wanted counsell, wrote and sought vnto them, that had the fame of learning, and were thought best able to make them answer. So Marcellinus, Dulcitius, Bonifacius, Euodius, and others, sent their questions to S. Augustine, and desired his Counsell. S. Ambrose saith, as it is before alleged, that many that had béene with the Bishop of Rome, would afterward for their better satisfaction send

Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Cœlius Rhodiginus, lib. 18. ca. 25.

Ambros. li. 10. Epist. 83.

Leo Epiſt. 27. to him. And Leo himſelfe being Biſhop of Rome, and therefore as M. Harding thinketh, the Oracle of all the World, thought it not amiſſe to ſubmit himſelfe, and to aſke counſell of other Biſhops. Therefore this ſaying of M. Hardings neither is vniuerſally true, nor proueth his purpoſe. For if he will ſay, *Some men in caſes of doubt ſought to Rome for counſell:* Ergo, *The Biſhop there was called the Head of the Church*, this Concluſion will hardly follow.

Regum ca. 22. *Paralipom. 2. ca. 34.* Samuel. 2. ca. 20. King Ioſias in a great caſe of Religion, ſent to a woman named Olda, the wife of Sellum, to know her counſell: and it was a prouerbe among the Iewes, Qui interrogat, interroget in Abila: *Who ſo will ſeeke counſell, let him ſeeke it in Abila.* Yet neither was Olda the Head of the Church: nor Abila the chiefe towne in Iſrael or Iuda.

But all the world (ſaith M. Harding) hath receiued light from Rome. But all the World ſeeth this is another manifeſt vntruth: and neuer the leſſe being granted, yet would it not conclude of his ſide.

Indeed in a kinde of ſpeech both Rome, and Antioch, and Alexandria, and any other great Citie famous for Religion, may be called the Head or Spring of the Goſpell. So

Apocalyp. 17. *Arnob. li. 2. aduerſus gentes.* *Ambroſ. Serm. 66.* S. Iohn calleth Babylon: Magna mater fornicationum, & abominationum terræ: *The great mother of the Fornications, and of the Abominations of the earth.* And ſo Arnobius calleth Hetruria which is the Countrey wherein Rome ſtandeth: and S. Ambroſe calleth Rome it ſelfe, Caput Superſtitionis: *The Head of Superſtition.*

But if we ſeeke the place it ſelfe, from whence the light of Religion firſt ſprang forth, we muſt needs confeſſe, it was Hieruſalem, and not Rome.

Eſay 2. For ſo it is written in the Prophet Eſay: De Sion exibit Lex, & verbum Domini de Hieruſalem: *The Law ſhall proceed from Sion, and the word of God from Hieruſalem.* And therefore the Biſhops of the Eaſt being in a Connocation at Conſtantinople, call Hieruſalem, *The Mother of all Churches.*

Theod. li. 5. ca. 9. Yet neuertheleſſe, euery great Metropolitane City within her owne Prouince, may be honoured with the like title. So ſaith Nazianzenus of the City of Cæſarea, where S. Baſil was Biſhop: Cæſarea propè Mater ominum Eccleſiarum, &c. *Cæſarea is in a maner the Mother of all Churches, and the whole Chriſtian Common wealth ſo embraceth and beholdeth it, as the Circle embraceth and beholdeth the Center.*

Gregor. Nazianzen. in Epiſt. ad Cæſarienſes. So Chryſoſtome likewiſe aduanceth the City of Antioch: Cogita Vrbis magnitudinem, quòd non de vna, vel de duabus, vel de tribus, vel de decem animabus, nunc nobis eſt conſideratio: ſed de millibus infinitis, de totius Orbis Capite: *Conſider the greatneſſe of this City: we haue to deale not for one, two, three, or ten ſoules: but for infinite thouſands, euen for the Head of the World.* Thus Chryſoſtome calleth Antioch, *The Head of the World*, for that, in that Prouince of Siria it was the Head: like as Rome alſo was the Head City, and principall Church of the Weſt.

Adpopulũ Antiochen. hom. 3.

M. Harding. The 30. Diuiſion.

Now for a briefe anſwer to M. Iewel, who denieth, that within 600. yeeres after Chriſt, the Biſhop of Rome was euer called an Vniuerſall Biſhop, or Head of the Vniuerſall Church, and maketh himſelfe very ſure of it, although it be a childiſh thing to ſticke at the name any thing is called by, the thing by the name ſignified being ſufficiently proued; yet to the intent good folke may vnderſtand that all is not truth of the old Goſpell, which our new Goſpellers either affirme or denie, I will bring good and ſufficient witneſſe; that the Biſhop of Rome was then called both Vniuerſall Biſhop, or Oecumenicall Patriarke, which is one, to wit, Biſhop or principall father of the whole world, and alſo Head of the Church. Leo that worthy Biſhop of Rome, was called the Vniuerſall Biſhop, and Vniuerſall Patriarke of ſix hundred and thirty Fathers aſſembled together from all parts of the World in a Generall Councel at Chalcedon; which is both (118) expreſſed in that Councel, and alſo clerely affirmed by S. Gregory in three ſundry Epiſtles, to Mauritius the Emperour, to Eulogius Patriarke of Alexandria, and to Anaſtaſius Patriarke of Antioch. Thus that name was deferred vnto the Pope by the Fathers of that great Counſell; which by them had not beene done, had it beene vnlawfull. In very deed neither Leo himſelfe, nor any other his Succeſſour, euer called or wrote himſelfe by that name, as S. Gregory ſaith, much leſſe preſumed they to take it vnto them, but rather vſed the name of humility, calling themſelues ech one *Seruum Seruorum Dei*. The Seruant of the Seruants of God. Yet ſundrie holy Martyrs Biſhops of Rome vſed to call themſelues Biſhops of the Vniuerſall Church, (119) which in effect is the ſame, as the Fathers of Chalcedon vnderſtood. *So did Sixtus in the time of Adrianus the Emperour, in his Epiſtle to the Biſhops of all the World. So did Victor writing to Theophilus of Alexandria. So did Pontianus writing to all that beleeued in Chriſt, before 1300. yeeres paſt. So did Stephanus in his Epiſtle to all Biſhops of all Prouinces, in the time of S. Ciprian. And alſo theſe were before Conſtantine the Great, and before the Councell of Nice, which times our aduerſaries acknowledge and confeſſe to haue beene without corruption. The ſame title was vſed likewiſe after the Nicene Councell, by Felix, by (120) Leo, and by diuers others, before the 600. yeeres after Chriſt were expired. Neither did the Biſhops of Rome vſe this title and name onely themſelues to their owne aduancement, as the Aduerſaries of the Church charge them, but they were honoured therewith alſo by others: as namely Innocentius, by the Fathers aſſembled in Councell at Carthago; and Marcus, by Athanaſius, and the Biſhops of Ægypt.

The 118. vntruth. For there is no mention made heereof in any Canon in that Councell.

The 119. vntruth. For theſe names import not one thing, as ſhall appeare.

*All theſe be baſtard Epiſtles without credit.

The 120. vntruth. For immediately before M. Harding confeſſeth, that Leo neuer wrote himſelfe by that name.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Yeare M. Harding ſecretly confeſſeth, that in all he hath hitherto alleged, he hath not yet found that the Biſhop of Rome was knowen in the World within the ſpace of the firſt

firſt ſix hundred yeares after Chriſt, by the name either of the Vniuerſall Biſhop, or of the Head of the Vniuerſall Church: notwithſtanding he hath much ghelled about the matter, both by miſreporting the practiſe of gouernment that then was vſed, and alſo by wreſting and miſconſtruing the words of the holy Fathers. Thus hitherto hee hath taken great paines to ſmall purpoſe.

But hereunto he putteth his Rhetoricall correction, and ſaith: It is a childiſh thing to ſticke at the name of any thing. And ſo all this long talke is driuen in the end to a childiſh concluſion. Howbeit it appeareth, S. Gregorie was not ſo perſwaded of it, nor thought the matter to be ſo childiſh. For after that Iohn of Conſtantinople had intitled himſelfe the Vniuerſall Biſhop, Gregorie being then Biſhop of Rome, withſtood him earneſtly, and wrote againſt him in this wiſe: Deus ab vnitate, atque humilitate Eccleſiæ hoc malum Superbiæ & Confuſionis auertat: *God turne away this miſchiefe of Pride and Confuſion, from the vnity and humility of the Church.* Againe: Omnibus viribus prouidendum eſt, ne in vnius Veneno Sermonis, viuentia in Chriſti Corpore membra moriantur: *We muſt labour and prouide, with all that we can doe, leſt the members that liue in Chriſts Body, happen to periſh in the poiſon of one word.* Moreouer, as it is before at large declared, he calleth it a new, a peruerſe, a ſuperſtitious, an arrogant, an vngodly, an Antichriſtian name: a name of ſingularitie: a name of errour: a name of confuſion: a name of blaſphemie: againſt the Canons, againſt the whole Church, againſt S. Peter, and againſt the Goſpell. Yet, ſaith M. Harding, To ſticke at this name it is but a childiſh matter. Howbeit if the thing it ſelfe that this name importeth, had beene lawfull, then had this name not beene ſo horrible. But contrariwiſe, the very vſurpation of the name is horrible: therefore the thing it ſelfe thereby ſignified, muſt of neceſſitie be much more horrible.

Gregor. lib. 4. Epiſt. 36.

Now for a briefe anſwer, M. Harding hath found ſix hundred and thirty Biſhops, that gaue this title to Leo Biſhop of Rome, in the Councell of Chalcedon, and called him the Vniuerſall Biſhop: which thing (as he ſaith) is recorded by S. Gregorie in three ſundrie places. Heere, good Chriſtian Reader, by the way, this one thing (I truſt) thou wilt conſider of thy ſelfe. If the name of Vniuerſall Biſhop were giuen to the Biſhop of Rome in the Councell of Chalcedon, which was holden in the yeare of our Lord 488. then by M. Hardings owne grant, and by the witneſſe of this Counſell, the Biſhop of Rome before that time had not the name of Vniuerſall Biſhop. Otherwiſe, how could either they giue that they had not to beſtow, or he receiue that he had alreadie? Indeed ſuch beſtowing of gifts had beene very childiſh. Thus of the whole number of ſix hundred yeares, M. Harding freely, euen at the firſt, hath yelded vs backe foure hundred foureſcore and eight yeares towards the reckoning. Before we paſſe further, let vs ſee, what credit the Pope himſelfe giueth to this Councell of 630. Fathers holden at Chalcedon. Pope Gelaſius ſaith: *The Apoſtolike See of Rome in part allowed it not: for that things were there borne out by inordinate preſumption.* Pope Leo accuſeth the whole Councell of *Ambition and wilfull Raſhneſſe.* And S. Hierome in the caſe of Matrimonie Inter Raptorem & Raptam, is receiued againſt all thoſe 630. Biſhops, and againſt the determination of that whole Councel. In ſuch regard they haue the Councels when they liſt. But the Law ſaith: Abſurdum videtur, licere eidem partim comprobare iudicium defuncti, partem euertere: *It is againſt reaſon, that one man ſhould in part allow the will of the dead* (ſo farre forth as it maketh for him) *and in part ouerthrow it* (where it ſeemeth to make againſt him.)

Gelaſius inter Acta Concil. Tarracon. Per incompetentem preſumptionem ventilata. Leo, Ambitionē & inconſultam temeritatem. 36. Queſt. 2. Tria legitima. Pan. de bonis libertor. Nam abſurdū. Caius

But M. Harding will ſay: Of what credit ſoeuer this Councell ought to be, it gaue Leo the name of Vniuerſall Biſhop. And what if all this be vtterly vntrue? What if there were no ſuch title either giuen or offered in the Councell? Certainly, the whole Councell of Chalcedon is extant abroad both written and printed, and may ſone be ſeene. Why doth not M. Harding allege, either the place, or the Canon, or the words? At the leaſt, why giueth hee no note in the Margin, where this authoritie may be found?

Perhaps he will ſay, This Canon was burnt by ſome Heretikes, as he ſaid before of the Councell of Nice. Howbeit, it were much for him to ſay, That of that whole Counſell, onely ſix lines ſhould bee burnt, and that in all the examples throughout the World, and yet all the reſt of the ſame Councell remaine ſafe: Or, that the words whereby the Pope claimeth his title, ſhould ſo negligently bee loſt, and that in Rome it ſelfe, in the Popes owne Library: and yet the words that the Pope reproueth, and condemneth, ſhould ſtand whole. M. Harding hath no other Councell within ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt to hold by, but onely this, and yet the ſame cannot be found. But S. Gregorie is witneſſe ſufficient: he ſaith, That 630. *Biſhops in the Councell of Chalcedon, named the Biſhop of Rome the Vniuerſall Biſhop.* This is an vntruth to beguile the Reader. For Gregory ſaith not, The Biſhops in that Councell Saluted, Intitled, Proclamed, or Called the Biſhop of Rome by that name. Onely he ſaith: Romano Pontifici Vniuerſitatis

Pope not vniuerſall.

nomen oblatum eſt: *The name of Vniuerſall Biſhop, was offered by the Councell of Chalcedon to the Biſhop of Rome.* He ſaith they offered to call him ſo: but that they called him ſo indeed, he ſaith not. Therefore M. Harding herein ouerreacheth and miſtelleth his authours tale. But S. Gregorie ſaith further: *That neither Leo, nor any other of his Predeceſſours Biſhops of Rome would euer receiue that Arrogant and Vngodly name, or ſuffer himſelfe to be ſo called: notwithſtanding it were offered by the Councell.* The Biſhops of Rome neuer ſo vſed that name, notwithſtanding it were offered them. Therefore they ought to loſe it by non vſure.

Greg. li. 4. epiſt. 32. & 36.

Superbum prophanum nomen.

M. Harding will ſay, This was only their humilitie, and not want of right. And therefore they choſe rather to be called Serui Sernorum Dei: *The Seruants of Gods Seruants.* Verily it may well be thought, that Gregory who firſt vſed theſe words, as his familiar ſtile, named himſelfe ſo without hypocriſie, only in reſpect of his intolerable paines and continuall trauels. For ſo he himſelfe complaineth: Veni in altitudinem Maris, & tempeſtas demerſit me: *I am come into the deepe of the Sea, and the rage of tempeſt hath drowned me vp.* So S. Auguſtine long before S. Gregories time, for that he was likewiſe troubled, vſed ſometimes the like ſtile. For thus he writeth of himſelfe: Auguſtinus Epiſcopus Seruus Chriſti, Seruorumque Chriſti: *Auguſtine Biſhop the ſeruant of Chriſt, and the Seruant of Chriſts Seruants.* But he that neither feedeth the flocke, nor ploweth the Lords ground, nor dreſſeth his Vine, nor miniſtreth the Sacraments, nor comforteth, nor exhorteth, nor teacheth: that is carried on high thorow the ſtreets on noble mens backes, and may not touch the ground for holineſſe: that cauſeth that noble Prince the French King to hold his ſtirrup: the Emperour of all Chriſtendome, to lead his horſe by the raine: and the Princes and Gouernours of the World to kiſſe his ſhoe: that doth no maner of Seruice or Miniſterie in Chriſts Church; how can he call himſelfe, either the Seruant of Chriſt, or the Seruant of Chriſts Seruants without hypocriſie? This indeed is open diſſimulation, and a childiſh playing with words, & an open mocking of the World. So one writeth of Iulius Cæſar: Depoſuit nomen Dictaturæ, at vim retinuit: *He refuſed the name of* Dictator, *but the power and force thereof he kept ſtill.* So likewiſe ſaith Appianus: *The Princes of Rome name themſelues,* Imperatores, *Emperours,* which was a name of gouernment in the field, and laſted but for the while: but Kings they wil in no wiſe be called, for that the name of a King among them then was odious. *Howbeit* (he ſaith) *indeed they are very Kings.* So Auguſtus Cæſar, notwithſtanding he were a Tyrant, and had oppreſſed the people, yet he choſe to be called Tribunus plebis: *The Defender and Patron of the people.* And Verres, notwithſtanding he had miſerably waſted and conſumed the whole Iland of Sicilie, yet in his title he would be called, Σωτὴρ, that is, The Keper and Sauiour of that Iland. Thus they diſſemble openly, and as one ſaith, *With faire names they couer foule faults.* But it was not any ſuch diſſimulation or countenance of humilitie, that moued Leo, Gregory, or any other godly Biſhop of Rome, to refuſe this name, as M. Harding imagineth, but the very iniquitie and iniurie therein conteined. For thus ſaith S. Gregory: Si vnus Patriarcha Vniuerſalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur &c. *If one be called the Vniuerſall Patriarke, then is the name of Patriarkes taken from others. But God keepe it far from any Chriſtian minde, that any man ſhould take ſo much vpon him. The conſenting vnto this wicked name, is the loſing of the Faith.* Therefore in the Councell of Carthage it is decreed thus: Primæ ſedis Epiſcopus ne appelletur Princeps Sacerdotum, vel Summus Sacerdos, vel aliquid huiuſmodi: ſed tantùm Primæ Sedis Epiſcopus. Vniuerſalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur: *Let not the Biſhop of the firſt See be called the chiefe of Biſhops, or the Higheſt Biſhop, or by any other like name. But the Biſhop of Rome himſelfe may not be called the Vniuerſall Biſhop.* This latter clauſe of that Canon (Vniuerſalis autem Epiſcopus, nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur) one Peter Crabbe the ſetter forth of the Councels, of purpoſe, and contrarie to good faith diſſembled and left out. Notwithſtanding the fraud is ſone diſcouered. For the ſame clauſe is to be found whole, both in written examples of the Councels, and alſo in Gratian, that compiled the Decrees: and in the very barbarous Glоſſe vpon the ſame, by theſe words: Hic dicitur, quòd Papa non debet vocari Vniuerſalis: *Heere it is ſaid, that the Pope may not be called the Vniuerſall Biſhop.* M. Harding ſaith, The Pope was called by that name. And for proofe thereof allegeth a Councell without a Canon. But the whole Generall Councell of Carthage ſaith, *The Biſhop of Rome may not in any wiſe be ſo called: and the Canon thereof is apparent and may be ſeene.* Now let the Chriſtian Reader iudge, to whether he will giue greater credit.

Dion.

Appianus.

εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ ἔργα βασιλεῖς.

Cornelius Tacitus in Auguſto.

Cicero in Verrem.

τῷ ὀνόματι περικαλύπτουσι τὴν μοχθηρίαν.

Gregor. lib. 4. Epiſt. 36.

Gregor. lib. 4. ca. 39.

Concil. Carthaginen. 3. Can. 26.

The Biſhop of Rome may not be called, The Vniuerſall Biſhop.

Diſt. 99. Primæ Sedis.

This Councell (ſaith M. Harding) would not haue offered this name vnto Leo, vnleſſe it had beene lawfull. Yet he knoweth all is not Law that is moued in Councell. Leo and Gelaſius, as it is before ſaid, condemned certaine Decrees of this ſame Councell of Calcedon, as vnlawfull: notwithſtanding the Determination of 630. Biſhops. The Fathers in the Councell

Inter Decreta Concil. Tarraꝛon.

Councell of Nice attempted, contrary to Gods commandements, to breake the lawful Matrimony of Priests and Bishops. But their attempt, because it was vnlawfull, was reproued and stated by Paphnutius. M. Harding therefore might better conclude thus, Leo, Gregorie, and other holy Fathers Bishops of Rome refused the name of Vniuersall Bishop, as it appeareth by their words, for that it was iniurious vnto other Bishops, and a corruption of the Faith: and for the same cause the Generall Counsell of Carthage determined, that the Bishop of Rome should not, ne might not so be called: Therefore that name was not lawfull.

Pope not Vniuersal.

Socrat. lib. 1. ca. 8.

All this notwithstanding, true it is, that M. Harding saith, *Leo in that Councell of Chalcedon was thus called.* The places be knowen: and may not be denied. He is so saluted in three sundry Epistles: the one sent by one Athanasius a Priest: the other by one Ischyrion a Deacon: the third by one Theodorus, likewise a Deacon. But of that whole number of six hundred and thirty Bishops there assembled, I trow M. Harding is not well able to shew, that any one euer saluted or called him so.

Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 3.

Therefore, whereas M. Harding, the better to put his Reader in remembrance, hath set this note in the Margin, that the Bishop of Rome was called the Vniuersall Bishop, & Head of the Church aboue a thousand yeers sithence, he might with more truth, and much better haue noted his booke thus: S. Gregories words misalleged: The Councell falsified: This only Canon lost: all the rest whole and safe: A strange Priest, and two poore Deacons, in their Priuate suites for their goods, and Legacies, named Leo the Vniuersall Bishop. But of the six hundred and thirty Bishops, that had voices in the Councell, not one euer named him so. Thus much M. Harding might truely haue noted in the Margin.

Yet (saith M. Harding) the Bishops of Rome, that were godly Fathers and holy Martyres, vsed this name, as it appeareth by their Epistles. And heere are brought in the titles of Letters vnder the names of Sixtus, Pontianus. And certaine others, written, as it is before declared, a long time after the writers were dead. Such ruinous foundations M. Harding hath chosen to build vpon.

But what are these old Fathers taught to say? Or how is M. Harding relieued by their words? In their Salutation before their letters they write thus: Sixtus, Pontianus, Victor, Bishop of the Vniuersall Church. This (saith M. Harding) is euen all one thing with *Vniuersalis Episcopus*: there is no manner difference. O what ranging and hunting here is, to beat vp that thing, that will not be found. M. Harding, because he cannot finde the Vniuersall Bishop, that he sought for, therefore he hath sought out the nert of kinne, that is, the Bishop of the Vniuersall Church: and these two, he saith, be both one. Howbeit this matter needed no great seeking: euery childe might soone haue found it. But if an Vniuersall Bishop, and a Bishop of the Vniuersall Church, be all one thing, how then is it true, that S. Gregory saith, Nemo Prædecessorũ &c. *None of my Predecessors would euer consent to this name?* Or how can he finde such fault with the name of Vniuersall Bishop, and beare so easily with the name of Bishop of the Vniuersall Church, which he knew his Predecessors had vsed, if he take them both for one thing, without difference? To be short, if these names, as M. Harding assureth himselfe, be both one, how is the one Godly, the other Vngodly: the one Arrogant, the other not Arrogant: the one Blasphemous, the other not Blasphemous.

Greg. lib. 4. epist. 32. & 36.

This errour riseth of misunderstanding these words, Vniuersalis Ecclesia. For the Church Vniuersall, and the Church Catholike, the one being Greeke, the other Latine, are both one: and are commonly vsed of the learned Fathers, as contrary to a particular Church, as be the Churches of Heretikes, and Schismatikes. In this sense, euery godly Bishop is a Bishop of the Catholike, or Vniuersall Church: like as also euery godly man is a member of the same. Thus writeth Calixtus: Calixtus Archiepiscopus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Vrbis Romæ. Thus Marcellus: Marcellus Episcopus Sanctæ & Apostolicæ, & Catholicæ Vrbis Romæ. In these places Rome is called a Catholike, that is to say, an Vniuersall Citie; partly to exclude the Churches of Heretikes, which were meere particular: and partly also to signifie, that the Church there, was then a Church of the Catholike and Vniuersall Doctrine. So likewise it is written in the Councell of Constantinople: Clerici, & Monachi Apostolici Throni Antiochenæ magnæ Ciuitatis, Catholicæ, Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Dei. *The Clerkes, and Monkes of the Apostolike Throne of the great Citie of Antioch, of the Catholike, or Vniuersall Holy Church of God.*

Calixti epist. Decret. 1. Marcelli Epist. 2.

Concil. Constantin. 5. Actio. 1.

Againe

Bishop of the Vniuersall Church.

Againe, euery Bishop may be called the Bishop of the Vniuersall Church, for that it is his duety to care, not onely for his owne flocke, but also for all others of the whole Church of God. So saith Origen, qui vocatur ad Episcopatum, vocatur ad Seruiturem totius Ecclesiæ: *Whoso is called to a Bishopricke, is called to the Service of the whole Church.* So Chrysost. exhorting the whole people together, saith vnto them, Vniuersæ Ecclesiæ curam geramus: *Let euery one of vs take the care of the Vniuersall Church.* So likewise Pope Eleutherius writeth vnto the Bishops of France: Huius rei gratia vniuersalis vobis à Christo commissa est Ecclesia, vt pro omnibus laboretis, & cunctis opem ferre non negligatis: *For that cause the whole Vniuersall Church is committed vnto you, that you should trauell for all, and not be negligent to help all.* Thus many waies the Bishops both of Rome, and of Antioch, and of France, were called the Bishops of the Vniuersall Church. But, the Vniuersall Bishop, none of them all was euer called. Of Iohn of Constantinople, that first began to vsurpe that name, Gregorie the Bishop of Rome writeth thus: Despectis omnibus, solus conatur appellari Episcopus: *Despising all other Bishops, he would only be called a Bishop.* So likewise saith Pope Pelagius: *If the chiefe Patriarke be called Vniuersall, then the rest haue lost the name of Patriarkes.*

Origen. in Esai. Hom. 6.
Chrysost. in 2. Corin. hom. 18.
Epist. Eleutherij ad Episcopos Galliæ.
Gregor. lib. 4. epist. 34.
Pelagij 2. Epist. 1.
Dist. 99. Nullus.

This is the meaning of an Vniuersall Bishop, and the very selfe same Infinite and Immoderate Power, that M. Harding claimeth for the Bishop of Rome. For so he hath already said, That the other three Patriarkes are no Patriarkes indeed, but only his Delegates, and Seruants to doe that shall please him to command them. In stead hereof M. Harding hath found out a Bishop of the Vniuersall Church: and so leauing the thing that is demanded, he answereth to that is not in question: and priuily confesseth by his silence, that hitherto he hath not found, nor can finde his Vniuersall Bishop.

Folio 86. Diuisio 23.

This answer may serue, to that is heere alleged of the Councell of Aphrica, and the Epistle of Athanasius: sauing that the Epistle bearing that holy Fathers name, as it is already proued, is nothing else but apparent forgerie. The Bishops in the Councell of Aphrica, besides that they vtterly denied the Popes Vniuersall Power, forbidding their Clerkes vpon paine of Excommunication to appeale to him, sundrie times in the same Councell writing vnto him, they vse the name of Familiaritie, and Equalitie, and call him their Brother.

Concil. Aphric. Can. 12.

Canon. 101. & 105.

Now, for a surplusage, forasmuch as M. Harding with all his studie, and conference with his friends, cannot yet finde out his Vniuersall Bishop in the Church of Rome, let vs see, whether we may finde him in some other place, and that not by the witnesse of a simple Priest, or a Deacon, but by the authority of Catholike Emperours and Councels, and of the Bishop of Rome himselfe: and that not by shifting of termes, one for another, as M. Harding is driuen for want, in stead of an Vniuersall Bishop, to bring in a Bishop of the Vniuersall Church, but in plaine, manifest, expresse words, and such, as in no wise may be denied.

In the Councell of Constantinople, the Bishop there is scarcely saluted, or intitled by other name. For this is his common stile: Oecumenico Patriarchæ Iohanni: *To Iohn the Vniuersall Patriarke. To Iohn the Father of Fathers, and Vniuersall Bishop. The holy Vniuersall Archbishop, and Patriarke Mennas.*

Concil. Constantino. 5. Actio. 1.

Nicephorus saith, The Bishop of Alexandria was intitled Iudex vniuersi orbis: *The Iudge of the whole world.* Clement vnto S. Iames the Bishop of Hierusalem writeth thus: Clemens Iacobo Fratri Domini, Episcopo Episcoporum, regenti Hebræorum Sanctam Ecclesiam Hierosolymis, sed & omnes Ecclesias, quæ vbique Dei prouidentia fundatæ sunt: *Clement vnto Iames the Brother of our Lord, the Bishop of Bishops, gouerning the holy Church of the Iewes at Hierusalem, and besides that, all the Churches that be founded euery where by Gods prouidence.* The Emperour Iustinian writeth thus: *Vnto Epiphanius the Archbishop of this Imperiall Citie (Constantinople) and Vniuersall Patriarke.* To conclude, the Bishop of Rome himselfe thus saluteth the Bishop of Constantinople: Therasio Generali Patriarchæ, Adrianus Seruus Seruorum Dei: *Vnto Therasius the Generall Patriarke, Adrian the Seruant of Gods Seruants.* And in the last Councell holden at Florence, Ioseph the Bishop of Constantinople being there, vsed the same title, and wrote himselfe, *The Archbishop of New Rome, and the Vniuersall Patriarke.* If M. Harding had so good euidence for the Bishop of Rome, I beleeue he would not thus passe it away in silence.

Nicephor. li. 14. ca. 34.
Clementis Epist. 1.
Authen. Constitutio. 3. εἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ.
Conc. Nicen. 2. Actio. 2.

M. Harding. The 31. Diuision.

Concerning the other name (Head of the Church) I maruell not a little that M. Iewell denieth that the Bishop of Rome was then so called. Either hee doth contrary to his owne knowledge, wherein hee must needs be condemned in his owne iudgement, and of his owne conscience, or he is not so well learned, as of that side he is thought to be. For whosoeuer trauelleth in the reading of the ancient Fathers, findeth that name almost euery where attributed to Peter the first Bishop of Rome, (121) and consequently to the Successour

This is a fresh kinde of Rhetorique.

The 121. vntruth. For Peter only is so called, yet was not Peter then Bishop of Rome.

Succeſſour of Peter, that name (I ſay) either in termes equiualent, or expreſly. Firſt the Scripture calleth Peter *Primum*, The firſt among the Apoſtles. The names of the twelue Apoſtles (ſaith Matthew) are theſe: * *Primus Simon, qui dicitur Petrus*, Firſt Simon, who is called Peter. And yet was not Peter firſt called of Chriſt, but his brother Andrew before him, as is before ſaid. Dionyſius that ancient writer calleth Peter ſometime *Supremum decus*, The higheſt honor, for that he was moſt honorable of all the Apoſtles: ſometime *Summum*, ſometime *Verticalem*, the chiefeſt and the higheſt Apoſtle. Origen vpon the beginning of Iohn ſaith: Let no man thinke that we ſet Iohn before Peter. Who may ſo doe? for who ſhould be higher of the Apoſtles than he, who is, and is called the top of them? Cyprian calleth the Church of Rome in conſideration of that Biſhops ſupreme authoritie, *Eccleſiam principalem, vnde vnitas Sacerdotalis exorta eſt.* The principall or chiefe Church, from whence the vnitie of Priests is ſprung. Euſebius Cæſarienſis ſpeaking of Peter ſent to Rome by Gods prouidence, to vanquiſh Simon Magus, calleth him, *Petrum ſſimum, & maximum Apoſtolorum, & reliquorum omnium principem*: The mightieſt of power, and greateſt of the Apoſtles, and Prince of all the reſt. Auguſtine commonly calleth Peter *Primum Apoſtolorum*, Firſt or chiefe of the Apoſtles. Hierome, Ambroſe, Leo, and other Doctours, Prince of the Apoſtles. Chryſoſtome vpon the place of Iohn cap. 21. *Sequere me*, Follow me, among other things ſaith thus: * If any would demand of me, how Iames tooke the See of Hieruſalem, that is to ſay, how he became Biſhop there, I would anſwer, that this (he meaneth Peter) maſter of the whole world, made him gouernour there. And in another place bringing in that God ſaid to Hieremie, I haue ſet thee like an yron Pillar, and like a braſen wall: But the Father (ſaith hee) made him ouer one nation, but Chriſt made this man (meaning Peter) ruler of the whole world &c. And leſt theſe places ſhould ſeeme to attribute this ſupreme Authoritie to Peter onely, and not alſo to his Succeſſors: it is to be remembred, that Irenæus and Cyprian acknowledge and call the Church of Rome chiefe and principall. And Theodoretus in an Epiſtle to Leo, calleth the ſame in conſideration of the Biſhop of that See his primacie, *Orbi terrarum præſidentem*, Preſident, or (122) bearing rule ouer the world. Ambroſe vpon that place of Paul, 1. Timoth. 3. where the Church is called the pillar and ſtay of the truth, ſaith thus: *Cum totus mundus Dei ſit, Eccleſia tamen domus eius dicitur: Cuius hodie rector eſt Damaſus.* Whereas the whole world is Gods, yet the Church is called his Houſe, the ruler whereof at theſe dayes is Damaſus

* I would not weary and trouble the Reader with ſuch a number of allegations, were it not that M. Iewell beareth the world in hand, we haue not one ſentence or clauſe for vs, to prooue, either this, or any other of all his Articles.

But perhaps ſome one will ſay, yet I heare not the Biſhop of Rome called Head of the Vniuerſall Church. What forceth it whether that very terme be found in any ancient Writer, or no? Other termes of the ſame vertue and power be often times found. Is it not one to ſay, Head of the Vniuerſall Church, and to ſay, Ruler of Gods Houſe, which Ambroſe ſaith? Whereof this argument may be made. * The Church, yea the vniuerſall Church is the houſe of God: But Damaſus Biſhop of Rome is ruler of the houſe of God after Ambroſe: *Ergo*, Damaſus is ruler of the Vniuerſall Church. And by like right and title is the Pope, who is Biſhop of Rome, now alſo ruler of the ſame. What other is it to call the Church of Rome the principall Church, reſpect had to the Biſhop there, and not otherwiſe (wherein a figure of ſpeech is vſed) as Irenæus and Cyprian doe, and Preſident, or (123) ſet in authoritie ouer the whole world, as Leo doth: than to call the Biſhop of Rome, Head of the Vniuerſall Church? What meaneth Chryſoſtome calling Peter, *totius orbis magiſtrum*, the maſter and teacher of all the world: and ſaying in another place * that Chriſt made Peter, not ruler ouer one nation, as the father made Ieremy ouer the Iewes, but ouer the whole world? What other (I ſay) meaneth he thereby, than that he is head of the whole world, and therefore of the Vniuerſall Church?

Peter chiefe.

* Theſe termes be not equiualent.

* Theſe words are craftily added to Chryſoſtome, as to the diſcreet Reader may ſoone appeare.

The 122. vntruth, ſtanding in vntrue tranſlation.

* All theſe words notwithſtanding, M. Harding hath not yet found the Head of the vniuerſall Church.

* A miſerable Syllogiſme. It concludeth *in Secunda figura affirmatiue.*

The 123. vntruth. For Leo hath not one ſuch word.

* Euen ſo Gregory ſaith of Paul, *Obtinuit totum Eccleſiæ principatum*, in 1. Reg. lib. 4. cap. 4.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Touching the name of the Vniuerſall Biſhop, M. Harding hath but one authoritie: and yet the ſame cannot be found. Touching the other name, of Head of the Church, he commeth in onely with ſolly brags, and great vants, as if he were playing at Poſte, and ſhould winne all by vying. He ſaith, If M. Iewell know this, then he ſpeaketh againſt his conſcience: If he know it not, then is he not learned. To contend for learning, it were a childiſh follie. He is ſufficiently learned that ſaith the truth. But if M. Harding with all his learning be able to finde out his Head of the Church, he ſhall haue his requeſt: I will grant him to be learned.

He ſaith, The Biſhop of Rome is ſo named, either in termes equiualent, or expreſly. Thus he doubteth at the matter and ſtammereth, and faltereth at the beginning. But if the Biſhop of Rome were the Head of the Church indeed, and ſo allowed, and taken in the world, why was he neuer expreſly and plainly named ſo? Was there no man then in the world, for the ſpace of ſix hundred yeres, able to expreſſe his name? His termes of like force and meaning, which he calleth equiualent, muſt needs import thus much, That the Biſhop of Rome is aboue all Generall Councels: that he only hath power to expound the Scriptures, and cannot erre, nor be iudged of any man: and that without him there is no health: and that all the world ought to know him for the Vniuerſall Head, vpon paine of damnation. Thus much the Pope himſelfe claimeth by that name. If M. Hardings termes ſound not thus, they are not equiualent. It had beene the ſimpler and plainer dealing for M. Harding to haue ſaid, This name cannot yet be found: and ſo to haue taken a longer day.

Termes equiualent.

As for the matter, the queſtion is moued of the Biſhop of Rome: the anſwer is made of S. Peter: as if S. Peter continued there Biſhop ſtill vntill this day. But it is preſumed, that whatſoeuer priuilege was in Peter, the ſame muſt needs be in the Biſhop of Rome by

Paul chiefe.

Exod. 6. Numer. 10. 4. Reg. 25. *Dist. 44. Cum autem.* *In Bruto.* *Tusculana. 2.* *August. de verbis Dom. in Euang. Matth. ca. 14* *Ambros. Sermon. 66.* *Cypr. De simplicitate prælatorum.*

by Succession, yea although hee haue not one sparke of Peter. S. Peter in the old Fathers is diuersly called, the First, the Chiefe, the Top, the High Honour of the Apostles; and in Eusebius, and S. Augustine, ἀρχηγὸς, and Princeps Apostolorum. In which last words of S. Augustine and Eusebius, I must doe thee, good Reader, to vnderstand, that Princeps, is not alwaies taken for a Prince, or Gouernour endued with power, but often times for the first man, or best of a company. So we reade in the Scriptures, Princeps Familiæ: princeps Legationis: princeps Coquorum: that is, *The Chiefe of the House, or stocke: The chiefe of the Embassage: The chiefe of the Cookes.* In this sense Cicero saith, Seruius Princeps in iure ciuili: Philosophorum princeps Aristippus: *Seruius the chiefe in the Ciuile Law: Aristippus the chiefe of Philosophers.* So is S. Peter called Princeps Apostolorum: And therefore S. Augustine calleth him, Primum, & Præcipuum, that is, *The First, and the chiefe of the Apostles.*

We may not imagine, as M. Harding semeth to doe, that Peter was made a Lord, or Prince, and had power and dominion ouer his brethren. S. Ambrose, as it is before alleged, comparing Peter and Paul together, saith thus: Inter ipsos, quis cui præferatur, incertum est: *Whether of these two I may set before the other, I cannot tell.* Likewise S. Cyprian saith: Hoc erant cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi, & Honoris, & Potestatis: *The rest of the Apostles were the same that Peter was, endued with like Fellowship both of Honour and of Power.* S. Ambrose saith: *Hee cannot discerne betweene Peter and Paul, whether he may set before other.* S. Cyprian saith: *All the Apostles had like Honour, and like Power:* Yet by M. Hardings fantasie, Peter onely was the Prince: and all the rest were subiects and vnderlings vnto him.

Chrysostom. in Matt. hom. 55. Matth. 28. Mar. 16. Psalm. 19. Rom. 10. *Chrysost. in Iohan. hemil. 87.* *Chrysostom. in Acta. hom. 3.* *Chrysost. in Epist. ad Romanos. homil. 18.* *Greg. in Iob. lib. 27. ca. 6.* *Greg. in 1. Regum. li. 4. ca. 4.*

But Chrysostome saith: *Christ made Peter Ruler ouer the whole World.* I know not what speciall power M. Harding will gather of these words. For the same Commission that was giuen to Peter, in as large and as ample sort was giuen also to the rest of the Apostles. Christ said vnto them all: Ite in vniuersum mundum &c. *Goe into the whole world and preach the Gospell.* And S. Paul saith it was prophesied of them before, In omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum: *The sound of them went out into all the world.* Therefore, that S. Chrysostome speaketh here of S. Peter, the same otherwhere he speaketh in like forme of words of all the Apostles. Thus he writeth vpon S. Iohn: Apostoli suscipiunt curam totius mundi: *The Apostles receiue the charge of all the world.* Likewise hee writeth of Saint Paul: Michaeli Gens commissa est Iudæorum: Paulo verò Terræ, ac Maria, atque Vniuersi Orbis habitatio: *Vnto Michael is committed the nation of the Iewes: but Land and Sea, and all the habitation of the world is committed vnto Paul.* And againe: Paulo Deus omnem prædicationem, & res Orbis, & Mysteria cuncta, vniuersamq; dispensationem concessit: *God hath giuen vnto Paul all maner preaching, the matters of the world, all Mysteries, and the ordering of all.* So likewise saith S. Gregorie: Paulus catenis vinctus Romam petit occupaturus Mundum: *Paul being bound with chaines, went to Rome, to conquer the whole world.* And againe he saith: Paulus ad Christum conuersus, Caput effectus est Nationum: quia obtinuit totius Ecclesiæ principatum: *Paul being conuerted vnto Christ, was made the Head of Nations, because hee obteined the chiefrie of all the Church.* This was that Vniuersall power, that Chrysostome saith was giuen vnto S. Peter: and that not seuerally vnto him alone, but ioyntly, and together, with all the rest of Christs Apostles. Which thing the same Chrysostome otherwhere plainly declareth by these words: Apostoli vniuersum Orbem terrarum peruaserunt, & omnibus Principibus fuerunt magis propriè Principes, Regibus potentiores: *The Apostles ranged ouer the whole world, and were more like Princes, than the Princes indeed, and more mighty than the Kings.* Thus was, not only Peter, but also all the rest, and euery of the Apostles made rulers ouer the whole world.

Chrysostom. in Psalm 44.

Chrysostom. in Iohan. hom. 87.

It is further alleged, *That Peter appointed Iames Bishop of Hierusalem,* and the same is touched by Chrysostome. Although this place of Chrysostome import not greatly, yet being well sifted and considered, it may seeme very suspitious, as nothing agreeing either with that went before, or with that followeth afterward: but altogether sauoring of some corruption. If M. Harding himselfe would consider the words with indifferent iudgement, I doubt not but he would marueil how they came thither.

Lucæ. 24. Iohan. 15. Act. 1. Iohan. 17. Iohan. 20. Galat. 1. Galat. 2.

Neither is it likely, That Iames toke authoritie of Peter, hauing before taken sufficient authoritie of Christ himselfe. For this Commission Christ gaue to euery of his Apostles all alike: *As my louing Father sent me, so doe I send you: Ye shall be witnesses to me, euen to the ends of the world.* And if Peter gaue authoritie vnto Iames; who then gaue authoritie vnto Paul? Certainly S. Paul dwelt in no Peculiar, but was as much subiect to Iurisdiction, as S. Iames. But S. Paul saith, *He was an Apostle,* Non ab hominibus, neque per hominem: *Neither of men, nor by man, but by Iesus Christ, and God the Father. They that were the chiefe of the Apostles gaue nothing vnto me. The preaching of the Gospell among the Gentiles*

was

was committed vnto mee, euen as vnto Peter the preaching of the Gospell among the Iewes. And Chrysostome expounding the same place saith thus: Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec illius egebat voce: Sed honore par erat illi: nihil hîc dicam amplius: *Paul had no need of Peters helpe, nor stood in need of his voice: but was in honour as good as hee: I will say no more.* Hereby it may appeare, that the rest of the Apostles toke not their Apostleship or authority of S. Peter.

Paul chiefe.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Galat. ca. 2.

But being granted, that Peter appointed Iames to preach in Hierusalem, yet will it not follow therefore, that Peter had rule and dominion ouer the Apostles. For thereof would follow this great inconuenience: *The Appostles at Hierusalem appointed Peter, to goe, and to preach in Samaria:* Ergo, *The Apostles had rule and dominion ouer Peter.* Which were an ouerthrow of M. Hardings greatest principle.

Actor. 8.

But let vs grant, that Peter was the Head of the Apostles, as a matter nothing pertaining to this question: Will M. Harding thereof conclude, that the Pope is therefore the Head of the Vniuersall Church? For what is there in the Pope, that was in Peter? Preaching of the Gospell? He preacheth not. Feeding of the Flocke? He feedeth not. He will say, Succession, and sitting in Peters Chaire, which is in Rome. A man may answer, *The Scribes and Pharisees sate in Moses Chaire.* But M. Harding knoweth, that Peter, when he receiued this priuilege, was in Hierusalem, and not in Rome. Therefore this argument would better stand thus: Peter neither had Dominion ouer the rest of the Apostles: nor was Bishop of Rome, when Christ spake vnto him: Therefore the Bishop of Rome cannot iustly claime hereby the Vniuersall Power and Dominion ouer all the world. Verily S. Augustine saith, Paulus ipse non poterat esse Caput eorum, quos plantauerat &c. *Paul himselfe could not be the Head of them that he had planted: For he saith, that we being many are one Body in Christ: and that Christ himselfe is the Head of that Vniuersall Body.* Of these words of S. Augustine we may gather this reason: S. Paul could not be the Head of them that he had planted: Therefore much lesse may the Pope be the Head of them that he neuer planted.

Matth. 23.

Augustin. contra literas Petiliani lib. 1.

1. Corint. 12. Rom. 12. Ephes. 1.

Yet replie will be made, *That Theodoretus calleth the Church of Rome* τὴν διακριθεῖσαν πρωτεθρόνην, which words M. Harding vntruly translateth, President, or bearing rule ouer the world. For he knoweth, That the Greeke word πρωτεθρόνια, signifieth, Sitting in the first place, and forceth not of necessity any rule or gouernment ouer others. He might better haue turned it, Ecclesiam orbis terrarum primariam, *The most notable, or chiefe Church of the world:* And so would his translation haue well agréed with the Constitutions of the Emperour Iustinian: wherein the prœminence of sitting in the first place in all Councels and Assemblies, is by speciall Priuilege granted to the Bishop of Rome.

Authen. Collat. 9. De Eccles. tit. 1. Cod. de Sacrosanctis Eccl. ca. Decernimus.

Likewise it will be replied, That Cyprian calleth the Church of Rome, Ecclesiam Principalem: *The principall Church:* whereof it were much for M. Harding to reason thus:

The Church of Rome is a principall Church:

Ergo, *the Bishop of Rome is Head of the Vniuersall Church.*

For Cyprian himselfe in the same Epistle in plaine expresse words saith, *The authoritie of the Bishops of Aphrica is as good, as the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome.*

Cyprian. lib. 1. Epist. 3.

Cicero, to blaze the nobilitie of that citie, calleth it, Lucem orbis terrarum, atque Arcem omnium Gentium, The Light of the World, and the Castle of all Nations.

Cicero in Catil. Oratio. 4.

Frontinus likewise, Roma Vrbs indiges, terrarúmque Dea: *Rome is a wantlesse Citie, and the Goddesse of the world.* And S. Hierome of the same in his time saith, Romanum Imperium nunc Vniuersas Gentes tenet: *The Empire of Rome now possesseth all Nations.* And in the Councell of Chalcedon the Emperour of Rome is called, Dominus Omnis Terræ, and, Dominus Vniuersi Mundi: *The Lord of all the Earth,* and, *the Lord of the whole World.* In consideration aswell of this worldly state and maiesty, as also of the number, and constancie of Martyrs: of the place of Peters trauell: of the antiquitie of the Church: and of the puritie of Doctrine, the Church of Rome was called the Principall Church of all others. But hee addeth further, Vnde Vnitas Sacerdotalis exorta est: *From whence the Vnitie of the Priesthood first began.* For that these words seeme to weigh much, I thinke it good herein to heare the iudgement of some other man, that may seeme indifferent. Polydorus Virgilius expounding the same words of Cyprian writeth thus: Ne quis erret, nulla alia ratione Sacerdotalis ordo à Romano Episcopo profectus esse dici potest, nisi apud Italos duntaxat id factum esse intelligatur: cum perdiu ante aduentum Petri in vrbem Romam, apud Hierosolymos Sacerdotium rité institutum fuisse, liquidò liqueat: *Lest any man heereby deceiue himselfe, it cannot in any other wise be said, that the order of Priesthood grew first from the Bishop of Rome, vnlesse we vnderstand it onely within Italy. For it is clere and out of question, that Priesthood was orderly appointed at Hierusalem a good while before Peter euer came to Rome.* This commendation therefore, by the iudgement of Polydore, was giuen by S. Cyprian to the Church

Hieron. ad Algasiam quæs. 11 Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 1.

Polydor. Virgil. de inuentorib. rerum lib. 4.

Church of Rome in respect of Italie, and not in respect of the whole world. And therefore S. Augustine saith, Ciuitas, quasi Mater, & Caput est Cæterarum: vnde etiam Metropolis appellatur: *The Citie is as the Mother and the Head of other townes: and thereof (in respect of such townes) it is called the Mother Citie.* And in this sense Chrysostome calleth the Citie of Antioch, Metropolim Fidei, *The Mother of the Faith.*

August. de consensu Euangelist. lib. 3.

Ad populum Antiochen. hom. 17.

M. Harding saith further, *The Church is called the House of God: The ruler whereof* (saith S. Ambrose) *in these daies is Damasus.* Here is narrow seeking to finde out somewhat: and yet the same somewhat will be worth nothing. First, what opinion S. Ambrose had herein, it is easie elsewhere of other his words to be seene. In his Epistle vnto the Emperour Valentinian, he calleth Damasus, not Prince of the People: nor Head of the Church: nor Vniuersall Bishop: but onely Bishop of the Church of Rome. And writing vnto Siricius the Bishop of Rome, he calleth him his Brother.

Ambrosius lib. 5. epist. 30.

Ambros. li. 10. epist. 81.

But he calleth Damasus by expresse words, the Ruler of Gods Church. He might haue had the like witnesse of S. Hierome, Damasus virgo, Ecclesiæ Virginis Doctor est: *Damasus being a Virgin, is the teacher of the Church, that is a Virgin.* And what will M. Harding gather hereof? Or what thinketh he of Ambrose himselfe, and of other Bishops: was not euery of them the Ruler of the Church of God? Verily S. Paul thus exhorteth the Clergie of Ephesus at his departing thence: *Take heed to your selues, and to the whole flocke, wherein the Holy Ghost hath made you ouerseers to rule the Church of God, which he hath gotten with his Blood.* There appeareth no other difference betwæn these words of S. Paul, and the other of S. Ambrose, sauing only, that S. Ambrose saith, Rector Ecclesiæ: and S. Paul saith, Regere Ecclesiam. Yet did not S. Paul by his words appoint the Ministers of Ephesus to rule ouer the whole Church of God. Thus S. Hierome calleth Origen, Magistrum Ecclesiarum, *The Master or Teacher of the Churches.* Thus Theodoretus calleth Chrysostome, Doctorem Orbis terrarum, *The teacher of all the world.* Thus Nazianzene calleth S. Basil, *The Pillar and Buttresse of the Church.*

De Apologia aduersus Iouinianum.

Actor. 20.

Hieron. de locis Hebraicis.

Theodoret. li. 5. ca. 32.

Nazianzen. in laudem patris sui. στῦλον καὶ ἐδραίωμα.

But marke well (gentle Reader) and thou shalt see, that M. Harding hath pretily wrested vp this place of S. Ambrose quite out of tune, and of an Indefinite, or a Particular Proposition, contrary to his rules of Logike, will nods conclude an Vniuersall, the better to maintaine the Popes Vniuersall power. For that S. Ambrose speaketh indefinitely of a Church, without limitation of one, or other, that M. Harding stretcheth and forceth to the whole Vniuersall Church: as if the whole Church of God had bæne at Rome. The like kind of error led Bonifacius the eight to reason thus: Dominus dixit generaliter, Pasce oues meas, non singulariter, has, aut illas: Ergo, commisisse intelligitur Vniuersas: *The Lord said generally vnto Peter, Feed my sheepe: he said not specially, Feed these or them: Therefore we must vnderstand, that he committed them vnto Peter altogether.* If M. Harding had not taken S. Ambrose vp so short, by the words that immediately follow, he might well haue knowen his meaning. For thus he openeth what he meant by the House of God: Ibi necesse est dicatur esse Domus Dei, & Veritas, vbi secundùm voluntatem suam timetur: *There we must needs say, Gods Howse, and Truth is, wheresoeuer God is feared according to his will.* This house was in all places where God was knowen and serued: and not only in the Church of Rome.

De Maior. & Obedien. Vnam Sanctam.

Iohan. 21.

Ambros. in 1. Tim. cap. 3.

Yet will M. Harding say, These be euasions. For S. Ambrose semeth to acknowledge a speciall rule and gouernment in Damasus, that was not common vnto others. Certainly his words import not so. And how can we know his meaning, but by his words? But to put the matter out of doubt, let vs consider whether the selfe same forme of speech, haue bæne applied vnto any others in like sort. Arsenius in his submission writeth thus vnto Athanasius: Nos quoque diligimus pacem, & vnitatem cum Ecclesia Catholica, cui tu per Dei gratiam præfectus es: *Wee also loue Peace and Vnitie with the Catholique Church, ouer which you by the grace of God are made gouernour.* Here Athanasius is pronounced Gouernour of the Catholique Church: Yet was he not the Bishop of Rome. So likewise saith S. Cyprian: Hæc Ecclesia vna est, quæ tenet, & possidet omnem sponsi sui in Gratiam: hac præsidemus: *This Church is one, that keepeth and holdeth the grace of her Spouse: In this Church we are the Rulers.* Here S. Cyprian calleth himselfe the President or Ruler of Gods Church: Yet was he the Bishop of Carthage, and not of Rome. To be short, in like sort Origen pronounceth generally of all Priests: Si tales fuerint, vt à Christo super illos ædificetur Ecclesia: *If they be such, as vpon them the Church of God may be built.* Here Origen imagineth, that euery Priest is the foundation of Gods Church: Yet were it hard to say, Euery Priest is Bishop of Rome. S. Ambroses meaning therefore is, that euery Bishop or Patriarke within his Precincts, or Prouince, is the ruler of the whole Church. And this is it that Cyprian semeth to say: Episcopatus vnus est, cuius à singulis in solidum pars tenetur: *The Bishopricke is one, a portion whereof is possessed in whole of euery Bishop.*

Athanas. in Apolog. 2.

Cyprian. ad Iubaianum de Hæreticis Baptizandis.

Orig. in Matt. tractatu 1.

Cyprian. de simplicitate Prælatorum.

Therefore

Therefore M. Harding ſeemeth to doe wrong to S. Ambroſe, thus violently to abuſe his words, to proue the Biſhop of Romes Vniuerſall Power.

Here M. Harding doubting leſt his Reader being weary of theſe cold ſlender ſhifts, and loking for ſome other more ſubſtantiall and formall reaſons, would ſay: *I heare not yet the Head of the Vniuerſall Church*, purpoſely preuenteth the matter, and ſaith: what forceth that, whether that verie terme be vſed in any ancient writers or no? Gentle Reader, I beſeech thee, marke well this dealing. This name, the Head of the Vniuerſall Church is the very thing that we denie, and that M. Harding hath taken in hand to proue, and boldly auoucheth, that he hath already plainly ſhewed and proued the ſame. Yet now in the end, finding himſelfe deſtitute, he turneth it off, as a thing of nought, and ſaith, *What forceth that, whether he were called by that very name or no?* As though he would ſay, All the old Fathers of the Church both Greekes and Latines, wanted words and eloquence, and either they could not, or they durſt not call the Head of the Church by his owne peculiar name. Howbeit, if the Biſhop of Rome be ſo called, it may be ſhewed: If not, then is my firſt aſſertion true. Verily, touching the title of Vniuerſall Biſhop, S. Gregory calleth it, Nouum nomen: *A new name, vnacquainted, and vnknowen vnto the World.* And ſaith further: *If we quietly take this matter, we deſtroy the Faith of the Vniuerſall Church.* This therefore was the cauſe that the ancient Doctours neuer called the Biſhop of Rome the Head of the Church: for that they knew he was neither reputed nor taken ſo, nor was indeed the Head of the Church. M. Harding hauing not yet found the thing that he ſo long ſought for, at the laſt is faine to make it vp by ſhift of reaſon: The Vniuerſall Church (ſaith he) is the houſe of God.

Gregor. lib. 4. Epiſt. 32. Gregor. li. 6. epiſt. 24. Vniuerſæ Eccleſiæ fidē corrumpimus.

Damaſus is the Ruler of the Houſe of God; *Ergo*, Damaſus is Ruler of the Vniuerſall Church.

This *Syllogiſmus* is a manifeſt Fallax, and hath as many faults as lines.

First, there is an Equiuocation or double vnderſtanding of theſe words: The houſe of God. For both the Vniuerſall Church, and alſo euery particular Church, is Gods houſe. 1

Againe, there is another Fallax, which they call, Ex meris particularibus, or, A non Diſtributo ad Diſtributum. 2

Thirdly, there is another foule fault in the very Forme of the Syllogiſme, eaſie for any Childe to eſpie: For contrary to all Logiks and order of Reaſon, he concludeth In Secunda Figura affirmatiuè; whereas M. Harding knoweth, all the Mods or Formes of the Second Figure muſt needs conclude Negatiuè. The weakneſſe hereof will the better appeare by the like: *The Vniuerſall Church is the Catholike Church*: But Arſenius ſaith: *Athanaſius the Biſhop of Alexandria was Ruler of the Catholike Church*: Ergo, *Athanaſius the Biſhop of Alexandria was ruler of the Vniuerſall Church.* 3

Thus hitherto M. Iewel may truly ſay, M. Harding hath yet brought neither Clauſe nor Sentence ſufficient to proue, that the Biſhop of Rome was called either the Vniuerſall Biſhop, or the Head of the Vniuerſall Church.

M. Harding. The 32. Diuiſion.

But to ſatisfie theſe men, and to take away occaſion of cauill, I will allege a few places where the expreſſe terme (Head) is attributed to Peter the firſt Biſhop of Rome, and by like right to his Succeſſours, and to the See Apoſtolike. Chryſoſtome ſpeaking of the vertue and power of Peter, and of the ſtedfaſtneſſe of the Church, in the 55. Homily vpon Matthew hath theſe words among other; *Cuius Paſtor & caput homo piſcator, atque ignobilis &c.* By which words he affirmeth that the Paſtor and head of the Church, being but a fiſher, a man, and one of baſe parentage, paſſeth in firmneſſe the nature of the diamant. Againe, in an Homilie of the praiſes of Paul, he ſaith thus: Neither was this man only ſuch a one, but he alſo which was the Head of the Apoſtles, who often times ſaid, he was ready to beſtow his life for Chriſt, and yet was full ſore afraid of death. If he were head of the Apoſtles, then was he head of the inferiour people, and ſo head of the Vniuerſall Church.

A Head for worthineſſe & boldneſſe of ſpirit. So S. Gregory ſaith; *Paulus Caput effectus eſt Nationum. In 1. Regum. lib. 4. ca. 4.*

Hierome writing againſt Iouinian ſaith; *Propterea inter duodecim vnus eligitur, vt capite conſtituto Schiſmatis tollatur occaſio*: For that cauſe among the twelue, one is ſpecially choſen out, that the head being ordained, occaſion of Schiſme may be taken away. Whereby it appeareth, that Peter was conſtituted head, for auoiding of diuiſion and ſchiſme. Now the danger of the inconuenience remaining ſtill, yea more than at that time, for the greater multitude of the Church, and for ſundry other imperfections; the ſame remedy muſt be thought to continue, vnleſſe we would ſay that Chriſt hath leſſe care ouer his Church now that it is ſo much increaſed, than he had at the beginning, when his flocke was ſmall. For this cauſe, except we denie Gods prouidence toward his Church, there is one head for auoiding of ſchiſme alſo now, aſwell as in the Apoſtles time. Which is the Succeſſour of him that was head by Chriſts appointment then, the Biſhop of Rome ſitting in the ſeat that Peter ſate in.

Serm. 124.

Cyrillus ſaith: *Petrus vt Princeps Caputq; cæterorū primus exclamauit, Tu es Chriſtus Filius Dei viui*: Peter as Prince and Head of the reſt, firſt cried out, Thou art Chriſt the Sonne of the liuing God. Auguſtine alſo in a Sermon to the people, calleth him Head of the Church, ſaying; *Totius Corporis membrum in ipſo capite curat Eccleſia, & in ipſo vertice componit omnium membrorum Sanitatem*: He healeth the member of the whole Body, in the Head it ſelfe of the Church, and in the top it ſelfe he ordereth the health of all the members. And in an other place; *Saluator quando proſe, & Petro exolui iubet, pro omnibus exoluiſſe videtur. Quia ſicut in Saluatore erant omnes cauſa magiſterij, ita poſt Saluatorem in Petro omnes continentur: ipſum enim conſtituit Caput* (124. *omnium*: Our Sauiour, ſaith Auguſtine, when as he commanded paiment (for the Emperour) to be made for himſelfe,

Li. Quæſt. vet. & noui Teſta. 57.

The 124. vntruth, ſtanding in the wilfull falſifying of S. Auguſtine.

Head.

* S. Augustine saith, *Caput eorum*, not *Caput omnium.*

selfe, and for Peter, he seemeth to haue paid for all. Because as all were in our Sauiour for cause of teaching, so after our Sauiour, all are contained in Peter, for he ordained him Head of all. Heere haue these men the plaine and expresse terme; Head of the rest, Head of the Church, Head* of all, and therefore of the Vniuersall Church. What will they haue more? Neither heere can they say, that although this title of the Head be giuen to Peter, yet it is not deriued and transferred from him to his Successours. For this is manifest, that Christ instituted his Church, so as it should continue to the worlds end, according to the saying of Esay the Prophet; *Super solium David, &c.* Vpon the seat of Dauid, and vpon his Kingdome, shall Messias sit to strengthen it, and to establish it in iudgement and righteousnesse, from this day for euermore. And thereof it is euident that he ordained those who then were in ministery, so as their authoritie and power should be deriued vnto their aftercommers for the vtility of the Church for euer; specially, whereas he said, Behold I am with you vntill the end of the World. And therefore, as Victor writeth in his story of persecution of the Vandales, Eugenius Bishop of Carthago conuented of Obadus a great Captaine of Hunerike King of the Vandales, about a Councell to be kept in Aphrica for matters of the Faith, betwixt the Arians supported by the King and the Catholikes, said in this wise, *Si nostram fidem, &c.* If the Kings power desire to know our Faith, which is one and the true, let him send to his friends. I will write also to my brethren that my fellow-Bishops come, who may declare the Faith that is common to you and vs, (there hee hath these words) *Et præcipuè Ecclesia Romana, quæ Caput est omnium Ecclesiarum*: And specially the Church of Rome which is the Head of all the Churches. Naming the Church of Rome, he meaneth the Bishop there, or his Legates to be sent in his stead

Cap. 9.

Matth. vlt. lib. 2.

Thus it is prooued by good and ancient authorities, that the name and title of the Head, Ruler, President, Chiefe and Principall Gouernour of the Church, is of the Fathers attributed, not only to Peter, but also to his Successours Bishops of the See Apostolike. And therefore M. Iewel may thinke himselfe by this charitably admonished, to remember his promise of yeelding and subscribing.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

I might well passe all these authorities ouer without answer, as being no part of this question. For, I trust, the indifferent Reader of himselfe will soone beleeue, we seeke no quarrell against S. Peter, nor goe about to scanne his titles, or to abridge him of his right. It is knowen that S. Peter by these Fathers heere alleged, Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostome, and Cyril, is called the Top and Head of the Apostles. And if need so required, the same might be auouched by authorities many moe. For who is he that knoweth not this?

But M. Harding knoweth, the case is moued, not of S. Peter, but specially and namely of the Bishops of Rome: **and of them, he knoweth, he should haue answered, if his mind had beene to deale plainly, and as he saith, fully to satisfie his Reader. Within the space of the first fiue hundred yeeres, there were in** Rome 68. **Bishops, for their constancie in the Faith, for their Vertue and Learning farre exceeding the rest, that haue beene sithence. The number of them being so great, their learning so notable, their life so holy, it is maruell, M. Harding should not be able to shew, that any one of them all, in so long a time, was once called the Head of the Church, and therefore should thus rest only vpon S. Peter, who, when he receiued these titles, was not Bishop of** Rome; **and of whom there is no question moued. Wherefore M. Harding may better consider his note in the margin: and whereas he hath written thus:** Peter and his Successors called the Head of the Church expressly: **He may rather amend it, and make it thus** *Only Peter, and not one of his Successours, called Head of the Church expressly.* **So should his note and his text agree together: and so should he not deceiue his Reader.**

M. Harding misalleageth the old Doctours.

Heere by the way, I must put M. Harding in remembrance, notwithstanding, for his estimations sake, he would faine haue his forth in these matters, yet should he not therefore thus beguile the eies of the simple, and thus misreport and falsifie the words of the ancient Fathers. For alleging S. Hierome, **he leaueth out words, and altogether dissembleth the whole meaning. In** S. Augustine **he hath shifted and placed one word for another.** S. Hierome **in that place with great contention of words, commendeth** S. Iohn **aboue** S. Peter, **namely for that** S. Peter **was a Married man, and** S. Iohn **a Virgin. In the heat of his talke, he laieth this obiection against himselfe:** At dices, Super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia: licet id ipsũ in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat, & cuncti Claues Regni Cœlorũ accipiant, & ex æquo super eos Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur: *But then wilt say, the Church was built vpon Peter* (and not vpon Iohn.) *Albeit in another place the same is done* (that is, the Church is built) *vpon all the Apostles: and all receiue the Keies of the Kingdome of Heauen: and the strength of the Church is built equally vpon them all.* **M. Harding thought it good to skip and dissemble these words, notwithstanding they be ioined all together in one sentence with the rest. It followeth:** Tamen propterea inter duodecim vnus eligitur, vt Capite constituto, Schismatis tollatur occasio. Sed cur non Iohannes electus est virgo? Ætati delatum est: quia Petrus Senior erat: ne adhuc Adolescens, & penè Puer progressæ etatis hominibus præferretur: *Notwithstanding the Disciples were all equall, yet therefore one is chosen among the twelue, that a Head being appointed, occasion of Schisme might be taken away. Then wilt say againe, And why was not Iohn being a virgin, chosen to bee this Head?* He answereth: *Christ gaue the preeminence vnto age. For Peter was an aged man: lest that Iohn being a yong man,*

Hieronym. aduersus Iouinianum, lib. 1.

The Apostles all equall.

man, and in maner a childe, should be placed before men of yeeres. This therefore is S. Hieromes meaning, that Christ, to auoid confusion, which lightly happeneth in all companies where as is none order, appointed S. Peter, for that he was the eldest man, to speake and to deale for the rest, as the Chiefe and Head of all his brethren. Which order also was afterward vniuersally taken throwout the world, that in euery Congregation of Priests, one should haue a speciall preeminence aboue others, and be called Episcopus, the Bishop. This was thought a good politike way to auoid contention in the Church; and not, as M. Harding imagineth, To make one man the Vniuersall Ruler ouer all the World. But touching this whole matter, I haue answered more at large in the 15. Diuision of this Article.

Head.

Hieronym. ad Nepotian. 7. Quæst. 1. in Apibus. Hieron. in epist. ad Titum, ca. 1. Hieron. contra Luciferian.

In the allegation of S. Augustines words, M. Harding for his pleasure, hath vttered manifest corruption, in the Head of this word Eorum, purposely vsing this word, Omnium. For whereas S. Augustine saith: Ipsum constituit Caput eorum: *Christ appointed him to bee the Head of them:* M. Harding thought it better to allege it thus: Ipsum constituit Caput Omnium: *Christ appointed him to be Head of All.* He saw right well, that corrupt Doctrine would not stand without some corruption.

M. Harding misreporteth S. Augustine. Augustin. in quæstio. Veter. & Noui Testa. quæstio. 75.

Further, I doubt not, but M. Harding doth well remember that the question that lieth betweene vs, riseth not of any extraordinary name, once or twice giuen vpon some speciall affection, but of the vsuall and knowen stile of the Bishops of Rome. For Theophrastus saith; Quæ semel aut bis accidunt, contemnunt Legislatores: *The Law makers haue no regard to such things, as neuer happen but once or twice.* Neither whatsoeuer name is giuen to any man of fauour or admiration of his vertue, is therefore to be reckoned as his ordinary title. S. Chrysostome writeth thus of the Emperor Theodosius: Læsus est, qui non habet parem vllum super terram: Summitas, & Caput omnium super terram hominum: *He is offended that in the Earth hath no peere: the Toppe and the Head of all men in the World.* Eleutherius the Bishop of Rome, gaue this title vnto Lucius the King of this Iland: Vos estis Vicarius Christi: *You (being the King) are Christs Vicar.* Chrysostome speaking of Elias, calleth him Prophetarum Caput: *The Head of the Prophets.* The Councell of Ephesus writing vnto the Emperours Theodosius and Valentinianus, expresseth Cyrillus the Bishop of Alexandria by this title: Caput Episcoporum congregatorum Cyrillus: *Cyrillus the Head of the Bishops there assembled.* Likewise Gregory intitleth S. Paul in this wise: Paulus ad Christum conuersus, Caput effectus est Nationum: *Paul being conuerted vnto Christ, was made the Head of Nations.* And to take nearer view of the Bishop of Romes owne speciall titles, Pope Nicolas thereof writeth thus: Constat Pontificem à pio Principe Constantino Deum appellatum: *It is well knowen, that the Pope of that godly Prince Constantinus was called God.* And further they say: Papa est in primatu Abel, in zelo Elias, in mansuetudine Dauid, in potestate Petrus, in vnctione Christus: *The Pope in Primacie is Abel, in zeale is Elias, in mildnesse is Dauid, in power is Peter, in anointing is Christ.* These names, as I haue said, of affection and fauour haue béne giuen: yet will not M. Harding therefore say, that either the Emperour ought to be called the Head of all men vpon earth; or the King, Christs Vicar; or Elias, the Head of the Prophets; or Cyrillus, the Head of the Councell; or S. Paul, the Head of Nations; or the Bishop of Rome, God or Christ, as by an vsuall and ordinary title. And although, as I haue said, S. Peters titles be nothing incident to this Question, yet we may examine M. Hardings argument touching the same: Peter (saith he) was Head of the Apostles:

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Roman. 11. hom. 18. Cyrill. Tom 4. Epist. 5. Gregor. in 1. Regum, lib 4. cap. 4. Dist. 96. Satis euidenter.

Ergo, He was Head of other inferiour people; and so Head of the Vniuersall Church.

This is a deceitfull kinde of argument, and riseth by degrées and steps, and in the Schooles is called Sorites. In like sort M. Harding might conclude thus:

Elias, as Chrysostome saith, was Head of the Prophets:

Ergo, *He was Head of the inferiour people: and so of the whole Vniuersall Church.*

But the errour hereof will better appeare by that argument that Themistocles the Gouernour of Athens sometimes made of himselfe, his Wife, and his Childe. Thus he said:

The people of Athens is ruled by me: I am ruled by my Wife.

My Wife is ruled by my Childe:

Ergo, *The people of Athens is ruled by my Childe.*

In this reason this one word Rule, hath three significations. For Themistocles ruled, as a Gouernour: his Wife, as a shrew: his Childe, as a wanton. And therein standeth the errour of the argument. So likewise this word Head, signifieth sometime the chiefe in Learning, sometime the chiefe in Dignity, sometime the chiefe in Gouernment. And héreof also in reasoning riseth great errour. For it were great follie to reason thus: Paul in learning and dignity was the Head of all others: Ergo, He was the Head in Gouernment ouer all others.

Touching Victor that wrote the story of the Vandales, he is neither Scripture, nor

Peter not head.

Councell, nor Doctour, nor writeth the Order or Practise of the Primitiue Church: nor is it well knowen, either of what credit he was, or when he liued: nor doth he call the Bishop of Rome the Head of the Vniuersall Church. Onely he saith, *Rome is the Chiefe or Head Church of all others.* Which thing of our part, for that time is not denied: as may better appeare by that is written before in sundry places of this Article. So doth Prudentius call Bethleem the Head of the World: Sancta Bethlem Caput est Orbis. So likewise Chrysostome giuing instructions vnto Flauianus touching the City of Antioch, saith vnto him: Cogita de totius Orbis Capite: *Thinke thou of* (Antioch, that is) *the Head of all the World.* Whereby is meant a Head of Dignity or Honour, and not of Rule.

Prudentius in Enchiridio.

Chrysost. ad populum Antioch. hom. 3.

M. Harding finding not one of the whole number of the Bishops of Rome, once named the Head of the whole Church, therefore thought it best to found his proofe vpon S. Peter. And for that cause, others of his side haue aduanced S. Peter aboue all Creatures. Bonifacius saith, That God toke Peter, In Consortium Indiuiduæ Trinitatis: *Into the fellowship euen of the Indiuisible Trinity: & that from him as from the Head, he powreth all his gifts into the Body.* Whereof M. Harding forgeth his argument thus: Peter was the Head of the Apostles, and so of all other inferiours:

Extra. de election. & electi potestate Bonif. 8. Fundamẽta. Ab ipso, quasi quodam capite, dona sua omnia diffundit in Corpus.

Ergo, The Bishop of Rome is the Head of the vniuersall Church.

Thus, as Iulianus the Emperour in his phrensie sometime imagined, that the Great Alexanders soule was come by Succession to dwell in him: euen so now the Bishops of Rome imagine by like phantasie or phrensie, that S. Peters soule commeth by Succession to dwell in them: and that therefore they ought to haue whatsoeuer title or interest Peter had. And for that cause they say, *We are Peters Successours.* Euen as the Pharise is sometime said: *We be the children of Abraham.* But S. Iohn the Baptist said vnto them: *Put not your affiance in such Succession. For God is able euen of the stones to raise vp Children vnto Abraham.* And when the children of Scæua being Sorcerers and Infidels began to practise in the name of Christ and Paul, the man possest made them answer: *Christ I know, and Paul I know, but what are you?* Surely Peter was not the Head of the Apostles, because he was Bishop of Rome, For he was so appointed by Christ, in consideration of age, and boldnesse of spirit, long before he came to Rome: yea and had so bene, and so had continued, although he had neuer come to Rome. Therefore M. Hardings argument is a Fallax, and in the Schooles is called Fallacia accidentis.

Socrates lib. 3. ca. 18.

Matth. 3.

Actor. 19.

Thus notwithstanding S. Peter were Head of the Church, yet cannot the Bishop of Rome therefore of right claime the same title. And albeit S. Peter of speciall reuerence, and admiration of his spirit and vertues, were sometimes so called, as S. Paul sometimes also was, yet vnderstanding this chiefly for Vniuersall Power, & Gouernment, & Authority to command, S. Peter neither was the Head of the Vniuersall Church indeed, nor was so esteemed or taken among his brethren, as many wates it may well appeare. And therefore S. Gregory saith: Paulus membra Dominici Corporis certis extra Dominũ quasi capitibus, & ipsis quidem Apostolis subijci particulariter euitauit: *S. Paul forbade that the members of Christs Body should not be subiect particularly vnto any certaine Heads besides the Lord, no not vnto the Apostles themselues.* So saith S. Augustine, as it is before alleged: Nec Apostolus Paulus Caput est, & Origo eorum, quos plantauerat: *Neither is Paul himselfe the Head of them whom he planted.* Likewise againe he saith: Paulus Apostolus, quanquam sub Capite præcipuum membrum, tamen membrum est Corporis Christi: *Paul the Apostle, although he be a speciall member vnder* (Christ) *the Head, yet is he a member* (and not the Head) *of Christs Body.* To conclude, S. Gregory saith: Certè Petrus Apostolus primum membrum Sanctæ & Vniuersalis Ecclesiæ est. Paulus, Andreas, Iohannes, quid aliud, quàm singularium sunt plebium Capita? Et tamen sub vno Capite omnes membra sunt Ecclesiæ. Atque vt cuncta breui cingulo locutionis astringam, Sancti ante Legem, Sancti in Lege, Sancti sub Gratia: Omnes hi perficientes Corpus Domini, in membris sunt Ecclesiæ constituti: Et nemo se vnquam Vniuersalem vocari voluit: *Indeed Peter the Apostle is the chiefe member of the holy Vniuersall Church. Paul, Andrew and Iohn, what are they else, but the Heads of seuerall people? Yet notwithstanding vnder one Head they are all members of the Church. To be short, the Saints before the Law, the Saints in the Law, the Saints vnder Grace, all accomplishing the Lords Body, are placed among the members of the Church: And there was neuer yet none that would call himselfe* Vniuersall.

Paul the Head aswell as Peter.

Gregor. li. 4. Epist. 38.

Augustin. contra literas Petiliani, l. 1. c. 5.

Augustin. contra Epistolam Parmeniani, li. 2. ca. 8.

Gregor. li. 4. Epist. 38.

Whereof we may well conclude thus: S. Peter, touching Gouernment and Ordinary Rule, was not the Head of the Vniuersall Church: Ergo, Much lesse is the Pope the Head of the Vniuersall Church.

M. Harding. The 33. Diuision.

I will adde to all that hath beene hitherto said of this matter, a saying of Martin Luther, that such as doe little regard the grauity of ancient Fathers of the old Church, may yet somewhat be mooued with the lightnesse

neſſe of the yong Father Luther, Patriarke and founder of their new Church. Lightneſſe I may well call it, for in thus ſaying which I ſhall heere rehearſe, he doth not ſo ſoberly allow the Popes Primacy, as in ſundrie other Treatiſes hee doth raſhly and furiouſly inueigh againſt the ſame. In a little Treatiſe intituled, *Reſolutio Lutheriana ſuper propoſitione ſua 13. De poteſtate Papæ*: His words bee theſe; *Primum quod me mouet Romanum Pontificem eſſe aliis omnibus, quos ſaltem nouerimus ſe Pontifices gerere, Superiorem, eſt ipſa voluntas Dei, quam in ipſo facto videmus. Neque enim ſine voluntate Dei, in hanc Monarchiam vnquam venire potuiſſet Romanus Pontifex. At voluntas Dei, quoquo modo nota fuerit, cum reuerentia ſuſcipienda eſt, ideoque non licet temere Romano Pontifici in ſuo primatu reſiſtere. Hæc autem ratio tanta eſt, vt ſi etiam nulla ſcriptura, nulla alia cauſa eſſet, hæc tamen ſatis eſſet ad compeſcendam temeritatem reſiſtentium. Et hac ſola ratione glorioſiſſimus Martyr Cyprianus, per multas Epiſtolas confidentiſſimè gloriatur contra omnes Epiſcoporum quorumcunque aduerſarios. Sicut 3. Regum legimus, quod decem Tribus Iſrael diſceſſerunt à Roboam filio Salomonis, & tamen quia voluntate Dei, ſiue auctoritate factum eſt, ratum apud Deum fuit. Nam & apud Theologos omnes, voluntas ſigni, quam vocant operationem Dei, non minus quàm alia ſigna voluntatis Dei, vt præcepta prohibitiua &c. metuenda eſt. Ideo non video quomodo ſint excuſati à Schiſmatis reatu, qui huic voluntati contrauenientes, ſeſe à Romani Pontificis auctoritate ſubtrahunt. Ecce hæc eſt vna prima mihi inſuperabilis ratio, quæ me ſubijcit Romano Pontifici, & primatum eius confiteri cogit*: The firſt thing that mooueth mee to thinke the Biſhop of Rome to bee ouer all other that we know to be Biſhops, is the very will of God, which wee ſee in the fact or deed it ſelfe: For without the will of God the Biſhop of Rome could neuer haue been commen vnto this Monarchy. But the wil of God, by what mean ſoeuer it be knowen, is to be receiued reuerently. And therefore it is not lawfull raſhly to reſiſt the Biſhop of Rome in his Primacie. And this is ſo great a reaſon for the ſame, that if there were no Scripture at all, nor other reaſon, yet this were enough to ſtay the raſhneſſe of them that reſiſt. And through this onely reaſon, the moſt glorious Martyr Cyprian in many of his Epiſtles vaunteth himſelfe very boldly againſt all the aduerſaries of Biſhops, whatſoeuer they were. As in the third Booke of the Kings, we read, that the ten Tribes of Iſrael departed from Roboam Salomons ſonne, Yet becauſe it was done by the wil or authority of God, it ſtood in effect with God. For among all the Diuines, the will of the Signe, which they call the working of God, is to bee feared no leſſe, than other Signes of Gods will, as commandements prohibitiue, &c. Therefore I ſee not how they may bee excuſed of the guilt of Schiſme, which going againſt this will, withdraw themſelues from the authoritie of the Biſhop of Rome. Lo this is one chiefe inuincible reaſon that maketh mee to bee vnder the Biſhop of Rome, and compelleth mee to confeſſe his Primacy. Thus farre Luther.

Thus I haue briefly touched ſome deale of the Scriptures, of the Canons and Councels, of the edicts of Emperours, of the Fathers ſayings, of the reaſons, and of the manifold practiſes of the Church, which are wont to be alleged for the Popes Primacy and ſupreme authority. Withall, I haue prooued that which M. Iewel denieth (125) that the Biſhop of Rome within ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, hath beene called the Vniuerſall Biſhop, of no ſmall number of men of great credit; and very often times head of the Vniuerſall Church, both in termes equiualent, and alſo expreſſly. Now to the next Article.

The 125. vntruth. For Peter only excepted, either of theſe titles reſteth yet vnreprooued.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

The caſe goeth ſomewhat hardly of M. Hardings ſide, when he is thus driuen for want of other authorities, to craue aid at Luthers hand. Touching alteration in Religion, which it pleaſeth him to name lightneſſe, if he would ſoberly remember his owne often changes, and the light occaſions of the ſame, he ſhould finde ſmall cauſe to condemne others. Certainly D. Luther, after God had once called him to be a Miniſter of his truth, neuer lokt backward from the plough, nor refuſed the Grace that God had offered him, notwithſtanding he ſaw, all the powers of the World were againſt him. His argument is taken of the effects or tokens of Gods will. The Pope, ſaid he, is aduanced vnto a Monarchie or Emperiall ſtate of a Kingdome. But he could neuer be ſo aduanced without Gods will: Ergo, It was Gods will it ſhould be ſo.

Arguments that be taken of Gods permiſſion, or of the tokens of his will, make no neceſſary proofe, either that the things in themſelues be good, or that God is pleaſed with them. For God ſuffered Nabuchodonozor, Sennacherib, Pharao, and others; and their Eſay 36. **very eſtates and proceedings were euident tokens of Gods will. For if his will had been otherwiſe, they could not haue raigned: Yet neither were they good men, nor was God pleaſed with their doings. So ſhall God ſuffer Antichriſt to ſit euen in the holy place,** Daniel. cap. 7. Daniel ſaith: Faciet, & proſperabitur: *He ſhall take his pleaſure and ſhall proſper.* **And againe:** Matth. 24. Roborabitur fortitudo eius, & non in viribus ſuis: *His power ſhall be confirmed, but not through* Daniel 8. *his owne ſtrength,* **but through the ſtrength of God. Yet ſhall not God therefore loue or fauour Antichriſt, or delight in his wickednеſſe. For** 2. Theſſal. 2. S. Paul ſaith: *The Lord ſhall kill him with the ſpirit of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy him with the brightneſſe and glory of his comming.*

Now, forasmuch as it hath pleaſed M. Harding, for the concluſion hereof, to touch the Effects of Gods will, I truſt it ſhall not be painfull to thee, gentle Reader, likewiſe ſhortly to conſider the effects and ſequels of this Vniuerſall power. It is granted, that the Church of Rome, **for ſundry cauſes before alleged, was euermore from the beginning, the chiefe and moſt notable aboue all others. Notwithſtanding** Æneas Syluius **being himſelfe a Biſhop of** Rome, **ſaith:** Ad Romanos Pontifices ante Nicenum Concilium, aliquis ſanè, etſi non magnus, reſpectus fuit: *Verily there was ſome reſpect had to the Biſhops of Rome before the Councell of Nice, although it were not great.* S. Cyprian **in his time complained,** *That Pride and Ambition ſeemed to lodge in Prieſts boſomes.* Origen **in his time complained, that the Miniſters of Chriſt ſeemed euen then to paſſe the outrage of Worldly Princes.**

Æneas Syluius. *Cypriã. in Sermone de Ieiunio & Tentatione.* *Origẽ in Matthe. tractat. 12.*

Yet was the Church of God in those daies euery where vnder cruell and vehement persecution. Therefore to abate this ambitious courage, order was afterward taken in the Councell of Carthage: *That no man should bee intitled the Highest Bishop, or the Prince of Bishops, or by any other like name.* The Greeke Bishops in the Councell of Antioch, and the Bishops of Aphrica, being in number two hundred and seuentene, in the Councell there found themselues greeued with the pride and arrogancie of the See of Rome. For that Iohn the Bishop of Constantinople, toke vpon him to be called the Vniuersall Bishop, therefore Gregory the Bishop of Rome called him Lucifer, and the Messenger of Antichrist: and said, He had chosen vnto him a proud, an arrogant, a pernicious, and a blasphemous name. But after that by great sute made vnto the Emperour Phocas, the Bishops of Rome themselues had once obtained the same title, and had possessed and enioyed the same a long while, in the end, their pride was such, that it seemed intollerable. Then they began to decree and determine, That euery mortall man is bound to be Subiect to the See of Rome, and that vpon paine of damnation: and that without the obedience of that See, no man is saued: That the Bishop of Rome is an Vniuersall Iudge ouer all men: and that he himselfe may be iudged by no man, neither by Emperour, nor by King, nor by all the Clergie, nor by the whole people, for that it is written by the Prophet Esay: *The Axe shall not glory against him that heweth with it.* That whatsoeuer he doe, no man may presume to say vnto him, Domine cur ita facis? *Sir, why doe you thus? That he hath all maner Law and Right* in Scrinio pectoris sui: *in the Closet of his breast. That all other Bishops receiue of his fulnesse:* [a] That no Councels can make Lawes for the Church of Rome, and that the Bishop of Romes authority is plainly excepted out of all Councels: [b] That notwithstanding the Pope draw innumerable companies of people after him into Hell, *yet no mortall man may dare to reproue him.* [c] That the Popes will or pleasure standeth as a Law, In illis quæ vult, est ei pro ratione voluntas. And that there is none other reason to be yelded of his doings but only this: Quia ipse voluit: *For he would.* [d] For of that, that is nothing, he is able to make some thing: Quia de eo, quod nihil est, potest facere aliquid: [e] That he hath the right of both Swords, aswell of the Temporall, as of the Spirituall: That the Temporall Prince may not draw his Sword, but onely at his becke and sufferance: Ad nutum & Patientiam Ecclesiæ: [f] That he is Hæres Imperij, *The heire apparent of the Empire,* [g] and is seuen and fifty degrees greater than the Emperour: and that because in such proportion the Sunne is greater than the Moone: [h] That it is lawfull for him to depose Kings and Emperours: as he did the Emperour Henrie the sixth, and Childericus the French King.

Then he made the Emperour of Christendome to lie downe flat before him, and spared not to set his foot vpon his necke, adding withall these words of the Prophet Dauid: [i] *Thou shalt walke ouer the aspe and the Cocatrice:* [k] Then he was content that the Emperour should be called Procurator Ecclesiæ Romanæ: *The Proctor or Steward of the Church of Rome:* [l] Then as if he had beene Nabuchodonozor, or Alexander, or Antiochius, or Domician, he claimed vnto himselfe the name and title of Almighty God: and said further, That being God, he might not be iudged of any mortall man: [m] Then he suffereth men to say: Dominus Deus noster Papa: *Our Lord God the Pope:* [n] Tu es omnia, & super omnia: *Thou art all, and aboue all. All power is giuen vnto thee as well in Heauen as in Earth.* I leaue the miserable spoile of the Empire: the losing of sundry great Countries and Nations, that sometimes were Christened: the weakning of the Faith: the incouraging of the Turke: the ignorance and blindnesse of the people. These and other like be the effects of the Popes Vniuersall Power. Would to God he were indeed, that he would so faine be called, and would shew himselfe in his owne particular Church to be Christs Vicar, and the [o] Dispenser of Gods Mysteries. Then should godly men haue lesse cause to complaine against him. As now, although that he claimeth were his very right, yet by his owne iudgement he is worthy to lose it. [p] For Pope Gregory saith: Priuilegium meretur amittere, qui abutitur potestate: *He that abuseth his authority is worthy to lose his priuiledge.* And Pope Syluerius saith: [q] Etiam quod habuit, amittat, qui, quod non accepit, vsurpat: *Hee that vsurpeth that hee receiued not, let him lose that he had.*

Now briefly to lay abroad the whole Contents of this Article:

First, M. Harding hath wittingly alleged such testimonies vnder the names of Anacletus, Athanasius, and other holy Fathers, as he himselfe knoweth vndoubtedly to be forged, and with manifest absurdities and contradictions, do betray themselues, and haue no maner colour or shew of truth.

Dist. 99. Primæ Sedis. Sozo. li. 3. ca. 7. Concil. Aphric. Epist. ad Cælest. Gregor. li. 4. Epist. 34. 38. &c. Anno Domini, 602. De Maior. & Obedien. Vnam Sanctam. Ibidem in Glossa. 9. Quæst. 3. Nemo. Dist. 21. Inferior sedes. Esay 10. De Concessione Præbendæ, in Glossa. Extra. de Constitution. Licet. Durand. lib. 2. [a] De electio. & electi potestate. significasti. [b] Dist. 40. Si PP. [c] De translatio. Episcopi: Quanto in Glossa. [d] De Concessio. Præbendæ: Proposuit, In Glossa. [e] De Maior. & obedien. Vnam Sanctam. [f] Clem. de Appellationib. Pastoralis. [g] De Maior. & obedien. Solite in Glossa. [h] De Senten. & re iudicata. Ad Apostolicæ. [i] Psalm. 91. [k] Dist. 96. Si Imperator. In Glossa. [l] Dist. 96. Satis euidenter. [m] Iohan. 22. de verbor. signific. In Glossa. Cum Inter. [n] In 2. Sic decet. Concil. Lateranen. Sub Iulio. [o] 1. Corinth. 4. [p] 11. Quæst. 2. Priuilegium. [q] 25. Quæst.

2 He hath made his claime by certaine Canons of the Councel of Nice, and of the Councell of Chalcedon: and yet hée knoweth, that neither there are, nor neuer were any such Canons to be found.

3 He hath dismembred and mangled S. Gregories words, & contrary to his owne knowledge, he hath cut them off in the middest, the better to begule his Reader.

4 He hath violently, and perforce drawen, and rakt the Old godly Fathers, Irenæus, Cyprian, Ambrose, Cyrillus, Augustine, Theodoretus, Hierome and others, contrary to their owne sense and meaning.

5 Touching appeales to Rome, the gouernment of the East part of the world, Excommunications, Approbations of orders, allowance of Councels, Restitutions and Reconciliations, hée hath openly misreported the whole Vniuersall order and practise of the Church.

6 All this notwithstanding, he hath as yet found neither of these two glorious Titles, that he hath so narrowly sought for: notwithstanding great paines taken, and great promises, and vaunts made touching the same.

Therefore to conclude, I must subscribe, and rescribe, euen as before, That albeit M. Harding haue trauelled painfully herein, both by himselfe, and also with conference of his friends: Yet cannot he hitherto finde, neither in the Scriptures, nor in the old Councels, nor in any one of all the ancient Catholike Fathers, that the Bishop of Rome within the space of the first six hundred yéres after Christ, was euer intitled, either the Vniuersall Bishop, or the Head of the Vniuersall Church.

OF REALL PRESENCE.

THE FIFTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR that the people was then taught to beléeue, that Christs Body is Really, Substantially, Corporally, Carnally, or Naturally in the Sacrament.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

(126) Christian people hath euer beene taught, that the Bodie and Blood of Iesus Christ by the vnspeakable working of the grace of God, and vertue of the holy Ghost is present in this most holy Sacrament, and that verily, and indeed. This doctrine is founded vpon the plaine words of Christ, which he vttered in the institution of this Sacrament, expressed by the Euangelists, and by S. Paul. As they were at Supper (saith Matthew) Iesus tooke bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples and said: Take ye, Eate yee, This is my Bodie, And taking the Cup, he gaue thankes, and gaue it to them, saying: Drinke yee all of this: For this is my Blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many in remission of sinnes. With like words almost, Marke, Luke and Paul doe describe this diuine institution. Neither said our Lord onely, This is my Body; but lest some should doubt how his words are to be vnderstanded, for a plaine declaration of them, he addeth this further, which is giuen for you. Likewise of the Cup he saith not only, This is my Blood; but also, as it were to put it out of all doubt, Which shall be shed for many.

Matth. 26.

Mar. 14. Luc. 22. 1 Cor. 11. Luc. 22.

Now, as faithfull people do beleeue, that Christ gaue not a figure of his Body, but his owne true and verie Body in substance, and likewise not a figure of his Blood, but his verie pretious Blood it selfe at his Passion and death on the Crosse for our Redemption. so they beleeue also, that the words of institution of this Sacrament admit no other vnderstanding, but that hee giueth vnto vs in these holy Mysteries, his selfe same Body, and his selfe same Blood, in truth of substance, which was crucified and shed foorth for vs. Thus to the humble beleeuers, Scripture it selfe ministreth sufficient argument of the truth of Christs Bodie and Blood in the Sacrament, against the Sacramentaries, who hold opinion, that it is there but in a figure, signe, or token (128) onely.

The 126. vntruth. For M. Harding is not able to proue, that the people in the Primatue Church was thus taught.

The 127. vntruth. For this is no part of our Doctrine.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

I know not well, whether M. Harding doe this of purpose, or else it be his maner of writing. But this I see, that being demanded of one thing, he alwaies turneth his answer to another. The question is héere moued, *Whether Christs Body be Really and Corporall in the Sacrament.* His answer is: *That Christs Body is ioined, and vnited, Really and Corporally vnto vs*: And héerein hée bestoweth his whole treatie, and answereth not one word vnto the question.

In

Dissensiō and Contradiction of M. Hardings side.

In the former Articles he was able to allege some forged Authorities: some counterfet practise of the Church: some words of the ancient Doctours, although mistaken: some shew of naturall and worldly reason: or at the least wise, some colour or shift of words. But in this matter, for direct proufe he is able to allege nothing: no not so much as the helpe and drift of naturall Reason.

Where he saith, Christian people hath ever beene thus taught from the beginning, It is great marueil, that either they should be so taught, without a teacher: or their teacher should thus instruct them, without words; or such words should be spoken, and neuer written. Verily M. Harding by his silence, and want herein, secretly confesseth, that these words, Really, Carnally, &c. in this matter of the Sacrament, were neuer vsed of any Ancient Writer: For if they were, either he, or his fellowes would haue found them.

But Christ saith, *This is my Body: This is my Blood:* And to put the matter out of doubt, he addeth, *Which is giuen for you: which shall be shed for you.* Hereupon M. Harding foundeth his Carnall Presence: notwithstanding Christ himselfe vseth not any of these words, nor any other word leading thereunto. And doctor Fisher, sometime Bishop of Rochester, a famous man of M. Hardings side, saith erpresly, that this sense cannot in any wise be gathered of the bare words of Christ. For thus he writeth: Hactenus Matthæus: qui & solus Testamenti Nouimeminit. Neque vllum hic verbum positum est, quo probetur, in nostra Missa veram fieri Carnis, & sanguinis Christi præsentiam: *Hitherto S. Matthew: who onely maketh mention of the New Testament. Neither are there any words heere written, whereby it may be prooued, that in our Masse is made the very presence of the Bodie and Blood of Christ.* And further he auoucheth it thus: Non potest igitur per vllam Scripturam probari: *Therefore it cannot be prooued by any Scripture:* Here we se great varietie of iudgement in M. Hardings owne side, and that in matters of greatest weight. M. Harding thinketh his Carnall Presence is proued sufficiently by these words of Christ, This is my Body: Doctor Fisher contrariwise saith: *It cannot be prooued, neither by these words of the Scripture, nor by any other.* And yet it was euer thought, M. Fisher was as learned in euery respect as M. Harding.

Io. Fisherus contra Captiuita. Babylonicam. N. 8. & 9.

And, albeit M. Harding lay such hold vpon these words of Christ, as if they were so plaine, yet others of his friends, by their diuerse and sundry constructions touching the same, haue made them somewhat darke and doubtfull, and cannot yet throughly agree vpon them. Some of them say: *Christs Naturall Bodie is in the Sacrament, howbeit, not Naturally:* Some others say: *It is there both Naturally, and also Sensibly:* Some of them say precisely: *Neuer man vsed either of these two termes, Naturally, or Sensibly in this case of Christs Presence in the Sacrament.* Yet others of them put the matter out of doubt, and say, *Christ is there present Naturally:* And in the Councell holden in Rome vnder Pope Nicolas the second it was determined, and Berengarius forced to subscribe, *That Christ is in the Sacrament Sensibly; or, as they then grossely vttered it in Latine,* Sensualiter: Some of them say, *Christs Body is not diuided, or broken in the Sacrament, but only the Accidents.* But pope Nicolas, with his whole Councell saith, *Christs Body it selfe is touched with fingers, and diuided, and broken, and rent with teeth, and not onely the Accidents.* Thus to leaue other moe contrarieties, it is plaine hereby, that the best learned of that side are not yet fully agreed vpon the sense of Christs words: notwithstanding their suters and well-willers are otherwise perswaded of them. And doth M. Harding beleeue, that Christian people were thorowly resolued herein, when their Doctours and Teachers were not resolued: or that the Scholars were better instructed than their Masters?

D. Smyth De Eucharist. Stephan. Gardinerus. D. Smyth. Ste. Gardiner in the Diuels Sophistry fol. 6. De Con. dist. 2. Ego Berengar. Ste. Gardiner in the Diuels Sophistry. fo. 15 Ego Berengar. Manibus tractari, frangi: dentibus atteri.

Now, if this Article cannot be proued, neither by any words of the Scriptures, as doctor Fisher saith, & as it further appeareth by the dissension of the Teachers; nor by any one of all the old Doctors, and fathers, as M. Harding granteth by his silence: then may godly and Catholique Christian people wel stay their iudgements, and stand in doubt of this Carnall and Fleshly Presence. Indeed the question betweene vs this day, is not of the Letters or Syllables of Christs Words: for they are knowen and confessed of either partie: but onely of the Sense and Meaning of his words: which, as S. Hierome saith, is the very pith and substance of the Scriptures. And the law it selfe saith: In fraudem Legis facit, qui saluis verbis Legis, Sententiam eius circumuenit: *Hee committeth fraude against the Lawes, that, sauing the words of the Law, ouerthroweth the meaning.* And S. Augustine seemeth herein to finde fault with certaine in his time. His words be these: Cum in vnam partem procliuiter ire cœperint, non respiciunt Diuinæ authoritatis alia testimonia, quibus possint ab illa intentione reuocari, & in ea, quæ ex vtrisque temperata est, Veritate, ac moderatione consistere: *When they once beginne to runne headlong of one side, they neuer consider other testimonies of Diuine authoritie, whereby they might be withdrawen from their purpose, and so might rest in that Truth and measure that is tempered and tuned of both.* If it be

Hieron. ad Galat cap. 1. Pan. de Leg & Senatusc on. & longa consuet. Contra Legem. August. de fide & operib, ca. 4.

true

true that M. Harding ſaith, That this is the only ſenſe and meaning of Chriſts wordes, That his Bodie is in ſuch groſſe ſort Really and fleſhly in the Sacrament, and that vnleſſe Chriſt meane ſo, he meaneth nothing: it is great wonder, that none of the Ancient Catholique Doctors of the Church, no not one, could euer ſée it: or if they ſaw it, yet, being ſo eloquent, lacked wordes, and were neuer able to expreſſe it.

Figure.

But he ſaith, It is no bare Figure, as the Sacramentaries hold opinion, And therefore he thinketh he may conclude, that Chriſts Body is Really preſent. So might hée alſo ſay, The Sacrament of Baptiſme is no Bare Figure, Therefore Chriſt is therein Really preſent. Certainly S. Auguſtine ſpeaking of the Rocke in the wilderneſſe, writeth thus: Hinc eſt, quod dictum eſt, Petra erat Chriſtus. Non enim dixit, Petra ſignificat Chriſtum, ſed tanquam hoc eſſet: quod vtique per Subſtantiam non hoc erat, ſed per Significationem: *Therefore it is written, The Rocke was Chriſt. For S. Paul ſaith not, The Rocke ſignified Chriſt, but as though it had beene Chriſt indeed: whereas it was not Chriſt in Subſtance, but by way of Signification, or by a Figure.* S. Paul ſaith not, The Rocke was a Figure of Chriſt, but the Rocke was Chriſt. And S. Baſile in the like ſort ſaith: Chriſtus re vera Petra eſt immobilis, & inconcuſſa: *Chriſt indeed is the ſure and the firme Rocke.* Yet I trow M. Harding will not therefore ſay, Chriſt was Really or Carnally in the Rocke.

Auguſt. Super Leuiticum quæſt. 57.

1. Corint. 10.

Baſil. De Pœnitentia.

Neither can I thinke M. Harding is ſuch a deadly enemie vnto Figures, as hée would now ſeeme to be. For he himſelfe in theſe few wordes of Chriſt, touching the Inſtitution of this holy Sacrament, as it ſhall be ſhewed hereafter more at large, is faine to ſeeke help of ſixteene or moe ſundry Figures: and the ſame ſo ſtrange, ſo groſſe, and ſo inſenſible that neither S. Auguſtine, nor S. Hierome, nor any other old Diuine euer knew them, nor any good Grammarian would allow them. So many, and ſuch figures, it is lawfull for him to deuiſe and vſe, to maintaine the Falſhood. But for vs, in defence of the Truth, it may not be lawfull to vſe one.

Verily the old Catholique Fathers were neuer ſo curious in this behalfe, nor thought it ſuch Hereſie, to expound Chriſts wordes by a Figure. Briefly for a taſte hereof, S. Auguſtine ſaith, Chriſtus adhibuit Iudam ad Conuiuium, in quo, Corporis & Sanguinis ſui Figuram Diſcipulis ſuis commendauit, & tradidit: *Chriſt receiued Iudas to his banket, wherein hee gaue vnto his Diſciples the Figure of his Bodie and Blood.* Likewiſe Tertullian ſaith: Chriſtus acceptum Panem, & diſtributum Diſcipulis, Corpus ſuum illum fecit, Dicendo hoc eſt Corpus meum, hoc eſt, Figura Corporis mei: *Chriſt receiuing the Bread, and the ſame being diuided vnto his Diſciples, made it his Body: ſaying, This is my Body, that is to ſay, The figure of my Body.* S. Ambroſe ſaith: Antè Benedictionem verborum Cæleſtium alia ſpecies nominatur: poſt Conſecrationem Corpus Chriſti Significatur: *Before the Bleſſing of the Heauenly Words, it is called another kinde: after the Conſecration, the Body of Chriſt is Signified.* Here I muſt proteſt, That as M. Harding is troubled with want of witneſſe in this caſe, ſo am I oppreſſed with multitude. If I ſhould allege all the reſt of the Ancient Godly Fathers that write the like, I ſhould be ouer tedious to the Reader. And another place hereafter following, will ſerue more aptly to this purpoſe. But by the way gentle Reader, I muſt giue thee to vnderſtand, that S. Auguſtine hereof writeth thus: Ea demum eſt miſerabilis Animæ ſeruitus, Signa pro rebus accipere: & ſupra creaturã corpoream, oculum mentis ad hauriẽdum æternum lumen leuare non poſſe: *Indeed this is a miſerable bondage of the Soule, to take the Signes in the ſtead of things that be ſignified: and not to haue power, to lift vp the eie of the minde aboue the bodily creature, to receiue the light that is euerlaſting.* And againe: In principio cauendum eſt, ne Figuratam locutionem ad Literam accipias. Et ad hoc enim pertinet, quod ait Apoſtolus, Litera occidit: Spiritus autem viuificat. Cum enim Figuratè dictum ſic accipitur, tanquam propriè dictum ſit, carnaliter ſapitur. Neque vlla mors animæ congruentiùs appellatur: *Firſt of all, thou muſt beware that thou take not a Figuratiue ſpeech according to the Letter. For therevnto alſo it appertaineth that the Apoſtle ſaith: The Letter killeth, the Spirit giueth life. For when the thing that is ſpoken in a figure, is ſo taken, as if it were plainly ſpoken (without Figure) there is fleſhly vnderſtanding: neither is there any death more fitly called, the death of the Soule.* By theſe wordes good Reader, S. Auguſtine ſtirreth vp thy ſenſes, to conſider well what thou doeſt, leſt perhaps thou be deceiued.

Auguſtin. in Pſalmum 3.

Tertull. contra Marcion. li. 4.

Ambroſ. de illis qui initiantur Myſteriis. Cap. vltimo.

Auguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtiana. li. 3. cap. 5. The Bondage of the Soule.

Ibidem.

The Death of the Soule.

And whereas M. Harding thus vniuſtly reporteth of vs, *That we maintaine a naked Figure, and a bare Signe, or Token only, and nothing elſe:* If he be of God, he knoweth well, he ſhould not thus beſtow his tongue, or hand, to beare falſe witneſſe. It is written, *God will deſtroy them all that ſpeake vntruth.* He knoweth well, we feed not the people of God with bare Signes and Figures: but teach them, that the Sacraments of Chriſt be holy Myſteries, and that in the miniſtration thereof, Chriſt is ſet before vs, euen as he was crucified vpon the Croſſe: and that therein we may behold the Remiſſion of our ſins, and our Reconciliation vnto God: and as Chryſoſtome briefly ſaith: *Chriſts great Benefit, and our Salvation.*

Deuteron. 5. Exod. 22. Pſalm. 5. Galat. 3. Roman. 5.

Chryſoſt. ad populũ Antioch. Homil. 60.

Figure.

Epheſ. 5.
1. Iohan .4.

uation. Herein we teach the people, not that a naked Signe, or token, but that Chriſts Body and Blood indeed, and verily, is giuen vnto vs: that we verily eat it: that we verily drinke it: that we verily be relæued and liue by it: that we are Bones of his Bones, and Fleſh of his Fleſh: that Chriſt dwelleth in vs, and we in him. Yet we ſay not, either that the Subſtance of the Bread or Wine is done away: or that Chriſts Body is let downe from Heauen, or made Really, or Fleſhly preſent in the Sacrament. We are taught, according to the Doctrine of the old Fathers, to lift vp our hearts to Heauen, and there to feed vpon the Lambe of God. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Ad alta contendat oportet, quiad hoc Corpus accedit: *Whoſo will reach to that Body, muſt mount on high.* S. Auguſtine likewiſe ſaith: Quomodo tenebo abſentem? Quomodo in Cœlum manum mittam, vt ibi ſedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, & tenuiſti: *How ſhall I take hold of him being abſent? How ſhall I reach vp my hand into Heauen, and hold him ſitting there? Send vp thy Faith, and thou haſt taken him.* Thus ſpiritually, and with the mouth of our faith we eat the Body of Chriſt and drinke his Blood, euen as verily, as his Body was Verily broken, and his Blood Verily ſhed vpon the Croſſe. And thus S. Auguſtine, and S. Chryſoſtome, and other holie Fathers taught the people in their time to beleeue. Indeed the Bread that we receiue with our bodily mouths, is an earthly thing, and therefore a Figure: as the water in Baptiſme is likewiſe alſo a Figure: But the Body of Chriſt, that thereby is repreſented, and there is offered vnto our Faith, is the thing it ſelfe, and no Figure. And in reſpect of the glorie thereof, we haue no regard vnto the Figure. Therefore S. Bernard alluding to the ſame, ſaith thus: Annulus non valet quicquam: hæreditas eſt, quam quærebam: *The ſealing-ring is nothing worth: it is the inheritance that I ſought for.*

Surſum corda.
Chryſoſt. in 1. Cori. 10. ho. 24.
Auguſt. in Iohan. tractat. 50.

Bernard. De Cœna Domini.

1 To conclude, three things herein we muſt conſider: Firſt, that we put a difference betweene the Signe, and the thing it ſelfe that is ſignified.

2 Secondly, that we ſeeke Chriſt aboue in Heauen, and imagine not him to be preſent bodily vpon the Earth.

3 Thirdly, that the Bodie of Chriſt is to be eaten by Faith only, and none otherwiſe.

And in this laſt point appeareth a notable difference betweene vs, and M. Harding: For we place Chriſt in the heart, according to the Doctrine of S. Paul: M. Harding placeth him in the mouth. We ſay, Chriſt is eaten only by Faith: M. Harding ſaith, He is eaten with the mouth, and teeth. But Gods name be bleſſed: a great number of godly people doth already perceiue the vncomfortable, and vnſauory vanitie of this Doctrine. For they haue learned of S. Cyprian, that Chriſts bleſſed Bodie is Cibus mentis, non ventris: *Meat for the minde, not for the belly:* And they haue heard S. Auguſtine ſay: Quid paras dentem, & ventrem? Crede, & manducaſti; *What prepareſt thou thy tooth, and thy belly? Beleeue, and thou haſt already eaten.*

Epheſ. 3.

Now conſider thou good Chriſtian Reader, with thy ſelfe, whether it be better to vſe this word, Figure, which word hath beene often vſed of Tertullian, S. Auguſtine, and al the reſt of the Ancient Fathers, without controlment: or elſe theſe new fangled words, *Really, Corporally, Carnally, &c.* Which words M. Harding is not able to ſhew, that in this caſe of being Really in the Sacrament, any one of all the Old Fathers euer vſed.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

The 128. vntruth, ioined with dangerous Doctrine.

Againe (128) we cannot finde, where our Lord performed the promiſe he had made in the 6. chapter of Iohn: The Bread which I will giue, is my Fleſh, which I will giue for the life of the world: but only in his laſt Supper. Where, if he gaue his Fleſh to his Apoſtles, and that none other, but the very ſame, which he gaue for the life of the world: it followeth, that in the bleſſed Sacrament is not meere Bread, but that ſame his very Body in ſubſtance. For it was not meere Bread, but his very Bodie that was giuen and offered vp vpon the Croſſe.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

This Principle is not onely falſe in it ſelfe, but alſo full of dangerous Doctrine, and may ſone leade to Deſperation. For if no man may eat the Fleſh of Chriſt, but only in the Sacrament, as here by M. Harding it is ſuppoſed; then all Chriſtian Children, and all others whoſoeuer, that depart this life without receiuing the Sacrament, muſt needs be damned, and die the Children of Gods anger. For Chriſts words be plaine and generall: *Vnleſſe yee eat the Fleſh of the Sonne of Man, ye ſhall haue no life in you.* Whereunto we may adde this Minor: *Chriſtian Children receiue not the Sacrament*; and therefore by M. Hardings iudgement, *eat not the Fleſh of the Sonne of Man:* Hereof it muſt needs follow, *That Chriſtian Children haue no life in them, but are the Children of Damnation.* This is the Concluſion of M. Hardings Doctrine. But little care theſe men, who, or how many periſh, ſo their fantaſies may ſtand vpright. But our Doctrine grounded vpon Gods holy

Iohan. 6.

Word,

Word, is this, That as certainly as Christ gaue his Body vpon the Crosse, so certainly he giueth now the selfe same Bodie vnto the Faithfull: and that, not onely in the Ministration of the Sacrament, as M. Harding vntruly imagineth, but also at all times, whensoeuer we be able to say with S. Paul, I thinke I know nothing, but Iesus Christ, and the same Christ crucified vpon the Crosse. Therefore S. Ambrose writeth thus: Quid petis O Iudæe? vt tibi auferat tibi Panem, quem dat omnibus, dat quotidie, dat semper? *O thou Iew, what desirest thou? That Christ should giue thee Bread? He giueth it to all men: he giueth it daily: he giueth it at all times.* If it be true that S. Ambrose saith, that Christ giueth that Bread, which is his Bodie, at all times, then is it false that M. Harding saith, that Christ performeth his promise, and giueth his Bodie onely at the Ministration of the Sacrament. and therefore S. Augustine saith, Non tantùm in Sacramento, sed etiam re ipsa comedunt Corpus Christi: *They eat Christs Bodie, not onely in the Sacrament, but also in very deed.* Heere S. Augustine saith, contrary to M. Hardinge Doctrine, that wee eat Christs Bodie, *not onely* in the Sacrament, but also otherwise: yea, and so farre he forceth this difference, that he maketh the eating of Christs Bodie in the Sacrament, to be one thing, and the very true eating thereof indeed to be an other thing. Againe, touching the Fathers of the Old law, he saith, that Abraham, Moses, Aaron, and others receiued the Body of Christ truly and effectually, long time before that Christ, either had receiued Flesh of the Blessed Virgin, or had ordained the Sacrament: and that euen the selfe same Bodie, that is receiued now of the Faithfull. To be short, of Christian Children, and other Faithfull that neuer receiued the Sacrament, he writeth thus: Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc vnumquemq; Fidelium Corporis Saguinisq; Domini participem fieri, quando in Baptismate efficitur Membrum Christi, &c. *No man may in any wise doubt, but that euery faithfull man is then made partaker of the Body and Blood of Christ, when in Baptisme he is made a Member of Christ: and that he is not without the fellowship of that Bread, and of that Cup, although before hee eat of that Bread, and drinke of that Cup, hee depart this world, being in the Vnitie of Christs Bodie. For he is not made frustrate of the Communion, and benefit of that Sacrament, while hee findeth that thing which is signified by the Sacrament.* So farre S. Augustine. By these wee may see, It is not all true, that M. Harding so constantly auoucheth. If it might haue pleased him to take aduice of Beda, S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, and other godly Fathers, he should some haue found, that the Faithfull may otherwise eat Christs Body, and that verily, and indeed: and not onely in the Sacrament.

Figure. 1. Corinth. 2.

Ambros. in Psalm. 118. Serm. 18.

August. de Ciuitat. lib. 21. ca. 20. Non solùm.

August. de Vtilitate pœnitentiæ, ca. 1. Manducauerunt eundem cibum quem nos. Augustin. in Sermone ad infantes. Citatur à Beda. 1. Cor. 10. Quando ipse hoc, quod illud Sacramentum significat, inuenit.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuision.

If the words spoken by Christ in S. Iohn of promise, that hee performed in his holy Supper, The Bread that I will giue is my Flesh, had beene to be taken, not as they seeme to meane, plainly and truly, but Metaphorically, Tropically, Symbolically, and Figuratiuely, so as the truth of our Lords Flesh be excluded, (129) as our Aduersaries do vnderstand them, then the Capernaites had not any occasion at all of their great offence. Then should not they haue had cause to murmure against Christ, as the Euangelist theweth: Cap 6. The Iewes (saith S. Iohn) stroue among themselues, saying, How can he giue vs his Fleth to eat? And much lesse his deare Disciples, to whom he had shewed so many and so great miracles, to whom he had before declared so many parables, and so high secrets, should haue had any occasion of offence. And doubtlesse, if Christ had meant they should eat but the signe or figure of his Bodie, they would not haue said, *Durus est hic Sermo*, This is a hard saying, and who can abide to heare it? For then should they haue done no greater thing, than they had done often times before in eating the Easter Lambe. And how could it seeme a hard word or saying, if Christ had meant nothing else but this; The Bread that I will giue, is a Figure of my Bodie, that shall cause you to remember me?

The 129. vntruth, ioyned with vntrue report. For we vnderstand these words of Christs very Flesh and Blood.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This reason holdeth onely of the ignorance of the Capernaites, and hangeth thus: *The Capernaites mistooke Christs words, and vnderstood not what he meant:* Ergo, *Christs Bodie is Really and Carnally in the Sacrament.* And thus M. Harding, as his maner is, buildeth one errour vpon another.

For vnderstanding hereof, it shall be necessary, first, to open the verie sense, and meaning of Christs words: Next, to shew how peruerstly and grosly the Capernaites were deceiued: and last of all, to consider M. Hardings conclusion.

First of all, the Iewes desired Christ to giue them Bread in the Wildernes, as Moses had giuen before vnto their Fathers. Christ to pull them from the grosse and materiall cogitations of their bellies, promised them another kind of Bread, that should be spirituall, and last for euer. Thus he said vnto them: *My Father giueth you true Bread from Heauen. Whoso eateth of this Bread shall liue for euer.* And that they might vnderstand what hee meant, hee saith further: *I am the Bread that came from Heauen. The Bread that I will giue you, is my Flesh, which I shall giue for the life of the world.* Thus he spake of the spiritnall eating and digesting of his Flesh in the hearts of the Faithfull. And so immediatly after hee

Iohn. 6.

opened

Spirituall eating.

opened his owne minde. For when he ſaw the Iewes, for that they vnderſtood him not, were offended, he ſaid further vnto them, *It is the ſpirit that giueth life: the Fleſh profiteth nothing. The words that I ſpeake, are ſpirit and life.* Which words S. Auguſtine in plaine ſort expounndeth thus: Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus ſum. Non hoc Corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis, & bibituri illum Sanguinem, quem fuſuri ſunt, qui me Crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendaui: Spiritualiter intellectum viuificat vos. *Vnderſtand ye ſpiritually that I haue ſpoken. Ye ſhall not eate (with your bodily mouth) this Body that you ſee: nor ſhall ye (with your bodily mouth) drinke that Blood which they ſhall ſhead, that ſhall Crucifie mee. I giue you a certaine Sacrament. The ſame being ſpiritually vnderſtanded giueth you life.* So ſaith S. Baſil, Guſtate, & videte, quoniam ſuauis eſt Dominus: *Taſte ye, and ſee, that the Lord is gratious.* And further he ſaith: *We haue often times marked (in the Scriptures) that the inward powers of the minde, haue their names of the outward members of the Body. Therefore, foraſmuch as our Lord is the true Bread, and his Fleſh the true Food, it muſt needs be, that the delectation and pleaſure of the ſame, be mooued and cauſed within vs, by a ſpirituall kinde of taſte.* Againe he ſaith, *Further we ſay, that there is a certaine Spirituall mouth of the inner man, wherewith he is fed, receiuing the Word of life, which is the Bread that came from Heauen.* Likewiſe ſaith S. Auguſtine, Fides habet oculos ſuos: *Faith hath eies of her owne to ſee withall.* Againe, Intus bibendo fælix ſum: *Happy am I when I drinke (in my heart) within.* And againe, Panis iſte interioris hominis quærit eſuriem: *This Bread ſeeketh the hunger of the inner man.* So ſaith Leo, Circa hoc Corpus Aquilæ ſunt, quæ alis circumuolant ſpiritualibus: *About this body be Eagles, that flee about it with ſpirituall wings.* So likewiſe Origen, Idcirco & verum lumen dicitur, vt habeant oculi animæ, quo illuminentur: Idcirco & verbum, vt habeant aures, quod audiant: & idcirco Panis vitæ, vt habeat guſtus animæ, quod deguſtet: *Therefore is Chriſt called the Light, that the eies of the Soule may haue whereby they may be lightned: Therefore hee is called the Word, that the eares of the ſoule may haue what to heare: and therefore he is called the Bread of life, that the ſenſe of the ſoule may haue what to taſte.* So Tertullian, Auditu deuorandus eſt, intellectu ruminandus, & Fide digerendus: *Chriſt by hearing muſt be deuoured: by vnderſtanding muſt be chewed: and by Faith muſt be digeſted.* In like ſort Chryſoſtome, Magnus iſte Panis, qui replet mentem, non ventrem: *This is that great Bread, that feedeth not the belly, but the minde.* Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: Chriſtus dixit, ſe eſſe Panem, qui de Cœlo deſcendit, hortans vt credamus in ipſum. Credere enim in eum, hoc eſt manducare Panem viuum: *Chriſt named himſelfe the Bread that came from Heauen, exhorting vs to beleeue in him. For beleeuing in him, is the eating of the Bread of life.*

Auguſt. in Pſalm. 98.

Baſil. in Pſal. 33.

ἀναγκη τὸν νοῦν τῇ ἀῤῥ διὰ γεύσεως ἡμῶν νοητῆς ἐγγίνεσθ. ἐστὶ μέν τι καὶ νοητὸν στόμα τῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπε.

Aug. epiſt. 95.

Auguſt. in Ioan. tractat. 26.

Ibidem.

De conſecratione. Diſt. 2. In quibus.

Origen. in Cantic. Cantic. hom. 2.

Tertul. de Reſurrect. carnis.

Chryſoſt. ex. varijs locis in Matth. hom. 9.

Auguſt. in Ioan. tractat. 26.

Hereby it is plaine, that Chriſts meaning is ſpirituall, as Chriſt himſelfe, and all the Old Fathers and Doctors of the Church haue expounded it: not Reall, Carnall, Groſſe and Fleſhly, as M. Harding imagineth. M. Harding will ſay, *That the Eating with the mouth, and the grinding with the teeth, is a worke Spirituall.* By this ſenſe he is a good Proctor for the Capernaites, and muſt néds ſay, that they had a Spirituall vnderſtanding. Howbeit Chryſoſtome will not well ſuffer this euaſion. His words be plaine: Quid eſt Carnaliter inteligere? Simpliciter, vt res dicunter: neque aliud quippiam cogitare. *What is it to vnderſtand Carnally? It is to vnderſtand plainely, euen as the things be vttered: and to thinke vpon nothing elſe.* Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith, Figura eſt, Præcipiens Paſſioni Domini communicandum eſſe, & ſuauiter atque vtiliter recondendum in memoria, quòd Chriſtus pro nobis mortuus ſit: *The ſaying of Chriſt, touching the eating of his Fleſh, is a Figure, or maner of ſpeech, commanding vs to be partakers of Chriſts Paſſion, and with comfort and profit to lay vp in our memorie, that Chriſt hath ſuffered death for vs.* This therefore was Chriſts meaning, and this is the very Eating of his Fleſh.

Chryſoſtom. in Iohan. hom. 46.

Auguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 3. ca. 16

Origen. in Prolog. in Cantic. Canticorum.

Now let vs ſee what ſenſe the Capernaites gathered hereof. Origen ſaith: Accidit, vt ſimpliciores neſcientes diſtinguere, quæ ſint, quæ in Scripturis Diuinis interiori homini, quæ exteriori deputanda ſint, vocabulorum ſimilitudinibus falſi, ad ineptas quaſdam fabulas, & figmenta inania ſe contulerint: *It hapneth ſometime, that ſimple men, being not able to put difference betweene thoſe things in the Scriptures that pertaine to the inner man, and thoſe things that pertaine to the outer man, are deceiued by the likeneſſe of words, and ſo fall into fooliſh fables and vaine fantaſies.* So ſaith S. Hierome: Cum Seniores putentur in Eccleſia, & Principes Sacerdotum, Simplicem ſequendo Literam, occidunt Filium Dei: *Whereas they are taken for the Elders in the Church, and the Chiefe of the Prieſts, by following the Plaine Letter, they kill the Sonne of God.* Euen thus it hapned vnto the Capernaites: that Chriſt ſpake Spiritually of eating with Faith, they vnderſtood groſſely of eating with the téth: as though they ſhould ſwallow downe his Fleſh into their bodies, as other meates: euen in ſuch groſſe ſort as M. Harding would now teach the people to eat Chriſts Body.

Hieronym. li. 3. in Matt. ca. 16

Auguſt. in Iohan. tractat 11.

Tertul. De Reſurrect. carnis.

Tertullian openeth their errour in this wiſe: Durum, & intolerabilem exiſtimarunt ſermonem

monem eius : quasi verè carnem suam illis edendam determinasset : *They thought his speech was hard and intolerable : as though he had determined to giue them his Flesh verily, and indeed to be eaten* (with their mouthes.) Therein, saith Tertullian, stood their errour. Now, to consider M. Hardings ghesses : first hee saith : The Capernaits were offended with Christs words : *Ergo*, It is likely, Christ meant, hee would giue his Body Really and Carnally in the Sacrament. First, Nicolas Lyra, M. Hardings owne Doctour, saith, *That these words of Christ in the sixth of Iohn, pertaine not vnto the Sacrament.* Againe, it is but a simple ghesse, to build Religion vpon an Errour. He might rather say thus : The Capernaits thought they should eat Christs Flesh Really, and Fleshly with their mouthes : but that was not Christs meaning, as it well appeareth, for they were deceiued : Ergo, Christ meant not, they should eat his Flesh, Really and Fleshly, with their mouthes. *Nicol. Lyra in Psalm.110.*

He addeth further : *If Christ had meant, he would giue them only a Figure of his Bodie in his remembrance, there had beene no cause, why either the Capernaits or any other should be offended.* Neither doe we say, that Christ in the sixth Chapter of Iohn, speaking of the Spirituall eating by Faith, made mention of any Figure, but onely of his very Flesh, and very Blood, indeed, and verily to be eaten and drunken. Notwithstanding we say, that Christ afterward in his last Supper, vnto the same Spirituall Eating, added also an outward Sacrament, which of the Old Fathers is often times, and commonly called a Figure. But hereof groweth M. Hardings errour, for that, as Origen saith, *Hee putteth no difference betweene the Body and the Spirit : and things seuerally pertaining to them both.* The Bread is a Figure, but Christs Body is the thing it selfe, and no Figure. The Bread is in the Earth : Christs Body is in Heauen. The Bread is subiect to corruption : Christs Bodie is Immortall, and Glorious, and subiect to no Corruption. Therefore Rabanus Maurus saith : Sacramentum ore percipitur : virtute Sacramenti interior homo satiatur. Sacramentum in alimentum Corporis redigitur : virtute Sacramenti æternam vitam adipiscimur : *The Sacrament is receiued with the mouth : by the vertue of the Sacrament the Inner man is repaired. The Sacrament is turned into the nourishing of the Body : by the vertue of the Sacrament we get euerlasting life.* And S. Augustine saith : Sacramentum de Mensa Dominica sumitur, quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium : Res verò ipsa, cuius Sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque eius particeps fuerit : *The Sacrament is receiued from the Lords Table, of some vnto life, of some vnto destruction. But the thing it selfe whereof it is a Sacrament* (that is, the Body of Christ) *is receiued of euery man vnto life, and of no man vnto destruction, whosoeuer be partaker of it.* *Origen. in Prologo in Cantica Canticorum.* *Raban. Maurus li. 1. ca. 31.* *August. in Iohan. Tract. 26.*

M. Harding. The 4. Diuision.

To conclude shortly : If Christ would so haue beene vnderstanded, as though he had meant to giue but a Figure only of his Bodie, it had beene no need for him to haue alleged his Omnipotencie and Almightie power to his Disciples, thereby the rather to bring them to beleefe of his true Bodie to bee giuen them to eat. *Hoc vos scandalizat ?* Doth this offend you ? saith he. What if you see the Sonne of man ascend where he was before ? It is the spirit that giueth life, &c. As though he had said : Yee consider only my humanitie, that seemeth weake and fraile, neither doe you esteeme my diuine power by the great miracles I haue wrought : But when as ye shall see me by power of my Godhead ascend into Heauen, from whence I came vnto you, will you then also stand in doubt whether yee may beleeue, that I giue you my very Bodie to be eaten ? Thus by signifying his diuine power, Christ confounded their vnbeleefe, touching the veritie and substance of his Body, that he promised to giue them in meat. A simple proofe. For Christ likewise sheweth his Omnipotent power in the water of Baptisme.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding wandreth still about his Figures, and out of Gods Omnipotent Power, deuiseth a very feeble Argument. For thus he reasoneth :

Christ maketh mention of his Ascension into Heauen :
Ergo, *His Body is Really in the Sacrament.*

He hath no iust cause to be offended, for that I lay his Logicke thus abroad. It behoueth the Reader to see, by what force each thing is proued. Verily, if he conclude not thus, he ranneth at riot, and concludeth nothing. *August. in Iohan. Tract. 27.*

As touching Christs Ascension into Heauen, S. Augustine and other ancient Fathers seeme to vse the same, to proue, That there is no such grosse presence in the Sacrament. S. Augustine thereof writeth thus : Si ergo videritis Filium hominis ascendentem, &c. *If you shall see the Sonne of man ascending vp, where he was before, &c. And what is this ? Heereby he openeth that thing, wherewith they were offended. For they thought, he would giue them his Body : But hee told them, that he would ascend into Heauen, and that whole as hee was. When yee shall see the Sonne of man ascend thither, where he was before, then shall you see, that he giueth not his Body in such sort, as you imagine : then shall you perceiue, that his Grace is not consumed or wasted by morsels.* *Illi enim putabam eum erogaturum corpus suum. Certè vel tunc intelligetis, quòd Gratia eius non consumitur morsibus Chrysost. in 1. Cor. 10. ho-*

S. Chrysostome saith, as it is before alleged : Ad alta oportet eum contendere, qui ad hoc

hoc Corpus accedit. Aquilarum, non Graculorum, eſt hæc Menſa: *He muſt mount on high, that will come to this Bodie. For this Table ſerueth for Eagles, and not for Iaies.* So ſaith Saint Hierome: Aſcendamus cum Domino in Cœnaculum, magnum, ſtratum, & mundatum: & accipiamus ab eo Surſum Calicem Noui Teſtamenti: *Let vs goe vp with the Lord (into Heauen) into that great Parlar ſpread, and cleane: and let vs receiue of him aboue the Cup of the New Teſtament.* The like might be alleged of other mee Catholike and ancient Fathers. For Cyrillus ſaith in moſt plaine wordes: Sacramentum noſtrum Hominis manducationem non aſſerit, mentes credentium ad craſſas cogitationes irreligioſè inducens: *Our Sacrament auoucheth not the eating of a Man, leading the mindes of the Faithfull in vngodly maner to groſſe (or fleſhly) cogitations.*

Hieronym. ad Hedibiam quæ. 2.

Cyril. ad obiection. Theodor. Anathem. 11. Ἀνέφικτα.

Doubtleſſe it ſeemeth to make very ſimple proofes of M. Hardings ſide, to ſay thus:

Chriſts Body is aſcended into Heauen:

Ergo, The ſame Body is Really and Fleſhly in the Sacrament.

But M. Harding will ſay, Chriſt ſpeaking to the Capernaits, made mention of his Omnipotent power: therefore in the Sacrament there muſt néds be a Fleſhly Preſence. Firſt, as it is before alleged, Nicolas Lyra ſaith: *Chriſts words to the Capernaits pertaine nothing to the Sacrament, but onely vnto the Spirituall eating of Chriſts Body, which indeed is the Omnipotent Worke of the Spirit of God.*

Nicol. Lyra in Pſalm. 110.

And againe, would M. Harding make all the World beléeue, if Chriſts Bodie be not fleſhly and groſſely in the Sacrament, according to his fantaſie, that then God therefore is not Omnipotent? Verily, the old Catholike Fathers acknowledge Gods Omnipotencie in the Water of Baptiſme: yet is not Chriſt therefore Really preſent in the water. S. Chryſoſt. me ſaith: Cùm Baptizatis, Sacerdos te non Baptizat: Sed Deus eſt, qui Caput tuum Inuiſibili potentia continet: & nec Angelus, nec Archangelus, nec vllus alius auder accedere, & tangere: *When thou art Baptized, it is not the Prieſt that dippeth thee: but it is God, that by his inuiſible power holdeth thy head: and neither Angell, nor Archangell, nor any other power dareth to approch and touch thee.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Paulus Baptizauit tanquam Miniſter: Dominus Baptizauit tanquam poteſtas: *Paul Baptized as a Seruant: The Lord Baptized as the power it ſelfe.* Againe: Nec iam Baptizare ceſſauit Dominus: ſed adhuc id agit: Non miniſterio Corporis, ſed Inuiſibili opere Maieſtatis: *The Lord letteth not yet to Baptize: but continueth Baptizing ſtill: not by the Miniſterie of his Bodie, but by the Inuiſible worke of his Maieſtie.* So likewiſe ſaith Leo the Biſhop of Rome: Chriſtus dedit Aquæ, quod dedit Matri. Virtus enim Altiſſimi, & obumbratio Spiritus Sancti, quæ fecit vt Maria pareret Saluatorem; eadem facit, vt Regeneret Vnda Credentem: *Chriſt gaue vnto the Water, the ſame that he gaue vnto his Mother. For the power of the Higheſt, and the ouerſhadowing of the holy Ghoſt, that cauſed Mary to beare the Sauiour, the ſame cauſeth that Water doth regenerate the Beleeuer.* It appeareth by theſe Authorities, that Chriſt in the Water of Baptiſme sheweth his Inuiſible and Omnipotent power. Yet will not M. Harding ſay, that Chriſt is therefore Really and Fleſhly preſent in the Water of Baptiſme.

Chryſoſtom. in Matt. hom. 51.

Auguſt. in Iohan. Tract. 5.

Auguſt. contra literas Petiliani li. 3. ca. 49.

Leo de Natiuita. Sermone 4.

Therefore it was but vaine labour to allege Chriſts Omnipotent power to proue this Fleſhly Preſence in the Sacrament.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuiſion.

The 130. Vntruth. For not one of the ancient Fathers euer vſed any of theſe termes, touching Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament. The 131. Vntruth. For M. Harding himſelf is forced in the ſame words to acknowledge a great many figures.

Theſe places of the Scripture, and many other reporting plainly, that Chriſt at his Supper gaue to his Diſciples his very Body, euen that ſame which the day following ſuffered Death on the Croſſe, haue miniſtred iuſt cauſe to the (130) godly and learned Fathers of the Church, to ſay, that Chriſts Body is Preſent in this Sacrament Really, Subſtantially, Corporally, Carnally, and Naturally. By vſe of which Aduerbs they haue meant only a truth of being, and not a way, or meane of being. And though this maner of ſpeaking be not thus expreſſed in the Scripture, yet is it deduced out of the Scripture. For if Chriſt ſpake plainly, (131) and vſed no Trope, Figure, nor Metaphor, as the Scripture it ſelfe ſufficiently declareth to an humble beleeuer, and would his Diſciples to vnderſtand him, ſo as hee ſpake in manifeſt termes, when he ſaid, This is my Body which is giuen for you; then may we ſay, that in the Sacrament his very Body is Preſent, yea Really, that is to ſay, indeed; Subſtantially, that is, in Subſtance, and Corporally, Carnally, and Naturally; by which words is meant, that his very Body, his very Fleſh, and his very humane Nature, is there, not after Corporall, Carnall or Naturall wiſe, but inuiſibly, vnſpeakably, miraculouſly, ſupernaturally, ſpiritually, diuinely, and by way to him only knowen.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

By theſe words that Chriſt at his laſt Supper ſpake vnto his Diſciples, *This is my Body*, it is plaine (ſaith M. Harding) that he gaue vnto them the very ſame Bodie that was crucified the next day vpon the Croſſe; and vpon occaſion thereof the learned Fathers had iuſt cauſe to ſay, that Chriſts Body is Really and Carnally in the Sacrament. This argument is called Petitio Principij. which is, when a thing is taken to make proofe, that is doubtfull, and ſtandeth in queſtion, and ought it ſelfe to be proued. This Fallax may well beguile Children; but among the learned, it is counted in reaſoning a great follie. The Order or Forme hereof is naught: the Antecedent vnproued: the Conſequent falſe, as ſhall appeare.

M. Harding

M. Harding ſaith, theſe woꝛds, *This is my Bodie*, muſt nœds bee taken without Metaphoꝛ, Tꝛope oꝛ Figure, euen as the plaine letter lieth, and none otherwiſe. So ſaith M. Harding only vpon his owne credit. But the old Catholike Doctours of the Church, of whom (hee ſaith) hee hath ſuch ſtoꝛe, ſay not ſo. S. Auguſtine, S. Ambroſe, S. Hierome, S. Chryſoſtome, S. Baſil, Tertullian, and others call the Sacrament a Figure, a Token, a Signe, an Example, an Image, a Similitude, a Remembꝛance: as hereafter, God willing, ſhall be ſhewed moꝛe at large vpon better occaſion, in an Article ſpecially touching the ſame. Euen Duns himſelfe, with ſundꝛy others of that ſide, ſaw, that following the very bare Letter, we muſt nœds ſay, *That the Bread it ſelfe is Chriſts Body.* Foꝛ ſo the woꝛds ſtand. This (Bꝛead) is my Body: which were a great inconuenience, and a repugnance in Nature. Foꝛ auoiding whereof, they are dꝛiuen to ſay, That Chꝛiſt, when he pointed to the Bꝛead, and ſaid, *This*, meant not, *This Bread*, but, as they call it, Indiuiduum vagum, which is one certaine thing in generall: but what one thing they cannot tell: but ſure they be, it was no Bꝛead. Eſt, they expound Erit, that is to ſay, This ſhall be: Againe: Erit, hoc eſt, tranſubſtantiabitur: that is, *The ſubſtance of this vncertaine Generall one thing, that no man knoweth, ſhall be changed into the Subſtance of my Bodie. Is giuen*, they expound, *ſhall be giuen: Is broken*, they expound, *ſhall be broken: Doe yee this*, they expound, *Sacrifice ye this. This Bread*, they expound thus, *This, that was Bread.* And whereas theſe Wꝛbes ſtand together in oꝛdeꝛ and conſtruction, and rule all one caſe, Accepit, Benedixit, Fregit, Dedit: *He tooke, He bleſſed, He brake, He gaue:* They are faine to ſhift it thus: *He tooke the Bread: He bleſſed it away, and in place of it put another ſubſtance: He Brake the Accidents or Shewes of Bread: He gaue his Body.* Vpon theſe few woꝛds of Chꝛiſt, thus many Figuꝛes haue they imagined: and beſides theſe, a great many moe, as in place moꝛe conuenient, it ſhall be declared: Yet ſaith M. Harding, Theſe woꝛds of Chꝛiſt muſt of fine foꝛce be taken euen accoꝛding to the oꝛdeꝛ and nature of the bare letter. *And this*, he ſaith, *is ſufficiant to the humble beleeuer.* Howbeit, Chꝛiſtian humilitie ſtandeth not in errour, but in truth: And S. Auguſtine ſaith, as it is beſoꝛe alleged: Ea demum eſt miſerabilis animæ Seruitus, Signa pro Rebus accipere: *To take the Signes inſtead of the things that thereby be ſignified, is* (not the humility of a Chꝛiſtian Faith, but) *the miſerable Seruitude of the ſoule.* And Origen that old learned Fatheꝛ ſaith: Si ſecundùm Literam ſequaris id, quod dictum eſt, (Niſi manducaueritis carnem Filij hominis, non habebitis vitam in vobis) Litera illa occidit: *If you follow theſe words of Chriſt according to the Letter, (Vnleſſe yee eat the Fleſh of the Sonne of Man, ye ſhall haue no life in you) this Letter killeth.*

According to the Letter.

Hoc.

Eſt.

Erit.

Traditur.

Frangitur.

Facite.

Panis.

Accepit:

Benedixit.

Fregit.

Dedit.

Auguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 3. ca. 5.

Origen. hom. 7. in Leuiticum.

Vpon theſe grounds of his owne; M. Harding reareth vp this Concluſion: Then, ſaith he, may we ſay, that Chꝛiſt is in the Sacrament Really, &c Indeed a man may ſay much that hath no regard what he ſay. But if he will ſay, as the Old godly Fathers ſaid, then muſt hee ſay: Hoc eſt Corpus meum: hoc eſt, Figura Corporis mei: *This is my Body: that is to ſay, a Figure of my Body.* Foꝛ ſo the old learned Fatheꝛ Tertullian ſaith. Then muſt hee ſay: Chriſtus Corporis ſui Figuram Diſcipulis ſuis commendauit: *Chriſt deliuered vnto his Diſciples a Figure of his body.* Foꝛ ſo the old learned Fatheꝛ S. Auguſtine ſaith. Then muſt he ſay: Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti ſecundum quendam modum Corpus Chriſti eſt: *The Sacrament of Chriſts Body after a certaine phraſe, oꝛ maner, oꝛ Tꝛope, oꝛ Figure of ſpeech, is the Bodie of Chriſt.* Foꝛ ſo againe S. Auguſtine ſaith.

Tertull. contra Marcion. li. 4.

Auguſt. in Pſalm. 3.

Auguſtin. Ad Bonifacium, Epiſt. 23.

Hœre M. Harding ſeing the inconueniences and abſurdities of his Doctrine, thought good to heale it vp with ſome plaſter. By theſe woꝛds, Really, Carnally, &c. *the godly learned Fathers* (ſaith he) *meant that Chriſts very Body and Fleſh is there, but not in any Naturall oꝛ Carnall wiſe.* And thus M. Hardings Doctours wꝛote one thing, and meant another. Foꝛ M. Harding knoweth, that all Aduerbes taken of Nounes, ſignifie euermoꝛe a qualitie, and neuer the Subſtance: which thing Chꝛildꝛen are taught to know in the Gꝛammar Schole: and may be reſolued thus: Viriliter, virili modo: muliebriter, muliebri modo. And theꝛefoꝛe his very Canoniſts ſay in their maner of eloquence: Deus non eſt remunerator Nominum, ſed Aduerbiorum: *God rewardeth not Nounes, but Aduerbs:* that is to ſay, God regardeth not the Doing of any thing, but the maner of the Doing. But M. Harding thinketh hee may take vpon him to ouerlooke and to maſter the Gꝛammar Rules. Foꝛ vnleſſe wee make Nounes Aduerbes, and Aduerbes Nounes, theſe mens Diuinitie cannot ſtand. Theꝛefoꝛe, as they haue deuiſed a new Diuinitie, ſo muſt our Chilꝛen learne foꝛ their pleaſure a new Gꝛammar.

But what are theſe old learned Fathers, that ſay, Chꝛiſts Body is thus Really and Fleſhly in the Sacrament? Where bee their Woꝛds? What bee their Names? If they haue neither Names noꝛ Woꝛds, how can they bee alloWed foꝛ ſufficient Witneſſes? M. Harding well knoweth, that the Old learned Fathers neuer ſaid ſo: Yet muſt he nœds imagine both cauſes, that moued them ſo to ſay: and alſo expoſitions, what they

Berengarius.

meant by so saying. So Montanus the blinde Senatour, being at Supper with the Emperour Tiberius, highly commended the great Mullet, that he heard say, was set on the Table before them: and shewed, how round, how faire, how fat it was, how it filled the Charger, and how it lay, and euermore turned his face, and pointed with his finger to the higher end of the Table: and yet was not the Mullet there, but farre beneath at the lower end. Reason would that M. Harding had first bene sure of the effect, before he had thus gone about to ghesse the causes.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuision.

The 132. Vntruth. For the Fathers neuer vsed these termes.

(132) And the Fathers haue beene driuen to vse these termes for the more ample and full declaration of the truth, and also for withstanding and stopping obiections made by Heretikes. And because the Catholike faith touching the veritie of Christs Body in the Sacrament, was not impugned by any man for the space of a thousand yeeres after Christs being in Earth, and about that time (133) Berengarius first began openly to sow the wicked seed of the Sacramentarie heresie, which then soone confuted by learned men, and by the same first authour abiured and recanted, now is with no lesse wickednesse, but more busily, and more earnestly set foorth againe; the Doctours that sithence haue written in the defense of the true and Catholike Faith heerein, haue (134) more often vsed the termes before mentioned, than the old and Ancient Fathers that wrote within M. Iewels six hundred yeeres after Christ. Who doubtlesse would no lesse haue vsed them, if that matter had beene in question or doubt in their time. And albeit these termes were strange and new, as vsed within these fiue hundred yeeres only, and that the people were neuer taught for six hundred yeeres after Christ, as M. Iewell saith more boldly than truly, and therefore more rashly than wisely; yet the Faith by them opened and declared, is Vniuersall and old; verily no lesse old, than is our Lords Supper, where this Sacrament was first instituted.

The 133. Vntruth. For beside S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Ambrose & others, Iohan. Scotus, and Bertramus wrote heereof 200. yeers before Berengarius.

The 134. Vntruth. For the Old Writers in this case vsed them neuer.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding thinketh he may lead along his simple Reader, and easily carrie away the matter vnder the bare Titles and Names of the learned Fathers. But what priuie mystery is this: As I said before, haue M. Hardings Doctours no names? Or is not he able to name his owne Fathers? He should haue set them out, as his wont is, with all their Circumstances, what they were, when, and where they liued, what they wrote, and how they haue bene euer, and are now esteemed among the learned. But he well knew that these good Fathers liued all within the compasse of two hundred or three hundred yeres past, as Thomas, Duns, Ockam, Henricus de Gandauo, Robertus de collo torto, and such others. These be M. Hardings great Fathers, by whom he claimeth his new Doctrine: in respect of S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Chrysostome, S. Ambrose, and others, not worthy to haue the name of Children.

But the Catholike Faith touching the Sacrament, saith M. Harding, for the space of a thousand yeeres stood vpright. Berengarius was the first that began to sow the seed of the Sacramentarie Heresie.

The 33. Diuision.

It is likely M. Harding hath no great regard how his tales hang together. For before in the First Article, to serue his turne, hee said, The Messalians were the first Fathers of this Heresie. Now he seemeth to be otherwise aduised, and saith: This Heresie was neuer heard of within six hundred yeres after the Messalians were repressed: and that the first founder of it was Berengarius. Yet M. Harding might soone haue knowen, that one Iohannes Scotus, a famous learned man, and Scholar vnto Beda, and one Bertramus, as appeareth by his booke, held and maintained the same Doctrine in the time of the Emperour Lotharius, two hundred yeres and more before Berengarius. Wherefore it seemeth not to be so true, as M. Harding alloweth it, That Berengarius was the first Authour of this Doctrine.

Iohannes Scotus.
Bertramus.

But, for further declaration hereof, it shalbe necessary to open Berengarius whole iudgment in this matter, and afterward to consider the Confutation of the same. Thus therefore Berengarius wrote, as his greatest Aduersary Lanfrancus reporteth of him: Per Consecrationem Altaris, Panis, & Vinum fiunt Sacramentum Religionis: non vt desinant esse quæ erant, &c. *By the Consecration of the Altar, the Bread and the Wine are made a Sacrament of Religion, not that they leaue to be the same they were before, but that they bee altered into another thing, and become that they were not before, as S. Ambrose writeth. And the Sacrifice of the Church standeth of two things, the one Visible, the other Inuisible: that is to say, the Sacrament, and the matter or Substance of the Sacrament. Which Substance notwithstanding, that is to say, the Body of Christ, if it were before our eies, it should be Visible. But being taken vp into Heauen, and sitting at the right hand of the Father, vntill all things bee restored, according to the words of the Apostle S. Peter, it cannot be called thence. Therefore S. Augustine saith, When Christ is eaten, life is eaten: and when we eat him, we make no parts of him. And againe, S. Augustine saith:* Sacramentum est sacrum signum: *A Sacrament is a holy token. And what this word* Signum *meaneth, he declareth in his Booke,* De doctrina Christiana: Signum est res præter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud quiddam faciens in cogitationem venire: *A Signe is a thing, that besides the sight that it offereth vnto the eies, causeth another thing to come into our*

Lanfrancus. de Sacramen. Eucharistiæ.
Ambros. de Sacramentis, li. 4. c. 4. Sacramentum, & res Sacramenti.
Act. Apost. c. 3.
Augustin. De Con. Dist. 2. Qui manducas
Augustin. De Doctrin. Christiana.

our minde. Againe, vnto Bonifacius: Vnleſſe Sacraments had ſome likeneſſe of the things whereof they be Sacraments, then were they no Sacraments at all. And againe: Sacraments be Viſible Signes of heauenly things: but the things themſelues being Inuiſible, are honoured in them: neither is that Element being Conſecrate by the bleſſing, ſo to be taken, as it is in other vſes. This is the iudgement of Berengarius, agreeing thoroughly with the words and ſenſe of the Holy Fathers, and confirmed and auouched by the ſame.

Berengarius.

Auguſtin. ad Bonifac. epiſt. 23.

Auguſtin. de Catechizandis Rudibus.

De Con. Diſt. 2. Ego Berengarius.

This is an horrible blaſphemie.

Gloſſa. ibidem.

Now let vs ſee the Confutation hereof. In a Councell holden at Rome vnder Pope Nicolas the 2. Berengarius was forced to recant in this wiſe: Credo Corpus Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti ſenſualiter, & in veritate, manibus Sacerdotum tractari, & frangi, & fidelium dentibus atteri: *I beleeue that the Body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt ſenſibly and in very deed, is touched with the hands of the Prieſts, and broken, and rent, and ground with the teeth of the Faithfull.* This was the conſent and iudgement of that Councell. And what thinketh M. Harding of the ſame? Certainly the verie rude Gloſſe findeth fault here withall, and giueth this warning thereof vnto the Reader: Niſi ſanè intelligas verba Berengarij, &c. *Vnleſſe you warily vnderſtand theſe words of Berengarius, you will fall into a greater hereſie, than euer he held any.* Thus theſe Fathers by their owne friends Confeſſion, reiecte the leſſe errour by the greater: and in plaine words in Generall Councell, by ſolemne vow of Recantation, profeſſe a greater Hereſie, than by their owne iudgement euer was defended by Berengarius.

Further, if this be indeed the Catholike Faith, as M. Harding would ſo faine haue all the World to beleeue, and Bertramus, and Iohannes Scotus, both very famous and great learned men, wrote openly againſt it, with the good contentation of the world, and without the apparent controulment of any man, two hundred yeares or more before Berengarius was borne: let him better aduiſe himſelfe, whether theſe words were truly, or boldly, or rashly, or wiſely, with ſuch affiance vttered and auouched of his ſide, That this his Faith was neuer impugned by any man before the time of Berengarius.

But that M. Harding calleth the Catholike Faith, is indeed a Catholike errour, the contrarie whereof hath euermore beene taught and defended by all the old learned Catholike Fathers, as may well appeare by that is alreadie, and hereafter ſhall be alleged of their writings. Certainly, they that now condemne Berengarius for vſing the plaine words and Expoſitions of the Old Fathers, would as well condemne S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Ambroſe, and the reſt, were it not for the Credit and Authority of their Names.

The Doctours that haue beene ſithence the time of Berengarius, (ſaith M. Harding) haue more often vſed theſe termes, *Really*, *Carnally*, *&c.* than other Old Doctours within ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt. In theſe few words, M. Harding hath handſomely conueyed in a great vntrueth. For this Comparatiue (More often) preſuppoſeth the Poſitiue. Therefore the ſenſe hereof muſt be this: The Old Doctours often vſed theſe termes, Really, Fleſhly, &c. albeit not ſo often as others of the latter yeares. But M. Harding knoweth this is vntrue. For neither hath he here yet ſhewed, nor is he able to ſhew, that in this caſe of the Sacrament, any of theſe termes was euer vſed by any one of all the Old Ancient Writers. Whereof we may well reaſon thus: The Old Catholike Fathers intreating of the Subſtance of the Sacrament, neuer vſed any of theſe words, Really, Carnally, &c. Therefore it is likely, they neuer taught the people to beleeue, that Chriſts Body is preſent Really and Fleſhly in the Sacrament. Contrarywiſe, they in their Sermons called the Sacrament a Figure, a Signe, a Remembrance of Chriſts Body: therefore it is likely, they would haue the Catholike people ſo to iudge and beleeue of the Sacrament.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuiſion.

Heere before that I bring in places of ancient Fathers, reporting the ſame Doctrine, and in like termes as the Catholike Church doth hold concerning this Article, leſt our opinion heerein might happily appeare ouer Carnall and Groſſe; I thinke it neceſſary briefly to declare what maner a true Body and Blood is in the Sacrament. Chriſt in himſelfe, hath but one Fleſh and Blood in Subſtance, which his Goodhead tooke of the Virgin Mary once, and neuer afterward left it off. But this one Fleſh and Blood in reſpect of double qualitie, hath a double conſideration. For at what time Chriſt liued heere in Earth among men, in the ſhape of man, his fleſh was thrall and ſubiect to the frailtie of mans nature, ſinne and ignorance excepted. That fleſh being paſſible vnto death, the ſouldiers at the procurement of the Iewes crucified. And ſuch maner Blood was at his paſſion ſhed foorth of his Body, in ſight of them which were then preſent. But after that Chriſt roſe againe from the dead, his Body from that time forward euer remaineth immortall, and liuely, in danger no more of any infirmitie or ſuffering, much leſſe of death; but is become by diuine gifts and endowments, a ſpirituall and a diuine Body, as to whom the Godhead hath communicated Diuine and Godly properties and excellencies, that beene aboue all mans capacitie of vnderſtanding. This Fleſh and Body thus conſidered, which ſundry Doctours call, *Corpus Spirituale, & Deificatum*, A Spirituall, and a Deified Body, is giuen to vs in the bleſſed Sacrament. This the Doctrine of the Church, vttered by

Berengarius.

meant by ſo ſaying. So Montanus the blinde Senatour, being at Supper with the Emperour Tiberius, highly commended the great Mullet, that he heard ſay, was ſet on the Table before them: and ſhewed, how round, how faire, how fat it was, how it filled the Charger, and how it lay, and euermore turned his face, and pointed with his finger to the higher end of the Table: and yet was not the Mullet there, but farre beneath at the lower end. Reaſon would that M. Harding had firſt bene ſure of the effect, before he had thus gone about to gheſſe the cauſes.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuiſion.

The 132. Vntruth. For the Fathers neuer vſed theſe termes.

The 133. Vntruth. For beſide S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Ambroſe & others, Iohan. Scotus, and Bertramus wrote heereof 200. yeers before Berengarius.

The 134. Vntruth. For the Old Writers in this caſe vſed them neuer.

(132) And the Fathers haue beene driuen to vſe theſe termes for the more ample and full declaration of the truth, and alſo for withſtanding and ſtopping obiections made by Heretikes. And becauſe the Catholike faith touching the veritie of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, was not impugned by any man for the ſpace of a thouſand yeeres after Chriſts being in Earth, and about that time (133) Berengarius firſt began openly to ſow the wicked ſeed of the Sacramentarie hereſie, which then ſoone confuted by learned men, and by the ſame firſt authour abiured and recanted, now is with no leſſe wickednesſe, but more buſily, and more earneſtly ſet foorth againe; the Doctours that ſithence haue written in the defenſe of the true and Catholike Faith heerein, haue (134) more often vſed the termes before mentioned, than the old and Ancient Fathers that wrote within M. Iewels ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt. Who doubtleſſe would no leſſe haue vſed them, if that matter had beene in queſtion or doubt in their time. And albeit theſe termes were ſtrange and new, as vſed within theſe fiue hundred yeeres only, and that the people were neuer taught for ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, as M. Iewell ſaith more boldly than truly, and therefore more raſhly than wiſely; yet the Faith by them opened and declared, is Vniuerſall and old; verily no leſſe old, than is our Lords Supper, where this Sacrament was firſt inſtituted.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding thinketh he may lead along his ſimple Reader, and eaſily carrie away the matter vnder the bare Titles and Names of the learned Fathers. But what priuie myſtery is this: As I ſaid before, haue M. Hardings Doctours no names? Or is not he able to name his owne Fathers? He ſhould haue ſet them out, as his wont is, with all their Circumſtances, what they were, when, and where they liued, what they wrote, and how they haue bene euer, and are now eſteemed among the learned. But he well knew that theſe good Fathers liued all within the compaſſe of two hundred or three hundred yeres paſt, as Thomas, Duns, Ockam, Henricus de Gandauo, Robertus de collo torto, and ſuch others. Theſe be M. Hardings great Fathers, by whom he claimeth his new Doctrine: in reſpect of S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Chryſoſtome, S. Ambroſe, and others, not worthy to haue the name of Children.

But the Catholike Faith touching the Sacrament, ſaith M. Harding, for the ſpace of a thouſand yeeres ſtood vpright. Berengarius was the firſt that began to ſow the ſeed of the Sacramentarie Hereſie.

The 33. Diuiſion.

It is likely M. Harding hath no great regard how his tales hang together. For before in the Firſt Article, to ſerue his turne, hee ſaid, The Meſſalians were the firſt Fathers of this Hereſie. Now he ſeemeth to be otherwiſe aduiſed, and ſaith: This Hereſie was neuer heard of within ſix hundred yeeres after the Meſſalians were repreſſed: and that the firſt founder of it was Berengarius. Yet M. Harding might ſone haue knowen, that one Iohannes Scotus, a famous learned man, and Scholar vnto Beda, and one Bertramus, as appeareth by his booke, held and maintained the ſame Doctrine in the time of the Emperour Lotharius, two hundred yeeres and more before Berengarius. Wherefore it ſeemeth not to be ſo true, as M. Harding aſſureth it, That Berengarius was the firſt Authour of this Doctrine.

Iohannes Scotus. Bertramus.

But, for further declaration hereof, it ſhalbe neceſſary to open Berengarius whole iudgment in this matter, and afterward to conſider the Confutation of the ſame. Thus therefore Berengarius wrote, as his greateſt Aduerſary Lanfrancus reporteth of him: Per Conſecrationem Altaris, Panis, & Vinum fiunt Sacramentum Religionis: non vt deſinant eſſe quæ erant, &c. *By the Conſecration of the Altar, the Bread and the Wine are made a Sacrament of Religion, not that they leaue to be the ſame they were before, but that they bee altered into another thing, and become that they were not before, as S. Ambroſe writeth. And the Sacrifice of the Church ſtandeth of two things, the one Viſible, the other Inuiſible: that is to ſay, the Sacrament, and the matter or Subſtance of the Sacrament. Which Subſtance notwithſtanding, that is to ſay, the Body of Chriſt, if it were before our eies, it ſhould be Viſible. But being taken vp into Heauen, and ſitting at the right hand of the Father, vntill all things bee reſtored, according to the words of the Apoſtle S. Peter, it cannot be called thence. Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith, When Chriſt is eaten, life is eaten: and when we eat him, we make no parts of him. And againe, S. Auguſtine ſaith:* Sacramentum eſt ſacrum ſignum: *A Sacrament is a holy token. And what this word* Signum *meaneth, he declareth in his Booke,* De doctrina Chriſtiana: Signum eſt res præter ſpeciem, quam ingerit ſenſibus, aliud quiddam faciens in cogitationem venire: *A Signe is a thing, that beſides the ſight that it offereth vnto the eies, cauſeth another thing to come into*

Lanfrancus. de Sacramen. Euchariſtiæ. Ambroſ. de Sacramentis, li. 4. c. 4. Sacramentum, & res Sacramenti. Act. Apoſt. c. 3. Auguſtin. De Con. Diſt. 2. Qui manducat. Auguſtin. De Doctrin. Chriſtiana.

our

our minde. Againe, vnto Bonifacius: Vnleſſe Sacraments had ſome likeneſſe of the things whereof they be Sacraments, then were they no Sacraments at all. And againe: Sacraments be Viſible Signes of heauenly things: but the things themſelues being Inuiſible, are honoured in them: neither is that Element being Conſecrate by the bleſſing, ſo to be taken, as it is in other vſes. This is the iudgement of Berengarius, agreeing thoroughly with the words and ſenſe of the Holy Fathers, and confirmed and auouched by the ſame.

Berengarius.

Auguſtin. ad Bonifac. epiſt. 23.

Auguſtin. de Catechizandis Rudibus.

De Con. Diſt. 2. Ego Berengarius.

This is an horrible blaſphemie.

Gloſſa. ibidem.

Now let vs ſee the Confutation hereof. In a Councell holden at Rome vnder Pope Nicolas the 2. Berengarius was forced to recant in this wiſe: Credo Corpus Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti ſenſualiter, & in veritate, manibus Sacerdotum tractari, & frangi, & fidelium dentibus atteri: *I beleeue that the Body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt ſenſibly and in very deed, is touched with the hands of the Prieſts, and broken, and rent, and ground with the teeth of the Faithfull.* This was the conſent and iudgement of that Councell. And what thinketh M. Harding of the ſame? Certainly the verie rude Gloſſe findeth fault here withall, and giueth this warning thereof vnto the Reader: Niſi ſanè intelligas verba Berengarij, &c. *Vnleſſe you warily vnderſtand theſe words of Berengarius, you will fall into a greater hereſie, than euer he held any.* Thus theſe Fathers by their owne friends Confeſſion, reuerſe the leſſe errour by the greater: and in plaine words in Generall Councell, by ſolemne way of Recantation, profeſſe a greater Hereſie, than by their owne iudgement euer was defended by Berengarius.

Further, if this be indeed the Catholike Faith, as M. Harding would ſo faine haue all the World to beleeue, and Bertramus, and Iohannes Scotus, both very famous and great learned men, wrote openly againſt it, with the good contentation of the world, and without the apparent controulment of any man, two hundred yeares or more before Berengarius was borne: let him better aduiſe himſelfe, whether theſe words were truly, or boldly, or rashly, or wiſely, with ſuch affiance vttered and auouched of his ſide, That this his Faith was neuer impugned by any man before the time of Berengarius.

But that M. Harding calleth the Catholike Faith, is indeed a Catholike errour, the contrarie whereof hath euermore beene taught and defended by all the old learned Catholike Fathers, as may well appeare by that is alreadie, and hereafter ſhall be alleged of their writings. Certainly, they that now condemne Berengarius for vſing the plaine words and Expoſitions of the Old Fathers, would as well condemne S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Ambroſe, and the reſt, were it not for the Credit and Authority of their Names.

The Doctours that haue beene ſithence the time of Berengarius, (ſaith M. Harding) haue more often vſed theſe termes, *Really*, *Carnally*, &c. than other Old Doctours within ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt. In theſe few words, M. Harding hath handſomely conueyed in a great vntrueth. For this Comparatiue (More often) preſuppoſeth the Poſitiue. Therefore the ſenſe hereof muſt be this: The Old Doctours often vſed theſe termes, Really, Fleſhly, &c. albeit not ſo often as others of the latter yeeres. But M. Harding knoweth this is vntrue. For neither hath he here yet ſhewed, nor is he able to ſhew, that in this caſe of the Sacrament, any of theſe termes was euer vſed by any one of all the Old Ancient Writers. Whereof we may well reaſon thus: The Old Catholike Fathers intreating of the Subſtance of the Sacrament, neuer vſed any of theſe words, Really, Carnally, &c. Therefore it is likely, they neuer taught the people to beleeue, that Chriſts Body is preſent Really and Fleſhly in the Sacrament. Contrarywiſe, they in their Sermons called the Sacrament a Figure, a Signe, a Remembrance of Chriſts Body: therefore it is likely, they would haue the Catholike people ſo to iudge and beleeue of the Sacrament.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuiſion.

Heere before that I bring in places of ancient Fathers, reporting the ſame Doctrine, and in like termes as the Catholike Church doth hold concerning this Article, leſt our opinion heerein might happily appeare ouer Carnall and Groſſe; I thinke it neceſſary briefly to declare what maner a true Body and Blood is in the Sacrament. Chriſt in himſelfe, hath but one Fleſh and Blood in Subſtance, which his Goodhead tooke of the Virgin Mary once, and neuer afterward left it off. But this one Fleſh and Blood in reſpect of double qualitie, hath a double conſideration. For at what time Chriſt liued heere in Earth among men, in the ſhape of man, his fleſh was thrall and ſubiect to the frailtie of mans nature, ſinne and ignorance excepted. That fleſh being paſſible vnto death, the ſouldiers at the procurement of the Ieweſ crucified. And ſuch maner Blood was at his paſſion ſhed foorth of his Body, in ſight of them which were then preſent. But after that Chriſt roſe againe from the dead, his Body from that time forward euer remaineth immortall, and liuely, in danger no more of any infirmitie or ſuffering, much leſſe of death; but is become by diuine gifts and endowments, a ſpirituall and a diuine Body, as to whom the Godhead hath communicated Diuine and Godly properties and excellencies, that beene aboue all mans capacitie of vnderſtanding. This Fleſh and Body thus conſidered, which ſundry Doctours call, *Corpus Spirituale, & Deificatum*, A Spirituall, and a Deified Body, is giuen to vs in the bleſſed Sacrament. This the Doctrine of the Church, vttered by

Chriſts Body Deified.

S. Hierome in his Commentaries vpon the Epiſtle to the Epheſians, where he hath theſe words: *Duplicitèr verò Sanguis & Caro intelligitur, vel Spiritualis illa atque Diuina, de qua ipſe dixit; Caro mea, verè eſt Cibus, & Sanguis meus verè eſt potus; Et, niſi manducaueritis Carnem meam, & Sanguinem meum biberitis, non habebitis vitam æternam; Vel Caro quæ Crucifixa eſt, & Sanguis, qui militis effuſus eſt lancea.* That is, The Blood and Fleſh of Chriſt is vnderſtanded two waies; either that it is that ſpirituall and diuine Fleſh, of which he ſpake himſelfe; My Fleſh is verily meat, and my Blood is verily drinke; and, Except yee eat my Fleſh, and drinke my Blood, ye ſhall not haue life in you; Or that Fleſh which was crucified, and that Blood which was ſhed by piercing of the ſouldiers ſpeare. And to the intent a man ſhould not take this difference according to the ſubſtance of Chriſts Fleſh and Blood, but according to the qualitie only; S. Hierome bringeth a ſimilitude of our Fleſh, as of which it hath beene in double reſpect ſaid; *Iuxta hanc diuiſionem, & in Sanctis etiam diuerſitas Sanguinis & Carnis accipitur; vt alia ſit Caro, quæ viſura eſt ſalutare Dei, alia Caro & Sanguis, quæ Regnum Dei non queant poſſidere*: According to this diuiſion, diuerſitie of Blood and Fleſh is to be vnderſtanded in Saints alſo, ſo as there is one Fleſh which ſhall ſee the ſaluation of God; and another Fleſh and blood, which may not poſſeſſe the Kingdome of God. Which two ſtates of Fleſh and Blood ſeeme (as it appeareth to the vnlearned) quite contrarie. Lib. 1. Cap 1. Luc. 3.

But S. Paul diſſolueth this doubt, in the fifteenth Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, ſaying, that Fleſh of ſuch ſort as we beare about vs in this life, earthly, mortall, fraile, and burdenous to the ſoule, cannot poſſeſſe the Kingdome of God, becauſe corruption ſhall not poſſeſſe incorruption. But after Reſurrection wee ſhall haue a ſpirituall, glorious, incorruptible, and immortall Fleſh, and like in figure to the glorious Body of Chriſt, as S. Paul ſaith; This corruptible Body muſt put on incorruption; and this mortall, immortalitie. Then ſuch Fleſh, or our Fleſh of that maner and ſort, ſhall poſſeſſe the Kingdome of God, and ſhall behold God himſelfe. And yet our Fleſh now corruptible, and then incorruptible, is but one Fleſh in ſubſtance, but diuers in qualitie and propertie. Euen ſo it is to bee thought of our Lords Fleſh, as is aforeſaid. The due weighing of this difference giueth much light to this matter, and ought to ſtay many horrible blaſphemies, wickedly vttered againſt this moſt bleſſed Sacrament. 1. Cor. 15.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Yéere M. Harding much troubleth his head with a nédleſſe labour, and in the end concludeth againſt himſelfe. For that the Sonne of God was made man, euen like vnto one of vs, thrall and ſubiect to the infirmities and miſeries of this mortall life: and that, as he himſelfe complaineth in the Pſalme, he ſéemed a vile wormе and no man: the ſhame of the world, and the outcaſt of the people: and that God the Father afterward aduanced him with glory, and ſet him at his right hand, aboue all Powers and Principalities, and gaue him a name aboue all names, and endued him with a ſpirituall and a glorious Bodie: and vnited the ſame vnto the Godhead, and crowned him with Honour and Glory: All theſe things are knowen euen vnto Babes and Children, that haue béene Godly brought vp, and haue learned the principles of their Faith: And are ſo farre from all doubt amongſt vs, that wée beléeue Chriſt ſhall tranſforme our mortall bodies, and make them like vnto the Bodie of his glory. And therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: Corpus Domini pro ipſa cœleſti habitatione, cœleſtem accepit mutationem: & hoc nos ſperare in die vltimo iuſſi ſumus. Ideo dicit Apoſtolus, qualis Cœleſtis, tales & Cœleſtes: id eſt, immortales, non ſolùm animis, ſed etiam corporibus: *The Bodie of our Lord, according to that Heauenly habitation hath receiued an heauenly change: and we our ſelues are commanded at the laſt day to hope for the ſame. Therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, As hee is that is Heauenly, ſo are they that are Heauenly: that is to ſay, Immortall, and that, not onely in Soule, but alſo in Bodie.* **This is the comfortableſt Article of our Beléeue, and therefore with vs, and with all other faithfull, it is out of all doubt and queſtion.**

Pſalm. 21. Epheſ. 1. Philippen. 2. Philippen. 3. *Auguſt. contra Adimantum, ca. 12.* 1. Cor. 15.

Only Steuen Gardiner, **who for his conſtancie and faſtneſſe in his Religion, would néeds be called** Conſtantius, **hath giuen the World to vnderſtand by publike writing, that Chriſt is not yet fully poſſeſſed in this glory. Theſe be his words:** Tempus humiliratis Chriſti in conuerſatione viſibili & terrena præſtandæ planè præteriit: Sed humilis Diſpenſationis tempus eo vſque manet, donec tradiderit Regnum Deo & Patri: *The time of Chriſts humilitie in viſible and earthly converſation is vndoubtedly paſt. But the time of the Diſpenſation or ſeruice of his humilitie remaineth ſtill, vntill hee deliuer vp the Kingdome vnto God his Father.* **Thus one of them ſaith:** *Chriſts Bodie is Deified and become God.* **Another ſaith, it is yet ſtill in the diſpenſation and ſeruice of humilitie, and therefore is not yet Deified. It ſéemeth they be not yet well reſolued of Chriſts Glory, how much or how little they may allow him. Neither indéed haue they any certaine direction to guide themſelues héerein: but only as occaſion is offered, to ſhift off obiections, they are faine to take hold in any thing, true or falſe, to ſerue their turne. A man may well ſay vnto them, as** S. Auguſtine **ſometime ſaid vnto the Heretike** Fauſtus Manicheus: Dices, Hoc pro me facit: illud contra me. Tu eſt ergo Regula veritatis. Quicquid contra te fuerit, non eſt verum: *Thou wilt ſay, This thing is for me: That thing is againſt me. Then art thou the rule of truth. Whatſoeuer is againſt thee is not true.*

Marcus Antonius Conſtantius. Ad obiectum 144. *Auguſt. contra Fauſt. Manichæum, lib. 11. ca. 2.*

But to what end allegeth M. Harding the Spirituall ſtate of Chriſts glorious Bodie? Doth hée not remember that the Old Heretike Abbat Eutyches **maintained his fantaſies**

Eutyches in Concilio Chalcedon.

fantasies by the same, and was deceiued? *Christs Body*, said he, *is glorious: Therefore it is changed into the very substance and nature of God, and hath now no shape or proportion of a Bodie.* This is an old Heresie, long sithence reproued by Leo, Gelasius, and other Old Fathers, and condemned by the Councell of Chalcedon; very much like vnto this of M. Hardings, if it be not fully the same. We beleeue, *The Body of Christ is endued with Immortalitie, Brightnesse, Light, and Glory:* Yet is it neuertheless the same Bodie it was before. And therefore S. Augustine saith: Corpus Domini secundùm substantiam, etiam post Resurrectionem Caro appellata est: *The Body of our Lord in respect of the Substance of it, yea after it is risen againe, is called Flesh.* And againe, Dominus Corpori suo immortalitatem dedit: Naturam non abstulit: *The Lord gaue to his Bodie immortalitie: But hee tooke not away the Nature or Substance of it.*

Christs Body Deified.

August. Retract. li. 1. ca. 22.

August. in epist. 57. ad Dardanum.

And, notwithstanding certaine of the Old Fathers call the Body of Christ, Corpus Deificatum, as M. Harding allegeth, yet it is not their meaning, that the same Body, according to the naturall signification and sound of that word, is changed, and transformed into a Diuine Nature, and made God: and so is no longer a naturall Body. For, as it is true, That God was made man, euen so, and in like sense, it is also true, that Man was made God, without any change of Substance of either Nature. And therefore the Fathers say, Christs Body is Deified, or made God, for that it is united in person and Glorie with the Nature of God. To this purpose, although not altogether in like sense, S. Augustine seemeth to say, that men are Deified, and made gods. Thus he writeth: Homines dixit Deos, & Gratia sua Deificatos; non de Substantia sua natos: *He called men Gods, as being Deified, and so made by his Grace: but not as borne so of his Substance.* So saith Dionysius: pontifex ipse mutatur in Deum: *The Bishop himselfe is turned into God.* Likewise S. Cyprian calleth the Scriptures, Scripturas Deificas: *The Scriptures that make men Gods.* And Clemens Alexandrinus saith, Sacræ literæ nos Deificant: *The holy Scriptures make vs Gods.* By these and other like words is meant, not that men are changed from their owne Naturall Substance, and indeed become Gods, as the letter seemeth to import; but only, that men are indued with Godly vertues and qualities, and so made the Children of God. And so Dionysius himselfe saith: Hæc mutatio nostri in Deum, est Dei in nobis similitudo, quantam capere natura potest: *This changing of vs into God, is the Likenesse or image of God within vs, as farre as Nature can receiue.*

Augustin. in Psalm. 49.

Dionysius de Eccles. Hierar. cap. 1.

ἐχει δεδῶν αὐ.

Cypri. de zele, & liuore, Et li. 2. Epist. 8.

Clemens in Protreptico.

Dionys. de Eccleſiaſt. Hierar. cap. 1.

But S. Hierome saith, *Christs Flesh hath double vnderstanding, and may be taken, either for his Spirituall, or Diuine Flesh, or else for his Mortall Flesh, as it was Crucified:* and is thought to make much for M. Harding. For answer hereunto, first of all, this one thing I pray thee, good Reader, to consider, that S. Hierome in that whole place speaketh not one word, neither of the Sacrament, nor of any Reall or Fleshly Presence. Therefore M. Harding can haue but very poore helpe hereof to prooue his purpose. Only he expoundeth what S. Paul meant by these words, *We haue Redemption by his Blood.* and his meaning, as it appeareth by the whole drift of his words, is this, That the Saluation which we haue in Christ, standeth not in that hee was a meere naturall man, as were Codrus, Decius, Curtius, or such others, that died for the safetie and deliuerie of their Countries: but in that his Humanity was united and ioined in one person with the nature of God. His words be these: Quis iste, aiunt, tantus, ac talis, qui possit pretio suo Totum Orbem redimere? Iesus Christus Filius Dei proprium Sanguinem dedit, & nos de Seruitute eripiens libertate donauit. Et reuera, si historijs Gentilium credimus, quòd Codrus, & Curtius, & Decij Mures pestilentias vrbium, & fames, & bella suis mortibus repressérint: quantò magis hoc in Dei Filio possibile iudicandum est, quòd cruore suo, non Vrbem vnam purgauerit, sed Totum Orbem? *They say, what was he, such a one, and so mighty, that by his price was able to redeeme the whole world? Iesus Christ the Sonne of God gaue his owne Blood, and deliuering vs from bondage, hath made vs free. And indeed, if wee beleeue the Heathen story, that Codrus, Curtius, and Decij Mures remooued Pestilences, Famines and Warres from their Cities by their death: how much more may wee iudge the same possible in the Sonne of God, that he by his Blood hath purged, not only one City, but also the whole world?* Immediately after this follow the words that M. Harding hath here alleged: Dupliciter verò, &c. *For the Blood and Flesh of Christ hath double vnderstanding.* By the whole course of these words thus going before, it is easie to perceiue S. Hieromes meaning: that is, That we haue our Saluation in Christ, and doe Eat him, and Drinke him, and liue by him, not for that his Flesh was mortall only, and Crucified vpon the Crosse: but for that it was Spirituall and Diuine, that is to say, the Flesh of the Sonne of God. And herein stood that great contention, that Cyrillus and other Godly Fathers had against Nestorius: as it is well knowen vnto the learned. And therefore S. Paul saith, That I liue now, I liue in the Flesh of the Sonne of God.

Ad Ephes. 1.

Hieronym. ad Ephes. cap. 1.

Galat. 2.

August. in Iohan. tractat. 88.

Therefore, notwithstanding S. Augustine say, Christus Crucifixus est Lac sugentibus, &

Chriſts Body Deified.

& Cibus proficientibus : *Chriſt Crucified is Milke vnto the ſucklings, and harder meat vnto the ſtrong.* And notwithſtanding Angelomus ſay, *Chriſts Body is hay, whereby the Gentiles are fed*; yet muſt both theſe, and alſo all other like places be taken, not of bare mortall Fleſh alone, but of the Fleſh of the Sonne of God: which S. Hierome calleth Diuine and Spirituall, for that it is perſonally, and inſeparably ioyned with the Godhead.

Angelomus in 1. Regum. ca. 1.

Againe, S. Hieromes meaning is, that the ſame Fleſh of Chriſt, being thus Diuine and Spirituall, muſt alſo Spiritually be receiued, and not in any ſuch Carnall or Fleſhly wiſe, as it is heere imagined by M. Harding. For notwithſtanding Chriſts Bodie be Spirituall, yet is that no ſufficient warrant, to proue, that therefore M. Hardings Opinion is not, as he ſaith, ouer Groſſe and Carnall. For the Manichees and the Pellalian Heretiques had Groſſe and Carnall imaginations of God himſelfe, notwithſtanding God be only Spirit, and moſt Spirituall. And therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith of them: Ecce ego derideo Carnales homines, qui nondum poſſunt Spiritualia cogitare: *Behold I laugh to ſcorne theſe Carnall and Fleſhly men, that are not yet able to conceiue things Spirituall.*

Auguſtin. contra epiſtolam Fundamenti. cap. 23.

For proofe hereof S. Hierome himſelfe ſaith: De hac quidem hoſtia, quæ in Chriſti Commemoratione mirabiliter fit, edere licet: De illa verò, quam Chriſtus in Ara Crucis obtulit, ſecundùm ſe nulli edere licet: *Of this Oblation, which is marueilouſly made in the remembrance of Chriſt, it is lawfull to eat: But of that Oblation, which Chriſt offered vpon the Altar of the Croſſe, according to it ſelfe* (that is to ſay, in Groſſe and Fleſhly maner) *it is lawfull for no man to eat.* By theſe words S. Hierome alſo ſheweth a great difference betweene the Sacrifice, that is made in the remembrance of Chriſt, and the very Sacrifice indeed that Chriſt made vpon the Croſſe. So S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Si Carnaliter quis accipiat, nihil lucratur: *If a man take it Fleſhly, he gaineth nothing.* So likewiſe S. Auguſtine ſaith, as it is alleged before: *It is a Figure or Forme of ſpeech, willing vs to be partakers of Chriſts Paſſion, and comfortably to remember that Chriſt hath died for vs.* This S. Hierome calleth the Eating of the Diuine and Spirituall Fleſh of Chriſt. Therefore Clemens Alexandrinus ſaith, not only in like ſenſe, but alſo in like forme of words: Duplex eſt Sanguis Domini: alter Carnalis, quo redempti ſumus: alter Spiritualis, quo vncti ſumus. Et hoc eſt Bibere Ieſu Sanguinem, participem eſſe incorruptionis Domini: *There are two ſorts of Chriſts Blood: the one Fleſhly, wherewith we are redeemed: the other Spirituall, wherewith we are anointed. And this is the drinking of the Blood of Chriſt, to be partakers of his Immortalitie.* In like ſort S. Auguſtine ſaith: Iudas Chriſtum Carnalem tradidit, tu Spiritualem: Furens Euangelium Sanctum flammis Sacrilegis tradidiſti: *Iudas betrayed Chriſt Carnall: but thou haſt betrayed Chriſt Spirituall. For in thy fury thou betrayedſt the Holy Goſpell to be burnt in wicked fire.* Here S. Auguſtine calleth Chriſt Spirituall, for that the maner of the betraying was Spirituall. Likewiſe that Ancient Father Clemens calleth Chriſts Blood Spirituall, not in reſpect of difference in it ſelfe, but only in reſpect of the Spirituall receiuing. And I thinke M. Harding will not deny, but theſe words of Clemens and Auguſtine agreeing ſo neere both in ſenſe and phraſe, with the words of Hierome, may ſtand for ſufficient expoſition to the ſame. Certainly, as Chriſts Blood is not Really or Bloodily Preſent to annoint vs; ſo is it not Really or Bloodily Preſent to nourith vs. For this Nourithing, and this Anointing are both Spirituall. And therefore the Old learned Father Athanaſius writeth thus: Quomodò vnum vnius hominis Corpus Vniuerſo Mundo ſufficeret? Quod, tanquam in illorum cogitationibus verſatum, Chriſtus commemorat. A quibus cogitationibus vt eos auocaret, quemadmodum paulò ante ſui Deſcenſus è Cœlis, ita nunc Reditus ſui in Cœlum mentionem facit: *The Capernaites demanded, how one Body of one man might ſuffice the whole world: which thing, as being in their cogitations, Chriſt calleth to remembrance. To remoone them from which cogitations* (of Groſſe and Fleſhly eating) *as hee before made mention of his comming downe from Heauen, ſo now likewiſe hee maketh mention of his repaire againe into Heauen.*

Chryſoſtom. in Iohan. hom. 46.
Auguſtin. de Doctrina Chriſtian. li. 3. c. 16.
Clemens Alexandrin. in pædagog. li. 2. c. 2.
Auguſt. contra liter. Petilian. lib. 2. ca. 8.
Athanaſius de Peccato in Spiritum ſanctum.

To conclude, once againe (gentle Reader) I muſt doe this to remember, that S. Hierome in this whole place neuer ſpake one word, neither of any Reall or Fleſhly Preſence, nor of the Sacrament. Yet notwithſtanding, M. Harding, as though S. Hierome had plainly and vndoubtedly ſpoken of both, hereof gathereth his reaſon thus: *S. Hierome ſaith, We eat not the Fleſh of Chriſt that was Crucified:* Ergo, *Chriſts Fleſh is Really and Fleſhly in the Sacrament*: This Argument is euident to the eie, and needeth no anſwer.

His Reaſon would better haue framed thus: S. Hierome ſaith: We cannot eat the Fleſh of Chriſt that was Crucified: Ergo, We cannot Really and Carnally eat the Fleſh of Chriſt. Whereof it muſt neceſſarily follow euen by the authoritie that M. Harding hath heere alleged, that Chriſts Body is not Really and Fleſhly in the Sacrament. Such reliefe hath M. Harding found in theſe words of S. Hierome.

M. Harding. The 8. Diuision.

Now, whereas M. Iewell denieth, that Christian people were of old time taught to beleeue, that Christs Body is Really, Substantially, Corporally, Carnally, or Naturally in the Sacrament, I do plainly affirme the contrarie. Yet I acknowledge, that the learned Fathers (135) which haue so taught, would not thereby seeme to make it heere outwardly sensible or perceptible. For they confesse all with S. Chrysostome, that the thing which is heere giuen vs, is not sensible, but that vnder visible signes, inuisible things be deliuered vnto vs. But they thought good * to vse the aforesaid termes, to put away all doubt of the being of his very Body in these holy Mysteries, and to exclude the only imagination, fantasie, figure, signe, token, vertue, or signification thereof. For in such wise the Sacramentaries haue vttered their Doctrine in this point, as they may seeme by their maner of speaking and writing, heere to represent our Lords Body onely, indeed being absent, as Kings often times are represented in a Tragedie, or meane persons in a Comedie. Verily, the maner and way, by which it is heere present, and giuen to vs, and receiued of vs, is secret, not humane, ne naturall: true for all that. And we doe not attaine it by sense, reason, or nature, but by faith. For which cause we doe not ouer basely consider, and attend the visible elements, but as wee are taught by the Counsell of Nice, lifting vp our minde and spirit, wee behold by Faith on that holy Table put and laid (so for the better signification the Reall Presence their terme soundeth) the Lambe of God that taketh away the sins of the world. And heere (say they) we receiue his Precious Body and Blood, ἀληθῶς, that is to say, verily, and indeed: which is no otherwise, nor lesse, than this terme Really importeth.

The 135. Vntruth. For the old Fathers neuer taught vs so.

* Another vntruth, as afore.

Lifting vp the minde. Behold by Faith.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Here M. Harding once againe, as before, will teach vs, what the old Fathers meant by those words that they neuer vttered. I trow hee hath some priuie Diuination, that thus taketh vpon him to know what men meane, before they speake. Cicero saith: Peritum esse necesse est eum, qui, Silentium quid sit, intelligat: *It must needs be some cunning fellow that vnderstandeth what Silence meaneth, and knoweth what they speake, that speake nothing.* He saith, *The Fathers thought good, to vse the aforesaid terme, to put away all doubt of the being of Christs very Body in these holy Mysteries.* Verily, this is a maruellous boldnesse, so often, and with such confidence and countenance to say, The old Fathers vsed these termes, and yet not once to shew any one of them all that euer vsed them. It may be thought, that he hath either too great affiance in himselfe, or too little regard vnto his Reader. As for this vaine musker of names, of Chrysostome, Hilarie, Gregorie Nyssene and Cyril, as it shall appeare by the view, it helpeth him nothing.

Cicero de Diuinatione, 2.

The Sacramentaries (saith M. Harding) vter their Doctrine by these termes, Figure, Signe, Token, Signification and Vertue. I may not answer this discourtesie of talke with like discourtesie. Onely I will say of these men, as S. Augustine sometime said of the Arians: Cùm se tanta voragine impietatis immergant, nos, tanquam opprobrio noui Nominis, Homousianos vocant: quia contra illorum errorem Homousion defendimus: *Whereas they haue drowned themselues in such a dungeon of wickednesse, now they call vs Homousians, to reproch vs with a new name: because wee defend the Vnitie of the Holy Trinitie against their errour.* But if they be all Sacramentaries that vse these termes, then must S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Chrysostome, S. Ambrose, and all other the holy Fathers that vsed the same, néeds be condemned for Sacramentaries. But if they bee Sacramentaries, that shamefully abuse, and corrupt the holy Sacraments, then may M. Harding and his friends rightly bee called Sacramentaries. M. Harding addeth, Chrysostome saith, Inuisible signes, things Inuisible bee deliuered: *Ergo*, The Body of Christ is Really and Fleshly in the Sacrament. First, if M. Harding had well considered that whole Homilie, happily hee would haue charged Chrysostome himselfe with his Sacramentarie quarrell, as now he doth others. For, touching the Sacrament, Chrysostome euen there writeth thus: Quando dicunt, Vnde patet, Christum fuisse immolatum, hæc afferentes Mysteria, ora ipsorum consuimus. Si enim mortuus Iesus non est, cuius Symbolum, ac Signum hoc Sacrificium est? *When they say, How may wee know, that Christ was offered, bringing foorth these Mysteries, we stop their mouthes. For if Christ died not, whose Signe and Token is this Sacrifice?* But to returne to the matter: O how light occasions these men take to deceiue the simple! M. Harding knoweth, that Chrysostome speaketh not these words onely of the Sacrament of Christs Bodie, but also generally of all other Mysteries. For he addeth immediately: Sic & in Baptismo, per Aquam, quæ res Sensibilis est, donum illud conceditur. Quod autem in ea conficitur, Regeneratio, scilicet, & Renouatio, Intelligibile quiddam est: *Euen so in Baptisme, the gift is granted by Water, which is a thing Sensible. But the Regeneration, and Renouation that therein is wrought, is a thing Spirituall.* Wherefore, if M. Harding, vpon occasion of these words, will force his Reall and Fleshly presence in the one Sacrament, he must likewise force the same in the other.

Augustin. cont. Sermon. Arianorum, ca. 36.

Chrysostom. in Matt. hom. 83.

And forasmuch as these two Sacraments, being both of force like, these men to aduance their Fantasies in the one, by comparison so much abase the other: and specially for the better opening of Chrysostomes minde, I thinke it good, briefly, and by the way, somewhat to touch what the old Catholike Fathers haue written of Gods inuisible working in

Laied on the Table.

in the Sacrament of Baptiſme. Dionyſius generally of all Myſteries writeth thus: Angeli Deum, &c. *The Angels being creatures ſpirituall, ſo farre forth as it is lawfull for them, behold God, and his godly power. But we are led as we may, by Senſible outward tokens,* (which he calleth *Images*) *vnto the Contemplation of Heauenly things.* The Fathers in the Councell of Nice ſay thus: *Baptiſme muſt be conſidered, not with our Bodily eies, but with the eies of our minde. Thou ſeeſt the Water: Thinke thou of the power of God, that in the Water is hidden. Thinke thou, that the Water is full of heauenly fire, and of the Sanctification of the holy Ghoſt.* Chryſoſtome ſpeaking likewiſe of Baptiſme, ſaith thus: Ego non aſpectu iudico ea, quæ videntur, ſed mentis oculis, &c. *The things that I ſee, I iudge not by ſight, but by the eies of my minde. The Heathen, when he heareth the Water of Baptiſme, taketh it only for plaine Water: But I ſee not ſimply, or barely, that I ſee: I ſee the cleanſing of the Soule by the Spirit of God.* So likewiſe ſaith Nazianzenus: Myſterium (Baptiſmi) maius eſt, quàm ea quæ videntur: *The Myſterie of Baptiſme is greater, than it appeareth to the eie.* So S. Ambroſe: Aliud eſt, quod Viſibiliter agitur: aliud quod Inuiſibiliter celebratur: *In Baptiſme there is one thing done Viſibly to the eie: another thing is wrought Inuiſibly to the minde.* Againe hee ſaith: Ne ſolis Corporis tui oculis credas: magis videtur, quod non videtur, &c. *Beleeue not onely the bodily eies* (in this Sacrament of Baptiſme:) *the thing that is not ſeene, is better ſeene: The thing that thou ſeeſt, is corruptible: The thing that thou ſeeſt not, is for euer.* To be ſhort, in conſideration of theſe Inuiſible effects, Tertullian ſaith: *The holy Ghoſt commeth downe and halloweth the Water.* S. Baſil ſaith: *The Kingdome of Heauen is there ſet open.* Chryſoſtome ſaith: *God himſelfe in Baptiſme, by his Inuiſible Power holdeth thy head.* S. Ambroſe ſaith: *The Water hath the Grace of Chriſt: in it is the Preſence of the Trinitie.* S. Bernard ſaith: Lauemur in ſanguine eius; *Let vs be waſhed in his blood.*

Dionyſ. Eccleſiaſt. hierar. c. 1.
Concil. Nicen. πάσῃ τοῖς πυρὸς ἐξ τοῦ ὕδατος.
Chryſoſtom. in 1. Corin. ca. 2. hom. 7.
Ego non ſimpliciter video, quod video.
Nazianzen. De ſancto Baptiſmate. μεῖζον τῶν ὁρωμένων ἐστὶ τὸ μυστήριον.
Ambroſ. de Spiritu ſancto. lib. 3. ca. 11.
Ambroſ. de his, qui initiantur Myſter. ca. 3.
Ter. de Baptiſ.
Baſil. de ſancto Baptiſmo.
Chryſoſtom. in Mat. hom. 51.
Amb. de Sacr. lib. 1. ca. 5.
Bernard. ſuper Miſſus eſt Gabriel. Serm. 3.

By the authorities of thus many Ancient Fathers it is plaine, that in the Sacrament of Baptiſme by the Senſible ſigne of Water, the Inuiſible Grace of God is giuen vnto vs. Wherefore, as M. Harding, by force of Chryſoſtomes words, proueth his Fleſhly Preſence in the one Sacrament, ſo may he by the force of the ſame words as well proue, that the Power of God, the Heauenly Fire, the Grace, and the Blod of Chriſt is Really, and Fleſhly Preſent in the other.

All this notwithſtanding, hee hopeth to finde ſome helpe in two words, vttered, as hee ſaith, in the Councell of Nice: Κεῖται, and Ἀληθῶς; One of which words, either of forgetfulneſſe, or of purpoſe, hee hath deuiſed, and ſet to of himſelfe. For as this whole Greeke Authoritie, alleged heere by M. Harding, was neuer found in the Old allowed Nicene Councell, but only hath beene ſought out, and publiſhed of late yeeres: euen ſo this word, Κεῖται, was neuer found in the Greecke, neither as it is commonly ſet abroad, nor, as it is alleged by D. Cuthbert Tonſtall.

Κεῖται. Ἀληθῶς
De Euchariſtia, lib. 1.

But let it be lawfull for M. Harding to vſe ſome corruption, and to doe in this place, as he commonly doth in other, the better to furniſh out the matter. Yet muſt this word, Κεῖται, which ſignifieth to be Set, or Placed, needs ſound a Reall Preſence? Or when S. Paul ſaith: Chriſtus habitat in cordibus noſtris per Fidem: *Chriſt dwelleth in our hearts by Faith*; muſt he needs meane, that Chriſt is Really and Fleſhly placed within our hearts? Verily, S. Hierome writing vnto Marcella of the holy Graue, wherein Chriſts Bodie ſometime was laied, hath theſe words: Quoties ingredimur in Sepulchrum Domini, toties iacere in ſindone cernimus Saluatorem: *As often as wee enter into the Sepulcher of the Lord, ſo often we ſee our Sauiour lying in his ſhrowd.* And in the Councell of Chalcedon it is written thus: In qua Scriptura duæ naturæ iacent? *In what Scripture lie theſe two Natures of Chriſt?* Heere is the ſelfe ſame word that M. Harding hath added of his owne to the Councell of Nice. Yet, I thinke, hee will not therefore ſay, that either the two Natures of Chriſt are Really contained in the Scriptures, or the very Bodie of Chriſt lieth ſtill ſhrowded Fleſhly and Really in the Graue. Againe, this word, Κεῖται, which ſignifieth to be Laied, or Placed, in the naturall ſignification requireth both ſituation of place, and alſo a bodily Deſcription, and order of parts. But M. Harding himſelfe in the next Article following ſaith: Chriſts Body is not heere by Locall Preſence, either by filling, or by changing of place: Therefore it followeth, that Chriſts Body is not laied on the Table by any Naturall or Fleſhly Preſence.

Hieronym. ad Marcellam.
Concil. Chalcedon. Actio. 1. κεῖται.
In the next Article, Diuiſion 1.

The words of the Councell of Nice, only withdraw vs from the Naturall & Viſible Elements of the Bread and the Wine, and require our Inner Spirituall ſight, & the contemplation of the minde. The words be plaine: Ne propoſito Pani, & Poculo humiliter intenti ſimus: *That wee conſider not baſely the Bread and the Wine, that are ſet before vs.* And therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: In Sacramentis Fidelium dicitur, Surſum corda: *In the Sacraments of the Faithfull it is ſaid,* Lift vp your hearts. By which words wee are put in remembrance, that there is nothing in the action to be conſidered, but only Chriſt the Lambe of God,

Τῷ παρακειμένῳ ἄρτῳ, καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ
Auguſtin. de Bono perſeuerantiæ.

God, that hath taken away the ſinnes of the world. And therefore Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Wee muſt become Eagles, and ſoare above, if we liſt to come neere to that Bodie.* Thus with the Spirituall eies of our hearts wee ſee the Lambe of God. And as S. Ambroſe ſaith, Magis videtur quod non videtur: *The thing is better ſeene, that* (with our bodily eies) *is not ſeene.* For the ſame cauſe S. Auguſtine ſaith, In Sacramentis videndum eſt, non quid ſint, ſed quid oſtendant. Signa enim rerum ſunt, aliud exiſtentia, & aliud ſignificantia: *In Sacraments wee muſt conſider, not what they be indeed, but what they repreſent. For they are tokens of things, being one thing in themſelues, and ſignifying another.* And as touching our beholding of Chriſt in the Sacrament, in moſt plaine wiſe he writeth thus: Sic nos facit moueri, tanquam videamus Præſentem Dominum in Cruce: *It worketh ſuch motions in vs, as if wee ſaw our Lord himſelfe Preſent vpon the Croſſe.* And this is it that Euſebius Emiſſenus writeth, as hee is alleged of Gratian, Vt coleretur iugiter per Myſterium: & perennis illa victima viueret in Memoria, & Semper Præſens eſſet in Gratia: *That the Body* (that was once offered for our Price) *ſhould euermore be worſhipped by a Myſterie: and that, that Euerlaſting Sacrifice ſhould liue in Remembrance, and be Preſent in Grace for euer.* In this Spirituall ſort is Chriſt laid Preſent vpon the Table: but not in M. Hardings Groſſe and Fleſhly manner. And therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith in like ſenſe vnto the Faithfull Communicants: Vos eſtis in Menſa, vos eſtis in Calice: *You are vpon the Table, you are in the Cuppe.* As S. Auguſtine ſaith, The people is laid vpon the Table, euen ſo, and none otherwiſe, the Councell of Nice ſaith, The Lambe of God is laid vpon the Table.

Laid on the Table.

Chryſoſt. 1. Cor. hom. 24. Ambroſ. de his qui initiantur myſter. ca. 3. Auguſtin. contra Maximin. lib. 3. ca. 22. De Conſec. diſt. 2. Semel Chriſtus. Et in Pſal. 20. De Conſec. diſt. 2. Quia Corpus. Auguſtin. in Sermone ad Infantes. Citatur à Beda in 1. Cor. 10.

The other Greeke word, that M. Harding helpeth by, is, ἀληθῶς, which is, Verily, or Truly: and that, in his iudgement, ſoundeth no leſſe, than Really, or Fleſhly. And thus, although he hunt like a wanton Spaniell, and range at riot, and beat vp Butterflies, yet at the laſt he thinketh he hath found ſomewhat. Howbeit, I marueil he ſeeth no better his owne errour. For he might ſone haue knowen, that theſe two words, Truly, and Fleſhly, haue ſundry meanings: and that in the ſenſe, that Chriſt ſpake vnto the Iewes, the one of them doth vtterly exclude the other. For neither doth he that eateth groſſely, and ſenſibly with his teeth, eat Truly, and Verily, as Chriſt meant: nor doth he that eateth Spiritually with his Faith, eat Groſſely, and Fleſhly, as the Capernaits meant. Therefore it is great follie to ſay, Verily, and Fleſhly, are all one thing. Indeed, the Spirituall Eating of Chriſts Bodie by Faith, is the true Eating: And hee that Eateth the ſame moſt Spiritually, Eateth moſt truly. Otherwiſe Chriſt ſaith: Ego ſum vitis vera: *I am the true Vine.* S. Hierome calleth the Faithfull people, Vitem Veram: *The true Vine.* Cyrillus calleth Chriſt, Verum Manna: *The True Manna.* S. Hierome ſaith: Nos Verè ſumus vnus Panis: *We are Verily one Bread.* Origen ſaith: Apoſtoli verè erant Cœli: *The Apoſtles verily were the Heauens.* And to be ſhort, they were wont to ſing at the bleſſing of the Paſchall Taper, Hæc ſunt feſta Paſchalia, in quibus verè Agnus occiditur: *This is the Paſchall Feaſt, wherein verily, and indeed the Lambe is ſlaine.* By theſe few examples, both the difference betweene theſe two words, Truly, and Fleſhly, and alſo the ſlendernes of M. Hardings Collection may ſone appeare. For, notwithſtanding we doe verily Eat Chriſt, yet it followeth not, that we do Groſſely & Naturally Eat him with our bodily mouthes: and although Chriſt be verily meat, yet it followeth not, that he is therefore Really, and Fleſhly in the Sacrament. And therfore S. Auguſtine in this reſpect vtterly remoueth the naturall office of the Body. His words be plaine: Quid paras dentem, aut ventrem? Crede, & manducaſti: *What prepareſt thou thy tooth, or thy belly? Beleeue, and thou haſt eaten.* Againe, Credere in eum, hoc eſt manducare Panem Viuum: *Beleeuing in him, is the Eating of the Bread of Life.*

Iohan. 15. Hieronym. in 2. ca. Hierem. li. 1 Cyril. li. 3. ca. 24. in Iohan. Hieronym. ad Galat. ca. 4. Origen. in Geneſ. c. 1. hom. 1. In Manuali.

Auguſt. in Iohan. tract. 26.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuiſion.

And touching theſe termes: firſt, Verily, or (136) which is all one, Really, and Subſtantially, mee thinketh M. Iewel ſhould beare the more with vs for vſe of the ſame, ſith that Bucer himſelfe, one of the greateſt learned men of that ſide, hath allowed them: yea, and that after much writing againſt Luther in defence of Zwinglius, and Oecolampadius by him ſet foorth, and after that he had aſſured himſelfe of the truth in this Article by Diuine Inſpiration; as moſt conſtantly he affirmeth with theſe words: *Hæc non Dubitamus diuinitus nobis, & per Scripturam reuelata de hoc Sacramento*: Wee doubt not (ſaith he) but theſe things, concerning the Sacrament, be reuealed vnto vs from God, and by the Scripture. If you demand, where this may bee found: in the Acts of a Councell holden betweene the Lutherans and Zwinglians, for this very purpoſe in Martin Luthers houſe at Wittenberg, in the yeere of our Lord 1536. you ſhall finde theſe words: *Audiuimus D Bucerum explicantem ſuam ſententiam de Sacramento Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, hoc modo: Cum Pane, & Vino, Verè, & Subſtantialiter adeſt, exhibetur, &c. Sumitur Corpus Chriſti, & Sanguis. Et Sacramentali Vnione Panis eſt Corpus Chriſti: & porrectus Pane, verè adeſt, & verè exhibetur Corpus Chriſti*: Wee haue heard M. Bucer declaring his minde touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord, in this ſort; With the Bread and Wine, the Bodie of Chriſt, and his Blood is preſent, exhibited, and receiued Verily and Subſtantially. And by Sacramentall Vnion, the Bread is the Bodie of Chriſt; and the Bread being giuen, the Bodie of Chriſt is verily preſent, and verily deliuered.

The 136. vntruth. For theſe termes are not all one.

In reſponſione ad Luther.

Though

Though this opinion of Bucer, by which he receiued his former Zuinglian Hereſie, be in ſundrie points falſe and Hereticall, yet in this he agreeth with the Catholike Church againſt M. Iewels negatiue aſſertion, that the Body and Blood of Chriſt is preſent in the Sacrament Verily, that is, Truly, and Really, or Indeed, and Subſtantially: (137) wherein he ſpeaketh as the Ancient Fathers ſpake long before, a thouſand yeeres paſt.

The 137. Vntruth. For the Ancient Fathers in this matter of the Sacrament ſpake not ſo.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Hitherto M. Harding hath alleged neither ancient Doctor, nor Old Councell, to ſerue his purpoſe. The firſt that hee can finde, is Doctour Bucer, **that died in Cambridge the fourth yeere of King** Edward **the Sixth, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. Of his iudgement heereis I will ſay nothing. What reaſons led him to yeild to the other ſide, for quietneſſe ſake, I remit it wholly vnto God. But thus much I may well and iuſtly ſay: If M. Harding could haue found any other Doctour, hee would not thus haue made his entrie with** M. Bucer.

Touching that brotherly and ſober Conference, that was betweene D. Luther **and** D. Bucer, Philip Melanchthon, **and other godly learned men of** Germanie **in the Vniuerſitie of** Wittenberg, **I ſee no great cauſe, why M. Harding ſhould thus ſport himſelfe with it, and call it a Councell. Hee might rather, and more iuſtly haue ſcoffed at the vaine Councell of the Eight Speciall Choſen Cardinals holden in** Rome **vnder Pope** Paulus **the third,** Anno Domini 1538. **two yeeres after that Conference at** Wittenberg.

Concil. ſelect. Cardinalium Rome Anno 1538.

For if he will compare voices, they of Wittenberg **were moe in number: if knowledge, they were better learned: if Purpoſes, they ſought Peace in Truth, and the Glory of God: if Iſſue, God hath bleſſed their doings, and giuen force, and increaſe vnto his word, as it appeareth this day. His holy name be praiſed therefore for euer. But theſe eight picked Cardinals, after great ſtudie, and long debating of the matter, eſpied out onely ſuch faults, as euery Child might haue ſone found without ſtudie: and yet neuer redreſſed any of the ſame.**

If Maſter Harding had beene in the Apoſtles times, perhaps hee would haue made ſome ſport at their Councels. For, where, or in what houſe aſſembled they together? What Biſhop or Phariſie was among them? Certainly Saint Auguſtine **had Conference and Diſputation with** Paſcentius **the Arian at** Hippo **in the priuate houſe of one Anitius: and yet was neuer ſcoffed at for his doing. Thus there be euer ſome that laugh, and ſcorne at the repairing of Hieruſalem.** Origen ſaith: Inimici Veritatis videntes, ſine Philoſophia conſurgere muros Euangelij, cum irriſione dicunt, Hoc facilè poſſe deſtrui calliditate Sermonum, & per aſturas fallacias: *The enemies of the Truth ſeeing the walles of the Goſpell riſe without worldly policie, ſay ſcornefully among themſelues, All this by our craftie ſpeech and falſhood, will ſoone be ouerthrowen.* **But hee that ſitteth in Heauen, will laugh them to ſcorne.**

Auguſt. epiſt. 178. in Domo Anitiana. Orig. in Cantica Cant. ho. 4.

M. Harding. The 10. Diuiſion.

Let Chryſoſtome for proofe of this be in ſtead of many that might bee alleged. His words be theſe: *Nos ſecum in vnam (vt ita dicam) Maſſam reduxit, neque id fide ſolùm, ſed re ipſa Corpus ſuum efficit.* By this Sacrament (ſaith he) Chriſt reduceth vs (as it were) into one lumpe with himſelfe, and that not by Faith only: but he maketh vs his owne Body in very deed, *Re ipſa*: which is no other to ſay, than Really. * The other Aduerbs, Corporally, Carnally, Naturally, be found in the Fathers not ſeldome: ſpecially where they diſpute againſt the Arians. And therefore it had beene more conuenient for M. Iewel, to haue modeſtly interpreted them, than vtterly to haue denied them. The old Fathers of the Greeke and Latine Church, deny that faithfull people haue an habitude or diſpoſition, Vnion or Coniunction, with Chriſt onely by Faith, and Charitie, or that wee are ſpiritually ioined and vnited to him only by hope, loue, religion, obedience and will. Yea further they affirme, that by the vertue and efficacie of this Sacrament duly and worthily receiued, Chriſt is Really, and indeed, commmunicated by true Communication, and participation of the nature and Subſtance of his Body and Blood, and that hee is, and dwelleth in vs truly, becauſe of our receiuing the ſame in this Sacrament. The benefit whereof is ſuch, as we be in Chriſt, and Chriſt in vs, according to that he ſaith: *Qui manducat meam carnem, manet in me, & ego in illo*: Who eateth my Fleſh, he dwelleth in me, and I in him. The which dwelling, vnion, and ioining together of him with vs, and of vs with him, that it might the better be expreſſed, and recommended vnto vs; they thought good in their writings to vſe the aforeſaid Aduerbs.

In 26. cap. Matth. Homil. 83.

Chriſt maketh himſelfe one with vs; not with the Sacrament.

* Vntruth, as afore.

For they proued the ſame by the Sacrament of Baptiſme, by Faith, by the Birth of Chriſt, &c.

Hilarius writing againſt the Arians, alleging the words of Chriſt, 17. Iohn: *Vt omnes vnum ſint, ſicut tu Pater in me, & ego in te, vt & ipſi in nobis vnum ſint*: That all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, they alſo may be one in vs: going about by thoſe words to ſhew, that the Sonne and the Father were not one in Nature, and Subſtance, but onely in Concord and Vnitie of Will: among other many and long ſentences for proofe of vnitie in Subſtance, both betweene Chriſt and the Father, and alſo betweene Chriſt and vs, hath theſe words: *Si enim verè Verbum caro factum eſt, & nos verè Verbum carnem Cibo Dominico ſumimus, quomodo non Naturaliter manere in nobis exiſtimandus eſt, qui & Naturam Carnis noſtræ iam inſeparabilem ſibi homo natus aſſumpſit, & Naturam Carnis ſuæ ad Naturam æternitatis ſub Sacramento nobis Communicandæ Carnis admiſcuit?* If the Word be made Fleſh verily, and wee receiue the Word being Fleſh in our Lords meat verily; how is it to bee thought not to dwell in vs naturally, who both hath taken the nature of our fleſh

Flesh now inseparable to himselfe, in that he is borne man, and also hath mingled the nature of his owne flesh to the nature of his euerlastingnesse vnder the Sacrament of his flesh to be receiued of vs in the Communion? There afterward this word, *Naturaliter*, in this sense, that by the Sacrament worthily receiued, Christ is in vs, and we in Christ naturally, that is, in truth of nature, is sundrie times put and rehearsed: whoso listeth to read further his eighth booke, *De Trinitate*, hee shall finde him agnise, * *Manentem in nobis carnaliter Filium*, That the Sonne of God (through the Sacrament) dwelleth in vs Carnally, that is, in truth of flesh, and that by the same Sacrament, we with him, and hee with vs are vnited and knit together, *Corporaliter & Inseparabiliter*, Corporally and Inseparably, for they bee his very words. Gregory Nyssene speaking to this purpose, saith: *Panis qui de Cœlo descendit, non incorporea quædam res est. Quo enim pacto res incorporea corporitibus fiet? res verò quæ incorporea non est, corpus omninò est. Huius Corporis panem non aratio, non satio, non agricolarum opus efficit, sed terra intacta permansit: & tamen pane plena fuit, quo famescentes, Mysterium Virginis perdocti, facilè saturantur*: (138) which words report so plainly the truth of Christs Body in the Sacrament, as all maner of figure and signification must be excluded. And thus they may be Englished: The Bread that came downe from Heauen, is not a bodilesse thing. For by what meane shall a bodilesse thing bee made meat to a body? And the thing which is not bodilesse is a body, without doubt. It is not earing nor sowing, not the worke of tillers, that hath brought foorth the Bread of this Body; but the earth which remained vntouched, and yet was full of the Bread, whereof they that wax hungrie, being thorowly taught the Mysterie of the Virgin, soone haue their fill. Of these words may easily bee inferred a conclusion, that in the Sacrament is Christ, and that in the same we receiue him Corporally, that is, in veritie and substance of his Body; Forasmuch as that is there, and that is of vs receiued, which was brought foorth and borne of the Virgin Mary.

S Hilarie saith, Christ dwelleth Naturally in vs: but not in the Sacrament.
* Not in the Sacrament, but in vs

Iulian. vita Mss.

The 138. vntruth. For Gregory Nyssenus in this place speaketh not one word of the Sacrament.

Cyrillus that ancient Father and worthy Bishop of Alexandria, for confirmation of the Catholike Faith in this point, saith thus: *Non negamus vtrà nos Fide, Charitateque syncera Christo Spiritualiter coniungi: Sed nullam nobis Coniunctionis rationem secundum Carnem cum illo esse, id profectò pernegamus, idque a Diuinis Scripturis omninò alienum dicimus*: We deny not, but that we are ioined Spiritually with Christ, by right Faith, and pure Charitie, but that wee haue no maner of ioining with him according to the Flesh (which is one as to say *Carnaliter*, Carnally) that wee vtterly denie and say, that it is not agreeable with the Scriptures. Againe, lest any man should thinke this ioining of vs and Christ together to be (139) by other meanes, than by the Participation of his Body in the Sacrament, in the same place afterward he saith further: *An fortassis putat ignotam nobis Mysticæ Benedictionis virtutem esse? Quæ cùm in nobis fiat, nempe Corporaliter quoque facit Communicatione Corporis Christi, Christum in nobis habitare?* What, troweth this Arian Heretike perhaps, that we know not the vertue of the Mysticall blessing? (whereby is meant this Sacrament) which when it is become to be in vs, doth it not cause Christ to dwell in vs Corporally by receiuing of Christs Body in the Communion? And after this he saith as plainly, that Christ is in vs, *Non habitudine solùm, quæ per Charitatem intelligitur, verumetiam & Participatione Naturali*: Not by Charity only, but also by Naturall Participation.

Cyrill. lib. 10. in Ioan.

The 139. vntruth. For Christ dwelleth in vs, and we are incorporate into him by Baptisme &c. as shall appeare.

In vs.

The same Cyril saith in another place, that through the holy Communion of Christs Body, wee are ioined to him in Naturall Vnion; *Quis enim eos, qui vnius Sancti Corporis vnione in vno Christo vniti sunt, ab hac Naturali vnione alienos putabit?* Who will thinke (saith he) that they which be vnited together by the Vnion of that one holy Body in one Christ, be not of this Naturall Vnion? Hee calleth this also a Corporall Vnion in the same Booke, and at length after large discussion, how wee bee vnited vnto Christ, not onely by Charitie and obedience of Religion, but also in substance, concludeth thus: *Sed de Vnione Corporali satis*: But wee haue treated enough of the Corporall Vnion. Yet afterward in diuers sentences hee vseth these Aduerbs (140) for declaring of the veritie of Christs Body in the Sacrament, *Naturaliter, Substantialiter, secundùm Carnem*, or *Carnaliter, Corporaliter*, as most manifestly in the 27. Chapter of the same Booke: *Corporaliter Filius per benedictionem mysticam nobis, vt homo vnitur, Spiritualiter autem vt Deus*: The Sonne of God is vnited vnto vs Corporally, as man; and Spiritually, as God.

Lib. 11. cap. 26.

The 140. vntruth. For heere is not one word of presence in the Sacrament.

Againe, whereas he saith there; *Filium Dei natura Patri vnitum Corporaliter, Substantialiterque accipientes, clarificamur, glorificamurque, &c.* We receiuing the Sonne of God, vnited to the Father by nature Corporally, and Substantially, are clarified, and glorified, or made glorious, being made partakers of the Supreme nature. The like saying hee hath *Lib. 12. cap. 58.* Now this being and remaining of Christ in vs, and of vs in Christ Naturally and Carnally, and this vniting of vs and Christ together Corporally, presupposeth a participation of his very Body (141) which Body wee cannot truly participate, but in this blessed Sacrament. And therefore Christ is in the Sacrament, Naturally, Carnally, Corporally, that is to say, according to the truth of his Nature, of his Flesh, and of his Body. (142) For were not hee so in the Sacrament, we could not be ioined vnto him, nor he and wee could not bee ioined and vnited together Corporally.

The 141. vntruth, ioined with pernicious and dangerous Doctrine.
The 142. vntruth. For Christ is likewise ioined Corporally to vs by the Sacrament of Baptisme.

Diuers other ancient Fathers haue vsed the like maner of speech: but none so much as Hilarius and Cyrillus: (143) whereby they vnderstand, that Christ is present in the Sacrament, as we haue said, according to the truth of his substance, of his Nature, of his Flesh, of his Body and Blood.

The 143. vntruth. For they neither vnderstand so, nor write so.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Now at the last M. Harding draweth nere the matter, and bringeth forth the old Fathers with these very Termes, Really, Substantially, Corporally, Carnally, &c. and allegeth these few, as he saith, in stead of many, hauing indede no moe to bring. And although these Fathers speake not any one word, that is either denied by vs, or any wise serueth to this purpose, yet he cunningly leadeth away the eies of the ignorant, with the shew of old names, and like a Iugglar, changeth the naturall countenance of things, and maketh them appeare what him listeth.

For whereas he hath taken in hand to proue, that Christs Body is Really and Fleshly in the Sacrament, he finding his weakenesse, and want therein, altereth the whole case, and proueth that Christs Bodie is Really, Fleshly, and Naturally within vs. But this matter was not in question, and therefore needeth no proofe at all. Herein standeth the

Chriſt dwelleth in vs.

the whole guile: and thus the ſimple is deceiued. To this end M. Harding ſo vſeth the words and witneſſe of theſe Holy Fathers, as Cacus the Outlaw ſometime vſed Hercules Kine: becauſe hee cannot handſomely driue them forward, hee taketh them by the tailes, and pulleth them backward.

But becauſe M. Harding will hereof reaſon thus: If Chriſts Body by meane of the Sacrament be Really and Carnally in vs: it is likely the ſame Body is alſo Really, and Carnally in the Sacrament. For anſwer hereunto, it ſhall be neceſſary, firſt to vnderſtand, how many waies Chriſts Body dwelleth in our Bodies, and therby afterward to view M. Hardings reaſon. Foure ſpeciall meanes there be, whereby Chriſt dwelleth in vs, and wee in him: His Natiuity, whereby he embraced vs: Our Faith, whereby wee embrace him: The Sacrament of Baptiſme: and the Sacrament of his Body. By euery of theſe meanes, Chriſts Body dwelleth in our Bodies: and that not by way of Imagination, or by Figure, or Fantaſie: but Really, Naturally, Subſtantially, Fleſhly, and indeed.

Bernar. de Epiph. Serm. 1. And touching Chriſts Natiuitie, S. Bernard ſaith: Corpus Chriſti de meo eſt, & meum eſt: Paruulus enim natus eſt nobis, & Filius datus eſt nobis: *The Body of Chriſt is of my Body, and is now become mine: For a Babe is borne vnto vs: and a Sonne is giuen vnto vs.* So ſaith S. Baſil: Participes facti ſumus Verbi, & Sapientiæ per Incarnationem & Senſibilem vitam. Carnem enim, & Sanguinem appellauit omnem illam Myſticam Conuerſationem: *Wee are partakers of the Word, and of the Wiſdome* (which is Chriſt) *by his Incarnation, and by his Senſible life. For Fleſh and Blood hee called all his Myſticall Converſation.* * So ſaith Gregorius Nyſſenus: Corpus Chriſti eſt omnis humana Natura, cui admixtus eſt: *His Body is all mankinde, whereunto he is mingled.* And thus, Chriſt being in the Wombe of the Bleſſed Virgin, became Fleſh of our Fleſh, and Bone of our Bones. And in that ſenſe, S. Iohn ſaith, Verbum Caro factum eſt, & habitauit in nobis: *The Word was made Fleſh, and dwelt in vs.* And therefore Chriſt calleth himſelfe the Vine, and vs the Branches: S. Paul calleth Chriſt the Head, and vs the Body: which bee names of moſt neere and Naturall Coniunction.

Touching Faith, S. Paul ſaith: Chriſtus habitat in Cordibus noſtris per Fidem: *Chriſt by Faith dwelleth in our hearts.* And S. Peter ſaith: *Hereby we are made partakers of the Diuine Nature.* So ſaith Ignatius: *By his Paſſion and Reſurrection* (that is, by our Faith in the ſame) *we are made the members of his Body.*

And notwithſtanding by theſe meanes Chriſt be in vs, and wee in him, yet foraſmuch as both our Life, and Faith is vnperfect, as we daily deſire God to amend our Life, and to augment our Faith, euen ſo we daily pray, that this Coniunction betweene Chriſt and vs may bee increaſed, that Chriſt may come nearer and nearer into vs, and that wee may grow into a perfect man in him. And to this end God hath ſpecially appointed vs his holy Sacraments. And therefore S. Paul ſaith, concerning the Sacrament of Baptiſme: *They that are Baptized, are planted into Chriſt: they haue put Chriſt vpon them: by one Spirit, they are Baptized into one Body.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Ad hoc Baptiſmus valet, vt Baptizati Chriſto incorporentur: *This is the vſe of Baptiſme, that they that bee Baptized, may be incorporate into Chriſt.* Which word, Incorporari, hee vſeth alſo in ſundrie other places, ſpeaking of Baptiſme. In this reſpect Dionyſius ſaith: Baptizati tranſimus in Deum: *Being Baptized, we are turned into God.* And Pachymeres ſaith: *Wee are graft into Chriſt, and made one nature with him by holy Baptiſme.*

Ignatius ad Trallian. *Ephes. 4.* *Rom. 6.* *Galat. 3.* *1. Cor. 12.* *De Conſe. diſt. 4. Ad hoc.* *De Eccleſiaſt. Hierar. cap. 1.* *Pachymeres in Dionyſ. ca. 4.* συμφυτοι γεγονότες αυτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος.

Thus much may ſuffice to deſcrie M. Hardings ſlender argument. For notwithſtanding by the Sacrament of Baptiſme Chriſt bee Naturally in vs, yet may not he therefore conclude, that Chriſt is Naturally in the Sacrament of Baptiſme. Bonauentura ſaith well: Non eſt aliquo modo dicendum, quòd Gratia continetur in Sacramentis eſſentialiter, tanquam aqua in vaſe. Hoc enim dicere, eſt erroneum. Sed dicuntur continere Gratiam, quia eam Significant: *We may not in any wiſe ſay, that the Grace of God is conteined in the Sacraments, as Water in a Veſſell. For ſo to ſay, it were an errour. But they are ſaid to containe Gods Grace, becauſe they Signifie Gods Grace.*

Bonauent. in 4. Sent. Diſt. 1. qua. 3.

But Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Chriſt mingleth his Bodie with our Bodies, and driueth vs, as it were, into one lumpe of dough with himſelfe.* This place would haue ſtood M. Harding in better ſtead, if Chryſoſtome had ſaid, Chriſt mingleth his Bodie with the Sacrament, and driueth himſelfe and it into one lumpe. For this is it, that ſhould be proued. Neither will M. Harding ſay, That either Chriſt mingleth himſelfe with vs, or wee are made one lumpe of dough with him ſimply and according to the Letter, and without Figure. Whereof hee ſeeth, it muſt needs follow, that much leſſe is Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, according to that he would haue the Letter to ſound, Plainly, Simply, or as he ſaith, Really and Fleſhly, and without Figure. It is a vehement, and a hot kinde of ſpeech, ſuch as Chryſoſtome was moſt delighted with, farre paſſing the common

ſenſe,

ſenſe and courſe of truth: and therefore he himſelfe thought it neceſſarie to correct and to qualifie the rigour of the ſame, by theſe words, Vt ita dicam, which is, *As it were*, or, *If I may be bold ſo to ſay*. In ſuch phraſe of talke Anacletus ſaith: In oleo virtus Spiritus Sancti inuiſibilis permiſta eſt: *The inuiſible power of the Holy Ghoſt is mingled with the Oile*. And Alexander ſaith: In Sacramentorum Oblationibus Paſſio Domini miſcenda eſt: *The Paſſion of Chriſt muſt be mingled with the Oblations of the Sacraments*. So ſaith Gregorius Nyſſenus of S. Steuen: Gratia Sancti Spiritus permixtus, & contemperatus, per illum ſublatus, & euectus eſt ad contemplationem Dei: *S. Steuen being mingled and tempered with the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, was by him aduanced, and taken vp to the ſight of God*. These and other ſuch like ſayings of holy Fathers, may not be hardly preſt according to the ſound of the letter: but rather muſt be gently expounded and qualified, according to the ſenſe and meaning of the Writer.

Chriſt mingled with vs.

Anacle. epiſt. 2. Inter Decret. Alexandri 1. Greg. Nyſſen. de S. Stephano.

Chryſoſtomes purpoſe was, by this word Maſſa, which in this place ſignifieth a lumpe of dough, to make reſemblance vnto theſe words of S. Paul, *We are one Loafe, and one Body*: And by ſuch Maieſtie of ſpeech, the more to quicken and lift vp our ſpirits, and to cauſe vs thereby the better to conſider that wonderfull coniunction and knitting that is betweene Chriſt and vs, whereby either is in other, he in vs, and we in him: and that euen in one perſon: in ſuch ſort as he is neither in the Angels, nor in the Archangels, nor in any other power in Heauen. And therefore S. Paul ſaith: *The Angels hee tooke not, but hee tooke the ſeed of Abraham*. But this wonderfull Coniunction, and, as Chryſoſtome calleth it, this mixture is wrought, not onely in the holy Myſteries, but alſo in the Sacrament of Baptiſme. And in that ſenſe Leo ſaith: Suſceptus à Chriſto, Chriſtumque ſuſcipiens, non eſt idem poſt Lauacrum, qui ante Baptiſmum fuit: Sed Corpus Regenerati ſit Caro Crucifixi: *A man receiued of Chriſt, and receiuing Chriſt (in Baptiſme) is not the ſame after Baptiſme, that he was before: But the Body of him that is Regenerate, is made the Fleſh of him that was Crucified*. Likewiſe S. Auguſtine ſaith: Ergo gratulemur, & agamus gratias, non ſolùm nos Chriſtianos factos eſſe, ſed etiam Chriſtum. Intelligitis, Fratres, Gratiam Dei ſuper nos: Capitis: Admiramini: Gaudete: Chriſtus facti ſumus. Si enim ille Caput eſt, & nos membra, totus ille homo, & nos: *Let vs reioice and giue thankes, that wee are not onely made Chriſtian men, but alſo made Chriſt. Brethren ye vnderſtand the grace of God, that is vpon vs: Ye vnderſtand it: Ye wonder at it: Reioice yee: We are made Chriſt. For if he be the head, and we the members, both he and we are one whole man*.

Corinth. 10.

Ad Hebr. 2.

Leo Serm. 14. De Paſſione.

Auguſt. in Iohan. Tract. 21.

Now, gentle Reader, as Leo ſaith, our Bodies by Baptiſme are made Chriſts Fleſh: as S. Auguſtine ſaith, we are made Chriſt himſelfe: and as Gregorie Nyſſene ſaith, *Saint Steuen was tempered and mingled with the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt*: euen ſo, and in the ſame ſenſe Chryſoſtome ſaith: We are made one lumpe of dough with Chriſt, and Chriſt hath tempered and mingled himſelfe with vs. These things conſidered, the force of M. Hardings reaſon muſt needes faile. Certainely Primaſius ſaith: *As the Breaking of this Bread is the Partaking of the Body of our Lord, euen ſo the Bread of Idols is the Partaking of Diuels*. And addeth further: Si de eodem Pane manducamus, quo Idololatræ, vnum cum illis Corpus efficimur: *If we eat of one Bread with Idolaters, wee are made one Body with them*.

Primaſius in 1. Corinth. 11.

These other three authorities, of Hilarie, Gregorie Nyſſene and Cyril, may well bee diſcharged with one anſwer: ſauing that Gregory Nyſſene an old Writer, newly ſet abroad with ſundry corruptions, is brought in only to make a ſhew, not ſpeaking any one word, neither of Chriſts Naturall dwelling in vs, nor of the Sacrament. His purpoſe was only to ſpeake of Chriſts Birth, and of that Bodie which hee receiued of the Bleſſed Virgin, which was not a ſhadow, or a fantaſie, but Reall, Fleſhly, and indeed. And in like maner of ſpeech S. Hierome ſaith: Triticum, de quo Panis Cœleſtis efficitur, illud eſt, de quo loquitur Dominus, Caro mea verè eſt cibus: *The wheat whereof the Heauenly Bread is made, is that, of which Our Lord ſaith, My Fleſh is meat indeed*. And to this purpoſe Amphilochius ſaith, as hee is alleged by Cyrillus: Niſi Chriſtus natus fuiſſet Carnaliter, tu natus non fuiſſes Spiritualiter: *Vnleſſe Chriſt had beene borne Carnally, thou haddeſt not beene borne Spiritually*. Touching Gregorius Nyſſenus, as he ſaith, *Chriſt is made our Bread*, ſo hee ſaith likewiſe in the ſame place: Quicquid aſſumenti conueniens ſit, in id mutatur. Fit perfectioribus ſolidus cibus, inferioribus olus, infantibus lac: *Whatſoeuer thing is conuenient for the receiuer, into the ſame thing Chriſt turneth himſelfe. He becommeth ſtrong meat vnto the perfect; Herbes vnto the weaker; and Milke vnto Children*. And as Chriſt is Herbes or Milke, euen ſo, and none otherwiſe, he is Bread or Fleſh. Neither will this ancient Father agree vnto M. Hardings errour, That we cannot receiue Chriſts Bodie, but onely in the Sacrament. For euen in the ſame place hee holdeth the contrarie. His words bee theſe: Qui abundanter ex Apoſtolicis fontibus biberit, is iam totum recepit Chriſtum:

Gregorius Nyſſenus.

Hieronym. in Eſai. cap. 62.

Cyrillus in Apologetico.

Greg. Nyſſen. in vita Moſis.

Ibidem.

Corporally, Naturally.

Whoſo hath abundantly drunken of the Apoſtles ſprings, hath already receiued whole Chriſt. The argument, that M. Harding gathereth hereof, muſt néds ſtand thus: *Chriſt was borne of the Virgin:* Ergo, *His Body is Really and Fleſhly in the Sacrament.* This concluſion is but childiſh: Yet if he conclude not thus, he concludeth nothing.

Hilarius de Trinitate, li. 8.

The greateſt weight of this matter lieth vpon two Old Fathers, Cyril and Hilary. For Hilary ſaith: *We receiue Chriſt,* verè ſub myſterio, *verily vnder a myſterie:* And either of them vſeth theſe termes, Carnally, Corporally, Naturally: and that not once or twice, but in ſundrie places. The authorities bée great: the words bée plaine. But God be thanked, theſe places be common, and not vnknowen. And for anſwer of the ſame, once againe remember, good Chriſtian Reader, that notwithſtanding M. Harding haue ſound in theſe two Fathers, that Chriſts Body is Corporally and Naturally in vs, yet hath hée not hitherto found that thing that he ſought for, neither in theſe Fathers, nor in any other: that is, that Chriſts Body is Naturally or Corporally in the Sacrament. Wherefore I much maruell, that either hee would auouch this matter ſo ſtrongly, finding himſelfe ſo weake: or elſe thus vainly dally, and ſhew one thing for another, and deceiue his Reader.

Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 103.

That we verily and vndoubtedly receiue Chriſts Bodie in the Sacrament it is neither denied, nor in queſtion. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Panis eſt Cordis: Intus eſuri: intus ſiti: *It is the Bread of the Heart: Hunger thou within: Thirſt thou within.* And the thing that is inwardly receiued in Faith, and in Spirit, is receiued verily and indéd. S. Bernard meant no falſhood when he ſaid: Lauemur in Sanguine eius: *Let vs bee waſht in the Blood of Chriſt.* Notwithſtanding he meant not, that our Bodies Really, and indéd ſhould bée waſht with the Blood of Chriſt. And whereas S. Auguſtine ſaith: Quid paras dentem & ventrem? Crede & manducaſti: *What prepareſt thou thy tooth and thy belly? Beleeue, and thou haſt eaten:* We may not thinke that hée meant any fantaſticall or falſe eating: notwithſtanding hée vtterly refuſeth in this behalfe, both the teeth and the bellie, and all other office of the Body. And therefore Cyrillus ſaith: Sacramentum noſtrum hominis manducationem non aſſerit, mentes credentium ad craſſas cogitationes irreligiosè introducens: *Our Sacrament teacheth vs not to eat a man* (with the materiall mouth of our Bodie) *in vngodly ſort leading the mindes of the faithfull vnto groſſe cogitations.* It is a holy Myſterie, and a heauenly action, forcing our mindes vp into Heauen, and there teaching vs to eat the Bodie of Chriſt, & to drinke his Blood: not outwardly by the ſeruice of our Bodies, but inwardly by our Faith, & that verily and indéd. The truth hereof ſtandeth not in any Real, or Corporall Preſence, but as Hilarius ſaith, in a Myſterie, which is in a Sacrament: whereby outwardly & vnto our ſenſes, we erpreſſe that thing in our Bodies, that muſt be wrought inwardly in our mindes. For this cauſe Dionyſius ſaith: Regeneratio naturali illa purgatione, quæ fit per aquam, Corporali quodam modo denuntiat animæ purgationem: *Our Regeneration, which wee haue in Baptiſme, by that Naturall Purgation, that is wrought by Water, in a certaine bodily ſort teacheth vs the purgation of the minde.* Thus are wée truly waſht with Chriſts Blood in the holy Myſterie of Baptiſme: thus are wée truly and indéd fed with Chriſts Body in the holy Myſterie of his Supper. And albeit Chriſt be in neither of theſe Myſteries in Bodily and Fleſhly Preſence, yet doth not that thing any wiſe hinder, either the Subſtance of the holy Myſterie, or the Truth of our receiuing. And for that cauſe S. Auguſtine ſaith: Non fallit nos Apoſtolus, qui dicit, Chriſtum habitare in cordibus noſtris per Fidem. In te eſt, quia ipſa fides in te eſt: *The Apoſtle deceiueth vs not in ſaying, that Chriſt dwelleth in our hearts by Faith. He is in thee* (not Really, or Bodily, but) *becauſe his Faith is within thee.* M. Harding will replie: This cannot ſuffice. For Cyril, and Hilary ſay, *That Chriſt, not onely by Faith, but alſo Corporally, Carnally, and Naturally is within vs.* Theſe words in their owne rigour, without ſome gentle conſtruction, ſeeme very hard. Euen ſo Hilarius in the ſame Booke of the Trinitie, ſaith: *That we are one with God the Father, and the Son, not only by Adoption or Conſent of mind, but alſo by Nature.* Which ſaying, according to the ſound of the Letter, cannot be true. Therefore the Fathers haue bœne faine to expound and to mollifie ſuch violent and exceſſiue kindes of ſpéech. Chryſoſtome where hée ſaith, *Wee are made one lumpe with Chriſt,* addeth, as it is ſaid before, his correction withall, Vt ita dicam, *As it were,* or, *If I may vſe ſuch manner of ſpeech.* In like manner ſaith S. Auguſtine: Qui in Chriſtum credit, credendo in Chriſtum venit, & in eum Chriſtus, & quodammodo vnitur in eum, & membrum in Corpore eius efficitur: *Hee that beleeueth in Chriſt, by beleeuing commeth into Chriſt, and Chriſt into him, and, after a certaine maner, is vnited vnto him, and made a member in his Body.* In a maner, he ſaith, but not according to the force of the letter. Againe hee expoundeth this word, Corporaliter, in this wiſe: Non vmbraliter, ſed verè, & ſolidè: *Not, as in a ſhadow, but truly, and perfectly.* So Cyrillus expoundeth his owne meaning: Naturalis vnio non aliud eſt,

Dionyſ. Eccleſiaſt. hierar. ca. 2. σωματικώτερον ἐστὶ διαγόμενον.

Auguſtin. de verbis Apoſtoli Sermon. 16. Hilarius lib. 8. de Trinitate. Non tantùm adoptione, aut conſenſu, ſed etiam natura. Chryſoſtom. in Matt. hom. 83. Auguſtin. de Verbis Domini ſecund. Iohan. Sermon. 60. Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 67. Cyrillus in Apologetico, ad Anathem. 3.

quàm

quàm vera. Natura ſumus filij iræ, id eſt, verè: *Naturall Vnion is nothing elſe, but a true Vnion. Wee are by Nature the children of Anger, that is, we are indeed and truly the children of Anger.* In which ſenſe S. Paul ſaith: Gentes factæ ſunt Cohæredes, & Concorporales, & Comparticipes promiſſionis in Chriſto Ieſu: *The Heathens are become Coinheritours, Concorporall, and partakers of the promiſe in Chriſt Ieſus.* Thus much of theſe woꝛds Coꝛpoꝛally, Naturally, &c. Whereby is meant a full perfect ſpirituall Coniunction, excluding all maner of Imagination oꝛ fantaſie: not a Gꝛoſſe and Fleſhly being of Chꝛiſts Body in our Bodies, accoꝛding to the appearance of the Letter. Otherwiſe there muſt nꝛds follow this great inconvenience, that our Bodies muſt be in like maner Coꝛpoꝛally, Naturally, and Fleſhly in Chꝛiſts Body. Foꝛ Hilarius ſaith: Nos quoque in eo ſumus Naturaliter: *Wee alſo are Naturally in him.* And Cyrillus, as hꝛ ſaith, *Chriſt is Corporally in vs*: ſo hꝛ ſaith, *We are Corporally in Chriſt.*

Corporally, Naturally.

Epheſ. 2. συσσώματα.

Hil. de Tri. l. 8. Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 10. cap. 13.

Further, that we be thus in Chꝛiſt, and Chꝛiſt in vs, requiꝛeth not any Coꝛpoꝛall oꝛ Locall Being, as in things Naturall. Wꝛ aꝛe in Chꝛiſt ſitting in Heauen: and Chꝛiſt ſitting in Hequen is hꝛre in vs, not by a Naturall, but by a ſpirituall meane of Being. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Poſtquam ex mortuis Reſurrexit, & Aſcendit ad Patrem, eſt in nobis per Spiritum: *After that Chriſt is Riſen from the dead, and Aſcended vnto his Father, he is in vs by his Spirit.* Which ſaying agꝛeth well with theſe woꝛds of S. Baſil: Paulus ait, Si quis Spiritum Chriſti non habet, hic non eſt eius. Deinde addit, Si tamen Chriſtus ſit in vobis: ac ſi diceret, Si Spiritus Chriſti ſit in vobis: *S. Paul ſaith, If any man haue not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is not of him. Hee addeth further theſe words: If Chriſt be in you: which is as much as if he had ſaid, If the Spirit of Chriſt be within you.* So likewiſe S. Auguſtine imagineth Chꝛiſt to ſay vnto Mary Maudlen: Aſcendam ad Patrem meum: tum tange me: *I will aſcend vp vnto my Father: then touch thou me.* Meaning thereby, that diſtance of place cannot hinder Spirituall touching. Againe S. Auguſtine imagineth Chꝛiſt thus to ſay vnto the people: Qui venit ad me, incorporatur mihi: *He that commeth vnto me, is Incorporate into me.* He addeth of his owne: Veniamus ad eum: Incremus ad eum: Incorporemur ei: *Let vs goe vnto him: let vs enter vnto him: let vs be Incorporate into him.* Thus, notwithſtanding Chꝛiſt were in Heauen, and diſtant in place, yet was hꝛ pꝛeſent in S. Paul: foꝛ ſo S. Paul ſaith, *Will ye haue a triall of Chriſt, that ſpeaketh within me?* This Coniunction is Spirituall, and theꝛefoꝛe nꝛdeth not, neither Circumſtance of Place, noꝛ Coꝛpoꝛall Pꝛeſence. Likewiſe Saint Cyprian ſaith: Noſtra & Chriſti Coniunctio, nec miſcet Perſonas, nec vnit Subſtantias: ſed affectus conſociat, & conſœderat voluntates: *The Coniunction that is betweene Chriſt and vs, neither doth mingle perſons, nor vnite Subſtances: but it doth knit our affects together, and ioine our willes.* Yet notwithſtanding, the ſame Coniunction, becauſe it is Spirituall, true, ful, and perfect, theꝛefoꝛe is exꝛpꝛeſſed of theſe holy Fathers by this terme, Coꝛpoꝛall: which remoueth all maner light, and Accidentall ioining: and Naturall, whereby all maner Imagination oꝛ Fantaſie, and Coniunction only of Will and Conſent is excluded: not that Chꝛiſts Body is Coꝛpoꝛally oꝛ Naturally in our Body, as is befoꝛe ſaid: no moꝛe than our Bodies are Coꝛpoꝛally oꝛ Naturally in Chꝛiſts Body: but that we haue life in vs, and are become Immoꝛtall, becauſe by Faith and Spirit, we are partakers of the Naturall Body of Chꝛiſt. M. Harding ſaith: We are thus ioined vnto Chꝛiſt, and haue him Coꝛpoꝛally within vs, onely by receiuing the Sacrament, and by none other meanes. This is vtterly vntrue, as it is already pꝛoued, by the authoꝛities of S. Auguſtine, S. Baſil, Gregory Nazianzene, Leo, Ignatius, Bernard, and other holy Fathers: neither doth either Cyrillus oꝛ Hilarie ſo auouch it. Certainly, neither haue they all Chꝛiſt dwelling in them, that receiue the Sacrament: noꝛ are they all void of Chꝛiſt, that neuer receiued the Sacrament. Beſides the vntruth hꝛreof, this Doctrine were alſo many waies very vncomfoꝛtable. Foꝛ what may the godly Father thinke of his Childe, that being Baptized, departeth this life, without receiuing the Sacrament of Chꝛiſts Bodie? By M. Hardings conſtruction, hꝛ muſt nꝛds thinke, his Childe is damned: foꝛ that it had no Naturall Participation of Chꝛiſts Fleſh, without which there is no Saluation: which Participation, as M. Harding aſſureth vs, is had by none other meanes, but onely by receiuing of the Sacrament. Yet S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: *In the Sacrament of Baptiſme we are made Fleſh of Chriſts Fleſh, and Bone of his Bones.*

Cyprian. De Cœna Domini.

Chryſoſtom. in epiſt. ad Epheſ. hom. 20.

Foꝛ better triall hꝛreof, vnderſtand thou, gentle Reader, that both Cyrillus and Hilarius, in thoſe places diſpute againſt the Arians, whoſe errour was this, that God the Father, and the Sonne are one, not by Nature, but onely by Will and Conſent. Againſt them Hilarius reaſoned thus:

Chriſt is as really ioined vnto the Father, as vnto vs:
But Chriſt is ioined vnto vs by Nature:
Therefore Chriſt is ioined to God the Father by Nature.

Naturally: Corporally.

The Minor, that is, *That Chriſt is ioined vnto vs by nature*, he proueth thus: *We are ioined vnto Chriſt by Faith*, that is, *by the nature of one Faith, and that is to ſay, Naturally.* Likewiſe he ſaith: *We are ioined vnto Chriſt by the Regeneration of one Nature.* And againe: *We are ioined to Chriſt by the Nature of one Baptiſme.* Hereof he concludeth: *Therefore are we Naturally ioyned vnto him.* Thus it appeareth by S. Hilary, we may haue Chriſt Naturally within vs, by theſe other ſundry meanes: and therefore not only, as M. Harding holdeth, by receiuing of the Sacrament. And like as Chriſt is Naturally, Corporally, and Carnally in vs by Faith, by Regeneration, and by Baptiſme: euen ſo, and none otherwiſe, he is in vs by the Sacrament of his Body. In which holy Myſterie Chriſt is ioined vnto vs Corporally, as being man, becauſe we are fed indeed and verily, with his Flesh: and Spiritually is ioined to vs, as God.

Hilar. de Trinitat. lib 8.
Per Naturam vnius Fidei, id eſt, naturaliter.
Eiuſdem Regeneratione Naturæ.
Per Naturam eiuſdem Baptiſmi.

Thus much vnto Cyrillus and Hilarius, in whom M. Harding is not yet able to find, that Chriſts Body is either Corporally receiued into our Bodies: or Corporally preſent in the Sacrament: which was the only thing, that M. Harding hath here taken in hand, and ſhould haue proued: and now not hauing proued that, notwithſtanding all this great adoe, hath proued nothing.

But he ſaith, *It had beene more conuenient, rather modeſtly to haue interpreted theſe words, than thus vtterly to haue denied them.* Verily, perhaps it were ſo for him, that can make ſomewhat of nothing: and deuiſe a Commentary without a Text; and imagine Conſtructions, as M. Harding doth, of words that were neuer ſpoken.

Hereof M. Harding gheſſeth thus:

Theſe Fathers ſay, That Chriſt is Naturally and Corporally in vs: Ergo, *It is likely, their meaning was, that Chriſt is Naturally and Corporally preſent in the Sacrament.* This reaſon is very ſimple: For notwithſtanding Chriſt were Naturally within our bodies, yet the like Being in the Sacrament would not follow. But this argument would conclude the contrary, and hold better in this wiſe:

Chriſts Body is not Naturally, or Corporally preſent within vs:
Therefore much leſſe it is Corporally preſent in the Sacrament.

M. Harding. The 11. *Diuiſion.*

All theſe were very yong Fathers.

And the Catholike Fathers, that ſithence the time of Berengarius haue written in defence of the truth in this point, vſing theſe termes ſometimes for excluding of Metaphors, Allegories, Figures and Significations only, whereby the Sacramentaries would defraud faithfull people of the truth of Chriſts precious Body in this Sacrament: doe not thereby meane, that the maner, meane, or way of Chriſts Preſence, dwelling, vnion, and coniunction with vs, and of vs with him, is therefore Naturall, Subſtantiall, Corporall or Carnall: but they and all other Catholike men confeſſe the contrary, that it is farre higher, and worthier, ſupernaturall, ſuperſubſtantiall, inuiſible, vnſpeakeable, ſpeciall and proper to this Sacrament, True, Reall, and indeed notwithſtanding: and not only Tropicall, Symbolicall, Metaphoricall, Allegoricall; not Spirituall only, and yet Spirituall; not Figuratiue or Significatiue onely. And likewiſe concerning the maner of the Preſence, and being of that Body and Blood in the Sacrament, they & we acknowledge and confeſſe, that it is not Locall, Circumſcriptiue, Diffinitiue, or Subiectiue, or Naturall: but ſuch, as is knowne to God only.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

De Con. diſt. 2. Tribus gradibus. In Gloſſa.
The abſurdities of M. Hardings Doctrine.

Theſe Doctours liued within theſe two or three hundred yéeres, and are ſuch, as M. Harding thought not worth the naming. Their doctrine in theſe caſes is very vnſauory and without comfort. Generally, they hold that Chriſts Body remaineth no longer in our Bodies, but only vntill the formes of the Bread and Wine begin to alter. Some others ſay, that aſſone as our téeth touch the Bread, ſtraightwaies Chriſts Body is taken vp into Heauen. The words be theſe: Certum eſt, quòd quàm citò Species dentibus teruntur, tam citò in Cœlum rapitur Corpus Chriſti. This Doctrine notwithſtanding, they ſay, That Chriſt is Naturallie and Corporallie within vs. Héere a man may ſay vnto M. Harding, as he did before to the Arian Heretike: *What, troweth M. Harding, or his new Doctours, that Chriſt commeth to vs from Heauen, and by and by forſaketh vs? Or, that we eat Chriſt, and yet receiue him not? Or, that we receiue Chriſt, and yet haue him not? Or, that Chriſt is Corporally within vs, and yet entreth not? Is this Chriſts naturall Being in vs? Is this the Vertue of the Myſticall Benediction? Is this the meaning of theſe holy Fathers? Or troweth M. Harding, that holding and maintaining ſuch abſurdities, his Reader, be he neuer ſo ſimple, will beleeue him?*

Laſt of all, to declare the maner of Chriſts Preſence in the Sacrament, he ſaith, it is not Locall, not Circumſcriptiue, not Diffinitiue, not Subiectiue. By theſe termes his Reader may rather wonder at his ſtrange Diuinity and Eloquence, then well coniecture what he meaneth. And as it appeareth, he himſelfe is not yet able to conceiue his owne meaning. For thus he ſaith: This preſence is knowen to God only. Then it followeth, *M. Harding knoweth it not.* And ſo this Article at laſt is concluded with an Ignoramus.

Notwithſtanding

Nowbeit, the Old learned Fathers neuer left vs in such doubts. Emissenus saith, as it is before alleged: Præsens est in Gratia: *Christ is Present by his Grace.* S. Augustine saith, Est in nobis per Spiritum: *Christ is in vs by his Spirit.* Likewise againe he saith, Non hoc Corpus, quod videtis, manducatori estis: Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado: *Yee shall not eat this Bodie, that yee see. It is a certaine Sacrament, that I deliuer you.* Thus the Holy Fathers say, Christ is Present: not Corporally, Carnally, Naturally: but, as in a Sacrament, by his Spirit, and by his Grace.

De Cons. dist. 2. Quia Corpus.
Augustin. de Trinit.
Augustin. in Psalm. 98.

OF BEING IN MANY PLACES.

The Sixth Article.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that Christs Body is, or may be in a thousand places, or moe at one time.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

(144) Among the miracles of this blessed Sacrament, one is, that one and the same Bodie may bee in many places at once, to wit, vnder all consecrated Hosts. As for God, it is agreeable to his Godhead to be euery where, *Simpliciter & proprie*. But as for a creature, to be but in one place only. But as for the Body of Christ, (145) it is after a maner betweene both. For whereas it is a creature, it ought not to bee made equall with the Creator in this behalfe, that it bee euery where. But, whereas it is vnited to the Godhead, heerein it ought to excell other Bodies, so as it may in one (146) time bee in moe places vnder this holy Sacrament. For the vniting of Christs naturall body vnto the almightie Godhead, duly considered, bringeth a true Christian man in respect of the same, to forsake reason, and to leane to Faith, to put apart all doubts and discourses of humane vnderstanding, and to rest in reuerent simplicitie of beleefe.

The 144. Vntruth. For none of the ancient Fathers euer knew this miracle.
The 145. Vntruth. And a Doctrine hitherto seldom heard of.
The 146. Vntruth. For, notwithstãding the Body of Christ be ioined with the Godhead, yet it remaineth still a creature.

Thereby through the holy Ghost perswaded, he knoweth, that although the Body of Christ bee naturall, and humane indeed, yet, through the vnion and coniunction, many things bee possible to the same now, that to all other bodies be impossible: as to walke vpon waters, to vanish away out of sight, to be transfigured, and made bright as the Sunne, to ascend vp thorow the Cloudes: and after it became immortall, death being conquered, to rise vp againe out of the graue, and to enter thorow doores fast shut. Through the same Faith, he beleeueth, and acknowledgeth, that (147) according vnto his word, by his power it is made present in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, vnder the forme of Bread and Wine, whersoeuer the same is duly consecrated, according vnto his institution in his holy Supper: and that not after a grosse, or carnall maner, but spiritually, and supernaturally, and yet substantially: not by locall, but by substannall presence: not by maner of quantitie, or filling of a place, or by changing of place, or by leauing his sitting on the right hand of the Father, but in such a maner, as God only knoweth, and yet doth vs to vnderstand by faith the truth of his very presence, farre passing all mans capacitie, to comprehend the maner how.

Matth. 14. Luc. 24. Matth. 17. Luc. 24. Act. 1. Matth. 28. Iohan. 20.

The 147. Vntruth. For Christ vttereth no such word: and Faith without Gods word is no Faith.

Whereas some against this point of beleefe doe allege the Article of Christs Ascension, and of his Being in heauen at the right hand of God the Father, bringing certaine texts of the Scriptures pertaining to the same, and testimonies of ancient Doctours signifying Christs absence from the Earth: it may bee rightly vnderstanded, that hee is verily both in heauen at the right hand of his Father, in his visible and corporall forme, very God and man, after which maner he is there, and not heere; and also in the Sacrament inuisibly, and spiritually, both God and man in a mysterie: so as the granting of the one may stand without denial of the other, no contradiction found in these Beings, but only a distinction in the way and maner of Being.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Hauing somewhat largely answered the fiue first Articles, wherein semed to lie the greatest weight, I trust, I may now the more slightly passe ouer the rest. Herein M. Harding semeth in words thorowly to yeld vnto vs without exception. For whereas the question is moued of the Being of Christs Bodie in a thousand places, or moe, his answer is, that Christs Bodie is Locall onely in one place, and so cannot bee in a thousand places, but only in one place at one time. Nowbeit, thus saying, he swarueth much from the old Fathers, whose words, as it shall appeare, sound farre otherwise.

Further, for the better vnderstanding hereof, it shall behoue thee, gentle Reader, to vnderstand, that touching the Body of Christ, there haue beene sundry great errours raised and maintained in the Church of old time, and that not only by Heretikes, but also by holy learned Fathers. The Manichees held, that Christ had onely a fantasticall Bodie, without any materiall Flesh, Blood, or Bone, in appearance and in sight somewhat, but

in

Errours touching Christs Bodie.

in very deed, and in substance nothing. Eutyches held, that Christs Body after his incarnation, was made equall with his Diuinitie: an errour much like vnto this, that is now maintained by M. Harding. S. Hilarie held, that Christ receiued no Flesh of the Blessed Virgin, but brought the same from Heauen: and, that his Body was impassible, and felt no more griefe, when it was stricken, than water, fire, or aire, when it is diuided with a knife. Theodoretus saith, that the Heretikes called Helcesæi held, that there be sundrie Christs, two at the least: the one dwelling in Heauen aboue: the other in the world here beneath. All these, and other such like errours and Heresies, grew only of admiration, and reuerence towards Christs Diuine Nature: and the Authors and Maintainers of the same, leauing reason, according to M. Hardings counsell, and cleauing wholly to their imagination, which they called Faith, were farre deceiued.

Augustin. ad Quodvult-Deum. Leo epist. 95. Epist. Flauiani ad Leonem. Hilar. de Trinitate lib. 10. Theodoret. De Fabulis Hæreticorum lib. 2. Augustin. de Mirabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ, tom. 3. Nazianzen. Aug. de Trinit. li. 3. c. 10.

But M. Harding laieth the foundation hereof vpon a Miracle: whereof notwithstanding, touching this grosse and fleshly Presence, he hath no maner warrant, neither in the Scriptures, nor in any of the Holy Fathers. As for that is alleaged of Chrysostome and Basil, it is to a farre other purpose, as shall appeare, and may soone be answered. S. Augustine wrote three speciall Bookes, namely of the Miracles of the Old & New Testament: and Gregorie Nazianzene wrote in like sort of the same: yet did neither of them both euer make mention of this Miracle. And albeit this kinde of reasoning, Ab authoritate negatiue, in such cases implie no great necessitie, yet must it néeds bee thought either great negligence, or great forgetfulnesse, writing purposely, and namely of Miracles, to leaue out vntouched the greatest Miracle. Certainly, S. Augustine hereof writeth thus: Quia hæc hominibus nota sunt, quia per homines fiunt, honorem, tanquam religiosa, habere Possunt: stuporem, tanquam mira, non possunt: *These things* (speaking of the Sacrament of Christs Bodie) *because they are knowen vnto men, and by men are wrought, may haue honour, as things appointed to Religion: but wonder, as things maruellous, they cannot haue.* Thus S. Augustine ouerthroweth M. Hardings whole foundation: and saith, that in his great Miracle, there is no wonder or Miracle at all.

Gerson contra Floretum.

He saith further, *It is agreeable to the Godhead, to be euery where,* Simpliciter, *and* Proprie: *For a Creature, it is agreeable to be in one place. But as for the Bodie of Christ,* he saith, *it is after a maner betweene both.* This is the whole countenance of this matter. And this whole place M. Harding hath borrowed euen word by word out of Gerson. But whereas he addeth, That the Bodie of Christ, as it is vnited vnto the Godhead, may be at one time in sundrie places, he should haue remembred, that this is an old errour, long sithence reproued, and condemned by S. Augustine, and other learned Fathers. S. Augustine saith thus: Cauendum est, ne ita Diuinitatem astruamus Hominis, vt veritatem Corporis auferamus. Non est autem consequens, vt, quod in Deo est, ita sit vbique, vt Deus: *Wee must beware, that wee doe not so maintaine the Diuine Nature of Christ being Man, that wee take away the Truth of his Bodie. Neither doth it follow, that the thing that is in God, is therefore euery where, as God is.* S. Augustines words be plaine, that whoso saith, The Bodie of Christ is euery where, (or in infinite places at one time, which is all one thing, the reason and miracle being like) vtterly denieth the veritie of Christs Body.

Augustinus ad Dardanum, Epist. 57.

But what a fantasie is this, *That Christs Bodie is neither the Creator, nor a Creature, but* as it is here auouched, *after a maner betweene both?* Who euer would warrant this Doctrine, but that old Heretike Abbat Eutyches? Verily S. Augustine saith: Omnis substantia, quæ Deus non est, Creatura est: & quæ Creatura non est, Deus est. Et quod Deo minus est, Deus non est: *Euery Substance, that is not God, is a Creature: and that is not a Creature, is God: and, what soeuer is lesse then God, is not God.* Here S. Augustine knoweth a Creator, and a Creature: but M. Hardings meane betweene both he knoweth not. Leo writing against Eutyches, of whom M. Harding seemeth to haue receiued this learning, writeth thus: Emergunt alij, qui Carnem Domini, & Diuinitatem dicunt vnius esse Naturæ. Quæ tantum Sacrilegium inferna vomuere? Tolerabiliores sunt Ariani, &c. *Vp there start others that say, The Flesh of Christ, and his Diuinitie are both of one Nature. What Hell hath powred vs out such wicked sacrilege? The very Arians are more to bee borne withall, than these men.* S. Augustine saith: Quod ad Hominem attinet, Creatura est Christus: *Christ, as concerning his Manhood, is* (not a meane betweene both, but) *a Creature.* Againe he saith: Duas Substantias, id est, Naturas esse fatemur: Diuinitatis, scilicet, & Humanitatis: Creatricis, & Creatæ: quæ tamen Substantiæ, non confusæ, sed vnitæ, atque in vna eademque Persona inseparabiles, & in sua semper proprietate manentes: *We confesse there are in Christ two Substances, or Natures: The one, of the Godhead, the other, of the Manhood: The one, of the Creator, the other, of the Creature: Which Substances notwithstanding are not Confused, but Vnited, and in one selfe same Person inseparable, and remaining euermore in their owne Properties.* The like writeth Leo, Cyrillus, Gelasius, and all the rest of the old Learned Fathers.

In lib. Sententiar. Prosperi.

Leo epi. 95. ad Leonem Aug.

Augustin. Epist. 57. De verbis Domini in Euangelio secundùm Iohan. ca. 58.

Therefore

Therefore M. Harding was much ouerſéne, either to teach the people, that Chriſts Bodie, is neither the Creator, nor the Creature, but a meane betwéne both: or elſe to ſay, that the ſame Bodie, being vnited vnto the Godhead, may therefore be in ſundrie places at one time. Hérein reſted the old Hereſie of Eutyches. For thus Flauianus writeth of him: Corpus Domini Humanum quidem vocat: tamen negat eſſe nobis Conſubſtantiale: *He calleth the Bodie of our Lord, a Mans Bodie: but yet he ſaith, it is not one in Subſtance with our bodies.*

A meane betweene Both.

Flauianus ad Leonem.

But M. Harding replieth, Chriſts Body is now become Immortall and glorious. This is moſt true, and without all queſtion. Howbeit, it may pleaſe him to remember, that, when Chriſt miniſtred the holy Communion to his Diſciples, his Bodie was then Mortall, and ſubiect to death and other iniuries, and not Glorious. Therefore if Chriſts Body in the Sacrament bée Immortall and Glorious, it muſt follow, that, for that preſent, Chriſt had two manner Bodies: the one Mortall, the other Immortall: the one Glorious, the other not Glorious. Thus M. Hardings Rules and Examples match not together.

He addeth further, *Chriſts Body walked vpon the waters: vaniſhed out of ſight: aſcended thorow the Cloudes: and entered thorow the doores being faſt ſhut, &c.* These were the reaſons that deceiued the old Manichées. I maruell that M. Harding, being, as he ſaith, lately become a Profeſſor of the Catholike Faith, would found the whole ſubſtance of his Doctrine vpon Heretiques. Touching the ſpeciall truſt that the Manichées repoſed in this argument, S. Hierome writeth thus: Cùm dicit Manichæus, & ſimilis Manichæorum, Dominus non Reſurrexit in Corporis Veritate, &, vt ſcias non fuiſſe verum Corpus, clauſis ingreſſus eſt oſtijs, nos quid dicemus? Domine libera animam meam à labijs iniquis, & à lingua doloſa? *When the Manichee, or any other like the Manichees, ſaith, The Lord aroſe not againe in the Truth of his Bodie, and for proofe thereof, ſaith thus, Hee entred in, when the doores were ſhut, what then ſhall we ſay? Euen thus: O Lord, deliuer my ſoule from wicked lippes, and deceitfull tongues.*

Hieronym. in Pſalm. 119.

Héere we ſée M. Harding is driuen to ſéeke vpon old condemned Heretikes, and to borrow their weapons: wherefore it ſhall be good to follow S. Hieromes counſell, and to ſay, *O Lord deliuer my ſoule from wicked lippes, and deceitfull tongues.*

Likewiſe S. Ambroſe ſaith, The Apoſtles of Chriſt, by the ſame maner of reaſoning, were deceiued. For vpon that, Chriſt entred, the gates being ſhut, he writeth thus: Denique conturbati Diſcipuli æſtimabant, ſe Spiritum videre. Et ideò Dominus, vt ſpeciem nobis Reſurrectionis oſtenderet, Palpate, inquit, & videte: quia Spiritus Carnem & Oſſa non habet, ſicut me videtis habere: *The Diſciples being aſtonied, thought they ſaw a ſpirit, or a Fantaſie. Therefore the Lord, to ſhew a token of his Reſurrection, ſaid vnto them, Feele, and ſee: for a Spirit, or Fantaſie, hath not Fleſh and Bone, as you ſee that I haue.*

Ambroſ. in Lucam, l. 10. c. 24.

Now if theſe arguments were able to deceiue the Apoſtles of Chriſt, it is not impoſſible, but they may likewiſe deceiue M. Harding. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Clauſa erant oſtia, & ingreſſus eſt Ieſus: Non erat phantaſma: Non erat Spiritus: Verè Corpus erat: habebat carnes, & oſſa: *The doores were ſhut, and Ieſus entred: it was no Fantaſie: it was no Spirit: it was verily a Body: it had Fleſh and bones.*

Chryſoſt. in homil. De Iohan. Baptiſta.

Thus, notwithſtanding theſe Maruellous effects, yet the Ancient godly Fathers ſaid, Chriſts Bodie neuertheleſſe is, and continueth ſtill a Creature: not a meane betwéne both: as M. Harding héere ſtrangely hath imagined. Now let vs conſider M. Hardings arguments:

Chriſts body walked vpon the waters:
It entred thorow the doores being ſhut:
It aſcended thorow the Cloudes:
Ergo, *It may be at one time in ſundry places.*

Although this argument may ſone be eſpied, hauing vtterly no maner ſequell in reaſon, yet the follie thereof may the better appeare by the like:

S. Peter walked vpon the water: Matth. 14.
Elias was taken vp into the Cloudes: 2. Reg. 2.
S. Bartholomew entred thorow the doores being ſhut:
Ergo, *S. Peter, Elias, and S. Bartholomew may be at one time in ſundry places.*

And that I alleage héere of S. Bartholomew, although it bée but a vaine Fable, yet it may not eaſily be denied. For it is recorded by Abdias the Biſhop of Babylon, who, as Maiſter Harding ſuppoſeth, ſaw Chriſt in the Fleſh, and was one of the Apoſtles Fellowes.

Abdias in Bartholomæo.

Ouer all this M. Harding throweth a ſweat miſt, to carry away the ſimple in the darke: Chriſts Bodie (ſaith hée) is in the Sacrament, not by Locall, but by Subſtantiall preſence: Carnally, but not in Carnall maner: placed in the Pix, in the hand, in the mouth: and yet in no place at all: a very Naturall Bodie, euen as it was vpon the Croſſe: yet without all maner Quantitie, and Dimenſions, or Proportions

portions of a Bodie, that is, neither thicke, nor broad, nor ſhort, nor long: there now, where before it was not: and yet without any ſhifting or Change of places. Vnleſſe this man were faſt aſlæpe, he could neuer fall into ſo deepe a Dreame. In theſe Fantaſies hee ſeemeth well to agree with the old Heretikes, Eutyches and Manichee. For euen ſuch a Bodie they imagined, that Chriſt receiued of the Bleſſed Virgin: and yet were they Heretikes notwithſtanding. For which of all the old learned Fathers euer taught vs this ſtrange Doctrine? Who euer durſt to ſpoile Chriſt of his Place, of his Quantitie, and of the naturall Proportions of his Bodie? If the Doctours of the Church ſay thus, why are they not alleaged? If they ſay not thus, why is this matter carried away with ſuch countenance of Antiquitie? Or why doth M. Harding thus auouch this vnſenſible and vnſauorie learning, only vpon his owne credit, without the Authoritie of any Doctour? The Manichees in old times, the better to maintaine their errour, and to auoid abſurdities, were driuen to ſay, there were two gods: The one God, the other Ill. Euen ſo M. Harding, to maintaine his errours, and to auoid infinit abſurdities, is driuen to ſay, *There are two Chriſts: The one Locall the other not Locall: The one aboue: the other beneath: the one with proportion of Bodie, the other without proportion.* Howbeit, he ſeemeth to publiſh this principle vnawares againſt himſelfe. For if Chriſts Body in the Sacrament be not Locall, as he ſaith, then is it no Naturall, or Reall Body. This rule S. Auguſtine taketh to bee infallible. His words be theſe: Tolle loca Corporibus, & nuſquam erunt: & quia nuſquam erunt, nec erunt: *Take away the places from the Bodies, and the Bodies ſhalbe no where: and becauſe they ſhalbe no where, they ſhall haue no Being:* and ſo ſhall be no Bodies at all. And he ſpeaketh not thus only of other naturall Bodies, but ſpeacially, and namely of the Body of Chriſt.

Epiphanius. Auguſtin. ad Quod-vult Deum.

Aug. epiſt. 57.

Certainly, the more ſpirituall a thing is, the more it is void from the circumſtance, and neceſſitie of place. Wherefore, when M. Harding ſaith, The Body of Chriſt is in heauen, as in a place, and in the Sacrament without place: he ſeemeth ſecretly to ſay, that Chriſts Bodie in the Sacrament is more Glorious, more Spirituall, and Diuine, that is the very Bodie of Chriſt indeed, that is in Heauen, in the Glorie of God the Father. Which concluſion, how well it may ſtand either with the reſt of his owne Doctrine, or with the truth of our Chriſtian Religion, I leaue it in conſideration to the Reader.

Chriſts Bodie more Glorious in the Sacrament, than in Heauen.

But what needeth this new deuiſed difference, of Chriſts Bodie Locall, and Chriſts Bodie not Locall? Or what forceth theſe men to ſay, that onely the bare Subſtance of Chriſts Bodie is in the Sacrament, without length, breadeth, or any other reſpect of Quantitie? Will M. Harding now at the laſt forſake the Reuerend Simplicitie of his beleefe, and leane to Reaſon? Or will he in Gods ſecret Myſteries giue credit to his eies, and hearken to the courſe of Nature? Verily God, as he is able by his Omnipotent Power, to make Chriſts Bodie preſent without Place and Quantitie: ſo is he likewiſe able to make the ſame Bodie preſent in Place, and with Quantitie, and all other naturall Dimenſions. If M. Harding will ſay nay, Duns himſelfe, his owne Doctour will reproue him. His words be plaine: Idem Corpus localiter, & dimenſiuè poteſt eſſe in diuerſis locis. Et Deus poteſt quodcunque Corpus vniuerſi conuertere in Corpus Chriſti, ſicut Panem: & facere Corpus Chriſti vbique eſſe, non ſolùm Sacramentaliter, ſed etiam Localiter, & Dimenſionaliter: *One Body both Locally, and with the naturall Dimenſions of a Bodie, may be in ſundry places. And God is able to turne any Bodie in the world, into the Bodie of Chriſt, as well as Bread: and to cauſe Chriſts Body to be euery where, not only by way of Sacrament, but alſo by way of place and Dimenſions.* Which ſaying ſeemeth alſo to be well liked and alowed of Durandus. Therefore M. Harding ſhould not thus nicely ſhrinke backe, and ſo diſſemble in darke ſpeeches: but ſhould rather boldly, and plainly ſay, *Chriſts Body is in the Sacrament, not only Subſtantially, but alſo Locally, and by way of place:* as hauing as good warrant for the one, as for the other. For it is a Catholike mans part, to be bold of Gods Omnipotent Power: and whatſoeuer God, being Omnipotent, is able to doe, to beleeue, it is already done, without any regard had to his will, or promiſe. If he thinke it lawfull for him, without cauſe to deny this maner of Chriſts Preſence, let him not be offended, if we vpon good and iuſt cauſe, deny the other. Verily Alexander de Hales, a great Doctour of that ſide, reckoneth M. Harding to be in a great errour in this behalfe. This is his Reſolution: Quidam ponebant Corpus Chriſti eſſe ſub Sacramento, non ſecundum quantitatem &c. Sed hæc poſitio eſt erronea: *Some hold that Chriſts Bodie is vnder the Sacrament, not according vnto Quantitie: But this Opinion is erroneous.* Thus much I thought good only to touch: not ſo much for any great credit of the Author, but that it may appeare, That notwithſtanding all theſe men would ſo faine haue Chriſt Really and Fleſhly Preſent, yet they reproue one another of error and ignorance, and cannot agree among themſelues, in what ſort they may haue him Preſent. Howbeit, the Ancient Fathers of the Church haue written farre otherwiſe in this behalfe. For like as Athanaſius ſaith: Æ-

Scotus 4. Sen. Diſt. 10. q. 2.

Lib. 4. de 6. parte Canonis.

Alexander de Hales, 4. q. 40. m. 3.

qualis

qualis Patri ſecundùm Diuinitatem: Minor Patre ſecundùm humanitatem: *Chriſt according to his Diuine Nature, is equall vnto the Father: and according to his Manhood, is inferior vnto the Father.* Euen ſo ſaith Gregorie Nazianzene, *Chriſt according to his Body, is neither in the limitation of place: according to his ſpirit, and Godhead, he is without the limits of any place.* But, that any one of all the Old Fathers euer ſaid, *Chriſts Body is ſometime in one place, and ſometime in many: ſometime limited, and ſometime not limited;* I thinke it not eaſie for M. Harding well to proue.

Gregor. Nazianzen. contra Apollinarium. πῶς χωρητὸν θεότητι καὶ σώματι τὸ ἀπερίγραπτον καὶ ἀχώρητον καὶ ἀχώριστον.

As for the difference that he hath deuiſed, of Viſible, and Inuiſible; Locall, and not Locall: which is both Trench and Bulwarke to maintaine this peece, it is a very toy, onely meet to beguile Children: as neither hauing foundation in the Scriptures, or Holy Fathers, nor effectually ſerning to proue his purpoſe. For wee reaſon not of Reſpects and Qualities: but as S. Auguſtine, S. Cyril, and other Catholike Doctours doe, of the very Nature and Subſtance of Chriſts Body. Neither can M. Harding well maintaine, That whatſoeuer is Inuiſible, is therefore of Nature Infinite, or may be at one time in a thouſand places. As touching Chriſts being in a Myſterie, as it requireth no Locall Preſence, according to M. Hardings owne Confeſſion, ſo likewiſe it requireth no Naturall, or Reall Bodie: as hereafter, God willing, it ſhall be ſhewed more at large.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

And how the ancient Fathers of the Church haue confeſſed, and taught both theſe beings, of Chriſt in Heauen, and in the Sacrament together, contrary to M. Iewels Negatiue, by witneſſe of their own words we may perceiue. Baſil in his Liturgie, that is to ſay, Seruice of Maſſe, ſaith thus in a praier: Looke downe vpon vs Lord Ieſus Chriſt our God from thy holy Tabernacle, and from the throne of Glorie of thy Kingdome, and come to ſanctifie vs, which ſitteſt aboue with thy Father, and art * conuerſant heere Inuiſibly: and vouchſafe to impart vnto vs thine vndefiled Body, and precious Blood, and by vs, to all thy people.

*Not Bodily, but by Spirit and Grace.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Touching theſe Ancient Fathers that here be alleged, notwithſtanding the credit of ſome of them might well come in queſtion, as namely that Chryſoſtome in his Liturgie praieth for the Emperour of Alexius, which was not borne within 500. yeres after that Chryſoſtome was dead: yet will I ſpare both this, and alſo all other like aduantages, and receiue all theſe Authorities, as if they were good and perfect without exception.

But firſt, for the clearer conceiuing of the anſwer hereunto, vnderſtand, good Chriſtian Reader, that by the record of the Old Fathers, Chriſt is preſent amongſt vs ſundrie waies. By his holy Spirit, as Cyrillus ſaith; by his Grace, as Euſebius Emiſſenus ſaith: by his Diuinitie and Maieſtie, as S. Auguſtine ſaith: by Faith dwelling in our hearts, as S. Paul ſaith. Thus is Chriſt moſt comfortably Preſent in his holy Word: in the Myſterie of Baptiſme: and in the Sacrament of his Bodie. We denie onely that Groſſe and Fleſhly Preſence that M. Harding here defendeth: wherein we haue the authoritie, and conſent of the Old learned Fathers. For to alleage one in ſtead of many, S. Auguſtine ſaith: Corpus, in quo Reſurrexit, in vno loco eſſe oportet: *The Bodie, wherein Chriſt roſe againe, muſt be in one place.*

Cyril. in Iohan. li. 8. ca. 7. Emiſſen De Con. Diſt. 2. Quia Corpus. Aug. in Tract. in Iohan. 50. Epheſ. 3. Auguſtin. De Conſec. Diſt. 2. Prima.

Here M. Harding, as his manner is, taketh one thing in hand, and proueth another. For to proue, that Chriſt is Really, and Fleſhly Preſent in the Sacrament, he alleageth the old Fathers, that neuer ſpake one word of this Reall or Fleſhly Preſence. And therefore ſetting ſuch countenance vpon the matter, with the names of holy Fathers, and not once comming nere that thing, wherein ſtandeth the whole queſtion, he dallieth vainely, and abuſeth the ſimplicitie of the people. For touching Chryſoſtome and Baſil, wee grant, that Chriſt being in Heauen in his Humanitie, and in the Subſtance of his Bodie, is neuertheleſſe by his Spirit and Grace, Inuiſibly Preſent in his Sacraments. Which anſwer, notwithſtanding it might ſerue generally to all theſe authorities here brought in, yet I haue thought it not amiſſe, to conſider them all ſeuerally, as they come.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

Ἐπιτελοῦμεν ἀπάντων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ γινομένων ἀναφορὰν ποιούμενοι.

S. Chryſoſtome praieth with the very ſame words alſo in his Liturgie, or Maſſe. Where wee reade further, that the Prieſt, and the Deacon doe adore, and worſhip, ſaying three times ſecretly; God bee mercifull to me a ſinner, and that the people doe all likewiſe deuoutly adore. Now ſith hee will adoration to be made, he acknowledgeth Chriſt preſent, whom he granteth to be alſo at the ſame time in Heauen.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

It is likely, ſaith Maiſter Harding, that Chriſt is Fleſhly Preſent in the Sacrament, for

Miracle.

for that the Priest and the people adoreth him. This ghesse hath very slender hold. For would he, that the people should neuer worship Christ, but only when they haue him present before their face? Certainly S. Hierome writeth thus of a Gentlewoman named Melania, Ad Christi pedes prouoluta est: *Shee fell downe and worshipped at Christs feet:* notwithstanding she had not Christ there bodily present. Likewise Chrysostome teacheth vs, to worship Christ in the Sacrament of Baptisme. For thus he saith vnto the people: Et vos, qui accepturi estis Baptisma, Tenete pedes Saluatoris: Lauate lachrymis: Crine tergite: *You, that will receiue Baptisme, Hold the feet of our Sauiour: Wash them with your teares: Wipe them with your haire.* Yet will not M. Harding therefore say, that Christ is Bodily, and Carnally present in the water of Baptisme. Thus the Faithfull then were taught to worship Christ, although they had him not Corporally in Reall Presence. The Idolaters worshipped the Sunne, and the Moone: yet they pulled them not downe from Heauen, to receiue their worship. Therefore M. Hardings argument of Adoration, can stand him but in little stead. For we are taught to worship Christ sitting in Heauen: not lying Bodily Present before our eies.

Hieronym. ad Paulam de obitu Blesillæ.

Chrysostom. in Marc. ho. 14.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuision.

Which he vttereth more plainly in these words, *O Miraculum, O Dei Benignitatem, &c.* O Miracle, O the goodnesse of God, who sitteth aboue with the Father, at that very instant of time, is handled with the hands of all, and giueth himselfe to those, that will receiue, and embrace him. And that is done by no craftie slightnesse, but openly in the sight of all that stand about. How saist thou, seeme these things no better to thee, than to be contemned and despised? By which words of S. Chrysostome we may see, that Christs being in heauen, maketh no proofe, that he is not in earth, sith both these verities may well stand together.

Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, li. 3.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This argument would serue well, if there were none other Miracle, but Carnall Presence. But if M. Harding had conferred with the Old Catholike Fathers, he should haue found Miracles in the Sacrament of Baptisme, no lesse, than in this Sacrament of Christs Bodie. Leo saith, Deus Mirabile nobis Sacramentum Regenerationis indulsit: *God hath granted vs the Maruellous Sacrament of Regeneration.* So saith Eusebius Emissenus: Veniant nunc, qui futuræ Resurrectionis gloriam fictiunt: iam nunc de Remissione peccatorum digno Miraculo reficiant Fidem suam. Homo in fonte tingitur, &c. *Let them draw neere, that thirst after the Glorie of the Resurrection that is to come: euen now let them refresh their Faith with that worthy Miracle of Remission of sinne. A man is washed in the font, &c.* In like sort writeth Chrysostome touching the same: Nullo pacto de intellectuali per Baptismum Regeneratione, & Admirabili partu rationem reddemus. Nam & Angeli, qui adfuerunt, tam inenarrabilis operis modum minimè possunt enarrare. Adfuerunt tantùm, & viderunt: nihil autem operati sunt: Sed Pater tantùm, & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus. *Wee are neuer able to yeeld a reason of the Spirituall Regeneration, and Miraculous Birth, that wee haue by Baptisme. The very Angels that were present, are not able to vtter the maner of that vnspeakable worke. They were present only, and saw: but they wrought nothing: but only the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.* Here we see a Miracle in Baptisme: and such a Miracle as the Angels of God are not able to vtter it. Yet will not M. Harding say, that Christs Bodie is therefore Really Present in the Water of Baptisme. So weakely these proues hang together.

Leo epist. 13.

Homil. Sextæ Feriæ De Baptismo.

Chrysost. in Iohan. hom. 24.

But Chrysostomes words are very vehement: That Christ is Present at the holy Ministration: that euery man, both toucheth him with his fingers, and also seth him with his eies, and that clerely, and openly, without guile, or errour. I grant, these words be very vehement, and much exceed the common sense. But here would I learne of Maister Harding, whether he will take these words plainly, and simply, as they lie, or else will rather qualifie them with a courteous and gentle Interpretation. If he follow the rigour of the words, then appeareth there a manifest contradiction: and Chrysostome in vttering one sentence is found cleane contrary to himselfe. For first hee saith, *Christ is there inuisibly, in such sort as no man can see him:* And yet immediately after, with one breath he saith, *Euery man seeth him with his eies plainly, and without guile, or errour.* Againe, by the rigour of the same words, we must needs grant, that the people both verily, and indeed seth Christs very Bodie, and also handleth, and toucheth it with their fingers: which is not only a manifest vntruth, but also a greater Heresie, than euer was defended by Berengarius, as it is confessed by the Doctours of M. Hardings owne side. Indeed, the maruellous effects that God worketh in the Faithfull, in that dreadfull time of the holy Communion, wherein the whole Mysterie of our Redemption, that we haue in the Blood of Christ, is expressed, Chrysostome calleth a Miracle: and therefore the more to stirre the peoples mindes to the consideration of the same, he inflameth his speech with Rhetoricall

De Consecra. dist. 2. Ego Berengarius. In Glossa.

Amplifica-

Amplifications, and heat of wordes. He saith: *Christ is Crucified before our eies: his blood gusheth out of his side, and streameth, and floweth ouer the holy Table: and the people is therwith made red and bloody.* This aduancing and rauishing of the minde, he calleth a Miracle: but of any Corporall or Fleshly Presence, he speaketh nothing. By such figuratiue, and fiery speech, he meant not that we should vnderstand him precisely according to the sound of his wordes, but sought only to lift vp, and inkindle his hearers mindes. So S. Paul saith to the Galathians: *Christ was Crucified before your eies.* So S. Hierome: *Our faces are marked in Baptisme with the Blood of Christ.* So saith Tertullian: *Wee are washed in the Passion of our Lord.* So S. Gregory saith: Eundem Agnum Iohannes ostendendo, Esaias præuidendo, Abel offerendo locutus est: Et quem Iohannes in ostensione, quem Esaias in locutione, hunc Abel Significando in manibus tenuit: *S. Iohn the Baptist spake of the same Lambe by pointing, Esaias by seeing, Abel by offering. And the Lambe that Iohn held in his hand by pointing, and Esay by speaking, the same Lambe Abel held in his hand by Signifying.* These sayings, and other like are vehement, as is that of Chrysostome: and, as M. Harding knoweth, may not be taken as they lie, but must be mollified with a gentle Construction.

Galat. 3. Hieronym. in Psalm. 85. Tertul. De Baptismo, Gregor. In Iob lib. 29. cap. 16.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuision.

Hom. 2. The same Father confesseth the Body of Christ to be in diuers places likewise in his Homilies *Ad populum Antiochenum*, most plainly alludding to Elias. *Elias*, saith he, *Melotem quidem Discipulo reliquit: Filius autem Dei ascendens suam nobis Carnem dimisit. Sed Elias quidem exuit se: Christus autem & nobis reliquit, & ipsam habens ascendit*: Elias (when he was carried vp in the fiery Chariot) left to his Disciple Elizeus his mantle of Sheepes skins: but the Sonne of God, when he ascended left to vs his Flesh. But Elias did put off his Mantle: and Christ both left his Flesh to vs, and also ascended hauing it with him. Nothing can be spoken more plainly, whereby to shew, that we haue the same flesh heere in Earth, that was receiued into Heauen, which Christ hath not put off, to giue it to vs. By which Doctrine of S. Chrysostome, (148) wee are taught to beleeue, that Christs Flesh or his Bodie, is both in Heauen, and also in the Earth, in how many places soeuer this Blessed Sacrament is rightly celebrated.

Chrisostomes words not iustly & fully reported The 148. vntruth. For the very order of the comparison plainly concludeth the contrary.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

This place well considered, both openeth it selfe, and also giueth light vnto other like. Chrysostome sheweth, in what sort Christ hath both taken vp his Flesh into Heauen, and also left the same heere amongst the faithfull in the Earth: and to that end compareth Elias and Christ together. The story is knowne, that when Elias was taken vp in a fiery Chariot, he let downe his Coat vnto Elizæus that stood beneath: who toke it vp, and by the power of the same diuided the water of Iordan. Vpon occasion hereof, Chrysostome saith: Tanquam maximam hæreditatem Elizæus melotem suscepit. Etenim vere maxima fuit hæreditas omni auro pretiosior. Et erat postea duplex Elias: Et erat sursum Elias, & deorsum Elias: *Elizæus receiued the Coat made of Sheepes skins, as a great inheritance. And doubtlesse it was an inheritance more pretious than any gold. After that time, Elias was double. For there was Elias aboue, and Elias beneath.* Aboue was the very true Elias in the Naturall Substance and Presence of his Body: Beneath was nothing else, but Elias coat: which coat notwithstanding, because of the powers that were wrought with it, he calleth Elias. Thus Chrysostome compareth Elias with Christ, and Elias coat with the Sacrament: and thus he saith: Christ is aboue, and Christ is beneath: as he saith: Elias is aboue, and Elias is beneath. For as Elias coat was called Elias, euen so the Sacrament of Christs Body, is called Christs Body. Which saying agreeth well with these wordes of S. Augustine: Sacramentum Corporis Christi secundum quendam modum Corpus Christi est: *The Sacrament of Christs Bodie, after a certaine maner, is the Body of Christ*: not Substantially or Really, or indeed, but as Elias coat is Elias.

4. Reg. 2.

Chrysost. ad populum Antiochen. hom. 2.

August. epist. 23. ad Bonifacium.

Hereof M. Harding might well haue formed this argument:

Elias being aboue, was not verily and indeed, present beneath in his Coat.

Therefore by Chrysostomes comparison, Christs Body is not indeed Really and Fleshly present in the Sacrament.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuision.

(149) And whereas many measuring all things by the common order and Lawes of Nature, beleeue nothing can be done aboue Nature, and therefore thinke, that the Bodie of Christ, forasmuch as it is of Nature finite, cannot by power of God be in many places at once; of which opinion M. Iewel seemeth to be himselfe: it shall not be beside the purpose, though the places already alleged proue the contrarie, to recite the testimonies of an Old Doctour or two, wherein they confesse most plainly, that which by this Article is most vntruly denied.

The 149. vntruth, ioined with a slander.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

M. Harding hopeeth to win the Victorie by vntrue reports. For with what truth or modestly can he say, That we measure all things by the Lawes of Nature, and beleeue nothing aboue the iudgement of our senses? He knoweth well, Our Doctrine is, accordyng to the Doctrine of S. Cyprian, S. Augustine, and other Old Fathers, that Christs Body is meat for our mindes, and not for our bellies: and that the same cannot be eaten with our Mouth or Teeth, or by any other Naturall or Materiall meanes, but only Spiritually by Faith, which is the mouth of the Inner Man. He knoweth, we teach the people to lift vp their hearts, and, as S. Chrisostome saith: *To become Eagles in this life, and to mount vp vnto the gates of Heauen, euen vnto the Heauens of Heauen, and so to draw neere to Christs Body.* He knoweth, we say, Christ is present by his Godhead, by his Spirit, and by his Grace, and worketh miraculously in the Sacrament of his Body, as he doth in the Sacrament of Baptisme. All this it pleaseth M. Harding to call the Law of Nature, and the iudgement of our senses. Verily we yeld no more vnto Nature, than it is meet we should. Neither do we abridge Gods omnipotent power. But all vaine fantasies of mans head, may not be measured by the power of God. This argument the Heretike Praxeas vsed against Tertullian. For thus he said: God is Omnipotent, and can doe it: Therefore we must beleeue that he doth it. But Tertullian answereth him: Si tam abruptè in præsumptionibus nostris hac sententia vtamur, quiduis de Deo confingere poterimus: quasi fecerit, quia facere potuerit. Non autem, quia omnia potest facere, ideo credendum est illum fecisse: Sed an fecerit, requirendum: *If we vse this saying so rashly in our presumptions, we may imagine of God what we list: as though, because God can doe it, that therefore indeed he hath done it. But we may not beleeue, that God hath done euery thing because he is able to doe it: but rather we must search out, whether he haue done it or no.* Thus M. Hardings New Catholike Faith, is called of Tertullian, A vaine Presumption.

Cyprian. de Cœna Domini. Cibus mentis, non ventris.

Chrysost. 1. Corinth. hom. 24.

Tertullian. aduersus Praxeã.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuision.

S. Ambrose hath these words: *Etsi Christus nunc non videtur offerre, tamen ipse offertur in terris, quando Christi Corpus offertur. Imò ipse offerre manifestatur in nobis, cuius sermo sanctificat Sacrificium quod offertur*: If Christ now bee not seene to offer, yet he is offered in earth, when the Body of Christ is offered. Yea it is manifest, that himselfe offereth in vs, whose word Sanctifieth and Consecrateth the Sacrifice that is offered. Now if Christs Body be offered in Earth, as this Father affirmeth, and that of Christ himselfe, in respect that the Sacrifice which is offered, is by his word Consecrated: then it followeth, Christs Body to be in so many places, as it is offered in. Where by the way this may be noted, that the Sacrifice of the Church, (159) is not thanksgiuing (as our new Masters do teach) but the Body of Christ it selfe, which of the Fathers is called an vnbloody and quickning, or life giuing Sacrifice.

In Psal. 38.

Sacrificium Ecclesiæ non visibile.

S. Ambrose speaketh onely of the Spirituall sight, & fruition of the mind, and requireth no maner Grosse or Corporall Presence. The 150. vntruth. For S. Augustine calleth it the Sacrifice of Praise & thanksgiuing.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

In all these words, there is no mention of Carnall Presence: and therefore M. Hardings purpose is hereby but weakly furthered. But (good Christian Reader) to put this out of all doubt of S. Ambroses iudgement in this behalfe, I beseech thee to consider these words, that he writeth vpon the Gospell of S. Luke: Quæ sursum sunt, sapite: non quæ supra Terram. Ergo non supra Terram, nec in Terra, nec secundum Carnem te quærere debemus, si volumus inuenire: *Seeke the things that bee aboue: not the things that be vpon Earth. Therefore wee must seeke thee neither vpon the Earth, nor in the Earth, nor according to the Flesh, if wee list to finde thee.* This is S. Ambroses vndoubted and most certaine iudgement: from which wee may not be remoued by any amplification or shew of words. If M. Harding will néeds force and presse the bare letter, as I said before of S. Chrysostome, he will make S. Ambrose in one sentence plaine contrary to himselfe. For first he saith: Vidimus Principem Sacerdotum, &c. *We haue seene (Christ) the Prince of Priests coming vnto vs: we haue seene him and heard him offering vp for vs his Blood.* He addeth immediately: Et si nunc Christus non videtur offerre, &c. *Although Christ be not seene to offer, yet is he offered in the Earth.* If wee follow the very force and sound of the words, this Contradiction of séeing and not séeing cannot be saued. Wherefore to auoid this inconuenience, wee must say, that S. Ambrose speaketh of the Spirituall eies of our Faith, with which eies wee see Christ indeed offering vp himselfe vpon the Crosse. And thus, as S. Ambrose saith: Magis videtur, quod non videtur: *The thing is the better seene, that is not seene.* It is best séene with our Faith, that is least séene with our Body. For our Faith is sharper than our eie. And in like sense S. Augustine saith: Non vides, quomodo rubeat pars Christi? Interroga oculos Fidei. Si Crucem vides, attende & cruorem. Si vides, quod pendet, attende, quod fudit: *Seest thou not, how Christs portion is red with Blood? Aske the eies of thy Faith. If thou see the Crosse, behold also the Blood. If thou see, that hangeth, behold also that is shed.* Of these eies, and of this sight S. Ambrose speaketh: vnto which is required, neither circumstance of place, nor any maner Corporall or Fleshly Presence. In this sense, S. Ambrose

Coloss. 3.

Ambr. in Lucã lib. 10. cap. 24.

De iis qui initiantur Mysteriis, ca. 3.

Augustin. Sermon. 119. De tempore.

Ambroſe writeth vnto certaine holy Virgins: Veſtras mentes confidenter altaria dixerim, in quibus quotidiè pro Redemptione Corporis, Chriſtus offertur: *I may boldly call your mindes Altars, for that in them Chriſt is daily offered for the Redempion of the Body.* *Ambr. de Virginib. li. 2.*

Hereof M. Harding reaſoneth thus.

Chriſt is offered in the Earth:

Ergo, Chriſts Bodie is at one time in many places.

If this argument were good, then would this argument likewiſe be good:

The Lambe, that is, Chriſt, was offered from the beginning of the World: Apocal. ca. 5.

Ergo, *Chriſts Body was Really in ſundry places, before it was borne in the World.*

M. Harding might better haue reaſoned thus, and haue concluded the contrary:

Chriſt is not now Really and Fleſhly offered in the Earth:

Ergo, *Chriſts Body is not Really and Fleſhly preſent in many places.*

But M. Harding ſaith: The Sacrifice of the Church is not Thankeſgiuing, as our new Maſters teach vs. Certainly our Sacrifice is the very Body of Chriſt, and that for euer, according to the order of Melchiſedech, euermore ſtanding in Gods preſence, and euermore obtaining pardon for vs: not offered vp by vs, but offering vs vp vnto God the Father. For the ſame, it is our part to offer vnto God our Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankeſgiuing. And this is the Doctrine, not only of them, whom it liketh M. Harding to call new Maſters, but alſo of the Olde ſt, and moſt Catholike Doctours of the Church. And to allege one in ſtead of many, S. Auguſtine hereof writeth thus: In illis Carnalibus victimis, Figuratio fuit Carnis, quam Chriſtus fuerat oblaturus. In iſto autem Sacrificio eſt gratiarum actio, & Commemoratio Carnis, quam pro nobis obtulit: *In thoſe Fleſhly Sacrifices* (of the Iewes) *there was a Figure of the Fleſh, that Chriſt afterward would offer: but in this Sacrifice of the Church, there is Thankeſgiuing, and a Remembrance of that Fleſh, which Chriſt hath already offered for vs.* Hebr. 6. 7. 10. Roman. 8. *Auguſt. ad Petrum Diacon. cap. 19.*

If M. Harding will happily refuſe S. Auguſtine, as miſtruſted for one of theſe new Maſters, yet he may not will refuſe his owne Maſſe Booke. There he himſelfe euen at his Maſſe is taught to ſay: Qui tibi offerimus hoc Sacrificium Laudis: *We, that doe offer vp to thee, this Sacrifice of Praiſe.* Wherefore, vnleſſe M. Harding will leaue his Maſſe, he himſelfe muſt néds paſſe in the number of theſe New Maſters.

But to conclude who can better expound S. Ambroſes meaning, than S. Auguſtine, that was ſometime his Scholar? He ſheweth vs by how many waies we may haue Chriſt preſent among vs. His words be theſe: Habes Chriſtum & in præſenti, & in futuro. In præſenti per Fidem: in præſenti per Signum: in præſenti per Baptiſmatis Sacramentum: in præſenti per Altaris Cibum & Potum: *Thou haſt Chriſt both in the time preſent, and alſo in the time to come. In the time preſent thou haſt Chriſt by Faith: in the time preſent by his Token: in the time preſent by the Sacrament of Baptiſme: in the time preſent by the Meat and Drinke of the Altar.* *Auguſt. in Iohan. Tract. 50.*

The like hereof is written alſo by Origen, and that in like order and forme of words: ſauing that he addeth, By the Preaching of the Apoſtles: and in ſtead of Signum, hath theſe words: Per glorioſum Crucis Signaculum. Verily the ſame Origen ſaith: Si virtus Ieſu vnà ſit cùm eis, qui congregantur in nomine eius, non peregrinatur à ſuis, ſed ſemper præſto eſt eis: *If the power of Ieſus be together with them that be aſſembled in his name, he is not away from his owne, but is ſtill preſent with them.* And againe he ſaith: Nihil eſt contrarium, ipſum Ieſum ſecundùm quendam intellectum eſſe vbique: ſecundùm alium intellectum peregrinari: *It is no inconuenience nor contrariety, that Chriſt in one ſenſe, be euery where: and in another ſenſe, be a ſtranger, and abſent from vs.* Thus many waies, ſaith S. Auguſtine and Origen, we haue Chriſt preſent amongſt vs: and euen thus, ſaith S. Ambroſe, *Chriſt is offered in the Earth.* Whereupon we may conclude thus: We haue Chriſt in Faith, in the Signe and in the Sacrament of Baptiſme without Real or Fleſhly Preſence: Therefore, we haue him likewiſe without any ſuch Reall Preſence in the Sacrament of his Body. *Origen. in Diuerſos, hom. 1.* *Origen. in Matth. Tract. 33.* *Origen. eodem. tract.*

M. Harding. The 8. Diuiſion.

We finde in Chryſoſtome a moſt manifeſt place for the being of Chriſts Body in many places at once, ſo as, though he be offered in many places, yet is he but one Chriſt, not many Chriſts. His words be theſe: *Vnum eſt hoc Sacrificium: aliquin hac ratione, quoniam multis in locis offertur, multi Chriſti ſunt? Nequaquam: ſed vnus vbique eſt Chriſtus, & hic plenus exiſtens, & illic plenus. Vnum Corpus. Sicut enim qui vbique offertur, Vnum Corpus eſt, & non multa Corpora: ita etiam & vnum Sacrificium:* This Sacrifice is one, elſe by this reaſon, ſithit is offered in many places, bee there many Chriſts? Not ſo: but there is but one Chriſt euery where, being heere both fully, and there fully alſo, one Body. For as he that is offered euery where, is but one Body, and not many Bodies, ſo likewiſe it is but one Sacrifice. By this place of Chryſoſtome wee ſee what hath been the Faith of the Old Fathers touching this Article: euen the ſame, which the Catholike Church profeſſeth at theſe daies, that one Chriſt is offered in many places, ſo as he be fully and perfectly heere and fully and perfectly there. And thus we perceiue what force their arguments haue in the iudgement of the learned Fathers, by which they take away from Chriſt power to make his Body preſent in many places at once. S. Bernard vttereth the Faith of the Church in his time, agreeable with this, in theſe words: *Sed vnde hoc nobis*

Iuxta Hebr. 17. *Serm. in Cœna Domini.*

Chryſoſtome expoundeth himſelfe. He calleth it a Commemoration, a Figure, a Remembrance: whereunto is required no Corporall Preſence. Bernard lived after Chriſt, Anno 1120.

Chriſt whole here, & whole there.

nobis piſſime Domine, vt nos vermiculi reptantes, &c. From whence commeth this, moſt louing Lord, that wee ſilly wormes creeping on the face of the earth, yea, wee that are but duſt and aſhes, be admitted to haue thee preſent in our hands, and before our eies, which all and whole ſitteſt at the right hand of thy Father, which alſo art preſent all in one moment of time from the Eaſt, to the Weſt: from the North to the South; one in many, the ſame in diuers places: from whence (I ſay) commeth this? Soothly, not of our dutie or deſert, but of thy good will, and of the good pleaſure of thy ſweetneſſe: for thou haſt prepared in thy ſweetneſſe for the poore one, O God. In the ſame Sermon exhorting the Church to reioice of the preſence of Chriſt, he ſaith: *In terra Sponſum habes in Sacramento, in Cœlis habitura es ſine velamento; & hîc, & ibi veritas; ſed hîc velata, ibi manifeſtata*; In the earth thou haſt thy ſpouſe in the Sacrament, in heauen thou ſhalt haue him without vaile or couering: both heere & there, is the truth (of his preſence) but heere couered, there opened.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

This place is vttered by S. Ambroſe, Primaſius, Remigius, Haimo, Sedulius, in like maner and forme of words, and hath beene often alleged, and often anſwered. If it had pleaſed M. Harding to ſuffer S. Chryſoſtome to tell out his owne tale, the place had beene plaine of it ſelfe. For thus he ſaith: Offerimus quidem, ſed Recordationem facientes Mortis eius. Hoc Sacrificium Exemplar illius eſt. Hoc, quod nos facimus, in Commemorationem fit eius, quod factum eſt. Chriſtus enim ait, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem: Id ipſum ſemper offerimus: magis autem Sacrificij Recordationem operamur: *We offer indeed, but wee doe it in Remembrance of his Death. This Sacrifice is an Exemplar, or Figure of that Sacrifice. The thing that wee doe, is done in Remembrance of that thing that was done before. For Chriſt, ſaith, Doe this in my Remembrance. We offer vp the ſame thing: Nay, rather wee worke the Remembrance of a Sacrifice.* **By thus many ſundry waies,** Chryſoſtome **opened his owne meaning. Yet all this M. Harding thought beſt to diſſemble cloſely, and to paſſe it in ſilence. Certainly, the Commemoration or Figure, or Remembrance of Chriſts Death, maketh ſmall proofe for Corporall or Fleſhly Preſence. True it is, that whole Chriſt is fully at euery Communion, as** Chryſoſtome **ſaith: not, that he is there in Fleſhly or Bodily Preſence: For ſo S. Chryſoſtome ſaith not: but for that by his Grace and Holy Spirit, he worketh wholly and effectually in the hearts of the Faithfull. S. Auguſtine and other learned Fathers, haue vſed the like maner of ſpeech, and in the ſame ſeeme fully to expreſſe** Chryſoſtomes **minde. S. Auguſtine writeth thus:** Veritas vna eſt, qua illuſtrantur animæ Sanctæ: ſed quoniam multæ ſunt animæ, in ipſis multæ Veritates dici poſſunt. Sicut ab vna facie multæ in ſpeculis imagines apparent: *There is but one Truth, wherewith the Bleſſed Soules are lightned. But, forasmuch as the Soules be many, it may be ſaid, that in the ſame are many Truthes: as ſundrie Images appeare in ſundry glaſſes, notwithſtanding the face bee one.* **Againe S.** Auguſtine **ſaith:** Sapientia Dei, Verbum Dei, Dominus Ieſus Chriſtus vbique præſens eſt: quia vbique eſt Veritas, vbique eſt Sapientia. Intelligit quis in Oriente iuſtitiam: intelligit quis in Occidente iuſtitiam. Nunquid alia eſt iuſtitia, quam ille intelligit, alia, quam iſte? *The Wiſedome of God, the Word of God, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is euery where preſent: for the Truth is euery where, and Wiſedome is euery where. One Man vnderſtandeth Righteouſneſſe in the Eaſt, another vnderſtandeth Righteouſneſſe in the Weſt. And doth the one of them vnderſtand one Righteouſneſſe, and the other another?* **So likewiſe, and somewhat neere to the maner of** Chryſoſtomes **ſpeech,** Origen **ſpeaketh:** Et hodiè in hac Congregatione Dominus loquitur: & non ſolùm in hac, ſed etiam in alio Cœtu, & in toto orbe docet Ieſus, quærens organa, per quæ doceat: *And euen this day, in this Congregation the Lord ſpeaketh: and not only in this, but alſo in another company, and in the whole world Ieſus teacheth, ſeeking inſtruments, by which he may teach.* **In this ſort is Chriſt preſent at the holy Miniſtration, becauſe his Truth, his Wiſedome, his Righteouſneſſe, his Word is there preſent, as the Face is Preſent in the Glaſſe: not by any Bodily or Fleſhly Preſence. In this maner** S. Ambroſe **writeth:** Cœlum aſpice: Ieſus illic eſt. Terram intuere: Ieſus adeſt. Si Aſcenderis in Cœlum, Ieſus illic eſt: ſi deſcenderis ad Infernum, adeſt. Hodie, cum loquor, mecum eſt: intra hunc punctum, intra hoc momentum. Et ſi in Armenia nunc loquatur Chriſtus, Ieſus adeſt. Nemo enim dicit Dominum Ieſum, niſi in Spiritu Sancto: *Looke vp into the Heauen: there is Ieſus. Behold the Earth: Ieſus is there. If thou mount vp into Heauen, there is Ieſus. If thou go down into Hell, Ieſus is preſent. Euen now while I ſpeake, Ieſus is with me, euen at this houre, euen at this minute. And if any Chriſtian man ſpeake now in Armenia, ſo far hence Ieſus is with him. For no man ſaith, The Lord Ieſus, but in the holy Ghoſt.* **And ſuch kinde of Preſence at one time in ſundry places, is auouched by** S. Chryſoſtome, **not only of Chriſts Body, which is Immortall and Glorious, but alſo of any other godly mortall man. For thus he writeth:** Vidiſtis charitatis excellentiam, quemadmodum vnum hominem inexpugnabilem reddat, & multiplicet: & quemadmodum vnus in multis locis eſſe poſſit: idem & in Perſide, & Romæ. Nam quod natura non poteſt, poteſt charitas. Nam eius hoc quidem hîc erit, hoc autem illic. Quin potiùs integer hîc, & integer illic. Itaque ſi mille habeas amicos, vel duo millia, perpende quorſum

Chryſoſtom. in epiſt. ad Hebr. homil. 17.

Auguſt. in Pſalm. 11.

Auguſt. in Iohan. Tract. 35.

Origen. in Lucam, homil. 32.

Ambr. in Lucam. li. 2. ca. 1.

Chryſoſt. ad populum Antiochen. hom. 51.

quorſum poſſit potentia peruenire. Vides quemadmodum Charitas res ſit augmentatiua. Hoc enim eſt mirabile, quòd vnum facit millecuplum: *Thou haſt ſeene the excellent working of Charity, how it fortifieth a man, as it were, in a Caſtle, and multiplieth him, and being one man, maketh him many. Thou haſt ſeene, how one Man may be in many places: one man in Perſia, and the ſame man in Rome. For charity can doe, that nature cannot doe. Of one man, one portion ſhall be heere, and another portion there. Nay rather, he ſhall be whole heere, and whole there. Therefore if one man haue a thouſand friends, or two thouſand, conſider, how farre he may reach by his power. Thou ſeeſt, how that Charity is a matter of increaſe. And this is a wonder, It maketh one man to be a thouſand fold more, than he is, and as if he were a thouſand men.*

Arguments taken of Chriſts humanity.

The ſame anſwer may ſerue alſo for S. Bernard: Howbeit his authoritie in this caſe is not great, as liuing in the very time of Corruption, at the leaſt eleuen hundred yeares after Chriſt, and ſo fiue hundred yeares at the leaſt without the compaſſe of the firſt ſix hundred yeares.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuiſion.

Thus all theſe Fathers, as likewiſe the reſt, confeſſe as it were with one mouth, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of his Father, and yet is heere preſent in the Sacrament the ſame time, that he is in Heauen and in Earth at once, in many and diuers places, one and the ſame is euery where offered, the one true Sacrifice of the Church. And this Article is by them ſo cleerely and plainly vttered, that (151) Figures, Significations, Tropes, and Metaphors, can finde no appearance or colour at all. Whereby the new Maſters reaſons ſeeme very peeuiſh: Chriſt is aſcended: *Ergo*, he is not in the Sacrament. Chriſt is in Heauen ſitting at the right hand of his Father: *Ergo*, He is not in Earth. Chriſts Bodie is of nature finite: *Ergo*, It is contained in a place circumſcriptiuely: *Ergo*, It is not in many places.

The 151. vntruth. For theſe very words of Ambroſe and Chryſoſtome, are ful of figures; as ſhall appeare.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

M. Harding nedeth no great ſtudy to anſwer our Arguments. It is ſufficient for him to pronounce by authority, *Theſe New Maſters Arguments be all peeuiſh.* **Verily it appeareth by the whole Subſtance and Courſe of M. Hardings Booke, that he hath ſome good pretty ſkill in peeuiſh Arguments: otherwiſe he could not haue them, and vſe them in ſuch plenty. But the old learned Fathers often times and commonly vſed ſuch Arguments of Chriſts Humanity, and yet were they neuer reproued, as peeuiſh for the ſame, but only by Heretikes.** S. Auguſtine ſaith: Donec ſæculum finiatur, ſurſum eſt Dominus: Sed tamen etiam hîc nobiſcum eſt Veritas Domini. Corpus enim, in quo Reſurrexit, in vno loco eſſe oportet: *Vntill the World be ended, the Lord is aboue; yet notwithſtanding, euen heere is the truth of the Lord. For the Bodie wherein he roſe againe, muſt needs bee in one place.* S. Cyrillus ſaith: Chriſtus non poterat in Carne verſari cum Apoſtolis, poſt quam Aſcendiſſet ad Patrem: *Chriſt could not be conuerſant with his Apoſtles in his Fleſh, after that hee had Aſcended vnto his Father.* **So** S. Auguſtine **writing againſt the Heretike** Manichee, **that ſeemed much to ſauour of M. Hardings errour,** ſaith: Chriſtus ſecundum Præſentiam Corporalem, ſimul & in Sole, & in Luna, & in Cruce eſſe non potuit: *Chriſt, according to the preſence of his Body, could not be both in the Sunne, and in the Moone, and vpon the Croſſe at one time.* **Againe he ſaith:** Chriſtus venturus eſt, illa Angelica voce teſtante, quemadmodum ire viſus eſt in Cœlum, id eſt, in eadem Carnis Forma atque Subſtantia: Cui Profectò Immortalitatem dedit, Naturam non abſtulit: *Chriſt ſhall come againe, as it is witneſſed by the Angell, euen as he was ſeene to go into Heauen: that is, in the ſame ſhape and ſubſtance of his Fleſh; vnto which Fleſh as he hath giuen Immortality, ſo hath he left vnto it the ſame Nature, that it had before.* **Thus** S. Auguſtine. **And further he ſaith:** *That whoſo holdeth, that Chriſts Body is both in Heauen and in Earth at one time, vtterly diſſolueth, and deſtroieth the nature of the Body of Chriſt.* **To be ſhort, and not to ouercharge the Reader with allegations,** S. Auguſtine **ſeemeth to giue a ſpeciall note by way of Prophecie, touching the ſame. For thus he ſaith:** His dictis mox Aſcendit in Cœlum: præmunire voluit aures noſtras aduerſus eos, quos, procedentibus temporibus, exurrecturos eſſe prædixerat, & dicturos: Ecce hîc Chriſtus, Ecce illic: quibus, ne crederemus, admonuit. Nec vlla nobis excuſatio eſt, ſi crediderimus aduerſus vocem Paſtoris noſtri tam claram, tam apertam, tam manifeſtam, vt nemo vel obtuſus, & tardus corde, poſſit dicere, Non intellexi: *Theſe words ſpoken, he Aſcended into Heauen. Heereby he gaue our eares a Premunire againſt them, which hee fore-told vs, would riſe in proceſſe of time, and ſay: Behold, heere is Chriſt: behold, there is Chriſt. Vnto whom he warned vs, we ſhould giue no credit. Neither haue wee now any maner excuſe, if wee beleeue them againſt the voice of our Shepheard, beeing ſo cleare, ſo open, and ſo plaine, that no man, be he neuer ſo heauy or dull of heart, can iuſtly ſay, I vnderſtood him not.* **Thus the old Catholike Doctours thought they might warrant the Arguments for good and effectuall, that they tooke of Chriſts Humanitie, and of the Naturall Subſtance of his Body. But perhaps they muſt all goe for new Maſters, and their arguments likewiſe be condemned for peeuiſh.**

De Con. diſt. 2. Prima.

Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 11. cap. 3.

Auguſt. contra Fauſtum Manichæum, li. 20. cap. 11.

Auguſt. epiſt. 57.

Auguſtin. de vnitate Eccleſia, cap. 10.

Math. 24. Lucæ. 17.

Arguments taken of Christs humanity.

Let vs therefore consider the arguments that M. Harding and his company haue founded hereupon. Thus therefore reason they: *Christ is ascended into Heauen in his Humanitie: The Heauens must hold his Body, as S. Peter saith, vntill all things be restored: S. Paul saith, Our Conuersation is in Heauen, from whence we looke for our Sauiour Iesus Christ: Christ saith, I leaue the World, and goe to my Father: The poore yee shall still haue among you, but mee yee shall not haue:* Ergo, say they, *Christ is still heere in the World in his Corporall and Fleshly Presence. Christs Body is of Nature and Substance Finite:* Ergo, *It is in places infinite. Christ hath two sorts of Bodies: One only Locall: all the rest of the other sort not Locall. It is in place, yet it occupieth, or filleth no place. It is a very naturall Mans body: yet is it neither round, nor square, nor thicke, nor broad, nor short nor long. It hath in it no distance, or difference of parts: as betweene eie and eie: or eie and eare: or head and foot: but eie, eare, arme, hand, heele, toe, head and foot are all together, and ech is other, and all is one. In ten thousand seuerall places Christs Body is full and whole: and yet all these are but one Body.* Thus One is Many, and Many are One: Aboue is Beneath, and Beneath is Aboue: Locall is not Locall, and not Locall is Locall: and all this without the authority, either of Gods holy Word, or of any one Old Catholike Father. These be M. Hardings Catholike conclusions: euen the very same, that were vsed and auouched by Eutyches, Apollinarius, Manichæus, and other like Heretikes in old times: and therefore they may not now be counted peruish. And that thou maiest the better feele the sauour and soundnesse of these mens Doctrine, I beseech thee, gentle Reader, to consider these words of Robert Holcot, a great Doctor of that side: Si fuissent mille hostiæ in mille locis, eo tempore, quo Christus pependit in Cruce, Christus fuisset Crucifixus in mille locis: *If there had beene a thousand hosts in a thousand places, at that very time when Christ hung vpon the Crosse, then had Christ beene Crucified in a thousand places.* Againe he saith: Pono, quòd tempore illos &c. *I suppose, that at the same time, the soule of Christ, departing from his Body vpon the Crosse, had come vnto, and rested at one of the said hosts: if so, then had Christs Body beene both quicke and dead in one time.* Thus much D. Holcot. Heere hast thou, good Reader, a taste of M. Hardings Doctrine, in respect whereof all other Doctrine must needs be condemned, and cast as peruish. Alas, they wander vp and downe in meere vanities, and, as S. Paul saith, They would be the Doctours of the Law, not vnderstanding, neither what they say, nor what they affirme. Verily S. Augustine saith: Quando de forma Serui cogitas in Christo, Humanam effigiem cogita, si est in te Fides: *When thou thinkest of the forme of a Seruant in Christ, thinke of the forme of a man, if thou haue any Faith in thee.*

Actor. 1.
Actor. 3.
Phillippen. 3.
Iohan. 16.
Matth. 26.
Thomas in 3. qua. 76. ar. 3.
Holcot. in 4. Senten. q. 3.
1. Timoth. 1.
August. in Iohan. Tract. 40.

This matter, saith M. Harding, is so clearely vttered by these Fathers, that Figures, Significations, Tropes and Metaphors can haue no place. M. Harding would not thus haue said, if he had any regard vnto his Reader. By the very order and tenour of these Fathers words: *Christ commeth, and yet commeth not. Christ is not seene, and yet is seen. Christ is touched with hands, yet no man can touch him. Euery man seeth him without guile or error: yet no man seeth him. Elias is aboue, and at the same time, the same Elias is beneath. Elias Coat is called Elias: Chrysostome and Ambrose are faine both to correct the rigour of their speech, and to vse these words Memory, Exemplar, Commemoration, and Remembrance.* And what is there heere else but Figures? Yet saith M. Harding, Significations, and Figures heere can haue no place. It is too great tyranny, so much to mocke and abuse Gods people.

M. Harding. The 10. Diuision.

In making of which slender arguments, they will not seeme to acknowledge whose Body it is, euen that which is proper to God, whose power is ouer all, and to whom all things obey.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Yes vndoubtedly, we acknowledge the Body of Christ to be the Body of the Sonne of God, and therefore the Body of very God. Yet neuertheless we know, and M. Harding also ought to know, that the same Body of Christ is a Creature, and therefore no God. And surely, if M. Harding had well considered the Principles of his owne Doctrine, he might soone haue found out the follie of this reason. For Albertus Magnus his owne Doctour is full against him. Thus he writeth Corpus Christi non est in pluribus locis ratione Vnionis, sed ratione Consecrationis, quia Consecratur in pluribus locis: *The Body of Christ is not in many places by meane of the Vnion it hath with the Godhead, but by meane of the Consecration, because it is Consecrate in many places.* Thus Albertus wrote of Christs Body, contrary to M. Hardings meaning, notwithstanding he was not ignorant whose Body it was.

Albertus Magnus in Dion. de Eccl. Hierarch.

Indeed Eutychianus saith: Hæc fallendi simplices, atque ignorantes Hæreticis occasio est, &c. *This occasion Heretikes haue, to beguile the simple and the ignorant: that the things that are spoken of Christ according to his Man-hood, they imagine the same to be spoken according to the*

Eutychiani in Epist. 1.

the infirmitie of the Diuine Nature: & because Christ being one Person, speaketh all things of himselfe, they say, he spake all things of his Godhead. Thus Eutychianus saith, M. Hardings reason serued well Heretikes in old times, therewith to beguile the people then, as he doth now. So the old Heretikes, Saturninus, Manichæus, and Marcion denied the veritie of Christs Flesh, because it is ioined, and vnited to the Godhead. So Athanasius, and Epiphanius say, that the Heretike Apollinarius held and taught the people, that Christs Bodie was of one Substance with the Deitie.

Athanasius De Incarnatione Christi. Epiphanius De Ebionæis.

In consideration of the same Union, the Emperour Iustinian was led into the Heresie of certaine that were called Ἀφθαρτοδοκῆται, and held, that Christs Body was euermore Glorious, and without corruption. So likewise was Eutyches deceiued: likewise the Godly learned Father S. Hilarie, as it is said before. All these Heresies and errors sprang onely of M. Hardings reason, for that the Authors and maintainers thereof, yeelding reuerence vnto Christs Bodie, as dutie required, ouermuch considered, whose Body it was.

τὸ σῶμα χριστοῦ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τῇ θεότητι. *Euagr. li. 4. c. 39. Niceph. lib. 17. ca. 29. Hilar. lib. 10. De Trinita.*

It is indeed, as I said before, the Body of God. But S. Augustine saith: Non, quod in Deo est, est vbique, vt Deus: *Whatsoeuer is in God, is not therefore euery where, as God is.* And againe: Cauendum est, ne ita Diuinitatem astruamus Hominis, vt veritatem Corporis auferamus: *Wee must beware, that wee doe not so defend the Godhead of the Man, that wee destroy the truth of his Bodie.* And therefore Epiphanius expressing the state of Christs Immortall Bodie, as it is now in Heauen, writeth thus: Sedet ad Dextram Patris, &c. *He sitteth at his Fathers Right hand in Glorie, not putting away his Body, but ioining the same in Spirituall condition in the perfection of one Godhead: euen as our Bodies, that now are sowen according to the Flesh, shall be raised againe according to the Spirit.* So saith the godly Martyr Vigilius: Caro Christi, quando in terra fuit, non erat in Cœlo: & nunc, quia est in Cœlo, non est vtique in terris: *The Flesh of Christ, when it was in the Earth, was not in Heauen: and now because it is in Heauen, is not verily in the Earth.* This holy Father affirmeth it, and auoucheth it for true, and saith: *Verily it is not in the Earth:* And his reason is onely this: *Because it is in Heauen.* And he concludeth thus at the last: Hæc est Fides, & Professio Catholica, quam Apostoli tradiderunt, Martyres roborauerunt, & Fideles hucusque custodiunt: *This is the Catholike Profession, and Faith, which the Apostles haue deliuered, the Martyrs haue confirmed, and the Faithfull hitherto doe continue.* Thus the Old Catholike Fathers in old times beleeued, and wrote of Christs Body: and yet they had not forgotten whose body it was.

Augustinus Epist. 57. ad Dardanum. Epiphan. lib. 3. In breui declaratione de Fide Catholica. οὐ κατὰ τὰ ἡμῶν σώματα μένει &c. *Vigilius contra Eutychem. li. 1. Quia est in Cœlo. The Catholike Faith.*

M. Harding. The 11. *Diuision.*

But because M. Iewel, and they of that sect, seeme to set little by these Fathers, though very ancient, S. Bernard excepted, and of the Church holden for Saints, I will bring forth the Authoritie of Martin Bucer, a late Doctour of their side, though not Canonizate for a Saint as yet, for that I know. This new Father, whom they esteeme so much, and was the Reader of Diuinitie in Cambridge in King Edwards time, verie vehemently, and for so much truly, affirmeth the true Reall presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament. For he saith, Christ said not, This is my Spirit: This is my Vertue: But, This is my Bodie. Wherefore we must beleeue (saith he) Christs Bodie to be there, euen the same that did hang vpon the Crosse, our Lord himselfe. Which in some part to declare, he vseth the similitude of the Sunne for his purpose, contrary to M. Iewels Negatiue, to proue Christs Body present, and that Really, and Substantially, in what places soeuer the Sacrament is rightly Ministred. His words be these. *Vt sol verè vno in loco Cœli visibilis circumscriptus est, radijs tamen suis præsens verè & Substantialiter exhibetur vbilibet Orbi: ita Dominus, etsamsi circumscribatur vno loco Cœli Arcani, & Diuini, id est, Gloriæ Patris; Verbo tamen suo, & Sacris Symbolis, verè, & totus ipse Deus, & homo præsens exhibetur in Sacra Cœna, eóque Substantialiter; quam præsentiam non minus certò agnoscit mens credens Verbis hu Domini, & Symbolis, quàm oculi vident, & habent Solem præsentem demonstratum, & exhibitum sua corporali luce. Restitta arcana est, & Noui Testamenti, res Fidei: non sunt igitur huc admittendæ cogitationes de præsentatione Corporis, quæ constat ratione huius vitæ etiam passibilis & fluxæ. Verbo Domini Simpliciter inhærendum est, & debet Fidei sensuum defectui præbere supplementum.* Which may thus be Englished. As the Sunne is truly placed determinately in one place of the visible heauen, and yet is exhibited truly and substantially by his beames euerie where abroad in the world: So our Lord, although he be contained in one place of the Secret and Diuine Heauen, that is to wit, the Glorie of his Father, yet for all that, by his Word, and holy Tokens, he is exhibited present in his holy Supper truly, and himselfe whole, God, and Man, and therefore Substantially, or in Substance. Which presence the minde giuing credit to these our Lords words and tokens, doth no lesse certainly acknowledge, than our eies see, and haue the Sunne present shewed and exhibited with his Corporall light. This is a secret matter, and of the New Testament: a matter of Faith: therefore heerein thoughts be not to be admitted of such presentation of the Bodie, as consisteth in the maner of this life passible, and transitorie. We must simply cleaue to the word of our Lord, and where our senses faile, there must Faith helpe to supplie. Thus we see, how Bucer in sundrie other points of Faith both deceiued, and also a deceiuer, confirmeth the truth of this article pithily and plainly. Such is the force of Truth, that oftentimes it is confessed by the very enemies of truth.

In Comment. in 16. cap. Matthæi.

This Similitude of the Sunne clearely openeth the whole matter. For the Substance, or Bodie of the Sunne is Really present onely in one place.

Fight not with the Church M. Iewel, but fight with the enemie of the Church. Fight with him whom you haue followed in departing from the Church, who neuertheless by force of truth, is driuen against you to confesse the truth in those most plain words, *Verè & totus ipse, Deus & homo, præsens exhibetur in Sacra Cœna, eóq; Substantialiter*: In this holy Supper himselfe, God, and man, is exhibited present truly, and whole, and therefore Substantially.

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Gods name be praiſed: neither doe wee refuſe the iudgement of the Ancient Fathers in theſe caſes: neither hath Maſter Harding, for ought that may yet appeare, any iuſt cauſe, thus to vant himſelfe of the ſame. Here he allegeth the Authoritie of Doctour Bucer, euen as the Heretique Eutyches ſometime, to maintaine his Herеſie alleaged S. Cyprian: or as the Neſtorian Heretiques alleaged the Authoritie of the Nicene Councell. For, notwithſtanding Doctour Bucer, to auoid contention, as a man deſirous of peace, was content to yeeld vnto certaine indifferent terms, as Oſius that learned Father ſometime did in the Councell of Ariminum to the Arians, yet was his reſolution herein euermore thoroughly, and fully knowen. And the very ſimilitude, or example, that he vſeth of the Sunne, putteth the matter out of all queſtion. For like as the Body or Compaſſe of the Sunne being in one certaine place of the Heauens reacheth out his beames, and giueth influence into the world: euen ſo Chriſt the Sonne of Iuſtice, being in Heauen in one place at the right hand of God, likewiſe reacheth out his beames, and giueth his influence into the Faithfull, and ſo feedeth them, not by bare Imagination, or Fantaſie: but Truly, Subſtantially, and indeed. And as the Sunne is more comfortable, and more refreſheth the world, being abſent, by his beames, than if his very Naturall Subſtance, and Compaſſe lay here vpon the Earth: euen ſo the Body of Chriſt being in the Glorie of his Father, in the very Subſtance and Nature of our Fleſh, and there euermore intreating Mercy for our ſinnes, is much more comfortable vnto vs, and more quickeneth both our Bodies and Soules by his heauenly and Spirituall influence, than if it were here preſent Fleſhly before our eies. And as the Sunne not comming downe from heauen, nor leauing his place, is neuertheleſſe preſent with vs in our houſes, in our faces, in our hands, and in our boſoms: euen ſo Chriſt being in heauen, not comming downe, nor leauing his rome there, yet neuertheleſſe is preſent with vs in our Congregations: in our hearts: in our Prayers: in the Myſterie of Baptiſme: and in the Sacrament of his Body and Blood. Therefore Saint Ambroſe ſaith: Maria, quia quærebat in terra, tangere non potuit: Stephanus tetigit, quia quærebat in Cœlo: *Mary could not touch Chriſt, becauſe ſhee ſought him vpon the Earth: But Stenen touched him, becauſe he ſought him in heauen.* And againe he ſaith: Non enim corporali tactu, ſed Fide tangimus: *For wee touch not Chriſt by any bodily meane, but by our Faith.* And therefore againe hee ſaith: Stephanus intra Cœlos Dominum cernit abſentem: *Stephen ſeeth Chriſt being abſent, within the Heauens.* So ſaith Origen: Per Euangeliſtarum, & Apoſtolorum prædicationem: per ſui ſancti Corporis, & Sanguinis Sacramentum: per Glorioſum Crucis ſignaculum nobiſcum Deus: *God is with vs by the preaching of the Euangeliſts and Apoſtles: By the Sacrament of his Body and Blood: and by the glorious Signe of his Croſſe.* So Saint Auguſtine: O ſtulta infidelitas perſequentis! Si quæris exilium, quò Chriſtianus iubeatur ire, priùs ſi potes inueni, quò Chriſtus cogatur exire: *O the fond infidelitie of this perſecuter. If thou ſeeke a place of baniſhment, whither thou maieſt command a Chriſtian man to goe: firſt, if thou can, finde a place, from whence thou maieſt command Chriſt to depart.* And againe, thus hee writeth vnto the Godlie widow Italica. Non debes te deſolatam arbitrari, cùm in interiore homine habeas Chriſtum preſentem per fidem in corde tuo: *Then maieſt not thinke thy ſelfe to be deſolate, while thou haſt Chriſt preſent in thy heart, in the Inner man by Faith.* So againe: Non eſt Iudæus? non eſt Græcus, &c. Sed omnia, & in omnibus Chriſtus. *There is no Iew, there is no Gentile: but Chriſt is all, and in all.* In like ſorte S. Hierome ſaith: Tangat digitulo: & vltro exibimus. Domini eſt terra, & plenitudo eius. Chriſtus loco non tenetur incluſus: *Let him puſh vs with his finger: and wee will foorth willingly. The Earth is the Lords and the fulneſſe thereof. Chriſt is not holden priſoner in any place.*

In Cõcil. Chalcedon. Actio. 1. Concil. tom. 1. in Apologetico Cyrilli. In præfatione Concil. Sardicen. Hilarius. The Sunne.

Amlroſ. in Lucam. li. 10. c. 24

Ibidem. Ambroſ. Serm. 58. De Maria Magdal. Origen. in diuerſos Euangelij locos. hom. 1. Auguſt. de Natali B. Cypriani Serm. 12. Aug. Epiſt. 6. Auguſt. de Sermone Domini in monte, lib. 1.

Hieronym. aduerſus errores Iohan. Hieroſ.

Thus is Chriſt preſent among vs: thus we feele him: thus we ſee him. But all this is the worke of Faith: it needeth no Fleſhly or Locall preſence. Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: Non recte tangitur, id eſt, non recte in illum creditur: *Hee is not touched well: that is to ſay, hee is not beleeued well.* So ſaith S. Bernard: Tangitur, ſed affectu, non manu: voto, non oculo: fide, non ſenſibus: *He is touched, but with deuotion, not with hand: with zeale, not with eie: with Faith: not with ſenſe.* And thus we ſay, we haue Chriſt preſent, not as M. Harding ſaith, only for a minute of an houre, wherein is neither ſauour nor comfort: but verily effectually, and, if he be delighted with that word, Subſtantially, and for euer, euen vnto the conſummation of the World. Neither doth he denie, that Chriſt is preſent, that denieth this Imagination of Groſſe and Fleſhly Preſence. Origen ſaith: Si Virtus Ieſu congregatur cum his, qui congregantur in nomine eius, non peregrinatur à ſuis, ſed ſemper præſtò eſt eis: *If the power of Ieſus bee together with them that are gathered in his name, then is not he abſent from his owne, but is euermore preſent with them.*

Auguſt. in Iohan. tract. 121. Bernar. in Cãtica Cantic. Serm. 26.

Orig. in Matthæ. tractat 33.

By

By theſe few, I truſt, it may appeare, that we neither are departed from the Church of God, nor fight againſt the Church. But you, M. Harding, vnder this glorious title of the Church, thinke to carrie your ſelfe inuiſible. Howbeit, as there be two ſorts of Faiths, ſo are there two ſorts of Churches: the one True, the other Falſe. Your Church, being as now vtterly void of Gods word, is as a Lanterne without Light. Leo writing againſt ſuch as you be, ſaith thus: Eccleſiæ nomine armamini, & contra Eccleſiam dimicatis: *Ye arme your ſelues with the name of the Church: and yet ye fight againſt the Church.* S. Iohn in his Reuelations ſaith: *They name themſelues Iewes, that is, The people of God, but they are the Synagogue of Satan.* O fight not M. Harding, thus againſt God: fight not againſt your owne Conſcience. It is hard for you, thus to kicke againſt the pricke. The more ye fight, the more ye bewray your owne nakednesſe. Theſe colours and ſhadowes muſt needs fade: God with his Truth will haue the Victorie. Amen.

Leo ad Palaſtinos. Apocalyp. 2. Act. 9.

M. Harding. The 12. Diuiſion.

Now to be ſhort, whereas the chiefe arguments, that be made againſt the being of Chriſts Body in many places at once, be deduced of nature, in reſpect that this article ſeemeth to them, to aboliſh nature; it may pleaſe them to vnderſtand, that God, who is Author of nature, can by his power do with a Body, that which is aboue the nature of a Body, nature not deſtroied, but kept and preſerued whole. Which *Plato* the Hea-then Philoſopher would ſoone haue beene induced to beleeue, if hee were aliue: who asked; What was nature; anſwered, *Quod Deus vult*, That which God will. And therefore we beleeue, that Enoch, and Eſias, yet mortall by nature, do by power of God liue in Body, and that aboue nature. Abacuc was by the ſame power caught vp, and in a moment carried from Iewrie to Babylon, his nature reſerued whole. S. Peter by God according to nature walked on the earth, the ſame by God beſides nature, walked vpon the waters. Chriſt after condition of nature aſſumpted, ſuffered death in Body: the ſame Chriſt by his diuine power entred with his Body into his Diſciples thorow doores cloſed.

M. Harding ſeemeth not well to conſider what Plato meant.

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Our proofes are grounded, not only vpon Naturall Reaſon, but alſo vpon the expreſſe, and knowen Will of God. And by ſuch Arguments the learned Fathers were wont in old times, to diſpute of Chriſts humanitie againſt Apollinarius, Manichæus, Eutyches, and other like Heretikes, without controlment. For Naturall Reaſon holden within her bands, is not the enemie, but the daughter of Gods Truth. And therefore hee muſt be verie vnreaſonable, that will thus without cauſe be angrie with reaſon. But it appeareth, that M. Harding, as he is vtterly without Scriptures and Doctours in theſe caſes, ſo is he alſo void of Reaſon. As touching Plato, it ſeemeth there was hard hold, when a Naturall Philoſopher muſt ſtand forth, to proue Chriſts Myſteries. This matter, within theſe few hundred yeares, hath beene attempted many waies: by Logike: by Philoſophie: by the Metaphyſikes: and by the names of Old Fathers. But when none of all theſe helpes would ſerue, they imagined, and brought forth Animoſam Fidem, a Faith without any word of God, bold to beleeue they knew not what. In the end finding their want and weakeneſſe herein, for that this Faith had no ground, they deuiſed Miracles, and fires now, and ioined them with it: Then was the matter ſufficiently and fully proued.

But Plato ſaith: Natura eſt, quod Deus vult: *Nature is that thing, that God will.* Firſt, what if M. Harding vnderſtand not what Plato meant? And what if Plato neuer vnderſtood what M. Harding meaneth? Yet muſt Platoes name ſerue to proue all M. Hardings fantaſies? Plato ſaith: *Nature is whatſoeuer God will.* Muſt was therefore concluded, That Cold is Hot: White is Blacke: Accident without Subiect: Subiect without Accident: a Body is no Body: a Nature Finite is Infinite? What a ſtrange kinde of Philoſophie hath M. Harding found out? It is a ſimple weapon that theſe men will refuſe, to ſerue their turne.

The Philoſophers called Epicuræi, held this fantaſie, that God ſitteth in Heauen idlely, and at eaſe, neuer incombring or troubling himſelfe with the rule of the world: and that therefore Nature ruleth it ſelfe only by chance, and at aduenture, without any certain direction of Gods gouernment: and that whatſoeuer is done therein, is no part of Gods doing. Contrariwiſe, the Philoſophers called Stoici, held another fantaſie, that God himſelfe is nothing elſe but Nature, and that therefore all things are wrought by neceſſitie, and force of Deſtinie, and that God is able to worke no Miracle, nor to doe any thing contrary to the common courſe of Nature. Both theſe follies Plato repreſſed by this ſhort anſwer, Natura eſt, quod Deus vult. His meaning is, that Nature is ſubiect, and obedient vnto God, and that there is, neither Chance, nor Neceſſitie in the courſe of Nature: but all things are ordered by Gods appointment, and Naturall

Cauſes

Christ in his owne hands.

Causes are onely the instruments of Gods will. And therefore some compare Nature to the horse, and God to the horseman, that bridleth her, and turneth her whither he listeth. And for the same cause Origen saith: Anima mundi est, Virtus Dei: *The Soule of the World is the power of God.* And S. Basil saith: *The World is the Schoole of our soules, to leade us to know God.* Therefore God was able by his power to diuide the Sea: to pull backe, and stay the Sunne: to open the Earth: to make the water of Iordan to stand as a wall: to stay the Fire from burning, and the Water from drowning. If any man list to know the cause hereof, there is none other, but Gods will. In this sense the Philosopher Simonides was wont to say, Solus Deus est Metaphysicus: *God alone is Supernaturall.* And Pindarus for the same called God Ἀριστέτυκον, *The best or skilfullest Artificer.* Likewise S. Augustine saith: Quomodo est contra Naturam, quod Dei fit voluntate, cùm voluntas tanti Conditoris sit cuiuscunque rei Natura? *How is it against Nature, that is done by Gods Will, seeing the Will of so Noble a Creator is the Nature of euery thing?* This vndoubtedly was Platoes meaning. Now let vs examine M. Hardings reasons.

Origen. περὶ ἀρχῶν. lib. 2. c. 1.
Basil. Hexameron. homil. 1.
Ψυχῶν διδασκαλεῖον, καὶ θεογνωσίας παιδωτήριον.
Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. li. 21. c. 8.

Nature is whatsoeuer God will: Elias, and Enoch are yet aliue in their Bodies. Abacuc was caught, and carried to Babylon: S. Peter walked vpon the Sea: *Ergo*, Christs Body is at one time in a thousand places. These arguments hold à posse, ad Esse, and might haue stood the Heretikes Manichæus, and Eutyches in some good stead: but in Catholike Schooles they haue no place.

But how is M. Harding so well assured of Gods will? How knoweth he, that God will haue Christs Bodie to be in a thousand places at one time: to be euery where: to be infinite: to be no Body? Verily, the Ancient Fathers, for any thing that may appeare, neuer knew it. Contrarywise, he might haue said, Gods holy Will was, that Christ should take the Naturall Substance of a mans Body: and, that in all things he should be like vnto his brethren: and, that his Bodie should be a Creature: and as S. Augustine saith, should be in one place. This is Gods knowen and expresse Will: therefore by Platoes iudgement, this is Nature. Certainly S. August. saith, as it is before alleaged: Christus Corpori suo Immortalitatem dedit: Naturam non abstulit: *Christ gaue Immortalitie to his Bodie: but he tooke not from it the former Nature of a Bodie.* Thus much hath M. Harding gotten by the authoritie of Plato.

Hebræ. 2.
August. De Consec. Dist. 2. prima.
Aug. epist. 57.

M. Harding. The 13. Diuision.

Christ at his last Supper according to Nature sate downe with his twelue Disciples, and among them occupied a place at the Table visibly, by his diuine power there hee held his Bodie in his hands inuisibly. (152) for (as S. Augustine saith) *Ferebatur manibus suis*, hee was borne in his owne hands: where Nature gaue place, and his owne Body was in moe places than one. Verily, *Non est abbreuiata manus Domini*, the hand of our Lord is not shortned, his power is as great as euer it was. And therefore let vs not doubt, but he is able to vse nature finite, infinitely: specially now, the nature of his Body being glorified after his Resurrection from the dead. And as the liuing is not to be sought among the dead, so the things that be done by the power of God aboue nature, are not to be tried by the rules of Nature.

In expositione Psal. 33.

The 152. Vntruth, standing in vnsufficient reporting, and misconstruing S. Augustines words.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

S. Augustine saith: Christus ferebatur in manibus suis: *Christ was borne in his owne hands.* These words are often alleaged, and seeme at the view to sound somewhat of M. Hardings side. But being well weighed and considered, they discharge themselues, and are soone answered. First it is knowen, and confessed, that S. Augustine in reporting these words, either by meane of the Translation, or by some other errour, was much ouerseene, and alleaged that for Scripture, that indeed neither is any portion of the Scripture, nor elsewhere to be found. For where he saith, Dauid was borne in his owne hands, the very Text is this, Collabebatur in manibus eorum: *He went reeling in their hands.* And so S. Basil alleageth, and expounded the same place: Διαφέρεται ἐν τῶν χερσὶ τῶν διωκόντων, *Caried along in the seruants hands.* And thus S. Augustine being deceiued in the Text, was faine to force the same to some violent construction.

1. Sam. 21.
Basil. in Psa. 33

Yet saith M. Harding, S. Augustines words be plaine, *Christ was borne in his owne hands.* It is neither indifferent, nor true dealing, thus to nip, and to poyne the Doctours sayings: and alleaging a few words, to leaue out the rest, and especially such words, as be materiall, and able to giue light vnto the whole. For S. Augustine saith not, Christ bare himselfe Really, Substantially, and indeed in his owne hands, as it is here vntruly supposed: neither as Master Harding hath added of his owne, *By his Diuine power, or Inuisibly.* But contrariwise he expounded himselfe by these words: Ipse se quodammodò portabat: *In a manner, and after a sort, he carried himselfe.* This word, Quodammodò, in the Schooles is called, Terminus diminuens: which often times in reasoning breedeth errour. For these words, Quodammodò, *After a sort*, and, Verè, *Verily, or indeed*, are euer contrary.

Quodammodo.

contrary. So ſaith S. Auguſtine: Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti, ſecundùm quendam modum Corpus Chriſti eſt: *The Sacrament of Chriſts Bodie, in a certaine ſort, is the Bodie of Chriſt.* And this ſort or maner he expoundeth thus: Niſi enim Sacramenta ſimilitudinem quandam earum rerum, quarum Sacramenta ſunt, haberent, omnino Sacramenta non eſſent: *Vnleſſe Sacraments had ſome likeneſſe of thoſe things, whereof they be Sacraments, they ſhould vtterly be no Sacraments.*

Likewiſe ſaith Bertramus: Secundùm quendam modum Corpus Chriſti eſt. Modus hic in Figura eſt, & in Imagine: *The Sacrament after a certaine maner is the Bodie of Chriſt: This maner ſtandeth in a Figure, and in a Repreſentation.* So likewiſe the very Barbarous Gloſſe vpon the Decrées expoundeth the ſame: Cœleſte Sacramentum, quod verè repræſentat Corpus Chriſti, dicitur Corpus Chriſti, ſed impropriè. Vnde dicitur, Suo modo: ſed non rei veritate, ſed ſignificante Myſterio: vt ſit ſenſus, Vocatur Corpus Chriſti: id eſt, Significat Corpus Chriſti: *The Heauenly Sacrament, which verily doth repreſent the Fleſh of Chriſt, is called Chriſts Body: but not in plaine kinde of ſpeech.* Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: Suo modo, *After a ſort: which is, not in the very truth of the matter, but by a Myſterie ſignifying: that the meaning be thus, It is called the Body of Chriſt, becauſe it ſignifieth the Body of Chriſt.* Touching the thing, that Chriſt held in his hand, S. Auguſtine confeſſeth it was Bread: for thus he writeth: Quamuis Panem, quem Dominus geſtauit in manibus, oculis ſuis non aſpexerint: *Albeit they neuer ſaw with their eies the Bread, that the Lord held in his hands.* Yet the ſame Bread, becauſe it is a Sacrament of Chriſts Body, *after a ſort,* as S. Auguſtine ſaith, is alſo called Chriſts Bodie. Thus doth S. Auguſtine often times vſe this word, Quodammodò. For example, he writeth thus: Eccleſia, quos lucrata fuerit aliquo modo, eos manducat quodammodò: *The Church after a ſort eateth them, whom by any meane ſhee hath gotten.* And againe vpon the ſame Pſalme: Quid eſt hærere Cornibus, niſi quodammodò Crucifigi? Figura eſt iſta de Chriſto: *What was it elſe, that the Weather was tied by the hornes, but after a ſort to be Crucified? Therefore this is a Figure of Chriſt.* In this ſenſe S. Auguſtine ſaith, Chriſt, Quodammodò, *After a ſort,* not Verily, or indéed, but in a Sacrament, or in a Figure, bare himſelfe in his hands.

Chriſt in his owne hands.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 23. ad Bonifa.

Ibidem.

Bertramus de Sacramen. Eu.

De Conſecra. Diſt. 2. Hoc eſt. In Gloſſa.

Auguſtin. De verbis Domini in Euangel. Matth. Serm. 33.

Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 30.

But M. Harding will reply: S. Auguſtine ſaith thus: Hoc quomodò intelligatur in ipſo Dauide ſecundùm Literam, non inuenimus: in Chriſto autem inuenimus: *How this may be taken in Dauid himſelfe, according to the Letter, we finde not: but in Chriſt we finde it.* Therefore he will ſay, this muſt be verified in Chriſt, *euen according to the Letter.* This errour riſeth of the miſunderſtanding of theſe words of S. Auguſtine, Secundùm literam. Which ſometime are vſed for the Literall Senſe, or the very ſound of the bare words: ſometime for the Hiſtoricall Senſe, that is to ſay, for the courſe and tenor of the ſtorie. Now ſaith S. Auguſtine, that Dauid ſhould any way beare himſelfe, Secundùm literam, *According to the Storie written of him,* it doth not appeare: but that Chriſt, *After a ſort,* that is, by way of a Sacrament, thus carried himſelfe, euen in the Storie of the Goſpell, which is to ſay, Secundùm literam, it doth appeare. And that theſe words, Secundùm literam, be often times thus vſed, any man may ſone perceiue, that ſhall diligently note and conſider the Ancient Fathers. Firſt, S. Auguſtine in the place alleaged, vttereth this matter of Dauid, in this ſort: In regnorum libris, vbi omnia nobis ſcripta ſunt, quæ pertinent ad res geſtas Dauidis non inuenimus hoc: *In the Bookes of the Kings, whereas all things are written to vs, that pertaine to the doings of Dauid, this thing wee finde not.* And againe in the ſame place: Chriſtus cùm commendaret Corpus, & Sanguinem ſuum, Humilitatem ſuam commendauit, in eo, quod in ipſa Hiſtoria Scriptum eſt in illo quaſi furore Dauidis: *When Chriſt recommended vnto vs his Body, and Blood, hee recommended vnto vs his Humilitie, in that thing, that is written in the very Storie touching that madneſſe of Dauid.* This is that S. Auguſtine meant by theſe words, Secundum literam. Now that this word, Litera, is often taken for the Storie, it doth many waies appeare. S. Auguſtine ſaith thus: Ambroſius cùm tractaret hunc locum, ait: Nec Hiſtoria, nec Litera docet, Mariam gladio finiuiſſe vitam: *Ambroſe writing hereof, ſaith thus: Neither the Storie, nor the Letter doth teach vs, that Mary was ſlaine with a ſword.* So S. Hierome: Eſcam dedit timentibus ſe: *He gaue food to them that feare him.* In the time of hunger he fed Elias: in the wildernesſe he rained Manna vnto the Iewes: he addeth, Et hoc ſecundùm Literam: *And this according to the Letter:* which is, according to the Storie. So likewiſe S. Gregorie: Subditur, quod de eo minimè ſcriptum legitur: Effudit in terram viſcera mea: Ex qua re neceſſe eſt, vt, dum hæc Iuxta Literam inuenire non poſſumus, ea, quæ in verbis eius Secundum hiſtoriam ſonant, iuxta Spiritum inquiramus: Thus S. Auguſtine vſeth theſe words, Secundùm Literam, not for the Literall Senſe, as theſe Men would faine haue it, but for the Record, and knowledge of the Storie written of Dauid. M. Harding ſhould haue remembred, that miſunderſtanding of his Doctour maketh no ſufficient proofe. Howbeit, it is much to be feared,

Secundùm Literam.

Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 33.

Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 33.

Ibidem. Concion. 2.

Auguſtin. De Sanctis, Sermone 35.

Hieronym. in Pſal. 110. & 111.

Gregorius in Iohan. lib. 13. ca. 6.

Being in a Myſtery.

feared, that M. Harding of purpoſe left out this word, Quodammodò: and not of ignorance, but wittingly, and willingly miſreported, and falſified S. Auguſtines meaning. Certainly S. Auguſtine hath not one of all theſe words, neither, by Diuine Power: nor, Inuiſibly: nor, Nature gaue place: nor, Chriſts Body was in moe places than one.

M. Harding. The 14. Diuiſion.

Being in a Myſterie requireth no Corporall, or Reall Preſence. The 153. Vntruth. For theſe words of Auguſtine, and Gregorie pertaine nothing to the Sacrament.

And that all abſurdities, and carnall groſneſſe be ſeuered from our thoughts, where true Chriſtian people beleeue Chriſts Body to be in many places at once, they vnderſtand it ſo to be in a Myſterie. Now to be in a Myſterie, is not to be comprehended in a place, but by the power of God to be made preſent in ſort and maner as he himſelfe knoweth, verily ſo as no reaſon of man can attaine it, and ſo, as it may be ſhewed by no examples in Nature. Whereof that notable ſaying of S. Auguſtine may very well bee reported: *O homo, ſi rationem à me poſcis, non erit mirabile: exemplum queritur, non erit ſingulare:* That is, O Man, if (153) (herein) thou require reaſon, it ſhall not be maruellous: ſeeke for the like example, and then it ſhall not be ſingular. If Gods working be comprehended by reaſon (ſaith holy Gregorie) it is not wonderous: neither Faith hath meede, whereto mans reaſon giueth prooſe.

Auguſt. in l. pſal. Vindicem. Item Serm. 33. De tempor.

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

Being in a Myſterie, as it is before anſwered, like as it requireth no Circumſtance, or neceſſitie of place, ſo it requireth no Bodily, or Reall Preſence. Contrariwiſe, if Chriſts Body were preſent indeed, and that in ſuch groſſe, and fleſhly ſort, as is here conceiued, then were it no Myſterie. For, to be preſent in a Myſterie, and to bee Bodily, and fleſhly preſent, are taken for contraries. And therefore the Gloſſe ſaith, as is before alleged: Sacramentum dicitur Corpus Chriſti, non rei Veritate, ſed ſignificante Myſterio: *The Sacrament of Chriſts Body is called Chriſts Bodie, not in truth of the matter, but by a myſterie ſignifying.*

De Conſe. diſt. 2. Hoc eſt. in Gloſſa.

But, whereas it is further ſaid, that this myſticall preſence is knowen onely vnto God, and, I trow, to M. Harding, and to no man beſide, all this is nothing elſe, but Religicus Follie, imagined only to aſtonne and amaze the ſimple. For the Scriptures, and holy Fathers are acquainted with no ſuch Myſterie. The Sacrament of Baptiſme is a Myſterie, euen as is the Sacrament of Chriſts Bodie: and as Chriſt is preſent in the one, ſo is hee alſo preſent in the other: that is to ſay, Truly, Verily, Effectually, and indeede: howbeit, not in this groſſe maner of M. Hardings Fleſhly Preſence. The places of S. Auguſtine, and S. Gregorie, concerne onely Chriſts Incarnation, the Union of the Diuinitie, and the Humanitie, and other ſuch Articles, and grounds of Chriſtian Religion, wherein Nature, and Reaſon vtterly haue no place: and therefore being ſpoken of one thing, are applied by M. Harding vnto another. Neither is M. Harding able truly to ſay, that in any of all thoſe places, there is either mention once made, or one word ſpoken of the Sacrament. Wherefore it ſeemeth, M. Harding would purpoſely miſlead his Reader, and teach him to reaſon in this ſort:

Chriſt was miraculouſly incarnate of the Bleſſed Virgin:

Ergo, Chriſts Body is Really and Fleſhly in the Sacrament.

True it is, that the faith of our Religion cannot be proued by diſcourſe of reaſon. But euery fantaſie may not goe for Chriſtian faith. S. Paul ſaith: *Fides ex auditu: Auditus ex verbo Dei:* Faith commeth by hearing: Hearing commeth by the word of God. Certainly M. Hardings new faith, or fantaſie, in the time of the old Catholike fathers, was neither Chriſtned, nor knowen in the world: as may appeare by their owne witneſſe of good record. For beſides others, whom in this Treatiſe I haue touched vpon occaſion by the way, S. Auguſtine writeth purpoſely hereof vnto Dardanus in this wiſe: Noli dubitare, ibi nunc eſſe Hominem Chriſtum Ieſum, vnde venturus eſt, &c. *Doubt thou not, but Chriſt Ieſus, as man, is there, from whence he ſhall come: and haue thou in remembrance, and faithfully hold the Chriſtian confeſſion, that he is riſen from the dead: that he is aſcended into heauen: that he ſitteth at the right hand of his Father: & that from thence, and from no where els, he ſhall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, euen as he was ſeene going into heauen: that is, in the ſame forme, and ſubſtance of his Body: To which Body vndoubtedly he hath giuen Immortalitie, but hath not taken from the ſame the Nature of a Bodie. According to this forme (of Man) we may not thinke, that Chriſt is powred abroad into all places. For we muſt beware, we doe not ſo defend the Godhead of the Man, that we deſtroy the truth of his Body.* Againe: Vnus Chriſtus Ieſus: vbique per id, quod Deus eſt: in Cœlo autem per id, quod homo: *Chriſt Ieſus is one Perſon, and the ſame euery where in that he is God: but he is in heauen, in that he is Man.* Againe he ſaith: Semper quidem Diuinitate nobiſcum eſt: Sed, niſi Corporaliter abiret a nobis, ſemper eius corpus carnaliter videremus: *Chriſt by his Godhead is euer with vs: but vnleſſe he had departed away bodily from vs, we ſhould euermore carnally ſee his body.* Theſe words are ſpecially to be noted. If Chriſt were Bodily here, he ſhould carnally bee ſeene: Therefore, by S. Auguſtines iudgement, if Chriſt

Roman. 10.

Auguſtin. Epiſt. 57. Cui profectò Immortalitatem dedit: Naturam non abſtulit. Cauendum eſt, ne ita Diuinitatem aſtruamus hominis, vt veritatem Corporis auferamus. Auguſt. de verbis Domini in Euangel. ſecundùm Iohan. Sermo. 60.

Christ were Bodily present in the Sacrament, we should see him Carnally in the Sacrament. Againe: Et abijt, & hic est: & rodijt, & nos non deseruit. Corpus enim suum intulit Cœlo: Maiestatem autem non abstulit mundo: *Hee is gone, and yet is heere. Hee is returned to his Father, and yet hath not forsaken vs. For he hath carried his Bodie into Heauen: but he hath not taken his Maiesty from the World.* Againe: Pauperes semper habebitis vobiscum, &c. *The poore yee shall haue euermore with you, but mee yee shall not haue. Let good men heare this, and not be carefull. For this he spake of the Presence of his Bodie. For according to his Maiesty, according to his Prouidence, according to his vnspeakable and Inuisible Grace, it is fulfilled, that he said, I am with you alwaies, vntill the Consummation of the World. But according to the Flesh, that the Word receiued: according to that, he was borne of the Virgin: according to that, he was taken of the Iewes: according to that, he was nailed to the Crosse: according to that, he was taken downe, and lapt in a shrowd, and laid in the Graue, and rose againe, and shewed himselfe: in this respect, it is true, that he said, ye shall not euermore haue me with you.*

Christs Body in one place.

Augustin. in Iohan. tract. 50.

Ibidem.

Likewise againe: Dominus consolatur nos, qui ipsum iam in Cœlo sedentem manu contrectare non possumus, sed Fide contingere: *The Lord doth comfort vs, that cannot touch him with our hand sitting now in Heauen: but may touch him notwithstanding with our Faith.* And againe: Si illi propterià crediderunt, quia tenuerunt, & palpauerunt, nos quid facimus? Iam Christus Ascendit in Cœlum, & non est venturus, nisi in fine, vt iudicet de viuis, & mortuis: *If they therefore beleeued in Christ, because they held him, and touched him what do we then? For Christ is now Ascended into Heauen, and will not come againe, but in the end, to iudge the quicke and the dead.* So saith Origen: Christus secundum Diuinitatis suæ Naturam non peregrinatur à nobis: Sed peregrinatur secundùm dispensationem Corporis, quod suscepit: *Christ according to the Nature of his Godhead is not a stranger vnto vs: but he is a stranger to vs, touching the dispensation of the Body, which he hath receiued.* Againe: Nec est Homo qui est, vbicunque duo vel tres in eius nomine fuerint congregati, &c. *It is not Christ as Man, that is whersoeuer two or three bee gathered in his name: neither is Christ, as Man, with vs alwaies vntill the Consummation of the World.* So likewise saith S. Hierome: Christus non est Corporaliter in Ecclesia: Surgens enim à mortuis, Ascendit in Cœlum: *Christ is not now Bodily in the Church: for being risen from the dead, he is Ascended into Heauen.*

Augustin. in Epist. Iohan. tract. 2.

Augustin. in Epist. Iohan. tract. 2.

Origen. in Matth. tract. 33.

Origen. in eadem homil.

Hieronym. in Prouerb. li. 1. cap. 8.

I passe ouer S. Ambrose, S. Gregory, S. Cyril, S. Basil, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Didymus, Beda, and other like ancient Fathers. Thus were they then resolued of Christs Body: and this they toke to be the Catholike Faith.

Yet neither were they therefore Condemned for New Masters: nor followed they only the iudgement of Nature, nor led they the World with pæuish Reasons: nor touching Christs Body, had they forgotten whose Body it was: nor were they counted the enemies of Gods Omnipotent Power: nor were they then thought to fight against the Church. But M. Harding with his new deuised fantasie, is a Patron, and a maintainer of the Manichees, of the Apollinarists, of the Eutychians, and other moe horrible and old condemned Heretikes.

OF ELEVATION.

The Seuenth Article.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR that the Priest did then hold vp the Sacrament ouer his head.

M. Harding.

Of what weight this ceremony is to be accounted, Catholike Christian men, whom you call your Aduersaries, M. Iewel, know no lesse than you Verily, whereas it pleaseth you thus to iest, and like a Lucian, to scoffe at the Sacraments of the Church, and the reuerent vse of the same, calling all these Articles in generall the highest Mysteries and greatest Keies of our Religion, without which our doctrine cannot bee maintained, and stand vpright: vnderstand you, that this, as sundrie other Articles, which you denie, and

require proofe of, is not ſuch, ne neuer was ſo eſteemed. *The Prieſts lifting vp, or ſhewing of the Sacrament, is not one of the higeſt Myſteries, or greateſt Keies of our Religion: and the doctrine of the Catholike Church may right well be maintained, and ſtand without it. But it appeareth, you regard not ſo much what you ſay, as how you ſay ſomewhat for colour of defacing the Church; which whiles you goe about to doe, you deface your ſelfe more, than you ſeeme to be ware of, and doe that thing, whereby among good Chriſtian men, ſpecially the learned, you may be aſhamed to ſhew your face. For as you haue ouer-rathly, yea, I may ſay, wickedly affirmed the Negatiue of ſundry other Articles, and ſtoutly craked of your aſſurance thereof, ſo you haue likewiſe of this. For peruſing the ancient Fathers writings, we find record of this Ceremonie vſed euen (152) from the Apoſtles time forward. S. Dionyſe that was S. Pauls Scholar, ſheweth, that the Prieſt at his time after the Conſecration, was wont to (155) hold vp the dreadfull Myſteries, ſo as the people might behold them. His words bee theſe according to the Greeke: *Pontifex diuina munera laude proſecutus, ſacroſancta & auguſtiſſima Myſteria conficit & celebrata in conſpectum agit per ſymbola ſacrè propoſita*: The Biſhop after that he hath done his ſeruice of praiſing the diuine gifts, conſecrateth the holy and moſt worthy myſteries, and bringeth them ſo praiſed into the ſight of the people, by the tokens ſet foorth for that holy purpoſe. On which place the ancient Greeke Writer of the Scholies vpon that worke, ſaith thus: τὸν κουφισμὸν, ἢ τὴν ὕψωσιν τῆς μιᾶς εὐλογίας τὸ δι' ἐκ ἄρτα φησὶ, ὃν ὑψοῖ ἱερεὺς λέγων, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις: *Loquitur de vnius benedictionis, nimirum panis diuini, eleuatione, quem Pontifex* (156) *in ſublime attollit, dicens, Sancta Sanctis*. This Father ſpeaketh in this place, of the lifting vp of the one Bleſſing (that is to ſay, of the one forme or kinde of the Sacrament) euen of that diuine Bread which the Biſhop lifteth vp on high, ſaying, Holy things for the Holy. *In S. Baſils and Chryſoſtome Maſſe, we find theſe words; *Sacerdos eleuans Sacrum Panem, dicit, Sancta Sanctis*: The Prieſt holding vp that ſacred Bread, ſaith; Holy things for the Holy. In S. Chryſoſtomes Maſſe we read, that as the people is kneeling downe after the example of the Prieſt, and of th. Deacon, the Deacon ſeeing the Prieſt ſtretching foorth his hands, and taking vp that holy Bread, πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν ἀχραν ὕψωσιν, ἐκφωνεῖ προσέχωμεν, *Ad ſacram Eleuationem peragendam palam edicit, Attendamus*, To do the holy Eleuation, ſpeaketh out aloud, Let vs be attent; and (then) the Prieſt ſaith (as he holdeth vp the Sacrament) Holy things for the Holy.

Amphilochius, of whom mention is made before in the life of S. Baſil, ſpeaking of his wonderous celebrating the Maſſe, among other things ſaith thus: *Et poſt finem orationum, exaltauit Panem, ſine intermiſſione orans, & dicens: Reſpice Domine Ieſu Chriſte, &c.* And after that he had done the praiers of Conſecration, he lifted vp the Bread, without ceaſing praying, and ſaying, Looke vpon vs Lord Ieſus Chriſt, &c. The ſame S. Baſil meant likewiſe of the Eleuation and holding vp of the Sacrament after the cuſtome of the Occidentall Church, in his Booke *De Spiritu Sancto*, where he ſaith thus; *Inuocationis verba, dum oſtenditur Panis Euchariſtiæ, & Calix benedictionis, quis Sanctorum nobis ſcripto reliquit?* Which of the Saints hath left vnto vs in writing the words of Inuocation, whiles the Bread of *Euchariſtia* (157) (that is to wit, the bleſſed Sacrament, in forme of Bread) and the Conſecrated Chalice, is ſhewed in ſight? He ſpeaketh there of many things that be of great authoritie and weight in the Church, which we haue by Tradition only, and cannot be auouched by holy Scripture. Of ſhewing the holy Myſteries to them that be preſent in the Sacrifice, the old Doctours make mention not ſeldome.

S. Chryſoſtome declareth the maner of it, ſaying, that ſuch as were accounted vnworthy and heinous ſinners, were put foorth of the Church, whiles the Sacrifice was offered, whiles Chriſt, and that Lambe of our Lord was Sacrificed. Which being put out of the Church, then were the Vailes (of the Altar) taken away, to the intent the holy Myſteries might be ſhewed in ſight, doubtleſſe to ſtirre the people to more deuotion, reuerence, (158) and to the Adoration of Chriſts Body in them preſent. And thus for the Eleuation or holding vp of the Sacrament, we haue ſaid enough.

* The eleuation of the Sacramẽt is now no Article of Religion, yet in the late time of Tyranny it was more looked vnto, than any one Article of the Trinity.

The 154. vntruth, as ſhall appeare.

The 155. vntruth: for Dionyſius hath no ſuch words.

The 156. vntruth, ſtanding in falſe tranſlation. He meaneth, lifting vp a little from the Table. Not ouer the Head

Chryſoſt. ſaith, Modicum.

* Heere is no mention of lifting ouer the Head. M. Harding miſtaketh one thing for another.

The 157. vntruth, ſtanding in falſe Conſtruction.

The 158. vntruth. For the Grecians knew neither this kind of Adoration, nor Reall Preſence.

Eccleſ. Hiſtor. ca. 3.

Cap. 27.

Inchiſt. ad Xtum Ser. 3. in Matt.

A Fable.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

M. Harding ſeemeth, in part to diſclaime this Article, as a matter of ſmall weight, and none of the Principall Keies of his Religion: wherein I ſee not, but I may ſafely and eaſily grant vnto him: adding notwithſtanding thus much withall, That the leſſe it is, the leſſe hurt is in it. Yet notwithſtanding, of late daies it was otherwiſe eſteemed, and moſt ſeuerely exacted, as the thing wherein ſtood their Adoration, which was the whole price and beautie of their Maſſe. The Prieſt was wicked that would not vſe it: The people was wicked, that would not allow it: Their greateſt Doctors haue trauelled painfully to know the cauſe and ſignification of this Myſterie, and yet cannot finde it. All this notwithſtanding, it is now confeſſed to be a ſmall matter, of no great weight, and ſuch as the Church may well ſpare without hinderance. But as M. Harding here ſaith, his Doctrine may ſufficiently be maintained, and ſtand vpright without this Ceremonie of Eleuation: euen ſo may we truly and iuſtly ſay, That the Heauenly and infallible Doctrine of the Goſpell of Chriſt, may likewiſe ſtand vpright, and be maintained, not only without this new Ceremony, but alſo without their Priuate Maſſe, without their Halfe Communion, without their ſtrange vnknowen Prayers, without their Supremacy of Rome, without their Tranſubſtantiation, and other like fantaſies by them deuiſed.

Gerardus Lorichius, li. 3. Durandus, lib. 4. de ſexta parte Canonis. Titulmannus, De officio Miſſæ.

Yet are not they all of that ſide hitherto fully reſolued, touching their owne Eleuation, neither when, nor where, nor wherefore it firſt came in vſe, nor what it meaneth. Some of them ſay, The lifting vp of the Sacramentall Bread, ſignifieth Chriſts Incarnation: Some of them ſay, It ſignifieth Chriſt hanging vpon the Croſſe: Some of them, That it ſignifieth the taking downe of his Bodie from the Croſſe: Some, his Reſurrection: Some, his Aſcenſion into Heauen: Some, That it ſignifieth a Sacrifice ſpeciall, aboue all Sacrifices: Some others ſay, That the Prieſt lifteth vp the Chalice, to ſignifie, That Chriſt crying out with a loud voice, gaue vp the Spirit. M. Harding ſaith, It is lifted vp doubtleſſe,

doubtlesse, to the intent the people may Adore. Thus many and moe Mysteries they haue imagined in one thing, and yet the same, as it is confessed, no key of their Religion. Disagreement euermore argueth ignorance. S. Augustine saith: Si vix, aut omnino nunquam inueniri possint causæ, quas in istis rebus instituendis homines sequuti sunt, vbi facultas tribuitur, sine vlla dubitatione resecanda existimo: *If the causes which men followed in deuising such things, can hardly or neuer be found, I thinke it best, when opportunity and occasition is giuen, they be abolished, and put away without scruple or staggering.* *August. ad Ianua. epist. 119.*

They haue assayed earnestly, to proue this Ceremony by the warrant of Gods Word, as if God himselfe had commanded it. Gerardus Lorichius saith: Hunc ritum Dauid videtur Præuidisse in Spiritu: *Dauid seemeth to haue foreseene this order in the Spirit.* And to this purpose he alleggeth the authority of Rabbi Iohai, whom I marueil M. Harding had forgotten. Durandus for the same, alleggeth the Words of Christ: Ego si exaltatus fuero à Terra, omnia traham ad meipsum: *If I be once lifted vp from the Earth, I shall draw all things to my selfe.* And to spred the matter the better forward, Linwood saith: *The Pope hath giuen liberall doale of Pardons:* And the more to astonne the simple people, Alexander of Hales saith: *They haue of themselues inuented and deuised many strange Miracles.* They haue earnestly and sadly disputed, whether the Cup should be holden vp open, or couered. They say, *It is a matter of speciall meed, and able to confound Heresies,* They haue wrested and corrupted the Scriptures, and falsified the Rabbines for the same. M. Harding also would seeme to allege a multitude of Old Doctours, and long continuance, euen from the Apostles time. To be short, they haue holden them for Heritikes, and burned them that durst to speake against it. Yet now in the end M. Harding saith: It is but a small matter, and the rest of their Religion may well stand without it. I wonder he proceedeth not herein with as good courage, as in the rest. *Gerard. Lorichius, li. 3. Rab. Iohai. Durand. li. 4. de sexta parte Canonis.* Iohan. 12. *Linwood De Celebra. Missarum. Altissimus. Alexan. de Hales, 4. q. 53. m. 4. art. 3. Durand. li. 4. Gerard. Lorichius, li. 3.*

Neither did I scoffe hereat, as a Lucian, as it pleaseth M. Harding in his choler to report, but reuerently, and soberly spake the truth, euen as in the presence of God. It pitied me to see Gods people so deceiued, and that euen by such, as had taken vpon them to be the Fathers and Guiders of the people. But, O mercifull God, What Religion may this be, that no man may touch or truly report of it, without surmise or suspicion of scoffing? And whereas M. Harding, as a man somewhat ouermuch subiect to his Passions, saith further, I may be ashamed to shew my face among learned men. If he meane the learned of his owne side, verily, it can be no great glory for me to behold those faces, that haue bene so often turned. O M. Harding we haue no cause to be ashamed of the Gospell of Christ: *It is the mighty power of God vnto Saluation.* I pray God, that both you and I, may leaue these worldly respects, and faces of men: and so vse the gifts that God hath lent vs, and so freely discharge our consciences in this life, that Christ be not ashamed of vs before his Father: but we may come to see God face to face. Touching the matter it selfe, M. Harding thinketh it best, to claime his Elenation euen from the Apostles time. So the Romanes in old times, because they knew not from whence their *Ancilia* came vnto them, they thought it not amisse, for the more credit of the matter, to say they were sent to them from Heauen, Roman. 1. Luc. 9. *Titus Liuius, lib. 1.*

So Romulus and Theseus, because they were base borne, and no man knew their Fathers, therefore were reckened to be the Children of the Goddes. Dionysius, Chrysostomus, and Basil, as they are worthy of much credit for their Antiquity, so in this case they say nothing, that of our part is denied. The Question is, Whether the Priest did then hold vp the Sacrament ouer his Head, or no. This thing M. Harding dissembleth, and passeth by: and turneth his whole proose to another thing, that neither is doubted of nor denied. First, whereas Dionisius saith: In conspectum agit: *He bringeth the Misteries into sight:* this maketh very small proose of M. Hardings side, except happily he will say, No man can bring a thing to sight, vnlesse he hold it ouer his Head. But that thou maist thoroughly and fully see both the very ground and sense of these words of Dionysius, and also M. Hardings peruerse and strange Construction touching the same, it may please thee, gentle Reader, to vnderstand, that in those daies the maner was, that the Sacrament, being all in one whole Loafe or Cake, vndiuided, should remaine still vpon the Holy Table, couered vnder a faire cloth, vntill the time of the Distribution thereof vnto the people. Touching which Cerimony, Pachymeres the Greeke Paraphrast writeth thus: Ἀποκαλυπτομένων τῶν παναγίων, δίχα μὲν τῶν ἐυχῶν, μενόντων δὲ κεκαλυμμένων ἕως χειρὸς μεταλήψεως: *The Holy Gifts being opened after the Praiers or Consecration, and yet remaining still couered vntill the time of the Distribution, &c.* Solikewise saith Maximus in his Scholie vpon the same place. And addeth further: Not only the Holy Bread was set forth couered, but also the holy Cup, which thing, he saith, now is not done. *Pachimeres in tertium caput Eccles. Hierar Maximus:* ὅτι κεκαλυμμένον ἔμενε τὸ θεῖον δῶρον ἕως χειρὸς μεταλήψεως.

This order of cerimony to the Church then well considered, Dionysius is plain enough of himselfe without other Commentary. For thus stand his words: Profert ea, quæ laudauit, in conspectum, per Symbola reuerenter proposita: & dona Sacrificiorum communstrans, ad Sacram illorum Communionem & ipse accedit, & hortatur alios: *The Priest bringeth foorth the things that he hath praised, into sight, by the tokens reuerently set before him: and shewing foorth the giftes of the Misteries, both he himselfe draweth neere to the holy Communion of the same, and also exhorteth others.* This shewing and bringing into sight, was nothing else, but the vncouering and laying abread of the Misteries.

Dionys. Eccles Hierar. ca. 3. ἐις ὄψιν ἄγει.

If M. Harding will say, This exposition is wrested or violent, let him then heare Dionysius expound himselfe: Thus he writeth afterward in the Speculation or Exposition of the same: In conspectum profert, &c. *He bringeth foorth the things that he hath praised, into sight, &c.* It followeth: Nam opertum, & Indiuisum Panem aperiens, & in multas Partes diuidens, & Vnitatem Poculi omnibus impertiens, Symbolicè implet Vnitatem: *For vncouering the Bread that was couered, and stood whole, and vndiuided, and cutting it into many parts, and parting the vnity of the Cup vnto all the people, by way of a Sacrament, he fulfilleth Vnity.* If all this will not content M. Harding, yet Dionysius saith againe in plainer sort: τὰ μεν ἐκκαλυμμένα δῶρα ἐις τὸ φανερὸν ἄγει: Munera quæ tecta fuerant, in apertum profert: *He bringeth foorth into open sight, the Gifts or Sacraments, that before were couered.* This vndoubtedly was the meaning of these words: vnlesse perhaps M. Harding will say, Dionisius vnderstood not his owne meaning. Verily Pachymeres the Paraphrast expoundeth it thus: profert in conspectum, ostendens hæc esse Christi Symbola: *He bringeth these things into sight, shewing, that they be Tokens and Signes of Christ.* Hitherto there is no maner mention of holding the Sacrament ouer the Head.

τὸν γὰρ ἐγκαλυμμένον, καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ἄρτον ἀνακαλύψας, καὶ ἐις πολλὰ διελὼν. ἐις τὸ μέρος ἄγει.

Pachymeres. σφραγίζων ὡς χειρὶ εἰσὶ τὰ τιθέμενα σύμβολα.

But M. Harding replieth, Maximus saith, Dionysius meant the holding vp of the one part of the Sacrament. This may easily be granted. But the same Maximus, whatsoeuer he were, or whensoeuer he liued, saith not, The same one part was holden ouer the Priests Head: and therefore M. Harding is but weakly relæued by his authority. And againe, the same Maximus, as a man not very certaine what to say, deuiseth two other expositions of Dionysius words besides this. But let this Exposition of Maximus stand for good. The Priest held vp from the Table, and shewed forth the Sacrament, to declare, that the holy Communion was ready, that the people might prepare themselues, and draw neare. And therefore he spake aloud: *Holy things for the Holy.* Which words Chrysostome expoundeth thus: Quando Sacerdos dicit, Sancta Sanctis, Hoc dicit: Si quis non est Sanctus, non accedat: *When the Priest saith,* Holy things vnto the Holy, *thus he saith: If any man be not Holy, let him not come neere.* So likewise Nicolaus Cabasilas, a Greeke Writer of late daies: Sacerdos clamat; Sancta Sanctis, propemodum dicens, Ecce panis vitæ: accurrite participes futuri: sed non omnes: verum, si quis est Sanctus: *The Priest speaketh aloud,* Holy things for the holy: *As though hee should say, Behold the Bread of life: come neere and take part: howbeit not all, but if any man be holy.* And lest he should seeme to discourage any man in respect of his vnworthinesse, he saith further: Sanctos autem vocat, non virtute perfectos, sed quicunque ad illam tendunt perfectionem: *Hee calleth them holy, not, that be full perfect in virtue, but that be inclined to perfection.* To this end therefore the Minister shewed forth the Bread, that the people might prepare themselues to the Distribution: And therefore it is written thus in Chrysostomes Liturgie: Sacerdos ostendit Calicem populo, dicens, Cum timore Dei, & Fide, & dilectione accedite: *The Priest sheweth the Cup vnto the people, saying vnto them, Draw neere with the feare of God, and with Faith and loue,* And the people answereth, *Blessed is he, that commeth in the name of the Lord.* This same was S. Basils meaning, in his Booke, De Spiritu Sancto. The words of Inuocation, that there are spoken of, were of such authority in the Church, and of such weight, that neither M. Harding, nor I beleeue, any other of that side, is able now to shew vs what they were. In the Liturgie, that beareth S. Basils name, it is only noted thus: *When the Priest saith,* Sancta Sanctis, *the people answereth,* Vnus Sanctus: Vnus Pater: Vnus Filius. The vere same was Chrysostomes meaning vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians. The Courtaines of the holy Communion Table were drawen, that the Misteries prepared for the people might be seene vpon the Table, not, that the Priest should lift them vp ouer his head. The vaine fable of M. Hardings Amphilochius, so often repeated, is not worth the answering.

Sancta Sanctis. Chrysost. in Epist ad Hebræos homil. 17.

Nicolaus Cabasilas.

Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. 27.

Liturgia Basilij.

Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Ephesios, hom. 3.

All this notwithstanding, M. Harding doubteth not to make vs beleeue, That all these Fathers spake plainly of the Eleuation of the Sacrament ouer the Priests head: and that, as he saith, according to the custome of the Occidentall Church. And to that end he hath prettily falsified the words of Maximus. For whereas Maximus in the Greeke writeth thus: ὃν ἄρτον ὑψοῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς M. Harding hath translated it in this wise: Quem panem

pontifex

pontifex in ſublime attollit : *Which Bread the Biſhop liſteth on high.* And ſo it were eaſie to deceiue the ſimple, vnleſſe the Fathers had otherwiſe declared their owne meaning. Pachymeres expoundeth that word thus : ἀνατείνων, ἤγουν ἀνυψοῖ, *Hee ſheweth or liſteth vp.* He ſaith not, The Prieſt lifted the Sacrament aboue his Head, or on High, as M. Harding hath turned it : but hee ſhewed the Sacrament a little vp from the Table, that it might be ſeene of the people. And ſo ſaith Chryſoſtome touching the ſame : Sacerdos modicum tollens portionem, quæ eſt in ſancta patena, dicit, Sancta Sanctis : *The Prieſt a little lifting vp the portion, that is in the holy Diſh, ſaith, Holy things for the holy.* And ſo likewiſe Claudius du Sainctes readeth it. And in S. Baſils Liturgie it is thus noted in the Margin : Hic Sacerdos Hoſtiam fractam in patena iacentem, vnà cum Patena ſubleuat, & oſtendit populo : *Heere the Prieſt liſteth vp the Hoſt, or Sacrament lying broken in the Diſh, and together with the Diſh ſheweth it vnto the people.* Yet muſt all theſe bee brought forth to proue this new maner of Eleuation now vſed in the Church of Rome. So bold is M. Harding of the ſimplicitie of the people.

Pachymeres.

Chryſoſt. in Liturgia. Modicum.

Claudius du Sainctes.

Caſſander.

But one ſtrange thing, among others, I note by the way in M. Hardings anſwer; that being demanded of this late deuiſed Ceremonie in the Church of Rome, hee ſoundeth his whole anſwer vpon the Eaſt Church of Græcia, and sheweth not one example, nor moueth one word of the Church of Rome; and yet notwithſtanding, hee knoweth right well, that this kinde of Eleuation from the beginning vntill this day, was neuer vſed in the Church of Græcia.

It ſeemeth likely, that as well this vſage, as alſo ſundrie others, of Apparell, of Dile, &c. grew firſt from the imitation of the ceremonies of the Iewes: among whom the Prieſt in the time of their Sacrifices, held vp the oblation before his breaſt. So in the Primitiue Church, whatſoeuer was offered by any man to the releefe of the poore, it was taken by the Prieſt, and holden vp, and preſented in the Church, as a pleaſant Sacrifice before God. So Chryſoſtome ſaith : The Prieſt in the time of the holy Miniſtration lifted vp the Goſpell. His words be theſe : Sacerdos in altum tollit Euangelium. And Nicolas Cabaſilas likewiſe ſaith : His peractis, Sacerdos ſtans ſuper Altare, in altum tollit Euangelium, & oſtendit: *Theſe things being done, the Prieſt ſtanding ouer the Altar, liſteth the Goſpell on high, and ſheweth it.*

Tertmali.

In Liturgia. Nicolas Cabaſilas in expoſitione Liturgia.

But, that the holding vp of the Sacrament ſhould import Adoration to the ſame, as M. Harding ſurmiſeth, neither is it thought true by all others of that ſide, nor hath it any good ſauor or ſhew of truth. Indeed great Pardons and Chartars haue bene liberally giuen of late yeares for the better maintenance thereof. And Durandus ſaith : Therefore Eleuation is made, Vt populus intelligat, Chriſtum veniſſe ſuper Altare : *That the people may vnderſtand, that Chriſt is come downe vpon the Altar.* But the old learned Fathers, both Greekes and Latines, when they held vp a little, or ſhewed the Sacrament, euermore they called the people to draw neere, to receiue, to be partakers of the holy Myſteries, and to lift vp their hearts : but in the time of the ſame Ceremonie, they neuer ſpake one word of Adoration. Pachymeres ſaith : Sacerdos oſtendit, hæc eſſe Chriſti Symbola : *The Prieſt ſheweth, that theſe be Tokens or Signes of Chriſt.* He ſaith not, The Sacraments be Chriſt himſelfe : but Tokens and Signes of Chriſt. Maximus ſaith : ὅτι σύμβολα ταῦτα, καὶ οὐκ ἀλήθεια· Symbola iſta ſunt : non autem Veritas : *Theſe be Tokens* (of the Truth) *but not the Truth it ſelfe.* And perhaps vpon this occaſion, Beguinæ, and Beguardi held, That no man ought to riſe vp, or to giue reuerence at the Eleuation of the Sacrament.

Durandus li. 4.

Pachymeres in Eccleſ. Hierar. cap. 3.

Maximus in Scholijs.

Clemen. lib. 5.

To conclude, Gerardus Lorichius in his Booke that hee writeth in the Defenſe of the Priuate Maſſe, hath theſe words : Ex hoc ritu Eleuationis inferimus, Miſſam neutiquam ritè celebrari, niſi in vſum publicum Eccleſiæ, hoc eſt, propter populum, vel Sacramentum Euchariſtiæ ſumentem, vel Sacrificium laudis votis & encomijs celebrantem. Siquidem propter eum vſum Hoſtia eleuatur. Miſſæ igitur priuatæ, quæ abſente populo Catholico fiunt, Abominatio verius, quàm Oblatio, dicendæ ſunt : *By this very vſage of Elenation, we conclude, that no Maſſe is rightly ſaid, but for the publike vſe of the Church, that is to ſay, for the people, either receiuing the Sacrament, or elſe aduancing the Sacrifice of praiſe with heart and deuotion. For to this end* (and not to be Adored) *the Sacrament is holden vp. Therefore Priuate Maſſes, which are ſaid without Catholike people being preſent, may rather be called an Abomination, than an Oblation.* Thus much Gerardus Lorichius, a Doctour of M. Hardings owne ſide.

Ad noſtrum. Gerard. Lorichium, li. 3.

OF ADORATION.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that the People did then fall downe, and worship the Sacrament with Godly Honour.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

If the Blessed Sacrament of the Alter were no other, than M. Iewel, and the rest of the Sacramentaries thinke of it, then were it not well done the people to bow downe to it, and to worship it with godly honour. (159) For then were it but Bare Bread and Wine, how honourably soeuer they speake of it, calling it Simbolicall, that is, tokening, and Sacramentall Bread and Wine.

The 159. vntruth, ioined with a slander.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

M. Harding as a man ouermuch obedient vnto his affections, in the beginning hereof calleth vs Sacramentaries: by which word he vnderstandeth Schismatikes, Heretikes, and the enemies of God: and so breaketh vp his way into this Treatise with vnsauorie and bitter talke: and as a Cocke, that is well pampered with Garlicke before the fight, he saketh to ouermatch his fellow, rather with rankenesse of breath, than with might of Body.

And forasmuch as he striueth to make the World thinke, our Doctrine is iniurious to the Godhead and glory of Christ: First we protest, That as we beleeue, *that Christ is the Lambe of God, that hath taken away the Sinnes of the World: and that there is none other Name vnder Heauen, whereby wee can bee saued*: and that, as the Prophet Esay saith, *He is the mighty God the Father of the World, that was to come*: and that, as S. Paul saith: *Hee is God reuealed in the Flesh*: euen so we yeld vnto him the very honour that is due vnto God: and that not only to his Godhead alone, but also to his Humanity inseparably ioined with his Godhead in one Person, sitting now at the right hand of God. Thus wee teach the people: *That God hath aduanced him into all heighth, and hath giuen him a Name aboue all Names, that at the name of Iesus euery knee shall bee bowed, all things in Heauen, in the Earth, and vnder the Earth: and that euery tongue shall confesse, that Iesus Christ is the Lord in the glory of God the Father.*

Iohan. 1. Actor. 4. Esai. 9. 2. Tim. 3. Philippen. 2.

Neither doe we onely Adore Christ, as very God, but also we worship and reuerence the Sacrament, and holy Mistery of Christs Body: and, as S. Augustine teacheth vs: Baptismum Christi, vbicunque est, veneramur: *We worship the Baptisme of Christ, whersoeuer it be.* Wee worship the Word of God, according to this Counsell of Anastasius: Dominica Verba attentè audiant, & fideliter Adorent: *Let them diligently heare, and faithfully Worship the Words of God.* Briefly, we worship all other like things, in such Religions wise vnto Christ belonging. But these things wee vse and reuerence as holy and appointed or commanded by Christ: but we Adore them not with godly honour, as Christ himselfe. S. Ambrose saith of the Wise men: Cognouerent, hanc stellam esse, quæ Hominem, Deumq; signabat: sed Adorauerunt Paruulum: *They knew, this was the Starre that signified him vnto them, that was both Man and God: but they Adored the little one,* (and not the Starre.)

Augustin. epist. 146. De Cons. Dist. 1. Apostolica. Ambros. in Lucam, li. 2. ca. 2.

And whereas M. Harding, as well herein, as also in the rest, vntruly and vnskilfully diffameth vs, as making the Sacraments of Christ nothing else but Bare Tokens, let him well vnderstand, that we doe both thinke and speake soberly, and reuerently of Christs Sacraments, as knowing them to bee the Testimonies of Gods Promises, and the Instruments of the Holy Ghost. And, as we make not the Sacrament of Baptisme, Bare Water, notwithstanding the Nature and Substance of Water remaine still: so wee make not the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, Bare Bread and Wine. We vse the same Words and Definitions, that S. Augustine, and other ancient Fathers, and Peter Lombard, and Gratian, M. Hardings owne Doctours, haue vsed before vs: Sacramentum est Signum rei Sacræ: Sacramentum est inuisibilis Gratiæ visibilis forma: *A Sacrament*

De Consecrat. Dist. 2 Sacrif. Pet. Lombard. li. 4. Dist. 1. Samaritanus.

crament is a Token of a Holy thing: A Sacrament is a Forme Visible of Grace Invisible. Neither doe wæ hæreof make a Bare, or naked Token, as M. Harding imagineth: but we say, as S. Paul saith: *It is a perfect Seale, and a sufficient Warrant of Gods Promises, whereby God bindeth himselfe vnto vs, and we likewise stand bounden vnto God so as God is our God, and we are his people.* This, I reckon, is no Bare or Naked Token. And touching this word, Signum, what it meaneth, S. Augustine thewеth in this sort: Signum est, quod præter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud quiddam facit ex se in cognitionem venire: *A Signe is a thing, that besides the forme, or sight, that it offereth to our senses, causeth of it selfe some other thing to come to our knowledge.* And hæreof it is called a Mysterie, or a Holy Secresie: for that our eie beholdeth one thing, and our Faith another. For example, In Baptisme our bodily eie seeth Water: but our Faith, which is the eie of our mind, seeth the Blod of Christ, which, as S. Iohn saith, *hath washed vs from all our sinnes.* Therefore Chrysostome saith: Incredulus, cùm Baptismatis lauacrum audit, persuadet sibi, Simpliciter esse Aquam. Ego verò non simpliciter video, quod video, sed animæ per Spiritum purgationem: & Sepulturam, Resurrectionem, Sanctificationem, Iustitiam, Redemptionem, Adoptionem, Hæreditatem, Regnum Cœlorum, Spiritus Satietatem considero. Non enim aspectu iudico ea, quæ videntur, sed Mentis oculis: *The Infidell, when hee heareth of the Water of Baptisme, thinketh it to bee onely plaine water: but I, that beleeue in Christ, doe not only, and simply see Water, but I see the cleansing of the Soule by the Spirit of God: I consider Christs Burial, his Resurrection, our Sanctification, our Righteousnesse, our Redemption, our Adoption, our Inheritance, the Kingdome of heauen, and the fulnesse of the Spirit. For the things that I see, I iudge not with my bodily eies, but with the eies of my Minde.* Now, will M. Harding say, that Chrysostome only for a countenance, speaketh thus honourably of the Sacrament of Baptisme, meaning notwithstanding, it is nothing else, but Bare Water? Certainly S. Augustine saith: In Sacramentis videndum est, non, quid sint, sed, quid Significent: *In Sacraments we must consider, not, what they be indeed, but, what they Signifie.* If that euery thing, according to M. Hardings iudgement, must nœds be accounted Bare, wherein Christs Bodie is not Really Present, then is the Sacrament of Baptisme a Bare Sacrament: and M. Hardings Boke must likewise of necessitie seme a very Bare Boke: vnlesse perhaps he will say, Christs Body is Really inclosed in it. Plato saith, It is the greatest part of Wisedome, to discerne, Aliud, and Idem, One, and the same thing, from another thing. For of errour herein euermore riseth all Confusion. But S. Augustine saith, Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud res Sacramenti: *The Sacrament is One thing: and the Substance of the Sacrament, which is Christs Body, is another thing.* And lest M. Harding should shift off this matter, and say, as his maner is, that the Sacrament is nothing else, but the Outward Forme, and Appearance, or shew of Bread and Wine, Rabanus Maurus hath preuented him in this wise: Sacramentum in alimentum Corporis redigitur: *The Sacrament is turned into the nourishment of the Body.* Therefore these two things being diuers and sundry, the one the Token, the other the thing tokened: The one Christs Bodie, and the other the Sacrament of the same Body: The one Naturally feeding the Body, the other Supernaturally feeding the Soule: It were great Confusion, either to make them both one, or else by errour to take the one for the other. And for that cause Saint Augustine saith, as it is before alleged: Ea demum est miserabilis Animæ seruitus, Signa pro rebus accipere: *That indeed is a Miserable Sernitude of the Soule, to take Signes in stead of the things that be signified.*

Sacrament. Signe.

Roma. 4. *Signaculum Iustitiæ Fidei.*

Augustin. De Doctrin. Christian. li. 2. c. 1.

De Conse. dist. 2. Signum.

1. Iohan. 1.

Chrysost. in 1. epist. ad Corin. Homil. 7.

August. contra Maximinum. lib. 3. ca. 22.

Plato.

August. in Iohan. tract. 26.

Raban. Maurus, li. 1. ca. 31.

Augustin. De Doctr. Christi. lib. 3. ca. 5.

Now touching the Adoration of the Sacrament, M. Harding is not able to shew, neither any Commandement of Christ, nor any Word, or Example of the Apostles, or Ancient Fathers concerning the same. It is a thing very lately deuised by Pope Honorius, about the yere of our Lord 1226. Afterward increased by the New solemne Feast of Corpus Christi day, by Pope Vrbanus, Anno 1264. And last of all confirmed for euer by multitudes of Pardons in the Councell of Vienna by Pope Clement the fift, Anno 1310. The Church of Asia, and Græcia neuer receiued it vntill this day. The matter is great, and cannot be attempted without great danger. To giue the Honour of God to a Creature, that is no God, it is manifest Idolatrie. And all Idolaters, as S Iohn saith, shall haue their portion in the lake burning with Fire and Brimstone, which is the second death.

Extr. de Celebra. Missar. Clem. l. 3. ti. 16 Ca. Si Dominum.

Apocal. 21.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuision.

Iohan. 6. But now this being that very Bread, which God the Father gaue vs from Heauen, as Christ saith: This Bread being the Flesh of Christ, which he gaue for the life of the world.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding would seme to haue trained all the Ancient Doctours vnto his side, and to that end hath mustred them here in an army all together. Howbeit, of them all, there is not

not one, that teacheth vs one word of the Adoration of the Sacrament. Wherefore, if he bring them forth only for a Shew, they are too many: but if he bring them, as Witnesses, they are too few: for, touching the case, they say nothing. Yet M. Harding, as a man much doubting his Readers memorie, whatsoeuer he hath shortly alleged here, hath elsewhere repeated, and doubled the same in other places of his Booke: so that, if I would answer all in particular, I should be ouer tedious. For auoiding whereof, it shall be sufficient, to referre my selfe ouer to such places, where as these authorities are answered seuerally more at large.

First, as I haue said before, there is not one of all these Fathers, that willeth vs to adore the Sacrament with godly honour. Which thing notwithstanding they were able to haue written, if it had bene then either vsed, or thought conuenient: and M. Harding was able to haue found it, if it had bene written. The Bread of the Sacrament is not that Bread, of which Christ speaketh in the sixth of S. Iohn: but very materiall bread indeed, and as S. Cyprian saith, Ex multorum granorum adunatione congestus, *Moulded together of the mingling of many cornes*; and a Sacrament of that Bread, that came from Heauen. But this matter is answered in the fifth Article, and in the first, second, and third Diuision.

Cypr. l. 1. ep. 6.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuision.

This being that Bread, and that Cuppe, whereof whosoeuer eateth, or drinketh vnworthily, shall be guiltie of the Body and Blood of our Lord.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

S. Hierome saith: Dum Sacramenta violantur, ipse, cuius Sacramenta sunt, violatur: *When the Sacraments be misused, God himselfe, whose Sacraments they be, is misused.* And the greatest abuse, and villany, that can happen to any Sacrament, is, contrary to Christs Institution and the nature of a Sacrament, to be honoured in stead of God. And S. Augustine saith: Qui indignè accipit Baptisma, Iudicium accipit, non Salutem: *Whoso receiueth Baptisme vnworthily, receiueth his Iudgement, and not his Health.* Wherefore, if M. Harding thinke this warrant sufficient to proue Adoration, then must he also adore the Water of Baptisme.

Hieronym. in Malach. ca. 1.

Augustin. contra Fulgentium, ca. 6.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuision.

(160) In this Sacrament being contained the very Reall, and Substantiall Bodie, and Blood of Christ, as himselfe saith expresly, in the three first Euangelists, and in S. Paul.

The 160. Vntruth, fiue together, in the report of foure words.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

It is a bold enterprise, in the report of these foure plaine words of Christ, Hoc est corpus meum, to commit fiue manifest vntruths, and that all together with one breath. Certainly M. Harding well knoweth, that neither Christ, nor Paul, nor any of the Euangelists; I adde further, nor any of the Catholike Doctours, in this case of the Sacrament, euer vsed any of these termes, either Carnally contained, or Erpresly, or Verily, or Realll, or Substantiall. Only they say, This is my Body: which words the ancient Father Tertullian expoundeth thus: *This is a Figure of my Bodie.*

Tertull. contra Marcion, li. 4.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuision.

The 161. Vntruth. For Irenæus meaneth not the Formes, or Shewes of Bread, but the substance of very Bread it selfe.

This being that holy *Eucharistia*, which Ignatius calleth the flesh of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, that hath suffered for our sinnes, which the Father by his goodnesse hath raised vp to life againe: This being, not Common Bread, but the *Eucharistia*, after Consecration consisting of two things, Earthly and Heauenly, as Irenæus saith, meaning by the one, (161) the outward Forme: by the other, the very Body and Blood of Christ, who partly for the Godhead inseparably thereto vnited, and partly for that they were conceiued of the Holy Ghost, in the most holy Virgin Mary, are worthily called Heauenly.

In Epistola quadam ad Smyrnæos, vt citatur a Theodoreto in Polymorph. li. 4. contra Hæres. ca. 34.

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What Theodoretus thought in this behalfe, it is plaine by his owne words. For thus he writeth: Signa Mystica post Sanctificationem non recedunt à Natura sua: *The Mysticall tokens after the Sanctification, or consecration, goe not from their owne Nature*: that is to say, remaine in Substance, and Nature, as they were before. By these words we may plainly see Theodoretus iudgement. Howbeit, in all Sacraments two things must be considered, whereof, as Irenæus saith, they doe consist. The one is Earthly, the other is Heauenly: The one we see with our bodily eies, the other we see with the eies of our faith: The one is in the Earth, the other is in Heauen. These parts because they are ioined in one Mystery, therefore often times they scorce names, the one enterchangeably with the other.

Theodoret. Dialogo. 2.

other. For as Christs very Body is called Bread, although indeed it be not Bread: So the Sacrament all Bread is called Christs body, although indeed, it be not Christs Body. Therefore as the Sacrament is called Christs Body, euen so, according to the saying of Ignatius, it is the flesh of Christ, euen the same, that hath suffered for our Sinnes, and that the Father hath raised againe to life: that is to say, A Sacrament of that flesh. In like sort S. Chrysostome writeth of the Sacrament of Baptisme: Ostendit hoc loco, idem esse Sanguinem, & Aquam. Baptisma enim eius, etiam Passio eius est: S. Paul *sheweth in this place, that the Blood* (of Christ) *and the water* (of Baptisme) *are both one. For Christs Baptisme, is Christs Passion.* He saith, The water and the Blood of Christ are both one thing, and that he saith, was S. Pauls meaning. Yet notwithstanding, neither is the Water Christs Blood indeed: neither is Christs Blood indeed Materiall Water. But thus they borrow each of them the others name, because they are ioyned together in one Mystery. So is the Blood of Christ called Water, because it cleanseth: so is the Water called Christs Blood, because it is a Sacrament of that Blood. And as S. Chrysostome saith, The Water of Baptisme is Christs Blood: euen so Ignatius saith, The Bread is the flesh, and none otherwise. These things are plaine, and without cauill.

Theodoret. in Polymorpho.

Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Hebræ. Homil. 16.

Therefore S. Augustine saith: Sacramenta ex Similitudine plerunque etiam rerum ipsarum nomina accipiunt. Ergò secundùm quendam Modum Sacramentum Corporis Christi, Corpus Christi est: & Sacramentum Sanguinis Christi, Sanguis Christi est: *Sacraments because of a certaine likenesse, often times receiue the names of the things themselues* (whereof they be Sacraments). *And therefore the Sacrament of Christs Body after a certaine maner* (of speech) *is the Body of Christ: And the Sacrament of Christs Blood, is likewise* (after a certaine maner) *the Blood of Christ.*

Augustin. Epist. 23.

Secundùm quendam Modum.

But here hath M. Harding taken great paines, to wrest, and to falsifie the plaine words of that holy Father Irenæus. For that part of the Mistery, that Irenæus calleth, Rem terrenam, an Earthly thing, that is to say, Bread, the same M. Harding contrary to his Authors meaning, calleth Formes, or Accidents, or Shewes of Bread. For this fond and Heathenish kind of speech was not heard of in the Church in that holy Fathers daies: but was brought in well nere a thousand yeares afterward, to accompany Transubstantiation. But Irenæus in plaine wise calleth it a Creature. Thus he saith: Sanctificamus Creaturam: *We doe sanctifie a Creature.* Offerimus ei ex Creatura eius: *We offer vp vnto him of his Creature.* And that he meaneth, not a miraculous Creature, as is Accidens sine subiecto: the like whereof was neuer seene: but he saith simply, Creaturam, quæ est secundùm nos: *Such a Creature, as we haue in common vse:* Such as we sée: Such as we féele: Such as we eate: Such as we drinke: and, vtterly to cut off M. Hardings shifts, he saith: Ex illa augetur, & consistit Carnis nostræ Substantia: *Of the same the Substance of our Flesh is increased, and standeth.* Therefore it is certaine and most manifest by Irenæus, that, as Christs body is the one part of the Sacrament, so is Materiall Bread the other. Likewise in Baptisme, as the one part of that holy Mystery is Christs blood, so is the other part the Materiall Water. Neither are these parts ioyned together in place, but in Mystery: and therefore they be often times seuered, and the one is receiued without the other. And for that cause S. Augustine saith: Qui discordat à Christo, nec Panem eius manducat, nec Sanguinem bibit: etiam si tantæ rei Sacramentum ad iudicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat: *Who so disagreeth from Christ, neither eateth his Bread, nor drinketh his Blood: although he daily receiue the Sacrament of so great a thing without difference to the iudgement of his presumption.*

Irenæus li. 4. ca. 34.

Irenæus eodem loco.

Ibidem.

Secundum nos. κατὰ ἡμᾶς.

Irenæus li. 5.

Augustin. in libro Sententiarum. senten. 338. Et in Iohan. tract. 26.

If any man thinke it strange, that the Sacrament is called the Body, and the Flesh of Christ, being not so indeed, let him vnderstand, That the written Word of God is likewise called Christs Body, and Christs Flesh, euen the same, that was borne of the Virgin, and that the Father raised againe to life: although indeed it be not so. So saith S. Hierome: Quando dicit, Qui non comederit Carnem meam, & biberit Sanguinem meum, &c. Licèt in Misterio possit intelligi, tamen verius Corpus Christi, & Sanguis eius Sermo Scripturarum est: *When Christ saith, He that eateth not my Flesh, and drinketh not my Blood, &c. Notwithstanding it may be taken of the Mystery, Yet the Word of God is more truely the Body of Christ, and his Blood.* Here note, good Reader, That by these words of S. Hierome, the Word of God is the Body, and Blood of Christ, and that more truely, than is the Sacrament.

Hieronym in Psalm. 147.

In Serm. de Cœna Domini.

Verius.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuision.

This being that Bread, which of our Lord giuen to his Disciples, not in shape, but in Nature changed, by the Almighty power of the Word is made Flesh, as S. *Cyprian* termeth it.

The

The Biſhop of Sarisburie.

This authority is anſwered more at large in the tenth Article, and in the ſecond Diuiſion.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuiſion.

This being that Holy Myſtery, wherein the Inuiſible Prieſt turneth the Viſible Creatures (of Bread, and Wine) into the Subſtance of his Body, and Blood, by his word, with ſecret power, as Euſebius Emiſſenus reporteth. Homil. 5. De Paſcha

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This authority is anſwered in the tenth Article, and in the firſt Diuiſion.

M. Harding. The 8. Diuiſion.

* This being that Holy Food, by worthy receiuing whereof Chriſt dwelleth in vs Naturally, that is to wit, in vs by truth of Nature, and not by Concord of Will only, as Hilarius affirmeth.

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*So S. Hilary ſaith, Chriſt dwelleth in vs Naturally by the water of Baptiſme. *De Trinit. li. 8.*

This authority is anſwered before in the fift Article, and the Tenth Diuiſion. Lib. 8. De Trinitate.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuiſion.

Againe this being that Table, whereat in our Lords meat we receiue the Word truly made Fleſh of the moſt holy Virgin Mary, as the ſame Hilary ſaith.

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This authority as it nothing hinderth vs, ſo it nothing furthereth M. Harding. We ſay, that at that Holy Table our Faith is directed, not vnto a fantaſie, but vnto the very Body, and Blood of Chriſt, and taſteth it, and feedeth on it: and that as verily, and as effectually, as our Body feedeth vpon materiall food. And we adde further, That, whoſoeuer eateth not Chriſts Fleſh, nor drinketh his Blood, ſhall not haue euerlaſting life. Iohan. 6. But the thing, that we receiue with our mouth, is not the ſame thing, that we receiue with our Faith. For, as it is before alleged out of S. Auguſtine: Aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud res Sacramenti: *The Sacrament is one thing, & the Matter, or Subſtance of the Sacrament* (which is Chriſts very body) *is another thing.* *Auguſt. in Iohan. Tractatu 26.*

But being granted, that Chriſts Body is verily, and really in the Sacrament: Yet cannot M. Harding thereof conclude his purpoſe. His argument ſtandeth thus:

Chriſts Body ought to be Adored with Godly honour:
Chriſts Body is in the Sacrament:
Ergo, The Sacrament ought to be Adored with Godly honour.

This argument is made vp of foure termes: and therfore in the Scholes would be counted childiſh. The error whereof will the better appeare by the like.

Chriſts Body ought to be Adored with Godly honour:
Chriſts Body is in Heauen.
Ergo, Heauen ought to be Adored with Godly honour.

M. Harding. The 10. Diuiſion.

This being that Bread which neither Earing, nor Sowing, nor worke of Tillers hath brought foorth, but that Earth, which remained vntouched, and was full of the ſame, that is, the Bleſſed Virgin Mary, as Gregory Nyſſene deſcribeth.

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Gregorie Nyſſene in this whole place ſpeaketh not one word, neither of any Adoration, nor of the Sacrament: but only of Chriſts Birth of the Bleſſed Virgin. Theſe words are alleged, and anſwered before in the fift Article, and tenth Diuiſion. Yet ſhortly, and by the way, theſe words yéeld vs one good reaſon againſt M. Harding. For, whereas Gregory Nyſſene ſaith, The Bread of Chriſts Body commeth not of the labour of Tillers, that is to ſay, of Materiall Corne: and neuertheleſſe S. Cyprian, and S. Auguſtine ſay, the Sacrament is wrought of many Cornes. Of theſe Fathers thus conſidered together, we may conclude, That Chriſts Body, and the Sacrament are ſundry things. *Cyprian. lib. 1. Epiſt. 6. Auguſtin. in Iohan. tract. 26.* The argument that M. Harding can gather hereof ſtandeth thus:

Chriſt was borne of the Bleſſed Virgin:
Ergo, We ought to Adore the Sacrament. For other neceſſity of ſequell out of theſe words there is none.

M. Harding

M. Harding. The 12. Diuision.

This being that Supper, in the which Christ Sacrificed himselfe, as Clemens Romanus, and as Hesychius declareth: who furthermore in another place writeth most plainly, that these Mysteries, meaning the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, are *Sancta Sanctorum*, the Holiest of all Holy things, because it is the Body of himselfe, of whom Gabriel said to the Virgin, The Holy Ghost shall come vpon thee, and the power of the Highest shall ouershaddow thee: therefore that Holy thing, which shall be borne of thee, shal be called the Sonne of God: and of whom also Esay spake, Holy is our Lord, and dwelleth on high, verily in the bosome of the Father.

Hesychius speaketh these words, not of the Sacrament, but of Christ himselfe.

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Christ, as he had shewed his Disciples before, that he must goe vp to Hierusalem, and there be Crucified, so being at that his last mournfull Supper, he ordeined a Sacrament of his Death, and toke Bread, and brake it, and described, and expressed before their eies the whole order, and maner of his Passion: As if he should haue said, *Thus shall my Bodie be broken, thus shall my Blood be shed.* This description of Christs Death so plaine, and so liuely, Hesychius calleth a Sacrifice, that is to say an Examplar, or Resemblance of that Sacrifice, which he had to offer the day following vpon the Crosse. And indeed, as the Bread was Christs Body, so the breaking of the same was Christs Passion. And in this maner of speech the Ancient Fathers seeme to call Baptisme a Sacrifice. Chrysostome saith: Baptisma Christi, Passio Christi est. *The Baptisme of Christ, is Christs Passion.* So Tertullian: Tingimur in Passione Domini: *We be washt in the Passion of our Lord.* So likewise againe Chrysostome saith: Quod Crux, & Sepulchrum fuit Christo, id nobis Baptismus factus est: *That is Baptisme vnto vs, that the Crosse, and Graue was vnto Christ.* In this sense Hesychius saith, Christ offered himselfe at his last Supper: that is to say, by way of a Sacrament, and in a Mystery, but not indeed: to take away the sinnes of the World. In like sense the same Hesychius calleth the Birth of Christ a Sacrifice: These be his words: Sacrificium coctum Christi appellat Incarnationem: *The bakte Sacrifice he calleth the Incarnation of Christ.*

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr. Homi. 16. Tertullian. de Baptismo. Chrisostom. in Epist. ad Roma. Homi. 10. Hesychius in Leui. li. 1. ca. 2.

Touching this word, Sancta Sanctorum, it is not the outward Sacrament, that Hesychius calleth by that name, but the very Body of Christ it selfe: which, as S. Augustine saith, is Res Sacramenti, *The Substance and Matter of the Sacrament.* So writteth Origen vpon Leuiticus: Quæ est Hostia, quæ pro peccatis offertur, & est Sancta Sanctorum, nisi vnigenitus Filius Dei, Dominus meus Iesus Christus? Ipse solus est Hostia pro peccatis, & ipse est Hostia, Sancta Sanctorum: *What is that Sacrifice, that is offered vp for Sinne, and is the Holy of the Holy, but the onely begotten Sonne of God my Lord Iesus Christ? He onely is the Sacrifice for Sinne: and he is the Sacrifice, of Holy things the most Holy.* And this he speaketh of the Sacrifice, that Christ made vpon the Crosse. And therefore he added thus: Quod vno verbo Apostolus explicauit, cùm dicit, Qui seipsum obtulit Deo: *Which thing the Apostle expressed in one word, saying thus,* Which hath offered vp himselfe vnto God.

Augustin. in Iohan. tracta. 26. Origen. in Leui. Homi. 7.

Howbeit, not onely the Sacrament, but also other things appointed vnto godly vse, may be called, Sancta Sanctorum. So it is written, and determined by Bonifacius the first: Omne, quod Domino Consecratur, siue fuerit homo, siue animal, siue ager, vel quicquid fuerit semel consecratum. Sanctum Sanctorum erit Domino: *Euery thing, that is Consecrate vnto the Lord, be it man, or beast, or lands, or what soeuer, being Consecrate, it is Holy of the Holy vnto the Lord.* Neither doth he call the holy Mysteries, Sancta Sanctorum, in that sense, that M. Harding meaneth, for that they are the holiest of all holy things, but because they are appointed for Holy People. For thus he expoundeth it himselfe: Panis iste, & Calix, Sancta Sanctorum sunt. Vides, quomodo non dixerit, Sancta tantummodo, sed Sancta Sanctorum. Ac si diceret, Panis iste non est communis omnium, nec cuiusque indigni, sed Sanctorum est. Quantò magis hoc & de Verbo Dei dicemus, Hic Sermo non est omnium, nec cuiuscunque, sed Sanctorum est? *This Bread, and this Cuppe, are the Holy things of the Holy. You see, That he saith not only, They are Holy things: but he addeth besides,* Of the Holy. *As if he would say, This Bread is not common to all men, nor to euery vnworthy: but it is the Bread of the Holy. How much more may we say the same of Gods word, This Word is not of all men, or of euery Body, but of the Holy?* Therefore S. Chrysostome saith, The Priest was wont to shew forth the Bread in the time of the Holy Mysteries, and to say, Sancta Sanctis: *Holy things for the Holy.* And this is the meaning of, Sancta Sanctorum.

Inter Decre. Bonifac. 1. Decre. 3. 12. Quæst. 2. Nulli licuit. Leui. 27. Origen. in Leuiticum, homi. 13.

As for Clemens of Rome, the Apostles Fellow, as M. Harding euery where calleth him, he saith not, That Christ offered himselfe at his last Supper: but rather farre otherwise. Thus he saith: Propter nos Homo factus, & Spirituale Sacrificium offerens Deo:

Christ

Conſtancie.

Li.8.ca.13.

Theodoret.in Pſalm.110.

Chriſt being made Man for vs, and offering vnto God a Spirituall Sacrifice. And in plainer ſort, he maketh this prayer vnto God, touching the ſame: Offerimus tibi Regi, & Deo, iuxta Chriſti inſtitutionem hunc panem, & hoc Poculum: *Wee offer vp vnto thee, O King and God, this Bread, and this Cuppe.* He ſaith not we offer vp Really the Body of thy Sonne: but this Bread, and this Cuppe. Which alſo he calleth Antitypa, that is to ſay, Signa Corporis, & Sanguinis Chriſti: *The Tokens, or Pledges of Chriſts Body, and Blood.* And ſo Theodorerus writeth hereof: Eccleſia offert Corporis, & Sanguinis eius Symbola: *The Church offereth the Tokens, or Signes of his Body, and Blood.*

M. Harding. The 12. Diuiſion.

On the holy Table, where theſe Myſteries are celebrated, the Lambe of God being laied, and Sacrificed of Prieſts vnbloodily, as that moſt Ancient, and worthy Councel of Nice reporteth.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

As the Councell of Nice ſaith, *The Lambe is laid vpon the Altar*, alluding vnto the Sacrifices of the Old Law, euen ſo doth S. Auguſtine ſay vnto the people, Vos eſtis in Menſa: vos eſtis in Calice: *You are vpon the Table: you are in the Cuppe. As the people is laid vpon the Table, ſo is Chriſt laid vpon the Table,* But this authoritie is anſwered more at large in the fift Article, and the eight Diuiſion.

Auguſtin. in Sermone ad Infantes. Citatur à Beda-1. Corinth.10.

M. Harding. The 13. Diuiſion.

Briefly, in this higheſt Sacrament vnder viſible ſhape inuiſible things, ſoothly the verie true, Reall, Liuely, Naturall, and Subſtantiall Bodie, and Blood of our Sauiour Chriſt being contained, as (162) the Scriptures, Doctors, Councels, yea, and the beſt learned of Martin Luthers Schoole, doe moſt plainly, and aſſuredly affirme.

The 162. vntruth: Miſreporting the Scriptures, the Counſels and Ancient Fathers.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Now ſoothly, if M. Harding could haue found any of all theſe Termes, Reall, Liuely, Naturall, or Subſtantiall, either in the Scriptures, or in the Doctors, or in any Councell, he would not haue ſpared the aliegation. But thus auouching theſe Termes, and ſo conſtantly aſſuring vs thereof by theſe authorities, being neuertheleſſe not able any where to find the ſame, we muſt néeds thinke, he miſreporteth the Scriptures, the Doctors, and the Councels, and much abuſeth the ſimple credulitie of the people.

M. Harding. The 14. Diuiſion.

This (I ſay in concluſion) being ſo, as it is vndoubtedly ſo: we that remaine in the Catholique Church, and can by no perſecution be remooued from the Catholique Faith, whom it liketh M. Iewell, and his fellowes to call Papiſts, beleeue verily, that it is our bounden dutie to adore the Sacrament, and to worſhip it with all godly honour. By which word, Sacrament, notwithſtanding in this reſpect we meane not the outward Formes, (163) that properly are called the Sacrament, but the thing of the Sacrament, the inuiſible Grace and Vertue therein contained, euen the very Body and Blood of Chriſt.

The 163. vntruth. For theſe ſpeeches were neuer known, nor heard of in any time of the Ancient Fathers.

And when we adore and worſhip this bleſſed Sacrament, we doe not adore and worſhip the Subſtance it ſelfe of Bread and Wine, (164) becauſe after Conſecration none at all remaineth. Neither do we adore the outward Shapes, and Formes of Bread, and Wine, which remaine: for they be but Creatures, that ought not to be Adored. But the Body it ſelfe and Blood of Chriſt, (165) vnder thoſe Formes Verily, and Really contained, lowly, and deuoutly do we Adore. And therefore, to ſpeake more properly, and according to skill, leſt our Aduerſaries might take aduantage againſt vs through occaſion of termes, where right ſenſe only is meant; we proteſt, and ſay, that we do, and ought to Adore and worſhip the Body, and Blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament.

The 164. vntruth. For the Bread and Wine remain ſtill, as ſhall appeare in the tenth. Article.

The 165. vntruth. As may more largely appeare by the Firſt, and Sixt Article.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

If M. Harding be perſecuted, as he ſaith, verily it ſéemeth a delicate kinde of perſecution. They of his ſide did not ſo perſecute others. But Salomon ſaith, *There be certaine that flee, when no man followeth them.* Thus did Arius the Heretique ſometimes complaine of his Perſecutors: ἀρὸς ὁ Διωκόμενος ἀδίκως διὰ πᾶν πάντα νικῶσαν ἀλήθειαν: Arius *that wrongfully ſuffereth Perſecution for the Truths ſake, that conquereth all things.*

Prouerb.28. *Epiphan. li.2. De Arionitis.*

As for M. Hardings Conſtancy, which is here brought in, as in ſtead of ſome proofe, I will ſay nothing. Howbeit his friends thinke, So many, ſo light, and ſo ſuddaine changes, can ſcarſely ſtand well with the title of Conſtancy. Certainly the mainteinance of open, and knowen error, ſhould rather haue ſome other name. The Prophet Zacharie ſaith: Poſuerunt vt Adamantem Cor ſuum: *They haue ſet their hearts, as the Adament ſtone.* Iob ſaith. Sterit cor eius ſicut incus: *His heart ſtood as a ſteady.* Yet might not they therefore be called conſtant. S Hilarie ſaith: Grauis, & periculoſus eſt lapſus in multis. Etſi enim ſe intelligant,

Zacha.7. Iob.41. *Hilarius de Trinitate, li.6. ca.84.*

intelligant, tamen pudor exurgendi authoritatem sibi præsumit: vt, quòd errant, prudentiam velint existimari: quòd cum multis errant, intelligentiam esse asserant Veritatis: *Falling from God in many men is grieuous and dangerous. For albeit they vnderstand themselues, yet for that they are ashamed to rise againe, they therfore take vpon them some authority, and will haue their errour counted wisdome: and that they are deceiued with many, they call it the vnderstanding of the Truth.* **Touching the purpose, it appeareth, this matter cannot stand without the disordering and confounding of the Naturall course and sound of words. Sometimes the Accidents and Shewes of Bread must be the Sacrament: Sometimes Christs Body, which, as M. Harding confesseth, indeed is not the Sacrament, yet to maintaine this new Adoration, must néeds become the Sacrament. And thus now wée haue two Sacraments together in one Sacrament. And yet in the Conclusion, wée may not worship the very Sacrament, but only Christs Body in the Sacrament. And this, as M. Harding telleth vs, is a Proper, Plaine, Familiar kinde of speech, and according vnto skill. Thus he teacheth vs to lift vp our hearts, and to worship God in Spirit and Truth. Vnlesse the simple people goe to the Vniuersities, and learne this new skill, what is,** Accidens absque subiecto: Corpus sine Loco: Locus sine Corpore: Quantitas sine modo quanti, **they cannot skilfully worship Christs Body. Or if they worship without this skill, they worship one thing for another, and become Idolaters.**

M. Harding. The 15. Diuision.

And heere thus much is further to be said, that in the Sacrament of the Altar the Body of Christ is not Adored by thought of minde sundred from the Word, but being inseperably vnited to the Word. For this is specially to be considered, that in the most Holy Sacrament, the Body and Blood of Christ are not present by themselues alone, as being separated from his Soule, and from the Godhead: but that there is (166) heere his true and liuing Flesh and Blood ioined together with his Godhead inseperably, and that they be as himselfe is, perfect, whole, and inseparable. Which is sufficiently confirmed by sundry his own words in S. Iohn. I am (said he) the Bread of life. Againe: This is Bread comming downe from Heauen, that if any eat of it he die not. I am the liuely Bread that came downe from Heauen: If any eat of this Bread hee shall liue euerlastingly. And to shew what Bread hee meant, he concludeth with these words: And the Bread which I shall giue is my Flesh, which I shall giue for the life of the World. By which words he assureth vs plainly, that his Flesh which he giueth vs to eat is full of life, and ioined with his Godhead, which bringeth to the worthy receiuers thereof immortallity, aswell of Body as of Soule. Which thing Flesh and Blood of it selfe could not performe, as our Lord himselfe declareth plainely, where hee saith, as there it followeth: It is the Spirit that quickneth or giueth life, the Flesh profiteth nothing. The words which I haue spoken to you be Spirit and life. As though he had said thus: The Flesh of it selfe profiteth nothing, but my Flesh, which is full of Godhead and Spirit, bringeth and worketh immortality and life euerlasting to them * that receiue it worthily. Thus we vnderstand in this blessed Sacrament, not only the Body and Blood of Christ, but all and whole Christ, God and Man, to be present in substance, and that for the inseparable vnity of the person of Christ: and for this cause we acknowledge our selues bounden to Adore him, as verie true God and Man.

For a clearer declaration heereof, I will not let to recite a notable sentence out of S. Augustine, where he expoundeth these words of Christ: Then, if yee see the Sonne of Man goe vp, where hee was before. There had beene no question (saith he) if hee had thus said: If yee see the Sonne of God goe vp where hee was before. But whereas he said, The Sonne of Man goe vp where he was before, what was the Sonne of Man in Heauen, before that he began to be in Earth? Verily heere he said, where he was before, as though then he were not there when he spake these words. And in another place he saith: No man hath ascended into Heauen, but hee that descended from Heauen, the Sonne of Man which is in Heauen. Hee said not, Was, but the Sonne of Man (saith hee) which is in Heauen. In Earth he spake, and said himselfe to bee in Heauen. To what pertaineth this, but that wee vnderstand Christ to bee one person, God and Man, not two: lest our Faith be not a Trinitie, but a quaternitie? Wherefore Christ is one, the Word, the Soule and the Flesh, one Christ: The Sonne of God, and the Sonne of Man, one Christ. The Sonne of God euer, the Sonne of Man in time. Yet one Christ, according to the Vnitie of person was in Heauen, when he spake in Earth. So was the Son of Man in Heauen, as the Son of God was in Earth. The Son of God in Earth in Flesh taken, the Son of Man in Heauen in vnitie of person. Thus farre S. Augustine.

(166) The 166. vntruth, often auouched, & neuer prooued. For these words pertaine only to Christ himselfe: and nothing at all vnto the Sacrament.

* A vaine addition. For S. Augustine saith, The Body of Christ it selfe is receiued of all men vnto life, and of no man vnto iudgement.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

It is true, that Christs Body and his Godhead are ioined inseparably, and therefore must bee Adored both together. For wee may not diuide the Godhead from the Manhead, and so imagine two sundry Christs, the one to bee honoured, the other to stand without honour, as did the Heretike Nestorius. But as the Bodie and Soule of Man, being ioined both in one, are honoured both together: So must the Humanity and Diuinity of Christ, being ioined both in one, likewise bee honoured both together. Otherwise to say, as the Heretike Nestorius said, *Thomas touched him, that was risen againe: and honoured him that raised him vp*, **it were great blasphemy. Neuertheless, notwithstanding the Bodie and Godhead of Christ bee ioined in one Person, yet are they distinct and sundry Natures: The one Finite, the other Infinite: The one in place, the other incomprehensible without place: The one a Creature, the other the Creator. Neither is there any godly honour due vnto the Bodie of Christ in respect**

Cyrillus in Apologetico. In edicto Imperatoris Iusti. Inter Decreta Iohan. 2. Concil. Chalcedon. Act. 1.

of it ſelfe: but only, for that it is ioined in one perſon with the Diuinitie. All theſe things be true, and out of queſtion.

Likewiſe, the words that Chriſt ſpake in the ſixth Chapter of S. Iohn, and are here alleged by M. Harding, are vndoubtedly true: howbeit, not according to the ſimple ſound and tenour of the letter: For that, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, were, Flagitium & facinus: *An Heinous wickednesse*: And as Origen ſaith: *It would kill the ſoule.* And therefore Chriſt himſelfe expoundeth his owne meaning touching the ſame: *It is the Spirit that giueth Life: the Flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I haue ſpoken, bee Spirit and Life.* Which words S. Auguſtine expoundeth thus: Spiritualiter intelligere, quæ locutus ſum. Non hoc corpus quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis: *Vnderſtand yee Spiritually the things that I haue ſpoken. Yee ſhall not Eat this body that yee ſee.* Likewiſe Chryſoſtome: Secundum Spiritum verba mea audienda ſunt: qui ſecundùm Carnem audit, nihil lucratur, nihil vtilitatis accipit: *My words muſt be heard Spiritually: Who ſo heareth them Carnally, or according to the Fleſh, getteth nothing, nor hath any profit by them.* He ſaith further by way of obiection againſt himſelfe: Quid ergo eſt Carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter, vt res dicuntur: neque aliud quicquam cogitare: *And what is meant by theſe words,* To vnderſtand according to the Fleſh? He anſwereth: *It is to vnderſtand ſimply and plainly, euen as things be ſpoken, and to thinke vpon nothing elſe.* Thus therefore Chriſt ſaid, to cut off their Carnall cogitations: *The words that I ſpake are Spirit and Life.* As if he ſhould ſay, *Neither is my Fleſh meat, nor my Blood drinke, to enter into your mouthes, and to feed your bodies. But if your ſoules bee hungrie, I am Spirituall meat to feed you: If your Soules be thirſtie, I am Spirituall drinke to refreſh you.* To this purpoſe S. Chryſoſtome ſaith thus: Omnia tibi Chriſtus factus eſt: Menſa, Veſtimentum, Domus, Caput, & Radix, &c. *Chriſt is become all things vnto thee: thy Table, thy Apparell, thy Houſe, thy Head, and thy Root, &c. S. Paul ſaith,* As many of you as are Baptized in Chriſt, ye haue put on Chriſt: *behold, how Chriſt is made thy Apparell. And wilt thou learne, how hee is become thy Table? He ſaith,* Whoſo eateth me, ſhall liue through me: *And that hee is thy Houſe, he ſaith,* Whoſo eateth my Fleſh, dwelleth in me, and I in him: *And that hee is thy Root, againe he ſaith,* I am the Vine, and you are the Branches. So ſaith Gregorius Nyſſenus: *Chriſt vnto the ſtrong is ſtrong meat: vnto the weaker ſort he is herbes: and vnto Infants hee is milke.* So ſaith Origen: Ne mireris: quia Verbum Dei & Caro dicitur, & Panis, & Lac, & Olera, & pro menſura credentium, vel poſſibilitate ſumentium diuersè nominatur: *Marueil not: for the word of God is called both Fleſh, and Bread, and Milke, and Herbes: and, according to the meaſure of the beleeuers, and the poſſibility of the receiuers, is diuerſly named.* And likewiſe Gregorie Nazianzene: Quemadmodum Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus appellatur Vita, Via, Panis, Vitis, Lux vera, & mille alia, ſic etiam appellatur Gladius: *Like as our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is called the Life, the Way, the Bread, the Wine, the true Light, and a thouſand things elſe, ſo is hee alſo called the Sword.* Now as Chriſt is Bread, euen ſo, in like maner of ſpeech hee is a Sword, and none otherwiſe. Thus is Chriſt vnto vs a Spirituall Table, a Spirituall Apparell, a Spirituall Houſe, a Spirituall Head, a Spirituall Root, Spirituall Meat, Spirituall Herbes, Spirituall Milke, Spirituall Fleſh, Life, Way, Bread, Wine, and Light. And to this end Chriſt ſaith: My Words bee Spirit and Life.

Hitherto the words of Chriſt that be here alleged, weigh very little of M. Hardings ſide.

Beſides all this, he ſaith, that whole Chriſt both God and Man, is Really, Subſtantially, and Carnally in the Sacrament. This thing, becauſe hee is not able any way to proue, he preſumeth of himſelfe by authority, as though it were already proued. It ſhall be good, to giue him a day to conſider the matter, and to proue it better. In the meane ſeaſon the ſubſtance of his reaſon ſtandeth thus:

The Humanitie and Diuinitie of Chriſt are ioined together in one Perſon:
Ergo, We muſt Adore the Sacrament with godly Honour.

Auguſt. de doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 3. ca. 16.
Origen. in Leuit. homil. 7.
Auguſt. in Pſalm. 98.
Chryſoſt. in Iohan. hom. 46.
Chryſoſt. ad popul. Antiochen. hom. 21.
Galat. 3.
Iohan. 6.
Iohan. 15.
Gregor. Nyſſen. In vita Moſis.
Origē in Exod. ca. 15. homil. 7.
Nazianzen. in Pſalm. 44.

M. Harding. The 16. Diuiſion.

Heereupon hee expoundeth theſe words, It is the ſpirit that quickeneth or giueth life, the fleſh auaileth nothing, thus: The fleſh profiteth nothing, but the only fleſh. Come the ſpirit to the fleſh, and it profiteth very much. For if the fleſh ſhould profit nothing, the word ſhould not be made fleſh to dwell among vs. For this vnity of perſon to bee vnderſtanded in both natures (ſaith the great learned Father Leo) wee read that both the Sonne of Man came downe from heauen, when as the Sonne of God tooke fleſh of that Virgin, of whom he was borne: and againe, it is ſaid that the Sonne of God was crucified and buried, where as he ſuffered theſe things not in the Godhead it ſelfe, in which the only begotten is coeuerlaſting and conſubſtantiall with the Father, but in the infirmity of humane nature. Wherefore we confeſſe all in the Creed alſo, the only begotten Sonne of God crucified and buried, according to that ſaying of the Apoſtle: for if they had knowen, they would neuer haue Crucified the Lord of Maieſty. 1. Cor. 2.

Epiſt. ad Flauianum Conſtantinopolitanum Epiſt. 65.

According

According to this Doctrine, Cyrillus writing vpon S. Iohn 6ith, He that eateth the Flesh of Christ, hath life euerlasting. For this Flesh hath the word of God, which naturally is life. Therefore he saith: I will raise him againe in the last day. For I, said he, that is, my Body, which shall be eaten, will raise him againe. For he is not other than his flesh. I say not this because by nature hee is not other, but because after incarnation, he suffereth not himselfe to be diuided into two sonnes. By which words he reproueth the Heresie of wicked Nestorius, that went about to diuide Christ, and of Christ to make two sonnes; the one, the sonne of God, the other, the sonne of Mary, and so two persons. For which Nestorius was condemned in the first Ephesine Councell, and also specially for that he said (167) wee receiue in this Sacrament onely the flesh of Christ in the Bread, and his Blood onely in the wine, without the Godhead, because Christ said, He that eateth my Flesh, and said not, He that eateth or drinketh my Godhead, because his Godhead cannot be eaten, but his flesh onely. Which Hereticall cauill Cyrillus doth thus auoid. Although (saith he) the nature of the Godhead be not eaten, yet wee eat the Body of Christ, which verily may be eaten. But this Body is the words owne proper Body, which quickneth all things, and inasmuch as it is the Body of life, it is quickning or lifegiuing. Now hee quickneth vs, or giueth vs life, as God, the onely fountaine of life. Wherefore such speeches vttered in the Scriptures of Christ, whereby that appeareth to be attributed to the one nature, which appertaineth to the other, and contrariwise, according to that incomprehensible and vnspeakable coniunction and vnion of the diuine and humane nature in one person, are to be taken of him inseparably, inasmuch as he is both God and Man; and not of this or that other nature only, as being seuered from the other. For through cause of this inseparable vnion, whatsoeuer is appertaining or peculiar to either nature, it is rightly ascribed, yea, and it ought to be ascribed to the whole person. And this done, as the learned Diuines terme it, *Per communicationem idiomatum.* And thus Cyrillus teacheth, how Christ may be eaten, not according to the diuine, but humane nature, which hee tooke of vs; and so likewise he is of Christian people adored in the Sacrament according to his diuine nature. And yet not according to his diuine nature only, as though that were seperated from his humane nature, but his whole person together God and Man. And his pretious flesh and blood are adored for the inseparable coniunction of both natures into one person, which is Iesus Christ God and Man. Whom God hath exalted (as S. Paul saith) and hath giuen him a name, which is aboue all names, that at the name of Iesus euery knee bee bowed, of the Heauenly and the Earthly things, and of things beneath, and that euery tongue confesse, that our Lord Iesus Christ is in glorie of God the Father, that is, of equall glorie with the Father. And when God (saith S. Paul) bringeth his first begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the Angels of God Adore him. S. Iohn writeth in his Reuelation, that he heard all Creatures say, Blessing, Honour, Glory, and Power, be to him which sitteth in the Throne, and to the Lambe for euer. And the foure and twenty Elders fell downe on their faces, and Adored him that liueth vntill worlds of worlds.

The 167. vntruth. For neither was there any such error defended by Nestorius, nor any such Canon euer moditied in that Councell.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

I marueil M. Harding would bestow so many waste words to so small purpose. These Authorities be all true, and, sauing only that of the Councell of Chalcedon, touching Nestorius, all truly alleged. But euery thing that is true, maketh not by and by prowe sufficient in euery case. Pliny the Second giueth good sad counsell, that whosoeuer will take in hand to write a Booke, haue euermore a good eie vnto his Title, or to the purpose, whereof he writeth, lest he happen to wander, and to run at random. As now M. Harding seemeth to shoote faire, although a great way from the marke. For in all these words there is no maner mention, neither of the Sacrament, nor of the Adoration thereof, nor of any other thing thereto belonging. Whiles M. Harding vpon occasion of these words will reason thus:

Plin. Sepe respiciendum est ad Titulum.

The Sonne of Man came downe from Heauen:
Ergo, We must Adore the Sacrament.

The words of Cyrillus be likewise true. *Christs Flesh is ioined with the Godhead, and therfore it naturally giueth life.* And when Christ said, *I will raise him vp at the last day*, he meant, euen as Cyrillus saith, that his Flesh, that wee eat, shall raise vs vp at the last day. For, whatsoeuer fauour or mercy wee haue from God, wee haue it only by the Flesh of Christ. S. Augustine saith: Mortalis factus est Immortalis, vt, peracta sua Morte, nos faceret Immortalis: *He that is Immortall, became Mortall, that through his Death he might make vs Immortall.* Againe he saith: Nos non efficeremur participes Diuinitatis eius, nisi ipse factus fuisset particeps Mortalitatis nostræ: *Wee could not be partakers of his Godhead, vnlesse he had beene partaker of our Mortalitie.* All these words be true, as conteining nothing else, but the exposition of these words of Christ: *He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, shall liue for euer.*

Iohan. 6.

Augustin. in Psalm. 109.

Augustin. in Psalm. 118.

But M. Harding, to make these words of Cyrillus to serue his turne, hath imagined two great errours: The one is: *That Christs Body cannot bee Eaten, but onely in the Sacrament:* The other is: *That vnlesse wee receiue Christs Body with our mouth, and swallow it downe into our belly, wee Eat it not:* As though either Christ, or these holy Fathers had meant a Carnall or Fleshly Eating. This whole Doctrine is horrible, and full of Desperation. For M. Hardings position being true, What no man shall be partaker of that blessed Resurrection, but only such as haue eaten Christs Body in the Sacrament, what then shall become of Christian Children, that haue departed this life, neuer hauing receiued the Sacrament? Who shall raise them vp againe at the last day? Or doth M. Harding beleeue, that such little ones being baptized, and so the Members of Christ,

Spirituall Eating.

shall neuer rise againe, but lie damned for euer, onely because they haue not receiued the Sacrament.

Verily, Christ in these words, as it is witnessed by all the holy Fathers, speaketh not of the Sacrament, but of the spirituall Eating with our Faith: and in this behalfe vtterly excludeth the Corporall office of our Body. Therefore S. Augustine saith: Crede, & manducasti: *Beleeue, and thou hast eaten.* And againe: Illud manducare, refici est: Illud bibere, quid est, nisi viuere? *That eating is to bee refreshed: and that drinking, what is it else, but to liue?* Likewise S. Basil saith: Est spirituale os Interni hominis, quo recipitur Verbum vitæ, quod est Panis, qui de Cœlo descendit: *There is a Spirituall mouth of the Inner Man, wherewith is receiued the Word of Life, which is that Bread that came downe from Heauen.*

August. in ser. Caput Iohānis. Augustin. De Verbis Apostoli, Serm 2.

Basil. in Psa. 33

Basilius in exhortatione ad Sanctū Baptis.

And touching our rising againe from the dead, he saith: τὸ βάπτισμα Νίκαυς ἐστι πρὸς ἀνάστασιν: *Our Baptisme is a strength or power to Resurrection.* So S. Augustine: Nemini dubitandum est, &c. *No man may doubt, but euery man is then made partaker of the Body and Blood of Christ, when in Baptisme he is made the member of Christs Body.* Likewise S. Chrysostome: *In Baptisme we are incorporate vnto Christ, and made Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bones.* Thus by Faith we eat the Body of Christ, and that, not by way of Imagination or Fantasie, but effectually, verily and indeed, and therefore Christ shall raise vs vp againe at the last day.

Augustin. est citatur à Beda, in 1. Cor. 10.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Ephes. hom. 20.

M. Hardings errour, as I haue said, resteth herein, that he imagineth, *That Christs Body cannot be eaten, but only in the Sacrament, and that by meane and office of our bodily mouth.* But, as it is before alleged out of Rabanus Maurus: *The Sacrament is receiued outwardly with the Mouth of our Body: But the Body of Christ is receiued into the Inner man, and that with the Spirituall mouth of our Soule.* And thus both may the Sacrament be receiued without Christs Body, and also the Body of Christ may be receiued without the Sacrament.

Rabanus Maurus, li. 1. ca. 31.

Hitherto M. Harding hath not once touched one word of Adoration.

Concerning Nestorius, M. Harding in the drift of his tale hath handsomely touched in a great vntruth. For whereas he saith, Nestorius held this opinion, That in the Sacrament of the Bread, we receiue only Christs Body without his Blood: and in the Cuppe, the Blood of Christ alone without the Body: neither did Nestorius notwithstanding he were an Heretike, euer hold this pœuish errour, nor is there any such record either in the Councell of Ephesus, that here vntruly is alleged, or in any other old Councell or ancient Father.

M. Harding vntruly alleggeth the Councell of Ephesus.

But the right of M. Hardings cause hangeth of such euidence, as neuer was found in any record. If there be any such Canon to be found in that whole Councell, or any mention thereof made in any of all the ancient Doctours, let M. Harding shew it, that we may beleaue him. If, hauing alleged it so constantly and so often, he be able vtterly to shew nothing, let him giue men leaue to thinke, that he abuseth the World with vaine Titles, and meaneth no truth.

Although he might be bold fréely to deuise matter against Nestorius, as being an Heretike, yet he should not thus report vntruth of a Generall Councell.

But Cyrillus saith further: *We cannot Eat the Godhead of Christ: It is his Manhood only, that is Eaten.* Hereby M. Harding thinketh, he is able to ouerthrow our whole Doctrine of Spirituall Eating, that is wrought by Faith. For thus he will reason:

By your Doctrine, Eating of Christs Body is beleeuing.
But Cyrillus saith, we cannot Eat God:
Ergo, *By your Doctrine we cannot beleeue in God.*

Thus he thinketh we are driuen to confesse a great inconuenience. This reason séemeth to haue some shew. And therefore I beséech thee, good Reader, to consider both the parts thereof, and also the answer.

Eating, in common vse of speech, is the receiuing of food and sustenance, and the turning of the same into the substance of our Bodies, and by a Metaphor, or an extraordinary kinde of speech, is often vsed for the Spirituall eating, and turning of Heauenly food to the refreshing and nourishing of our Soules. By neither of these waies it can rightly be said, That we eat the Godhead. For neither can we receiue the Maiesty of Gods diuine Nature, neither turne the same into the Substance of our Nature. But we may Receiue and Eat, and feed vpon the Humanity and Body of Christ, and become Bone of his Bones, and Flesh of his Flesh, so as he may dwell in vs, and we in him. Wherefore notwithstanding Christ be both God and Man, yet we haue not our feeding and life of Christ in respect of his Godhead alone, but first and principally, in respect of his Humanity, in that he was made Man, and became partaker of Flesh and Blood, and was Crucified

Ephes. 5.

Hebr. 2.

cified, and shed his Blood, and yelded vp his Spirit vpon the Crosse. This is our Spirituall feeding: herein standeth our whole life. Therefore S. Paul saith: Quòd nunc viuo in Carne, in Fide viuo Filij Dei, qui dedit semetipsum pro me: *That I liue now in the Flesh, I liue in the Faith of the Sonne of God, that hath giuen himselfe for me.* And againe: *God forbid, that I should reioice in any thing, sauing only in the Crosse of Iesus Christ.* Likewise S. Peter: *There is none other name giuen vnto men vnder Heauen, whereby they may be saued, but onely the name of Christ Iesus.* Thus as Cyrillus saith, *We haue our life and feeding, not of the Godhead, but of the Manhood of Christ.*

To Eat God.
Galat. 2.
Galat. 6.
Actor. 4.

And therefore it is very well noted vpon the Decrées: Christus per hoc est factus noster Panis, & Sustentatio, & Vita: quia assumpsit Carnem nostram: *Christ in this is become our Bread, and our Sustenance, and our Life, because he hath taken our Flesh.*

De Con. dist. 2. Christus. In Margine.

But M. Harding will say, according to the iudgement of Cyrillus, *We cannot Eat the Godhead: yet neuertheless we do beleeue in God:* Ergo, *Contrary to your doctrine, Beleeuing and Eating are not both one.* Verily, it appeareth both by Cyrillus himselfe, and also by a generall consent of other old learned Fathers, that we cannot neither know God nor beleeue in God, nor call vpon God, as he is in himselfe, in his diuine Maiesty, but only, as it pleased him to become like vnto vs, and to take vpon him our mortall Nature. S. Chrysostome saith: Illum, si in nuda Deitate venisset, non Cœlum, non Terra, non Maria, non vlla Creatura sustinere potuisset: *If God had come in his manifest Diuinity, neither the Heauen, nor the Earth, nor the Sea, nor any Creature could haue borne his Presence.* So S. Hilary: Cognitus fieri Deus homini, nisi Assumpto Homine non potuit. Quia incognoscibilem cognoscere, nisi per Naturam nostram, Natura nostra non potuit: *Vnlesse God had taken Man, he could neuer haue beene knowen vnto Man. For him, that cannot be knowen, our Nature, sauing only by meane of our owne Nature, could neuer haue knowen.* Likewise saith Cyrillus: Christus non aliter erit Adorabilis, nisi credamus, quòd ipsum Verbum Caro factum sit: *Christ is not otherwise to be Adored, vnlesse wee beleeue, that the very Word was made Flesh.* Likewise saith S. Augustine: Respice altitudinem ipsius: In principio erat Verbum, &c. *Behold the highnesse of him: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was that Word. Behold the Euerlasting Meat: But the Angels and high Powers, and the Heauenly Spiries feed vpon it. But what Man can attaine vnto that Meat? What heart can bee meet for it? Therefore it was necessary that the Meat should turne into Milke, and so should come vnto vs little ones.* It followeth: Quomodo ergo de ipso Pane pauit nos Sapientia Dei? Quia Verbum Caro factum est, & habitauit in nobis: *How then did the wisedome of God feed vs with that Bread?* He answereth: *Beeause the Word was made Flesh, and dwelled in vs.* Againe he saith: Ita Verbum Incarnatum factum est nobis receptibile: Quod recipere non valeremus, si Filius æqualis Deo non se exinaniret Formam Serui accipiens: *Thus were wee able to receiue the word Incarnate, which we could not receiue. vnlesse the Sonne being equall vnto the Father, had abased himselfe, receiuing the forme of a Seruant.* I passe ouer other allegations to like purpose. This therefore is the meaning of Cyrillus: We are not able neither to receiue, nor to know, nor to beleeue in, nor to Adore, nor to eat, not to feed vpon the Diuine maiesty of God, being pure and simple in it selfe: But our knowledge, our Faith, our Food, and our Life is in this, That Christ hath taken our mortall Nature, and ioined the same inseparably in one Person to his Godhead.

Cyrillus ad Reginas.
August. in Psalm. 33.
Iohan. 1.
August. in Psal. 109.

M. Harding. The 17. Diuision.

But it shall be more tedious than needfull, to recite places out of the Scriptures for proofe of the Adoration of Christ: there may of them be found so great plenty, Yet, because Luther was either so blind, or rather so Diuelish, as to denie the Adoration, where notwithstanding he confessed the Presence of Christs true, and Naturall Body in the Sacrament: I will heere recite what the Sacramentaries of Zurich haue written against him therefore. What (say they) is the Bread the true, and naturall Body of Christ, and is Christ in the Supper (as the Pope and Luther do teach) present? Wherefore then ought not the Lord there to bee Adored, where yee say him to bee present? Why shall wee bee forbidden to Adore that, which is not onely Sacramently, but also Corporally, the Body of Christ? Thomas toucheth the true Body of Christ raised vp from the dead, and falling downe on his knees, Adoreth, saying: My God, and my Lord. The Disciples Adore the Lord, aswell before, as after his Ascention, *Matt. 28. Act. 1.* And the Lord in S. Iohn saith to the blinde man, Beleeuest thou in the Sonne of God? and hee answereth him saying: Lord, who is he, that I may beleeue in him? And Iesus said to him: Thou hast both seene him, and who speaketh with thee, he it is. Then hee saith, Lord I beleeue, and he Adored him. Now if wee were taught, our Lords Bread to be the Naturall Body of Christ, verily wee would adore it also faithfully with the Papists. Thus much the Zuinglians against Luther. Whereby they prooue sufficiently the Adoration of Christs Body in the Sacrament, and so consequently of Christ himselfe God and Man, because of the inseperable Coniunction of his Diuine and Humane Nature in Vnity of person, so as, where his Body is, there it is ioined, and vnited also vnto his Godhead: and so there Christ is present perfectly, wholly, and substantially, very God and Man.

Iohan. 9.

For the clearer vnderstanding wherof the better to ba attained, the Scholasticall Diuines haue profitably deuised the terme *Concomitantia*, plainly and truly teaching, that in this Sacrament after Consecration,

Diſſenſion.

The 168. vntruth: For there was no ſuch doctrine moued in the Councell of Epheſus. Tranſubſtantiation was but lately found, in the Councell of Lateran in Rome. *An.* 1215.

vnder the forme of Bread is preſent the Body of Chriſt; and vnder the Forme of Wine, his Blood, *Ex vi Sacramenti*: and with the Body vnder Forme of Bread, alſo the Blood, the Soule and Godhead of Chriſt; and likewiſe with the Blood, vnder the Forme of Wine, the Body, Soule, and Godhead, *Ex Concomitantia*, as they terme it, in ſhorter and plainer wiſe vttering the ſame Doctrine of Faith, (168) which the Holy Fathers did in the Epheſine Councell againſt Neſtorius. Whereby they meane, that where the Body of Chriſt is preſent, by neceſſary ſequell, becauſe of the indiuiſible Copulation of both Natures in the Vnity of Perſon (foraſmuch as the Word made Fleſh, neuer left the Humane Nature) there is alſo his Blood, his Soule, his Godhead, and ſo whole and perfect Chriſt, God and Man. And in this reſpect, the terme is not to be miſliked of any godly learned man, though ſome New Maſters ſcoffe at it, who fill the meaſure of their Predeceſſours, that likewiſe haue beene offended with termes for the after declaration of certaine neceſſary Articles of our Faith, by Holy and Learned Fathers in Generall Councels holeſomely deuiſed. Of which ſort beene theſe; *Homouſion, Humanatio, Incarnatio, Tranſubſtantiatio. &c.* Now heere is to be noted, how the Zuinglians, whom M. Iewel followeth in the Article of Adoration, confute the Lutherans; as on the other ſide, the Lutherans in the Article of the Preſence, confute the Zuinglians. As though it were by Gods ſpeciall prouidence, for the better ſtay of his Church, ſo wrought, that both the truth ſhould be confeſſed by the enemies of truth, and alſo for vttering of vntruth, the one ſhould bee condemned of the other, that by the warre of Heretikes the peace of the Church might bee eſtabliſhed, and by their diſcord the Catholike people might the faſter grow together in concord.

Now hauing ſufficiently prooued by the Scriptures, and that with the Zuinglians alſo, Adoration and godly Honour to be due vnto Chriſts Body, whereſoeuer it pleaſe his Diuine Maieſty to exhibite the ſame preſent; let vs ſee whether we can finde the ſame Doctrine affirmed by the holy and ancient Fathers.

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Whereas M. Harding thus checketh vs with ſome diſſenſion that hath béne betwéne Doctour Luther, and Doctour Zuinglius, touching this matter of Adoration, I may iuſtly ſay vnto him, as one ſometime ſaid vnto Philippus the King of Macedony, intreating a peace betwéne Peloponneſus, and the reſt of Græcia: *Go firſt and conclude a peace in thine owne houſe at home.* For at the ſame time his owne wife Olympias, and his owne ſonne Alexander, were knowen to liue in deadly diſſenſion: and therefore he ſéemed no fit inſtrument to conclude a peace betwéne others.

Demaratus.

M. Harding ſhould haue remembred, that the greateſt Buttreſſes and Pillars of his Goſpel, ſithence the firſt beginning of his new Doctrine, haue euermore lined in Contradiction, and could neuer yet be reconciled. He ſhould haue remembred, that his owne Doctours, and chiefeſt Doctours, Pope Innocentius and Scotus, teach contrary Doctrines: That Scotus is againſt Thomas: Ockam, againſt Scotus: Petrus de Alliaco, againſt Ockam: and the Nominals againſt the Reals: and not only thus, but alſo Scotiſts againſt Scotiſts, and Thomiſts againſt Thomiſts, at Ciuill Warre within one band: and that touching the very words of Conſecration, and other like matters both great and many: whereof to ſhew the Particulars, it would be tedious. But the matters hang ſtill in mortall enmity, and are neuer like to be reconciled. Hauing ſuch Bloody fields at home, M. Harding ſhould not be ſo ready to reproach others, for ſome one or other matter of diſſenſion.

It were much to be wiſhed, and God of his mercy ſo grant it, if it be his holy will, that the Goſpell of Chriſt may paſſe forth freely, without any ſuch occaſion of offence or hinderance. Howbeit, from the beginning it hath béne otherwiſe. For euen at the firſt planting of the Goſpell, whiles the Martyrs blood was yet warme, there were ſome that ſaid, *I hold of Paul: ſome others that ſaid, I hold of Peter*: and thus were they diuided among themſelues. *S. Paul withſtood, and gainſaid Peter vnto his face.* S. Hierome chargeth S. Auguſtine with Hereſie: S. Auguſtine willeth S. Hierome to recant: S. Hierome deſpiſeth S. Ambroſe, and findeth fault with S. Baſil: S. Cyprian in iudgement is contrary to S. Cornelius: Pope Sabinianus would haue burned all S. Gregories his predeceſſors bookes. Hereby it appeareth, That Saints haue béne againſt Saints: and Martyrs againſt Martyrs, euen in matters and caſes of Religion.

1. Corin. 1. Galat. 2. *Aug. epiſt. 9.*

And hereof Heretikes, and other wicked and godleſſe people haue euermore taken occaſion to ſlander the Goſpell. Marcion the Heretike thought he had found Contrarieties betwéne the New Teſtament and the Old: and therefore ſaid, He was able to proue falſhood in the Scriptures. S Hierome ſaith: Hunc locum nobis obiecit Iulianus Auguſtus, de diſſonantia Euangeliſtarum: *This place of the diſagreeing of the Euangeliſts, the Heathen Emperour Iulianus charged vs withall.* Againe he ſaith: Sceleratus Porphyrius, in primo libro, quem ſcripſit aduerſus nos, obiecit, Petrum à Paulo eſſe reprehenſum, quòd non recto pede incederet ad Euangelium: *That wicked man Porphyrius, in the firſt Booke that hee wrote againſt vs, laid to our charge, that Peter was rebuked of Paul, for that he walked not vprightly towards the Goſpell.* So Socrates and Sozomenus ſay, That the Chriſtians, becauſe of their diſſenſions, were ſcorned at of the Infidels in open aſſemblies and market places, and pointed at with their Fingers.

Tertullian. li. 4 contra Marcion.
Hieronym. in Matt. li. 1. c. 1.
Hieronym. in Proœmio in Epiſt. ad Galatas.
Socr. li. 1 ca. 6.
Sozo. li. 1. c. 16.

Notwithſtanding,

Notwithstanding, such diuersity of iudgement, as it is an offence vnto the weake, and an occasion of ill vnto the wicked, that seeke occasions against God: euen so vnto the Godly, it is occasion of much good. For vnto them, that God hath called according to his purpose, all things help, and further vnto good. Nicholas Lyra saith: Expositorum diuersitas excitat attentionem. The diuersity of Expositors stirreth vp attention in the hearers, and causeth them to consider, that men be men, and see vnperfitly, as in a Glasse, as hauing receiued Faith only by measure: and therefore to search, and examine the Scriptures, and not to glory in men: that whoso will glory, may glory in the Lord.

Dissesion. Concomitantia.

2. Corin. 11. Rom. 8.

Ni. Lyra in Prologo in Genesim.

These two worthy members of Gods Church, whom it liketh M. Harding thus to controll, neuer differed, or dissented in any Foundation, or Principle of the Christian Faith: but only of one certaine conclusion, and phrase of the Scriptures.

Either of them knew, and confessed, that Christs Body ought to be adored with godly honour, for that it is ioyned in one person with the Diuinity. But the one of them saith, Notwithstanding Christs Body be present in the Sacrament, yet it is not there, to that vse, and purpose, to be honored: neither haue we any warrant of Gods word, so to honour it. So is Christs Body in vs Naturally, Really, Corporally, Carnally, Substantially, and indeed. Yet may we not therefore one knéele downe to another, so to adore Christ being there present with godly honour. Thus the whole disagréement of these two learned Fathers, stood only in this one point, of the maner of Christs presence. Otherwise their whole harts were ioined, and bent together to the disclosing of Falsehood, and Hypocrisie, and to the aduancing of Gods Glory.

1. Corin. 13. 2. Corin. 10. 1. Corin. 3. 1. Corin. 10.

We wonder not, as M. Harding thinketh, at his strange terme, Concomitantia, which he hath héere brought in, as a speciall stay of his ruinous Doctrine: notwithstanding S. Paul hath charged vs, to beware of such new Fangled wicked words: But we wonder, to sée the same terme so childishly applied to so vaine a purpose. Indéed these termes, Homousios, Humanatio, Incarnatio, are not found expressed in the Scriptures. Yet is the sense, and meaning of the same termes, as Epiphanius saith, easie euery where to be found.

1. Timoth. 6. *Profanas verborum nouitates.* *βεβήλους κενοφωνίας.* *Epiphanius contra Semiarian. Lib. 3.* *ὁ δὲ τοῖς παλαιοῖς.*

Neither was that name first deuised in the Councell of Nice. For long before the time of that Councell, is was vsed by Origen, and by other Ancient learned Bishops: as appeareth well by Socrates, whose words be these: Doctos quosdam ex veteribus, & illustres Episcopos, Homousij dictione vsos esse cognouimus; *We know, that of the Old writers, certaine Learned men, and notable Bishops haue vsed this word*, Homousion. And therefore S. Augustine saith not, *This name*, Homousios, *was inuented, or deuised*, but, *This name was Confirmed, and stablished in the Councell of Nice.* Therefore M. Harding aswell herein, as also elsewhere, hath reported vntruth.

Socrat. li. 1. c. 8. Augustin. contra Maximinum, li. 3. c. 14.

As for Transubstantiation, it is numbred héere among these words, Homousios, Humanatio, and Incarnatio, as Iudas is numbred among the Apostles. God wot, a very yong name, newly brought at last into the world, about twelue hundred yéeres after the Birth of Christ, at what time King Iohn was King of England: neither had it any maner Face, or Foundation in the Word of God. Yet was the same name giuen a long while, before any such Child was thorowly borne. For, as it appeareth by the Councell of Florence, the East Church of Grecia, and Asia, receiued it not, nor neuer would receiue it vntill this day: neither be the first Inuenters and Deuisers of it fully resolued vpon the same.

Firmatum est.

Conci. Florent. Sessione vltima.

For this word, Transubstantiatio, signifieth a passing, or turning of one Substance into another. But that, they thinke, were not tolerable to say, That the Substance of Bread is changed into the Substance of Christs Body. And therefore Duns himselfe vtterly refuseth, and shunneth it: and thinketh it better, to hold, That the Bread departeth, and getteth it selfe away, and that then in place of it succéedeth Christs Body. And this is now the common opinion of the Schooles. But this kind of change cannot in any wise be called, Transubstantiatio: but rather Cessio, Annihilatio, Successio, or Substitutio. Therefore M. Harding must goe, and séeke a new name: for Transubstantiation will not serue so well. Thus after twelue hundred yéeres study, they haue found out a thing: and yet cannot hitherto tell, what to make of it. Yet must their determination héerein be compared euen with the Councell of Nice. Verily Cardinall Beno, that was then aliue, saith, That Pope Gregorie the seuenth appointed three daies Fast, and a solemne Procession, to the end he might haue some signe from Heauen, for the certainty héereof: and yet in the end concluded without any reuelation at all.

Beno in vita Hildebrandi.

Now, touching this new Fantasie of Concomitantia, after they had once deuised a new Religion, it was necessary, for aide of the same, to deuise also new words. Where as Christ saith, *This is my Body*: They say, *This is my Body, and my Blood.* Where Christ saith,

ſaith, *This is my Blood*, They ſay, *This is my Blood, and my Body*: And in either part, they ſay, is whole Chriſt, God, and Man. If ye demand how they know it, they ſay, not by the Word of God, but by this new imagination of Concomitantia. So likewiſe M. Harding here confeſſeth, that he cannot proue the Adoration of the Sacrament by any warrant of the Scriptures, but only, I trow, by his Concomitantia.

M. Harding. The 18. Diuiſion.

What the Apoſtles taught in their time concerning this article, we may iudge by that we read in Dionyſius, that was S. Pauls ſcholar, and for that it is to beleeued. He adoreth and worſhippeth this holy Myſtery, with theſe very words: *Sed O diuinum penitus Sanctumque Myſterium, &c.* But ô diuine & holy Myſtery which vouchſafeſt to open the couerings of ſignes laid ouer thee, vtter thy light to vs openly, and plainly, and fill our ſpirituall eies with the ſingular and euident brightneſſe of thy light. *Eccleſiaſt. hierarch. ca 3.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

I maruell, M. Harding would euer allege this place, for the Adoration of the Sacrament. For doth he thinke, that whatſoeuer thing is ſo called vpon, is therefore Adored with godly honour? Or hath he forgotten, that in his Church of Rome they vſe thus to ſalute the holy Oyle, Aue Sanctum Oleum? *All haile ô Holy Oyle?* Or hath he forgotten that he himſelfe, in his Church, thus ſaluteth a Croſſe of Wood: Aue Rex noſter? *All haile our King?* Or that he maketh his praier, and petition to the ſame materiall Wodden Croſſe in this wiſe, O Crux, aue, ſpes vnica, hoc Paſſionis tempore: auge pijs iuſtitiam, reiſque dona veniam: *All haile O Croſſe, our only hope, in this time of the Paſſion: giue thou increaſe of righteouſneſſe vnto the godly: and giue thou pardon vnto ſinners.* Or ſhall we thinke therefore, either, that he giueth godly honour vnto a corruptible creature, or that Chriſt is there preſent hidden vnder the forme of wood? This might ſuffice, to anſwer this place of Dionyſius. I thinke M. Harding doth remember, that Epiphanius ſaith: *The Sacrament is a thing Vnſenſible*, that can neither ſee vs, nor heare our praier: And he knoweth that Pachymeres the Greeke Paraphraſt in this ſenſe expoundeth the words of Dionyſius: O-Diuinum, & Sacrum Myſterium. Affatur illud, tanquam rem animatam &c. *He ſpeaketh vnto the Sacrament, as if it were a thing indued with ſenſe, and life. And well. For ſo* Gregorie *the great Diuine ſaith:* O magnum, & Sanctum Paſcha: *O great, and holy Paſſeouer. For our Lord Ieſus Chriſt as he is our Paſſeouer, ſo is he that holy Myſtery. And vnto him the Biſhop directeth his ſpeech.* Vnto him being in Heauen, not vnto the thing that preſently lieth before him vpon the Table. And that this was Dionyſius very meaning, it appeareth by that immediatly went before. Ingrediamur ab effectis ad cauſas: *Let vs enter from theſe outward effects into the cauſes*: that is to ſay, Let vs withdraw our eies from the Viſible Sacraments, and ſpiritually let vs behold Chriſt, whoſe Sacraments they be, and who by the ſame is repreſented. In like maner Dionyſius ſpeaketh of the Conſecration of the Vile: Adducamus vela, &c. *Let vs remoue the veiles, and behold that Spirituall Brightneſſe it ſelfe, &c.* By which Spirituall Brightneſſe, doubtleſſe he meant Chriſt. Thus he teacheth vs, with our Bodily eies to ſee one thing, and with our Spirituall eies to ſee another: with our Bodily eies, the things that be preſent: with our Spirituall eies, the things that be abſent. For the more likelihood hereof let vs conſider, what words S. Andrew vſeth to the very Materiall Wodden Croſſe of his Execution. Salue Crux, &c. *All haile thou Croſſe, that here ſtandeſt, thus long looking for me. I come meerely vnto thee. For I know thy Secrecie: I know thy Myſterie, I ſee in thee the things, that are promiſed vnto me of my Lord. Receiue thou me, O thou choſen Croſſe, that am thus humble for my God, and helpe the poore ſeruant vnto his Maſter.* Here are plaine words of Inuocation: Here is manifeſt adoration. Yet, may the force of theſe words make vs beleeue, that S. Andrew indeed gaue Godly honor to a Croſſe of tree?

Epiphanius in Anchorato.

Pachymeres: ὡς ἐμψύχῳ αὐτῷ διαλέγεται.

Abdias in Andrea.

But, becauſe M. Harding ſeemeth, to make ſome account of this place of Dionyſius, let vs anſwer one Myſtery by another. S. Ambroſe ſpeaketh thus to the Water of Baptiſme: O Aqua, quæ humano aſperſum ſanguine, &c. *O thou Water that haſt waſhed the World, ſtained with mans Blood. O thou Water, that deſerueſt to be a Sacrament of Chriſt. Thou beginneſt, thou fulfilleſt the perfit Myſteries, &c.* Muſt we needs thinke, becauſe S. Ambroſe thus ſpeaketh vnto, and calleth vpon the Water, that therefore either the Water had eares, and heard him: or Chriſt himſelfe was there Corporally preſent in the Water? Doubtleſſe, both Bread and water are Materiall Elements, and voide of life: Therefore as S. Ambroſe ſpake vnto the one, euen ſo, and none otherwiſe, did Dionyſius ſpeake vnto the other. But foraſmuch as M. Harding ſeemeth, for Amphilochius ſake, to bring well all Newes, that come from Verona, let vs ſee, with what deuotion they teach vs there to call vpon our Ladies girdle. The words of the praier are theſe: O Veneranda Zona, Fac nos hæredes æternæ, & Beatæ vitæ: Et hanc noſtram vitam ab interitu conſerua. Tuam Hæreditatem, tuum populum ô Intemeratæ Zona intemerata conſerua. Habeamus te

Ambroſius in Lucam, li. 10. ca. 22.

Vires,

Vires & Auxilium: Murum, & Propugnaculum: Portum & ſalutare Refugium: *O bleſſed Girdle, Make vs the Inheritors of Euerlaſting, and Bleſſed life: and keepe our preſent Life from deſtruction. O vnſpotted Girdle of the vnſpotted Virgin, Saue thine Inheritance, ô Saue thy people. Be thou our Strength, our Helpe, our Wall, our Fort, our Hauen, our Refuge.* This prayer beareth the name of one Euthymius, as it is ſuppoſed, an Ancient learned Greek Father, ſet forth this laſt yere by Aloyſius Lipomanus the Biſhop of Verona, and Printed both in Venice, and in Louaine in two great huge volumes of like ſtuffe. And leſt the matter ſhould ſeeme to want earneſt, the good Catholique Father, and learned Biſhop of Verona Lipomanus hath ſpecially marked the place in the Margin in this ſort: O quàm magna, & mira petit à Veneranda Zona! *O how great, and how marueilous things he deſireth of this Bleſſed Girdle!* All this notwithſtanding, I trow, M. Harding will not ſay, that either Euthymius, or Lipomanus would haue vs to worſhip our Ladies Girdle with Godly Honour.

M. Harding. The 19. Diuiſion.

Hom. 5. in Diuerſos Euangel. locos. Origen teacheth vs how to Adore and worſhip Chriſt in the Sacrament, before we receiue it, after this forme of words. *Quando Sanctum cibum &c.* When thou receiueſt the holy Meat, and that vncorrupt banket, when thou enioieſt the Bread, and Cup of life, thou eateſt, and drinkeſt the Body and Blood of our Lord: then our Lord entreth in vnder thy roofe. And therefore thou alſo humbling thy ſelfe, follow this Centurion or Captaine, and ſay, Lord I am not worthy that thou enter vnder my roofe. For where he entreth in vnworthily, there he entreth into the condemnation of the receiuer.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

O how eaſie a matter it is, to deceiue the ignorant! Origen in that whole place ſpeaketh not one word, neither of Worſhipping the Sacrament, nor of Chriſts Reall, or Corporall being therein, nor of Materiall entring into our Bodies. But taking occaſion of the Centurion, that thought himſelfe vnworthy to receiue Chriſt into his houſe, he ſheweth, by what waies and meanes Chriſt vſeth to enter into the faithfull. And two ſpeciall waies he expreſſly nameth in that place: The one, When any Godly man commeth to vs: The other, When we receiue the holy Communion. His words be theſe: Quando Sancti, & Deo acceptabilis Eccleſiarum Antiſtites &c. *When holy Biſhops, acceptable vnto God, enter into thy houſe, then by them the Lord doth enter. And be thou perſwaded, that thou receiueſt God himſelfe. Another meane is, when thou receiueſt that Incorruptible, and holy Banket.* Thus by this holy Fathers iudgement, as Chriſt entreth into vs by a Biſhop, or holy man, euen ſo he entreth into vs by the receiuing of the holy Myſteries. And ſo likewiſe he ſaith in the firſt Homily of the ſame Booke: Per Euangeliſtarum, & Apoſtolorum prædicationem, &c. *God is with vs by the preaching of the Euangeliſts, and Apoſtles: by the Sacrament of his holy Body, and Blood: and by the Signe of the glorious Croſſe.* By all theſe things God commeth to vs, and is in vs: as he himſelfe ſaith, *Behold I am with you all daies, vntill the Conſummation of the world.* Thus in the Old Teſtament, when the Arke of God was lifted vp, it ſeemed, God himſelfe was lifted vp. And therefore in lifting vp thereof, the Prieſtes ſaid, Exurgat Deus: Let the Lord ariſe: and when the Arke was brought into the Campe, they ſaid, *God himſelfe was come:* And when the Arke was taken, they ſaid, *The Glory of Iſrael was taken.*

Matth. 8. Luke 7.

Origen. in diuerſos Euangelij locos, homi. 1. Commeth to vs. Matth. 28. Numeri 10. 1. Regum 4.

Neither may we thinke, that Origen meant any Corporall, or Reall entring of Chriſt into our houſes. His owne words, and expoſition are to the contrary. For thus he writeth in the ſame place: Tantùm dic verbo: Tantùm veni verbo: verbum aſpectus tuus eſt, opuſque eſt conſummatum: Oſtende Abſens Corpore, quod Præſens ſpiritu conſummare potes: *Only (O Lord) ſpeake thou the word: Only come by the word: thy word is thy ſight, and a perfite worke: Being Abſent in thy Body, ſhew, that thou art able to make perfit, being preſent in ſpirit.* So ſaith Chriſt, *I and my Father will come vnto him, and will make our abode in him.* In which words we may not conceiue any Materiall, or Corporall comming. Therefore, whenſoeuer Chriſt entreth thus into our houſe, whether it be by ſome Holy Man, or by the Sacrament of his Body, or by the Signe of the Croſſe, or as S. Auguſtine ſaith, by Faith, or by the Sacrament of Baptiſme, Origen, teacheth vs to humble our hearts, and to ſay at euery ſuch comming, or preſence, *O Lord, I am not worthy that thou ſhouldeſt thus enter into my houſe.* If M. Harding will gather hereof, that Origen teacheth vs, to Adore the Sacrament: then muſt he alſo ſay, that Origen likewiſe teacheth vs to adore the Biſhop, or any other Godly man, and that euen as God, and with Godly honour.

Origen. in diuerſos Euang. locos, homi. 5. Abſens Corpore. Luk. 14.

Auguſtin. in Iohan. tractatu 50.

M. Harding. The 20. Diuiſion.

What can be thought of *S Cyprian*, but that he adored the inuiſible thing of this Sacrament, which is the Body, and Blood of Chriſt: ſeeing that he confeſſeth the Godhead to be in the ſame, no leſſe, then it was

The Inuiſible thing of the Sacrament is the Body, and Blood of Chriſt being in Heauen.

in

in the perſon of Chriſt, which he vttereth by theſe words? *Panis iſte quem Dominus diſcipulis porrigebat, &c.* This Bread which our Lord gaue to his Diſciples, changed not in ſhape, but in nature, by the almighty power of God is made Fleſh. And as in the perſon of Chriſt the Manhood was ſeene, and the Godhead was hidden, euen ſo the Diuine eſſence hath vnſpeakably infuſed it ſelfe into the viſible Sacrament. *In Sermone de Cœna Domini.*

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

This place of S. Cyprian is often alleged by M. Harding, as matter inuincible: and to anſwer it ſeuerally in euery place it would be tedious. Wherefore I thought it good to referre thee, gentle Reader, to the ſecond Diuiſion of the tenth Article, and to the Fourth Diuiſion of the 21. Article, where it ſhall be anſwered more at large. Howbeit, thus much we may note by the way, that S. Cyprian in this place ſpeaketh not one word of the Adoration of the Sacrament. As for M. Hardings ghoſtes, they import no proofe. By the way, as S. Cyprian ſaith, The Diuine Eſſence, as M. Harding turneth it, infuſeth it ſelfe into the Viſible Sacrament, ſo doth Paulinus ſay of the Water of Baptiſme: Concipit vnda Deum: *The Water conceiueth, or receiueth God.* And S. Auguſtine, ſpeaking likewiſe of Baptiſme: Sacramento ſuo Diuina Virtus aſſiſtit: *The Diuine power of God is aſſiſtant vnto the Sacrament.* *Auguſt. contra Donatiſt. li. 3. ca. 10.*

M. Harding. The 21. Diuiſion.

The 169. vntruth. For S. Chryſoſtome affirmeth no Reall preſence: but only aduanceth our minds into Heauen.

Chryſoſtome hath a notable place for the Adoration of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, in his Commentaries vpon S. Paul, where he affirmeth alſo the (169) Reall preſence, and the Sacrifice. Let vs not, let vs not (ſaith he) be willing impudently to kill our ſelues. And when thou ſeeſt that Body ſet foorth, ſay with thy ſelfe, For cauſe of this Body, I am no longer earth and aſhes, no longer captiue, but free. This Body faſtned (on the Croſſe) and beaten, was not ouercome with Death. After this, he exhorteth all to adore and worſhip our Lords Body in the Sacrament. * This Body (ſaith he) the Wiſe men worſhipped in the ſtall, and hauing taken a long iourney, being both wicked, and aliants, with verie great feare, and trembling adored him. Wherefore let vs follow at leaſt thoſe aliants, vs, I ſay, that are Citizens of Heauen. For they, whereas they ſaw but that ſtall, and Cabben only, and none of all the things thou ſeeſt now, came notwithſtanding with the greateſt reuerence, and feare, that was poſſible. But thou ſeeſt it not in a ſtall of beaſts, but on the Altar: not a woman to hold it in her armes, but a prieſt preſent, and the holy Ghoſt plentifully ſpread vpon the ſacrifice. This Father in his Maſſe maketh a praier in preſence of the bleſſed Sacrament, almoſt with the ſame words, that S. Baſil did. *Attende Domine Ieſu Chriſte Deus noſter, &c.* Looke vpon vs O Lord Ieſus Chriſt, our God, from thy holy habitacle, and from the Throne of the Glory of thy kingdome, and come to ſanctifie vs: who ſitteſt on high with the Father, and art heere inuiſibly with vs: and make vs worthy by thy mightie hand, that wee may be partakers of thy vnſpotted Body, and pretious Blood, and through vs, all the people. *In 10. cap. prioris ad Corinth.*

In the ſame Chryſoſtomes Liturgy, or Maſſe, a moſt euident teſtimonie of Adoration of the Sacrament is thus vttered: *Sacerdos adorat, & Diaconus in eo quo eſt loco, ter ſecretò dicentes: Deus propitius eſto, &c.* The Prieſt adoreth, and the Deacon likewiſe in the place he ſtandeth in, ſaying three times ſecretly: God be mercifull to me a ſinner. So the people, and likewiſe all, make their Adoration deuoutly, and reuerently.

In the ſame Father is another praier, which the Greeke Prieſts do vſe to this day at their Adoration of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, and it is expreſſed in theſe words, * *Domine non ſum dignus, &c.* Lord I am not worthy, that thou enter vnder the filthy roofe of my Soule. But as thou tookeſt in good part to lie in the denne, and ſtall of brute beaſts, and in the houſe of Simon the Leprous, receiuedſt alſo a harlot, and a ſinner like me comming vnto thee: Vouchſafe alſo to enter into the ſtall of my Soule void of reaſon, * and into my filthy Body being dead and Leprous. And as thou didſt not abhorre the foule mouth of a harlot, kiſſing thine vndefiled feet: So my Lord God, abhorre not me though a ſinner, but vouchſafe of thy goodneſſe, and benignitie, that I may be made partaker of thy moſt holy Body and Blood.

The 169. vntruth. For S. Chryſoſtome affirmeth no Reall preſence: but only aduanceth our minds into Heauen.
* This Body heere repreſented by this Sacrament.
In the preſence of the Sacrament, but not to the Sacrament.
* This Praier is directed vnto Chriſt himſelfe: not vnto the Sacrament, nor to any thing Really contrined in the Sacrament.
* By a Myſticall maner of ſpeech Chriſt entreth into our Bodies, when we receiue the Sacrament of Chriſt into our Bodies.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

The anſwer, that is already made vnto Dionyſius, and Origen, may alſo ſerue to that, is here alleged of Chryſoſtome. Yet for ſome further declaration of Chryſoſtomes meaning, it may pleaſe thee, good Chriſtian Reader, to vnderſtand, that Chryſoſtome in the very ſame Homily here alleged, writeth thus: Quid Significat Panis? Corpus Chriſti: *What doth the Bread ſignifie? The Body of Chriſt.* And in his Homilies vpon S. Matthew he writeth thus: In iſtis vaſis, non eſt Verum Corpus Chriſti, ſed Myſterium Corporis eius continetur: *In theſe veſſels is not the very Body of Chriſt, but a Myſtery of his Body is therein contained.* And therefore in the ſame Homily vpon the Epiſtle to the Corinthians, he withdraweth the minds of the people from the Senſible Elements of the Bread, and the Wine, and lifteth them vp by Spirituall cogitations into Heauen. Thus he ſpeaketh vnto the people: Vbi Cadauer, ibi Aquilæ. Cadauer eſt Domini Corpus propter Mortem. Aquilas autem appellat, vt oſtendat, ad alta eum oportere contendere, qui ad hoc Corpus accedit: *Where as the Carkaſſe is, there are the Eagles. The Carkaſſe is the Lords Body, becauſe of his Death. But Eagles he nameth, to ſhew, that he muſt flee on high, that will come neere to that Body.* Afterward he addeth thus: Aſcende ergo ad Cœli portas, & diligenter attende: imò non Cœli, ſed Cœli Cœlorum: & tunc, quod dicimus, intueberis: *Therefore goe vp vnto the gates of Heauen, and marke diligently: Nay, I ſay not to the gates of Heauen, but of the Heauen of*

Chryſoſtom. in 1. Corin. hom. 24.
Chryſoſt. in Opere Imperfecto, hom. 11.
Chryſoſtom. in 1. Corin. homi. 24.

of Heauens: then ſhalt thou ſee the things, that I ſpeake of. Thus therefore that Godly Father Chryſoſtome dealeth with his people, as if they were already in Heauen, and willeth them to behold, not the Bread, and Wine, which are things corruptible, but the very Body, and Blood of Chriſt: not the outward Sacrament, but the Subſtance of the Sacrament: not the things that lie preſent before them, but the things, that, touching Bodily preſence, are away. For in the holy Communion there is none other ſight laid before vs, but only the Croſſe, and Death of Chriſt, and that Lambe of God, that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. *And the very cogitation hereof, ſaith* S. Auguſtine, *ſo mooueth our hearts, as if we ſaw Chriſt hanging preſently before vs vpon his Croſſe.* *De Conſ. Diſt. 2. Semel mortuus.*

In this wiſe therefore, hauing remoued the peoples hearts into Heauen, and placed them euen in the ſight of Chriſt, he ſaith further vnto them: *For this Bodies ſake thou art no longer duſt and aſhes: This Body hath made thee free: This Body was broken for thee vpon the Croſſe: This Body muſt we Adore, as the Wiſe men did: This Body not now vpon the Earth, but at the Right hand of God in Heauen:* This Body, that thou ſeeſt with thy Spirit, and touchest with thy Faith, whereof the Sacrament that thou receiueſt, is a Myſtery. So ſaith Emiſſenus: Sacrum Dei tui Corpus Fide reſpice, mente continge, Cordis manu ſuſpice: *With thy Faith behold the holy Body of thy God, touch it with thy mind, receiue it with the hand of thy Heart.* *De Conſ. Diſt. 2. Quia Corpus.*

But M. Harding will reply, Chryſoſtome *ſaith, As Chriſt was in the ſtall, ſo he is now vpon the Altar: and, as he was ſometimes in the Womans Armes, ſo he is now in the Prieſts hands.* True it is, Chriſt was there: and Chriſt is here: but not in one, or like ſort of Being. For he was in the ſtall by Bodily Preſence: vpon the holy Table he is by way of a Sacrament. The woman in her armes held him Really: the Prieſt in his hands holdeth him only in a Myſtery. So ſaith S. Paul, *Chriſt dwelleth in our harts:* and no doubt, the ſame Chriſt, that lay in the ſtall. It is one, and the ſame Chriſt: but the difference ſtandeth in the maner of his Being there. For in the ſtall he lay by preſence of his Body: in our harts he lieth by preſence of Faith. Ephe. 3.

If this expoſition ſeme to M. Harding ouer exquiſite, or curious, then will I ſay further: Chriſt is ſo vpon the Table, as the Faithfull people is vpon the Table. S. Auguſtine ſpeaking to the people ſaith thus: Vos eſtis in Menſa, vos eſtis in Calice: *You are vpon the Table: you are in the Cuppe.* But the people is not there Groſſely, Really, and indeed, but in a Myſtery. Euen ſo is Chriſts Body vpon the Table, not Groſſely, not Really, or indeed, but in a Myſtery. And as Chryſoſtome ſaith, *The Prieſt holdeth Chriſt in his hand,* euen ſo S Gregorie ſaith, Abel *held Chriſt in his hand,* and that feure thouſand yeres before Chriſt was borne: and yet, not a bare ſigne, or a naked token, but the very ſame Chriſt, that Eſay ſaw, and that Iohn Baptiſt pointed with his finger. For thus ſtand his words: Quem Iohannes in oſtenſione, quem Eſaias in locutione, hunc Abel ſignificando in manibus tenuit. Thus Chryſoſtome ſaith, the Prieſt holdeth Chriſt in his hand, as Iohn Baptiſt held him: as Eſay held him: as Abel held him. *Auguſtin. Citatur à Beda in 1. Corin. 10.* *Gregori. in Iohum. li. 29. ca. 38.*

And, that this was Chryſoſtomes meaning, it appeareth by the very forme, and order of his words. For he ſaith, Thou ſeeſt the holy Ghoſt: Thou Seeſt, and Toucheſt that princely Body. Thus he ſpeaketh of a Spirituall ſeing, and touching, wherewith we ſee, and touch things, be they neuer ſo farre abſent from vs. For otherwiſe, touching bodily ſight, M. Harding knoweth, the Holy Ghoſt cannot be ſeene: and by his owne Doctrine, the Body of Chriſt is there Inuiſible.

But leſt M. Harding take occaſion hereof, to ſay, *This is a Fantaſticall, and a vaine kind of ſeeing;* Let him remember the words that S. Hierome writeth to Paula, and Euſtochium touching their abode at Bethleem: Magos tria deferentes munera in viſione beatis oculis vidiſti. Ipſa eadem munera Fide Deo obtuliſti: Cum iiſdem Magis Deum Puerum in Præſepio adoraſti: *Thou ſaweſt with thy happie eies the Wiſe men carrying their three ſorts of preſents: Thou tookeſt the ſame preſents, and offereſt them vnto God by Faith: with the ſame Wiſe men thou Adoreſt God being a Child in the Manger.* She ſaw the Wiſe men, and yet ſaw them not: She receiued their Preſents, and yet receiued them not: She adored the Child in the Manger, and yet the child was not there. Thus ſhe did, not verily, or indeed: and yet not vainly, nor by way of Fantaſie notwithſtanding: but truely, and effectually, by Preſence of Faith. *Hieronym. ad Paulum & Euſtochium.*

Thus did the Wiſe men ſee Chriſt: thus doe we now ſee Chriſt. Thus did they worſhip him: thus doe we worſhip him. They ſaw him, and worſhipped him being in Earth: we ſee him, and worſhip him being in Heauen. They had him Bodily preſent: we haue him Bodily Abſent, and Preſent only to our Faith.

And in this behalfe S. Ambroſe ſaith: Magis videtur, quòd non videtur: *It is beſt ſeene, that is not ſeene.* That is to ſay, We ſee more certainely with our Faith, then we can ſee with *Ambroſ. de his qui initiantur Myſteriis. ca. 3.*

with the eies of our Body. For our Bodily eie may deceiue vs: But the eie of our Soule, which is Faith, cannot deceiue vs.

M. Hardings reason hereof standeth thus: The Priest at the time of the holy Ministration said, *O God be mercifull to me being a sinner.* And, *Looke vpon vs, O Lord Iesus Christ our God, from thy holy Tabernacle, and from the Throne of thy Glory*: Ergo, *he made his praiers, and gaue Adoration to the Sacrament.* Of the same premisses he might much better conclude the contrary: The Priest withdrew his mind from these Sensible, and Corruptible Elements, and Adored Christ being in Heauen in his Tabernacle, and in the Throne of his Glory, Ergo, he did not Adore the Sacrament.

M. Harding. The 22. Diuision.

S. Ambrose after long search and discussion, how that saying of the Prophet might be vnderstanded, Adore and worship yee his footstoole, because it is holy: at length concludeth so, as by the footstoole he vnderstandeth the Earth, because it is written, Heauen is my seat, and the Earth is my foorstoole: And because the Earth is not to be Adored, for that it is a creature, by this Earth, he vnderstandeth that Earth, which our Lord Iesus tooke in the Assumption of his Flesh of the Virgin Mary, and hereupon he vttereth those plaine words for testimony of the Adoration: *Itaque per Scabellum Terra intelligitur, per Terram autem Caro Christi, quam hodie quoque in Mysteriis Adoramus: & quam Apostoli in Domino Iesu Adorarunt.* And thus by the Footstoole Earth may be vnderstanded, and by Earth, the Flesh of Christ, which euen now adaies also we Adore in the Mysteries, and the Apostles Adored in our Lord Iesus. *De Spiritu Sancto li. 3. ca. 12. Psal. 96. Esai. 66.*

S. Augustines learned handling of this place of the Psalme, Adore ye his Footstoole, because it is Holy, maketh so euidently for this purpose, that of all other authorities, which in great number might be brought for proofe of the same, it ought least to be omitted. The place being long, I will recite it in English only. His words be these: Adore ye his Footstoole: because it is Holy. See ye Brethren, what that is, he biddeth vs to Adore. In an other place the Scripture saith: Heauen is my Seat, and the Earth is my Footstoole. What doth he then bid vs, Adore, and worship the Earth, because he said in an other place, that it is the Footstoole of God? And how shall we Adore the Earth, whereas the Scripture saith plainly, Thou shalt Adore thy Lord thy God; and here he saith, Adore ye his footstoole? But he expoundeth to me, what his footstoole is, and saith: and the Earth is my Footstoole. I am made doubtfull; afraid I am to adore the Earth, lest he damne me, that made Heauen and Earth. Againe, I am afraid to adore the footstoole of my Lord, because the Psalme saith to me, Adore ye his Footstoole. I seeke, what thing is his Footstoole, and the Scripture telleth me, The Earth is my Footstoole. Being thus wauering, I turne me to Christ, because him I seeke here, and I find, how without impiety the Earth may be adored. For he tooke of Earth, Earth, because Flesh is of Earth, and of the Flesh of Mary he tooke Flesh. And because he walked here in Flesh, and that very Flesh he gaue vs to eat to Saluation, and no man eateth that Flesh, except first he adore it: it is found out how such a Footstoole of our Lord may be adored, and how we not only sinne not by adoring, but sinne by not adoring. Doth not the Flesh quicken, and giue life? Our Lord himselfe said, when he spake of the condemnation of it selfe of that Earth: It is the spirit that quickneth, but the Flesh profiteth nothing. Therefore, when thou bowest thy selfe, and fallest downe to euery such Earth, behold it not as Earth, but that holy One, whose footstoole it is, that thou dost adore, for because of him thou dost adore. And therefore here he added: Adore ye his Footstoole, because it is Holy. Who is holy? He for whose loue thou adorest his footstoole. And when thou adorest him, remaine not by cogitation in Flesh, that thou be not quickned of the Spirit. For the Spirit, saith he, quickneth, and the Flesh profiteth nothing. And then, when our Lord commended this vnto vs, he had spoken of his Flesh, and had said: Except a man eat my Flesh, he shall not haue in him life Euerlasting. *In Psal. 98. Esai. 66. Deut 6.10. Matth. 4. Iohan. 6.*

We eat Christ sitting in Heauen: And so we Adore him, not lying vnder Accidents, but sitting in Heauen.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

S. Ambrose, and S. Augustine, as they agree together for the exposition of the Psalme, so, touching the matter it selfe, neither doe they any wise disagree from vs, nor any wise agree with M. Harding. They teach vs humbly to Adore Christs Flesh: but they teach vs not to Adore the Sacrament of Christs Flesh. Thus M. Harding hath taken a needlesse labour, to proue a matter, that is already proued: but the thing, that he should haue proued, he toucheth not. This is too bold abusing of the simple Reader, to beare him in hand, that these godly Fathers teach vs to Adore the Sacrament, that spake not one word of Adoring the Sacrament.

But M. Harding will say, *We must Adore the Flesh of Christ.* We grant: we beleeue it: it is our Faith: we teach the people, as the old learned Fathers did, that no man eateth that Flesh, but first he Adoreth it: and that he deadly offendeth God, and is wicked, and guilty of the Lords Body, that Adoreth it not. *Ambrose. in Sermone 58. De Maria Magdalena.*

But as we Eat it, so we Adore it. We eat it sitting in Heauen at the Right hand of God: Thither we lift vp our hearts, and there we Adore it. S. Ambrose saith, Stephanus in terris positus, Christum tangit in Cœlo: *Steuen standing in the Earth, toucheth Christ being in Heauen.* Againe he saith: Non Corporali tactu Christum, sed Fide tangimus: *We touch Christ by Faith, and not by Corporall touching.* And as we touch Christ, so we see him: that is, with the Spirituall eies of our Faith: and not otherwise. So S. Ambrose saith in the place before alleged: Stephanus intra Cœlos Dominum cernit absentem: *Steuen seeth Christ being absent within the Heauens.* And for proofe hereof, that all that Glorious sight was meere Spirituall, and not offered to the Corporall eie of the Bodie, S. Augustine *Ambrose. in Sermone 58. De Maria Magdalena. Ambrose. in Lucam, li. 10. ca. 24.*

saith,

ſaith, that S. Steuen ſtod then vnder a roſe before the Iudges, & ſaw the Heauens open, when with his Bodily eies he was not able to loke vp, and to ſee the Heauens. There, we ſee Chriſts Body: there we approch vnto it: there we touch it: there we taſte it: there we eat it: there we adore it. And doth M. Harding thinke, that the Religion of Chriſt is ſo groſſe, and ſo ſenſible, that we cannot eat or adore his Body, vnleſſe it lie Corporally Preſent before our eies? Verily S. Auguſtine ſaith: Si Reſurrexiſtis cum Chriſto, dicit fidelibus, dicit Corpus, & Sanguinem Domini accipientibus, ſi Reſurrexiſtis cum Chriſto, quæ ſurſum ſunt ſapite, vbi Chriſtus eſt in dextra Dei ſedens: quæ ſurſum ſunt quærite, non quæ ſuper Terram: *If ye be riſen againe with Chriſt, S. Paul ſaith vnto the faithfull, and vnto them that receiue the Body and Blood of Chriſt, If ye be riſen againe with Chriſt, ſauour the things that be aboue, where Chriſt is ſitting at the right hand of God: Seeke the things that be aboue, and not the things that be vpon the Earth.* And in this very place by M. Harding alleged he ſaith: Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus ſum. Non hoc Corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis: *Vnderſtand you Spiritually that I haue ſaid vnto you. You ſhall not eat* (with your bodily Mouthes) *this Body of mine that ye ſee.* Thus S. Auguſtine in the ſame place expoundeth, and openeth his owne meaning. Doubtleſſe, as the wicked may diſhonor Chriſt, ſo may the godly honor him. But the wicked, as S. Paul ſaith, doe crucifie the Son of God being in Heauen: and Chriſt being in Heauen, ſaith vnto Paul being in the Earth beneath: Saul, Saul, Why doeſt thou perſecute me? Therefore the godly being in Earth, may likewiſe adore and honour Chriſt being in Heauen. But they will replie, S. Ambroſe ſaith, We doe adore Chriſts Fleſh in the Miſteries. Hereof groweth their whole error. For S. Ambroſe ſaith not, We doe adore the Miſteries, or the Fleſh of Chriſt Really Preſent, or Materially contained in the Miſteries, as it is ſuppoſed by M. Harding. Onely he ſaith: *We adore Chriſts Fleſh in the Myſteries*: that is to ſay, In the miniſtration of the Miſteries. And doubtleſſe, it is our duty to adore the Body of Chriſt in the Word of God: in the Sacrament of Baptiſme: in the Myſteries of Chriſts Body and Blod: and whereſoeuer we ſee any ſtep or token of it: but ſpecially in the holy Myſteries, for that there is liuely laid forth before vs the whole ſtory of Chriſts Converſation in the Fleſh. But this adoration, as it is ſaid before, neither is directed to the Sacraments, nor requireth any Corporall or Reall Preſence. So S. Hierome ſaith: *Paula Adored Chriſt in the Stall* And, *That he himſelfe Adored Chriſt in the Graue.* And S. Chryſoſtome teacheth vs, *To adore Chriſts Body in the Sacrament of Baptiſme.* Yet neither was Chriſts body then Really preſent in the Stall or Graue: nor is it now preſent in the Water of Baptiſme. Thus S. Ambroſe ſaith, We adore the Fleſh of Chriſt in the Myſteries.

Auguſt. De cognitione veræ vitæ, cap. 42.

Auguſt. in Pſalm. 39.

Coloſſ. 3.

Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 98.

Hebræ. 6. Actor. 9.

Hieronym. ad Paulam & Euſtochi, Chryſoſt. in Marcum Homil. 14.

M. Harding. The 23. Deuiſion.

Againe, S. Auguſtine ſheweth the maner and cuſtome of his time touching the Adoration of Chriſt in the Sacrament, writing thus *ad Honoratum*, vpon the verſe of the 21. Pſalme: *Edent Pauperes, & ſaturabuntur*, that is, the poore ſhall eat, and be filled: and vpon that other: *Manducauerunt & adorauerunt omnes diuites terræ*, All the rich of the earth haue eaten and adored. It is not without cauſe (ſaith hee) that the rich and the poore be ſo diſtincted, that of the poore it was ſaid before, The poore ſhall eat and be filled: and heere (of the rich) they haue eaten and adored all that bee the rich of the earth. For they haue beene brought to the Table of Chriſt, and do take of his Body and Blood, but they doe adore only, and be not alſo filled, foraſmuch as they do not follow him.

Pſal. 118. ſ. 21.

Likewiſe in his Expoſition vpon that Pſalme; All the rich alſo (ſaith hee there) of the earth haue eaten the Body of the humbleneſſe of their Lord, neither haue they beene filled as the poore, vntill the following. But yet they haue adored and worſhipped (170) It, that is, by adoration they haue acknowledged Chriſt their Lord there preſent.

Pſal. 21.

The 170. Vntrueth, Standing in vntrue interpretation. M. Harding addeth (It) of his owne.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

This place may be paſſed ouer with the former anſwer. S. Auguſtine heere ſpeaketh of the Adoring of Chriſt, & not one word of the Adoring of the Sacrament. The whole drift of his talke ſtandeth in an Allegory of Hungring, Eating, Filling and Adoring. We hunger Chriſt: we eat Chriſt: we be filled with Chriſt ſitting in Heauen: and likewiſe we adore and worſhip Chriſt ſitting in Heauen.

But S. Auguſtine ſaith: Comedunt Pauperem: *They eat Chriſt being poore.* We know, that Chriſt is now no longer in the diſpenſation of his pouerty. *God hath exalted him, and giuen him a Name aboue all Names, and made all things ſubiect to his feet.* But S. Auguſtine calleth him Poore, for that he ſo humbled himſelfe, and became obedient vnto the Death, euen vnto the Death of the Croſſe. In this reſpect of his Croſſe, of his Death, of his Pouerty we embrace him: we liue by that Body that was broken for vs: we be refreſhed by that Blod, that was ſhed for vs. And thus we Eat Chriſt, and be releaued, and haue our life by him, only in reſpect of his Blodſhedding, and of his Pouerty.

Philippen. 2. Hebræ. 2. Epheſ. 1.

The Poore that haue refuſed and forſaken themſelues, Eat Chriſt ſitting in Heauen,

and are filled with him. But the Rich eat him and adore him likewise sitting in Heauen: but they are not filled. They see, that Christ is the very true Messias, that was loked for: they see, that all things are fulfilled that were written of him in the Prophets, and that his name is published vnto the ends of the world: they beleeue that there is none other name vnder Heauen, whereby they can be saued. Therefore they professe his name: they beleeue in him: they eat him and adore him. But they make some account of the World: they forsake not themselues: they follow not Christ: and therefore they are not filled with him. Thus doth S. Augustine expound his owne meaning: Inde erat Piscator, &c.

Actor. 13. Roman. 10. Actor. 4.

Of those poore was Peter, and Iohn, and Iames, and Matthew the Publican. They did eat and were filled: for they suffered the same things that they had eaten. Christ gaue to them his Supper: he gaue to them his passion: he is filled that followeth the same. Hitherto S. Augustine speaketh not one word of adoration, either of the Sacrament, or of Christs Body, as being Really present in the Sacrament. Therefore M. Harding was the more blame worthy, thus to adde words of his own vnto S. Augustine, and so vtterly to falsifie and to corrupt his meaning. It is no good Catholike point, so to vse the old Fathers. Verily, whereas S. Augustine writeth thus: Nec sicut pauperes saturati sunt vsque ad imitationem: sed tamen Adorauerunt:

Augustin. in eundem Psalm.

Neither were they filled as the poore, euen vnto the following: and yet notwithstanding they Adored.

M. Harding addeth thereto of his owne, a prety little (it) which he found not in S. Augustine: and so maketh it vp thus, But yet they haue Adored and worshipped it? and, as if it were good text of S. Augustine, afterward he furnisheth it out with this Exposition or Commentary of his owne: that is, *They haue acknowledged by adoration Christ their Lord there present.* His friends will hardly thinke, there is so much cunning in his dealing. He cannot lightly lacke authorities, as long as he can thus shape them of his own. But S. Augustine knoweth not neither this Commentary, nor this Text: nor euer gaue M. Harding to vnderstand of this Corporall Presence, As it is said, and proued before, we see Christ, and worship Christ sitting in Heauen. Certainly S. Augustine, who best knew his owne minde, saith thus: Habes aurum: sed nondum tenes præsentem Christum: *Thou hast gold, but thou holdest not yet Christ present.* S. Augustine saith: *Christ is not heere present.* M. Hardings commentary saith: Christ is heere present. Now let the Reader consider, whether of these two he will beleeue.

It.

Augustin. Domini, quinta post Trinita. Sermo. 1.

M. Harding. The 24. Diuision.

Furthermore writing against Faustus the Heretike of the Manichees sect, amongst other things he sheweth how the Ethnickes thought that Christian people for the honor they did before the blessed Sacrament, that is, of Bread and Wine Consecrated, did honor Bacchus and Ceres, which were false Gods honored of the Genules for the inuention of Wine & Corn. Wherof may iustly be gathered an argument, that in those daies faithfull people worshipped the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, vnder the formes of Bread and Wine. For els the Infidels could not haue suspected them of doing Idolatry to Bacchus & Ceres.

This conclusion is not wel considered. For the Heathens neuer worthipped Bacchus and Ceres, vnder the forms of Bread and Wine.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

This gheese hath neither sense nor sauor in it: and therefore I maruell, that M. Harding being learned, and hauing, as he saith, such store and choice of other, would euer vse this for an argument. For the very children in Grammer Schools can tell him, that the Heathens, that Adored Bacchus and Ceres, as their Gods, yet notwithstanding neuer gaue godly honor to Bread and Wine. And Cicero himselfe, being an Heathen, was able to say, Quis tam stultus est, vt id quo vescitur, credat esse Deum? *Who is so very a foole, that will beleeue the thing that he eateth, to be his God?* And in like sort Iuuenal an Heathen Poet, scorneth at this folly: O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in agris Numina! *O happy is that people, that hath Gods growing in their fields!* The Heathens in their rude Gentility thought that Bacchus and Ceres had first found out, and taught them the vse of Bread and Wine: whereas before they fed of Akecornes, and dranke water: and therefore in remembrance, and witnesse of so great a benefit, they honoured the one with Bread, and the other with Wine. But that they euer honored the Elements of Bread & Wine, I thinke M. Harding is not able well to shew: Therefore he might haue formed his argument in this sort: *The Christians were thought to honour their Sacraments, as the Heathens honoured Bread and Wine: But the Heathens neuer honoured Bread and Wine with godly honour:*

Cicero de Natura Deorum. Iuuenalis.

Ergo, *The Christians neuer honoured their Sacraments with godly honour.*

M. Harding. The 25. Diuision.

One other most euident place touching this honor and adoration, we find in him rehearsed by Gratian, *Li. Sanctæ. Presb.* We do honor (saith he) *in forme of Bread and Wine, which we see, things inuisible, that is to say, flesh and blood. *Neither take we likewise these two forms, as we tooke them before Consecration. Sith that we do faithfully grant, that before Consecration it is Bread & Wine, which Nature hath shapte; but after Consecration, flesh and blood of Christ, which the blessing (of the Priest) hath Consecrated.

De Consecr. dist. 2. can. Nos autē.

*By this word Forme S Augustine meaneth the Substance and kinde of Bread.
*The Accidents of the Bread are after Consecration, as they were before.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

First, this authority here alleged, is not to be found, neither in S. Augustine, in whose name it is brought, nor in the sentences of Prosper. As for Gratian, M. Harding knoweth

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he is a common falſifier of the Doctors, therefore his credit in ſuch caſes cannot be great. Notwithſtanding touching the matter, we know, that Bread, Wine & Water, of themſelues be nothing els, but corruptible and ſimple creatures. If we conceiue none otherwiſe of them, than they be of themſelues, then all our Sacraments be in vaine. Therefore the godly Fathers labour euermore, to draw vs from the outward viſible Creatures, to the meaning and ſubſtance of the Sacraments. And to that end S. Auguſtine ſaith: In Sacramentis videndum eſt, non quid ſint, ſed quid ſignificent. *In Sacraments we muſt conſider, not what they be indeed, but what they ſignifie.* So it is written in the Councell of Nice: Vides Aquam? Cogita Diuinam Vim quæ in Aqua latet: *Seeſt thou the Water of Baptiſme?* (it is not that, it was before) *Conſider thou that Heauenly Power, that lieth hidden in the Water.* So Chryſoſtome ſaith: Antequam Sanctificetur Panis, panem nominamus: Diuina autem Sanctificante illum Gratia, mediante Sacerdote, liberatus eſt quidem ab appellatione Panis: dignus autem habitus eſt Dominici Corporis appellatione: etiamſi Natura Panis in illo remanſerit: *The Bread before it is Sanctified, is called Bread: but being Sanctified by the Heauenly Grace, by meane of the Prieſt, it is deliuered from the name of Bread, and thought worthy of the name of the Lords Body: notwithſtanding the nature of Bread remaine in it ſtill.* Thus, as Chryſoſtome ſaith: The Bread remaineth ſtill Bread, in his former Kind & Subſtance, without any ſuch Tranſubſtantiation or change of nature, as is now imagined. The words be plaine: M. Harding cannot denie them. And yet notwithſtanding, it is not the thing it was before, becauſe it is alſo called the Lords Body. So likewiſe ſaith S. Auguſtine: Quicunque in Manna Chriſtum intellexerunt, eundem, quem nos Spiritualem Cibum manducarunt: *As many as in Manna vnderſtood Chriſt, they did eat the ſame Spirituall Meate, that we eat* (that is, the holy Body of Chriſt.) And ſo vnto them Manna was Chriſts Body, and not the ſame thing it was before. And for better Declaration hereof, Bertramus ſaith: Chriſtus vt nunc Panem conuertit in Corpus ſuum, ita tum Manna de Cœlo datum ſuum Corpus Inuiſibiliter operatus eſt: *Chriſt, as he now turneth the Bread into his Body, euen ſo then in like ſort the Manna that fell from Heauen, inuiſibly hee made his Body.* Thus, as the Bread is Chriſts Body, euen ſo was Manna Chriſts Body: and that inuiſibly, and by the omnipotent Power of God. Thus are the elements of Manna, of the Bread, of the Wine, and of the Water, changed, and are not as they were before: and therefore in euery of the ſame we honor the Body of Chriſt Inuiſible, not as Really and Fleſhly preſent, but as being in Heauen. This whole matter, and the cauſes therof, S. Auguſtine ſeemeth to open in this wiſe: Signacula quidem rerum Diuinarum eſſe Viſibilia, &c. *Let the new Chriſtned man be taught, that Sacraments be Viſible ſignes of Heauenly things, & that the things themſelues that he ſeeth not, muſt be honored in them, and that the ſame kind and element* (Bread, Wine, or Water) *is not ſo to be taken, as it is in daily vſe. Let him alſo be taught what the words mean, that he hath heard, and what is hidden* (and to be beleeued) *in Chriſt, whoſe Image or Likenes that thing* (that is, that Sacrament) *beareth.* Headdeth further: Deinde monendus eſt, ex hac occaſione, vt ſi quid etiam in Scripturis audiat, quod Carnaliter ſonet, etiamſi non intelligat, credat tamen Spirituale aliquid ſignificari: *Moreouer, vpon occaſion heere of he muſt be taught, that if he heare any thing euen in the Scriptures, that ſound Carnally, yet hee thinke, there is ſome Spirituall thing meant by it.*

Auguſt. contra Maximinum, li. 3. Concil. Nicen. κρυπτομένην. Chryſ. ad Ceſarium Monachum.

Auguſt. de Vtilitate Pœnitentia. 1. Corin. 10.

Bertramus, de Sacramen. Euchariſtiæ.

Auguſt. de Catechizandis Rudibus, ca. 26.

M. Harding. The 26. Diuiſion.

Leauing a number of places that might be alleged out of the ancient Fathers for the confirmation of this matter, to auoid tediouſneſſe, I will conclude with that moſt plaine place of Theodoretus, who ſpeaking of the outward ſignes of the Sacrament, ſaith, that notwithſtanding they remaine after the Myſticall bleſſing (171) in the propriety of their former Nature, as thoſe that may be ſeene and felt, no leſſe than before: yet they are vnderſtanded and beleeued to be the things which they are made by vertue of Conſecration, and are worſhipped with godly honor. His words be theſe: *Intelligantur ea eſſe, quæ facta ſunt, & credantur, & adorentur, vt quæ illa ſint, quæ creduntur:* Theſe myſticall Signes (ſaith he, are vnderſtanded to be thoſe things which they are made, and ſo they are beleeued, and are adored, as being the things which they are beleeued to be. With which words Theodoretus affirmeth both the Reall Preſence, and alſo the Adoration. The Reall Preſence, in that he ſaith, theſe outward ſignes or tokens after Conſecration to be made things which are not ſeene, but vnderſtanded and beleeued, whereby he ſignifieth the Inuiſible thing of this Sacrament, the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Adoration he teacheth with expreſſe termes, and that becauſe through power of the Myſticall bleſſing, the ſignes be in exiſtence, and indeed the things which they are beleeued to be, ſoothly, the Body & Blood of Chriſt. For otherwiſe God forbid, that Chriſtian people ſhould be taught to adore and worſhip the inſenſible Creatures, Bread and Wine. Of which he ſaith, that they are adored, not as ſignes, not ſo in no wiſe, but as being the things which they are beleeued to be. Now I report me to the Chriſtian Reader, whether this Adoration of the Sacrament, whereby we meane the godly worſhip of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, bee a new deuice, or no, brought into the Church but lately, about three hundred yeeres paſt, as M. Iewel maketh himſelfe ſure of it in his Sermon.

Reg. 2.

171. vntruth: for Theodoretus ſaith, *Manent in priori Subſtantia.* By M. Hardings conſtruction, the outward ſignes are Chriſts Body and muſt be worſhipped with godly honour.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

By theſe words of Theodoret, M. Harding thinketh himſelfe able to proue both Reall Preſence, and alſo Adoration of the Sacrament: and I doubt not, but the diſcreet Reader ſhall ſone perceiue, he hath proued aſwell the one as the other. Touching Re-

all Preſence Theodoretus ſpeaketh nothing, no not one word. His maner of ſpeach ſeemeth rather to incline to Tranſubſtantiation: wherunto notwithſtanding Theodoretus is an enemy, and thinketh it a great folly proceeding of ignorance, as it ſhall appeare. And whereas Theodoretus imagineth two men to reaſon together by way of a Dialogue, a Catholike man, and an Heretike, M. Harding is faine for defenſe of his Doctrine, to take part with the Heritike, and to vſe his arguments, as if they were Catholike. For thus the Heritike there ſaith, euen as M. Harding now ſaith: Symbola Dominici Corporis, & Sanguinis, alia quidem ſunt ante Inuocationem Sacerdotis: Sed poſt Inuocationem mutantur, & alia ſiunt: *The Sacraments or Signes of Chriſts Body and Blood, are one thing before the Bleſſing of the Prieſt: But after the Bleſſing they are changed, and made other things.* And he ſpeaketh of the change of Subſtance, as M. Harding doth. The Catholike man maketh anſwer: Signa Myſtica poſt Sanctificationem non recedunt à Natura ſua. Manent enim in Priori Subſtantia, & Figura, & Forma: *Nay mary. The Myſticall Signes after the Bleſſing* (of the Prieſt) *depart not from their owne Nature. For they remaine in their former Subſtance, and Figure, and Forme.* He ſaith further: *Yet the ſame Bread and Wine remaining as they were before, are vnderſtanded and Beleeued, and Adored, as the things, that they are Beleeued.*

Theodoret. Dialogo 2. Inconfuſus.

Vt quæ ſint illa quæ creduntur.

Here good Chriſtian Reader, note by the way: M. Harding ſaith, The Nature and Subſtance of the Bread and Waine, is vtterly aboliſhed, and done away: But the Catholike man ſaith: *The ſame Nature and Subſtance remaineth ſtill, as it was before.* If the Catholike mans ſaying be Catholike, then M. Hardings ſaying is not Catholike.

M. Harding will replie, But theſe Signes are honoured. Euen ſo S. Auguſtine ſaith: Baptiſma, vbicunque eſt, veneramur: *We honour Baptiſme, whereſoeuer it be.* But for anſwer herto, vnderſtand thou good Reader, that Theodoret was a Greek Biſhop, and that the Grecians neuer vſed to giue godly honour to the Sacrament vntill this day. Further vnderſtand thou, that S. Ambroſe touching the Sacrament, writeth thus: Veniſti ad Altare: vidiſti Sacramenta poſita ſuper Altare: &, ipſam quidem miratus es Creaturam. Tamen Creatura ſolennis, & nota: *Thou cameſt to the Altar: thou ſaweſt the Sacraments laid vpon the ſame: and diddeſt marueil at the very Creature. Yet is it a Creature vſed and knowen.*

Auguſt. epiſt. 164.

Ambroſ. de Sacrament. li. 4. c. 3.

Here S. Ambroſe calleth the Sacrament a Creature, and that twice together in one place. I thinke, M. Harding will not haue vs beleeue, that Theodoretus, being ſo godly a man, gaue godly honour vnto a Creature.

But Theodoretus ſaith, They are honoured. This is already anſwered in the laſt Obiection. For as S. Auguſtine teacheth vs, *In Sacraments we muſt conſider, not what they be indeed, but what they Signifie.* And in this ſenſe they are vnderſtanded, and beleeued & adored, as by ſignification being, or repreſenting the things that are beleeued. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Sacramenta ſunt verba Viſibilia: *Sacraments be viſible Words.* But Words are often times put for the things that are ſignified by the Words. So ſaith S. Hilary: Verba Dei ſunt illa quæ enuntiant: *The Words of God be the very things that they vtter or ſignifie.* So Chriſt ſaith: *My Words be Spirit and Life,* becauſe they be Inſtruments of Spirit and Life. And ſo Origen ſaith: Hoc quod modò loquimur, ſunt carnes Chriſti: *The very words that I now ſpeake, are the fleſh of Chriſt.* Euen in this ſort the Sacraments are the Fleſh of Chriſt, and are ſo Vnderſtanded, and Beleeued and Adored. But the whole honour reſteth not in them, but is paſſed ouer from them to the things that be ſignified.

Auguſt. contra Maximin. l. 3.

Auguſtin. contra Fauſtum Manichæ. lib. 19. ca. 15.

Hilar. de Trin. li. 6.

Iohan. 6.

Origen. in Numer. homil. 23.

M. Harding will ſay, By this Conſtruction, Adorantur, is as much to ſay, as Non Adorantur: *They are honoured,* that is, *They are not honoured*: but onely lead vs to thoſe things that muſt be honoured. Herein is none inconuenience. For ſo it appeareth, Theodoretus expounded his owne meaning. His words immediatly following are theſe: Confer ergo Imaginem cum exemplari, & videbis ſimilitudinem. Oportet enim Figuram eſſe Veritati ſimilem: *Compare therefore the Image* (that is, the Sacrament) *with the patern* (that is, with Chriſts Body.) *For the Figure muſt be like vnto the truth.* Theodoretus calleth the Sacrament, an Image, a Reſemblance, and a Figure. I thinke M. Harding will not ſay, that Images, Reſemblances and Figures be worthy of godly honour. And hereunto very aptly agreeth S. Auguſtines Leſſon touching the ſame: Qui Adorat vtile ſignum diuinitùs inſtitutum, cuius Vim. Significationemq; intelligit, non hoc veneratur, quod videtur, & tranſit: ſed illud potius, quò talia cuncta referenda ſunt.: *He that worſhipeth a profitable Signe appointed by God, and vnderſtandeth the Power and Signification of the ſame, doth not worſhip that thing that is ſeene with the eie, and paſſeth away: but rather hee worſhipeth that thing, vnto which all ſuch things haue relation.* Here S. Auguſtine thinketh it no inconuenience to ſay, We worſhip the Signe, & yet worſhip it not. And this he ſpeaketh, not only of the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, but alſo of the Sacrament of Baptiſme. For ſo he ſaith further in the ſame place: Sicuti eſt Baptiſmi Sacramentum, &c. *As is the Sacrament of Baptiſme and the Celebration of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Which Sacraments euery man, when he*

Auguſt. de doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 3. ca. 9.

Auguſt. in eodem Capite.

he receiueth them, being instructed, knoweth whereto they belong, that hee may worship them, not with carnal bondage, but with the freedome of the Spirit. I might adde hereto the words of that most fond & leaud 2 Councell of Nice: Venerandas Imagines Perfecte Adoramus: & eos, qui secùs confitentur, Anathematizamus: *We do perfectly Adore the reuerend Images, and doe accurse them that professe otherwise.* And yet afterward they say: Honor Imagini exhibitus refertur ad Prototypum: *The honor giuen to the Image, redoundeth vnto the Patterne.* Thus that Councell saith: *Images are honoured*: That is to say, *They are not honoured.* *To worship Baptisme.*

Now let vs examine, what Construction M. Harding maketh vpon these words:

Theodoretus saith: *The Bread and the Wine leaue not, or be not changed from their Former Nature*: That is to say, by this new exposition, *They vtterly leaue their Former Nature.* 1

They remaine still in their Substance: that is to say (saith M. Harding) *they remaine not in their Substance.* Further M. Harding saith: 2

The Accidents of Bread and Wine, be the Signes of Christs Body: The Bread and the Wine be no Signes. 3

The visible Accidents, are made the Inuisible Body and Blod of Christ: The Bread and Wine are made nothing. 4

The Signes be made the very selfe thing, that is signified, and that in existence, and indeed. And so one thing, at one time, and in one respect, is Substance, and Accident: Visible and Inuisible: and as they terme it in the Schooles, Fundamentum, and Terminus: which was euer wont to be called a Monster in Nature. So many Errours are scarcely sufficient to maintaine one Errour. 5

Now, I trust, the Christian Reader will some consider how soundly M. Harding hath discharged his promise, and proued the Adoration of the Sacrament. Verily of all these Doctours, that he hath here alleged (Theodoretus only excepted, in whom he would seeme to haue some colour of aid, who also is already clerely answered) there is not one, that any way may be thought to touch, either the worshipping of the outward Sacrament it selfe, or of Christ, as Present in the Sacrament.

Anno Domini, 1215.

The greatest Doctours of that side say, that vnlesse Transubstantiation be concluded, the people cannot fraly worship the Sacrament, without occasion of Idolatrie. Now it is knowen, that Transubstantiation is a new Fantasie, newly deuised in the Councell of Lateran in Rome. And D. Tonstall saith, that before that time it was free and lawfull for any man to hold the contrary. Wherefore it is likely, that before that time there was no such Adoration. Otherwise, it must needs haue bene with great danger of Idolatrie. But after that, as it is said before, Pope Honorius toke order, and gaue commandement, that the people should Adore: Pope Vrbanus added thereto a new solemne Feast of Corpus Christi day: And Pope Clement confirmed the same with great store of Pardons. This is the Antiquity and Petite Degree, of this kinde of Adoration.

Tonst. lib. 1 de Sacramẽ. Eucharistie fo 46. Extra de Celebratione Missarum. Clemen. li. 3. tit. 16. Si Dominum.

M. Harding. The 27. Deuision.

And whereas vtterly to abolish this Adoration, he allegeth great danger of Idolatry, in case the Priest doe not truely Consecrate: thereto may be answered, that Iacob stood in no danger of conscience, for that by the procurement of Laban, he lay with Lea in stead of Rachel: neither for the same was hee to bee charged with aduoutery, because he meant good Faith, and thought himselfe to haue had the company of his wife Rachel. So Idolatry is not to be imputed vnto him, that worshippeth Christ with godly honor in the Bread not Consecrate, which of good Faith he thinketh to be Consecrate. Touching this case, S. Augustine hath this notable saying: We haue need (saith he) to put a difference in our iudgement, & to know good from euill, forasmuch as Satan changing his shape, sheweth himselfe as an Angel of light, lest through deceit he lead vs aside to some pernicious things. For when he deceiueth the senses of the Body, and remoueth not the mind from true and right meaning, wherein each man leadeth a faithfull life, there is no perill in Religion. Or if, when he faineth himselfe good, & doth or saith those things, that of congruence pertaine to good Angels, although he be thought to be good, this is not a perilous or tickly error of Christian faith. But when as by these things he beginneth to bring vs to things quite contrary, then to know him from the good spirit, & not to go after him, it standeth vs much vpon, diligently to watch and take heed. Thus S. Augustine. Thus much for the Adoration of the Sacrament, or rather of Christ in the Sacrament, may suffice.

Gene. 9.

Exod. 32.

A very simple defense of manifest Idolatry. Euen so the Idolaters thought their Idoll of good Faith to be very god.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The great danger and horrour of Idolatry that hereof riseth, M. Harding thinketh may easily be saued by the example of Rachel and Lea: and thus he bringeth in Gods Mystical prouidence for defense of open error: and thus teacheth vs in stead of Rachel, to take Lea, & to honor a Creature in stead of God. Wherein it shall be necessary briefly to touch, how many waies, euen by their owne Doctrine, the poore simple people may be deceiued, and yeld the honour of God to that thing, that in their own iudgement is no God.

Thom. par. 3. q. 83. Iohan. De Burgo. Pupilla oculi, cap. 3.

Thus therefore they say, If the Priest chance to forget to put Wine into the Cup, and so passe ouer the Consecration without Wine:

Idem.

Or, if the Bread be made of any other, than wheaten floure, which may possibly happen:

Idem.

Or, if there be so much Water in quantity that it ouercome & alter the nature of ỹ wine:

Doubts touching Conſecration.

Or, if the Wine be changed into Vineger, and therefore cannot ſerue to conſecration:

Or, if there be viii. Cakes vpon the Table, and the Prieſt for his Conſecration determine only vpon vii. in which caſe they ſay, Not one of them all is Conſecrate:

Or, if the Prieſt diſſemble, or leaue out the Words of Conſecration: or, if he forget it, or minde it not, or thinke not of it: In euery of theſe, and other like defects, there is nothing Conſecrate, and therefore the people in theſe caſes, honouring the Sacrament, by their owne Doctrine giueth the glory of God to a Creature: which is vndoubted Idolatry.

Gerſon. contra Floretum, li. 4. Extra. de Celebra. Miſſa. de Homine. Summa Euangelica. Euchariſtia, 26.

And that the follie hereof may the better appeare, one of them writeth thus: Quod ſi Sacerdos, &c. *If the Prieſt hauing before him ſundry Cakes at the time of Conſecration, do mind only and preciſely to Conſecrate that only Cake, that hee holdeth in his hand, ſome ſay, the reſt bee not Conſecrate: but ſay thou, as Duns ſaith, They be all Conſecrate.* Yea further he ſaith: *If the Prieſt doe preciſely determine to Conſecrate only the one halfe part of the Cake, and not likewiſe the other halfe, that then the Cake being whole, that one part onely is Conſecrate, and not the other.*

Diſt. 81. Si qui.

Pope Gregorie ſaith: *If the Prieſt be a knowen adulterer, or Fornicator, and continue ſtill in the ſame, that his Bleſſing ſhall be turned into Curſing: and that the people obeying not this moſt holeſome precept commit Idolatry.*

In this caſe ſtandeth the ſimple people: ſo many waies, and ſo eaſily they may be deceiued. For notwithſtanding they may in ſome part know the Prieſts life, and open dealing, yet how can they be aſſured of his ſecret Words, of his Intention, of his Minde, and of his Will? Or if they cannot, how can they ſafely Adore the Sacrament, without doubt and danger of Idolatrie?

Thom. in lib. 3. Senten. Diſt. 9. Thom. Sariſburienſ. de Arte prædicandi, cap. 25.

But they themſelues ſee well, it cannot be: and therefore haue deuiſed a ſimple poore helpe of their owne. They ſay, We may not Adore the Sacrament, but vnder a Condition, that is to ſay, If it be Conſecrate. And ſo ſaith Thomas Sarisburienſis: Nullus quantumcunque ſit ſimplex, vel quantumcunque ſit diſcretus, debet præciſè credere, hoc eſſe Corpus Domini: Sed cum hac conditione, ſi in Conſecratione rite ſint acta omnia. Aliter enim aſſeret de Creatura, quod ipſa ſit Creator: & ita eſſet Idololatria: *No man, be he neuer ſo ſimple, or neuer ſo wiſe, ought preciſely to beleeue, that this is the Body of our Lord, that the Prieſt hath Conſecrate, but only vnder this condition, if all things concerning the Conſecration be done as appertaineth. For otherwiſe hee ſhall auouch a Creature to bee the Creater: which were Idolatrie.* By this Doctrine M. Harding teacheth the people thus to knéle downe, and to Adore the Sacrament: *If thou bee God indeed, then I worſhip thee: But if thou bee not God, then I will not worſhip thee.* Thus, Arnobius ſaith, The Heathens in old time were

Arnob. li. 3.

wont to call vpon Iupiter: Siue tu Deus es, ſiue tu Dea es: *Whether thou be a God or a Goddeſſe, we call vpon thee.* Thus Gods people is led to giue the honour of God, they cannot tell vnto what, and to honour a Creature in ſtead of God.

Gen. 29.

Yet muſt all this be excuſed by the example of Rachel, & Lea. As if M. Harding would reaſon thus: Iacob by Gods ſpeciall prouidence, knew Lea in ſtead of Rachel:

Ergo, We may ſafely Adore a bare Creature with godly honor: and ſay vnto it: Thou art our God: Thou madeſt Heauen and Earth: we haue none other God but thée: and all this without perill of Idolatrie. He would not thus daily, if he knew, what it were to beſtow Gods glory vpon that thing, that is no God. Certainly, this is not the worſhipping of God in Spirit and Truth.

Iohan. 6.

S. Martin was much more circumſpect in this caſe, as may well appeare by that is written of him. For when the Diuell came vnto him, and toke vpon him to be Chriſt, and therefore required him to bow downe, and to giue him honour: No, ſaid S. Martin: *I cannot tell whether thou be Chriſt or no. Vnleſſe I ſee Chriſt in the ſame ſhape and forme, that he was Crucified in vpon the Croſſe, I will not Adore him in any wiſe.* S. Auguſtine ſaith:

Sulpitius in vita Martini. Auguſt. in Iohan. tract. 7.

Audiſtis quia Meſſias Chriſtus eſt: audiſtis quia Chriſtus vnctus eſt. Non ſic poſuit Iacob Lapidem vnctum, vt veniret, & Adoraret: alioqui Idololatria eſt, non Significatio Chriſti: *Ye haue heard that Meſſias is Chriſt: ye haue heard that Chriſt is the Anointed. Iacob did not erect the Anointed ſtone, to the intent to come, and to Adore it. Otherwiſe, it is Idolatrie, and not a Signification of Chriſt.* Theophilus being ſometime demanded, wherefore he would not Adore the Emperour, as the maner then was, with godly honour, made anſwer thus: Quia non ad hoc inſtitutus eſt Imperator, vt Adoretur, ſed vt legitimo honore honoretur: *Becauſe the Emperour is not appointed, to the end we ſhould honour him, as God: but that we ſhould giue him that honour that vnto him appertaineth.* So if M. Harding will likewiſe demand, wherefore we Adore not the Sacrament with godly honor, the godly ſimple man may make him this Anſwer: *Becauſe it was ordained reuerently to be receiued, and*

Theophilus contra Autolycum, lib 1.

not

not to be Adored: as a Sacrament, and not as God. For in all the Scriptures, and holy Fathers, we haue neither Commandement to force vs hereto, nor Example to lead vs hereto. We Adore the Body of Christ, not only for the turning of an hand, while the Priest is able to hold vp the Sacrament, and that with doubt of our selues, whether we do well, or no, which thing is vtterly vncomfortable, and dangerous, and full of terror to the conscience: But we worship that Blessed, and Glorious Body, as that blessed Martyr S. Steuen did, being in Heauen at the Right hand of the Power of God, and therefore without doubt, and danger: and that at all times, and for euer: and we beleeue, and confesse, that Iesus Christ, euen in the Nature, and Substance of our Flesh, is the Lord in the Glory of God the Father.

Reseruation.

OF THE CANOPIE.

The Ninth Article.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR that the Sacrament, was then, or now ought to be hanged vp vnder a Canopie.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

If M. Iewel would in plaine termes deny the reseruation and keeping of the blessed Sacrament, for which purpose the Pix and Canopy serued in the Churches of England, as of the professors of this new Gospel it is both in word, and also in deed denied: it were easie to prooue the same by no small number of authorities, such as himselfe cannot but allow for good and sufficient. But he knowing that right well, guilefully refraineth from mention of that principall matter, and the better to make vp his heape of Articles for some shew against the Sacrament, by deniall reproueth the hanging vp of it vnder the Canopie: thereby shewing himselfe like to Momus, who espying nothing reproueable in faire Venus, found fault with her Slipper.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

This Article, as it is small of it selfe, and therefore might the better be dissembled, and past ouer, were it not accessory to Idolatry, so it is warranted of M. Hardings side, by very simple, and slender proofes, as shall appeare. It liketh M. Harding for his entry, to solace himselfe, and his friends withall, to call vs new Doctors: himselfe being not able hitherto to allege any one of all the Old Doctors without force, and fraud, plainly, and directly to serue his purpose. But these New Doctors are, neither so new, nor so much destitute of Antiquity, as these men would faine haue the world to beleeue. For, touching the abolishing of the Reseruation of the Sacrament, which M. Harding hath here drawen in, to helpe out the matter, being otherwise not necessarily incident vnto this Article, they haue the Authorities, and Examples of good Ancient Old Catholique Fathers for their warrant in that behalfe. For S. Cyprian saith: Panis iste recipitur, non includitur: *The Bread is receiued, and not shut vp.* Clemens, who, as M. Harding saith, was the Apostles Fellow, writeth thus: Tanta in Altario Holocausta offerantur, quanta populo sufficere debeant: quòd si remanserint, in crastinum non reseruentur: *Let there be so many Hostes, or so much Bread offered at the Altar, as may be sufficient for the people. If any thing remaine, let it not be kept vntill the morning.* Origen or Cyrillus saith, for one Booke beareth both their names: Dominus Panem, quem Discipulis suis dabat, non distulit, nec iussit seruari in crastinum: *The Bread, that our Lord gaue to his Disciples, he lingred it not, nor bad it to be kept vntill the morning.* His reason is grounded vpon the order of Christs Institution: for that Christ said not, *Take, and keepe,* but, *Take, and Eat.* S. Hierome saith: Post Communionem, quæcunque de Sacrificijs superfuissent, illic in Ecclesia Communem Cœnam comedentes pariter consumebant: *After the Communion was done, whatsoeuer portion of the Sacrifices remained, they spent it there together in the Church eating their common Supper.* S. Augustine likewise seemeth to say the same: *The Bread made to this purpose, is spent in receiuing the Sacrament.* Hesychius saith: *That the Remanents of the Sacrament were burnt immediately in the fire.* Nicephorus saith: *The same Remanents in some places were giuen to Children, that went to Schoole to be eaten by them presently in the Church:* The like whereof is also decreed in the Councel of Matiscon. So saith Gabriel Biel, a new Doctor of M. Hardings

Cyprianus de Cœna Domin. Clemens Epist. 2.

Origen in Leui. Cyril. in Leui. ho. 5. Hieronym. 1. Corin. 11. Augustin. de Trinitate, lib. 3. cap. 10. Hesychius in Leui. li. 2. ca. 8. Nicephorus lib. 17. ca. 25. Concil. Matisc. con 2. ca. 6. Gabriel Biel, lectione. 26.

Reseruation.

dings company: Non dedit Discipulis, vt ipsum honorificè Conseruarent: sed dedit in sui vsum, dicens, Accipite, & Manducate: *Christ gaue not (the Sacrament) to his Disciples, that they should reuerently reserue it: but he gaue it for their vse, saying, Take and Eat.*

Thus many old Doctors, and yet many moe we haue on our side. Therefore M. Harding was somewhat ouerséene, for following of them, to call vs new Doctors.

Cypr. de lapsis Serm. 5. Tertullian. ad Vxorem. Hieronym. ad Rusticum. Basilius ad Cæsariam. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 44. Ambr. de obitu Satyri.

I know, the Sacrament in old times in some places was reserued, as it may appeare by Tertullian, S. Cyprian, S. Hierome, S. Basil, Eusebius, and others. S. Cyprian saith, women vsed to kéepe it at home in their Chests: Tertullian saith, The Faithfull vsed then to haue it in their priuate houses, and to eat it before other meates: S. Hierome saith, that Exuperius the Bishop of Tolouse vsed to carry it abroad in a basket: S. Basil saith, That in Egipt, and specially about Alexandria, euery man for the most part had the Sacrament in his house: Eusebius séemeth to say, The Priest had it in his Chamber: S. Ambrose saith, Men vsed then to carry it about them, not only by Land, but also by Sea in their Napkins. All these were abuses of the holy Mysteries: and therefore afterward were abolished. Thus was then the Sacrament reserued: In priuate houses, in Chests, in Baskets, and in Napkins. Now, if M. Harding be able, truly to shew any such like Ancient authority for his Canopy, then may he say, he holdeth vp the Old Catholique Fathers. But, forasmuch as M. Harding hath leisure, to call to mind his Old Fable, of Momus, Venus, and such like: Indéed they say, Momus was wont to espy faults, and to controll all the Gods without exception, euen the great Iupiter himselfe, that sate in Rome in the Capitol: and therefore his office oft times was not so thankfull, as some others. But one great fault he found with Vulcan, for the making of man, for that he had not set a grate, or a window at his Breast, that others might piere in, and espy some part of his secret thoughts. If M. Harding had such a grate, or window at his breast, and men might loke in, and sée his conscience, I doubt not, but they should sée many moe sparkes of Gods truth, then as now outwardly doe appeare.

As for his faire Lady Venus, whereby he meaneth his Church of Rome, the world séeth, and he himselfe knoweth, she hath bén taken in open aduoutrie: and Phebus the Son of God, with the heauenly beames of his holy Word hath reuciled it. O, Would to God we had no cause iustly to say with the Prophet Esay: Quomodo facta est Meretrix Ciuitas Fidelis! *O how is that Faithfull Cuie become an Harlot!* Verily Momus shall not néed now to reproue her Slipper. Ye shall rather haue cause to say: A planta pedis, vsque ad verticem capitis, non est in ea sanitas: *From the sole of the foot, to the top of the head, there is no whole part in her.*

Esai. 1.

Esai. 1.

For so S. Bernard complaineth of her miserable state in his time.

Bernardus de Conuersione Pauli.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuision.

Whereto we say, that if he, with the rest of the Sacramentaries, would agree to the keeping of the Sacrament, then would wee demand, why that maner of keeping were not to be liked. And heere vpon proofs made of default in this behalfe, and a better way shewed, in so small a matter, conformitie to the better would soone be perswaded. In other Christian Countries (wee grant) it is kept otherwise, vnder locke and key, in some places at the one end or side of the Altar, in some places in a chappell builded for that purpose, in some places in the Vestrie, or in some inward and secret roome of the Church, as it was in the time of Chrysostome at Constantinople. In some other places we reade, that it was kept in the Bishops Palace neere to the Church, and in the holy daies brought reuerently to the Church, and set vpon the Altar, which for abuses committed, was by order of Councels abrogated.

In Epist. ad Innocentium.

De Consecr. Distinct. 3. Can. 5.

Thus in diuers places diuersly it hath beene kept, euery where reuerently, and surely, so as it might be safe from iniurie, and villanie of miscreants, and despisers of it. The hanging vp of it on high, hath beene the maner of England, as Lindwood noteth vpon the Constitutions prouinciall: on high, that wicked despight might not reach to it: vnder a Canopie, for shew of reuerence and honour.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Héere M. Harding sheweth, that this Reseruation of the Sacrament, in diuers Countries, hath bene diuersly vsed: Vnder locke and key: At the Altars end: In a Chapell: In the Vestry: In the Bishops Palace. And all this of the vsage of late yéres: for Antiquitie, sauing only the Epistle of Chrysostome to Innocentius, which also, as it shall appeare, maketh much against him, hée toucheth nothing. But amongst all these diuersities of kéeping, hée hath not yet found out his Canopie. And touching, that he alleged of the Reseruation of the Sacrament in the Bishops Palace, it séemeth very little to further his purpose. For, whereas the Sacrament was reserued onely in the Bishops Custodie, it followeth necessarily, that there, in other Parish-churches and Chapels, was no such Reseruation. Chrysostomes Epistle to Innocentius is good witnesse, that the Sacrament was Reserued to be receiued of the people, at the Communion the next day, or in very short time after. For it was Reserued in both Kindes, as it appeareth plainly by his

Chrysostom. ad Innocentium.

his wordes. But it is cleare, both by the iudgement of reason, and also by their owne Canons in that behalfe, that the Wine in such sort, and quantity cannot be kept any long time without sowring. And the maner in Grecia was, during the time of Lent, to Consecrate only vpon the Saturdaies, and Sundaies, and yet nevertheless to Communicate of the same vpon the other worke daies. For the end of this Reseruation in old times was, not that the Sacrament should be Adored, but that it should be receiued of the people; and specially that persons Excommunicate, for whose sake it was reserued, being suddenly called out of this life, vpon their repentance might at all times receiue the Communion, and depart with comfort, as the Members of the Church of God.

Canopie not commendable.

De Con. Dist. 2. Presbyter. In Glossa. In sexta Synodo Constantinop. ca. 52. Διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὰ μυστήρια προσφέρεσθαι.

But, me thinketh, M. Harding doth herein, as Apelles the Painter somtime did, in setting out King Antigonus physnomy. For vnderstanding, that Antigonus was blind of the one side, he thought it best to paint him out only with halfe face, and so he cunningly shadowed the deformity of the other eie. Euen so M. Harding sheweth vs certaine variety of keeping the Sacrament, and other smal matters of like weight: but the danger of Idolatry, and other like horrible deformities he dissembleth cunningly and turneth from vs. Loth I am, to vse the comparison: But S. Hierome saith it: Diabolus nunquam se prodit aperta facie: *The Diuell neuer sheweth himselfe openly with his whole face.*

Hieronym. in vita Malchi.

In the old times, when the Sacrament was kept in Chests, in Napkins, in Baskets, and in priuate Houses, there was no danger of Adoration. But vnder the Canopy we see, not only, that the effect hath fallen out farre otherwise, but also that the very cause thereof was at the first to the contrary. For so saith Linwood himselfe, Citius repræsentatur nostris aspectibus Adoranda: *It is the rather offered vnto our sights to be worshipped.* If there were no cause els, yet is this it selfe cause sufficient, to abolish this new order, of hanging vp the Sacrament vnder a Canopy. For therefore the King Ezechias toke downe the Brasen Serpent, and brake it in peces, notwithstanding God had specially commanded Moses to erect it vp: because he saw it abused to Idolatry.

Guliel. Linwood, li. 3. de custodia Eucharistiæ, &c. 2. Regum. 18.

Againe, they themselues, vpon smaller considerations, haue vtterly abolished the maner of Reseruation, that was vsed in the Primitiue Church. For they will not now suffer, neither Lay people, nor Women to keepe it in their houses: nor Boyes to carry it to the sicke, as then the Boy did to Serapion; nor Infidels, or men not Christned, to weare it about them, as then did S. Ambroses brother Satyrus. I leaue the Rust, the Mould, the Canker, and the breeding of wormes: whereby that holy, and reuerend Mystery of Christs Death is often times made loathsome, and brought into contempt. They themselues doe testifie, that such things, not only may happen; but also haue often happened. It is said, that Alphonsus the King of Arragon, for the preseruation of his honor, and safetie, so long kept the Sacrament about him, that at last it putrified, and bred wormes: which, when they had eaten vp, and consumed one another, in the end there remained only one great worme, that was the last, and had eaten all his fellowes. In such cases they command, that the wormes be burnt, and the ashes buried in the Altar. The Glosse it selfe vpon the Decrees saith thus: *It is not necessary to keepe the wine.* And the Reason is this: Quia opus esset nimia cautela: *Because we should need to haue too much adoe with the keeping of it.*

Euseb. li. 6. ca. 43. Ambros. de Obitu Satyri. Gerson contra Florentum, li. 4. Concil. Aurelian. De Conse. Dist. 2. Presbyter. in Glossa. Concil. Lateranen. sub Innocentio. 3. Can. 20. Concil. Bracaren. 3. ca. 5. Extra de Celebratio. Missarum. Sane. Guliel. Linwood. li. 3. de Custodia Eucharistiæ.

In the Councel of Laterane it is confessed, that the Sacrament so kept hath bin abused Ad horribilia, & nefaria facinora, *To worke horrible, and wicked deeds.* And M. Harding himselfe confesseth, that, for certaine like abuses, the same Reseruation was in some part abolished in the Councel of Bracara.

To be short, touching the Canopie, Linwood himselfe findeth fault with it, as it appeareth in the Prouincial. For thus he writeth: Dicitur, quòd in loco Mundo, & singulari debet seruari: *It is said, The Sacrament ought to be kept in a cleane seuerall place sequestred from other.* Whereunto he addeth thus: Ex hoc videtur, quòd vsus obseruatus in Anglia, vt in Canopæo pendeat, non est commendabilis: *Hereby it appeareth, That the order, that is vsed in England, of hanging vp the Sacrament in a Canopy, is not commendable.* Here M. Harding hath causes, both in generall, why all maner such Reseruation ought to be misliked, and also in speciall, why the Canopie can not be liked.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuision.

If Princes be honored with cloth of Estate, Bishops with solmne thrones in their Churches, and Deanes with Canopies of Tapistry, Silke, and Arras, (as we see in sundry Cathedrall Churches) and no man find fault with it: why should M. Iewel mislike the Canopie, that is vsed for honor of that Blessed Sacrament (172) wherein is contained the very Body of Christ, and through the in separable ioyning together of both Natures in Vnity of person, Christ himselfe, very God, and very Man? With what face speaketh he against the Canopy vsed to the honor of Christ in the Sacrament, that sitting in the Bishops seat at Sarisbury, can abide the sight of a solemne Canopie made of Painted boords spread ouer his head? If he had

The 172. Vntruth. For Chrysostome saith, *In Vasis Sanctis, non verum*

had been of Councel with Moſes, Dauid, and Salomon, it is like he would haue reprooued their iudgements, for the great honor they vſed, and cauſed to be continued towards the Arke, wherein was contained nothing but the Tables of the Law, *Aarons* rodde, and a pot full of Manna. King Dauid thought it very vnfitting, and felt great remorſe in heart, that he dwelt in a houſe of Cedars, and the Arke of God was put in the mids of skins, that is, of the Tabernacle, whoſe outward parts were couered with beaſts skins.

Corpus Chriſti, Sed Myſterium Corporis Chriſti continetur.

And now there is one found among other* monſtrous and ſtrange formes of Creatures, maners, and Doctrines, who being but duſt and aſhes, as *Abraham* ſaid of himſelfe, promoted to the name of a Biſhop, and not Choſen (I weene) to doe high ſeruice of a Man according to Gods owne heart, as Dauid was: thinketh not himſelfe vnworthy to ſit in a Biſhops Chaire vnder a Gorgeous Teſture or Canopy of gilted boords, and can not ſuffer the pretious Body of Chriſt, whereby we are redeemed, to haue for remembrance of Honor done of our part, ſo much as a little Canopie, a thing of ſmall price. (173) Yet was the Arke but a ſhadow, and this the Body: that the figure, this the truth: that the Type, or ſigne, this the very thing it ſelfe. As I doe not enuy M. Iewel that honor, by what right ſoeuer he enioyeth it, ſo I can not but blame him for* bereauing Chriſt of his honour, in this bleſſed Sacrament.

* Let your modeſty be knowen to all men. Philip. 4.

The 173. Vntruth: for both are Figures? both Types, both Signes. Nazian. ſaith, *Figura Figura, De Paſchate.*

* Chriſt will ſay, In vaine ye worſhip me, &c. Matthæ. 15.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Princes vſe to ſit vnder a Cloth of Eſtate: Biſhops, and Deanes vnder painted Thrones, or cloth of Arras: Ergo (ſaith M. Harding) *The Sacrament ought to be hanged vp vnder a Canopie.* I trow, It is not lawfull for all men, to vſe ſuch arguments. In ſuch ſort Durandus reaſoneth: *The Arke of the Couenant was caried by the Leuites*: Ergo, *The Pope muſt be caried aloft vpon the Deacons ſhoulders.* And againe, they ſeeme by practiſe, further to reaſon thus: *The Pope is carried vpon mens ſhoulders*: Ergo, *The Sacrament muſt be caried before him, whither ſoeuer he goe, vpon a faire white Iannet.*

Durand. li. 2.

And, whereas it liketh M. Harding thus merily to ſport himſelfe with Biſhops ſitting vnder Painted Boords, Certainly, I reckon it much fitter for the Church of God, to haue Painted Boords, then painted Biſhops, ſuch as he is, that claimeth to be the Biſhop of all Biſhops: and yet doth not indeed any part of the office of one Biſhop. The Biſhops Chaire, or Stall, was appointed at the firſt, as a place moſt conuenient for him to read, and to preach in. But what needeth more? Such vanity of words ſhould not be anſwered.

For the reſt, God himſelfe commanded Moſes to make the Tabernacle, and alſo ſhewed him in the Mount, in what order and forme it ſhould be made. Neither durſt Moſes, or his workmen, to adde, or to minish, or to alter any one thing of their deuice: or to do any thing more, or leſſe, otherwiſe then God had appointed him. When Dauid of his Deuotion, would haue built a Temple vnto God, God forbad him by the mouth of his Prophet Nathan, and ſaid, *Thou ſhalt build me no Temple.* Afterward Salomon ſet vpon to build the Temple: not, when he would himſelfe, but only, when God had ſo willed him. Neither followed he therein any part of his owne fantaſie, but only that ſelfe ſame plat and proportion, that God had giuen to his Father. For ſo ſaith Dauid himſelfe: *All this paterne was ſent to me in writing, by the hand of the Lord, which made me vnderſtand all the workmanſhip of the paterne.*

Exod. 25. & 27.

2. Sam. 7.

1. Paralipomen. 28.

Heere marke, good Chriſtian Reader: In euery of theſe examples, God hath bridled our Deuotion, and hath taught vs to worſhip him, not in ſuch ſort, as may ſeeme good in our eies, but only as he hath commanded vs. Yet can M. Harding by his cunning, apply euery of theſe ſame Examples, to proue thereby, that we may honour God in ſuch ſort, as we of our ſelues can beſt deuiſe.

This was euermore the very rot of all Superſtition. And therefore Almighty God ſaith: *My thoughts bee not as your thoughts: nor my waies, as your waies. Who euer required theſe things at your hands?* M. Harding would faine, in all that he taketh in hand, be called Catholike: and yet neuertheleſſe maintaineth a meere particular Deuotion, onely vſed within this Realme, and that onely within theſe few late yeeres, and neuer either vſed or knowen in any other Chriſtian Country elſe: and therefore ſuch, as can in no wiſe be called Catholike.

Eſa. 55.

But he ſaith: There is now found one among other monſtrous and ſtrange formes, &c. This, I trow, is not that Sobriety and modeſty, that was promiſed at the beginning. Such Eloquence would better become ſome other perſon, then a man profeſſing Learning and Grauity, Heerein I will gladly giue place to M. Harding. It is rather a teſtimony of his impatience, and in ordinate choler, than good proofe of the cauſe.

Certainly, if the Sacrament be both God and Man, as heere, I know not how godly, it is auouched, then is this but a very ſimple honour for ſo great a Maieſty. Undoubtedly, this is a very ſtrange and monſtrous Doctrine, to teach the people, that Chriſt being both God and Man, and now Immortall and Glorious, may Canker and Putrifie, and breed wormes. The time was, when whoſo had uttered ſuch words of Blaſphemy, had beene reckoned a monſter among the Faithfull. But this is the iuſt iudgement of God. He giueth men vp into a reprobate minde, to turne Gods Truth into a Lie,

Rom. 1.

and

and to worship, & serue a Creature, forsaking the Creator, which is God blessed for euer.

I trust, our Doctrine abridgeth not any part of Christs Glory. We adore him, as he hath commanded vs, sitting in Heauen at the Right hand of the Power of God. And therefore, M. Harding, ye haue burnt your brethren, and scattered their bones vpon the face of the Earth, and wrought vpon them, what your pleasure was, only because they would not be traitors vnto God, and giue his Glory vnto a Creature.

Chrysostome expounding the complaint of Laban against Iacob, for stealing away of his Gods, writeth thus: Quare Deos meos furatus es? O excellentem insipientiam! Tales sunt Dij tui, vt quis eos furari queat? Non erubescis dicere, Quare furatus es Deos meos? *Wherefore hast thou stollen away my Gods? O what a passing Folly is this! Be thy Gods such ones, that a man may steale them? And art thou not ashamed to say, Wherefore hast thou stollen away my Gods?* This matter needeth no farther application. Verily, the thing, that M. Harding calleth God, and Man, may soone be stollen away with Pix, and Canopie, and all together. If Chrysostome were now aliue, he would say to M. Harding, as he said to Laban: Art thou not ashamed &c. And, touching the honoring of Christ, he saith, Discamus Christum, prout ipse vult, venerari. Honorato namque iucundissimus est honor, quem ipse vult, non quem nos putamus. Nam & Petrus eum honorare putabat, cum sibi pedes eum lauare prohibebat: Sed non erat honor, quod agebat, sed contrarium. *Let vs learne to honor Christ, as he hath willed vs. For to him, that is honored, that honor is most pleasant, that he himselfe would haue, not that we imagine. For* Peter *thought to honor Christ, when he forbad him to wash his feet. Howbeit, that was no honour vnto Christ, but contrariwise, it was dishonour.*

Gene. 31. *Chrysostom in Genes. hom. 57.*

Chrysostom. ad Populum Antiochenum. hom. 60.

To conclude, whereas M. Harding, in the impatience of his heat, demandeth of vs, With What face we can find fault with the hanging vp of the Sacrament vnder a Canopie: We may easily answer him thus: Euen with the Same face, wherewith Linwood found fault with the same: and with the Same face, wherewith all Christendom, England only excepted, hath euermore refused, to doe the same.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuision.

Now concerning this Article it selfe, if it may be called an article, wherein M Iewel thinketh to haue great aduantage against vs, as though nothing could be brought for it * (though it be not one of the greatest Keies, nor of the highest mysteries of our Religeon, as he reporteth it to be, the more to deface it) of the Canopie, what may be found, I leaue to others, neither it forceth greatly. But of the hanging vp of the Sacrament ouer the Alter, we find plaine mention in S. Basils life, written by Amphilochius that worthy Bishop of Iconium. Who telleth that S. Basil at his Masse hauing deuided the Sacrament in three parts, did put the one into the golden Doue (after which forme the Pix was then commonly made) hanging ouer the Alter. His words be these: *Imposuerunt Columbã auream pendentem super Altare.* And for further euidence, that such Pixes made in forme of a Doue in remembrance of the holy Ghost, that appeared like a Doue, were hanged vp ouer the Alter, we find in the Acts of the Generall Councell holden at Constantinople, that the Clergie of Antioch accused one Severus an Heretike, before Iohn the Patriarke and the Councell there, that he had riffled and spoiled the holy Alters, and molted the Consecrated vessels, and had made away with some of them to his companions, *Præsumpsisset etiam Columbas aureas, & argenteas in formam Spiritus Sancti, super diuina lauacra, & altaria appensas vna cum alijs sibi appropriare, dicens, non oportere in specie Columbæ Spiritum Sanctum nominare.* Which is to say, that he had presumed also to conuert to his owne vse, beside other things, the golden and siluer Doues made to represent the holy Ghost, that were hanged vp ouer the holy Fonts and Alters, saying, that no man ought to speake of the holy Ghost in the shape of a Doue

*Before it was the honoring of God: Now it is no great Key of Religeon.

A vaine childish Fable vnder the name of Amphilochius

Heere be Doues indeed: but no mention of any Sacrament.

Neither hath the Sacrament beene kept in all places, and in all times, in one maner of Vessels. So it bee reuerently kept for the viage prouision for the sicke, no Catholike man will maintaine strife, for the maner and order of keeping. Symmachus a very worthy Bishop of Rome, in the time of Anastasius the Emperor, as it is written in his life, made two vessels of Siluer to reserue the Sacrament in and set them on the Altars of two Churches in Rome, of S. Syluester, and of S. Andrew. These vessels they call commonly, *Ciboria.* Wee finde likewise in the life of S. Gregory, that hee also like Symmachus made such a Vessel, which they call, *Ciborium*, for the Sacrament, with foure pillars of pure Siluer, and set it on the Altar at S. Peters in Rome.

In a worke of Gregorius Turonensis, this Vessel is called, *Turris in qua Mysterium Dominici Corporis habebatur.* A Tower wherein (174) our Lords Body was kept. In an old Booke, *De Pœnitentia*, of Theodorus the Greeke of Tarsus in Cilicia, sometime Archbishop of Canturbury, before Beda his time, it is called, *Pixis cum Corpore Domini ad viaticum pro infirmis*: The Pix with our Lords Body for the viage prouision for the sicke. In that booke, in an admonition of a Bishop to his Clergy in a Synod, warning is giuen, that nothing be put vpon the Altar in time of the Sacrfice, but the Coffer of Reliks, the Booke of the foure Euangelists, and the Pix with our Lords Body.

The 174. vntruth, standing in vntrue translation.

Thus we find, that the blessed Sacrament hath alwaies beene kept, in some places in a Pix hanged vp ouer the Altar, in some other places otherwise, euery where, and in all times, safely, and reuerently, as is declared, to be alwaies in a readinesse for the viage prouision of the sicke. Which keeping of it for that godly purpose, and with like due reuerence, if M. Iewel and the Sacramentaries would admit, no man would bee either so scrupulous, or so contentious, as to striue with them either for the hanging vp of it, or for the Canopie

In the fable of Amphilochius, and no where else.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

It is maruell, that M. Harding, in so short a tale cannot auoid manifest contradiction. He holdeth and teacheth, that this is the honouring of Christ, God, and Man: and yet he saith,

Doue.

saith, It is no great Key of his Religion. Verily, whatsoeuer Key he now make of it, great or small, he bringeth in very small authorities and proues to make it good.

Concerning the Canopie, wherein all this question standeth, he is well contented to yeld in the whole, as being not able to finde it once mentioned in any maner old Writer. But the hanging vp of the Sacrament, and that euen ouer the Alter, he is certaine, may well be proued by that solemne Fable, that we haue so often heard vnder the name of Amphilochius, Concerning which Fable (for a very Childish Fable it is, and no better) I must for shortnesse referre thee, gentle Reader, to that is written before in the First Article of this Booke, and in the 23. Diuision, as answer to the same. Yet thus much shortly, and by the way: First, M. Hardings Amphilochius saith, that S. Basil, after he had said Masse to Christ and his twelue Apostles, immediatly the same night, put one portion of the Sacrament in the Doue, that was then hanging ouer the Alter: and the next day following sent for a Goldsmith, and caused the same Doue to be made, the same Doue, I say, that he put the Sacrament in, the night before. And so M. Hardings Doue was a Doue, before it was made. But Dreames and Fables are worthy of Priuilege. Yet, lest this tale should passe alone, it is accompanied with a Miracle. For after that time, whensoeuer S. Basil was at Masse, and lifted vp the Bread, the same Doue (so saith this Amphilochius) vsed euermore to rowse her selfe ouer the Altar, and moued, and stirred, of her selfe hither and thither: much like to the Mathematicall Doue, that Architas Tarentinus made, that was able to flie alone. If this golden Doue had not beene endued with Spirit and Life, this tale had lost halfe his grace. Againe Pekham in his Prouincials gineth a strait commandement of all Priests, that the Bread in the Pix, be changed and renued euery seuenth day, for auoiding of putrefaction, or some other lothsomnesse, that may happen. But M. Hardings golden Doue had a speciall vertue aboue all others, to kepe the Bread seuen yeres together without corruption, and the same at the last, meet to be giuen to a sicke man in his death bed.

But there is mention made of golden and siluern Doues in the Councell of Constantinople. I grant. Howbeit, there is no mention made there of any Pix or Reseruation of the Sacrament. But if euery Doue there, were a Pix, or, as they call it, a Monster, then hath M. Harding a great aduantage. For seking out but one Pix, he hath found twenty, and that all together in one Church, some about the Alter, some about the holy Font, and some elsewhere. And yet I could neuer vnderstand, but euermore in one Church, were it neuer so big, one Pix was thought sufficient. O what paines M. Harding hath taken to furnish a Fable! God grant vs to be simple as Doues, in obeying of Matthæ. 10. Gods truth, and wise as Serpents in discerning and eschewing lies.

The rest, that is alleged of Symmachus, Gregorius Romanus, Gregorius Turonensis, and Theodorus, as it is not denied, so it is no parcell of this Question. The hanging of the Sacrament, and the Canopie, wherein the greatest danger stood, being remoued, somewhat may be considered touching Reseruation, when it shall be thought necessary. Wherein to counterpoise the credit of these foure obscure and late Doctours, we haue the authority of eight other Doctours counted learned and ancient: Clemens, Cyprian, Origen, Cyril, Hierome, Augustine, Hesychius and Nicephorus, as it is already proued.

OF ACCIDENTS WITHOVT SVBIECT.

THE TENTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that in the Sacrament after the words of Consecration, there remaine only the Accidents and Shewes, without the Substance of Bread and Wine.

The 175. vntruth. For the Substance of the Bread and Wine remaineth still, as shall appeare.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

In this Sacrament after Consecration (175) nothing in Substance remaineth, that was before, neither Bread nor Wine, but only the Accidents of Bread and Wine, as their forme and shape, sauour, smell, colour,

lour, weight, and such like, which heere haue their being miraculously without their subiect: forasmuch as * after Consecration, there is none other substance, than the substance of the Body and Blood of our Lord, which is not affected with such Accidents, as the Scholastical Doctours terme it. Which Doctrine hath alwaies, though not with these precise termes, (176) beene taught, and beleeued from the beginning, and dependeth of the Article of Transubstantiation. For if the substance of Bread and Wine, be changed into the substance of the Body and Blood of our Lord (177) (which is constantly affirmed by al the learned and Ancient Fathers of the Church) it followeth by a necessarie sequell in nature, and by drift of reason, that then the Accidents onely remaine. For witnesse and proofe whereof, I will not let to recite certaine most manifest sayings of the old, and best approoued Doctours.

*Vntruth, as before.

The (176.) Vntruth. For this Doctrine was neither beleeued, nor taught from the beginning.

The (177.) Vntruth. For this kinde of Reall and Materiall change is not affirmed by any Father.

Transubstantiatiõ.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding granteth, that this Doctrine hath no expresse Authoritie by precise terms, neither in the Scriptures, nor in the Ancient Councels, nor in any old Father, Greeke, or Latine: yet the old Fathers both Greekes, and Latines, in their kindes were counted Eloquent, and were thought able to vtter their Doctrine in expresse, and precise words, if there had beene any such Doctrine receiued in the Church. Wherefore finding heerein such want of all Antiquitie, we may be bold expressly, and in precise termes to say: This seemeth to be a very new Doctrine, resting onely vpon a false Position, and a little coloured with drift of Reason: which Reason notwithstanding neuer entred into mans head, within a whole thousand yeares, after that the Gospell had beene preached. By like Position, and by like drift, the old Heretikes the Manichees held, that all, that outwardly appeared in Christ, was nothing els, but Accidents: that is, as M. Harding himselfe expounded it, the Forme, and Shape, the Colour, the Weight, and so indeed nothing els, but the Shew, and Appearance, and Fantasie of a Body. From such Doctours, it appeareth, these men haue receiued their new Doctrine. For Doctor Tonstall confesseth, It was first determined in the Councell of Lateran, which was holden in Rome in the yeare of our Lord a thousand, two hundred, and fifténe: and that, before that time it was euermore free for any man, without empeachment of his Faith, to hold the contrary.

Cuthbert. Tonstallus de Eucharist. lib. 1. pag. 45.

Likewise M. Hardings owne Doctour Gabriel Biel saith: Quomodo ibi sit Corpus Christi, an per conuersionem alicuius in illud: an sine Conuersione incipiat esse Corpus Christi cum pane, manentibus Substantia, & Accidentibus Panis, non inuenitur expressum in Canone Bibliæ: *In what sort the Body of Christ is there, whether it bee by the turning of any thing into that, or without any turning* (or Transubstantiation) *the Body of Christ begin to be there together with the Bread, both the Substance and Accidents of the Bread remaining, it is not found expressed in the Scriptures.* So likewise Duns himselfe saith: De Sacramentis tenendum est, sicut tenet Sancta Romana Ecclesia Nam verba Scripturæ possent saluari, Secundum intellectum facilem, & veriorem, Secundum apparentiam. *Touching the Sacraments, we must hold, as the holy Church of Rome holdeth, For the words of the Scripture might be saued,* (without Transubstantiation) *by an easie and truer vnderstanding in appearance.* Thus it appeareth by D. Tonstal, that this Doctrine hath no ground of antiquity: and by Biel, and Scotus, that it hath no certaine authority of Gods Word. Vpon this foundation, which by their owne confession is vncertaine, M. Harding buildeth vp the whole certainty of this Article.

Gabriel Biel de Canon. lect. 40.

Scotus in 4. Senten. dist. 11. q. 2.

But he will reply, Christ saith, *This is my Body.* So the Arian Heretikes were able to allege as many, and as plaine words of Christ: Pater maior me est: *My Father is greater than I.* Neither euer was there any Heresie so grosse, but was able to make some simple shew of Gods word. But Christ saith not: *This Bread, is now no Bread:* Or, *This Bread, is Transubstantiate into my Body:* Or, *My Body is Really, and Fleshly contained vnder the Accidents of this Bread.*

But contrariwise the Euangelists doe witnesse: That Christ toke Bread: and S. Paul after Consecration sundrie times calleth it Bread: and the holy Fathers expressly, and constantly affirme, that the Bread remaineth still in Nature, and Substance, as it did before.

1. Cor. 11.

Neuertheless, in that sense and meaning that Christ spake in, that Bread was Christs Body. For in this case we may not consider, what Bread is in it selfe, but what it is by Christs Institution. As the Body of Christ is his very Naturall Body: So the Bread in it selfe, is very Naturall Bread. And yet by way of a Sacrament, the Bread both is called, and also is Christs Body. So S. Paul saith: *The Rocke was Christ:* And S. Augustine saith: Non dicit, Petra Significabat Christum: sed, Petra erat Christus: *He saith not, The Rocke Signified Christ: but, The Rocke was Christ.* The Rocke naturally, and indeed was a Rocke, as it was before. Yet, because it gaue water, to refresh the people, by a Sacramentall vnderstanding the Rocke was Christ. So is it written: Sanguis est Anima: *The Blood is the Soule:* Which words rightly vnderstanded are true: and yet to say, that Naturally, and Really the Blood is the Soule, it were an errour. Vnto which words of

1. Cor. 10.

Augustin. in Leuit. q. 57.

Deuter. 12.

This is my Body.

Moſes, S. Auguſtine, by way of expoſition, reſembleth theſe wordes of Chriſt, *This is my Body.* His wordes be theſe: Poſſum interpretari Præceptum illud in Signo eſſe poſitum. Non enim dubitauit Dominus dicere: Hoc eſt Corpus meum, cùm Signum daret Corporis ſui: *I may expound that commandement to conſiſt in a Signe. For our Lord doubted not to ſay, This is my Body, when he gaue a Signe of his body.* And to come nére to the Inſtitution of Chriſts Supper, S. Luke, and S. Paul ſay: *This Cup is the New Teſtament.* Yet was not the Subſtance, and Nature of the Cup changed by any force of theſe wordes: neither was that Cup in déed, and Really the New Teſtament. Now, as the Rocke was Chriſt: The Blood is the Soule: The Cup is the New Teſtament, remaining notwithſtanding ech of them in their ſeuerall Nature and Subſtance: Euen ſo is the Bread, the Bodie of Chriſt: remaining ſtill notwithſtanding in the Nature, & Subſtance of very Bread. It is a Sacrament, that Chriſt ordained: and therefore muſt haue a Sacramentall vnderſtanding. Verily, as Water remaining ſtill Water, is the Sacrament of Chriſts Blood: So Bread remaining ſtill Bread, is the Sacrament of Chriſts Body.

Auguſt. contra Adimantum. cap. 12.
Luc. 22.
1. Cor. 11.

But the contrary héereof was determined in the Councell of Laterane in Rome, about the yére of our Lord, 1215. Howbeit, the determination of that Councell neither was Generall, nor was euer Generally receiued. For the Chriſtians in Aſia, and Grecia, and of all other parts of Chriſtendome would neuer agrée vnto it, as it apeareth by the Councell of Florence: but euermore refuſed it, as an errour. But what ſpeciall power had that Councell of Lateran, to alter the Faith of the Church: and to change the ſenſe of Gods Word: and to make that Catholike, that before that time was neuer Catholike: and to make that Hereſie, that for the ſpace of twelue hundred yéeres, and more before was no Hereſie? Certainly, the old Catholike Fathers of the Primitiue Church, and theſe yong Fathers of the Church of Lateran agrée not together. For Gelaſius ſaith: Non deſinit eſſe Subſtantia, vel Natura Panis & Vini: *It ceaſeth not to be the Subſtance, or Nature of Bread, and Wine.* S. Chryſoſtom ſaith: Natura Panis in Sacramento remanet: *The Nature of Bread remaineth in the Sacrament.* Theodoretus ſaith: Chriſtus Naturam (Panis) non mutat, ſed Naturæ adijcit Gratiam: *Chriſt changeth not the Nature (of the Bread) but vnto the ſame Nature he addeth Grace.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Quod videtis, Panis eſt, & Calix: quod vobis etiam oculi renuntiant: *The thing, that you ſee, is Bread, and the Cup: which thing your eies doe teſtifie.* Yéere bée the plaine teſtimonies of foure Ancient Catholike Fathers in this behalfe. But theſe New Lateran Fathers contrariwiſe ſay: *Heere ceaſeth the Subſtance, and Nature of Bread, and Wine: The Nature of Bread remaineth not: Chriſt changeth the Nature, and Subſtance of the Bread: Beleeue not the witneſſe of your eies: The thing that you ſee, is not Bread.* Thus theſe new Fathers as it may appeare, of purpoſe are contrary to the old. Héereof we may reaſon thus:

Gelaſius contrà Eutychem.
Chryſoſt. ad Cæſarium Monach.
Theodoretus Dialogo primo.
Auguſtin. ad Infantes. Citatur à Beda. 1. Cor. 10.

The Olde Catholike Fathers vnderſtood not this New fantaſie of Tranſubſtantiation:

Therefore they vnderſtood not the remaining of the Accidents without Subſtance.

Yet hath M. Harding choſen this, as the only foundation of his whole cauſe.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

S. Cyprian that learned Biſhop and holy Martyr ſaith thus: *In Sermone de Cœna Domini Panis iſte, quem Dominus Diſcipulis porrigebat, non effigie, ſed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus eſt Caro:* This Bread which our Lord gaue to his Diſciples, changed not in ſhape, but in Nature, by the almightie power of the word (he meaneth Chriſts word of Conſecration) is made Fleſh. Lo hee confeſſeth the Bread to bee changed, not in ſhape or forme, for that remaineth, but in Nature, that is to ſay, in Subſtance. And to ſignifie the change of Subſtance, and not an accidentarie change onely, to wit, from the vſe of common Bread, to ſerue for Sacramentall Bread, as ſome of our new Maſters doe expound that place for a ſhift: hee addeth great weight of words, whereby hee farre ouerpoiſeth theſe mens light deuice, ſaying that by the almightie power of our Lords word, it is made fleſh. Verily they might conſider, as they would ſeeme to bee of ſharpe iudgement, * that to the performance of ſo ſmall a matter, as their Sacramentall change is, the almightie power of Gods Word is not needfull. And now if this word, *Factus eſt*, may ſignifie an imaginatiue making, then why may not *Verbum Caro factum eſt*, likewiſe be expounded, to the defence of ſundry old hainous hereſies againſt the true Manhood of Chriſt? Thus the nature of the Bread in this Sacrament being changed, and the forme remaining, ſo as it ſeeme Bread, as before Conſecration, and being made our Lords fleſh by vertue of the word, the ſubſtance of Bread changed into that moſt excellent ſubſtance of the fleſh of Chriſt: Of that which was before, the accidents remaine onely, without the ſubſtance of bread. The like is to be beleeued of the wine.

* This is a Blaſphemie. For no Sacrament can be made without the almighty power of God. With this Example M. Harding fighteth againſt himſelfe

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

This place of S. Cyprian is often, and much alleged, as if euery word thereof were an argument: as indéed at the ſight, and firſt appearance, it ſéemeth vehement, and ſoundeth much: but being well weighed and conſidered, it will appeare in Subſtance, as it is. Certainly of Annihilations, of remouing of Natures, of remaining of Accidents without

out Subiect, which thing M. Harding hath taken to proue, it speaketh nothing. For answer, first it is plaine by these foure Ancient learned Fathers, S. Augustine, S. Chrysostom, Gelasius, and Theodoretus, that the Bread and Wine after the Consecration, remaine in their Nature, and Substance, as they were before. Which thing notwithstanding, it is not the Nature of Bread, that worketh the effect, and force of this Sacrament: That is, that Christ may dwell in vs, and we in him: no more then it is the Nature of Water, in the Sacrament of Baptisme, that worketh the effect thereof, and maketh vs Flesh of Christs Flesh, and Bone of his Bones. And for better euidence hereof, to compare one Sacrament with another, S. Basil saith, Gratia (Baptismatis) non est ex natura aquæ, sed ex præsentia Spiritus: *The Grace of Baptisme is not of the Nature of the Water, but of the Presence of the Spirit.* And therefore Cyril saith: Quemadmodum viribus ignis, &c. *As Water being vehemently heat by the strength of fire, heateth no lesse then if it were fire indeed; so the Water of Baptisme by the working of the holy Ghost, is reformed vnto a Diuine power (or Nature).* So Chrysostom saith: Elizeus potuit vndarum mutare naturam, &c. *Elizeus was able to change the Nature of the Water, and made it able to beare yron.* Here Chrysostom saith, euen as S. Cyprian saith, that the Nature of the Water was changed: Yet the verie substance of the Water remained as before.

Natura.

Likewise S. Ambrose speaking of Gods marueilous working in Baptisme, saith: Non agnosco vsum Naturæ: Nullus est hic Naturæ ordo, Vbi est excellentia Gratiæ: *In this case I haue no skill of the vse of Nature: The order of Nature hath no rule, where as is the excellencie of Gods Grace* Againe he saith: Est hoc illud magnum Mysterium, quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audiuit, nec in Cor hominis ascendit. Aquas video, quas videbam quotidiè. Me istæ habent mundare, in quas sæpè descendi, & minquam mundatus sum? Hinc cognosce, quòd Aqua non mundat sine Spiritu. *Is this that great Mysterie, that the eie neuer saw, that the eare neuer heard, that neuer entred into the heart of man? I see Water, that I saw euery day before. Is this it, that shall make me cleane? I haue gon often times into it, and was neuer the cleaner. Therefore vnderstand thou, that Water* (of his owne Nature) *without the holy Ghost cleanseth not.* And againe: Per prædicationem Dominicæ Crucis, Aqua fit dulcis ad Gratiam: *By the preaching of our Lords Crosse, the Water* (beside his own nature) *is made sweet vnto Grace.* And in this respect S. Hilarie saith: Vno Christo per Naturam vnius Baptismi induimur: *We put vpon vs, onely one Christ, by the Nature of one Baptisme.* And Gregorie Nyssene (in like sort: Natura Aquæ præcedente virga Fidei, &c. vitam præstat: *The Nature of Water* (thus considered) *the Rod of Faith going before, giueth life.* Otherwise he saith: Hoc beneficium non Aqua largitur, &c. sed Dei præceptum, & Spiritus. Aqua verò subseruit ad ostendendam purgationem: *It is not Water* (of his own Nature) *that giueth this benefit: but the commandement of God, and the Holy Ghost. The Water serueth to shew vs the clensing of the Soule.*

Ephes. 5. *Basilius de Spiritu Sancto, cap. 15.* ὑ χάεις ὕυ ἐν τῆς φύσεως δύ τῶ ὕδατος. *Cyrill. in Ioh. lib. 1. cap. 42. Chrysost. de virtutib. & vitijs, hom. 5. Ambros. de illis qui initiantur Mysterijs, cap. 9. Ambros. de illis qui initiantur Myster. ca. 4. Ambros. de illis qui initiantur Myster. ca. 3. Hilarius de Trinit. lib. 8. Gregorius Fyssen. in vita Moseos. Gregor. Nyss. de Sancto Baptismate.*

By these examples, I trust, it may appeare, what S. Cyprian meant by the change of Nature Verily, Origen that ancient learned Father, touching the Bread in the Sacrament of Christs Body, writeth thus: Non materia panis, sed super illum dictus Sermo, est qui prodest, &c. *It is not the matter* (or Substance) *of Bread, but the Word spoken ouer it, that doth profite.* And therefore S. Ambrose likewise saith: Quantò magis operatorius est Sermo Dei, vt sint, quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur? *How much more effectuall is the Word of God that* (the Bread and Wine) *may be* (in Substance and Nature) *the same, that they were before, and yet be changed into an other thing?*

Orig. in Matth. cap. 15. Ambros. de Sacramentis, lib. 4. cap. 4.

Notwithstanding this answer vnto the discreet Reader may seeme sufficient, yet M. Harding forceth the matter further, with this word, Factus est. If this word, Factus est, saith he, may Signifie an imaginatiue making, then why may not, Verbum Caro factum est, be so expounded? O what simple shifts are these? Is M. Harding able to allege no barre, but that may be pleaded against himselfe? Or doth he thinke, that this Latine Word, Facere, must needes signifie, Transubstantiare? S. Augustine saith: Nos Christi Facti sumus: *We are made Christs.* Leo saith: Corpus regenerati, Fit Caro Crucifixi. *The Body of the man that is Regenerate, is made the Flesh of Christ, that was Crucified.* Beda saith: Nos ipsi Corpus Christi facti sumus: *We our selues are made the Body of Christ.* Origen saith: in like maner of speach: Spiritus Sanctus non in Turturem Vertitur, sed Columba Fit: *The Holy Ghost is not changed into a Turtle, but is made a Done.* So S. Ambrose: Victa anima libidine Carnis, Fit Caro: *The Soule being ouercome with the pleasure of the Flesh, is made flesh.* And will M. Harding vpon warrant of this one word, conclude, that our Bodies be vtterly Transubstantiate, and Substantially, and Really become the Body of Christ? Or, that the Holy Ghost is verily Transubstantiate into a Done? Or the Soule into Flesh? Or in these very words, that he hath alleged, Verbum Caro Factum est: *The Word, that is the Sonne of God, was made Flesh;* Doth he thinke, that the Sonne of God left the Nature of his Godhead, & was verily Transubstantiate into Flesh? Doubtles this were a Monstrous

August. in Iohan. tract. 31. Leo de passione Serm. 14. Beda. 1. Cor. 10. Orig. in Cantica, hom. 2. Ambr. 1. Cor. 5.

Natura. Factus est. Omni potentia.

trous Doctrine, and in old times it was Cerinthus, and Ebions horrible Hereſie. Verely Leo ſaith, Quamuis Iohannes ſcribat, Verbum Caro factum eſt, Verbum tamen non eſt verſum in Carnē: *Although S. Iohn ſay, The Word was made Fleſh, yet was not the Word turned* (or Tranſubſtantiate) *into Fleſh.* S. Auguſtine ſaith of the Heretikes called Timotheani, Ad confirmandam huiuſmodi impietatem. qua Deum aſſerunt verſum eſſe à Natura ſua, cogunt Euangeliſtæ teſtimonium dicentis, Et Verbum Caro factum eſt. Quod ita interpretantur, Diuina Natura in Humanam verſa eſt. *These Heretikes, to confirme their wickednesse, whereby they hold, that God was changed from his owne Nature* (and made man) *racke the witnesse of the Euangelist S. Iohn saying, The Word was made Fleſh. Which Word they expound thus, The Nature of God was changed into the Nature of man.* Euen thus M. Harding ſaith, *The Nature of Bread is changed into the Nature of Christs Body.*

Auguſtin. ad Quoduult deū. Epiſtola Leonis ad Leonem Auguſtum.

Auguſtin. ad Quoduultdeū. Tertullian contra Marcionem

Where is then that great force of this word, Factus eſt, wherin M. Harding ſeemeth to haue ſuch truſt? He might better ſay thus: *The Word was made Fleſh, the Nature, and Subſtance of the Word remaining ſtill: So the Bread is made Fleſh, the Nature and Substance of the Bread neuertheleſſe remaining ſtill.* And in this ſort, the Olde learned Father Tertullian ſpeaketh touching the ſame: Chriſtus acceptum Panem & diſtributum Diſcipulis, Corpus ſuum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc eſt Corpus meum, hoc eſt, Figura Corporis mei. *Chriſt taking the Bread, and diuiding it to his Diſciples, made it his Bodie, ſaying, This is my Bodie: That is to ſay,* ſaith Tertullian, *This is a Figure of my Bodie.* Thus the holy Fathers expound, what they meant by theſe words, The Bread is made Chriſts Bodie.

Omnipotentia Verbi.

But S. Cyprian further allegeth to this purpoſe: *The Omnipotent Power of God,* which ſaith M. Harding, Farre ouerpoiſeth all theſe mens light fantaſies. Thus he ſaith, as though, that without this light fantaſie of Tranſubſtantation, God could not be Omnipotent: or, as if there were ſuch wonderfull weight in his Outward Shewes, and Emptie Accidents. But God worketh mightily, and sheweth his Power Omnipotent, not onely herein, but alſo in all other his holy Myſteries, as it is before declared in the fifth Article, and the 4. Diuiſion. Leo ſaith, Chriſtus dedit Aquæ, quod dedit Matri. Virtus enim Altiſſimi, & obumbratio Spiritus Sancti, quæ fecit, vt Maria pareret Saluatorem, eadem fecit, vt Regeneraret vnda credentem. *Leo Sermo. 4. de Natiuitate.* *Chriſt gaue to the Water, that he gaue to his Mother. For the Power of the Higheſt, and the ouerſhadowing of the Holy Ghoſt, that cauſed Marie to beare the Sauiour, the ſame Power hath cauſed the Water to Regenerate the beleeuer.* To like purpoſe ſaith Chryſoſtome: Vt Saram, non Natura, ſed Dei promiſſio fecit matrem, &c: *Chryſoſt. in Epiſt. ad Galat. cap. 4.* *As the promiſe of God, & not Nature made Sara a Mother, euen ſo our Regeneration by Nature is nothing. But the Wordes of God, which the Faithfull know, being pronounced by the Prieſt in the Bath of Water, doo forme, & regenerate him that is Baptized, as it were, in his mothers wombe.* So they were wont to ſing at the hallowing of the Font, Deſcendat Spiritus Sanctus in hanc plenitudinem Aquæ, totàmq; eius Subſtantiam Regenerationis fœcundet effectu: *Totam Subſtantiam.* *Let thy Holy Ghoſt come down into this fulnes of water, & let it fill the whole Subſtance therof with the effect of Regeneratiō.* Thus Leo, Chryſoſtome, and other old Fathers, acknowledge the omnipotency of God in the Sacramēt of Baptiſme: yet did they not thinke it therfore neceſſary, to Tranſubſtantiate the Nature, & ſubſtance of the water. The ſame S. Cyprian, (albeit indeed it is not S. Cyprian, but a far later writer, as by good proofes it doth appeare) writing only of the Bleſſing of the holy Oyle, allegeth likewiſe the omnipotent power of God aboue Nature. His words be theſe, Sanctificatis Elementis, iam non propria Natura præbet effectū: Sed Virtus Diuina potentiùs operatur: adeſt Veritas Signo, & Spiritus Sacramento. *Cyprianus de vnctione Chriſmatis.* *It is not Nature, that gineth effect vnto the Element of Oyle being ſanctified, but the Power of God worketh more mightily. The Truth is Preſent with the Signe, & the Holy Ghoſt with the Sacrament.* Therfore it was no good Catholike Diuines part, ſo lightly to shake off theſe new Maſters Sacramentall changes, as matters of ſo ſmall weight. It appeareth by theſe examples, that God therein sheweth his Omnipotent Power: and yet without any Tranſubſtantiation.

Now if neither theſe words, Panis Natura Muratus: nor theſe words, Factus eſt: nor theſe words, Omnipotentia Verbi: nor all theſe words together, be able to proue Tranſubſtantiation, as it is cleere by that is ſaid already, then is M. Hardings foundation not well laid: and therefore we may the better doubt of his Concluſion.

And, whereas he ſaith, These New Maſters thinke it ſufficient to acknowledge a Sacramentall changing, and to ſay, that the Bread is changed into the Sacrament of Christs Body, and that onely for a ſhift, it may pleaſe him to remember, that Beda welnere nine hundred yeres ago, expounded the ſame in like ſort: and yet that notwithſtanding, was neuer counted neither Shifter, nor New Maſter. His words be plaine: Panis, & Vini creatura, in Sacramentum Carnis, & Sanguinis Chriſti, ineffabili Spiritus Sanctificatione transfertur: *Beda in Octauis Epiphanie.* *The Creature of Bread and Wine, by the ineffable Sanctification of the Spirit, is turned into the Sacrament of Christs Fleſh, and Blood.*

M. Harding.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuision.

Nothing can be plainer to this purpose, then the sayings of S. Ambrose, *Licèt Figura Panis, & Vini videatur, nihil tamen aliud, quàm Caro Christi, & Sanguis, post Consecrationem credendum est*: Although, saith he, the forme of Bread and Wine be seene, yet after Consecration we must beleeue, they are nothing els, but the Flesh, and Blood of Christ. After the opinion of this Father, the shew and figure of Bread and Wine are seene, and therefore remaine after Consecration. And if we must beleeue, that which was Bread & Wine before, to be none other thing, but the Flesh and Blood of Christ, then are they no other thing indeed. For if they were, we might so beleeue. For beleefe is grounded vpon trueth, and whatsoeuer is not trüe, is not to be beleeued. Heereof it followeth, that after Consecration, the accidents and shewes onely remaine without the substance of Bread and Wine. In another place he saith as much: *Panis ille, &c.* This Bread before the words of the Sacraments, is Bread: assoone as the Consecration commeth, of Bread is made the Body of Christ. Againe in another place he saith most plainly, That the power of Consecration is greater than the power of Nature; because Nature is changed by Consecration. By this Father it is euident, that the Nature, (178) that is to say, the substance of Bread and Wine, by Consecration being changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, their naturall qualities, which be accidents, continuing vnchanged for performance of the Sacrament, remaine without the substance of Bread and Wine.

This place is counterfeit, and not to be found in all S. Ambrose.

The 178. vntruth, standing in false interpretation: as shall appeare. Accidents performe the Sacrament. A strange kinde of Diuinitie.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Ambroses Bookes be extant, and knowen: among them all, these woords are not found. Gratian, the reporter of them, either of purpose, or for want of discretion, as a man liuing in a very barbarous and corrupt season, alleageth often one Doctour for another: the Greeke for the Latine; the New for the Old: as may soon appeare to the learned Reader. This Writer, whom M. Harding would so faine haue to passe by the name of Ambrose, in this very place, purposely depraueth the woords of Christ, alleging that for Scripture, that is not to be found so written in all the Scriptures: which is not the maner of S. Ambroses dealing.

But for contentation of the Reader, to answer that thing, that séemeth worthy of no answer, we must vnderstand, that the Bread, the Wine, and the Water, of their owne Nature, without further consideration, are nothing els but vsuall, and simple creatures. And therefore S. Augustine giueth this generall rule touching the same: *In Sacraments we must cõsider, not what they be of themselues, but what they signifie.* So S. Ambrose writeth of the Water of Baptisme: Quid vidisti? Aquas vtique; sed non solas. Apostolus docuit, non ea contemplanda, quæ videntur, sed quæ non videntur. *What sawest thou?* (in thy Baptisme) *Water no doubt: but not onely Water. The Apostle hath taught vs, to behold, not the things, that be seen, but the things, that be not seen.* Otherwise touching the very substance of the Bread and the Wine, he saith, Sunt quæ erant. *They be the same things that they were.* And immediatly before, he calleth the Sacrament touching the Bread and the Wine, which are the materiall parts thereof, *A common, and a knowen, Creature.*

Augusti. contra Maximin. li. 3.
Ambrosius de ijs, qui initiantur mysterijs, cap. 2.
Ambrosius de Sacramentis. lib. 4. cap. 4.

Yet neuertheless, touching the effect of the Sacrament, we consider not the corruptible Natures, or outward Elements, but direct our Faith onely to the Bodie, and Blood of Christ. S. Ambrose himselfe leadeth vs thus to say: Ante Benedictionem Verborum Cœlestium alia species nominatur: post Consecrationem Corpus Christi Significatur: *Before the blessing of the Heauenly Words, it is called an other kinde: but after the Consecration, the Bodie of Christ is signified.*

Ambros. de Sacram. li. 4. cap. 3.
Creatura Salennis & nota.

But M. Harding will replie, Thus Ambrose saith, Figura Panis, & Vini videtur: *The Figure of Bread, and Wine is seene*: Therefore we must néeds confesse, there are Accidents without a Subiect. If any old Writer, Greeke, or Latine: learned, or vnlearned, euer vsed this Woord, Figura, in this sense, to wit, to signifie a Shew alone without any Substance, then may M. Harding séeme to say somewhat. If neuer any writer vsed it so, then haue we good cause, to doubt his Conclusion. Verily, to leaue other old writers of all sorts, S. Ambrose himselfe saith: Christus apparet in Figura Humana: *Christ appeareth in the Forme, or Figure of a Man.* And S. Paul saith to the like purpose: Formam Serui accepit: *Christ tooke vpon him the Forme of a Seruant.* I thinke M. Harding will not warrant vs vpon the force of these woords, that Christ had onely the Shape, and Shew, and not the very Substance, and Nature of a Mans Bodie. For in so saying, he should séeme openly to fauour the old condemned Heresie of the Manichæs. In saying otherwise, this word, Figura, cannot further his purpose.

Ambrosius ad Ephesios. cap. 1.
Philippen 2.

But S. Ambrose saith, Nihil aliud credendum: *We must beleeue there is nothing else. Therfore*, saith M. Harding, There is no Bread. I marueil, he hath no further insight, nor better skill in his owne Arguments. For héere he concludeth a plaine contradiction against himselfe. For if there be nothing else, but the Bodie of Christ, and we must also beleeue the same, then is there neither Forme, nor Figure, nor Weight, nor Sauour there: which is contrary to M. Hardings owne first position: and yet by these woords we must néeds beleeue it. The meaning is, as it is before said, that, according to the Doctrine of S. Augustine

guſtine, in all Sacraments we ſequeſter our mindes vtterly from the Senſible Creatures, and with our Faith behold onely the things, that thereby are repreſented.

For anſwer to the other two places of S. Ambroſe heere alleged, touching the changing of Natures, and making of Chriſts Body, it may pleaſe thee, gentle Reader, to remember that it is anſwered before in the Second Diuiſion hereof, vnto the Words of S. Cyprian. I trow M. Harding will not ſay, that the changing of any thing is ſtreightway the Corruption of the ſame. Origen ſaith: Si mutabuntur Cœli, vtique non perit, quod mutatur: *Albeit the Heauens ſhall be Changed, yet the thing that is Changed, is not therefore vtterly aboliſhed, and put away.* The queſtion betweene vs is not, whether the Bread be the Body of Chriſt, or no: but whether in plaine, and ſimple maner of ſpeech it be Fleſhly, and Really the Body of Chriſt. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Secundùm Quendam Modum Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti, Corpus Chriſti eſt: *After a certaine maner* (of ſpeech) *the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, is the Body of Chriſt.* And S. Ambroſe himſelfe heerein ſeemeth well, and ſufficiently to open his owne meaning. For thus hee writeth, as is before alleged: Poſt Conſecrationem Corpus Chriſti Significatur: poſt Conſecrationem ſanguis Chriſti Nuncupatur: In Typum Sanguinis Chriſti, nos Calicem Sanguinis Myſticum percipimus: carnem, & Sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata ſunt, Significamus. Similitudinem precioſi Sanguinis bibis: Eſt Figura Corporis, & Sanguinis Domini: In Similitudinem accipis Sacramentum: *After Conſecration, the Body of Chriſt is Signified: After Conſecration, it is called the Blood of Chriſt: We receiue the Myſticall Cup of Blood, in Example of the Blood of Chriſt: We Signifie the Fleſh, and Blood of Chriſt, that were offred for vs: Thou drinkeſt the Likeneſſe of that Precious Blood: It is a Figure of the Body, and Blood of our Lord: For a Likeneſſe, or Reſemblance* (of the Body of Chriſt) *thou receiueſt the Sacrament.* Thus many waies it ſeemed good to S. Ambroſe, to qualifie the heat, and rigor of his other words.

Now, if M. Harding, as his maner is, will call all theſe, Naked Signes, and Bare Figures, let him then remember, he maketh ſport, and game at S. Ambroſe, his owne Doctour. But the Sacraments of Chriſt, notwithſtanding they be Signes, and Figures, as they be commonly called of the old Fathers, yet are they not therefore Bare, and Naked. For God by them, like as alſo by his Holy Word, worketh mightily, and effectually in the hearts of the Faithfull. Touching the force of Gods word, S. Ambroſe writeth thus: Vidimus, & oculis noſtris perſpeximus, & in veſtigia Clauorum eius digitos noſtros inſeruimus. Videmur enim nobis vidiſſe, quem legimus, ſpectaſſe pendentem, & vulnera eius Spiritu Eccleſiæ ſcrutante tentaſſe: *We haue ſeene him, and beholden him with our eies, and haue thruſt our fingers into the very holes of his nailes. For we ſeeme to haue ſeene him whom we haue read, and to haue beholden him hanging on the Croſſe, and with the feeling Spirit of the Church, to haue ſearched his wounds.* So ſaith S. Cyprian: Cruci hæremus, & Sanguinem ſugimus, & intra ipſa Redemptoris noſtri vulnera figimus linguam: *We cleaue to the Croſſe, and ſucke vp the Blood, and thruſt our tongues euen within the Wounds of our Redeemer.* And in this reſpect S. Ambroſe ſaith: Baptiſmus eſt Myſterium, quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audiuit, nec in Cor hominis aſcendit: *Baptiſme is,* (not bare Water, but) *a Myſterie, that the eye neuer ſaw, the eare neuer heard, nor neuer entred into the heart of Man.* In reſpect hereof, the Element of Water ſeemeth nothing. Euen ſo in reſpect of Chriſts Body, and Blod, that are repreſented, the Bread, and Wine ſeeme nothing. Thus, S. Ambroſe ſaith, in either Sacrament the power of Conſecration is greater, then the power of Nature: Thus by Conſecration Nature is Changed.

Origen. περὶ Ἀρχῶν. li. 1. cap. 6.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 23.

Ambroſi. de iis qui initiantur Myſteriis, c. 9.

Ambroſi. 1. Corinth. 11.

Ambroſi. de Sacra. li. 4. c. 4.

De Sacr. li. 4. cap. 5.

Ambroſi. in Lucam, li. 5. Cap. 7.

Cyprian. de Cœna Dom.

Ambroſius de iis qui initiantur Myſteriis, cap. 4.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuiſion.

According to the which meaning Theodoretus ſaith: *Videri & tangi poſſunt, ſicut prius: intelliguntur autem ea eſſe, quæ facta ſunt, & creduntur:* The Bread and Wine may be ſeene and felt, as before Conſecration: but they are vnderſtanded to be the things, which they are made, and beleeued. Dialog. 1.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Anno 1554.

Heere, good Chriſtian Reader, I beſeech thee to conſider thus much by the way. In the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and in the late Solemne Diſputation holden there againſt that Godly Father, and Martyr of bleſſed Memorie Doctor Cranmer the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Authoritie of this Father Theodoretus was vtterly refuſed in open audience, for that he was a Grecian: and therefore not thought to iudge Catholikely of the Sacraments, according to the late Determination of the Church of Rome. Which thing notwithſtanding, it appeareth, M. Harding hath now reconciled him, and made him Catholike. Howbeit, this thing ſeemeth very ſtrange, that one man, in the vttering of one Sentence, without any maner altering, or change of Word, ſhould be both an Heretike, and a Catholike, both together.

Concerning the greateſt Subſtance hereof, this place of Theodoretus is anſwered before,

fore, in the eight Article, and in the 28. Diuision. Here he saith: *That the Bread, and the Wine are seene, and touched, as they were before.* Hereof M. Harding concludeth thus: Ergo, *there is neither Bread, nor Wine remaining, but only Accidents, and Shewes without Substance.* This Argument of it selfe is strange, and wonderfull, and the more, for that it concludeth plaine contrary, not only to the meaning, but also to the expresse and euident words of Theodoretus. For thus his words lie: Qui seipsum appellauit vitem, illic Symbola, & Signa, quæ videntur, appellatione Corporis & Sanguinis honorauit: Non Naturam mutans, &c. *He that calleth himselfe the Vine, honoured the Signes, and Tokens,* (whereby he meaneth the Sacraments) *that be seene, with the name of his Body, and Blood: not changing the Nature thereof, &c.* And againe: Signa Mystica post Sanctificationem non recedunt a Natura sua. Manent enim in priori Substantia: *The Mysticall Signes after the Consecration depart not from their owne Nature. For they remaine in their former Substance.*

Subſtance and Nature not changed.

Theodoret. Dialogo 1. Immutabilis.

Theodoretus in Dialogo 2. Inconfusus.

Now let vs compare this text with M. Hardings Gloſſe. Theodoretus saith, *The Bread, and Wine depart not from their owne Nature*: M. Harding saith: They depart vtterlie from their owne Nature. Theodoretus saith: *The Bread, and Wine remaine in their former Substance*: M. Harding saith: There remaine only the Shewes, and Accidents of Bread, and Wine, without any their former Substance. It is a bold Gloſſe, that thus dareth to ouerthrow the manifeſt meaning of the Text. I trow such dealing should be rectified by a Writ of Error.

Of these plaine words of Theodoretus, we may well conclude thus against M. Harding: The Substance of the Bread, and Wine remaineth still, as it was before: Therefore the Accidents, and Shewes of Bread and Wine, be not there without their Substance. For the reſt, How these Mysticall Signes be vnderstanded, and beleeued to be the Body, and Blood of Christ, it is answered before, in the eight Article, and 26. Diuision.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuision.

In lib. sent. Prosperi de Consec. dist. 2. ca. Nos autem. Verbis Domini secundum Lucam, Serm. 28.

We do not in like sort (saith S. Auguſtine) take these two formes of Bread, and Wine, after Conſecration, as we tooke them before. Sith that we grant faithfully, that before Conſecration it is Bread and Wine, that Nature hath shapte: but after Conſecration, that it is the Flesh, and Blood of Christ, that the Bleſſing hath Conſecrated. In another place he saith, that this is not the Bread which goeth into the Bodie (179) (meaning for Bodily sustenance) but that Bread of life, *qui anima nostra substantiam fulcit*: Which sustaineth the substance of our Soule.

The 179. Vntruth. For Rabanus saith: *Sacramentum in alimentum Corporis redigitur.*

The Bishop of Sariſburie.

The former of these two places, may be easily discharged by that is answered before to the words of S. Ambroſe, in the 3. Diuision hereof. S. Auguſtine speaketh of the changing, and aduancing of the Natures of Bread, and Wine, vnto a Spirituall and Diuine vse, and not of the abolishing of the same. As for Accidents, and Shewes standing without Subiect, and Substance, he saith nothing. True it is, the Bread, before the Conſecration, was nothing else but Bare, and Common Bread: now it is aduanced, and made a Sacrament of Christs Body, and Blood: Not by Nature, but by Conſecration, aboue Nature. Chryſoſtome saith: Oculis intellectus iſta perſpiciamus. Nihil enim Senſibile tradidit nobis Christus, &c. Sic & in Baptiſmo: *Let vs behold these things with the eies of our mind: for Christ hath deliuered to vs nothing, that is Senſible, &c. So likewise in Baptiſme.* I thinke, M. Harding will not denie, but the Water in Baptiſme is a thing Senſible: likewise, that the Bread, and Wine in the holy Myſteries, or, at the leaſt, the Accidents, and Shewes thereof, are things Senſible. But S. Chryſoſtome withdraweth vs from the Bread, the Wine, the Water, and all other like things, that be Senſible, to the conſideration of the Body, and Blood of Christ, that are not senſible: in comparison whereof, all the reſt are consumed, and seeme nothing.

Chryſoſtom. in Matth. hom. 83.

Touching the second place, The words be written both in S. Auguſtine, and also in a Booke, that is commonly knowen by the name of S. Ambroſe De ſacramentis: the meaning whereof nothing toucheth, neither the Bread, nor the Wine: but only the Body, and Blood, of Christ, which thereby are repreſented. And therefore this place so vnaduiſedly chosen, can little further M. Hardings fantaſie of empty Accidents, hanging, I know not how, without Substance.

Ambroſ. de Sacramen. li. 5. cap. 4.

The words be plaine of themselues without further Expoſition. Non iſte Panis, qui vadit in Corpus: ſed ille Panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ noſtræ Subſtantiam fulcit: *Not this Bread, that paſſeth into the Body: but that bread of euerlaſting life, that Strengtheth the Subſtance of our Soule.* M. Harding knoweth, that the Sacrament is receiued into our Bodies. Rabanus saith: Sacramentum ore percipitur, & in alimentum Corporis redigitur: *The Sacrament is receiued with the mouth, and is turned to the nouriſhment of the Body.* But the Body

Rabanus Maurus li. 1. ca. 31.

Body of Chriſt, as S. Cyprian ſaith, Eſt Cibus Mentis, non Ventris: *Is meat for the Mind, not for the Belly.* So S. Auguſtine ſaith, Panis iſte interioris Hominis quærit eſuriem: *This Bread ſeeketh the hunger of the Inner Man.* Intus bibendo fœlix fum: *Drinking in my heart within, I am made happy.* Terullian ſaith: Ruminandus intellectu, & fide digerendus eſt: *That meat ought to be chewed with vnderſtanding, and to be digeſted with Faith.* Likewiſe Chryſoſtome: Magnus iſte panis, qui replet Mentem, non Ventrem: *This great Bread, that filleth the mind, and not the belly.* Of this Bread S. Ambroſe ſpeaketh, and not of the Sacrament, that is receiued into the Body. Wherefore it appeareth, M. Harding was not wel aduiſed, how little this place would make for his purpoſe. The Old Father Origen ſaith: Accidit, vt ſimpliciores quidam, neſcientes diſtinguere, quæ ſint, quæ in Scripturis Diuinis interiori Homini, quæ verò Exteriori deputanda ſint, vocabulorum ſimilitudine falſi, ad ineptas quaſdam Fabulas, & figmenta inania ſe contulerint: *It happeneth, that ſimple folke, being not able to diſcerne, what things they be in the Holy Scriptures, that are to be applied to the Inner Man, and what to the Vtter, being deceiued by the likeneſſe of Words, turne themſelues into vaine imaginations, and fooliſh Fables.*

Cyprian. de Cœna Domini.
Auguſtin. in Iohan. tract. 26.
Auguſtinus Ioan. tract. 25.
Tertullian. de Reſurrectione Carnis.
Chryſoſt. ex variis locis in Matth. homi. 9.
Origen. in Prologo in Cantica Canti.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuiſion.

No man can ſpeake more plainly hereof, then Cyrillus Hieroſolymitanus, an old Author, who wrote in Greek, and is extant, but as yet remaining in written hand, and common to the ſight of few learned men: His words be not much vnlike the words of the Schoole Doctors. *Præbetur Corpus ὸ τύπῳ ἄρτου, in ſpecie, ſiue figura Panis. Item, præbetur ſanguis ὸ τύπῳ οἴνου.* Chriſts Body (ſaith he) is giuen vs in forme, or figure of Bread. Againe, his Blood is giuen vs in forme of Wine. A little after theſe words he ſaith thus, *καὶ πεῖσθε ὃν, ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτῳ, καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ, &c. Ne mentem adhibeas quaſi Pani, & vino nudis: ſunt enim hæc Corpus, & ſanguis, vt Dominus pronunciauit. Nam tametſi illud tibi ſenſus ſuggerit, eſſe, ſcilicet, Panem & Vinum nudum, tamen firmet te Fides, & ne guſtatu rem æſtimes, quin potiùs pro certo ac compertò habe, omni dubitatione relicta, eſſe tibi impartitum Corpus, & ſanguinem Chriſti.* Conſider not (ſaith this Father) theſe as bare Bread, and Wine. For theſe are his Body, and Blood, as our Lord ſaid. For although thy ſenſe report to thee ſo much, that it is bare Bread, and Wine, yet let thy Faith ſtay thee, & iudge not thereof by thy taſte, but rather be right well aſſured, all doubt put apart, that the Body and Blood of Chriſt is giuen to thee. Againe he ſaith thus in the ſame place: *Hæc cum ſcias, & pro certo & explorato habeas,* (180) *quæ videtur eſſe Panis, non eſſe, ſed Corpus Chriſti; item, quod videtur vinum, non eſſe, quamquam id velit ſenſus, ſed Sanguinem Chriſti, ac de eo Prophetam dixiſſe, Panis Cor hominis confirmat: firma ipſe Cor, ſumpto hoc pane, vtpote Spirituale.* Whereas thou knoweſt this for a very certainty, that that which ſeemeth to be Wine, is not Wine, albeit the ſenſe maketh that account of it, but the Blood of Chriſt, and that the Prophet thereof ſaid, Bread ſtrengtheneth the heart of man: ſtrengthen then thy ſelfe thy heart, by taking this Bread, as that which is ſpirituall. And in the 3. *Catechеſi* this Father ſaith, *Panis Euchariſtæ poſt inuocationem Sancti Spiritus, non amplius eſt Panis nudus & ſimplex ſed Corpus &c.* The Bread of the Sacrament after praier made to the Holy Ghoſt, is not bare, and ſimple Bread, but the body of Chriſt.

It is not Bare Bread? Ergo, it is Bread

The 180. Vntruth. Standing in wilfull corruption of the Authors Words, and meaning, as ſhal appeare.

Now, ſith that by this Doctors plaine declaration of the Catholike Faith in this point, we ought to beleeue, and to be verily aſſured, that the Bread is no more Bread after Conſecration, but the very Body of Chriſt, and the Wine no more Wine, but his pretious Blood, though they ſeeme to the eie otherwiſe, though taſte, and feeling iudge otherwiſe, and to be ſhort, though all ſenſes report the contrary, and all this vpon warrant of our Lords word, who ſaid theſe to be his Body and Blood: and that (as he teacheth) not in the Bread and Wine: And further, ſith we are taught by Euſebius [a] Emiſſenus, in Homilies of Eaſter, to beleeue *terrena commutari, & tranſire*, the earthly things to be changed, and to paſſe: againe, *Creaturas conuerti in ſubſtantiam Corporis Chriſti*, The Creatures of Bread and Wine to be turned into the ſubſtance of our Lords Body and Blood, which is the very Tranſubſtantiation: and ſith Chryſoſtome [b] ſaith, *Panem abſumi*, that the Bread is conſumed away by the Subſtance of Chriſts Body: [c] And Damaſcen, Bread and Wine *Traſmutari ſupernaturaliter*, to be changed aboue the courſe of nature: and Theophelact, the Bread [d] *tranſelementari in Carnem Domini*, to be quite turned by changing of the Elements, that is, the matter of Subſtance it conſiſteth of, into the Fleſh of our Lord: and that in another place, *In effabili operatione transformari, etiamſi Panis nobis videatur*, that the Bread is transformed and charged into another ſubſtantiall forme, (he meaneth that of our Lords Body) by vnſpeakable working, though it ſeeme to be Bread. Finally, ſith that the Greeke Doctors of late age, affiume the ſame Doctrine, among whom [e] Samona vſeth for perſuaſion of it the ſimilitude, which Gregory Nyſſene, and Damaſcene for declaration of the ſame vſed before: which is, that in Conſecration ſuch maner Tranſubſtantiation is made, as is the Conuerſion of the Bread in nouriſhing, in which it is turned into the Subſtance of the nouriſhed: Methonenſis, like S. Ambroſe, would not men in this matter to looke for the order of nature, ſeeing that Chriſt was borne of a Virgin beſide all order of nature, and ſaith that our Lords Body in this Sacrament, is receiued vnder the forme or ſhape of an other thing, leſt blood ſhould cauſe it to be horrible: Nicolaus Cabaſila ſaith, that this Bread is no more a Figure of our Lords Body, neither a gift bearing an Image of the true gift, nor bearing any diſcription of the Paſſions of our Sauiour himſelfe, as it were in a Table, but the true gift it ſelfe, the moſt holy Body of our Lord it ſelfe, which hath truly receiued reproches, contumelies, ſtripes, which was crucified, which was killed: Marcus Epheſius, though otherwiſe to be reiected, as he that obſtinately reſiſted the determination of the Councel of Florence concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghoſt out of the Sonne, yet a ſufficient witneſſe of the Greeke Churches Faith in this point, affirming the things offered to be called of S. Baſil *Antitypa*, that is, the ſamplers, and Figures of our Lords Body, becauſe they be not yet perfitly conſecrated, but as yet bearing the Figure, and Image, referreth the Change or Tranſubſtantiation of them to the holy Ghoſt, *Donec Spiritus Sanctus adueniat, quæ ea mutet?* Theſe gifts offered (ſaith he) be of S. Baſil called Figures, vntill the holy Ghoſt come vpon them, to change them. Whereby he ſheweth the Faith of the Greeke Church, that through the holy Ghoſt in Conſecration, the Bread and Wine are ſo changed, as they may no more be called Figures, but the very Body and Blood of our Lord it ſelfe, as into the ſame changed by the comming

[a] Newly ſet abroad, and iuſtly ſuſpected.

[b] In Comparison of Chriſts Body, that is repreſented, the Bread is nothing.

[c] Such a ſupernaturall change there is in the water of Baptiſme, and in all Sacraments.

[d] Euen ſo Theophylact ſaith, *Nos transformamur in Chriſtum.*

[e] Theſe foure, Samona, Methonenſis, Cabaſilas and Marcus Epheſius are late Writers, void of credit, yet all enemies to Tranſubſtantiation.

This Marcus Epheſ. wilfully depraueth S. Baſils words.

Two ſorts of Conſecration: the one Perfit, the other Vnperfit.

Lib. 4. de Ordinandis ſacerdotibus cap. 14.
In Mar. 14.
In Matth. 26.
Cap. 27.

comming of the holy Ghoſt. Which change is a change in ſubſtance, and therefore it may rightly be termed Tranſubſtantiation, which is nothing elſe but a turning or changing of one Subſtance into another Subſtance.

Bare Bread. Bare Oile.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

This Cyrillus Hieroſolymitanus is an Old Authour newly ſet forth. I will not call his credit into queſtion: notwithſtanding many of his conſiderations bee very much like to M. Hardings iudgement in this Article, that is to ſay, like Accidens ſine Subiecto: *A ſhew of words without Subſtance.* He ſæmeth both in words and ſenſe, fully to agræe with Chryſoſtome, Oecumenius, and other Græke Fathers, that neuer vnderſtood this M. Hardings New Religion. He ſhutteth vp the hearers bodily eies, wherewith they ſæ the Bread, and Wine: and borroweth only the Inner eies of their mindes, wherewith they may ſæ the very Body, and Blod of Chriſt, which is that Bread that came from heauen. And herein, notwithſtanding his words be quicke, and violent, the more to ſtirre, and enflame the hearts of them, vnto whom hee ſpeaketh, yet he himſelfe in plaineſt wiſe openeth, and cleareth his owne meaning. For thus he writeth: Ne conſideres, tanquam Panem Nudum; Panis Euchariſtiæ non eſt amplius Panis Simplex, & Nudus: *Conſider it not, as if it were Bare Bread: The Bread of the Sacrament is no longer Bare, and Simple Bread.* Which words are naturally reſolued thus: *It is Bread: howbeit not only bare Bread: but Bread, and ſome other thing elſe beſide.* So, where they of M. Hardings ſide are wont to ſay, Papa non eſt Purus homo, *The Pope is not a Bare man,* I trow their meaning is not, That the Pope is no man: but only, that he is a man, and yet beſides that, hath another Capacitie, aboue the condition and ſtate of common men. Of theſe words of Cyrillus we may well reaſon thus by the way: *The Sacrament is not only, or Bare Bread: Therefore it is Bread, albeit not only Bare Bread.* And thus the ſame Cyrillus, that is brought to teſtifie, that there remaineth no Bread in the Sacrament, teſtifieth moſt plainly to the contrary, that there is Bread remaining in the Sacrament.

Catecheſis Myſtagog. 4.

And although this anſwer of it ſelfe might ſæme ſufficient, yet (good Chriſtian Reader) for thy better ſatisfaction, I pray thæ further to vnderſtand, that, as this Cyrillus ſpeaketh here of the Sacrament of our Lords Body, and Blod, euen ſo, and in like phraſe, and forme of words, he ſpeaketh of the Oile, that they call Holy, of the Water of Baptiſme, and of other Ceremonies. Of the Oile he writeth thus, and further by the ſame expoundeth his meaning touching the Sacrament: Vide, ne illud putes eſſe Vnguentum tantum. Quemadmodum enim Panis Euchariſtiæ, poſt Sancti Spiritus Inuocationem, non amplius eſt Panis Communis, ſed Corpus Chriſti; ſic & Sanctum hoc Vnguentum, non amplius eſt Vnguentum Nudum, neque Commune, ſed eſt Chariſma Chriſti: *Beware, thou thinke not, this to be Oile only. For as the Bread of the Sacrament, after the Inuocation of the Holy Ghoſt, is no longer Common Bread, but the Body of Chriſt: ſo this Holy Oile is no longer Bare, or Common Oile, but it is the Grace of Chriſt.* By theſe words there appeareth like change in the one, as in the other. As the Oile is the Grace of Chriſt, ſo is the Bread the Body of Chriſt: and as the Nature, and Subſtance of the Oile remaineth ſtill, although it bæ not Bare, or Common Oile, ſo the Nature, or Subſtance of the Bread remaineth ſtill, although it bæ not Common, or Bare Bread.

Cyrillus in Catecheſi Myſtagogica tertia.

In like ſort he writeth of the Water of Baptiſme: Non tanquam Aquæ Simplici ſtudeas huic Lauacro: Ne Aquæ Simplicitati mentem adhibeas: *Behold not this Bath, as Simple Water: Conſider not the Simplicity of the Water.* Of theſe conferences of places, wæ may well gather thus: The Water in the Holy Myſterie of Baptiſme, notwithſtanding it be not Bare, and Common Water, yet neuertheleſſe continueth ſtill in the Nature, and Subſtance of very Water: So likewiſe the Bread in the Holy Myſterie of Chriſts Body, notwithſtanding it bæ not Bare, and Common Bread, yet neuertheleſſe in Nature, and Subſtance is Bread ſtill. But Cyrillus ſaith, It is no Bread, it is no Wine, notwithſtanding it appeare ſo vnto the ſenſes: Chryſoſtome ſaith, The Subſtance of Bread is conſumed: Emiſſenus ſaith, It is turned into the Subſtance of Chriſts Body: and Damaſcenus, and Theophylactus, latter writers of no great credit, anouch the ſame.

Cyrillus in Catecheſi Illuminatorum 3.

It is plaine, that both Cyrillus and all other old learned Fathers, labour euermore with all vehemency, and force of words, to ſequeſter, and pull their hearers from the iudgement of their ſenſes, to behold that Bread, that gineth life vnto the world. And therefore hæ calleth it Spirituall Bread: and of Chriſts Blod he ſaith thus: Bibe vinum in corde tuo, Spirituale, ſcilicet, Vinum: *Drinke that Wine* (not with thy Bodily mouth, but) *in thy heart: I meane that Spirituall Wine.* Againe he ſheweth, wherefore the Iewes were offended with Chriſt, and openeth the very cauſe of the groſneſſe of their errour: Iudæi non audientes Verba Chriſti ſecundum Spiritum, Scandalizati abierunt retro, eò quòd exiſtimarent ſeſe ad

Catecheſis Myſtago. 4.

Catecheſis Myſtago. 4.

Spirituall. Nothing in comparison. The Oile is Christ.

ad humanarum Carnium esum incitari: *The Iewes not hearing Christs Words according to the Spirit, were offended, and went from him, for that they thought, they were encouraged to eat Mans Flesh.* Againe he saith: Gustate, & videte, quòd suauis est Dominus. Num hoc Corporeo palato, vt istud dijudicetis, vobis præcipitur? Nequaquam: sed potiùs certa Fide: *Taste and see, that the Lord is delectable. What, are you commanded to iudge this with your Bodily Mouth? No, not so: but with vndoubted Faith.*

In this sense the Water in Baptisme giueth place to the Blood of Christ, and of it selfe semeth nothing: Likewise the Bread in the Sacrament of Christs Body giueth place to the Body of Christ, and in respect hereof is vtterly nothing. Which thing concerning the Water of Baptisme, Paulinus semeth to expresse thus:

Fonsque nouus renouans hominem: quia suscipit, & dat
Munus: siue magis quòd desinit esse per vsum,
Tradere Diuino mortalibus incipit vsu.

Likewise Chrysostome: Non erit Aqua Potationis, sed Sanctificationis: *It shall not bee Water to Drinke* (as it was before) *but Water of Sanctification* (as before it was not.) This is the very Substance of the Sacraments: in respect whereof the corruptible Elements of Bread, Wine, and Water, are consumed, and taken for nothing.

This thing Chrysostome expresseth notably to the eie by this example: Lanæ cùm tinguntur, naturæ suæ nomen amittunt, & tinctura nomen accipiunt: & non vltrà vocas Lanam, sed, vel Purpuram, vel Coccinum, vel Prasinum, &c. *Wooll, when it is died, loseth the name of his owne Nature, and taketh the name of the Colour. Thou callest it no longer Wooll, but Purple, or Scarlet, or Greene, &c.* Notwithstanding, the very Substance of Wooll remaineth still.

And so Pachymeres saith: *The Holy Oile is no longer called Oile, but it is turned into Christ.* His words bee plaine: Oleum enim est Christus: *For the Oile is Christ.* Not meaning thereby, that the Oile is no Oile, but only, that in respect of Christ, that thereby is signified, the Oile is Consumed, and appeareth nothing. So Paulus, that famous learned Lawyer saith: Res vna per prævalentiam trahit aliam: *One thing by force of greater waight, draweth another with it.*

Thus therefore saith Cyrillus: *The Bread, that we see, is now not Bread, but Christs Body: and the Wine, that we see, is now not Wine, but Christs Blood.* As if he should say, These Elements, or Creatures, are not so much the things, that they bee indeed, as the things that they represent. For so S. Augustine saith generally of all Sacraments, as it hath beene alleged once or twice before: *In Sacraments we may not consider, what they be indeed, but what they signifie.* And to the same end S. Ambrose saith: Magis videtur, quod non videtur: *It is better seene, that is not seene.* And all this is wrought, both in the Mysterie of Baptisme, and also in the Mysterie of Christs Body, not by the worke or force of Nature, but by the Omnipotent power of the Spirit of God, and by the warrant of Christs Word.

Thus Emissenus, thus Damascene, thus Theophylact say, the Bread is changed into the Substance of Christs Bodie: I meane, euen so, as the same Theophylact saith: *We our selues are Transelementated* (and Transubstantiated) *into the Body of Christ.* For thus he imagineth Christ to say: Miscetur mihi, & Transelementatur in me. And in like sort Chrysostome speaking of the Corruption, and Renuing of the world, saith thus: Opus erat quasi Reelementationem quandam fieri: *It was needfull, that the Elements were* (Transubstantiate, or) *made new.* So S. Peter saith: Efficimur consortes Diuinæ naturæ: *We are made partakers of the Diuine Nature.* And a Heathen Writer saith: Homo transit in Naturam Dei: *A man is turned into the Nature of God.*

2. Petri 1. *Mercurius Trismegistus in Æsculapio. Chrysostom. in Iohan. hom. 39. Bertram de Sacramen. Eucha.*

All these, and other like Phrases of speech, must be qualified with a sober, and a discrét construction: otherwise, according to the simple tenour of the words, they cannot stand. Therefore S. Chrysostome entreating of the Exposition of the Scriptures, saith thus: Diuina opus est Gratia, ne nudis verbis insistamus. Nam ita Hæretici in errorem incidunt, neque Sententiam, neque Auditoris habitum inquirentes. Nisi enim tempora, locos, auditorem, & alia huiusmodi consideremus, multa sequentur absurda: *We haue need of Gods Heauenly Grace, that we stand not vpon the Bare Words. For so Heretiques fall into error, neuer considering neither the mind* (of the Speaker) *nor the disposition of the Hearer. Vnlesse we weigh the Times, the Places, the Hearers, and other like Circumstances, many inconueniences must needs follow.* Verily Bertramus an Ancient Writer saith: Ipse, qui nunc in Ecclesia, &c. *He that now in the Church by his Omnipotent Power Spiritually turneth the Bread, and the Wine into the Flesh, and Blood of his Body, the same inuisibly made his Body of the Manna, that came from Heauen: and of the Water, that flowed from the Rocke, inuisibly he made his owne Blood.* Thus, as the Fathers say, *Manna* was made Christs Body, or the Water in the wildernesse was made his Blood; euen so they say, The Bread & Wine are likewise made Christs Body & Blood.

Manna made Christs Bodie.

In Catechesi Mystag. 5. Chrysostom. in Psalm. 22. Chrysost. de Fide, & Lege. Pachymeres in Dion. de Eccles. hierar. ca. 4. μυστηρίῳ ὁ Χριστὸς. ff. De rei Vendicatione. In rem. Paulus. August. contra Maximin. li. 3. Ambros. de iis qui initiantur Mysterijs, c. 3. Theophyla. in 6. ca. Iohan. Chrysostom. in Genes. hom. 25.

Now,

Greeke Church. Figure.

Now, that it may thoroughly appeare, euen vnto the Simple, what the godly Fathers meant by such extraordinary vse of speech, it shall not be from the purpose to report certaine words of Gregorius Nyssenus touching the same, and that in such order, as they are written. Thus therefore he saith: Nam & hoc Altare, &c. *This Altar, whereat we stand, is by Nature a Common stone, nothing differing from other stones, whereof our walls be built, and our pauements laid: but after that it is once dedicate to the honour of God, and hath receiued Blessing, it is a holy Table, and an vndefiled Altar, afterward not to be touched of all men, but only of the Priests, and that with reuerence. Likewise the Bread, that first was common, after that the Mystery hath hallowed it, is both called, and is Christs Body: likewise also the Wine Christs Blood. And whereas before they were things of small value, after the blessing, that commeth from the Holy Ghost, either of them both worketh mightily. The like Power also maketh the Priest to be Reuerend, and Honorable, being by meane of a new Benediction diuided from the common sort of the people.* Hereby we see, as the Altar, which in some places, both for steadinesse, and continuance, was made of stone, was changed from the former state, and yet remained stone still: and as the Priest, or Bishop was changed from that, he was before, and yet remained in Substance one man still: so by the iudgement of this Ancient Father, the Bread, and Wine are changed into Christs Body, and Blod, and yet remaine Bread, and Wine in Nature still. *Gregor. Nyssen de Sancto Baptismo.*

And, forasmuch as M. Harding, to make good, and to maintaine this his New Error, hath here alleged together nine Doctors of the Greeke Church, as subscribing, and well agreeing thereto; vnderstand thou, good Christian Reader, for the better information, and direction of thy iudgement, that the Grecians neuer consented to the same, from the first preaching of the Gospell there vntill this day, as it is easie to be seene in the last action of the Generall Councel holden at Florence. And Duns himselfe, hauing occasion to intreat hereof, writeth thus: Ad hanc sententiam principaliter videtur mouere, quòd de Sacramentis tenendum est, sicut tenet sancta Romana Ecclesia. ipsa autem tenet, Panem Transubstantiari in Corpus, & Vinum in Sanguinem: *To this determination this thing seemeth specially to lead, that we must hold of the Sacraments, as the holy Church of Rome holdeth, &c.* For Confirmation hereof he allegeth, not the Greek Church, as knowing, it had euermore holden the contrary, but only the Particular Determination of the Church of Rome, concluded first in the Councel of Lateran, in the yere of our Lord a Thousand, two hundred and fiftene, and neuer before. *Conci. Florent. Sessione vltima. Io. Scotus in 4. Senten. dist. 10. Concilium Lateranen. sub Innocen. 3. An. 1215.*

And Isidorus the Bishop of Russia, for that after his returne home from the Councel of Florence, he began to practise both for vnity herein, and also in all other causes, to be concluded betweene his Churches, and the Church of Rome, was therefore deposed from his office, and vtterly forsaken of all his Clergy. So well they liked this new deuice of Transubstantiation. *Romanus Patritius in historia de Noua Orbe.*

M. Harding will reply, Cirillus saith, ὡς πρὸς ἄρτον, which he expoundeth, In specie, vel Figura Panis: *In the forme, or Figure of Bread:* And this, as he imagineth, is as much, as Accidents without Subiect. What maner consideration leadeth him hereto, I cannot tell. But it is most certaine, that by this very way, the Old Heretiques were led into their Errors. Marcion the Heretique held, that Christ appeared not in the very Naturall Body of a Man, but only in a fantasie, or shew of a Mans Body. And to proue the same, he vsed M. Hardings reason. For it is written, said he: In Similitudinem hominum factus est, & Figura inuentus vt homo: *He was made after the Likenesse of men, and found in Figure* (which M. Harding expoundeth, in Shewes, and Accidents) *as a man.* And S. Ambrose saith: Nec sibi blandiatur virus Apollinare, quia ita legitur, Et Specie inuentus, vt homo: *Let not that Heretique Apollinarius flatter himselfe, for that it is thus written, He was found in Figure, and Forme, as a man.* Here we see, M. Harding is driuen to fight with Old Heretiques Weapons: otherwise his friends would not iudge him Catholique. S. Ambrose saith, Christ appeared In Figura humana, *In the Figure of a Man* Origen saith: Christus est expressa Imago, & Figura Patris: *Christ is the expresse Image, and Figure of his Father.* Against S. Ambrose saith: Grauior est ferri species, quàm Aquarum Natura: *The Forme of yron is heauier, than the Nature of the Water.* And Gregorie Nyssene saith: Sacerdos quod ad speciem externam attinet, idem est qui fuit: *The Priest, as touching his apperance, or outward Forme, is the same, that he was before.* And will M. Harding gather hereof, that Christ, or a Peece of Yron, or a Priest, is nothing els, but an Accident, or a Shew without Substance? Philippen. 2. *Ambros. li. 7. Epist. 48. Ambros. ad Colossen. 1. Origen. περὶ ἀρχῶν li. 1. ca. 2. Ambros. de iis, qui initiantur Mysteriis, ca. 3 Gregorius Nyssen. de Sancto Baptismate.*

Besides all this, M. Harding is faine to falsifie Cyrillus, his owne Doctor, and to allege his words otherwise, than he found them. For, whereas in the common Latine Translation it is written thus: Sciens, panem hunc, qui videtur à nobis, non esse Panem, etiamsi gustus Panem esse sentiat: *Knowing, that this Bread, that is seene of vs, is no Bread, albeit our taste*

M. Harding of purpose falsifieth & corrupteth the Old Fathers.

taſte do perceiue it to be Bread: M. Harding hath choſen rather to turne it thus: Cum ſcias, qui videtur eſſe Panis, non eſſe, ſed Corpus Chriſti: *Knowing, that the thing that ſeemeth to be Bread, is no Bread, but the body of Chriſt.* Wherein he hath both ſkipt ouer one whole clauſe, and alſo corrupted the words, & meaning of his Author. For Cyrillus ſaith: *With our outward eies we ſee Bread.* M. Harding ſaith: It appeareth, or ſeemeth only to be Bread. Cyrillus ſaith: *Our taſte perceiueth* (or knoweth) *it to be Bread:* This clauſe M. Harding hath left out, both in his Latine Tranſlation, and alſo in the Engliſh. But ſpeaking of the Cup, he turneth it thus: Albeit the ſenſe make that account of it. Corrupt Doctrine muſt needs hold by Corruption. For it is certaine, Cyrillus meant thus, *That as we haue two ſorts of eies, Corporall of the Body, and Spirituall of the Mind: ſo in the Sacraments we haue two ſundry things to behold: with our Bodily Eies, the Materiall Bread: With our Spirituall Eies, the very body of Chriſt.* And thus the words of Cyril agree directly with theſe words of S. Auguſtine: Quod videtis, Panis eſt: quod etiam oculi veſtri renuntiant. Quod autem Fides veſtra poſtulat inſtruenda, panis eſt Corpus Chriſti: *The thing, that you ſee, is Bread: which thing your Eies doe teſtifie. But touching that your Faith would be inſtructed of, the Bread is Chriſts Body:* in ſuch ſort, and ſenſe, as is ſaid before.

Auguſt. in Sermone ad Infantes.

Samona, Methonenſis, and Cabaſilas are very yong to be alleged, or allowed for Doctors. As for Marcus Epheſius, he ſeemeth well to breake his name. For his talke runneth altogether Ad Epheſios. For whereas S. Baſil in his Liturgy, after the Words of Conſecration, calleth the Sacrament ἀντίτυπον, that is to ſay, a Token, or a Signe of Chriſts Body: this Doctor Marcus imagineth of himſelfe, that S. Baſil ſpeaketh thus of the Bread, before it be conſecrate. A vere Child would not ſo Childiſhly haue gheſſed at his Authors meaning. Yet M. Harding herein ſeemeth not much to miſlike his iudgement. Howbeit he knoweth that the Bread before Conſecration, is neither Sacrament, nor Signe of Chriſts Body: no more then any other common Bakers Bread. Otherwiſe, it ſhould be a Signe, and ſignifie nothing; and a Sacrament, before it were Conſecrate, and made a Sacrament.

Steph. Gardiner. ad Obiect. 185.

Yet D. Steuen Gardiner ſeemeth to conſider better, and more aduiſedly of the matter. For he thinketh it likely, that Baſils Liturgy was diſordred, and that ſet behind, that ſhould haue bin before: and that one ignorant Simple Scribe, corrupted all thoſe bokes throwout the whole world. M. Harding ſaith, S Baſil calleth the Bread ἀντίτυπον, a Signe or Token, before it be perfitly Conſecrate: As if there were two ſorts of Conſecration, the one perfit, the other Unperfit. And yet he knoweth, it is commonly holden in the Schooles, that the very beginning, and end of Conſecration is wrought, not by degrees, but in an Inſtant. Thus Conſecration, is no Conſecration: No Sacrament, is a Sacrament: That is a Signe, is no Signe: that is no Signe, is a Signe: Bokes be corrupted and diſordred: That commeth after, that ſhould goe before: and that is before, that ſhould come after. And yet all theſe ſhifts will ſcarſely ſerue to helpe out a Common Error.

The 181. Vntruth. For this Infallible Faith was vnknowne to the Primitiue Church, and openly refuſed of the Greeke Church in the Councel of Florence.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuiſion.

Sith for this point of our Religion, we haue ſo good authority, (181) and being aſſured of the Infallible faith of the Church, declared by the teſtimonies of theſe worthy Fathers of diuers ages, and quarters of the world: we may wel ſay with the ſame Church againſt M. Iewel, that in this Sacrament after Conſecration, there remaineth nothing of that, which was before, but only the accidents, and ſhewes, without the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

1. Corin. 11.

The certainty of this Article reſteth only vpon the moſt vncertaine ground of Tranſubſtantiation. The Determination whereof, for ſo much as it is not much more then three hundred yeres old, nor neceſſarily gathered of the force of Gods Word, as Duns himſelfe confeſſeth, nor euer any where receiued, ſauing only in the Church of Rome, therefore is neither ſo Infallible, as M. Harding maketh it, nor ſo Ancient, nor ſo Catholique.

Matthæi 26. *Ex hac generatione vitis.* *Chriſoſtom. in Pſalm. 22.*

Time will not ſuffer me, to ſay ſo much, as might be ſaid to the contrary. S. Paul acknowledgeth very Bread remaining ſtill in the Sacrament, and that ſuch Bread, as may be deuided, and Broken: which words cannot without Blaſphemy be ſpoken of the Bodie of Chriſt it ſelfe, but only of the very Materiall Bread. Chriſt likewiſe after Conſecration, acknowledgeth the remaining of very Wine, and that ſuch Wine, as is preſſed of the grape. For thus he ſaith: *I will drinke no more of this Generation of the Vine.* Chryſoſtome ſaith: In ſimilitudinem Corporis, & Sanguinis, Chriſtus nobis panem, & Vinum, ſecundùm ordinem Melchiſedech oſtendit in Sacramento: *Chriſt ſhewed vs* (not accidents, or Qualities, but) *Bread, and Wine in the Sacrament, according to the order of* Melchiſedech,

a

as all Likeneſſe, or Figure of his Body and Blood. **Againe he ſaith:** Chriſtus quando hoc Myſterium tradidit, Vinum tradidit. Non bibam, inquit, ex hac Generatione Vitis: quæ certè Vinum producit, non Aquam: *Chriſt when he deliuered this Myſtery, deliuered* (**not Shewes or Accidents, but**) *Wine. Chriſt ſaith* (**after Conſecration**) *I will no more drinke of this Generation of the Vine. Doubtleſſe the Vine bringeth foorth Wine, and not Water.* Cyrillus **ſaith:** Chriſtus credentibus Diſcipulis Fragmenta Panis dedit: *Chriſt gaue, to his Faithfull Diſciples, Fragments, or Peeces of Bread.* **I paſſe by** S. Cyprian, S. Auguſtine Gelaſius, Theodoretus, **and other Ancient & Holy Fathers: according vnto whoſe moſt plaine words, and authorities, if there be Bread remaining in the Sacrament, then is there ſomewhat elſe beſides Accidents. What M. Harding may ſay, that ſaith ſo much, it is eaſie to ſee: but that Shewes and Accidents, hang emptie without the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, none of the old Fathers euer ſaid.**

Chryſoſt. in Matt. hom. 85.

Cyrillus in Iohan. li. 4. c. 14.

M. Harding. The 8. Diuiſion.

And this is a matter to a Chriſtian man not hard to beleeue. For if it pleaſe God the almightie Creator, in the condition, and ſtate of things thus to ordeine, that ſubſtances created beare and ſuſteine accidents, why may not he by his almightie power conſerue and keepe alſo Accidents without Subſtance, ſith that the very Heathen Philoſophers repute it for an Abſurditie to ſay, *Primam cauſam non poſſe id præſtare ſolam, quod poſſit cum ſecunda*: that is to ſay, that the firſt cauſe, (whereby they vnderſtand God) cannot doe that alone, which he can doe with the ſecond cauſe, whereby they meane a Creature?

Gods omnipotent Power to beare vp Accidents.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Cicero **ſaith:** *A ſimple Poet, when hee cannot tell, how to ſhift his matters, imagineth ſome God ſuddenly to come in place a little to aſtonne the people: and there an end.* **So M. Harding, finding himſelfe much encumbred with his Accidents, is faine to bring in God with his whole Omnipotent Power, to hold them vp. Children in their Schooles are taught to know, that an Accident hath no Being without a Subiect. Which rule being otherwiſe euermore true, hath Exception, as M. Harding ſaith, onely in this Sacrament, wherein be the Accidents, and Shewes of Bread, and Wine, and yet no Subiect. For they are not in the Bread: becauſe (as he ſaith) that is gone: nor in the Aire, for that cannot bee ſeene: nor in Chriſts Body, for that is not round, &c. So there is a white thing, yet nothing is white: And a round thing, yet nothing is round. Therefore, foraſmuch as theſe Accidents neither are able to ſtand alone, nor haue any Subiect there to reſt in, for that cauſe, M. Harding ſaith, they be ſuſteined by the Power of God.**

One ſaith: Nec Deus interſit, niſi dignus vindice nodus inciderit: *Neuer bring foorth any God in a Tragedie, to play a part, vnleſſe it be vpon ſome occaſion of great matter, meet for a God to take in hand.* S. Paul ſaith: Deus portat omnia verbo virtutis ſuæ: *God beareth all things by the Word of his power.* **And the Heathen Poets imagine, that Atlas holdeth vp the Heauens. But for God the Creator, and Cauſe of all Cauſes, to come from Heauen, to hold vp Accidents, it ſeemeth a very ſimple ſeruice.**

Hebræ. 1.

M. Hardings reaſon ſtandeth thus: God is Omnipotent:
Ergo, Accidents in the Sacrament ſtand without Subiect.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuiſion.

And that this being of Accidents without Subſtance, or Subiect in this Sacrament, vnder which, the Bread not remaining, the Body of Chriſt is Preſent, may the rather be beleeued: it is to be conſidered, that this thing tooke place at the firſt Creation of the world, after the opinion of ſome Doctours: who do affirme, that that firſt light, which was at the beginning vntill the fourth day (182) Was not in any Subiect, but ſuſteined by the power of God, as him liked. For that firſt light, and the ſame, were as whiteneſſe, and a Body whited, ſaith S. Baſil. Neither then was Wicleffe yet borne, who might teach them, that the power of God cannot put an Accident without a Subiect. For ſo he ſaith in his Booke *De Apoſtaſia, Cap* 5. as Coclæus reporteth. Heereof it appeareth out of what root the Goſpellers of our Countrie ſpring. Who ſmatching of the ſap of that wicked tree, and heereby ſhewing their kind, appoint bounds, and borders to the power of God, that is infinite, and incomprehenſible. And thus by thoſe Fathers we may conclude, that if God can ſuſteine and keepe Accidents with Subſtance, he can ſo do without Subſtance.

The 182. vntruth. For S. Baſil plainly ſaith the contrary.

Baſilius hexameron hom. 6. Damaſc. li. 2. c. 7. Ioannes Damaſc. li. 1. Hiſt. Barlaam. Gen. 1.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

It is great violence, to force an ancient Father, to beare falſe witneſſe, and ſpecially againſt himſelfe. This report of S. Baſils meaning is as true, as is that long peeuiſh Fable, ſo often alleged vnder the name of Amphilochius, that is to wit, a vaine ſhew without ſubſtance. And becauſe M. Harding onely nameth Damaſcene, **and** Paulus Burgenſis **in his Margin, as being afraid to touch their words, he may remember, that** Damaſcene ſaith: Non aliud eſt ignis, quàm lux, vt quidam aiunt: *The Fire is nothing elſe, but the light*

Damaſcen. li. 2. cap. 7.

Burgenſis in 1. Cap. Gen.

light, as ſome men ſay. And Burgenſis ſaith: Quidam tradunt lucem fuiſſe nubem lucidam: *Some men write, that the light was a bright Cloud.* By theſe expoſitions it appeareth, that either the Fire, or the Cloud, was a Subiect to receiue the light. Certainly neither Burgenſis, nor Damaſcene, nor Baſil euer ſaid, that the light ſtood without a ſubiect. Therefore that note in the Margin might well haue bene ſpared. But it is an eaſie matter, with ſhew of names to deceiue the ſimple.

Baſil. in Hexameron. hom. 6.

S. Baſil ſaith: *The light was in the world before the Sunne was made.* Therefore it was, and had his being without the Sunne. His words ſtand thus: Aliud quidem eſt, &c. *The brightneſſe of the light is one thing, and the Body ſubiect vnto the ſame* (that is, the Sunne) *is an other thing. And ſay not now vnto me: It is impoſſible to diuide theſe things aſunder. For I ſay not, that thou, or I can poſſiblie diuide the bodie of the Sunne from the light. Yet notwithſtanding the things that we may part aſunder onely by Imagination, the ſame things God the Creator of Nature, is able to ſunder verily, and indeed.* Hereof M. Harding gathereth his reaſons thus:

The Light was not in the Sunne: Ergo, *It was in Nothing.*
It was not in the Sunne: Ergo, *It was not in the Aire.*
It was not in the Sunne: Ergo, *It was an Accident without a Subiect.*

This errour commeth of the Equiuocation, or double taking of this Word, *Being in.* For one thing may be in an other, as in an Inſtrument, as the Light is in a Candle: which is the ſimilitude, that Baſil vſeth. The ſame thing may be in an other, as in a Subiect: as Light in the Aire. This diuerſitie conſidered, now let vs weigh M. Hardings reaſon.

The Light, ſaith he, *was not in the Sunne, as in an Inſtrument to carry it about the world:* Ergo, *It was not in the Aire, as in a Subiect.*

This argument ſeemeth very light. A man may eaſily, and ſenſibly with his fingers feele the folly of it in the Darke. Verily, S. Baſils words to the contrary ſhine ſo cleere, that I maruell M. Harding could not, or would not ſee them. For thus he writeth before in the ſame Booke: *Baſilius in Hexamer. hom. 2.* περιελάμπετο δὲ ὁ ἀὴρ μᾶλλον δὲ ἐγκεκραμένον ἑαυτῷ ὅλον ὅλῳ εἶχε τὸ φῶς, Illuſtrabatur Aër: vel potiùs lumen ſibi totum, & in totum permiſtum habuit: *The Aire was lightened: or rather it had the whole Light wholly mingled with it ſelfe.* Againe he ſaith: *The World was inuiſible, becauſe the Aire was without Light.* S. Baſil ſaith: *The Light was in the Aire, and that wholly thorow the whole,* as in a Subiect: Yet M. Harding forceth S. Baſil to ſay contrary to himſelfe: The Light was onely an Accident without Subiect, and was ſtaied in nothing. Now iudge thou, good Chriſtian Reader, what credit thou maiſt giue to M. Hardings words in reporting of the Ancient Doctours.

ἡ διακρίνη αὐ τῷ, διὰ τὸ αὐ τὸ πᾶν εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα. ὅλος δὲ ἦλν.

But he ſaith: *Gods power is Infinite, and Incomprehenſible. Therefore he is able to ſuſtaine Accidents.* This errour ſpringeth of miſunderſtanding S. Baſils words. For whereas S. Baſil writeth thus: τότε ἡ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο οὐ κίνησιν ἡλίου καὶ, ἀλλὰ ἀναχυθείσης τῆς πρωτογόνου φωτὸς ἐκείνης ἰλαρότητος: Dies tum fiebat, non per motum Solarem, ſed diffuſo illo primigenio Lumine: *The day was made, not by the mouing or paſſing of the Sunne, but by powring abroad the firſt Light.* It appeareth, that in ſtead of (ἀναχυθείσης) which is (*powred abroad*) M. Harding by errour read (ἀνεχομένης) which is, *Borne vp, or Suſtained.* But hee may not well maintaine his Accidents by ſhifting of words, or by miſunderſtanding, or corrupting of his Doctours.

That is here alleged of Wiclife, and of his offpring, as it ſheweth much Choler, ſo it maketh ſmall proofe. We know, that God is Omnipotent, and able, not onely to ſuſteine Accidents, but alſo to reſtore the Dead from the graue, yea, although he be putrified within himſelfe, and fight againſt the Spirit of God. But Tertullian ſaith: Non quia omnia poteſt facere, ideo credendum eſt, illum feciſſe: ſed, an fecerit, requirendum: *We may not beleeue, that God hath done all things, becauſe he can do them: But rather we muſt ſee, whether he haue done them, or no.* For Arguments taken of Gods Omnipotent Power, were a ready Buckler in old times, to ſerue Praxeas, and Eutyches, and other like Heretikes.

Tertull. contra Praxeam.

Of

Breaking.

OF DIVIDING THE SACRAMENT.

THE ELEVENTH ARTICLE.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

OR that the Prieſt then Diuided the Sacrament in three parts, and afterward receiued all himſelfe alone.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuiſion.

Of the Prieſts receiuing the Sacrament himſelfe alone, enough hath beene ſaid before. This terme, All, heere ſmatcheth of ſpight. For if any deuout perſon require to be partaker with the Prieſt, being woorthily diſpoſed, and examined, he is not turned off, but with all gentleneſſe admitted. And in this caſe, the Prieſt is not to be charged with receiuing all alone. Albeit, reſpect had to the thing receiued, how many ſoeuer receiue, it is all, of all, and all of euery one receiued. Concerning the breaking of the Sacrament, and the diuiding of it in three parts: Firſt, it is broken, by the Prieſt, that we may know our Lord *In Fractione Panis*, In the breaking of the Bread, as the two Diſciples acknowledged him, to whom Ieſus appeared in the day of his Reſurrection, as they were going to Emmaus. And alſo that thereby the Paſſion of Chriſt may be repreſented to our remembrance, at which his precious Body was for our ſinnes broken, rent, and torne on the Croſſe. And this maner was vſed at the Sacrifice in the Apoſtles time, as it is witneſſed by Dyoniſius S. Pauls Scholar. *Opertam Panem Pontifex aperit*, (183) *in fruſtra concidens, &c.* The Biſhop (ſaith he) openeth the couered Bread, diuiding it in peeces, &c.

Luc. 24.

This Myſticall diuinitie ſhould be touched by ſome Ancient Doctour. The 183. vntruth: Standing in vntrue tranſlation.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

I marueil M. Harding would ſo ſlenderly paſſe this matter ouer, for that it is thought to make much both againſt his Tranſubſtantiation, and alſo againſt his Priuate Maſſe, which are both Keies and Lockes of his whole Religion. For firſt of all, the Breaking it ſelfe ſeemeth to argue, that there is very Bread there remaining to be Broken. And albeit, as it is reported by Petrus Lombardus: Some held, that there is in the Sacrament a very Reall breaking, notwithſtanding there be nothing there to be Broken: Some, that the Body of Chriſt it ſelfe is there Broken, and that verily, and indeed, without any helpe or ſhift of Figure: and Some, that there is nothing Broken, but onely the Shewes, and Accidents: and Some others, that there is no maner Breaking there at all, notwithſtanding vnto our eies, and ſenſes there appeare a Breaking: Yet the Holy Euangeliſts witneſſe plainly: *That Chriſt tooke Bread, and Bleſſed it, and Brake it*: and S. Paul ſaith: (Not the Accidents of Bread, but) *The Bread, that we Breake, is the Participation of Chriſts Body.* And in the Primitiue Church, the very Supper of Chriſt, was commonly called the Breaking (not of Accidents, but) of Bread. And Cyrillus calleth the Broken Portions of the Sacrament, Fragmenta Panis, Fragments, or Peeces of Bread.

Senten. 4. Diſt. 12.

Matth. 26. Luc. 22. Marc. 14. 1. Cor. 10. Actor. 2. Actor. 20.

Further, by this ſame Ceremonie Gerardus Lorichius, one of M. Hardings Doctors, proueth, that euery Maſſe ought to be common, and none priuate. For thus he writeth: Diuiditur Hoſtia, vt non ſolùm ipſe Sacerdos Miſſæ officium faciens, ſed & Miniſtri quoque, imò omnis populus aſtans, participet: *The Hoſt is broken, that, not only the Prieſt, that miniſtreth the Maſſe, but alſo the Deacons, yea and all the people ſtanding by, may Communicate.* Likewiſe ſaith Durandus: In Primitiua, &c. *In the Primitiue Church, the Prieſt receiued one portion, and the Deacons an other: and the third was miniſtred to all the People that was preſent.* And therefore Dionyſius ſaith, as M. Harding hath alleged him: Pontifex opertum Panem aperit, & in fruſtra concidit: *The Biſhop vncouereth the Breed, that ſtood couered, and cutteth it in peeces.* Heare note alſo by the way: Dionyſius ſaith not, The Biſhop cutteth the Shewes, or Accidents, but the Bread in peeces. I grant, this tradition was vſed in the Apoſtles time: but it is vtterly broken, and aboliſhed in the Church of Rome at this time: and therefore it ſtandeth M. Harding in ſmall ſtead: vnleſſe it be to ſhew the world, how boldly he, and his Church haue broken the Traditions, and Orders of the Primitiue Church of God. Neither is there any maner mention in Dionyſius, either of the breaking in three parts, or of any theſe Myſticall ſignifications. Againe, the woords of Dionyſius be otherwiſe then M. Harding reporteth them. For he ſaith not, In fruſtra concidens: *Diuiding it in peeces*, (which perhaps M. Harding would haue vs to vnderſtand of three) but, In multa concidens: *Cutting it in many peeces.* And to that vſe ſerued a knife, which, as it appeareth by Chryſoſtomes Liturgie, or Communion, was called Sacra Lancea. For

Cyrillus in Ioan. li. 4. ca. 14. Gerard. Lorichius de Miſſa publica proeganda, lib. 3. Durand. lib. 4. Dionyſ. Eccle. Hierar. cap. 3.

εἰς πολλὰ διελών. *Liturg. Chryſoſtom.*

in ſuch ſort the Bread was cut in peces, not that one man might receiue the whole, but that it might ſuffice the Congregation. And therefore it is decreed in an Epiſtle that beareth the name of Clement: Let ſo many Pots, or Portions be prouided, as may be ſufficient for all the people.

Clement. Ep. 2.

This, I ſay, was the cauſe of this Ceremonie: and not, as M. Harding vainly gheſeth, *To know our Lord in the breaking of Bread.*

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

The Myſterie of Breaking of Accidents.

Now touching the diuiding of the Sacrament in three parts, it may appeare to be a Tradition of the Apoſtles, or otherwiſe a cuſtome verie ancient, foraſmuch as Sergius the Biſhop of Rome, who liued within foure ſcore yeeres of the ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, that M. Iewel referreth vs vnto, wrote of the Myſterie of that Breaking, or Diuiding the outward Forme of Bread, and declared the Signification of the ſame.

The Fable of Amphilochius.

It is no ſmall argument of the antiquitie of this obſeruation, that S. Baſil, as Amphilochius writeth of him, diuided the Sacrament in three parts at his Maſſe, as is aboue rehearſed. And where as Sergius ſaith, that the portion of the Hoſt, which is put into the Chalice, betokeneth the Body of Chriſt that is now riſen againe, and the portion which is receiued and eaten, ſheweth his Body yet walking on the earth, and that other portion remaining on the Altar, ſignifieth his Body in the Sepulchre: what, I pray you, is there heerein, that any man ſhould be offended withall? I acknowledge that the Myſterie heereof is otherwiſe of ſome declared, and of all to this end, to put vs in minde of the benefits purchaſed to vs by Chriſt in his Bodie.

De Conſ. Diſt. 2. can. Triforme.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Platina. Vrſpergenſis.

M. Harding, of good policie, to win credit, fathereth all his Myſticall fantaſies vpon the Apoſtles. Of Sergius the firſt it is written, that he deuiſed the Agnus Dei to be ſong, at the breaking, and diſtribution of the Myſteries: but of the breaking of the ſame in three parts, notwithſtanding it be ſtrongly auouched by M. Harding, yet of Sergius the firſt, there is written nothing. Indeed, Gratian allegeth this Decree in the name of Sergius the Pope: but without Date, or any maner further addition. And therefore it may as well be Sergius the ſecond, that was called, *Os Porci*: Or Sergius the third, that toke Formoſus his predeceſſour, being dead, out of the graue, and beheaded him, and threw out his carcaſe into the Tiber. Therefore this matter, for ought that may appeare, beareth ſmall certaintie.

De Conſ. diſt. 2 Triforme.

But let vs grant, that Gratian meant Sergius the firſt: yet was he welnere ſeuen hundred yeeres after Chriſt. Neither were it any great inconuenience, to ſay: That, as he was able to deuiſe theſe Myſticall ſignifications, ſo he was alſo able to deuiſe the number of parts, and maner of breaking. But what great Myſteries there may be in this breaking of outward Formes and Accidents, that M. Harding imagineth, I leaue vnto himſelfe to conſider.

The Fable of Amphilochius hath beene ſix times alleaged by M. Harding in this one booke, to ſundry purpoſes: and yet he himſelfe knoweth, it is but a very peeuiſh fable. Who ſo liſteth to know it further, may finde it anſwered in the firſt Article, and in the 33. Diuiſion.

But where as this Sergius ſaith: Triforme eſt Corpus Domini: *The Body of our Lord is of three Formes*: Whatſoeuer his meaning therein were, his ſpeech is very ſtrange, or rather monſtrous. For the Body of Chriſt is not of ſo many Formes, but only One, and Vniforme. One of theſe portions, ſaith Sergius, ſignifieth Chriſt after his Reſurrection: The ſecond, Chriſt walking in the Earth: The third, Chriſt lying in his graue. All this, ſaith M. Harding, is Holy, and Myſticall.

Durand. lib. 4. cap. 53.

Howbeit, ſome there were, that liked not ſo greatly theſe imaginations: and therefore of themſelues deuiſed others. Some ſaid: The firſt part ſignifieth the Saints in Heauen: The ſecond, the Faithfull, that be aliue: The third, the Soules in Purgatorie. Some ſay: Theſe three parts ſignifie the three ſtates of Chriſt, Mortall, Dead, and Immortall. Some: That they ſignifie the three ſubſtantiall parts of Chriſt, his Godhead, his Soule, and his Bodie. Some others, that they ſignifie the three perſons in the Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt. And I maruell, there was none, that could ſay, they ſignifie the three Patriarkes, Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob. Thus hauing vtterly loſt the very vſe of the breaking of the Myſteries, they reteine a bare Ceremonie thereof: and yet are ſo farre out of knowledge of the ſame, that they cannot agree among themſelues, what to make of it: I meane, neither what they Breake, nor wherefore they Breake it. This Sergius diſagreeth from Bonauentura, from Durandus, and all others: yet he liketh M. Harding beſt of all.

And what hurt, ſaith he, *is there heerein? Or wherefore ſhould any man heerewith be offended?* Verily in the Houſe of God, that thing is hurtfull, that doth no good. All the Ceremo-

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nies of the Church ought to be cléere, and liuely, and able to edifie. And if this Mysticall Ceremonie be not hurtfull, why then doth M. Harding himselfe breake it: and that, not of ignorance, or oblivion, but wittingly, and willingly, and as often as he saith his Masse? For Sergius saith: One of the three portions ought to be reserued vpon the Altar, vntill the Masse be done: But M. Harding contrary, both to Sergius, and also to his Mysticall Significations, receiueth all the parts together, and reserueth none, and that by the warrant of the Glosse in that place, which is quite contrarie to the Text. Why doth he thus dissemble, and so openly mocke the World? If this Ceremonie bée good, why doth he breake it? If it be ill, why would he haue vs to kéepe it? The ghesse, that M. Harding vseth herein, séemeth very simple: Pope Sergius deuised these Mysticall meanings, seuen hundred yeares after the Apostles time: Ergo, this order of Breaking came from the Apostles. 1. Corin. 14.

De Const. dist. 2. Triforme. In Glossa.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuision.

Now that this custome, or Mysticall Ceremonie, was not first ordeined by Sergius, for ought that can be gathered, but of him expounded onely touching the Mysterie of it, as vsed before his time, from the beginning of the Church, no one ancient Councel, or Authour found, vpon whom it may be Fathered, of good reason, sith it hath (184) generally beene obserued, we may referre the Institution of it to the Apostles: and that according to the minde of S. Augustine, whose notable saying for that behalfe is this. *Quod Vniuersa tenet Ecclesia, nec in Conciliis constitutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi authoritate Apostolica traditum, rectissimè creditur.* What, saith he, the Vniuersall Church keepeth, neither, hath beene ordained in Councels, but hath alwaies beene obserued: of good right we beleeue, it hath beene deliuered (to the Church) as a Tradition, by the Authoritie of the Apostles. The 184. Vntruth. For it was neuer generally obserued.

To conclude, if any sparke of godlinesse remaine in our deceiued Countrimen, and brethren, they will not scorne, and despise this Ancient Ceremonie of Diuiding the Sacrament in three parts at the Blessed Sacrifice of the Masse, whereof any occasion of euill is not onely not ministred but rather contrariwise, whereby we are admonished, and stirred to tender our owne Soules health, and to render thanks to God, for the great benefit of our Redemption.

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There is no mention made, neither in Old Father, nor in ancient Councell of this maner of Breaking of the Sacrament: Ergo, (saith M. Harding) *It came first vndoubtedly from the Apostles.* The contrary hereof were much more likely. For he might rather haue said thus: *There is no mention made of it in any old Father, or Councell: Therefore it came not from the Apostles.*

And, where as he saith: It hath beene euery where Vniuersally obserued: It is a great vntruth: as God willing, it shall appéere. And therefore S. Augustines rule serueth nothing to this purpose.

For first, as M. Harding is deceaued in the maner of Breaking, so is he also deceiued in the quantitie of the Bread, imagining, it was a little thin round Cake, such as of late hath bene vsed in the Church of Rome: *Which* (Durandus saith) *must be round like a Penie: either because Iudas betraied Christ for some like kinde of Coyne: or, because it is written:* Domini est Terra, & plenitudo eius: *The Earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse thereof.* But indéed it was a great Cake, so large, and so thicke, that all the Congregation might receiue of it. Durandus himselfe saith: In Primatiua Ecclesia offerebant Vnum Magnum Panem, & omnibus sufficientem: quod adhuc Græci seruare dicuntur: *In the Primatiue Church they offered one great Cake, that was sufficient for all the people: which thing, they say, the Greeks do continue still.* In Chrysostomes Liturgie, or Communion, we sée both the Forme of the Bread, and also the order of cutting, or diuiding it with a knife. Gentianus Heruetus in the Description thereof, saith: Est Panis Crassus, & Fermentatus, & Figura propemodum Sphærica: *It is a thicke Cake, and Leauened, and of Forme in maner round.* It appeareth by S. Gregorie, that it was a great Cake, such as men vsed commonly at their Tables: which thing appéareth also, by that the Heretikes called *Artotyrita*, added Chéese vnto it: and so Ministred the Communion in Bread, and Chéese. And Paulinus sending such a Cake vnto S. Augustine, sent also this greeting withall: Panem vnum, quem vnanimitatis indicio misimus Charitatituæ, rogamus, vt accipiendo benedicas: *This one loafe, or Cake, which I haue sent vnto you in token of vnitie, I beseech you, receiuing the same, to blesse it.* And perhaps Ignatius in respect hereof said: Vnus est Panis pro omnibus Fractus: *There is one loafe, or Cake broken for all.* And S. Basil: Idem est virtute, siue vnam partem quis accipiat à Sacerdote, siue plures partes simul: *It is all one in effect, whether a man take one onely part of the Priest, or many parts together.* It is likely, he vseth these words, Part, and Parts, in respect of one whole. Durandus saith: *That in his time, the Priest in some Churches diuiding the Sacrament into three portions, receiued one himselfe, and Ministred the other two to the Deacon, and Subdeacon.* The like is recorded by Alexander de Hales, and sundry others. All this M. Harding dissembleth, and palleth by, and séeth nothing, but a Mysticall Ceremonie.

Durandus l. 4. in Sexta parte Canonis. Durand. li. 4. cap. 53. Liturgia. Chrysost. Gentian. Heruetus in S. Germani rerum Eccle. Theoria. Greg. Dialog. li. 4. August. ad Quodvult deū. Epiphanius. Inter Ep. Augustini. Ep. 31. Ignatius ad Philadelphien. Basilius ad Cæsariam Patritiam. Durand. lib. 4. cap. 15. Alex. de Hales in. 4. q. 37.

Now, this Cake being ſo large, ſo thicke, and ſo maſſie, and able to ſuffice ſo many, we may not well thinke, that the Prieſt could conueniently diuide it into three parts, and receiue all alone. But rather as I haue already ſaid, the breaking thereof, is an inuincible proofe of the holy Communion, and a manifeſt condemnation of M. Hardings Priuate Maſſe. For it was not diuided into parts, to the end to ſignifie theſe Myſticall Fantaſies, that M. Harding, and others haue imagined: but to be diſtributed, and deliuered to the people. Clemens Alexandrinus ſaith: Etiam Euchariſtiam, cùm quidam, vt mos eſt, diuiſerint, permittunt vnicuique ex populo, partem eius ſumere: *After that certaine, (that is, the Prieſts) haue diuided the Sacrament, they ſuffer euery of the people to take a portion of it.* So S. Auguſtine ſaith: Ad diſtribuendum comminuitur: *It is broken, that it may bee diſtributed.* And againe: Confringunt oblationes in Euchariſtiam: *They diuide the Oblations into the Sacrament* (that the people may Communicate). So Dionyſius: Velatum Panem in multa concidens, & vnitatem Calicis omnibus impertiens: *Diuiding the Bread, that ſtood couered, into many parts, and deliuering the Vnitie of the Cup vnto all the people.* In S. Baſils Communion, taken out of the Syrian tongue, it is written thus: Sacerdos frangit, & Signat: Diaconus proclamat, Communionem: *The Prieſt breaketh, and Signeth* (the Sacrament) *The Deacon crieth aloud, The Communion.* And what needeth the witneſſe of ſo many? S. Paul ſaith: panis, quem frangimus, nonne Communicatio Corporis Chriſti eſt? *The bread, that we breake, is it not the Communication of the Body of Chriſt?* Which words Anſelmus expoundeth thus: Panis, quem nos Sacerdotes Frangimus, & quem vnũ in multas partes Diuidimus, ad deſignandam Charitatem accipientium: *The Bread, that we being Prieſts doe breake, and which Bread, being one Cake we diuide into many portions, to expreſſe the loue* (or vnitie) *of the receiuers.* Likewiſe Lorichius: Panis, quem frangimus, Participatio Domini eſt, hoc eſt, Fractio Significat, nos eſſe vnum Corpus: *The Bread, that we breake, is the Participation of the Lord: that is to ſay: The Breaking ſignifieth, that all we are one Body.* It appeareth hereby, that the Sacrament was thus diuided into parts, not to the intent we ſhould thereby learne new Myſteries, but that the people might receiue it.

Clement. Alexandrin. ſtromat. li. 1.
Auguſtin ad Paulin. Ep. 59.
Auguſt. ad Quoduultdeũ. De Ophitis.
Dionyſ. Eccl. Hierar. Cap. 3.
Liturgia Baſil.
1. Cor. 10.
Anſelmus in 1. Cor. 10.
Lorichius de Miſſa pub. prorog. lib. 3.

To be ſhort: This Ceremonie of three Portions ſo broken, and ſo receiued cannot be found, neither in the Scriptures, nor in any of the old Fathers, or Councels: It beareth witneſſe both againſt Tranſubſtantiation, and alſo againſt Priuate Maſſe: The beſt learned of that ſide cannot yet agree, neither whence it ſprang firſt, nor what it meaneth: The people neither ſeeth it, nor knoweth it: They themſelues, that ſo highly would ſeem to fauour it, contrary both to Sergius Decree, and alſo to his Myſticall Expoſition, in their Maſſes daily, and openly are bold to breake it. Now iudge then, good Chriſtian Reader, hereof indifferently to iudge, whether M. Harding, or his Countrimen be deceiued. Verily S. Auguſtine ſaith: *If the cauſes, that firſt mooued, and led men to deuiſe ſuch Ceremonies, can hardly, or not at all be knowen, whenſoeuer opportunitie is offered, let them be cut off, and abliſhed without ſtaggering.*

Auguſt. ad Ianuarium epiſt. 119.

OF FIGVRE, SIGNE, &c.

THE TVVELFTH ARTICLE.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

OR that, whoſoeuer had ſaid, The Sacrament is a Figure, a Pledge, a Token, or a Remembrance of Chriſts Bodie, had therefore beene iudged for an Heretike.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuiſion.

In this Article we doe agree with M. Iewel in ſome reſpect. For we confeſſe, it can not be auouched by Scripture, ancient Councell, Doctour, or example of the primitiue Church, that whoſoeuer had ſaid the Sacrament is a Figure, a Pledge, a Token, or a Remembrance of Chriſts Bodie, had therefore been iudged for an Heretike. (185) No man of any learning euer wrote ſo vnlearnedly. Much leſſe to impute hereſie to any man for ſaying thus, hath beene any of the higheſt myſteries, or greateſt keyes of our religion, with which vntrueth M. Iewel goeth about to deface the trueth. Wherefore this Article ſeemeth to haue beene

The 185. vntruth. For M. Hardings owne fellowes haue both taught ſo, and written ſo: and therfore vnlearnedly.

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put in, either of malice toward the Church, or of ignorance, or only to fill vp the heape, for lacke of better stuffe. Perusing the works of the ancient and learned Fathers we finde, that often times they call the Sacrament a Figure, a Signe, a Token, a Mysterie, a Samplar. The words of them vsed to this purpose in their learned tongues are these, *Figura, Signum, Symbolum, Mysterium, Exemplar, ἀντίτυπον, Imago &c.* By which they meane not to diminish the truth of Christs Bodie in the Sacrament, but to signifie the Secret maner of this being in the same. Sacramentum.

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It appeareth, that these mens Doctrine is much mutable, and subiect to change. For notwithstanding they be now growen into some better liking of these termes, Figure, Signe, Signification, Token, &c. Yet not long sithence they seemed to be otherwise resolued: and thought themselues able to allege Theophylactus, Damascenus, Euthymius, and other great matter, to disproue the same. D. Tonstall the more to make the matter odious, saith thus: *If the Sacrament be a Figure of Christs Bodie, then was a Figure Crucified for vs, and not Christ.* And whatsoeuer they were that vsed this word, Figura, in this matter of the Sacrament, D Steuen Gardiner scornfully calleth them Figuratores, *Figurers.* And M. Iohn White, late Schoolemaster, and after Bishop of Winton, writeth thus, in great scorne against that most Reuerend learned Father D. Peter Martyr, touching the same: Audio mille locis Corpus: non audio (Petre) Signa, Tropos que, tuo nec Symbola nata cerebro: *I heare Bodie, Bodie, in a thousand places: But of Signes, Figures, Tokens, that came only out of thy head, I heare nothing.* Which words notwithstanding, in all the ancient learned Fathers, by M. Hardings owne confession, if hee had had eares to heare, hee might haue heard. Therefore it was neither Malice, nor Ignorance, nor Increase of heape, nor Want of other stuffe; but the fondnesse and follie of M. Hardings side, that added this Article to the rest. *Cuthb. Tonst. de Eucharist. lib. 1.* *Marcus Constantius.*

But, forasmuch as many either of simplicitie, or of the great reuerence they beare towards that holy Mysterie, haue perswaded themselues, that Christs words touching the Institution thereof, must of necessitie be taken plainly, and as they sound, that is to say, without Figure: and, forasmuch also as S. Augustine saith: *It is a dangerous matter, and a Seruitude of the Soule, to take the Signe in stead of the thing that is Signified:* Therefore, to auoid confusion, lest the Simple be deceiued, taking one thing for another, I thinke it necessary, in few words, and plainly to touch, what the Ancient learned Fathers haue written in this behalfe. *Aug. de Doctr. Christiana, lib. 3. cap. 5.*

And, to passe by, that Christ himselfe saith, *Do this in my Remembrance*: And, that S. Paul saith, *Ye shall declare the Lords Death vntill he come*: And likewise, to passe by a great many other Circumstances, whereby the truth hereof may soone appeare; The nature, and meaning of a Sacrament of the Old Fathers is thus defined: Sacramentum est Sacrum Signum: *A Sacrament is a holy Token.* Which Definition is common, and agreeth indifferently to all Sacraments. Therefore S. Augustine saith: Signa, cùm ad res Diuinas pertinent, Sacramenta appellantur: *Signes, when they be applied vnto godly things, are called Sacraments.* And the cause, why Sacraments are ordeined, is this: That by meane of such Visible and Outward things, we may be led to the consideration of Heauenly things. Therefore Dionysius saith: Non est possibile animo nostro, ad immaterialem illam ascendere Cœlestium Hierarchiarum contemplationem, nisi ea quæ secundùm ipsum est, materiali manu-ductione vtatur: *It is not possible for our minde, to lift vp it selfe to the Spirituall contemplation of Heauenly things, vnlesse it haue the Corporall leading of such naturall things, as be about it.* Likewise againe: Nos Imaginibus Sensibilibus, quantum fieri potest, ad Cœlestes contemplationes adducimur: *By Sensible Images we are led, as much as may be, to Heauenly contemplations.* And, touching this holy Mysterie of Christs Bodie and Blood, the cause of the Institution thereof was, as Chrysostome saith, to keepe vs still in Remembrance of Christs great benefit, and of our Saluation. Which thing S. Hierome openeth in this sort: Vltimam nobis memoriam reliquit. Vt si quis peregrè proficiscens, aliquod pignus apud eum, quem diligit, relinquat: vt, quoties illud viderit, possit eius beneficia & amicitiam memorare: quod ille, si perfectè dilexit, non potest videre sine ingenti dolore, & sine fletu. *He left vnto vs his last Remembrance. As if a man going a farre iourney, leaues a token with his friend, to the end that he seeing the same, may Remember his benefits, and his friendship: which token that friend, if he loue vnfainedly, cannot see without great motion of his minde, and without teares.* So saith S. Basil: Quid vtilitatis habent hæc Verba? Nempe, vt Edentes, & Bibentes, perpetuò memores simus eius, qui pro nobis mortuus est, ac Resurrexit: *What profit haue these words? Verily, that wee Eating, and Drinking, may euermore be mindfull of him, that Died for vs, and Rose againe.* So S. Ambrose: Quia morte Domini liberati sumus, huius rei memores, in Edendo, & Potando, Carnem, & Sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata fuit, significamus: *Because wi are made free by the Death of our Lord, being mindfull thereof,* *1. Corin. 11.* *De Con. dist. 2. Sacrificium.* *Augustin. de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 10. ca. 5.* *Augustinus ad Marcellinum Epist. 5.* *Dionysius Cœlestis Hierar. cap. 1.* *Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. cap. 1.* *διὰ τῆς ὑλικῆς.* *Ad populum Antioch. ho. 61.* *Hoc facite in memoriam beneficij mei, Salutis vestræ.* *Hieronym. in 1. Cor. ca. 11.* *Basili. de Baptismate.* *Ambrosius in 1. Cor. cap. 11.*

thereof, in Eating, and Drinking, we Signifie the Flesh, and Blood, that Christ offered for vs.

Origen. in Leuiticum. hom. 7.

Origen **expounding these words of Christ,** *Vnlesse ye Eat the Flesh of the Sonne of Man, &c.* **saith thus:** Agnoscere, Figuras esse, quæ in Diuinis voluminibus scriptæ sunt: & ideo tanquam Spirituales, & non tanquam Carnales examinate, & intelligite ea, quæ dicuntur. Nam, si quasi Carnales ista susciperiatis, lædunt vos, non alunt: *Know yee, that these be Figures written in the Holy Scriptures: and therefore examine, and vnderstand yee the things that be spoken, as men Spirituall, and not as Carnall. For if yee take these things, as Carnall men, they hurt you, and feed you not.* Tertullian **expoundeth Christs words in this wise:** Hoc est Corpus meum: hoc est, Figura Corporis mei: *This is my Body: That is to say, This is a Figure of my Body.* S. Ambrose **speaking of the Sacrament of Christs Body, vseth often times these termes, a Figure, a Similitude, a Signe, a Token of Christs Body.** S. Augustine, **besides infinite other places, saith:** Christus adhibuit Iudam ad Conuiuium, in quo Corporis sui Figuram Discipulis suis commendauit: *Christ tooke Iudas vnto his Table, whereat he gaue vnto his Disciples the Figure of his Body.* **And writing against the Heretique** Adimantus, **he saith:** Non dubitauit Dominus Dicere, Hoc est Corpus meum, cùm daret Signum Corporis sui: *Our Lord doubted not to say, This is my Body, when he gaue a Token of his Bodie.* **So** Chrysostome: Si mortuus Christus non est, cuius Symbolum, ac Signum, hoc Sacramentum est? *If Christ died not, whose Signe, and whose Token, is this Sacrament?* **So** S. Hierome: in Typo Sanguinis sui, non obtulit Aquam, sed Vinum: *In token of his Blood, he offered not Water, but Wine.*

Tertullian. contra Marcionem. li. 4.

Ambrosius de Sacr. li. 4. ca. 5.

Augustin. in Psalm. 3.

Augustinus contra Adimantum. ca. 12.

Chrysostom. in Matth. hom. 83.

Hieronym. aduersus Iouinianum. li. 2.

I leaue other like Authorities well neere infinite. These few may suffice for a taste. This was the Old Fathers maner of writing: neither was there any man then, that euer controlled them therefore, or called them Figurers.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuision.

For the better vnderstanding of such places, where these termes are vsed in the matter of the Sacrament, the Doctrine of S. Augstine *In Sententijs Prosperi*, may serue verie well, which is thus. *Hoc est quod dicimus, quod omnibus modis approbare contendimus, Sacrificium Ecclesiæ duobus confici, duobus constare, visibili Elementorum Specie, & inuisibili Domini nostri Iesu Christi Carne & Sanguine: Sacramento, (id est, externo Sacro Signo) & re Sacramenti, id est, Corpore Christi, &c.* This is that we say (saith he) which by all meanes we goe about to proue that the Sacrifice of the Church is made of two things, and consisteth of two things, of the Visible shape of the elements (which are Bread and Wine) and the inuisible Flesh and Blood of our Lord Iesus Christ: Of the Sacrament, (that is the outward Signe) and the thing of the Sacrament, to wit, of the Body of Christ, &c. By this we vnderstand, that this word (Sacrament) is of the Fathers two waies taken. First, for the whole Substance of the Sacrament, as it consisteth of the outward formes, and also withall of the very Body of Christ verily present, as S. Augustine saith, the Sacrifice of the Church to consist (186) of these two. Secondly, it is taken so, as it is distinct from that hidden, and diuine thing of the Sacrament, that is to say, for the outward Formes only, which are the holy Signes of Christs very Body present vnder them contained. Whereof we must gather, that whensoeuer the Fathers, doe call this most excellent Sacrament, a Figure, or a Signe, (187) they would be vnderstanded to meane none otherwise, than of those outward Formes, and not of Christs Body it selfe, which is there present not Typically, or Figuratiuely, but Really, and Substantially. Vnlesse perhaps respect be had, not to the Body it selfe present, but to the maner of presence, as sometimes it hapneth.

Dist. Cum. Dist. 2. tan. Hues, qui Dicunt.

The 186. Vntruth. For S. Augustine neuer said so.

The 187. Vntruth For none of the learned Fathers euer called the outward Forme a Sacrament. Christs Body it selfe is a Figure.

So is S. Basil to be vnderstanded, *in Lyturgia*, calling the Sacrament, *Antitypon*, that is, a Samplar, or a Figure, and that after Consecration, as the Copies that be now abroad, be found to haue. So is Eustathius to be taken, that great learned Father of the Greeke Church, who so constantly defended the Catholique Faith against the Arians, cited of Epiphanius, in 7. *Synodo.* Albeit concerning S. Basil, Damascene, and Euthymius, likewise Epiphanius in the second Nicene Councell, Acti. 6. and Marcus Ephesius, who was present at the Councell of Florence, would haue that place so to be taken before Consecration. (188) As S. Ambrose also, calling it a Figure of our Lords Body and Blood, *li. 4. De Sacramentis, cap. 5.*

Li. 4. ca. 14. de cæna. Matth. 26.

The 188. Vntruth. For S. Ambrose saith: *Post Consecrationem Corpus Christi Significatur.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding, as he is content to yéld to these names, Figure, Signe, Token, &c. so he addeth thereto an Exposition of his owne, such, as, I beléeue, he can hardly finde the like in any Ancient Father. Therefore it must be such a Figure, not as the Old Doctors, and learned Fathers haue at any time vsed, but such, as M. Harding can best imagine: and therefore now, not the Old Doctors, but M. Hardings New Figure. Indéed Tertullian **saith:** Hæretici nudas voces coniecturis, quò volunt rapiunt: *Heretiques by their Coniecturall Ghesses, draw bare words whither they list.* **With such conditions, the wicked Heretique** Nestorius **was contented to grant Christ to be God: but by his leaud Exposition he made him no God. For thus he said:** Non inuidio Christo Diuinitatem suam: Hoc & ego fieri possum, si volo: *It greeueth me not, to confesse Christ to be God: I my selfe can be God too, if I list.* **The Pelagian Heretiques, notwithstanding they were the enemies of Gods Grace, yet being forced by disputation, and conference, were content to yéld, and to confesse the Grace of God. But by their fantasticall Exposition, in the end they made it no Grace at all. In like maner M. Harding, notwithstanding he be driuen by force, to confesse the**

Tertull. contra Marcionem. lib. 4.

Cyrillus, li. 5. ca. 14.

Augustin. ad Innocentium. li. 95.

name

name of Figure, yet, as he gloſſeth it, with his colours, indeed he maketh it no Figure. Sometimes he ſaith, it is a Figure of Chriſts Body ſecretly being there: Sometimes, it is a Figure of the life to come: Sometimes, Common Bread is a Figure: Sometimes, the Accident, and outward Formes of Bread is a Figure: Sometimes, Chriſts Body Inuiſible, is a Figure of Chriſts Body Viſible: All hitherto M. Harding. Sometimes alſo, it is a Figure of the Church: So ſaith Hoſius: Sacramenta noſtra ſunt quodammodò per Figuram, ipſum Corpus Chriſti, cuius Sacramenta ſunt, id eſt, Eccleſia: *Our Sacraments are in a maner, by a Figure, the very Body of Chriſt, whereof they be Sacraments: That is to ſay, Our Sacraments be the Church.* Thus many waies theſe men haue ſought to make vp a new kind of Figure, ſuch as neither Grammarian, nor Rhetorician, nor Diuine euer vnderſtood before. Significat, *It ſignifieth* is as much to ſay, ſaith M. Harding, as, Continet, *It conteineth: It is a Figure*, that is to ſay, *It is the thing it ſelfe: It is a Figure*, that is in concluſion, *It is no Figure.* Yet all theſe Figures in the end be not ſufficient to expound one Figure. Truth is euer certaine, and ſimple: contrariwiſe falſehood is doubtfull, and double.

Varietie of Figures.

In Confeſſione Petriconienſi, ca. 39.

How much better were it, for theſe men to ſpeake ſo, as the Old learned Fathers were content to ſpeake? S. Auguſtine ſaith: De ſignis diſſerens hoc dico, ne quis in eis attendat, quòd ſunt, ſed potiùs quòd Signa ſunt, hoc eſt, quòd Significant: *Reaſoning of Signes, I ſay thus: let no man conſider in them, that they be, but rather that they be Signes, that is to ſay, that they doe Signifie.* Againe he ſaith: Cauendum eſt, ne Figuratam orationem ad Literam accipias. Ad hoc pertinet, quòd Apoſtolus ait, Litera occidit: *We muſt beware, that we take not a Figuratiue ſpeech according to the Letter. For thereto it appertaineth, that the Apoſtle ſaith, The Letter killeth.* S. Hierome ſaith: Quando dico Tropicam locutionem, doceo, verum non eſſe, quod dicitur, ſed Allegoriæ nubilo Figuratum: *When I name a Figuratiue ſpeech, I meane, that the thing, that is ſpoken, is not true, but faſhioned vnder the Cloud of an Allegory.* Likewiſe Chryſoſtome: Non alienum oportet eſſe typum à Veritate: alioqui non eſſet Typus: Neque omninò adæquari Veritati: alioqui & veritas ipſa foret: *The Figure may not be far off from the Truth: otherwiſe it were no Figure: Neither may it be euen, and one with the Truth: Otherwiſe it would be the Truth, it ſelfe*, and ſo no Figure.

Auguſtin. de doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 2. c. 1.
Auguſtin. de Doctri. Chriſtiana, lib. 3. ca. 5.
Hieronym. in Apologia contra Ruſinum.
Chryſoſt. in Dictum Apoſtoli Patres noſtri omnes &c. vlt. tomo.

These things conſidered, it may ſoone appeare, how faithfully, and how well to his purpoſe M. Harding alleageth this place of S. Auguſtine: Hoc eſt, quod dicimus, &c. *This is it, that we ſay, which we goe about by all meanes to proue, that the Sacrifice of the Church is made of two Things, and ſtandeth of two things: of the Viſible Kind (or Nature) of the Elements, and of the Inuiſible Fleſh, and Blood of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt*: Of the Sacrament, *The outward Holy Signe, and the thing of the Sacrament, which is the Body of Chriſt.* Hereof M. Harding gathereth, that the Body of Chriſt lieth hidden vnder the Accidents. S. Auguſtines words be true: But M. Harding with his gheſſes is much deceiued. For of this word, Specie, he concludeth, that the Subſtance of Bread is gone, and nothing remaining, but only Accidents: and of this word, Inuiſibili, he gathereth, that Chriſts Body is there Really incloſed. And ſo he maketh a Commentary far beſide his Text.

De Conſe. Diſt. 2. Hoc eſt.

But what would he haue ſaid, if he had ſeene these words of S. Hierome: Venit Philippus: Oſtendit ei Ieſum, qui Clauſus Latebat in Litera: Philip *came: and ſhewed him Ieſus, that lay hidden in the Letter?* Or theſe words in the Second Councel of Nice: Chriſtus ipſe habitat in oſſibus mortuorum: *Chriſt himſelfe dwelleth in Deadmens Bones?* Or theſe of Angelomus: Deus pater Filium ſuum vnigenitum in Litera Legis, Iudæis neſcientibus, abſconditum habuit: *God the Father had his only begotten Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, hidden in the Letter of the Law, the Iewes not knowing it?* Would he of theſe words conclude, that Chriſt is Really hidden, either in dead mens Bones, or in the Prophet Eſai, or in the Letter of the Law? Certainly S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh not one Word, neither here, nor elſewhere, neither of Accidents without Subiect, nor of any Reall Preſence. And albeit his words here be not very darke, yet in other places both often, and plainly, he expoundeth himſelfe. For thus he ſaith: Myſteria omnia Interioribus Oculis videnda ſunt, id eſt, Spiritualiter: *All Myſteries muſt be conſidered with the Inner Eyes, that is to ſay, Spiritually.* And againe: In Sacramentis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur: *In Sacraments we ſee one thing, and we vnderſtand another thing.* So Chryſoſtome ſpeaking of the Water of Baptiſme: Ego non aſpectu iudico ea, quæ videntur: *The things, that be ſeene in Baptiſme, I conſider not with my Bodily Eie.* So likewiſe Origen: Bene Circumciſionem Signum appellauit, quia & in ipſa aliud videbatur, aliud intelligebatur: *He called Circumciſion rightly a Signe, for that in it one thing was ſeene, and another thing was vnderſtood.* Thus in Sacraments we ſée one thing with our Eie, and another thing with our Mind. With our Bodily eie we ſée the Bread: with our Faith we ſée the Body of Chriſt. Thus the Sacrament conſiſteth of two parts: Of the which the one is before our eies, the other in Heauen: and ſo the one Viſible, and the other Inuiſible.

Hieronym. ad Paulinum.
Concil. Nicen. 2. Actio. 3.
Angelomus in 1. Reg. ca. 22.
Auguſt. in Iohan. Tractatu 46.
Auguſt. Citatur a Beda. 1. Cor. 10.
Chryſoſtom. in 1. Corin. hom. 7.
Origen. in Epiſt. ad Roman. li. 4. ca. 4.

So

Species.

So ſaith S. Auguſtine: Non oportet eſſe contentum ſuperficie Literæ, ſed ad intelligentiam peruenire: *We may not ſtand content with the outward ſight of the Letter, but muſt goe further vnto the meaning.* S. Auguſtine meaneth not by theſe words, that the vnderſtanding of the Scriptures lieth Really hidden vnder the Letter. He himſelfe better expoundeth his own meaning in this wiſe: In veteri Teſtamento occultabatur nouum, quia occultè Significabatur: *The New Teſtament was hidden in the Old: becauſe it was ſecretly* (or Inuiſibly) *Signified in the Old.*

Auguſt. contra aduerſarium Leg. & Prophe. li. 2. ca. 5.

Now let vs examine the ground of M. Hardings ghelles. S. Auguſtine *nameth* Viſibilem Speciem, *the Viſible kind of the Elements:* Ergo, ſaith M. Harding, he meaneth only the Accidents, or outward Formes of Bread, and Wine, and not the Subſtance. The weakneſſe of this Concluſion proceedeth of the miſunderſtanding of the Termes. For S. Auguſtine in this place, vſeth not this word (Species) for the outward Shew, but for the very Subſtance of the thing it ſelfe. So S. Ambroſe ſaith twice together in one place: Sermo Dei ſpecies mutat elementorum: *The word of God changeth the Kinds of the Elements.* And againe: Ante benedictionem alia Species nominatur: *Before the Conſecration it is called another Kind.* In theſe and other like places, M. Harding cannot well ſay, that, Species ſignifieth an accident, or outward Shew.

Auſtin. De Baptiſmo, Contra Donatiſt. li. 1. ca. 15.

Ambroſius de iis qui initiantur, cap. 9.

Neither doth this word, Viſible, import any ſuch Externall Forme, as is here imagined. But only excludeth the Body of Chriſt, which is in Heauen, Inuiſible to our Bodily eies, and Viſible only to the eies of our Faith. And ſo the Water in Baptiſme is called Forma Viſibilis, *a Viſible Kind, or Element*, according to the generall Definition of all Sacraments. So S. Auguſtine ſaith, Aliud Iudæi habebant, aliud nos: ſed ſpecie Viſibili, quod tamen idem Significaret: *The Iewes had one thing* (for their Sacrament) *and we another: indeed of another Viſible Forme, or Kind, which notwithſtanding Signified the ſame thing, that our Sacrament doth Signifie.* Likewiſe he ſaith: Quod videtur, Speciem habet Corporalem: quod intelligitur, fructum habet Spiritualem: *The thing, that we ſee, hath a Corporall Shew: but the thing, that we vnderſtand, hath fruit Spirituall.* And in this ſenſe Chryſoſtome ſaith of the Sacrament of Baptiſme: Chriſtus in Senſibilibus Intelligibilia nobis tradidit: *Chriſt in Senſible things, hath giuen vs things ſpirituall.*

Auguſtin. in Iohan. tract. 26.

Auguſtin. Citatur a Beda 1. Corin. 10.

Chryſo. in Matthæ. hom. 83.

By theſe we ſee both M. Hardings groſſe erroꝛ, and alſo, for what cauſe the Old godly Fathers call Chriſts Body inuiſible: That is, for that, being in Heauen, we ſee it with our Faith, with our mind, and with the eies of our vnderſtanding. Neither may M. Harding of this word, Inuiſible, reaſon thus, as he ſeemeth to doe: *Chriſts Body is Inuiſible:* Ergo, *It lieth hidden vnder Accidents.*

Ambroſius de Spiritu Sancto. lib. 3.

For S. Ambroſe in like phraſe of words, ſpeaketh thus of Baptiſme: Sacri Fontis vnda nos abluit: Sanguis Domini nos redemit. Alterum igitur inuiſible, alterum Viſibile teſtimonium Sacramento conſequimur Spirituali: *The water of the Holy font hath waſhed vs: Chriſts Blood hath redeemed vs. Therefore by a Spirituall Sacrament we obtaine two Teſtimonies: the one Inuiſible, the other Viſible.* Here S. Ambroſe ſaith: *Chriſts Blood in Baptiſme is Inuiſible.* Yet we may not conclude thereof, that Chriſts Blood is hidden vnder the Accidents, or Shewes of Water. So Origen ſaith: Baptiſmus Iohannis videbatur: Chriſti Baptiſmus eſt Inuiſibilis: *Iohns Baptiſme was ſeene: But Chriſts Baptiſme is Inuiſible.*

Origen. in Lucam, hom. 24.

And, notwithſtanding all theſe things be plaine to any man, that hath eies to ſee, yet that the weakneſſe, and folly of theſe ſhifts may throughly appeare, let M. Harding ſhew vs wherein, and in what reſpect, his naked Shew of Formes, and Accidents can be the Sacrament of Chriſts Body. For thus he ſaith, and doubleth, and repeateth the ſame, and maketh it the ſtay and ground of this whole Treaty.

Cyprian. de Cœna Domini.

The Signe, or Signification of this Sacrament, as S. Cyprian ſaith, ſtandeth in Refreſhing and Feeding. So ſaith Rabanus Maurus: Quia Panis Corporis Cor confirmat, ideò ille congruenter Corpus Chriſti nuncupatur: Et quia vinum Sanguinem operatur in Carne, ideò illud ad Sanguinem Chriſti refertur: *Becauſe Bread confirmeth the heart of the Body, therefore it is conueniently called the Body of Chriſt. And becauſe wine worketh Blood in the Fleſh, therefore it hath relation to the Blood of Chriſt.* Likewiſe, becauſe Water Waſheth away the ſoile and filth of the Body, therefore, as Gregory Nyſſene ſaith, *Chriſt appointed it to the Sacrament of Baptiſme, to Signifie the Inward Waſhing of our Soules.*

Rabanus Maurus li. 1. cap. 31.

Gregorius Nyſſenus De Sancto Baptiſmate.

Now, although M. Harding can ſay many things, yet this thing, I thinke, he will not ſay, that our Bodies be fed with his Shewes, and Accidents. Or, if he ſo ſay, as indeed they are driuen ſo to ſay, then will the very Naturall Philoſopher reproue his folly. For the Philoſopher ſaith, as indeed true it is, Exijſdem nutrimur, & ſumus: *We conſiſt of the ſame things, wherewith we are nouriſhed.* Therefore if M. Harding will ſay, The Subſtance of our Body is fed with Accidents, then muſt he likewiſe ſay, The Subſtance of our Bodie doth ſtand of Accidents.

Mar. Antonius Conſtantius ad theſ. 66.

Hereof

Hereof we may very well reason thus: The Accidents or Shewes of Bread & Wine feed not our Bodies, as Christs Bodie feedeth our soules:

Ergo, the Accidents and Shewes of Bread and Wine are not the Sacraments of Christs Bodie. Contrariwise S. Cyprian, Irenæus, Rabanus, and other Ancient Fathers say, The Substance of the Bread feedeth our Bodie, &c. *Cypr. de Cœna Domini.*

Ergo, The Substance of the Bread is the Sacrament of Christs Body. *Irenæus lib. 4. cap. 34.*

And againe, M. Harding standing vpon this simple ground, cannot possibly auoid many great inconueniences. For if the Shewes and Accidents be the Sacrament, then, forasmuch as in one Bread there be many Accidents, as the Whitenesse, the Roundnesse, the Bredth, the Taste, &c. and euery such Accident is a Sacrament, he can by no Glosse or conueyance shift himselfe; but in stead of one Sacrament he must needs grant a number of Sacraments: and auoiding one Figure, he must be driuen to confesse a great many Figures. *Rabanus lib. 1. cap. 31.*

Touching S. Basil, M. Harding semeth to confesse, that his bookes are disordered, and that now set after Consecration, that sometimes was before; and yet he sheweth vs not who hath wrought this treacherie. I trow, they haue corrupted, and falsified their owne bookes.

But Basil calleth the Sacrament Ἀντίτυπα, that is, a Samplar, a Signe, or a Token of Christs Bodie before the Consecration: and so Damascenus, Euthymius, and one Epiphanius, and Marcus Ephesius, late writers, haue expounded it. Here, marke well, good Reader, the Nicenesse, and curiositie of this people, without cause. Sooner than they will confesse, as the Ancient Catholike Fathers do, That the Sacrament is a Figure of Christs Bodie, they are content to say; *It is a Sacrament, before it be a Sacrament: and so a Figure, before it be a Figure.* For how can the Sacrament be a Sacrament, or what can the bare Bread Signifie before Consecration? Or who appointed, or commanded it so to Signifie?

But to leaue these M. Hardings New Fantasticall Doctours with their Mysticall Expositions, S. Ambrose in his time thought it no Heresie to write thus: Ante Consecrationem alia Species nominatur: Post Consecrationem Corpus Christi Significatur: *Before Consecration it is called another Kinde: After Consecration the Bodie of Christ is Signified.* And againe: In Edendo & Potando, Corpus & Sanguinem Christi, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, Significamus: He saith not, Before Consecration, *but euen in receiuing the Holy Communion, which he calleth, Eating, and Drinking, we Signifie the Bodie and Blood of Christ, that were offered for vs.* *Ambrosius de iis, qui initiantur, cap. 9. Ambrosius 1. Cor. 11.*

Thus the Olde Fathers called the Sacrament a Signe, or a Figure of Christs Body, after it was Consecrate. But before Consecration neither did they euer call it so, notwithstanding these New Doctours iudgements to the contrarie, nor was there any cause why they should so call it. Yet were they not therefore counted Sacramentaries, nor mainteiners of false Doctrine.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuision.

And if it appeare strange to any man, that S. Basil should call the Holy Mysteries *Antitypa*, after Consecration, let him vnderstand that this learned Father thought good, by that word, to note the great secret of that mysterie, and to shew a distinct condition of present things, from things to come. And this consideration the Church seemeth to haue had, which in publike prayer, after holy mysteries receiued, maketh this humble petition; *Vt quæ nunc in Specie gerimus, certa rerum Veritate capiamus:* That in the life to come we may take that in certaine truth of things, which now we beare in shape or shew. Neither do these words import any prejudice against the truth of the Presence of Christs Bodie in the Sacrament; but they signifie and vtter the most principall truth of the same, when as all outward Forme, Shape, Shew, Figure, Sampler, and couer taken away, we shall haue the fruition of God himselfe in sight face to face, not as it were thorow a glasse; but so as he is in truth of his Maiestie. So this word *Antitypon*, thus taken in S. Basil, furthereth nothing at all the Sacramentaries false Doctrine, against the truth of the presence of Christs Bodie in the Sacrament. *Sabbato 4. temporum, Mensis Septemb.* Christs Bodie is a Figure of the life to come: proued only by the Portuise.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding for feare of taking, altereth, and shifteth himselfe into sundry formes; in like sort, as the Old Poets imagine, that one Proteus, a subtle fellow, in like case was wont to do. Among other his strange deuices he saith, Christs Bodie is a Figure of the life that is to come: and that he proueth only by his Portuise, without any other further Authoritie. But if a man would trauerse this New Exposition, how standeth M. Harding so well assured of the same? What Scripture, what Doctour, what Councell, what Warrant hath he, so to say? Verily, that Christs Naturall Bodie being now Immortall and Glorious, should be a Signe, or a Token, of things to come, it were very strange and wonderfull: but that bare Formes and Accidents should so Signifie, yet were that a wonder much more wonderfull.

The

The prayer, that is vttered in the Church, is good, and godly, and the meaning thereof very comfortable: That is, that all Vailes, and Shadowes being taken away, we may at last come to the Throne of Glory, and see God face to face. For in this life we are full of imperfections: and as S. Paul saith: *We know* (ex parte) *Vnperfitly: we Prophecy vnperfitly. But, when that thing that is perfit, shall come, then shall imperfection be abolished. Now we see as thorow a seeing glasse in a riddle: but then we shall see face to face.* Therefore S. Augustine saith: Vita est Christus, qui habitat in Cordibus nostris: interim per Fidem: post etiam per Speciem: *Christ is our life, that dwelleth in our hearts: in the meane while by Faith, and afterward by sight.* So S. Ambrose: Vmbra in lege: Imago in Euangelio: Veritas in cœlestibus: *The Shadow was in the Law: the Image is in the Gospell: the Truth shall be in the Heauens.* So S. Basil: Nunc iustus bibit aquam viuentem: & posthac abundatius bibet, quando adscribetur in Ciuitatem Dei: sed nunc in Speculo, & in ænigmate, per modicam comprehensionem rerum Cœlestium: tunc autem flumen vniuersum recipiet: *Euen now the Iust man drinketh the Water of life: and hereafter he shall drinke the same more abundantly, when he shall be receiued into the City of God. Now he drinketh, as in a seeing glasse, or a riddle, by a small vnderstanding of Heauenly things: But then he shall receiue the whole streame.* This is it, that the Church praieth for, that all imperfection set apart, our Corruptible Bodies may be made like vnto the glorious Body of Christ.

1. Corin. 13.

August. Epist. 120.

Ambrosius in Psalm. 38.

Basilius in Psalm. 45.

Whereof M. Harding saieth to reason in this wise: *We shall see God face to face*: Ergo, *Christs Body is Really Present in the Sacrament.* Or thus, *We shall see God face to face*: Ergo, *The Sacrament Signifieth not Christs Body, but the Life, that is to come.* By such arguments M. Harding confoundeth all the Sacramentaries false Doctrine.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuision.

The 189. Vntruth ioined with a slander. The former part was neuer our Doctrine: The Second as yet was neuer prooued.

And because our Aduersaries do much abuse the simplicity of the vnlearned, bearing them in hand, that after the iudgement, and Doctrine of the Ancient Fathers, the Sacrament is (189) but a Figure, a Signe, a Token, or a Badge, and containeth not the very Body it selfe of Christ, for proofe of the same alleging certaine their sayings vttered with the same termes: I think good by recital of some of the chiefe of such places, to shew, that they be vntruely reported, and that touching the Verity of the Presence in the Sacrament, they taught in their daies the same Faith that is taught now in the Catholique Church.

Taketh Bread, Blesseth It, Breaketh It.

Holy Ephrem in a booke, he wrote to those that will search the Nature of the Sonne of God by mans reason, saith thus: *Inspice diligenter, quomodò sumens in manibus Panem, benedixit, ac Frangit, in Figura immaculati Corporis sui, Calicemque, in Figura pretiosi Sanguinis sui Benedicit, & tribuit Discipulis suis*: Behold (saith he) diligently, how taking Bread in his hands, he blesseth it, and breaketh it, in the Figure of his vnspotted Body, and blesseth the Cup, in the Figure of his pretious Blood, and giueth it to his Disciples. (190) By these words he sheweth the partition, diuision, or breaking of the Sacrament, to be done no otherwise, but in the outward Formes, which be the Figure of Christs Body Present, and vnder them contained. Which Body now being glorious, is no more broken, nor parted, but is indiuisible, and subiect no more to any Passion: and after the Sacrament is broken, it remaineth whole, and perfit vnder each portion. Cap. 4.

The 190. Vntruth, ioined with vnaduised Corruption of the Author.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

If we abuse the simplicity of the people, vttering plainly and simply the very words of the Ancient Fathers, then did the Fathers themselues likewise abuse the simple people: for that they of all others, first vttered, and published the same words: and specially for that they neuer qualified the same, with any of these M. Hardings New Constructions.

But if we abuse the people, speaking in such wise, as the Old Catholique Fathers spake so long before vs, what then may we thinke of M. Harding, that commeth only with his owne words, that wresteth, and falsifieth the words of the Holy Fathers, and by his strange Expositions maketh them not the Fathers words? Gelasius saith: *In the Sacrament there remaineth the Substance of Bread and Wine*: That is to say, saith M. Harding, There remaineth the Accidents of Bread and Wine. Irenæus, and Iustinus Martyr say, *The Bread of the Sacrament, increaseth the Substance of our Flesh*: Their meaning is, saith M. Harding, that the Accidents of the Bread increase the Substance of our Flesh. S. Ambrose saith: Post consecrationem Corpus Christi Significatur: *After Consecration the Body of Christ is Signified*: M. Harding saith: No, not so: But after Consecration the life to come is Signified. Now iudge thou indifferently, good Reader, whether of vs abuse the simplicitie of the people.

Gelasius contra Eutychem.

Irenæus li. 5.

Iustinus Martyr Apologia 2.

Ambrosius de iis qui initiantur, cap. 9.

Now let vs see how he handleth this good Old Father Ephrem. Indeed here he maketh the darknesse light, and the light, darknesse. For Ephrems words be so plaine, as nothing can be plainer.

Christ tooke Bread, and blessed it, and brake it, in Figure, or, as Christ himselfe vttereth it, in Remembrance of his Blessed, and Vnspotted Body. But M. Hardings Exposition vpon the same is so peruerse, and so wilfull, as if it were free for him, to glose, and fansie

fantſie what him liſteth: Ephrem ſaith: *Chriſt tooke and brake Bread:* M. Harding ſaith: *Chriſt brake Formes and Accidents, and brake no Bread.* Ephrem ſaith: *The Bread is a Figure of Chriſts Body:* M. Harding ſaith: *The Bread is no Figure of Chriſts Body.* To be ſhort, Ephrem ſaith: *Chriſt brake Bread in Figure or Remembrance of his Body:*

Ergo, ſaith M. Harding, *Chriſts Body is there preſent, under the Forme of Bread.* Such regard hath he to the ſimplicity of the people. Certainly Ephrem ſaith not, neither that the Formes or Shewes be broken: nor that the ſame Formes be Figures of Chriſts Body: nor that Chriſts Body is preſently in them contained. And therefore M. Harding in his guileſull conſtruction of the ſame hath included great vntruth.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuiſion.

Againe by the ſame words he ſignifieth, that outward breaking to be a certaine holy Figure, and repreſentation of the crucifying of Chriſt, and of his bloodſhedding. Which thing is with a more cleereneſſe of words ſet foorth by S. Auguſtine, *In ſententijs Proſperi: Dum frangitur hoſtia, dum Sanguis de Calice in ora Fidelium funditur, quid aliud quam Dominici Corporis in Cruce immolatio, eiuſque Sanguinis de latere effuſio deſignatur?* Whiles the Hoſt is broken, whiles the Blood is powred into the mouthes of the faithfull, what other thing is thereby ſhewed and ſet foorth, than the Sacrificing of Chriſts Body on the Croſſe, and the ſhedding of his Blood out of his ſide? And by ſo doing the commandement of Chriſt is fulfilled, Doe this in my Remembrance.

The breaking of Accidents is a Figure.

De Con. Diſt. 2. ca. Dominus.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Here hath M. Harding found out a new kinde of Figure, farre differing from all the reſt. The breaking of the Accidents, ſaith he, is a token of the Breaking of Chriſts Body: and this he thinketh himſelfe well able to proue by certaine words of S. Auguſtine. Wherein notwithſtanding he finde but ſmall helpe in the text, (for S. Auguſtine maketh no maner mention, neither of any Reall or Fleſhly Preſence; nor of Breaking of Formes or Accidents) yet is he ſomwhat relieued by the Gloſſe. For the words thereof are theſe: Secundùm hoc dices, Ipſa Accidentia frangi, & dare Sonitum: *According to this thou ſhalt ſay, That the very Accidents, and Shewes are Broken, and giue a Cracke.* Thus we ſee, there is no inconuenience ſo great, but theſe men can well defend it.

De Conſec. diſt. 2. Cum frangitur in Gloſſa.

But S. Auguſtine ſaith: Sanguis in ora Fidelium funditur: Ergo, ſaith M. Harding, Chriſts Blood is there Preſent. I maruell much, where M. Harding learned this ſtrange Logike. For S. Hierome ſaith in like ſort: Quando audimus Sermonem Domini, Caro Chriſti, & ſanguis eius in auribus noſtris funditur: *When we heare the Word of God, the Fleſh of Chriſt, and his Blood is powred into our eares.* Will M. Harding conclude hereof by his new Logike, That, when we heare Gods Word, Chriſts Fleſh, and Blood are Really Preſent? Here once againe, I muſt doe the, good Reader, to vnderſtand, that a Sacrament, according to the Doctrine of S. Auguſtine, beareth the name of that thing whereof it is a Sacrament. And for example he ſaith: Sacramentum Sanguinis Chriſti ſecundùm quendam modum Sanguis Chriſti eſt: *The Sacrament of Chriſts Blood, after a certaine maner* (of ſpeech) *is the Blood of Chriſt.* Againe he ſaith in the ſame Epiſtle: Conſepulti ſumus Chriſto per Baptiſmum: Non ait, Sepulturam ſignificamus: ſed prorſus ait, Conſepulti ſumus. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei, non niſi eiuſdem rei vocabulo nuncupauit: *Wee are buried together with Chriſt by Baptiſme: He ſaith not, Wee doe ſignifie our Buriall: but he ſaith plainly, Wee are buried together. Therefore S. Paul would not call the Sacrament of ſo great a thing, but onely by the name of the thing it ſelfe.* Likewiſe he ſaith: Solet res, quæ Significat, eius rei nomine, quam ſignificat, nuncupari. Non dixit, Petra Significat Chriſtum, ſed, tanquam hoc eſſet, quod vtique per Subſtantiam non erat, ſed per ſignificationem: *The thing, that Signifieth, is commonly called by the name of that thing, that it ſignifieth. S. Paul ſaith not, The Rocke ſignified Chriſt, but, The Rocke was Chriſt, as if the Rocke had beene Chriſt indeed. Yet it was not ſo in Subſtance, and indeed, but by way of ſignification.* Thus therefore ſaith S. Auguſtine: *Whiles the Sacrament is broken, and the Sacrament of Chriſts Blood,* (which is called Blood) *is powred into the mouthes of the Faithfull, what thing elſe is thereby ſhewed, but the offering vp of Chriſts Bodie vpon the Croſſe, and the ſhedding of his Blood from his ſide?* Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: Ita facit nos moueri tanquam videamus Præſentem Dominum in Cruce: *So it cauſeth vs to be moued, euen as though we ſhould ſee our Lord Preſent on the Croſſe.* This is S. Auguſtines vndoubted meaning. Theſe things conſidered, the weight of M. Hardings argument will ſone appeare. For thus he reaſoneth: The renting of Chriſts Body, and the ſhedding of his Blood is expreſſed in the Myſteries: Ergo, Chriſts Body is there Really preſent vnder Shewes and Accidents.

Hieronym. in Pſalm. 147.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 23.

Rom. 6. Coloſſ. 3.

Auguſt. in Leuiticum, q. 57.

Auguſt. in Pſal. 20.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuiſion.

That it may further appeere, that theſe words Figure, Signe, Image, Token, and ſuch other like ſometimes vſed in ancient writers, do not exclude the trueth of things exhibited in the Sacrament, but rather ſhew the ſecret maner of the exhibiting: amongſt all other, the place of Tertullian in his fourth Booke *contra Marcion* is not to be omitted, ſpecially being one of the chiefe, and of moſt appearance, that the Sacramentaries bring for proofe of their Doctrine. Tertullians words be theſe: *Acceptum Panem, & diſtributum Diſcipulis ſuis, Corpus ſuum illum fecit, Hoc eſt Corpus meum dicendo, id eſt, Figura Corporis mei.* The Bread, that he tooke, and gaue to his Diſciples, he made it his Bodie, in ſaying, This is my Body, that is the Figure of my Body.

The 191. vntruth. Foure vntruths together packt vp in one.

The double taking of the word (Sacrament) afore mentioned, remembred, and conſideration had, how the Sacraments of the New Teſtament comprehend two things, (191) the outward (1.) Viſible formes, that be (2.) Figures, Signes, and Tokens, and alſo, and that chiefly, a Diuine thing vnder them (3.) according to Chriſts promiſe (4.) couertly conteined, ſpecially this being weighed, that this moſt Holie Sacrament conſiſteth of theſe two things, to wit, of the Viſible Forme of the outward Elements, and the Inuiſible fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, that is to ſay, of the Sacrament, and of the thing of the Sacrament: Tertullian may ſeeme to ſpeake of theſe two parts of the Sacrament iointly in this one ſentence For firſt he ſpeaketh moſt plainly of the very Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and of the marueilous turning of the Bread into the ſame. The Bread (ſaith he) that he tooke, and gaue to his Diſciples, he made it his Body. Which is the Diuine thing of the Sacrament. Then foorthwith he ſaith, that our Lord did it by ſaying, This is my Bodie, that is, the Figure of my Body. By which words he ſheweth the other part, the Sacrament onely, that is to ſay, that Holy outward Signe of the Forme of Bread, vnder which Forme Chriſts Body, into the which the Bread by Gods power is turned, is conteined: which outward Forme, is verily the Figure of Chriſts Body preſent, which our Lord vnder the ſame conteined deliuered to his Diſciples, and now is likewiſe at that Holy Table to the Faithfull people deliuered, where the order of the Catholike Church is not broken.

This is *Vanitas Vanitatum.*

Holy outward Accidents.

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If this place of Tertullian bee the chiefe, and of greateſt apperance for the Sacramentaries, as M. Harding ſaith, I marueil it is ſo courſely anſwered. The words bee both verie few, and alſo verie plaine. But with this copious Commentarie of M. Hardings gloſſing, it will bee verie hard for the Reader, to find out any part of Tertullians meaning. I will firſt open the occaſion of the writing, and then lay forth the Words. That done, I doubt not but the ſenſe will ſtand cleere, and eaſie of it ſelfe.

Marcion the Heretike, againſt whom Tertullian wrote, held, and mainteined this errour, that Chriſt receiued of the Bleſſed Virgin, not the very Nature and Subſtance, but onely the outward Formes, and Shewes of Mans Body. Out of whoſe ſpringes M. Harding, and the reſt of that ſide, as it may appeere, haue drawen their Doctrine of Accidents, ſtanding without Subiect. This fond Hereſie Tertullian repreweth by this Reaſon:

A Figure of a Body, preſuppoſeth a very Naturall Body: For of a Shew, or a Fantaſie, there can be no Figure.

But Chriſt gaue vnto his Diſciples a Figure of his Bodie:

Therefore it muſt nedes follow, that Chriſt had a very Naturall Bodie.

Tertull. contra Marcion. li. 4.

As euery part of this Argument is true, ſo the propoſition, and forme of the ſame importeth a neceſſary ſequell in reaſon. The words ſtand thus: Acceptum Panem, & diſtributum Diſcipulis, Corpus ſuum illum fecit, Dicendo, Hoc eſt Corpus meum, id eſt, Figura Corporis mei. Figura autem non eſſet, niſi Veritatis eſſet Corpus. Cæterùm vacua res, quæ eſt Phantaſma, Figuram capere non poteſt: *Chriſt taking the Bread, and diſtributing it to his Diſciples, made it his Body: ſaying. This is my Body: That is to ſay: This is a Figure of my Body. But a Figure it could not be, vnleſſe there were a Body of a truth and indeed. For a void thing, as is a fantaſie, can receiue no Figure.* Theſe words are plaine of themſelues: and if truth onely might ſuffice, would require no long Expoſition.

Now, good Reader, marke well M. Hardings conſiderations touching the ſame: and thou ſhalt ſee the Darknes of Egypt brought in, to cleare the ſhining Sun. Firſt he ſaith, *The Accidents, and Shewes may well be the Sacrament.* Yet againe he ſaith: *Chriſts Body it ſelfe may be the Sacrament.* Thirdly he ſaith: *Tertullian ioineth theſe two ſenſes iointly both together.* And ſo by his cunning he hath found out two Sacraments in one Sacrament. All this is M. Hardings Gloſſe. For there is not one word thereof in the text, neither of accidents, nor of Chriſts Body, as being a Sacrament of it ſelfe: nor of this combining of two Sacraments both in one. M. Harding ſaith: *Tertullian ſpeaketh of a marueilous turning:* But Tertullian ſpeaketh no ſuch word, neither of Miracle, nor of Turning. M. Harding ſaith: *Tertullian ſpeaketh of Holy Outward Formes.* But Tertullian not once nameth any kind of Formes. By M. Hardings report, Tertullian ſaith: *Under theſe Holy Formes Chriſts Body is Really Preſent.* But Tertullian himſelfe ſpeaketh nothing of any Preſence. All theſe petite Gloſſes M. Harding hath deuiſed of his owne, as if it were lawfull for a Catholike man,

man, to examine the old learned Fathers vpon the Racke, and to make them speake, what him listeth.

Tertullian onely saith thus: *Christ tooke Bread, and made it his Body.* And because these words seemed doubtfull, and might be diuersly taken, he openeth his owne meaning in this wise: *This is my Body: that is to say, A Figure of my Body.* And touching this word, Fecit, in what sense it is vsed in the holy Fathers, I haue spoken at large before in the Tenth Article, and the Second Diuision. Yet a little more to open M. Hardings folly in this behalfe, whereas in these two seuerall Propositions, Hoc est Corpus, and, Hoc est Figura, this Pronoune, Hoc, as Tertullian vseth it, hath relation onely to one thing, as if he would say, This Bread is my Body: and, This Bread is a Figure: M. Harding to make vp this new Construction, contrarie both to Tertullians minde, and also to the Naturall course of the words, imagineth the same Pronoune, Hoc, in the first place to signifie one thing, and in the second place to signifie another thing: As if Tertullian in the former clause had written thus: Hic Panis: *This Bread is my Body:* and in the second thus: Hæc Accidentia, *These Accidents are a Figure of my Body.* And so whereas these two Propositions should sound both one thing, the one being onely a declaration of the other, by M. Hardings Exposition, they are made to sound two diuers things, the one nothing like vnto the other. Thus M. Harding vseth the Ancient Fathers, in like sort, as they say, Procustes the cruell Giant was wont in old times to vse his Prisoners: If they bee longer than his measure, hee choppeth them shorter: If they bee too short, hee racketh them longer.

And where hee saith: The Sacraments of the New Testament Conteine Couertly vnder them the thing it selfe, that they Signifie, and that according to Christs promise; Verily this saying Couertly conteineth a great vntruth. For as hee is not able to allege any ancient learned Father, that euer once mentioneth this priuie and secret being vnder such Couert, so is hee not able to shew, that Christ euer made him any such promise touching the same. And notwithstanding Baptisme bee a Sacrament of the New Testament, yet contrarie to M. Hardings New Decree, it conteineth not Couertly, and Really the thing, that it Signifieth. True it is, the New Sacraments of Christs Institution are plainer, and clearer, than the Old: as the Gospell is plainer, and clearer, than the Law. But the things Signified are no more conteined in the one, than in the other. Therefore S. Augustine saith, Idem in Mysterio illorum Cibus, & noster: *The Spirituall meat, that they had in the Old Law, and the Spirituall meat that wee haue in the Gospell, in a Mysterie is all one.* And againe: Spiritualem escam comederunt eandem, quam nos: *They did eate the same Spirituall meat, that we eat.* And the whole difference betweene the Sacraments of the Old Testament, and the Sacraments of the New, he openeth thus: In illis Sacrificijs, quid nobis esset donandum, Figuratè significabatur: In hoc autem Sacrificio, quid nobis iam donatum sit, euidenter ostenditur. In illis Sacrificijs prænuntiabatur Filius Dei pro impijs occidendus: in hoc autem pro impijs annuntiatur occisus: *In the Sacrifices of the Old Law, it was signified vnder a Figure, what thing should bee giuen vnto vs; but in this Sacrifice it is plainly shewed, what thing is already giuen vnto vs. In the Sacrifice of the Old Law, it was shewed by a Figure, that the Sonne of God should be slaine for the wicked: But in this Sacrifice it is declared, that hee hath beene already slaine for the wicked.* Such differences the Old Fathers finde betweene these Sacrifices: But of M. Hardings Conteining, or Couert, they know nothing.

Augustin. in Psalm. 77.
Aug. in Iohan. tract. 26.
August. ad Petrum Diaconum, ca. 19.

The reason, that M. Harding can gather hereof, standeth thus: Tertullian saith: *The Sacrament is a Figure of Christs Bodie*: Ergo, *Christs Bodie is therein Couertly Conteined vnder the Accidents.*

M. Harding. The 7. Diuision.

That Tertullian in this place is so to be vnderstanded, we are taught by the great learned Bishop S. Augustine, and by Hilarius, who was Bishop of Rome next after Leo the First. S. Augustines words be these: *Corpus Christi & Veritas, & Figura est. Veritas, dum Corpus Christi & Sanguis in virtute Spiritus Sancti ex Panis & Vini substantia efficitur. Figura verò est quod exterius sentitur*: The Bodie of Christ is both the Trueth and the Figure. The Trueth, whiles the Bodie of Christ and his Blood by the power of the holie Ghost, is made of the * Substance of Bread and Wine. And it is the Figure that is with outward sense perceiued.

De cons. dist. 2. cum Petrus ibi figura.

A bastard Authoritie in S. Augustines name.

Where S. Augustine heere saith the Bodie and Blood of Christ to be made of the Substance of Bread and Wine, beware thou vnlearned man, thou thinke them not thereof to be made, as though they were newly created of the matter of Bread and Wine, neither that they be made of Bread and Wine, as of a matter: but that where Bread and Wine were before, after Consecration there is the very Bodie and Blood of Christ borne of the Virgine Marie, and that in Substance, in sort and maner to our weake reason incomprehensible.

* Christs Body of the Substance of Bread.

M. Harding shunneth his owne Doctour.

Intus Foris.

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Theſe wordes are baſtard, and miſbegotten, as nothing reſembling, neither the ſenſe, nor the wordes of S. Auguſtine, but rather contrary to them both. They are alleaged onely by certaine late writers, as namely by Gratian, by Peter Lombard, and by Algerius, as other things alſo be without any great choice, or iudgement. Onely S. Auguſtine, vpon whom they are fathered, and therefore ſhould beſt know them, knoweth them not. Howbeit, by whatſoeuer name we may call this new Doctor, M. Harding findeth him ſo farre, and ſo ranke of his ſide, that he is faine to checke him of too much riot, and to call him back. *Beware thou vnlearned man,* ſaith he, *if thou take not very good heed, this new Doctour, whom I call S. Auguſtine, will deceiue thee. This Auguſtine ſaith, Chriſts Body is made of the ſubſtance of Bread: But ſay thou, Chriſts Body is not made of the ſubſtance of Bread. This Auguſtine ſaith twice together in one place, Chriſts Body is created: but he was not well aduiſed, what he ſaid: Therefore ſay thou, Chriſts Body is not created: beleeue not this Auguſtines words: he ſaith one thing, and thinketh an other.* Thus this Doctour is ſet to Schole. But it may well be doubted, whether wee ought to giue more credit to this yong S. Auguſtine, that cannot tell his owne tale, or to M. Hardings Commentarie, that goeth ſo farre beſide the Text.

If theſe wordes be falſe, why doth M. Harding heere allege them: Why are they not rectified, either by Gratian, or by the Gloſſe, or at leaſt by ſome note in the Margin? And why are they publiſhed for a rule of our Faith? If they be true, why ſhould wee ſhun them? Or why ſhould wee beware, and take heed of them, ſpecially being vttered without Figure, or Metaphor, or heat of Speech?

M. Harding. The 8. Diuiſion.

The wordes of Hilarius the Pope vtter the ſame Doctrine: *Corpus Chriſti quod ſumitur de Altari, Figuratum eſt, dum Panis & Vinum videtur extra: Veritas autem, dum Corpus Chriſti interius creditur:* The Bodie of Chriſt which is receiued from the Altar, is the Figure, whiles Bread and Wine are ſeene outwardly: and it is the Trueth, whiles the Body and Blood of Chriſt are beleeued inwardly. Diſt. 2. Cana. Corpus Chriſti.

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Theſe wordes of Hilarie are partly anſwered before. His meaning is this: *The Bread, that we ſee with our ſenſes, is the Figure: but the very Subſtance of the Sacrament, that thereby is Signified, is the Body of Chriſt in Heauen.* The Bread is receiued with our bodily mouth: The Body of Chriſt onely with our Faith. And thus theſe two wordes, Extra, and Interius, which Hilarie vſeth, haue relation to our mouth, and to our Faith: and ſo to the Sacrament, that is preſent before vs, and to the Bodie of Chriſt, that is at the right Hand of God. And in this ſenſe S. Auguſtine ſaith: Aqua exhibet Forinſecus Sacramentum Gratiæ: & Spiritus operatur Intrinſecus Beneficium Gratiæ: *The Water outwardly ſheweth the Sacrament of Grace: and inwardly the Spirit worketh the benefit of Grace.* And to come neare to the wordes of Hilarie, S. Auguſtine againe ſaith: Habent Foris Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti: ſed rem ipſam non tenent intus, cuius eſt illud Sacramentum: *Outwardly they haue the Sacrament of Chriſts Body: but inwardly they haue not the thing it ſelfe, whereof that thing is a Sacrament.* Further we may ſay, that Chriſts Bodie is in the Sacrament it ſelfe, vnderſtanding it to be there as in a Myſterie. But to this maner of Being there is required, neither Circumſtance of place, nor any Corporall, or Reall Preſence. So Chryſoſtome ſaith: Oleum Viſibile in Signo eſt: Oleum Inuiſibile in Sacramento eſt. Oleum Spirituale Intùs eſt: Oleum Viſibile Exteriùs eſt: *The Viſible Oile is in Token: the Oile Inuiſible is in a Sacrament. The Spirituall Oile is within; the Viſible Oile is Without.* So Paulinus writeth to Cytherius: In ſuarum literarum Corpore, Paulus Magiſter adfuit: *Paul the Teacher was preſent in the Body of his Letters.* So S. Auguſtine: Nouum Teſtamentum abſconditum erat in Lege: *The New Teſtament was hidden in the Law.* So the ancient Father Origen: In veſtimento podêris erat Vniuerſus Mundus: *The whole World was in the Prieſts long gowne.* So Chryſoſtome: In Scripturis inſertum eſt Regnum Dei: *The Kingdome of God is incloſed in the Scriptures.* So Paulinus writing vnto S. Auguſtine: In hoc Pane Trinitatis ſoliditas continetur: *In this Cake the perfection of the Holy Trinitie is conteined.* I vſe purpoſely the moe examples in this behalfe, for that I ſee many of ſimplicitie are deceiued, thinking that one thing cannot poſſibly be in another, vnleſſe it be conteined in the ſame Preſently, Really, and indeed. Yet it is written in that fond Councell of Nice the ſecond: Qui imaginem Imperatoris videt, in ea Imperatorem ipſum contemplatur: *He that ſeeth the Emperors Image, in the ſame ſeeth the Emperor himſelfe.* Likewiſe ſaith Prudentius: Legis in effigie ſcriptus per ænigmata Chriſtus: *Chriſt written by Figure in the*

Extra. Interiùs. Aug. Ep. 23.

Aug. Ep. 50.

Chryſoſt. in Pſalm 44. Paulinus ad Cytherium. Auguſtin. in Quæſt. ſuper Exod. li. 2. Origen Periarchon li. 2. Chryſoſt. in Opere imperfecto cap. 23. Inter Ep. Auguſtini, Epiſt. 35. Concil. Nicen. 2. Action. 6.

the ſhew of the Law. Therefore M. Hardings errour herein ſtandeth in ouer groſſe vnderſtanding of theſe words, Extra, and Internus. For by the former he can conceiue nothing elſe but Accidents: by the latter, nothing but Chriſts Body vnder the ſame ſecretly hidden: which was neuer any part of this Holy Fathers meaning.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuiſion.

Thus the Fathers call not onely the Sacrament, but alſo the Bodie and Blood of Chriſt it ſelfe in the Sacrament, ſometimes the Truth, ſometimes a Figure; the Truth, that is to wit, the very and true Body and Blood of Chriſt: a Figure, in reſpect of the maner of being of the ſame there preſent, which is Really, and Subſtantially, but Inuiſibly vnder the viſible forme of the outward Elements: And ſo Tertullian meaneth by this, That is the Figure of my Body, as though Chriſt had ſhewed by the Word (*Hoc*) that which was viſible, which verily is the figure of the Body, right ſo as that which is the Inuiſible inward thing, is the truth of the Body. Which interpretation of Tertullian indeed is not according to the right ſenſe of Chriſts words, though his meaning ſwarue not from the truth. For where as our Lord ſaid, This is my Body, he meant not ſo, as though he had ſaid, the outward Forme of the Sacrament, which heere I deliuer to you, is a Figure of my Body vnder the ſame conteined, for ſmuch as by theſe words, *Hoc eſt*, he ſhewed not the viſible forme, of Bread, but the Subſtance of his very Body, into which by his Diuine power he turned the Bread. And therefore (192) none of all the Fathers euer ſo expounded thoſe words of Chriſt, but contrariwiſe, namely Theophylact, and Damaſcene. He ſaid not, ſaith Theophylact, This is a Figure, but this is my Body. The Bread, nor Wine, (meaning their outward Formes) ſaith Damaſcene, * is not a Figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt: not ſo in no wiſe. But it is the Body it ſelfe of our Lord Deificated, ſith our Lord himſelfe ſaith, This is my Body, not the Figure of my Body, but my Body: and not the Figure of my Blood, but my Blood, &c.

In Matt. 26. & cap. 14.

A miſerable ſhift. By this expoſition how can Chriſts Bodie it ſelfe be a Figure? Tertullian vnderſtandeth not Chriſts words. The 192. Vntruth, notorious. For M. Harding knoweth, that all the Old Fathers expounded it ſo. * Outward Formes and Accidents are Chriſts Bodie it ſelfe.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Here is imagined an other ſtrange kinde of Figures. For Chriſts Body it ſelfe is now become a Figure. But Hilarius ſaith: Figura eſt, quod extrà videtur: *The Figure is that is ſeene outwardly.* And S. Auguſtine ſaith: Signum eſt, quod ſpeciem ingerit oculis: *A Signe is a thing, that offereth a ſight vnto the eies.* Wherefore by M. Hardings iudgement, Chriſts very Body appeareth outwardly, and is ſeene in the Sacrament with our Corporall eies. If ſo, how then is it there ſecretly, as he ſaid before, and vnder couert? If not, how then can it be called a Figure? In confeſſing the one, he muſt needes denie the other. If Chriſts Bodie be a Figure, it is not in Couert: If it be in Couert, it is not a Figure.

De Conſecrat. diſt. 2. Corpus. Auguſtin. de Doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 2. c. 1. M. Harding contray to himſelfe.

He will ſay, The Accidents, and ſhewes are Figures of Chriſts Bodie there hidden. And againe: The ſame Bodie ſo Inuiſibly hidden, is a Figure of that Body that died Viſibly vpon the Croſſe. Thus, where as others may not once name any Figure in theſe caſes, it is lawfull for M. Harding, to heape Figure vpon Figure: and that not ſuch Figures as haue bene vſed by any the ancient Fathers, but ſuch as he himſelfe for a ſhift can beſt deuiſe.

Tertullian, ſaith M. Harding, ſuppoſeth, that Chriſt, when he had the Bread in his hand, and ſaid, Hoc, *This*, ſhewed onely the Viſible Accidents, and Formes of Bread, as if Chriſt had ſaid: *This Whiteneſſe, this Roundneſſe, this Bredth, this Lightneſſe, &c. is my Body*: By which ſkilfull conſtruction it muſt needs follow, that Chriſt had a Body made of Accidents.

Howbeit, (ſaith M. Harding) this Interpretation of Tertullian indeed is not according to the right ſenſe of Chriſts words. Whereby it appeareth what affiance M. Harding hath in the iudgement of this learned Father. After ſo many faire words, he beginneth vtterly to miſlike him, and concludeth in the end, that he wrote he knew not what: and toke vpon him to expound Chriſts words, and yet vnderſtood not what Chriſt meant: and that not in any deepe Allegorie, or other Spirituall, or ſecret meaning, but euen in the very Literall ſenſe and outward ſound of Chriſts words. And thus Tertullian is charged, not onely with Ignorance, but alſo with Preſumption.

But if, as M. Harding ſaith, Tertullian vnderſtood not Chriſts meaning, what if ſome man would likewiſe ſay, M. Harding vnderſtandeth not Tertullians meaning? And what if the ſimple Reader vnderſtand not M. Hardings meaning? It were too much to ſay further, M. Harding vnderſtandeth not his owne meaning. Verily Tertullian not once nameth any one of all theſe M. Hardings ſtrange fantaſies, neither Forme, nor Accident, nor Viſible, nor Inuiſible, nor outward Element, nor Secret Preſence, nor Really, nor Subſtantially, nor I know not what. He wrote, and meant plainly in theſe caſes, as others the learned Fathers wrote, and meant.

And touching the words of Chriſt, *This is my Bodie*: he ſaith not: Theſe Shewes, or Accidents of Bread, as M. Harding full vnaduiſedly expoundeth him, but, this Bread is my Body. Wherein he hath the conſent both of the Scriptures, and alſo of the Ancient Doctours of the Church. S. Paul ſaith (Not the outward Forme, or Accident,

but, *The Bread that we breake, is the Participation of Christs Bodie.* Irenæus saith: Panis, in quo Gratiæ actæ sunt, est Corpus Domini: *The Bread, wherein thanks are giuen, is the Bodie of the Lord.* Origen saith: Dominus Panem Discipulis dabat, dicens, Hoc est Corpus meum: *Our Lord gaue Bread vnto his Disciples, saying, This is my Body.* So S. Cyprian: Vinum fuit, quod Sanguinem suum dixit: *It was Wine, that he called his Blood.* So Chrysostome: Christus, cùm hoc Mysterium tradidit, Vinum tradidit: *Christ when he gaue this Mysterie, he gaue Wine.* Likewise Cyrillus: Christus Fragmenta Panis dedit Discipulis: *Christ gaue Fragments, or peeces of Bread to his Disciples.* Thus Tertullian vnderstood, and expounded the words of Christ. Wherefore it is great folly, to charge him with this new imagination of Accidents, and so vnaduisedly, and without cause to reproue him, for speaking that he neuer spake. By these we may the better iudge of M. Hardings owne Exposition. For thus he saith: *When Christ said,* Hoc, *This, he shewed not foorth the visible Accident, or Forme of Bread, but his verie Naturall Bodie.* It appeareth that M. Harding, either little considereth, or not much regardeth his owne words. For all the rest of his fine hold for most certaine, that their Transubstantiation is not wrought, before the vttering of the last Syllable. Which thing notwithstanding, M. Harding contrarie to all his fellowes (I will not say, contrarie to himselfe) saith, that the Bread is turned into Christs Body, onely at the vtterance of the first Syllable. And so by this new Diuinitie, Christs Body is made Present, and the Sacrament is a Sacrament, before Consecration: and all is ended, before it be begun: which in M. Hardings Schooles, not long sithence was counted an errour aboue all errours: which to shift, they were faine to deuise, Indiuiduum Vagum.

1. Cor. 10. *Irenæus li. 4. ca. 34.* *Orig. in. Matt. Tractatus 12.* *Cyprian. li. 2. Epist. 3.* *Chrysostom. in Matt. hom. 83.* *Cyrillus in Iohannem li. 4. cap. 14.*

Againe, if this Pronoune, Hoc, haue relation to Christs Body, then must we of force by M. Hardings fantasie, thus expound the words of Christ: *This is my Body*: that is to say: *My Body, is my Body*: which Exposition of M. Hardings, D. Holcote saith: is vaine, and peruish, and to no purpose.

In 4. Sen. q. 3.

And, whereas M. Harding saith: None of all the Old Fathers euer expounded these words of Christ by a Figure, I marueil, he can so boldly vtter, and publish so great vntruth without blushing. For he knoweth right well, that scarsely any one of all the Old Fathers euer expounded it otherwise.

Damascene, and Theophylact, are verie yong Doctours, in comparison of them, that we may iustly call Old: as standing farre without the compasse of the first six hundred yeres, and otherwise fraught with great errours, and sundry follies. Therefore I thinke it not amisse, for shortnesse of time, to passe them by. Yet by the way, let vs a little view M. Hardings Logicke. Thus he teacheth vs to reason: Tertullian by this Pronoune, Hoc, vnderstood the outward Accident or Forme of Bread: Ergo, Christs Bodie it selfe is a Figure.

M. Harding. The 10. Diuision.

And the cause why Tertullian so expounded these words of Christ, was, that thereby he might take aduantage against Marcion the Heretike, as many times the Fathers in heate of disputation doe handle some places, not after the exact signification of the words, but rather follow such way, as serueth them best to confute their aduersarie. Which maner not reporting any vntruth, S. Basil doth excuse in the setting forth of a disputation, not in prescribing of a Doctrine. As he defendeth Gregorius Neocæsariensis against the Sabellians, for that in a contention he had with Ælianus an Ethnike, to declare the Mysteries of the Trinitie, he vsed the word ὑπόστασις, in stead of οὐσία. And the learned men, that be well seene in the Fathers, know, they must vse a discretion, & a sundry Iudge between the things they write. Ἀγωνιστικῶς, that is to say, by way of contention or disputation, and the things they vtter, Dogmatικῶς, that is, by way of setting forth a doctrine, or matter of Faith. Neither in that contention did Tertullian so much regard the exact vse of words, as how he might win his purpose, and driue his aduersarie, denying that, Christ tooke the true Body of man, and that he suffered death indeed, to confesse the truth, which he thought to bring to passe, by deducing of an argument from the Figure of his Body, which consisteth in that, which is visible in the Sacrament, to proue the verity of his Body. And therefore in framing his reason by way of illation he saith: *Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset Corpus*: There were not a Figure, vnlesse there were a Body of truth, or a very Body indeed.

Epist. 64.

Tertullian regarded not the exact vse of his words. O folly! What needeth him to proue this by a Figure, if he had thought, that Christs Bodie it selfe was Really present?

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here M. Harding courteously deuiseth a fauourable excuse for Tertullian, not thinking it best, being so Ancient a Father, and so neere to the Apostles time, vtterly to condemne him of follie. He vttered all this (saith he) *in heat of contention, rashly, and vnaduisedly, and vnderstood not what he said, neither had any great regard to the exact vse of his words.* Howbeit, Tertullian not onely spake these words vpon the sudden, but also leasurely, and with studie wrote them: and yet afterward quietly perusing, and considering the same, was neuer able to espie this fault.

But, that such cases of heat may somtimes happen, we haue ouer good trial in M. Harding:

ding: whom, as it now appeareth, contention hath caused, so many waies, and so farre to ouerreach the truth, and to haue so small regard, to that he writeth. S. Ambrose saith: Apostolus impudoratos appellat eos, qui contentionibus nituntur: Necesse est enim, vt contentio extorqueat aliquid, imò multa, quæ dicantur contra conscientiam: vt intus in animo perdat, foris victor abscedat: Non enim patitur se vinci, licet sciat vera esse, quæ audit: *The Apostle calleth them impudent, that hold by contention. For it cannot be chosen, but that contention must force a man to say some thing, or rather many things, against his Conscience: that he lose in his mind within, to the intent outwardle hee may seeme to haue the victory. For he will not suffer himselfe to be conquered: no, although he know, the things, that he heareth, be neuer so true.* *Ambrosius in 2. ad Timotheum. 2.*

Afterward being thus caried away with contention, and more regarding their owne Reputation, than the Truth of God, as Lactantius saith, they seeke reasons, and shifts, to colour their error. So Seneca writeth of the Poet Ouid: Non ignorauit Vitia sua, sed amauit: *He was not ignorant of his owne faults, but rather had a fansie to them.* *Lactan. Videri volunt, non tantùm cum venia, sed etiam cum ratione peccare.*

Touching Gregorius Neocæsariensis, S. Basils excuse is good. So S. Augustine writing against the Pelagians, seemeth sometime, to leane too far to the contrary, and to become a Manichæ: as also writing against the Manichees, he seemeth sometimes to be a Pelagian. The like S. Basil writeth of one Dionysius, that contending ouer earnestly against the Heretike Sabellius, seemed to fall into the contrary Heresie. *Basil. epist. 41.*

Thus the holy Fathers in the sway of Disputation, vse oft times to enlarge their talke aboue the common course of truth: but specially when they intreat of the Nature, and effect of the holy Sacraments: to the end to withdraw the eies of the people from the Sensible, and Corruptible Creatures, that they see before them, to the contemplation of things Spirituall, that be in Heauen. In this sort S. Chrysostome saith: Figimus dentes in Carne Christi: *We fasten our teeth in the flesh of Christ.* And againe, Videmus Dominum nostrum in Cunis iacentem, & fasijs inuolutum: *We see our Lord lying in a Cradle, and swathed in bands.* And againe: Turba circumstans rubet Sanguine Christi: *The company standing about is made red with the Blood of Christ.* Likewise againe he saith: Hic Sermo Sanguine infectus omnes aspersit: *These words being stained with Blood, haue sprinkled all men.* So Likewise S. Bernard: Totum Christum desidero videre, & tangere: & non id solùm, sed accedere ad Sacrosanctum eius Lateris vulnus, ostium Arcæ, quod factum est in Latere, vt totus intrem vsque ad Cor Iesu: *I desire to see whole Christ, and to touch him: and not only so, but also to come to the Holy Wound of his side, which is the doore, that was made in the side of the Arke: that I may wholly enter euen vnto the heart of Iesus.* Thus the Holy Fathers haue euermore vsed vpon occasion to force, and aduance their words aboue the tenour of common speech. *Chrysostom. in Iohan. hom. 45. Chrysost. de Beato Philogonio. Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, li. 3. Chrysostom. ad Hebræos hom. 16. Bernard. De amore Dei ca. 1.*

Now marke, good Christian Reader, how handsomely M. Harding applieth these things vnto his purpose. Certainly Tertullian in these words, euen by M. Hardings owne iudgement, enlargeth nothing, nor vseth any such contentious, or fiery speech ouer, and aboue the Truth: but rather contrariwise he abateth, and minisheth, as much as he possibly may, of the Truth. For the thing, that M. Harding saith, Is Christs very Naturall Body, Tertullian saith, *It is a Figure of Christs Body*: The thing, that indeed, and vndoubtedly is the Substance of Bread, that Tertullian, by M. Hardings exposition, calleth a Shew, or Accident of Bread: To be short, that thing wherein resteth all thing, Tertullian in Conclusion maketh nothing. Yet M. Harding fauourably excuseth him, for that he wrote ἀγωνιῶς, as did Gregorius Neocæsariensis: and therefore through heat of Contentation seemeth somwhat to ouerreach the truth. Thus he, that calleth Christs Body a Figure, Substance, Accident, and abaseth his talke, and speaketh lesse, than he should doe; by M. Hardings Diuinity, amplifieth, enlargeth, ouerreacheth, and speaketh more than he should doe. It is a very narrow hole, that these men will not seeke, to shift out at. *Hoc est, Figura Corporis mei. Origen. in Leuiti. Hom. 7. Cypri. de Vnctione Chrismæ. Hieronym. in Matthæ. ca. 26.*

Origen expounding these words: *Vnlesse ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, &c.* saith thus, *It is a Figure.* S. Cyprian saith: Significata, & Significantia ijsdem nominibus censentur: *The things that Signifie, and the things that be Signified, are counted both by one name.* S. Hierome saith: *Christ represented the Verity of his Body.* S Augustine saith: *Christ deliuered to his Disciples the Figure of his Body.* Gelasius calleth the Sacrament Similitudinem, & Imaginem, *A Similitude, and an Image of Christs Body.* S. Basil calleth it ἀντίτυπον, *A Samplar:* Dionysius calleth it Signum, *A Token.* S. Ambrose vseth all these words together, Imago, Figura, Typus, Similitudo, significatur: *An Image, a Figure, a Token, a Likenesse, it is Signified.* Time will not suffer me to reckon vp the rest. For to this purpose, and with such words they write all, and none otherwise. And must we needs beleeue, vpon M. Hardings report, that all these Fathers spake in such heat, and in such fury of contention, and had no maner regard to the exact vse of their words? Truly, as it is said before, Tertullian wrote *August. in Psal. 3. Gelasius contra Eutychem. Basil. in Liturgia. Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. ca. 3. Ambros. de Sacramen. Et de iis, qui initiantur.*

wrote gravely, and soberly, and without any token of impatient heat: and that not lightly, or slenderly, touching the matter with one hot word, or two, as it is here supposed, but clerly proving the same by a Substantiall, and full conclusion. For, to prove against Marcion the Heretike, that Christ had the very Substance, and Nature of a mans Body, he vseth this reason: *A Figure presupposeth the Verity of a thing, whereof it is a Figure: But Christ at his last Supper gaue to his Disciples the Figure of his Body: Therefore Christ had indeed (not a Fantasie, or a Shew) but a Naturall, and a very Body.* The force hereof standeth vpon this ground, that a Fantasie, or Shew can beare no Figure. And in this sort seme thinke S. Paul said, Idolum nihil est, *An Idoll is not thing.* Thus S. Augustine saith: *Vnlesse Sacraments had a certaine Likenesse of things whereof they be Sacraments, then no doubt, they were no Sacraments.* Thus Leo, Gelasius, and other Old Fathers reason against the Heretike Eutyches. Likewise Chrysostome reproueth the Old Heretiques Valentinus, Manichæus, and Marcion. Thus he writeth: Quoniam isti, eorumque sequaces, negaturi erant hanc dispensationem (Christi in Carne) ideò nos in Memoriam Passionis semper reducit per hoc Mysterium: vt nemo, modò ne sit insanus, seduci possit: *Because these Heretikes, and others their Disciples, would denie this dispensation* (of Christ in the Flesh,) *therefore by this Mystery he putteth vs euermore in Remembrance of his Passion, that no man, vnlesse he be mad, can be deceiued.* And immediatly before, he vseth these words, which I haue elsewhere alleged: Si mortuus Christus non est, cuius Symbolum, ac Signum hoc Sacrificium est? *If Christ died not,* (as these Heretikes say) *then whose Signe, and whose Token is this Sacrifice?* In like maner Tertullian reasoneth against Marcion, not ignorantly, or blindly, as M. Harding saith, but directly, and orderly, and according to the words of Christ.

1. Cor. 8.
August. in Epist. 23.
Chrysostom. in Matth. hom. 83.

But, if Tertullian had then bẽn perswaded of this Priuie, and Secret Presence, that here is imagined, and neuertheless would haue left the same, and grounded his whole proofe vpon a Figure, then had he, not only bẽn ignorant, and presumptious, as here M. Harding maketh him, but also a traitor to his owne cause. For, if he had granted this New Fantasie, that the Accidents in the Sacrament stand alone without any Subiect, then had he concluded fully with Marcion the Heretike, and most directly against himselfe. For thus would Marcion conclude vpon the same: *The Bread in the Sacrament is Fantastical,* That is to say, *It seemeth Bread, and is none: Euen so the Body of Christ was Fantastical: For it seemed a Body and was none.*

Thus M. Harding, and Marcion the Heretike, build both together vpon one foundation.

M. Harding. The 11. *Diuision.*

And, wherein Tertullian vseth this word Figure, in this place, it is not to be vnderstanded such as the Figures of the Old Testament be, as though it signified the shewing of a thing to come, or of a thing absent, which is wont to be set against the truth, as contrary to the same; but it is such a kind of Figure, as doth couer the truth present, and so as it were ioined with the truth, (193) as it is wont to be taken in the New Testament, where it sheweth rather the maner of a thing to be exhibited, than that it taketh away the truth of presence of the thing, which is exhibited. For else concerning the truth of Christs Body in the Sacrament, if any man doubt, what opinion he was of, he sheweth himselfe plainly so to iudge of it, as euer hath been taught in the Catholike Church. Whereof he giueth euidence in many other places: But specially in his second booke to his wife, exhorting her not to marry againe to an Infidel, if she ouerliued him, lest if she did, she should not haue oportunitie to obserue the Christian Religion, as she would. Speaking of the Blessed Sacrament, which was then commonly kept of deuout men, and women in their houses, and there in times of persecution receiued before other meats, when deuotion stirred them, he saith thus: Shall not thy husband know what thou eatest secretly before other meat? And if he know it, he will beleeue it to be Bread, (194) not him, who it is called. The Latine is recited before. I omit many other places, which shew him to acknowledge Christs Bodie in the Sacrament, because I would not be tedious, which verily by no wresting can be drawen to the signification of a meere Figure.

The 193. Vntruth. For it is neuer so taken in the New Testament.

The 194. Vntruth, standing in manifest, and willfull Corruption.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

One Cloud more M. Harding throweth in, to dimme, and shadow the Day light. He casteth doubts, lest some man would make this Holy Mystery a Figure of the Old Testament. But it is knowen euen vnto children, that it is a Sacrament in the Gospell, like as also is the Sacrament of Baptisme.

But the difference betwẽn the Sacraments of the Old Testament, and of the New, standeth not in containing, or couering, as it is here surmised, but in the Order, and Maner, and Euidence of Shewing. Which difference S. Augustine openeth in this sort: Sacramenta Legis fuerunt promissiones rerum complendarum: nostra sunt indicia rerum completarum: *The Sacraments of the Old Law were promises of things to be performed? Our Sacraments are Tokens of things, that already be performed.* Againe: Lex, & Prophetæ Sacramenta habebant prænuntiantia rem futuram: Sacramenta nostri temporis venisse testantur,

August. contra Faustum. li. 9. ca. 14.

teſtantur, quod illa venturum prædicabant: *The Law, and the Prophets had Sacraments, ſhewing before, a thing that was to come: But the Sacraments of our time doe witneſſe, that the thing is already come, that by thoſe Sacraments was ſignified.* **And againe:** Sacramenta Iudæorum in Signis diuerſa fuerunt à noſtris: in rebus autem Significatis paria: *The Sacraments of the Iewes, in outward tokens were diuers from ours: but in the things ſignified they were equall, and one with ours.* **Likewiſe againe he ſaith:** In illis Carnalibus victimis Figuratio fuit Carnis Chriſti, quam pro noſtris peccatis fuerat oblaturus: in iſto autem Sacrificio eſt Gratiarum actio & Commemoratio Carnis Chriſti, quam pro nobis obtulit: *In thoſe fleſhly Sacrifices there was a Signification of the Fleſh of Chriſt, which he had to offer for our ſinnes: But in this Sacrifice there is a Thankſgiuing, and a Remembrance of the Fleſh of Chriſt, which he hath already offered for vs.* *Auguſt. contra literas Petiliani lib. 2. ca. 37.* *Auguſtin. in Iohan. tract. 26.* *Auguſt. de Fide ad Petrum. ca. 19.*

The New Fantaſie of Being preſent Secretly, or vnder Couert, is anſwered before.

And whereas, for further proofe of Tertullians mind herein, M. Harding hath here alleged certaine words of his vnto his wife, vnderſtand thou, good Reader, that wilfully he hath of purpoſe corrupted the ſame, the rather to miſlead thy ſimplicity. True it is, that the Vnfaithfull, that knoweth not Chriſt, if he happen to ſée the Bread of the Holy Myſteries, will iudge no further of it, but that he ſeeth. But what it meaneth, or Signifieth, or vnto what end it is appointed, he knoweth not. But the Bread of the Sacrament, by Chriſts Inſtitution, is Spirituall, and Heauenly Bread, euen as the Water of Baptiſme is Spirituall, and Heauenly Water. Which thing as Tertullian ſaith, The Infidell cannot ſée. But M. Harding, hauing ſmall regard to his Readers iudgement, hath wittingly falſified his Translation, changing this Article, It, into Him, only of his owne particular wilfulneſſe, contrary to all others, Old, or New: yea contrary to his owne Fellowes. Of whom one Translateth the ſame in this wiſe: *And if he know it, he beleeueth it to be Bread, and not that, which it is ſaid to be.* **No man may be bold to worke ſuch open Corruption, but M. Harding. For, whereas** Tertullians words be plaine, Si ſcierit maritus tuus, Panem eſſe, credet, non illum (Panem) qui dicitur: *If thy huſband know it (being an infidell) he will beleeue it to be (bare) Bread, but not that (Bread) that it is called*; **M. Harding thought it better to Translate it thus,** He will beleeue it to be Bread, but not Him, Who it is called: **As if it were the perſon of a Man. This dealing, and the whole vnderſtanding of** Tertullians **mind, is opened more at large in the firſt Article, and in the ſeuentanth Diuiſion. Certainly, falſe Translation maketh no ſufficient proofe.**

Now marke thou, good Chriſtian Reader, into how many, and how narrow ſtraits M. Harding hath caſt himſelfe, to auoid the force of theſe few plaine words of Tertullian, Hoc eſt Figura Corporis mei: *This is a Figure of my Body.* **Firſt, the Outward, and, as he calleth it, the holy Forme of Bread is the Figure of Chriſts Body, Inuiſibly hidden vnder the Accidents. Secondly, the ſame Body ſo hidden, and Inuiſible, is a Figure of Chriſts Body Viſible. Thirdly,** Tertullian, **as it is here preſumed, vnderſtood not the very Grammaticall, and Literall ſenſe of Chriſts words. Fourthly, the ſame** Tertullian **was carried away with heat, and contention, and either knew not, or cared not, what he ſaid. Fiftly, by this New Expoſition he is made to ioine with** Marcion **the Heretike, againſt whom he writeth, and ſo to conclude directly againſt himſelfe. I paſſe ouer the fantaſying of Formes, Accidents, Outward Elements, Miraculous Changes, Secret Preſences, and other like forced Termes, whereof** Tertullian **knoweth none. To be ſhort, M. Harding with his ſtrange Conſtruction, and** Marcion **the Old Heretike, hold both by one Principle.**

1 *Holy Accidents.* 2 3 4 5

It were far better, for a man, that meant truth, to leaue theſe vnſauory, and vnſenſible Gloſſes, and ſimply, and plainly to expound the Words of Chriſt, as this Ancient Learned Father expoundeth them: Hoc eſt Corpus meum: Hoc eſt, Figura Corporis mei; *This is my Body, that is to ſay, This is a Figure of my Body.* **So ſhall** Tertullian **agree both in Sense, and Words with all the Old Catholike writers, and Doctors of the Church: So ſhall he agree with the Common Gloſſe noted in the Decrees:** Vocatur Corpus Chriſti: id eſt, Significat Corpus Chriſti: *It is called the Body of Chriſt: That is to ſay, It ſignifieth the Body of Chriſt.* **So ſhall he agree with** Maximus **the Greeke Scholiaſt vpon** Dionyſius: Signa ſunt hæc, non autem Veritas: *Theſe be Tokens, but not the Truth it ſelfe.* **To conclude, ſo ſhall** Tertullian **agree with himſelfe: For thus he writeth:** Chriſtus non reprobauit Panem, quo ipſum Corpus ſuum Repreſentauit: *Chriſt refuſed not Bread, wherewith he Repreſented his owne body.* *De Conſ. diſt. 2. Hoc eſt. In Gloſſa.* *Maximus in Eccleſ. hierar. Cap. 3.* σύμβολα τοῦτα, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀλήθεια. *Tertullian. contra Marcionem lib. 1.*

M. Harding. The 12. Diuiſion.

The like anſwer may be made to the obiection brought out of S. Auguſtine, *Contra Adimantum Manichæum, ca. 13. Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, Hoc eſt Corpus meum, cùm tamen daret Signum Corporis ſui:* Our Lord ſtickt

A miſerable ſhift. S Auguſtine hath no regard what he ſay.

ſtickt not to ſay, This is my Body, when notwithſtanding he gaue the Signe of his Body. For this is to be conſidered, that S. Auguſtine in fighting againſt the Manichees, often times vſeth not his owne ſenſe, and meaning, but thoſe things which by ſome meane, howſoeuer it were, might ſeeme to giue him aduantage againſt them, ſo as he might put them to the worſt, as he witneſſeth himſelfe in his booke *De bono perſeuerantiæ, Ca.* 11. & 12.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

S. Auguſtine, ſaith M. Harding, in the chafe and rage of Diſputation ſometimes forgat himſelfe, and vttered his words vnaduiſedly: and not only that, but alſo afterward publiſhed the ſame his vnaduiſed ſpeech in open writing vnto the world, as a man ſeking only to conquer his Aduerſary: but whether by right, or by wrong, by truth, or by falſehood, he had no care. But, O gentle, and eaſie Heretikes, that vpon ſuch proſes would ſo lightly yeld vnto S. Auguſtine! Eaſie alſo be theſe Catholikes, that in ſo childiſh Cheſſes will giue credit to M. Harding. Certainly, S. Auguſtine for his mildneſſe, and ſobriety, both in Diſputation, and alſo otherwiſe, hath the praiſe aboue all others. Neither doth there appeare in that whole booke againſt Adimantus, any token to the contrarie. Some part of their variance grew vpon occaſion of theſe words, Sanguis eſt Anima: *The Blood is the Soule.* For declaration whereof S. Auguſtine without any maner heat of Contention, that may appeare, ſaith thus: Ita Sanguis eſt Anima, quemadmodum Petra erat Chriſtus: *So is the Blood the Soule, euen as the Rocke was Chriſt.* And in the ſame Chapter he ioyneth theſe three ſentences all together: *The Blood is the Soule*, *The Rocke was Chriſt*, And, *This is my Body*: as being all both of like meaning, and alſo of like maner of vtterance. S. Auguſtine neuer knew any of theſe M. Hardings lately inuented holy Formes, or Couerts, or Secreſſes. But in moſt plaine wiſe he ſaith, Dabat Signum Corporis ſui: *Chriſt gaue a Token of his Body*: agreeing therein both with himſelfe, and alſo with all other Ancient Catholike Fathers. But if M. Harding, not ſhewing vs any ſuſpition, or token of inordinate heat in that Reuerend Maſter of the Church of God, may tell vs only of himſelfe, that he was thus vnaduiſedly caried away with vehemencie of Diſputation, and tempeſt of talke, then may he alſo eaſily diſpatch all other the Auncient Learned Fathers, and ſay, whatſoeuer they wrote, that liketh not him, they wrote in a Rage, and in their Furies. But if S. Auguſtine were aliue, he would rather ſay, That M. Harding were ſomewhat blown away with the winds, and waues of contention, and had much forgotten himſelfe, and talketh in his Heats, he knoweth not, or careth not, what. S. Ambroſe vpon occaſion expounding theſe words, ſaith thus: Cùm Sanguinem hoc loco Animam diceret, vtique ſignificauit, aliud eſſe Animam, aliud Sanguinem: *When Moſes in this place called the Blood the Soule, doubtleſſe he meant thereby, that the Blood is one thing, and the Soule another,* (notwithſtanding he ſeme by words to make them one.) Euen ſo likewiſe may we ſay, When Chriſt vttered theſe words, This Bread is my Body, he meant, that the Bread is one thing, and his Body another, notwithſtanding the words ſeme to ſound otherwiſe.

Auguſtin. contra Adimantum. ca 12. *Ambroſius De Noe & Arca. ca.* 25.

M. Harding. The 13. *Diuiſion.*

Gregory Nazianzene *Oratione* 4. *in Sanctum Paſcha*, ſhewing difference between the Paſſeouer of the Law, which the Iewes did eat, and that which we in the New Teſtament doe eat in the Myſtery of the Sacrament, and that which Chriſt ſhall eat with vs in the life to come, in the Kingdome of his Father, vttereth ſuch words, as whereby he calleth that we receiue here, a Figure of that ſhall be receiued there. *Cæterum iam Paſchæ ſanctus participes, Figuraliter tamen adhuc, etſi Paſcha hoc veteriſit manifeſtius. Si quidem Paſcha legale, audenter dico, Figuræ Figura erat obſcurior: at paulò poſt illo perfectius & purius fruemur, cum Verbum ipſum biberit nobiſcum in regno patris nouum, detegens & docens, quæ nunc mediocriter oſtendit Nouum enim ſemper exiſtit id, quod nuper eſt cognitum.* But now (ſaith he) let vs be made partakers of this Paſſeouer, and yet but Figuratiuely as yet, albeit this Paſſeouer be more manifeſt, then that of the Old Law. For the Paſſeouer of the Law (I ſpeak boldly) was a darke Figure of a Figure: but ere it be long, we ſhall enioy it more perfitly, and more purer, when as the Word (that is, the Sonne of God) ſhall drinke the ſame new with vs in the Kingdom of his Father, opening and teaching the things, that now he ſheweth not in moſt cleere wiſe. For that euer is new, which of late is knowen. Whereas this learned Father calleth our Paſſeouer, that we eat, a Figure, whereof the Law Paſſeouer was a Figure, terming it the Figure of a Figure, he asketh leaue, as it were, ſo to ſay, and confeſſeth himſelfe to ſpeak boldly, alluding, as it ſeemeth to S. Paul, or at leaſt hauing faſt printed in his mind, his Doctrine to the Hebrews: where he calleth the things of the life to come, *Res ipſas*, the very things themſelues: the things of the New Teſtament, *Ipſam imaginem rerum*, the very Image of things: and the Old Teſtament, *Imaginis vmbram*, the ſhadow of the Image. Which doctrine Nazianzene applieth to the Sacrament of the Altar. And his meaning is this, that although we be gotten out of thoſe darkneſſes of the Law, yet we are not come to the full light, which we look for in the World to come, where we ſhall ſee and behold the very things themſelues cleerely, and we ſhall know as we are known. To be ſhort, by his report, the Sacraments of the old Teſtament be but Figures, and Shadows of things to come, the Sacraments of the new Teſtament, not ſhadows of things to come (195) but Figures of things preſent, which are contained and deliuered vnder them in Myſtery, but yet ſubſtantially: at the end of all, Figures in Heauen ſhall ceaſe and be aboliſhed, and there ſhall we ſee all thoſe things that here be hidden, cleerly face to face. And

Heb. 10.

The 195. Vntruth. For this was neuer this Fathers meaning.

where

where Christ saith, that he will drink his Passeouer new with vs in the kingdom of his Father, Nazianzene so expoundeth that word, New, as it may be referred to the maner of the exhibiting, not to the thing exhibited. Not that in the World to come we shall haue another Body of our Lord, which now we haue not, but that we shall haue the selfe same Body, that now we haue in the Sacrament of the Altar in a Mystery, but yet verily, and substantially, after another sort and maner, and in that respect new. For so had without Mystery, or couerture in cleere sight, and most ioyfull fruition, it is new in comparison of this present knowledge.

The Law and the Gospel.

Orolly Nazian. speaketh not of the Sacrament, but of perfection and imperfection of knowledge.

This place is not well applied: for these words pertaine nothing to the Sacrament.

Thus the word Figure reporteth not alwales the absence of the truth of a thing, as we see, but the maner of the thing either promised, or exhibited: that forasmuch as it is not fully and cleerely seen, it may be called a Figure. So of Origen it is called *Imago rerum*, an Image of the things, as in this place. *Si quis uero transire potuerit ab hac umbra, ueniat ad imaginem rerum, & uideat aduentum Christi in Carne susceptum, uideat eum Pontificem offerentem quidem & nunc patri hostias, & postmodum oblaturum: & intelligat haec omnia imagines esse Spiritualium rerum, & corporalibus officijs Cœlestia designari. Imago ergo dicitur hoc, quod recipitur ad praesens, & inuisuri sumus humana natura.* And if any man (saith he) can passe and depart from this shadow, let him come to the Image of things; and see the comming of Christ made in Flesh, let him see him a Bishop that both now offereth Sacrifice vnto his Father, and also hereafter shall offer. And let him vnderstand, that all these things be Images of Spirituall things, and that by bodily seruices heauenly things be resembled, and set foorth. So this, which is at this present receiued, and may of mans nature be seen, is called an Image. In this saying of Origen, this word Image, doth not in signification diminish the truth of things, so as they be not the very things indeed, for the things that Christ did in Flesh, were true things: but when they are termed the Image of things, thereby is signified, so far as the condition and nature of man can behold and see them.

This is most plainly vttered by Oecumenius a Greeke writer, vpon these words of S. Paul to the Hebrews: *Non ipsam imaginem rerum*, not the Image it selfe of things, *Id est, ueritatem rerum*, that is, the truth of things, saith he, and addeth further: *Res appellat futuram Vitam, imaginem autem rerum, Euangelicam politiam; umbram uero ueteris testamenti. Imago enim manifestiora ostendit exemplaria: adumbratio autem imaginis obscurius haec manifestat, nam haec ueteris Testamenti exprimit imbecillitatem.* The sense of which words may thus be vttered in English. S. Paul calleth the life to come, the things: and the ordinance or disposition of the things in the Gospell, he calleth the Image of things: and the old Testament, he nameth the shadow of the Image of things. For an Image sheweth samplars more manifest: but the adumbration or shadowing of the Image sheweth these things but darkly, for this doth expresse the weakenesse of the Old Testament. By this place of Oecumenius we see, that although it be proper to an Image to exhibit the truth of things, and therefore by interpretation he saith, *Imaginem, Id est, ueritatem*, the Image, that is, the truth: yet the proper and right taking of the word, signifieth the way, or maner of a thing to be exhibited, not the thing it selfe: that what the Image hath lesse then the thing it selfe, it is to be vnderstanded in the maner of exhibiting, not in the thing it selfe exhibited.

Nothing of the Sacrament.

Hitherto we haue brought examples to declare, that the words, Figure, and Image, signifie the truth of things exhibited indeed, though in secret, and priuy maner.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

These three Fathers, Nazianzene, Origen, and Oecumenius, cost M. Harding no great study. He found them word by word, alleged before in Doctor Steuen Gardiner. Neither doe they any wise further his purpose, touching either his outward Formes, and Accidents: or else his Priuie, and Secret Presence. But he knoweth, that the verie Names of Old Doctors, although they say nothing, may suffice to lead the ignorant.

The meaning of these three Fathers was only to shew the difference, that is betweene the three states. The Iewes vnder the Law, The Christians vnder the Gospell, and the Saints in the life to come. All which three states are one offspring of Abraham, one people, one Church, one Inheritance: all calling vpon, and glorifying the name of God, and of his Son Iesus Christ. Therefore S. Augustine saith: *The people of Israell vnder the Law were very Christians: and the Christians in the Gospell are very Israelites.* Albeit, he addeth: Non oportet illud nomen in consuetudine Sermonis retinere: *In common vse of speech we may not continue that name.* Againe he saith: Iudæi non dum nomine, sed re ipsa erant Christiani: *The Iewes although not in name, yet indeed were very Christians.* Likewise Eusebius saith: *All the Iewes, from* Abraham *vpward vntill* Adam, *were indeed Christian men: albeit they were not named so.* So likewise Epiphanius saith: *The Faith of Christ was euer from the beginning of the world.*

Augustin. ad Asellicum Epist. 20.

August. contra 2. Epist. Pelagian. li. 3. ca. 4.

τῷ ἔργῳ χεσιανοὶ, εἰ μη χρόνῳ μαπ.

Epiphan. li. 3. ca. 1.

ἡ τοῦ πίστις ἀπ ἀρχῆς ἦν τοῦ κόσμου.

The substance of these three states is one: the difference standeth only in quality, or proportion of more, or lesse. The Iewes saw Christ in the Law: The Christians see Christ in the Gospell: The Blessed Saints see Christ in Heauen. The Iewes saw Christ darkly, as in a shadow: The Christians see Christ as in an Image liuely portraid: The holy Saints see Christ in Heauen expressly, and perfitly without Image or Shadow, face to face. Christ, that is seene, is all one: the difference is only in the seers: of whom some see in a darke Shadow: some in a perfit Image: and some in the cleere Light. And yet none of them without the sight of Christ. And as the Iewes were in a Shadow, in comparison of that Brightnesse of Light, that we see now: euen so are we likewise in a Shadow, in comparison of that Light, that we hope for, and is to come. And thus Origen, Nazianzene, Oecumenius, and the rest of the Ancient Fathers meant, and none otherwise.

There-

Therefore M. Harding may consider better, how much these authorities make for him, to prove his Secret Fleshly Presence in the Sacrament.

Chrysostom. in varijs locis in Matthæ. Chrysost. in dictum Apostoli, Patres nostri omnes, &c. Irenæus li. 4. cap. 42. Galat. 4. 1. Corin. 13.

Chrysostome compareth the state of the Jewes, vnto a Candle: and the state of the Christians, to the Brightnesse of the Sunne. Againe, he likeneth the Jewes to the first draught, or plat of an Image, set out only in bare lines: and the Christians vnto the same Image liuely filled vp with all due proportion, and resemblance, and furniture of colours. Irenæus compareth the Jewes to the sowing of the sad: and the Christians to the harnest, and reaping of the Corne. To conclude, S. Paul compareth the Jewes to a Child, and the Christians to a full perfit man.

By all these Examples it appeareth, that the Substance is one, and the difference standeth only in More, and Lesse. The Jewes had the same light, although not in like quantity: The same Image, although not with like furniture: The same Corne, although not growen to like ripenesse: They were the same person, although not in like perfection of age. Thus much, to open the difference betweene the Law, and the Gospell: which was one part of these Fathers meaning.

August. contra Faustum lib. 12. ca. 20.

The like difference we may find betweene the state of the Gospell, and the state of the life, that is to come. For although the things be one, yet the fruition of the same is not one: and in respect of that abundance of Glorie, that we looke for, all that we haue, and enioy already, is but a Figure. And therefore S. Augustine saith: Cùm Christus tradiderit Regnum Deo, & Patri, in illa perspicua contemplatione incommutabilis Veritatis, nullis Mysterijs Corporalibus indigebimus: *When Christ shall haue deliuered the Kingdome to God, and the Father, in that plaine contemplation of the vnchangeable Truth, we shall need no Bodily Mysteries.*

August in. in Psalm. 26.

Likewise he writeth of the Sacrament of Baptisme: Vngimur modò in Sacramento: & Sacramento ipso præfiguratur quiddam, quod futuri sumus: & illud, nescio quid, futurum ineffabile desiderare debemus, & in Sacramento gemere: vt in ea re gaudeamus, quæ Sacramento præmonstratur: *We are now anointed in a Sacrament: and in the Sacrament it selfe there is a thing foresignified, that we shall be: and the same vnspeakable thing, that is to come, we ought to desire, and to mourne for it in the Sacrament, that we may reioice in that thing, that is signified in the Sacrament.*

Basilius in Psalm 45. διὰ τὸν κατὰ βραχὺ κατὰ ἀπῆχον τῆς θεωρημάτων. Gregori. Nazianzen. in S. Pascha Orat. 4. Origen. in Psal. 38. Homil. 2.

So S. Basil: Etiam nunc iustus bibit Aquam illam viuentem: verùm eam post hac largiùs bibet, vbi cooptatus fuerit in Ciuitatem Dei. Nunc quidem bibit in speculo, & in ænigmate, per breuem comprehensionem Obseruationum Diuinarum: Tunc autem flumen vniuersum recipiet: *Euen now the iust man drinketh that Liuing Water. But after this, when he shall be receiued into the Citie of God, he shall drinke it more abundantly. Now he drinketh as in a Seeing glasse, or in a riddle, by a small vnderstanding of Heauenly things: but then he shall swallow downe the whole streame.*

In this sense Nazianzene saith: *The Ecclesiasticall policy of the Iewes, compared with the Gospell of Christ, is a Figure of a Figure.* In this sense Origen saith: *The comming of Christ in the Flesh, and the offering of himselfe vpon the Crosse,* (the force of which oblation continueth still) *and all, that our Nature can conceiue of the same, is but an Image, in comparison of those Spirituall things, that we looke for.* And here vnderstand, thou good Reader, that Origen in this place speaketh of Christs comming, and appearing in the Flesh: and not one word of the Sacrament. For thus he saith: Veniat ad Imaginem rerum, & videat aduentum Christi in Carne factum: *Let him come to the Image of things, and see Christs comming in the Flesh.*

Oecumenius ad Hebræos, c. 10. Chrysost. ad Hebræos, ca. 10.

This Image Oecumenius very well expoundeth: Veritatem rerum, that is, *The Truth, and performance of things, that were promised vnder a Shadow to the Iewes.* In like sort Chrysostome expoundeth the same words: Lex habuit vmbram futurorum bonorum, non ipsam imaginem rerum: hoc est, non ipsam Veritatem: *The Law had a Shadow of good things to come, but not the Image of the things, that is to say, not the truth it selfe.* He calleth the Gospell the truth it selfe, not in respect of Christs Secret Being in the Sacrament, vnto which fantasie M. Harding driueth all this long talke, but only in respect of Christs Incarnation, as it is plaine by that immediatly followeth: Donec enim quis velut in pictura circumducat colores, Vmbra quædam est: cùm verò flores ipsos colorum induxerit, & imposuerit, tunc Imago efficitur: *A Picture, vntill the Painter lay on his colours, is but a Shadow: but the fresh colours being laid on, it is an Image.* So S. Paul calleth *the Law the Shadow,* and *Christ the Body.* And in this consideration

Chrysost. ad Hebræos, c. 10. Colossi. 2. Athanasius De Communi essen. P. Fi. & Spir. S. Augustin. in Psal. 73.

Athanasius saith: Euangelium est Dei Verbi Domini Iesu Christi Præsentia, ad humani generis salutem Incarnati: *The Gospell is the Presence of our Lord Iesus Christ, which is the Word of God, Incarnate vnto the Saluation of Mankind.* And therefore S. Augustine saith: Nostra Sacramenta dant Salutem: Iudæorum Sacramenta promittebant Saluatorem: Non quòd iam acceperimus vitam æternam, sed quòd iam venerit Christus, qui per Prophetas pronuntiabatur: *Our Sacraments doe*

giue

game Saluation: The Sacraments of the Iewes promised a Sauiour. I speake not this, for that we haue already attained Euerlasting life, but for that Christ is already come, that is pronounced by the Prophets.

But of these Fathers words M. Harding reasoneth in this wise: *The brightnesse of the Gospell is but a Figure, in Comparison of that Brightnesse, that is to come:* Ergo, *Christs Body is secretly hidden vnder the outward Formes, and Accidents of the Sacrament.*

Howbeit, it may seme appeare vnto the discreet, and indifferent Reader that in all these words there is no maner mention, neither of Secretie, nor of Presence, nor of Absence, nor of Formes, nor of Elements, nor of Accidents, nor, in proprietie words, of any Sacrament. Nazianzene, notwithstanding he may seme to touch the Sacrament of Christs Body, yet indeed he speaketh onely of the Spirituall food of the knowledge of God, and not of the Sacrament: as it is plaine both by the place it selfe, and also by the words, that immediately follow after. The words, that went before, are these: Christus bibet nobiscum Nouum Vinum in Regno Patris: *Christ will drinke with vs Iew Wine in the Kingdome of his Father.* **The words, that follow, are these:** Quis est ille potus, & quæ est hæc oblectatio? Nostra quidem, Discere: illius verò, Docere. Doctrina enim etiam docenti alimenti instar est: *What is this Drinke, and what is this Pleasure? Of our part, it is to learne: of Christs part, it is to teach. For Doctrine euen vnto him, that teacheth, is a kind of meat.* τὸ γὰρ ἐστὶ τροφὴ καὶ διδαχὴ καὶ τῷ διδόντι.

It is very much for M. Harding, thus to conclude his imaginations of the Sacrament, by these Fathers, that speake not one word of the Sacrament. Nothing that is here alleged of Secret and Priuie Being, the Catholike Fathers doe confesse that Christ is in the Sacraments of the New Testament, as he was in the Sacraments of the Old. So S. Augustine saith: Quicunque in Manna Christum intellexunt, eundem, quem nos, Cibum Spiritualem manducauerunt: *As many, as in Manna vnderstood Christ, fed of the same Spirituall Bread, that we feed of.* *Augustin. de vtilitate Pœnitentiæ.* **Againe he saith:** Videte ergo, Fide manente, Signa variata. Ibi Petra Christus: Nobis Christus, quod in Altari Dei potur: *Behold, the Faith standing one, the Signes, or Sacraments are changed. There the Rocke was Christ: Vnto vs that thing is Christ, that is laid vpon the Altar.* *August. in Iohan. tract. 45.* **As Christ is now here: so as Christ then there. And as Christ is now in the Bread: so was Christ then in the Rocke: none otherwise. But what can be so plaine, as that Nazianzene himselfe writeth, whom M. Harding hath chosen specially for his Author? These be his words:** Pellent me Altaribus. At ego noui aliud Altare, cuius ea omnia, quæ nunc videntur, exemplaria tantum sunt: non manu, aut ascia elaboratum: Mentis opus est, & Contemplationis ascensus. Ibi astabo, & acceptabilia offeram, Sacrificium, Oblationem, & Holocausta, quæ tanto præstantiora sunt, quàm ea quæ nunc aguntur, quantò Veritas potior est, quàm Vmbra. *Nazianzen. in Oration. Cum post ea, quæ contra Maximum &c.* *They will driue me from the Altars, or Communion Tables. But I know another Altar, whereof all the things, that are now seene, are but Samplars: not wrought by hand, or Instrument. It is the worke of the minde, and the eleuation of the heart. There will I stand, and offer vp acceptable Sacrifices: Which so farre exceed the Sacrifices, that are made heere, as the Truth exceedeth a Shadow.*

M. Harding. The 14. Diuision.

Dist. Dist. 2. Cu. Verum sub Forma.

Certaine Fathers vse the words, *Signum & Sacramentum*, that is, Signe and Sacrament, in the same signification. S. Augustine, *In libro Sententiarum Prosperi*, saith thus: *Caro eius est, quam in Pane operemur: & Sanguis eius, quem sub vini specie & sapore potamus: Caro videlicet & Sanguis est Sacramentum Sanguinis: Carne & Sanguine, vtroque Inuisibili, Spirituali, Intelligibili, Signo visibili Domini nostri Iesu Christi Corpus & palpabile, plenum gratia omnium virtutum, & Diuina Maiestate:* is his Flesh that wee receiue couered with the forme of Bread in the Sacrament, and his Blood, that vnder the shape and sauour of Wine, we drinke. Soothly Flesh is a Sacrament of Flesh, and Blood is a Sacrament of Blood: by the Flesh and the Blood both Inuisible, Spirituall, Intelligible, our Lord Iesus Christ his visible and palpable Body, full of the grace of all vertues, and Diuine Maiestie is signified or, as it were with a Signe noted.

In these words of S. Augustine, we see the flesh of Christ called a Sacrament of his Flesh, and the Blood a Sacrament of his Blood, inasmuch as they be couered with the forme of Bread and Wine, yet verily, and in Substance present. And likewise he letteth not to call this Veritie or Truth of the things themselues thus couertly exhibited, a Signe of Christs Visible and palpable Body: so that the naming of a Signe doth not import a separation from the Truth, but sheweth a distinct maner of the Truth exhibited, and therefore according to the Truth of the maner of exhibiting, it is not the flesh of Christ, but the Sacrament of the Flesh of Christ, for that the Flesh doth not exhibite it selfe in his owne shape, but in a Sacrament.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

In this saying of S. Augustine, M. Harding seemeth specially to note these few words, Forma, Operta, **and** Inuisibilis: **which being answered, I hope the force of his collection will seme appeare. First, if M. Harding will say, that his word,** Forma, **must**

Couered.

must nedes be taken for the outward shew, and appearance of Bread, then must he nedes fall into a great inconuenience, and become either a Patron, or a Scholar of the old Heretike Marcion, who vpon the very same word erected his Heresie: and of these words of S. Paul, Formam serui suscepit, reasoned then, as M. Harding doth now, Ergo, *Christ had nothing else, but the outward Forme, and Appearance, or Shape of a mans Body.* But it is knowen to the Learned, that as well among the Philosophers, as also among the old Catholike learned Fathers, these words, Forma, and Species, are taken, not only for the outward Appearance, but also for Nature, and Substance it selfe. So S. Hierome imagineth Christ to say: Declinaui ad eos deserens Regna Cœlorum, vt cum eis vescerer, assumpta Forma Hominis: *I went downe vnto them, leauing the Kingdomes of Heauen, that I might eat with them, hauing receiued the Forme of Man.* I leaue S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, and other like authorities. This matter is proued more at large in the tenth Article, and sixth Diuision. By these few it may appeare, that this word, Forma, importeth, not only a Shew, but also the very Substance of the Bread.

Hieronym. in Osee, li. 3. ca. 11.

In the second word, Operta, which signifieth Couered, M. Harding wittingly dissembleth his owne learning, and would seeme not to know the maner, and nature of all Sacraments: which is, to offer one thing outwardly vnto our senses, and an other inwardly to our minde. Hereof there is sufficiently spoken before, in the Second, and Eighth Diuision of this Article. Chrysostome saith: In Sensibilibus Intelligibilia nobis tradidit: *In Sensible, and Outward things, Christ hath giuen vs things Spirituall.* And for Example he addeth: Sic & in Baptismo: *So it fareth in the Sacrament of Baptisme.* Thus S. Augustine saith: *The godly of the Iewes vnderstood Christ in their Manna.* In like sort Origen speaketh of the letter of the Scriptures: Corpora Prophetarum colunt posita in Libris, & Literis, quasi in quibusdam Sepulchris: *They honour the Bodies of the Prophets laid in their Bookes, and Letters, as if it were in certaine Graues.* So S. Augustine: Sensus in Litera manet, & per Literam videtur: *The Sense lieth in the Letter, and by the Letter it is seene.* So Nicolaus Cabasilas: Spiritus celatur in Litera: *The Spirit of God is hidden in the Letter.* I thinke M. Harding in these speaches will not necessarily require any Corporall, or Reall Presence. Thus S. Gregorie saith: Christus in seipso immortaliter, & incorruptibiliter viuens, iterum in hoc Mysterio moritur: *Christ liuing in himselfe immortally, and without corruption, dieth againe in this Mysterie.* Whereupon the Glosse saith: Moritur, id est, Mors eius Repræsentatur: *Christ dieth, that is to say, his death is represented.* Now, as Christ dieth in the Sacrament, so is his Body present in the Sacrament. But Christ dieth not there Really, and indeed: Therefore Christs Body is not there Really, and indeed.

Chrysostom. in Matt. hom. 83. ἐν αἰσθητοῖς τὰ νοητὰ παρέδωκε. *Augustin. de vtilitate Pœnitentiæ: In Manna Christum intellexerunt. Orig. in Matthæ. Tract. 26. Augustin. de Spiritu & anima, cap. 2. Nicolaus Cabasilas. De Con. dist. 2. Quid sit Sanguis.*

I thought it nedfull to vse the moe Examples in this behalfe, for that this place of S. Augustine seemeth to carrie the greatest force of all others. But as S. Augustine saith here, Christs Bodie is hidden vnder the Forme, or Kinde of Bread, euen so he saith: Gratia Dei in Veteri Testamento velata latebat: *The Grace of God lay hidden in the Old Testament.* Euen so S. Gregorie saith: Vt palea frumentum, sic Litera tegit Spiritum: *As the Chaffe hideth the Corne, so the Letter hideth the Spirit.* Euen so againe S. Augustine saith: In Veteri Testamento occultabatur Nouum: *The New Testament was hidden in the Old.* But he expoundeth himselfe: Occultabatur, id est, occultè Significabatur: *It was hidden, that is to say, it was secretly signified.* And thus, by S. Augustines owne words, and exposition, we may likewise say: Caro Christi operta, id est, occultè Significata: *Christs Flesh is priuily hidden, that is to say,* as S. Augustine expoundeth it, *it is priuily Signified.*

Augustin. de Spiritu & Litera. ca. 15. Gregor. in Proloqa in Cantica. August. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, li. 1. ca. 15.

Thus the Sacrament of Christs Flesh, which according to the Doctrine of S. Augustine, beareth the name of that thing that it signifieth, is called Christs Flesh, Inuisible, Spirituall, and only to be conceiued by vnderstanding. For the whole worke hereof perteineth, not vnto the mouth, or teeth, as S. Augustine saith, but only to Faith, and Spirit. And therefore the same S. Augustine expounding these words of Christ, Who so eateth of this Bread, shall not die, saith thus: Quod pertinet ad Virtutem Sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile Sacramentum. Qui manducat intus, non foris: qui manducat in Corde, non qui premit dente. *That perteineth to the Effect, and Vertue of the Sacrament, not that perteineth to the Visible Sacrament. He that eateth inwardly, not outwardly: that eateth with his heart, not that presseth with his teeth.* Likewise he saith of Moses, Aaron, and Phinees, and others the faithfull of that time: Visibilem cibum (Manna) Spiritualiter intellexerunt; Spiritualiter esurierunt, Spiritualiter gustauerunt. *They vnderstood Manna that Visible meat, Spiritually; they hungred it Spiritually; they tasted it Spiritually.* By these words, Intus, Inwardly: In Corde, in the heart: Spiritualiter, Spiritually: S. Augustine expoundeth the meaning of this word, Inuisibiliter, inuisibly. Therefore Chrysostome saith, Mysterium appellatur, quia aliud videmus, aliud credimus. Nam huiusmodi est Mysteriorum nostrorum natura. *It is called a Mystery, because we see one thing, & beleeue an other. For such is the nature of* (Baptisme,

Augustin. de Con. dist. 2. Vt quid. August. in Iohan. Tract. 26.

Chrys. 1. Cor. hom. 7.

and

and our Lords Supper, which are) *our Sacraments, or Myſteries.* So ſaith S. Ambroſe, as is alleged before: *The Water of the holy Font hath waſhed vs: the Blood of Chriſt hath redeemed vs:* Alterum igitur Inuiſibile, alterum Viſibile Teſtimonium, &c. *The one Witneſſe is Inuiſible, the other is Viſible.* So the old Father Origen ſaith: *S. Iohns Baptiſme was Viſible: but Chriſts Baptiſme is Inuiſible.*

Heauenly Bread.

Ambroſ. de Spiritu Sancto, li. 3. Origen. in Lucam, homil. 24.

As it is in the Myſterie of Baptiſme, ſo is it alſo in the Myſterie of Chriſts Bodie. As Chriſts Blood is Inuiſible, wherewith we are waſhed, ſo is Chriſts Fleſh Inuiſible, wherewith we are fed. And as this Inuiſible waſhing in Chriſts Blood, repreſenteth vnto our mindes the Blood of Chriſt, that was Viſibly ſhed for vs: ſo the Fleſh of Chriſt that is eaten Inuiſibly, repreſenteth vnto vs that Very Fleſh of Chriſt, that was Viſible, and Senſible nailed, and torne vpon the Croſſe. And thus S. Auguſtines meaning may well ſtand vpright, without any New Secreſie, or Reall, or Fleſhly Preſence.

M. Harding. The 15. Diuiſion.

De Con. diſt. 2. Hoc eſt quod dicimus.

And therefore in another place he writeth thus: *Sicut ergo Cœleſtis Panis, qui Caro Chriſti eſt, ſuo modo vocatur Corpus Chriſti, cùm re vera ſit Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti, illius videlicet, quod Viſibile, quod Palpabile, mortale in Cruce poſitum eſt, vocaturque ipſa immolatio Carnis, quæ Sacerdotis manibus fit, Chriſti Paſſio, Mors, Crucifixio, non res veritate, ſed ſignificante Myſterio: Sic Sacramentum Fidei, quod Baptiſmus intelligitur, Fides eſt:* As the Heauenly Bread (ſaith S. Auguſtine) which is the Fleſh of Chriſt, in his maner is called the Body of Chriſt, when as in very deed, it is the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, euen of that which is Viſible, which is Palpable, and being mortall was put on the Croſſe, and the Sacrificing it ſelfe of his Fleſh, wich is done by the Prieſts hands, is called the Paſſion, the Death, the Crucifying of Chriſt, not in truth of the thing, but in myſtery ſignifying: ſo the Sacrament of Faith, which is vnderſtanded to be Baptiſme, is Faith. By heauenly Bread he vnderſtanded not wheaten Bread, but that Heauenly meat, which he ſaith to be the Fleſh of Chriſt, and thus farre he affirmeth the truth of his Fleſh it ſelfe, which hee ſaith to be called, *Suo modo*, in his manor, the Bodie of Chriſt: as who ſhould ſay, whoſe truth notwithſtanding, if ye behold on the behalfe of the maner of exhibiting, in very deed it is a Sacrament of Chriſts Body, which is in viſible ſhape, ſo as he ſpeaketh of Chriſts Body, that hath ſuffered.

The 196. Vntruth. For this Heauenly Bread muſt needs be taken for the Sacrament, as it ſhall appeare.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Hére M. Harding allegeth good matter againſt himſelfe. For by theſe words S. Auguſtine ſaith, The Bread is ſo Chriſts Bodie, as the Breaking of the ſame Bread is Chriſts Death. But the breaking of the Bread is not Really, and indéd the death of Chriſt: Wherefore it followeth, that the Bread is not Really, or indéd the Bodie of Chriſt. And whereas M. Harding ſéemeth to ſtay altogether vpon theſe two words, Cœleſtis Panis, thinking that thereby is meant onely the Supernaturall Bread of Chriſts verie Bodie, it may like him neuertheleſſe to vnderſtand, that, not onely Chriſts verie Bodie, but alſo the Sacrament it ſelfe, may well be called, Cœleſtis panis, Heauenly Bread, for that it is a Sacrament of that Heauenly Bread. So Gregorius Nyſſenus calleth the Water of Baptiſme τὸ θεῖον λέτρον, *The Diuine, or Heauenly Bath.* So S. Ambroſe calleth the words of Baptiſme, Verba Cœleſtia, *Heauenly words.* So Dionyſius calleth the Oile Conſecrate, Diuiniſſimum Oleum, τὸ θεαρχικώτατον μύρον. So Cyrillus calleth Manna, *Spirituall Bread.* Thus he ſaith: Quomodo eſt Mana Panis Angelorum Spiritualis? Quia, quod Vmbra Veritatis erat, Veritatis nomine in Spiritu appellauit. *How is Manna called the Spirituall Bread of Angels? That thing, that was a Shadow of the Trueth, in Spirit, or Spiritually, he vttered by the name of the Trueth it ſelfe.* And albeit onely Chriſts verie Bodie it ſelfe hée indéd that Heauenly Bread, yet in theſe words of S. Auguſtine, it cannot in any wiſe ſo be taken, as to the learned, and diſcréet Reader it may ſone appéere. For firſt S. Auguſtine ſaith: That Heauenly Bread, whereof hée ſpeaketh, is a Sacrament. But the verie Bodie of Chriſt can not in any reſpect bée called a Sacrament, as it is eaſie to vnderſtand. For a Sacrament by S. Auguſtines Definition is, Signum Viſibile, *A Signe, or a Token, that may be ſeene.* But the Bodie of Chriſt, that M. Harding imagineth to bée Preſent, cannot bée ſéene: For S. Auguſtine ſaith, it is Spirituall, and Inuiſible. Whereof it neceſſarily followeth, that the verie Bodie of Chriſt cannot in any wiſe bée called a Sacrament: And therefore is not that kind of Heauenly Bread, that is hére mentioned by S. Auguſtine.

Greg. Nyſſen. de Sancto Baptiſmate. Ambroſ. de Sacramen. li. 2. ca. 5. Dionyſ. Eccle. Hier. cap. 2. Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 4. cap. 10.

Moreouer, S. Auguſtine ſaith: *The ſame Heauenly Bread is the Bodie of Chriſt:* Howbeit he addeth, not Verily, and indéd, but, Suo modo, *In a Maner*, or *Kind of ſpeech.* But Chriſts verie Bodie, is indéd, and Verily, in all reſpects the Bodie of Chriſt without any ſuch qualifying, or limitation. And it were great fondneſſe, or rather mére madneſſe to ſay, The Very Bodie of Chriſt is after a certaine maner, or in a ſort the Body of Chriſt.

These things first considered, for further vnderstanding of S. Augustines mind herein, I remit the Reader vnto the Glosse vpon the same, the words whereof are these: Cœlestis Panis, id est, Cœleste Sacramentum, quod verè repræsentat Carnem Christi, dicitur Corpus Christi, sed improprie. Vnde dicitur, Suo modo: sed non rei Veritate, sed significante Mysterio: vt sit sensus, Vocatur Corpus Christi, id est, Significat Corpus Christi: *The Heauenly Bread, that is to say, the Heauenly Sacrament, which verily representeth the Flesh of Christ, is called Christs Bodie, but vnaptly, and vnfitly. Therefore it is said, In a peculiar maner belonging vnto it selfe: Not in Trueth of matter, but by a Signifying Mysterie: That the sense may be this, It is called the Body of Christ, that is to say, It signifieth the Bodie of Christ.*

De Con. dist. 2. Hoc est. In Glossa.

But here marke thou, gentle Reader, into what straits these men be driuen. To mainteine the Inconueniences, and Absurdities of their Doctrine, they are faine to say, That the verie Bodie of Christ, is not, Rei veritate, Verily, and indeed, but, Improprie, Vnaptly, and Vnfitly called the Body of Christ.

M. Harding. The 16. Diuision.

Againe S Augustine saith in another place: *Non hoc Corpus quod videtis, comesturi estis*: Not this Body, which ye see, shall ye eat. * And S. Hierome saith: *Diuinum & Spiritualem Carnem manducandam dari, aliam quidem ab ea quæ Crucifixa est*: That Diuine and Spirituall Flesh is giuen to be eaten, other beside that, which was Crucified. Wherefore in respect of the exhibiting, the Flesh is diuided, that in it selfe is but one: and the Flesh exhibited in mystery, is in very deed a Sacrament of Christs Body visible and palpable, which suffered on the Crosse. And thus it followeth of conuenience, whereas the Flesh is not the same according to the qualities of the exhibiting which was Crucified, and which now is Sacrificed by the hands of a Priest: againe, whereas the Passion, Death, and Resurrection are said to be done, not in truth of the thing, but in mystery signifying; it followeth (I say) that the Flesh is not the same in qualities, so as it was on the Crosse, though it be the same in Substance.

* This place is answered before in the fifth Article, and in the seuenth Diuision.

In Psal. 98. In 1. cap. Esaiæ.

Many moe authorities might bee alleged for the opening of this matter, but these for this present are enough, if they be not too many, as I feare me, they will so appeare to the vnlearned Reader, and to such as be not giuen to earnest study, and diligent search of the truth. By these places, it is made cleare and euident, that these Names, Figure, Image, Signe, Token, Sacrament, and such other the like, of force of their signification doe not alwaies exclude the truth of the things, but doe only shew and note the maner of presence. Wherefore to conclude this matter, that is somewhat obscure to senses little exercised, the Figure of the Body, or Signe of the Body, the Image of Body, doth note the couertnesse and secretnesse in the maner of the exhibiting, and doth not diminish any whit the truth of the presence. So we doe accord with M. Iewel in this Article touching the forme of words, but withall wee haue thought it necessary, to declare the true meaning of the same, which is contrary to the doctrine of the Sacramentaries.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding, as in his words he pretendeth great store of authorities, so in his choice hee bewraieth great want. For, to passe by the place of Hierome, which is answered before in the fifth Article, and 7. Diuision, the words of S. Augustine same vtterly to ouerthrow all these his grosse, and fleshly fantasies: For better vnderstanding whereof, it is to be noted, that when Christ had opened that Heauenly Doctrine of the Eating of his Bodie, and Drinking of his Blood, the Capernaits hearing his words, imagined euen as M. Harding now doth, that hee meant a very fleshly Eating with their Bodily mouthes: and therefore began to bee offended, and said, His speech was ouer hard, and departed from him. Vpon occasion hereof, S. Augustine writeth thus: Ipsi erant duri, non sermo. Christus iustruxit eos, qui remanerant, & ait illis: Spiritus est, qui viui ficat: Caro autem nihil prodest. Verba, quæ locutus sum vobis, Spiritus sunt, & vita. Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus sum. Non hoc Corpus, quod videris, manducaturi estis, nec bibituri illum Sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt, qui me Crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod, vobis commendaui: Spiritualiter intellectum viuificabit vos: *They were hard: Christs word was not hard. Christ instructed them, that remained, and said vnto them, It is the Spirit that giueth life, the Flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I haue spoken, are Spirit and Life. Vnderstand ye spiritually, that I haue spoken. Yee shall not eat this Body, that ye see: neither shall ye drink that Blood, that they shall shed, that shall crucifie me. I haue recommended vnto you a certaine Sacrament: Being Spiritually vnderstanded, it will giue you life.* These words be plaine of themselues, and need no long construction.

The difference that M. Harding hath deuised betwéne Christs Bodie in Substance, and the selfe same Bodie in respect of qualities, is a vaine Glosse of his owne, without Substance. For S. Augustine saith not, as M. Harding would faine haue him to saie, Yée shall not eat this Bodie (with your bodily mouth) Quale videtis, vnder such Conditions, and qualities of Mortalitie, and Corruption, as you now sée it: but Quod videtis, that is, You shall not eat the same Bodie in Nature, and Substance, that now yée sée.

Neither

Neither was the Bodie of Chriſt at that time, when he miniſtred the Holy Communion, and ſpake theſe wordes to his diſciples, endued with any ſuch qualities. For it was neither Spirituall, nor Inuiſible, nor Immortall: but contrariwiſe, Earthly, Viſible, and ſubiect to Death.

To be ſhort, S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh not one word, neither of this carnall Preſence, nor of ſecret Being vnder Couert: nor ſaith, as M. Harding ſaith, that the very Bodie of Chriſt is a Figure of Chriſts Bodie: nor imagineth in Chriſt two ſundrie ſorts of Naturall Bodies: nor knoweth any one of all theſe M. Hardings ſtrange Collections. Thus onely he ſaith: Non hoc Corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis: Touching your Bodily mouth, *Yee ſhall not eat this Bodie of mine, that yee ſee.* Of which wordes M. Harding, contrary to S. Auguſtines expreſſe, and plaine meaning, as his common wont is, concludeth the contrarie: Ergo, *with your Bodily mouth, yee ſhall eat this ſelfe ſame Bodie in ſubſtance that yee ſee.*

Now, forasmuch as M. Harding will ſay, We deuiſe Figures of our ſelues without cauſe, and that Chriſts wordes are plaine, and ought ſimply to be taken, as they ſound, without any maner Figure, I thinke it therefore neceſſarie in few wordes to ſhew, both what hath led vs, and all the Ancient Writers, and old Doctours of the Church, thus to expound the wordes of Chriſt: and alſo, how many, and how ſtrange, and monſtrous Figures M. Harding with his Brethren are driuen to vſe in the Expoſition of the ſame.

1 And to paſſe ouer all the old Learned Fathers, which in their writings commonly call the Sacrament a Repreſentation, a Remembrance, a Memorie, an Image, a Likeneſſe, a Samplar, a Token, a Signe, and a Figure, &c. Chriſt himſelfe before all others, ſeemeth to lead vs hereunto, both for that at the very Inſtitution of the holy Myſteries he
2 ſaid thus: *Do ye this in remembrance of me*: And alſo for that in the ſixth chapter of S. Iohn,
3 ſpeaking of the Eating of his Fleſh, he forewarned his Diſciples of his Aſcenſion into
4 Heauen, and ſhewed them, that his very Naturall Fleſh, Fleſhly receiued, can pro-
5 fit nothing.

Moreouer, it is not agreeable, neither to the Nature of man, Really, and indeed to eat a mans bodie: nor to a mans bodie, Really, and indeed, without Figure, to be eaten: For that S. Auguſtine ſaith, were, Flagitium, & Facinus: *An horrible wickedneſſe.* And againe he ſaith: Horribilius eſt, humanam Carnem manducare, quàm perimere: & Sanguinem humanam bibere, quàm fundere. *It is a more horrible thing to eat mans Fleſh, than it is to kill it: and to drinke mans blood, than it is to ſhed it.* For this cauſe he concludeth: Figura ergo eſt: *Therefore it is a Figure.* And in like maner Cyrillus ſaith: Sacramentum noſtrum non aſſeuerat Hominis manducationem: *Our Sacrament auoucheth not the Eating of a man.*

Auguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 3. ca. 16. Auguſt. contra aduerſ. Legis & Prophetar. lib. 2. cap. 9.

6 Again, in theſe wordes of Chriſt we finde Duo diſparata, that is, two ſundry termes of ſundrie Significations, and Natures, Panis, and Corpus: which as the learned know, cannot poſſibly be Verified the one of the other, without a Figure. Beſides all this, in euery of theſe clauſes, which ſo nerely touch Chriſts Inſtitution, there is a Figure: *To*
7 *drinke the Cup of the Lord*: In ſtead of the Wine in the Cup, it is a Figure. *To drinke*
8 *Iudgement*: Iudgement is a Spirituall thing, and cannot be drunken with the mouth:
9 Therefore it is a Figure. My Body, that Is giuen, that Is broken: in ſtead of, That
10 Shall be giuen, and that Shall be broken, is a Figure. *I am Bread*: Chriſt Really, and
11 indeed, was no materiall Bread: It is a Figure. *The Bread is the Communication of The Lords Bodie*: In ſtead of theſe wordes, It repreſenteth the Communication of the
12 Lords Bodie: It is a Figure. *The Cuppe is the New Teſtament*: The Cuppe indeed, and verily is not the New Teſtament: Therefore it is a Figure. In euery of theſe Clauſes M. Harding muſt néeds ſée, and confeſſe a Figure: and ſo it appeareth, that in the very Inſtitution of Chriſts Holy Myſteries, there are vſed a great many and ſundry Figures: all notwithſtanding, both conſonant to Reaſon, and alſo agreeable to Gods holy Word.

Auguſt. de Doctrina Chriſtiana. li. 3. ca. 16. Cyril. contra obiect. Theodoreti.

But now, marke well, I beſeech thée, good Chriſtian Reader, how many, and what kindes of Figures, M. Harding, and the reſt of his companie haue béene forced to imagin in theſe caſes.

1 Firſt, they ſay, This Pronoune, Hoc, *This*, ſignifieth not, *This Bread*, as all the old Writers vnderſtand it, but Individuum Vagum, which is neither Bread, nor any certaine determinate thing elſe: but onely one certaine thing at large in generalitie.

2 This Verbe, Eſt, they expound thus, Eſt, Hoc eſt, Tranſubſtantiatur: Such a figure, as neuer was vſed of any old Author, either Holy, or Prophane: or Heretike, or Catholike: or Greeke, or Latine. In theſe wordes, *Take yee: Eat yee: This is my Body*: They
3 haue found a Figure called Hyſteron Proteron, which is, when the whole ſpeech is out of

order, and that set behinde, that should goe before. For thus they are driuen, to shift it, and turne it: *This is my Body: Take ye: Eat ye.*

In these foure words lying in order all together, He toke, He Blessed, He Brake, He Gaue, They imagine their sundrie Figures, and expound the same in this wise: He tooke, The Bread: *He Blessed*, He transubstantiated, or turned the Bread: He brake, the Accidents, or shewes: *He gaue*, His Bodie. Hoc facite, *Doe ye this in Remembrance of me*, They expound thus, Sacrifice this. Which also they flourish out with other figures in this wise: *Sacrifice me in Remembrance of me.* In this one word Panis, *Bread*, they haue found a swarme of figures. Sometimes, they say: It is called Bread: because it was Bread before: Sometimes, because the Infidel taketh it to be Bread: Sometimes, because there remaine still the Accidents and Formes of Bread: Sometimes, because the same Accidents feed the body miraculously, as it were Bread: Sometimes, because it is that Supernaturall Bread, that came from heauen.

Likewise in this one word, Frangimus, or Frangitur, they haue a numberof Figures. For sometimes they expound it thus: *The Bread that we breake*: that is, The Accidents, that we Breake. Sometimes, *The Bread, that we Breake*: That is to say, The Bread, that we take to be Broken: Sometimes, this word, Frangere, is not, *to Breake*, but only, *to make a Feast.* In their Malles they say, Frangitur, id est, Frangebatur, *It is Broken*: That is to say, It was Broken: Sometimes they say, Frangitur, id est, videtur Frangi: *it is Broken*: That is to say, It seemeth to be Broken. The meaning whereof is this, Frangitur, id est, non Frangitur: *It is Broken*: That is to say, It is not Broken.

In these words: Non bibam amplius de hoc fructu vitis, *I will drinke no more of this fruit of the Vine*: The fruit of the Wine, which is a Substance, they expound, The Accidents. And to leaue that miraculous Figure of all Figures, Concomitantia, whereby one is made two, and two are made one: Consider, good Reader, the strangenesse of the Figures, and the wonderfull shifts, that M. Harding hath imagined in this little Treatie, to defeat, and auoid the manifest words of the holy Fathers. Sometimes the Formes, and Accidents are the Sacrament: Sometimes Christs Body it selfe is the Sacrament: Sometimes both together are the Sacrament: Sometimes the Bread is a Figure of Christs Body, before Consecration: and so by meane of M. Hardings Figures, there is a Sacrament, before it be a Sacrament: and a Figure, before, it be a Figure. Sometimes, the holy Accidents, and outward holie Shewes, are a Figure of Christs Body Inuisible, vnder them secretly conteined: Sometimes the same Body Inuisible, is a Figure of the Body of Christ Visible. And so there is Figure vpon Figure: and a kinde of Demonstration, which they call, Notum per ignotum: Or rather, Verum per Falsum. Sometimes, the Sacrament is a Figure of the life to come: And sometimes, as Hosius fancieth, it is a Figure of the Church. Sometimes Tertullian vnderstood not, no not so much as the Grammaticall sense of Christs words: Sometimes Christs very Body is not aptly and fitly called the Body of Christ, but onely Impropriè, and after a maner.

Thus M. Harding roweth, and wandreth vp and downe, as a man that had lost his way. Such shadowes, and colours he can cast: into so many formes, and shapes, and figures, he can turne himselfe. So many, and so monstrous figures may he forge in the Institution of the Holy Sacrament, only to auoid one simple, plaine, vsuall, and knowen Figure. And yet he abuseth not the simplicity of the people. There he forceth his Figures, where as is no néed of figures: And without such vaine figures this vaine doctrine cannot hold. That one figure, that we vse, is plaine, and clére, vsed by all the ancient learned Fathers, and agreeable to the tenour of Gods word. But M. Hardings Figures as they be many, so be they vnnecessary and fantasticall, neuer vsed or once mentioned by any ancient Doctour of the Church, and serue only to breed darknesse, and to dimme the light.

Tertullian. contra Marcionem, lib. 4.

Maximus Scholiast. in Eccle. Hier. cap. 2.

August. de doctrina Christiana, lib. 3. ca. 16.

How much better were it for him to leaue these shifts, and childish fables, and plainly and simply to say, as Tertullian saith: Hoc est Corpus meum, Hoc est, Figura Corporis mei: *This is my Body, that is to say, This is a Figure of my Body.* Or, as Maximus the Greeke Scholiast saith: Σύμβολα ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλήθεια: *These be tokens, but not the Truth.* Or, as S. Augustine saith: Figura est, præcipiens Passioni Domini communicandum esse, & suauiter, atque vtiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis Caro eius Crucifixa, & Vulnerata sit: *It is a Figure, commanding vs to communicate with the Passion of Christ, and comfortably and profitably, to lay vp in our Remembrance, that his Flesh was Crucified and wounded for vs.*

OF PLVRALITIE OF MASSES.

THE THIRTEENTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that it was lawfull then to haue xxx. xx. xv. x. or v. Masses said in one Church in one day.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

As M. Iewel here descendeth by diuers proportions and degrees from xxx. to v. first by taking away x. the third part of the whole, and then v. from the rest three times: so it might haue pleased him also to haue taken away three from v. the last remnant, and so to haue left but two in all. Which if he had done, then should we haue made vp that number, as in this Audit he might not otherwise doe, in regard of his owne free promise, but allow our account for good and sufficient. For that number we are well able to make good. And what reason hath moued the ancient Fathers gouernours of the Church, to thinke it a godly and a necessary thing, to haue two Masses in one Church in one day, the same reason in cases either hath, or might haue moued them and their successours after them likewise to allow three or foure Masses, and in some cases fiue, or moe.

Two Masses in one day. M. Harding offereth to proue, but no moe.

A simple gheese.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding of his courtesie should giue vs leaue to lay out our owne reckenings, as we thinke best, hauing himselfe the aduantage of controlement, if errour happen to fall out. Of so great a number of Masses, as they haue this day in their Churches, and say, they haue had, and continued from the beginning, euen from the Apostles time, If I require of him only the proofe of fiue, I offer him no wrong: But if he of that whole number be able to shew but only two, and if the same two in the end be found no Masses neither, but only publike Communions, such as be now vsed in Reformed Churches, then is he a great dissembler, and doth no right. Vpon what occasion M. Hardings Masses grew first to this plenty, and to so great waste, Cochlæus one of the chiefe patrons of that cause declareth it thus: Quòd olim tam frequentes non fuerint Missæ, neque tot Sacerdotes, quot hodiè, inde accidisse arbitror, quòd olim omnes tum Sacerdotes, tum Laici, quicunque intererant Sacrificio Missæ, peracta oblatione, cum Sacrificante communicabant: sicut ex Canonibus Apostolorum, & ex Libris, atque Epistolis antiquissimorum Ecclesiæ Doctorum perspicuè cognoscitur: *That in old times there were not so many Masses, nor so many Priests as be now, I reckon the cause thereof to be this: for that in old times, all that were present at the Sacrifice of the Masse, aswell Priests as Lay men, did Communicate together with the Minister, as it is plaine to be seene by the Canons of the Apostles, and by the Bookes and Letters of the most ancient Doctours of the Church.* He addeth further: Nunc verò, &c. *But now, seeing the order of Communion is no more obserued amongst vs, and that through the negligence and slothfulnesse, as well of the Lay people, as of the Priests, the Holy Ghost by the often saying of Priuate Masses, hath found out a godly remedie for this want.* Here we see, that Negligence, and Slothfulnesse, and lacke of Deuotion, both in the people and in the Priest, is a good leare to breed Masses. And that the Priests, as many as were present, did then Communicate with the Priest that Ministred, it is plaine by the Canons of the Apostles, and by sundry other good Authorities, which now I purposely passe by. And to this purpose it is written thus, in a little booke set abroad vnder the name of S. Hierome: Non debet Episcopus repudiare Eucharistiam Presbyteri: *The Bishop ought not to refuse the Sacrament of a Priest.* But M. Hardings Priests vtterly refuse to Communicate one with another: and, be they neuer so many in one Church together, yet will they say seuerall Masses, at sundrie Altars. And not only thus, but also, as it appeareth by the Councell of Toledo in Spaine, one Priest hath sometimes said foure, fiue, or moe Masses in one day. Pope Leo said some daies seuen, some daies eight Masses, and some daies moe. The excesse and outrage whereof was so great, that they haue beene forced to prouide Lawes, and Canons to the contrary. For thus they haue Decreed: Presbyter in die non amplius, quàm tres Missas celebrare præsumat: *Let not any one Priest presume to say more, than three Masses in one day.* We may well thinke that Priests then said good store of Masses, when it was thought sufficient,

Io. Cochlæus de Sacrif. Missæ.

Canones Apost. Can. 9. De Septem ordinib. Eccle. gradu 6. Concil. Toletan. 12. ca. 5. Beatus Rhenanus in annota. in Tertull. de Corona Militis. Concil. Salesgunstadien. c. 5. Leonis Epist. 81.

sufficient, to stint them at three. The cause that moued Leo, and other Ancient Fathers, to appoint two Communions to be Ministred in one day, was, as it shall well appeare, that the whole people might Communicate all together, quietly, and without disturbance. Which thing of it selfe vtterly ouerthroweth the whole abuse of Priuate Masses.

But the causes, that haue increased the number of M. Hardings Priuate Masses, as they are alleged by Innocentius the third and others, are these, *That there may be one Masse said, of the Day: and another, For the Dead: and, That there may be regard had to honesty, and Profit.* For so they say: Causa Honestatis, vel Vtilitatis: vt si dicta Missa de die, superueniat aliqua magna persona, quæ velit audire Missam: *As if any notable personage happen to come to Church, after that Masse is done, and be disposed to heare Masse.* These be very easie causes: Vpon the same, the Priest may say twenty Masses, as well as three.

De Con. Dist. 1. Sufficit. De Celebratione Missarum, & aliis, &c.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuision.

Now if that reckoning could duly be made of our part, M. Iewel perhaps would then say, as commonly they say, that confesse their error in numbring, that he had mistold himselfe. Albeit, here it is to be maruelled, that he appointeth vs to proone a number of Masses in one Church, in one day, that vtterly denieth the Masse, and would haue no Masse in any Church any day at all. And standing in the deniall of the whole so peremptorily as he doth, it may seeme strange, that he should thus frame this Article. For what reason is it to challenge vs for proofe of so great a number, sith he taketh away all together?

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

I haue kept my reckoning well enough, as, I trust, it will well appeare. But if M. Harding, of so great a number of his Masses, be able to proue no more but two, and the same two in the end be found Publike Communions, and no Priuate Masses at all, then may we iustly say, That he hath both much misreckoned the people, and also shamefully mistold himselfe.

As before I vtterly denied, that any Priuate Masse was euer vsed within six hundred yeares after Christ, so in this Article, that the simple, that so long haue bene deceiued, might the better vnderstand, both the great disorder, that M. Harding maintaineth, and also, how far the Church of Rome is growen from the primitiue Church of God, I thought it not amisse to set out the matter by parts, in such plaine diuision. Therefore the maruell, that M. Harding raiseth hereof, is not so great. The matter considered, his Reader will rather maruell at his maruell.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuision.

It appeareth, that being not vnwitting, how good proofes we haue for the Masse it selfe, he thinketh to blanke vs by putting vs to the proofe of his number of xxx. xx. xv. x. or v.

Verily this kind of men fareth with the Church much like vnto strong Theeues, who hauing robbed an honest wealthy man of his mony, say afterwards vnto him vncurteously, ah Carle, how camest thou by so much Old Gold? Or if it like not them to be compared with Theeues, in regard of the roome they haue shuffled themselues into, they may not vnfitly be likened to a Iudge of the Stemery at Lidford in Deuonshire, who (as I haue heard it commonly reported) hanged a felon among the tinners in the forenoone, and sate vpon him in iudgement at afternoon. And thereof to this day, such wrongfull dealing in a common Prouerb is in that Country called Lydford Law. Sith that you, M. Iewel, and your fellowes, that now sit on the bench, require of vs the proofe of moe Masses in one Church in one day, as it were a verdit of twelue men: of equity and right, ye should haue heard our verdit, ere ye had giuen sentence, and condemned the Masse.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

How good cause M. Harding hath, to make these vaunts of his proues for his priuate Masse, it may soone appeare vnto the discreet Reader vpon the view. But here he thought it proue sufficient, for the multitude of his Masses, to call vs Theeues, and wicked Iudges, and to charge vs with the Law of Lydford, and so to solace himselfe with an Old Wiues tale, and to make holy day out of season. Howbeit, this comparison of his theeues is not so greatly agreeable to his purpose. For the coine, that is taken from him, was neither Gold, nor so old as he maketh it, nor was it touched with Cæsars stampe. We may rather say vnto him: *Sometime ye had Gold: but how is it now become Drosse? ye had good seed: but how is it now become Cockle? Thou wert sometime a Faithfull City: how art thou now become an Harlot? Thou wert sometime the House of God: how art thou now turned into a Cane of Theeues? How haue ye lost the Holy Communion, that the Apostles had from Christ, and you from them? How came ye by your priuate Masses, that the Apostles had neuer.* Thus, thus, M. Harding we may appose you. For it were but lost labour, to trouble you with questions of your Old Gold. Ye are not that rich wealthy Carle, that ye would be taken for: but euen as it is written in the Apocalyps of S. Iohn: Dicis, diues sum, & ditatus, & nullius egeo:

Esai. 1. Mark. 4. Esai. 1.

& &

& nescis quòd tu es miser, & miserabilis, & pauper, & cæcus, & nudus: *Thou saiſt, I am rich, and wealthy, and need nothing: And thou knoweſt not, that thou art wretched, and miſerable, and poore, and blind, and naked.* Apocalyp. 3.

Neither are they alwaies Théeues, that ſpoile a Théefe. Oftentimes the True man forceth the Théefe to lay downe, that he hath vntruly gotten. Cicero ſaith: Fures earum rerum, quas ceperunt, nomina commutant: *Theeues vſe to change the names of ſuch things, as they haue ſtollen:* euen as theſe Théeues vſe to doe, that call the Communion, the Maſſe: and their Maſſe, the Communion: Priuate, Publike: and Publike, Priuate: and, as the Prophet Eſay ſaith, God, Euill: and Euill, God: Light, Darkneſſe: and Darkneſſe Light: and thus by ſubtle ſhift of words miſerably ſpoile, and rob the people. To be ſhort, the Théefe flieth the triall of the light, euen as you, M. Harding, and your fellowes flie the triall of Gods Holy Word. *Cicero.* Eſai. 5. Iohan. 3.

But how ye came to all, that ye had, and being but Copper, vttered the ſame for Old Gold, it is an eaſie matter to be anſwered. For you your ſelues will not ſay, ye had it, either from Chriſt, or from the Apoſtles, or from any the Ancient Fathers. It were double robbery, to make any of theſe the Authors, and Fathers of your robberies. Your owne Doctor Cochlæus confeſſeth, as it is ſaid before, that the Multitude of your Maſſes ſprang not from God, but from the Negligence, and Slothfulneſſe, and want of Deuotion, that grew both in Prieſt, and People. Then ye began to tell the ſimple, that it was ſufficient for them to ſit by: that your Maſſe was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for their ſinnes: that it was auailable vnto them Ex opere operato, although they vnderſtood not what it meant: that you had power to apply it to quick, and dead, and to whom ye liſted: and that the verie hearing thereof, of it ſelfe was meritorious. Vpon this foundation, ye erected vp your Chanteries, your Monaſteries, your Pardons, your Supererogations, and I know not what. Thus was the Holy Communion quite forgotten: Thus were your Maſſes multiplied aboue number: Thus ye came by that, ye would haue called your Old Gold. Then this doubt firſt grew in queſtion, whether Chriſt being in one of your Maſſes, might ſæ himſelfe, being at the ſame time in another Maſſe. Then ye began to deuoure vp poore Widowes houſes. In conſideration hereof, your owne Gloſſe ſaith of your Houſe Prieſts: Malus Presbyter æquiparatur Coruo, in nigredine vitiorum, in raucedine vocis, in voracitate oblationum mortuorum, in fœtore Spiritus, in garrulitate, & in furto: *An euill Prieſt is reſembled vnto a Rauen, for the Blackneſſe of his vices, for the hoarceneſſe of his voice, for his rauening of the Oblations of the dead, for the ſtinch of his breath, for his vnpleaſant voice, and for his theft.* Vnto ſuch reſemblances theſe words of S. Auguſtine may be well applied: Si Presbyter interceſſiones vendit, viduarum munera libenter amplectitur, negotiator magis videri poteſt, quàm Clericus. Nec dicere poſſumus, Nemo nos inuaſores arguit: violentiæ nullus accuſat: quaſi non interdum maiorem prædam à viduabus blandimenta illiciant, quàm tormenta. Nec intereſt apud Deum, vtrùm vi, an circumuentione quis res alienas occupet: *If a Prieſt make ſale of his praiers, and gladly receiue the rewards of Widowes, he ought rather to be called a Merchant, than a Clerke. Neither may we ſay, No man chargeth vs with extortion. For of a Widow a man may get a greater pray by flattery, then by violence. And before God there is no difference, whether a man withhold another mans goods by might of hand, or by crafty dealing.* These be the things, that M. Harding complaineth, are taken from him. Iulius Cæſar conueied three thouſand pounds weight of pure Gold out of the Treaſury in Rome, and laid in the like weight of Copper gilded. Liſander pickt a great ſumme of Gold out of the bottome of a bag, (for the mouth was ſealed) and ſewed it ſkilfully vp againe. But Cæſars Copper was bewraied by the touch: Lyſanders theft was eſpied by a billet, that was ſtill remaining in the bag. Euen ſo, whatſoeuer they of M. Hardings ſide, that ſo bitterly complaine, they are robbed of their robberies, and would ſo loath be called Théeues, either haue conueied into the Church, as into Gods great Treaſury, or elſe haue priuily picked thence, the billet doth eſpie them, the touch doth bewraie them: it cannot be hidden. *Cochlæus de Sacrifi. Miſſæ.* *Rob. Holcot. lib. 4. Queſt. 3.* *2. Queſt. 7. Non omnes. In Gloſſa.* *De verbis Domini in Euangel. Matth. ſerm. 19.* *Suetonius in Iulio.* *Plutarchus in Lyſandro.*

In his Fable of Lydford, which in all reſpects is as good, as his other Fable of Amphilochius, as he compareth vs to the ouer haſty Judge, ſo he compareth his Maſſe vnto the Felon. Wherein notwithſtanding we might eaſily, and truly ſay, we néded no Law, to abolith ſuch things, as they by force and violence had vſurped againſt all Lawes, and that their Maſſe of it ſelfe fell downe, and fled away before the Holy Communion, euen as the darkneſſe flieth before the light, and as the Idoll Dagon fell downe at the Preſence of the Ark of the God of Iſraell: Yet M. Harding well knoweth, that in theſe caſes of Religion there was nothing at any time done, either haſtily, and vpon the ſudden, or by any ſmall aſſembly: but in the open Parliament of the whole Realme, with great, and ſober deliberation, with indifferent, and patient hearing, what might be ſaid, and anſwered, and replied 1. Samuel. 5.

Lidford Law.

plied of both sides, and at last concluded with publike Authority, and consent of all States and Orders of this most Noble Kingdome. I iudge him not well aduised, nor worthy to rest in England, that will compare the State, and Maiestie of that most High, and Honorable Court, to the Law of Lydford.

But it were long to shew in particular, what Lawes M. Hardings friends vsed, when they sate vpon the Bench. They caused Dead men, and Women to be digged out of their graues, and so sate vpon them solemnly in Iudgement, and condemned them. Their holy One of Rome, much like that spædy Iudge of Lydford, burnt that most Reuerend Father D. Cranmer at Rome in a mummery, before he euer saw him, or heard him speake: and yet that notwithstanding, they arraigned him in Oxford, and iudged him afterward to be burnt. They first toke, and imprisoned the innocent, that had broken no Law, and afterward deuised a law to condemne him. With such courtesie, Cyrillus saith, Christ was intreated of the Iewes: Primùm ligant: deinde causas in eum quærunt: *First they bind him: and afterward they imagine matter against him.* And to passe by many other like disorders, and horrible extremities of that time, first they scattered, and forced their Passes thorow the Realme against the Lawes: afterward they stablished the same by a Law: last of all the nert yære following they summoned, and had a solemne Disputation in Oxford, to try whether their Law were good, or no. Verily this sæmeth much like the Law of Lydford. For in order of Nature, the Disputation should haue bæn first, and then the Law, and last of all the Execution of the same among the people. But Tertullian saith: Hæretici ex conscientia infirmitatis suæ, nihil vnquam tractant ordinarie: *Heretikes, for feare of their owne weaknesse, neuer proceed in due order.*

Cyrillus in Iohan. li. 12. c. 45.

Tertull. de Resurrectione Carnis.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuision.

Now touching the number, and iteration of the Masse, first we haue good and ancient authoritie for (197) two Masses in one Church in one day. That eloquent and Holy Father Leo the first, writeth thus to Dioscorus the Bishop of Alexandria: *Volumus illud quoque custodiri, vt cùm solennior Festiuitas conuentum populi numerosiorem indixerit, & ad eam tanta multitudo conuenit, quæ recipi Basilica simul vna non possit, Sacrificij Oblatio indubitanter iteretur: ne ijs tantùm admissis ad hanc Deuotionem, qui primi aduenerint, videantur ij, qui postmodum confluxerint, non recepti. Cumplenum pietatis atque rationis sit, vt quoties Basilicam, in qua agitur, præsentia vna plebis impleuerit, toties Sacrificium subsequens offeratur.* This order we will to be kept, that, when a number of people commeth to Church together at a solemne feast, if the multitude be so great as may not well be receiued in one Church at once, that the Oblation of the Sacrifice hardly be done againe, lest if they only should be admitted to this Deuotion, who came first, they that came afterward may seem not to be receiued: Forasmuch as it is a thing full of Godlinesse, and reason, that how often times the Church, where the seruice is done, is filled with a new company of people, so often times the Sacrifice there eftsoons be offered.

The 197. Vntruth. For these two Masses, were two Communions.

Church filled.

By this Father, whom the great (198) Generall Councell of Chalcedon agnised for Supreme Gouernor of the Church of Christ, and honored with the singular title of Vniuersall Bishop, it is ordained that if any where one Church could not conueniently hold all the people together at one time; they that came after the first company, should haue their * Deuotion serued by hauing another Masse celebrated againe. And lest perhaps some might doubt whether that were lawful so to be done or no, or because then some doubted thereof, as now likewise some seem to doubt of it: to put the matter out of doubt, he saith assuredly, *Sacrificij Oblatio indubitanter iteretur:* Let them not stick to iterate, or doe againe the Oblation of the Sacrifice, that is to say, Let the Masse be celebrated againe, *indubitanter*, without casting perill, without sticking, staggering, or doubting. In that Epistle he sheweth two great causes, why more Masses than one may be done in one Church in one day. The one is, lest the after commers should seeme reiected, *non recepti*, not receiued *: The other is, that the one part of the people be not defrauded of the benefit of their Deuotion: as himselfe saith, *Necesse est autem vt quædam pars populi sua deuotione priuetur, si, vnius tantum Missa more seruato, Sacrificium offerre non pertinent, nisi qui primo diei parte conuenerint*: It must needs be, that a part of the people be bereft of their deuotion, if, the custome of hauing one Masse only kept, none may offer the Sacrifice but such as came to Church together in the morning, or first part of the day. Now, the people may neither be reiected, whom God hath chosen, nor sparkled abrod, whom our Lord hath gathered together: neither ought they to be defrauded of their Deuotion, by withdrawing the Masse from them, but rather to be stirred thereunto by their deuout presence, at the celebration of the same, where the Death, and passion of our Lord is liuely represented before their eies: the very same Body, that suffered on the Crosse, of them by the Ministery of the Priest offered to the Father, in a Mystery, but truly, not to be a new redemption, but in Commemoration of the Redemption already performed.

The 198. Vntruth. For there is no such Canon in all that Councel.

* This Deuotion was, that the whole people should receiue the Communion: which thing is contrary to Priuate Masse.

* To the Communion.

The people offer the Sacrifice.

A blind Commentary, contrary to the Text.

By this testimony we find, that it was lawfull within six hundred yeeres after Christ, (for Leo liued about the yeere of our Lord 450.) to haue two Masses in one Church in one day, for so much the word, *iteretur*, doth import at least, and if there were moe, the case so requiring, the word will beare it well enough.

Now by this Holy Bishops Godly will, the custome of hauing one Masse only in one day was abrogated, and this decreed, that in time of two sundry resorts of people to Church, two sundry Masses should be celebrated, for the auoiding of these two inconueniences, lest the aftercommers should seem not receiued, but reiected like excommunicate persons, and that a part of the faithfull people should not be put beside their Deuotion. Whereupon I make this reason, The causes standing, the effects follow: But the danger of the peoples seeming to be reiected, and the defrauding of their Deuotion, which are causes of iterating the Masse in one day, did in that age in some Holy daies of likelihood thrice, yea foure, or fiue times happen, and in our time certainly doth commonly so often, or oftner happen: wherefore the Masse may so many times be said in a day in one Church.

A guilefull Fallax *A non Causa, vt Causa.*

Where great multitude of Christian people is, as in townes, we see some resort to Church early in the morning,

morning, making their ſpirituall oblations to the intent to ſerue God, ere they ſerue man in their worldly affaires, all cannot come ſo early. Others come at their conuenient opportunity, ſome at ſix, ſome at ſeuen, ſome at eight, ſome at nine, or ten of the Clock If they, which through lawfull lets cannot come at the firſt houres, comming afterward be roundly told by the Prieſt, Come ye at ſuch, or at ſuch houres, or els ye get no Maſſe here: ſhall not they according to Leo his ſaying ſeem to be reiected, and defrauded of their deuotion? All well diſpoſed people about Powles cannot come to Poſtels Maſſe at foure, or fiue of the Clocke in the morning, neither at high Maſſe there. Shall all ſuch in a Terme or Parlament time, when great reſort is, be denied that ſpirituall comfort? And if they be, ſhall they not ſeem reiected, and put from their deuotion? Which inconuenience that it might not happen, Leo willeth not only two, but three, foure, or moe Maſſes to be done on a day, for his words report no leſſe. *Cum plenum pretatu, atque ratione ſit, vt quoties Baſilicam, in qua agitur, præſentia nouæ plebis impleuerit, toties Sacrificium ſubſiquens offeratur.* Let there be no ſticking at the iterating of the Maſſe: foraſmuch as (ſaith he) it is a thing full of goodlineſſe, and reaſon, that how often the Church, where the ſeruice is done, is filled with a new company of people, ſo often the Sacrifice there eftſoons be offered. Here he willeth plainly that Maſſe be done *Toties, quoties*, at euery new reſort of the well diſpoſed people, and that for theſe waighty cauſes, leſt part of the people ſhould ſeem not receiued, and that they be not defrauded of their deuotion. The Church filled.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

I marueil, with what honeſt countenance M. Harding could allege this godly Father ſo vnaduiſedly, to proue his Maſſe. For he knoweth well, and being learned, cannot chuſe but know, that Leo both elſewhere in all other places, and alſo ſpecially in this ſame place, beareth witneſſe directly againſt his Maſſe. But, as Alcumiſts profeſſe a ſkill, to turne all maner Mettalls into Gold: ſo theſe men ſeem to haue learned a ſkill, to tranſubſtantiate, and to turne all things, whatſoeuer, into their Maſſe. It is euident by S. Auguſtine, and S. Hierome, that liued not long before Leo, that then in Rome, where Leo was Biſhop, the whole people receiued the Holy Communion euery day: Which Communion Leo calleth Miſſa, by a Latine word, then newly receiued in the Latine Church. In which Church, like as alſo in the Church of Græcia and Aſia, there was only one ſuch Maſſe, or Communion ſaid vpon one day: vnleſſe it had other wiſe bẽ thought neceſſary vpon occaſion of the multitude of Communicants, vntill the time of Pope Deusdedit, which was in the yere of our Lord ſix hundred and fiftẽ, as it ſhall appeare in the next Diuiſion of this Article. *Auguſt. de Verbis Domini ſecundùm Lucam Sermo. 28. Hieronym. in Apologia aduerſus Iouinian. Auguſtin. De Bono Perſeuerantiæ. li. 2. c. 4.*

Verily in theſe words of Leo there appeareth no maner token, neither of Priuate Maſſe, nor of Sole Receiuing, nor of Single Communion, nor of ſundry Altars, nor of moe Prieſts, than one in one Church. And, notwithſtanding theſe words of Leo be plaine enough of themſelues, yet by conference, and ſight of other places, we may the better be aſſured of his meaning. In the Councell holden at Agatha in the time of Coeleſtinus the firſt, which was about the yere of our Lord foure hundred and forty, it was decreed thus: In Paſchate, Natali Domini, Epiphania, Aſcenſione, Pentecoſte, Natali S. Iohannis Baptiſtæ, & ſi qui maxmi dies in Feſtiuitatibus habentur, non niſi in Ciuitatibus, aut Parochijs Miſſas teneant: *Vpon Eaſter day the day of our Lords Birth, the Epiphany, the Aſcenſion, Whitſunday, the Natiuity of* S. Iohn Baptiſt, *and likewiſe vpon other great Solemne Feaſts, let the country people hold their Maſſes, or Communions no where elſe, but only either in great Pariſhes, or in the Cities.* The like Decree was made in the Councel of Aruerne, *That all Country Prieſts, and all wealthy and chiefe Citizens, ſhould vpon ſolemne Feaſts reſort to the Cities, and Communicate together with their Biſhops* Vpon ſuch Solemne Daies the reſort often times was ſo great, that the Church was not able to receiue the whole company. Therefore order was taken, and that agreeable to naturall courteſie, to the intent no part ſhould be excluded from the Holy Myſteries, that the whole people ſhould come in parts, in ſuch wiſe, as the Church might eaſily receiue them, and that to that end, it ſhould be lawfull for the Prieſt, to Miniſter the Communion twice, or oftner, vpon one day. Vpon like occaſion, to increaſe the number of M. Hardings witneſſes, S. Auguſtine ſaith, the Communion in ſome places was twice ſaid in his time. Thus he writeth: In quibuſdam locis, vbi maior, & frequentior eſt Populus Dei, Quinta Sabbati hebdomadæ vltimæ Quadrageſimæ bis offertur, & mane, & ad veſperam: alijs autem in locis ad finem tantùm diei nos eſt offerri: *In certaine places, where as the reſort of people is greater, vpon Shire thurſday the oblation is twice made, firſt in the morning, and after towards night: but in other places, (where as the people is not ſo great) the ſame oblation is made only before night.* And this M. Harding cannot deny. S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of the Communion, and not of the Maſſe. To the ſame end S. Gregory miniſtred the holy Communion at three ſundry times vpon Chriſtmaſſe day. Thus vpon occaſion of great reſort, the Maſſe, or Communion that day was twice, or thrice, or oftner ſaid: not, that the people ſhould heare Maſſe, as M. Harding wittingly miſtaketh it, but that the whole people might Communicate. Which thing of late yeres, becauſe through diſuſe they knew not what it meant, they turned it only to a fantaſticall Myſtery, that the firſt *Auguſt. Epiſt. 118. ad Ianuarium. Gregorius in Euangelia, hom. 8 De Conſ. Diſt. 1. Nocte Sancta.*

first Masse signified the time of ignorance before the Law: the Second, the time in the Law: the Third, the time of Grace.

Thus hast thou, good Christian Reader, this learned Fathers undoubted meaning, confirmed plainly both by the knowen story, and Circumstance of that time, as may appeare by the two Councels of Aruerne, and Agatha, and also by the euident witnesse of S. Augustine, and S. Gregory.

Now, let vs see, what large Commentaries, and Coniecturall Shelles M. Harding hath here deuised, to transforme the Holy Communion into his Priuate Masse. First he saith, The great Vniuersall Councel of Chalcedon offered the Title of Vniuersall Bishop vnto this Leo, being then the Bishop of Rome, This note is both impertinent to the cause, and also worthily suspected of great vntruth. For that great Councel is extant whole, and perfit: and yet in the same no such Canon, or Title to be found. Only Gregory reporteth it: but the same Gregory reporteth further withall, that Leo would neuer suffer himselfe to be called the Vniuersall Bishop, and saith, It was a Proud, and Glorious Title, and mat for Antichrist. Whereas Leo saith, *The aftercommers should seeme reiected*, hee meaneth, from the receiuing of the Holy Communion, and not as M. Harding imagineth, from the hearing of Masse. And here we haue by the way specially to note these words of Leo: Sacrificium offerre non possunt. By which words Leo teacheth vs plainly, that the Sacrifice, whereof M. Harding maketh so great account, is offered no lesse by the people than by the Priest.

Superbum, Arrogans, Antichristianum.

Iteretur.

And, whereas M. Harding noteth further, that this Latine word, Iteretur, may stand as well with three, or foure, or moe Masses, as with two, which thing is not denied, he might also as well haue noted, that the same word Iteretur. importeth likewise one, and the selfe same Minister, and none other. For if the Second Communion be Ministred by another Priest, and not by the same, it cannot rightly be said, Iteratur. And further, the same word necessarily signifieth, that one Communion was then in such cases ministred successiuely, and in order after another: and not two Masses, or three, or foure, or six, or ten together, all at once, as the maner is now in the Church of Rome.

Hereof M. Harding frameth vs this formall Syllogisme: The cause that, moued Leo to take this order, was, that all, and euery of the deuout people might heare Masse: But it is likely, the people resorted to the Church at sundry times, some rather, some later, and not all at once: *Ergo*, It is Likely, that to satisfie the peoples deuotion, there were sundry Masses said in one day.

It is likely, that M. Harding neuer examined the parts, and likelihod of this argument. For first the Maior, or Head Proposition is apparent false, grounded, as it is termed in Logick, A non causa, vt causa, Presuming, that thing to be the cause, which indeed is no cause. For the cause that moued Leo, was not the hearing of Masse, as it is already proued, but the receiuing of the Holy Communion.

The Minor, or Second Proposition, notwithstanding in some part it may same true, yet it is nothing agreeable to Leos meaning. For Leo speaketh not of one man, or two, nor of the ordinary course of euery day, but only of great Solemne Feasts, and of such resort of people, as might fill vp the whole Church. His words be plaine: Cùm solennior Festiuitas conuentum populi numerosioris indixerit: And, Quoties Basilicam præsentia nouæ plebis impleuerit. Therefore, to beare vs thus in hand, that Leo had such a speciall care, either for the Terme time in London, or for the people about Pauls, or for hearing the Postles Masse, it is a very vaine, and a Childish fantasie: like as this also is, that he addeth, The people should be denied that Spirituall Comfort. For, alas, what Comfort can the people receiue, where as they can neither see, nor heare, nor vnderstand, nor know, nor learne: but stand only as men amased, vtterly bereft of all their senses? Let M. Harding once lay apart dissimulation, and tell vs, by what waies, or meanes, the people at his Masse can possibly receiue this Spirituall Comfort. If he would speake truly, and that he knoweth, as he seldome doth, he should rather call it Spirituall Blindnesse.

And, whereas he pleadeth his cories, quoties, and thereby would erect a whole totquot of Masses, sans number, if he had aduisedly considered out the whole sentence, he should better haue espied out his owne folly, and haue had lesse occasion, to deceiue the people. For Leo saith not, as M. Harding would force him to say, *As often as any deuout people commeth to Church*, but as it is said before, Quoties Basilicam præsentia nouæ plebis impleuerit: *As often as the presence of a new company shall haue filled vp the whole Church.* In such cases it was lawfull to begin againe the whole Communion, and not otherwise. By these words, M. Hardings Totquot is much abridged.

In the end he concludeth, not only against Leo his Authour, but also against the very expresse order of his owne Church, *That one Priest*, (for Leo speaketh only of one, and of no moe) *may say Masse boldly without sticking, or staggering, as often as any people resorteth to him.*

For,

For, now it is thought sufficient for one Priest, to say one Masse vpon one day, and no moe. So it is determined by Pope Alexander: Sufficit Sacerdoti vnam Missam in vno die celebrare: *It is sufficient for a Priest to say one Masse vpon a day.* Vnlesse it be in case of great necessitie, which the Glosse, as it is before alleged, well expoundeth: Causa Honestatis, vel vtilitatis: *In case of Honesty, or of Profit:* as if some great personage happen vpon the sudden to come to Church. Likewise the Councell of Saleigunstadium hath straitly charged, that no Priest presume, to say more than three Masses vpon one day, the one, in course of the Day Present: the other for the Dead: the third, to pleasure some noble personage: which also is a great stopple to M. Hardings Torquot. In these prouisoes, there is no maner consideration had to the Deuotion of the people: but, contrary to M. Hardings New Canon, they are vtterly left without their Spirituall comfort. And therefore Pope Clement the seuenth caused one Frier Stuppino in Rome to be whipt naked thorow the streets, for that he had said v. or vj. or moe Masses in one day, to satisfie the Deuotion of the people.

De Con. dist. 1. Sufficit. De Celeb. Miss. Consuluisti. In Glossa. Concil. Salesgunstadien. ca. 5.

Thus, good Reader, thou maiest see, both the parts, and the force of M. Hardings Syllogismus: The Maior is false: The Minor farre from Leos purpose: The conclusion contrary to himselfe. Certainly, if it had then beene thought lawfull, to say so many Corner Masses, as sithence that time haue beene vsed in the Church of Rome, it had beene great follie, either for Dioscorus, to moue this question: or for Leo to take this order.

M. Hardings Syllogismus.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuision.

Wherefore they that reproue the plurality of Masses in one Church in one day, after the iudgement of this worthy Father, be reiectours of the faithfull people, and robbers of their deuotion. But they that haue vtterly abrogated the Masse, which is the outward and euer enduring Sacrifice of the New Testament, (199) by verdict of Scripture, be no lesse, than the forerunners of Antichrist.

The 199. Vntruth, without any honest shame. For M. Harding knoweth, there is no such commendation giuen to his Masse, in the whole bodie of the Scriptures.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The former part of this Conclusion is already answered. But for the Second part, If they, that haue reformed the horrible abuses of the Masse, be the Forerunners of Antichrist, what then may we thinke of them, that haue wilfully, and of purpose inuented, & erected all those abuses? That haue taken from the people of God, not onely the Holie Communion, but also the vnderstanding, and swetnesse, and comfort of the same? That haue spoiled Gods Children of the Bread of Life, and haue fed them with the Bread of Confusion, that is, with Ignorance, Superstition, and Idolatrie? That haue mangled and corrupted Christs blessed Mysteries, and haue wickedly defiled the Campe of the Lord? And hauing thus done, yet notwithstanding, haue faces to maintaine, and vphold all their wilfull doings? What may Gods people thinke of them? And before whom do they run? Verily Gerardus Lorichius, M. Hardings owne Doctour saith thus: Missæ priuatæ, quæ absente populo Catholico fiunt, abominatio verius, quàm Oblatio, dicendæ sunt: *Priuate Masses, which are said without presence of the people, are rather an Abomination, than a Sacrifice.* And S. Augustine saith: Si Iohannes ita diceret, Si quis peccauerit, me habetis Mediatorem apud Patrem, & ego exoro pro peccatis vestris, Quis eum ferret bonorũ & fidelium Christianorum? Quis sicut Apostolum Christi, & non sicut Antichristum intueretur? *If S. Iohn would say thus, If any man sinne, ye haue me your Mediatour with the Father, and I obtaine pardon for your sinnes, what good and faithfull Christian man could abide him? who would looke vpon him, as vpon the Apostle of Christ, and not rather as vpon Antichrist?*

Gerard. Lorichius de Missa Pub. Prorogan. lib. 3. Augustin. contra Parmenianum, li. 2. ca. 8.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuision.

Heere that I may adde somewhat more for proofe of this Article, If the Plurality of Masses in one Church in one day had beene vtterly vnlawfull, the Fathers of the Councell of Antisiodorum would not haue Decreed, that it should not be lawfull to celebrate two Masses vpon one Altar in one day; neither where the Bishop had said Masse, that a Priest might not say the same day, at the same Altar. For beside that the prohibition presupposeth, the thing prohibited to haue beene before vsed (else prohibition had beene superfluous, and so far foorth it appeareth, that before the making of that Decree moe Masses were said at one Altar in one day) the argument of this Decree serueth very well for proofe, that by force of this Councell it was then lawfull to say moe Masses in one Church in one day. For this prohibition of the Councell is not generall, but speciall, restricted to a particular place of the Church, *in vno Altario*, at one Altar, which includeth not of any reason a more generall and larger matter, than it selfe, as, neither at any other Altar in the same Church the same day it shall be lawfull to say Masse: but of consequent this being but one speciall case forbidden, inferreth a permission and good leaue in the rest *eiusdem generis & subiecti*, that bee of the same kinde, and about the same matter, and not included by words of reason in that prohibition. So that wee may not argue by reason in this sort: It is forbidden to say moe Masses at one Altar in one day: *Ergo*, It is forbidden to say many Masses at all in one Church, in one day, vpon diuers Altars: but the contrary reason followeth: *Ergo*, Ye may say many Masses vpon diuers Altars in one day. And likewise: Yee may not say Masse that day on the Altar where the Bishop hath said; *Ergo*, Ye may lawfully say at another Altar; for otherwise the Law would haue forbidden generally, Yee shall not say Masse in the Church where the Bishop hath said that day; and then yee had beene forbidden that Altar, and all Altars there at one word. But in forbidding the one Altar, the Law granteth you the vse of the rest there.

M. Harding groundeth his ghesse without his compasse. For this Councell was holden *Anno* 613.

Non licet super vno Altario in vna die duas Missas celebrare: nec in Altario Episcopi Missas dicere. Presbyter duabus Missas dicat. Concil. Antisiodorens. ca. 10. Anno Dom. 613.

And this kinde of reasoning and arguing of the Law, that forbiddeth one case specially, to affirme the rest, that is not mentioned in the prohibition, the Lawyers will defend by their principles against M. Iewel,

Onely Altar.

who, I thinke, will not wade far to stand against them in this match. For they say, An edict prohibitorie in such things, which are not wholly in their kind vnlawfull, forbidding speciall cases, granteth the rest, and doth permit all that, which is not specially forbidden. And by that, all may bee witnesses, which are not specially forbidden: all may make their proctors to answer for them in iudgement, which are not forbidden in the speciall prohibition: for that the edicts of proctours, and witnesses are prohibitorie. And because *Lex Iulia* did forbid a woman condemned for adulterie to beare witnesse in iudgement, thereof the text of the Ciuill Law concludeth, that women may beare witnesse in iudgement.

In generere permissorum omnia intelliguntur permissa, quæ specialiter non reperiuntur prohibita. L. Iulia. ff. de testibus. Exceptio confirmat regulam in non excepta.

And they say further, that exception in one case, confirmeth the generall rule, and maketh the rest, that is not excepted, more sure and stable, and to be in force in contrary sense to the exception.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

This long discourse may well be granted without great preiudice. For this Councell was holden at Antisiodorum, as M. Harding hath also noted in the margin, in the yeare of our Lord six hundred and thirtene: and therefore neither furthereth him, nor hindereth me: as standing without the compasse of the first six hundred yeares. And who so listeth to peruse the Acts of that Councell, shall soone find, that many great disorders, and horrible abuses, and, as they are termed there, Incestæ Consuetudines, wicked, and abominable customes, were by that time growen into the Church of Rome: as Strenæ Diabolicæ: *Diuelish New yeeres gifts: Heathenish vowes: to pray in groues, and at the water sides as the Heathens had vsed to pray: to Consecrate, and Minister the Lords cup in Metheglen: to put the Sacrament into dead mens mouthes:* and such other like. And, that among these, and other like disorders, the pluralitie of Masses first began at that time, and not before, it may appeare by the Pontificall it selfe, in the life of Pope Deusdedit, where it is written thus: Deusdedit constituit secundam Missam in Clero. And Petrus Vrbeuetanus in his Scholies vpon the same place writeth thus: Quia tunc, ad instar Græcorum, non cantabatur in vna Ecclesia, nisi forsan vna Missa: quod magis ædificabat, secundùm antiquos: *For then there was but one Masse (or Communion) said after the maner of the Greekes: which thing, as the ancient writers thinke, was more profitable to the people.* Likewise Thomas Valdensis saith: Græci adhuc vnicam tantùm Missam in die celebrant: *The Greekes hitherto say but one Masse (or Communion) in one day.* So likewise Francis the Frier writeth vnto his Brethren: Moneo, & exhortor vos in Domino, vt in locis, in quibus morantur fratres, vna tantùm celebretur Missa in die, secundùm formam Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ: *I warne you, and exhort you in the Lord, that in the places where our Brethren dwell, there be onely one Masse a day said, according to the order of the Holy Church of Rome.* So S. Ambrose declareth the order of the Church of Millaine in his time: Omni Hebdomada offerendum est: etiam si non quotidiè peregrinis, Incolis tamen, vel bis in Hebdomada: *Euery weeke the Oblation must bee made, although not euery day, for commers, and strangers, yet at least twice in the weeke for the Citizens.* S. Ambrose saith, The Communion in his time was Ministred once, or twice in the weeke: and at the furthest vpon great occasion once a day: but not rr. or rrr. times in one day.

Canon. 1. Canon. 3. Canon. 8. Mellitum, vel mulsum. Canon. 12. In 2. tom. Conciliorũ in vita Deusdedit. Anno 614. Petrus Vrbeuetanus. Thom. Valdensis li. 6. ca. 34. Franciscus in Ep. ad Fratres. Ambros. 1. Timot. cap. 2.

And, whereas M. Harding seemeth to warrant his multitude of Masses, by that in this Councell of Antisiodorum there is mention made of sundry Altars, it may like him to vnderstand, that before the time of that Councell, there appeareth no such multiplication, or increase of Altars. One Altar was thought sufficient for the whole Church, e the same altar placed in the midst of the congregation, that al the people might come round about it. So saith Eusebius: Absoluto Templo, & Altari in medio constituto: *The Church being finished, and the Altar (or Communion Table) placed in the midst.* S. Augustine likewise saith thus: Mensa Domini est illa in medio constituta: *That is the Lords Table, that standeth heere in the midst.* In like maner, it is written in the Councell of Constantinople: Tempore Diptychorum cucurrit omnis multitudo cum magno silentio circum Altare, & audiebant: *When the Lesson, or Chapter was in reading, all the people drew together with silence round about the Altar, and gaue attendance.* If M. Harding will contend, for that hitherto there is no mention made of one Altar alone, and therefore will say, there might be many, he may also remember, that Eusebius saith in the place before alleged, Augustum & Magnum, & Vnicum Altare: *The Renerend, the Great, and the one Onely Altar.* So Ignatius: Vnum est Altare toti Ecclesiæ: *There is but one Altar for the whole Church.* So S. Chrysostome: Baptismus vnus est, & Mensa vna: *There is one Baptisme, and one Table.* So likewise Gentianus Heruettus describing the maner of the Greeke Church, as it is vsed at this day, saith thus: In Græcorum templis, vnum tantùm est Altare, idq; in medio Choro, aut Presbyterio: *In the Greeke church there is but one Altar, & the same stãding in the midst of the Quere.* And the Quére also was in the midst of all the people. By these it may appeare, that M. Harding is not able to finde his pluralitie of Masses before the Councell of Antisiodorum, which was without the lists of the first 600. yéares, and therefore can stand him in little stead.

Ignatius ad Philadelphien. Euseb. lib. 10. ca. 4. In Encæniis. Augustinus de Verbis Domini secundum Ioh. Ser. 47. Conc. Constantino. 5. Acti. 1. Euseb. li. 10. cap. 4. Ignatius ad Philadelphien. Chrysost. in 2. Corin. hom. 18. Gentianus Heruettus.

As for these principles of the law, that are héere brought in, as a surcharge vnto the rest, they

they may be safely receiued without danger. I grant, the law that forbiddeth in speciall case, generally graunteth all, that is not specially forbidden. This, I say, may well be granted. It is commonly called in Scholes, Argumentum à contrario sensu. Notwithstanding this Rule, being so generall, may receiue exception, although perhaps not in Law, yet in some cases of Diuinitie. For example; God saith: *Thou shalt not commit Vsurie to thy Brother: Let there be no harlot of the daughters of Israel: Thou shalt not marrie thy wiues Sister, whiles thy wife liueth: Thou shalt not commit Aduoutrie*: S. Paul saith: *Bee yee not drunken with Wine.* Deuter. 23. Ibidem. Leuit. 18. Exod. 20. Ephes. 5.

Of these speciall Prohibitions by M. Hardings Rule, or Principle, we may reason thus: *These cases are specially forbidden: and what soeuer is not excepted in speciall prohibition as vnlawfull, is permitted as lawfull*: Ergo, ex contrario sensu, *by the contrary sense, It is left as lawfull, To commit Vsurie to a stranger: It is left as lawfull, To haue a Harlot, so that shee be not of the daughters of Israel: It is left as lawfull, to marrie thy wiues Sister, if thy wife be dead: It is left as lawfull, To commit Fornication*: For Fornication in this speciall prohibition is not forbidden, but onely Aduoutrie. *It is left as lawfull, to bee Drunken with Ale, or Beere: for only Wine is excepted.* And why so? for M. Hardings Principle must needs stand, *That a prohibition forbidding speciall cases, permitteth all the rest, and generally leaueth all that as lawfull, that is not specially forbidden.* I speake not this to the intent to remoue the Principle of the Law, that here is alleged: but onely to shew, that Generall Rules must sometimes, and in some cases be taken with exception.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuision.

But I will not bring M. Iewel out of his professed studie too farre to seeke Lawes. For indeed wee need not goe to Law for these matters, wherein the Church hath giuen sentence for vs, but that our Aduersaries refuse the Iudge after sentence. Which if they had done when order permitteth it, at the beginning, and had plainly (as I feare mee some of them thinke) denied themselues to bee Christians, or at least of Christs Court in his Catholike Church: wee should not haue striued so long about these matters. Wee would haue imbraced the truth of God in his Church quietly, whiles they sought another Iudge according to their appetites and fantasies, as Turkes and Infidels doe.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

It were more for M. Hardings purpose, for proofe of these matters, to go rather to Diuinitie, than to Law. Howbeit, the state of his case being so feeble, and so deadly diseased, it were good Counsell for him, to leaue both Professions, and to goe to Physicke.

But here once againe in his impatient heats he vttereth his inordinate, and vnadui sed choler, and thinketh to proue himselfe a good Catholike man, onely by comparing others with Turkes, and Infidels. Notwithstanding herein we shall need no long defence. For, Gods holy Name be blessed, it is now open to the hearts, and consciences of all men, that both in life, and Doctrine we professe the same Gospell of Iesus Christ, that they of M. Hardings side haue of long time oppressed, and burnt for Heresie.

Neither doe we refuse the Iudge, either after sentence, or before. Him only we refuse, as no competent Iudge in these cases, that teacheth the Commandements, and doctrines of men, and hath infected the World with the leauen of the Scribes, and Pharisies: and we appeale vnto Christ the onely Iudge of all Iudges, vnto whom God the Father straitly bade vs to giue eare: Ipsum audite: *Hearken vnto him*: Vnus est Magister noster Christus: *Christ is our only Master, and only Iudge.* Matth. 15. Matth. 23. Matth. 16. Matth. 17. Matth. 23.

And for the Determinations of the Church, they are sundry, and variable, and vncertaine, and therefore sometimes vntrue: and for that cause may not alwaies stand of necessitie, as matter of iudgement. The Greeke Church neuer vsed the Priuate Masse, but only the Communion: The Latine Church hath vtterly abolished the holy Communion, sauing only at one time in the yeare, when also she vseth it with foule disorder, and, as Gelasius saith, with open sacrilege, and vseth only the priuate Masse. The same Latine church for the space of six hundred yeares, and more from the beginning, vnlesse it had bene vpon great occasion of many Communicants, vsed only one Communion, or, as M. Harding rather delighteth to cal it, one Masse in one day: But the Latine Church, that now is, hath in euery corner of the Temple erected Altars, and therefore now is full of corner Masses. In the old Latine Church it was not lawfull, to say the Second Communion, but only when the Church was full of people: In M. Hardings new Latine Church, there be oftentimes moe Masses said together, than there bee hearers of the people, to gaze vpon them. Thus the iudgement of the Latine Church disagreeth from the Greeke: and the new Latine Church likewise disagreeth in iudgement from the old. Touching this new Latine Church S. Bernard mourneth, and complaineth thus: Nunc ipsi Christum persequuntur, qui ab eo Christiani dicuntur. Amici tui Deus, & proximi tui aduersus te appropinquauerunt, & steterunt. Coniurasse videtur contra te vniuersitas populi Christiani, à minimo *D. Bernard. in Conuersione Pauli.*

minimo vsque ad maximum. A planta pedis vsque ad verticem non est sanitas vlla. Egressa est iniquitas à senioribus Iudicibus Vicarijs tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum. Arcem Sion occupauerunt, apprehenderunt munitiones, & vniuersam deinceps liberè, & potestatiuè tradiderunt incendio Ciuitatem: *They are now become the persecutors of Christ, that of his name are called Christians. O God, thy friends that are neereſt about thee, approch neere, and ſtand againſt thee. The whole vniuerſall Body of Christian people ſeemeth to haue conſpired againſt thee, euen from the loweſt vnto the higheſt. Wickednesse proceedeth foorth from thy Vicars the elder Iudges, that ſeeme to gouerne thy people.* (Like Heathens and Infidels) *they haue inuaded thy Caſtle of Sion,* (which is thy holy Church) *and haue taken all her holds, and freely, and by authoritie haue throwen thy whole Citie into the fire.* Againe he ſaith: *There remaineth now nothing, but that Antichriſt the Man of ſinne, the Childe of perdition be reuealed.*

Bernard. in Pſalm. Qui habitat, Sermo. 6.

Seeing therefore the Reſolution of theſe Iudges is oftentimes vncertaine, and doubtfull, I will not ſay, as S. Bernard ſeemeth to ſay, **vngodly, and wicked, wee may the more indifferently, and the better say now to M. Harding, as** S. Auguſtine ſometimes ſaid to the Heretike Maximinus: Nec ego Nicenam Synodum tibi: nec tu mihi Arminenſem debes, tanquam præiudicaturus objicere. Nec ego huius authoritate, nec tu illius teneris. Scripturarum authoritatibus, non quorumcunque proprijs, ſed quæ vtriuſq; ſint communes, res cum re, cauſa cum cauſa, ratio cum ratione decertet: *Neither will I preſcribe againſt thee by the Councell of Nice: nor maiſt thou preſcribe againſt mee by the Councell of Ariminum. Neither am I bound to this Councell, nor thou to that. By the authoritie of the Scriptures, which are neither thine, nor mine, but indifferent, and common to vs both, let vs compare matter with matter, cauſe with cauſe, and reaſon with reaſon.* Againe he ſaith in like ſort to the Heretike Creſconius: Non debet ſe Eccleſia Chriſto præponere, &c. Cùm ille ſemper veraciter iudicet: Eccleſiaſtici autem Iudices, ſicut homines, plærunque fallantur: *The Church,* ſaith S. Auguſtine, *may not ſet her ſelfe aboue Chriſt, &c. For Chriſt euermore iudgeth truly: but the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges, as being men, are often deceiued.* **Therefore we appeale from the Church, to Chriſt: From the partie, to the Iudge: From the Church deformed, to the Church Reformed: From a Church particular, to the Church Catholike: From the Falſe to the True: from the New to the Old: from a doubtfull, variable, vncertaine, vnadviſed ſentence, to a ſentence moſt firme, moſt ſtable, moſt certaine, moſt conſtant, that ſhall ſtand for euer.**

Auguſt. aduerſus Maximin. lib. 3.

Auguſt. contra Creſconium Grammaticum, lib. 2. cap. 21.

M. Harding. The 8. Diuiſion.

Now if M Iewel bee not ſo preciſe in his iudgement of allowing the firſt ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, as to condemne the Church that followed in the next generation: then wee may allege vnto him the twelfth Councell of Toledo in Spaine, holden in the yeere of our Lord 680. for proofe that many Maſſes were celebrated in one Church in one day. For the ſame appeareth plainly by this Decree of the Fathers there: *Relatum nobis eſt, quoſdam de Sacerdotibus non tot vicibus Communionis Sanctæ gratiam ſumere, quot Sacrificia* Can 5.
in vna die videntur efferre, ſed in vno die, ſi plurima per ſe Deo offerant Sacrificia, in omnibus ſe Oblationibus à Communione ſuſpendunt, & in ſola tantùm extrema Sacrificij Oblatione Communionis Sanctæ gratiam ſumunt. Quaſi non ſit toties illis vero & ſingulari Sacrificio participandum, quoties Corporis & Sanguinis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti immolatio facta conſiterit. Nam eſse Apoſtolus dicit: Nonne qui edunt Hoſtias, participes ſunt Altaris? Certum eſt, 1. Cor. 10.
quòd hi qui Sacrificantes non edunt, rei ſunt Dominici Sacramenti. Quicunque ergo Sacerdotum deinceps Diuino Altario Sacrificium Oblaturus acceſſerit, & ſe à Communione ſuſpenderit, ab ipſa, qua ſe indecenter priuauit, gratia Communionis anno vno repulſum ſe nouerit. Nam quale eſt ut illud Sacrificium, cui nec ipſe Sacrificans particeps eſſe cognoſcitur? Ergo modo omnibus eſt tenendum, vt quotieſcunque Sacrificans Corpus & Sanguinem Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti in Altario immolat, toties perceptionis Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti ſe participem præbeat: It is ſhewed vnto vs, that there be certaine Priests, who doe not receiue the grace of the holy Communion ſo many times, how many Sacrifices they ſeeme to offer in one day. But if they offer vp to God many Sacrifices by themſelues in one day, in all thoſe Oblations they ſuſpend themſelues from the Communion, and receiue the grace of the holy Communion, only at the laſt Oblation of the Sacrifice, as though they ought not ſo often times to be partakers of that true and ſingular Sacrifice, as the Sacrifice of the Bodie and Blood of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath beene done. For behold the Apoſtle ſaith: Be not they which eat Sacrifices partakers of the 1. Cor. 10.
Altar? It is certaine, that they who doing Sacrifice doe not eat, be guilty of our Lords Sacrament. Wherefore what Prieſt ſoeuer heereafter ſhall come vnto the holy Altar to offer Sacrifice, and ſuſpend himſelfe from the Communion, bee it knowen vnto him, that hee is repelled and thruſt away from the grace of the Communion, whereof he hath vnſeemely bereaued himſelfe (whereby is meant, that hee ſtandeth excommunicate) for the ſpace of one yeere. For what a Sacrifice ſhall that be, whereof neither hee himſelfe that Sacrificeth, is knowen to be partaker? Wherefore by all meanes this is to be kept, that how often times ſo euer the Prieſt doth Sacrifice the Body and Blood of Ieſus Chriſt our Lord on the Altar, ſo often times hee receiue, and make himſelfe partaker of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

This word Miſſa is found ſometimes in the Fathers. But it is vſed euermore for the Communion.

Heere by the word Sacrifice, and offering of the Sacrifice, the Fathers vnderſtand the daily Sacrifice of the Church, which wee call the Maſſe. For though the word *Miſſa*, bee of great antiquitie, and many times found in the Fathers, yet they vſe more commonly the word Sacrifice. Neither can the enemies of this Sacrifice, expound this Canon of the inward Sacrifices of a mans heart, but of that Sacrifice which the Prieſt commeth to the holy Altar to offer, of the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Chriſt our Lord offered on the Altar (for ſo be their words) where he receiueth the grace of the holy Communion, which is the participation of the Body and Blood of our Lord. Thus much granted, as by any reaſonable vnderſtanding it cannot be drawen, nor by racking can be ſtretched to any other ſenſe: wee haue heere good authoritie for the hauing of many Maſſes in one Church in one day. And whereas the Fathers of that Councell allowed many Maſſes in one day ſaid by one Prieſt, there is no reaſon why they ſhould not allow the

the ſame ſaid by ſundrie Prieſts in one day. If our aduerſaries ſay, this might haue beene done in ſundrie places, whereby they may ſeeme to fruſtrate our purpoſe touching this Article: we anſwer, that beſide the approouing of the Maſſe by them ſo confeſſed, it were vaine and friuolous to imagine ſuch gadding of the Prieſts from Church to Church for ſaying many Maſſes in one day. Doubtleſſe the Fathers of that Toletane Councell meant of many Maſſes ſaid in one place in a day, as Leo did, for ſeruing the faithfull peoples deuotion that reſorted to Church at ſundrie houres, as we ſee the people doe now, that ſo all might be ſatisfied: which ſhould not haue beene, if one Maſſe only had beene ſaid. Miſſa.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

We condemne not the Church of God in any Generation, be the abuſes thereof neuer ſo great. God reſembleth it vnto a Vine, vnto a Cornefield, and vnto a Flocke of Sheepe. Notwithſtanding the Vine be ſpoiled, and borne downe, yet is it the Vine of the God of Sabaoth. Notwithſtanding the Field lie waſte, and bee ouergrowen with weeds, yet is it ſtill the Lords Field. Notwithſtanding the Flocke bee forſaken of the Shepheards, and run aſtray, and periſh in the Wildernes, yet is it ſtill the Flocke of Chriſt. And herein we haue great cauſe to glorifie the name of God, that, when he ſeeth it good in his ſight, ſendeth forth Labourers to reare vp, and to dreſſe his Vine: to labour, and to weed his Ground: to gather in, and to feed his Flocke. Eſay 1.

This allegation of the Councell of Toledo, ſerueth M. Harding, only to bewray his want. For if he could haue found any other Councell of antiquity, I trow he would not haue alleged this. It was holden well neere ſeuen hundred yeres after Chriſt: by which time many great diſorders, and deformities were priuily cropen into the Church, as may appeare both otherwiſe, and alſo by this ſame example, that one Prieſt vſed then to ſay many Maſſes in one day, and yet himſelfe not to Communicate, contrarie both to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and alſo to the Lawes and Canons of the Church: and therefore the Gloſſe vpon the Decrees calleth it a moſt Naughtie Cuſtome: and this Councell it ſelfe ſaith: Whoſoeuer ſo doth, is guiltie of the Lords Sacrament. Thus both the computation of the time, and alſo the diſorder, and abuſe of the thing it ſelfe conſidered, this Authoritie needeth no further anſwer. *De Con. diſt. 2. Relatum eſt. In Gloſſa.*

It was impertinent in this place for M. Harding, to moue matter of the Sacrifice. Howbeit, for ſhort anſwer thereto, the Sacrifice, that in the Old Writers is called Daily, is that euerlaſting, and onely Sacrifice, that Chriſt once offered vpon the Croſſe, being there a Prieſt for euer, according to the order of Melchiſedech: and, whoſoeuer thinketh not that Sacrifice ſufficient, but imagineth ſome other Sacrifice for ſinnes to be made by man, is an enemie of the Croſſe of Chriſt, and of his Sacrifice, and treadeth downe the Sonne of God vnder his feet, and counteth the Blood of the Teſtament to be vnholy. In what ſenſe the Myſterie of the Holy Communion is of the Old Fathers called a Sacrifice, it ſhall be ſhewed at large in the ſeuententh Article hereof, ſeruing wholly to that purpoſe. Hebræ. 10. Philippen. 3. Hebræ. 10.

Touching this word, Miſſa, neither is the name, nor the meaning thereof of ſuch Antiquitie, as it is here ſuppoſed by M. Harding. It grew firſt in vſe about foure hundred yeres after Chriſt, and is very ſeldome vſed of the old Latine Writers: of S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, Tertullian, S. Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, and others of that age, neuer: vnto S. Chryſoſtome, S Baſil, Nazianzene, Gregorie Nyſſene, and all other Greeke Writers, vtterly vnknowen. It is found in two ſundrie places vnder the name of S. Auguſtine, and once vnder the name of S. Hierome. But it is certaine, that theſe Bookes were neither S. Auguſtines, nor S Hieromes. *Auguſt. in Sermonib. de tempore. Hieronym. in Pronerb.*

Howbeit, we make no great account of the name. The naturall ſenſe, and meaning thereof, contrarie to M. Hardings ſurmiſes, neceſſarily importeth a Communion, and not a Priuate Maſſe. For this Latine word, Miſſa, is as much as, Miſſio, that is, a commanding away, or licence to depart. So S. Cyprian ſaith: Remiſſa peccatorum, in ſtead of Remiſſio: And the order of the Church then was this, That Nouices, that were not yet Chriſtened, and were called Catechumeni, and others, that were called Pœnitentes, that for ſome offence were inioined to doe penance, notwithſtanding they might lawfully heare the Sermons, and pray together with the reſt, yet might they neither bee preſent at the Baptiſme, nor receiue the Holy Myſteries. And therefore, after the Goſpell was read, and the Sermon ended, the Deacon ſaid vnto them, Ite, Miſſa eſt: *Go ye hence: ye may depart.* Likewiſe in S. Gregories time the Deacon vſed thus to ſay: Qui non communicat, det locum: *Who ſo doth not Communicate, let him giue place.* Thus all they, that either would not, or might not Communicate with the reſt of their Brethren, were willed to depart: whereof it neceſſarily followeth, that all they, that remained, did Communicate. *Cyprian. lib. 3. Epiſtolar. Gregorius Dialogor. li. 2. ca. 23.*

Of this departure away, and Proclamation of the Deacon, the action it ſelfe, which was the Holy Communion, was called *Miſſa*. Afterward, when either through negli-

gence of the people, or through auarice of the Priests, the whole order hereof was quite altered, and the thing that had bene common, was become priuate, yet as it happeneth often in other the like things, the former name remained still. For example, The Vigils, or Night Watches, were turned into Fastings: Altars, that serued for offering vp of Calues, and Goats, were turned into the Lords Table: The Sabbath day was turned into the Sunday. Yet, the things being thus altered, the names notwithstanding of Vigils, Altars, and Sabbath daies remaine still in vse, as they did before. Therefore M. Harding herein, as commonly elsewhere, thought it best to deceiue his Reader, by the mistaking, and erreur of the Name.

Last of all, if the Fathers in the Councell of Toledo, and Leo meant all one thing, as here it is constantly auouched, then is M. Harding by the same Fathers but prely relæued. For it is most euident, by that is already said, that Leo meant the Holy Communion, and not M. Hardings Priuate Masse.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuision.

If M. Iewel agnise and accept for good the authoritie of this Councell, as the Church doth, then must he allow these many things, which he, and the Sacramentaries to the vttermost of their power and cunning, labour to disprooue and defase. First, the blessed Sacrifice of the Masse, which the Fathers of this Councell call the true and singular Sacrifice, the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of our Lord Iesus Christ, which the Priest offereth on the Altar. Next, the truth and Reall Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord in the Sacrifice offered. Then Altars, which this Councell calleth diuine or holy, for the diuine and holy things on them offered, the Body and Blood of Christ. Furthermore, the (100) multitude of Masses in one day. For they speake of many Sacrifices, that is, many Masses, *Plurima Sacrificia*. Lastly, Priuate Masses. For the words, *nec ipse Sacrificans*, tightly construed and weighed, import no lesse. For whereas no word in this Decree is vttered, whereby it may appeare, the people to be of necessitie required to receiue, if the Priests had receiued themselues at euery Masse, no fault had beene found And if the people had receiued without the Priests, in this case it had beene reason, this Decree should otherwise haue beene expressed. And so it is cleere, that at that time Priuate Masses were said and done.

The 100. Vntruth. For M. Harding vnderstandeth not his owne booke, as it shall appeare.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The authoritie, and credit of this Councell of Toledo is no part of our question. It was holden almost seuen hundred yeares after Christ: and of greater Antiquitie M. Harding is able to allege none. Which thing, I trust, the indifferent, and discreet Reader will well remember.

1 Concerning these fiue notes, whereof one onely toucheth this purpose, As this Councell saith, The Priest offereth the Sacrifice at the Altar, or Holy Table, euen so Leo saith, Euery of the whole Faithfull people likewise offereth vp the same Sacrifice. I say not any other, but the very selfe same Sacrifice, and that in as ample maner, as it is offered by the Priest.

Leo ad Dioscorum, epist. 81.

2 Touching Reall Presence, M. Harding seemeth to doe, as Children sometimes vse to doe, that imagine Horsemen, and Banners, and other strange miracles in the Cloudes. It is onely his owne fantasie: For there is no such word, or mention in the Councell.

3 The matter of Altars is already answered.

4 Priuate Masses, and also multitudes of the same, consideration euermore had to the computation of the yeares, might easily bee granted without hinderance.

5 Yet hath not M. Harding in the space twelue hundred yeares, hitherto found in one Church more than two Masses in one day: all this his great studie, and trauell therein taken notwithstanding.

Anno 680.

But the words of the Councell be plaine, Plurima Sacrificia, that is, many Sacrifices, and therefore saith M. Harding, many Masses. Hereby it may appeare, that M. Harding either considereth not his Booke, or els hath no great regard to that he writeth. His owne Bookes will reproue his ouersight, and shew how much he is deceiued. For, Plurima, in this place, signifieth not, Many, that is, neither six, nor fiue, nor foure, nor three, but onely two. And for triall hereof, I report me to the Glosse it selfe vpon the Decrees. The words be these: Nota hîc, plurima dici de duobus. Quia plura non licet: *Marke here, that this word,* Plurima, *is spoken onely of two. For, to say moe Masses then two, it is not lawfull.*

De Con. dist. 2. Relatum est. In Glossa.

M. Harding. The 10. Diuision.

Now if M. Iewel refuse and reiect the authoritie of the Church represented in that Councell, then hee giueth vs a manifest notice, what marke wee ought to take him to bee of. Then may we say vnto him the words of S. Paul: *Nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, nec Ecclesia Dei*: Wee haue no such custome, neither the Church of God hath not, to condemne the Church And in this case hee must pardon vs, if according to the precept of Christ, for that he will not heare the Church, wee take him for no better than a Heathen and a Publicane.

1. Cor. 11.

Matth. 18.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

To these simple Premisses, M. Harding hath laid a large conclusion. If wee heare not him, and his Church, then are we Heathens, and Publicans. God knoweth, This is a very

very poore Brauerie. In the Scholes it is called, Petitio Principij, and Fallacia Accidentis: *A deceitfull kinde of reasoning, without either ground, or good order.* I need not to open it, it is knowen vnto Children.

But doth M. Harding thinke, that euery man is an Heathen, that reproueth errour, that discloseth the Man of Sinne, and wisheth the Reformation of Gods Church? Christ said vnto the Scribes, and Phariſees: *You haue made the house of God a denne of Theeues:* Matth. 21. Hieremie saith: *The labourers themselues haue troaden downe, and torne the Vine of the Lord.* Hierem. 12. The Prophet Esay saith: *Your Siluer is turned into drosse.* S. Bernard saith of the Bishops in his time: Pro Mercenarijs habemus Diabolos, &c. *Instead of hirelings we haue Diuels:* Esai 1. *Bernard. in Concilio Remensi.* *from the toppe to the toe, there is no part left whole in the Church of Rome.* Nicolaus de Clauengijs saith: Calamitosa desolatio est in Domo Dei: *There is a miserable desolation in the House of the Lord.* Pigghius confesseth, there be abuses in the Priuate Masse: Latomus confesseth, there is an errour in the Administration in One Kinde. And will M. Harding know all these by his owne priuie marke? Or must Christ, Hieremie, Esay, S. Bernard, Pigghius, and Latomus, be taken for no better, than Heathens, and Publicanes? Certainly, touching these pluralities of Masses, and this shamefull profanation, and waste of Gods holy Mysteries, both Christ, and his Apostles, and all the old Catholike Fathers of the Primitiue Church will say: Nos huiusmodi consuetudinem non habemus, nec Ecclesia Dei: *We haue no such custome, neither the Church of God.* And to the wilfull maintainers of the same, Christ will say: Frustra colitis me, docentes doctrinas, præcepta hominum: *Yee worship me in vaine, teaching the Doctrines, and Commandements of men.* *Bernard. in Conuersione Pauli.* *Nicolaus de Clauengijs.* *Albertus Pighius de Primata Missæ.* *Latomus contra Bucerum.*

And, whereas, M. Harding, yée countenance and furnish your errours by the name of the Church, Remember, S. Iohn saith: *Make no vaunts that yee be the Children of Abraham. For God is able euen of the stones to raise vp Children vnto Abraham.* And the Angel saith in the Booke of Reuelations: Dicunt, se esse Iudæos, & non sunt: Sed sunt Synagoga Satanæ: *They name themselues Iewes, that is, the people of God, but they are not: They are the Synagogue of the Diuell.* 1. Cor. 11. Matth. 15. Esay 29. Matth. 3. Apocalyp. 2.

Now, good Christian Reader, that thou maiest sée, how vainly M. Harding hath wandered throughout this whole Treatie, it may please thée, to remember my first Negatiue Proposition touching the same, which in effect is this: They are not able to shew, that within six hundred yéares after Christ, there were fiue Masses said any where, in any one Church, in one day, throughout the world. In which Proposition two points are specially touched: the number of Masses, and the number of yéares. To proue the affirmatiue hereof, M. Harding hath alleged the Councell of Antisiodorum, and the Councell of Toledo, either of them being without the compasse of six hundred yeares. He hath also alleged Leo an ancient Bishop of Rome, speaking onely of the Holy Communion, and not one word of the Priuate Masse. All these three Authorities touch onely one Priest, and as it appeareth by the Gloſſe, onely two Ministrations at the vttermost. Thus hath M. Harding failed, both in the computation of the yéares, and also in the number of his Masses. *Anno 613.* *Anno 680.* *Leo epist. 81.* *De Con. dist. 2. Relatum est. In Glossa.*

Yet must this be defended among the rest, bee the profanation thereof neuer so horrible: and whosoeuer dare wish a reformation hérein, must be no better then a Heathen, and a Publicane. O, how much better had it béene for M. Harding, either to haue passed the matter ouer in silence, or plainly, and simply to haue confessed his errour!

OF ADORATION OF IMAGES.

The Fovrteenth Article.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OVR, that Images were set vp in the Churches, to the intent the people might worship them.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

That Images were set vp in Churches, within six hundred yeeres after Christ, it is certaine, but not specially either then, or sithence to the intent the people might worship them. The intent and purpose hath

Not Specially to be worshipped: *Ergo*, to be wor-

ſhipped, although not Specially.

hath beene farre other, but right godly, as ſhall be declared. Wherefore the imputing of this intent to the Catholike Church, is both falſe and alſo ſlanderous. And becauſe for the vſe of Images, theſe New Maſters charge the Church with reproach of a new deuice, breach of Gods commandement, and Idolatrie: I will heere ſhew, firſt, the Antiquity of Images, and by whom they haue beene allowed. Secondly, to what intent and purpoſe they ſerue. Thirdly, how they may be worſhipped without offence.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

This Article of Images may be eaſily paſſed ouer, both for that the weight thereof is not great, and alſo for that M. Harding, as his wont is, hath purpoſely diſſembled the matter, that was in queſtion, and deuiſed other fantaſies, that were not touched. Wherein, notwithſtanding hee vſe large diſcourſes, and make great ſhew, yet in the end, as it ſhall appeare, he concludeth nothing. I grant, Images were erected in ſome Churches within fiue hundred yeares after Chriſt, albeit neither ſo rathe, as it is pretended, nor without much repining of Godly men, and great contention.

Auguſt. de Fide & Symbolo, ca. 7. Epiſt. Epiphanij ad Iohannem Epiſcop. Hieroſol.

But M. Harding of his modeſty, once againe calleth vs New Maſters: **ſo as hee would call** Moſes, **if hee were now aliue, or much rather God himſelfe. For this Doctrine is Gods Doctrine, and not ours. And therefore** S. Auguſtine **ſaith:** Huiuſmodi Simulachrum Deo nefas eſt in Chriſtiano Templo collocare: *In a Chriſtian Church to erect ſuch an Image vnto God,* (**reſembling God to an old man**) *it is an Abomination.* **And** Epiphanius **the Biſhop of** Cyprus **entring into a Church, and finding there a Veile hanged vp, and the Image of Chriſt painted in it, tare it aſunder, and pulled it downe, becauſe it was done, as he writeth himſelfe,** Contra authoritatem Scripturarum: *Contrary to the Commandement of Gods word.* **Againe he ſaith:** Huiuſmodi vela contra Religionem noſtram veniunt: *Such Veiles* (**ſo painted**) *are contrary to our Chriſtian Religion.* **And againe:** Hæc ſcrupuloſitas indigna eſt Eccleſia Chriſti, & populis, qui tibi crediti ſunt: *This Superſtition is vnmeet for the Church of Chriſt, and vnmeet for the people that is committed vnto thee.* **S. Auguſtine ſaith,** *It is Abomination.* Epiphanius **ſaith,** *It is contrarie to the Scriptures, and contrarie to Chriſtian Religion: Vnmeet for the Church of Chriſt, and vnmeet for the people of God.* **Howbeit, M. Harding perhaps will ſuffer theſe two to paſſe in the number of his** *New Maſters.*

And, albeit by theſe Fathers iudgement it is plaine, that by ſetting vp of Images Gods Commandement is broken, yet it may the better appeare by comparing Gods Words, and M. Hardings Words both together. God ſaith, *Thou ſhalt make to thy ſelfe no grauen Image*: **M. Harding ſaith,** Thou ſhalt make to thy ſelfe grauen Images. **God ſaith,** *Thou ſhalt not fall downe to them, nor worſhip them*: **M. Harding ſaith,** Thou ſhalt fall downe to them, and worſhip them. **Now iudge thou, good Reader, whether this bee a breach of Gods Commandement or no.**

Verily M. Harding in the firſt entry heereof ſaith thus: Images are not ſpecially ſet vp, to the intent the people may worſhip them. **The ſenſe whereof muſt néeds bee this:** *Images are ſet vp to the end to be worſhipped: although not ſpecially to that end.* **But an Image is a Creature, and no God: And to honor a Creature in that ſort, is Idolatrie: Therefore, by M. Hardings owne Confeſſion, Images are ſet vp to be vſed to Idolatrie: although not Specially to that end. Howbeit, by this ſimple Diſtinction of Generall, and Speciall, Idolatrie is eaſie to be excuſed.**

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

The 201. Vntruth, containing three great Vntruths together in one.

Concerning the antiquity, and originall of Images, they were not firſt inuented by man, but (201) commanded by God, brought into vſe by Tradition of the Apoſtles, allowed by Authoritie of the holy Fathers, and all Councels, and by cuſtome of all ages ſince Chriſts being in the Earth. When God would the Tabernacle with all furniture thereto belonging to be made, to ſerue for his honor, and glory, hee commanded Moſes among other things to make two Cherubins of Beaten Gold, ſo as they might couer both ſides of the propitiatory, ſpreading abroad their wings, and beholding themſelues one another, their faces turned toward the Propitiatorie, that the Arke was to be couered withall. Of thoſe Cherubins S. Paul ſpeaketh in his Epiſtle to the Hebrewes. Which Images Beſeleel, that excellent workman made at the commandement of Moſes, according to the inſtruction by God giuen. Againe, Moſes by the commandement of God made the Braſen Serpent, and ſet it vp on high for the people, that were hurt of Serpents in wildernéſſe, to behold, and ſo to be healed. In the Temple alſo that Salomon builded, were Images of Cherubins, as Scripture ſheweth. Of Cherubins mention is made in ſundrie places of the Scriptures, ſpecially in Ezechiel the Prophet, ca 41. Ioſephus writeth of the ſame in his third, and eight booke, *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum.* The Image of Cherubins repreſenteth Angels, and the word is a word of Angelicall Dignitie, as it appeareth by the third Chapter of Geneſis, where wee reade that God placed Cherubins before Paradiſe, after that Adam was caſt foorth for his diſobedience.

Antiquitie of Images.

Exod. 25.

Cap. 9.

Exod. 37.

Num. 21.

3. Reg. 6.

2. Paral. 3.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

M. Harding doubteth not, to deriue the firſt Inuention of his Images from God himſelfe, euen as rightly, and with as good Faith, as he deriueth his Maſſe from Chriſt, and his

his Apoſtles: or his Holy Water from the Prophet Elizeus: or the Cardinals hat from S. Hierome. Vnleſſe perhaps he will reaſon thus: God ſaith: *Thou ſhalt not make vnto thy ſelfe any grauen Image, nor the Likeneſſe of any thing: And, Accurſed be the man, that maketh an Image: And, Confounded be all they that worſhip Images.* Ergo, God commanded Images to be made. If he can auouch his Images by ſuch warrants, then doubtleſſe God himſelfe was the firſt inuentor of Images.

The Heathens Fathers of Images.

But Learned, and Wiſe men thinke, that the inuention hereof came firſt from the Heathens, and Infidels that knew not God. Thus it is written in the Booke of Wiſedome: Vanitas hominum inuenit artes iſtas, ad tentationem animæ, & decipulam inſipientium: *The vanity of men firſt found out this art, to the tentation of the ſoule, and to the deceiuing of the vnwiſe.* S. Cyprian ſaith: Ad defunctorum vultus per Imaginem detinendos expreſſa ſunt Simulachra. Inde poſteris facta ſunt ſacra, quæ primitùs fuerant aſſumpta ſolatia: *Images were firſt drawen, thereby to keepe the countenance of the dead in Remembrance. Vpon occaſion thereof things grew at length vnto holineſſe, that at the firſt were taken only for ſolace.* Therefore S. Ambroſe ſaith: Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam Imaginem Dei: *The Heathens worſhip Wood, as the Image of God.* And Gregorius the Biſhop of Neocæſaria: Gentilitas inuentrix, & Caput eſt Imaginum: *Heathenneſſe was the firſt deuiſer, and Head of Images.* Likewiſe Euſebius ſaith, ſpeaking of the Images of Chriſt, of Peter, and of Paul: Hoc mihi videtur ex Gentili conſuetudine obſeruatum: quòd ita illi ſoleant honorare, quos honore dignos duxerint: *This ſeemeth to be the obſeruation of the Heatheniſh cuſtome: for with ſuch Images they vſed to honor them, whom they thought worthy of honor.* Therefore S. Auguſtine writing againſt Adimantus ſaith thus: Simulant ſe fauere Simulachris: quod propterea faciunt, vt miſerrimæ, & veſanæ ſuæ Sectæ etiam Paganorum concilient beneuolentiam: *They would ſeem to fauour Images: which thing they do, to the intent to make the Heathens to thinke the better of their moſt miſerable, and leaud Sect.* For of the Heathens Lactantius writeth thus: Verentur, ne Religio vana ſit, ſi nihil videant, quod Adorent: *They are afraid* (as they alſo are of M. Hardings ſide) *their Religion ſhall be but vaine, if they ſee not thing, that they may worſhip.* Therefore Daniel ſaith, that Nabucodonozor the Heathen King appointed a ſolemne Dedication day, for his Golden Image, with all kinds, and ſorts of Miniſtralſie. And the Prophet Baruch thus openeth, and vttereth the Religion of Babylon: Sacerdotes Barba, Capiteque raſo, & aperto, ſedent, & coram Dijs ſuis rugiunt: *The Prieſts being ſhauen both Head and Beard, and ſitting bare, roare out before their Gods.* Thus Heliogabalus, Adrianus, and Alexander Seuerus, being Infidels, and Heathen Princes, had in their Chapels, and Cloſets, the Images of Abraham, of Moſes, of Chriſt, and of others. Thus the Heretikes called Gnoſtici, and Carpocratiani, for that they fauoured of the Heathens, had, and worſhipped the Images of Chriſt, of Paul, of Pythagoras, and of Homer. By theſe few Authorities, and Examples it appeareth, that the firſt erection of Images came, not from God, but from the Heathens, that knew not God. And therefore Athanaſius ſaith: *The Inuention of Images came not of good, but of ill.* As for the Iewes, that had the Law, and the Prophets amongſt them, and therefore ſhould beſt know Gods meaning in this behalfe, they had no maner Image, neither Painted, nor grauen in their Temples, as Dion ſaith: and as Origen ſaith, they could not abide any Painter, or Grauer, to dwell amongſt them.

Exod. 20.
Deutero. 27.
Pſalm. 96.
Sapient. 14.
Cypria. de Idolorum vanitate.
Ambroſ. in Pſal. 118.
Concil. Nicen. 2. Action. 6.
Euſebius lib. 7. cap. 17.
Εθνικὴ συνήθεια.
Auguſt. contra Adimantum. ca. 13.
Lactantius lib. 2. cap. 2.
Daniel. 3.
Baruch. 6.
Lampridius.
Iulius Capitol.
Epiphanius.
Auguſtin. ad Quoduultdeum.
Ireneus lib. 1. cap. 24.
Athanaſius, ἡ τῶν Εἰδώλων εὕρεσις οὐκ ἀπ' ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κακίας γέγονε.
Dion. lib. 37.
Origen. contra Celſum, li. 4.
Tertullian. De Idololatria.

But M. Harding replieth: God commanded Moſes, to make the Cherubins, and the Braſen Serpent. Theſe examples make little againſt my aſſertion. For God commanded not, either the Cherubins, or the Serpent to be ſet vp to the intent the people ſhould Worſhip them: which is the whole, and only ſtate of this queſtion. The ſame obiection the Old Idolaters laid ſometime againſt Tertullian. For thus he writeth: Ait quidam: Cur ergo Moſes in Eremo Simulachrum Serpentis ex ære fecit? *Some one, or other, that maintaineth Idolatrie, will ſay* (as M. Harding now ſaith) And why then did Moſes make the Image of the Braſen Serpent in the Wilderneſſe? Hereby we ſee, that M. Harding is not the firſt that deuiſed this obiection. *The Old Idolaters found out, and vſed the ſame aboue fourteene hundred yeeres agoe,* and M. Harding hath learned it at their hands. But hereto Tertullian maketh this anſwer: Bene, quòd idem Deus, & Lege vetuit Similitudinem fieri, & Extraordinario Præcepto Serpentis Similitudinem * Interdixit: *Well, and good: One, and the ſame God, both by his Generall Law forbade any Image to be made: and alſo by his Extraordinarie, and Speciall Commandement willed an Image of a Serpent to be made.* He addeth further: Si eundem Deum obſeruas, habes Legem eius, Ne feceris Similitudinem. Et, ſi Præceptum factæ poſteà Similitudinis reſpicis, & tu imitare Moſen, Ne facias aduerſus Legem Simulachrum aliquod, niſi & tibi Deus iuſſerit: *If thou be obedient vnto the ſame God, thou haſt his Law, Make thou no Image. But, if thou haue regard to the Image of the Serpent, that was made afterward by* Moſes, *then do thou, as* Moſes *did: Make not any Image againſt the Law, vnleſſe God command thee, as he did*

* He ſeemeth to vſe Interdixit, for Edixit.

Moſes,

The Brasen Serpent. The Cherubins.

Genesis 22. Exod. 11. 2. Regum 18. *Concilium Moguntinen. cap. 42.*

Moſes. For God is free, and ſubiect to no Law. He commandeth vs, and not himſelfe. He giueth this Generall Law, *Thou ſhalt not kill*: Yet he ſaid vnto Abraham, *Take thy Sonne Iſaac, and kill him.* Likewiſe he ſaith: *Thou ſhalt not ſteale*: And yet the people of Iſrael, by his Commandement, ſtale away the Egyptians goods, without breach of the Law. The ſame anſwer may alſo ſerue for the Images of the Cherubins. Howbeit, the Cherubins ſtood not in the Temple, in the ſight, and preſence of the people: but within the vaile, in the Tabernacle, into which place it was not lawfull for any one of the people to caſt his eies. And therefore there was in it no danger of Idolatry. But like as, when the Brasen Serpent was abuſed by Idolatry, the Godly King Ezechias toke it downe, and brake it in peces, notwithſtanding God had commanded Moſes to ſet it vp: euen ſo, notwithſtanding it were ſufferable to haue Images in the Church of God, without breach of Gods Law, yet when they be abuſed, and made Idols, as they are throwout the whole Church of Rome, it is the dutie of godly Magiſtrates to pull them downe, like as alſo it is ordered by the Councell of Mens.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

It were not much beſide our purpoſe heere to rehearſe the place of Ezechiel the Prophet, where God commanded one, that was clothed in linnen, and had an Inkhorne by his ſide, to goe thorow the mids of Hieruſalem, and to print the ſigne of T A V, that is, the ſigne of the Croſſe (for that letter had the ſimilitude of the Croſſe among the old Hebrew Letters, as S. Hierome witneſſeth) in the foreheads of the men, that mourned, and made mone ouer all the abominations of that City. Touching the Signe, Image, or Figure of the Croſſe in the time of the New Teſtament, God ſeemeth by his prouidence, and by ſpeciall warnings, in ſundry reuelations, and ſecret declarations of his will, to haue commended the ſame to men, that they ſhould haue it in good regard, and remembrance. When Conſtantine the Emperor had prepared himſelfe to war againſt Maxentius the Tyrant, caſting in his mind the great dangers that might thereof enſue, and calling to God for helpe, as he lookt vp, beheld (as it were in a viſion) the Signe of the Croſſe appearing vnto him in Heauen as bright as fire, and as he was aſtonied with that ſtrange ſight, he heard a voice ſpeaking thus vnto him, Conſtantine in this ouercome. Ezech. 9. *In Ezechielem.* The Signe of the Croſſe commended to men by Gods prouidence. *Euſebius Eccleſiaſt. hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 9. & 10. pag. Sozomen. Tripart. hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 5. Eccleſ. hiſt. li. 10 in fin.*

After that Iulian the Emperor had forſaken the profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion, and had done Sacrifice at the Temples of Painyms, mouing his ſubiects to doe the like: as he marched forward with his army on a day, the drops of raine, that fell downe out of the aire in a ſhower, formed and made tokens and ſignes of the Croſſe, both in his, and alſo in the ſouldiers garments.

Rufinus hauing declared the ſtrange, and horrible plagues of God, whereby the Iewes were fraied, and letted from their vaine attempt of building vp againe the Temple at Hieruſalem, leaue thereto of the Emperor Iulian in deſpight of the Chriſtians obtained: in the end ſaith, that leſt thoſe earthquakes, and terrible fires, which he ſpeaketh of, raiſed by God, whereby as well the workhouſes, and preparations toward the building, as alſo great multitudes of the Iewes were throwen downe, caſt abroad, and deſtroied, ſhould be thought to happen by chance: the night following theſe plagues, the ſigne of the Croſſe appeared in euery one of their garments ſo euidently, as none, to cloke their infidelitie, was able by any kinde of thing to ſcoure it out, and put it away. When the Temples of the Painyms were deſtroied by Chriſtians in Alexandria, about the yeere of our Lord 390. in the chiefe Temple of all, which was of the Idoll Serapis, the holy, and myſticall Letters called, ἱερογλυφικὰ, by Gods prouidence, were found grauen in ſtones, repreſenting the Figure of the Croſſe, the Signification whereof after their interpretation was, life to come. Which thing eſpied by the Chriſtians, and by the Prinyms preſent at the ſpoile, ſerued maruellouſly to the further ince of the Chriſtian faith, no leſſe then the inſcription of the Altar at Athens, *Ignoto Deo*, vnto the vnknowen God, ſerued to the ſame purpoſe through S. Pauls preaching. Which altogether was before wrought by Gods holy prouidence, as Socrates, one of the writers of the Eccleſiaſticall ſtories, reporteth. *Hiſt. Tripart. lib. 9. cap. 29.* χαράγματα ἱερογλυφικὰ. Actor. 17.

Thus it appeareth plainly, how Gods Prouidence hath commended vnto true beleeuers, the Signe of the Croſſe. For which cauſe, and for Remembrance of our Redemption, it hath bin in old time and alwaies ſithence much frequented and honored. For beſide that we reade hereof in Tertullian, who was neere the Apoſtles time, in Apologetico, we find in the writers of the Eccleſiaſticall ſtories, that the Chriſtian people of Alexandria, after they had pulled down, and taken away the armes and monuments of Serapis the Idoll, euery man cauſed the ſigne of our Lords Croſſe in place of them to be painted and ſet vp in their poſts, entries, windowes, walles, and pillars: that whereſoeuer the eie was turned, it ſhould light on the Holy ſigne of the Croſſe. Conſtantine the Emperor loued, and honored this Signe ſo much, that he cauſed the ſame to be painted in all his flags, and banners of warre, to be ſtrucken in his coines, and moneies, to be purtraited in his armes, ſcutchins, and Targets. Of this Aurelius Prudentius maketh mention: Cap 16. *Eccleſ. hiſt. lib. 11. cap 29. ad finem Ruffin. Hiſtor. tripart. lib. 1. cap. 9.*

Chriſtus purpureum gemmanti textus in Auro,
Signabat labarum: Clypeorum inſignia Chriſtus
Scripſerat, ardebat ſummis Crux addita criſtis. *Lib. 1. contra Symmachum.*

The ſenſe whereof is thus much in Engliſh. The chiefe banner, which was of purple, had the Image of Chriſt in it wrought in Gold and ſtones: The Targets were painted all ouer with Chriſt: The Croſſe ſhined fire bright in the creſts of their Helmets. That the banner commonly borne before the Emperour in war, in Latine called *Labarum*, was of this ſort, it appeareth by an Epiſtle, that S. Ambroſe wrote to Theodoſius the Emperor. Neither was the Figure of the Croſſe then only in Flags, and Banners, painted, wouen, embrodered, or otherwiſe wrought, in Gold or pretious ſtones: But alſo made in whole gold, and ſet vpon a long ſtaffe or pole, and born before men (202) (as the maner is now in Proceſſions) as it ſeemeth plainly by theſe verſes of Prudentius: *Vide hiſtor. tripart. lib. 1. ca. 5. Lib. 5. Epiſtol. 29.*

The 202. Vntruth. For Prudentius ſpeaketh not of Proceſſion in the Church, but of Marching in the fields.

Agnoſcas Regina lubens mea ſigna neceſſe eſt:
In quibus effigies Crucis, aut Gemmata refulget,
Aut longis ſolido ex Auro preſertur in haſtis.

It behoueth you Madam, that gladly you acknowledge mine enſignes, in which the Figure of the Croſſe is either glittering in ſtones, or of whole Gold is borne on long ſtaues before vs. Thus much haue I gathered

red out of the ancient Fathers writings concerning the Signe of our Lords Crosse, the sight whereof the professors of this New Gospell cannot abide, to the intent, the diuersitie of our time, and of old time may appeare, to the maners of which, for a perfect reformation, these Preachers would seeme to bring the world againe.

The Crosse.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The Signe of the Crosse, I grant, among the Christians was had in great regard: and that the more, both for the publike reproch, and shame, that by the common iudgement of all the world was conceiued against it, and also for that most worthy price of our Redemption, that was offered vpon it. It is written, *Accursed be all they, that are hanged vpon the Tree.* And Chrysostome saith, The Infidels vsed commonly to vpbraid the Christians with these words: Tu adoras Crucifixum? *Wilt thou worship a man that was hanged vpon a Crosse?* They thought great villanie in that kind of Death: for it was most odious, and shamefull of all others: and also they thought it great follie, to thinke well of it. Therefore S. Paul saith: Verbum Crucis pereuntibus stultitia est: *The Word of the Crosse vnto them that perish, is but a folly.* Againe: Prædicamus Christum Crucifixum, Iudæis quidem scandalum, Gentibus autem Stultitiam: *We preach Christ Crucified: a great offence vnto the Iewes, and vnto the Heathens a great Follie.* Likewise S. Augustine calleth the Crosse, Ipsam ignominiam, quam Pagani derident: *That very shame, that the Heathens laugh to scorne.* Likewise also Chrysostome: Mors Christi apud Iudæos maledicta, apud Gentiles abominanda: *The Death of Christ among the Iewes is holden accursed, among the Heathens it is holden abominable.*

Therefore the Faithfull, that beleeued in Christ, in all their talkes, and in their whole life, and conuersation, vsed so much the more to extoll, and magnifie the same, in reproch of the enemies of the Crosse of Christ, both Iewes, and Gentiles. For that cause, S. Paul saith: *I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ: for it is the Power of God vnto Saluation:* And, *God forbid, that I should reioice in any thing, but only in the Crosse of Iesus Christ:* And, *I reckon my selfe to know nothing, but onely Iesus Christ, and the same Christ Crucified vpon the Crosse.* Thus S. Paul triumphed of that thing that in the world was so deepely despised: As if he would haue said, This is that infirmity, that hath conquered the world: This is that villanie, and reproch, that hath led captiuity away captiue, that hath spoiled the Principalities, and Powers of Darknesse. Thus, as Theodoret recordeth, the Christians euery where in their common resorts, and in the open market places published and proclaimed the victorie, & Triumph of the Crosse: *Which,* as Chrysostome saith, *they were not ashamed to set, as a posie, to any thing that they did, and to any thing, that they possessed.* Likewise God, that the world might the more deepely thinke of the Death of Christ, wrought oftentimes strange Miracles by the same, as he did by Pauls Napkins, by Elizeus bones, and by Peters shadow. Then the first Christened Emperour Constantinus, seeing that thing became so glorious, that before had beene so slanderous, to increase the estimation thereof, commanded straitly by a Law, that from thencefoorth no offender should suffer vpon a crosse. These things had in remembrance, we grant al that M. Harding hath here alleged: The Vision of Ezechiel, and the marking of the mens foreheads with the Hebrew letter TAV: The sight of a Crosse offered vnto Constantinus in the aire: The staining of crosses in the Souldiers coates, in the time of the Renegate Emperour Iulian: The printing, or burning of the Crosses in the apparell of the Iewes at Hierusalem: The finding of the holy Hieroglyphicall letter bearing the forme of the Crosse in the Temple of Serapis in Egypt: And to conclude, we grant, that the people, being newly brought to the knowledge of the Gospell, after they had pulled downe the Scutchins of the Idoll Serapis, and other like Monuments of Idolatrie, in the place thereof straightway set vp the Crosse of Christ in token of Conquest, in their entries, in their wals, in their windowes, in their Posts, in their Pillars: briefly, in their Flagges, Banners, Armes, Scutchins, Targets, and Coines. All these things, I say, we yeld vnto M. Harding without exception. Euen so Christian Princes this day vse the same Crosse in their Armes, and Banners, both in peace, and in warre, of diuers formes, and sundrie colours, as in token, they fight vnder the Banner of Christ. Labarum among the old Romans was the Emperiall Standard of armes, richly wrought in Gold, and beset with stone, carried only before the Generall of the Field, and therefore reuerenced of the Souldiers aboue all other. Sozomenus as a Greeke writer, and therefore not able to ghesse rightly of the Latine tongue, seemeth to call it, Laborum: For thus he writeth: Δεύτερον τῶν σημάτων, ὃ δὴ Σαβαρον ῥωμαῖοι καλέσι; *The one of the standards, which the Romans call* Laborum: Vnlesse there be an errour in the Greeke. Notwithstanding it may bee thought, The Emperour Seuerus had some respect vnto the same, when he gaue this Watchword vnto his Souldiers, Laboremus: *Let vs labour.* Likewise S. Gregorie writeth: Christum belli socium habuisti, cuius

Galat. 3. Deutero. 21. *Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Roman. homil. 2.* 1. Corin. 1. *Ibidem.* *Augustin. in Psalm 141.* *Chrysostom. de laudib. Pauli. hom. 4.* Roman. 1. Galat. 6. 1. Corin. 2. Ephes. 4. Colossen. 2. *Theodoretus li. 3. cap. 27.* *Chrysost. in hom. Quòd Christus est Deus.* Actor. 19. 4. Reg. 13. Actor. 5. *Cassiodorus li. 1. cap. 9.* Ezech. 9. *Euseb. l. 9. c. 9.* *Sozomen. li. 5. cap. 50.* *Rufinus lib. 2.* *Socrates lib. 5. cap. 17.* *Sozomen. li. 7. cap. 15.* *Rufinus lib. 2. cap. 29.* *Cassiodor. li. 1. cap. 9.* *Tertullian in Apologetico.* *Sozomen. li. 9. cap. 4.* *Ælius Spartianus.* *Greg. ad German. Patriarc.*

The Crosse.

cuius Labarum insigne gestasti, ipsam dico vivificatricem Crucem: This standard the Christian Emperor Constantinus so blessed with the Crosse, as others before him had done with Minotaurus, or with Aquila. And, notwithstanding Eusebius say, Constantinus *vsed this Crosse, as a preseruation of his safety*, yet doubtlesse his affiance was only in Christ, and not in the Materiall Crosse. For Nicephorus saith, Constantius caused these words to be grauen in the Crosse, Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς νικᾷ, Iesus Christus vincit: *Iesus Christ conquereth*, and not the Crosse. Otherwise S. Ambrose writeth thus: Helena *the Empresse, by whose meanes the Crosse was found out*, Inuenit Titulum: Regem Adorauit, non Lignum vtique: Quia hic Gentilis est error, & Vanitas impiorum: *She found out the Title: but she worshipped Christ the King, and not the Wood. For that is an Heathenish error, and the vanitie of the wicked.*

in Concil. Nicen. 2. Action. 6.

Eusebius in vita Constantini. Oratio. 1.

τοῦτο ἀμυητικὸν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.

Nicephor. lib. 8. cap. 32.

Ambrosius in Oratione funebri Theodosij.

Last of all, whereas M. Harding saith, The professors of this New Gospell cannot abide the Signe of our Lords Crosse: let him vnderstand, it is not the Crosse of Christ, nor the Signe thereof, that we find fault withall, but the Superstitious Abuse of the Crosse. God be thanked, it hath well appeared vnto the world, that they, whom M. Harding thus condemneth, haue been able, not only to abide the Signe of Christs Crosse, but also to take vp their Crosses, and to follow Christ, and to reioice, and triumph in the same.

Neither is there any such great matter yet shewed, wherefore these men should glory of the Antiquitie of their cause. For notwithstanding all this long discourse, and great adoe, yet is it not hitherto any way proued, either that this Crosse was an Image, or that it was set vp in any Church, or that it was Adored of the people. Certainly the Letter, that Ezechiel saw in a Vision: the Crosse that Constantinus saw in the aire: the markes that were either stained with water, or burnt with fire in the labourers garments: the secret Mysticall Letters in the Temple of Serapis: the Cognisances of the Crosse painted, or grauen in Flags, Banners, Targets, and Coines, were only barres laid acrosse, and no Images. Againe, the same Crosses were abroad in other places, in the Aire, in the Field, in the Labourers Coats, in priuate houses, and in mens purses: and not set vp in any Temple, as it is plain by that is already spoken. To be short, it appeareth not by any of these allegations, that any man was then taught to kneel downe vnto these Crosses, or to say, Aue Crux spes vnica: *Alhaile O Crosse our onely hope*, or to yeld them any godly honour. Which thing M. Harding not hauing proued, notwithstanding his long discourse of words, hath proued nothing.

And, whereas he would force Prudentius to say, the Crosse was then carried about in Procession vpon a pole, as the maner is now in the Church of Rome, he openly misvseth that godly Father, and doth him wrong. For it is plaine, that Prudentius in that place speaketh not one word, neither of Church, nor of Priest, nor of Clerke, nor of any going in Procession. Onely he speaketh of the Souldiers marching in the field, and following the Crosse, as their Standard. So Eusebius writeth of the Emperour Constantinus: *He commanded the Signe of the Crosse to be carried before all his armies.* And the next verse that followeth in Prudentius is this: Hoc signo inuictus transmissis Alpibus victor, &c. Where he describeth the dangerous warre, that Constantinus had against Maxentius. Seeing therefore none of all these Crosses, that M. Harding hath here found out, either had any Image hanging on it, or was erected in any Church, or adored of the people, how can all these words stand him in stead, to serue his purpose?

Eusebius de vita Constantini. li. 3. ca. 2.

Oratione, 1.

τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἁπάντων ἡγεῖτο τύπου ὁμοιώματα φέρεσθαι τοῦ σωτηρίου σημείου.

Prudentius contra Symmach. lib. 1.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuision.

Concerning the Images of Christ and of his Saints, that they haue been greatly esteemed and vsed in houses, Churches, and places of praier from the Apostles time forward, it is so euident, that it cannot bee denied. Athanasius writeth that Nicodeme, who came to Iesus by night, made an Image of Christ, with his owne hands, and that, when he lay in his death-bed, he deliuered it to Gamaliel, who was S. Pauls Schoolemaster. Gemaliel when he saw he should die, left it to Iames Iames left it to Simon and Zacheus. This Image came from hand to hand by succession, and continued a long time in Hierusalem. From Hierusalem it was carried into Syria, and at length it was brought to the Citie Berytus, not farre from Tyre and Sydon. Where how despightfully it was vsed of the Iews, and what wonders ensued thereupon, who list to know, he may read it largely declared in a little booke written by Athanasius of that matter.

Images from the Apostles time.

The Genealogy and peregrination of a Fable. It is a fabulous tale, neuer written by Athanasius.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The Reader, of himselfe, if he be not euer simple, may soone espie the simplicitie of this Fable. A Christian man remoueth his household, and hauing there an Image of Christ, equall vnto him in length, & breadth, and all proportion, by forgetfulnesse leaueth it there in a secret place behind him. A Iew after him inhabiteth the same house a long while, and seeth it not: An other strange Iew sitting there at dinner, immediately espieth it standing open against a wall. All this M. Hardings Athanasius. Thus it standeth open, and yet it is hidden: it is hidden, and yet it standeth open. Afterward the Priests, and Rulers,

Rulers of the Iewes come together, and abuse it with all villany. They crowne it with a Thorn: make it drinke Esel, and Gal: and sticke it to the heart with a Speare. But issueth Blod in great quantity: The powers of Heauen are shaken: The Sun is darkned: The Mon loseth her light. And from thence, saith this yong Athanasius, we hap the Blod of Hailes, and all other like Blod throwout the world. To be short, the first word of the Boke is, Iraque. M. Harding himselfe is ashamed to report the tale. Yet must it beare the name of Athanasius: and being neuer so childish a fable, yet it must haue the forward to proue Adoration of Images. Only he telleth vs a long Genealogy of the names of Nicodemus, Gamaliel, Iames, Simon, and Zachæus, to astonne the Reader, and to make him thinke the better of it. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, this Image was neither Churched, nor Adored, or Worshipped, either of Priest, or people.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuision.

Eusebius Cæsariensis in the seuenth booke of his Ecclesiasticall story, writeth of the ancient Image of Christ made in Brasse, and of the woman that was healed by our Sauior of her bloody flix in the City of Phœnica called Cæsarea Philippi, whereof that woman was a Citizen. Which Image, he saith, he saw, as likewise the Images of Peter and Paul, kept by some of old time. And there he confesseth, that the Images of Peter and Paul, and of our Sauior were in his time made, and painted in tables, and set foorth. After Eusebius death, Iulian the renegate tooke down this Image of Christ, and set vp his own in the same place: which with violent fire that fell from heauen, was cleft asunder in the brest, the head broken off with a peece of the necke, and stickt in the ground: The rest of it so remained long after, as a token of lightning, and Gods displeasure might be reserued. That Image of Christ, after that the Painims had haled, pulled, broken, and mangled it villanously, by the Christians was taken vp, set together, and placed in the Church, where it is yet reserued, saith Socrates of his time. Of the miraculous herbe that grew at the foot of this Image, which after that it had grown so high, that it touched the Images skirts, taken, and ministred, was a medicine and present remedy for all diseases, as Eusebius writeth: because it pertaineth not specially to the matter of Images, I rehearse nothing.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Eusebius himselfe sheweth, that the Phenicians being Heathens, and hearing, and seeing the strange Miracles, that had been wrought by Christ, and by his Apostles, made these Images in the honor of them, only of their Heathenish, and vaine Superstition. His words be these: Nec mirum est, veteres Ethnicos beneficio affectos à Seruatore nostro, ista fecisse. Nam & Apostolorum Pauli, & Petri, & ipsius Christi Imagines coloribus ductas & seruatas vidimus. Et credibile est, priscos illos homines, non dum relicta auita Superstitione, ad hunc modum consueuisse colere illos Ethnica consuetudine, tanquam Seruatores: *It is no maruell, that the Heathens receiuing such benefits of our Sauior, did these things. For we haue seene the Images of* Paul, *of* Peter, *and of Christ, drawn in colours and preserued. And it may well be thought, that men in old times, being not yet remooued from the superstition of their Fathers, vsed after this sort to worship them by an Heathenish custome, as their Sauiours.* By these words of Eusebius it is plaine, that the vse of Images came not from Christ, or from the Apostles, as M. Harding saith, but from the Superstitious custome of the Heathens. Neither doth it appeare, that those Images were set vp in any Church. As for the Image of Christ, it is plain, it stood in the street abroad, and an Herbe of strange operation grew vnderneath it. *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 17.* ὡσαύτως τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαρχὴν ἀπολαύοντας εἰκότως τοιαῦτα ἔθνικὴ συνήθεια παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἔσχεν τιμᾶν εὐεργετῶν τὴν τρόπον. *Eusebius lib. 7. ca. 7.*

Iulianus that Renegate, that once had professed Christ, and afterwards wilfully renounced him, tooke down that Image of Christ, not to withdraw the people from Idolatry, but in malice, & despight of that new Religion: and erected vp his own Image, to the intent the people should worship it, purposely to deface Christ: euen as they doe now, that wilfully breake Gods Commandements, to vphold, and maintain their own Traditions. Of whom S. Basil writeth thus: *Whosoforbiddeth vs to doe, that God commandeth: or commandeth vs to doe, that God forbiddeth, is accursed vnto all them, that loue the Lord.* Matth. 15. Therefore God stroke Iulians Image from Heauen with lightning, and rent it in peeces, in token of his reuengeance. *Basilius Moral. Cap. 14.* Like as also, when another Iulian President of the East had spoiled the Churches of Antioch, and, in like despight of Christ, sate vpon the Holy Communion Cups, God smote him suddenly in the secret parts with such a disease, as neuer afterward could be cured. *Sozomen. li. 5. cap. 7.*

M. Harding. The 6. Diuision.

It is euident by Chrysostoms Masse, that there was some vse of Images in the Church of Constantinople in his time: for he speaketh of the Image of the Crucifix. Whosoeuer is desirous to see testimonies of the Fathers for proofe of Images, let him read the seuenth generall Councel holden in Nicea the City of Bithinia against Image breakers, and there he shall find no small number.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

In the Communion Boke, that beareth the name of Chrysostome, there is mention made of Nicolas Bishop of Rome, who, as I haue shewed before, liued well neere fiue

Anno 855. hundred yeres after Chrysostome, and was in order the second Bishop there, after Dame Ioane the woman Pope. Such is the credit, and Antiquitie of M. Hardings witnesses. This second Councel of Nice was holden well neere eight hundred yeres after Christ. To open the whole folly, and fondnesse thereof, it would require a long treaty. Irene the Empresse a wicked woman, the Kings Daughter of Tartarie, an Heathen borne, caused that Councel to be summoned in despight of the Councel of Constantinople, that had decréed against Images. She toke her owne Sonne Constantinus, and pulled out his eies, only because he would not consent to the Idolatrous hauing of Images. The Bishops and Doctors in that Councel manifestly corrupted the Scriptures, and falsified the holy Fathers without shame. They said: Imago melior est, quàm Oratio: *An Image is better than a Praier*: And againe, *Whosoeuer will not Adore the Godly Images, accursed be he.*

Abbas Vsperg.
Carion.
Nicen. Concil. 2. Actio. 4.
Nicen. Concil. 2. Actio. 2.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuision.

I will not let heere to recite some, which, so far as I remember, be not found there, one only excepted, which is of S. Basil, euery one of right good and ancient authoritie.

Simeon Metaphrastes a Greeke writer describing the life of S. Luke the Euangelist saith, that he made the Images of Christ, and of his Mother Mary. S. Ambrose witnesseth, that in his time the Images of the Apostles were vsed in pictures. For where he declareth the maruellous appearing of the holy Martyrs Gerualius, and Protasius vnto him in a vision, he saith, that a third person appeared with them, that told him, where their bodies laie, which seemed like to S. Paul the Apostle, as he vnderstood his face by view of his Picture.

A vaine Fabular. He liued about the yeere 1550.

In vita Gerasij, & Protasij.

Gregory Nyssene S. Basils brother, writing the life of Theodorus the Martyr, bestoweth much eloquence in the praise of the Church, where his Holy Relikes were kept, commending the shape of liuing things wrought by the Carüer, the smoothnesse of Marble polished like Siluer by the Mason, the liuely resemblance of the Martyr himselfe, and of all his worthy acts, expressed and excellently set foorth to the eie in Imagery with the Image of Christ by the painter. In which Images he acknowledgeth the sights of the Martyr to be declared no lesse, than if they were described, and written in a booke.

Paulinus the Bishop of Nola in his booke, that he made in verses of the life of Felix the Martyr, praiseth the Church, which the Martyrs Body was laid in, for the garnishing of it with painted Images in both side, of both kinds, both men, and women, the one kind on the one side, and the other kind on the other sides. Where he speaketh expresly by name of the Images of scabbed Iob, and blind Tobie, of faire Iudith, and great Queene Hester: for so he nameth them.

In decimo Natali.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Coloss. 4. *Lucas Medicus.* S. Paul saith, Luke *the Physitian*, and not, Luke *the Painter*. He painted the Blessed Virgin with the colors of his speech, wherein he was counted more eloquent, than any of the rest: but otherwise to paint her, he had no leasure. Howbeit, Theodorus Anagnostes saith, Eudoxia *sent the same Image from Hierusalem to the Empresse* Pulcheria: vpon what credit, it is not knowen. But this Simeon Metaphrastes, whom M. Harding here painteth out in his colours, and calleth him a Greeke writer, was a poore Schoolmaster in Constantinople, and wrote Saints liues, which may well be called, the Legends of Lies, and liued two hundred yeres agoe, and not aboue. Of so right good ancient authoritie be M. Hardings witnesses.

Theodor. lib. 1.

Volaterranus.

Touching that is here alleged of S. Ambrose, of Gregorius Nyssenus, and of Paulinus; I grant, as there were Painters, and Grauers at that time, so were there also Pictures, and Images at the same time, and that not only in Priuate houses, and market places, but also in the Congregations, and open Churches. Eusebius saith, that the vse thereof was brought first into the Church by the Heathens: And S. Hierome saith, speaking of the Curiosity of the Heathens in this behalfe: Argento, & auro decorauit illud: vt fulgore vtriusque materiæ decipiat simplices. Qui quidem error ad nos vsque transiuit, vt Religionem in diuitijs arbitremur: *He adorneth his Image with Siluer, and Gold, that by the shine and glittering of both these Mettals he may deceiue the simple. Which error doubtlesse is now cropen in among vs,* (that be Christians) *so that now we think, our Religion standeth in Riches.* S. Hierome would not haue complained hereof, if it had not been vsed in some places in his time. Neither could Epiphanius the godly Bishop of Cyprus, haue rent in sunder the Picture of Christ painted in a cloth, or call it a Superstition vnfit for the Church of God: Nor could Serenus the worthy Bishop of Massilia, haue broken in peces Images wrought in timber and Stone, vnlesse such Pictures, and Images had then been vsed. We denie not, but Images were then in vse: but we deny, they were then worshipped of the people, or set vp to the intent they should be worshipped.

Eusebius li. 7. cap. 17.
Hieronimus in Hieremiam li. 2. cap. 10.
Epiphanius ad Iohan. Hierosolymitan.
Gregorius li. 9. Epistol. 9.

M. Harding. The 8. Diuision.

Athanasius hath one notable place for hauing the Image of our Sauiour Christ, which is not common, where he maketh Christ and the Church, to talke together as it were in a Dialogue, *In Sermone de Sanctis, Patribus, & Prophetis.* The Greeke may thus be translated. *Age (inquit) dic mihi, cur oppugnaris? Oppugnor, (inquit Ecclesia) propter doctrinam Euangelij, quam diligenter & accuratè teneo, & propter verum, & firmum Pascha quod*

quod agito, & propter religioſam, & puram Imaginem tuam, quam mihi Apoſtoli reliquerunt, vt haberem depictam arram humanitatis tuæ, in qua Myſterium Redemptionis operatus es. Hic Chriſtus, Si propter hoc (inquit) te oppugnant, ne grauiter feras, neue animum deſpondeas, cum ſcias, ſi quis Paſcha neget, aut Imaginem, me eum negaturum coram patre meo, & electis Angelis. Rurſus verò, qui compatitur mecum propter Paſcha conglorificaturum. An non audiſti, quid Moyſi præceperim? Facies, inquam, mihi duos Cherubinos in Tabernaculo Teſtimonij, ſcilicet, ad præfigurandam meam Imaginem, &c.

The Image of Chriſt.

The Engliſh of this Latine, or rather of the Greek is this. Come on (quoth Chriſt to the Church) tell me wherefore art thou thus inuaded, and vexed? declare me the matter. Forſooth Lord (quoth the Church) I am inuaded, and vexed for the exact obſeruing of the Goſpell, and for the keeping of the Feaſt of the true, and firme Eaſter, and for thy reuerend and pure Image, which thy holy Apoſtles haue left to me by Tradition, to haue, and keep for a repreſentation of thine Incarnation.

Then (quoth our Lord) if this be the matter, for which thou art inuaded, and ſet againſt, be not diſmaied, be of good comfort in heart, and mind, being aſſured hereof, that who ſo denieth Eaſter, or my cleane Image, I ſhall deny him before my heauenly Father, and his choſen Angels. And he, that ſuffereth perſecution with me for keeping of Eaſter, the ſame ſhall alſo be glorified with me. Haſt not thou heard, what I commanded Moſes the Lawgiuer to doe? Make me (ſaid I) two Cherubins in the Tabernacle of the Teſtimony, to be a perfiguration, or foretokening of my Image, &c.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

I trow, this good Old Monument of Antiquity hath laine long in the duſt at Verona, with M. Hardings Amphilochius. The Church piteouſly bemoneth her ſelfe vnto Chriſt, that ſhe is ſore perſecuted, and vexed for his Image. Chriſt to comfort her withall, ſaith: Who ſo denieth mine Image, ſhall be denied before my Father. In the end he confirmeth the vſe of ſuch Images by the Example of the Cherubins.

Here M. Harding, to increaſe ſome credit to his new Doctor, ſhould haue ſhewed vs, when the Church was thus vexed, for hauing the Image of Chriſt, and who vexed her, and what kind of vexation it was, and how long it continued, and in what countrie, and when it ceaſed. The Church is built vpon a Mount: her perſecutions cannot be hidden. If ſhe euer were thus vexed, for hauing of Images, I meane before the time of Athanaſius, it muſt néeds appeare. If neuer, then was ſhe a very Wanton, thus to complaine without cauſe.

If theſe threats be true, that who ſo denieth the grauen, or painted Image of Chriſt, ſhall be denied before God the Father, then muſt Epiphanius the Biſhop of Cyprus, and Serenus the Biſhop of Maſſilia, both Godly, and zealous Biſhops, and a great number of other godly learned Fathers, that rent, and brake down, and defaced Chriſts Images, be vtterly denied before God. To be ſhort, to ſay, that God commanded Moſes to make the golden Cherubins, purpoſely to be Figures of theſe Images of Wood, or Stone, it is a verie Fabulous, and a Childiſh fantaſie, without any ground: howbeit, good enough to maintaine, and colour a Childiſh Doctrine.

Notwithſtanding, if there be any weight either in this hidden Athanaſius, or in his ſayings, then may we well coniecture, that he vſeth this Word Image in this place, not for any ſuch materiall forme painted, or grauen by mans hand, but for the whole Conuerſation of the Son of God in this mortall life, which is as much as, Verbum Caro factum eſt: *The Word became Fleſh*: and is expreſſed and ſet forth, as an Image before our eies in the whole Doctrine, and Policy of the Church, as the depeſt ground, and very foundation of the Chriſtian Faith. And thus S. Paul ſaith: Chriſtus eſt Imago patris: *Chriſt is the Image of the Father*. Otherwiſe God is Inuiſible. S. Iohn ſaith: *No man euer ſaw God: But the Sonne, that is in the Fathers boſome, he hath reuealed the Fathers will.* In his converſation in the Fleſh, as in an Image, we behold God the Father. So in the booke of the Apocalyps, Imago Beſtiæ, *The Image of the Beaſt*, is called, not any materiall Image painted, or grauen, but the Doctrine, the Seduction, the Errors, the Lies, the Blaſphemies, the Idolatry, and the whole Converſation of Antichriſt. So S. Baſil ſaith: *Chriſt called his Fleſh, and Blood the whole Myſticall Doctrine of his Goſpell, which he publiſhed in his diſpenſation in the Fleſh.* So S. Auguſtine ſeemeth to ſay: Eius Paſſionis Imaginem in Eccleſia Celebrandam dedit: *He gaue the Image of his Paſſion to be frequented in the Church.* And Pachymeres the Greek Paraphraſt expoundeth this word Imago thus: Αγάλματα δ φησὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν μυστικῶν: *He calleth Pictures, the Images, or inward and deepe conſiderations of our Myſteries.* For this Image of Chriſt the Church of God was often perſecuted. This Image, as ſome of the Old Fathers ſay, was repreſented and figured by the Cherubins: and vndoubtedly, whoſoeuer denieth this Image, Chriſt ſhall deny him before God his Father. This expoſition is agreeable both to the tenor of Gods Word, and alſo to the ſtory of the time: and therefore we may ſafely iudge, if this were Athanaſius indeed, that this was his very meaning. Otherwiſe the common, and knowen Athanaſius, that is extant, and abroad, writeth thus: ἡ τῶν εἰδώλων ἔυρεσις ὐκ ἀπ' ἀγαθῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ κακίας γέγονε. Τὸ δ πᾶν ἀρχὴν ἔχον κακὴν, ἐν ὐδενί ποτε καλῷ κεῖται, ὅλον ὂν φαῦλον: *The inuention of Images is of euill, and not of good*

2. Corin. 4.
Iohan. 1.
Apocalyp. 13.
Baſilij Epiſt. ad Ceſarienſes: οὐδεμία γὰρ εἰκὼν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν τὴν μυστικὴν ἐπιδημίαν ὑποδέδεκται.
Aug. 80. queſtio. Queſt. 61. Pachymeres in tertium caput Eccl. Hierarc.
Athanaſius aduerſus Gentes.

good. *And the thing, that hath an ill beginning, can neuer be iudged good in any thing, as being in all respects, and altogether ill.* This is this Holie Fathers most clare iudgement, not cast vp in corners, and hidden in the dust, but open to the eies and sight of all the World.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuision.

Of all the Fathers none hath a plainer testimony, both for the vse, and also for the worshipping of Images, than S. Basil, whose authoritie for learning, wisedome, and holinesse of life, beside antiquitie, is so waighty in the iudgement of all men, that all our New Masters laid in ballance against him, shall be found lighter then any feather. Touching this matter, making a confession of his Faith in an Epistle, inueighing against Iulian the renegate, he saith thus: Euen as we haue receiued our Christian and pure Faith of God, as it were by right of heritage: right so I make my confession thereof to him, and therein I abide. I beleeue in one God Father almightie, God the Father, God the Sonne, God the Holy Ghost. One God (in substance) and these three (in persons) I adore and glorifie. I confesse also the Sonnes Incarnation. Then afterward S. Mary, who according to the Flesh brought him foorth, calling her *Deiparam*. I reuerence also the Holy Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs, which make supplication to God for me: that by their mediation our most benigne God be mercifull vnto me, and grant me freely remission of my sinnes. Then this followeth: *Quam ob causam, & historias imaginum illarum honoro, & psalam adoro: hoc enim nobis traditum à Sanctis Apostolis, non est prohibendum, sed in omnibus Ecclesijs nostris eorum Historias erigimus:* For the which cause I doe both honor the stories of their Images, and openly Adore them. For this being deliuered vnto vs of the holy Apostles by tradition, is not to be forbidden. And therefore we set vp in all our Churches their stories. Loe M. Iewel, heere you see a sufficient testimony, that Images were set vp in the Churches long before the end of your six hundred yeeres, and that they were honored and worshipped, not only of the simple Christian people, but of Bishop Basil, who for his excellent learning, and wisedome was renowmed with the name of Great.

Citatur ab Adriano Papa in Epistola Synodica ad Constantinum & Irenem.

This Basil is not S. Basil.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Indéed, as S. Basil for his learning, wisedome, and constancy in Gods truth, was worthily called Great, so was his authoritie alwaies accounted very waighty. If M. Harding had in him some part of that poise, he would not so lightly be blowen away from Christ, and his Gospell, with so weake blasts of light fantasie. But this Basil, is not Basil: nor are these words, S. Basils words. Only Pope Adrian in his Synodical Epistle, among other vaine authorities, allegeth these words in the name of Basil. But in S. Basils Bookes, which are extant, and abroad, they are not found.

Concil. Mogunt. De Imaginib.

And, whereas this Basil is made to protest, that he will honor, and Adore Images, and that openly to the example of others, M. Harding knoweth, this Doctrine is contrarie, not only to common sense, but also to his owne Councels. For in the Councel of Mens it is thus written: Imagines non ad id proponuntur, vt Adoremus, aut Colamus eas: *Images are not set vp to the intent we should honor, or worship them.* Neither doth Gregory call them Gods to be honored, but only bookes to be read: neither bookes of profound knowledge, to instruct S. Basil, or other like learned Bishops: but, Libros Laicerum: *Poore simple bookes to teach the ignorant.*

And, forasmuch as M. Harding would haue vs, to make so déepe account of the authoritie of this Councel: for the better satisfaction of the Reader in this behalfe, I thinke it necessary briefly, and by the way to touch some part of those waighty reasons, whereby the Bishops, and Fathers there after long deliberation were forced to erect, and stablish the vse, and Adoration of Images, and to condemn the gainsaiers, as Blasphemers, and Heretikes. Their speciall grounds are these:

Genes. 2. Moses *saith, God tooke claie, and made man after his owne Image and likenesse:*

Esai. 19. Esai *saith, There shall be a Signe, and a Testimony to the Lord in the Land of Ægypt:*

Psalm. 95. Dauid *saith, Confession, and beauty is before him: Lord, I haue loued the beauty of thy House:*

Psalm. 25. *O Lord, my face hath sought for thee: O Lord, I will seeke after thy countenance: O Lord, the light*

Psalm. 26. *of thy countenance is sealed ouer vs.*

Adriani Epist. Synodica Actione. 2. Of euery of these seuerall clauses, Pope Adrian concludeth thus, Ergo, *we must erect Images in the Church.*

Another reasoneth thus: Sicut audiuimus, ita vidimus: *As we haue heard, so haue we seen:*

Psalm 47. Ergo, *there must be Images, to looke vpon.* Another saith: Mirabilis Deus in Sanctis suis: *God is marueilous in his Saints:* Ergo, *the Church must be decks with Pictures.* Another saith: *No man lighteth a candle, and putteth it vnder a bushel:* Ergo, *Images must be set vpon the Altar.* Of

Theodorus. Concil. Nicen. 2. Actio. 1. all these, and other like authorities Isidorus concludeth, Ergo, *A Church is nothing worth,*

ναὸς λέγω οὐδεὶς ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν εἰκὼν. *vnlesse it be full freight with Images.*

Psalm. 98. To prooue the Adoration, and Worshipping of Images, they haue these authorities.

Psalm. 47. Dauid saith, *Adore ye the footstoole of his feet: Adore ye in his holy hill: O Lord, All the rich of*

Psalm. 44. *the people shall pray before thy countenance.*

Concil Nicen. 2. Actio. 1. Ergo, say they, *Images must be worshipped.* Now, to reckon vp the vanities, and Idolatrous Fables of that Councell, it would be tedious: *The Diuell promiseth by his honestie, that he will no longer tempt, and trouble a holy man, if he will leaue worshipping of the Image of*

our

our Lady. Another tendeth to an Image, to fetch home water to his cellerne. Another goeth on Pilgrimage, and biddeth our Lady in his absence to set to her owne Candle. She did all things accordingly, as she was commanded. Until his returne the Candle went neuer out. Thus much only for a taste.

These prawes be great and weighty, and in comparison hereof, all our Doctor Patters, as M. Harding saith, shall be found lighter than a feather.

And forasmuch as these men so often charge our Doctrine with nouelty, thereby to bring it out of credit, as if it had neuer bene knowen before these latter daies, it shall therefore be good to fetch some part of the most antient Fathers iudgement, and the old practise of the Church concerning the same. Origen saith: *Nostra lex diuina prohibet omnem rei, imaginem nullam effigiem fieri. We make no Images of God, as hauing him visible and without Body.* Againe he saith: Celsus obijcit nobis, quòd non habemus Aras et Imagines. *Celsus the Heathen chargeth vs, that we haue neither Altars, nor Images.* Clemens Alexandrinus, that liued at the same time, writeth thus: Nobis penitùs vetitum est artem fallacem exercere. Non facies enim, inquit Propheta, cujusvis rei Similitudinem: *We are vtterly forbidden to vse this deceitfull arte (of Painting or Grauing). For the Prophet saith: Thou shalt not make the likenesse of any thing.* Arnobius that liued immediately after Clemens and Origen, writeth thus vnto the Heathens: Accusamus nos, quòd non habeamus Imagines & Altaria: *Ye accuse vs, for that we haue neither Images, nor Altars.* Lactantius, sometime Scholar to Arnobius, saith: Non est dubium, quin Religio nulla sit, vbi Simulachrum est: *Out of doubt, where soeuer is any Image, there is no Religion.* S. Augustine much commendeth this saying of Varro: Qui prima Simulachra Deorum populis posuerunt, illi Ciuitatibus suis metum demserunt, errorem verò addiderunt: *They that first erected Images of the Gods vnto the people, tooke away feare and Religion, and increased error vnto their Cities.* And addeth thereto this reason: Quia Dij facilè possunt in Simulachrum mortalitate contemni: *Because the Gods in the folly of Images may soone be despised.* The Counsell holden at Eliberis decreeth thus: Placuit Picturas in Ecclesijs esse non debere, ne, quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur: *We thinke it good, there be no Pictures in the Churches, lest the thing that is honoured, or adored be painted on the Walles.* The like might be said of the Counsell holden at Constantinople. The godly Emperours, Valens and Theodosius, gaue out this generall Proclamation touching all Christendome: Cum sit nobis cura diligens, in rebus omnibus Superni Numinis Religionem tueri, Signum Saluatoris nostri Christi nemini concedimus, coloribus, lapide, aliaue materia fingere, sculpere, aut pingere. Sed quocunque reperitur loco, tolli iubemus, grauissima pœna eos mulctando, qui contrarium Decretis nostris, & Imperio quicquam tentauerit: *Forasmuch, as we haue a diligent care in all things to maintaine the Religion of the most high God, therefore we suffer no man to fashion, to grane, or to paint the Image of our Sauiour Christ, either in colours, or in stone, or in any other kind of Mettall or matter. But where soeuer any such Image shall be found, we commaund it to be taken downe, assuring our Subiects, that we will most straitly punish all such, as shall presume to attempt any thing contrary to our Decree and Commandement.* The same Decree was afterward put in execution, and practised by Philippicus, Leo, Constantinus the Father, Constantinus the Sonne, Nicephorus, Stauratius, Michael, Leo, Armenius, and other Christian and godly Emperours. These authorities, as they be Old and Ancient, so be they also plaine and euident, and well acquainted and knowen vnto the World: and therefore will soone ouerpoise all these Fables of the Image of Nicodemus, of Symeon Metaphrastes, of this yong S. Basil, of new Athanasius, and of other like blind authorities, that haue bin lately sought vp out of corners, and brought to light. Verily Amphilochius, vnder whose cloke M. Harding hath so often hid himselfe, may in no wise be refused. His words be plaine: Non est nobis curæ, Sanctorum vultus corporales in tabulis coloribus effigiare: quoniam his opus non habemus: *We haue no care, to draw out the bodily countenances of Saints in colours and tables: for we haue no need of them.*

Origen. contra Celsum, lib. 7.
Origen, contra Celsum, lib. 4.
Clemens Alexandrinus in Paranetico.
Arnobius contra Gentes, lib. 2. Pag. 214.
Tertull. in Apologetico.
Lactantius, lib. 2. cap. 2.
August. de Ciuitate Dei, li. 4. ca. 31.
Concilium Eliberinum, Can. 36.
Const. Concil. P. Cirinus, li. 9. cap. 9.
Concil. Nicen. 2. Actione, 6.

M. Harding. The 10. Diuision.

Three causes why Images haue beene vsed in the Church.
Ad Serenum Episcopum Massiens. lib. 9. Epist. 9.

Now, that there hath been enough alleged for the antiquitie, originall, and approbation of Images, it remaineth, it be declared, for what causes they haue been vsed in the Church. We find that the vse of Images hath been brought into the Church for three causes. The first is the benefit of knowledge. For the simple, and vnlearned people, which be vtterly ignorant of Letters, in Pictures doe, as it were, reade, and see no lesse, then others doe in books, the mysteries of Christian Religion, the acts, and worthy deeds of Christ, and of his Saints. What writing performeth to them that reade, the same doth a picture to the simple beholding it, saith S. Gregory. For in the same the ignorant see, what they ought to follow: in the same they reade, which can no Letters. Therefore Imagery serueth specially the rude Nations in stead of writing, saith he.

To this S. Basil agreeth in his Homily vpon the fortie Martyrs. Both the writers of stories (saith hee) and also Painters doe shew, and set foorth noble deeds of armes and victories, the one garnishing the

matter with eloquence, the other drawing it liuely in Tables, and both haue stirred many to valiant corage. For what things the vtterance of the story expresseth through hearing, the same doth the still picture set foorth through imitation. In the like respect in old time the worke of excellent Poets was called a speaking picture: and the worke of Painters, a still Poetry. And thus the vse and profit of writing, and of Pictures is one. For things that be read, when as they come to our eares, then wee conueigh them ouer to the minde: and the things that we behold in pictures with our eies, the same also doe we imbrace in our minde. And so by these two, Reading and Painting, we atchieue one like benefit of knowledge. *Pictura loquens. Poema tacens.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The first and chiefe cause and end of Images is, as it is heere pretended, that the people by the sight thereof may attaine knowledge. And therefore S. Gregory calleth them the Lay mens Bookes: And the Fathers in a late Councell say: *We may learne more in a short while by an Image, than by long studie, and trauell in the Scriptures.* And for the same cause S. Basil compareth an Image painted with a Story written. But the comparison, that M. Harding vseth betweene Imagerie and Poetrie, seemeth nearest to expresse the trueth. For Painters and Poets, for liberty of lying, haue of long time beene coupled both together. One writeth of them in this sort: Pictoribus, atque Poetis Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas: *Painters and Poets had euer like charter to aduenture all things.* And Atheneus, blazing abroad the libertie of Poets, writeth of them thus: Οἷς μόνοις ἔξεστι λέγειν ἅπαντα, καὶ ποιεῖν ἃ βούλονται: *Vnto whom onely it is lawfull to say, and doe, what they list.* And therefore Cicero seemeth to say: Nihil negotij est hæc Poëtarum, & Pictorum portenta conuincere: *It is no great masterie, to reprooue these monstrous Miracles of Painters, and Poets.* And therefore, like as Plato commanded, all Poets for their lying to be banished out of his Common Wealth: So likewise Almightie God, for like libertie, banished all Painters out of Israel. For these causes M. Hardings comparison of Painters, and Poets may well be allowed.

Gregor. lib. 9. Epist. 9. Concil. Senonense. Horatius. Athenæus. Cicero Tuscul. Quæst. 1. Plato. Origen. contra Celsum, li. 4.

Howbeit, this seemeth to be no very handsome way, to teach the people. Of their Priests, they haue made Images: and of their Images, they haue made Priests. For their Priests, for the more part, haue Eies, and see not: haue Eares, and heare not: Hearts and vnderstand not: Mouthes, and speake not: in all respects euen like vnto their Images. Their Images haue no eies, and yet are made to see: haue no eares, and yet are made to heare: haue no Mouthes, & yet are set vp to speake: and so in these respects do the Duties, that perteine to Priests. Thus they barre the People from the hearing of Gods holy Word: and bid them goe, and looke vpon their Images: to talke with their Images: to heare their Images: and to learne of their Images.

And, although perhaps the people may happily learne somwhat by these meanes, yet is not this the ordinary way, whereby God hath appointed the people to atteine knowledge. S. Paul saith: Fides ex auditu: *Faith commeth* (not by seeing or gazing, but) *by hearing.* There were many simple, rude, & vnlearned lay men among the Iewes: Yet God neuer set vp any such Bookes for them to read: but contrariwise euermore forbad them, and cried against them, and would not suffer them. If this be so speedy & so ready a way to teach the People, how happeth it, that where as is greatest store of such Schoolmasters, there the people is euermore most ignorant, most Superstitious, and most subiect to Idolatry? But, to conclude, The Prophets, Habacuch, and Hieremie say: Conflatile est demonstratio mendacij: Lignum est Doctrina Vanitatis: *A molten Idoll is a lesson of Lies: And* (M. Hardings) *wooden Image is a doctrine of Vanitie.*

Rom. 10. Habacuch 2. Hierem. 10.

M. Harding. The 11. Diuision.

The second cause of the vse of Images, is the stirring of our mindes to all godlinesse. For where as the affect and desire of man is heauy, and dull in Diuine and Spirituall things, because the Bodie that is corruptible weigheth downe the minde: when it is set foorth before our eies by Images, what Christ hath done for vs, and what the Saints haue done for Christ: then it is quickned and moued to the like will of doing, and suffering, and to all endeuour of holy and vertuous life. As when we heare apt and fit words vttered in a Sermon, or an Oration: so when we beholde lookes, and gestures liuely expressed in Images, we are moued to pittie, to weeping, to ioy, and to other affects. Wherein verily it hath alwaies beene thought, that Painters haue had no lesse grace, than either Oratours, or Poets. *Sapient. 9.*

Who listeth to see examples heereof, he may peruse the second Nicene Councell, where he shall finde among other most notable things concerning this point, one of S. Euphemia the Martyr, an other of Abraham sacrificing his sonne Isaac, worthie of euerlasting memorie, that of Asterius the holy Bishop, this of Gregorie Nyssene, very elegantly described. Virgil maketh Æneas to weepe, to hope for better fortune, to gather courage of minde, to take good aduice, and order for redresse, and helpe of his great calamities, by occasion of beholding a Painters worke at Carthago, wherein the battle of Troy was expressed. Which that wise Poet would not haue done, were it not that Pictures haue great force to moue mens hearts. *Aphth. 4.*

Ouid likewise in the Epistle of Laodamia to Protesilaus her husband being foorth at warres, maketh her so to write of his Image, which she had caused to be made of waxe for her comfort in his absence, as it may well appeare, that Images haue a maruellous power to stirre vehement affects, and to represent things

things absent, as though in maner they were present, in the mindes of the beholders. Among all other examples for this purpose, that seemeth to me most notable, which Appianus writeth of C. Iulius Cæsar, *li. 2. De bellis ciuilibus.* After that Cæsar had been murdered of the Senators in the Councell House, one of his friends, to shew the crueltie of the fact to the people, laid Cæsars bedde in the open market place, and tooke foorth of it his Image made of waxe, which represented three and twentie wounds after a beastly sort stabd into his face, and all the rest of his body, yet gaping, and as it were fresh bleeding. With which shew he stirred the people to more wrath and rage, then he could haue done with any oration or gesture: which was declared foorthwith. For assoone as the people saw it, not able to beare their griefe, nor stay their furie any longer, they wrought great and strange cruelties against them, that were found to haue committed that murder.

The third cause, why Images haue beene set vp in Churches, is the keeping of things in memory necessary to our saluation. For when we cast our eies on them, our memorie, which otherwise is fraile and weake, gathereth together, and imbraceth the benefits, and merits of our Sauiour Christ, and the vertuous example of Saints, which we ought to follow: that if we be such, as they were, we may by Gods grace through Christ attaine the blisse they be in, and with them enioy life euerlasting. And verily they that haue Images in regard, and reuerence, must be so minded, as they behold, not onely the things by them represented, but also performe the same in deed with most diligent imitation.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Touching the Second commoditie of Images, which is the moouing, & stirring of the minde, M. Harding is faine to pray aid of the Heathenish Poets, Virgil, and Ouid: not the meetest authorities for a Doctour of Diuinitie: and for more hereof to bring in their idle fables, with an old prophane storie of Appian. Therefore he seemeth now to wade very deepe, and not farre from the lies. I marueil, he had forgotten the pong man in Eunuchus, who, for that he saw Iuppiter painted in a Table, was straight way thereby inuited, and emboldened to his youthfull purpose. I grant, Images doe oftentimes vehemently moue the minde diuersly to sundry affections. And I reckon him a blind man, that will hold the contrary. Salust saith, Quintus Maximus, & Publius Scipio, whensoeuer they beheld their Ancestors Images, were by and by inflamed with nobilitie of courage, to aduance themselues to like aduentures. But euery thing that may delight, or moue the minde, is not therefore meete for the Church of God. Gods house is a house of prayer, and not of gazing. And, to answer one prophane story by another, the old Lacedemonians would not suffer any Image, or Picture to stand in their Councel house: lest the Senatours mindes by meane thereof, should be drawen from that, they had in hand, to other fantasies. Certainly the Wise man saith: Aspectus Imaginis dat insipienti concupiscentiam: *The sight of an Image in the vnwise stirreth vp concupiscence.*

In Eunucho.

Plutarchus.

The Third commoditie, touching Remembrance, is like the first: And therefore is already answered.

Sapientiæ 15.

M. Harding. The 12. Diuision.

How Images may be worshipped without offence.

And now we are come to declare, how Images may be worshipped, and honored without any offence. That Godly worship which consisteth in Spirit, and Truth inwardly, and is declared by signes outwardly in recognizing the Supreme dominion, which properly of the Diuines is called Latria, is deferred only to the Blessed Trinity. As for the Holy Images, to them we doe not attribute that worship at all, but an inferior reuerence or Adoration: for so it is named: * which is nothing else, but a recognizing of some vertue or excellency protested by outward signe, as reuerend kissing, bowing down, kneeling, and such the like honor. Which kind of Adoration or worship, we find in the Scriptures often times giuen to creatures. The whole act whereof is notwithstanding referred, not to the Images * principally, but to the things by them represented, as being the true and proper obiects of such worship. For although the honor of an Image passeth ouer to the originall, or first samplar, which the learned call *Archetypum*, as S. Basil teacheth: Yet that high worship called Latria, belongeth only to the blessed Trinity, and not to the reuerend Images, lest we should seem to be worshippers of creatures, and of matters, as of Gold, Siluer, Stones, Wood, and of such other the like things. For we adore not Images as God, (a) saith Athanasius, neither in them doe we put hope of our Saluation, ne to them doe we giue Godly seruice or worship, for so did the Gentiles: but by such adoration, or reuerence, we declare only a certaine affection, and loue, which we beare toward the originals. And therefore if it happen their Figure and shape to be defaced and vndone, we let not to burne the stocks, as very wood, and being of other stuffe, to conuert the same to any vse, is may best serue for.

Lib. Amphilochium. 18.

Ingustinib. Manichæus Principem.

Holy Images by M. Hardings confession, are worshipped without Spirit, and Truth.

* A vaine distinction. For the Hebrew word soundeth, *Non incurnabis teipsum*, Thou shalt not bow down, &c.

* The Act or Adoration is referred to the Image: although not principally.

(a) This Athanasius is forged, and not the true Athanasius.

S. Gregory praising much one Secundinus, for that he desired the Image of our Sauiour to be sent vnto him, to the intent by hauing his Image before his eies, he might the more be stirred to loue him in his heart: After a few words vttered in this sense, he saith further. We know thou demandest not the Image of our Sauiour to the intent to worship it, as God: But for the remembrance of the Sonne of God, that thou mightest be enkindled with the loue of him, whose Image thou desirest to behold. And verily we fall not down before it, as before God. But we adore and worship him, whom through occasion of the Image, we remember either borne, or done to death for vs, or sitting in his throne. And whiles we reduce the Son of God to our memorie by the picture, no lesse, than by writing, it bringeth either gladnesse to our mind by reason of his Resurrection, or comfort by reason of his Passion. Thus far S. Gregory.

Li. 7. Epist 53.

And if men pray kneeling before any Image, or triumphant signe of the Holy Crosse, they worship not the Wood or Stone Figured, but they honor the highest God. And whom they cannot behold with senses, they reuerence and worship his Image representing him, according to ancient institution, not resting or staying themselues in the Image, but transferring the adoration and worship to him, that is represented.

Much

Much might be alleged out of the Fathers concerning the worshipping of Images: but this may suffice. And of all this one sense redoundeth, that what Reuerence, Honor, or Worship soeuer is applied to Images, it is but for Remembrance, Loue and honor of the primitiues or Originals. As when we kisse the Gospell Booke, by that token we honor not the Parchment, Paper, and Inke, wherein it is written, but the Gospell it selfe. And as Iacob, when he kissed his Son Iosephs coat embrued with Kids blood, holding and embracing it in his armes, and making heauy moane ouer it, the affection of his loue and sorrow rested not in the Coat, but was directed to Ioseph himselfe, whose infortunate Death (as he thought) that bloody coat represented: So Christen men shewing tokens of reuerence, loue and honor before the Image of Christ, of an Apostle, or Martyr with their inward recognition and deuotion of their hearts, they stay not their thoughts in the very Images, but deter the whole to Christ, to the Apostle, and to the Martyr, giuing to ech one in due proportion, that which is to be giuen, putting difference betweene the Almighty Creator, and the Creatures: finally, rendring all Honor and Glory to God alone, who is marueilous in his Saints. Such worshipping of Images is neither to be accounted for wicked, nor to be despised (203) for the which we haue the testimonies of the Ancient Fathers, both Greeks and Latines: vnto which further authoritie is added by certaine * generall Councels, that haue condemned the breakers and impugners of the same. Gene. 37.

The 203. Vntruth. For no Ancient Father either Greek, or Latine, euer taught vs to kisse an Image, or to kneele, or to bow downe vnto it.

* Without the compasse of six hundred yeeres.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

M. Harding hath made a very large entry to so small a house. The whole question standeth only in this one point of Adoration, which is here very lightly past ouer in few words. All the rest is vsed only as a floorish, to begin the game. Neither doth he any wise directly answer, that was demanded, that is, whether Images in old times were set vp, to be worshipped: but only sheweth his own fantasie, in what sort they may be worshipped. Wherein notwithstanding, he saieth not to agree thorowly, neither with the rest of his company, nor with himselfe. His finall Resolution is this, *The Adoration, that is made in this sort, is not Principally directed to the Image.* The sense of which Words is this, *The corruptible creature of Wood, or Stone may be worshipped, although not Principally, or chiefly as God himselfe, which is thereby represented.* And thus he taketh an indifferent way betweene both: as if he would say, An Image may be Worshipped: and yet it may not be worshipped. Againe, It may not be worshipped: and yet it may be worshipped. And for Confirmation hereof, he alleged certaine Authorities forged vnder the names of S. Basil and Athanasius: Notwithstanding he know right well, that neither of these two Fathers euer either vttered such words, or had cause to moue such matter. Only they are alleged in that childish Councell of Nice the Second, among a great number of other like lies, and Fables. God Christian Reader, if thou be learned, consider, and weigh that Councell. And thou shalt say, I haue reported much lesse, than thou hast found. And the same Athanasius, as he is here brought in to proue the Adoration of Images, so elsewhere in the same Councell he is forced to say, that Christ dwelleth in Reliques, and Dead mens Bones.

Concil. Nicen. 2. Actio. 3.

As for Gregory, notwithstanding he speake expressly of Images, yet he speaketh not one Word of the Adoration of Images. In Conclusion, M. Harding being not able, to alege, no not so much as an Ancient Father for the worshipping of Images, these manifest forgeries only excepted, yet he blusheth not to say in a bravery, that he might allege a great number moe. By such faces, and lying of empty store, the simple people is oft deceiued. But what nedeth M. Harding, either to hold by these counterfet, and forged deeds: or else by these fond deuices of Principall, and not Principall Adoration, thus to simper, and to reason the matter betwixt both? Certainly the Bishops in his Second Councell of Nice, thinke themselues able to proue, both by Scripture, and also by Ancient Authoritie, that Images ought vndoubtedly to be honored. For, as it said before, they allege these Scriptures, *Worship the footstoole of his feet: Adore him in his holy hill: All the rich of the people shall worship thy face.* Hereof they conclude thus, Ergo, *Images must be worshipped.* And therefore Theodosius the Bishop of Mira in the same Councell alloweth it well, and specially, for that his Archdeacon was taught the same by reuelation in a Dreame. Therefore one of them saith: Venerandas Imagines adoro, & id perpetuo docebo: *I Adore the reuerend Images, and will maintaine the same, while I liue.* Another saith: Historias Imaginum honoro, & palam Adoro: *I worship the stories of Images, and Adore them openly.* Another saith: Imagines perfectè adoro: *I giue perfit Adoration vnto Images.* Another saith: Eos, qui diuersum statuunt, auersor, & anathematizo: *All such, as hold the contrary, I vtterly forsake, and hold them accursed.* Briefly, the whole Councell there determined thus: Eos, qui circa Adorationem Imaginum laborant, aut dubitant, nostra Synodus anathematizat: *All such, as stagger, or stand in doubt, of the Adoration of Images, are accursed by this Councell.*

Ex libro Caroli Magni. Psalm. 98. Psalm. 47. Psalm. 44.

Concil. Nicen. 2. Actio. 2.

They say, *We know, that Images are Creatures Corruptible: and therefore we neither vse them, nor take them as Gods.* And thus they thinke themselues very wise men, that can know, that Birds, and Children be able to know. Euen so the Heathens were wont to say

say of their Idols. Cicero confesseth, Iouem lapidem, non esse Deum: *That Iupiter is a stone, and no God.* Lactantius hereof writeth thus: Non ipsa, inquit, Adoramus, sed eos ad quorum Imagines facta, & quorum nominibus Consecrata sunt: The Infidell will say, euen as M. Harding here saith, We worship not our Images, but our Gods, vnto whose likenesse the Images are made, and in whose names they are Consecrate. The like hereof we may find in S. Augustine, in Athanasius, in Sozomenus, and in others: And this excuse was then, as now, thought sufficient.

Latria. Doulia.

Augustin. in Psalm. 113. Athanasi. contra Gentes. Sozomen. li. 7. ca. 15. de Sophista Olympio.

But S. Augustine saith, *Very children know, that these Images haue eies, and see not: mouths, and speake not. Wherefore then doth the holy Ghost so often teach vs, and admonish vs the same thing in the Scriptures, as if we knew it not?* He answereth: Quia species membrorum in eminenti collocata suggestu, cùm honorari, atque adorari cœperit à multitudine, parit in vnoquoque sordidissimum erroris affectum: vt, quoniam in illo figmento non inuenit vitalem motum, credat numen occultum: & effigiem viuenti Corpori similem, seductus forma, & commotus authoritate, quasi sapientium institutorum, obsequentium turbarum, sine viuo aliquo habitatore esse non putet: *For that, the very shape, and proportion of a man set aloft, after it once beginneth to be Adored, and honored of the multitude, it breedeth in euery man that most vile affection of error, that although he find there no naturall mouing, or token of life, yet he thinketh some God, or godly thing is within it: And so being deceiued, partly by the forme, that he seeth, and partly by the Authority, and credit of the Authors, and makers of it, whom they take to be wise, and partly also by the example, and deuotion of the people, whom they see obedient to the same, he thinketh, that the Image, being so like to a liuing body, cannot be without some liuing thing vnderneath it.* Againe he saith: Cùm in his sedibus locantur, honorabili sublimitate, vt à precantibus, atque immolantibus attendantur, ipsa similitudine animatorum membrorum, atque sensuum, quamuis sensu, & anima careant, afficiunt infirmos animos, vt viuere, atque spirare videantur, *After that Images be once set vp in these places in honorable height, that they that pray, or Sacrifice, may looke vpon them, although they haue neither sense, nor soule, yet they so strike and amaze the weake minds of the people, euen with the very proportion of liuing members, and sences, that they seem to haue life, and to draw breath.* Againe he saith: Quis adorat, vel orat intuens Simulachrum, qui non sic afficitur, vt ab eo se exaudiri putet, ac ab eo sibi præstari, quod desiderat, speret? *Who euer Adoreth, or maketh his praier beholding an Image, but he is so mooued in his mind, that he thinketh the Image heareth him, and hopeth it will performe his praier?*

Augustinus in Epist. 49.

Augustinus in Psal. 13. 113.

All these things the Heathens knew, and therefore were well shielded with M. Hardings excuse, and yet notwithstanding were Idolaters: and, as the Prophet Hieremy reporteth, *They said to a Block*, Pater meus es tu: *Thou art my Father: and to a Stone*, Tu me genuisti, *Thou art my Maker, thou hast begotten me.* And therefore were they the children of Gods anger: for that they turned the truth of God into a lie, and honored the Creature aboue the Creator, which is God blessed for euer.

Hieremi. 2.

Roman. 1.

And, the more to encourage the simple in these errors, they haue deuised many fained Miracles. The dead Images haue bin forced to sweat, to weep, to laugh, and to shift themselues from place, to place. And as among the Panims, and Infidels, the Image of Iupiter was able to say aloud, *Let all Christians be banished the Country:* And as the Image of Iuno, being demanded, whether she would goe to Rome or no, was able to giue a curteous beck, and gently to say, Volo, *I am content:* Euen so among Christians, Images haue bin able to speak, whatsoeuer their keper, or Sertine listed. The Image of our Lady was able to attend her own Candle: and other Images able to heale all diseases. Briefly, Nicolaus Lyra saith: In Ecclesia Dei populus sæpè decipitur à Sacerdotibus fictis Miraculis lucri causa: *In the Church of God the Priests oftentimes deceiue the people with fained Miracles for lucres sake.* Thus the world was borne in hand, that Images were not only bare Images, but had also some secret diuine power hidden within them, and therefore were worthy to be honored.

Eusebius li. 8. De Theotecno.

Concil. Nicen. 2. Actio. 5.

Nicolaus Lyra in 14. ca. Daniel.

Here is imagined a great difference in Adoration betwen Latria, and Doulia. Latria *is the honor, that belongeth only vnto God* (as M. Harding saith) in recognising of the supreme Dominion. But of Doulia, which is the other part, and may be Englished a Seruice, and, as they say, is due vnto a Creature, he thought it best, to say nothing. Thus, by M. Hardings distinction, we must Honor God, and serue Images. And therefore this reuerence so giuen, may not be called Idololatria, but Idolodulia: That is to say, *Not the Honoring, but only the seruing, or obeying of Images.* In like sort Lyra saith: *One knee we may bowe to any noble personage: but vpon both we may kneele only vnto God.* And by such a simple distinction it is thought, the whole matter is well salued. But, what if the simple people vnderstand no Greek, and cannot so learnedly discerne Latria from Doulia, but take the one Adoration, for the other? Verily, as it now fareth in the Church of Rome, they vse them doth vniuer-

Nicol. Lyra in Hester 3. ca.

sally

Latria, Doulia.

sally without difference. Therefore this distinction, thus applied, seemeth much like to that Physitians wife sometime said, Pepper is cold in working, and hot in operation. For M. Hardings distinction standeth not in difference of matter, but only in words. Cicero saith: Bonum esse negas: præpositum dicis. An minuis hoc pacto auaritiam? *Thou wilt not haue worldly wealth called* Bonum, *but only* Præpositum. *But doest thou hereby any thing abate auarice?* Euen so may we say to M. Harding: ye will not haue your Adoration of Images called Latria, but only Doulia. But Sir, does you by this distinction, any thing abate Idolatria?

Cicero De Finib. 4.

Certainly, Constantius the Bishop of Constantia, in the Second Nicene Councell saith: Ego Imaginibus cultum honoris exhibeo eundem, qui debetur Viuificæ Trinitati: Et, si quis nolit idem facere, eum anathematizo, vt Marcionem, & Manichæum: *I for my part yeeld vnto Images the same Adoration of honor, that is due to the Holy Trinity: And, if any man refuse to doe the same, I accurse him, as I doe the Heretikes* Marcion *and* Manichee. And in the same Councel it is determined thus: Non sunt Duæ Adorationes, sed vna Adoratio, Imaginis, & Primi exemplaris, cuius est Imago: *There are not two sorts of Adoration* (the one called Latria, the other Doulia, as M. Harding diuideth them) *but one onely Adoration, both of the Image, and also of the Samplar, whereof the Image is.*

In libro Caroli Magni.

Concil. Nicen. 2. Actio. 4.

Likewise Thomas Aquine, after long debating of the matter, thus at last ruleth ouer the case: *The Image, and the thing thereby represented, must be worshipped both with one kind of Adoration:* And, for example he saith: *The Crosse, or Image of Christ must be honored with* Latria, (that is, with godly honor) *because Christ himselfe is so honored: And the Image of our Lady must be honored with* Doulia, *because that honor,* (as he saith) *is due vnto our Lady.* This determination of Thomas is reproued by Holcot: And his reason is this: Latria, *or Godly honor, is due only vnto God: But the Image of God is not God: Therefore* Latria, *or Godly honor is not due vnto an Image. Otherwise* (saith he) *the Creator, and the Creature should both be Adored with one honor.* And notwithstanding Henricus de Gandauo, Petrus de Aquila, Iohannes de Guiuerra, Durandus, and other Schoole Doctors agree with Holcot, and their iudgement seem very agreeable vnto Reason; Yet he that wrote Fortalitium Fidei, saith, *The Common opinion, and practise of the Church holdeth the contrary.* And one Iacobus Payua, a great stickler of that side, doubteth not to write thus: Non tamen inficiamur, hac nos Latriæ Adoratione Christi præclarissimam Crucem colere, & venerari: *Yet we deny not, but we doe worship, and Adore the most noble Crosse of Christ, euen with this Godly honor, that we call* Latria. And, whereas M. Harding referreth the whole Adoration vnto the thing represented by the Image, One Iacobus Nanclantus, the Bishop of Clugium in Italy telleth him, that the Image, and the thing represented by the Image, must, both be worshipped with one kind of Adoration. His words be these: Ergo non solùm fatendum est, Fideles in Ecclesia Adorare coram Imagine, vt nonnulli ad cautelam fortè loquuntur, sed & Adorare Imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo, quin & eo illam venerari cultu, quo & prototypon eius. Propter quod, si illud habet Adorari Latria, & illa habet Adorari Latria: *Therefore we must confesse, that the Faithfull people in the Church doth not only worship before the Image, as some men vse to speake for more assurance, but that the worship they Image it selfe, and that without any maner scruple of conscience, whatsoeuer. Yea, and further they worship the Image with the same honor, wherewith they worship the thing represented. As if the thing represented by the Image be worshipped with godly honor, then must the Image it selfe likewise be worshipped with godly honor.*

Author Fortalitij: Licèt hoc rationabiliter dictum videatur, tamen Communis opinio tenet oppositum.

Iacobus Payua li. 9.

Iacobus Nanclantus in epist. ad Roman. cap. 1.

If M. Harding will say, these errors be old, and long sithence controlled by his Church of Rome, it may please him to vnderstand, that Nanclantus was printed in Venice, Anno 1557. and that Payua was printed in Coleine, Anno 1564. both well allowed without controlement.

The case standing thus, what then auaileth M. Hardings distinction of Latria, and Doulia? I feare me, we may say of him, and his fellowes, as S. Augustine sometime said of the Heathens: Nemo mihi dicat, Non est Numen: non est Deus. Vtinam ipsi sic norint, quomodo nouimus nos. Sed quid habeant, pro qua re habeant, quid ibi faciant, Ara testatur: *Let no man say vnto me, it is no Diuine Power: it is no God. I would to God, they so knew it, as we know it. But what they haue, and in what sort they haue it, and what they doe about it, the Altar beareth witnesse.*

Augustin. De Verbis Domi. Secundum Matthæ. Sermo. 6.

August. ad Quoduultdeum.

Marcellina the Heretike is much reproued by S. Augustine, for that, among other Images, she offered vp incense to the Image of Christ. And Origen saith: Fieri non potest, vt quis & Deum, & Simulachrum colat: *It is not possible, that any man may worship God, and an Image both together.* And Polidorus Virgilius a man of late yeares, vttering the great abuse, that he saw in the Church in his time, writeth thus: Nunc de Simulacrorum cultu agamus: quem non modo nostræ Religionis expertes, sed, teste Hieronymo, omnes ferè Veteres Sancti Patres damnabant, ob metum Idololatriæ: *Now let vs intreat of the worshipping*

Origen. contra Celsum li. 4.

Polyd. Virgil. De Inuentorib. rer. lib. 6. ca. 13.

ping of Images: which not only the Heathens, that were void of our Religion, but also, as S. Hierom saith, all the Old Godly Fathers condemned, for feare of Idolatry. And of the abuse, and disorder of the Church herein in his time, he writeth thus: Eo insaniæ deuentum est, vt hæc pars Pietatis parùm differat ab Impietate: *The world is come to such outrage, and meere madnesse herein, that this part of Holinesse differeth now very little from open Wickednesse.* To this passe the Church of God was brought by M. Hardings distinction, of Latria, and Doulia.

Latria, Doulia. *Ibidem.*

The best remedy in this behalfe, and most agreeable with Gods Word, is vtterly to abolish the cause of the ill. So the godly King Ezechias toke down, and brake in peces the Brasen Serpent: Notwithstanding Moses himselfe, by Gods speciall Commandement had erected it: notwithstanding it were an expresse Figure of Christ hanging vpon the Crosse: notwithstanding it had continued so many yeres: notwithstanding God by it had wrought so many Miracles. So the godly Bishop Epiphanius rent in sunder the Image of Christ Painted in a Cloth, and said, It was against Gods Commandement, a thing Superstitious, and vnmeet for the Church, and people of God: notwithstanding it were the Image of Christ. So the godly Emperor Theodosius made his Proclamation ouer all his Dominions in this sort: Signum Seruatoris nostri, quocunque loco reperitur, tolli iubemus: *We straitly command, that the Image of our Sauior be taken down, in what place soeuer it shall be found:* notwithstanding it were the Image of our Sauior. So it is Decreed in the late Councel of Mens, that, when Images happen to be abused by the people, they be either notably altered, or vtterly abolished. Neither doth God throughout all his holy Scriptures any where condemne Imagebreakers: but expresly, and euery where he condemneth Image worshippers, and Image makers. God saith, *They are snares to catch the Ignorant:* He knoweth the inclination of the heart of man. And therefore he saith, *Accursed be he, that leadeth the blind out of his way:* And, *Accursed be he, that laieth a stumbling blocke to ouerthrow the blind.*

Epiphanius ad Iohannem Epis. Hierosolymitan. Petrus Crinitus li. 9. ca. 9. Concil. Mogunt. inten. De Imag. Sapientiæ 14. Deuteron. 27. Leuiti. 19.

OF READING THE SCRIPTVRES.

THE FIFTEENTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that the Laie People was then forbidden to Reade the Word of God in their own tongue.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

That the Lay people was then forbidden to read the Word of God in their own tongue, I find it not. (204) Neither doe I find, that the laie people was then, or at any other time commanded to read the word of God in their own tongue, being vulgar, and barbarous. By vulgar, and barbarous tongues, I vnderstand, as before, all other, beside the three learned, and principall tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latine. Which, as they were once natiue, and vulgar to those three peoples, so now to none be they natiue, and vulgar, but common to be obtained by learning, for meditation of the Scriptures, and other knowledge.

The 204. Vntruth. For M. Harding knoweth, The people was commanded to read the Scriptures, &c.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding fully dischargeth this whole matter in one word. I find it not, saith he, that the Lay people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue. Howbeit, some others of his side though somtimes, they had surely found it: and were able to allege these words: Nolite sanctum dare Canibus: *Giue not holy things to Dogs:* And thereof necessarily to conclude, that the Laie People, whom in respect of themselues they called Dogs, might not once touch the holy Scriptures. But M. Harding saith plainlie, He findeth it not. This short answer, touching the demand, is sufficient: If he knew, what were sufficient. All the rest is made vp only in words, as shall appeare.

He addeth further: Neither doe I find, that the Lay People was then, or at any other time, commanded to read the word of God in their own tongue, being Vulgar, and Barbarous. First, this stopple, of Commanding, is whole impertinent vnto the question. Secondly, all other tongues,

tongues, three only excepted, are without iust cause, Condemned for Barbarous. Thirdly, this exception, of the peoples reading in their Vulgar tongue, is only a bace shift and a quarrell without sauour. For in what tongue can the Vulgar people read, and vnderstand any thing, sauing only in their owne Common, and Vulgar tongue? But as the Emperour Tiberius vsed sometimes to send certain of his Nobles into his out Prouinces, and far Countries, to rule there, as Viceroies, and Lieutenants vnder him, and yet, that notwithstanding, would not suffer them to goe thither, or in any wise to depart from Rome: euen in like sort M. Harding, notwithstanding he would seem to licence the Laie People to read Gods Word, yet he limiteth them either to the Greeke, or to the Latine, or to the Hebrew tongue, wherein he is well assured, they cannot read it.

Cornelius Tacitus, in Tiberio.

But, that the people was in Old times willed to read the Scriptures, and that in such tongues, as they were able to vnderstand, it is euident, and appeareth many waies. And of infinite testimonies, and good proofes, only to touch a few, God saith thus vnto his people: *Hearken O Israel: Let the Words, that I speake to thee this day, rest in thy heart: thou shalt shew them vnto thy Children: thou shalt thinke of them sitting in thy house, and walking in thy iourney: and when thou goest to rest, and when thou risest: thou shalt bind them, as a marke, vnto thy hand: thou shalt haue them as a token before thine eies: thou shalt write them on the postes of thy doores, and at the entry of thy gates.*

Deuteron. 6.

As it is noted by a Writer of late yeres, it was decréd in the First Councell of Nice, that no Christian man should be without the Bible in his house. S. Augustine saith vnto the people: Nec solùm sufficiat, quòd in Ecclesia Diuinas Lectiones auditis: Sed etiam in domibus vestris, aut ipsi legite, aut alios legentes requirite: *Thinke it not sufficient, that ye heare the Scriptures in the Church: but also in your houses at home, either read your selues, or get some other to read vnto you.* S. Chrysostome saith vnto his people: Admoneo, & rogo, vt libros comparetis: *I warne you, and beseech you, to get bookes.* Againe he saith: Audite Sæculares omnes: Comparate vobis Biblia, animæ Pharmaca. Si nihil aliud vultis, vel Nouum Testamentum acquirite, Apostolum, Euangelia, Acta, continuos, & sedulos Doctores: *Heare me ye men of the World: get ye the Bible, that most holesome remedy for the Soule. If ye will nothing else, yet at the left get the New Testament,* S. Pauls *Epistles, and the Acts, that may be your continuall, and earnest Teachers.* Origen saith: Vtinam omnes faceremus illud, quod Scriptum est, Scrutamini Scripturas: *I would to God, we would all doe, as it is written, Search the Scriptures.* S. Hierome speaking of the Company of women, that was at Bethleem with Paula, saith thus: Non licebat cuiquam Sororum, ignorare Psalmos, & non de Scripturis Sanctis quotidiè aliquid discere: *It was not lawfull for any one of all the Sisters, to be ignorant of the Psalmes: nor to passe ouer any day, without learning some part of the Scriptures.* In these Examples, notwithstanding some cauill perhaps might be made to the contrary, yet very reason will lead M. Harding to thinke that these Fathers meant the people should read the Scriptures in their owne knowen, and Vulgar tongues. S. Basil saith: Quantum ferre potest humana natura, possumus esse similes Deo: Similitudo autem illa sine cognitione nulla est: Cognitio autem constat ex Doctrina: Initium autem Doctrinæ, Sermo est: Sermonis autem partes, Syllabæ, & voces: *We may become like vnto God, as far foorth, as the weake nature of man can beare. But this likenesse cannot be without knowledge: Neither this knowledge without Doctrine. And the beginning of Doctrine is speech: and the parts of speech be Words, and Syllables.* The Resolution hereof is this: The people without vnderstanding the particular Words, and Syllables, cannot know the Speech: not knowing the Speech, they cannot attain this Doctrine: and without this Doctrine they cannot be like vnto God.

Cornel. Agrippa De Vanitate Scientiarum.
Augustin. in Capite Ieiunij.
Chrysostom. in Iohan.
Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Coloss. hom. 9.
Origen. in Esai. hom. 2.
Hieronym. in Epitaphio Paulæ.
Basilius de Spiritu Sancto, ca. 1.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuision.

They that treat of this Article, concerning the hauing of the Scriptures in a Vulgar tongue for the Laitie to read, be of three sundry opinions. Some iudge it to be vtterly vnlawfull, that the Bible be translated into any tongue of the Common people. Some thinke it good it be translated, so that respect be had of time, and of place, and of persons. Some be of the opinion, that the Holy Scriptures ought to be had in the mother and native tongue of euery Nation, without any regard of time, place, or persons. *The first opinion is holden of few, and Commonly misliked. * The third is maintained by all the sects of our time, the Swenkfeldians excepted, who would the Scriptures to be in no regard. The second is allowed best of those that seeme to be of most wisdome, and godlinesse, and to haue most care for the health of the Church, * who haue not seuered themselues from the Faith which hath continued from the beginning. Here that I say nothing of the first opinion, as they of the third reproue the moderation of the second, so they of the second cannot allow the generalitie of the third.

Three sundry opinions concerning the Scriptures to be had in a Vulgar tongue.

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* This is the practise of the Church of Rome.
* This was the iudgement of Christ, the Apostles, and all the Old Fathers.
* M. Harding is none of these.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here are laid out three sundrie opinions: The first vtterly barreth all, and euery of the Laie people, from euery parcell of the Scriptures. The Third giueth all men leaue to read

read all parts thereof, without exception. Betweene these two extremes, the Second opinion is a meane.

The first hereof, saith M. Harding, is commonly misliked. Yet neuertheleſſe it appeareth by him in the fourteenth Diuiſion of this Article, it is the very Practiſe, and opinion of the Church of Rome: which Church, as he ſaith, hath already condemned all the New Translations, and not allowed the Old, neither in the Gothian tongue translated by Vlphilas, nor in the Sclauon tongue translated by S Hierome: nor hath deuiſed any other Translation of her own. Hereby it is plaine, that the Opinion, and Practiſe of the Church of Rome, is commonly misliked, and holden of few.

The Third Opinion, that all men indifferently may reade the Scriptures without reſtraint, as M. Harding ſaith, is holden onely by certaine Sects, and is to generall. Notwithſtanding this generalitie ſeemed good to Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and to all the Old Doctors of the Church, as it ſhall appeare. Wherefore it followeth, that Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and all the Old Doctors, by M. Hardings iudgement, were Sectaries, and Heretikes.

The Second Opinion is a meane betweene both, and is holden by M. Harding, and by certaine others, that haue not at any time altered their Faith: Notwithſtanding men ſay, M. Harding hath altered more then once, and therefore may hardly be allowed, to paſſe in this number. Yet is this opinion of all others accounted the beſt. Howbeit, whereas all men are indifferently, and equally inheritors to Gods Word: to binde the ſame only vnto a few, and that with ſuch reſtraint of times, and places, it muſt needs be thought ſome great partialitie. S. Paul ſaith: Quæcunque ſcripta ſunt, ad noſtram Doctrinam ſcripta ſunt: vt per patientiam, & conſolationem Scripturarum ſpem habeamus: *All, that is written in the Scriptures, is written for our inſtruction: that by patience, and comfort of the Scriptures we may haue hope.* Roman. 15. S. Baſil ſaith: *The Scripture of God is like an Apothecaries ſhop, full of Medicines of ſundry ſorts, that euery man may there chuſe a conuenient remedy for his diſeaſe.* *Baſilius in Pſalm. 1.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Deus in Scripturis, quaſi amicus familiaris, ſine fuco loquitur ad Cor doctorum, & indoctorum: *Almighty God in the Scriptures ſpeaketh, as a familiar friend without diſſimulation, vnto the hearts, both of the learned, and alſo of the vnlearned.* *Auguſt. Epiſt. 3. ad Voluſianum.* Wherefore the word of God being ſo Vniuerſall, meet for all diſeaſes, for all wits, and for all capacities: for M. Harding to improper the ſame only vnto a few, it is both far greater diſhonor vnto God, and alſo far greater iniurie vnto Gods faithfull people, then, if he would in like maner impropet, and incloſe the Sun beames, to comfort the rich, and not the poore: to ſhine vpon ſome, and not vpon all. This meane way, is no way: It is waighed out, not by the Scriptures, or holy Fathers, but only by policie, and worldly reaſon.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

Fiue Conſiderations why the Scriptures are not to beſet foorth for all ſorts of people to reade them without limitation.

That the Scriptures be not to be ſet foorth in the Vulgar tongue to be read of all ſorts of people, euery part of them, without any limitation of time, place, and perſons, they ſeeme to be mooued with theſe conſiderations. Firſt, that it is not neceſſary: Next, that it is not conuenient: Thirdly, that it is not profitable: Fourthly, that it is dangerous, and hurtfull: And laſtly, although it were accorded, the common people to haue liberty, to read the Bible in their owne tongue, yet that the Tranſlations of late yeeres made by thoſe, that haue diuided themſelues from the Catholike Church, be not to be allowed, as worthily ſuſpected, nor to be found, and aſſured.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

These deepe conſiderations were neuer deuiſed, neither by Moſes, nor by Chriſt, nor by the Apoſtles, nor by any the Ancient Fathers: but are brought in onely now at laſt by them, that of long time haue deceiued the world by Ignorance, and yet labor by the ſame to deceiue it ſtill. Chriſt ſaith: Qui malè agit, odit lucem: *He that doth ill, flieth the triall of the light.* Iohan. 3. And M. Hardings owne Amphilochius ſaith: Naturalis prouidentia eſt malè errantium, auferre de medio Teſtimonia Veritatis: *It is the naturall proniſion of them, that be wilfully deceiued, to conuey out of ſight all prooſes, and Teſtimonies of the Truth.* *Amphilochius in vita Vincentij.* So the Philiſtines the better to keepe the Iewes thrall, and in ſubiection, vtterly bereaued them of all maner weapon, and artillery, and left them naked: and, no doubts, bare them then in hand, as M. Harding doth now the people of God, that it was neither neceſſarie, nor conuenient, nor profitable for them to haue armor. 1. Regum 13. Verily Chryſoſtome ſaith: *It is more neceſſary, more conuenient, and more profitable for the Lay People to reade Gods Word, than for Monkes, or Prieſts, or any others.* *Chryſoſtom. in Matth. hom. 2.* Thus he writeth: Hoc eſt, quod omnia quaſi vna quadam peſte corrumpit, quòd Lectionem Diuinarum Scripturarum ad ſolos putatis Monachos pertinere: cum multò vobis magis, quàm illis, ſit neceſſaria. Itaque multò eſt grauius, atque deterius, rem ſuperfluam eſſe putare Legem Dei, quàm illam omninò non legere. Hæc enim verba ſunt, quæ de Diabolica prorſus meditatione promuntur: *This is it, that, as it were with a peſtilence, infecteth all things, that yee thinke, The reading of the Scriptures pertaineth onely vnto Monkes: whereas it is much more neceſſary for you, than for them. It is more wickedneſſe, to thinke, Gods*

Tradition.

De Diabolica prorſus meditatione promuntur.

Law is ſuperfluous, than if ye ſhould neuer read it. For theſe be the words, that no doubts come from the ſtudie of the Diuell.

Thus much therefore we learne here by Chryſoſtome, **that theſe M. Hardings profound conſiderations** *come from the ſtudie and cloſet of the Diuell.*

M. Harding. The 4. Diuiſion.

Firſt, that the Common people of all ſorts, and degrees, ought of neceſſitie to reade all the holy Scriptures in their owne tongue, they ſay, they could neuer find it hitherto in the ſame Scriptures. Irenæus writeth, that the Apoſtles preached to the Aliens, and Barbarous people the Faith of Chriſt, euen to thoſe, that were Aliens, and Barbarous in language, and ſaith, that hauing heard the Goſpell preached, they beleeued in Chriſt: and keeping the order of Tradition, which the Apoſtles deliuered vnto them, had their ſaluation, and Faith written in their heart without print, pen, or inke, and vtterly without letters. And further he ſheweth, that if the Apoſtles had left to vs no Scriptures at all, yet we ſhould be ſaued by the tradition, which they left to them, whom they committed their Churches vnto, as many Nations of Aliens be ſaued by the ſame. *Libro 3. aduerſus hæreſes, c. 4.*

Hilarius likewiſe declaring, that the myſterie of Gods will, and the expectation of the bleſſed Kingdome, is moſt and chiefly preached in the three tongues, in which Pilate wrote on the Croſſe, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt to be King of the Iewes: confeſſeth notwithſtanding, that many Barbarous Nations haue attained, and gotten the true knowledge of God by the preaching of the Apoſtles, and the Faith of the Churches remaining amongſt them to that day. Whereby hee doth vs to vnderſtand, that the vnlearned Barbarous people had their Faith without letters, or writing, whereof they had no skill, by Tradition, and preaching, as well as the other Nations, who were holpen by the benefit of the learned tongues, Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine. *Prolegomenon planationum Pſalm.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Touching this firſt conſideration, M. Harding imagineth ſhadowes of himſelfe, and fighteth ſtoutly againſt the ſame. Therefore he may ſone attaine the Victory. For we ſay not, that the common people of all ſorts, and degrées, ought of neceſſitie to reade all the holy Scriptures. This is only M. Hardings fantaſie: We ſay it not: We know, ſome are blinde, and many vnlearned, and cannot reade. But thus we ſay, that in the Primitiue Church, whoſoeuer would, and could reade, might lawfully reade without controlement. Therefore S. Auguſtine **ſaith, as it is before alleged:** Aut ipſi legite, aut alios legentes requirite: *Either reade your ſelues, or get ſome other to reade vnto you.* *Auguſtin. in capite Ieiunij.*

I grant, at the firſt preaching, and publiſhing of the Goſpell, certaine Barbarous Nations, that receiued the Faith of Chriſt, had neither Bookes, nor Letters. Yet were they not therefore ignorant, or left at large, to beléeue, they knew not what. They had then certaine Officers in the Church, which were called Catechiſtæ: **whoſe dutie was, continually, and at all times, to teach the Principles of the Faith, not by Bookes, but by Mouth. Of theſe mention is made in the Acts of the Apoſtles, in the Councell of Nice, and elſewhere. This office bare** Origen **that Ancient learned Father. This doctrine** Dionyſius **calleth** θεοπαράδοτα λόγια, *Oracles, or Inſtructions giuen from God:* **And ſaith,** *They paſt from one to another, not by Writing, but by Mouth,* ἐκ τοῦς εἰς νοῦν, *from mind, to mind.* **Neither did theſe Traditions containe any ſecret, or priuie Inſtructions, or Inuentions of Men, as it is imagined by ſome, but the very ſelfeſame Doctrine, that was contained written in the Scriptures of God. And in this ſort the Goſpell it ſelfe, and the whole Religion of Chriſt, was called a Tradition. So** Tertullian **calleth the Articles of the Faith,** *An Old Tradition.* **So the Faith of the Holy Trinitie in the Councell of** Conſtantinople **is called a Tradition: And the Faith of two ſundry Natures in Chriſt in the ſame Councell is called,** Apoſtolorum viua Traditio: *The liuely tradition of the Apoſtles.* **So it is written in** Socrates: Credimus in vnum Deum Patrem, ſecundùm Euangelicam, & Apoſtolicam Traditionem: *Wee beleeue in one God the Father, according to the Tradition of the Goſpell, and of the Apoſtles.* **So S. Baſil calleth it,** *a Tradition, To beleeue in the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoſt.* **Therefore S. Paul ſaith:** Tenete Traditiones, quas accepiſtis, ſiue per Sermonem, ſiue per Epiſtolam: *Keepe the Traditions, that ye haue receiued, either by Mouth, or elſe by Letter.* **By theſe words the Doctrine of the Apoſtles is called a Tradition. And for this cauſe S. Cyprian ſaith:** Vnde eſt iſta Traditio? An de Dominica, & Euangelica Veritate deſcendens: an de Apoſtolorum Mandatis, atque Literis veniens? *From whence is this Tradition? whether commeth it from our Lord, and from his Goſpell: or elſe from the Epiſtles, and Commandements of the Apoſtles?*

Actor. ca. 19. Concil. Nicen. 1. Can. 14. Origen. Catechiſta. Euſeb. li. 6. ca. 20. Dionyſius in Eccleſ. Hierar. Tertullian. De Præſcription. aduerſus Hæreticos. Concil Conſtantinop. 6. Act. 4. Eadem Actione. Socrates lib. 2. cap. 7. Baſili. de Spiritu Sancto. 2 Theſſal. 2. Cyprianus ad Pompeium. Irenæus li. 3. c. 4. Scriptam habentes Salutem per Spiritum in cordibus ſuis. Galat. 3. Philippen 1. 1. Pet. 3.

Thus were the Barbarous Nations inſtructed by Tradition, and by Mouth, and were made perfect in euery point, and parcell of the Faith, and, as Irenæus **ſaith,** *Had their Saluation by the Holy Ghoſt written in their Hearts: and were as much bounden vnto the ſame, as vnto any writings, and letters of the Apoſtles.* **Of ſuch liuely, and clére Doctrine S. Paul ſaith,** *Chriſt was ſet out, and Crucified before the eies of the Galathians.* **And thereof hée ſaith to the Philippians:** *My prayer is, that your Charitie may yet more and more abound in all knowledge, and in all vnderſtanding.* **And thus, notwithſtanding they were Barbarous, yet**

yet were they able to render an account of all the Religion, and Faith in Chriſt. For thus Irenæus writeth of them: Si quis illis annunciaret ea, quæ ab iſtis Hæreticis inuenta ſunt, ſtatim clauderent aures: *If any man would ſhew thoſe Barbarous Nations, what things theſe Heretikes haue inuented, they would ſtop their eares, and not abide it.* Likewiſe if a man would ſhew them of the Prophanation of Chriſts Holy Myſteries, of Tranſubſtantiation, of Reall, and Fleſhly Preſence, and of other like horrible diſorders, that now are holden, and defended in the Church of Rome, as Irenæus ſaith, Fugerent longo longius, neaudite quidem ſuſtinentes blaſphemum colloquium: *They would flee away, as farre as they were able, and would not abide the hearing of ſuch blaſphemous talke.* Thus were theſe Nations ſufficiently inſtructed, notwithſtanding they were Barbarous, and wanted Bookes.

Tradition.

Irenæus, li. 3. ca. 4.

Irenæus in eodem capite.

But they of M. Hardings ſide, neither will teach the people, as their duty is, nor ſuffer them to reade the Holy Scriptures, and to teach themſelues. Chriſt may iuſtly ſay to them, as he did ſometimes vnto others the like: *Wo be vnto you, ye Scribes, and Phariſies: Ye ſhut vp the Kingdome of heauen before men: and neither doe ye enter your ſelues, nor ſuffer others, that would enter.* Of ſuch Irenæus ſpeaketh in the next Chapter following: Hoc non eſt ſanantium, nec vimficantium, ſed magis grauantium, & augentium ignorantiam. Et multò verior hic Lex inuenitur, Maledictum dicens omnem, qui in errorem mittit Cæcum in via: *This is not the part of them, that would heale, or giue life: but rather of them, that augment the burthen, and increaſe ignorance. And heerein is the Law well verified, Accurſed is he, that leadeth the blinde out of his way.*

Matthæ. 23.

Irenæus, li. 3. cap. 5.

Deuteron. 27.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuiſion.

That it is not conuenient nor ſeemely, all ſorts of perſons without exception to bee admitted to the reading of the holy Scriptures, I need to ſay nothing: Euery reaſonable man may eaſily vnderſtand the cauſes by himſelfe. This is certaine, diuers Chapters and ſtories of the Old Teſtament, containe ſuch matter, as occaſion of euill thoughts is like to be giuen, if Women, Maidens, and Yong men be permitted to reade them. Gregorie Nazianzene, whom the Greekes called the Diuine, ſaith, mooued with great conſiderations, that it is not the part of all perſons to reaſon of God, and of Godly things, neither behoouefull the ſame be done in all times and places, nor that all things touching God bee medled withall. Which aduertiſement taketh no place, where all be admitted to the curious reading of the Scriptures in their owne Vulgar Tongue.

The word of God offereth occaſion of ill thoughts. Nazianzene ſpeaketh of Contention, and Reaſoning, and not of Reading.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

M. Harding ſaith, It is not conuenient, nor ſeemely, that all the people ſhould read the Holy Scriptures. As if he would ſay in plainer wiſe: *It is not meet, nor ſeemely, that God ſhould ſpeake vnto euery of the poore ſimple people without exception.* Howbeit, God himſelfe ſaith not ſo, but rather the contrary. S. Auguſtine ſaith, as it is alleged before: *God ſpeaketh as a familiar friend vnto the heart both of the learned, and alſo of the vnlearned.* For hee hath no acceptation, or choice of perſons. If it be not ſeemely for the people of God to read, and to know Gods holy Will, for whom then is it ſeemely? The danger of fantaſies, and ill thoughts, that may thereby be moued, is but a fantaſie. The Prophet Dauid ſaith: Eloquia Domini eloquia caſta: *The words of God be holy and chaſte words.* Againe he ſaith: *Whereby ſhall a yong man amend his life?* He anſwereth, not by fleeing, but, *by keeping thy holy Words.*

Auguſtinus ad Voluſianum Epiſ. 3. Loquitur ad eos & doctorum, & indoctorum.

Actor. 10.

Pſalm. 11.

Pſalm. 119.

And may we thinke, that M. Harding meaneth any good Faith, that to the intent, as he ſaith, to pull yong men from euill thoughts, thus withdraweth them from the reading of Gods word, which euery where reproueth Sin: and neuertheleſſe giueth them leaue to read Ouid, Terence, Propertius, and ſuch others, which, for the moſt part, are nothing elſe but examples, and Schooles of Sin? Verily, if Gods holy Word be a prouocation of ill thoughts, which blaſphemous Words, I marueil M. Harding can vtter without horror, the World thinketh, that many Unmaried Prieſts in the Church of Rome, are as much inclined to the ſame, as any Woman, Maiden, or Yong man. For it is not a Gown or a Cap, that mortifieth the affections of the minde.

Nazianzene ſpeaketh not of reading the Scriptures, but of contentious diſputing, and reaſoning of God, or godly things: which, as S. Paul ſaith, often times worketh the ſubuerſion of the hearers. And in this ſenſe S. Cyprian ſeemeth to ſay: De Deo etiam vera dicere, periculoſum eſt: *Of God it is dangerous to ſpeake, yea although ye ſpeake the truth.* Hereof M. Harding maketh vp a very ſlender reaſon: It is not ſeemely for euery man to contend, and diſpute of God: *Ergo*, It is not ſeemely for the Lay People to reade the Scriptures. I grant, the Rabbines did not amiſſe, to reſtraine the people from reading certaine Chapters of the Old Teſtament, vntill they were growen in yeares, and iudgement. For the Scriptures of God are not all of one ſort. Some parts bee eaſie: ſome parts be hard: Some meet for beginners: ſome meet for them, that know more: but all meet, and made for the people of God. Yet were it great follie, and want of diſcretion, to begin firſt with the hardeſt. So Iuſtinian the Emperor appointeth an order for the reading of the Lawes: What Bookes,

Nazianzenus Theologie li. 1.

2. Timoth. 2.

Cyprian.

In Procemio Pandect.

and Titles he would haue read the firſt peare, what the Second, and ſo forth. For otherwiſe, who ſo would wade without order, ſhould loſe his time.

But whereas M. Harding ſaith, It is not ſeemely, nor conuenient, the Scriptures ſhould bee read of all perſons without exception: It had beene good ſkill, and ſome credit vnto his cauſe, if he could haue told vs plainly, out of all the whole people, what perſons he thinketh meet, to be excepted. If he ſay, Old Men; that were much vnſeemely. If he ſay, Children; S. Paul

2. Timoth. 3. ſaith, Timothie was brought vp from his Childhood, in the Scriptures: and neuer thought it vnconuenient. If he ſay, The Vnlearned; Chryſoſtome anſwereth: Nihil opus eſt Syllogiſmis: Ruſtici, Aniculæque intelligunt: *To vnderſtand Gods Word, we need no Syllogiſmes, or knowledge of Logicke: Husbandmen, and Old women doe vnderſtand it.* If he ſay, Women; This ſame was it, that Iulianus the wicked Emperor charged the Chriſtians withall, for that their women were ſo ſkilfull in the Scriptures. But Nazianzenus anſwereth for his ſiſter Gorgonia, that ſhe was ſkilfull both in the Old Teſtament, and alſo in the New. If he ſay, Maidens; S. Hierome anſwereth, *That all the Maidens about Lady* Paula, *were forced daily to learne the Scriptures.* If he ſay, yong Men, or Boies; Cyrillus anſwereth: In Sacris Literis educati, fiunt poſtea religioſiſſimi, quamuis non æquè eloquentes: *Being brought vp in the Scriptures, afterward they become moſt godly men, albeit perhaps not ſo eloquent.* If he ſay, the Poore; S. Paul anſwereth: Non multi genere nobiles: At Corinth among them, that firſt receiued the Goſpell, *There were not many of great birth, or much wealth.* If he ſay, Heretikes; S. Auguſtine being inclined to the Hereſie of the Manichees, by reading the Scriptures was conuerted. If he ſay, Heathens; S. Luke will ſay, that Meroe Candaces Chamberlaine, being an Heathen, read the Scriptures without controlement.

Cyril. contra Iulian. lib. 6. Nazianzen in Funebri Oratione de Gorgonia. Hieronym. in Epitaphio Paulæ. Cyrillus contra Iulianum, li. 7. 1. Corinth. 1. Confeſſionum li. 8. cap. 12. Actorum 8.

Now if neither Old Men, nor Children, nor the Learned, nor the Vnlearned, nor Women, nor Maidens, nor Yong Men, nor Boies, nor the Poore, nor the Rich, nor Heretikes, nor Heathens, be excepted from the reading of Gods Word, what other ſort of men then is there, that M. Harding would haue excepted? If it be conuenient for euerie of theſe to reade the Scriptures, for whom then is it not conuenient?

M. Harding. The 6. Diuiſion.

And the Scripture it ſelfe (ſay they) ſheweth plainly, that of conuenience the Scriptures ought not bee made common to all perſons For Chriſt affirmeth the ſame with his owne words, where he ſaith to his Apoſtles: Vnto you it is giuen to know the ſecrets of the kingdome of God: but to * others in Parables, that when they ſee, they ſhould not ſee: and when they heare, they ſhould not vnderſtand. (205) They to whom it is giuen to know theſe ſecrets, be none other than the Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors, or Diſciples. They to whom this is not giuen, but muſt learne Parables, be they, for whom it were better to be ignorant of the Myſteries, than to know them, leſt they abuſe them, and bee the more greeuouſly condemned, if they ſet little by them, which we ſee commonly done among the common people. Lucæ 8.

* Theſe others were the Scribes and Phariſies, and others of that generation.

The 205. Vntruth. For Chriſt ſaith, Theſe Myſteries be hidden from the wiſe, and reuealed to the litle ones. Matth. 11.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

It were much better for M. Harding not to know the Word of God, than thus wilfully to abuſe it. They, vnto whom Chriſt would not open the Secrets of the kingdome of Heauen, were not the Common ſort of the Lay People, as M. Harding ſuppoſeth, but the Biſhops, the Prieſts, the Doctors, the Scribes, and the Phariſies, and other like reprobates, whom God had giuen ouer in the hardneſſe of their hearts, as it is plaine by the Words, that Chriſt allegeth out of the Prophet Eſay: *O Lord, harden the heart of this people: ſtop their eares: blinde their eies: leſt happily they be conuerted, and ſo be ſaued.* And thus that Ancient Father Irenæus immediately after the Apoſtles time expounded it: and applieth thereto theſe words of S. Paul: In quibus Deus huius ſæculi excæcauit corda infidelium, vt non fulgeat illis illuminatio Euangelij Gloriæ Dei: *In whom God hath blinded the hearts of them, that be vnfaithfull, that the brightneſſe of the Goſpell of the Glorie of God may not ſhine vnto them:* And likewiſe theſe words: Tradidit illos Deus in reprobum ſenſum: *God hath deliuered them ouer into a reprobate vnderſtanding.* And in the end hee compareth them with Pharao, and Antichriſt. So likewiſe Dionyſius the Carthuſian, whoſe authoritie, I trow, M. Harding will not deny, ſaith of them: Iuſto Dei Iudicio negata eſt illis prædicatio Euangelij, tanquam indignis intelligentia Spirituali: *The preaching of the Goſpell was denied vnto them by the iuſt iudgement of God, as vnto men vnworthy of any Spirituall vnderſtanding.*

Eſay 6.

Irenæus lib 4. cap. 48.

2. Corin. 4.

Roman. 1.

Dionyſius Carthuſian. in Lucam. ca. 8.

Thus M. Harding, the better to win his purpoſe, is contented to ſay, that all the people of God, himſelfe only with a few others excepted, are blinde, reprobate, accurſed of God, forſaken, and left in hardneſſe of their hearts, vnworthie of Spirituall vnderſtanding, giuen ouer into a wicked minde, like to Pharao, like to Antichriſt. So much is the ſimple Lay People beholden to him. But Gerſon, a Doctor of M. Hardings owne Company, ſaith: Licet Iudicium, & Concluſiones Fidei authoritatiuè ſpectent ad Prælatos, & Doctores

Guliel. Gerſon. Quæ veritates de neceſſitate ſalutis credendæ ſint. Corollar. 4.

Doctores; tamen ad alios, quàm ad Theologos poteſt deliberatio pertinere, ſicut & cognitio ſuper his, quæ Fidem reſpiciunt: ita etiam, vt ad Laicos hoc poſſit extendi, & plus aliquando, quàm ad multos Clericorum: *Albeit the Iudgement, and the Concluſions of Faith pertaine by authority vnto the Prelates and Doctors; Yet the Conſideration and maighing of the ſame may pertain as well vnto others, as alſo knowledge touching thoſe things, that pertain vnto the Faith: Which knowledge, and iudgement may alſo be extended vnto the Lay People: and that better oftentimes, than to many Prieſts.* So Panormitane ſaith: Magis credendum eſt Laico afferenti Scripturas, quàm Papæ, & Concilio Generali: *We ought more to beleeue a Lay man, if he bring the authority of the Scriptures, than the Pope, and a Generall Councell.*

To read the Hebrew.

Abbas Panormitanus.

By theſe it is euident, that God hath not excluded the Lay People, that beléeueth in him, from the vnderſtanding of his Holy Secrets. Hugo Cardinalis expoundeth theſe words in this wiſe: Vobis datum eſt: vobis qui libenter auditis, & Fidem habetis: *Vnto you it is giuen: vnto you, that are glad to learne, and haue Faith.* And the very ordinary Gloſſe ſaith thus: Vobis qui Fideles eſtis: Sed Phariſæis incredulis Sancta non ſunt danda: *Vnto you, that are Faithfull, it is giuen: But vnto the vnfaithfull Phariſies holy things may not be giuen.* And, where M. Harding ſaith, The knowledge of the Myſteries pertaineth only vnto the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and to their Succeſſors; pleaſeth it thee, good Reader, to vnderſtand, that by M. Hardings owne Decree, the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles be neither Prieſts, nor Deacons, nor Monkes, nor Friers, nor Cardinals, but only Biſhops. For ſo it is limited by Anacletus: Epiſcopi Apoſtolorum Domini, Presbyteri verò Septuaginta-duorum Diſcipulorum locum tenent: *Biſhops are in the place of the Apoſtles: and Prieſts are in the place of the threeſcore and twelue Diſciples.* Thus M. Harding hath taken great paines, ſo ſhut out both himſelfe, and the greateſt part of his Clergie, and all the whole people from the Myſteries of the kingdome of Heauen.

Hugo Cardinalis, in Luc. ca. 8.

Gloſſa Ordinaria.

Anacleti Epiſt. tertia, Diſt. 21. In None.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuiſion.

It is reported by ſundry (206) ancient writers of great Authority, that amonge the people of Iſrael, the ſeuenty Elders only could read, and vnderſtand the Myſteries of the holy Books, that we call the Bible. For, whereas the letters of the Hebrew tongue haue no Vocals, they only had the skill to read the Scripture by the Conſonants: And thereby the Vulgar people were kept from reading of it (207) by ſpecial prouidence of God, as it is thought, that Pretious ſtones ſhould not be caſt before * Swine, that is to ſay, ſuch as be not called thereto, as being for their vnreuerent curioſitie, and impure life, vnworthie.

The 206. Vntruth. For S. Hilary ſaith no ſuch thing.

The 207. Vntruth, miſreporting Gods diuine Prouidence.

* The people, Swine.

Fol. Hilarium in Pſalm. 2.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Notwithſtanding M. Hardings allegation were true, yet S. Hilaries iudgement, touching the Hebrew tongue, were not great. For writing vpon the ſame Pſalme, he much miſtaketh this Hebrew word, Bereſchith, as a man vnſkilfull in that language: and S. Hierome reprooueth him likewiſe for miſtaking this Hebrew word, Oſanna. But M. Harding, as otherwiſe his wont is, much miſreporteth his Author. For S. Hilarie ſaith no ſuch thing. Thus only he ſaith, that theſe threeſcore and twelue Doctors, or Elders, were men of great knowledge, and therefore alloweth well of their iudgement.

Hilarius in Pſalm. 2.

Hieronym. ad Damaſum.

Touching the firſt inuention, and vſe of the Pricks, it is thought, the Rabbines themſelues doe not agree. Some ſay, they were deliuered to Moſes in the Mount: Some ſay, they were inuented by Eſdras: Some, by the Tabarites, which were the Canoniſts of the Iewes, or Doctors of Traditions. Howbeit, whatſoeuer it were, the caſe is not much Materiall. But to ſay, that in all the whole Country of Iewrie, a few only excepted, no man was able to reade the Hebrew tongue, in M. Harding, being ſo well learned in the ſame, it muſt néeds be thought, either a great ouerſight, or elſe ſome other greater fault.

For he knoweth, that God commanded euery of the people to write the Words of the Law in the poſts of their doores, and in the Borders of their cotes. Likewiſe God commanded, that, who ſo would put away his wife, ſhould firſt write a bill of diuorce, and ſo put her from him. If M. Harding will ſay, Some one, or other, of theſe learned Elders, or Doctors might write it for them: Yet it is written thus in the Booke of the Machabees: Cœpit populus Iſrael ſcribere in tabulis: *The people of Iſrael began to write in their tables.* It is written of Mardocheus, *That hee wrote all that happened:* That Hieremie wrote the plagues, that were comming: and, that Baruch wrote the words of Hieremie. And in the Goſpell, the wicked Steward ſaith vnto the debter, *Take thy bill, ſit downe, and write.* Now, let M. Harding conſider, how could all theſe Write, vnleſſe they could Reade: and if they could not Reade, to what end ſhould they write? Verily it appeareth not, that any of theſe was of the threeſcore, and twelue Elders. Likewiſe King Ioſias found the Booke of the Law in a wall, and Read it. When Chriſt Read, and expounded the Prophet Eſay in

Deuteron. 11.

Deuteron. 24.

Macha. 13.

Eſther. 9.

Hierem. 51.

Baruch. 1.

Lucæ 16.

2. Reg. 23.

Lucæ 4.

To read the Hebrew.

the Synagogue, the people marueiled not at his Reading, for that was common, but only at his Expoſition. Philip ſaid vnto the Chamberlain: Intelligis ea, quæ legis? *Vnderſtandeſt thou that thou Readeſt?* And when Chriſt ſuffered vpon the Croſſe, S. Iohn ſaith: Hunc titulum multi Iudæorum legerunt: *Many of the Iewes Read that Title.* And wherefore did the Rabbines take order, that none of the Laie People, before they came to certaine yeares of age ſhould Read, either the firſt Chapter of Geneſis, or the Booke of Canticles, or certain chapters of the Prophet Ezechiel, if none of all the people vnderſtood the Pricks, or Vowels, nor could Read any thing at all? If there were nothing els, yet this thing only is ſufficient, to deſcry M. Hardings error. The Rabbines ſay, that in euery Towne within the whole country of Iſrael there was a Schoole: and that in Ieruſalem there were found an hundred Schools. And will M. Harding haue vs beleeue, that in ſo many Schools there was not one Scholar able to know his letters? Howbeit, he taketh it for no inconuenience, whatſoeuer may helpe to ſerue his turne.

Actorum 8. Iohan. 19. *Origen. in Cantica, in prologo. Paulus Phagius in Leuiticum. cap. 23.*

But in the old times the Pricks, or Vowels were not found: therefore, ſaith he, the people could not Read. So likewiſe in old times the Greeke tongue was written without Accents, as it is euident vntill this day by ſundry Bookes, and old Marble Stones, that are ſo written. Yet notwithſtanding men were then able to read the Greeke tongue without Accents, Certainly M. Harding knoweth, that euen now, not only the learned of the Iewes, but alſo the very children of ten yeares of age, are able to Read without Pricks, or Vowels.

Geraldus Lilius in Hiſtoria Poetarum.

Yet notwithſtanding, ſaith M. Harding, This was done by Gods ſecret Prouidence, leſt the Laie people ſhould read Gods Word, and ſo Pretious Stones ſhould be thrown before Swine. This doubtleſſe was done by Gods prouiſion, that it might appeare, in what regard M. Harding hath the people of God: that is, by his own confeſſion, as vnpure, and vnclean beaſts, and filthy Swine, and none otherwiſe.

M. Harding. The 8. Diuiſion.

Here I need not to ſpend time in rehearſing the manifold difficulties of theſe holy letters, through which the Reading of them to the ſimple and vnlearned people, hauing their wits exerciſed in no kind of learning, their minds occupied in worldly cares, their hearts caried away with the loue of things, they luſt after, is not very profitable. As the light ſhineth in vaine vpon blind eies (ſaith a holy Father) ſo to no purpoſe or profit is the labor of a worldly, and naturall man taken for the attaining of things, that be of the Spirit. Verily among other, this incommodity is ſeen by dayly experience hereof to proceed, that of the people, ſuch as ought of right to take leaſt vpon them be now become cenſorers, and iudges of all, deſpiſers of the more part, and, which is common to all Heretikes, *mockers of the whole ſimplicity of the Church, and of all thoſe things, which the Church vſeth as Pap, or Milke to nouriſh her tender babes withall, that it were better for them not to read, than by reading ſo to be puft vp, and made inſolent. Which euill commeth not of the Scripture, but of their own malice, and euill diſpoſition.

Bernard calleth him a worldly, and a naturall man, that is void of the Spirit of God. Therefore this place is not well applied.

* They diſpiſe nothing, but that ſhould be deſpiſed.

Bernard. ſuper Cantica.

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The Laie people is occupied in worldly affaires: Ergo, ſaith M. Harding, They may not be ſuffered to read the Scriptures: As if he would ſay, *They are in the middeſt of diſeaſes: Therefore they may vſe no Phyſitian. They are in the throng of their enemies, Therefore they muſt be left naked without weapon.* But the godly learned Fathers haue euermore reproued this reaſon, and thought it childiſh. S. Chryſoſtome ſaith thus vnto the Laie people: Lectio diuinarum Scripturarum vobis magis neceſſaria eſt, quàm Monachis: *The Reading of the Scriptures is more neceſſary for you, than it is for Monks.* And touching Worldly Cares, the world well ſeeth, that the Biſhop of Rome, and his Cardinals, and others of that profeſſion, are no leſſe troubled therewith, than they, that are moſt deeply drowned in the world. S. Gregory, being by the Emperor aduanced to the Biſhoprick of Rome, writeth thus of himſelfe: Sub colore Epiſcopatus, ad ſæculum retractus ſum: in quo tantis terræ curis inſeruio, quantis me in vita Laica nequaquam deſeruiſſe reminiſcor: *Vnder the colour of my Biſhopruck, I am drawn backe into the world: wherein I am ſo much troubled with worldly cares, as I doe not remember the like, when I liued in the world.* And againe he ſaith: Tanta me occupationum onera deprimunt, vt ad ſuperna animus nullatenus erigatur: *So many cares, and buſineſſes do preſſe me down, that I can in no wiſe lift my minde vp to Heauen.* Yet Gregorie in comparison of his Succeſſors might vndoubtedly ſeeme a Saint. For as now, they haue one foot in the Church, and another in the world: or rather, not one foot in the Church, but both heart, and body in the world.

Chryſoſtom. in Matthæ. hom. 2.

Gregor. lib. 1. Epiſt. 5.

Grego. li. 1. Epiſt. 7. & Epiſt. 25.

Yet notwithſtanding, by M. Hardings Doctrine, theſe only muſt haue the Supreme Iudgement, and Expoſition of Gods Word: and, whatſoeuer they ſay therein, it ought to ſtand in more waight, than the Iudgement of a Generall Councel, or the Determination of the whole world.

Albertus Pighius li. 6. c. 13.

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He addeth further: Knowledge bloweth vp the heart, and increaseth Pride: Thus saith M. Harding, being himselfe learned, and full of knowledge: I will not vse his owne Conclusion, Ergo, full of Pride. But thus he saith, euen as Epimenides the Poet said: Cretenses semper mendaces: *The men of Creta be euer liers,* being himselfe a man of Creta: and therefore by his owne iudgement, a lier, as others were. Scientia inflat. 1. Corinth. 8.

This slothfull quarrell against the knowledge of God might be maintained by great Antiquitie. For S. Hierome, and S. Augustine say, there were men then in their time of the same iudgement herein, that M. Harding is now. S. Hierome saith: Inertiæ se, & otio, & somno dantes, putant peccatum esse, si Scripturas legerint: & eos, qui in Lege Domini meditantur die, ac nocte, quasi garrulos, inutilesque contemnunt: *Giuing themselues to sleep, and Slothfulnesse, they thinke it Sin to Read the Scriptures: and such, as both day, and night are studious in the Law of God, they despise, as pratlers, and vaine men.* Likewise S. Augustine: Sunt quidam homines, qui, cùm audierint, quòd humiles esse debent, demittunt se, & nihil volunt discere, putantes, quòd, si aliquid didicerint, superbi futuri sint: & remanent in solo lacte: quos Scriptura reprehendit: *There be certaine men, that, when they heare, they must be humble, abase themselues, and will learne nothing: fearing, that if they attaine to any knowledge, they shall be proud: and so they remaine still only in Milke: but the Scripture of God reprooueth them.* *Ad Titum, ca. 1. Hieronym. in Epist. ad Titum, ca. 1.* *Augustinus in Psalmum 130.*

The Old learned Father Irenæus expounding these words of S. Paul: Scientia Inflat, writeth thus: Paulus ait: Scientia Inflat: Non, quòd veram Scientiam de Deo culparet: Alioqui se ipsum primùm accusaret: S. Paul *saith, Knowledge puffeth vp the Minde: not, for that he found fault with the true knowledge of God: Otherwise he should first of all others haue reproued himselfe:* For he was learned. And S. Chrysostome saith: Hoc omnium malorum causa est, quòd Scripturæ ignorantur: *This is the cause of all ill, that the Scriptures are not knowen.* *Ireneus lib. 2. cap. 45.* *Chrysostom. in epist. ad Coloss. hom. 9.*

But they, that read the Scriptures, despise such Superstitious orders, and Idolatrous deformities as haue beene vsed, which M. Harding calleth the Spilke, and Simplicitie of the Church. Verily, and they, that see the light, despise the darknesse: and they, that know the Truth, despise Falshood. S. Paul, after he once vnderstood Christ, despised all, that he had been trained in before, as Filth, and Dung. And therefore he saith, *When I was a Child, I spake as a Child, and had vnderstanding as a Child: But, after that I once became a Man, I auoided* (and despised) *the things, that pertained to a Child.* Who so despiseth Superstition, and Idolatrie, despiseth the things, that should be despised: And in consideration of the dangers, he hath escaped, he saith, with the Prophet Dauid: Anima nostra, sicut passer, erepta est de laqueo venantium: *Our soule is deliuered, as a Sparrow, from the snares of Hunters.* Philippen. 3. 1. Corin. 13. Psalm. 123.

Touching that danger, that is heere surmised, vndoubtedly, the knowledge of God inflameth not, nor bloweth vp the heart, but rather coleth it, and maketh it humble. And, for that cause God said vnto Moses, *Let the King Read this Law all the daies of his Life,* that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, &c. Et ne eleuetur cor eius in Superbiam: And that his minde be not blowen vp with Pride. For the nature, and force of Gods Word is to turne the heart: Lex Domini Conuertens animas. Therefore Cyrillus saith: *Yong men, that vse to Read Gods Word,* Fiunt postea Religiosissimi, *Afterward become* (not proud, or disdainfull, but) *most vertuous, and Godly.* So Theodoretus saith vnto the Emperor Iouinian: *The knowledge of Heauenly things is behouefull for a Godly Prince. For so shall your heart be* (not puft vp with Pride, but) *truly and indeed in the hand of God.* Likewise S. Augustine saith: Lectio assidua purificat omnia, &c. Et qui vult cum Deo semper esse, semper debet orare, & legere: *Continuall reading cleereth, and purgeth all things. Who so will euer be with God, must euermore Pray, and Reade.* Therefore Chrysostome saith: Fieri non potest, vt qui iugiter Cœlestis Doctrinæ verba excipit, nihil patiatur: *It cannot possibly be, but the Man, that continually receiueth the Words of the Heauenly Doctrine, must of force be moued,* and feele somewhat in his heart. Deuteron. 17. Psalm. 18. *Contra Iulian. lib. 7.* *Augustinus De tempore, Ser. 1.* *Chrysostom. in 2. ad Timoth. hom. 5.*

M. Harding. The 9. Diuision.

4 The dangers, and hurts, which the Common peoples Reading of the Scriptures in their own language bringeth, after the opinion of those, that reproue the same, be great, sundry, and many. I will here, as it were, but touch a few of them, leauing the whole matter it selfe to the iudgement of the Church. First, seeing the poyson of Heretikes doth most infect the common people, and all Heretikes draw their venome, out of the Bible vnder pretence of Gods word: it is not thought good by these men, to let euery curious, and busie body of the vulgar sort, to read and examine the Bible in their common language. * Yet they would not the learned, discreet, and sober lay men to be imbarred of that liberty.

Curious busie Bodie of the Vulgar sort.

* A contradiction. For how can the Sober Lay man Read the Scriptures, if they bee not translated into his Barbarous vulgar tongue?

De Trinitate, lib. 2. Againe, if Heresie spring of wrong vnderstanding, not of the Scriptures, (as Hilarius saith, Heresie is of vnderstanding, not of Scripture; and the sense, not the word, is a crime) who shall sooner fall to Heresie, than the common people, who cannot vnderstand, that they read? Verily, it seemeth a thing hard to be-

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Danger in Reading.

leeue, that the vnlearned people ſhould vnderſtand that, which the beſt learned men with long ſtudie, and great trauaile, can ſcarcely at length attaine.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

O, what dangerous caſes here are imagined, and all, to fray the people from Gods word! If the ignorant reade the Scriptures (ſaith M. Harding) they will prooue Heretikes. For Heretikes ſucke their venome out of the Scriptures. The concluſion hereof is this: *Euery of the people may ſafely reade* M. Hardings *word: but Gods Word they may not reade. There is no maner danger in* M. Hardings *Booke: But Gods Booke is full of dangers.* The reaſon hereof it is hard to gheſſe: vnleſſe it be, for that Gods Booke is full of Truth, and M. Hardings Booke is full of errour.

That he here calleth Hereſie, is the Euerlaſting, and Manifeſt Truth of God: which, when it was firſt preached, and publiſhed by S. Paul, was likewiſe euen then called Hereſie. For thus S. Paul anſwereth in his owne defenſe: Secundùm hanc ſectam, quam vocant Hæreſim, colo Patrium Deum: *According to this ſect, which they call Hereſie, I worſhip the God of my Fathers.* Actor. 24.

But if the Lay People, whom M. Harding for his pleaſure calleth Curious Buſie Bodies of the Vulgar ſort, may eaſily bee led into Hereſies by Reading the Scriptures, for that they be vnlearned, how then happened it, that M. Harding himſelfe, being a man ſo deepely trained in all kinde of learning, could ſo lightly be led into the ſame? I trow, he was then no curious Buſie Body. Doubtleſſe he was none of the Vulgar ſort.

In the Primitiue Church, and long after the Apoſtles time, there were ſundrie Sects, and ſorts of Hereſies, as it is plaine by S. Auguſtine, Epiphanius, Theodoretus, and others. Yet, that notwithſtanding, the Ancient Fathers then euermore called vpon the people, and exhorted them to Reade the Scriptures, to the intent they might the better auoid Hereſies. For Irenæus, writing againſt the Heretikes called Valentiniani, ſaith thus: Hæc omnia contulit eis Scripturarum Dei ignorantia: *All this befell vnto them, becauſe they knew not the Scriptures.* As Chriſt alſo ſaith vnto the Sadducees: Erratis neſcientes Scripturas: *Ye are deceiued* (not becauſe ye know, but) *becauſe ye know not the Scriptures.* So S. Hierome ſaith: Omni ſtudio legendæ nobis ſunt Scripturæ, vt probati trapezitæ ſciamus, quis numus probus ſit, quis adulter: *We muſt read the Scriptures with all diligence, that as being good exchangers, we may know the lawfull coine from the Copper.* So Chryſoſtome: Manichæi, & omnes Hæreſes decipiunt ſimplices. Sed ſi habuerimus ſenſus animæ exercitatos ad diſcretionem boni, & mali, poterimus huiuſmodi diſcernere. Quomodò autem fiunt ſenſus noſtri exercitati? Ex vſu Scripturarum, & frequenti auditione: *The Manichees, and all Hereſies deceiue the ſimple. But if we haue the ſenſes of our mindes practiſed to diſcerne good, and ill, we may be able to diſcerne them. But how may our ſenſes become practiſed? By the vſe of the Scriptures, and often hearing.* Likewiſe ſaith Theophylact: Illis, qui ſcrutantur Diuinas Scripturas, nihil poteſt illudere. Illæ enim ſunt Lucerna, qua fur deprehenditur: *Nothing can deceiue them, that Search the Holy Scriptures. For that is the Candle, whereby the theefe is eſpied.* This iudgement had the Old Catholike Fathers of reading the Holy Word of God. But, that a blinde man can better auoid dangers, than he that ſeeth: or, that a naked man in the middeſt of his enemies, can better acquite himſelfe, than he that is armed, it ſeemeth a very vnſenſible, and an vnlikely doctrine.

Irenæus lib. 3. cap. 12. Matthæ. 22. *Hieronym. in Epiſt. ad Ephe. lib. 3. cap. 4. Chryſoſtom. ad Hebræ. hom. 8. Theophylact. De Lazaro.*

M. Harding. The 10. *Diuiſion.*

Whereas Luther would the Scriptures to bee tranſlated into euery vulgar tongue, for that they bee light, and eaſie to vnderſtand, hee is confuted by the Scripture it ſelfe. For both S. Peter, and alſo S. Paul acknowledgeth in them to bee great difficulties, by occaſion whereof ſome miſconſtrue them to their own damnation, ſome vnderſtand not what things they ſpeake, nor of what things they affirme: and to ſome the Goſpell that S. Paul preached is hidden, euen to them which periſh. If the Scriptures were plaine, how erred Arius? how Macedonius? how Eunomius? how Neſtorius? how many moe, men of great learning? ſpecially ſeeing they all tooke occaſion of their errours of the Scriptures not rightly vnderſtanded? 2. Pet. 3. 1. Tim. 1. 2. Cor. 4.

Luther ſaith, that S. Hierome was ouerſeene in the vnderſtanding of the Scripture, that S. Auguſtine erred in the ſame, that S. Ambroſe, Cyprian, Hilarie, Baſil, and Chryſoſtome, the beſt learned Doctors of Chriſts Church, were often times deceiued. And yet in the Preface of his Booke, *De Captiuitate Babylonica*, hee ſpeaketh of them very honourably, and granteth, that they haue laboured in the Lords Vineyard worthily, and that they haue employed great diligence in opening the Scriptures. If theſe being of ſo excellent learning, after long exerciſe in the holy letters, after long ſtudie and watch, after long and feruent prayer, after mortification of themſelues, and purgation of carnal affections were deceiued, as he witneſſeth: how can hee ſay, they are cleare, plaine, and eaſie to bee vnderſtanded? And if theſe worthy Fathers were deceiued in one point, or two, is it not likely, the common people may be deceiued in many, ſpecially their diligence, and ſtudie not being comparable to theirs, and their liues not being ſuch, as the cleanenes of their inward affects might lighten their vnderſtanding, and the anointing of God might teach them?

The

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Scripture hard.

Certaine places in the Scriptures haue euermore bene iudged darke, both for many other causes, and also for the matter it selfe, and for the deepe Mysteries therein contained: which thing D. Luther also hath confessed in sundry places. But vnto them, that haue eies, and cannot see, and delight more in darknesse, than in the light, the Sunne beames may seeme darke. The Prophet Osee saith: Rectæ viæ Domini: Præuaricatores autem corruent in eis: *The waies of the Lord be straight: but the wicked shall fall in them.* Therefore Cyrillus saith: Ea, quæ perspicua sunt, difficilia fiunt hæreticis: *The things, that of themselues are plaine, vnto Heretikes are made darke.*

Iohn 12. Rom. 11. Iohan. 3. Osee. 14. *Cyrillus in Iohan. lib. 14.*

But in these cases, the Spirit of God is bound, neither to sharpnesse of wit, nor to abundance of learning. Often times the Vnlearned saith that thing, that the learned cannot see. Christ saith: *I thanke thee O Father, the Lord of Heauen and Earth, for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise, and the politike, and hast reuealed the same vnto the little ones.* Therefore Epiphanius saith: Solis Spiritus Sancti Filijs facilis est omnis Scriptura, & dilucida: *Onely to the Children of the Holy Ghost, all the Holy Scriptures are plaine, and cleare.*

Matth. 11. *Epiphanius, li. 2.*

Hereof M. Harding seemeth to conclude thus: There bee certaine darke places in the Scriptures: Ergo, The Scriptures are full of Darknesse. This is a guilefull kinde of reasoning, knowen vnto Children, called Fallacia a secundum quid ad simpliciter. In like forme of Argument he might haue said: Albertus Pighius *granteth, there bee certaine errours in the Masse:* Ergo, *The Masse is full of errours.* Or thus: *The Cardinalls themselues confesse, There be certaine Abuses in the Church of* Rome: Ergo, *The Church of* Rome *is full of Abuses.* Certainly, notwithstanding a few certaine places in the holy Scriptures be obscure, yet generally, *The Scriptures are a Candle to guide our feet:* generally, *Gods Commandement is light, and lightneth the eies,* and therefore generally the Word of God is full of comfort. Therefore Chrysostome saith: Omnia clara, & plana sunt in Scripturis Diuinis: quæcunque necessaria sunt, manifesta sunt: *All things are cleare, and plaine in the holy Scriptures. Whatsoeuer thing there is necessarie for vs, is also manifest.* So saith Clemens Alexandrinus: Audite qui estis longè: Audite, qui propè: Nullis celatum est Verbum. Lux est Communis: omnibus illucescit hominibus: nullis est in Verbo Cymmerius: *Hearken ye, that be farre off: hearken ye, that be neere. The word of God is hid from no man: It is a light common vnto all men: There is no darknesse in Gods word.* So Irenæus: Scripturæ in aperto sunt, & sine ambiguitate: & similiter ab omnibus audiri possunt: *The Scriptures are plaine, and without doubtfulnesse, and may be heard indifferently of all men.* So the Old Father Origen: Clausum est negligentibus: inuenitur autem à quærentibus, & pulsantibus: *It is shut from the negligent: but it is opened vnto them, that seeke, and knocke for it.* So S. Hierome: Dominus per Euangelium suum loquutus est, non vt pauci intelligerent, sed vt omnes: *The Lord hath spoken by his Gospell: not that a few should vnderstand him, but that all.* So saith Fulgentius: In Scripturis Diuinis abundat, & quod robustus comedat, & quod paruulus sugat: *In the Scriptures of God there is plenty sufficient, both for the strong to eat, and also for the little one to sucke.* To be short, so S. Gregorie saith: Est flumen, in quo agnus ambulet, & elephas natet: *It is a Flood, wherein the little Lambe may wade, and the great Elephant may swimme.*

Albert. Pighius, in Priuatâ Missa. In Concilio Selectorum Cardinalium. Psalm. 118. Psalm. 18. *Chrysost. in 2. Thessalonic. ho. 3. Clemens Alexandrin. in Oratione adhortatoria ad Gentes. Irenæus li. 1. cap. 46. Origen. in Exodum, hom. 9. Hieronym. in Psalm. 86. Fulgentius in Sermone de Confessorib. Gregor. in Epist. ad Leandrum.*

Thus, notwithstanding certain clauses, and sentences in the Holy Scriptures be hard, and darke, yet by these Holy Fathers iudgements, the Scriptures generally are easie, and cleare.

But M. Harding vpon a false position maketh vp the like conclusion. For thus he saith: The Scriptures are darke: Therefore the people may not reade them. Verily, as hee would violently take the Scriptures from the simple, because, as hee saith, they vnderstand them not: So by the same force he may take the Scriptures from all the Old Doctors, and learned Fathers: because, as it appeareth by their dissension, and by M. Hardings owne Confession, they vnderstood them not.

M. Harding. The 11. Diuision.

And, lest all the vnlearned Lay people should seeme hereby vtterly reiected from hope of vnderstanding Gods word without teaching of others, it may be granted, that it is not impossible, a man (be hee neuer so vnlearned) exercised in long Praier, accustomed to feruent contemplation, being brought by God into his inward cellers, may from thence obtaine the true vnderstanding, and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, no lesse than any other alwaies brought vp in learning. Of what sort S. Antonie that Holy, and perfect man the Eremite of Egypt, was. Who, as S. Augustine writeth, without any knowledge of letters, both conned the Scriptures by heart with hearing, and vnderstood them wisely with thinking. And that holy man, whom S. Gregorie speaketh of, who lying Bed-read many yeeres for sicknesse of Body, through earnest praier and deuout meditation, obtained health of minde, and vnderstanding of the Scriptures, neuer hauing learned letters, so as hee was able to expound them to those, that came to visit him: who comming

Psalm. 72. *Perkins in li. de Doctri. Christiana.*

comming vnto him with pretence to bring comfort, through his heauenly knowledge, receiued comfort. But among the people, how great number is there of leaud Losels, Gluttons, and Drunkards, whose belie is their God, who follow their vnruly lusts? Is it to bee thought, this sort of persons may without meditation, and exercise of prayer, pierce the vnderstanding of the Scriptures, and of those Holy Mysteries, which God hath hidden (as Christ confesseth) from the Learned, and wise men, and opened vnto little ones?

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding alloweth these, whom he calleth Curious Busie Bodies of the Vulgar sort, to attaine to the vnderstanding of Gods Word, not by reading, but onely by Speciall Reuelation, and Miracle, and none otherwise: and that, within the space of a thousand yeares, one, or two onely, and no moe. For so S. Antome attained vnto the knowledge thereof, vtterly without any booke, or reading, or any other helpe of vnderstanding. So that sicke man lying bedred, of whom S. Gregorie maketh that worthy mention. So that Barbarous, and vtterly vnlearned slaue, that suddenly by Reuelation was taught to Read. And so likewise perhaps M. Harding himselfe, being so long a time, and so earnest a Preacher of the same Gospell, and Truth of God, that he now so wilfully condemneth, without either Booke, or reading, or other Conference, only vpon the Change of the Prince, and none otherwise, vnderstood that thing, that before he could not vnderstand: and by Miracle, and Reuelation, vpon the sudden was wholly altered vnto the contrarie.

Augustinus in Prologo De Doctrina Christiana.

Augustinus in eodem Prologo.

Matthæ. 16. Matthæ. 11. Luke 24.

True it is, Flesh and Blood is not able, to vnderstand the holy will of God, without speciall Reuelation: Therefore Christ gaue thankes vnto his Father, *For that hee had reuealed his secrets vnto the little ones:* And likewise, *opened the hearts of his Disciples, that they might vnderstand the Scriptures.* Without this speciall helpe, and prompting of Gods holy Spirit, the Word of God is vnto the Reader, be hee neuer so wise, or well learned, as the Vision of a sealed Booke. But this Reuelation is not speciall vnto one, or two, but generall to all them, that be the members of Christ, and are endewed with the Spirit of God. Therefore S. Chrysostome saith generally vnto all the people: Audite, quotquot estis mundani, & vxoribus præstis ac liberis, quemadmodum vobis Apostolus Paulus præcipiat legere Scripturas, idque non simpliciter, neq; obiter, sed magna cum diligentia: *Hearken, all ye men of the world, that haue wiues, and Children, how* S. Paul *the Apostle of Christ commandeth you to reade the Scriptures, and that not slightly, or as by the way, but with great diligence.* Againe hee saith: Domi Biblia in manus sumite: Domi vacemus diuinarum Scripturarum lectioni: *Take the Bible into your hands in your houses at home. At home in our houses let vs apply the Reading of Holy Scriptures.* So likewise saith: S. Hierome: Hîc ostenditur, verbum Christi, non sufficienter, sed abundanter etiam Laicos habere debere, & docere se inuicem, vel monere: *Heere we are taught, that the Lay people ought to haue the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also with abundance, and to teach, and counsell others.*

Chrysostom. in epist. ad Colos. Hom. 9.

The people cõmanded by God to reade the Scriptures.

Chrysostom. in Genes. hom. 29.

Hieronym. in epist. ad Colos. cap. 3.

But amongst these Busie Bodies of the Vulgar sort, M. Harding findeth a great number of Losels, Gluttons, and Drunkards: whose bellie is their God. Thus he nameth the part: but he meaneth the whole. For euen so writeth Hosius one of the Chiefe of that companie: Non est Consilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discrimen: *In this Vulgar sort there is neither Counsell, nor reason, nor discretion.* And further hee calleth the flocke of Christ, Belluam multorum Capitum: *A wilde beast of many heads:* As M. Harding also a little before calleth them Swine, and others call them filthie Dogs. Euen so the Pharises iudged, and spake of the simple People that followed Christ: Turba ista, quæ non nouit Legem, maledicti sunt: *These rabbles of rascals, that* (are Vnlearned, and) *know not the Law, are accursed.* In such regard they haue them, whom S. Paul calleth, Ciues Sanctorum, & domesticos Dei: *Citizens with the Saints, and of the Houshold of God.*

Hosius lib. 2. contra Brentium.

In the 7. Diuision.

Iohan. 7.

Ephes. 2.

If lewdenesse of life bee a iust cause to banish the people from the Word of God, it is commonly thought, that the Cardinals, and Priests in Rome liue as lewdly as any others. S Bernard of the Priests of his time writeth thus: Non est iam dicere, Vt populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, vt Sacerdos: *We may not now say, As is the People, so is the Priest. For the People is not so wicked, as is the Priest.* Therefore by M. Hardings iudgement the Priests ought no lesse to bee banished from Gods Word, than the rest of the people.

Bernardus in Conuersione Pauli.

M. Harding. The 12. Diuision.

And whereas learned men of our time bee diuided into contrarie sects, and write bitterly one against another, each one imputing to other mistaking of the Scriptures: if amongst them, who would seeme to be the leaders of the people, be controuersies, and debates about the vnderstanding of the Scriptures: how may the common people be thought to be in safe case out of all danger of errors, if by reading the Bible in their owne tongue, they take the matter in hand?

The Gospellers diuided into contrary sects.

If any man thinke, I ſlander them, for that I ſay they be diuided into contrary Sects, let him vnderſtand, their owne Countrimen, I meane them of Germanie, and ſpeciall ſetters forth of this new doctrine, report it in their Bookes, and complaine lamentably of it. Namely, Nicolaus Amſdorffius in his booke intituled, *Publica Confeſſio puræ doctrinæ Euangelij*, &c. Alſo Nicolaus Gallus, in his Booke of Theſes and Hypotypoſes: who acknowledgeth the ſtrifes and debates, that be amongſt them, to be, not of light matters, but of high Articles of Chriſtian Doctrine. For euen ſo bee his words in Latine: *Non ſunt leues inter nos concertationes de rebus leuibus, ſed de ſublimibus Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ Articulis, de Lege & Euangelio, &c.* The ſame man in the laſt leafe of his foreſaid Booke, with great vehemencie reporteth, *Hæreſes permultas eſſe præ manibus, pleraſque etiamnum hærere in calamo*: That very many Hereſies be already in hand, and many as yet ſticke in the pen, as though he meant, they were ready to be ſet foorth.

Of late there haue beene put foorth in print two great Bookes, one by the Princes of Saxonie, the other by the Earles of Mansfield, chiefe maintainers of the Lutherans: in which be recited eleuen Sects, and the ſame as deteſtable Hereſies condemned: They are contained in this Catalogue or Role: *Anabaptiſtæ, Seruetiani, Stancariani, Antinomi, Ieſuitæ, Oſiandriani, Melanchthonici, Manriſtæ, Adiaphoriſtæ, Suencfeldiani, Sacramentarij*. Albeit the Ieſuites haue wrong to bee numbred among them. Thus much is confeſſed of the ſects, and controuerſies of our new Goſpellers by their owne Princes, that ſtand in defence of the confeſſion of Auſpurge, and by two of the Lutheran Superintendents.

Fridericus Staphylus.

No man hath ſo exactly declared to the world the number, and diuerſitie of the ſects of our time, which hath ſprung out of Martin Luther, as Fridericus Staphylus a man of excellent learning, one of the Emperours Counſell that now is, who might well haue knowledge heerein, for as much as he was a diligent ſtudent ten yeeres at Wittenberg among the chiefe doctors of them, and for that time was of their opinion, and afterward by conſideration of their manifold diſagreeings and contentions within themſelues induced to diſcredit them, and through the grace of God reduced to a whole mind, and to the Catholike Faith, and now remaineth a perfect member of the Church. This learned man in his Apologie ſheweth, that out of Luther haue ſprung three diuers Hereſies or Sects: The (208) Anabaptiſts, the Sacramentaries, and the Confeſſioniſts, who made Confeſſion of their Faith in open Diet before the Emperour Charles, the Princes and States of Germanie at Auſpurge, *Anno Domini* 1530. and for Proteſtation of the ſame there, are called Proteſtants. Now hee prooueth farther by teſtimonie of their owne writings, that the Anabaptiſts be diuided into ſix ſects: (209) the Sacramentaries into eight ſects: (209) the Confeſſioniſts, and they which properly are called Proteſtants, into twenty ſects, euery one hauing his proper and particular name to be called and knowen by. This lamentable diuiſion of learned men into ſo many ſects in the Countries where the Goſpell (as they call it) hath theſe fortie yeeres, and is yet moſt baſely handled, may bee a warning to the gouernours of Chriſtendome, that they take good aduiſement, how they ſuffer the rude, and raſh people to haue the Scriptures common in their owne tongue.

Proteſtants.

Proteſtants diuided into twenty ſects.

A Vile Renegate.

The 208. Vntruth. For the Anabaptiſts ſprang not of Luther: but were reproued, and condemned by Luther.

The 209. Vntruth, inflamed with ſlander.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Here M. Harding, by the helpe of one Staphylus, **a ſhameleſſe Renegate, hath made a long diſcourſe of ſuch differences in Doctrine, as hee imagineth to be among them that profeſſe the Goſpell. And indeed, as the imperfection, and want, that is in man, is naturally inclined vnto ſome diuiſion, and that often times in ſuch caſes, wherein ought to bee greateſt vnitie: Euen ſo the Heretikes, and the enemies of the truth, haue euermore vſed to take hold thereof, the more to diſcredit, and to depraue the whole. At the firſt preaching of the Goſpell by the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and other holy Fathers, there grew vp immediately with the ſame, ſundry ſorts of Sects, to the number of foureſcore and ten, as they are reckoned in particular by S. Auguſtine, all flowing out of one Spring, all profeſſing one Goſpell, and all knowen by the name of Chriſt.**

Auguſtin. ad Quod-vult-deum.

Yea ſometimes the very lights of the world, and the pillars of the Church, ſeemed to be diuided by ſome diſſenſion amongſt themſelues: S. Peter, from S. Paul: S. Paul, from Barnabas: **S. Cyprian, from** Cornelius: **S. Auguſtine, from S. Hierome: S. Chryſoſtome, from** Epiphanius: **the Eaſt part of the World, from the Weſt: Doctors, from Doctors: Fathers, from Fathers: Church, from Church: and Saints, from Saints. And here of the Heretikes in old time, and other ſworne enemies of GOD take occaſion, as M. Harding now doth, to deface the whole Profeſſion of the Goſpell, calling it a puddle, and a ſincke of diſſenſion. For theſe cauſes the Heathens laughed at the Chriſtians, and pointed at them in the market places with their fingers. So the Renegate** Iulianus **the Emperour, the better to cloke his owne infidelitie, ſaid, that** Peter **and** Paul **could not agree:** Luke **and** Matthew **diſſented in Chriſts Genealogie: and that therefore the whole Goſpell of Chriſt was nothing elſe but errour.**

Galat. 2. Actor. 15.

Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 6. Socrat. li. 3.

Often times, of malice againſt God, they fained diſſenſion to be, where as none was. So Marcion **the Renegate deuiſed a great Booke of Contrarieties betweene the new Teſtament, and the Old. The falſe Apoſtles ſaid, that S. Paul diſſented from all the reſt of his Brethren, and often times from him ſelfe. Euen ſo, and with like truth M. Harding ſeemeth now to charge the Goſpell of Chriſt with like diſſenſion, following therein both the Example, and Doctrine of** Staphylus **the Renegate, that hath wilfully forſaken Chriſt, and is returned againe to his old vomit. And being able ſo sharply to behold, how ſome one man hath in ſome caſe diſſented from an other, yet is he not able to ſee, how much he himſelfe hath diſſented from himſelfe.**

Tertull. contra Marcionem, li. 1. & deinceps.

2. Pet. 2.

But hauing this eloquence, and ſkill ſo largely to amplifie theſe ſmall quarels of ſo little

Diſſenſion.

tle weight, what would he haue béne able to doe, if it had béne in the Primitiue Church, and had ſéene all thoſe hot, and troubleſome diſſenſions, that then were able to ſhake the world? What clouds, and colours might hée then haue caſt, to ſcorne at Chriſt, and to bring his Goſpell out of credit?

Doubtleſſe, as he ſaith now, all theſe diuerſities ſpring onely from Doctor Luther, ſo would he then haue ſaid, All theſe former diuerſities, & ſundry formes of Hereſies ſprang onely from Chriſt. And hereof he would haue concluded, as he doth now, that the Rude, and Raſh people ſhould in no wiſe be ſuffered to reade the Scriptures.

Howbeit, touching theſe 34. ſeuerall Sects, that Staphylus by his inquiſition, and cunning hath found out in Germanie, it muſt néeds be confeſſed, they are marueilous pure, and very ſimple Sects. For in that whole Countrie, where they are ſuppoſed to dwell, they haue neither name, to be knowen by, two, or three only excepted: nor Church, to teach in: nor houſe, to dwell in. But Staphylus may haue leaue to ſpeake vntruth, for that hée hath not yet learned to ſpeake otherwiſe.

Hereof M. Harding may conclude thus: The Learned ſometimes miſtake the Scriptures, and are deceiued: Ergo, the Learned ought to be baniſhed from reading the Scriptures. For all theſe fantaſticall imaginations of Opinions, and Sects, pertaine onely to the Learned ſort, and nothing to the Lay People.

And, that the Learned, either through ignorance, or through affection, may be miſled, no leſſe than others, it may eaſily appeare both by all theſe former examples, and alſo by theſe words of God in the Booke of Exodus: Nec in iudicio plurimorum acquieſces ſententiæ: *In iudgement thou ſhalt not hearken to the minde of the moe.* Which words Lyra expounded thus: Plurimorum, id eſt, doctorum: *Of the moe, that is to ſay, of the learned ſort.*

Exod. 23.

Certainly the Learned Fathers haue euermore thought, that in ſuch perillous times of diſſenſion in iudgement, it is moſt behouefull for the people, to haue recourſe vnto the Scriptures. When Paul and Silas preached at Berrhæa, the people there daily ſearched, and conſidered the Scriptures, to know, whether that they preached, were true, or no. Chryſoſtome expounding theſe words, *When yee ſhall ſee the Abomination of deſolation ſtanding in the Holy place*, writeth thus: Ideo mandat, vt Chriſtiani volentes firmitatem accipere Fidei veræ, ad nullam rem fugiant, niſi ad Scripturas: Alioqui ſi ad alia reſpexerint, ſcandalizabuntur, & peribunt, non intelligentes, quæ ſit vera Eccleſia: & per hoc incident in Abominationem deſolationis, quæ ſtat in Sanctis Eccleſiæ locis: *Therefore he commandeth, that Chriſtian men, that will be aſſured of the true Faith, reſort vnto nothing elſe, but onely vnto the Scriptures: For elſe, if they haue regard to any other thing, they ſhall be offended, and ſhall periſh, not knowing, which is the true Church: and by meane thereof they ſhall fall into the Abomination of deſolation, that ſtandeth in the Holy places of the Church.* In like ſort writeth Origen vpon the ſame place: Animæ imperitæ verbi iuſtitiæ, quia facilè ſeducuntur, non poſſunt inſeducibiliter permanere in conſpectu Abominationis deſolationis ſtantis in loco Sancto: *The ſoules, that be vnskilfull of the Word of Iuſtice, becauſe they are eaſily deceiued, cannot ſtand without errour in the ſight of the Abomination of deſolation ſtanding in the Holy place.* S. Hierome ſaith: In aduentu Meſſiæ, populus, qui ſub Magiſtris fuerat conſopitus, ibit ad montes Scripturarum: ibique inuenient montes Moſen, montes Prophetas, Montes Noui Teſtamenti. Et in talium montium lectione verſatus, ſi non inuenerit, qui doceat, tamen illius ſtudium comprobabitur, quòd confugerint ad Montes: *At the Comming of Chriſt, the people, that was laid aſleepe vnder their teachers, ſhall go to the Mountaines of the Scriptures: There ſhall they finde theſe Mountaines, Moſes, the Prophets, and the New Teſtament. And being occupied in the reading of theſe Mountaines, notwithſtanding they finde no man to teach them, yet ſhall their good will be well allowed, for that they haue fled vnto the Mountaines.* So S. Baſil: Diuinæ Scripturæ faciunt ad certitudinem bonorum, & ad confuſionem malorum: *The Holy Scriptures are able both to confirme the godly, and alſo to confound the vngodly.* So Chryſoſtome: Nec ipſis omnino Eccleſijs credendum eſt, niſi ea dicant, vel faciant, quæ conuenientia ſint Scripturis: *We may in no wiſe beleeue the Churches themſelues, vnleſſe they ſay, and do ſuch things, as be agreeable to the Scriptures.*

Actorum 17.

Chryſoſtom. in Opere imperfecto. hom. 49.

Origen. in Matth. ca. 24.

Hieronym. in Prophetam Nahum. ca. 3.

Baſilius Moralium, 26. cap. 1.

Chryſoſtom. in Matt. hom. 49.

M. Harding. The 13. Diuiſion.

The perill of it is knowen by ſundry examples both of times paſt, and alſo of this preſent age. For out of this roote hath ſprung the Sect of the Valdenſes, otherwiſe called *Pauperes de Lugduno*. For Valdo a Marchant of Lions their firſt Author, of whom they were named Valdenſes, being an vnlearned Lay man, procured certaine Bookes of the Scripture to bee tranſlated into his owne language, which when hee vſed to Read, and vnderſtood not, he fell into many errours. Of the ſame welſpring iſſued the filthy puddles of the Sects called Adamitæ, or Picardi, Bogardi, and Turelupini: and of late yeeres beſide the ſame Sect of Adamites newly reuiued, alſo the Anabaptiſts, and Suenckfeldians. Wherefore that Edict, or Proclamation of the worthy Princes Ferdinando and Elizabeth King and Queene of Spaine, is of many much commended, Valdenſes.

commended by which they gaue ſtrait commandement, that vnder great penalties no man ſhould tranſlate the Bible into the Vulgar Spaniſh tongue, and that no man ſhould be found to haue the ſame tranſlated in any wiſe. Theſe and the like be the reaſons and conſiderations, which haue moued many men to thinke, the ſetting foorth of the whole Bible, and of euery part of the Scripture in the Vulgar tongue, for all ſorts of perſons to reade without exception or limitation, to be a thing not neceſſarie to Saluation, nor otherwiſe conuenient nor profitable, but contrariwiſe dangerous and hurtfull.

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The Story of Valdo is heere brought in vpon the report, and credit of Friar Alfonſus. Touching which Valdo, whether he were learned, or vnlearned, it forceth not greatly. Origen ſaith: Vide quàm propè periculis ſint hi, qui negligunt exerceri in Diuinis Literis: ex quibus ſolis huiuſmodi examinationis agnoſcenda diſcretio eſt: *Marke, how neere vnto danger they be, that refuſe to exerciſe themſelues in the Scriptures. For therby only the iudgement of this triall muſt be knowen.* If he were learned, then is this no true report: if he were vnlearned, then was Gods worke ſo much the greater: who, as S. Paul ſaith, often times chuſeth the weake things of the world, to condemne the ſtrong: and the fooliſh things of the world to confounde the wiſe. *Alphonſus De Hereſib. lib. 1. cap. 13. Ad Roman. li. 10. ca. 16.* 1. Cor. 1.

The greateſt Hereſies, that be maintained, ſtood in reproouing the Idolatrous worſhipping of Images: of extreme Vnction: of Exorciſmes, and Conjurations: of Eare confeſſions: of vnſeemely Singing in the Church: of Fained Miracles: of the idle, and ſlanderous liues of Prieſts, and Biſhops: of the liues, and maners of the Church of Rome: of the outrage, and Tyrannie of the Pope: of Monks, Friers, Pardons, Pilgrimages, and Purgatorie. And, notwithſtanding the reproouing hereof were then iudged Hereſie, yet ſithence that time infinite numbers of godly men haue receiued it, as Gods vndoubted Truth, and M. Harding in part hath yelded vnto the ſame. *Alphonſus de Hereſib. Bartholomæus Abramus Cretenſis in Concil. Ferrarien.*

He added farther, Out of this welſpring of Valdo iſſued forth the Anabaptiſts, and the Swenkefeldians. I maruell, M. Harding can, either ſpeake ſo vnaduiſedly, or ſo ſone forget, what he hath ſpoken. For immediately before he wrote thus: Out of Luther haue ſprung three diuers Hereſies, The Anabaptiſts, the Sacramentaries, and the Confeſſioniſts. If the Anabaptiſts ſprang out of Valdo, and were ſo long before Luther, how could they then afterward ſpring out of Luther? If they ſprang firſt out of Luther, how were they then before Luther? By this report, the Father is yonger than the Childe: and the Childe was borne before the Father. Theſe be meere Monſters in ſpeech, and Contradictions in Nature. If the one of theſe reports be true, the other of neceſſity muſt needs be falſe. But M. Harding taketh it for no great inconuenience, whatſoeuer may helpe, to deface the Truth.

The Proclamation of Ferdinandus, and Elizabeth the Kings of Spaine for not Tranſlating the Bible into the Spaniſh tongue, as it is of very ſmall Authoritie, being made within theſe threeſcore and ten yeeres, that is to ſay, welneere fifteene hundred yeeres after Chriſt: ſo it is likely, it was firſt deuiſed, not againſt the Chriſtian people of that Country, but onely againſt the Renegate Iewes there: who by diſſimulation, and feare of the Law being become Chriſtians, afterward returned againe to their Old Errors, and both by their example, and alſo by miſunderſtanding of certaine places of the Scriptures, hardened, and confirmed others in the ſame. Againſt whom alſo was deuiſed the Spaniſh Inquiſition, and that by the ſame Princes, and at the ſame time. So Iulianus the Renegate Emperour thought it good policie, to ſuffer no Chriſtian mans Childe to be ſet to Schoole. So the wicked Princes Antiochus, and Maximinus, for like policie, burnt the Bookes of God, to the intent the people ſhould not reade them. *Furius Bononia de Tranſferendis Scripturis. Sozomen. lib. 5. cap. 17. 1. Machabæorum. cap. 1.*

But the godly, and firſt Chriſtened Emperour Conſtantinus cauſed the Bible to bee written out, and to be ſent abroad into all Kingdomes, Countries, and Cities of his Dominion. King Adelſtane the King of England, cauſed the Bible to be Tranſlated into the Engliſh Tongue. S. Hierome Tranſlated the ſame into the Sclauon Tongue: Vlphilas likewiſe into the Gotthian tongue. Whereto Socrates addeth alſo theſe words: Inſtituit Barbaros, vt diſcerent ſacra eloquia: *Hee gaue occaſion to the Barbarous people of that Country, to learne the Scriptures.* *Alphonſus de Hereſib. lib. 1. cap. 13. Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 27.*

M. Harding. The 14. Diuiſion.

What parts of the Scriptures appertaine to the people to know.

Yet it is not meant by them, that the people bee kept wholly from the Scripture, ſo as they read no part of it at all. As the whole in their opinion is too ſtrong a meat for their weake ſtomackes: ſo much of it they may right holeſomely receiue and brooke, as that which pertaineth to pietie, and neceſſary knowledge of a Chriſtian man. Wherein they would the examples of the Old Holy Fathers to bee followed. S. Auguſtine hath gathered together into one Booke, all that maketh for good life out of the Scriptures, which Booke hee intituled *Speculum*: that is to ſay, a Mirrour, or a Looking glaſſe, as Poſſidonius witneſſeth in his life. S. Baſil hath ſet foorth the like argument almoſt in his foureſcore morall rules pertaining altogether to good maners. S. Cyprian alſo hath done the like in his three Bookes *Ad Quirinum*. Such godly Bookes they thinke to be very profitable for the ſimple people to reade.

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Hére M. Harding alloweth the people, to reade the Scriptures: howbeit, not what they liſt, but with reſtraint, and at delinery: that is to ſay, not caſes of queſtion, or perteining to knowledge, but onely matters belonging to manners, and order of life. And ſo he reſerueth knowledge to himſelfe, and his Brethren: and leaueth good Life vnto the People. Touching the Bookes of S. Auguſtine, S. Baſil, and S. Cyprian, it is vntrue, that they were written namely, and purpoſely for the vnlearned: Or if they were, why are they not Tranſlated? Why are they not deliuered vnto the people, for whoſe ſakes they were written?

Moreouer, it is vntrue, that in theſe Bookes is contained only matter of life, and maners, and nothing pertaining to Religion. For the firſt words in this Booke of S. Auguſtine called Speculum, are theſe: Non facies tibi Sculptile: *Thou ſhalt make to thy ſelfe no grauen Image:* which is now a ſpeciall caſe of Religion. And the greateſt part of S. Cyprians Booke, Ad Quirinum, conteineth a full diſputation of Chriſts Incarnation, Natiuitie, and Paſſion, and other like caſes of Religion againſt the Iewes. Touching S. Baſil, as he wrote this Booke of Morals concerning Maners: ſo he had written another Booke before, concerning Faith: and both theſe Bookes for the people. He maketh his entrie into his Morals, with theſe words: Cùm de ſana Fide in Præcedentibus ſufficienter ad præſens dictum eſſe putemus, &c. *Foraſmuch as I thinke, I haue intreated ſufficiently in my former bookes concerning Faith, &c.* Therefore this Aſſertion was vntrue, and ſo no firme ground, for M. Harding to ſtand vpon. Neither did any of the Old Fathers euer withdraw the people from the Vniuerſall, and free reading of Gods Word, and reſtraine them onely to ſuch ſhort Collections. S. Baſil ſaith: *The Scriptures are like vnto a Shop full of Medicines for the Soule, whereas euery man may freely take, not only one kinde of ſalue, but alſo a ſpeciall, and a peculiar remedie for euery ſore.* And Irenæus ſaith: De omni ligno Paradiſi manducate: id eſt, ab omni Scriptura Diuina manducate: *Eat ye of all the fruit of Paradiſe: that is to ſay, Eat ye* (not onely of matters concerning maners, but alſo) *of euery part of the holy Scriptures.* Howbeit, by M. Hardings iudgement, the people may learne the tenne Commandements, but may not meddle with their Creed.

Baſil. in Pſalmum primum.

Irenæus lib. 5.

M. Harding. The 15. Diuiſion.

But how much, and what part of the Scripture the common people may read for their comfort and neceſſary inſtruction, & by whom the ſame may be Tranſlated, it belongeth to the iudgement of the Church: Which Church hath already condemned all the Vulgar Tranſlations of the Bible of late yeeres, (210) for that they be found in ſundry places erroneous, and partiall in fauour of the Hereſies, which the Tranſlators maintaine. And it hath not onely in our time condemned theſe late Tranſlations, but alſo hitherto neuer allowed thoſe few of old time, I meane S. Hieromes tranſlation into the Dalmaticall tongue, if euer any ſuch was by him made, as to ſome it ſeemeth a thing not ſufficiently proued: And that which before S. Hierome, Vlphilas an Arian Biſhop made, and commended to the Nation of the Gothes, who firſt inuented letters for them, and propouned the Scriptures to them tranſlated into their own tongue, and the better to bring his ambaſſage to the Emperour Valens to good effect, was perſwaded by the Heretikes of Conſtantinople, and of the Court there, to forſake the Catholike Faith, and to Communicate with the Arians, making promiſe alſo to trauell in bringing the people of his Country to the ſame ſect, which at length hee performed moſt wickedly.

The 210 Vntruth, raiſed only of deſpight and ſlander.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

M. Harding alloweth the people, to reade certaine parcels of the Scriptures for their comfort: but yet he alloweth them no Tranſlation: that is to ſay, he alloweth them to eat the kernell, but in no wiſe to breake the ſhale. By theſe it appeareth, that of ſufferance, and ſpeciall fauour, the ſimple ignorant people may Reade the Word of God in Latine, Greeke, or Hebrew: but none otherwiſe.

The Church (ſaith M. Harding) for the ſpace welneere of fifténe hundred yéeres, neuer yet allowed any maner Tranſlation in the Vulgar Tongue. Yet notwithſtanding, it is certaine, that the Church not onely in the Primitiue time, vnder the Apoſtles, and holy Fathers, but alſo long ſithence hath both ſuffered, and alſo vſed the Vulgar Tranſlations in ſundrie tongues. Whereof we may well preſume, that the Church then allowed them.

Hieronym. in epitaphio Paulæ. Baſil. in epiſt. ad Neocæſarie. Sulpitius in Vita Martin. l. 1. Iſidorus de Eccleſiaſticis officijs, cap. 10.

And that the Scriptures were not onely in theſe three tongues, Greeke, Hebrew, and Latine, it appeareth by S Hierome, that ſaith, The Pſalmes were Tranſlated, and ſung in the Syrian tongue: by S. Baſil, that affirmeth the ſame, of the Paleſtine, Thebane, Phenike, Arabike, and Libyke tongues: By Sulpitius in the life of S. Martine, that ſeemeth to ſay, The Lections, and Chapters were Tranſlated, and read openly in the Churches of France in the French Tongue: And by Iſidorus, that auoucheth the like of all Chriſtian tongues.

M. Harding

M. Harding misliketh the Translation of Vlphilas into the Gotthian tongue, for that the Author was an Arian. Notwithstanding it appeareth not, that euer the Church misliked it. But, by this rule, he may as well condemne all the Greeke Translations, whatsoeuer, of Symmachus, of Aquila, of Theodotion, and of the Septuagints, and the whole Examples of Origen. For there is not one of all these, but may be challenged in like sort.

Touching S. Hieromes Translation of the Bible into the Sclauon tongue, M. Harding semeth to stand in doubt. Howbeit, Hosius his companion saith: In Dalmaticam Linguam Sacros Libros Hieronymum vertisse constat: *It is certaine, and out of doubt, that* S. Hierome *Translated the Bible into the Sclauon tongue.* The like whereof is reported by Alphonsus. Neither can M. Harding shew vs any errour, or ouersight in that whole Translation of S. Hierome: and therefore he semeth to condemne that Godly Father, and yet knoweth no cause why.

Hosius de Sacro Vernaculo legendo.

Alphonsus de Hæresib. li. 1. cap. 13.

All late Translations (saith he) *haue beene made in fauour of Hereses, and therefore they may worthily bee mistrusted.* But will these men neuer leaue these childish colours, and deale plainly? If there be errours, and such errours in these Late Translations, why doe they not descry them? If there be none, why doe they thus condemne them? But the greatest Heresie, that can be holden, and that toucheth them nerest, is the reuealing of the vsurped Authority, and Tyranny of the Church of Rome. For so it is determined by Pope Nicolas: Qui Romanæ Ecclesiæ Priuilegium auferre conatur, hic proculdubio in Hæresim labitur, & est dicendus Hæreticus: *Whosoeuer attempteth to abbridge the Authoritie of the Church of Rome, falleth doubtlesse into an Heresie, and ought to be called an Heretike.*

Dist. 2. Omnes.

M. Harding. The 16. Diuision.

As for the Church of this Land of Britaine, the Faith hath continued in it thirteene hundred yeeres vntill now of late, (211) without hauing the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue, to be vsed of all in common. Our Lord grant, we yeeld no worse soules to God now, hauing the Scriptures in our owne tongue; and talking so much of the Gospell, than our ancestors haue done before vs. This Iland, saith Beda, speaking of the estate the Church was in as his daies) at this present, according to the number of Bookes that Gods Law was written in, doth search and confesse one, and the selfe same knowledge of the high truth, and of the true height, with the tongues of fiue Nations, of the English, the Britons, the Scots, the Pights, and the Latines. *Qua meditatione Scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis:* Which tongue of the Latines (saith he) is for the studie, and meditation of the Scriptures made common to all the other. Verily as the Latine tongue was then common to all the Nations of this Land, being of distinct languages, for the studie of the Scriptures, as Beda reporteth: so the same onely hath alwaies vntill our time, beene common to all the Countries and Nations of the Occidentall or west Church, for the same purpose, and thereof it hath beene called the Latine Church.

Hist. Eccle. lib. 1.

The 211. Vntruth. For sundry parts of the Bible were translated into the English tongue, by King Alured, by Cedman, and by Beda, as shall appeare.

Wherefore to conclude, they that shew themselues so earnest, and zelous for the translation of the Scriptures into all vulgar, and barbarous tongues, it behoueth them, after the opinion of wise men to see, first, that no faults be found in their Translations, (212) as hitherto many haue beene found. And a small fault committed in the handling of Gods word, is to bee taken for a great crime. Next, that forasmuch as such translations pertaine to all Christian people, they be referred to the iudgement of the whole Church of euery language, and commended to the Laitie by the wisedome and authoritie of the Clergie, hauing charge of their soules. Furthermore, that there be some choice, exception, and limitation of time place, and persons, and also of parts of the Scriptures, after the discreet ordinances of the Iewes. Amongst whom it was not lawfull, that any should reade certaine parts of the Bible, before hee had fulfilled the time of the Priestlie Ministerie, which was the age of thirtie yeeres, as S. Hierome witnesseth. Lastly, that the setting foorth of the Scriptures in the common language, be not commended to the people as a thing vtterly necessarie to Saluation, lest thereby they condemne so many Churches, that hitherto haue lackt the same, and so many learned and godly Fathers, that haue not procured it for their flocke: Finally, all that haue gone before vs, to whom in all vertue, innocencie, and holinesse of life, we are not to be compared. As for mee, in as much as this matter is not yet determined by the Church, whether the common people ought to haue the Scriptures in their owne tongue to read, and to heare, or no, I define nothing. As I esteeme greatly all godly, and holesome knowledge, and wish the people had more of it than they haue, with charitie and meekenesse: so I would, that these hot talkers of Gods word had lesse of that knowledge, which maketh a man to swell, and to be proud in his owne conceit: and that they would deepely weigh with themselues, whether they be not contained within the lists of the saying of S. Paul to the Corinthians: If any man think, that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet, as he ought to know. God grant all our knowledge be so ioined with meekenesse, humilitie, and charitie, as that bee not iustly said of vs, which S. Augustine in the like case said very dreadfully to his deare friend Alypius: *Surgunt indocti, & cælum rapiunt: & nos cum doctrinis nostris sine Corde, ecce vbi volutamur in Carne, & Sanguine?* The vnlearned and simple arise vp, and catch Heauen away from vs: and wee with all our great learning void of heart, lo where are wee wallowing in Flesh, and Blood?

The 212. Vntruth, ioined with a slander. If there were such faults, M. Harding would open them in particular.

Præfatione in Ezechielem.

1. Corin. 8.

Confess. li. 8. Cap. 8.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

M. Harding semeth secretly to grant that thing, which without blushing no man can deny: that is, that the Scriptures long sithence, and in old times haue beene Translated into the naturall speech of this country. But he addeth withall a proper exception, that notwithstanding the Translation were in English, yet it serued not for English people. And yet, for what people else it should serue, it were not easie to coniecture. Doubtlesse, if they had meant, as these men doe, to barre the English people from Gods word, they would

The Bible in English: and yet not for English people.

The Scriptures in English.

haue kept it still, as it was before, in Latine, Greke, or Hebrew, and would not haue suffered any such Translation.

But Beda himselfe, that wrote the storie of this Iland, in these very words, that M. Harding hath heere alleged, seemeth to witnesse, that the Scriptures were then Translated into sundry tongues, and that for the better vnderstanding of the people. For thus he writeth: Hæc Insula quinque Gentium linguis scrutatur vnam, eandemque Scientiam Veritatis: *This Iland searched out the knowledge of one Truth, with the tongues of fiue Nations.* It is not likely, he would haue written thus of fiue seuerall Tongues, if the Scriptures had beene written then onely in one tongue. In like maner, and to like purpose he writeth thus: Quicunque gentium linguis vnam, eandemque veritatis Scientiam Scrutantur: *Whosoeuer they be, that search the knowledge of one Trueth* (not onely in the Latine tongue: as M. Harding saith, but gentium linguis: that is, *In the Naturall, and Vulgar Tongues of this Countrie.* Doubtlesse, it were very much to say, that the meere English man, or Scot, or Pict, or Britton, that vnderstood no Latin, was able neuertheless to Read, and search the Scriptures in the Latine Tongue.

Beda in Histor. Anglorum, li. 1. cap. 1.

But to leaue coniectures, Beda saith expressly, and in most plaine words, that one Cedman an English Poet, Translated the Creation of the world, and the whole storie of the Genesis, and the Exodus, and sundry other stories of the Bible into English Rime. Likewise, as it is said before, king Adelstane about nine hundred yeres past, causes the whole Bible to be translated into English. And Sir Iohn Treuisa saith, that Beda himselfe turned S. Iohns Gospell into English. And againe he saith, that king Aluredus caused the Psalter to be turned into English. And vntill this day there be diuers such Translations yet remaining to be seene, which, for many causes, beare good proofe of great Antiquity. Therefore, that this Iland hath continued thirteene hundred yeres without hauing the Scriptures in English, it can beare no maner appearance, or shew of Trueth.

Beda in Histor. Anglorum, li. 5 cap. 22. Adelstane. Iohan. Treuisa. li. 5. ca. 24. Iohan. Treuisa. lib. 6. cap. 1.

But being admitted, and granted for true, If prescription of want may make good proofe, then may we say, This Iland stood, and continued foure thousand whole yeres, not onely without the English Bible, but also without any knowledge of Christ, or God. Likewise we may truly say, the Gospell, and the Trueth of God stood, and continued in this Iland for the space of many hundred yeres, without either the Supremacie of Rome, or Transubstantion, or Priuate Masses, or any other like fantasies.

True it is, our Fathers of late yeres haue beene led in ignorance, and haue beene violently forced from the Scriptures. But the examples, and wants of our Fathers, are not alwaies sufficient Rules of Faith. The Heretike Eutyches, said: Sic à progenitoribus meis accipiens credidi: In hac Fide genitus sum, & consecratus Deo: & in ea opto mori: *This Faith haue I receiued from mine Ancestors: In this Faith was I borne, and Baptized: and in the same I desire to die.* And yet the same Faith, was an Errour, and no Faith. So said the Arian Heritike Auxentius: Quemadmodum ab infantia edoctus sum, ita credidi, & credo: *As I haue beene taught from my Childhood, so I haue beleeued, and so I beleeue still.* So likewise the Idolatrous Iewes said vnto the Prophet Hieremie: Sic fecimus nos, & patres nostri: Reges nostri, & Principes nostri: Et saturati sumus panibus, & bene nobis erat: *Thus haue we done, and our Fathers before vs: and our Kings, and our Princes. And we had store, and plentie of all things, and a merry world, and did full well.* But God saith vnto them, In statutis patrum vestrorum nolite ambulare, &c. Ego Dominus Deus vester: *Walke not in the statutes of your Fathers, I am the Lord your God.*

Concil. Chalcedonen. Act. 1.

Hilarius in Epist. Auxentij.

Hieremie 44.

Ezechiel 20.

Howbeit, we sit not in Iudgement to condemne our Fathers: GOD onely is there Iudge. S. Paul saith: Solidum Dei fundamentum stat, habens hoc signaculum, Nouit Dominus, qui sint sui: *This foundation standeth sound, hauing this seale, The Lord knoweth, who be his owne.* God was able to preserue the Bush in the middest of the Flame: and Daniel in the Caue in the middest of the Lions: and the three Children in the middest of the Fornace of flaming fire: and his people of Israel in the middest of the Read Sea: Euen so was he able to preserue his owne in the middest of that deadly time of darknesse. S. Cyprian saith: Ignoscì potuit simpliciter erranti. Post inspirationem verò, & Reuelationem factam, qui in eo, quod errauerat, perseuerat, sine venia ignorantiæ peccat. Præsumptione enim atque obstinatione superatur: *Hee that erreth of simplicitie* (as our Fathers did) *may be pardoned: But after that God hath once inspired the heart, and reuealed his truth, who so continueth still in his errour, offendeth without pardon of ignorance. For he is ouer borne by presumption, and wilfulnesse.*

2. Timoth. 2.

Exod. 3. Daniel 6. Daniel 3. Exod. 14.

Upon these words of Beda, M. Harding Concludeth thus: *The Latine tongue for the study of the Scriptures, was common to all the Nations of this Realme:* Ergo, *The Scriptures were not translated into English.* A very childe may soone see the simplicitie, and the weakenesse of this reason. For euen now, notwithstanding the whole Bible be translated into the English

English tongue, extant in euery Church, and common to all the people, yet the Latine tongue is neuertheleſſe Common to all the Nations of this Land, for the reading of Old commentaries, & the ancient Doctors, and ſo for the meditation, & ſtudy of the Scriptures.

Now let vs weigh M. Hardings Conſiderations in this behalfe. Firſt, if there had any faults eſcaped in the Engliſh Tranſlation, as he vntruly ſaith there haue many, he would not thus haue paſt them vnreprooued. He lacht neither eloquence, nor good will, to ſpeak: but onely good matter to ſpeake of. 1

Secondly, the Scriptures Tranſlated into Engliſh, haue béene deliuered vnto the people by ſuch Biſhops, and other Spirituall guides, as indeed haue had a care for their ſoules, and haue giuen their liues, and blood, for their ſheepe. But the Biſhops of M. Hardings ſide, can onely eſpie faults in Tranſlations: but they can amend none. They haue burnt a great number of Bibles: but they haue hitherto tranſlated none. Chriſts words are rightly verified of them: *Neither do you enter your ſelues, nor will you ſuffer others, that would enter.* For the higheſt Principle of their Religion is this, *Ignorance is the mother of true religion.* 2

To limit, and to diet the people, what they may read, and what they ought to leaue, was ſometime the Superſtitious diſcretion of the Rabbins. Herein we may ſay as S. Hillary ſaith: Archangeli neſciunt: Angeli non audiuerunt: Propheta non ſenſit: Filius ipſe non edidit: *The Archangels know it not: the Angels haue not heard it: the Prophet hath not felt it: the Son of God himſelfe hath reuealed to vs no ſuch thing.* Certainly, now, the Veile béeing drawen aſide, and our faces being open, to behold the Glory of God, S. Paul ſaith: Omnis Scriptura diuinitus inſpirata vtilis eſt, &c. Not onely one part of the Scriptures, but, *All and euery part thereof is profitable, &c.* And againe: Quæcunque Scripta ſunt, ad Noſtram Doctrinam Scripta ſunt: *All things, that are written, are written for our inſtruction.* And therefore Irenæus ſaith, as it is before alleged: Ex omni Scriptura Diuina manducare: *Eat you of euery part of the holy Scripture.* 3

Origen. prologo in Cantica Cantic. Nazianz. in Apologetico. Hilar. de vnitate Patris & Filij. 2. Corin. 3. 2. Timoth. 3. Roman 15. Irenæus lib. 5. Ca. Omnes. Chryſoſt. De Lazaro Concio. 3.

Humility, and good life, whereof M. Harding would ſéeme to make ſome great account, is ſooner learned of Knowledge, than of Ignorance. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Magna aduerſus peccatum munitio eſt Scripturarum Lectio: Magnum Præcipitium, & profundum barathrum Scripturarum ignoratio: nihil ſcire de Diuinis Legibus, magna Salutis perditio. Ea res & hæreſes peperit, & vitam corruptam inuexit: hoc ſurſum deorſum miſcuit omnia: *The reading of the Scriptures is a great fence againſt ſin, & the Ignorance of the Scriptures is a dangerous downefall & a great Dungeon. To know nothing of Gods Lawes, is the loſſe of Saluation. Ignorance hath brought in Hereſies, and vitious life: Ignorance hath turned all things vpſide downe.*

Therefore the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and all other godly Fathers haue euermore incouraged the people to read the Scriptures: and euermore thought the Church of God to be in beſt caſe, when the people was beſt inſtructed. S. Paul ſaith: *Let the word of God dwell abundantly amongſt you.* Polycarpus ſaith to the people: Confido vos bene exercitatos eſſe in Sacris Literis: *My truſt is, that ye be well inſtructed in the Holy Scriptures.* Origen ſaith vnto his people: *Giue your diligence, not onely to heare Gods Word in the Church, but alſo to be exerciſed in the ſame in your houſes at home, and day and night be ſtudious in the Law of the Lord.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: *Read ye the Holy Scriptures. For to that end God would haue them written, that we might receiue comfort by them.* S. Hierome ſaith, as it is alleadged before: Laici, non Tantum ſufficienter, ſed etiam abundanter Verbum Dei habere debent, & ſe inuicem docere: *The Lay people ought to haue the word of God, not onely ſufficiently, but alſo abundantly, and to inſtruct one another.* S. Chryſoſtome willeth the Father with his Child, and the Huſband with his Wife, at home in his houſe to talke, and reaſon of the word of God. Theodoretus writeth thus: Paſſim videas hæc noſtratia dogmata, &c. *Ye may commonly ſee, that not onely the Teachers of the People, and Rulers of the Churches, but alſo Taylers, Smithes, and Clothworkers, and other Artificers doe vnderſtand the Principles of our Religion: And further, that not onely learned women, if there be any ſuch, but alſo ſuch women as liue by their labour, and Sewſters, and Maidſeruants, but alſo Huſbandmen, and Ditchers, and Heardmen, and Graffers can reaſon of the Holy Trinity, and of the Creation of the world, and of the Nature of mankind, a great deale more skilfully, than either* Plato *or* Ariſtotle *was euer able to doe.* Therefore Origen ſaith vnto his hearers of the Lay people: Me dicente, quod ſentio, vos decernite, & examinate, ſi quid rectum eſt aut minus rectum: *While I ſpeake, that I thinke meet, examine, and iudge you, whether it be well, or otherwiſe.* Thus in old times the Vulgar People, and ſuch as M. Harding calleth Swine, and Rude, and Raſh people: and Curious Buſie Bodies, were able not only to vnderſtand the Scriptures, but alſo to iudge of their preachers. And therefore the wicked Renegate Emperor Iulianus reproued the Chriſtians (euen as M. Hard. now doth vs) for that they ſuffered their Women, and Children to read the Scriptures.

Coloſ. 3. *Polycarpus ad Philippen. Origen in Leu. hom. 9. Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 33. Hieronym. in Epiſt. ad Coloſ. cap. 3. Chryſoſtom. in Iohan. hom. 1. Theodoretus De natura hominis. lib. 5.*

Origen. in Ioſue hom. 21.

Cyrillus contra Iulian. lib. 6. & lib. 7.

But the Enemies of Gods Truth, for feare, and conſcience of their weakneſſe haue euermore vſed violently to take away the Word of God, not only from women, and Children, but alſo from all the whole people. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Hæretici Sacerdotes claudunt ianuas Veritatis. Sciunt enim, ſi manifeſtata fuerit Veritas, Eccleſiam ſuam eſſe relinquendam, & ſe de Sacerdotali dignitate ad humilitatem venturos populärem: *Heretike Prieſts ſhut vp the gates of the Truth. For they know, that if the Truth once appeare, they muſt needs leaue their Church, and from the dignity of their Prieſthood come down to the eſtate of other people.* For Tertullian ſaith: Scripturæ Diuinæ Hæreticorum fraudes, & furta facile conuincit, & detegit: *The Holy Scripture will eaſily bewray, and confound the guiles, and ſhifts of Heretikes.* Chriſt ſaith, *He that doth ill, hateth the Light.* And therefore they ſay, as it is written in the Prophet Amos, Tace & ne recorderis nominis Domini: *Hold thy peace, and neuer thinke vpon the name of the Lord.* But miſerable is that Religion, that cannot ſtand without hiding, and ſuppreſſing of the Truth of God.

Chryſoſtom. in Opere imperfecto. hom. 44.

Tertullian in libro de Trinitate.

Iohan. 3.

Amos 6.

OF CONSECRATION VNDER SILENCE.

THE SIXTEENTH ARTICLE.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

OVR, that it was then lawfull for the Prieſt, to pronounce the words of Conſecration Cloſely, and in Silence vnto himſelfe.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuiſion.

The matter of this Article is neither one of the higheſt Myſteries, nor one of the Greateſt Keies of our Religion, howſoeuer M. Iewel pleaſeth himſelfe with that report, thinking thereby to impaire the eſtimation of the Catholike Church. The diuerſity of obſeruation in this behalfe ſheweth the indifferencie of the thing. For els if one maner of pronouncing the words of Conſecration had been thought a neceſſary point of Religion, it had been euery where vniforme, and inuariable. That the Bread, and Wine be Conſecrated by the words of our Lord pronounced by the Prieſt, as in the perſon of Chriſt, by vertue of the which, through the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, the Bread, and Wine are Changed into our Lords Body, and Blood: (213) this thing hath in all times, and in all places, and with conſent of all inuariably been done, and ſo beleeued. But the maner of pronouncing the words, concerning Silence, or open vtterance, according to diuerſity of places, hath been diuers.

The 213. Vntruth. Often auouched, and neuer prooued.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

This, ſaith M. Harding, is but a ſmall Key of our Religion. Which thing may very well appeare, both otherwiſe, and alſo by the ſmall waight, and ſlenderneſſe of his proofes. Howbeit, in caſes of Religion, and in the Seruice of God, nothing ought to be iudged ſmall, ſpecially that may deceiue the people. Verily, how ſmall ſoeuer they will now haue this Key to ſeem, as it hath bin heretofore cauſe of no ſmall Superſtition, ſo it hath ſhut out Gods people from the ſight, and vnderſtanding of our greateſt Myſteries.

Certaine it is, That the Religion of Chriſt may well ſtand without this kind of Myſticall Silence, as it may alſo without Tranſubſtantiation, or Primate Maſſe, or any other their like fantaſies. But if the matter be ſo ſmall, wherefore doth M. Harding take ſo great paines to proue it, and that by ſo great vntruths, and ſo manifeſt Fables? Wherefore are they not aſhamed, to ſay, that Chriſt himſelfe at his Laſt Supper Conſecrated in Silence, and Secreſie, and that in like order, and forme, as they doe now? Or how durſt the Biſhops in this preſent Councell of Trident ſo ſolemnly to abanne, and accurſe all them, that dare to find fault with the ſame? So ſmall a matter, as this is now ſuppoſed to be, ſhould neuer need ſo great adoe.

Thom. in 3. par. Summæ, quæ. 78. ar 8. Conſil. Triden. Seſſion. 2.

But whether theſe words be vttered Secretly, or Aloud, he imagineth, that by the power thereof the ſubſtance of the Bread, and Wine is Really, and wholly changed into the Subſtance of the Body, and Blood of Chriſt. The vntruth hereof is manifeſtly repꝛoued by S. Auguſtine, S. Chryſoſtome, Theodoretus, Gelaſius, and by the generall conſent of all the Old Fathers: and is anſwered more at large in the tenth Article of this Booke. Certainly this erroꝛ neither was euer confirmed in the Latine Church, before the Coun-

D. Tonſtal. De Euchariſt. li. 1

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cell of Lateran in Rome, which was about twelue hundred yeares after Christ, not euer receiued in the Greeke Church, from the Birth of Christ vntill this day. *Conc. Lateran. Anno* 1215.

Ad. Harding. The 2. *Diuision.*

The Greekes in the East Church haue thought it good, to pronounce the words of Consecration *Clara voce*, as we find in Chrysostomes Masse, and as Bessarion writeth, *Alta voce*, that is, plainly, out Aloud, or with a loude voice. *Sacerdos alta voce iuxta Orientalis Ecclesiæ ritum verba ista pronunciat: Hoc est Corpus meum.* The Priest, saith Bessarion, after the rite, or maner of the East Church, pronounceth them with a loud voice these words, This is my Body. Which maner of loud pronouncing was thought good to be vsed in the Greeke Church, as it may be gathered by that Bessarion writeth (who being a Greeke borne, and brought vp in learning amongst the Greeks; knew right well the order of that church (to the intent the people might thereby, for the better maintenance of there faith, be stirred, and wakned to giue token of consent, and of beleefe thereto. When the Priest, saith he, pronounceth these words with a loud voice, the people standing by, *in vtraque parte*, that is, first at the Consecration of the Body, and againe at the Consecration of the Blood, answereth, Amen: as though they said thus: Truly so it is, as thou saist. For whereas Amen, is an Aduerbe of Affirming in Hebrew, in Greeke it signifieth so much, as Truly. And therefore the people answering Amen, to these words, Verily, say they, the things set forth are the Body and Blood of Christ. So we beleeue: So we confesse. Thus far Bessarion. It is declared by Clement, *lib.* 8. *Constitutionum Apostolicarum*, That the people said Amen, when the words of Consecration had been pronounced. Whereby wee vnderstand, that order to haue been taken by the Apostles. The same Custome also may be gathered out of S. Ambrose, who saith thus: *Dicit tibi Sacerdos, Corpus Christi: & tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, Verum. Quid confitetur lingua, teneat affectus. De sacram. lib.* 4. *ca.* 5. The Priest saith, The Body of Christ: and thou saist, Amen, that is to say, True. Hold with thy heart that, which thou confessest with the Tongue. He saith likewise hereof, *De iis, qui initiantur Mysterijs, ca.* 9. *Frustrà ab illis respondetur, Amen, &c.* Amen, is answered in vaine by them, who dispute against that, which is receiued, saith Leo, *Sermon.* 6. *De Ieiunio* 7. *Mensis.* Bessarion, a yong Doctor. He liued *Anno Dom.* 1439.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

It is clerely witnessed by all these Doctours against M. Harding, and the order of the Church of Rome, that the words of Consecration were pronounced with a Loud Voice: and that the People, not only heard, but also vnderstood, and answered the same. Wherefore M. Harding can finde but small releefe in these Authorities. Verily in his Church, which he so often calleth Ancient, and only Catholike, the people neither answereth, nor vnderstandeth, nor heareth the words of Consecration. Thus it appeareth, he hath alleged these fiue Doctours, in their speciall points, against himselfe.

M. Harding addeth hereto: Amen, *is as much as*, Verum est, *It is true. And therefore the People answering*, Amen, *confessed thereby, that they beleeued the very Reall and Substantiall Changing of the Bread into the Body of Christ.* It was needlesse, and out of season, to renew this matter in this place. But he thought it better skill, to speake from the purpose, than vtterly to hold his peace, and to say nothing.

First, as it is said before, The Latine Church neuer receiued this new Beleefe, before the Councell of Lateran holden in Rome: the Greeke Church neuer vntill this day. Therefore by M. Hardings skille the people thus answering, said Amen, to that thing, that they beleeued not: and so Confirmed the Child eight hundred yeares, and more, before it was borne. Indeed, the people said, Amen, to that they heard spoken by the Priest. But the Priest spake nothing, neither of reall presence: nor of Transubstantiation: nor of Accidents without subiect. Therefore it is not likely, the peoples answer had relation to any such matter. Otherwise they should seeme to answer that thing, that was not spoken. The Priest only vttered these words of Christ: *This is my Body*: Whereunto the Greeks make answer in this sort, as it is recorded in the Counsell of Florence: Firmiter credimus, Verbis illis Dominicis Sacramentum fieri: *We beleeue stedfastly, that by these words of our Lord there is made a Sacrament.* Likewise S. Ambrose: Post Consecrationem, Corpus Christi significatur: *After the Consecration, the Body of Christ is signified.* Againe: Ante Consecrationem, aliud dicitur: Post Consecrationem, Sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, Verum est: *Before the Consecration, it is called another thing: After Consecration, it is named the Blood of Christ. And thou saist, Amen, that is to say, It is true.* So Dionysius writeth vnto Sixtus the Bishop of Rome, of one that had been baptised amongst Heretikes: Gratiarum actionem in Ecclesia audiuit, & ad illam vna cum alijs respondit, Amen: *He heard the Thanksgiuing in the Church, and to the same together with others he answered, Amen.* So S. Augustine: Fratres nostri eadem Sacramenta celebrantes, & Vnum Amen respondentes: *Our Brethren resorting to one Sacrament, and answering all one Amen.* This answering, Amen, imported not any sudden Transubstantiation, but a Thanksgiuing vnto God for our deliuery by the Death of Christ. *Anno Domini* 1215. *Concil. Floren. Sessione vltim. Ambrosius de iis, qui initiantur, cap.* 9. *Eusebius lib.* 7. *cap.* 9. Ἐυχας εἰς ἱστ. κἀκεῖνα, χἠτε πεσὼν ξὺν ἅπασι τὸ Ἀμὴν ἀπέδωκεν. *Augustin. in Psal.* 33.

But Leo saith, They answer, Amen, in vaine, that dispute against the same thing, that they receiue. For cleare vnderstanding of which words, it behoueth thee, good Reader, to remember, that Leo, as well herein, as also in sundry other places, bendeth the whole *Leo De Ieiunio* 7 *Mensis, Sermon.* 6.

whole force of his learning againſt the Heretike Eutyches, whoſe error was this, much like vnto the common error, that is now defended: That Chriſts Body, after his Aſcenſion, was turned wholly into the Godhead, and ſo was no longer a Mans Body. Againſt which error Leo taketh an argument of the holy Myſteries: wherein the Faithfull People, as with their Bodily Mouth they receiue the Myſticall Bread, and Wine, ſo with their Spirit, and Faith they receiue the Body, and Blood of Chriſt, and that verily, and in Truth: and in witneſſe therof the receiuer ſaith, Amen. But, ſaith Leo: He ſaith, Amen, in vaine, that denieth the ſame thing, that he receiueth: That is to ſay, That receiueth the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, and yet neuertheleſſe is perſwaded, as the Heretike Eutyches was: That Chriſt indeed hath no Body. And in this ſenſe S. Auguſtine ſeemeth to ſay:

Beda 1. Corin. 10. Mors illi erit, non Vita, qui mendacem putauerit Vitam: *The receiuing of the Sacrament ſhall be Death, and not life vnto him, that thinketh that Chriſt, being the life it ſelfe was a liar;* Deliuering theſe holy Myſteries, as the Sacrament, or Pledge of his Body, himſelfe indeed hauing no Body. So likewiſe Proſper Aquitanus: Chriſtum à Populo Iudaico fuiſſe occiſum, nullus iam ambigit Chriſtianus: Cuius Sacris Sanguinem omnis nunc terra accipiens, clamat, Amen: Vt neganti Iudæo, quòd occiderit Chriſtum, rectè dicatur à Deo: Vox Sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra: *Whether Chriſt were ſlaine of the Iewes, or no, there is no Chriſtian man now, that can ſtand in doubt. For now all the Earth receiueth his holy Blood, and crieth,* Amen. *Therefore, if the Iew will denie, that euer he ſlew Chriſt, God may iuſtly ſay vnto him: The voice of the Blood of thy Brother crieth vnto me from the Earth.* So S. Chryſoſtome: Hæc afferentes Myſteria, ora ipſorum conſuimus. Si enim mortuus Chriſtus non eſt, cuius Symbolum, ac Signum hoc Sacrificium eſt? *Laying foorth theſe Myſteries, we ſtop their mouths. For, if Chriſt died not, whoſe Signe then, and whoſe Token is this Sacrifice?* Thus, by the iudgement of theſe learned Fathers, Eutyches the Heretike, or any other, that denied, either the Body, or the Death of Chriſt, might ſone be reproued, euen by the receiuing of theſe holy Myſteries. For they receiue the Sacrament, and yet denie the thing it ſelfe, that is repreſented by the Sacrament: and ſo, as Leo ſaith, they diſpute againſt the thing it ſelfe, that they receiue. And thus Leo himſelfe plainly expoundeth, and openeth his owne meaning:

Chryſoſtom. in Matth. hom. 83.

Leo Epiſtola 81. ad Paleſtinos. Quam ſibi in huius Sacramenti præſidio Spem relinquunt, qui in Saluatoris noſtri corpore negant Humanæ ſubſtantiæ veritatem? Dicant, quo Sacrificio ſint reconciliati: Dicant, quo Sanguine ſint redempti: *What hope doe they leane themſelues in the helpe of this Sacrament, that ſay, There is no Truth of the Subſtance of Man in the Body of our Sauiour? Let them tell me, by what Sacrifice they are reconciled: Let them tell me, with what Blood they are redeemed.*

By theſe holy Fathers it is plaine, that, whoſo receiueth the Holy Myſterie of Chriſts Body, and yet thinketh, and holdeth, that Chriſt indeed hath no Body, as Eutyches the Heretike did, he diſputeth againſt that thing it ſelfe, that he receiueth. For Gelaſius ſaith:

Gelaſius contra Eutychem. Hoc nobis in ipſo Domino Chriſto ſentiendum eſt, quod in eius Imagine profitemur: *We muſt thinke the ſame of Chriſt the Lord himſelfe, that we profeſſe* (in the Sacrament, which is) *his Image.* And therefore in the Communion Booke, that beareth the name of S. Iames, it is written thus:

Liturgia Iacobi. Quotieſcunque comederitis hunc Panem, & hunc Calicem biberitis, Mortem Filij Hominis annuntiatis, donec veniat. Populus reſpondet, Credimus, & Confitemur: *As often, as ye ſhall eat this Bread, or drinke this Cup, ye doe publiſh the Death of the Son of Man, vntill he come. Hereto the people maketh anſwer, We beleeue it, and we confeſſe it.* This is it, that S. Ambroſe, S. Chryſoſtome, Leo, and Clement call, Amen. And this is that vndoubted Truth of Chriſts Body, not in the Sacrament, as M. Harding imagineth, but in the Vnitie of one Perſon, that Leo defendeth againſt the Heretike Eutyches. Beſſarions Authoritie in theſe caſes cannot be great: both for that he was but of very late yeres, and therefore a very yong Doctor to be alleged: and alſo for that, being promoted to the Biſhoprick of Tuſculum, and made a Cardinall of Rome, in the late Councell of Florence, contrarie to the minds, and iudgements of the reſt of his Brethren of Græcia, he openly flattered, and yalded himſelfe vnto the Pope.

Ann. Dom. 1439.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

And that the people ſhould giue their conſent, and apply their Faith to this truth without error, and deceit, and that by ſaying, Amen, they ſhould then beleeue, and confeſſe, The Bread, and Wine to be made the Body, and Blood of Chriſt, (214) when it was made indeede, and not elſe, for ſo were it a great error. For this cauſe Iuſtinian the Emperor made an ordinance, that the Biſhops, and Prieſts ſhould to this intent pronounce their Seruice plainly, diſtinctly, and ſo, as it might be vnderſtanded, that the people might anſwer, Amen: (which is to be referred to each part of the Seruice, but ſpecially to the Conſecration) that they might beleeue, and confeſſe, it was the Body, and Blood of Chriſt, (215) when it was indeed, and not ſo confeſſe, when it was not; which might happen, if they heard not the Words of Conſecration plainly pronounced. And hereunto ſpecially that Conſtitution of Iuſtinian is to be reſtrained, as pertaining only to the Greeke Church, wherein he liued, (216) and not to be ſtretched further to ſerue for proofe of all the ſeruice

The 214. Vntruth. For Iuſtinian meant no ſuch thing. But M Harding is licenced at Louaine, to make comments, as he liſteth.

The 215. Vntruth, vaine, and Fantaſticall. For whereunto ſhould the people anſwer, *Amen*, hearing no part of the Prater?

The 216. Vntruth. For this Law touched as well the Church

ſeruice to be had, and ſaid in the vulgar tongue in the Weſt Church, as to that purpoſe of our new teachers it is vntruely alleged.

of Rome, as the Church of Grecia; as ſhall appeare.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

So many vntrueths in ſo little rome, ſo conſtantly to be auouched without blushing! Where is the feare of God? Where is the Reuerence of the Reader? Where is ſhame become? Firſt, neither doth that godly Emperour Iuſtinian once mention, or touch this New Fantaſie of M. Hardings Doctrine: nor did the Greeke Church, as it is ſufficiently already proued, euer hitherto conſent vnto the ſame. Will M. Harding make the world beleeue, that the people openly in the Church, gaue their conſents vnto that thing, that they neuer beleeued, but knew vndoubtedly to be an error? Is he able to allege not one Councell, not one Doctor, not one Father, that euer expounded, Amen, in this ſort? Is the matter ſo miſerable, and ſo bare, that no honeſt witneſſe will ſpeake for it? Or muſt M. Hardings bare word, without Scripture, Councell, Doctor, or Father, be taken for the Doctrine of the Church?

The Emperors words are plaine: *We command all the holy Biſhops, and Prieſts, to miniſter the holy Oblation, and the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and other Praiers* (not cloſely, or in Silence, as the maner is now in the Church of Rome, but) *with a loud voice, that may be heard of the Faithfull people* (not, to teſtifie M. Hardings Tranſubſtantiation, which then was not knowen, but) *that the hearts of the hearers may thereby both the more be humbled to repentance, and alſo the more be ſtirred to glorifie God.* If the pronouncing of theſe two Syllables, Amen, be proofe ſufficient to warrant Tranſubſtantiation, then may we eaſily find the ſame Tranſubſtantiation, not only in the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, but alſo in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and in all other Publike praiers. For in euery hereof the people was willed to ſay, Amen.

De Eccleſia. Diuer. Capitulis, Conſtitutione 123. εἰς πλείονα κατάνυξιν.

Secondly, M. Harding ſaith, (and he ſaith it alone: for no man euer ſaid it before him) that the Biſhop, and Prieſt was thus commanded to ſpeake aloud, leſt the people ſhould happen to preuent the time, and to anſwer Amen, out of ſeaſon, before the Sacrament were conſecrate. And this muſt be taken, as a graue, and a deep conſideration, and met for the Emperour of the world. But, O the vanities of theſe vaine Men! For whereunto ſhould the people anſwer, Amen, that heard no part of the Praier? Or how ſhould they Confirme, that was ſaid by the Prieſt, that knew not one word, what he ſaid? Certainly it appeareth not, that the Emperor Iuſtinian doubted ſo much the ouer haſty anſwering of the people: but rather thought, that, if the Prieſts voice were not heard, the people ſhould be able to anſwer nothing. For to that end he alleggeth theſe words of S. Paul, *How ſhall the vnlearned man anſwer, Amen, to thy thanksgiuing? For he knoweth not, what thou ſaieſt.*

1. Corin. 14.

Laſt of all, he ſaith, This Conſtitution of the Emperor Iuſtinian touched only the Greeke Church, and pertained nothing to the Church of Rome: adding further, *That by theſe New Maſters it hath been, and is otherwiſe vntruly alleged.* Thus much M. Harding only of himſelfe, without any other further Authoritie, either Old, or New. Perhaps he would haue vs thinke, according to that Childiſh Fable of their forged Donation, that the Emperor Conſtantinus had giuen ouer the whole Empire of the Weſt part of the world vnto the Pope, and that therefore Iuſtinian the Emperor had now nothing to doe in the Church of Rome. But Iuſtinian himſelfe, contrary to M. Hardings Commentary, commandeth his Lawes to be taken as generall, and to be kept vniuerſally throughout the world. For thus he writeth: Viſum eſt, præſentem Legem omni terrarum Orbi ponendam, nullis locorum, vel temporum anguſtijs coartandam: *We haue thought it good, that this Law ſhould generally concerne the whole world, to be reſtrained by no limits of place, or time.* And, making an Ordinance for the Church, he writeth thus: Et hoc, non ſolùm in Veteri Roma, vel in hac Regia Ciuitate, ſed in omni terra, vbicunque Chriſtianorum Nomen colitur, obtinere ſancimus: *And this Law we will to take place, not only in the Old City of* Rome, *or in this princely Citie of* Conſtantinople, *but alſo in all the world, where the name of Chriſtians is had in Honor.* Likewiſe Euſebius writeth of Conſtantinus the Emperors Proclamation for the keeping of the Sunday: *Vpon that day he commanded, not only the Greekes, but alſo all other Nations, that were ſubiect to the Empire of* Rome, *to reſt from bodily labours.* And concerning ſuch matters, as ſpecially touched the City of Conſtantinople, he writeth thus in the ſame Law, that M. Harding hath here alleged: *Whatſoeuer things namely concerne the Church of this Princely City of* Conſtantinople, *we haue compriſed the ſame in a particular Law ſpecially ſeruing to that purpoſe.* Yet neuertheleſſe, M. Harding thinketh it lawfull for him to ſay, The Emperors mind was not, to extend this Law to the Church of Rome: and we muſt beleeue him vpon his bare word, yea, although the Emperor himſelfe ſay the contrary.

Donatio Conſtantini: in 1. *tomo Concil.*

Cod. De Iudicijs. Cap. Properandum.

Cod. De Epiſc. & Cleri. Ca. Generaliter.

Euſebius in vita Conſtantini, Oratione 4. *ca.* 19. πᾶσι πῆς ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολιτευομένοις.

τοῦτα αὐδικῶ νόμῳ πειθαδόμην.

But

But to what purpoſe excepteth M. Harding the Latine Church in this behalfe? was not S. Ambroſe Biſhop of Millaine: Clemens, and Leo Biſhops of Rome? all three Biſhops of the Latine Church? And doth not M. Harding ſay, that euery of theſe three pronounced the words of Conſecration openly, with loud voice, and not in Silence? And doth not M. Harding further tell vs, It was the Tradition of the Apoſtles? Wherefore then doth he ſo nicely except the Church of Rome? Had the Church there any ſpeciall Priuiledge to breake the Apoſtles Traditions, more than others? Certainly, Clemens Alexandrinus ſaith, The Traditions of the Apoſtles, as well in the Eaſt Church, as in the Weſt, were all one, euen as was their Doctrine. Fuit vna omnium Apoſtolorum, ſcut Doctrina, ita Traditio. Thus hath M. Harding found by his owne Confeſſion, both the Tradition of the Apoſtles, and the Ancient Doctors, Ambroſe, Clemens, and Leo, and both the Churches of God, the Greeke, and the Latine againſt himſelfe.

M. Harding contrary to himſelfe.

Clemens Alex. Stromat. li. 7.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuiſion.

Now in this Weſt Church, which is the Latine Church, the people hauing beene ſufficiently inſtructed touching the beleefe of the Body, and Blood of our Lord in the Sacrament, (217) it hath beene thought by the Fathers conuenient, the Words of Conſecration to bee pronounced by the Prieſt cloſely, and in ſilence, rather than with open voice. Wherein they had ſpeciall regard to the dignitie of that high Myſtery. And doubtleſſe for this point they vnderſtood, as S. Baſil writeth, that the Apoſtles, and the Fathers, which at the beginning made Lawes for the order of Eccleſiaſticall things, maintained the Myſteries in their due authority, by keeping them ſecret, and in ſilence. For it is not, ſaith he, any Myſterie at all, which is brought foorth to the popular, and vulgar eares, whereof he wrote very truly before: *Ei, quod publicatum eſt, & per ſe apprehendi poteſt, imminere contemptum: Ei verò, quod remotum eſt, ac rarum, etiam naturaliter quodammodo eſſe conuectam admirationem.* That, what is done openly, and made common, and of it ſelfe may be attained, it is like to come in contempt, and be deſpiſed. But what is kept far off, and is ſeldome gotten, that euen naturally in maner is neuer without wondring at. And in ſuch reſpect Chriſt gaue warning, that Precious ſtones be not ſtrewed before Hogs.

The 217. Vntruth. For there is no ſuch thing decreed by the Ancient Fathers. Theſe words of S Baſil pertaine nothing to the Sacrament.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

It is moſt certaine, and therefore the more lamentable, that, as it now fareth through the whole Church of Rome, the people knoweth, neither the Subſtance, nor the Meaning, nor the Vſe, nor the Effect, nor the End, or Purpoſe of the Sacrament, nor the Conſecration, nor any Word thereto belonging. They heare nothing: They ſee nothing: They vnderſtand nothing: They learne nothing: The Pope, the Cardinals, the Biſhops, the Prieſts teach them nothing. It is thought to be the ſureſt fence, and ſtrongeſt ward for that Religion, that they ſhould be kept ſtill in ignorance, and know nothing: M. Harding both in this place, and alſo before, calleth them all Hogs, and Swine, as inſenſible, and Brute beaſts, and void of reaſon, and able to iudge, and conceiue nothing. Yet he bluſheth not to ſay, The people of the Latine Church is ſufficiently inſtructed, touching the Sacrament: And that more ſufficiently, as it appeareth, than euer they were inſtructed in the Primitiue Church, or in the time of the Old learned Fathers. Verily Ignorance is eaſily learned: They may ſone be taught, to know nothing. But the Doctrine, that hee meaneth, ſtandeth in Tranſubſtantiation, and Reall Preſence, and other like matters incident vnto the ſame, ſuch as the Godly people in the Old times neuer learned. Howbeit, if the people were thoroughly inſtructed, and knew the meaning of all Myſteries, would M. Harding thereof conclude, That therefore they ſhould not heare the Words of Conſecration? Is this the Logicke of Louaine? Who euer taught him to frame ſuch a Syllogiſmus? In what Forme, in what Mood may it ſtand? How may this Antecedent, and this Conſequent ioine together?

Articul. 15. Diuiſione 7.

But, where he addeth, That in conſideration hereof, the Fathers thought it conuenient, the words of Conſecration ſhould be pronounced in Silence, this, beſides other great wants, is alſo a great vntruth, to make vp his ſimple Syllogiſmus. For what were theſe Fathers? what names had they? where dwelt they? In what Councell, in what Country met they? This is a very ſtrange caſe, that, being Fathers, and ſuch Fathers, able to alter the Traditions of the Apoſtles, and the whole ſtate of the Church, no man ſhould know them, but only M. Harding.

As for S. Baſil, whoſe name he much abuſeth to this purpoſe, it is plaine, that he ſpeaketh not, neither of the Sacrament, nor of the words of Conſecration. And heare, good Chriſtian Reader, marke, I beſeech thee, the circumſpection, and conſtancie of M. Harding. For proofe of his late inuented order of the Latine Church, he ſheweth vs examples of the Greeke Church: and to auouch his Conſecration in Silence, he allegeth the Authoritie of S. Baſil, who by his owne Confeſſion, euermore pronounced the ſame aloud with open voice, and neuer in Silence. He ſhould neither ſo vnaduiſedly auouch the names of Ancient Fathers, nor haue ſo ſmall regard vnto his Reader. True it is, as S. Baſil ſaith,

Familiar

Familiar vſe breedeth contempt. And for that cauſe Pope Innocentius ſaith, The wordes of Conſecration were commanded to be ſaid in Silence, Ne Sacroſancta verba vileſcerent: *Leſt the holy words ſhould be deſpiſed.* The like hereof is ſurmiſed alſo by Iohn Billet. Thomas of Aquine ſaith, *That the Oblation, and Conſecration belong onely to the Prieſt, and that therefore the words be ſpoken in Silence, as nothing pertaining to the people.* But if the people be thus naturally inclined, the leſſe they heare, or know things, the more to haue them in admiration, then were it good, they ſhould neuer heare, neither the Wordes of Baptiſme, nor any part of the Goſpell, nor the Lords Prayer, nor the Name of God, or Chriſt, no nor the Maſſe it ſelfe. And, as now their eares be barred from hearing the wordes, that make the Sacrament, ſo were it good policie, their eies were alſo barred, from ſeeing the Sacrament. For naturally contempt groweth as well of Sight, as of Hearing, or rather more. For by M. Hardings ſkill, theſe were good waies, to breede reuerence in the people, and to increaſe Deuotion. But this is an vnreuerent reuerence, and a diſordered honour of God. The people of God is not made, to ſerue the Sacraments: but the Sacraments are made to ſerue the people. But theſe be the ſecret workes, and policies of Satan, to make the ſimple beleeue, they Reuerence the Sacraments, and yet vnderſtand no part, neither of the meaning, nor of the vſe of the Sacraments. Lactantius ſaith: Hinc fida ſilentia inſtituta ſunt ab hominibus callidis, vt neſciret populus, quid coleret: *Therefore ſuttle and crafty men deuiſed to haue their Sacrifices wrought in Silence, that the people ſhould not know what thing they honoured for their God.*

Baſil. De Spir Sanc. ca. 27. τῷ πατριῷ φειδεῖς ἐν κατηχήσεσι.
Innocen. 3. De Sacro Altaris Myſter. li. 3. ca. 1.
Io. Billet, de Diuin. Officijs. Thom. par. 3. qua. 183.
Lactan. li. 5. cap. 20.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuiſion.

If in the Old Law Prieſts were choſen (as S Ambroſe writeth) to couer the Arke of the Teſtament, becauſe it is not lawfull for all perſons to ſee the depth of Myſteries: If the Sons of Caath by Gods appointment did only beare the Arke, and thoſe other Holy things of the Tabernacle on their ſhoulders, whenſoeuer the children of Iſrael remooued, and marched forward in the Wilderneſſe, being Cloſely folded, and lapt within vailes, curtaines, and pals by the Prieſts: and might not at no time touch, nor ſee the ſame vpon paine of death, which were but Figures of this: how much more is this high, and worthy Myſterie to bee honoured with Secretneſſe, Cloſenеſſe, and Silence?

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Yéere M. Harding ſéemeth to reaſon thus: In the time of the Old Teſtament it was not lawfull, for euery of the people, to behold the Arke of God, and the things therein contained: *Ergo*, the Prieſt ought to pronounce the words of Conſecration in Silence, and ſecretly to himſelfe. This ſimple reaſon holdeth from Moſes, to Chriſt: from the Old Teſtament, to the New: from Seeing, to Hearing: and to be ſhort, from ſomewhat, to nothing: and ſerueth onely to controle all the Ancient Fathers of the Church, who, as M. Harding knoweth, and hath alreadie in part confeſſed, neuer pronounced theſe wordes in ſuch ſecret ſort, nor euer vſed theſe policies for increaſe of Reuerence. Notwithſtanding M. Harding, the better to leade along his ſimple Reader, hath cunningly drawen in the names of two old Fathers, Ambroſe, and Origen, to the intent to make his owne Concluſion to ſéeme theirs. And thus vnder his painted couerings, and Vailes of Eloquence, hee ſoldeth vp Cloſely, not the Arke of God, but, as his wont is, great Vntruths.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuiſion.

For this cauſe, as they report, ſaith Carolus Magnus, that noble, vertuous, and learned Emperor, writing to his Schoolemaſter Alcuinus our Countriman, and firſt teacher of Philoſophie in Paris: It is become a Cuſtome in the Church, that the Canon, and Conſecration be ſaid by the Prieſt Secretly, that thoſe words ſo Holy, and pertaining to ſo great a Myſterie, ſhould not grow in contempt, whiles all in maner through common vſe bearing them away, would ſing them in the high waies, in the ſtreets, and in other places, where it were not thought conuenient. Whereof it is told, that before this Cuſtome was receiued, Shepheards when they ſang them in the field, were by Gods hand ſtricken. Luther himſelfe *in Præceptorio*, is much againſt them, that would haue the Canon of the Maſſe to bee pronounced with a loud voice for the better vnderſtanding.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

It appeareth, M. Harding is much ſcanted of good Authorities, when he is thus driuen by Tables, and Fables, to counteruaile the Tradition of the Apoſtles: and that, by ſuch Fables, as he himſelfe is faine to cut off in the middeſt, and cannot truly report without ſhame. Howbeit, nothing commeth amiſſe, that may ſerue to aſtonne the ſimple. Such grounds be ſufficient for ſuch Doctrine. The tale, as it is told by Innocentius, and Durandus amongſt other Fables, is this: Certaine Shepheards, hauing by often hearing learned the wordes of Conſecration, began to practiſe the ſame amongſt themſelues, ouer their Bread, in the field, vpon a ſtone. Suddenly the Bread was Fleſh: the poore men were amaſed:

amaſed: God was angry: Fire came from Heauen, and burnt them vp: not one left aliue to tell theſe tidings. Hereupon, ſaith M. Harding, this Law was made. For view of the likelihood hereof, they ſay, that the Prieſt himſelfe, be he neuer ſo holy, vnleſſe he haue his Alter, his Superaltar, his Chalice, his Corporaſſe, his Lights, his Veſtiments, and all other appurtenances neceſſary: Vnleſſe he ſtedfaſtly eie, and behold the Bread: vnleſſe he pronounce all theſe fiue words with one breth, without ſtop: and vnleſſe he haue a ſpeciall intent, and minde to worke Conſecration, he laboreth in vaine, and can neuer Conſecrate. Yet theſe poore Shepheards, not being Prieſts, for ought that we know, nor hauing either Alter, or Superaltar, or Veſtiments, or any knowledge of theſe Cautels, nor intention, or minde to worke Conſecration, yet notwithſtanding, had Conſecrate ſuddenly before they were ware. By theſe it may be gathered, that Conſecration is eaſier for a Shepheard, than for a Prieſt. But when theſe Shepheards were all ſlaine in the place, where they ſtood, and not one left aliue to report theſe doings, M. Harding ſhould haue told vs, by what Angell, or Archangell, or other ſecret Reuelation, this tale afterward came to light. His Reader would alſo long to know, in what Kingdom, or in what Country, in what Kings, or Popes daies theſe things happened: in what Chronicle, in what Story they were recorded. Otherwiſe he will ſuſpect, M. Harding found it in the Shepheards Calender. And touching this New Decree for Silence, and Secreſie, M. Harding ſhould haue taught vs, in what Councel, in what Synod, in what Conuocation, in what Diet, in what Country, and at what time it was determined: who was Legat at the doing, who was Referendarie, who was Preſident, who was Preſent. If he haue nothing to ſay, his tale hath loſt his grace, and will be thought a Shepheards Fable.

But hereof, theſe two things M. Harding might well haue learned: Firſt, that before theſe ſtrange vnknowen Shepheards gaue this attempt, the Conſecration was euerywhere pronounced aloud: And farther, that the ſame Conſecration was pronounced in the Common knowen Mother tongue of euery Country: that the Shepheards might learne it, and vnderſtand it: Vnleſſe M. Harding will happily ſay, They were Greeke, or Latine Shepheards.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuiſion.

The Fathers of the Primitiue Church had this Sacrament in ſuch reuerence, and honor, that they excluded ſome ſorts of Faithfull people from being preſent at the celebration of it, thinking them vnworthy not only to heare the myſticall words of Conſecration pronounced, but alſo to ſee the formes of the outward Elements, and to be in the Church, whiles that moſt holy Sacrifice was offered. They were theſe, *Catechumeni*, *Energumeni*, and *Pœnitentes*. The firſt were learners of our beleefe, who, as they were daily inſtructed, beleeued in Chriſt: and as S. Auguſtine writeth, bare Chriſts Croſſe in their forehead, and marked themſelues with the ſame. The ſecond were ſuch, as notwithſtanding they had beene Chriſtned, yet for the Inconſtancie of their minde were vexed with vncleane Spirits. The third ſort were they, who for their ſinnes committed, had not yet made an end of doing their open penance. All theſe were iudged by the Gouernors of the Church at the beginning vnworthy to be preſent at theſe holy Myſteries. Now if this great reuerence towards the holy things, in them was iuſtly praiſed, the admitting of all ſorts of people, not onely to be preſent, and to behold the ſame, but alſo to heare, and vnderſtand the Words of Conſecration (218) (that hath thus alwaies beene honored with ſilence, and ſecretneſſe) cannot ſeem to wiſe, zealous, and godly men, a thing commendable: ſpecially in theſe times, in which the holy Chriſtian Diſcipline of the Church is looſed, and vtterly ſhaken off, and no difference nor account of any diuerſitie is made betweene the perfit and godly people, and them, that ought to doe open penance, that be poſſeſſed with Diuels, and be infamous for hainous and notorious crimes committed.

Truth is full.

The 218. Vntruth For the Contrarie is knowen, and euident.

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The reuerence, that M. Harding preſumeth was giuen only to this Sacrament, was giuen likewiſe, and in as ample ſort to the Sacrament of Baptiſme. And, as the Catechumeni were ſequeſtred from the preſence, and ſight of the one Sacrament, ſo were they alſo ſequeſtred from the other. In the Councell holden at Arauſica it is written thus: Catechumeni ad Baptiſterium nunquam admittendi ſunt: *The Catechumeni may neuer be admitted to the place of Baptiſme.* S. Chryſoſtome, touching the words of Baptiſme, writeth thus: Verba Dei, quæ norunt Fideles, in Aquæ Lauacro per Sacerdotem pronuntiata, tanquam in vtero quodam, Formant, ac Regenerant eum, qui Baptizatur: *The words of God, which the Faithfull know, being pronounced by the Prieſt in the Water of Baptiſme, doe Forme, and Regenerate him, that is Baptiſed, as if it were in the Mothers wombe.* Likewiſe again he ſaith: Cupiam ſanè verba illa clarè proferre, &c. *Faine would I in plaine ſort vtter theſe words* (of Baptiſme) *if the preſence of theſe vngodly men, the Heathens, did not let me. They cauſe my interpretation to be the harder: I may not ſpeake plainly, nor publiſh our Myſteries becauſe of them.* So ſaith Cyrillus: Dicerem de Baptiſmo alia, niſi vererer non initiatorum aures: *Touching Baptiſme, I would ſay more, ſauing that I doubt the eares of theſe prophane people, that are not Chriſtned.* To like purpoſe S. Auguſtine ſaith: Opera noſtra bona vident etiam Pagani: Sacramenta verò noſtra

Concil. Arauſican. Ca. 19.
Chryſoſtom. in Epiſt. ad Galat. cap. 4.
Chryſoſt. in 1. ad Cor. hom. 40.
Cyrill. contra Iulian. li. 7.
Auguſt. in Pſal. 104.

noſtra occultantur illis: *The Heathens may ſee our good workes: But our Sacrament* (that is, our Baptiſme, and our Lords Supper) *are hidden from them.* The like maye be ſaid both of Publike, and Solemne Prayers, & alſo of the vnderſtanding of the Scriptures. Chryſoſtom ſaith: Quid Oratione potentius? Et Catechumenis quidem hoc nondum permiſſum eſt, &c. *What thing is there more mightie than the Solemne Prayer?* (of the Church:) *Yet is it not lawfull for the Catechumeni to vſe the ſame. For they are not yet come to that boldneſſe. But you* (being Chriſtened) *are commanded to pray for the whole world, and for the Church.* Thus, like as for reuerence of the Myſterie, the Catechumeni might not be preſent at the Miniſtration of the Sacrament of Chriſts Bodie, euen ſo for like reuerence, they might not be preſent, either at the Sacrament of Baptiſme, nor at the ſolemne Common Prayers. But now let vs weigh M. Hardings reaſons. In the old time (ſaith he) the Catechumeni, which were onely Nouices in the Faith, and as yet vnchriſtened, and other Renegates, Frantike, and vngodly people, might not be preſent at the Holy Myſteries: *Ergo*, Now the godly Faithfull people may not heare the words of Conſecration. No man would vſe ſuch Logike, but M. Harding. And yet this, he thinketh, for Wiſe, Zelous, and Godly men is ſufficient. As for the reſt, indeed M. Harding, as a man of trauell, that hath beene in Rome, and hath ſeene Biſhops, and Cardinals men of warre: Children, and Boies ſet in the higheſt Degrées, and Dignities of the Church: Open Stewes ſo dearely rented: ſo many thouſand Courtegians ſo well regarded: Prieſts ſo freely allowed to keepe their Concubines: The Church of God turned into a Caue of Theeues: Such corruption in the Clergie: ſuch corruption in the People: So little difference betweene Wife, and Harlot: Honeſt, and Vnhoneſt: Godly, and Vngodly: and, as Bernard ſaith of them, *The Seruants of Chriſt, ſeruing Antichriſt:* And all this ſuffered without Correction, and well allowed of, and accounted Catholike: ſeeing, I ſay, the Church of God in Rome thus died, he may iuſtly complaine of corruption of life, and looſeneſſe of Diſcipline. Howbeit, it were hard hereof to conclude, that therefore no man may heare the words of Conſecration. Verily it is thought lawfull for Vſurers, Theeues, Whoores, Murderers, Traitors, and all other like, to be preſent, and to heare Maſſe, without exception.

Chryſoſtom. ad popul. Antiochen. hom. 79.

M. Harding. The 8. Diuiſion.

Whereas in old times, when by holeſome Diſcipline the Faithfull people were kept in Godly awe, and obedience, that Prayer alſo, which was laid ouer the Oblation before Conſecration, (219) was pronounced cloſely, and in Silence: and therefore it was called of the Latines *Secreta*, of the Greekes, *Myſtica oratio*, meaning thereby, that it ought not to be vttered openly, and made Common.

(219) The 219. Vntrueth. For the ſame ſecret Prayer was pronounced aloud, as ſhall appeare.

The Biſhop of Sarisbury.

Here M. Harding, for want of other proofes, preſumeth of himſelfe, that in Old times the Prayer before Conſecration, was pronounced, as he ſaith, Cloſely, and in ſilence. And that he gheſſeth onely by his word, Secreta: whith is a terme peculiar onely to his Maſſe booke: and in the old Catholike Fathers was neuer found. And yet doth not the ſame import any ſuch ſilence, or ſecreſie, as M. Harding ſuppoſeth. For ſo Gerardus Lorichius writeth of it: Non arbitrandum eſt, Orationem eam dici Secretam, quaſi non liceat Laicis, illam vel noſſe, vel audire: Sed quòd iuxta atque Canon, non canetur voce alteriori: *We may not thinke, that the Prayer is called,* Secreta, *for that it is not lawfull for the Lay people to know it, or to heare it: but onely, for that it is not ſung out with loud voice, as is the Canon.* Therefore M. Harding concludeth this matter with two vntrueths both together.

Gerard. Lorichius lib. 2.

Thus, notwithſtanding this new dumbe Ceremonie hath beene only receiued in the Church of Rome, and no where elſe, and that onely for a time, and not from the beginning, and therefore meere particular, and no way Vniuerſall, and ſo not Catholike: Notwithſtanding alſo it be vtterly void of any ſhew, either of the Scriptures, or of the old Councels, or Ancient Fathers, or of any maner Antiquitie, Yet M. Harding thinketh himſelfe well able to maintaine it as he doth the reſt, againſt S. Ambroſe, againſt S. Auguſtine, againſt S Chryſoſtome, againſt Leo, againſt his owne Clemens, againſt the whole Primitiue Church, both Greeke, and Latine, and againſt the Decrees, and Traditions of the Apoſtles, and againſt his owne knowledge, and, I feare me, alſo againſt his owne Conſcience.

OF THE SACRIFICE.

THE SEVENTEENTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that the Priest had then Authoritie to offer vp Christ vnto his Father.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

Christ is offered vp to his Father after three maners. Figuratiuely, Truely with Bloodshedding, and Sacramentally, or Mystically. In Figure, or Signification he was offered in the Sacrifices made to God both in the time of the Law of Nature, and also in the time of the Law written. And therefore S. Iohn calleth Christ the Lamb, which was killed from the beginning of the world, meaning in Figure. The Sacrifices of Abel, Noe, and Abraham, and all those of the people of Israel commanded by the Law of Moses, figured, and signified Christ. For which respect chiefly, the Law is reported of S. Paul, to haue the shadow of the good things to come. S. Augustine writing against Faustus the Heretike, saith: *Testamenti Veteris Sacrificia omnia multis, & variis modis vnum Sacrificium, cuius nunc memoriam celebramus, significauerunt?* All the Sacrifices of the Old Testament signified by many, and sundry waies this one Sacrifice, whose memorie wee doe now celebrate. And in an other place he saith, * That in those Fleshly Sacrifices, there was a signification of Christs Flesh, which he should offer for sinnes, and of his Blood, which he should shed for the remission of our sinnes.

Threefold oblation of Christ. *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi.* Apoc. 13. Heb. 10. Lib. 6. cap. 5. De Fide ad Petrum Diaconum, ca. 16.

* M. Harding hath purposely maimed this place of S. Augustine, as shall appeare.

Truely, and with Bloodshedding, Christ was offered on the Crosse in his owne person, whereof S. Paul saith, Christ gaue himselfe for vs, that he might redeeme vs from all iniquitie. And againe, Christ hath loued vs, and hath deliuered himselfe for vs an Oblation, and Sacrifice to God into a sweet sauour.

Tit. 2. Ephes. 5.

Sacramentally, or in Mysterie, Christ is offered vp to his Father in the daily Sacrifice of the Church vnder the Forme of Bread, and Wine, truely and indeed, not in respect of the maner of offering; but in respect of his very Bodie, and Blood, really (that is, in deed) present, as it hath beene sufficiently prooued heere before.

Christ offred, not in respect of the maner of offering.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The greater, and worthier the worke is, that our Aduersaries haue imagined, that is, for a Mortall, and a Miserable man to offer vp the Immortall Sonne of God vnto his Father, and that Really, and indeed, the more ought the same, either by manifest words, or by necessarie collection expressly, and plainly to be prooued. *For no man taketh honour, and office vnto himselfe, but he that is called, and appointed thereto by God.* But for ought, that may appeare by any Clause, or Sentence, either of the New Testament, or of the Old, God neuer appointed any such Sacrifice to be made by any Mortal Creature. And Theophylact saith: Iesus eijciendo Boues, & Columbas, præsignauit, non vltra opus esse animalium Sacrificio, sed Oratione: *Iesus throwing the Oxen, and Doues out of the Temple, signified, that they should no longer haue need of the Sacrifice of beasts, but of praier.*

Hebr. 5.

Theophylact. in Matthæ. cap. 21.

Howbeit, the old learned Fathers, as they often times delighted themselues with these words, Sabbatum, Parasceue, Pascha, Pentecoste, and such other like Termes of the Old Law, notwithstanding the Obseruation, and Ceremonie thereof were then abolished, & out of vse: Euen so likewise they delighted themselues often times with these words: Sacerdos, Altare, Sacrificium, the Sacrificer, the Altar, the Sacrifice, notwithstanding the vse thereof were then clearely expired: onely for that the eares of the People, as well of the Iewes, as of the Gentils, had bin long acquainted with the same. Therefore Pachymeres the Paraphrast writing vpon Dionysius, saith thus: Presbyterum appellat Sacerdotem, vt etiam in Cœlesti Hierarchia: idque vsus iam obtinuit: *Him, that is the Priest, or Elder, he calleth the Sacrificer, as he doth also in his Cœlestiall Hierarchie: And the same word, Sacrificer, is now obteined by Custome.* In this sense S. Paul saith of himselfe: Sacrifico Euangelium Dei: *I sacrifice the Gospell of God.* And Origen saith: Sacrificale opus est, annuntiare Euangelium: *It is a worke of Sacrifice, to Preach the Gospell.* So the learned Bishop Nazianzenus saith vnto his people: Hostiam vos ipsos obtuli: *I haue offered vp you for a Sacrifice.* So saith S. Chrysostome: Ipsum mihi Sacerdotium est, Prædicare, & Euangelizare. Hanc offero oblationem: *My whole Priesthood is, to Teach, and to Preach the Gospell. This is my Oblation: This is my Sacrifice.* Thus the holy Fathers alluding to the orders, and Ceremonies of Moses Law, called the preaching of the Gospell a Sacrifice: notwithstanding indeed it were no Sacrifice.

Pachymeres. pag. 401. καὶ σύνηθεια ἐκράτησεν. Roman. 15. *Origen. in Epi. ad Rom. li. 10. Nazian. in Orationem ad Pleb. Chrysostom. in Epist ad Rom. Hom. 29.*

Now, to come to M. Hardings words. Three waies, saith hee, Christ is offered vp vnto his

his Father. In a figure, as in the old Law: Indeed, and Bloodly, as vpon the Crosse: In a Sacrament, or Mysterie, as in the New Testament. **Of which three waies, the Bloody Oblation of Christ vpon the Crosse, is the very true, and onely Propitiatorie Sacrifice for the sinnes of the world. The other two, as in respect, and maner of signifying, they are sundry, so in effect, and substance, they are all one. For, like as in the Sacraments of the Old Law was expressed the Death of Christ, that was to come: Euen so in the Sacraments of the New Law of the Gospell, is expressed the same Death of Christ already past. As we haue Mysteries, so had they Mysteries: As we Sacrifice Christ, so did they Sacrifice Christ: As the Lamb of God is slaine vnto vs, so was the same Lamb of God slaine vnto them.** S. Augustine saith: Tunc Christus Venturus, modò Christus Venit. Venturus, & venit, diuersa verba sunt: Sed idem Christus: *Then was*, Christ shall come: *Now is*, Christ Is come. Shall come, *and*, Is come, *are sundry words*: *But Christ is all one*. **Againe in like comparison betweene the Law of Moses, and the Gospell of Christ, he saith thus:** Videte, Fide manente, Signa variata. In Signis diuersis eadem Fides: *Behold, the Faith remaining, the* (Sacraments, or) *Signes are changed. The Signes, or Sacraments being diuers, the Faith is one.* *Auguſt De vtilitate Pœniten. cap. 1.* *Auguſt. in Iohan. tracta. 26.*

But here hath M. Harding done great, and open wrong vnto S. Augustine, **wilfully** suppressing, and drowning his words, **& vncourteously commanding him to silence in the** middest of his tale. **Wherein also appeareth some suspition of no simple dealing.** S. Augustines words touching this whole matter, are these: In illis Carnalibus Victimis Figuratio fuit Carnis Christi, quam pro nobis fuerat oblaturus, & Sanguinis, quem erat effusurus in Remissionem peccatorum: In isto autem Sacrificio Gratiarum actio est, & Commemoratio Carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit, & Sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit. In illis Sacrificijs, quid nobis esset donandum, Figuratè significabatur: In hoc autem Sacrificio, quid nobis iam donatum sit, euidenter ostenditur. In illis Sacrificijs prænuntiabatur Filius Dei pro impijs occidendus: In hoc autem, pro impijs annuntiatur occisus: *In those fleshly Sacrifices* (**of the Iewes**) *there was a Figure of the Flesh of Christ, which he would afterward offer for vs, and of the Blood, which he would afterward shed for the Remission of Sinne: But in this Sacrifice* (**of the New Testament**) *there is a Thanksgiuing, and a Remembrance of the Flesh, which he hath already offered for vs, and of the Blood, which hee beeing God, hath already shed for vs. In those Sacrifices it was represented vnto vs vnder a Figure, what thing should be giuen vnto vs: But in this Sacrifice it is plainly set forth, what thing is already giuen vs. In those Sacrifices it was declared, that the Sonne of God should be slaine for the wicked: But in this Sacrifice it is plainly preached vnto vs, that the same Sonne of God hath already beene slaine for the wicked.* *Auguſt. de Fide ad Petrum Diacon. cap. 19.*

Likewise againe he saith: Huius Sacrificij Caro, & Sanguis ante Aduentum Christi per Victimas Similitudinum promittebatur: in Passione per ipsam Veritatem reddebatur: Post Ascensum verò Christi per Sacramentum Memoriæ celebratur: *The Flesh and Blood of this Sacrifice, before the comming of Christ, was promised by Sacrifices of Resemblance: the same in his Passion* (**vpon the Crosse**) *was giuen in Trueth, and indeed: But after his Ascension it is solemnised by a Sacrament of Remembrance.* *Auguſt. contra Faustum, lib. 20. cap. 21.*

This is the Difference that S. Augustine noteth betweene the Sacraments of the Old Law, and the Sacraments of the New. Therefore, the words, that M. Harding hath hereunto added, Christ is offered vp vnto his Father, and that vnder the Formes of Bread and Wine, yea, and that truely, and indeed, **are his owne onely words, confidently, and boldly presumed of himselfe, neuer vsed, neither by Saint Augustine, nor by any other Ancient godly Father.**

But, whereas he addeth further, That Christ is indeed, and verily offered by the Priest, albeit, **as he saith,** not in respect of the maner of offering, but onely in respect of the presence of his Bodie; **Either he vnderstandeth not, what himselfe meaneth: or else with a vaine distinction of cloudie words without sense, he laboureth to dazell his Readers eies. For what a fantasie is this, to say, Christ is offered Verily, and indeed, and yet not in Respect of the Maner of offering? What Respect? What maner is this? Wherefore come these blinde Mysteries abroad without a glosse? Which of all the old Doctors, or holy Fathers euer taught vs thus to speake? Certainly, as he saith,** Christ is Really offered, and yet not in respect of the Maner of Offering: **So may he also say, Christ died vpon the Crosse, and yet not in respect of the maner of dying. By such Maners, and such Respects he may make of Christian Religion, what him listeth.**

If he thinke, somewhat to shadow the matter with these words of the Councell of Nice, Sine Sacrificio Oblatus; **Let him consider aforehand, it will not help him. For the holy Fathers in that Councell neither say, that Christ is Really offered by the Priest, nor** seeme to vnderstand these strange Respects, and Maners of Offering. **They agree fully in sense with that is before alleaged of** Saint Augustine: *In this sacrifice the Death of* *Concil. Nicen.* Ἀσύτως θύο. μένος.

Contra Faustũ lib.20.cap.21. Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Hebr. hom.17.

Christ is solemnized by a Sacrament of Remembrance. And with that S. Chrysostom saith: Hoc Sacrificium, Exemplar illius est: *This Sacrifice is an example of that Sacrifice,* Thus the death of Christ is renued before our eies. Yet Christ indeed neither is Crucified, nor dieth, nor sheddeth his Blood, nor is Substantially Present, nor Really Offered by the Priest. In this sort the Councell saith, Christ is offered, ἀδύνατον, *without Sacrifice.* So S. Augustine saith: Quod ab omnibus appellatur Sacrificium, Signum est Veri Sacrificij: *The thing, that of all men is called a Sacrifice is a Token, or a Signe of the True Sacrifice.* Likewise againe he saith: Vocatur ipsa Immolatio, quæ Sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi Passio, Mors, Crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed Significante Mysterio: *The Sacrifice, that is wrought by the hands of the Priest, is called the Passion, the Death, the Crucifying of Christ: not indeed, but by a Mysterie Signifying.*

Augustin. De Ciuitate Dei. li.10.cap.5. De Conse. Dist.2. Hoc est.

And whereas M. Harding saith further, Christ is offered onely in respect of the presence of his Bodie; Neither would the Reall Presence, beeing granted, import the Sacrifice (for Christ was Really Present in his Mothers Wombe, and in the Crib, where notwithstanding he was no Sacrifice) nor hath M. Harding hitherto any way proued his Reall Presence.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuision.

The two first maners of the offering of Christ, our aduersaries acknowledge and confesse: The third they deny vtterly. And so they rob the Church of the greatest treasure it hath or may haue, the Body and Blood of our Sauiour Christ once offered vpon the Crosse with painfull suffering for our redemption, and now daily offered in the Blessed Sacrament in remembrance. For which we haue so many proofes, as for no one point of our Christian religion moe. And herein I am more encombred with store than straited with lack; and doubt more, what I may leaue, than what I may take. Wherefore thinking it shall appeare to the wise more skill, to shew discretion in the choice of places, rather than learning in recital of number, though we are ouer peartly thereto prouoked by M. Iewels vaunting and insolent challenge: I intend herein to be short, verily shorter, than so large a matter requireth: and to bring for proofe a few such authorities, (I meane a few in respect of the multitude that might be brought) as ought in euery mans iudgement to be of great weight, and estimation.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Touching the Oblation of Christs Bodie, we beleeue, and confesse as much, as the Holy Ghost hath opened in the Scriptures. Whereas M. Harding saith, Christs bodie is offered vp by the Priest vnto God the Father, in remembrance of that bodie, that Christ himselfe offered vpon the Crosse. He seemeth not to consider the inconstancie, and folly of his owne tale. For it is well knowen to all Creatures, not onely Christians but also Iewes, Turkes, and Saracens, that Christ was Crucified vpon the Crosse: but that Christ should be Sacrificed by a Mortall man, Inuisibly, and, as they say, vnder the Formes of Bread, & Wine, and that Really, and indeed, it is a thing so farre passing the common sense of Christian knowledge, that the best learned, and wisest of the Ancient learned Christian Fathers could neuer know it.

Therefore this is, not onely the proouing of a thing knowen, by a thing vnknowen: & of a thing most certaine, by a thing vncertaine: but also the Confirmation of a manifest Trueth, by an open Errour.

Neither do we rob the Church of God of that most Heauenly, and most comfortable Sacrifice of Christs Bodie: But rather we open, and disclose the errours, wherewith certaine of late yeares haue wilfully deceiued the Church of God. We know, *That Christs Bodie was rent for our Sinnes, and that by his wounds we are made whole: That Christ in his Bodie carried our Sinnes vpon the tree: and by the Oblation thereof, once made vpon the Crosse, hath sanctified vs for euer, and hath purchased for vs euerlasting Redemption:* And, *That there is none other Name (or Sacrifice) vnder Heauen, whereby we can be saued, but only the Name (or Sacrifice) of Iesus Christ.* I recken, who so teacheth this Doctrine, leaueth not the Church of God without a Sacrifice.

Esai.53. 1.Pet.2. Hebr.x.9. Actor.4.

Touching the multitude of Authorities, wherewith M. Harding findeth himselfe so much encombred, the greater his store is, the more will wise men require his discretion, & skill in the choice. His choise will seeme vnskilfull, if he alledge his Authorities beside his purpose. His purpose, and promise is to proue, that the Priest hath good warrant, to offer vp Christ the Son of God vnto his Father. Which purpose if he neuer vouchsafe once to touch, but range abroad, as his manner is, & roaue idely at matters impertinent, then must we needes say, he bewraieth his want, and bringeth his great store out of credit. So shall the offer, that is gently made him, seeme to stand vpon good, and conuenient termes, of Trueth, and Modestie. So shall his store-full Haunt of all things, performing nothing, vnto the wise (to vse his owne words) seeme peart, and insolent.

M. Harding.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuision.

The Scripture it ſelfe miniſtring euident proofe for the Oblation of Chriſt to his Father by the Prieſts of the New Teſtament, in the Inſtitution of this Holy Sacrament, in the figure of Melchiſedech, and in the Prophecie of Malachi the Prophet: the authorities of the Fathers needed not to be alledged, were not the ſame Scripture by the ouerthwart, and falſe interpretations of our aduerſaries wreſted, and turned to a contrary ſenſe, to the horrible ſeducing of the vnlearned.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Alas, what tale is there ſo weake, that M. Harding will refuſe, to ſtrike withall? To proue his imagined Kind of Sacrifice, he hath brought vs forth out of his great ſtore, the Example of Melchiſedech, and the Prophecie of Malachi: As if hee would reaſon thus: *God ſaith vnto Chriſt*, Thou art a Prieſt for euer according to the order of Melchiſedech: Or, *God ſaith by the Prophet* Malachi, A pure Oblation ſhall be offered vnto me in euerie place: Ergo, *The Prieſt hath Authoritie, and power, to offer vp the Son of God vnto his Father.* If he had not had good choice, and ſtore of Authorities, he would neuer haue begun with theſe. Pſalme 110. Mal. 1.

But he addeth further, as matter of grieuance, *That theſe plaine Scriptures, by the ouerthwart, and falſe Interpretations of his Aduerſaries, are wreſted, and turned to a contrary ſenſe, and that,* (as he ſaith) *to the horrible ſeducing of the Vnlearned.* Doubtleſſe, here is a very horrible accuſation. Howbeit, if wee happily had miſtaken theſe places, and our errour therein were fully proued, yet ſhould not M. Harding in ſuch horrible termes reproue vs, for doing that thing once, that he and his fellows doe ſo often. But by what words, by what falſe Interpretation, into what peruerſe or Heretical Senſe, haue wee ſo horribly wreſted theſe Scriptures? M. Harding is wiſe, is eloquent, is watchfull, is circumſpect, is faſt addicted vnto his cauſe: he diſſembleth, and leaueth nothing, that any way may ſerue his purpoſe. If our Errours be ſo horrible, he ſhould not haue ſpared them: If there bee none, he ſhould not thus haue touched them. If M. Harding winke at them, who can ſee them? If M. Harding know them not, who can know them?

Perhaps he will ſay, Wee expound the Prophecie of Malachi, ſometimes of Prayer, & ſometimes of the Preaching of the Goſpell. This was neuer the Prophets meaning. This is an horrible wreſting of the Scriptures. Thus, no doubt, M. Harding will ſay: for otherwiſe he can ſay nothing. And yet he knoweth, and, being learned, cannot chuſe but know, that this is the Old learned Catholike Fathers Expoſition, touching, theſe words of the Prophet Malachie, and not ours. He knoweth, that the Ancient Father Tertullian ſaith thus: *The pure Sacrifice, that* Malachias *ſpeaketh of, that ſhould be offered vp in euery place,* Eſt Prædicatio Euangelij vſque ad finem Mundi: *Is the Preaching of the Goſpell vnto the end of the world*: And in an other place: Simplex Oratio de Conſcientia pura: *The Sacrifice, that* Malachi *meant, is a deuout Prayer proceeding from a pure Conſcience.* He knoweth, that S. Hierom expoundeth the ſame words in this wiſe: Dicit, Orationes Sanctorum Domino offerendas eſſe, non in vna Orbis Prouincia Iudæa, ſed in omni loco: *The Prophet* Malachi *meaneth hereby, That the Praiers of holy people ſhould be offered vnto God, not onely in Iewrie, that was but one prouince of the world, but alſo in all places.* He knoweth, that Euſebius calleth the ſame Sacrifice of Malachi, *The Sacrifice, and the Incenſe of Prayer.* Thus the holy Catholike Fathers expounded theſe words of the Prophet Malachi: and yet were they not therefore iudged either ouerthwart wreſters of the Scriptures, or horrible deceiuers of the people. *Tertul. contra. Iudæos. Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. 4. Hieronym. in. 1. Caput. Malac. Euſeb. De Demonſtr. lib. 1.* τὸ δι' ἐυχῶν θυμίαμα.

Now, of the other ſide, if it may pleaſe M. Harding to ſhew forth but one Ancient Doctor, or Father, that either by the Example of Melchiſedech, or by force of theſe words of Malachi, will conclude, that the Prieſt hath Authoritie, and Power, to offer vp Merily, and indeed, the Sonne of God vnto his Father, he may happily win ſome credit.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuiſion.

For, whereas the Holy Euangeliſts report, that Chriſt at his laſt Supper tooke Bread, gaue thankes, brake it, and ſaid, This is my Body, which is giuen for you: Againe, this is my Blood, which is ſhed for you in remiſſion of ſinnes: By theſe words, being words of Sacrificing and offering, they ſhew, and ſet forth an Oblation in act, and deed, though the terme it ſelfe of Oblation, or Sacrifice be not expreſſed. Albeit to ſome of excellent knowledge, *Datur*, here ſoundeth no leſſe, than *offertur*, or *immolatur*, that is to ſay, is offered, or Sacrificed, ſpecially the addition, *pro vobis*, withall conſidered. For if Chriſt ſaid truely (as hee is Trueth it ſelfe, and guile was neuer found in his mouth) then was his Bodie preſently giuen, and for vs giuen, at the time he ſpake the words, that is, at his Supper. For he ſaid **datur*, is giuen, not *dabitur*, ſhall be giuen: (221) And likewiſe was his Blood ſhed in remiſſion of ſinnes, at the time of that Supper: for the text hath **Funditur*, is ſhed. But the giuing of his Body for vs, and the ſhedding of his Blood in remiſſion of ſinnes, is an Oblation of the ſame. Ergo Chriſt offered his bodie and Blood at the Supper. And thus *datur*, ſignifieth here as much, as *offertur*. Words of Oblation, without Termes of Oblation. 1. Pet. 2. The 221. Vntrueth, without any ſenſe, or ſauour. *A great Follie. For the Old

Now this being true, that our Lord offered himſelfe vnto his Father at his laſt Supper, hauing giuen commandement to his Apoſtles to doe the ſame, that he there did, whom then he ordeined Prieſts of the

Catholike Fathers expound it by, *Dabitur*, and, *Fundetur*, in the Future Tense.

New Testament, saying, Doe this in my remembrance, as Clement doth plainly shew, *Lib. 8. Apost. Constitut. cap. vltimo* · the same charge pertaining no lesse to the Priests, that bee now the successors of the Apostles in this behalfe, than to the Apostles themselues; it doth right well appeare, howsoeuer M. Iewel assureth himselfe of the contrary; and whatsoeuer the Diuel hath wrought, and by his Ministers taught against the Sacrifice of the Masse, that Priests haue authoritie to offer vp Christ vnto his Father.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Christs Blood Shed at Supper.

Here M. Harding beginneth to scanne his Tenses, to rip vp Sillables, and to hunt for Letters: And in the end buildeth vp the highest Castle of his Religion vpon a ghesse. I maruell, that so learned a man would either vse so vnlearned arguments: or, hauing such store of Authorities, as he pretendeth, would euer make so simple choice.

He saith, *These words*, Is giuen, Is Shed, *be words of Sacrificing, though the Terme it selfe of Oblation, and Sacrifice, be not expressed.* Here M. Harding, besides that he hath imagined a strange Construction of his owne, that neuer any learned man knew before, and so straggleth alone, and swarueth from all the Old Fathers, includeth also a Repugnance, & Contradiction against himselfe. For, whereas words, and termes sound both one thing, the one being meere English, the other borrowed of the Latine, M. Harding saith: Christ in the Institution of his Supper, vsed the Words of Sacrificing, and yet expressed not the Termes of Sacrificing. Such Priuiledge these men haue, with shift of termes to beguile the World. For if Christ vsed the Words of Sacrificing, how can M. Harding say, He vsed not the termes of Sacrificing? And if he vsed not the Termes (Words, and Termes being one thing) how can he say, He vsed the words?

Verily if this Latine word, Dare, be, Sacrificare: and, Giuing, be Sacrificing, then, whereas S. Paul saith, *If thine enemie be thirsty, Giue him drinke:* And, whereas Iudas saith, *What will ye giue me, and I will deliuer him vnto you?* And whereas the Foolish Virgins say, *Giue vs part of your Oile, &c.* In euery of these, and such other like places, by this new Diuinitie, M. Harding will be able to find a Sacrifice.

Roman. 12.
Matth. 26.
Matth. 25.

Yet, saith he, *Certaine men of excellent knowledge haue thus expounded it.* It seemeth very strange, that these so notable men, of so excellent Knowledge should haue no names. Perhaps he meaneth Tapper of Louaine, or Gropper of Colaine, of whom he hath borrowed the whole substance welneare of all this Article. Howbeit, the demand was of the Ancient Doctors of the Church: not of any of these, or other such petite Fathers.

But Christ saith in the Present Tense, *This is my Bodie*, That Is Giuen: *not in the Future Tense*, That Shalbe Giuen. And likewise, *This is my Blood*, That Presently is Shed: *not in the Future Tense*, That Salbe Shed. *Therefore Christ Sacrificed his Bodie, and Shed his Blood presently at the Supper.*

Here M. Harding is driuen to controll the Old Common Translation of the New Testament, not onely, that beareth the name of S. Hierome, and hath bene euermore generally receiued in the Church, and is allowed by the Councell of Trident, but also, that is still vsed, and continued in his owne Masse Booke. I grant. In the Greeke it is written, Datur, Is Giuen: not Dabitur, Shalbe giuen. But here the Present Tense, according to the Common Phrase of the Scriptures, is vsed for the Future. Chrysostome readeth it thus: Dabitur, Shalbe Giuen: not Datur, Is Giuen. Origen likewise readeth, not, Effundetur, Is Shed: but, Effundetur, Shalbe Shed. And in this sort Chrysostom also expoundeth it: Effundetur pro multis. Hoc dicens, ostendit, quòd Passio eius est Mysterium Salutis humanæ: quod etiam Discipulos consolatur. Shalbe shed for many. *Thus saying, he sheweth, that his Passion is the Mysterie of the Saluation of mankinde: and by the same he comforteth his Disciples.* Againe he saith: De Passione, & Cruce sua loquebatur: *Christ* (vttering these words of the Sacrament) *spake of his Passion, and of his Crosse.*

Chrysostom. in 1. Corin. 11.
Origen. in Matthæum, tract. 35.
Chrysostom. in Catena.

To be short, if it be true, that Christ shed his Blood at his Last Supper, and that Verily, Really, and indeed, as M. Harding alone strangely auoucheth, and no man else, I trow, beside him; then can he no more say, *The same was an vnbloodie Sacrifice:* And so must he yeeld vp the strongest Tower of all his hold. For if the Sacrifice, that Christ made at his Supper, were Vnbloody, how did Christ there Shed his Blood? If Christ, as M. Harding saith, did there Shed his Blood, how can that Sacrifice be called Vnbloody?

But to leaue these fantasies, and vaine shifts, Christ gaue his Bodie to be broken, and his Blood to be Shed, not at his Last Supper, but only vpon his Crosse, and no where else. *There he bare our iniquities, There was he rent for our Sinnes.* And in that onely respect we receiue his Bodie, and embrace it, and haue fruit of it. In this respect S. Paul saith, *God forbid, I should reioice in any thing, saue only in the Crosse of our Lord Iesus Christ.*

Esai. 53.
Galat. 6.

Therefore this new Article of the Faith, of the Real Sacrificing, and Shedding of Christs Blood at the Table, neither being true in it selfe, nor hitherto by M. Harding any

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any way proued, notwithstanding the great store and choice of his Authorities: for as much as Christ neuer gaue, neither his Apostles, nor any their successors Commission to doe more in that behalfe, than he himselfe had done; To say, that any mortall man hath power, and Authoritie, Really, and indeed to Sacrifice the Son of God, it is a manifest, and wicked blasphemie: the great, and grosse errors, wherewith the Diuell, and his Disciples in the time of his Kingdome of darknesse haue deceiued the world, notwithstanding.

As for Clemens, whom M. Harding so often calleth the Apostles fellow, as he is but lately start vp, and come abroad, and therefore hath not yet gotten sufficient credit, and is here brought in dumb, and saying nothing, so is he not worthy of further answer. Howbeit M. Harding doth great wrong, otherwise to report his Authors words, than he findeth them. Truly his Clemens, whatsoeuer he were, saith not, *The Priest hath Commission, or Power, to offer vp the Sonne of God.* His words are plaine to the contrary: Antitypon Regalis Corporis Christi offerte: *Offer ye vp* (not the Body of Christ, but) *the Signe, or Sacrament of the Roiall Body of Christ.* Likewise againe he saith: Offerimus tibi Regi, & Deo, iuxta Institutionem Christi, Hunc Panem, & Hoc Poculum: *We offer vp vnto thee, our King and God* (not the very Body of thy Son Really, and indeed, but) *This Bread, and this Cup, according to Christs Institution.* It is a great Prerogatiue for M. Harding, both to make Doctors of his own, and also to giue them his owne Constitutions. *Clemens Constit. Apostols. li. 6. cap. 30.* *Clemens Constit. Apostol. lib. 8.*

Neither did Christ by these words, *Doe ye this in my Remembrance*, erect any new Succession of Sacrificers, to offer him vp Really vnto his Father: nor euer did any Ancient learned Father so expound it. Christs meaning is clere by the words, that follow. For he saith not only, *Doe ye this*, but he addeth also, *In my Remembrance*: Which doing pertaineth, not only vnto the Apostles, and their successors, as M. Harding imagineth, but also to the whole people. And therefore S. Paul saith, not only to the Ministers, but also to the whole Congregation of Corinth, *As often, as ye shall eat this Bread, and drinke this Cup, Ye shall shew foorth, and publish the Lords Death, vntill he come.* Likewise S. Chrysostome applieth the same, not only to the Clergie, but also to the whole people of his Church of Antioch. Thus he saith: Hoc facite in memoriam Beneficij mei, Salutis vestræ: *Doe ye this in Remembrance of my Benefit, and of your Saluation.* 1. Corin. 11. *Chrysostom. ad popul. Antiochen. Hom. 61.*

Of these weake positions M. Harding without the warrant, or authoritie of any learned Father reasoneth thus: *Christ saith*, This is my Bodie, that is giuen for you: Doe this in my Remembrance:

Ergo, *The Priest hath power to offer vp the Son of God vnto his Father.*

M. Harding. The 5. Diuision.

That Christ offered himselfe to his Father in his last Supper, and that Priests by those words, Doe this in my remembrance, haue not only authority, but also a speciall commandement to doe the same, and that the Figure of Melchisedech, and the Prophecy of Malachie pertaineth to this Sacrifice, and maketh proofe of the same: let vs see by the testimonies of the Fathers, what doctrine the Apostles haue left to the Church.

De Demonstrat. Euangel. lib. 1. cap. 10. Eusebius Cæsariensis hath these words, *Horrorem afferentia Mensa Christi Sacrificia Supremo Deo offerre, per eminentissimum omnium ipsius Pontificem edocti sumus*: We are taught (saith he) to offer vnto our Supreme God the Sacrifices of Christs Table, which cause vs to tremble, and quake for feare, by his Bishop highest of all. Here he calleth Christ in respect of his Sacrifice, Gods Bishop highest of all Bishops: the Sacrifices of Christs Table he calleth (222) the Body and Blood of Christ, because at the Table in his last Supper he Sacrificed and offered the same; and for that it is his very Body, and very Blood, imagination only, Phantasie, and Figure set apart, he termeth these Sacrifices, as commonly the ancient Fathers doe, horrible, causing trembling and feare. And whereas he saith, we haue been taught to offer these Sacrifices to God, doubtlesse he meaneth by these words of Christ: Doe this in my remembrance, This is my Body, which is giuen for you: This is my Blood, which is shed for you. Clement in his eight Booke often cited, speaking of the Sacrifice offered by the Apostles, commonly addeth these words, *Secundùm ipsius ordinationem*, or, *ipso ordinante*: whereby he confesseth it to be Christs own ordinance. The 222. Vntruth. For Eusebius calleth it the Sacrifice of Thanksgiuing: And saith, *Memoriam offerre dedit pro Sacrificio.*

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To proue, that the Priest offereth vp the Son of God, M. Harding hath here brought in Eusebius, an Ancient Father, that neuer once named any such Oblation of the Son of God. So much is he oppressed, and encumbred with his store.

True it is, The Ministration of the Holy Communion is often times of the Old learned Fathers called a Sacrifice: not for that, they thought, the Priest had authoritie, to Sacrifice the Son of God, but for that therein we offer vp vnto God, Thanks, and Praises for that great Sacrifice once made vpon the Crosse. So saith S. Augustine: In isto Sacrificio est gratiarum actio, & Commemoratio Carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit: *In this Sacrifice is a thanksgiuing, and a Remembrance of the Flesh of Christ, which he hath offered for vs.* Likewise Eusebius saith: *Christ after all other things done, made a marueilous Oblation, and* *August. ad Petrum Diac. ca. 19.*

Dreadfull Sacrifice.

and a passing Sacrifice vnto his Father (**vpon his Crosse**) *for the Saluation of vs all: giuing vnto vs to offer continually vnto God a Remembrance in stead of a Sacrifice.* **So** Nazianzenus **calleth the Holy Communion,** *A Figure of that great Mystery, of the Death of Christ.*

This it is, that Eusebius **calleth,** *The Sacrifice of the Lords Table*: **Which also he calleth,** Sacrificium Laudis: *The Sacrifice of Praise.*

Euseb. De Demonst. li. 1. c. 10.

Memoriam pro Sacrificio.

Nazian. in Apolog.

τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀνάπτυσιν.

τὴν θυσίαν αἰτέπως

Cyrill. in Apol.

But Eusebius **saith further,** *This Sacrifice is dreadfull, and causeth the heart to quake.* **M. Harding may not well gather by any force of these words, that the Son of God is Really offered vp by the Priest vnto his Father. For all things, whatsoeuer, that put vs in remembrance of the Maiesty, and Iudgements of God, of the Holy Fathers are called Dreadfull. Saint** Cyril **saith:** Lectio Diuinarum, & Terribilium Scripturarum: *The reading of the Diuine, and Terrible Scriptures.* S. Chrysostome **calleth the words of Baptisme,** Verba arcana, & metuenda, & horribiles Canones dogmatum de Cœlo transmissorum: *The Secret, and Dreadfull words, and Terrible Rules of the Doctrine, that came from Heauen.* **And speaking of the Hand, and Voice of the Deacon, he saith thus:** Manu illa Tremenda, & continua Voce clamans, alios vocat, alios arcet: *With that Terrible Hand, and continuall Voice crying, some he calleth in, and some he putteth off.*

Chrysost. in 1. ad Corin. hom. 40.

This Sacrifice maketh the Heart to tremble, for that therein is laid forth the Mysterie, that was hidden from Worlds, and Generations: The horror of Sin: the Death of the Son of God: That he tooke our heauinesse, and bare our sorrowes, and was wounded for our offences, and was Rent, and Tormented for our Wickednesse: That he was carried like an innocent Lambe vnto the Slaughter, that he cried vnto his Father, O God, O my God, why hast thou thus forsaken me?

There we call to Remembrance all the Causes, and Circumstances of Christs Death: The Shame of the Crosse: The Darkning of the Aire: The Shaking of the Earth: The renting of the Vaile: The cleauing of the Rockes: The opening of the Graues: The Descending into Hell: **and the Conquering of the Diuell. Therefore** Chrysostome **saith:** Quamuis quis lapis esset, illa nocte audita, quomodò cum Discipulis tristis fuerit, quomodò traditus, quomodò ligatus, quomodò abductus, quomodò iudicatus, quomodò denique Omnia Passus, cera mollior fiet, & terram, & omnem terræ cogitationem abijciet: *Any man, hearing of the order of that night, how Christ was mournfull among his Disciples, how he was deliuered, how he was bound, how he was led away, how he was arraigned, and how meekly he suffered all, that was done vnto him, were he as hard as a stone, yet would he be as soft as Wax, and would throw both the Earth, and all Earthly Cogitations away from him.*

Thus saith: Nicolaus Cabasilas, **one of Master Hardings late Greeke Doctors:** Hoc facite in meam Commemorationem. Sed quænam est hæc Commemoratio? &c. *Doe ye this in Remembrance of me. But what is this Remembrance? How do we consider our Lord in the Holy Ministration? What doe we conceiue him doing? How dealing? what suffering? what thinke we? what speake we of him? Doe we imagine of him* (**in that time of the Holy Mysteries**) *that he healed the Blind? That he raised the Dead? That he staied the Winds: Or that with a few loaues he fed thousands: which are tokens, that he was God Omnipotent? No, not so. But rather we call to remembrance such things, as declared his weaknesse: his Crosse, his Passion, his Death. Inrespect of those things he said,* Doe ye this in my Remembrance. *The Priest both by his words, and also by the whole Circumstance of his doing, seemeth to say,* Thus Christ came to his Passion: Thus he was wounded in the side: Thus he died: Thus Blood and Water issued, and streamed from his wound **These Considerations, thus laid before our eies, are able to cause any godly hart to quake, and tremble. As for the Reall offering vp of Christ in Sacrifice, that learned Father** Eusebius **saith nothing.**

Verily, it is but a simple Sophisme, to say, *This Sacrifice is* Dreadfull, *and causeth vs to quake:* Ergo, *The Priest offereth vp the Son of God vnto his Father.*

M. Harding. The 6. Diuision.

That Christ Sacrificed himselfe at his Supper, Hesychius affirmeth with these words: *Quod Dominus iussit* (Leuit. 4.) *vt Sacerdos vitulum pro peccato Oblaturus, ponat manum super caput eius, & iugulet eum coram Domino, Christum significat, quam nemo obtulit, sed nec immolare poterat, nisi semetipsum ipse ad patiendum tradidisset. Propter quod* Ioan. 10. *non semel dicebat, Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, & potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam: sed & præuenions semetipsum in Cœna Apostolorum immolauit, quod sciunt, qui Mysteriorum percipiunt virtutem.* That our Lord commanded (saith he) the Priest, which should offer a Calfe for sinne, to put his hand vpon his head, and to sticke him before our Lord, it signifieth Christ, whom no man hath offered, neither could any man Sacrifice him, except he had deliuered himselfe to suffer. For the which he said not only, I haue power to lay Ioan. 10. down my Soule, and I haue power to take it againe: But also preuenting it, he offered vp himselfe in Sacrifice in the Supper of the Apostles: which they know, that receiue the vertue of the Mysteries. By these words of Hesychius we learne, that Christ offered, and Sacrificed his Body and Blood twice. First in that Holy Supper vnbloodily, when he tooke Bread in his hands, and brake it, &c. Without Diuision of the Sacrifice, for it is but one and the same Sacrifice. And afterward on the Crosse, with Shedding of his blood, and that is it, he meaneth By the word, Preuenting.

Christ offered himselfe in a mystery, but not Really, and indeed.

The

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

We deny not, but it may well be said, *Christ at his last supper offered vp himselfe vnto his Father*: Albeit, not Really, and indeed, but, according to M. Hardings owne Distinction, in a Figure, or in a Mystery: in such sort, as we say, Christ was offered in the Sacrifices of the Old Law: and as S Iohn saith: Agnus Occisus ab Origine Mundi: *The Lamb was slaine from the beginning of the World.* As Christ was slaine at the Table, so was he Sacrificed at the Table. But he was not slaine at the Table Verily, and indeed, but only in a Mystery: Therefore he was not Sacrificed at the Table Really, and indeed, but only in a Mystery. Apocal. 13.

So saith S. Augustine: Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in semetipso? Et tamen in Sacramento, non tantùm per omnes Paschæ Solemnitates, sed etiam omni die populis immolatur. Nec vtique mentitur, qui interrogatus, eum responderit immolari. Si enim Sacramenta quandam Similitudinem earum rerum, quarum Sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omninò Sacramenta non essent: *Was not Christ once offered in himselfe? And yet in* (or, by way of) *a Sacrament, not only at the Solemne Feast of Easter, but euery day he is offered vnto the people. And he saith no vntruth, that being demanded, maketh answer, that Christ is Sacrificed.* His reason is this: *For if Sacraments had not a certaine Likenesse, or Resemblance of the things, whereof they be Sacraments, then should they vtterly be no Sacraments.* *Augustin. Epist.* 23.

Notwithstanding, Hesychius expounding the Booke of Leuiticus, to the intent he may force the whole Storie of the Life, and Death of Christ, to answer euery particular Ceremony of the Law, is sometimes driuen, to stretch, and straine the Scriptures to his purpose. So he saith, *Christ is the Altar*: And, *Christ Incarnate in the Virgins Wombe, is the Sodden Sacrifice.* *Hesych. in Leuit. li. 1. cap. 4. Li. 1. ca. 2. Sacrificium Coctum.*

Now, as Christ was the Altar, and as he was Sacrificed in his Mothers Wombe, euen so he Sacrificed himselfe at his Supper: not in proper, or vsuall maner of speech, but only in a Mystery signifying.

Otherwise S. Cyprian plainly openeth the whole difference of these two Sacrifices in this sort: Dedit Dominus noster in mensa, in qua Vltimum cum Apostolis participauit Conuiuium, proprijs manibus Panem, & Vinum: In Cruce verò manibus militum Corpus tradidit vulnerandum: *Our Lord at the Table, whereat he receiued his last Supper with his Disciples, with his owne hands gaue* (not his very Body, and very Blood Really, and indeed, but) *Bread, and Wine: But vpon the Crosse, he gaue his owne Body, with the Souldiers hands to be Wounded.* This, saith S. Cyprian, is the difference betweene the Sacrifice of the Table, and the Sacrifice of the Crosse: At the one, Christ gaue Bread and Wine: Vpon the other, he gaue his Body. *Cyprian. de Vnctione Chrismatis.*

Therefore, whereas M. Harding saith, only vpon his own warrant, That Christ Reallie Sacrificed himselfe at two sundry times, and that he twice Really Shed his Blood, First at the Table, and Afterward vpon the Crosse: The vntruth, and folly hereof is easily reproued by these plaine words of S. Paul: Semel Oblatus est, ad multorum exhaurienda peccata: *He was once offered to take away the sins of many.* And againe: *With one Sacrifice he hath made perfit them for euer that be Sanctified.* These places are clere, and without question: vnlesse M. Harding will say, that one, and, Two: and Once and Twice, be both one thing. Hebræ 9. Hebræ. 10.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuision.

And at the same very instant of time, (which is here further to be added, as a necessary point of Christian doctrine) we must vnderstand (223) that Christ offered himselfe in Heauen inuisibly (as concerning man) in the sight of his Heauenly Father, and that from that time forward that Oblation of Christ in Heauen was neuer intermitted, but continueth alwaies for our attonement with God, and shall without ceasing endure vntill the end of the world. For, as S. Paul saith, Iesus hath not entred into Temples made with hands, the samplars of the true Temples, but into Heauen it selfe, to appeare now to the countenance of God for vs. Now as this Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ endureth in Heauen continually, for as much as he is risen from the dead, and ascended into Heauen with that Bodie, which he gaue to Thomas to feele, bringing in thither his Blood, as Hesychius saith, and bearing the markes of his wounds, and there appeare before the face of God with that Thorn-prickt, Nail-boared, Speare pierced, and otherwise wounded, rent, and torne Bodie for vs: (whereby we vnderstand the vertue of his Oblation on the Crosse euer enduring, not the Oblation it selfe with renuing of paine, and sufferance continued) so we doe perpetually celebrate this Oblation and Sacrifice of Christs verie Body and Blood in the Masse, in remembrance of him, (224) commanded so to doe, vntill his comming. The 223. Vntruth, vaine, and Fantasticall, and without ground. Hebr 9. The 224. Vntruth. For Christ neuer commanded M Harding, neither to say Masse, nor to Offer vp his Body in Sacrifice.

Wherein our Aduersaries so foolishly, as wickedly scoffe at vs, as though we Sacrificed Christ againe, so as he was Sacrificed on the Crosse, that is, in Bloodly maner. But we do not so Offer or Sacrifice Christ againe: but that Oblation of him in the Supper, and ours in the Masse, is but one Oblation, the same Sacrifice, for this cause by his Diuine ordinance left vnto vs, that as the Oblation once made on the Crosse continually endureth, and appeareth before the face of God in Heauen for our behalfe, continued not by new suffering, but by perpetuall intercession for vs: So the memory of it may euer vntill his second comming

ming be kept amongſt vs alſo in earth, and that thereby we may apply and bring vnto vs through Faith the great benefits, which by that one Oblation of himſelfe on the Croſſe he hath for vs procured, and daily doth procure.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

At the ſame very inſtant of time, ſaith M. Harding, when Chriſt was Sacrificed vpon the Croſſe, he offered vp himſelfe alſo in Heauen in the ſight of his heauenly Father. Which thing he enlargeth Rhetorically with a Tragicall Deſcription of a Thorn-prickt, Naile-boared, Speare-pierced, and otherwiſe rent, and Torne Body. And this, ſaith he, is a neceſſary point of Chriſtian Doctrine: And that he auoucheth Conſtantly, albeit without the word, or witneſſe of any Ancient writer, only vpon his owne credit. Whereof alſo groweth ſome ſuſpition, that his Store of Old Records, is not ſo plenteous, as it is ſuppoſed.

But where he ſaith, Chriſt was thus Inuiſibly Sacrificed in Heauen, I marueil, he ſaith not likewiſe, that Pilate, Annas, Caiphas, the Souldiers, and the Tormentors were likewiſe in Heauen, to make this Sacrifice. For, without this Company, Chriſts Blood was not

Hebræ.9. ſhed: *And without Shedding of Blood*, S. Paul ſaith, *there is no Sacrifice for Remiſſion of Sin.* This Fable is ſo vaine, that, I beleue, M. Harding himſelfe is not well able to expound

Origen. in Epiſt. ad Roman. li. 5. ca. 6. his own meaning. Origen ſaith, There were ſome in his time, that thought, *That, as Chriſt was Crucified in this world for the liuing, ſo he ſhould afterward ſuffer, and be Crucified in the world to come for the dead* But that Chriſt was thus Thorne-prickt, Naile-boared, Speare-pierced, and Crucified in Heauen, I thinke, no man euer ſaw, or ſaid, but M. Harding. The Apoſtles, the Euangeliſts, the Old Doctors, and Ancient Fathers neuer

Hebræ.7. knew it. S. Paul ſaith: Semel ſeipſum obtulit: *Once he offered vp himſelfe:* Semel introiuit in

Hebræ.9. Sancta: *Once he entred into the holy place.* And therefore hanging vpon the Croſſe, and yalding vp the ghoſt, he ſaid, Conſummatum eſt: *It is finiſhed:* This Sacrifice is perfitly wrought for euer. This only Sacrifice of Chriſt the Son of God the Scriptures acknowledge, and none other.

Howbeit, like as the Prayers, that Chriſt once made, and the Doctrine, that he once taught, remaine ſtill full, and effectuall, as at the firſt: euen ſo the Sacrifice, that Chriſt once made vpon the Croſſe, remaineth ſtill in full force, effectuall, and perfit, and endu-

Hebræ.7. reth for euer. Therefore S. Paul ſaith, *Chriſt hath an euerlaſting Prieſthood, and liueth ſtill, that he may ſtill pray for vs.* And therefore God the Father ſaith vnto him, and to none other, either Man, or Angell, or Archangel, Tu es Sacerdos in æternum: *Thou art a Prieſt for euer.*

Chryſoſtom. in epiſt. ad Hebræ. hom. 17. And therefore S. Chryſoſtome compareth this Sacrifice to a moſt ſoueraign ſalue, that being once laid to the wound, healeth it cleane, and needeth no more laying on. Likewiſe

Cyprian. De Baptiſ. Chriſti. S. Cyprian ſaith: Nec Sacerdotij eius pœnituit Deum: quoniam Sacrificium, quod in Cruce obtulit, ſic in beneplacito Dei conſtat acceptabile, & perpetua virtute conſiſtit, vt non minùs hodie in conſpectu Patris Oblatio illa ſit efficax, quàm ea die, qua de ſaucio latere Sanguis, & Aqua exiuit: & ſemper reſeruatæ in Corpore plagæ Salutis Humanæ exigant pretium: *It neuer repented God of Chriſts Prieſthood: For the Sacrifice, that he offered vpon the Croſſe, is ſo acceptable in the good will of God, and ſo ſtandeth in continuall ſtrength and Vertue, that the ſame Oblation is no leſſe acceptable this day in the ſight of God the Father, than it was that day, when Blood, and Water ran out of his wounded ſide. The Scarres reſerued ſtill in his Body, doe waigh the price of the Saluation of Man.*

But M. Harding condemneth vs all for Fooliſh, and Wicked people. For Fooliſh, I know not why. Neither is it thought a wiſe mans part, either greatly to miſlike other mens wits, or ouermuch to like his own. Howbeit, who ſo ſpeaketh, as neuer wiſe man ſpake, and yet himſelfe vnderſtandeth not what he ſpeaketh, as, in this caſe, it is thought, M. Harding doth, hath no great cauſe, in this behalfe, to charge others with follie.

Of the other ſide, whatſoeuer Mortall man preſumeth to offer vp Chriſt in Sacrifice, and dareth to deſire God the Father ſo fauourably to behold his own only Son, as in old times he beheld the Oblation of Abel, or of Melchiſedech, and is not afraid, therewith to beguile the ſimple, and to mocke the world, as M. Harding doth daily at his Maſſe, he cannot well excuſe himſelfe of open wickednes.

Notwithſtanding this matter is eaſily anſwered. For (ſaith he) we Sacrifice not Chriſt againe: The Oblation, that Chriſt made vpon the Croſſe, and ours in the Maſſe, is all one. And this Sacrifice Chriſt hath commanded vs to continue vntill his comming. If M. Harding make the ſelfeſame Sacrifice, that Chriſt made vpon the Croſſe, then is he *A Prieſt after the order of* Melchiſedech: And ſo, *The King of Iuſtice: the Prince of Peace, and a Prieſt for euer, without Succeſſor.* For theſe titles be incident to the Prieſthood of Melchiſedech: which neuertheleſſe, I thinke, M. Harding of his modeſty will not acknowledge. And without the ſame, he cannot offer vp to God the ſame Sacrifice, that Chriſt offered vpon the Croſſe.

And

And where he saith: Christ hath commanded him, and his Fellowes to make, and continue this Sacrifice vntill his comming; If he had meant simply and plainly, he would haue shewed, either when, or where, or by what words Christ gaue him this Commandement. For so large a Commission is worthy the shewing. And it were great boldnesse, to attempt such a matter without Commission.

M. Harding. The 8. Diuision.

Now for further proofe of the offering, and Sacrificing of Christ of those words of our Lord, Doe this in my remembrance, to recite some Testimonies of the Fathers: First, Dionysius S. Pauls Scholar, and Bishop of Athens writeth thus: *Quocirca reuerenter simul, & ex Pontificali officio, post sacras diuinorum operum laudes, quod hostium saluatrix, quæ super ipsam est, Iesus, se extulsat, ad ipsum primo decenter exclamans, Tu dixisti, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.* Wherefore the Bishop (saith he) reuerently, and according to his Bishoply office, after the holy praises of Gods workes, he excuseth himselfe, that he taketh vpon him to offer that healthfull Sacrifice, which is aboue his degree, and worthinesse, crying out first vnto him in seemly wise, Lord thou hast commanded thus, saying, Doe this in my remembrance. By these words he confesseth, that he could not be so hardy, (225) as to offer vp Christ vnto his Father, had not Christ himselfe so commanded, when he said, Doe this in my remembrance. This is the Doctrine touching this Article, that S. Paul taught his Scholars, which M. Iewel denieth.

The 225. Vntruth, ioyned with great folly. For Dionysius speaketh not one word of Offering vp the Son of God vnto his Father.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Here maist thou, gentle Reader, easily see, that M. Harding, either had not that abundance of store, wherof notwithstanding he hath made vs so large a promise, or else had no great regard vnto his choice. For Dionysius hath no token, or inkling of any such Sacrificing of the sonne of God vnto his Father. But clearly, and in most plaine wise, he sheweth the difference, that is betweene the Sacrifice of the Crosse, and the Sacrifice of the holy Communion. These be his words: *The Priest extolleth those things, that Christ wrought in his Flesh vpon the Crosse, for the Saluation of Mankind: and with Spirituall eies, beholding the spirituall vnderstanding thereof, draweth neere to the Figuratiue Sacrifice of the same.* Here Dionysius calleth not the Ministration of the Holy Mysteries, the Sacrificing of Christ vnto his Father, as M. Harding would force vs to beleeue, but a Figuratiue Sacrifice, that is, a Figure, or a Signe of that great Sacrifice. And Pachymeres the Paraphrast expoundeth the same words in this wise: Πρὸς τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ ποτήριον ἔρχεται: *He commeth to the Bread, and the Cup.*

Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. ca. 3. πρὸς συμβολικὴν ἱερουργίαν.

Pachymer. in 3. cap. Eccles. Hierarch.

Then the Priest, saith Dionysius, after certaine Prayers, and holy Songs, excuseth himselfe, as not worthy to make that Sacrifice: and pronounceth these words out with a loud voice, Tu dixisti, &c. *Thou hast said, Doe this in my Remembrance.* Hereof M. Harding concludeth thus: *The Priest excuseth himselfe*; Ergo, *He offereth vp the Son of God vnto his Father.* A yong Sophister would neuer so vnskilfully frame his arguments. Otherwise the Respondent might easily say: Nego Consequentiam, & Consequens. For what order, or sequell is there in this Reason? How may this Antecedent, and this consequent agree together.

M. Harding knoweth there, be other sundry causes, wherefore the Priest should excuse his vnworthinesse, and not this only, that he imagineth. The Priest in the Liturgy, or Communion, that beareth the name of S. Basil, prayeth thus: Fac nos idoneos, vt tibi Offeramus Sacrificium Laudis: *Make vs meet, to offer vnto thee* (not Christ thine only Son, but) *the Sacrifice of praise.* In like maner Nazianzene saith: *How can they, or dare they offer vnto God,* (he saith not, The Body of Christ Really, and indeed, but) *the Figure of these great Mysteries?* But M. Harding, being vtterlie void of other reasons, prooueth his imagined Sacrifice of the Son of God, only by the vnworthinesse of the Priest.

Liturgia Basilij.

Nazian. in Apologet. τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀπεικόνισιν τύπον.

This is the Iust Iudgement of God, that whoso endeuoreth himselfe to deceiue, and blind others, shall be deceiued, and blinded himselfe. For Dionysius vseth the very like words, speaking of the Sacrament of Baptisme: Sacerdos cogitans negotij magnitudinem, horret, atque hæsitat: *The Priest considering the waight of the matter, is in an horror, and in an agonie.* Likewise S. Basil excuseth his owne vnworthinesse of hearing the Word of God: Quæ auris digna est magnitudine earum rerum, quæ dicuntur? Cogitemus quisnam ille sit qui nos affatur: *What eare is worthy to heare the Maiesty of these things? Let vs consider who it is, that speaketh to vs.* S. Paul speaking of the Glory, and Puissance of the Gospell, in the end, in respect of his own vnworthinesse, vseth this Exclamation: Et ad hæc quis idoneus? *And who is meet to publish, and to speake these things?* S. Cyprian saith: *We are not worthy to looke vp into Heauen, and to speake vnto God. O* saith he, *what mercifull fauour of our Lord is this, that we may call God our Father: and euen as Christ is Gods Son, so may we be called the Children of God!* Quod nomen nemo nostrûm in Oratione auderet attingere, nisi ipse nobis sic permisisset orare: *Which Name* (of Father) *none of vs in our Prayers would dare to vtter, sauing that he hath giuen vs leaue so to pray.* By these, the slenderne of M. Hardings reason may

Ecclesiast. Hierar. cap. 2. Ἀπελπίζας τὸ τοῦ σεβάσματος μέγεθος, φεῦ μοι, καὶ ἀμηχανῶ.

Basil. Hexamer. 1. πῖζ ἀκουὸ μεγαθος λεγομένων εἶζ.

2. Corin. 2.

Cyprian. in Oration. Dominicam.

may ſone appeare: *The Prieſt excuſeth his own vnworthineſſe*: Ergo, *He offereth vp the Son of God.* It is a Fallax, Ex meris Particularibus; or, A non diſtributo ad diſtributum: and concludeth in Secunda Figura Affirmatiue. An error rowen vato Children.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuiſion.

Irenæus receiued the ſame from S. Iohn the Euangeliſt, by Polycarpus S. Iohns Scholar. He declareth it with theſe words: *Eum, qui ex creatura Panis eſt, accipit, & gratias egit, Dicens, Hoc eſt Corpus meum. Et Calicem ſimiliter, qui eſt ex creatura quæ eſt ſecundum nos, ſuum Sanguinem confeſſus eſt, & Noui Teſtamenti nouam docuit Oblationem, quam Eccleſia ab Apoſtolis accipiens, in vniuerſo mundo offert Deo. De quo in duodecim Prophetis Malachias ſic præſignificauit, Non eſt mihi voluntas in vobis, dicit Dominus exercituum: & munus non ſuſcipiam de manibus veſtris.* He tooke that, which by creation is bread, and gaue thankes, ſaying, This is my Body. And likewiſe the Cup full of that Creature, which is here with vs, and confeſſed it to be his Blood, and thus taught the new Oblation of the New Teſtament, which the Church receuing of the Apoſtles, doth offer to God thorow the whole world, whereof Malachi one of the twelue Prophets did prophecie thus: I haue no liking in you, ſaith our Lord almighty, neither will I take a Sacrifice of your hands; becauſe from the riſing of the Sun, to the going downe of the ſame, my name is glorified among the Nations, and Incenſe is offered to my name in euery place, and pure Sacrifice, for that my name is great among the Nations. What can be vnderſtanded by this new Oblation of the New Teſtament, other than the Oblation of that, which he ſaid to be his Body, and confeſſed to be his Blood? And if he had offered Bread and Wine only, or the Figure of his Body and Blood in Bread and Wine, it had been no New Oblation, for ſuch had been made by Melchiſedech long before. Neither can the Prophecy of Malachi be vnderſtanded of the Oblation of Chriſt vpon the Croſſe, forasmuch as that was done but at one time only, and in one certaine place of the world, in Golgatha, a place without the gates of Hieruſalem, meere to the walles of the Citie? Concerning the Sacrifice, of a contrite, and an humble heart, and all other Sacrifices of our deuotion, that be meere Spirituall, they cannot be called the New Oblation of the New Teſtament, forasmuch as they were done as well in the Old Teſtament, as in the New, neither be they altogether pure. Wherefore this place of Irenæus, and alſo the Prophecie of Malachi, wherewith it is confirmed, muſt needs be referred to the Sacrifice and Oblation of the Body and Blood of Chriſt daily thorow out the whole world offered to God (226) in the Maſſe, which is the externall Sacrifice of the Church, and proper to the New Teſtament: which, as Irenæus, ſaith, the Church receiued of the Apoſtles, and the Apoſtles of Chriſt.

Lib. 4. cap. 34.

Malac. 1.

The 226. Vntruth. For Irenæus neither ſpeaketh of the Maſſe: nor calleth it a Sacrifice: Neither ſaith, either that the Church receiued it from the Apoſtles, or the Apoſtles from Chriſt. Malac. 1.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Yeare at laſt, M. Harding hath found out the name of a Sacrifice, that was not denied him. But the Sacrifice, that he hath ſo long ſought for, and hath ſo aſſuredly promiſed to find, hitherto he hath not found. For Irenæus not once nameth, neither the Maſſe, nor this Reall Oblation of the Son of God vnto his Father. Thus onely he ſaith: *God hath vtterly miſliked, and refuſed the Old Carnall Sacrifices of the Iewes: and hath taught vs to offer vp the New Sacrifice of the New Teſtament, according to the Prophecy of* Malachi. This Sacrifice, M. Harding imagineth, can be none other, but the offering vp of Chriſt in the Maſſe. Theſe Concluſions be verie ſudden. The Old learned Fathers could neuer vnderſtand ſo much. One of M. Hardings own New found Doctors, Martialis, ſaith thus: Oblatio munda, non tantùm in Ara Sanctificata offertur, ſed etiam vbique: *The pure Sacrifice, which* Malachi *meaneth, is offered, not only vpon the holy Altar* (or Communion Table) *but alſo euery where.* M. Harding ſaith: It is offered only vpon the Altar: Martialis ſaith: *It is offered euery where, and not only vpon the Altar.* Certainly if Malachi meant the Sacrifice, that may be offered in all places, and without an Altar, as Martialis ſaith, then he meant not the Sacrifice of the Maſſe. Tertullian ſaith: *That the Prophet* Malachi *by that pure Sacrifice, meant the Preaching of the Goſpell: the offering vp of a Contrite Heart; and praier proceeding from a pure Conſcience.* S. Hierome likewiſe expoundeth the ſame of *the Sacrifice of Praier*, and openeth it by theſe Words of the Prophet Dauid: *Let my Praier be directed, as Incenſe before thy ſight.* S. Auguſtine calleth the ſame, Sacrificium Laudis & Gratiarum actionis: *The Sacrifice of Praiſe, and Thankſgiuing.*

Martial. ad Burdegalenſes.

Tertullian contra Iudæos.

Tertull. contra Marcio. li. 4.

Hieronym. in 1. cap Malach.

Hieronym. in Zachar. li. 2. cap. 8.

Auguſt. contra Aduer. Legis, & Prophet. ca. 20. Contra Liter. Petiliani, li. 2. ca. 86.

In like ſort Irenæus alſo expoundeth his own meaning: Eccleſia offert Deo cum Gratiarum actione ex Creatura eius. Eſt ergo Altare in Cœlo; Illuc Preces, & Oblationes noſtræ diriguntur: *The Church offereth vp to God,* (not his own, and only Son, but) *a Naturall thing of Gods Creation. Neither is our Alter here in Earth, but in Heauen. Thither our Praiers, and Sacrifices be directed.* So likewiſe Euſebius ſaith: Sacrificamus, & incendimus Memoriam Magni illius Sacrificij, ſecundum ea, quæ ab ipſo tradita ſunt, Myſteria celebrantes, & gratias Deo pro ſalute noſtra agentes: *We Sacrifice, and offer vp vnto God the Remembrance of that Great Sacrifice, vſing the Holy Myſteries accordingly, as Chriſt hath deliuered them, and giuing God thankes for our Saluation.*

Irenæus lib. 4. cap. 34.

Euſeb. de Demonſtra. li. 1. a. 10.

And that Irenæus meant not any ſuch Reall Sacrifice of the Son of God, nor may not in any wiſe ſo be taken, it is euident by the plaine words, that follow, touching the ſame. For thus he ſaith, ſpeaking of the very ſame Sacrifice of the New Teſtament, that is mentioned by Malachi: Sacrificia non Sanctificant hominem: ſed conſcientia eius, qui offert, exiſtens pura, ſanctificat Sacrificium: *The Sacrifice doth not Sanctifie the Man: but*

the

the conſcience of the offerer being pure, ſanctifieth the Sacrifice. I trow M. Harding will not ſay, *The Prieſt is not ſanctified by the Sonne of God, but the Sonne of God is ſanctified by the conſcience of the Prieſt*: For that were Blaſphemie. And yet thus muſt he nedes ſay, if Irenæus meant the Reall Sacrificing of the Sonne of God. Malachi.

But M. Harding hath deuiſed a great many replies to the contrarie. Firſt he ſaith: *The offering vp of Praier, Praiſes, and Thankſgiuing cannot be called a New Sacrifice: for the ſame was made by Moſes, Aron, the Prophets, and other holy men in the Old Law.* This obiection ſerueth well to controll Tertullian, S. Auguſtine, and S. Hierome, and other learned Fathers that thus haue taken it: who, by M. Hardings iudgement, wrote vnaduiſedly they knew not what. Hereunto Irenæus himſelfe anſwereth thus: Oblationes hic: Oblationes illic. Sacrificia in populo Iſraël: Sacrificia in Eccleſia. Sed ſpecies immutata eſt tantùm Quippe cùm iam non à Seruis, ſed à Liberis offeruntur: *There were Sacrifices in the Old Teſtament: There be Sacrifices in the New. There were Sacrifices in the people of Iſrael: There be Sacrifices in the Church. Only the maner or forme is changed. For now they be offered, not by Bondmen (as before) but by Free men.* In like ſenſe writeth Angelomus; Mandatum Nouum ſcribo vobis, non alterum: ſed ipſum, quod dixi Vetus, idem eſt Nouum: *I write vnto you a New Commandement: none other, but that I called the Old, the ſelfe ſame is the New.* And it is called a New Sacrifice, ſaith Chryſoſtom, *Becauſe it proceedeth from a New mind, and is offered not by fire and ſmoke, but by Grace, and by the ſpirit of God.* And in this conſideration Irenæus thinketh, *Dauid ſaid vnto the Children of the Church of Chriſt, O ſing vnto the Lord a New ſong.*

Iren. li. 4. c. 34.

Angelomus Antiqu. li. 3.

Chryſoſt. contra Iudæos, li. 2.

Iren. li. 4. c. 21.

M. Harding ſaith further: The words of Malachi may in no wiſe be taken for the Oblation of Chriſt vpon the Croſſe. For that, ſaith he, was done at one time onely, and in one certaine place, in *Golgotha*, without the gates of Hieruſalem, and not in euery place. Yet M. Harding may eaſily vnderſtand, that the Remembrance of that Sacrifice, and Thankſgiuing for the ſame, may be made at all times, and in all places. And therefore Euſebius, as it is noted before, calleth our Sacrifice: Magni illius Sacrificij memoriam: *The Remembrance of that great Sacrifice: and the Thankſgiuing which we yeeld vnto God for our ſalnation.* Dionyſius calleth it, συμβολικὴν ἱερουργίαν, *a Figuratiue Sacrifice.* And S. Auguſtine ſaith: Cùm credimus in Chriſtum, ex ipſis reliquijs cogitationis, Chriſtus nobis quotidie immolatur: *When we beleeue in Chriſt, euen of the very remanents of our cogitation* (in what place ſoeuer we be) *Chriſt is Sacrificed vnto vs euery day.* Likewiſe S. Hierome ſaith: Cùm audimus Sermonem Domini, Caro Chriſti, & Sanguis eius in auribus noſtris funditur: *When we heare the word of the Lord, the Fleſh of Chriſt and his Blood is powred out into our eares.* And whereas M. Harding ſaith further, that the ſpiritual Sacrifices of our deuotion cannot altogether be called pure, and therefore cannot be Sacrifices of the New Teſtament, it muſt nedes be confeſſed, that all our righteouſneſſe, in reſpect of many imperfections, may be compared, as the Prophet Eſay ſaith, vnto a filthy clout. Yet in reſpect of Gods mercie, and in Chriſt, the Prophet Dauid ſaith: *Thou ſhalt waſh me, and I will be whiter than the ſnow.*

Euſebius de Demon. li. 1. ca. 10.

Eccleſ. Hierar. cap. 3.

Auſtin. in Pſalm. 75.

Hieronym. in Pſalm. 147.

Eſai. 64.

Pſalm. 50.

Euſebius de Demon. li. 1. cap. 6. Orationis Sacrificium quod Mundum dictum eſt. Tertull. ad Scapulam. Hieronym. in Zachar. lib. 2. cap. 8. In ſanctitate Euangelicæ Puritatis. 1. Tim. 2.

Howbeit, herein I will remit M. Harding to the iudgement of them, whoſe authorities he cannot well denie. Euſebius calleth our Prayers, Mundum Sacrificium: *A pure Sacrifice* Tertullian ſaith, *We make Sacrifice vnto our God for the ſafety of our Emperours*, pura prece, *with A Pure Praier.* S. Hierome ſpeaking of the Sacrifice of Chriſtian Prayers, ſaith thus: *A pure Sacrifice is offered vnto me in euery place: not in the Oblations of the Old Teſtament, but in the holineſſe of the purity of the Goſpell.* To be ſhort, S. Paul ſaith: Volo viros precari in omni loco, leuantes manus Puras: *I would that men ſhould pray in all places, lifting vp Pure hands* (vnto God.)

Touching the Sacrifice of the Lords Table, Euſebius writeth thus: μνήμην ἡμῖν παρέδωκε ἀντὶ θυσίας τοῦ θεῷ διωρεὰς προσφέρειν: *He gaue vs a Remembrance in ſtead of a Sacrifice to offer vp continually vnto God.* And this he calleth, Incruentum & Rationabile Sacrificium: *The vnbloody and Reaſonable Sacrifice. This*, ſaith Irenæus, *is the Sacrifice of the New Teſtament. This Sacrifice the Church receiued of the Apoſtles: and the ſame the Apoſtles receiued of Chriſt, that made all things New.*

Euſebius de Demonſtra. lib. 1.

M. Harding. The 10. Diuiſion.

Now let vs heare what S. Cyprian hath written to this purpoſe. Becauſe his workes be common, to be ſhorter I will rehearſe his words in Engliſh. If in the Sacrifice, * which is Chriſt, none but Chriſt is to be followed, ſoothly it behoueth vs to obey, and doe that, which Chriſt did, and commanded to be done. For if Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and God, very he himſelfe be the high Prieſt of God the Father, and himſelfe firſt offered Sacrifice to God the Father, and commanded the ſame to be done in his Remembrance; Verily that Prieſt doth occupie the office of Chriſt truly, who doth by imitation the ſame thing, that Chriſt did. And then he offereth to God the Father in the Church a true and a perfect Sacrifice, if he begin to offer right ſo as he ſeeth Chriſt himſelfe to haue offered Thus farre S. Cyprian. How can this Article be auouched in more plaine words? (227) He ſaith that Chriſt offered himſelfe to his Father in his Supper, and likewiſe commanded vs to doe the ſame.

* Euen ſo Chryſoſtome ſaith, Chriſts Baptiſme is Chriſts blood. *Ad Hebr. hom. 16.*

The 227. Vntruth. For S. Cyprian ſaith not, neither that Chriſt offered himſelfe at the Supper, nor that wee are commanded to offer Chriſt.

The Sacrifice is Christ.

Here we haue prooued, that it is lawfull, and hath alwaies from the beginning of the New Teſtament been lawfull for the (228) Prieſts to offer vp Chriſt vnto his Father, by the teſtimonies of three holy Martyrs, two Greeks, and one Latine, moſt notable in ſundry reſpects, of antiquity, of the roome they bare in Chriſts Church, of Learning, of Conſtancy, of Faith ſtedfaſtly kept to Death, ſuffered in places of fame, and knowledge, at Paris, at Lions, at Carthage.

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The 228. Vntruth For none of all theſe three Fathers euer ſpake theſe words.

The place of S. Cyprian, as it not once toucheth the Reall Sacrificing of Chriſt vnto his Father, ſo it vtterly condemneth the Communion vnder One Kind: **the** Common Prayers in a ſtrange vnknowen tongue: **and briefly the whole diſorder and abuſe of M. Hardings Maſſe.**

But S. Cyprian ſaith: In Sacrificio, quod Chriſtus eſt: *In the Sacrifice, that is Chriſt.* **If M. Harding thinke to find great aduantage in theſe words, it may pleaſe him to Remember, that** S. Auguſtine ſaith: Illis Petra erat Chriſtus: *Vnto the Iewes the Rocke was Chriſt.* **Verily, the Sacrifice after the Order of** Melchiſedech, **which is the Propitiation for the Sins of the world, is only Ieſus Chriſt, the Son of God vpon the Croſſe. And the Miniſtration of the holy Myſteries, in a Phraſe, and maner of ſpech, is alſo the ſame Sacrifice: becauſe it laieth forth the Death, and Blood of Chriſt ſo plainly, and ſo euidently before our eies. So ſaith** S Auguſtine: *The very Remembrance of Chriſts Paſſion ſtirreth vp ſuch motions within vs, as if we ſaw Chriſt preſently hanging vpon the Croſſe.* **Vpon which words the Common Gloſſe noteth thus:** Chriſtus immolatur, id eſt, Chriſti immolatio Repræſentatur, & fit Memoria Paſſionis: *Chriſt is Sacrificed, that is to ſay, The Sacrifice of Chriſt is Repreſented, and there is made a Remembrance of his Paſſion.* **So** S. Cyprian ſaith: Vinum exprimit Sanguinem: In Aqua populus intelligitur: In Vino Sanguis oſtenditur. Itaque Paſſionis eius mentionem in Sacrificijs facimus. Paſſio enim Domini eſt Sacrificium, quod offerimus: *The Wine ſheweth the Blood: In the Water we vnderſtand the people: The Blood is expreſſed in the Wine. And therefore in our Sacrifices we make mention of Chriſts Paſſion. For the Sacrifice, that we offer, is the Paſſion of Chriſt.* **As the Miniſtration of the Holy Communion is the Death, and Paſſion of Chriſt, euen ſo, and in like ſort and ſenſe may the Sacrifice thereof be called Chriſt. Therefore** S. Gregorie ſaith: Chriſtus in ſeipſo immortaliter viuens, iterum in hoc Myſterio moritur. Eius Caro in populi Salutem patitur: *Chriſt liuing immortally in himſelfe, Dieth againe in this Myſterie. His Fleſh ſuffereth (in the Myſterie) for the Salnation of the people.* **I recon, M. Harding will not ſay, that Chriſt Dieth indeed, according to the force, and ſound of theſe words, or that his Fleſh verily, and indeed is tormented, and ſuffereth in the Sacrament.** S. Gregorie **better expounded himſelfe in this wiſe:** Hoc Sacramentum Paſſionem Vnigeniti Filij imitatur: *This Sacrament expreſſeth or repreſenteth the Paſſion of the Only begotten Sonne.* **And the very Barbarous Gloſſe touching the ſame ſaith:** Chriſtus Moritur, & Patitur, id eſt, Mors, & Paſſio Chriſti Repræſentatur: *Chriſt Dieth, and Suffereth, that is to ſay, Chriſts Death, and Paſſion is Repreſented.*

So S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: In Myſterijs Mors Chriſti perficitur: *The Death of Chriſt is wrought in the Myſteries.* **So ſaith** Beda: Exaltatio Serpentis Ænei Paſſio Redemptoris noſtri eſt in Cruce: *The lifting vp of the Braſen Serpent is the Paſſion of our Redeemer vpon the Croſſe.* **So ſaith** S. Hierome: Quotidiè nobis Chriſtus Crucifigitur: *Vnto vs Chriſt is daily Crucified.* **So** S. Ambroſe: Chriſtus quotidiè immolatur: *Chriſt is daily Sacrificed.* **So** S. Auguſtine: Tunc vnicuique Chriſtus occiditur, cùm credit occiſum: *Then is Chriſt ſlaine to euery man, when he beleeueth, that Chriſt was ſlaine.* **To conclude,** ſo S. Hierome ſaith: Semper Chriſtus credentibus immolatur: *Vnto the Faithfull Chriſt is euermore Sacrificed.* **Thus may the Sacrifice of the Holy Communion be called Chriſt: to wit, euen ſo, as the Miniſtration of the ſame is called the Paſſion, or the Death of Chriſt.**

And that the weakneſſe of M. Hardings ghoſſes may the better appeare, vnderſtand thou, good Chriſtian Reader, that the Holy Catholike Fathers haue vſed to ſay, that Chriſt is Sacrificed, not only in the Holy Supper, but alſo in the Sacrament of Baptiſme. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Holocauſtum Dominicæ Paſſionis eo tempore pro ſe quiſque offert, quo eiuſdem Paſſionis Fide dedicatur: *The Sacrifice of our Lords Paſſion euery man then offereth for himſelfe, when he is Confirmed in the Faith of his Paſſion.* **And againe:** Holocauſtum Domini tunc pro vnoquoque offertur quodammodò, cùm eius nomine Baptizando ſignatur: *Then is the Sacrifice of our Lord in a Maner offered for eech man, when in Baptiſme he is marked with the name of Chriſt.* **And againe:** Non relinquitur Sacrificium pro peccatis: id eſt, non poteſt denuò Baptizari: *There is left no Sacrifice for Sin: that is to ſay, He can be no more, Baptiſed.* **And in this conſideration** Chryſoſtome ſaith: Baptiſma Chriſti Sanguis Chriſti eſt: *Chriſts Baptiſme, is Chriſts Blood.* **And likewiſe** S. Ambroſe: In Baptiſmo Crucifigimus in nobis Filium Dei: *In Baptiſme we Crucifie in our ſelues the Son of God.*

M. Harding.

Auguſtin. in Iohan. tract. 29.

Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 19. De Con. Diſ. 2. Semel.

Cypria. lib. 2.

De Con. Diſ. 2. Quid ſit.

De Con. Diſ. 2. Quid ſit. In Gloſſ.

Chryſoſtom. In Act. hom. 21.

Beda exponens illud, Sicut Moſes exaltauit &c. Iohan. 3.

Hieronym. in Pſalm 97.

Ambro. De Virginib.

Auguſt. Quæſt. Euangel. li. 2.

Hieronym. ad Damaſum.

Auguſt. in Expoſitione inchoata ad Roman.

In eod. libro.

In eod. libro.

Chryſoſtom. in Epiſt. ad Hebr. homi. 16.

Ambroſ. De Penitent. li. 2. ca. 2.

M. Harding. The 11. Diuiſion.

Our Aduerſaries crake much of the ſealing vp of their new Doctrine with the blood of ſuch and ſuch, who be written in the booke of lies, not in the booke of life, whom they will needs to be called Martyrs. Verily, if thoſe Monkes and Friars, Apoſtates, and Renegates, wedded to wiues, or rather (to vſe their own terme) yoked to Siſters, be true Martyrs, then muſt our New Goſpellers pull theſe Holy Fathers, and many thouſands moe out of Heauen. (229) For certainly the Faith, in Defenſe of: which either ſort died, is vtterly contrarie. The worſt that I wiſh to them is, that God giue them eies to ſee, and eares to heare, and that he ſhut not vp their hearts, ſo as they ſee not the light heere, vntill they be throwen away into the outward darkneſſe, where ſhall be weeping and grinding of teeth. Matth. 25.

The 229. vntruth. For M. Harding well knoweth, that the whole ſubſtance of our doctrine fully agreeth with the Fathers.

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This talke was vtterly out of ſeaſon: ſauing that it liked well M. Harding to ſport himſelfe with the Scriptures of God, and a little to ſcoffe at the words of S. Paul. Which thing becomming him ſo well, may be the better borne withall, when it ſhall pleaſe him likewiſe to ſcoffe at others. S. Paul calleth Wiues, ſometimes *Siſters*, ſometimes *Yokefellowes*; and thinketh Matrimony to be *Honourable in all perſons*; and the forbidding of the ſame to be *the Doctrine of Diuels*. Neither doth it any way appeare, that euer honeſt godly Matrimony either diſpleaſed God, or was thought vncomely for a Martyr, and witneſſe of Gods Truth. 1. Corin. 9. Philip. 4. Hebræ. 13. 1. Tim. 4.

S. Paul was married, as it appeareth by Ignatius, Clemens, Euſebius: and yet neuertheleſſe was a Martyr. S. Peter the chiefe of the Apoſtles had a Wife and yet neuertheleſſe ſtood by and gaue her comfort, and conſtancie at her Martyrdome. The Twelue Apoſtles, ſaith S. Ambroſe, only S. Iohn excepted, were all married: and yet neuertheleſſe, the ſame S. Iohn only excepted, as it is thought, were all Martyrs. Spiridion was a married Biſhop: and yet as Sozomenus writeth, he was thereby nothing hindred, neither to diſcharge his duty, nor to any other godly purpoſe. Tertullian was a Prieſt, as appeareth by S. Hierome, and married, as appeareth by his owne Booke written to his Wife: and yet notwithſtanding, as ſome report, was a Martyr. S. Hillary was a reuerend Father, and Biſhop of Poicters, and yet married, as may be gathered by his Epiſtle written to his Daughter Abra. *Ignatius ad Philadelphi. Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 30. Clem. Stromat. lib. 7. Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 30. Ambroſ. in 2. Ad Cor. cap. 11. Sozomen. li. 1. ca. 11.*

And to leaue infinite others, S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: Ita pretioſa res eſt matrimonium, vt poſſis cum eo ad Sanctum Epiſcopatus ſolium ſubuehi. Vtere moderatè nuptijs, & eris primus in Regno Cœlorum: *So pretious a thing is Matrimony, that with the ſame thou maiſt be promoted euen to the Biſhops Chaire. Vſe marriage with diſcretion, and thou ſhalt be the chiefe in the Kingdome of Heauen.* S. Hierome ſaith: Hodiè quoque plurimi Sacerdotes habent matrimonia: *Euen now a great number of Prieſts liue in Matrimony.* Thus the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and many other learned Fathers, and godly Biſhops were maried, and as M. Harding ſaith, in his mirth and pleaſance, *had their Siſters and Yokefellowes.* But how, and with what Siſters, or Fellowes, a great number of the Wineleſſe ſort of M. Hardings ſide be yokt, for very regard of honeſty, it may not be vttered. Ad res Diuinas nihilo deterior. *Hieronym. De Eccleſ. Script. Regino, in Rebus Germanicis. Hilar. ad Abram filiam. Chryſoſt. in Epiſt. ad Tit. homil. 2. Chryſoſt. in Epiſt. ad Hebra. homil. 7. Hieron. contra Iouinianum. Epiphan. contra Origenian.*

Ephiphanius writeth thus of certaine of his time: Repudiant nuptias, at non libidinem. In honore enim apud illos eſt, non Sanctitas ſed Hypocriſis: *They refuſe Marriage, but not filthy luſt. For they eſteeme not Holineſſe but Hypocriſie.* Who ſeeth not, that in the Church of Rome, Prieſts, Biſhops and Cardinals, notwithſtanding they be vtterly forbidden to haue Wiues, yet are eaſily allowed to haue Concubines? They themſelues haue confeſſed it by theſe words vnto the World: Etiam in hac vrbe Romana meretrices, vt Matronæ incedunt per vrbem, ſeu multa vehuntur: quas aſſectantur de media die Nobiles familiares Cardinalium, Clericique: *Euen heere in this Citie of Rome, harlots paſſe thorow the ſtreets, or ride vpon their Mules, like honeſt Gentlewomen: and Gentlemen of the Cardinals bands and Prieſts at noone daies wait vpon them.* Ἀθεμίτους γάμους, ἀλλ' οὐ λαγνείας· πεφιλοτιμηται γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἡ ἀγνεία, ἀλλὰ ὑποκρισις. *In Concilio delectorum Cardinalium.*

As touching them, whom it ſo much greeueth you, M. Harding, to be called Martyrs, you haue ſlaine, not only ſuch and ſuch, whom it liketh you, by your owne name, if ye haue not forgotten your owne name, to call Renegates, but alſo great numbers of others moe, Married, Unmarried, Learned, Unlearned, Old, Young, Boies, Maides, Laymen, Prieſts, Biſhops, Archbiſhops, without mercy. Ye ſcourged them with rods: ye ſet burning torches to their hands, ye cut off their tongues, ye hanged them, ye beheaded them, ye burnt them to aſhes, ye toke the poore innocent babe falling from the mothers wombe, and threw it cruelly into the fire. Briefly, ye did with them, whatſoeuer your pleaſure was. The worſt word that proceaded from them, was this: O Lord forgiue them, they know not what they doe. O Lord Jeſu, receiue my ſpirit. In the meane while ye ſtood by, and delighted your eies with the ſight. Ye digged vp the poore carcaſes of Gods Saints, that had beene buried long before: ye ſerued them ſolemnly with proceſſe, and aſcited them to appeare at your Conſiſtories, and by publike ſentence adiudged

them to die the ſecond death: and ſo to the perpetuall ſhame of your cruell folly, ye wrekt your anger vpon the dead. O M. Harding, your conſcience knoweth, theſe are no lies. They are written in the eies and hearts of many thouſands. Theſe be the markes of your Religion. O what reckning will you yeld, when ſo much innocent blod ſhall be required at your hands? And where you ſay, We muſt pull the old Martyrs out of Heauen to place our owne, for that our Doctrine and theirs (as you beare vs in hand) is quite contrarie; all this is but a needleſſe oſtentation of idle words. If vants were proues, then were this matter fully ended. But we ſay, that in theſe caſes that I haue moued, you are not able to allege one ſufficient Clauſe or Sentence of your ſide out of any of all the old learned Fathers. And hitherto your muſter appeareth but very ſimple, notwithſtanding the great promiſe of your ſtore.

Certainly the Holy Fathers and Martyrs of God will ſay vnto you, We know not your Priuate Maſſes: We know not your halfe Communion: We know not your ſtrange vnknowen Prayers: We know not your Adoration of corruptible Creatures: We know not this Sacrificing of the Sonne of God: We know not your New Religion: We know not you. God open the eies of your hearts, that ye may ſee the miſerable ſtate ye ſtand in, and recouer the place that ye haue loſt, and finde your Names written in the Booke of Life.

M. Harding. The 12. Diuiſion.

Leauing no ſmall number of places that might be recited out of diuers other Doctors, I will bring two of two worthy Biſhops; one of Chryſoſtome, the other of S. Ambroſe, confirming this truth. Chryſoſtomes words be theſe; *Pontifex noſter ille eſt, qui hoſtiam mundantem nos obtulit, ipſam offerimus & nunc, quæ tunc oblata quidem conſumi non poteſt. Hoc autem quod nos facimus in commemorationem fit eius quod factum eſt. Hoc enim facite, inquit, in mei commemorationem*: Hee is our Biſhop, that hath offered vp the Hoſt which cleanſeth vs. The ſame doe wee offer alſo now, which though it were then offered, yet cannot bee conſumed. But this that we doe, is done in remembrance of that which is done. For do ye this, ſaith he, in my remembrance. S. Ambroſe ſaith thus: *Videmus Principem Sacerdotum ad nos venientem: videmus & audiamus offerentem pro nobis ſanguinem ſuum: ſequamur, vt poſſimus, Sacerdotes, vt offeramus pro populo Sacrificium, etſi infirmi merito, tamen honorabiles Sacrificio. Quia etſi Chriſtus non videtur offerre, tamen ipſe offertur in terris, quando Chriſti Corpus offertur*: We haue ſeen the Prince of Prieſts come to vs; we haue ſeen and heard him offer for vs his Bloed; Let vs that be Prieſts follow him, as we may, that we may offer Sacrifice for the people, being though weake in merit, yet honourable for the Sacrifice. Becauſe albeit Chriſt be not ſeen to offer, yet he is offered in Earth, when the Body of Chriſt is offered. Of theſe our Lords words, which is giuen for you, and which is ſhed for you, and for many, heere S. Ambroſe exhorteth the Prieſts to offer the Bodie and Blood of Chriſt for the people; and willeth them to be more regarded, than commonly they be now adaies, for this Sacrifice ſake, though otherwiſe they be of leſſe deſert.

Chryſoſtomus epiſt. ad Hebr. homil. 17. — *In Pſal. 38.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

This allegation argueth no great abundance of ſtore. For Chryſoſtome in theſe words both openeth himſelfe, and ſheweth, in what ſenſe other ancient Fathers vſed this word, Sacrifice, and alſo vtterly ouerthroweth M. Hardings whole purpoſe touching the ſame. For, as he ſaith, *We offer vp the ſame Sacrifice that Chriſt offered*, ſo in moſt plaine wiſe, and by ſundry words, he remoueth all doubt, and declareth in what ſort and meaning we offer it. He ſaith not, as M. Harding ſaith, *Wee offer vp the Sonne of God vnto his Father, and that verily and indeed*: but contrariwiſe thus he ſaith: Offerimus quidem, ſed ad Recordationem facientes mortis eius. Hoc Sacrificium Exemplar illius eſt. Hoc, quod nos facimus in Commemorationem fit eius, quod factum eſt. Idipſum ſemper offerimus: magis autem Recordationem Sacrificij operamur: *We offer indeed, but in remembrance of his Death. This Sacrifice is an Example of that Sacrifice. This, that we do, is done in remembrance of that, that was done. We offer vp the ſame that Chriſt offered: or rather we worke the remembrance of that Sacrifice.* Thus we offer vp Chriſt, that is to ſay, an Example, a Commemoration, a Remembrance of the Death of Chriſt. This kinde of Sacrifice was neuer denied: but M. Hardings Reall Sacrifice was yet neuer proued. So ſaith S. Auguſtine: Cùm hoſtia frangitur, & Sanguis in ora Fidelium funditur, quid aliud, quàm Dominici Corporis in Cruce immolatio ſignificatur? *When the Oblation is broken, and the Blood* (that is to ſay, the Sacrament of the Blood) *is powred into the mouthes of the faithfull, what other thing is there ſignified, but the Sacrifice of our Lords Body vpon the Croſſe?*

Chryſoſtom. in epiſt. ad Hebr. homil. 17.

De Con. diſt. 2 Cùm frangitur.

Euen ſo S. Ambroſe ſaith, Chriſt is offered heere in the Earth (not Really and indeed, as M. Harding ſaith) but in like ſort and ſenſe, as S. Iohn ſaith, *The Lamb was ſlaine from the beginning of the World*: that is, not Subſtantially or in Real maner, but in ſignification, in a Myſtery, and in a Figure. And thus S. Ambroſe expoundeth his owne meaning, euen in the ſame place that is heere alleged: Primùm Vmbra præceſſit: ſequuta eſt Imago: Erit Veritas. Vmbra in Lege: Imago in Euangelio: Veritas in Cœleſtibus. Aſcende homo in Cœlum, & videbis illa, quorum hic Vmbra erat, vel Imago: *Firſt the ſhadow went*

Ambroſ. in Pſalm. 38. Apocalyp. 5.

Ambroſ. in Pſalm. 38.

went before: The Image followed: The Trueth shall be. The shadow in the Law: The Image in the Gospell: The Trueth in the Heauens. O man, go vp into Heauen: and thou shalt see those things whereof heere was an Image, and a shadow. To like purpose S. Ambrose writeth thus: Vidimus eum, & oculis nostris perspeximus, & in vestigia clauorum eius digitos nostros inseruimus. Videmur enim vidisse eum, quem legimus: spectasse pendentem, & vulnera eius Spiritu Ecclesiæ scrutante tentasse: *Wee haue seene him, and look vpon him with our eies: & we haue thrust our fingers into the dents of his nailes.* The reason hereof is this: *For we seeme to see him, that wee read of: and to haue beholden him hanging on the Crosse: and with the feeling spirit of the Church to haue searched his wounds.* So S. Hierome saith: Quod semel natum est ex Maria, quotidie in nobis nascitur: *Christ, that was once borne of Marie, is borne in vs euery day.* Now, as S. Ambrose saith: *Wee see Christ euen with our eies hanging vpon the Crosse: and thrust in our fingers, and search his wounds:* Euen so, doe we se Christ Coming vnto vs, and Offering himselfe in Sacrifice vnto God. And as S. Hierome saith, *Christ is Borne euery day,* Euen so, and none otherwise, S. Ambrose saith: *Christ is sacrificed euery day.* In like maner S. Ambrose writeth vnto certaine Virgins: Vestras Mentes confidenter Altaria dixerim, in quibus quotidie pro Redemptione Corporis Christus Offertur: *I may boldly say, your hearts be Altars, vpon which Hearts Christ is daily offered for the Redemption of the Bodie.* Hitherto M. Harding hath found no maner token of that he sought for.

Melchisedech.

Ambros. in Lucam, li. 5. cap. 7.

Hieronym. in Psalm. 86.

Ambros. De Virginib. li. 2.

M. Harding. The 13. Diuision.

Now for proofe of the Sacrifice, and Oblation of Christ by the Doctors minde vpon the figure of Melchisedech: First, S. Cyprian saith thus: *Qui magni Sacerdos Dei summi, quam Dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui Sacrificium Deo patri obtulit, & obtulit hoc idem, quod Melchisedech, id est, Panem & Vinum, suum, scilicet, Corpus, & Sanguinem?* Who is more the Priest of the highest God, than our Lord Iesus Christ, who offered a Sacrifice to God the Father, and offered the selfe same, that Melchisedech did, that is, Bread and Wine, that is to say, his owne Bodie and Blood? S. Hierome in an Epistle, that he wrote for the vertuous women Paula, and Eustochium to Marcella, hath these words: *Recurre ad Genesim, & Melchisedech Regem Salem. Hunc principem inuenies ciuitatis, qui iam in typo Christi Panem, & Vinum obtulit, & Mysterium Christianum in Saluatoris sanguine, & corpore dedicauit.* Returne to the booke of Genesis, and to Melchisedech the King of Salem, and thou shalt find the Prince of that Citie, who euen at that time in the figure of Christ offered Bread, and Wine, and dedicated the Mysterie of Christians in the Bodie, and Blood of our Sauiour. Here this learned Father maketh a plaine distinction betweene the Oblation of the Figure, which was Bread and Wine, and the Oblation of the Trueth, which is the Mysterie of Christian people, the Blood and the Bodie of Christ our Sauiour. Of this S. Augustine speaketh largely in his first Sermon vpon the 33. Psalme, and in the 17. booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, cap. 20.

Lib. Epist. 3.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

If M. Harding meane plainly, and will haue S. Cyprians words taken as they lie, without figure, then must he say, *That Melchisedech offered vp verily, and Really Christ himselfe.* For S. Cyprians words be cleare: Christus obtulit hoc idem, quod Melchisedech obtulerat: *Christ offered vp the same thing, that Melchisedech had offered.* Notwithstanding it is certaine, that the Sacrifice, that Melchisedech made, if it were granted to be a Sacrifice, yet in plaine, and Common maner of speech, was not Christ the Sonne of God but onely materiall Bread, and Wine, and other like prouision of Victuals prepared for Abraham, and for his men. And therefore the Old learned Fathers say not Melchisedech *offered the same in sacrifice vnto God*: but, *He brought it forth, as a present,* as the maner was, to refresh them, after the pursuit, and chase of their enemies. And S. Hierome in his Translation turneth it not: Obtulit: *He Sacrificed,* but Protulit, *He brought it foorth.* Iosephus reporteth the matter thus: Melchisedech Milites Abrahami hospitaliter habuit, nihil illis ad victum deesse passus: Simulque ipsum adhibuit Mensæ: Melchisedech *feasted* Abrahams *Souldiers, and suffered them to want nothing, that was necessary for their prouision. And likewise he receiued* Abraham *himselfe vnto his Table.* Chrysostome, and Epiphanius say thus: *He brought foorth vnto them Bread, and Wine.* Tertullian saith: Abrahamo reuertenti de prælio obtulit Panem, & Vinum: Melchisedech: *offered Bread, and Wine* (not vnto God, but) *vnto* Abraham *returning from the fight.* So S. Ambrose: Occurrit Melchisedech, & obtulit Abrahamo Panem, & Vinum: Melchisedech *came foorth to meet, and offered* (not vnto God, but) *vnto* Abraham *Bread, and Wine.*

Cyprian. li. 2. Epist. 3.

Ioseph. Antiquit. li. 1. ca. 11.

Chrysost. in Gene. hom. 35. Epiphan. Contra Melchise. lib. 2.

Ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον.

Tertullian. contra Iudæos.

Ambros. De Sacrament. li. 4. cap. 3.

By these few it may appeare, that Melchisedech brought forth Bread, and Wine, and other prouision, not, as a Sacrifice vnto God, but as a Relæfe, and Sustenance for Abraham, and for his company.

S. Paul compareth Christ with Melchisedech, *In that, like vnto* Melchisedech, *he was the king of Iustice: In that, he was the Prince of peace, as* Melchisedech *was: And in that, he had neither father, nor mother: For so it is likewise written of* Melchisedech. But of the Sacrifice of Bread & Wine he speaketh nothing. Yet notwithstanding, the ancient holy Fathers often times

Hebræ. 7.

Melchiſedech.

reſemble the ſame preſent of Melchiſedech, vnto the Sacrifice, that Chriſt made vpon the Croſſe. And in that reſpect S. Cyprian ſaith, *Chriſt offered the ſame thing, that* Melchiſedech *offered.* That is to ſay, as M. Harding himſelfe muſt néeds expound it, *The ſame thing in performance of Trueth vpon the Croſſe, that* Melchiſedech *had before offered in a Figure.*

Auguſtin. in Iohan. tractat. 26.

So ſaith S. Auguſtine: Illis Petra Chriſtus: *Vnto them the Rocke was Chriſt:* And yet not Really, and indeed: but only by way of Signification, becauſe it ſignified, and Repreſented Chriſt.

Sometimes they compare it with the ſacrifice of Thankſgiuing, and with the Miniſtration of the holy Communion, and make it equall with the ſame.

Auguſtin. in quæſt. Noui, & veter. Teſtamenti, qua. 109 Hieronym. ad Marcellam.

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Melchiſedech Abrahæ primùm, quaſi Patri Fidelium, tradidit Euchariſtiam Corporis, & Sanguinis Domini: Melchiſedech *gaue firſt vnto* Abraham, *as vnto the Father of the Faithfull, the Sacrament of the Bodie, and Blood of Chriſt.* So S. Hierome ſaith: Melchiſedech in typo Chriſti Panem, & Vinum obtulit, & Myſterium Chriſtianorum in Saluatoris Corpore, & Sanguine dedicauit: Melchiſedech *in the Figure of Chriſt offered Bread, and Wine: and dedicated the Myſterie of Chriſtians in the Bodie, and Blood of Chriſt.* Theſe Authorities might ſerue, to make ſome ſhew, that Melchiſedech ſaid Maſſe, & Conſecrated the Sacrament of the Bodie, and Blod of Chriſt, and offered vp Chriſt in Sacrifice vnto his Father: But of M. Harding, or any other ſuch Prieſt, they touch nothing.

And leſt any man happen of ſimplicitie to be deceiued, thinking that S. Hierome hereby meant M. Hardings Reall Preſence, for that he ſaith, Melchiſedech *dedicated the Chriſtian Myſterie in the Bodie and Blood of Chriſt*; It may pleaſe him to conſider, that both S. Hierome, and all other Ancient Fathers haue often vſed the ſame maner of ſpech in other caſes, wherein M. Harding can haue no maner ſuſpicion of Reall Preſence. S. Hierome ſaith: Euangelium Paſſione, & Sanguine Domini dedicatur: *The Goſpell is dedicated in the Paſſion, and Blood of Chriſt.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Quid eſt Mare Rubrum? Sanguine Domini Conſecratum: *What is the Red Sea?* He anſwereth, *Conſecrate in the Blood of Chriſt.* Againe he ſaith: Vnde rubet Baptiſmus Chriſti, niſi Chriſti Sanguine Conſecratus? *Whereof is Chriſts Baptiſme red, but that it is Dedicate in the Blood of Chriſt?* Thus Melchiſedech Dedicated the Chriſtian Myſterie in the Blod of Chriſt.

Hiero. Aduerſus Iouinian. l. 1 Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 80. Auguſtinus in Iohan. Tract. 11

M. Harding. The 14. Diuiſion.

Of all other, Occumenius ſpeaketh moſt plainely to this purpoſe vpon this place of S. Paul, alleged out of the Pſalme: *Tu es Sacerdos in æternum ſecundùm ordinem Melchiſedech*: Thou art a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchiſedech. His words be theſe: *Significat ſermo, quòd non ſolùm Chriſtus obtulit incruentam hoſtiam (ſiquidem ſuum ipſius corpus obtulit) verùm etiam qui ab ipſo ſungentur ſacerdotio, quorùm Deus Pontifex eſſe dignatus eſt, ſine ſanguinis effuſione offerent. Nam hoc ſignificat (in æternum). Neque enim de ea, quæ ſemel à Deo facta eſt Oblatio, & Hoſtia, dixiſſet in æternum, ſed reſpiciens ad præſentes Sacrificos, per quos medios Chriſtus, Sacrificat, & Sacrificatur, qui etiam in Myſtica Cœna modum illum tradidit huiuſmodi Sacrificij.* The meaning of this place is (ſaith he) that not onely Chriſt offered an Vnbloody ſacrifice, for he offered his owne Bodie, but alſo that they, which after him ſhall doe the office of a Prieſt (whoſe Biſhop hee vouchſafeth to be) ſhall offer without ſhedding of Blood. For that ſignifieth the word (*For euer.*) For concerning that Oblation and Sacrifice, which was once made by God, he would neuer ſay, (*In æternum*) *For euer.* But (he ſaid ſo) hauing an eie to thoſe Prieſts, that be now, by the mediation of whom Chriſt ſacrificeth, and is ſacrificed: who alſo in his Myſticall ſupper taught them by tradition the maner of ſuch a Sacrifice. Concerning the Prophecie of Malachi, for proofe of this Oblation, though the place of Irenæus aboue recited may ſtand in ſtead of many authorities, yet I will not let to rehearſe the ſayings of a Father or two, for confirmation of this Article. Pſalm. 109

Chryſoſtom ſaith very plainly: *In omni loco Sacrificium offertur nomini meo, & Sacrificium purum, Vide quàm luculenter, quamque dilucidè Myſticam interpretatus eſt Menſam, quæ eſt Incruenta hoſtia.* In euery place a Sacrifice ſhalbe offered to my name, and that a pure Sacrifice. See, how plainely, and clearely hee interpreted the Myſticall Table, which is the Vnbloody Sactifice. *In Pſal. 95.*

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Yéere might I iuſtly take exception againſt this Doctor, as finding him without the compaſſe of the firſt ſix hundred yéeres. Howbeit, He ſaith not, *That the Prieſt hath power, or Authoritie, to ſacrifice the Sonne of God,* nor ſéemeth any way to fauour M. Hardings purpoſe. Therefore we ſhall not néed to touch his credit.

Hieronym. in Pſalm. 86. Hieronym. in Pſalm. 97. Auguſt. quæſti. Euang. lib. 2.

The whole Contents of his words are theſe: *That there is in the Church an Vnbloody Sacrifice, and that Chriſt himſelfe offereth vp the ſame by the meane, and Miniſterie of the Prieſt, and that Chriſt himſelfe is that Sacrifice.* Which words with due Conſtruction, and in the ſenſe, and meaning of the Ancient Fathers, may well be granted. For like as S. Hierome ſaith, as it is alleged before: Quod natum eſt ex Virgine, nobis quotidie naſcitur: Chriſtus nobis quotidie Crucifigitur: *Chriſt, that was Borne of the Virgin, is Borne vnto vs euery day: Chriſt vnto vs is daily Crucified.* And, as S. Auguſtine ſaith: Tum Chriſtus cuique Occiditur, cùm credit Occiſum: *Then is Chriſt preſently ſlaine to euery man, when he truſteth*

truſteth wholly in his Death, and beleeueth, he was ſlaine: And as the ſame S. Auguſtine ſaith: Tibi Chriſtus quotidiè Reſurgit: *Chriſt riſeth againe to thee euery day*: And, as Chryſoſtom ſaith, *In the holy Myſteries is wrought, and perfited the Death of Chriſt*: Briefly, as Gregorie ſaith, Chriſtus iterum in hoc Myſterio Moritur: *Chriſt is ſlaine in this Myſtery, and dieth againe*: Euen ſo, and in the ſame ſenſe, and meaning, and none otherwiſe, Oecumenius ſaith, *Chriſt is offered in the Holy Supper*.

Sacrificed Dailie. Chriſt the Prieſt, and the Oblation.

But, as Chriſt is neither daily Borne of the Virgin, nor daily crucified, nor daily ſlaine, nor daily Riſeth from the Dead, nor daily Suffereth, nor daily Dieth, but only in a certain maner of Speech, not verily, and indeed: Euen ſo Chriſt is daily Sacrificed, only in a certaine maner of ſpeech, and in a Myſterie: but Really, verily, and indeed he is not Sacrificed.

Auguſtin. De verbis Domini Secun. Luc. ſermone 38. *Chryſoſt. in Acta hom.* 21. *De Con. diſt.* 2. *Quid ſit.*

The reſt, that followeth in Oecumenius, only expreſſeth the two ſeuerall Natures in Chriſt, the Godhead, and the Manhood: *That, touching his Manhood, he was Sacrificed: touching his Godhead, he was the Prieſt, and made the Sacrifice*: And further to M. Hardings purpoſe it maketh nothing. So Beda ſaith, although ſomewhat otherwiſe: Filius Dei, & Orat pro nobis: & Orat in nobis: & Oratur à nobis. Orat Pro nobis, vt Sacerdos: Orat in nobis, vt Caput: Oratur à nobis, vt Deus: *The Son of God both Praieth for vs, and Praieth in vs: and is Praied of vs. He Praieth for vs, as our Prieſt, he Praieth in vs, as our Head: He is Praied of vs, as our God.* Epiphanius ſaith: Chriſtus eſt victima, Sacerdos, Altare, Deus, Homo, Rex, Pontifex, Ouis, Agnus, omnia in omnibus pro nobis factus: *Chriſt is our Sacrifice, our Prieſt, our Altar, God, Man, King, Biſhop, Sheepe, Lambe, made for our ſakes all in all.* Thus is Chriſt our Sacrifice: thus is Chriſt our Sacrificer, not to be offered by the Prieſt, as M. Harding imagineth: but, as the Old Fathers, and Fathers of the Church haue taught vs, offered by himſelfe vpon the Croſſe. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Ecce iſtic oblatus eſt: Ibi ſeipſum obtulit: Simul & Hoſtia, & Sacerdos. Et Altare erat Crux: *Behold there was he offered: There he offered himſelfe: He was both the Prieſt, and the Sacrifice: And his Croſſe was the Altar.*

Auguſtin. De Tempore Sermo. 130.

This word, Incruentum, that M. Harding hath here alleged out of Chryſoſtome, is thought to beare great waight: but being well conſidered, of that ſide it is alleged for, as it ſhall appeare, it waigheth nothing. The Holy learned Fathers apply that word, ſometime to Prayer, and other deuotion of the mind: and ſometime to the Miniſtration of the holy Communion.

For the better opening hereof, it may pleaſe thee, good Chriſtian Reader, to vnderſtand, that in the time of Moſes Law, the Prieſts, and Leuits offered vp vnto God Oxen, Calues, Rams, and Goats: and with the Blood thereof ſprinkled the Booke, the inſtruments of the Miniſtery, the whole Tabernacle, and all the people: and as S. Paul ſaith, In the Ceremonies of that Law without Bloodſhedding there was no remiſſion of Sinne. Likewiſe the Heathens killed, and offered vp their cattell vnto their Idols, ſometimes an hundred fat Oxen in one day. Sometime they proceeded further, and made their Sacrifices of Mans Blood. Erichtheus of Athens, and Marius of Rome killed, and offered vp their owne Daughters in the honor of Pallas. The Nobles of Carthage in the honor of their Idoll Saturnus killed, and offered vp threeſcore and ten of their own male Children in one Sacrifice.

Hebræ. 9.

Clemens in Oratio contra Gentes.

In reſpect of theſe groſſe, and Fleſhly, and Bloody Sacrifices, our Chriſtian Sacrifices in the Goſpell, becauſe they are more Spirituall, and proceed wholly from the heart, are called Vnbloody. Euſebius ſaith: Incendimus Orationis ſuffitum: & Sacrificium, quod appellatur Purum, non per Cruores facimus, ſed per puras actiones: *We burne the Incenſe of Prayer: and we offer vp the Sacrifice, that is called Pure, not by ſhedding of Blood, but by Pure, and godly doings.*

Euſeb. De Demonſt. li. 1. *c.* 6. τὸ δὲ θυμίαμα. *Chryſoſt. contra Iudæos Orat.* 3.

So Chryſoſtome: Offerimus, non per Fumum, Nidorem, aut Sanguinem, ſed per Spiritus Gratiam: *We make our Sacrifices not by Smoke, Smell, and Blood; but by the Grace of the Holy Spirit.* He addeth further: *For God is Spirit, and he that adoreth him, muſt adore in Spirit, and Truth.*

And this is the Vnbloody Sacrifice. So ſaith Euſebius: Offerent illi Rationabiles, & Incruentas Hoſtias: *They ſhall offer vnto him Reaſonable* (or Spirituall) *and Vnbloody Oblations.* And the ſame he expoundeth, *The Sacrifice of Praiſe.*

Euſeb. De Demon. li. 2. λογικὰς, καὶ ἀναιμάκτους θυσίας.

In like ſort, S. Hierome ſaith: In ſinceritate azyma epulamur: *We feaſt in Pureneſſe without leauen.* In like conſideration the Sacrifices, that in Old times were made vnto Fides, and Terminus, were called ἀναίμακτα, *Vnbloody*, becauſe they conſiſted only in Suffumigations, and Odors, and were not imbrued with any Blood. And for the like cauſe Thucydides calleth certaine of the Heathen oblations ἀγνὰ θύματα, *Pure Sacrifices.* Likewiſe Cyrillus calleth the Prayers and Melody of the Angels, and bleſſed Spirits in Heauen

Hierony. in Epiſt. ad Galat. ca. 4. *Cyrillus ad Reginas.*

Vnbloody Sacrifice.

Heauen continually praising, and glorifying the name of God, Incruenta Sacrificia: *Vnbloody Sacrifices.* Againe he saith: Nos, relicto crasso Ministerio Iudæorum, præceptum habemus, vt Tenue, & Spirituale, & Subtile Sacrificium faciamus. Itaque offerimus Deo in odorem suauitatis virtutes omne genus, Fidem, Spem, Charitatem: *Wee, hauing left the grosse Ministerie of the Iewes, haue a Commandement, to make a Fine, Thin, and Spirituall Sacrifice. And therefore we offer vnto God all maner Vertues, Faith, Hope, Charitie, as most sweet sauours.*

Cyrillus contra Iulian. li. 10.

For this cause the Sacrifices of our Praiers, and other like deuotions, are called Vnbloody, for that they require no Fleshly Seruice, or Shedding of Blood, as did the Sacrifices of the Iewes, and Heathens, but are méere Ghostly, and Spirituall, and stand wholly in the lifting vp, and eleuation of the minde.

Euseb. De Demon. lib. 1. Θυσιαστήριον ἀνάπεμψαν, καὶ Λογικὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰ καινὰ μυστήρια. *In eodem libro.* μηνύων ἡμῖν παρῆσθαι τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ σφαγίου.

In like maner the Ministration of the Holy Communion is sometimes of the Ancient Fathers called an *Vnbloody Sacrifice:* not in respect of any Corporall, or Fleshly presence, that is imagined to be there without Bloodshedding, but for that it representeth, and reporteth vnto our minds that One, and Euerlasting Sacrifice, that Christ made in his Body vpon the Crosse. Therefore Eusebius saith: Excitamus illi Altare Incruentorum, & Rationabilium Sacrificiorum, secundum Noua Mysteria: *We erect vnto God an Altar of Vnbloody, and Reasonable, or Spirituall Sacrifices, according to the New Mysteries.* Againe: Sacrificium incendimus illi, Memoriam magni illius Sacrificij: *We burne a Sacrifice vnto God, that is, the Remembrance of that great Sacrifice.* Likewise againe: Christus obtulit Mirabile Sacrificium pro salute omnium nostrûm, iubens nos offerre Memoriam pro Sacrificio: *Christ offered vp that maruellous Sacrifice for our Saluation, commanding vs to offer a Remembrance thereof, in stead of a Sacrifice.* So likewise saith S. Hierome, although not altogether in like respect: Pane, & Vino, Puro, & Simplici Sacrificio Christi dedicauit Sacramentum: *He dedicated the Sacrament of Christ in Bread, and Wine, which is* (not a Bloody, or loathsome, but) *a Pure, and a simple Sacrifice.*

Hieronym. ad Euagrium.

This Remembrance, and Oblation of praises, and Rendring of thankes vnto God for our Redemption in the Blood of Christ, is called of the Old Fathers, *An Vnbloody Sacrifice,* and of S. Augustine, *The Sacrifice of the New Testament,*

August. de Gratia Noui Testa. ad Honoratum.

Iustinus Martyr saith: Esaias non pollicetur Cruentarum Victimarum instaurationem: sed veras, & Spirituales Oblationes Laudis, & Gratiarum actionis: Esaias *promiseth not the restoring of Bloody Sacrifices, but the True, and Spirituall Oblations of Praises, and Thanksgiuing.*

Iustin. Martyr in Dialogis. cum Tryphone.

S. Chrysostome saith: Non iam Sanguinem, aut adipem offerimus, &c. *We offer not now the fat, or Blood of Beasts. All these things are abolished. And in stead thereof there is brought in a Reasonable, or Spirituall dutie. But, what is this duty that we call Reasonable, or Spirituall? That it is, that is offered by the Soule, and Spirit.*

Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Heb. hom. 11.

This kind of Sacrifice, because it is méere Spirituall, and groweth only from the Minde, therefore it néedeth not any materiall Altar of Stone, or Timber to be made vpon, as doth that Sacrifice, that M. Harding imagineth in his Masse. Chrysostome saith: Munus Euangelij sine Sanguine, sine Fumo, sine Altari, cæterisque sursum ascendit: *The Sacrifice of the Gospell ascendeth vp without Blood, without Smoke, without Altar, and other the like.* In the second Councell of Nice it is written thus: Nos Christiani propemodum quid sit Ara, & quid sit Victima, nescimus: *What Sacrifice, or Altar meaneth, we being Christian people, in a maner cannot tell.*

Chrysostom. in Psalm. 95.

S. Hierome saith: Vnusquisque Sanctus Altare Domini in se habet, quod est Fides: *Euery Holy man hath in himselfe the Altar of God, which is Faith.* To be short, S. Augustine saith: Sacrificium Noui Testamenti est, quando Altaria Cordis nostri munda, & pura in conspectu Diuinæ Maiestatis offerimus: *The Sacrifice of the New Testament is, when we offer vp the Altars of our hearts pure, and cleane in the sight of the Diuine Maiesty.* In these respects our Praiers, our Praises, our Thanksgiuing vnto God for our Saluation in the Death of Christ, is called an Vnbloody Sacrifice. Hereof the slenderneſſe of M. Hardings ghesses may some appeare. For thus he would séeme to reason: *The Ministration of the Holy Communion, and our humble Remembrance of the Death of Christ, is called an Vnbloody Sacrifice:* Ergo, *The Priest hath power to offer vp the Son of God in Sacrifice vnto his Father.*

Hierom. in Psalm. 26.

August. de Tempore sermo 125.

M. Harding. The 15. Diuision.

S. Augustine hath many euident sayings touching this matter in his workes. One shall suffice for all, which is in a little Treatise, he made *contra Iudæos,* vttered in these words. *Aperite oculos tandem aliquando, & videte ab Oriente sole vsque ad Occidentem, non in vno loco, vt vobis fuit constitutum, sed in omni loco offerri Sacrificium Christianorum, non cuilibet Deo, sed ei, qui ista prædixit, Deo Israel.* Open your eies at last you Iewes, and see that from the rising of the Sun to the setting, not in one place, as it was appointed to you, but in euery place the Sacrifice of the Christian people is offered, not to euery God, but to him, that prophecied of these things Cap. 9.

things before, the God of Israel. And euen so with that protestation, which S. Augustine made to the Iews, I end this tedious matter consisting in maner altogether in allegations, to M. Iewel. Open you your eies at last M. Iewel, and see how (230) all the holy, and learned Fathers, that haue preached the Faith of Christ from the rising of the Sun to the setting, haue taught this Doctrine, by word, and writing left to the posterity, that they which vnder Christ doe vse the office of a Priest after the Order of Melchisedech, haue not only Authority, but also expresse commandement, to offer vp Christ vnto his Father.

The proofe of which Doctrine, although it depend of the waight of one place, yet I haue thought good to fortifie it with some number, that it may the better appeare to be a most vndoubted truth, not mooued greatly with the blame of tediousnesse, where no thankes are sought, but only defence of the Catholike Religion is intended.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

S. Augustine, **as in these words he neither toucheth, nor signifieth this new maner of Offering vp Christ vnto his Father, so in sundry other places he openeth his own meaning plainly, and fully touching the same. In his Treatie against the Iewes he writeth thus:** Sacerdotium Aaron iam nullum est in aliquo templo: At Christi Sacerdotium æternum perseuerat in Cœlo: *The (Bloody) Priesthood of* Aaron *is now inno Temple to be found: But the Priesthood of Christ continueth still* **(not vpon any Earthly Altar, but)** *in Heauen.* **Againe:** *The Priest offereth vp the Sacrifice of Praise, not after the Order of* Aaron, *but after the Order of* Melchisedech. Eius Sacrificij similitudinem celebrandam in suæ Passionis Memoriam commendauit: & illud, quod Melchisedech obtulit Deo, iam per totum Orbem terrarum videmus offerri: *Christ hath left vnto vs a likenesse, or Token of that Sacrifice in Remembrance of his Passion: And the same, that* Melchisedech *offered vnto God, wee see is now offered thorowout the whole World.* Holocausti eius Imaginem ad Memoriam Passionis suæ in Ecclesia celebrandam dedit: *Christ hath giuen vs, to celebrate in his Church, an Image, or Token of that Sacrifice, for the Remembrance of his Passion.* Huius Sacrificij Caro, & Sanguis antè Aduentum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur: In Passione Christi per ipsam Veritatem reddebatur: Post Ascensionem Christi per Sacramentum Memoriæ celebratur: *The Flesh, and Blood of this Sacrifice before the Comming of Christ was promised by Sacrifices of Resemblance: The same was performed in deed in the time of Christs Passion: But after Christs Ascension, it is frequented by a Sacrament of Remembrance.* Sacrificium hoc Visibile, Inuisibilis Sacrificij Sacramentum, id est, Sacrum Signum est: *This Visible Sacrifice, is a Sacrament, that is to say, a Token, or Signe of the Sacrifice Inuisible.* Quod appellamus Sacrificium, Signum est, & Representatio Sacrificij: *The thing, that we call a Sacrifice, is a Signe, and Representation of a Sacrifice.*

Thus many waies S. Augustine **himselfe teacheth vs, what he meant by this word Sacrifice: An Oblation of Praise: a Similitude: a Resemblance: a Likenesse: an Image: a Remembrance: a Token: a Signe: a Representation of a Sacrifice. So** Nazianzene **calleth it,** πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων μυστηίων ἀντίτυπον: *The Figure, or Token of the Great Mysteries.* **To conclude,** S. Hierome **saith thus:** Tunc acceptabis Sacrificium, vel cùm te pro nobis offers Patri: vel cum à nobis Laudes, & Gratiarum actiones accipis: *Then shalt thou receiue Sacrifice, either when thou offerest thy selfe* **(vpon thy Crosse)** *for vs vnto thy Father: or when thou receiuest of vs Praises, and Thanksgiuing.*

Neither hath God appointed any certaine order of outward Priesthood to make this Sacrifice. Euery Faithfull Christian man hath Authoritie, to offer vp, and to make the same. Howbeit, this I meane, not of the Ministration of the Holy Sacraments, which only pertaineth vnto the Minister, but only of the Oblation, and making of the Spirituall Sacrifice. Thus much I say, lest any man, either of malice take occasion, or of ignorance be deceiued. S. Cyprian **saith:** Omnes, qui à Christi nomine dicuntur Christiani, offerunt Deo quotidianum Sacrificium, ordinati à Deo Sanctimoniæ Sacerdotes: *All, that of Christ be called Christians, offer vp vnto God the daily Sacrifice, being ordained of God Priests of holinesse.* Origen **saith:** Omnes, quicunque, &c. *All, that ar bathed with the holy ointment, are made Priests, euen as* Peter *saith vnto the whole Church, You are the Chosen Stocke, and the Kingly Priesthood.* S. Augustine **saith:** Holocaustum Dominici Passionis offert quisque pro peccatis suis: *Euery man offereth vp the Sacrifice of our Lords Passion for his own sinnes.* S. Ambrose **saith:** Inuicem expectate, vt multorum Oblatio simul celebretur: *Wait ye one for another, that the Sacrifice of many may be offered together.* S. Chrysostome **saith:** In Mysterijs nihil differt Sacerdos à Subdito: *In the holy Mysteries* **(the Ministration only excepted)** *the Priest differeth nothing from the People*

It appeareth by these Ancient learned Fathers, that euery Christian man is bound, to offer vp the Vnbloody, and daily Sacrifice of the New Testament, and that in as full, and ample sort, as is the Priest. And therefore M. Harding **himselfe saith euen in the verie Canon of his Masse:** Memento Domine famulorum, famularumque tuarum, & omnium Circumstantium, pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt hoc Sacrificium Laudis: *Remember,*

Melchisedech.

The 230. Vntruth. For not one of all these Fathers here alleged, euer said that the Priest hath either power, or commandement, to offer vp the Sonne of God vnto his Father.

Augustin. aduersus Iudaos cap. 1.

Contra Aduersar. Legis, & Prophet. a lib. 1. cap. 1.

Augustin. in li. 80. quæ. 61. In eadem quæstione.

August. contra Faust. li. 20. cap. 21.

De Conse. Dis. 2. Sacrificium.

August. De Ciuit. Dei. li. 10. Cap. 5.

Nazianzen. in Apologetico.

Hieronym. in Psalm. 51.

Cyprian. De vnctione Chrismatis.

Origen. in Leuit. homi. 9.

1. Petri. 2.

August. in Expos. inchoata ad Roman.

Ambros. in 1. Corin. cap. 11.

Chrysost. in 2. Corin. hom. 18.

Remember, O Lord, thy ſeruants, and all them, that ſtand about, for whom we offer vnto thee, or elſe, which doe offer vnto thee, this Sacrifice of Praiſes.

Out of S. Auguſtines words M. Harding in the end concludeth thus: *Chriſt is a Prieſt after the order of* Melchiſedech: Ergo, *The Prieſt hath Authoritie, to offer vp the Son of God in Sacrifice vnto his Father.* It were hard to tell vs, how this Antecedent, and this Conſequent came together. No man hath Authority thus to mince his Logicke, but M. Harding.

Chriſt only is that Prieſt for euer, according to the order of Melchiſedech: He hath made an endleſſe Sacrifice: He himſelfe hath offered vp himſelfe vnto God his Father vpon the Croſſe. Therefore God the Father ſaith vnto him: *Thou art that Prieſt for euer:* not any mortall Creature, or worty wight, but thou (only) being both God, and Man, art that Prieſt for euer. S. Paul ſaith: *We are made perfit, and Sanctified by that one Sacrifice once made vpon the Croſſe.* S. Iohn the Euangeliſt ſaith: *He is the propitiation, and Sacrifice for our ſinnes.* S. Peter ſaith: *He carried our ſinnes in his Body vpon the Tree.* S. Paul ſaith: *God was in Chriſt reconciling the world vnto himſelfe.* Therefore S. Iohn the Baptiſt ſaith: *Behold that Lambe of God, that taketh away the ſinnes of the world.*

Hebræ. 7. & 9. Pſalm. 110. Hebræ. 9. 1. Iohan. 2. 1. Petr. 2. 2. Corin. 5. Iohan. 1.

If M. Harding, and his fellowes doubt hereof, as they ſéeme to doe, let Chriſt himſelfe beare witneſſe to the price of his own Blood. Hanging vpon the Croſſe, and yelding vp the Spirit, he ſealed vp all with theſe words: Conſummatum eſt: That is to ſay, *This is the Sacrifice for ſinne: Hereby my Fathers wrath is pacified: hereby all things are made perfit.*

The Sacrifice is but one: we may loke for none other. It is full, and perfit: we may loke for no better.

S. Peter ſaith: *Chriſt offereth vs vnto God his Father.* S. Paul ſaith: *Through Chriſt we haue acceſſe to the Throne of Glory.* What then meaneth M. Harding, thus to tell vs, and to beare the world in hand, that contrarywiſe, he hath Authority, to offer vp Chriſt, and to preſent him before the Throne of Glory? Or how dareth he, to deſire God, to receiue his only begotten Son into fauour, and fauourably, and fatherly to loke vpon him at his requeſt? For thus he biddeth his Prayer euen in his Canon, euen in the ſecreteſt, and deuoteſt part of his Maſſe: Super quæ propitio, ac ſereno vultu, &c. *Vpon theſe things* (that is to ſay, ſaith Gabriel Biel, vpon the Body, and Blood of Chriſt thy Son) *O Lord looke down with a Mercifull and a cheerfull countenance: and receiue the ſame* (the Body, and Blood of thy Sonne) *as thou didſt in Old times receiue the Sacrifice of* Abel, *and of* Abraham (which was a Weather, or a Calfe, or ſome other like thing.) Thus he, not only taketh vpon him, to pray for Chriſt, but alſo compareth the Sacrifice of the Son of God, with the Sacrifice of brute Cattell. If he deny any part hereof, his own Canon, his own Maſſebooke will reproue him. If this be not Blaſphemie, what thing can be called Blaſphemie?

1. Petri 3. Hebræ. 4.

But God will anſwer ſuch a Blaſphemous, and raſh Sacrificer: I know my Sonne: In him my heart is pleaſed. But what art thou? Who bad thee thus to praie? Who required ſuch Sacrifice at thy hand?

O M. Harding, God open the eies of your heart, that you may ſée the miſerable nakednes of your ſide. Deceiue not your ſelfe. Mocke not the world. Conſider better of your Authorities. Of all the Holy learned Fathers, of whom, ye tell vs, ye haue ſuch ſtore, ye are not yet able to ſhew vs one, either Greake, or Latine: or Heretike, or Catholike: from the riſing of the Sun, to the Sun going downe: that euer ſaid, as you ſay, *A mortall man hath Authority, and power, to offer vp in ſacrifice the Son of God.*

Talke of your ſtore, when ye haue tried it better. Thraſo will talke of that, he hath not. And ſomewhat it may ſerue, to traie the ſimple: But the wiſe will thinke it folly.

Of

OF RECEIVING FOR OTHERS.

THE EIGHTEENTH ARTICLE.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

OR, that the Prieſt had then authority to Communicate, and to receiue the Sacrament for others, as they doe.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuiſion.

The Prieſt receiueth not the Sacrament for another.

What you would ſay M. Iewel, I wot not: what you ſay, I will not. Verily we doe not communicate, ne receiue the Sacrament for another. Neither hath it euer been taught in the Catholike Church, that the Prieſt receiue the Sacrament for another. (231) We receiue not the Sacrament for another, no more than we receiue the Sacrament of Baptiſme, or the Sacrament of Penance, or the Sacrament of Matrimonie, one for another. Indeed the Prieſt ſaith Maſſe for others, where he receiueth that he hath offered, and that is it you meane I gheſſe: In which Maſſe being the externall Sacrifice of the New Teſtament, according vnto Chriſts Inſtitution, the thing that is offered, is ſuch, as maketh our petitions and requeſts acceptable to God, as S. Cyprian ſaith: *In huius (corporis) præſentia non ſuperuacuè mendicant lachryma veniam*: In the preſence of this body teares craue not forgiueneſſe in vaine.

The 231. Vntruth. For in the Church of Rome, the Prieſt receiueth for others, as it ſhall appeare.

In Sermone de Cœna Domini.

That the Oblation of the Maſſe is done for others, than for the Prieſt alone, which celebrateth it, may ſufficiently be prooued by an hundred places of the Fathers: The matters being vndoubted, two or three may ſuffice. Firſt Chryſoſtome writeth thus in an Homily vpon the Acts: *Quid dicis? in manibus eſt hoſtia, & omnia propoſita ſunt bene ordinata: adſunt Angeli, adſunt Archangeli, adeſt filius Dei, cum tanto horrore adſtant omnes, adſtant illi clamantes, omnibus ſilentibus, & putas ſimpliciter hæc fieri? Igitur & alia ſimpliciter, & quæ pro Eccleſia, & quæ pro Sacerdotibus offeruntur, & quæ pro plenitudine, ac vbertate? abſit. Sed omnia cum fide fiunt.* What ſaiſt thou hereto? The hoſt is in the Prieſts hands, and all things ſet foorth are in due order. The Angels be preſent, the Archangels be preſent, the Sonne of God is preſent. Whereas all ſtand there with ſo great feare, whereas all they ſtand there crying out to God, and all other hold their peace, thinkeſt thou that theſe things be done ſimply, and without great cauſe? Why then be thoſe other things done alſo ſimply, both the things which are offered for the Church, for the Prieſts, for plentie, and abundance? God forbid. But all things are done with Faith.

In Actis hom. 21.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Here M. Harding of the Printers negligence, hath taken good occaſion, to refreſh himſelfe out of ſeaſon, and to play merily with theſe two words, For another. Which thing would rather become ſome other man, than a Doctor profeſſing ſuch a countenance of grauitie, as doe few others. It might haue pleaſed him, without any great preiudice, or hinderance of his cauſe, to allow vs ſome ſimple abilitie of ſpeaking Engliſh.

But Gods Iudgements be iuſt. He that will ſcorne, ſhall be ſcorned. M. Harding, that is ſo learned, ſo circumſpect, ſo curious, and maketh himſelfe ſo merry with the error of one poore Syllable committed only by the Printer in my Booke, in the ſelfe ſame place, and in the next ſide following, hath erred fiue Syllables together in his own Booke: as it may eaſily appeare by that, his friend, for ſhame, hath reſtored, and amended the ſame with his Pen. *Fol.* 172. *b. lin.* 17.

Howbeit, as he ſo fauorably bearing his owne errors, is ſo witty, to play with Syllables, and ſo ſharpe, and ready to carpe others, ſo in this whole Article, as poore Apothecaries for want commonly vſe to do, he ſeeketh out quid pro quo, **and in ſtead of Receiuing the Communion, or Sacrament for others, he ſheweth vs Prayers, and Sacrifices, and I know not what, and ſo allegeth one thing for another.**

Whether the Prieſt in the Church of Rome, haue vſed to receiue the Sacrament for others, or no, which thing M. Harding now vtterly denieth, and ſaith it was neuer vſed, nor neuer meant, in the end hereof, God willing, it ſhall appeare.

The thing that is offered, ſaith M. Harding maketh our Prayers acceptable vnto God. **True it is, God accepteth, and mercifully beholdeth both vs, and alſo our Prayers, and our whole obedience in Ieſus Chriſt his Sonne, and for his only ſake: not for that he is now, or can be offered Verily, and Really by the Prieſt, but only for that he was once offered for all vpon the Croſſe.** S. Paul ſaith: *By Chriſt we haue acceſſe to the Throne of Grace.* Chriſt himſelfe ſaith: *No man commeth to my Father, but by me.* Irenæus ſaith: *Chriſt* (being in Heauen) *is* Hebræ. 4. Iohan. 14. *Irenæ. lib.* 4. *cap.* 34.

our

Preſence.

our Altar, and vpon him we muſt offer vp, and lay our Praiers. And therefore in time of the holy Myſteries the Deacon ſaith thus vnto the People, *Lift vp your hearts.*

Cyprian. De Cœna Domini. But S. Cyprian ſaith: In huius Corporis præſentia: *In the Preſence of this Body.* Howbeit, S. Cyprian ſaith not, *In the Locall Preſence of this Body.* For ſuch Preſence M. Harding himſelfe hath already refuſed. He meaneth only the Preſence of Faith, and the Vertue, and power of Chriſts Body. And in this ſenſe S. Auguſtine ſaith: Rerum Abſentium Præſens eſt Fides: & rerum, quæ foris ſunt, intus eſt Fides: *Of things, that be Abſent, Faith is Preſent: Of things, that be without, Faith is within.* Againe he ſaith: Accedamus ad Ieſum, non Carne, ſed Corde: non Corporis Præſentia, ſed Fidei Potentia: *Let vs approch vnto Ieſus, not with our Fleſh, but with our heart: not with Preſence of Body, but with power of Faith.* Likewiſe againe: Habes Chriſtum in Præſenti, & in futuro. In Præſenti per Fidem: in Præſenti per Signum: in Præſenti per Baptiſmatis Sacramentum: in Præſenti per Altaris Cibum, & Potum: *Thou haſt Chriſt both in the time preſent, and alſo in the time to come. In the time Preſent, by Faith: in the time Preſent, by the Signe* (of the Croſſe in thy forehead)*: in the time Preſent, by the Sacrament of Baptiſme: in the time Preſent, by the Meat, and Drinke of the Altar,* (or Communion Table.)

Auguſtin. De Trinitate, lib. 3 Auguſt. aduer. Iudæos, ca. 1.

Auguſt. in Iohan. Tract. 51.

Hieronym. ad Euſtochium, de Epitaphio Paulæ. S. Hierome writing the Epitaph of Paula vnto Euſtiochium, ſaith thus: Paula ingreſſa in ſtabulum, me audiente, iurabat, cernere ſe oculis Fidei Infantem pannis inuolutum, & vagientem in Præſepi Dominum: Paula *entring into the ſtable* (at Bethlehem) *affirmed with an oth, in my hearing, that with the eies of her Faith ſhee ſaw* (Chriſt, as) *an Infant in his ſwathing clouts, and the Lord crying in the Manger like a Child.* So mighty is the power of Faith. That vertuous Lady Paula ſaw by Faith, that indeed ſhe ſaw not. She ſaw Chriſt, as an Infant in his Swathing Clouts: and yet then Chriſt was neither Infant, nor Swathed in Clouts, nor in Corporall Preſence, indeed, and verily Preſent there. Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: Abſentia Domini non eſt abſens. Habe Fidem, & tecum eſt, quem non vides: *The Abſence of our Lord is not Abſent. Haue Faith, and he, whom thou ſeeſt not, is Preſent with thee.* Likewiſe S. Ambroſe ſaith: S. Steuen *ſtanding in the Earth, toucheth the Lord being in Heauen.*

Ambroſ. Sermo 58. De Magdalena.

De Con. Diſ. 2. Quia Corpus.

Thus ſaith S. Cyprian, Chriſts Body is preſent at the holy Communion, not by any Corporall, or Reall Preſence, but by the effectuall working, and force of Faith. In like ſort Euſebius Emiſſenus ſaith: Vt perennis illa Victima viueret in Memoria, & ſemper Præſens eſſet in Gratia: *That, that Euerlaſting Sacrifice might liue in our Remembrance, and euermore be Preſent in Grace.* He ſaith not, that the Sacrifice of Chriſts Body ſhould be Preſent Locally, Really, Verily, or indeed, but in Remembrance, and in Grace. Germanus hereof writeth thus: Non amplius ſuper terram ſumus: Sed in Throno Dei, Regi aſſiſtimus in Cœlis, vbi Chriſtus eſt: *We are no longer vpon the Earth: but we are aſſiſtant vnto the King in the Throne of God in Heauen, where Chriſt is.* For that Lambs ſake, whom we thus ſee, and thus haue Preſent, whatſoeuer we pray, our teares beg not in vaine. For he is our Aduocate, and Mediator, and euermore maketh intercellion for vs. Whatſoeuer we deſire the Father in his name, ſhall be done vnto vs.

German. in Rer. Eccleſ. Theoria.

1. Iohan. 2. Roman. 8. Hebræ. 7. Iohan. 16.

Thus the Angels, and Archangels, as Chryſoſtome by way of amplification ſaith, lifting vp, and ſhewing forth, and preſenting vnto God in Heauen that Body of Chriſt, make their Praiers for Mankind, and thus they ſay: *For them we Pray, O Lord, whom thou louedſt ſo tenderly, that for their Saluation it pleaſed thee to ſuffer Death; and to yeeld thy ſoule vpon the Croſſe: For them we pray, for whom thou haſt giuen thy Blood, and offered vp this Body.*

Chryſoſt. De Incomprehen. Dei Natura. hom. 3.

This certainly is the meaning of Chryſoſtomes words. And therefore he ſaith againe: *Whether we Pray for the Church, or for the Miniſters, or for the increaſe of the Earth, our Praiers are acceptable vnto God only in Chriſt, and for his ſake.*

Touching that he writeth further of the Preſence, and Aſſiſtance of Angels, and Heauenly Powers, it is the ordinary maner, and courſe of Chryſoſtomes eloquence, and ſeruieth him both to beautifie the matter, and alſo to ſtir vp, and inflame the hearers minds: and that not only in the time of the holy Myſteries, but alſo at all other holy aſſemblies, and Puplike praiers. For thus he ſaith vnto the people: Angeli ſunt vbique, & maxime in domo Dei Adſunt Regi, & omnia plena ſunt Incorporeis illis Virtutibus: *The Angels of God are euery where: but ſpecially in the Houſe of God. They are aſſiſtant vnto the King: and all places are full of Spirituall Powers.* In like maner of amplification he ſaith: *The Martyrs are here Preſent in the Church. If thou wilt ſee them, open the eies of thy Faith, and thou ſhalt ſee a great company.*

Chryſoſt. hom. 15. ad Hebræ. Chryſoſtom. in hom. De Aſcenſione.

Baſili. De Ieiunio, hom. 2. Tertull. De Baptiſmo.

So ſaith S. Baſil: *The Angels of God are preſent amongſt vs, and marke, and regiſter them, that keepe their faſt.* So ſaith Tertullian: *Let no man be hard to beleeue, that the holy Angell of God is Preſent, and tempereth the Water, to the Saluation of Man.*

This is it, that Chryſoſtome meaneth, by his vehement Eroynation of the Preſence of Angels.

And

And whereas M. Harding ſaith, he hath paſſed ouer an hundred authorities and moe, that might be alleged to like purpoſe, this is one of his accuſtomed colours, and an artificiall ſhift of his Rhetorike. Verily hitherto he hath not found one authority to proue that thing that is in queſtion.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

S. Ambroſe in his funerall Oration of the death of Valentinian the Emperour, calling the Sacrament of the Altar, the holy and heauenly Myſteries, and the Oblation of our Mother (by which tearme he vnderſtandeth the Church) ſaith, that he will proſecute the holy ſoule of that Emperour with the ſame. This Father writing vpon the 38. Pſalme, exhorteth Prieſts to follow Chriſt, that as he offered for vs his Blood, ſo Prieſts offer Sacrifice for the people. His words be theſe: *Vidimus Principem Sacerdotum, &c.* We haue ſeene the Prince of Prieſts comming vnto vs, we haue ſeene and heard him offering for vs his blood. Let vs that be Prieſts follow as we can, ſo as we offer Sacrifice for the people, though weake in merit, yet honourable for the Sacrifice, &c.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

This obiection is eaſily anſwered. S. Ambroſe ſaith, That in the Congregation, and in the time of the holy Myſteries, he would offer vp vnto God praiſes and thankſgiuing for that godly Emperour Valentinian. But he ſaith not, That he would offer Chriſt the Sonne of God vnto God his Father, or receiue the Sacrament for the Emperor. Therefore M. Harding might well haue paſt this authority ouer among the reſt.

Neither did S. Ambroſe thinke, that the Emperour Valentinian was in Purgatory, whereas M. Harding imagineth, he might be relæued: but contrariwiſe he preſumeth, him vndoubtedly to be in Heauen. For thus he writeth of him: Quænam eſt hæc anima, &c. *What is this Soule, that looketh foorth as the day Starre, beautifull as the Moone, choſen as the Sun? O bleſſed ſoule, thou looke ſt downe from aboue vpon vs, being heere beneath: Thou haſt eſcaped the darkneſſe of this world: thou art as bright as the Moone: thou ſhineſt as the Sun.* Further he ſaith: Cum fratre coniunctus æternæ vitæ fruitur voluptate. Beati Ambo: *Being now with his Brother, he enioieth the pleaſure of euerlaſting life. Bleſſed are they both.* Therefore the Sacrifice that S. Ambroſe made, was not a Propitiatory, or Satisfactory, or other like Maſſe, whereby M. Harding thinketh himſelfe able to baile ſoules out of Purgatory, but only a Sacrifice of thankeſgiuing for that godly Emperour, being now in Heauen. *Ambroſ. de Obitu Valentiniani Imperat.*

The other place of S. Ambroſe, as it nothing toucheth this queſtion, ſo it is already anſwered fully and at large, Artic. 6. Diuiſ. 7. and Artic. 17. Diuiſ. 12.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

That the oblation of the Maſſe, is profitably made for others, S. Gregory witneſſeth very plainly, *homilia* 37 expounding the place of S. Luke, *cap.* 14. *Aliquos legationem mittens, ea quæ pacis ſunt poſtulat*: Elſe he ſendeth foorth an Ambaſſade and ſueth for peace. Hereupon he ſaith thus: *Mittamus ad Dominum legationem noſtram, fletibus, Sacras hoſtias offerendo. Singulariter namque ad abſolutionem noſtram, oblata cum lachrimis & benignitate mentis, Sacris altaris Hoſtia ſuffragatur*: Let vs ſend to our Lord our Ambaſſade, with weeping, giuing almes and offering of holy Hoſts. For the Hoſt of the holy Altar (that is, the bleſſed Sacrament) offered with teares, and with the mercifull bounty of our minde, helpeth vs ſingularly to be aſſoiled. In that homilie he ſheweth, that the oblation of Chriſts Body in this Sacrament preſent, which is done in the Maſſe, is helpe and comfort not onely to them that be preſent, but alſo to them that bee abſent, both quicke and dead, which he prooueth by example of his owne knowledge

Whoſo liſteth to ſee antiquity for proofe hereof, and that in the Apoſtles time Biſhops and Prieſts in the dreadfull Sacrifice offered and praied for others, as for euery ſtate, and order of men, and alſo for holeſomeneſſe of the aire, and for fertilitie of the fruits of the Earth, &c. let him reade the eighth booke of the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles ſet foorth by Clement.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Praier for the Dead is none of thoſe Articles, that M. Harding hath taken in hand to proue. And therfore, as his maner is, he ſheweth vs one thing for another. This kinde of Praier, although it be more Superſtitious, and vtterly without warrant of Gods word, yet I confeſſe, it was many wheres receiued, and vſed, both in Gregories time, and alſo long before, and is auouched of Gregory by a number of vaine and childiſh fables. Touching the Sacrifice of the holy Communion he ſaith: *In this Myſterie Chriſt ſuffereth againe for our ſake: in this Myſterie Chriſt dieth: wee offer vp the Sacrifice of his Paſſion: wee renne againe his Paſſion vnto our ſelues.* As Chriſt ſuffereth and dieth, and as his Paſſion, and Death is renued in the holy Communion: euen ſo is he offered and Sacrificed in the ſame, that is to ſay, as Gregory expoundeth himſelfe, by Repreſentation, and by Memory, and not Verily, Really or Indeed. *De Conſ. diſt. 2. Quid ſit. Item rum in hoc myſterio moritur. Greg. in Euangel. hom. 37.*

Touching the matter it ſelfe that ſtandeth in queſtion, Gregorie ſaith not, neither heere nor elſewhere, either that the Prieſt receiueth the Communion for the reſt of his Pariſh, or that one mans receiuing is auaileable for another.

The Sacrifice that he nameth, is no more the Sacrifice of the Prieſt, than the Sacrifice of any other of all the People. For thus he writeth in the ſame Fable: Toties Mariti vincula ſoluebantur in Captiuitate, quoties ab eius Coniuge oblatæ fuiſſent Hoſtiæ pro eius *Greg. in Euangel. hom. 37.*

ius animæ Absolutione : *The Husband being taken prisoner had his gieues loosed from him, as often as his wife offered vp Sacrifice for his soule.*

The words of this supposed Clement, by whom M. Harding would séme to claime a shew of great Antiquitie, nothing touch the thing that is demanded. For thus onely he saith : Offerimus tibi Regi, & Deo, &c. *Wee offer vp vnto thee our God and King, according to Christs Institution,* This Bread, and this Cup, *by him rendring thankes vnto thee.* And lest M. Harding happen to say, This Sacrifice was Propitiatorie to release the soules that were in Purgatorie, this Clemens saith further : Offerimus tibi pro omnibus, qui à sæculis tibi placuerunt, Sanctis, Patriarchis, Prophetis, Iustis, Apostolis, Martyribus : *Wee offer vnto thee for all holy Saints, that haue beene from the beginning of the World, Patriarks, Prophets, Iust men, Apostles and Martyrs.* I trow, M. Harding will not say, All these were in Purgatorie.

Clemens Apost. Constit. lib. 8.

And touching the receiuing of the Communion, he saith thus : Posteà recipiat Episcopus, &c. *Then let the Bishop receiue, and after him the Priests, the Deacons, the Subdeacons, the Readers, the Singers, the Religious, the Women Deacons, the Virgins, the Widowes, the Children, and the whole Congregation in order with sobrietie and reuerence without confusion.* By this Record of this Clemens it appeareth, that the whole Congregation receiued the holy Communion all together, each man for himselfe, and not one man for another.

Now, whereas M. Harding vtterly denieth, that euer any man in his Church receiued the Sacrament in stead of others, as somewhat misliking the open follie of the same, for short triall héereof, I remit him both to the very practise of his Masse, and also to the most Catholike Doctours of all his Schoole.

In his Requiem, he singeth thus : Pro quorum memoria Corpus Christi sumitur, &c. *For whose remembrance the Body of Christ is receiued.* If he can happily deuise some veile to shadow this, yet his Doctours be both so plaine, that they cannot be shifted : and also of so good credit, that they may not be refused. Certainly they haue béene euermore thought to teach the Catholike Doctrine of the Church. Gabriel Biel saith thus : Sicut os materialis Corporis, &c. *As the mouth of our materiall Body, not only eateth for it selfe, but also receiueth sustenance for the preseruation of all other members, which sustenance is diuided thorowout the whole Body: Euen so the Priest receiueth the Sacrament, and the Vertue therof passeth into all the members of the Church, and specially into them that are present at the Masse.*

Biel Lect. 81.

Likewise saith Vincentius de Valentia : *The whole Christianitie is one Body, knit together by Faith and Charitie, and hauing in it sundry members : and the Priest is the mouth of this Body. Therefore when the Priest receiueth the Sacrament, all the members are refreshed.*

In Serm. 2. de Epiphania.

Againe he saith : Nos communicamus ore Sacerdotis, audiendo Missam: *We hearing Masse, doe Communicate or receiue the Sacrament by the mouth of the Priest.*

Eckius de Vtraque Specie.

Likewise Doctour Eckius saith : Populus bibit Spiritualiter per os Sacerdotis : *The people drinketh Spiritually by the mouth of the Priest.* These words be plaine, and truely reported. Which being true it muſt needs appeare, that M. Hardings auouching the contrary is vntrue.

Chrysostom. in 1. Cor. hom. 40

So Chrysostome saith, The old Heretikes called Marcionitæ vsed to Baptize some, that were liuing, in the behalfe and stead of others that were dead. And from thence, it séemeth, they that now would bee counted Catholikes, haue deriued their Doctrine in this point. And that M. Harding may the rather beléeue, that such folly hath beene vsed, let him remember, that in his Church the Bishop, when he createth a Reader, giueth him euermore this Commission: Accipe potestatem legendi Euangelium tam pro Viuis, quàm pro defunctis: *Receiue thou power to read the Gospell, aswell for the Quicke, as for the Dead.* Therefore M. Harding so earnestly denying this, denieth the manifest and knowen truth, and defaceth the credit of his owne Doctours.

To conclude, I may well say, as before, that M. Harding hauing nothing to allege touching the matter that lieth betwéene vs, and in stead thereof, filling vp his papers with matters impertinent, of Praier and Sacrifice, hath somewhat abused the patience of his Reader, and shewed him one thing for another.

OF

OF APPLICATION.

THE NINETEENTH ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that the Priest had then authoritie to applie the vertue of Christs Death and Passion, to any man by meane of the Masse.

M. Harding.

The vertue of Christs Death and Passion, is grace and remission of sinnes, the appeasing of Gods wrath, the reconciliation of vs to God, deliuerance from the Diuell, Hell and euerlasting damnation. Our aduersaries imputing to vs, as though we said and taught, that the Priest applieth this vertue, effect and merit of Christs Death to any man by the meane of the Masse, either (232) belie vs of ignorance, or slander vs of malice. Verily we say not so. Neither doth the Priest applie the vertue of Christs Passion to any man by the meane of the Masse. He doth but applie his Praier, and his intent of Oblation, beseeching Almightie God to applie the merit and vertue of his Sons death (the memorie whereof he celebrateth at the Masse) to them, for whom he praieth.

What applieth the Priest vnto vs in the Masse.

The 232. Vntruth. For in the Church of Rome the Priest presumeth to applie the merits of Christ by meane of his Masse, as shall appeare.

It is God and none other that applieth to vs remission of sinne, the Priest doth but pray for it, and by the commemoration of his Sonnes death, mooueth him to applie. So as all that the Priest doth, is but by way of petition and praier, leauing all power and authority of applying to God, which praier is to be beleeued to be of most force and efficacie, when it is worthily and deuoutly made in the Masse, in the which the Priest beareth the person of the whole Church, and offereth his praier in the Sacrifice, wherein the Church offereth Christ, and it selfe through Christ to God. Which his (233) praier and deuout seruice hee beseecheth to be offered vp by the hands of Angels vnto the high Altar of God, in the sight of the diuine maiestie. Of what strength praier made at the Masse is, the holy Bishop and Martyr S. Cyprian witnesseth, (**that in all his Bookes neuer once named the Masse**) where hee saith; In the presence of this Sacrament teares craue not in vaine, and the Sacrifice of a contrite heart is neuer denied his request.

Sermone de Cœna Domini.

The 233. Vntruth. For the Priest praieth, that the Body of Christ may bee carried vp by the hands of Angels.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Neither haue wee of ignorance belied M. Hardings Doctrine, nor haue wee of malice slandered it: but plainly and truly haue reported the same, euen as both he, and his late Doctors haue taught it, and as the people in the Church of Rome **hath euery where receiued it at their hands.**

But like as in old times God commanded the Philistines to offer vp golden Mise, and golden Hemeroides, to be kept for euer in Record, and to witnesse against them, in what sort they had béene plagued for their wickednesse, if at any time they should happen afterward to denie it: euen so hath God specially prouided, that the monuments of our Aduersaries old errours, whereof they séeme now to be ashamed, should still remaine in sure Record, euen in their owne Doctours Bookes, to witnesse against them, if they should happen, as now, vpon mislike, vtterly to disclaime and denie the same: and to force them to confesse, that they are the Children of them that haue deceiued the people.

1. Samuel 6.

For whereas M. Harding amongst many other words, wherewith hée laboureth to shadow and to darken the case, saith: It is God onely, and none other, that appleth vnto vs the Death of Christ, and the Remission of our sinnes; Iohannes Scotus, **one of his most famous, and most Catholike Doctours, saith plainly the contrarie:** Non solus Deus distribuit virtutem Sacrificij, sed Sacerdos quoque: *Not only God distributeth or applieth the vertue of the Sacrifice, but the Priest also.* **And** Gabriel Biel **another of M. Hardings Doctors in like sort saith:** *The force and effect of the Sacrifice is distributed and applied, not onely by God, but also by the Priest. Only,* **and** *Not Only,* **implie a contradiction. If the one be true, the other of necessitie must be false. Againe** Biel **saith:** Sacerdotis est determinare virtutem Sacrificij, vt his, vel illis indigentibus præmium reddendum per huiusmodi Ecclesiæ Sacrificia conferatur: *It is the Priests office to determine and limit the vertue of the Sacrifice, that the meed that is giuen by such Sacrifices of the Church, may be applied to these or them that stand in need.* **Which thing he proueth by sufficient example in this wise:** *As the Pope by right of his Supremacie, hath power to diuide the Treasure of the Church* (**whereby he meaneth his Pardons**) *giuing vnto some full Remission of all their sinnes: and dispensing with some other for the third part of their paines: and granting vnto some pardon for certaine number of daies, or yeeres, as he seeth it may be most expedient for the deuotion of the people: Euen so* (**saith he**) *may the Priest dispense, and diuide the merits of the Church, and applie the same to this man, or that man, as hee shall thinke it may stand him in some stead.*

Quodlibet. Quæst. 20.

Biel lection. 26.

Biel in eadem lectione.

Vt illi, vel illi possit applicare. Sum. Angelica in Missa.

In Summa Angelica **it is written thus:** *The Masse is auaileable vnto them, vnto whomsoeuer*

euer it pleaſeth the Prieſt to applie it by his intention. And againe: Miſſa reſpectu Operis Operati, &c. *The Maſſe in reſpect of the worke that is wrought, is nothing elſe, but the applying of the Merits of Chriſts Paſſion.*

So Vincentius de Valentia, a notable Catholike Scholeman of M. Hardings ſide: Virgo Maria ſolùm ſemel aperuit Cœlum, &c. *The Virgin Mary neuer but once opened Heauen, but the Prieſt openeth it euery day and at euery Maſſe.* Doctour Holcot ſaith: Quid eſt celebrare Miſſam principaliter pro aliquo? R. Eſt applicare Miſſam Iohanni, quòd ſit quædam ſatisfactio apud Deum pro anima Iohannis, ſi indigeat: *What is it to ſay Maſſe principally for any man?* He anſwereth: *It is the applying of the Maſſe vnto Iohn, to be a certaine ſatisfaction for him before God, if Iohn ſtand in need of it.* And withal he moueth a great doubt, whether the Prieſt may apply one Maſſe to two ſeuerall men, and neuertheleſſe ſatisfie for them both.

Vincent. de Valentia in 1. Sermon. de Corpore Chriſti. Holcot. in 4. Sen. quæ. 3. In eadē quæſt.

And Biel ſaith, that certaine, the better to helpe the Prieſts memory, taught him to applie his Maſſe throughout all the Caſes of Declenſion: as for example; Nominatiuo, *A Maſſe for himſelfe*: Genitiue, *A Maſſe for his Father and Mother*: Datiuo, *A Maſſe for his Founders or Benefactors*: Accuſatiuo, *A Maſſe for his Enemies or Accuſers*: Vocatiuo, *A Maſſe for Sinners and Infidels*: Ablatiuo, *A Maſſe for his Backbiters and Slanderers.*

Biel lection 26.

Of theſe things M. Harding ſeemeth now to be aſhamed: notwithſtanding it were of late the Catholike and Generall Doctrine of his Church, Vniuerſally taught, by Holcot in England: by Vincentius, in Spaine: by Biel, in France: by Angelus, in Italie: or rather by all theſe, and all others, throughout the whole Church of Rome. Hereof grew ſuch Merchandize and ſale of Maſſes, that the Houſe of God was become a Den of Theeues.

Therefore M. Harding hauing no other defenſe for all theſe follies, but only to caſt off all that can be ſaid of our ſide, as malitious and ignorant ſurmiſes, ſheweth himſelfe little to haue conſidered the ſtate of his owne Church, & in the impatience of his heats, to ſpeake againſt vs, what him liketh, and ſo to ſpice his error both with ignorance and with malice.

But for reſolution hereof, and ſome ſhort ſatisfaction of the Reader, it behoueth vs to vnderſtand, That it is not the Prieſt, but God only it is, that applieth vnto each man the Remiſſion of his ſinnes in the Blood of Chriſt: not by meane of the Maſſe, but only by the meane of Faith. S. Iohn ſaith: *He that beleeueth in the Sonne of God, hath a witneſſe in himſelfe.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Holocauſtum Dominicæ Paſſionis eo tempore offert Vnuſquiſque pro peccatis ſuis, quo eiuſdem Paſſionis Fide dedicatur: *Then doth euery man offer the Sacrifice of Chriſts paſſion for himſelfe, when hee is dedicated in the Faith of Chriſts Paſſion.* So ſaith the old learned Father Origen: Siclo Sancto comparandus eſt nobis Chriſtus, &c. *With the holy Sicle, we muſt buy Chriſt, that may put away our Sinnes. The holy Sicle beareth the forme of our Faith. For if thou bring Faith, as the Price, thou ſhalt receiue the Remiſſion of thy ſinnes.* Likewiſe againe he ſaith: Chriſtus factus eſt Hoſtia, & Propitiatio pro peccatis. Quæ Propitiatio ad vnumquenque venit per viam Fidei: *Chriſt is made the Sacrifice and Propitiation for ſinne. Which Propitiation commeth* (or is applied) *to each man* (not by the Maſſe, but) *by the way of Faith*

1. Iohn 5.
Auguſt. in expoſitione inchoata ad Roman.
Origen. in Leuit. hom. 3.
Origen. in epiſt. ad Roman. li. 3. ca. 3.

This is the moſt certaine and vndoubted application of the merits and death of Chriſt. S. Paul ſaith: *God hath ſet Chriſt, to be our Reconciler through Faith, by the mediation of his Blood.*

OF *OPVS OPERATVM.*

THE TVVENTIETH ARTICLE.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

OR, that it was then thought a ſound Doctrine, to teach the people, that the Maſſe, ex Opere Operato, that is, euen for that it is ſaid, and done, is able to remoue any part of our ſinnes.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuiſion.

Indeed the Doctrine vttered in this Article is falſe, and derogatorie to the Glorie of our Sauiour Chriſt. For there by the honour of Chriſts Sacrifice, whereby hee hath once ſatisfied for the ſinnes of all, ſhould be transferred to the worke of the Prieſt, which were great wickedneſſe and deteſtable blaſphemie. And therefore we will not require M. Iewel, to yeeld and ſubſcribe vnto this Article. For wee grant, this was neuer thought a ſound doctrine within ſix hundred yeeres of Chriſts Aſcenſion, nor ſhall bee ſo thought within ſix thouſand yeeres after the ſame of any man of ſound beleefe. (234) Neither hath it beene at any time

The 234. Vntruth. For it hath beene ſo taught, and ſo vſed, as it ſhall appeare.

time taught in the Catholike Church, howſoeuer it liketh our Aduerſaries to charge the Scholaſticall Doctours with the ſlanderous report of the contrary. For it is Chriſt onely, and none other thing, that is able to remoue our ſins, and that hath he done by the Sacrifice of his Body once done vpon the Croſſe. Of which Sacrifice once performed vpon the Croſſe with ſhedding of his Blood, this vnbloody Sacrifice of the Altar, which is the daily Sacrifice of the Church, commonly called the Maſſe, is a ſamplar, and a commemoration, (235) in the which we haue the ſame Body that hanged on the Croſſe. Neither is it a ſamplar or commemoration only, but the ſelfe ſame Sacrifice which was offered on the Croſſe: a ſamplar or commemoration, in reſpect of the maner, for that it is done without bloodſhedding: the ſelfe ſame, for that the thing which is offered, is the ſame that was offered on the Croſſe. And whereas we haue nothing of our ſelues, that we may offer vp acceptable to God, we offer this his Sonnes Body as a moſt acceptable Sacrifice, beſeeching him to looke not vpon our worthineſſe, our act or worke; but vpon the face of Chriſt his deare Sonne, and for his ſake to haue mercy vpon vs.

The 235. Vntruth. For Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Inuiſis Sacrū, non verum Corpus Chriſti, ſed Myſterium Corporis eius contimetur. In Opere Imperfecto, homil.* 11.

Pſalm. 83.

How the Maſſe is vaileable ex Opere Operato.

And in this reſpect we doubt not this bleſſed Sacrifice of the Maſſe to be vaileable and effectuall, *ex Opere Operato*, that is, not as M. Iewel interpreteth, for that the Maſſe is ſaid and done, referring *Opus Operatum*, to the act of the Prieſt, not ſo: but for the worke wrought it ſelfe, which God himſelfe worketh by the miniſterie of the Prieſt, without reſpect had to his merit, or act, which is the Body and Blood of Chriſt, whoſe breaking and ſhedding is in this myſticall Sacrifice, ſo farre as the Holy Ghoſt hath thought expedient for mans behooſe, repreſented, ſhewed, and recommended to memorie. Which Body and Blood, when it is (236) according to his commandement offered vp to God, is not in regard of our worke, but of it ſelfe, and of the holy Inſtitution of his only begotten Sonne, a moſt acceptable Sacrifice vnto him, both for quicke and dead, * where there is no ſtop nor let to the contrarie on the behalfe of the receiuer. The dead, I meane ſuch only, as through Faith haue recommended themſelues to the Redemption wrought by Chriſt, and by this Faith haue deſerued of God, that after their departure hence, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, this Sacrifice might profit them.

The 236. Vntruth. For Chriſt neuer gaue ſuch commandement * A follie ioined with a contradiction in it ſelfe. For the Dead can make no ſtop.

Dreſſe. quæſt. Delan. quæſt. 1.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Theſe words Opus Operatum, Opus Operans, Opus Operantis, **as they are ſtrange and barbarous, ſo are they not found neither in the Scriptures, nor in the Old Doctors, nor in any ancient Councell: but haue bene lately deuiſed by certaine new Scholaſticall Doctours of M. Hardings owne ſide: who notwithſtanding cannot yet well agrée vpon their owne deuice, nor can certainly tell vs what they haue found.**

Opus Operantis, **ſome of them call the** *worke and worthineſſe of the Prieſt*: **But** Innocentius 3. **rather calleth** Opus Operantis, *The Prieſt himſelfe*. **Likewiſe about theſe words,** Opus Operatum, **they haue made much adoe: and yet are not well reſolued of it, what it ſhould be.** Scotus **and** Biel **ſay,** *It is the Conſecration, the Oblation, and the receiuing of the Sacrament.* Gerſon **ſaith:** *It is the Word of the Creatour, and the Power of the Holy Ghoſt.* Pigghius **ſaith:** *It is the will of God, that appointed the Sacrament to this purpoſe.* Gropper **of** Colaine **ſaith:** *It is the Body of Chriſt.* **Howbeit, it were hard to ſay, either that Chriſts Body is a Worke, or that any Worke is Chriſts Body.**

Biel Lect. 27. *Gerſon contra Floretum, li.* 4. *Scotus Quodlib. art.* 2. *Innocentius, li.* 3. *ca.* 5. *Biel Lect.* 27. *Scotus Quodlib. ar.* 2. *Gerſon contra Floretum, li.* 4. *Gropper. art.* 4. *cap.* 19.

It were a point of Maſterie, to make all theſe contrary reſolutions agrée in one. Thus it fareth euermore, where as men ſhot without a marke. Howbeit, if neither M. Harding, nor any other of his Fellowes for him, be able to finde theſe words, Opus Operatum, **in any ancient Doctor, or Councell, then, notwithſtanding the great multitude of his words, my Aſſertion ſtandeth ſtill true. But if he, and others of his ſide haue maintained this Doctrine, euen in ſuch ſort as I haue vttered it, then by his owne confeſſion, they haue deceiued the World by wicked and blaſphemous Doctrine, to the great derogation of the Glorie and Croſſe of Chriſt.**

And foraſmuch as M. Harding ſeemeth now to bluſh at his owne termes, and therefore beginneth to ſhun and to thiſt the ſame by vaine and friuolous expoſitions: it ſhall not be amiſſe to open the true meaning thereof, both by the old Records of the ancient Writers, in whoſe daies the like follie began to grow, and was then remoued: and alſo by the plain words of M. Hardings owne allowed Doctours.

Auguſtinus de Ciuit. Dei, li. 21. *ca.* 19. *Chryſoſt. ad popul. Antioch. homil.* 19. *Chryſoſt. in* 1. *Cor. homil.* 43. *Hieronym. in Matthæ. li.* 4. *ca.* 23. *Concil. Carthag* 3. *Can.* 6. *Inter Decreta Deuſdedit. ca.* 12.

S. Auguſtine ſaith, **There were ſome in his time, that thought, and taught the people, that if a man had bene Baptized, and had once receiued the Communion, notwithſtanding he liued wickedly, and maintained Hereſies and wilfull Doctrine, yet he could not be condemned, only becauſe he was Baptized, and had once receiued the holy Communion: which thing now is called,** Opus Operatum.

Chryſoſtome ſaith: Mulieres, & parui Pueri pro magna cuſtodia, ad collum ſuſpendunt Euangelia: *Women and yoong Children for great ſafety, hang the Goſpell at their necks.* **They thought, the Goſpell it ſelfe, and of it ſelfe, could ſaue them from all miſhaps, not becauſe they beléeued in it, but only becauſe it was hanged or tied about them: and this is alſo,** Opus Operatum.

So there were certaine in Old times, that of méere Superſtition, vſed to miniſter the Communion vnto the Dead, and to lay the Sacrament in the mouthes of them that were departed: as S. Benet alſo cauſed the Sacrament to be laid vpon a dead womans breaſt, thinking that the very outward Ceremony therof, without Faith, or inward motion of the partie, might be ſufficient to doe her good: which alſo is called, Opus Operatum.

Euen in S Pauls time there were certaine that of like Superſtition beganne to Baptize the Dead: which thing alſo continued a long while after, as may appeare by the Councell of Carthage. They thought the very outward workes of Baptiſme it ſelfe, onely becauſe it was done without any further motion of the minde, was ſufficient to remit their ſinnes.

Concil. Carthag. 3. ca. 6.

This old errour our Aduerſaries of late yéres haue taken vp, and made it Catholike: bearing the people in hand, that their Maſſe it ſelfe, ex Opere Operato, onely of it ſelfe, and becauſe it is ſaid, is auaileable for the Remiſſion of their ſinnes.

Thus they expound their owne dreame: Ex Opere Operato, id eſt, ex ipſa Conſecratione, & Oblatione, & Sumptione Venerabilis Euchariſtiæ: Ex Opere Operato, *is as much to ſay, as for the very Conſecration, and Oblation, and receiuing of the reuerend Sacrament.*

Biel lection. 27 Scotus Quodlib. ar. 2.

In Manipulus Curatorum, which not long ſithence was thought to be a Booke moſt neceſſary for all Parſons and Curats, as containing all neceſſary Doctrine for the Church of God, it is written thus: Opus Operatum, eſt actus exercitatus circa Sacramentum; ſicut Opus Operatum in Baptiſmo, eſt Inſperſio, vel Immerſio Aquæ, & prolatio verborum. And therefore Cardinall Caietan at Auguſta in Germanie, requiring Doctour Luther to recant this Article, ſaid thus: Fides non eſt neceſſaria acceſſuro ad Euchariſtiam: *Faith is not neceſſary for him that will receiue the Sacrament*: Meaning thereby that the very Sacrament it ſelfe, only becauſe it is miniſtred, is ſufficient, although the receiuer be vtterly void of Faith.

Manipulus Curatorum.

In Paralipomenis Vrſpergen. An. 1518.

And therefore the Biſhops in the late Councell of Trident haue determined thus: Si quis dixerit, per Sacramenta Nouæ Legis non conferri Gratiam ex Opere Operato, ſed Fidem ſolam Diuinæ Promiſſionis ſufficere ad Gratiam conſequendam, anathema ſit: *If any man ſay, that Grace is not giuen by the Sacraments of the New Teſtament, euen for the worke, that is wrought, but that Faith only of the Heauenly promiſe is ſufficient to atchieue grace, accurſed be he.*

Concil. Triden. Seſſion. 6. ca 8.

Biel lection. 81

Likewiſe Gabriel Biel: Hoc Sacrificium in illis, pro quibus offertur, non præexigit vitam Spiritualem in actu, ſed in potentia, &c. *This Sacrifice in them, for whom it is offered, requireth not a ſpirituall (or godly) life in act and in deed, but only in poſſibility. Neither is this againſt the ſaying of S. Auguſtine*: Who will offer the Body of Chriſt, but only for them that are the members of Chriſt? *For thus we underſtand it, That the Oblation is made for the members of Chriſt, when it is made for any, that may be the members of Chriſt.*

And therefore Cardinall Caieran, notwithſtanding that he had ſpoken againſt Doctor Luther in open Conference to the contrarie confeſſeth a generall errour therein in his time. For thus he writeth: Vnde in hoc videtur Communis multorum Error, quòd putant, hoc Sacrificium ex ſolo Opere Operato habere certum meritum, vel certam ſatisfactionem, quæ applicatur huic, vel illi: *Wherefore herein appeareth the common errour of many, that thinke, that this Sacrifice euen of the worke that is wrought, hath a certaine merit, or a certaine ſatisfaction, that may be applied to this man, or that man.*

Caietan. in Quodlib. De vſu Spiritualium, quæſt. 3.

This of late yéres was the Schole-doctours Catholike meaning, touching theſe New Termes of their owne inuenting: which now M. Harding and his Fellowes are faine for ſhame, to colour ouer with ſome finer Vernith Hereof, good Chriſtian Reader, maieſt thou iudge, how aptly this Doctrine may ſtand with the Glorie and Croſſe of Chriſt.

Now touching theſe words, Oblation and Sacrifice, with the ſhew whereof, M. Harding thinketh it good ſkill, to dazle and to abuſe the eies of the ſimple: Firſt, where he ſaith: *A Mortall man offereth vp the Sonne of God indeed and verily vnto his Father, and that Chriſt commanded ſuch a Sacrifice to be made*, he knoweth himſelfe it is both a great vntruth, and alſo a manifeſt, and a wilfull blaſphemie. And further, where he addeth, That the ſame Sacrifice ſo offered is auaileable for the Dead, vnleſſe there be ſome ſtop or let in the Receiuer: This is a very vaine and vnadviſed follie: For Children know, that the Dead can neither receiue the Sacrament, nor make let or ſtop againſt the receiuing of the ſame. Therefore this addition might haue bene better ſpared, ere it came abroad.

Indeed S. Auguſtine hauing occaſion ſomewhat to touch the ſtate of the Faithfull departed, ſaith, That the Prayers of the liuing, being either ioined with Almes-deds, or made at the time of the holy Communion, at which time the Death of Chriſt is laid open before vs, and therefore our minde the more inflamed to deuotion, may be auaileable for the Dead. Howbeit S. Auguſtine herein compareth the Sacrifice of the holy Communion, with the Sacrifice of Almes-giuing, and in that behalfe of releeuing the Dead, maketh either equall with the other. But for this preſent, it is needleſſe hereof to make further Treatie. For M. Harding well knoweth, this is none of the Articles we haue now in queſtion.

But

But certaine it is, that S. Auguſtine, neither heere, nor elſewhere, euer moued one word of Opus Operatum, that now ſo mightily is defended.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

Maſſe taken two waies.

But to ſpeake of this matter more particularly, and more diſtinctly, the terme, Maſſe, may be taken two waies Either for the thing it ſelfe, which is offered, or for the act of the Prieſt in offring of it. If it be taken for the thing it ſelfe, that is offrred, which is the Body of Chriſt, and is in this reſpect of the * Scholaſticall Doctors called *Opus Operatum*: no man can iuſtly denie, but that it remooueth, and taketh away ſinne. * For

1. Cor. 6. & 7. Tit. 2. Apoc. 14. 1. Ioan. 2. In 3. cap. ad Romans.

Chriſt in his Fleſh crucified is our only Sacrifice, our only Price, our only Redemption, whereby hee hath merited to vs vpon the Croſſe, and with the Price of his Blood hath bought the Remiſsion of our Sins: and S. Iohn ſaith, he is the propitiation for our Sins. * So Oecumenius ſaith, *Caro Chriſti eſt propitiatorium noſtrarum iniquitatum*: The Fleſh of Chriſt is the propitiation for our iniquities. And this not for that it is offered of the Prieſt in the Maſſe * ſpecially, but for that he offered it once himſelfe with ſhedding of his Blood vpon the Croſſe for the redemption of all. Which Oblation done vpon the Croſſe, is become a perpetuall and continuall Oblation, not in the ſame maner of offering, but in the ſame vertue, and power of the thing offered. For ſince that time the ſame Body of Chriſt appearing alwaies before the face of God in Heauen, preſenteth and exhibiteth it ſelfe for our reconciliation: And likewiſe it is exhibited and offered (237) by his owne commandement here in earth in the Maſſe, where he is both Prieſt, and Sacrifice, offerer and Oblation, verily and indeed, though in Myſterie, and by way of commemoration, that thereby wee may be made partakers of the reconciliation performed, applying the ſame vnto vs (ſo far as in this behalfe man may apply) through Faith, and deuotion, no leſſe than if we ſaw with our eies preſently his Body hanging on the Croſſe before vs, and ſtremes of Blood iſſuing foorth. And ſo it is a Sacrifice in very deed propitiatorie, not for our act or worke, but for his owne worke already done and accepted. To this only wee muſt aſcribe remiſsion and remooving of our Sinnes.

Heb. 9.

* M. Harding ſhould haue ſhewed, what Scholaſticall Doctors haue taken it thus: Otherwiſe it may ſeeme vntrue.

* All theſe allegations vtterly condemne the worke, that is ſuppoſed in the Maſſe.

* The worke of the Prieſt is propitiatorie, albeit not ſpecially. The 237. Vntruth. For God neuer commanded the Prieſt, neither to ſay Maſſe, as it is now vſed, nor to offer vp the Body of Chriſt.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Heere M. Harding is driuen to make wonderfull hard ſhift, and to leaue all the whole companie of his Schole-doctors, and to goe alone. The Maſſe, ſaith he, ſometime ſignifieth the Body of Chriſt. *Sometime*, ſay you? **And at what time, I beſeech you? And, if at one time, why not at all times? what Ancient Doctor, or Holy Father euer told vs this tale? But let vs giue M. Harding leaue to make ſomewhat of himſelfe, and to vphold his ſtrange Religion, with ſtrange phraſes, and Formes of ſpeech. For he hopeth, that, whatſoeuer he liſt to ſay, the ignorant people will beleeue him.**

But wherefore allegeth he not, either the Scriptures, or ſome Old Councell, or ſome Ancient Doctor: at the leaſt, ſome one, or other of his owne Schole doctors, Innocentius, Thomas, Scotus, Alexander, Henricus de Gandauo, Robertus de collo torto, **or ſome other like in this behalfe? Is there none of all theſe, that euer could vnderſtand, that the Maſſe is the Body of Chriſt? And muſt we needs beleeue M. Harding in ſo ſtrange a matter, without witneſſe? Verily if the Maſſe, according to this new Doctrine, be Chriſts Body, and that verily, and indeed, without ſhift, or helpe of Figure, then was the Maſſe Borne of the Bleſſed Virgin: then was it Crucified: then was it Buried in the Graue. For all theſe things happened to the Body of Chriſt. Then whoſoeuer denieth the Maſſe, denieth Chriſts Body: and whoſoeuer beleeueth Chriſts Body, beleeueth the Maſſe. But what ſhould M. Harding doe? A monſtrous Doctrine requireth a monſtrous kinde of words.**

Indeed, *Chriſts Body Crucified was the Price, and Propitiation for all our Sinnes. Chriſt with one Oblation hath made perfit for euer, all, that be Sanctified.* **For in his Fleſh** *he was that Lamb of God, that hath taken away the Sinnes of the World.* **And now in the ſame Fleſh** *he appeareth before God, and euermore intreateth for our Sinnes.*

1. Iohan. 2. Hebræ. 10. Iohan. 1. Roman. 8. Hebræ. 7.

But, M. Harding, what is all this to your Maſſe? Who euer bade you, to Sacrifice Chriſt vnto his Father? Who euer warranted you, that your Sacrifice, deuiſed by your ſelues, ſhould bee of the ſame vertue, and power, as you ſay, that was the Sacrifice of Chriſt himſelfe vpon his Croſſe? Who euer told you, that your Sacrifice ſhould bee the Price, and Propitiation for the ſinnes of the whole world? Or that Chriſt in your Maſſe ſhould euermore appeare before God, and intreat for vs?

But why adde you further this Speciall **exception of your ſelfe,** And this, not for that, it is offered of the Prieſt in the Maſſe Specially? **What needeth you with this ſo** Speciall **prouiſo, ſo finely to mince this matter? Why ſhould you ſo** Specially **diſable, or diſcredit the Vnbloody Sacrifice of the Church? If the Fleſh of Chriſt be not** Specially **auaileable, for that, as you ſay, it is offered by the Prieſt, how then, being ſo offered, can it be propitiatorie for our ſinnes? If it be propitiatory indeed, and if the Prieſt offer vp Chriſt vnto his Father, and that in all reſpects of power, and Vertue, as effectuall, and auaileable, as that Chriſt himſelfe offered vpon the Croſſe, how then is it not** Specially **profitable for that, as you ſay, it is offered by the Prieſt? We ſhould haue**

haue brought some Daniel with you, to expound your dreame: or some skilfull Surucior, to part tenures betwæne Christ, and the Priest, and to limit ech part Generally, and Specially his owne right.

O M. Harding, what a miserable Doctrine is this! Remoue onely this vaine shew of strange Words, where with yée delight to astonne the simple: and the rest that remaineth is lesse than nothing.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuision.

If the terme, Masse, bee taken for the act of the Priest, in respect of any his onely doing, it is not able to remoue Sinne. For so wee should make the Priest Gods peere, and his act equall with the Passion of Christ, as our aduersaries doe vniustly slaunder vs. Yet hath the Masse vertue, and effect in some degree, and is acceptable to God, by reason of the oblation of the Sacrifice, which in the Masse is done by the offerer, without respect had to Christs institution, euen for the faithfull praier and deuotion of the party, that offereth, which the Schoole-doctors terme, *ex opere operantis* For then the oblation seemeth to be most acceptable to God, when it is offered by some that is acceptable. Now the party that offereth, is of two sorts. The one offereth immediatly, and personally: the other offereth mediatly, or by meane of another, and principally. The first is the Priest that consecrateth, offereth, and receiueth the Sacrament, who so doth these things in his owne person, yet by Gods authority, as none other in so offering is concurrent with him. The partie, that offereth mediatly or by meane of another, and principally, is the Church militant, in whose person the Priest offereth, and whose minister hee is in offering. For this is the Sacrifice of the whole Church. The first partie that offereth, is not alwaies acceptable to God, neither alwaies pleaseth him, because often times he is a Sinner. The second party that offereth, is euermore acceptable to God, because the Church is alwaies Holy, beloued, and the only Spouse of Christ. And in this respect the Masse is an acceptable seruice to God, *Ex Opere Operantis*, and is not without cause and reason called a Sacrifice Propitiatorie, not for that it deserueth mercy at Gods hand of it selfe, as Christ doth, who only is in that principall and speciall sort a Sacrifice Propitiatorie: but for that it mooueth God to giue mercie, and remission of Sin already deserued by Christ. In this degree of a Sacrifice Propitiatorie, we may put Praier, a contrite Heart, Almes, forgiuing of our neighbour, &c. This may easily be prooued by the holy Fathers.

Origens words be very plaine: *Si respicias ad illam commemorationem, de qua dicit Dominus, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, inuenies, quòd ista est commemoratio sola, quæ propitium faciat Deum.* If thou looke to that commemoration, whereof our Lord saith, Doe this in my Remembrance, or in commemoration of me, thou shalt find, that this is the only commemoration, that maketh God mercifull. S. Augustine saith thus: *Nemo melius præter Martyres meruit ibi requiescere, vbi & hostia Christus est, & Sacerdos, scilicet, vt Propitiationem de oblatione hostiæ consequantur.* No man hath deserued better than the Martyrs * to rest there, where Christ is both the Host, and the Priest, (238) (hee meaneth to bee Buried vnder the Altar) to the intent they might attaine Propitiation by the Oblation of the Host. But heere to auoid prolixitie in a matter not doubtfull, I leaue a number of places whereby it may be euidently prooued, that the Masse is a Sacrifice Propitiatory in this degree of propitiation, both for the Quicke and the Dead, the same not being specially denied by purport of this Article. Thus we haue declared, as we might superficially treating of this Article, that the Masse is a Sacrifice Propitiatory both *Ex Opere Operato*, that is, through the merit of Christs Body that suffered on the Crosse, which is heere *Opus Operatum*, and is by Christ through the ministery of the Priest in the Masse offered, Truly, but in Mystery, and also *Ex Opere Operante*, that is, through the doing of the Priest, if he haue the Grace of God, and so be acceptable, but in a far lower degree of propitiation, which is called *Opus Operans*, or *Opus Operantis*. And this is the doctrine of the Church, touching the valour of the Masse *Ex Opere Operato*, whereby no part of Christs Glorie is impaired.

In Leuit. Homil. 13.

Sermone 11. de Sanctis.

* S. Augustine speaketh not of any Materiall Altar in Earth, but of the Spirituall Altar in Heauen. The 238. Vntruth, standing in vntrue Construction. For S. Augustine saith, *Vidi sub Ara Dei (non Corpora, sed) animas Sanctorum*

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Touching the worthinesse of the Priest, which they call Opus Operantis, it appeareth, M. Harding could partly bee contented to make it equall with the Sacrifice of Christ, were it not, that it should seeme too great presumption. For thus he saith: So we should make the Priest Gods Peere, and his act equall with the Passion of Christ. And therefore they say, *A wicked Priests Masse is as good, and as meritorious in this respect, as a good Priests Masse*: for that the worthinesse of the worke hangeth nothing of the worthinesse of the Priest.

Tho. in 4. Sen. dist. 14. Gerson contra Floret. lect. 4. Summa Angel. in Missa. Hieron. in certum caput Zophonie. Iren. li. 4. ca. 34. Biel Lection. 26.

Notwithstanding S. Hierome seemeth to say farre otherwise: Impiè agunt in Legem Christi, putantes Eucharistiam imprecantis Verba facere, non Vitam: *They doe wickedly against the Law of Christ, thinking, it is not the Life, but the Word of the Minister, that maketh the Sacrament.* And likewise Irenæus saith: Sacrificia non sanctificant hominem, sed Conscientia eius, qui offert, sanctificat Sacrificium, pura existens: *The Sacrifice doth not sanctifie the Man, but the Conscience of the Priest being vpright, and pure, doth sanctifie the Sacrifice.* In like maner Gabriel Biel his owne Doctor saith: Videant, ne, si peccato obnoxij offerant, sit illorum Oblatio, quasi eius, qui victimat filium in conspectu Patris, néue rursus Crucifigant Filium Dei: *Let them take heed, lest if they Sacrifice, being in Sinne, their Oblation bee like vnto the Oblation of him, that slaieth the Child in the sight of the Father: and lest they Crucifie againe the Son of God.* Verily of wicked Priests God saith: Maledicam benedictionibus vestris: *I will Curse your Blesse.*

Malach. 2.

Touching S. Augustine, and Origen, that héere are brought in for a countenance, if these Ancient Holy Fathers were now aliue, they would blush to heare their tales thus reported. Origens words, if it might haue pleased M. Harding to haue laid them out whole,

whole, and at large without clipping, as he found them, both would haue bene cleare, and plaine in themselues, and also would haue sone shaken down all this whole frame of Opus Operatum. For he neither speaketh of the Masse, neither promiseth Remission of sinnes for any thing, that is done in the Masse: but only, and wholly for the Sacrifice of Christs Body vpon the Crosse. His words be these: Si redeas ad illum Panem, qui de Cœlo descendit, & dat huic mundo vitam, illum Panem propositionis, hoc est, Christum ipsum, quem proposuit Deus propitiationem per Fidem in Sanguine eius: & si respicias ad illam Commemorationem, de qua dicit Dominus, Hoc facite ad meam Commemorationem, inuenies, quòd ista est Commemoratio sola, quæ propitium faciat hominibus Deum: *If thou turne to that Bread, that came downe from Heauen, and giueth life to this world, I meane that Shew-bread, that is, Christ himselfe, whom God hath appointed to be a Propitiation by Faith in his Blood: and if thou behold that Remembrance, whereof the Lord saith, Doe this in Remembrance of me, thou shalt find, that it is this Remembrance only* (that is to say, The Body of Christ Crucified, and the price of his Blood thus Remembred) *that maketh God mercifull vnto men.* Now let M. Harding indifferently iudge, whether these words be likely to proue his Opus Operatum, or any other thing belonging vnto his Masse.

The place of S. Augustine is yet much plainer. For, as he toucheth none of all these M. Hardings fantasies, so he speaketh only of the Innocents, and Blessed Martyrs, that were slaine only for the Testimonie of Christ, *Whose Soules*, S. Iohn saith, *lie vnderneath the Altar of God*, not in Earth, as M. Harding fantsieth, but in Heauen. For thus he writeth: Vidi sub Ara Dei animas occisorum propter Verbum Dei, & propter Testimonium Iesu, &c. *I saw vnder the Altar of God* (in Heauen) *the Soules of them, that were slaine for Gods Word, and for the Testimony of Iesus. What thing is there, either more reuerend, or more Honorable, than to rest vnder that Altar* (in Heauen) *in which Sacrifices are made, and Oblations are offered vnto God, and wherein* (no mortall man, but) *the Lord himselfe is the Priest? For so it is written, Thou art a Priest for euer, after the order of* Melchisedech. *It is right* (not that the Bodies, but) *that the Soules of the Iust should remaine vnder the Altar: because that vpon that Altar* (in Heauen) *Christs Body is offered. And well it is, that Iust men doe there require reuenge-ance of their Blood, whereas Christs Blood for sinners is poured out.* *August. De Sanctis Sermon. 11. Apocalyp. 6.*

Immediately after this, he intermedleth somewhat touching Altars, or Communion Tables in the Earth. For thus he addeth further: Conuenienter igitur, & quasi pro quodam Consortio ibi Martyribus Sepultura decreta est, vbi Mors Domini quotidiè celebratur, &c. *Therefore vpon good discretion, and in some token of Fellowship, Martyrs burials are appointed in that place* (here in Earth) *where the Lords Death is daily remembred: As the Lord himselfe saith;* As often as ye shall doe these things, yee shall set foorth my Death, vntill I come. *I meane, that they, that died for the Lords Death, may rest vnder the Mysterie of his Sacrament.*

After this he returneth againe to the Soules of the Blessed Martyrs, vnder the Altar in Heauen: Legimus plerosque Iustorum Abrahæ sinibus refoueri &c. *We reade, saith* S. Augustine, *that many Iust men are refreshed in* Abrahams *bosome: and that many are in the pleasures of Paradise. Yet no man deserued better than the Martyrs, to rest there* (in Heauen) *whereas Christ is both the Sacrifice, and the Priest. I meane, that they may enioy Gods fauour by the offering of that Sacrifice, and may receiue the Blessing, and Ministery of that Priest.*

Hereby it is plaine, that S. Augustine speaketh of Heauen: and not of Earth, nor of Purgatorie: Of the Soules receiued aboue: and not of the Bodies buried beneath. For all these things S. Iohn by Reuelation saw in Heauen. And for proofe hereof, S. Augustine addeth further: Inter cæteros igitur Martyres, quos sub Ara Dei consistere prædicamus, etiam beatas illas Infantum lactentium pro Christo primitias Martyrum laudemus: *Therefore amongst the rest of the Martyrs, whom we say to bee vnder the Altar of God* (in Heauen) *let vs commend those Blessed first fruits of Sucking Infants, that were Martyrs for Christ.*

This is S. Augustines plaine, and vndoubted meaning. But M. Harding to serue his turne, is faine, of Soules to make Bodies: of Ioy, to make Paine: and of Heauen, to make Purgatorie. And yet in all this great adoe, findeth, neither Opus Operatum, nor his Masse. Thus is it lawfull for these men, to carrie about, and to vse their Readers.

Touching the substance of this Doctrine, which M. Harding now at last vpon better aduice seemeth in some part to mislike, notwithstanding it were not long sithence generally receiued, both in Schooles, and Churches, and counted Catholike, Origen that Ancient learned Father writeth thus: Quod sanctificatur per Verbum Dei, & per obsecrationem, non suapte natura sanctificat vtentem. Nam id si esset, sanctificaret etiam illum, qui comedit indignè Domino: *The thing, that is Sanctified by the Word of God, and by Praier, of his owne Nature* *Orig. in Matt. ca. 15.*

Nature (or Ex Opere Operato) *Sanctifieth not him, that vseth it. For otherwise it should sanctifie him, that eateth vnworthily of the Lord.*

Origen. in Matth. tract. 25.

Againe he saith: Assiduitas Communicationis, & alia similia, non ipsæ sunt Iustitiæ, sed condituræ habentur Iustitiarum. Res autem Spirituales, quæ ex se ipsis Iustitiæ sunt, dicuntur Iudicium, Misericordia, & Fides: *The often vsing of the Communion, and other like things, be not right cousnesse it selfe,* (**of it selfe, or of the worke, that there is wrought**) *but only the seasoning, and setting foorth of right eousnesse. But the Spirituall things, which be right eousnes it selfe, are called Iudgement, Mercy, and Faith.*

Hieronym. 1. Cor. 10.

So S. Hierome: Ne quis confidat in eo solo, quòd Baptizatus est: aut in Esca Spirituali, vel Potu putet, Deum sibi parcere, si peccauerit: *Let no man presume of this thing only, that he is Baptized: nor let him thinke, that God for Receiuing the Spirituall Meat, or drinking the Spirituall Cup* (Ex Opere Operato) *will pardon him if he offend.*

August. in Iohan. tract. 80.

So S. Augustine: Non ait, Mundi estis propter Baptisma, quo loti estis: sed propter Verbum, quod locutus sum vobis: *Christ saith not, Ye are Cleane for the Baptismes sake, wherwith ye are washed: but for the Words sake, that I haue spoken vnto you.*

August. in Iohan. tract. 10.

And againe: Fœlix Venter, qui te portauit, &c. *Blessed is that wombe that bare thee. But Christ answered:* Nay, blessed be they, that heare the Word of God, and keepe the same: *That is to say, My Mother, whom ye call Blessed, therefore is Blessed, for that she keepeth the Word of God.*

August. De Sancta Virginitate.

Likewise againe: Materna propinquitas nihil Matri profuisset, nisi Fœliciùs Christum in Corde, quàm in Carne gestasset: *The neerenesse of Mothers Blood should haue profited Christs Mother nothing at all, vnlesse she had more blessedly carried Christ in her Heart, than in her Bodie.*

Verily to ascribe Felicitie, or Remission of Sinne, which is the Inward Worke of the Holy Ghost, vnto any maner Outward Action whatsoeuer, it is a Superstitious, a grosse, and a Iewish error.

Origen. in Lucam. Homil. 5.

Origen of **the Sacrament of Circumcision writeth thus:** Circumcisionis nisi reddatur ratio, nutus tantùm est Circumcisio, & opus mutum: *Vnlesse there be a reason yeelded of the meaning of Circumcision, it is but an Outward Shew, and a dumbe labour,* **and auaileth nothing.**

And touching the vse, and order of the Holy Mysteries, Christ saith not, *Doe this, for Remission of your Sinnes:* **but,** Doe this in my Remembrance.

The Only, and euerlasting Sacrifice for Sin, is the Sonne of God Crucified vpon the Crosse. He sitteth now in the Nature, and Substance of our Flesh, at the right Hand of his Father, *and euermore maketh intercession for vs: and is the only Sacrifice, and Propitiation for our Sinnes.*

Whatsoeuer Doctrine is contrarie to this Doctrine, is Wicked, and Blasphemous, and, as M. Harding hath confessed, iniurious to the Glorie, and Crosse of Christ.

OF LORD, AND GOD.

THE XXI. ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The 239. Vntruth. For the only outward Formes were neuer called the Sacrament, or Christs Body, by any of all the Ancient Fathers. The 240. Vntruth, standing in vntrue exposition. For this was not these Fathers meaning.

OR, that then any Christian man called the Sacrament his Lord, and God.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

This word Sacrament (as is declared before) is of the Fathers taken two waies. (239) Either for the only outward formes of Bread, and Wine, which are the holy Signe of the very Body, and Blood of Christ present, and vnder them contained: Or for the whole substance of the Sacrament, as it consisteth of the outward formes, and also of the very Body, and Blood of Christ (240) verily Present, (240) which S. Augustine calleth the Inuisible grace, and the thing of the Sacrament, (240) And Irenæus calleth it, *Rem Cælestem*, the Heauenly thing, as that other, *Rem Terrenam*, the Earthly thing. Taken the first way, (**As among the learned Fathers it was neuer taken**) no Christian man euer honoured it, with the name of Lord and God. For that were plaine Idolatrie, to attribute the name of the Creator, to the Creature. But taken in the second signification, (**As no Ancient Father euer toke it**) It hath alwaies of Christian people, and of the learned Fathers of the Church, beene called by the name of Lord, and God. And of right so

Sacrament two waies taken.

In sentent. Prosper. De Consec. Dist. 2. li. 4. ca. 34.

ſo ought it to be, for elſe were it impietie, and a deniall of God, not to call Chriſt the Sonne of God, by the name of Lord, and God, who is not onely in truth of Fleſh, and Blood in the Sacrament, after which maner he is there, *Ex Vi Sacramenti*, but alſo the inſeparable coniunction of both Natures in vnity of perſon, *Ex neceſſaria concomitantia*, Whole Chriſt, God and man. That the holy Fathers called the Sacrament taken in this ſenſe, Lord and God, I might prooue it by many places: the rehearſall of a few may ſerue for many. Origen in a Homily ſpeaking reuerently of this bleſſed Sacrament, ſaith, that when a man receiueth it, our Lord entreth vnder his roofe, and exhorteth him that ſhall receiue it, to humble himſelfe, and to ſay (241) vnto it: *Domine non ſum dignus, vt intres ſub tectum meum*: I Lord am not worthie that thou enter vnder my Roofe.

Diuerſas Euangelij locos, Hom. 5.

The 241. Vntruth. For Origen ſaith not, Vnto it.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

Whoſoeuer erreth in this Article, committeth Idolatrie, and giueth Gods honor to a corruptible creature, that is no God. Therefore it behoued M. Harding, herein to leane his ghesſes, and to allege none, but good, ſubſtantiall, and waighty reaſons: and that ſo much the more, for that none of the Old Catholike Fathers euer, either erected Temples, or Proclaimed Holy dates in the name of the Sacrament, or euer willed the People to Adore it, as the Maker of Heauen, and Earth: or to beleeue in it, or to call it God.

This notwithſtanding, the reaſons, that M. Harding hath here found out, are ſo ſlender, and ſo ſimple, and ſo guilefully, and vntruly gathered, that his friends of that ſide may happily ſuſpect, he had vſed ſome colluſion, to betray their cauſe. But to take away occaſion of cauill, firſt we ſtedfaſtly beleeue, and plainly confeſſe, that Chriſt is the Son of God, Very God, of Very God: That *hee is the True God, and life euerlaſting*: That *hee is God Bleſſed for euer*: and that, *Whoſoeuer truſteth in him ſhall neuer be confounded*. And we vtterly deteſt, and accurſe the Arians, the Neſtorians, the Photinians, and all other like Hereſtikes, that either haue taught, or any way doe teach the contrarie. Neither is this queſtion moued of Chriſt himſelfe, vnto whom, we know, all maner godly Reuerence, and honour is due, but onely of the Myſticall Bread, which, by the witneſſe of the Catholike learned Fathers, is not Chriſt himſelfe, but only a Sacrament of Chriſt. *Which Sacrament*, Irenæus ſaith, *ſtandeth of two things, the one Earthly, the other Heauenly*: not, that the one is Really lapped vp, or ſhut within the other, wherein reſteth M. Hardings errour: but, that, as Chryſoſtome ſaith, *The one is Senſible, the other Intelligible*: as it is alſo in the Sacrament of Baptiſme: Or, that, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, *The one part is the Signe, the other the thing Signified*: Or, that, as Tertullian ſaith, *The one part is the Figure, the other the thing Figured*.

1. Iohan. 5.

Chryſoſtom. in Matthæ. hom. 83.

Auguſt. contra Adimantum, cap. 12.

Tertullian. contra Marcion. lib. 4.

The Sacrament is the Earthly thing: Chriſts Body is the Heauenly thing. The Sacrament is Corruptible: Chriſts Body is Glorious. The Sacrament is laid vpon the Table: Chriſts Body is in Heauen. The Sacrament is receiued into our Bodies; Chriſts Body is only receiued into our Soules.

For manifeſt proofe of this difference, S. Auguſtine writeth thus: Huius rei Sacramentum alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis interuallis dierum in Dominico præparatur, & de Menſa Dominica ſumitur, quibuſdam ad vitam, quibuſdam ad exitium: Res verò ipſa, cuius eſt Sacramentum, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque eius particeps fuerit: *The Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt is prepared in the Church, in ſome places euery day, in ſome places vpon certaine daies: and is receiued from the Lords Table, of ſome vnto life, of ſome vnto Condemnation. But the thing it ſelfe* (that is, the Body of Chriſt, being in Heauen) *whereof it is a Sacrament, is receiued of euery man vnto life, and of no man to Condemnation, whoſoeuer be partaker of it.*

Auguſtin. in Ioha. tract. 26.

Againe he ſaith: Qui non manet in Chriſto, &c. *Hee that abideth not in Chriſt, nor hath Chriſt abiding in him, doubtleſſe he eateth not his Fleſh, nor drinketh his Blood, notwithſtanding he Eat, and Drinke the Sacrament of ſo great a thing vnto his iudgement.* By theſe few examples it is plaine, that the Sacrament of Chriſts Body is one thing, and Chriſts Bodie it ſelfe is another thing: and that in Common, and natural maner of ſpæch neither is Chriſts Body, the Sacrament: nor the Sacrament, Chriſts Body.

De Con. diſt. 2. Qui diſcordat.

By theſe words of Irenæus, M. Harding, as he hath no maner likelihood to proue, that he alleageth for, ſo he vtterly ouerthroweth his whole fantaſie of Tranſubſtantiation. For Irenæus calleth the Earthly part of the Sacrament, not the Formes, and Accidents, as M. Harding imagineth, but the very Subſtance, and Nature of the Bread, and that ſuch Bread, as *increaſeth, and nouriſheth the Subſtance of our Fleſh*. For ſo he writeth: Ex quibus augetur & conſiſtit Carnis noſtra Subſtantia.

Irene. lib. 5.

But Origen teacheth vs, when wee receiue the Sacrament, to ſay, Domine, non ſum dignus, Therefore, ſaith M. Harding, the Sacrament was called Lord, and God. Alas, what a miſerable caſe is this, that cannot poſſibly ſtand without Falſifying, and Paining of the Holy Fathers? Of the Falſifying, afterward. But touching the Paining,

and

and mangling of theſe woꝛds of Origen, it might haue pleaſed M. Harding, to haue reꝑted them whole, as he found them, there had bene no manner cauſe of doubt.

Foꝛ thus the woꝛds lie: Intrat etiam nunc Dominus ſub tectum Credentium duplici Figura, vel more, &c. *Euen now the Lord entereth vnder the roofe of the Faithfull, by two ſundry waies. For euen now, when the Holy, and Godly Biſhops enter into your houſe, then throngh them the Lord entreth. And be thou perſwaded, as if thou receiuedſt the Lord himſelfe. And when thou receiueſt that Holy Meat, and that vncorruptible Banket, the Lord entreth vnder thy roofe.*

Our Lord (ſaith) Origen *) entreth vnder our roofe, both when we receiue a Holy man, and alſo when we receiue the Holy Sacrament.* And as Chꝛiſt entreth into vs by the one, ſo doth he alſo enter into vs by the other. So ſaith the ſame learned Father wꝛiting vpon the Goſpell of S. Matthew: Qui Diſcipulos Chriſti tradit, ipſum Chriſtum tradit: *Whoſo betraieth the Diſciples of Chriſt, betraieth Chriſt himſelfe.* Now, if M. Harding will ſay by foꝛce of theſe woꝛds, that Chꝛiſt entreth Really, and Subſtantially into our mouthes, then muſt he alſo ſay, that Chꝛiſt likewiſe entreth Really, and Subſtantially into our materiall houſes.

Origen. in Matth. hemil. 35.

But foꝛ full Reſolution hereof, S. Ambroſe ſaith, That the Body of Chꝛiſt it ſelfe entreth not into our Bodies. Thus he wꝛiteth: Non iſte Panis, qui vadit in ventrem: ſed panis Vitæ æternæ, qui animæ noſtræ ſubſtantiam fulcit: *Chriſts Body is not the Bread, that entreth into our belly: but the Bread of Enerlaſting life, that feedeth the Subſtance of our Soule.* And thereforе S. Cyprian ſaith: *The Body of Chriſt is the meat of our Soule, not the meat of our Body.* Foꝛ this cauſe Origen himſelfe in the ſelfeſame Homily ſaith thus: Domine, non ſum dignus, vt intres ſub tectum meum. Sed tantùm dic verbo: tantùm veni Verbo. Verbum eſt aſpectus tuus: *Lord, I am not worthy, that thou ſhouldeſt enter vnder my roofe. But only ſpeake the word: Only come by thy word: thy word is thy ſight.* Againe he ſaith: Per Euangeliſtarum prædicationem: per ſui Corporis Sacramentum: per glorioſæ Crucis Signaculum nobiſcum Deus, & ad nos, & in nobis: *God is with vs, and commeth to vs, and is within vs, by the preaching of the Euangeliſts: by the Sacrament of his Bodie: and by the Signe of the glorious Croſſe.* Likewiſe againe: Fideles credunt Aduentum Verbi, & libenter recipiunt Dominum ſuum: *The faithfull beleeue the comming of the Word, and gladly receiue their Lord.* So ſaith S. Auguſtine: Sancti, qui ſunt in Eccleſia, accipiunt Chriſtum in manu, & in fronte: *The holy men, that be in the Church, receiue Chriſt in their hand, and in their forehead.* So likewiſe Tertullian: Cùm te ad fratrum genua protendis, Chriſtum contrectas: *When thou falleſt downe to touch thy brethrens knees, thou toucheſt Chriſt.*

De Con. diſt. 2. Non iſte.

Cyprian. De Cœna Dom.

Origen. in Diuer. Euan. locos hom. 5.

Origen. in Diuer. Euan. locos hom. 1.

Origen. in Diuer. Euan. locos hom. 2.

Auguſt. in Apocalyp. Serm. 11.

Tertullian. De Pœnitentia.

Thus is Chꝛiſt touched: thus is Chꝛiſt Receiued: thus is Chꝛiſt Preſent: thus Chꝛiſt Entreth vnder our roꝛfe. As Chꝛiſt entreth into vs by a godly Miniſter, by his Woꝛd, by the Sacrament of Baptiſme, by the Croſſe, and by the Poꝛe, euen ſo he entreth into vs by the Sacrament of his Body, and Blood: euen ſo, I ſay, and none otherwiſe. And at euery ſuch entring of Chꝛiſt we ought to ſay: *O Lord, I am not worthie, that thou ſhouldeſt enter vnder my roofe.*

Now, if theſe woꝛds be ſufficient to pꝛoue, that the Sacrament was called Loꝛd, and God, then are they likewiſe ſufficient to pꝛoue, that the Water of Baptiſme, that the Woꝛd of God, that a Croſſe dꝛawen in the foꝛehead, and that a godly Biſhop, oꝛ Miniſter was called Loꝛd, and God.

Here alſo appeareth a great vntruth in M. Hardings Tranſlation. Foꝛ whereas Origen ſaith: Et tu ergo humilians teipſum, &c. *And thou therefore humbling thy ſelfe, follow this Centurion, and ſay,* Lord, I am not worthy, that thou ſhouldeſt enter vnder my roofe, meaning therby, that we ought to humble our ſelues vnto Chꝛiſt, and to ſay vnto him, Lord, I am not worthie, &c. M. Harding thought it better cunning to coꝛrupt the place, and to tranſlate, It, in ſtead of Him: Foꝛ thus he wꝛiteth: Origen *exhorteth him, that ſhall receiue* It, *to humble himſelfe, and ſay vnto* It, *Lord, I am not worthy &c.* And ſo by open fraud, and by falſifying his Authoꝛs woꝛds, without feare, oꝛ blushing, he teacheth Gods people to woꝛſhip a Creature in ſtead of God.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

S. Cyprian, *in Sermone de Lapſis*, telleth, how a man, who had denied God in time of perſecution, hauing notwithſtanding (the Sacrifice by the Prieſt done) priuily with others receiued the Sacrament, not being able to eat it, nor to handle it, opening his hands, found that he bare aſhes. Where he addeth theſe words, *Documento vnius oſtenſum eſt, Dominum recedere cùm negatur*: By this example of one man it is ſhewed, that our Lord departeth away, when he is denied.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

This ghelle hangeth not of S. Cyprians woꝛds, but of M. Hardings Expoſition. Foꝛ S. Cyprian calleth the Sacrament, neither Loꝛd, noꝛ God. The man, that he ſpeaketh of, hauing

hauing denied God in time of perſecution, and neuertheleſſe afterwards receiuing the Holy Communion among other Chriſtians, opened his hand, and found the Sacrament turned into aſhes. *By this Miracle,* ſaith S. Cyprian, *we are taught to vnderſtand, that God, when he is denied, departeth from vs.*

I trow, M. Harding will not ſay, That the Sacrament had euer denied God: and yet by his expoſition, God was departed and gone from it: nor will he ſay, that this man had denied the Sacrament: for he came amongſt others to receiue the Sacrament. But he had diſſembled and forſaken God: and therefore God had likewiſe forſaken him: and in token thereof he cauſed the Sacrament to mulder into aſhes in his hands.

So S. Auguſtine ſpeaking of the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and of order of Prieſthood, ſaith thus: Si Sancta malos fugiant, vtrumque fugiat: *If theſe holy things* (Baptiſme, and Prieſthood) *flie from ill men, let them both flie from them, aſwell the one as the other.* *Auguſt. contra Epiſt. Parmeniani, li. 2. c. 13*

Proſper ſaith: Non locorum interuallis, vel acceditur ad Deum, vel a Deo diſceditur: Similitudo facit proximum, diſſimilitudo longinquum: *Wee neither come to God, nor goe from God by diſtance of places. The likeneſſe of minde maketh vs neere: the vnlikeneſſe remooueth vs farre off.* *Proſper. Sententia. 123.*

When one Deuterius an Arrian Biſhop, would haue Baptized a Man after his blaſphemous ſort, ſuddenly the water was ſunken away, and the Font ſtood drie. The like ſtory is vttered alſo by Socrates and by others. This Miracle was likewiſe a token, that God when he is denied, departeth from vs. *Paulus Diacõ. li. 15. in hiſtor. De Anaſtaſio. Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 17.*

Yet may not M. Harding conclude hereof, that the Water of Baptime was therefore called Lord and God.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

The ſame S. Cyprian in the expoſition of the Pater noſter, declaring the fourth petition of it, Giue vs this day our daily Bread, vnderſtandeth it to containe a deſire of the holy Communion in this bleſſed Sacrament, and ſaith; *Ideo Panem noſtrum, id eſt, Chriſtum dari nobis quotidie petimus, vt qui in Chriſto manemus, & viuimus, à Sanctificatione, & corpore eius non recedamus*: Therefore wee aske our daily Bread, that is to ſay, Chriſt to be giuen vnto vs, that wee which abide and liue in Chriſt, depart not from the ſtate of holineſſe and Communion of his Body. (242) Heere S. Cyprian calleth the Sacrament Chriſt, as he is indeed there preſent Really, ſo as in the place alleged before he calleth it Lord. And, I weene, our Aduerſaries will embrace the Sacrament of the name of Chriſt, no leſſe than of the name of Lord or God, vnleſſe they make leſſe of Chriſt, than of Lord and God.

The 242. vntruth. For S. Cyprian calleth not the Sacrament Chriſt, but only ſaith, Chriſt is the Bread or food by whom we liue.

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Heere M. Harding auoucheth three ſundry vntruthes with one breath. For S. Cyprian neither in theſe words calleth the Sacrament Chriſt, nor in the words before calleth it Lord, nor any where euer ſaid, that Chriſts Body is Really Preſent in the Sacrament. Vntruthes ſhould not ſo rifely flow from a good Diuine.

It is true that S. Cyprian ſaith: *That Chriſt is our Bread, euen the ſame Bread, that came from Heauen, and giueth life to the World: which Bread whoſoeuer eateth, ſhall liue for euer.* So ſaith S. Baſil: *Chriſt is called our Life, our Way, our Bread, our Vine, our Light, our Sword.* *Baſil. in Pſal. 44.* Which words muſt be taken, not groſly, nor according to that ſoundeth in the Letter, but of a Myſticall and Spirituall meaning. Therefore as Chriſt is our Spirituall Sword, our Spirituall Light, our Spirituall Vine, our Spirituall Way, and our Spirituall Life, ſo is he alſo our Spirituall Bread. Origen ſaith: Ne mireris, quod Verbum Dei Caro dicitur: nam & Panis, & Lac, & Olera dicitur: & pro menſura credentium, vel poſſibilitate ſumentium diuersè nominatur: *Marueil not, that the Word of God is called Fleſh: for it is alſo called Bread, and Milke, and Herbes: and according to the meaſure of the Beleeuers, or poſſibility of the Receiuers, it is diuerſly named.* *Origen. in Exod. hom. 7.*

Verily S. Cyprian ſaith not, neither that the Sacrament is Chriſt, nor that Chriſt is the Sacrament. Therefore whereas M. Harding would reaſon thus: *Chriſt is the Bread of Life*: Ergo, *The Sacrament is our Lord and God*: He ſeemeth to preſume ouer boldly of his Logicke.

The 243. vntruth. For S. Cyprian ſaith not, The Sacrament is God, but only ſheweth, that God with his power is aſſiſtant vnto the Sacrament, as alſo to the Sacrament of Baptiſme.

M. Harding. The 4. Diuiſion.

Verily this holy Martyr acknowledgeth this Sacrament not for Lord and Chriſt onely, but (243) alſo for God, by theſe words in his Sermon, *De Cœna Domini*: *Sicut in perſona Chriſti humanitas videbatur, & latebat Diuinitas, ita Sacramento viſibili ineffabiliter Diuina ſe infudit Eſſentia*: As in the Perſon of Chriſt, the manhood was ſeene, and the Godhead was hidden, ſo the Diuine Eſſence (or Subſtance of God) hath infuſed it into the viſible Sacrament vnſpeakably.

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Heere is another proper kinde of proſe, euen like the reſt. O holy Cyprian, if thy maner of ſpeaking were not knowen, the ſimple might eaſily be deceiued. I grant, heere

here is a great amplification and maieſtie of words, ſuch as the holy Fathers haue much delighted to vſe in their Sermons to the people, but ſpecially intreating of the Sacraments. S. Ambroſe ſaith: Sacerdos precem facit, &c. *The Prieſt maketh his praier to ſanctifie the Font, and that the Preſence of the whole Trinitie may be in it.*

Ambroſ. de Sacramen. lib. 1. cap. 3.

Tertullian ſaith: *The holy Ghoſt commeth downe from Heauen, and reſteth vpon the Water of Baptiſme, and ſanctifieth it of himſelfe.*

Tertull. De Baptiſmo.

Euen thus S. Cyprian ſaith: *The diuine Subſtance infuſeth it ſelfe vnſpeakably into the viſible Sacrament*: None otherwiſe, then as the Holy Ghoſt, or the whole Bleſſed Trinitie infuſeth it ſelfe into the Water of Baptiſme.

Paulinus ſeemeth to write much agreeably to theſe words of S. Cyprian:

Sanctus in hunc Cœlo deſcendit Spiritus amnem:
Cœleſtique Sacras Fonte maritat Aquas.
Concipit Vnda Deum.

The holy Ghoſt into this Water commeth downe from Heauen: And ioyneth the Heauenly Waters, and theſe Waters both in one. Then the Font receiueth God. What can be ſpoken with greater Maieſtie? *Then*, ſaith he, *the Water, or the Font receiueth God.*

If M. Harding out of theſe words of S. Cyprian, be able by this ſimple gheſſe to proue that the Sacramentall Bread was called Lord and God, then by the like gheſſe, and the like words of Tertullian, S. Ambroſe, and Paulinus, he may alſo proue, that the Water of Baptiſme was likewiſe called Lord and God. For the forme and maner of ſpech is all one.

But theſe and other like phraſes be vſuall and ordinary among the ancient learned Fathers. S. Auguſtine writeth thus: Baptiſmi Sanctitas pollui non poteſt: & Sacramento ſuo Diuina Virtus aſſiſtit: *The holineſſe of Baptiſme can not be defiled. The Heauenly power is aſſiſtant vnto the Sacrament.* And againe: Deus adeſt Sacramentis & Verbis ſuis: *God is preſent with his Words and Sacraments.* Likewiſe S. Cyprian, touching the hallowing of the Oile, writeth thus: In Sacramentis Virtus Diuina peremptiùs operatur. Adeſt Veritas Signo & Spiritui Sacramento: *In Sacraments the Heauenly Power worketh mightily. The Truth is preſent with the Signe, and the Holy Ghoſt is preſent with the Sacrament.*

Auguſt. de Baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas, lib. 3. cap. 10.

Auguſt. de Baptiſmo contra Donatiſtas, lib 5. cap. 19.

Cypriam. de vnctione Chriſmatis.

All theſe words of the Holy Fathers notwithſtanding, I thinke, M. Harding will not call, neither the Water of Baptiſme, nor the Oile hallowed, Lord and God.

M. Harding. The 5. Diuiſion.

The 244. Vntruth. For Chryſoſtome ſaith not, The Sacrament is God; but contrariwiſe ſaith; Quid ſignificat Panis? And anſwereth, Corpus Chriſti.

(244) Chryſoſtome doubteth not to call the Sacrament God in this plaine ſaying: *Nolimus oſtendere, nolimus impudentes nos ipſos interimere: ſed cum honore & mundicia ad Deum accedamus, & quando id proprium videris, dic tecum: Propter hoc Corpus non amplius terra, & cinis ego ſum: non amplius captiuus, ſed liber*: Let vs not, let vs not for Gods ſake, be ſo ſhameleſſe, as to kill our ſelues (by vnworthy receiuing of the Sacrament) but with reuerence and cleanneſſe let vs come to God. And when thou ſeeſt the Sacrament ſet foorth, ſay thus with thy ſelfe; By reaſon of this Bodie, I am no more earth and aſhes; no more captiue, but free.

In primam ad Cor. hom. 24.

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Chryſoſtome, ſaith M. Harding, calleth the Sacrament God by plaine words. Firſt, Chryſoſtome calleth not the Sacrament God by any maner or kinde of words. Therefore we may by plaine words, and boldly ſay, M. Harding here hath vttered another great vntruth.

But Chryſoſtome intreating of the holy Communion, ſaith vnto the people: Accedamus ad Deum: *Let vs come vnto God.* Heere (ſaith M. Harding) the Sacrament by theſe words is called God. O, when will theſe men deale plainly and ſimply with their Readers! M. Harding knoweth full well, that he much abuſeth this good old Father, and reporteth of him: that he neuer thought. He knoweth, that we come to God, not by trauell of Body, or by thifting of places, but by inclining and bending our hearts vnto God. So S. Paul ſaith: *Let vs goe with boldneſſe to the Throne of Grace.*

Hebræ 4.

S. Auguſtine ſpeaking of the Sacrament of Baptiſme, agreeth fully with theſe words of Chryſoſtome: Ad Med cum Chriſtum, hoc eſt, ad percipiendum Sacramentum ſalutis Æternæ portantur: *Children are carried vnto Chriſt the Phiſitian, that is to ſay, to receiue* (Baptiſme, which is) *the Sacrament of Euerlaſting Saluation.* By theſe plaine words of S. Auguſtine it appeareth, that comming to Baptiſme, is comming to Chriſt. Yet may not M. Harding conclude thereof, that the Water of Baptiſme was called Chriſt.

Auguſt. de peccatorum merit. & Remiſſ. li. 1. ca. 18.

Our comming vnto Chriſt, is beleeuing in Chriſt. S. Auguſtine ſaith: Quid eſt Accedite, niſi Credite? Accedite ad eum, qui in veſtris auribus prædicatur. Accedite ad eum, qui ante oculos veſtros glorificatur. Ambulando non laborabitis. Ibi enim Accediſtis, vbi Creditis: *What is Come, but Beleeue? Come vnto him that is preached in your eares. Come vnto him that is glorified before your eies. Ye ſhall haue no paine in going. For there ye Come, where ye Beleeue.*

Auguſt. aduerſus Iudæos, cap. 1.

So

So Chryſoſtome: Nunquid longè eſt à te Deus, vt vadas ad locum aliquem? Non includitur loco: ſed ſemper eſt in proximo: *Is God farre away from thee, that thou ſhouldeſt need to remoue to ſome place to come vnto him? God is not contained in any place, but is euermore at hand.* *Chryſoſt. hom. 12. De Mulier re Cananea.*

Likewiſe ſaith Nazianzene: Accede fidens ad Chriſtum: Riga pedes eius: *Come boldly vnto Chriſt, and waſh his feet.* Therefore S. Auguſtine ſaith: Accedant ad Ieſum, non Carne, ſed Corde: non Corporis præſentia, ſed fidei potentia: *Let them come vnto Ieſus, not with their Fleſh, but with their heart: not by preſence of Body, but by the power of Faith.* *Nazianzen. de Pœnitentia. Auguſt. contra Fauſt. li. 33. cap. 1.*

Thus we come vnto Chriſt in Baptiſme, in Gods Word, in the Sermon, and in the Holy Communion, not by mouing of the Body, or changing of places: but by the deuotion of the heart, and trauell of the minde.

Now, that the Reader himſelfe may ſe ſome part of M. Hardings courteous dealing in this behalfe, it ſhall not be amiſſe briefly to touch certaine other words of Chryſoſtome, that immediatly went before: by which words he ſeemeth of purpoſe to teach vs, where we ought to ſeeke for Chriſt, and by what waies and meanes we may come vnto him.

His words be theſe: Aquilæ in hac vita facti ad ipſum cœlum euolemus, &c. *Being made Eagles in this life, let vs flie vp into Heauen, or rather aboue the Heauens. For where as the Carcaſe is, there are the Eagles. The Carcaſe is our Lords Body in reſpect of his Death. But he calleth vs Eagles, to ſhew vs, that whoſo will come neere to that Body, muſt mount on high, and haue no dealing with the Earth, not to bow downward, or creepe beneath, but euer to ſore aloft, and to behold the Sun of Iuſtice, and to haue a quicke eie in our heart.*

Thus S. Chryſoſtome teacheth vs, both where Chriſt reſteth in the Glory of his Father: and by what meanes we may come vnto him: and with what eies we may behold him. Then hauing thus aduanced our mindes into Heauen, he ſaith: Propter hoc Corpus, &c. *For this Bodies ſake,* (that I ſee at the Right hand of God) *I am no more a priſoner, I am no longer duſt and aſhes.* Touching the Sacrament, by theſe moſt plaine words he calleth it Bread. For thus he ſaith, euen in the ſame Homily: Quid ſignificat Panis? Corpus Chriſti: *What doth the Bread* (of the Sacrament) *ſignifie? He anſwereth: The Body of Chriſt.* He ſaith not: *The Bread is Chriſt:* But, *The Bread ſignifieth the Body of Chriſt.*

Yet notwithſtanding, M. Harding ſaith, that theſe words, Accedamus ad Deum, import as much, as *Let vs come to the Sacrament,* and thereof imagineth, that the Sacrament by plaine words is called God. But indeed that holy Father by theſe words carrieth vs ſo far aboue M. Hardings God, as the Spirit is aboue the Body, or as Heauen is aboue the Earth. For he teacheth vs to come to Chriſts Bodie, not as lying preſently before our eies, but as being in the glory of God in Heauen.

M. Harding. The 6. Diuiſion.

Diuini myſterij initiatur, cap. 9. Pſalm. 33. Intellectum in 10. ca. prioris ad Cor.

And leſt this ſenſe taken of Chryſoſtome ſhould ſeeme ouer ſtrange, this place of S. Ambroſe, who liued in the ſame time, and agreeth with him thorowly in Doctrine, may ſeeme to lead vs to the ſame: *Quid edamus, quid bibamus, alibi tibi per Prophetam Spiritus Sanctus expreſſit, dicens: Guſtate & videte, quoniam ſuauis eſt Dominus: beatus vir qui ſperat in eo, in illo Sacramento Chriſtus eſt, quia Corpus eſt Chriſti:* What wee ought to eat, and what we ought to drink, the holy Ghoſt hath expreſſed by the Prophet in another place, ſaying; Taſte and ſee, how that our Lord is ſweet, bleſſed is the man that truſteth in him. In that Sacrament is Chriſt, becauſe there is the Body of Chriſt. Heere S. Ambroſe (245) referring thoſe words of the Pſalme to the Sacrament, calleth it Lord, and that Lord, in whom the man that truſteth, is bleſſed, who is God. The 245. vntruth. For S. Ambroſe applieth theſe words vnto Chriſt himſelfe, & not vnto the Sacrament.

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To ſay that Chriſt is either in the Scriptures, or in the Manna, or in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, or in the Sacrament of his Bodie, it is no new phraſe or maner of ſpæch, but commonly vſed of the ancient Fathers. S. Hierome ſaith: Chriſtus clauſus latebat in litera: *Chriſt lay hidden in the Letter.* S. Auguſtine ſaith: Pij in Manna Chriſtum intellexerunt: *The godly in* Manna *vnderſtood Chriſt.* *Hieronym. ad Paulinum. Aug. de Vtilitate Pœniten. Auguſt. contra Fauſtum, lib. 12. cap. 1.*

Againe he ſaith: Vt Petra erat Chriſtus propter firmitatem: ita Manna erat Chriſtus, quia deſcendit de Cœlo: *As the Rocke was Chriſt in reſpect of conſtancie and ſteddineſſe: euen ſo was the* Manna *Chriſt, becauſe it came downe from Heauen.* *Hieronym. in Pſalm. 133. Origen. in Cantica, hom. 2.*

S. Hierome ſaith: Lapis ille, qui erat ad caput Iacob, Chriſtus erat. Lapis ille Chriſtus eſt: *The Stone that lay vnder Iacobs head, was Chriſt. That Stone is Chriſt.*

Origen ſaith: Mare Baptiſmus eſt: Nubes Spiritus Sanctus eſt: Agnus Saluator eſt: *The Sea is Baptiſme: The Cloud is the holy Ghoſt: The Lambe is the Sauiour.* And to be ſhort, a Doctour, although not very ancient, yet of M. Hardings owne ſide, one that wrote the Fort of Faith, and therefore in this caſe may not iuſtly be refuſed, writeth thus: Chriſtus vendebatur in Ioſepho: Suſpendebatur in Botro: Crucifigebatur in Serpente: *Chriſt was ſold in Ioſeph: Hanged in the Cluſter of grapes: and Crucified in the Serpent.* *Fortalitium Fidei, lib. 1.*

All theſe, and ſuch other like phraſes of ſpeech muſt be taken, not of any Reall or Fleſhlie Being, according to the ſhew of the Letter: but onely as in a Sacrament, or in a Myſterie.

But M. Harding will ſay, The Sacrament of S. Ambroſe is called Lord. This is another vntruth, and like the reſt of M. Hardings praiſes. Chriſt ſitting now at the Right hand of God, is the Bread and food of Life: Thither S. Ambroſe calleth vs: There he biddeth vs, *To taſte and ſee that the Lord is ſweet and gracious.* And he addeth immediately: Beatus vir qui ſperat in eo: *Bleſſed is the man that truſteth in him.* Notwithſtanding it might very well ſerue his purpoſe, yet I thinke M. Harding will not ſay, *The man is bleſſed that truſteth in the Sacrament.* For ſo to ſay, as it ſhall hereafter appeare, it were great blaſphemie.

And that S. Ambroſe meant this not of the Sacrament, but of the Bodie of Chriſt it ſelfe, that is repreſented by the Sacrament, it is plaine by other his words both going before, and alſo immediately following after. A little before in the ſame Chapter he writeth thus: Ante benedictionem verborum Cœleſtium alia ſpecies nominatur: poſt Conſecrationem Corpus Chriſti ſignificatur: *Before the bleſſing of the Heauenly words, it is called another kind: but after Conſecration: the Bodie of Chriſt is ſignified.*

Ambroſ. de illis qui initiantur Myſter. ca. 9.

The words next following in the ſame ſentence are theſe: Non ergo Corporalis eſca, ſed Spiritualis eſt: *Therefore Chriſts Body is not Corporall food* (to be receiued into the Body) *but ſpirituall food*, that is to ſay, to be receiued with the Spirit. Which words M. Harding, as his maner is, thought it beſt ſkill to diſſemble. God quicken the inward ſenſes of his vnderſtanding, that he may taſte and ſee that the Lord is ſweet and gracious.

M. Harding. The 7. Diuiſion.

Agreeably to this ſaith S. Auguſtine, in a Sermon *De verbis Euangelij*, as Beda reciteth: *Qualem vocem Domini audiſtis inuitantis nos? Quis vos inuitauit? Quis inuitauit? Et quis præparauit? Inuitauit Dominus ſeruos, & præparauit eis cibum ſeipſum. Quis audeat manducare Dominum ſuum? Et tamen ait, qui manducat me, viuat propter me:* What maner of voice is it, that ye haue heard of our Lord inuiting, and bidding vs to the feaſt? Who hath inuited? Whom hath he inuited? And who hath made preparation? The Lord hath inuited the ſeruants, and hath prepared * himſelfe to be meat for them. Who dareth be ſo bold as to eat his Lord? And yet he ſaith, He that eateth me ſhall liue for cauſe of me.

* Theſe words are ſpoken, not of the Sacrament, but of Chriſts Body it ſelfe repreſented by the Sacrament. The 246. Vntruth. For Cyril ſpeaketh theſe words of Chriſts Body it ſelfe, and not of the Sacrament of Chriſts Body.

Cyrillus accounteth (246) the Sacrament for Chriſt, and God the word, and for God, in this ſaying: *Qui Carnem Chriſti manducat, vitam habet æternam. Habet enim hæc Caro Dei verbum, quod naturaliter vita eſt. Propterea dicit: Quia ego reſuſcitabo eum in nouiſſimo die. Ego enim dixit, id eſt, Corpus meum quod comedetur reſuſcitabo eum. Non enim alium ipſe eſt, quàm Caro ſua, &c.* He that eateth the Fleſh of Chriſt, hath life euerlaſting. For this fleſh hath the word of God, which naturally is life. Therefore ſaith hee, that I will raiſe him in the laſt day. For I, quoth he, that is to ſay, my Body, which ſhall be eaten, ſhall raiſe him vp againe, for he is no other than his fleſh, &c.

In Iohan. li. 4. cap. 15. Iohan. li. 4.

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It is true, that S. Auguſtine ſaith, That Chriſt prepared himſelfe to be meate for vs. For Chriſt himſelfe ſaith, *He that eateth me, ſhall liue through me.* Neither was it ſo needfull, for proofe hereof, to borrow S. Auguſtines words out of Beda. We might haue found the ſame meaning, both in S. Auguſtine himſelfe, and alſo in other old Fathers in ſundry places. S. Auguſtine writeth thus: Panis eſt, & Panis eſt, & Panis eſt, Deus Pater, Deus Filius, & Deus Spiritus Sanctus. Deus, quitibi dat, nihil melius, quàm ſe tibi dat: *It is Bread, it is Bread, and it is Bread* (meaning thereby, not the Sacrament, but the Spirituall Bread of life) *God the Father, God the Sonne, and God the Holy Ghoſt. God, that giueth it vnto thee, giueth thee no better thing then himſelfe.* So S. Hierome: Sancti veſcuntur Cœleſti Pane, & ſaturantur omni Verbo Dei, eundem habentes Dominum, quem & Cibum: *Holy men eat the Heauenly Bread, and are filled with euery word of God, hauing the ſame Lord, that is their meat.*

Auguſt. de verb. Dom. Secund. Luc. Sermon. 29. Hieronym. ad Pammach. aduer. error. Iohan. Hieroſolymit. Greg. in Iob. lib. 7. cap. 4.

So S. Gregorie: Præſepe natus impleuit, qui Cibum Semetipſum mortalium mentibus præbuit: *Being borne he filled the manger, that gaue himſelfe meat to the mindes or ſoules of men.* In this ſenſe and none otherwiſe, Cyrillus ſaith: *I, that is to ſay, my Body that ſhall be eaten, ſhall raiſe him vp againe. For Chriſt is none other than his Fleſh.*

All theſe ſayings be true, and out of queſtion. Yet notwithſtanding, that M. Harding would gather hereof, is not true, that is, that either S. Auguſtine, or any of theſe holy Fathers euer called the Sacrament, either Lord, or God, or Chriſt himſelfe.

Auguſt. in Iohannem tract. 26. Qui manducat mente, non qui premit dente.

S. Auguſtine in diuers places teacheth vs, that Chriſts Body it ſelfe, and the Sacraments thereof are ſundry things. And the difference he openeth in this ſort: *That Chriſts Body is receiued inwardly with the minde: but the Sacrament is outwardly preſſed, and bruiſed with the tooth.* And therefore he calleth the Sacrament, Panem Domini: *The Bread of the Lord.* But Chriſt himſelfe he calleth, Panem Dominum: *The Bread,*

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that is our Lord. And expounding these words of Christ, *Giue vs this day our daily Bread,* he saith thus: *This daily Bread we may vnderstand, either for the Sacrament of Christs Body, which wee receiue euery day,* (as then the whole people vsed to doe) *or for that Spirituall food* (of Christs Body it selfe) *of which our Lord saith: Worke yee the Meat that perisheth not: And againe, I am that Bread of life, that came from Heauen.* Here wee see an other notable difference betweene Christs Bodie it selfe, and the Sacrament of his Bodie. *Augusti. in Iohan. tracta. 59. Augusti. de Sermone Domini in Monte lib. 2.*

And if it had pleased M. Harding to haue taken better view of his places, thus he might haue seene S. Augustine himselfe, euen in the same place expound himselfe. For thus he saith: Nulli est abquatenus ambigendum, tunc vnumquenque fidelium Corporis & Sanguinis Domini participem fieri, quando in Baptismate membrum Christi efficitur: nec alienari ab illius Panis, Caliciſque consortio, etiamsi, antequam Panem illum comedat & Calicem bibat, de hoc sæculo in vnitate Corporis Christi constitutus abscedat. Sacramenti enim illius participatione ac beneficio non priuatur, quando ipse hoc, quod ilud Sacramentum significat, inuenit: *No man may any wise doubt, but that euery faithfull man is then made partaker of the Body and Blood of Christ, when in Baptisme he is made a member of Christ: and, that he is not put from the fellowship of that Bread and Cup, although he depart this life in the Vnity of Christs Body, before he eat of that Bread, or Drinke of that Cup. For he loseth not the partaking and benefit of that Sacrament, so long as he findeth the thing* (that is, the Body of Christ, it selfe) *which is signified by that Sacrament.* Here S. Augustine teacheth vs, that a Faithfull man is partaker of Christs Body it selfe, yea although he receiue not the Sacrament of his Body. *Augusti. ad Infantes. Citatur à Beda in 1. Cor. 10.*

And, as S. Augustine in these words here alleged by M. Harding saith, Christus præparauit Cibum seipsum: So writing vpon S. Iohn he saith thus: Christus inuitauit nos ad Euangelium suum: & ipse Cibus noster est: quo nihil dulcius, sed si quis habeat palatum in Corde: *Christ hath called vs vnto his Gospell: and he himselfe is our Meat: than which meat there is nothing sweeter: if a man haue wherewith to taste it in his heart.* *Aug. in Iohan. Tracta. 7.*

So againe he saith: Deus Panis intus est animæ meæ: *God is the inward Bread* (not to enter into my bodily mouth, but) *of my soule.* *Augusti. Confession. lib. 1.*

Thus we see, The one part of M. Hardings tale is true, That Christ himselfe is our Bread: But the other part is vntrue, That the Sacrament is that Bread. And it were a strange forme of reasoning, to say thus: *Christ is our food, we eat him with our Soule and with our Spirit, and liue by him:* Ergo, *the Sacrament in S. Augustines time was called Lord and God.* The errour and falshod of this argument, besides sundry other infirmities, standeth in the Equiuocation or double taking of this word, Eating: which hath relation sometime to the materiall mouth of our Body: sometime to Faith, which is the Spirituall mouth of our soule. S. Iohn saith: *Christ hath washed vs with his Blood.* And S. Bernard saith: Lauemur in Sanguine eius: *Let vs bathe our selues in the blood of Christ.* Yet M. Harding may not hereof conclude, that the Water of Baptisme Indeed and Verily is that Blood. Apocalyp 1. *Bernard. Super Missus est, Sermo. 3.*

M. Harding. The 8. Diuision.

No man more expresly calleth the Sacrament by the name of God, than S. Bernard in his godly Sermon *De Cœna Domini ad Petrum Presbyterum*, where he saith thus: *Comedunt Angeli verbum de Deo natum, Comedunt homines verbum sœnum factum*: The Angels eat the word borne of God, men eat the word made hay; meaning heereby the Sacrament, which he calleth the word made hay, that is to wit, the word incarnate. And in another place there, he saith: *Hæc est verè indulgentia cœlestis, hæc est verè cumulata gratia, hæc est verè superexcellens gloria, Sacerdotem Deum suum tenere, & alijs dando porrigere.* This is verily an heauenly gift, this is verily a bountifull grace, this is verily a passing excellent glory, the Priest to hold his God, and in giuing to reach him foorth to others. In the same Sermon speaking of the maruellous sweetnesse that good Bishops and holy Religious men haue experience of, by receiuing this blessed Sacrament, he saith thus: *Ideo ad mensam Altaris frequentius accedunt, omni tempore candida facientes vestimenta sua, id est, corpora, prout possunt, melius vtpote Deum suum manu & ore contrectaturi*: For this cause they come the oftner vnto the boord of the Altar, at all times making their garments, that is to say, their bodies, so white as they can possible, as they, who shall handle their God with hand and mouth. Another place of the same Sermon, for that it containeth a holesome instruction, beside the affirming of our purpose I cannot omit, I remit the learned to the Latine, the English of it is this: They are maruellous things, brethren, that be spoken of this Sacrament, Faith is necessary, Knowledge of reason is (heere) superfluous. This, let Faith beleeue, let not vnderstanding require, lest that either not being found, it thinke it incredible, or being found out, it beleeue it not to be singular and alone. And therefore it behoueth it to be beleeued simply, that cannot be searched out profitably. Wherefore search not, search not, how it may be, doubt not whether it be. Come not vnto it vnreuerently, lest it be to you to death, *Deus enim est, & quanquam Panis Mysteria habeat, mutatur tamen in Carnem*: For it is God, and though it haue mysteries of Bread, yet is it changed into Flesh. God and Man it is that witnesseth, Bread truly to be made his flesh. The vessell of election it is, that threateneth iudgement to him that putteth no difference in iudging of that so holy Flesh. The selfe same thing thinke thou, O Christian man, of the Wine, giue that honour to the Wine. The Creatour of Wine it is, that promoteth the Wine to be the blood of Christ. Thus far holy Bernard. Hee liued eleuen hundred yeeres after Christ, in the great corruption of the Church.

1. Cor. 11.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Bernard was a Monke, and liued at Clara Vallis about the same time that Thomas Becket liued here in England: at which time, as it appeareth by his often complaints, the Church of God was miserably defaced. For thus he writeth, namely touching the Clergy of Rome: Nihil integri est in Clero, &c. *In the whole Clergie* (wherein he includeth the Pope, the Cardinals, the Bishops, and all the rest) *there is no part left sound. It remaineth now, that the man of Sinne, that is, Antichrist, be reuealed. From the top to the toe, there is no health the seruants of Christ now serue Antichrist.* Therefore Bernard, liuing in a time of such corruption, and being carried away with the tempest and violence of the same, must needes in these cases beare the lesse credit. Howbeit in other places he seemeth somewhat to rectifie his owne meaning. For thus he writeth: Quasi verò Christus, cùm iam ascenderit in Cœlum, tangi à Maria, aut velit, aut possit. Et vtique poterit: sed affectu, non manu: Voto, non oculo: fide non sensibus: *As though Christ, after he is ascended into Heauen, either can, or will be touched of Marie. And verily hee may bee touched: but with loue, not with hand: with desire, not with eie: with faith, not with senses.*

Anno Domini 1117. *Bernard. in Psalm. Qui habitat. De Conuersione Pauli. In Canti. Canticorum. Bern. in Cantica Canticorũ, Sermone* 28.

If M. Harding will presse vs further with that S. Bernard saith, *The Priest holdeth God in his hands*; it may please him to consider, that the rigour thereof may be qualified by a conuenient exposition. So S. Chrysostome saith: Adest Sacerdos gestans Spiritum Sanctum: *The Priest is present bearing the holy Ghost.*

Chrysostom. de Sacerdotio, lib. 3.

And S. Gregory saith: Paulus prædicando Deum infundebat audientibus: *Paul by his Preaching powred God into his hearers.* And againe: Latens in Pauli pectore, quasi sub tentorio ibat Deus? *God went in Pauls heart, as vnder a tent.* S. Hierome saith: His, qui baptizandi sunt, publicè tradimus Sanctam & adorandam Trinitatem: *Vnto them that are to receiue Baptisme, we openly deliuer the holy Trinitie.* The meaning hereof is this, That he receiueth the Trinitie, that receiueth the Faith and Doctrine of the Trinitie.

Greg. in Iob. lib. 27. *cap.* 6. *Hieronym. ad Pammach. aduersus errores Iohan. Hierosolymitan.*

Now, as S. Chrysostome saith, *The Priest beareth the holy Ghost*: As S. Gregory saith, *S. Paul powred God into his hearers*: And as S. Hiereme saith, *Wee deliuer the holy Trinity*: Euen so it may seeme Bernard saith, *The Priest holdeth God in his hand*: that is to say, not Really or Indeed, but in a certaine peculiar maner, and forme of speech. For by a Rhetoricall amplification of words, he holdeth God that holdeth any thing specially pertaining vnto God.

Thus must these and other like words be salued: namely these of Bernard, for that they seeme expresly to require the same. For thus they stand far otherwise than M. Harding hath reported them: Deum suum manu, & ore contrectaturi, & colloquentem sibi ipsis audituri: *To touch God with their hand, and with their mouth, and to heare him speaking vnto them.* Which latter clause M. Harding, as his maner is, hath purposely dissembled. As the Priest heareth Christ speake vnto him, so he holdeth Christ in his hand. But the Priest heareth not Christ speake Verily and Indeed, but by a Figure: Therefore it seemeth it may reasonably be gathered of the same, that he holdeth not Christ in his hand Really and Indeed, but only by way of a Figure.

Thus much touching Bernard. Notwithstanding it is likely, and thought of many, that aswell herein, as in other cases of Religion, he was led alway with the erours and ignorance of his time.

M. Harding. The 9. Diuision.

Heere let our aduersaries, touching this Article, consider and weigh with themselues, whether they be Lutherans, Zuinglians, or Geneuians, what English they can make of these words vsed by the Fathers, (247) and applied to the Sacrament in the places before alleged: *Dominus, Christus, Diuina essentia, Deus Ipsum, verbum Dei, Ego, verbum fœnum factum, Deum suum*; The number of the like places that might be alleged to this purpose, be in maner infinit. Yet M. Iewel promiseth to giue ouer, and subscribe, if any one may be found. Now we shall see, what truth is in his word.

The 247. Vntruth. For not one of all these words is applied to the Sacrament.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

I doubt not, but by these few well considered, it may easily appeare vnto the discreet Reader, that none of all these ancient Fathers, neither Irenæus, nor Origen, nor Cyprian, nor Chrysostome, nor Ambrose, nor Augustine, nor Cyrillus, for ought that may appeare by their words, euer called the Sacrament, either Lord, or Christ, or Diuine substance, or God, or Himselfe, or the Word of God, or their God: notwithstanding M. Harding hath taken some paines by guilefull translations, and braduised asseuerations, to make some appearance of the same. S. Hierome saith: Falsi testes sunt, qui non eodem sensu dicta proferunt, quo dicuntur: *They that report words in other sense than they were spoken, are false witnesses.*

Hieronym. in Matt. ca. 26.

M. Harding.

M. Harding. The 10. Diuiſion.

The Sacrament inferiour to Gods Word.

In the weighing of this Doctrine of the Church, little occaſion of wicked ſcoffes, and blaſphemies againſt this bleſſed Sacrament ſhall remaine to them, that be not blinded with that groſſe and fond errour, * that denieth the inſeparabilitie of Chriſt; but affirmeth in this myſterie to be preſent his Fleſh only, without Bloud, Soule, and a Godhead. Which is confuted by plaine Scriptures. Chriſt raiſed from the dead, now dieth no more. Rom. 6. He ſuffereth himſelfe no more to be diuided. 1. Cor. 1. Euery ſpirit that loſeth Ieſus, this is Antichriſt. 1. Iohan. 4. Heereof it followeth, that if Chriſt be verily vnder the forme of Bread in the Sacrament, as it is other wheres ſufficiently prooued: then is he there entire and whole, fleſh, bloud, and ſoule, whole Chriſt, God and man, for the inſeparable vnion of both natures in one perſon. Which matter is more amply declared in the Article of the Adoration of the Sacrament.

* M. Harding hath imagined this errour of himſelfe.

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In the end, M. Harding confirmeth this Doctrine by the Confutation of an Error which for the nouelty, and ſtrangeneſſe of it, may eaſily ſeem to be his own: and therefore ought of right to be called, M. Hardings Error. For, I beleeue, it was neuer, neither defended, nor imagined by any other.

He ſurmiſeth, there be ſome, that either haue ſaid, or elſe may ſay, that Chriſts Fleſh is preſent Really in the Sacrament: howbeit dead, and bloodleſſe, and vtterly void both of Soule, and Godhead. This is a new error, neuer tained, or touched before this time.

As for vs, we doe conſtantly beleeue, and confeſſe, that Chriſt, the very naturall Son of God receiued our Fleſh of the Bleſſed Virgin, and that, whereſoeuer that Fleſh is, there is alſo both the Godhead, and the Soule.

Of this vndoubted truth M. Harding gathereth an impertinent Concluſion. For thus he reaſoneth: If Chriſt be verily vnder the Forme of Bread in the Sacrament, then is he there intire, and whole, God, and Man. **Indeed, the firſt being granted, the reſt muſt needs follow. But how is M. Harding ſo well aſſured of the firſt? What Old Doctor, or Ancient Father euer taught him,** *that Chriſts Body is Really, and Fleſhly preſent vnder theſe Formes, or Fantaſies of Bread, and Wine?* **If the Learned Fathers ſay ſo, it were good, to ſhew it: If they ſay not ſo, it is great ſhame, to plead it. Verily, all that M. Harding hath yet ſaid, is not able to proue it.**

Now, good Chriſtian Reader, for thy better ſatisfaction in this caſe, being ſo dangerous, wherein whoſo erreth, is an Idolater, and knoweth not God, it may pleaſe thee briefly to conſider, both the Ancient godly Fathers vndoubted iudgement touching this Sacrament, and alſo the Ancient order, and vſage of the ſame.

Firſt, concerning the iudgement of the Fathers, in this behalfe, S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: In vaſis ſanctificatis, non verum Corpus Chriſti, ſed Myſterium Corporis Chriſti continetur: *In the Holy Veſſels, not the very, or true Bodie of Chriſt, but the Myſterie of Chriſts Bodie is contained.* *Chryſoſtom. in opere imperfect. homil. 11. Quaeſt. 1, Interrogo vos.*

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Interrogo vos, Fratres, dicite mihi: quid plus videtur vobis, Corpus Chriſti, an Verbum Chriſti? Si vultis verè reſpondere, hoc dicere debetis, quòd non ſit minus Verbum Dei, quàm Corpus Chriſti: *I demand of you this queſtion, my Brethren, anſwer me. Whether, thinke you, is greater, the Body of Chriſt* (meaning thereby the Sacrament) *or the word of Chriſt? If ye will anſwer truly, this muſt ye ſay, that the Word of God is no leſſe, than the Body of Chriſt.* S. Hierome ſaith: Ego Corpus Ieſu Euangelium puto. Et quamuis, quod Chriſtus dicit, Qui non manducat meam Carnem, &c. poſſit intelligi de Myſterio, tamen verius Corpus Chriſti, & Sanguis eius Sermo Scripturarum eſt: *I take, the Body of Ieſus to be the Goſpell. And albeit theſe Words of Chriſt* (He that eateth not my Fleſh, &c.) *may be taken of the Sacrament, yet in truer ſenſe the Word of the Scriptures is the Body, and Bloud of Chriſt.* *Hieronym. in Pſalm. 147. Verius.*

Likewiſe ſaith Origen: Quòd ſi circa Corpus Chriſti ſeruandum tanta vtimini cautela, quomodò putatis, minoris eſſe periculi, Verbum Dei neglexiſſe, quàm Corpus eius? *If ye take ſuch heed in keeping* (the Sacrament, which is called) *the Bodie of Chriſt, how can you thinke there is leſſe danger, in deſpiſing the Word of God, than there is in deſpiſing* (the Sacrament, that is called) *the Body of God?* *Orig. in Exod. hom. 13.*

If the Sacrament were indeed, and Really the Body of Chriſt, and ſo our very Lord, and God, thus to compare it with a Creature, and to make it inferior vnto the ſame, as S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, Origen, **and other Godly Fathers doe, it were great blaſphemie.**

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Plus eſt vnus Deus, quàm vnus Baptiſmus. Neque enim eſt Baptiſmus Deus. Sed ideò magnum aliquid eſt, quia Sacramentum eſt Dei: *One God is more, than one Baptiſme. For Baptiſme is no God. But yet is Baptiſme a great thing, becauſe it is a Sacrament of God.* *Auguſtin. de vnico Baptiſmo contra Petilianum, cap. 5.*

Origen that great learned Father ſaith: Ille panis, qui ſanctificatur per Verbum Dei, & Obſecrationem, iuxta id, quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, & in ſeceſſum ejicitur: *Orig. in Matt. cap. 15.*

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The Sacrament a Creature.

The Bread, that is Sanctified by the Word of God, and by praier, touching the Materiall part of it (which is the Sacrament) *entereth into the Belly, and passeth into the draught.* These words were horrible to be spoken, if the Sacrament indeed were Christ, and God.

Ambros. de Benedictionib. patriarcharum.

S. Ambrose expounding these words of Christ, Giue vs this day our dailie Bread, saith thus: Hodiè dat nobis hunc Panem, quem ipse quotidiè Sacerdos Consecrat suis Verbis. Possumus & ipsum Dominum accipere, qui ait, Ego sum Panis vitæ: *Euen this day Christ giueth vs this* (daily) *Bread* (that is, the Sacrament) *which he himselfe being the Priest doth daily Consecrate with his own words. We may take the same daily Bread also for our Lord himselfe, that saith, I am the Bread of life.* Hereby it is plaine, that *Christ himselfe*, and *the Sacrament* are sundry things: and that neither *the Sacrament* is *Christ himselfe*, neither *Christ himselfe* is *the Sacrament.*

Chrysostom. in Opere Imperfecto, homi. 49.

S. Chrysostome saith: Habent & Hæretici in Schismate similiter Ecclesias, &c. *Heretikes in their Schisme haue likewise Churches, as well as haue the Catholikes, likewise the Holy Scriptures, likewise Bishops, likewise orders of Clerks, likewise Baptisme, likewise the Sacrament* (of the holy Communion) *likewise all other things: and, to be short, Christ himselfe.* Here likewise this holy Father S. Chrysostome, contrary to M. Hardings fantasie, presupposeth a great difference betwæn *the Sacrament*, and *Christ himselfe.* But what can be so plaine, as these words of S. Ambrose touching the same? Veniste ad Altare: vidisti Sacramenta posita super Altare: & ipsam quidem miratus es Creaturam. Tamen Creatura solennis, & nota: *Thou camest to the Altar, and sawest the Sacrament laid vpon the Altar: and thou marnelledst at the Creature. And yet it is a Creature Common, and knowen.* Here S. Ambrose by expresse words calleth the Sacrament, not Lord, or God, but a Creature.

Ambro. De Sacram. li. 4. ca. 3.

Epiphan. in Anchorato.

Therefore Epiphanius thereof writeth thus: Hoc est rotundæ figuræ, & insensibile, quantum ad potentiam &c. Dominum verò nostrum nouimus totum sensum, totum sensitiuum, totum Deum, totum mouentem: *This thing* (that is, the Sacrament) *is of a round forme,* (for it was a great thicke round Cake) *and, touching any power that is in it, vtterly void of sense. But we know that our Lord is whole sense, whole sensible, whole God, whole mouing.* In these words, betwæn Christ, and the Sacrament appeareth likewise a great difference.

Iustinus Martyr in colloquio cum Tryphone.

Iustinus Martyr saith: Alimento Humido, & Sicco admonemur, quæ propter nos Deus Dei filius perpessus sit: *By Dry and Moist food* (whereby he meaneth the Sacrament) *wee are taught, what things God the Sonne of God hath suffered for vs.*

Cyrill. in Ioham. lib. 4. ca. 14.

Cyrillus calleth the Sacrament, Fragmenta Panis: *Fragments, or Peeces of Bread.*

August. in Iohan. tract. 26.

S. Augustine calleth it Buccellam Dominicam: *The Lords Morsell.*

Certainly, it had bæne horrible wickednesse, to haue called the Sacrament by any of these names, either *a Creature*: or, *a thing Insensible, and void of Life*: or, *a Food Drie, and Moist*: or, *a Morsel*: or, *a Fragment*: or, *a peece of Bread*, If the holy Fathers had bæn perswaded, as M. Harding beareth vs in hand, that the Sacrament was their Lord, and God.

Liturgia Chrysostom.

Chrysostome in the Communion, that commonly beareth his name, after the Consecration praieth thus: *We beseech thee, O God, to send downe thy Holy Ghost vpon these* (Sacraments, or) *Presents laid before vs.*

And M. Harding himselfe in his Masse, in like maner after Consecration, maketh his Praiers vnto God in this wise: *Looke O Lord, vpon these Sacraments with a gracious, and a cheerefull countenance, and vouchsafe to receiue the same, as thou diddest sometime receiue the Oblations of* Abel *thy Child, and the Sacrifice of our Patriarch* Abraham, *and the thing that was offered vnto thee by the high Priest* Melchisedech.

It were very much for M. Harding to say, that he praieth God, that the holy Ghost may come vpon Christ, that God at his request, and for his sake, will fauorably, and chærfully behold his own Sonne: or, so receiue him, being our Lord, and God, as he sometime receiued a Goat, or a Wheather, or any other like corruptible kind of Sacrifice.

Howbeit, if he speake plainly, and dissemble not, as some of his friends are afraid hee doth, then is this vndoubtedly the very tenor, and meaning of his praier. But if he dissemble, and speake otherwise, than he thinketh, and that at the secretest, and holiest part of all his Masse, then by his own Confession, and by the Authority of his owne Masse booke, the Sacrament is not Lord, and God.

Cyprian. in Concil. Carthag. ad Quirinum. Stella Clericorum Sermon. Disciplin. ser. 111.

In the Councell holden at Carthage vnder S. Cyprian, Cæcilius à Bilta saith thus: Antistes Diaboli audet Eucharistiam facere: *A Priest of the Diuell dareth to make the Sacrament:* Which words by M. Hardings exposition, must needs sound thus: *A Priest of the Diuell dareth to make our Lord, and God.* Which saying notwithstanding, among the Priests of M. Hardings side, is not so strange. For thus they dare to say without feare, or shame: Sacerdos est Creator Creatoris sui: qui Creauit vos, dedit vobis Creare se: qui Creauit vos absque vobis, Creatur à vobis mediantibus vobis: *The Priest is the Creator of his owne*

Creatour:

Creatour: hee that created you of nought, hath giuen you power to create himselfe of nought: he that made you without you, is made of you by meane of you. These wordes sometime had beene counted blasphemie. But now they must be taken as good and Catholike, as vttered by the Patriarkes of that profession.

Thus much of the iudgement of the old Fathers, touching this question.

Now for the ancient order and vsage of the Sacrament, it may please thee, good Christian Reader, to vnderstand, that for the space of six hundred yeres after Christ, it cannot appeare, that euer any man adored or worshipped the Sacrament with godly honour: which is a great token, it was not then accounted our Lord and God.

The maner was then in many Churches, that all such remanents and portions of the Sacrament, as were not receiued of the people, should be burnt and consumed into ashes: which thing vndoubtedly had not been sufferable among Christian people, if the holy learned Fathers had thought the Sacrament had been the very Lord and God. *Hesychius in Leuit. lib. 2. cap. 8.*

Yet Pope Hildebrand, that forbade Priests Marriage, toke the Sacrament and demanded of it certaine secret questions of things to come: and because it would not, or could not speake, and make him answer, in his fury he threw it into the fire. *Benno Cardinalis.*

They haue honoured the Pope by the name of God, as it appeareth by sundry their Decrées and Canons. And in their Bookes they haue not doubted to write thus: Dominus Deus noster, Papa: *Our Lord God the Pope.* But the Sacrament, which now they say, is Lord and God, they neuer neither intituled by the name of God, nor worshipped it with godly honour, before the time of Honorius 3. nor allowed it any Holy day, before the time of Vrbanus 4. If the World had beene well assured, that the Sacrament had beene the Lord, and God, it is not likely, it should haue continued so long without either godly title, or godly honour. *Extran. Ioan. 22. Cum inter. In Glossa. Dist. 96. Satis euidenter. De Elect. & Electi potest. In præmio Clemen. Augustinus Steuchius. Clemen. li. 3. tit. 16. Si Dominũ.*

Anno 1226. *Anno 1265.*

In the end Pope Clement the fifth granted out large and liberall indulgences to all, that would frequent this new Holy day, to countenance this new Religion: *For the first Euensong, Matins, Masse, and Latter Euensong, Prime, and Houres, for euery of these times a hundred daies of Pardon,* toties, quoties, à pœna & culpa. Thus the people was well allured, and thus this new Holy day, and new Religion gate great credit. *Anno Domini, 1308.*

S. Hierome saith: Pagani Deos suos digito ostendunt: & ob hoc ingerunt mihi opprobria. Vnde sciant, quòd ego mente Deum meum reconditum teneo, & per interiorem hominem in ipso habito: *The Heathens point their Gods with their finger: and that, they say to my reproch. But let them know, that I haue my God hidden in my heart, and that by my inward man I dwell in him.* *Hieronym. in Psalm. 41.*

Certainly, if the Sacrament could speake vnto M. Harding, thus it would speake: *I am a Creature,* as S. Ambrose teacheth you: *I am a fragment, or peece of Bread,* as S. Cyril teacheth you: *I am a thing insensible and void of life,* as Epiphanius teacheth you: *I am a Corporall food, and passe into your bodies, and increase the substance of your flesh, as other meats doe,* as Origines and Irenæus haue taught you: *I mould and putrifie, and are subiect to corruption,* as your eies and senses may easily teach you: *I am a Sacrament of Christ, I am not Christ: I am a Creature of God, I am not God: ye doe wrong vnto me, ye doe wrong vnto God: the wormes of the Earth, and the birds of the Aire will condemne your follie: giue not this honour vnto mee, giue godly honour vnto God.* If the Sacrament could speake vnto M. Harding, thus would it speake: and being a dumbe, and a liueles thing, and not able to speake, yet thus it speaketh.

God open the eies and hearts of all men, that they may see and discerne the Almighty and Euerliuing God, from a Corruptible Creature, that is no God. *Amen.*

OF REMAINING VNDER THE ACCIDENTS.

The XXII. Article.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that the people was then taught to beléeue, that the Body of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament, as long as the Accidents of the Bread remaine there without corruption.

M. Harding.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuiſion.

Theſe fiue Articles here following are Schoole points, the diſcuſſion whereof is more curious, than neceſſary. Whether the faithfull people were then, that is to ſay, for the ſpace of ſix hundred yeeres after Chriſt, taught to beleeue, concerning this bleſſed Sacrament, preciſely according to the purport of all theſe Articles, or no, I know not. Verily I thinke, they were taught the truth of this matter ſimply and plainly, yet ſo as nothing was hidden from them, that in thoſe quiet times, (quiet I meane touching this point of Faith) was thought neceſſary for them to know. If ſithence there hath been more taught, or rather if the truth hath in ſome other forme of words been declared, for a more euidence and cleereneſſe in this behalfe to be had, truth it ſelfe alwaies remaining one: this hath proceeded of the diligence, and earneſt care of the Church, to repreſſe the pertinacy of Heretikes, who haue within theſe laſt ſix hundred yeeres impugned the truth herein, and to meet with their peruerſe and froward obiections: as hath been thought neceſſary to find out ſuch wedges, as might beſt ſerue to riue ſuch knotty blockes.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

M. Harding paſſeth lightly ouer theſe Articles following, as being only, as he ſaith, containe vnneceſſary Schoole points, to be debated priuatly among the learned, and nothing pertaining to the ſimple capacity of the people. Which thing may the better appeare, by that hee is not able to auouch any of the ſame by the Authority of any Ancient learned Father.

It is true, that the Doctrine of the Church touching the Sacrament in the Old time was deliuered ſimply, and plainly vnto the people. But, M. Harding himſelfe well knoweth, that Doctrine was nothing like vnto this Doctrine.

Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 3. S. Auguſtine **taught the people thus:** Chriſtus in Cœna Figuram Corporis ſui commendauit: *Chriſt at his Supper gaue a Figure of his Body.*

Ambroſ. De illis qui initian. Myſter. ca. 9. S. Ambroſe **ſaith vnto the people:** Poſt Conſecrationem Corpus Chriſti Significatur: *After Conſecration the Body of Chriſt is Signified.*

Chryſoſt. in Matthæ. homi. 83. S. Chryſoſtome **ſaith vnto the people:** Si mortuus Chriſtus non eſt, cuius Symbolum, ac Signum hoc Sacrificium eſt? *If Chriſt died not, whoſe Signe, and whoſe Token is this Sacrifice?* **And to leaue infinite other like authorities to like purpoſe,** S. Auguſtine **thus taught the people:** Non hoc Corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis: nec bibituri illum Sanguinem, quem fuſuri ſunt, qui me Crucifigent: *Ye ſhall not eat* (**with your Bodily mouthes**) *this Bodie, that you ſee: nor ſhall you drinke that Blood, which they ſhall ſhed, that ſhall Crucifie me.*

Auguſtin. in Pſalm. 98. **And whereas Chriſt ſaith,** *Vnleſſe ye Eat my Fleſh, and Drinke my Blood, ye ſhall haue no life in you,* **The Old learned Father** Origen **thereupon thus taught the people:** Si ſecundùm Literam accipias hæc verba, illa Litera occidit: *If ye take theſe words according to the Letter, this Letter killeth.*

Origen. in Leuiti. hom. 7. **And touching Chriſts Body it ſelfe, the Holy Biſhop, and Martyr,** Vigilius **taught the people in this ſort:** Caro Chriſti, cùm eſſet in terra, non erat in Cœlo: & nunc, quia eſt in Cœlo, non eſt vtique in terra: *The Fleſh of Chriſt, when it was in Earth, was not in Heauen: And now, becauſe it is in Heauen, doubtleſſe it is not in Earth.*

Vigilius contra Eutychem. li. 1. S. Auguſtine **ſaid thus vnto the People:** *The Bodie, wherein Chriſt roſe againe, muſt needs be in one place:* Corpus, in quo Reſurrexit, in vno loco eſſe oportet.

De Con. Diſ. 2. Prima. Cyrillus **ſaid vnto the People:** Chriſtus non poterat in Carne verſari cum Apoſtolis, poſtquam aſſendiſſet ad Patrem: *Chriſt could not be conuerſant together with his Diſciples in his Fleſh, after he had aſcended vnto his Father.*

Cyrillus in Iohan. li. 11. ca. 3. **Touching the eating of Chriſts Bodie,** S. Auguſtine **taught the People in this wiſe:** Crede, & manducaſti. Credere in Chriſtum, hoc eſt, manducare Panem Viuum: *Beleeue in Chriſt, and thou haſt Eaten Chriſt. For beleeuing in Chriſt, is the Eating of the Bread of life.*

Auguſtin. in Iohan. tract. 25. **Likewiſe againe:** Quomodò in Cœlum manum mittam, vt ibi ſedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, & tenuiſti: **Thou wilt ſay,** *How ſhall I reach my hand into Heauen, that I may hold Chriſt ſitting there?* **I anſwer thee,** *Reach vp thy Faith and ſo thou holdeſt him.*

De Con. Diſ. 2. Vt quid. **Thus was the People then taught, ſimplie, and plainly: and that not only in the Schooles, but alſo openly in the Church: neither only in one place, but at Hippo, in Africa: at Conſtantinople, in Thracia: at Alexandria, in Ægypt: at Millain, in Italy: and ſo in all places, and in all Churches thorowout the World: and this was then thought to be the Catholike Doctrine of the Sacraments. Tranſubſtantiation, Reall Preſence, Concomitantia, Accidents without Subiects, Naturall Bodies without Naturall places, Quantum ſine modo Quanti, Holy Formes, and Holy Shewes, were not yet knowen, nor heard of.**

Auguſt. in Iohan. tracta. 50. **At the laſt, as M. Harding ſaith, there ſprang vp certaine ſtrange Heretikes, that ſaid, that like as the Nature, and Subſtance of Water remaineth in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, euen ſo the Nature, and Subſtance of Bread, and Wine remaineth ſtill in the Sacrament**

crament of Chriſts Body. But if this, according to M. Hardings iudgement, be an Hereſie, then muſt all the Old Fathers, and Doctors of the Church be condemned for Heretikes.

For Gelaſius ſaith: *There remaineth ſtill in the Sacrament the Nature, or Subſtance of Bread and Wine.* *Gelaſius contra Eutychem.*

Chryſoſtome ſaith: *The Nature of Bread remaineth in the Sacrament, as before.* *Chryſoſtom. ad Cæſarium.*

Theodoretus ſaith: *The Bread remaineth in his former Nature, and Subſtance:* In priori Natura, & Subſtantia. *Theodoretus Dialogo. 1.*

S. Auguſtine ſaith: Quod videtis, Panis eſt: *The thing, that ye ſee, is Bread.* He ſaith not, *It ſeemeth Bread, but it is no Bread: It is only the Accident, the Forme, and the Shew of Bread:* but, Panis eſt, *It is indeed, and Verily Very Bread.* *Auguſtin. in Sermon. ad Infantes.*

But, I trow, both theſe, and all other like Ancient learned Fathers, muſt, by M. Hardings Decree, be taken for New Wallers and condemned for Heretikes.

This is that knotty great Blocke, which to riue, and rend by, M. Harding hath deuiſed a iolly ſubſtantiall ſtrong iron wedge made of Accidents. God knoweth, a ſimple, and a childiſh inſtrument: and yet much like to the reſt of his toles. Howbeit, God be thanked, the Church of God was able to confound, and to cleane aſunder all maner Hereſies twelue hundred yeres together, without any of theſe wedges. *Beda in 1. ad Corin. 10.*

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

Yet this matter hath not ſo much been taught in open audience of the people, as debated priuately between learned men in Schooles, and ſo of them ſet foorth in their priuate writings, wherein if ſome perhaps through contention of wits haue been either ouer curious, or ouer bold, and haue ouerſhot the marke, or not ſufficiently confirmed the point they haue taken in hand to treat of, or through ignorance, or fauour of a part, haue in ſome thing ſwarued from reaſon, or that meaning which holy Church holdeth: it is great vncourteſie, to lay that to our charge, to abuſe their ouerſights to our diſcredit, and to reproue the whole Church for the inſufficiency of a few.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

For excuſe hereof, M. Harding ſaith, This Doctrine ſerued only for the Schooles, and had no place among the People. But ſo likewiſe did the reſt of all their Doctrine. For it was euer their greateſt policy, to kepe their learning in the Schooles, and to ſee, that the People ſhould know nothing. S. Hierome ſaith: Eadem & in Veteri, & in Noua Hæreſi ſeruatur Fides: vt aliud populi audiant, aliud prædicent Sacerdotes: *They keepe one Faith both in Old Hereſie, and in the New. The People heare one thing, and the Prieſts teach another.* And certainly, as their Religion was vſed, happy was the poore people, that knew leaſt of it. S. Hilaries words may verie aptly be applied vnto them: Sanctiores ſunt aures plebis, quàm corda Sacerdotum: *There is more holineſſe in the eares of the People, than in the hearts of the Prieſts.* *Hieronym. ad Pammach. con. error. Iohan. Hieroſolymitan.* *Hilarius contra Auxentium.*

Howbeit, contrary to M. Hardings euaſion, other Doctors of his owne forme, Antoninus, Gabriel, and others ſeem to publiſh the ſame, as a Generall Doctrine, Common, not only to the Schooles, but alſo to the whole Church, and no more touching the Prieſt, than the ſimpleſt of the People. *Antoninus in 3. par. Summa titul. 13.* *Biel lection. 84*

And verily, if the Sacrament be God indeed, and that, not a God for euer, but only to laſt for a ſeaſon, which is the purport of M. Hardings Doctrine, why ſhould not all the People vnderſtand, when it beginneth to be God: how long it continueth God: when it is God: when it is no God: and how long they may Adore it without danger: and, when they may ſafely leaue off, and Adore no more? For during the time it is God, whoſo Adoreth it not, is wicked, and godleſſe: and, whoſo Adoreth it, when it is no God, committeth Idolatry, and Adoreth a Creature in ſtead of God. Therefore the certainty hereof, notwithſtanding M. Hardings contrary iudgement, ſeemeth as neceſſary for the People, as for the Prieſt.

But here it appeareth, M. Harding is halfe aſhamed of his own Scholaſticall Catholike Doctors. For he confeſſeth, *That either of meere ignorance, or of affection, and fauour of parts, they haue ſometime ſwarued, both from common Reaſon, and alſo from the ſenſe of the Catholike Church.* This may ſtand well for a Maxima, as one of the greateſt truths of M. Hardings whole booke.

Notwithſtanding, theſe Doctors vttering ſuch points of learning, were neuer thought to publiſh their own priuate fantaſies, but rather the Catholike Doctrine of the Vniuerſell Romane Church. Neither was there either Biſhop, or Cardinall, or Pope, or Counſell, that euer condemned them for the ſame.

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

Now concerning this Article, whether we are able to auouch it by ſuch authorities, as M. Lewell requireth, or no, it ſhall not greatly force. The credit of the Catholike Faith dependeth not of old proofes of a

few

few new controuerted points, that be of leſſe importance. As for the people, they were taught the truth plainly, when no Heretike had aſſaulted their Faith craftily. (248) The doctrine of the Church is this: The Bodie of Chriſt after due Conſecration remaineth ſo long in the Sacrament, as the Sacrament endureth. The Sacrament endureth ſo long, as the Formes of Bread and Wine continue. Theſe formes continue in their integrity, vntill the other accidents be corrupted, and periſh. As if the colour, waight, ſauour, taſte, ſmell, and other qualities of Bread and Wine be corrupted, and quite altered, then is the forme alſo of the ſame annihilated, and vndone. And to ſpeake of this more particularly, ſith that the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine is turned into the ſubſtance of the Bodie and Blood of Chriſt, as the (249) Scriptures, Ancient Doctors, the neceſſary conſequent of truth, and determination of holy Church leadeth vs to beleeue: if ſuch change of the Accidents be made, which ſhould not haue ſufficed to the corruption of Bread and Wine, in caſe of their remainder, for ſuch a change the Bodie and Blood of Chriſt ceaſeth not to be in this Sacrament, whether the change be in qualitie, as if the colour, ſauour, and ſmell of Bread and Wine be a little altered, or in quantitie, as if thereof diuiſion be made into ſuch portions, in which the nature of Bread and Wine might be reſerued. But if there be made ſo great a change, as the nature of Bread and Wine ſhould be corrupted, if they were preſent, then the Bodie and Blood of Chriſt do not remaine in this Sacrament, as when the colour and ſauour, and other qualities of Bread and Wine are ſo far changed, as the Nature of Bread and Wine might not beare it: or on the quantities ſide, as if the Bread be ſo ſmall crummed into duſt, and the Wine diſperſed into ſo ſmall portions, as their formes remaine no longer: then remaineth no more the Bodie and Blood in this Sacrament. Thus the Bodie and Blood of Chriſt remaineth in this Sacrament, ſo long as the formes of Bread and Wine remaine. And when they faile and ceaſe to be any more, then alſo ceaſeth the Bodie and Blood of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament. For there muſt be a conuenience and reſemblance betweene the Sacraments, and the things whereof they be Sacraments, which done away and loſt at the corruptions of the formes and Accidents, the Sacraments alſo be vndone and periſh, and conſequently the inward thing and the heauenly thing in them contained, leaueth to be in them.

The 248. Vntruth. For this is a new fantaſie, and not the Doctrine of the Ancient Church.

The 249. Vntruth. For neither the Scriptures, nor any of the Ancient Doctors &c. leadeth vs thus to beleeue.

The Doctrine of the Church.

Auguſt. ad Bonifac. epiſt. 23.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

I cannot Imagine, wherefore M. Harding ſhould ſo often tell vs, that the people in the Primitiue Church was taught plainly. For, as now, in his Church of Rome, all things of purpoſe are drowned in darkneſſe, and the ſimple people ſuffered to know nothing: no not the meaning of the Sacraments, which of all other things ſhould bee moſt plaine.

For, briefly to open ſome part of the Myſteries, which euery of the ſimple vnlearned People may not know, marke, I beſeech thee, good Chriſtian Reader, how plainly they haue determined the maner of Chriſts Being in the Sacrament. Thomas of Aquine the moſt famous of all the Schoole doctors writeth thus: In Corpore Chriſti in Sacramento non eſt diſtantia partium ab inuicem, vt oculi ab oculo, aut Capitis à pedibus: ſicut eſt in alijs Corporibus organicis. Talis enim diſtantia partium eſt in ipſo Corpore Chriſti vero: ſed non prout eſt in Sacramento. Quia ſic non habet Quantitatem dimenſiuam. *In the Bodie of Chriſt in the Sacrament there is no diſtance of parts, one from another: as between eie, and eie: or eie, and eare: or head, and feet, as it is in other naturall Bodies: For ſuch a diſtance there is in* the True Bodie of Chriſt: *but not as it is in the Sacrament. For ſo it hath no dimenſion of Quantities.* Out of which Words the Reader may gather by the way, that, the True Bodie of Chriſt is not in the Sacrament. O what a Chriſt haue they deuiſed for themſelues! He hath neither Quantitie, nor Proportion of Bodie, nor diſtance of parts: he is neither long, nor ſhort, nor round, nor broad, nor thicke, nor thin: his eies, his eares, his head, his feet are all in one. Yet is this the very Proportion, and ſtature of Chriſts Body, euen as he walkt vpon the Earth, and euen as he was nailed vpon the Croſſe.

In 3. quæſt. 76. art. 3.

And leſt any man ſhould ſtagger hereat, and ſtand in doubt, this matter is ouerlokt, and conſidered in the Decrees by the Canoniſts, by theſe words: Sed ſecundùm hoc videtur, quòd, vbi pars eſt, ibi eſt totum: & ſecundùm hoc videtur, quòd pes, & naſus ſunt coniuncti: quod non credo: *By this it appeareth, that, where as the part is, there is the whole: and that Chriſts foote and his noſe are both together. But I cannot beleeue that.* So clerely and plainly theſe men are wont to teach the people.

De Con. Diſt. 2. Vbi pars. In Gloſſa.

I paſſe ouer the reſt of their Doctrine. Sometimes their Accidents haue power to nourish: Sometimes the ſame Accidents are parts of the Subſtance: Sometimes Subſtance muſt be an Accident: ſometimes Accidents muſt be Subſtance. To be ſhort, thus of Night they make Date, and of Day they make Night. They are now aſhamed of their own Doctors, that lately were in higheſt rome, and, as it befell ſometime vnto them, that enterpriſed the Tower of Babylon, one of them vnderſtandeth not anothers language. And therefore now their building is at a ſtay.

This is the ſimplicitie, and plainneſſe of M. Hardings Church. It is an eaſier matter, for the ſimple people to goe to Heauen, than for him, and his fellowes to agree well, and thoroughly of the way.

Here M. Harding without either Scripture, or Councell, or Doctor, hath interlarded a long Fable of his owne: which notwithſtanding, as he ſaith, is the Doctrine of the Church.

Church. But miſerable is that Church, that hath neither Scripture, nor Councell, nor Doctour, to approue her Doctrine. Reſeruation.

Firſt he imagineth, That Chriſts Body is Really in the Sacrament, ſo long, as the Sacrament is a Sacrament. Againe, by the tenour and force of his Doctrine, If Chriſts Body once depart away, then is the Sacrament no more a Sacrament. Thus this Doctrine turneth round. If it bee a Sacrament, then is Chriſts Body there: if Chriſts Body be there, then is it a Sacrament. So ſimply and plainly they teach the people. O happie are they that haue ſuch Maiſters!

Further he ſaith: The Subſtance of the Bread and Wine is Really changed into the Body and Blood of Chriſt. And this he auoucheth by Scriptures without words, and by Doctours without names.

Afterward, hee keepeth great Motes about Qualities and Quantities: How far the colour, or ſauour, or other qualities of the Bread may be altered; and into how ſmall mites the Bread may be crummed (for theſe be his owne words) and yet neuertheleſſe Chriſts Body continue in it. No doubt, a very plaine and comfortable, and a ſauorie doctrine for the people. S. Ambroſe, S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Chryſoſtome, and other learned Fathers trauelled far, and deepely with great ſtudy: S Paul was lifted vp into the third Heauen: yet none of them could vnderſtand it.

In the end he ſaith: There muſt be a conuenience, and a Reſemblance betweene the Sacrament, and the things whereof it is a Sacrament. For example, As Water doth waſh and refreſh our Bodies: ſo by Reſemblance we are taught in the Water of Baptiſme, that Chriſts blood doth waſh and refreſh our ſoules. And as our Bodies be fed by materiall Bread, ſo in the Holy Communion we are taught by like reſemblance, that our Soules are fed with the Body of Chriſt. Such conuenient likeneſſe there is betweene the Sacrament, and the thing that is repreſented by the Sacrament. But what ſuch Reſemblance or Likeneſſe can M. Harding imagine herein to further his fantaſie? Wherein are his Accidents like vnto Chriſts Body? Or wherein is Chriſts Body like vnto his Accidents? Will hee ſay, that the Accidents of Bread doe nouriſh and increaſe the Subſtance of our Bodies? Or that our Soules liue ſo by Chriſts Body, as our Bodies liue by Accidents? If he leaue this Reſemblance of Feeding and Nouriſhing, what other Reſemblance can he finde?

O how much better were it for M. Harding, ſimple, and plainly to confeſſe, that, as well for this Article, as for the reſt, he is vtterly deſtitute, not onely of the Scriptures, but alſo of Generall Councels, and Ancient Fathers: and hath nothing to allege, but only certaine vaine imaginations of his owne!

M. Harding. The 4. Diuiſion.

Of Reſeruation of the Sacrament. fol. 12.

Ad Caluſorium Aſſoncen. Epiſcopum, citat Thom. part. 3. q. 76.

Heere becauſe many of them which haue cut themſelues from the Church, condemne the Reſeruation of the Sacrament, and affirme that the Body of Chriſt remaineth not in the ſame, no longer than during the time whiles it is receiued, alleging againſt Reſeruation the example of the Paſchall Lambe in the Old Law, wherein nothing ought to haue remained vntill the morning, and likewiſe of Manna: I will rehearſe that notable and knowen place of Cyrillus Alexandrinus. His words be theſe: *Audio quòd dicant myſticam benedictionem, ſi ex ea remanſerint in ſequentem diem reliquiæ, ad ſanctificationem inutilem eſſe. Sed inſaniunt hæc dicentes. Non enim alius fit Chriſtus, neque ſanctum eius Corpus immutabitur: ſed virtus benedictionis, & viuifica gratia manet in illo:* It is told me, they ſay, that the myſticall bleſſing (ſo he calleth the bleſſed Sacrament) in caſe portions of it be kept vntill the next day, is of no vertue to Sanctification. But they be mad that thus ſay. For Chriſt becommeth not another, neither his holy Body is changed: but the vertue of the Conſecration & the quickning or lifegiuing grace, abideth ſtill in it. By this ſaying of Cyrillus we ſee, that he accounteth the errour of our Aduerſaries in this Article, no other than a meere madneſſe. The Body of Chriſt (ſaith he) which he termeth the myſticall bleſſing, becauſe it is a moſt holy myſterie done by Conſecration, once Conſecrated is not changed, but the vertue of the Conſecration and the grace that giueth life (250) where by he meaneth that Fleſh aſſumpted of the Word, remaineth in this Sacrament, alſo when it is kept; (250) verily euen ſo long, as the outward Formes continue not corrupt.

The 250. Vntruth, ſtanding in vntrue and guilefull conſtruction.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

Truth is not afraid of ſlanderous Tragedies. Wee haue not cut off our ſelues from the Catholike Church of God. Wee haue forſaken the dangerous companie of them, that haue turned the Church of God into a Caue of Theeues: whoſe companie God by ſpeciall words hath willed vs to forſake. For thus the Almighty ſaith vnto vs: *O my people, come out from her, and bee not partaker of her ſinnes: leſt yee take part of her plagues.* Apocalyp. 18.

The matter of Reſeruation is only paſſed on, and vtterly impertinent and nothing belonging to this queſtion. Howbeit, vnleſſe M. Harding had vſed the aduantage of this digreſſion, he had paſſed ouer this whole Article without framing of any Doctor. I

Reseruation.

grant, the Sacrament in the Old time in some certaine Churches was reserued: howbeit, not to be worshipped with godly honour, but only to be receiued in the holy Communion of the people. And Origen amongst other godly Fathers seemeth to mislike the same; For thus he writeth: Dominus Panem, quem Discipulis dabat, non distulit, nec seruari iussit in Crastinum: *The Bread that the Lord gaue to his Disciples, he deferred it not, nor willed it to be reserued vntill the next day.*

Origen. in Leuit. homil. 5.

But touching the force of this Article, Cyrillus speaketh not one word, neither of Corporall Presence, nor of Formes, nor of Accidents, nor of Crummes, nor of Quantities, nor of Qualities, nor of Putrefaction, or Corruption, nor of the comming of Christs Body, nor of the Abode or Departure of the same, nor of any other the like M. Hardings Mysteries. Therefore this holy Father neither reproueth our Doctrine, nor chargeth vs, as M. Harding imagineth, with any madnesse. But if he were now aliue, he would account him mad and twice mad, that would so madly racke his words to so vaine a purpose.

Concerning the Reseruation of the Sacrament that Cyrillus speaketh of, the matter stood thus. Sometimes after that the people had receiued the holy Mysteries, it happened that there remained some portions vntouched. These portions so remaining the godly Fathers, that then were, thought it not meet to turne to any prophane vse: but rather reserued them vntill the next day to be receiued of the people in the holy Communion. For as yet there was no Priuate Masse knowen in the whole Church of God, throughout the world.

The Messalian Monkes repined hereat, and said, *The Sacrament could not so long continue holy.* Cyrillus answereth them, not that the Flesh, which Christ receiued of the Blessed Virgin, continueth still, as inclosed in the Sacrament, as it is vntruly reported by M. Harding; but, that Christs Institution, and the Mysticall Benediction, which he calleth the Quickening Grace, continueth still. And his reason is this: for that all Sacraments haue their Vertue and Power, not of themselues, but wholly and onely from Christ. Wherefore as Christ is one, and continueth still without change: euen so must the Grace, that Christ worketh in vs by his Sacraments, be likewise one, and continue still. And as there is no vertue in the Water of Baptisme, but when it is vsed: euen so there is no vertue in the Bread of the holy Communion, but likewise only when it is vsed.

As for the quickening Grace, it is as well in the one Sacrament, as in the other. S. Ambrose saith: Aqua Baptismatis habet Gratiam Dei, & Præsentiam Trinitatis: *The Water of Baptisme hath the Grace of God, and the Presence of the holy Trinity.* And in the Nicene Councell it is written thus: Cogita aquas plenas ignis Cœlestis: *Imagine this Water to bee full of Heauenly fire.* And this Grace is not only for one houre or two, but lasteth and continueth still. So S. Augustine saith: Arca Testamenti, quamuis ab hostibus capta, Virtutem tamen suæ Sanctificationis non amisit: *The Arke of God, notwithstanding it were taken and carried away by the Enemies, yet it lost not the vertue of the former holinesse that was in it.*

Ambros. de Sacram. li. 1. cap. 5.
Πλήρη τῆς θείου πυρὸς νέες τὰ ὕδατα.
August. contra Gaudent. lib. 3.

Yet may not M. Harding vpon occasion hereof, either thinke or say, that this Grace is Really and Substantially inclosed either in the one Sacrament, or in the other. Bonauentura saith: Non est aliquo modo dicendum, quòd Gratia continetur in Sacramentis essentialiter, tanquam aqua in vase. Hoc enim dicere est erroneum. Sed dicuntur continere Gratiam, qui eam significant: *We may not in any wise say, That the Grace of God is contained in the Sacraments Substantially and Indeed, as Water is contained in a Vessell. For so to say, it were an errour. But Sacraments are said to containe the Grace of God, because they signifie the Grace of God.*

In 4. Senten. Dist. 1. quæ. 3.

Here the opinion that M. Harding seemeth to maintaine, is condemned for an error, and this sentence allowed for true and Catholike: *Sacraments are said to containe the Grace of God, because they signifie the Grace of God.* To conclude he saith: Gratia est in animis, non in signis Visibilibus: *The Grace is in the Mindes or Soules of the receiuers: not in the Visible Signes or Sacraments.*

WHETHER A MOVSE, &c.

THE XXIII. ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that a Mouse or any other Worme or Beast may eat the Body of Christ: For so some of our Aduersaries haue said and taught.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

M. Iewel conuicteth himselfe.

Whereas M. Iewel imputeth this vile assueration but to some of the Aduersaries of his side, he seemeth to acknowledge, that it is not a doctrine vniuersally taught and receiued. The like may bee said for his next Article: And if it hath beene said of some only, and not taught vniuersally of all, as a true Doctrine for Christian people to beleeue; how agreeth he with himselfe, saying after the rehersall of his number of Articles, the same none excepted, as beeing the highest mysteries and greatest keies of our Religion? For if that were true, as it is not true for the greatest part, * then should this Article haue beene affirmed and taught of all. For the highest and greatest points of the Catholike Religion be not particular, but of vniuerlall teaching.

* By this rule the greatest points of M. Hardings Catholike Religion may well come in question.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

Here it appeareth that M. Harding somewhat misliketh his Catholike Maisters, and thinketh it now an errour to say, That a Mouse may eat the Body of Christ: and therefore he calleth this part of his owne Doctrine, A vile assueration. But if this Assueration of M. Hardings owne Doctours and greatest Doctours be so vile, then vile were they that first deuised it. And yet I cannot well see, how he may so lightly recant the Doctrine that he was borne and brought vp in, and condemne his owne fellowes of villanie, without blame.

Howbeit, one good excuse he seemeth to haue that this part of his Religion was neuer vniuersally receiued, nor counted Catholike. And therefore he saith, It is no key of his Religion. If M. Harding will measure all the rest in this sort, I feare me, very few parts of his whole Religion will proue Catholike. And yet the first deuisers and setters forth and maintainers hereof, toke this euer more for a principall key, as without which the rest of their Doctrine could not stand. Yet were they euermore accounted, both as Vniuersall for their Learning, and as Catholike for their Religion, and as constant in the same, as M. Harding.

But indeed the old holy Fathers, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Chrysostome, neuer heard of this strange Doctrine: nor if they had heard it, would euer haue taken it for locke or key of their Religion: but would rather haue thought him worthy to be lockt vp as a mad man, that would either haue taught it, as great numbers haue done: or else haue doubted of it, as M. Harding doth. Now let vs see by whom this Doctrine hath beene maintained. So, whether it haue beene holden for Catholike, or no, it will soone appeare.

Yet notwithstanding, I must protest before hand, that the speeches that they haue vsed in this behalfe, are so blasphemous and so vile, that for the reuerence I beare to the glorious Body of Christ, I can neither heare them, nor vtter them without horrour.

First of all, Thomas of Aquine saith thus: Quidam dixerunt, quòd cùm primùm Sacramentum sumitur à Mure, vel à Cane, desinit ibi esse Corpus, & Sanguis Christi: Sed hoc derogat veritati huius Sacramenti; *Some haue said, that as soone as the Sacrament is touched of a Mouse or a Dog, the Body and Blood of Christ straight way departeth from it. But this is a derogation to the truth of this Sacrament.* By these words, M. Hardings iudgement is vtterly condemned, as vttered against the truth, and in the derogation of this Sacrament. *Thom. par. 3. de Euchar. qu. 79. arti. 3.*

M. Harding may not well call in question, whether this Doctour were Catholike, or no. For Christ said vnto him by a vision in his dreame: Bene scripsisti de me Thoma: *O Thomas thou hast written full well of me.* And therefore he is called, Doctor Angelicus, *An Angelicall Doctour*, for that in learning and iudgement he so far surmounted all other Doctours, and was accounted most Catholike.

In the Councell of Arle it is written thus: Qui non benè custodierit Sacrificium, & Mus, vel aliquod animal comederit illud, quadraginta dies pœniteat: *Whoso keepeth not the Sacrifice well and duly, and a Mouse or any other beast, happen to eat it, let him be put to penance forty daies.* *Concil. Arelaten. 3. can. 6.*

Iohan. de Burgo de Cuſtodia Euchariſt. cap. 10.

Iohannes de Burgo ſaith: Mus comedens Hoſtiam, ſuſcipit Corpus Chriſti: *The Mouſe eating the Sacrament, receiueth the Body of Chriſt.*

Alexan. par. 4. queſt. 45. m. 1.

Alexander de Hales ſaith thus: Quidam dicunt, Vbicunque ponantur ſpecies, ſiue in mundo loco, ſiue in immundo, ſiue in Ventre Muris, ibi eſt Corpus Chriſti. Et in hoc non derogatur Corpori Chriſti, nec Sacramento: *Some ſay, Where ſoeuer the Formes be laid, whether it be in a faire place, or in a foule, or in the belly of a Mouſe, there is the very Body of Chriſt. And this is no hinderance, neither to the Body of Chriſt, nor to the Sacrament.*

Againe he ſaith: Si Canis vel Porcus deglutiret Hoſtiam Conſecratam integram, non video, quare Corpus Domini non ſimul trajiceretur in ventrem Canis vel Porci: *If a Dog or a Swine ſhould eat the whole Hoſt being Conſecrate, I ſee no cauſe, but our Lords Body ſhould enter into the belly of the Dog or of the Swine.*

Gerſon. contra Floret. lib. 4.

Gerſon ſaith: Brutem ſumit Corpus Chriſti per Accidens, quia illud illud, in quo eſt: *A brute Beaſt receiueth the Body of Chriſt, becauſe it receiueth that thing, wherein Chriſts Body is contained.*

Bonauen. in 4. Senten. diſt. 13. q. 1. e.

Bonauenture liketh better the contrary Doctrine, as more agreeing, as he ſaith, both with Ciuill Honeſty, and alſo with the iudgement of common Reaſon: Hæc Opinio eſt honeſtior, & rationabilior.

4. Sent. diſt. 13.

Peter Lombard, The Maſter of all Catholike Concluſions, one that taketh vpon him to teach all others, when he commeth to this point, he ſtandeth in a maunmering, and is not able to teach himſelfe. For thus he ſaith touching the ſame: Quid igitur ſumit Mus, vel quid manducat? *What is it then that the Mouſe receiueth, or what eateth it?* He anſwereth: Deus nouit: *God knoweth: I know it not.*

Notwithſtanding his Reſolution is this: Sane dici poteſt, quod Corpus Chriſti a brutis animalibus non ſumitur: *It may very well be ſaid, that a brute beaſt receiueth not the Body of Chriſt.* But this Sentence is reuerſed, and not thought Catholike. For the great Faculty of Paris hath giuen this iudgement vpon the ſame: Hic Magiſter non tenetur: *Herein the Maſter is not allowed.*

Therefore, notwithſtanding M. Hardings contrary determination, this Doctrine hitherto appeareth righ good and Catholike.

Antonin. de defectib. Miſſ. 3. Par. Summ. 3.

Touching ſuch caſes, as herein may happen, Antoninus the Archbiſhop of Florence writeth thus: Si Mus, aut aliud animal, &c. *If a Mouſe, or any other Worme, or Beaſt happen to eat the Sacrament through negligence of keeping, let the keeper through whoſe negligence it happened, be enioined to penance forty dayes. And if it be poſſible, let the Mouſe be taken and burnt, and let his aſhes be buried in or about the Altar.* But Peter of Palus ſaith: *The Mouſes entrailes muſt be drawen, and the portion of the Sacrament that there remaineth, if the Prieſt be ſquamiſh to receiue it, muſt reuerently be laid vp in the Tabernacle, vntill it may naturally be conſumed. But the Hoſt ſo found in the Mouſes entrailes may in no wiſe be throwen out into the poole.* In a certaine Prieſt ſometime vſed a flie, that he found in his Chalice after Conſecration. But if a man had ſuch a fernent zeale (ſaith he) that his ſtomacke would ſerue him to receiue the ſame without horrour, there were no way to it, ſpecially if the man were faſting. So S. Hugh of Cluniee much commendeth Goderanus a Prieſt, for receiuing the like portions caſt vp againe by a Leper. But he ſaid afterward, S. Laurences gridiron was nothing ſo bad. Hitherto Antoninus.

De Con. diſt. 2. Si quis. In Gloſſa.

And, for more likelihood hereof, this is holden as a Catholike Concluſion of that ſide: Corpus Chriſti poteſt euomi: *The very Body of Chriſt may be vomited vp againe.*

I proteſt againe, as before, the very blaſphemie and loathſomneſſe hereof vnto a godly heart is vntolerable. Neither would I haue vſed this vnpleaſant rehearſall, were it not, that it behoueth ech man to know, how deepely the people hath bene deceiued, and to what villany they haue ben brought.

Fortalitium Fidei, lib. 3.

This Doctrine hath bene publiſhed and maintained in Schooles, in Churches, by the Schoole-doctours, by the Canoniſts, by Preachers, by Biſhops, by Generall Councels, and by him that wrote the very Caſtle and Fort of Faith. Yet M. Harding doubteth not to ſay, It is a vile Aſſeueration, and was neuer counted Catholike.

Simile.

Theſe be the Imbres of their Tranſubſtantiation. For like as Ixion, in ſtead of Lady Iuno, hauing the company of a Cloud, begat Centaures, that were monſtrous and vglie formes of halfe a man, and halfe a horſe ioined together: euen ſo theſe men, in ſtead of Gods holy Myſteries, companying with their owne light and cloudy fantaſies, haue brought forth theſe ſtrange, vglie, deformed ſhapes in Religion, loathſome to remember, and monſtrous to behold.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

Concerning the matter of this Article, whatſoeuer a Mouſe, Worme, or Beaſt, eateth the Bodie of Chriſt now being impaſſible, and immortall, ſuſteineth no violence, iniury, ne vilany. As for that which is gnawen, bitten, or eaten of worme or beaſt, whether it be the Subſtance of Bread, as appeareth

to ſenſe, which is denied,(251) becauſe it ceaſeth through vertue of Conſecration: or the outward forme only of the Sacrament, as many hold opinion,(252) which alſo only is broken and chewed of the receiuer, the Accidents by miracle remaining without ſubſtance: In ſuch caſes happening contrary to the intent and end, the Sacrament is ordained and kept for, it ought not to ſeeme vnto vs incredible, the power of God conſidered, that God taketh away his Body from thoſe outward formes, and permitteth either the nature of Bread to returne, as before Conſecration, * or the Accedents to ſupplie the effects of the Subſtance of Bread; as he commanded the nature of the Rod which became a Serpent to returne to that it was before, when God would haue it ſerue no more to the vſes it was by him appointed vnto.

* The graue authoritie of S. Cyprian addeth great weight to the ballance for this iudgement in weighing this matter, who in his Sermon *de Lapſis*, by the report of certaine miracles, ſheweth that our Lords Bodie made it ſelfe away from ſome that being defiled with the Sacrifices of Idols, preſumed to come to the Communion ere they had done their due penance. One (as hee telleth there) thinking to haue that bleſſed Bodie, which he had receiued with others in his hand, when hee opened the ſame to put it into his mouth, found that he held aſhes. And therof S. Cyprian ſaith: *Documento vnius oſtenſum eſt, Dominum recedere cùm negatur*: By the example of one man it was ſhewed, that our Lord departeth away when he is denied. It is neither wicked, nor a thing vnworthy the Maieſty of that holy myſterie, to thinke our Lords Bodie likewiſe done away, in caſes of negligence, villanie, and prophanation.

The 251. Vntruth. For the Bread remaineth ſtill, as it is plaine by the Old Catholike Fathers.

The 252. Vntruth, as it is fully proued in the tenth Article.

* The certainty of M. Hardings Doctrine.

* S. Cyprian ſpeaketh neither of Miſe, nor of brute beaſts, &c.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

O what ſhifting heere is, to auoid this miſerable inconuenience! Innocentius thinketh it not good to ſay, *The Mouſe eateth Chriſts Body in the Sacrament.* But rather he ſaith, *That Chriſt when he ſeeth the Mouſe comming, getteth himſelfe away, and leaueth the Sacrament.* This Doctours iudgement M. Harding alloweth before others, and thinketh it beſt to ſtand with reaſon.

Innocent. 3. De Officio Miſſ. cap. 11.

But what then is it that the Mouſe eateth? Bread it cannot be. *For that is gone,* as they ſay, *by Conſecration.* It remaineth, that the Mouſe muſt needs eat the Shewes and Accidents. Howbeit that were a ſtrange kind of feeding. But nothing is ſtrange to M. Harding. Yet Shewes and Accidents cannot nouriſh. what is it then wherewith the Mouſe is nouriſhed? M. Harding anſwereth: Perhaps Almighty God by a Miracle ſuffereth the Bread to returne againe to feed the Mouſe. Or elſe, if this will not ſerue, he ſaith further: Perhaps God worketh another Miracle, and by his omnipotent power giueth the very Accidents of Bread ſtrength to nouriſh and increaſe Subſtance, as if it were Bread. Thus theſe men haue deuiſed a prety way to feed Miſe with Miracles.

Thomas of Aquine ſaith, that if a man take ouermuch of the Conſecrate Wine, notwithſtanding the Subſtance of the Wine be gone, *yet he may be ouerſeene by the Accidents,* and ſo may happen to be drunken by a Miracle.

Thomas in 1. Cor. 11.

Heere we ſee, M. Harding anſwereth only by Perhaps, as being not yet well aduiſed, what he may ſay. Whereby it appeareth, his Doctrine holdeth no certainty. Therefore, whatſoeuer he ſay, we may giue no great credit to his tale, nor take it for Catholike.

S. Cyprian, that is heere alleged, maketh no maner mention, neither of Formes, nor of Accidents, nor teacheth vs, that the Mouſe can eat Chriſts Body: nor that Chriſt conueieth himſelfe away, and leaueth the Sacrament: nor that the Subſtance of Bread returneth again: nor that the Accidents haue power to nouriſh: nor any other like fantaſie. Only he ſaith, *God gaue that wicked man by that Miracle to vnderſtand, that for his Infidelitie and Idolatrie, his grace was ſo departed from his heart, as the Sacrament was departed from his hand.* Therefore this place maketh vtterly nothing to M. Hardings purpoſe. Notwithſtanding he thought it good, ſo in this Article to vſe the name of S. Cyprian, as in the Article before he vſed the name of S. Cyril: leſt he ſhould be thought to paſſe ouer any Article without a Doctour.

Cyprian. Serm. 5. De Lapſis.

The beſt that may be gathered of S. Cyprians words is this, That the wicked receiueth not the Body of Chriſt. Which thing, as it is moſt true, ſo it vtterly ouerthroweth the whole ſubſtance of M. Hardings Doctrine.

Now, good Chriſtian Reader, that thou maiſt ſee how aptly M. Hardings Doctours agree together, notwithſtanding ſo many of them tell vs, & hold it for moſt certaine, *That a Mouſe may eat the very Body of Chriſt, and receiue whole Chriſt, God and Man into his belly:* Yet others of them contrariwiſe tell vs, and hold it likewiſe for moſt certain: *That a faithfull Chriſtian man, be he neuer ſo godly, yet cannot receiue the Body of Chriſt into his belly.* For thus they write: Certum eſt, quòd quàm citò ſpecies teruntur dentibus, tam citò in Cœlum rapitur Corpus Chriſti: *It is certaine, that as ſoone as the Formes of the Bread be touched with the teeth ſtraightway the Body of Chriſt* (is not receiued into the belly, but) *is caught vp into Heauen.* And he ſaith not Perhaps, as M. Harding doth, but, Certum eſt: *It is certain, and out of queſtion,* and therefore Catholike.

De Con. diſt. 2. Tribus gradib. In Gloſſa.

And Hugo a great Schole Doctor, ſuch a one as M. Harding may not well denie, ſaith thus: Quando in manibus Sacramentum tenes, Corporaliter tecum eſt Chriſtus: quando ore ſuſcipis, Corporaliter tecum eſt. Poſtquam autem Corporalis ſenſus in percipiendo deficit,

Hugo de Sacram. li. 1. par. 8. cap. 13.

Bonauen. in 4. Senten. diſt. 13. qua. 2.
Durand. li. 4.

deficit, deinceps Corporalis Præſentia quærenda non eſt: *While thou holdeſt the Sacrament in thy hand, Chriſt is bodily with thee: while thou receiueſt the Sacrament with thy mouth, Chriſt is bodily with thee. But after that* (the Sacrament is paſſed further, and) *thy bodily ſenſe beginneth to faile, thou maiſt no longer looke for bodily Preſence.* Thus they grant, that a Mouſe may receiue the Body of Chriſt into his belly: and yet they denie the ſame vnto a Man. Such is the certainty and conſtancie of this Doctrine.

But to conclude, and to giue ſome certaine reſolution in this vncertaine and doubtfull Doctrine, it behoueth vs to vnderſtand, That, as S. Auguſtine ſaith, there is great difference betweene Chriſts Bodie, and the Sacrament. For the Sacrament is Corruptible: Chriſts Body is Glorious, and void of all Corruption. The Sacrament is in the Earth: Chriſts Body is in Heauen. The Sacrament is receiued by our Bodily Mouth: Chriſts Body is receiued only by Faith, which is the mouth of our Soule. And whoſo vnderſtandeth not this difference, vnderſtandeth not the meaning of any Sacrament.

Now to applie the ſame to this purpoſe: The Mouſe or other Worme may receiue the ſubſtance of the Bread, which is the outward corruptible Element of the Sacrament: But the very Body of Chriſt it ſelfe, which is in Heauen, cannot be receiued, but by Faith only, and none otherwiſe.

Auguſt. Confeſſion. lib. 7. cap. 10.

S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh thus in the perſon of Chriſt: Ego ſum Cibus grandium: Creſce, & manducabis me: *I am the food of great ones: Grow, and thou ſhalt eat me.* Againe he ſaith: Hoc eſt Manducare illam eſcam, & illum potum Bibere, in Chriſto manere, & Chriſtum manentem in ſe habere: *This is the Eating of that Food, and the Drinking of that Drinke for a man to abide in Chriſt, and to haue Chriſt abiding in him.*

Aug. in Iohan. tract. 26.

Chryſoſtom. ex variis, locis in Matth. hom. 9.

Chryſoſtome ſaith: Magnus iſte Panis replet mentem, non Ventrem. Iſte Panis, & noſter eſt, & Angelorum: *This great loafe* (meaning thereby the Body of Chriſt, that is in Heauen) *filleth the Minde, and not the belly. This is our bread, and the bread of Angels.* As the Angels receiue it, ſo we receiue it.

Hilarius de Trinit. li. 8.

And to conclude, ſo ſaith S. Hilarie: *The bread that came downe from Heauen, is not receiued but of him, that hath our Lord, and is the member of Chriſt.*

By the old learned Fathers vndoubted iudgement, this is the only Eating of the Fleſh of Chriſt: wherein Wiſe, and Brute Beaſts, and wicked men, that are worſe than brute Beaſts, haue no portion. And if theſe holy Fathers were now aliue, doubtleſſe they would ſay to M. Harding and to his Fellowes: O curui in terris animi, & Cœleſtium inanes! *O you that lie groueling on the ground, and haue no ſenſe of things aboue.*

OF *INDIVIDVVM VAGVM*.

THE XXIIII. ARTICLE.

The Biſhop of Sariſburie.

OR, that when Chriſt ſaid, Hoc eſt Corpus meum, this word Hoc, pointed not the Bread, but Indiuiduum Vagum, as ſome of them ſay.

M. Harding.

Whatſoeuer *Hoc* pointeth in this ſaying of Chriſt after your iudgement, M. Iewel, right meaning and plaine Chriſtian people (who through Gods grace haue receiued the loue of truth, and not the efficacy of illuſion to beleeue lying) beleeue verily, that in this Sacrament after Conſecration, is the very Body of Chriſt, and that vpon credit of his owne words, *Hoc eſt Corpus meum*. They that appoint themſelues to follow your Geneuian doctrine in this point, deceiued by that ye teach them (*Hoc*) to point the Bread, and by ſundry other vntruths, inſtead of the very Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament rightly miniſtred verily preſent, ſhall receiue nothing at your Communion, but a bare peece of bread not worth a point. As for your, ſome ſay, who will haue *Hoc* to point *Indiuiduum Vagum*, Firſt, learne you well what they meane, and their meaning be naught, whoſoeuer they be, handle them as you liſt; therewith ſhall we bee offended neuer a deale. How this word *Hoc*, in that ſaying of Chriſt is to be taken, and what it pointeth, * wee know, who haue more learnedly, more certainly, and more truly treated thereof, than Luther, Zuinglius, Caluin, Cranmer, Peter Martyr, or any their offpring.

1. Theſſ. 1.

The benefit of the Geneuian Communion.

*M. Hardings good opinion of himſelfe.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

In this Article M. Harding only vttereth ſome part of his choler againſt them, whom it pleaſeth him to call Geneuians: and vanteth much of his owne learning, as learned men

men seldome vse to doe, with reproch, and disdaine of others: and in the end, touching the matter, saith vtterly nothing. Yet is there not lightly any doubt, that amazeth, and troubleth the best learned of his side, so much, as this.

The Dissention of Doctors.

For, their fantasie of Transubstantiation presupposed to stand in force, if they say, *That Christ by this Pronoune,* Hoc, *meant the Bread, that he held in his hand.* Then must it néeds follow, that the very Substance of that Bread, was the very Body of Christ. For by this position, that must néeds be the purport, and meaning of these words.

If they say, *Christ by the same Pronoune meant the Accidents, and Shews of the Bread,* Then must it follow, that the same Accidents, and Shewes of Bread were the Body of Christ. But so should an Accident be a Substance: Which error were much worse, and far more vnsensible, than the former.

If they say, *This Pronoune,* Hoc, *signified the Body of Christ it selfe,* Then the meaning of these Words, This is my Bodie, must néeds be this: *My Body is my Body. But this* (saith Holcot) *were vainly spoken, and to no purpose.* And by this exposition, Christs Body should be there, before the words of Consecration were pronounced: and so there should bée no vertue, or force in Consecration: or rather there should be Consecration, before Consecration: and so, Consecration, without Consecration. *Holcot in 4. Sen. que. 3.*

Vpon these few words they haue built vp their whole Religion. This is the foundation of all together. Therefore M. Harding should not so lightly, and so disdainfully haue passed it ouer without answer. Otherwise, this change being so great, as it is supposed, we shall not know, neither what thing is changed, nor whereof Christs Bodie is made present.

Neither is there any iust cause, wherefore M. Harding should be thus angry with the Genevians in this behalfe. For he knoweth right well, that this new fantasie, of Indiuiduum Vagum, is no part of their Doctrine.

But briefly to touch, how pitifully the learned of M. Hardings side haue entangled themselues in this case, first of all Gerson saith thus: Dicendum est, quòd Hoc, demonstrat substantiam Panis: *We must say, that this Pronoune,* Hoc, *signifieth the substance of the Bread.* By this Doctor, the Substance of Bread is Christs Body. *Gerson contra Floret. li. 4.*

Occam saith: Hoc, refertur ad Corpus Christi: *This Pronoune,* Hoc, *hath relation to the Body of Christ.* By this Doctor, the Body of Christ is the Body of Christ. *Occam in 4. Senten. dist. 13.*

Yet Petrus Alliacensis saith: Hoc, demonstrat Corpus Christi: aliôqui falsa est propositio: Hoc, *poynteth the Body of Christ: Otherwise Christs saying is not true.* *Petrus Alliacen. in 4. Sent. dist. 13. qua. 5.*

Thomas of Aquine goeth learnedly to worke, and expoundeth it thus: Hoc, id est, hoc contentum sub istis Speciebus, est Corpus meum: This, *That is to say, this thing contained vnder these Formes, is my Body.* *Thomas in 4. Senten. dist. 8. arti. 16.*

But all these expositions séeme to import some inconuenience. For hereby it may bée gathered, that the Bread is Transubstantiate, and, as they imagine, Christ Body made Present, before the Words of Consecration.

Therefore Iohannes de Burgo thought it good, to help the matter with a Disiunctiue, in this sort: Hoc sub hac specie præsens, vel de propinquo futurum, est Corpus meum: *This thing, that either is present already vnder these Formes, or a non will be present is my Body.* *Iohan. De Burgo de Forma Verboru. requisita &c. ca. 4.*

By all these Doctors iudgements, the meaning of Christs Words is none other, but this, *My Body is, or shall be my Body. Which exposition* (as Holcot saith) *is Childish, Vaine, fantastical, and to no purpose.* *Holcot in 4. Senten. que. 3.*

And therefore Holcot himselfe saith: Hoc, Significat quiddam vtrique termino Commune: & termino, A quo, & termino, Ad quem. *This Pronoune,* Hoc, *signifieth a certaine thing, that is indifferently Common, as well to the Bread, as to Christs Body.* But what thing, that Indifferent thing should be, it were hard to know. *Holcot eodem loco.*

Doctor Durand séeing all these inconueniences, and difficulties, and not knowing how to get out, in the end concludeth thus: Super hoc dicunt quidam, quòd per pronomen, Hoc, nihil significatur: Sed illud materialiter ponitur: *Hereupon some say, that this Pronoune,* Hoc, *signifieth nothing at all: but is put Materially, and Absolutely, without any maner signification.* *Durandus li. 4.*

But hereof groweth another doubt greater, than any of all the rest. For if this Word, Hoc, signifie nothing at all, what force then can it haue, to worke Consecration?

Innocentius waighing these things indifferently all together, is driuen to say, *That Christ Consecrated the Sacrament, not by these Words,* Hoc est Corpus meum, *But by his blessing, that went before.* *Innocen. 1. De Offi. Miss. par. 3. ca. 6. &c. 14.*

Likewise is Iohn Duns driuen to say, touching the same: Illa propositio, Hoc est Corpus meum, non est Consecratiua, nec vt Vera, nec vt Falsa: sed vt est propositio neutra: *This sentence,* Hoc est Corpus meum, *is not the Sentence of Consecration, neither as it is true, nor* *Scotus in 4. Sentent. dist. 8. que. 3.*

as

as it is False: but only as it is a Sentence neuter between both, that is to say, neither true, nor false.

All this notwithstanding, D. Steuen Gardiner, not greatly regarding the Authority of any of these Doctors, in his first Booke of the Sacrament, intituled, The Diuels Sophistrie, writeth thus: *Christ spake plainly, this is my Body, making demonstration of the Bread.* Which last exposition being true, if this Pronoune, Hoc, signified the materiall Bread, that Christ held in his hand, then, by M. Hardings Doctrine, that very Materiall Bread was indéed, and verily the Body of Christ.

The Diuels Sophistry, fol. 24.

But if the same Pronoune, Hoc, signified not that same Materiall Bread, that Christ held in his hand, then was not that same Materiall Bread changed into the Substance of Christs Body.

Thus the best learned of that side are vtterly amazed at this matter, and run each man his owne way, and know not, what may please them best.

Yet M. Harding thinketh it sufficient, thus to conclude with a courage: How that word, *Hoc*, is to be taken, and what it pointeth, we know, who haue more learnedly, more certainly, and more truely treated heereof, than Luther, Zuinglius, Caluine, Cranmer, Peter Martyr, or any their ofspring. If M. Harding, and his fellowes know so much, as héere hé séemeth to take vpon him, he hath the greater cause, to giue God thankes. Whatsoeuer he haue, he hath receiued it. God giue him grace, to vse it well.

He would séem, not to know, who they be, that would force vs to this fansie of his Indiuiduum Vagum. And therefore he saith, If their meaning be naught, handle them as ye list. Howbeit, he cannot be so ignorant herein, as he would séeme to be. For although perhaps he be not much acquainted with the Doctrine, yet he cannot chuse, but know the Doctor. Him I meane, of whom he hath borrowed good store of matter, sometimes a whole leafe, and more together, towards the building of his Booke.

D. Steuen Gardiner.

Hé, notwithstanding hé were once perswaded, that Christ by this Pronoune, Hoc, made demonstration of the Bread, yet afterward thought all that not worth a point, but vtterly changed his whole minde, and thought it better to say, that Christ by the same Pronoune, Hoc, pointed not the Bread, that he held in his hand, but only Indiuiduum Vagum. And that, for the better vnderstanding of his Reader, he calleth, Indiuiduum in Genere, Indiuiduum Entis, Vnum Substantiæ, Vnum Entis, Indiuiduum Insignitum, Indiuiduum Indiuidui. This fansie he so warranth, and forceth euery where, as if Christs Words could beare none other exposition.

Mar. Antoni. Constantius.

Thus therefore he imagineth Christ to say: *This thing, that ye see me hold in my hand, is not two things: It is only one certaine thing. But what one certaine thing it is, I cannot tell: but, sure I am, Bread it is not.*

Thus are they driuen to wander in Vanities, and to séeke vp strange, and monstrous formes of speech, such as the Ancient Catholike Doctors neuer knew, lest they should séeme plainly, and simply to say, as the learned Father Tertullian saith: Hoc est Corpus meum, hoc est, Figura Corporis mei: *This is my Body, that is to say, this is a Figure of my Bodie*: Or, as it is written in their owne Decrées: Vocatur Corpus Christi, id est, Significat Corpus Christi: *It is called the Body of Christ, that is to say, It signifieth the Body of Christ.*

Tertullian. contra Marcion. lib. 4. De Con. Dis. 2. Hoc est. In Glossa. Hieronym. in Esai. li. 2. ca. 5.

S. Hierome saith: Tam diù quærunt Hæretici noua veteribus adiungere, & eadem recentioribus immutare, donec eos & sensus humanus, & verba deficiant: *The maner of Heretikes is, so long to mingle, and blend new things with the Old, and still to alter new for new, vntill both their wits, and their speech begin to faile them.*

Here note, good Reader, that in this whole Article M. Harding hath alleged no maner Doctor, nor Old, nor New. The reason thereof is this: for that of the Old Doctors, hé had none to allege: and of his New Doctors, he was ashamed.

WHETHER

WHETHER THE FORMES BE THE SACRAMENT.

THE XXV. ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that the Accidents, or Formes, or Shewes of Bread, and Wine be the Sacramentes of Christs Body, and Blood, and not rather that Bread, and Wine it selfe.

M. Harding. The 1. Diuision.

Forasmuch, as by the Almighty power of Gods word pronounced by the Priest in the Consecration of this Sacrament, the Body and Blood of Christ are made (253) Really Present, the Substance of Bread (253) turned into the Substance of the Body, and the Substance of Wine into the Substance of the Blood: the Bread (which is consumed away by the fire of the Diuine Substance, as Chrysostome saith, and now is become the Bread which was formed by the hand of the Holy Ghost in the wombe of the Virgin, and decorated with the fire of the Passion in the Altar of the Crosse, as S. Ambrose saith:) cannot be the Sacrament of the Body, nor the Wine of the Blood. Neither can it be said that the Bread, and Wine which were before, are the Sacraments, for that the Bread is become the Body, and the Wine the Blood, and so now they are not: and if they be not, then neither be they Sacraments. Therefore that the outward formes of Bread, and Wine which remaine, be the Sacraments of Christs Body, and Blood, and not the very Bread, and Wine it selfe: it followeth by sequell of reason, or consequent of vnderstanding, deduced out of the first truth, which of S. Basil in an Epistle, *ad Sozopolitanos*, speaking against certaine, that went about to raise vp againe the old Heresie of Valentinus is called, τὸ ἐκ δυοῖν ἀκολουθον. Of which sequel of reason in the matter of the Sacrament many conclusions may be deduced in case of want of expresse Scriptures. Which way of reasoning Basil vsed against Heretikes, as also sundry other Fathers, where manifest Scripture might not be alleged.

The 253. Vntruth, euer presumed, and neuer proued.

In homil. Paschali.

De Cons. Dist. 2. cap. Omnia.

Dist. 63. In Latinis codicis.

The Bishop of Sarisbury.

M. Harding presumeth, that his new fantasie of Transubstantiation must nedes stand for good. And therefore imagining, that the Bread, and Wine are wholy remoued, and cannot be the Sacraments, he thinketh, he may well conclude, that the Formes, and Shewes, that are left behinde, must nedes be the Sacraments. But this error is soone reproued by the consent of all the Old Catholike Fathers of the Church. S. Augustine saith: Quod videtis, Panis est: *The thing that ye see* (**speaking of the Sacrament**) *is* (**not a Forme, or an Accident, but**) *Very Bread.* S. Chrysostome, Theodoretus, Gelasius, **and other learned Fathers confesse by manifest and expresse words:** *That there remaineth still in the Sacrament the very Nature, and Substance of Bread, and Wine.* **Therefore this Doctrine is built vpon a false ground, and cannot stand.**

Augustin. ad Infantes. Chrysostom. ad Cæsarium. Gelasius contra Eutychem. Theodoret. Dialogo. 1. & 2.

But Chrysostome saith: *The Bread is consumed by the force of the Diuine Presence.* **And** S. Ambrose, saith **M. Harding, reporteth the same. It is great frowardnesse, whatsoeuer any one, or other of the Fathers happen to vtter in vehemency, and heat of talke, to dissemble the maner of their speech, and to draw, and force the same violently to the rigor of the letter.** Paulus saith: In fraudem Legis facit, qui, saluis verbis Legis, sententiam eius circumuenit: *He doth wrong to the Law; that, following only the bare words, defraudeth the meaning of the Law.*

De LL. & Senatusc. & Icn. Con. Contra.

S. Cyprian saith: Passio Christi est Sacrificium, quod offerimus: *The Sacrifice, that wee offer, is the Passion of Christ.*

Cyprian lib. 2. Epist. 3.

Chrysostome saith: Baptisma Christi Sanguis eius est: *The Baptisme of Christ is Christs Blood.*

Chrysostom. in Epist. ad Hebræ. homi. 16.

And againe he saith: In Mysterijs Sanguis ex Christi latere hauritur: *In the time of the holy Communion, the Blood of Christ is drawne out of his side.*

Chrysostom. in Encæniis.

S. Gregorie saith: Christus iterum in hoc Mysterio moritur: *In this Mysterie* (**of the holy Communion**) *Christ is put to Death againe.*

De Conse. Dis. 2. Quid sit Sanguis.

I trow, M. Harding will not so straitly force vs to beleeue, only vpon the sight of these bare words, either that the holy Communion is Christs Passion: or, that the Water of Baptisme is Christs Blood; or, that Christ is slaine, and put to Death in the time of the Holy

Holy Myſteries: Or, that Chriſts Blood at that time is drawen, and poured from his ſide, and that, without helpe of Figure, Verily, Really, and indeed.

By ſuch maner of amplification, and kind of ſpeach S. Chryſoſtome ſaith: *The Bread is conſumed*: not for that there remaineth in the Sacrament no Bread at all, but for that, in compariſon of the Death of Chriſt, that there is laid forth, and repreſented before vs, the materiall Bread ſemeth nothing. For otherwiſe Chryſoſtome moſt plainly confeſſeth, that the Nature of Bread remaineth ſtill. Theſe be his words: In Sacramento manet Natura Panis: *In the Sacament there remaineth ſtill the Nature of Bread.*

Chryſoſtom. ad Cæſarium.

And, as he ſaith, *The Bread is conſumed*, Euen ſo in the ſame place he ſemeth to ſay, *The Prieſt is conſumed*. His words be theſe: Ne putes, te accipere Diuinum Corpus ab Homine: *Thinke not, that thou receiueſt the Diuine Body, of a Man.*

In Encæniis. Chryſoſtom. in Matthæ. hom. 51.

And to like purpoſe he ſpeaketh of the Sacrament of Baptiſme: Non Baptizaris à Sacerdote: Deus ipſe tenet Caput tuum: *Thou art not Baptiſed of the Prieſt: It is God himſelfe, that holdeth thy Head.*

Thus the holy Fathers intreating of the Sacraments, vſe to aduance our minds from the Senſible, and corruptible Elements, to the cogitation of the Heauenly things, that thereby are Repreſented. And therefore Chryſoſtome ſaith: Myſteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda ſunt? *Wee muſt behold all Myſteries with our inner eies:* Which inner eies doubtleſſe haue no regard to any corruptible, and outward thing.

Chryſoſt. in 1. Corin. cap. 2. Chryſoſtom. in Matthæ. hom. 83.

Hereby the fableneſſe of M. Hardings ſequell may ſone appeare.

True it is, that he further ſaith, *In caſe of want of the Scriptures, we may ſometime guide our ſelues by diſcourſe, and drift of Reaſon.* Notwithſtanding S. Auguſtine ſaith: Hæc conſuetudo periculoſa eſt: *The cuſtome hereof is very dangerous.* But in this caſe M. Harding wanteth neither the Scriptures, nor the Authority of Ancient Doctors.

Auguſt in. De Doctrina Chriſtiana. lib. 3. ca. 28.

It is plaine by the manifeſt words of S. Paul, of S. Chryſoſtome, of S. Auguſtine, of Theodoretus, of Gelaſius, and of other moe holy Fathers, both Grekes, and Latines, that in the Sacrament, after the words of Conſecration, the very Nature, and Subſtance of the Bread remaineth ſtill. It were much for M. Harding, to forſake all theſe, and to truſt only to a bare ſhift of ſimple Reaſon.

M. Harding. The 2. Diuiſion.

And whereas there muſt be a likeneſſe betweene the Sacrament, and the thing of the Sacrament, (for if the Sacraments had not a likeneſſe of things whereof they are Sacraments, properly, and rightly they ſhould not be called Sacraments: as the Sacrament of Baptiſme, which is the outward waſhing of the Fleſh: hath a likeneſſe of the inward waſhing of the Soule) and no likeneſſe here appeareth to bee betweene the Formes that remaine, and the thing of the Sacrament, for they conſiſt not, the one of many cornes, the other of grapes, for thereof commeth not Accident, but Subſtance: Hereto may be ſaid, it is enough, that theſe Sacraments beare the likeneſſe of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, foraſmuch as the one repreſenteth the likeneſſe of Bread, the other the likneſſe of Wine, which S. Auguſtine calleth (254) *Viſibilem ſpeciem elementorum*, the viſible Forme of the Elements.

Auguſt in Epiſt. 22. ad Bonifacium Epiſc.

A ſtrange Reſemblance. The 254. Vntruth. For S. Auguſtine by theſe words meant the very Subſtance of Bread.

De Conſ. diſt. 2. cap. Hoc eſt quod dicimus.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

What meaneth M. Harding, thus to encumber himſelfe with theſe vaine and miſerable follies? S. Auguſtine ſaith: *A Sacrament muſt haue a Reſemblance, or Likeneſſe of that thing, whereof it is a Sacrament. For without this Reſemblance or Likeneſſe, he ſaith, a Sacrament is no Sacrament.*

Auguſt. Epiſt. 23. ad Bonifacium.

Therefore M. Harding commeth in with his Fantaſie, and telleth vs, that his Formes and Accidents are the Reſemblance and Likeneſſe of the Body of Chriſt. But, alas, wherein ſtandeth this Compariſon of Reſemblance and Likeneſſe? Or wherein are M. Hardings Accidents, and Chriſts Body like together? Certainly M. Harding himſelfe, notwithſtanding he can ſay many things, yet he cannot truly ſay, that Chriſts Body is either round, or plaine, or white, or thin, or any way like vnto his Accidents.

Yet muſt there be a certaine likeneſſe in effects betwen the Sacrament, and the thing it ſelfe, whereof it is a Sacrament. Of which effects, the one is Senſible, and wrought outwardly to the Body: the other is Spirituall, and wrought inwardly in the mind. As for example, in the Sacrament of Circumciſion, the Outward Viſible Cutting in the Fleſh, was a Reſemblance of the Inward Spirituall Cutting of the Heart. In the Sacrament of Baptiſme, the Outward Waſhing of the Body, is a Reſemblance of the Inward Spirituall Waſhing of the Soule.

Likewiſe in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, as the Bread Outwardly Feedeth our Bodies: ſo doth Chriſts Body Inwardly, and Spiritually Feed our Soules. Thus is Feeding an effect common vnto them both. And therein ſtandeth the Reſemblance,

blance, and Likeneſſe of the Sacrament. Therefore Rabbanus Maurus ſaith: Quia Panis Corporis Cor confirmat, ideò ille congruenter Corpus Chriſti nominatur: Et quia, Vinum ſanguinem operatur in Carne, ideò illud refertur ad Sanguinem: *Becauſe the Bread confirmeth the Heart of our Body, therefore is the ſame conueniently called the Body of Chriſt: And becauſe Wine Worketh Blood in our Fleſh, therefore the Wine hath relation vnto the Blood of Chriſt.* *Rabban. Maurus li. 1. ca. 31.*

Now, if M. Harding, touching this effect of Feeding, will compare his Accidents with Chriſts Body, then muſt he ſay, That we Eat Accidents, and Drinke Accidents, and be Fed with Accidents, and Liue by Accidents: euen as in the Inner Man we Eat Chriſt, and Drinke Chriſt, and be Fed with Chriſt, and Liue by Chriſt. Otherwiſe he muſt confeſſe, that, touching the effect of Feeding, his Accidents haue no Reſemblance of Chriſts Body: and therefore can in no wiſe be called Sacraments.

But, ſaith M. Harding, The Accidents Repreſent the likeneſſe of Bread: and the Bread, that was, Repreſenteth the Body Chriſt. Here is another ſubtile drift of M. Hardings reaſon: from Accidents, to Bread: and from Bread, to Chriſts Body. And ſo we haue here fanſie vpon fanſie: and one Likeneſſe vpon another: but neither Scripture, nor Councell, nor Doctor, either Greeke, or Latine: or Old, or New, to auouch the ſame.

But here appeareth a marueilous peruerſe Order in Nature. For by M. Hardings drifts, neither can the Bread Signifie Chriſts Body, but only when the Bread is aboliſhed, and nothing left to Signifie: nor can theſe Accidents Signifie the Bread, but only, when there is no Bread remaining there, to be Signified. And ſo the effect of M. Hardings drift, and of this Reſemblance palleth from nothing to nothing, and ſtandeth in nothing.

Here it behoued M. Harding to haue foreſéen the inconueniences, that might haue followed. For if the Accidents of the Bread be the Sacrament, foraſmuch as in one peece of Bread there be ſundry Accidents, it muſt néds follow of theſe poſitions, that in one peece of Bread be ſundry Sacraments, and ſo, ſundry Sacraments in one Sacrament. Innocentius himſelfe eſpied this inconuenience: and therefore hée demandeth this queſtion: Cum ſint multæ ſpecies, quomodo non ſunt multa Sacramenta? *Innocen. De Officio Miſſ. ca. 38.*

But this Reſemblance, or Likeneſſe S. Auguſtine calleth, Viſibilem Speciem Elementorum, *The viſible Forme of the Elements.* By which words (ſaith M. Harding) he meant only the Shewes, and Accidents of the Bread. Indéed S. Auguſtines words bée true: but M. Hardings Expoſition is not true. For S. Auguſtine by this word, Species, meant not the outward Formes, or Shewes, as it is ſuppoſed, but the vere Kind, and Subſtance, and Nature of the Bread.

So S. Ambroſe ſaith: Ante benedictionem Verborum Cœleſtium, alia Species nominatur: poſt Conſecrationem Corpus Chriſti Significatur: *Before the Bleſſing of the Heauenly Words, it is called* (not another Forme, or another Shew, but) *another Kind, or Nature: But after the Conſecration, Chriſts Body is Signified.* Which thing may alſo plainly appeare by S. Auguſtine himſelfe in the ſame place. For thus he writeth: Panis, qui Corpus Chriſti eſt, ſuo modo vocatur Corpus Chriſti, cùm re vera ſit Sacramentum Corporis Chriſti, &c. Vocaturquè ipſa immolatio Carnis Chriſti, quæ Sacerdotis manibus fit, Chriſti Paſſio, Mors, Crucifixio: non rei Veritate, ſed Significante Myſterio. He ſaith (Not the Forme, not the Shew, not the Accident, but) *The Bread, that is the Body of Chriſt* (not verily, or indéed, but) *after a maner is called the Body of Chriſt: whereas it is indeed a Sacrament of the Bodie of Chriſt, &c. And the Oblation of the Fleſh of Chriſt, that is made with the Prieſts hand, is called the Paſſion, the Death, and the Crucifying of Chriſt: not in Truth of the matter, but by a Myſterie Signifying.* *Ambro. De illis qui initian. Myſteriis, c. 9.* *De Con. diſt. 2. Hoc eſt, quod dicimus.*

M. Harding. The 3. Diuiſion.

Thus the Formes of Bread and Wine are the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, not only in reſpect of the thing ſignified, which is the vnity of the Church, but alſo of the thing contained, which is the very Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, whereof the truth it ſelfe ſaid: The Bread that I ſhall giue, is my Fleſh for the life of the world. Ioan. 6.

The Biſhop of Sariſbury.

In the end M. Harding, not only without any Authority, either of Scriptures, or of Councels, or of Doctors, but alſo without any maner Shew, or drift of Reaſon, concludeth in this ſort: *Thus the Formes of Bread and Wine are the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* Thus M. Harding bringeth in his Concluſion without premiſſes. By M. Hardings iudgement, S. Auguſtine was not well aduiſed, when he called the Holy Myſterie, Sacramentum Panis & Vini: *The Sacrament of Bread and Wine.* He ſhould rather haue called it, by this Conſtruction, *The Sacrament of Formes and Shewes.* And whereas S. Auguſtine ſaith, Accedat Verbum ad Elementum, & fit Sacramentum: whereby hee meaneth, *De Fide ad Petrum, ca. 19.* *Auguſt in Iohan. tract. 80.*

Forma. Operta.

Matthæ. 26. *Cyprian. li. 2. epist. 3.* *Cyprian. in Oration. Dom.* *Cyril. in Iohan. li. 4. ca. 24.* *Irene. lib. 5.* *Ad Obiect. 27.*

meaneth, that the Bread it selfe is made a Sacrament: M. Harding will rather expound it thus: *Let the Word come to the Element, or Creature of Bread: and then the Accidents thereof are made a Sacrament.*

Verily, touching the Wine, Christ himselfe calleth it, not Formes, or Accidents, but *the Fruit*, or, as Cyprian termeth it, *The Creature of the Vine*, Creaturam Vitis.

S. Cyprian calleth the Bread after Consecration, Panem ex multorum granorum adunatione congestum: *Bread made* (not of Formes, and Accidents, but) *of the* (Substance, and) *moulding of many Cornes.*

S. Cyril saith: Credentibus Discipulis Fragmenta Panis dedit: *Christ vnto his Disciples beleeuing in him, gaue* (not Accidents, or Shewes, but) *Fragments, or peeces of Bread.*

Irenæus saith, *Of the same Bread, and Wine after Consecration*, Augetur, & consistit Carnis nostræ Substantia, *is increased, and consisteth the Substance of our Flesh.*

Here must M. Harding néds say, as Marcus Constantius said before him, that Accidents are the Fruit of the Vine: that Cornes, and Grapes be likewise Accidents that Fragments, and péces of Bread be nothing else but Accidents: that the Substance of our Bodies is nourished, and increased, and standeth by Accidents. Thus are their Accidents Fuga miserorum. They can prouue, and reproue all by Accidents: and without their Accidents they can doe nothing. And thus, as bad Surgians, they make one Salue to serue for all sores.

Gregor. in Iobum, lib. 18. cap. 14.

S. Gregorie saith: O Timothee. depositum custodi, deuitans profanas vocum nouitates. Quia cùm laudari Hæretici, tanquam de excellenti ingenio, cupiunt, quasi noua quædam proferunt, quæ in Antiquorum Patrum libris Veteribus non tenentur. Sicque fit, vt dum videri desiderant sapientes, miseris suis auditoribus stultitiæ semina spargant. *O Timothie, keepe that thou hast receiued: and beware of the wicked nouelties of words. For these Heretikes seeking the commendation of the excellency of their wit, bring foorth new things, that in the Old bookes of the Ancient Fathers are not found. And so it hapneth, that while they would be taken for wise men, they scater amongst their poore hearers the seeds of Folly.*

Certainly, M. Harding, and his fellowes, as of Shewes they haue made Sacraments; euen so of the Holy Sacraments, and whole Religion of Christ, they haue left nothing to the simple people, but a sight of Shewes.

OF HIDING, AND COVERING.

THE XXVI. ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that the Sacrament is a Signe, or Token of the Body of Christ, that lieth hidden vnderneath it.

M. Harding.

The 255. Vntruth. For the Outward forme was neuer by any Old Father called the Sacrament.

That the outward forme of Bread, (255) which is properly the Sacrament, is the Signe of the Body of Christ, we confesse, yea of that Body, which is conertly in, or vnder the same, which S. Augustine calleth *Carnem Domini forma Panis oportam*: The Flesh of the Lord couered with the forme of Bread. But what is meant by this terme (Lieth) we know not. As through Faith grounded vpon Gods word, we know that Christs Body is in the Sacrament, so that it lieth there, or vnderneath it, by which terme it may seeme a scoffe to be vttered, to bring the Catholike teaching in contempt, or that it sitteth, or standeth, we deny it. For lying, sitting, and standing, noteth scituation of a Body in a place, according to distinction of members, and circumscription of place, so as it haue his parts in a certaine order correspondent to the parts of the place. But after such maner the Body of Christ is not in the Sacrament, but without circumscription, order, and habitude of his parts to the parts of the Bodie, or place enuironing. Which maner of Being in, is aboue al reach of humane vnderstanding wonderous, strange, and singular, not defined, and limitted by the Lawes, or bounds of nature, but by the almightie power of God. To conclude, the Being of Christs Body in the Sacrament is to vs certaine, the maner of his Being there to vs vncertaine, and to God only certain. *In libro sententiarum Prosperi.*

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

The entry of this Article, is the Conclusion of the last. So artificially M. Hardings Vntruths are wouen together. *The outward Forme of Bread*, saith he, *is the Sacrament.*

But

But withall he ſhould haue added, that this forme and maner of ſpech is only his owne, peculiar only to himſelfe, and certaine his fellowes of that ſide: neuer vſed by any of all the Old Doctours, and Fathers of the Church, either Greke or Latine: or Learned, or Vnlearned: or Catholike or Heretike: or one or other.

Theſe words of S. Auguſtine are alleged and anſwered before. That holy learned Father neuer ſaid, neither that the Formes and Accidents be the Sacrament: nor that Chriſts Body is Really hidden vnder the ſame: nor in this place ſpeaketh any one word at all of any Accidents. *In the 12. Article, and 14. Diuiſion.*

But the words, wherein M. Harding is deceiued, are theſe: Forma Panis: Which words ſignifie not the outward Formes and Accidents, as he vntruly expoundeth them: but the very Kinde and Subſtance of the Bread. So S. Paul ſaith Chriſtus cùm in Forma Dei eſſet, Formam Serui accepit: *Chriſt being in the Forme (or Nature) of God, tooke vpon him the Forme (or Nature) of a Seruant.* By which words S. Paul meant, that Chriſt was very God in Subſtance, and that he toke vpon him the very Subſtance of a Man. So S. Hierome expoundeth the ſame words, ſpeaking in the perſon of Chriſt: Declinaui ad eos deferens Regna Cœlorum, vt cum eis veſcerer, aſſumpta Forma Serui: *I went downe to them leauing the Kingdome of Heauen, that I might eat with them, hauing taken the Forme of a Seruant.* I thinke M. Harding will not ſay, Chriſt toke a Body of Formes and Accidents, that he might be conuerſant, and liue with men. So S. Auguſtine ſaith: Secundùm hanc Formam, non eſt putandus vbique diffuſus: *Chriſt* (not according to the Shewes or Accidents of his Body, but) *according to this Kinde, this Nature, and this Subſtance of his Body, may not be thought to be powred and ſpred into all places.* Thus S. Paul, S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, and other learned Fathers vſe this word Forma, for Nature and Subſtance: and not for Accidents. Philip. 2. *Hieronym. in Oſee, li. 3. ca. 2.* *Auguſtin. ad Dardan. epiſt. 57.*

And as touching the other word, Operta, Couered, S. Auguſtine meaneth not thereby, that Chriſts Body is Really contained and couered vnder the ſaid Forme or Kinde of Bread: but only that it is there as in a Sacrament, or in a Myſtery. In this ſenſe S. Auguſtine ſaith: Gratia Dei in Veteri Teſtamento velata latebat: *The Grace of God lay hidden couered in the Old Teſtament.* And againe: In Veteri Teſtamento occultabatur Nouum, id eſt, occultè Significabatur: *The New Teſtament was hidden in the Old, that is to ſay, It was ſecretly ſignified in the Old.* *Auguſt. de Spiritu & Litera, cap. 15.* *Auguſt. de Baptiſm. contr. Donat. lib. 1. cap. 15.*

Yeare, leſt M. Harding ſhould take theſe words ſtrictly and groſly, as he doth the reſt, and ſay, The New Teſtament Indeed and Really was couered in the Old, S. Auguſtine himſelfe hath preuented him, and opened his owne meaning in this wiſe, as it is ſaid before: Occultabatur, id eſt, occultè Significabatur: *It was Couered, that is to ſay, It was ſecretly Signified.* By which expoſition, being S. Auguſtines, M. Harding might haue learned likewiſe to expound theſe words: Caro Operta Forma Panis, id eſt, occultè Significata: *The Fleſh couered in the Forme or Subſtance of Bread: that is to ſay, Primly Signified in the Forme or Subſtance of Bread.*

But M. Harding thought it beſt, to leaue the matter, and to make his quarrell to the words: *This word,* Lieth, ſaith he, *importeth a ſcoffe, wherewith to bring his Catholike teaching into contempt.* Verily this muſt needs be a maruellous tender, and a miſerable Doctrine, that may no waies be touched without ſuſpition of a ſcoffe. But why is he more angrie with vs for vttering theſe words, Lieth hidden, than he is with his owne Doctours vttering the ſame?

In his Gloſſe vpon the Decrees it is written thus: Species Panis, ſub qua latet Corpus: Species Vini, ſub qua latet Sanguis: *The Forme of Bread, vnder which is hidden the Body: The Forme of Wine, vnder which is hidden the Blood.* These bee his owne fellowes words: they are not ours. *De Con. diſt. 2. Hoc eſt. In Gloſſa.*

Willihelmus Haffliginenſis, one of M. Hardings New Doctours ſaith thus: Quærite Dominum, dum inueniri poteſt. In Templo inuenitur Materiali: ibi latet ſub Specie Panis: *Seeke the Lord, while he may be found. He is found in the Materiall Church of ſtone: there hee is hidden vnder the Forme of Bread.* *Willih. Haffliginenſis in Sermone de Aduentu. Vixit Anno 1300.*

Another like Doctour ſaith thus: Ibi eſt Corpus Chriſti in tanta quantitate, ſicut fuit in Cruce. Vnde mirum eſt, quomodo ſub tam modica Specie tantus homo lateat: *The Body of Chriſt is there as great in quantitie, as he was vpon the Croſſe. Therefore it is maruellous how ſo great a man can be hid vnder ſo ſmall a Forme.* *Ludulphus in vita Chriſti, par. 2. ca. 56.*

If this word Hidden, ſo necceſſarily import a ſcoffe, then muſt M. Harding needs thinke, that his owne Doctours ſcoffe at him, and laugh him to ſcorne. Certainly, it is no indifferent dealing, the words being all one, ſo fauourably to allow them in his owne bookes, and ſo bitterly to miſlike them in all others.

Perhaps hee will ſay, *It is no Catholike Forme of ſpeech,* to ſay, Chriſt Lieth *in the Sacrament.*

Sacrament. And yet I ſée no great reaſon, but it may ſtand as well with the Catholike Doctrine to ſay, Chriſt lieth *in the Sacrament*, as, Chriſt ſitteth *in the Sacrament*. Yet Iohannes à S. Andrea, a great Doctour, and a ſpeciall Patrone of that ſide, is well allowed to write thus, and that without any maner controlement or ſuſpicion of ſcoffe: Id temporis contentio nulla erat, vtrùm Corpus Chriſti inſideret Euchariſtiæ: *At that time there was no ſtrife, whether Chriſts Body were ſitting in, or vpon the Sacrament, or no.* Thus was it lawfull for him to write: and his writings are taken for good and Catholike.

Iohan. à S. Andrea in epiſtola ante Liturgias.

But M. Harding ſaith: Chriſts Bodie is in the Sacrament, without Circumſcription or Reſpect of place, ſtrangely, wondrouſly, and ſingularly, and by the might of Gods omnipotent power; and the maner of his Being there is knowen onely vnto God. These be faire, and orient, and beautifull colours, but altogether without ground: and, to vſe the termes of M. Hardings Religion, they are nothing elſe, but Accidents, and Shewes without a Subiect.

It is a ſtrange and a marueilous matter, that this preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament being ſo certaine and ſo ſingular, as M. Harding ſémeth to make it, yet all the old learned Catholike Fathers ſhould ſo lightly paſſe it ouer in ſilence, without any maner mention, as if it were not worth the hearing: or that M. Harding ſhould ſo aſſuredly, and ſo certainly know it, and yet God himſelfe ſhould not know it: or that God ſhould know it, and yet, being a matter ſo ſingular, and ſo neceſſary to be knowen, ſhould neuer reueale the ſame to any, either of the learned Fathers, or of the Holy Apoſtles, or make them priuie to that knowledge.

Indéed it behoueth vs to humble our hearts vnto the miracles and marueilous workes of God. But euery M. Hardings fantaſie is not a Miracle. The Heretike Praxeas ſaid, euen as now M. Harding ſaith: Deo nihil eſt difficile: *Vnto God nothing is hard.* But Tertullian that learned Father anſwered him then, euen as we now anſwer M. Harding: Sitam abruptè in præſumptionibus noſtris vtamur hac ſententia, quiduis de Deo confingere poterimus: *If we ſo raſhly vſe this ſentence to ſerue our Preſumptions* (or fantaſies) *we may imagine of God what we liſt.*

Tertull. contra Praxeam.

Act. 7. Coloſſ. 3.

S. Steuen ſaw Chriſt in Heauen, *Standing*: S. Paul ſaith: Chriſt is now at the Right hand of God, *Sitting*: which thing alſo we confeſſe in the Articles of our Faith. But in the Sacrament, ſaith M. Harding, Chriſt is preſent without any maner ſuch Circumſcription or Circumſtance, or order of place: that is to ſay, as great in quantitie, as he was vpon the Croſſe, and yet neither Standing, nor Sitting, nor Lying, nor Leaning, nor Knæling, nor Walking, nor Reſting, nor Mouing, nor hauing any maner Proportion, or Poſition of his Body, either vpward or downeward: or backeward or forward: A very Body, and yet not as a Body: in a place, and yet not as in a place.

This is M. Hardings Catholike Doctrine, without Scripture, without Councell, without Doctour, without any liking or ſenſe of Reaſon. Yet muſt euery man receiue the ſame at M. Hardings hand, as the Singular, Strange, Wonderfull, Omnipotent Worke of God.

To conclude, Chriſts Body is in the Myſticall Bread of the holy Communion, not Really or Corporally, or Indéed, as M. Harding fanſieth, but as in a Sacrament, and in a Myſterie: euen as the Blood of Chriſt is in the Water of Baptiſme.

OF

OF IGNORANCE.

THE XXVII. ARTICLE.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

OR, that Ignorance is the Mother, and cause of true Deuotion and Obedience.

M. Harding.

Master Iewel had great need of Articles, for some shew to be made against the Catholike Church, when he aduised himselfe to put this in for an Article. Verily this is none of the higheſt Mysteries, nor none of the greateſt keies of our Religion, as he saith it is, but vntruly, and knoweth that for an vntruth. For himselfe imputeth it to D. Cole, in his replies to him as a strange saying by him vttered in the Disputation at Westminster, to the wondring of the most part of the honourable and worshipfull of this Realme. If it were one of the higheſt Mysteries, and greateſt keies of the Catholike Religion, I trust the most part of the honourable and worshipfull of the Realme would not wonder at it. Concerning the matter it selfe, I leaue it to D. Cole. He is of age to answer for himselfe. Whether he said it or no, I know not. As he is learned, wise, and godly, so I doubt not, but if he said it, therein he had a good meaning, and can shew good reason for the same, if he may be admitted to declare his saying, as wise men would the Lawes to bee declared, so as the minde be taken, and the Word spoken not alwaies rigorously exacted.

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Iohan. 9. μετ' τῶν Φαρισ. ταῦτα, καὶ μὴ ἐστὶ πρὸς θεῶν.

The Bishop of Sarisburie.

Here M. Harding allegeth no Doctour, but Doctour Cole. And touching the matter it selfe, he thinketh this errour well excused, for that it is not the principall key of his Religion. Howbeit, he that in most honorable Assemblie doubted not openly to pronounce these words: I tell you, Ignorance is the Mother of Deuotion, was thought then to esteeme the same, as no small key of his Religion. Verily it appeareth by the whole practise and policie of that side, they are fully perswaded, that without deepe Ignorance of the people it is not possible for their Church to stand.

Therefore they chase the simple from the Scriptures, and drawne them in Ignorance, and suffer them vtterly to know nothing: neither the profession they made in Baptisme: nor the meaning of the holy Mysteries: nor the price of Christs Blood: nor wherein, or by whom they may be saued: nor what they desire of God, either when they pray together in the Church, or when they priuately pray alone.

They shut vp the Kingdome of Heauen before men: and neither will they enter themselues, nor suffer others, that would enter. Matth. 23.

And as it is written by the Prophet Esay: Dicunt videntibus, Nolite videre: *They say vnto them that see, Stop your eies, and see no more.* Esai. 30.

As the people is, such is the Priest: and as the Priest is, such is the people. Esai. 24.

The blinde is set to guide the blinde. Matth. 15.

Thus they welter in darknesse and in the shadow of Death. And yet as it is written in the Booke of Wisdome: Non satis est illis errasse circa scientiam Dei: sed in magno viuentes insciliæ bello, tot & tanta mala pacem appellant: Sapien. 14.

They thought it not sufficient to be deceiued, and blinded in the knowledge of God: but liuing in such a warre of ignorance, all these euils they call peace: And make the people beleeue, it is Obedience, Catholike Faith, and Deuotion: Or, rather, as Irenæus writeth against the Valentinian Heretikes: Veritatis Ignorantiam, Cognitionem vocant: *Ignorance of the Truth, and blindnesse, they call Knowledge.* Iren. lib. 2. cap. 19.

By these policies they ouer-rule the Church of God, and keepe the people in Obedience: euen as the Philistines, after they had once shorne off Samsons haire, and boared out his eies, not withstanding the strength and sturdinesse of his Body, were able to lead him whither they listed, at their pleasure. Iudic. 16.

For he that walketh in the darke, knoweth not whither to goe. Iohan. 12.

In the Councell of Toledo in Spaine, it is written thus: Mater omnium errorum Ignorantia: *Ignorance is the Mother* (not of Deuotion, but) *of all Errours.* Concil. Tolet. 4. Can. 24.

Like as S. Augustine also saith: Erat in illis Regnum Ignorantiæ, id est, Regnum Erroris: *There was in them the Kingdome of Ignorance, that is to say, the Kingdome* (not of Deuotion, but) *of Errour.* Augustin. in Psal. 33. concion. 1. Distin. 38. Si iuxta.

S. Hierome ſaith: Scripturarum Ignorantia, Chriſti ignorantia eſt: *The Ignorance of the Scriptures is the ignorance of Chriſt.*

Gregor. in Paſtorali, lib. 1. cap. 1. And S. Gregorie ſaith: Qui ea, quæ ſunt Domini, neſciunt, à Domino neſciuntur: *Whoſo know not the things that pertaine vnto the Lord, be not knowen of the Lord.*

Origen. in Numer. hom. 27. But aboue all others, theſe words of the ancient learned Father Origen are ſpeciallie worthie to be noted: Dæmonibus eſt ſuper omnia genera tormentorum, & ſuper omnes pœnas, ſi quem videant Verbo Dei operam dare, ſcientiam Diuinæ Legis, & Myſteria Scripturarum intentis ſtudijs perquirentem. In hoc eorum omnis flamma eſt: in hoc vruntur incendio. Poſſident enim omnes, qui verſantur in Ignorantia: *Vnto the Diuels it is a torment aboue all kindes of torments, and a paine aboue all pains, if they ſee any man reading the Word of God, and with feruent ſtudy ſearching the knowledge of Gods Law, and the Myſteries and Secrets of the Scriptures Heerein ſtandeth all the flame of the Diuels: in this fire they are tormented.* For they are ſeaſed and poſſeſſed of all them, that remaine in Ignorance.

Numer. 11. 1. Theſſal. 4. 1. Cor. 14. To be ſhort, Moſes wiſhed that all the whole people might haue vnderſtanding and bee able to Prophecie. S. Paul wiſhed, that the whole people might daily more and more increaſe in the knowledge of God, and ſaith: Whoſo continueth in Ignorance, and knoweth not, ſhall not be knowen.

Iohan. 5. Epheſ. 4. God, the God of Light and Truth, remoue all Ignorance and Darkneſſe from our hearts: that we may flie the ſpirit of Error, and know the Voice of the Great Shepheard: that we grow into a full perfect man in Chriſt Jeſu, and be not blowen away with euery blaſt of vaine Doctrine: that wee may be able to know the Onely, the True, and the Liuing God, and his onely begotten Sonne Jeſus Chriſt: To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, bee all honour and glorie, for euer and euer. *Amen.*

(*.*)

An Answer to M. Hardings

Conclusion.

AS the rest of your Booke, M. Harding, may in many respects seeme very weake, so is there no part thereof, more weake, than your Triumph at the end, before the Conquest. Yee say, yee haue fullie answered the Offer, which you call a Challenge: and haue auouched the Negatiues: and haue fullie prooued all that lay in question, by Scriptures, by examples of the Primitiue Church, by Old Councels, and by Ancient Fathers. Whereby it appeareth, ye haue some good liking in that yee haue done. It had beene more modestie to haue left the commendation and iudgement thereof vnto your Reader: who comparing your Proofes with the Answers, and laying the one with the other, might be able to iudge indifferently betweene both. For it may well bee thought, that while ye ran alone, yee were euer the foremost: and that, making your owne award, yee would hardly pronounce against your selfe.

The proofes that yee haue shewed vs, are common and knowen, often alleged, and often answered, and now brought in, as a companie of maimed Souldiers, to make a shew. But from you, and from such conference, and helpe of fellowes, your learned friends looked for some fresher matters.

That ye charge me with ambition and selfe-loue, and seeking of praise, although it be the weakest of all other your shifts, yet it is an affection incident vnto the children of Adam: and some men suspect that M. Harding is not fullie emptie of the same. But hee that made the heart, is onelie meet to search and to iudge the heart. As for me, as I am nothing, so I know nothing. God forbid that I should glorie in any thing, saue only in the Crosse of Iesus Christ. Galat. 6.

But where it pleaseth you so horriblie to pronounce your Definitiue sentence, that Euerlasting damnation shall bee the end of our game, I might well answer you with S. Paul: Nolite ante tempus Iudicare: *Iudge not before the time.* It seemeth ouermuch for you, so vnaduisedlie to take vpon you the office and person of Christ without Commission. For S. Iohn saith; God hath giuen all iudgement (not vnto M. Harding, but) vnto Christ his Sonne: *who, no doubt, will inquire further of your iudgement.* Your owne Gelasius saith: Neminem grauare debet iniqua sententia: *A wrongfull sentence may hurt no man. It behooueth vs, patientlie to wait for the Iudgement seat of God.* In that day all the secrets of darknesse shall bee reuealed. 1. Cor. 4. 1. Cor. 4. Iohan. 5.

The wicked and vngodlie cried out against the Prophet Dauid: Non est salus ipsi in Deo eius: *Hee hath no health, hee hath no comfort in his God.* But Dauid turned himselfe vnto God, and said; O Lord, thou receiuest me: thou art my glory: thou liftest vp my head. *If damnation be the end of all their trauels, that seeke onely the Glorie of God, and the Truth of his Gospell, where then shall they bee, that so wilfullie haue dishonoured the name of God, and haue burnt his Gospell without cause, and haue condemned it as open Heresie? Certainlie,* Renegates, Infidels, Liars, Blasphemers, and Idolaters shall haue their portion in the Lake that flameth with Fire and Brimstone. *The Lords mouth hath spoken it. This doubtlesse shall bee the end of their game.* Psalm. 3. Apocalyp. 21.

Now, say you, it remaineth, that I performe my promise. Yea verily: but, notwithstanding all that yee haue hitherto said, much more it remaineth, that you beginne againe, and assaie better to proue your purpose: that is, that yee leaue your Surmises and Ghesses: and alledge one or other sufficient Clause or Sentence, for any of these matters, that yee say, yee haue prooued. For that yee haue hitherto

shewed vs, as vnto any indifferent Reader it may soone appeare, is ouerweake, and will not serue.

I grant, ye haue alleged Authorities, sundrie and many, such as I knew long before: with what Faith, I doubt not, but by Conference it may soone appeare. Verily, M. Harding, I neuer denied, but you were able to misreport the ancient learned Doctours of the Church, and to bring vs the names and shadowes of many Fathers. The Heretikes of all ages were likewise able to doe the same. But what credit may wee yeeld to such Allegations? What Errour was there euer so plaine, what Abuse so horrible, but yee haue beene able to maintaine the same by some colour of Scriptures, and Fathers? Yee haue defended your Holy Water by the Example of Elizeus, and by the words of the Prophet Ezechiel: Your Pardons, by the Prophet Esay: the open filthinesse and abomination of your Stewes, by the name and authoritie of S. Augustine. Such credit yee deserue to haue, when yee come to vs in the name of holy Fathers.

4. Regum 4. Esai. 40. Augustin. de Ordine.

Ye say, ye haue shaken downe all the holds of our side; and that whosoeuer seeth it not, is starke blinde, and seeth nothing. So easily, and with so small adoe, this whole matter is brought to passe. So Iulius Cæsar, sometime to declare the maruellous speed and expedition of his victorie, expressed the same briefly in these three words, Veni: Vidi: Vici: I came to them: I saw them: I conquered them.

Heere in few words to trauerse the speciall points and corners of your whole Booke, and to shew by what force and engins ye haue atchieued this enterprise: First yee haue prooued your Priuate Masse, by Women, Boies, Children, Laymen, Fables, Dreames and Visions. Your Halfe Communion, by sicke Folke, Deathbeds, Infants, and Madde men. Of Christs Institution, of the Scriptures, of the certaine practise of the Apostles, of the Generall and knowen vse of the Primitiue Church, of the Ancient Councels, of the Old Canons, of the Holy Catholike Fathers, sauing only your bare Ghesses, you bring nothing. Of your vnfruitfull maner of praying in a strange vnknowen tongue, ye allege neither authoritie nor example; Touching the Supremacie of Rome, which is the Keepe and Castle of your whole Religion, yee wander farre and wide, and many times beside the way; yet haue ye not found any ancient Father, that euer intitled the Bishop of Rome, either the Vniuersall Bishop of the whole World, or the Head of the Vniuersall Church. Thus yee proceed with your Reall Presence; and so foorth with the rest.

You intreat vncourteously the Holy Fathers, with such your Translations, Expositions, and Constructions, not as may best expresse their meaning, but as may best serue to further your purpose. Ye racke them: ye alter them: yee put to them: yee take from them: yee allege sometime the end without the beginning: sometime the beginning without the end: sometime yee take the bare words against the meaning: sometime ye make a meaning against the words. Ye imagine Councels that were neuer holden, and Canons of Councels, that neuer were seene. Yee bring forged Pamphlets vnder the names of Athanasius, Anacletus, and other godly Fathers, by whom you well know, and cannot chuse but know, they were neuer made. Your greatest grounds bee Surmises, Ghesses, Coniectures, and Likelihoods. Your arguments bee Fallacies, many times without either Mood or Figure: the Antecedent not agreeing with the Consequent, nor one part ioined with another. Your vntruthes bee so notorious and so many, that it pitieth me in your behalfe to remember them. But the places be euident, and crie Corruption, and may by no shift be denied. And to forget all other your Inconstancie, touching the former times, euen now in this selfe same Booke which yee wish vs to receiue, and so to receiue, as the rule, and standard of our Faith, ye say and vnsay: ye auouch and recant: and either of forgetfulnesse, or for that yee mislike your former sayings, you are often contrarie to your selfe. Yee haue sought vp a companie of new petite Doctours, Abdias, Amphilochius, Clemens, Hippolytus, Leontius, and such others, Authours void of Authoritie, full of Vanities and Childish Fables. And no great marueil. For whoso wanteth wood, is often driuen to burne turfes.

It

It had beene good, ye had brought some other Doctors, to prooue the credit of these Doctors. Ye make no difference betweene Siluer, and Drosse: betweene Corne, and Chaffe: betweene Old, and New: betweene True, and False. Ye say, Christ shed his Blood in deed, and verily at his Last Supper: and that at the same instant of time, he offred himselfe in his Body likewise in Heauen indeed, and verily before God his Father. *And these ye call necessary points of the Christian Faith.* *Artic. 17. diuis. 4. & 7.*

These are the contents of your Booke: this is the substance of your proofes. Thus, I feare me, ye know, ye dallie, and deale not plainly: thus, ye know, ye abuse the patience, and simplicitie of your Reader. And did you imagine, M. Harding, that your Booke should passe only among children, or that it should neuer be examined, and come to triall? or, did you thinke, that onely with the sound heereof, ye should be able to beat downe, and to vanquish the truth of God?

As for your Eloquence, and furniture of words, as it serueth well, to make the matter more saleable in the sight of the simple, so it addeth but small weight vnto the Truth. Wise men are led with choice of matter, not with noise of words: and trie their gold, not only by the sound, which often deceiueth, but also by the touchstone, and by the waight. Although your Eloquence may worke miracles in the eares of the vnlearned, that cannot iudge, yet it cannot turne, neither water into Wine: nor Darknesse into Light: nor Error into Truth. There is no Eloquence, there is no colour against the Lord.

Whereas it liketh you, so bitterly, as your maner is, to call vs Heretikes, and to say, We sit in the Chaire of Pestilence, and that the people learneth of vs dissolution of maners, and libertie of the Flesh, and walketh vtterly without sense, or feare, or care of God, *It standeth not with your credit, thus with manifest Vntruths, and common slanders to enuegle your Reader.* Balach, *when he saw, he could not preuaile against the people of God by force of armes, he began to raile against them, and to curse them, thinking, that by such meanes he should preuaile.* Numer. 22. & 23.

But it is not alwaies Heresie, that an Heretike calleth Heresie. Athalia, *when shee vnderstood, that* Ioas *the right Inheritour of the Crowne of* Iuda, *was proclaimed King, flew in her furie in to the Temple, and cried out, Treason, Treason. Yet was it not King* Ioas, *but she her selfe, that had wrought the Treason. The Arian Heretikes called the true Christians, that professed the Faith of the Holy Trinitie, sometime Ambrosians, sometime Iohannites, and sometime Homousians: allowing only themselues to bee called Catholikes. The Valentinian Heretikes condemned all others, as Grosse, and Earthly, and themselues onely they called Ghostly. The sheepe often times seemeth to stray without the fold, whiles the Woolfe lurketh, and prieth within. Verily, M. Harding, who so hateth the intolerable outrage of your Abuses, and pitieth the miserable seducing, and mocking of the people, and mourneth for the Reformation of the House of God, and desireth to tread in the steps of the Ancient Catholike Godly Fathers, whose Doctrine, and ordinances ye haue forsaken, and with all submission, and humilitie of minde, referreth the whole iudgement, and order heereof vnto the vndoubted Word of God, he may not rightly be called an Heretike.* 4. Regum 11.

Touching looseneſſe of life, I maruell, ye can so soone forget, either your Church of Rome, *where, as* S. Bernard *said in his time,* From the Head to the Foot, there was no part whole: *Or the Popes Holinesse owne Palace: where, as the same* S. Bernard *saith,* Mali proficiunt, boni deficiunt: *The wicked grow forward, the godlie goe backward.* *Bernard. in Conuersione Pauli. De Consideratio. lib. 4.*

Verily, wee haue neither Stewes, nor Concubines, nor Courteghians set out, and deckt as Ladies, nor Priests, nor Prelates to wait vpon them, as, by your owne friends Confession, there are in Rome. *There is no Vertue, but we aduance it: there is no Vice, but we condemne it. To be short, a light wanton amongst vs, if she were in* Rome, *might seeme* Penelope. *In Concil. Delectorum Cardinalium.*

Ye say, There are none, but a few, light, vnstable persons of our side. *And therfore of good will, and friendship ye counsell me to returne to you againe. But a few, say you?*

you? and the same vnstable, and light persons? Surely, M. Harding, if you could behold the wonderfull Workes, that God hath wrought in the Kingdomes, of England, France, Denmarke, Polonia, Suecia, Bohemia, *and* Scotland: *and in the noble States, and Common Weales of* Germanie, Heluetia, Prussia, Russia, Lituania, Pomerania, Austria, Rhetia, Vallis, Tellina, &c. *ye would not greatly finde fault with the number; nor thinke, that they, whom it hath pleased God in all these Kingdomes, and Countries to call to the knowledge, and feeling of his holy Gospell, are so few. And if ye could also consider the extremitie, and cruelty of your side, and the abundance of innocent blood, that so constantly hath beene yeelded for the testimonie of the Truth, ye would not so lightly call them, either vnstable, or light persons. Certainly, they, whom you seeme so lightly to esteeme, are Kings, Princes, Magistrates, Counsellers, and the graueſt, and greateſt learned Fathers of Christendome. If it please God of his mercie to blesse, and increase that he hath begunne, within few yeeres ye shall find but few, that will so lightly be deceiued, and follow you. In all Countries they flee from you, and forsake you. Yee can no longer hold them, but either by Ignorance, or by force, and Tyrannie. The people, whom it liketh you to call Dogs, and Swine, are neither so beastly, nor so vnsensible, and void of Reason, but that they are able now, to espy them, by whom they so often haue beene deceiued. They are able now to discerne the Truth, from Falshood; and the true Shepheard, from a stranger; and lament your pitifull case, that are so suddenly fallen backe, and welter so miserably in your error.*

Whereas you in so earneſt sort, and with such protestation of friendship counsell mee to leaue Christ, and to follow you; as your counsell ioined with Truth, were very holesome, so standing with manifest Vntruth, it is full of danger; and the more vehement, the more dangerous. Certainly, Heretikes, and Infidels, to increase their factions, haue euermore vsed the like perswasions. But wee may heare no Counsell against the Counsell of God. Aristotle *sometime said,* Socrates is my friend, and so is Plato; but the friendship of Truth is best of all. *We cannot beare witnesse against God; we cannot say, Good is Ill, and Ill is Good; Light is Darkenesse, and Darkenesse is Light.*

Roman. 1. We cannot be ashamed of the Gospell of Christ: it is the mighty power of God vnto Saluation.

And, with whom then would ye haue vs to ioine? Examine the weight, and circumstance of your Counsell. Whom should wee flee? whom should wee follow? Leaue affection; leaue fauour of parts; and iudge vprightly. Would yee haue vs to ioine with them, that haue burnt the Word of God; and scornefully call it a Shipmans hose, and a Nose of Wax? That maintaine manifest, and knowen errors? That call Gods people Dogs, and Swine? That say, Ignorance is the Mother of true Deuotion? *That force the people to open Idolatrie? That forbid Lawfull mariage; and licence Concubines, and Common Stewes? That haue deuised vnto themselues a strange Religion, without either Scriptures, or Ancient Councels, or Old Doctors, or Example of the Primitiue Church? That haue turned their backes to God? That haue deceiued the people? That haue made the house of God a Caue of Theeues? Whom so many Kingdomes, and Countries, and infinite thousands of Godly people haue forsaken? From whom the holy Ghost by expresse words hath commanded vs to depart? For so it is written;* Come away

Apocal. 18. from her, O my people, that ye be not partakers of her sinnes: lest ye be also partakers of her plagues.

Would yee counsell vs, M. Harding, to forsake the Word of Life, and the company of all them, that haue giuen their Bodies, and Blood for the testimonie of Christ, and to ioine with these?

Yes ſay, We may haue the Example, and Company of one *Staphylus,* and *Balduinus,* and *Wicelius,* that haue done the like. *Ye might also haue added the Example, and Company of* Iudas *the Traitor; of* Iulianus *the Renegate, and of others the like, of*

2. Petr. 2. *whom* S. Peter *saith,* They are turned backe, to feed vpon their vomit, as shameleſſe Dogs: and to wallow againe in their mire, as filthy Swine. *I will say nothing of you, M. Harding. Notwithstanding yee know, whose examples yee haue followed.*

Tertullian

Tertullian *saith thus:* Christus ait, Fugite de Ciuitate in Ciuitatem. Sic enim quidem argumentabatur: sed & ipse fugitiuus: *Christ said, Flee from Citie to Citie: So there is one that vsed to reason: but he himselfe was a Fugitiue.* *Tertullian. De Fuga in persequntione.*

I consider well their doings, and stand in horror of their ends: Some such of your side haue died in miserable desperation, with terrible witnesse against themselues, that they had wrought against their owne Conscience: as it is faithfullie testified vnto the world. One of these three, as it is reported, and openlie published, by them that know him best, hath altered his whole Faith seuen times within the space of seuenteene yeeres: and therefore is well resembled to the Old Apostata Ecebolius. S. Peter *saith,* It had beene better for them, neuer to haue knowen the way of Righteousnesse, than hauing once receiued knowledge, afterward to turne away from the holy Commandement. It is an horrible thing, to fall into the Hands of the Liuing God. S. Paul *saith:* Whoso hath once receiued the light of God, and hath felt the sweetnesse of the Heauenly gift, and hath beene partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hath once tasted of the good Word of God, and afterward falleth away; It is not possible for such a one to be renued by repentance. *I wish you in God, and vnfainedly, M. Harding, to beware heereby. These words, and Examples are marueilous horrible.* 2. Petr. 2. Hebr. 10. Hebr. 6.

Although these, and such others can denie God, yet God cannot denie himselfe. What, *saith* S. Paul, if certaine of them be fallen away? Shal their infidelity make frustrate the Faith of God? God forbid. For God is True: and all men are liers. 2. Timoth. 2. Roman. 3.

Of your person, as I promised, I will say nothing. Gods workes be wonderfull. Hee calleth, whom he will: and whom he will, he maketh hard. *He called* Paul *from his horse:* Elizæus *from the Plough: the Apostles from their Nets: and the Theefe on the Crosse, vpon the sudden.* Roman. 9.

But if some simple one, or other of them, whom you so vnsourteouslie haue despised, should say thus vnto you: M. Harding, not long sithence ye taught vs the Gospell, euen in like sort and forme, in all respects, as it is taught vs now. Wee remember both your words, and also the maner, and courage of your vtterance. Yee told vs of the Paper walles, and painted Fires of Purgatorie: ye said, Rome *was the sinke of* Sodome: *ye said, your Masse was a heape of Idolatrie, and the Mysterie of Iniquitie: ye wished your voice had beene equall with the great Bell of* Oseney, *that yee might ring, as yee then said, in the dull eares of the deafe Papists. No man was so vehement, and so earnest, as you. The whole Vniuersitie, and Citie of* Oxford, *the Crosse at* Pauls, *and other like places of great concourse can well record it. Ye bad vs then beleeue you vpon your credit: and we beleeued you. The Prince died: another was placed. Suddenlie yee had quite forgotten all that ye had taught vs before: and had as suddenlie learned other things, all contrarie to the former: which, ye told vs, ye neuer knew before: and yet, with one face, and one conscience, ye required vs earnestlie to beleeue you still, euen as wee had done before. As though your bare word were the rule of our Faith: and, whatsoeuer you should saie, true, or false, we simple people were bound of neeessitie to beleeue you. Howbeit, we thinke, if yee tell vs Truth now, then yee deceiued vs before; if ye told vs Truth before, then yee deceiue vs now. And thus it cannot bee denied, but this waie, or that waie, yee haue deceiued vs. And how may we know, whether you speake, as you thinke, or dissemble with vs now, as yee did before? Surelie* S. Iames *sheweth vs,* That a man of double minde is euer vnconstant in all his waies. Iacob. 1.

We marueiled, how ye could attaine to all this Doctrine, specially in so short a time; but most of all, in such perfection. For, the Scriptures are large; and, as they say, the Councels are sundrie; the Doctors Volumes are long, and many. So suddenlie in seuen daies, to read them all, and so to read them, it was not possible. You may by your eloquence persuade vs manie things. But this one thing yee can neuer persuade vs. You wanted time; it is not credible; it was not possible. Therefore yee must needs say,

ye

ye were taught these things, euen as the Prophets were, by Reuelation. If anie of all your Old hearers would thus put you in remembrance, alas what answer could you make him?

But, it was not you M. Harding: it was the time. If the time had beene one, you had still continued one. But ye were forced to know, that ye knew not: and to thinke, that ye thought not: and so, to beleeue, that yee beleeued not. Howbeit, S. Hilarie *saith,* Quæ ex necessitate est, Fides non est: *Forced Faith is no Faith.*

Ye say, Whosoeuer shall attempt to answer your Booke, shall sweat in vaine. His labour shall be, as was the Commendation of Baldnesse, or of Ignorance, or of Folly: as a Florish, as a Smoke, as a Smother, *and as, I know not what. The force of your Eloquence is so inuincible: No truth is able to withstand it. Such affiance yee would seeme to haue in the beautie of your Cause.*

Heere, I beseech you, giue me leaue, once againe to put you in remembrance of the Contents, and Substance of your trauailes. Thinke you in sooth, M. Harding, or would ye haue vs to thinke, that your maimed Allegations, your vntrue Translations; your wrested Expositions; your Councels neuer holden; your Canons neuer, not made, nor seene; your Epistles neuer Written; your Amphilochius, *your* Abdias, *your* Clemens, *your* Leontius, *your* Hippolytus, *and other like fabulous Pamphlets, and forgeries, so lately found out, so long lacked, and neuer missed; your Additions, your Diminutions, your Alterations, your Corruptions of the Doctours; your Contrarieties, and Contradictions against your selfe; your Surmises, your Ghesses, your Dreames, your Visions; your Elenchs, your Fallacies, your sillie Syllogismes, without either Mood, or Figure, or Sequell in Reason: and to conclude, your Vntruths, so plaine, so euident, so manifest, and so manie, can neuer be answered? Is Simple Truth become so weake? Or, is Error and Falshood growen so strong?*

O M. Harding, you know right well the weakenesse of your side. No man seeth it better than your selfe. If you will dissemble, and say ye see it not, Open your eies; behold your owne Booke; and you shall see it. You haue forced the Old Doctors, and Ancient Fathers, to speake your minde, and not their owne. And therefore they are now your Children: they are no Fathers; they are now your Scholars; you haue set them to Schoole: they are no Doctors. You should haue brought some Truth for proofe of your purpose: The World will not now be led with Lies.

These be cases, not of Wit, but of Faith: not of Eloquence, but of Truth: not inuented, or deuised by vs, but from the Apostles, and Holie Fathers, and Founders of the Church, by long succession brought vnto vs. We are not the Deuisers thereof, but onelie the Keepers: not the Masters, but the Scholars. Touching the Substance of Religion, wee Beleeue that the Ancient, Catholike, Learned Fathers Beleeued: wee doe that they did; wee say that they said. And maruell not, in what side soeuer yee see them, if yee see vs ioine vnto the same. It is our great Comfort, that wee see their Faith and our Faith to agree in one. And wee pitie and lament your miserable case, that hauing of your selues erected a Doctrine, contrarie to all the Ancient Fathers, yet would thus assaie to colour the same, and to deceiue the people onelie with the names and titles of Ancient Fathers.

Cyprian. li. 1. epist. 3.

S. Cyprian *saith,* Lies can neuer deceiue vs long. It is Night, vntill the Day spring. But, when the day appeareth, and the Sunne is vp, both the Darknesse of the Night, and the Thefts and Robberies, that in the darknesse were committed, are faine to giue place. *Now the Sunne is vp; your Smother is scattered. God with his Truth will haue the victorie. The Heauens, and the Earth shall perish; but the Word of God shall neuer perish.*

O M. Harding, O fight no longer against God. It is hard to kicke against the spurre. To maintaine a fault knowen, it is a double fault. Vntruth cannot bee shielded, but by Vntruth. Error cannot be defended, but by Error. And the mouth that speaketh Vntruth, killeth the soule.

God

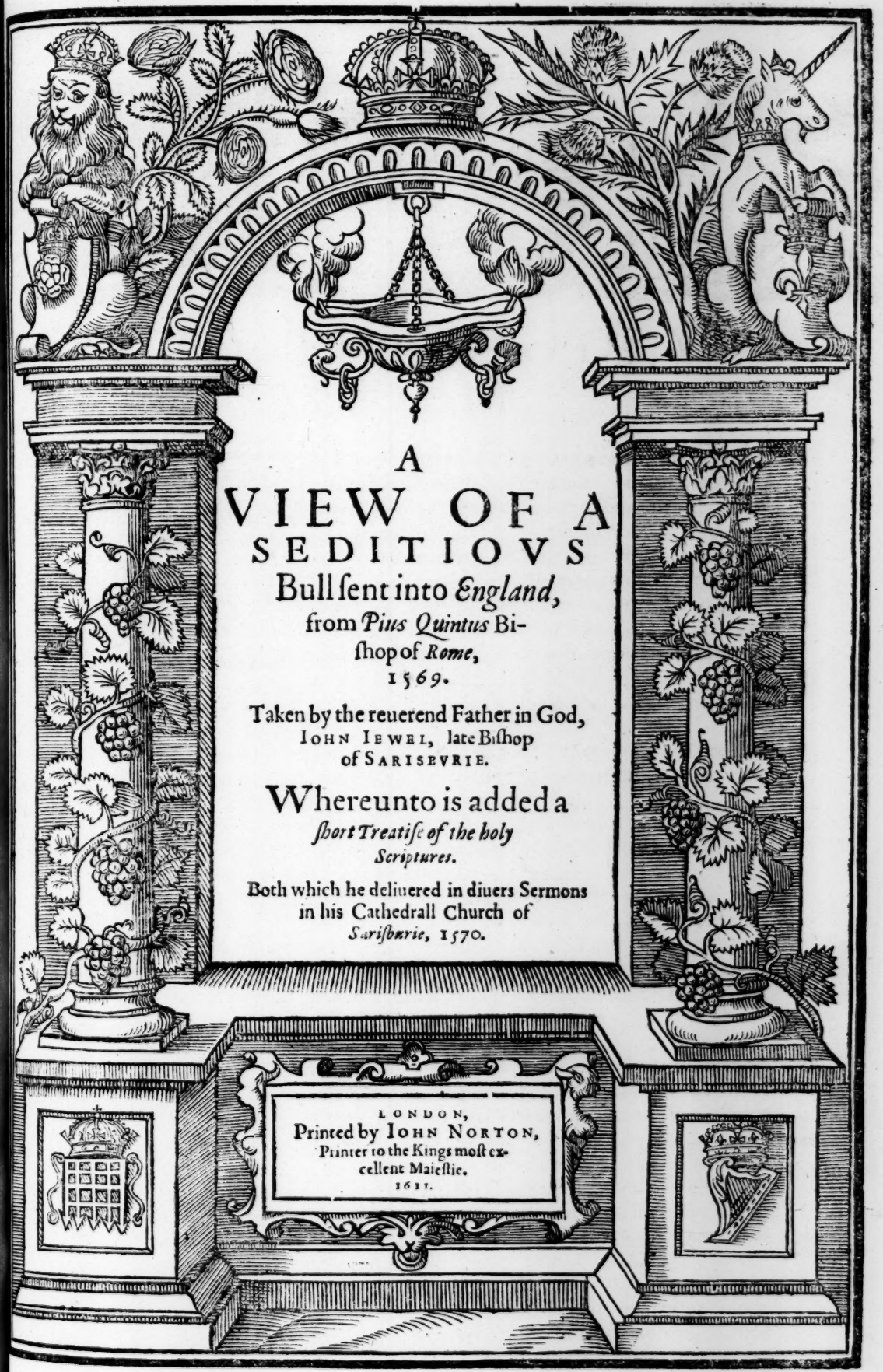
God direct our Hearts, that wee be not aſhamed of his Goſpell: but that wee may ſee it, and be ſeene to ſee it. God make vs the veſſels of his mercie: that wee may haue pitie of Sion, *and build vp againe the broken walles of his Hieruſalem, to the Honor and Glorie of his Holie Name: Amen.*

Vigilius contra Eutychem, lib. 1.

Hæc eſt Fides, & profeſſio Catholica: quam Apoſtoli tradiderunt: Martyres roborauerunt: & Fideles hucuſque cuſtodiunt.

This is the Faith, and Catholike profeſsion: which the Apoſtles haue deliuered: the Martyrs haue Confirmed: and the Faithfull keepe vntill this daie.

FINIS.



A VIEW OF A SEDITIOVS Bull ſent into *England*, from *Pius Quintus* Biſhop of *Rome*, 1569.

Taken by the reuerend Father in God, IOHN IEWEL, late Biſhop of SARISBVRIE.

Whereunto is added a *ſhort Treatiſe of the holy Scriptures.*

Both which he deliuered in diuers Sermons in his Cathedrall Church of *Sariſbvrie*, 1570.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN NORTON,
Printer to the Kings moſt excellent Maieſtie.
1611.

TO THE GODLY READER.

THE preſent ſtate of theſe our daies, and the honourable and reuerent loue, that euery one of vs ſubiects oweth to ſo gracious a Prince, as God in mercy hath ſet ouer vs; hath cauſed this ſmall worke to be preſented vnto thee (gentle Reader.) For it carrieth in it ſelfe, and bringeth vnto thee a ripping vp, and an vnfolding of that ſeditious BVLL of *Pius Quintus*, that was ſet vp and publiſhed by FELTON, a rebellious traitour, in the twelfth yeere of her Maieſties raigne, to withdraw thee from the obedience and loue that thou oweſt to her Maieſtie, to her Lawes and godly proceedings, and to this Realme thy deare Countrie.

To which is alſo adioned another Treatiſe of the *Holy Scriptures*. Wherein is ſhewed thee the *authority*, and the *profit*, and the *pleaſure*, and the *neceſſity* of the *word of God*.

Both theſe, the reuerend Father in God, D. IEWEL late Biſhop of SARVM, deliuered to that Church and people, in the great care he had to doe his Maſters ſeruice, and to keepe the people committed to his charge, from incurring ſuch offenſe to God, or vndutifulneſſe to her Maieſty, or their owne euerlaſting damnation. His meaning heerein was good toward them: and no doubt but they reapt the comfortable fruit of his godly trauels. The like maiſt thou gather to thy ſelfe, by direction of the ſame his ſpeeches thus drawen into ſhort and compendious forme, if thou wilt read them with diligence and iudgement.

If thou learne to humble thy ſelfe before God, and to ſeeke wiſedome of him: if thou ſearch the *Scriptures*, and make them thy guides to lead thee thorow the deſert and wide ſea of this life, as thou art aduertiſed by the *latter*: thou ſhalt ſoone eſpie the danger of all ſuch practiſes towards diſloialty and rebellion, whereto the BVLL drieth thee, which is diſcloſed in the *former*. For it is not only ſaid by the Wiſe man, *The feare of the Lord is the beginning of Wiſedome*, but Prou. 1.
alſo ſet downe by the Prophet: *They haue reiected the word of the Lord, and what wiſedome is in them?* that is, therefore men become fooliſh, and doe ſuch things Ierem. 8.
as are vnmeet, becauſe they care not for the word of God: and therefore *Dauid* in his experience ſo confeſſeth, that *by the commandements of God he was made* Pſal. 119.
wiſer than his enemies, and had more vnderſtanding than all his teachers: becauſe the teſtimonies of the Lord were euer with him, and he did meditate them. If thou ſettle thy heart to like & do thoſe things which pleaſe God, if thou haue the loue of his word, he will teach thee the way wherin thou ſhouldeſt walke in obedience to him, and in duty to her Maieſtie our dread Soueraigne his ſeruant.

I truſt thou wilt take good inſtructions out of theſe two Treatiſes to thy *duty* and *zeale* to them both: and be thankfull to God for that learned Father, who hath left a light vnto thee, both in example, and by theſe and other his workes, whoſe ſteps if thou ſhalt follow, thou ſhalt liue godly, and die with comfort, as a good ſeruant of thy merciſull God and Father. The benefits of his great trauels taken in time of his life, are thine. And vnto the end he ceaſſed not to continue in the faith which he before profeſſed. For (as I, one of many yet liuing, can teſtifie) in the day and night before his departure out of this world, he expounded the *Lords Praier*, and gaue ſhort notes vpon the 71. *Pſal.* to ſuch as were by him. He thought good to ſay ſomewhat at that time, of his Bookes written by him, and ſet foorth in Print, and alſo of his Preaching. In both which ſeruices done by him to the glory of God, and thy comfort, he made proteſtation of his good conſcience, which euen then, as he declared, witneſſed and ſhould witneſſe with him before God, that he delt ſimply and plainly, hauing God only before his eies, and ſeeking the defenſe of the Goſpell of Chriſt, and that the truth thereof might be opened and maintained. And farther gaue thankes to God that made him his ſeruant in ſo great a worke; and then viſited him by this meſſenger of death, whiles hee was doing the meſſage of God, in viſiting his Dioceſſe: that then he called him to reſt from his labours, when his weake bodie was ſpent and worne out in ſetting foorth the glory of God, for which he many times praied, it would pleaſe God to let him be offered in ſacrifice.

Hee was at that time verie feruent in Praier: which hee powred out before the Lord abundantly, and in great faith, crying often: *Lord let thy ſeruant now depart in peace. Lord let thy ſeruant now come to thee. I haue not ſo liued that I am aſhamed to liue: neither am I afraid to die, for we haue a gracious Lord. There is laid vp for me a crowne of righteouſneſſe. Chriſt is my righteouſneſſe. Thy will be done, ô Lord, for mine is fraile.* With many other ſuch godly ſpeeches. In the extremitie of his diſeaſe he ſhewed great patience, and when his voice failed that he lay ſpeechleſſe, he lifted vp his hands and eies, in witneſſe of his conſent to thoſe praiers which were made. Thus being vertuouſly occupied, and wholly reſting himſelfe vpon the mercies of God through Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, he rendred vp his ſoule to God, the 23. of *September* 1571.

Be thou thankfull to God for giuing his Church ſo worthy an inſtrument of his glory: and be careful to follow the good doctrine, which he left behind him, not onely in this that commeth foorth at this preſent, but in all other his Bookes, which haue beene ſet foorth before, or ſhall bee put foorth heereafter to thy benefit, and increaſe of godlineſſe. 27. *Ian.* 1582.

North Crowlie.

Thine in the Lord,

IO. GARBRAND.

A VIEW OF A SEDITIOVS BVLL SENT INTO ENGLAND.

WHiles I opened vnto you the wordes of the Apoſtle, That day ſhall not come, except there come a departing firſt, and that man of ſinne be diſcloſed, euen the ſonne of perdition: which is an aduerſary, and is exalted aboue all that is called God, or that is worſhipped: ſo that he ſhall ſit as God in the Temple of God, and beare in hand that he is God: there came to my hands a Copy of a Bull lately ſent into this Realme by the Biſhop of Rome: I read it, and weighed it thorowly, and found it to be a mater of great blaſphemy againſt God, and a practiſe to worke much vnquietneſſe, ſedition, and treaſon againſt our bleſſed and proſperous gouernment: For it depoſeth the Queenes Maieſty (whom God long preſerue) from her royall ſeat, and teareth the Crowne from her head: it diſchargeth all vs her naturall Subiects from all due obedience: it armeth one ſide of vs againſt another: it emboldneth vs to burne, to ſpoile, to rob, to kill, and to cut one anothers throat: it is much like that box which Pandora ſent to Epimetheus full of hurtfull and vnholeſome euils. Are you deſirous to heare it? It greeueth me to diſcloſe, and your godly eares will hardly abide his vnſeemely ſpeeches. Yet ſeeing he hath written them, and hath conueied his Copies thereof to worke the miſchiefe he hath intended; I may the better rehearſe them vnto you, if withall your diſcretion prouide to ſeaſon them with the feare of God, and with due obedience vnto our dread Soueraigne, vſing theſe two as the holeſome meale of Elizeus to preſerue from infection in the eating of theſe wilde gourds: then ſhal you by this Bull eſpie out Antichriſt, euen that man of ſin, the ſonne of perdition, who is exalted aboue all that is called God, or that is worſhipped. The mater is long: Pope Pius hath beſtowed ſome paines in writing of falſhood; let vs take ſome paines to heare the truth. 2. Theſſ. 2.

But before I lay abroad to your ſight the packet of his groſſe vntruthes, and in the duty of a good Subiect make a true report of that eſtate wherein we liue, aſwell of Religion, as of ciuill policie, againſt the ſlanderous Libell of this man of ſinne; if otherwiſe than my wonted maner hath beene, any hard or ſharpe ſpeech paſſe from me: or if I ſpeake more particularly of perſons ſtanding, and matters well knowen vnto you, than may ſeeme fit for this place, I muſt deſire your pardon, ſeeing the occaſion is ſuch, that it driueth me to be plain & earneſt. For ſhe is the ſeruant of God: ſhe is my gratious Lady, and dread Soueraigne. I haue ſworne truth to her Maieſty. If I knew there were in mine heart, one drop of diſloyall blood towards her, I would take my knife and let it out.

This Title is: *Sententia declaratoria contra Elizabeth &c.* A Sentence denounced againſt Elizabeth our noble and renowmed Queene, whom God hath mercifully appointed to rule ouer vs in place of her noble Progenitours. A Sentence is the concluſion of Judgement, and the end of controuerſies, wherein many things are to be conſidered: that the Judge be competent, alſo graue, and ſober, and wiſe, and vpright: that he call the partie, and examin the cauſe, and weigh the circumſtances, & haue conference with the learned: that then vpon great aduice and due proofes (ſetting all affection aſide, and hauing God only before his

keies, he open his mouth and pronounce Sentence. Now if the Iudge be a party, or haue no iurisdiction ouer them whom he iudgeth, and therfore be not a competent Iudge: if he send forth no proceſſe, keepe no order nor forme of iudgement: if the party be not called: if the matter be not duly examined: if the preſumption be falſe: if there be no proues: if he begin where he ſhould end, and declare a ſentence of his owne affection, without he feare of God, againſt God and againſt his anointed: then he is no Iudge, and his Sentence is no Sentence, but rather a wicked Iudge, and a corrupt Sentence. Theſe circumſtances are ſubſtantiall, and being well conſidered, will make you the better able to iudge of theſe raſh proceedings.

After this his angry Title, his Holineſſe hath thought good to ſhew vs ſome little of his prety imagery, and maketh Peter ſtand on the one ſide with Keies, and a poeſie: *Tibi dabo claues regni Cœlorum*: I will giue the Keies of the kingdome of Heauen to thee. And leſt you ſhould not yet find which is he, he is marked, *Petrus Claniger*: Peter the Key-bearer. Paul is placed on the left ſide, with his Sword: his marke is, *Paulus Enſefer*: Paul the Sword-bearer: and his circumſcription, *Paulus Doctor Gentium, & vas electionis*: Paul the Doctor of Gentiles, and elect veſſell: and betwæne them both the Popes armes, the triple Miter, the Croſſe Keies, and ſix Gunne ſtones: ſo he maketh the two Apoſtles ſupporters of his Armes, and ſetteth forth himſelfe vnder their name and credit. As if he ſhould ſay, I ſit here in the ſeat of Peter and Paul, euen as did the Phariſees ſometimes: Wee are the ſeed of Abraham, We are the children of the Prophets, We ſit in the chaire of Moſes. But the Apoſtle warneth vs: Such falſe Apoſtles are deceitfull workmen, and transforme themſelues into the Apoſtles of Chriſt: and no maruell, for Satan himſelfe transformed into an Angell of Light.

2. Cor. 11.

What right hath he to carry Peters Keies? Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Clauis eſt ſcientia Scripturarum*: The Key is the knowledge of the Scriptures: and Tertullian another ancient Writer ſaith: *Clauis eſt expoſitio Legi.*: The Key is the expoſition of the Law. Againe, what hath he to do with Pauls Sword? that Sword wherewith Paul fought, is the word of God, which is liuely and mighty in operation, and ſharper than any two edged Sword, and entreth thorow, euen to the diuiding a ſunder of the ſoule and the ſpirit, and of the ioints and the marrow, & is a diſcerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Why bringeth he forth Paul with his naked Sword, and why maketh he ſhew of Peters Keies? In what Pulpit did he euer ſet foot? Where hath he opened the Scriptures of God? Where hath he taught the expoſition of the Law? Where did he euer fight with the Sword of the Spirit? The Sword which he vſeth is the Sword of ambition, and of couetouſneſſe, the Sword of Extortion, the Sword of cruelty and tyranny, wherewith he fighteth againſt all truth, and all equity, and all honeſty. It is the Sword of which the Prophet ſpeaketh: Their tongue is a ſharpe Sword: the Key which he beareth, is the Key of Errour: it is the Key of the bottomleſſe pit. Certainly Chriſt will ſay vnto this Key-keeper; Woe be to thee Scribe and Phariſee, hypocrite, becauſe thou ſhutteſt vp the kingdome of Heauen before men: for thou haſt taken away the key of knowledge, thou haſt not entred in thy ſelfe, and them that came in thou forbadeſt. Let him therefore leaue to deceiue the world any longer vnder the names, and by the countenance of the Apoſtles of Chriſt. S. Hierome ſaith: It is no eaſie matter to ſtand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to hold the Chaire of them now raigning with Chriſt. And againe he ſaith: *Non ſunt filij ſanctorum qui tenent loca ſanctorum*: They be not euermore the children of holy men, which ſit in the roomes of holy men. Peter was a principall Apoſtle: Paul was a veſſell choſen of God to beare his name before the Gentiles, and Kings, and the children of Iſrael. Did they ſend ſuch Buls into the World? Were they ſuch workers of Treaſon? did they diſquiet the Land by ſtirring vp ciuill wars? Verily theſe holy Apoſtles will reaſon this caſe with Pope Pius. What warrant haddeſt thou to vſe our names? Why doeſt thou make our Images, and ſet them before thy Bulles? What doeſt thou like vnto vs? or what did we like vnto that thou doeſt? Is this our Goſpell? Did we preach thus? Is this that for which we loſt our liues? Thou art not our ſucceſſour: thou doeſt vs wrong: we know thee not. We neuer diſcharged Subiects from their Oath of obedience: we did neuer ſtir vp one Prince againſt another: thou haſt no deed of ours for thine example, thou haſt no word of ours for thy doings: thou doeſt vs wrong, we diſclaime thee, we know thee not. Thus much of his Title and Armes.

Hom. 44. in opere imperf. Lib. 4. contra Marc.

Hebr. 4.

Pſal. 56.

Reuel. 20.

Ad Heliodorum. Diſt. 40. ex Hier.

Pius Epiſcopus, ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam: Pius Biſhop, the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, to be kept in remembrance for euer. O how lowly and humble this man ſeemeth! Make words, when he is contented to be a ſeruant, yea a ſeruant vnto ſeruants. He hath made his Stile ſo low, that you would thinke he were put to the worſt and vileſt ſeruice among his fellowes, that he were the common drudge, maintained with caſt apparell, little accounted of, and ready to run and goe at euery bodies commandement. But what ſeruice doth he, either worldly, or heauenly, or bodily, or ghoſtly?

Let

Let Pope Pius tell his owne tale: he saith, *Hunc vnum super omnes gentes, & super omnia regna principem constituit*: Christ hath appointed him only to be the Prince ouer all Nations, and ouer all kingdomes. Marke his words well, and see how they hang together. He saith: I am a Seruant, and that is not all: I am the Seruant of Seruants, therefore I am no Prince: But as though he were sorry those words had escaped him, he mendeth the matter, I haue power ouer all nations, and ouer all kingdomes. Therefore I am no seruant. If he be a seruant, and so vile a seruant, how is he a Prince? or, if he be a Prince, and so mightie a Prince, how is he a seruant? What shift soeuer he vseth, néeds he must be taken. If he be true in the one, he is false in the other. It is well with him, that he cannot erre, and that his words must be taken as the word of God: that may iudge all men, but all the world may not iudge him: and that he may not (with M. Hardings liking) be accused by *Hicke, Hob, and Haunce, and iudged by Iacke and Gill. Were it not that hee hath giuen himselfe Priuiledge, thus to sit as God in the Temple of God, and to beare in hand that he is God: Were it not that his props and vpholders might to scorne and disdaine the iudgement of the whole world; it would be no hard matter to trip him in his tale, and take him in manifest vntruth. For, when this Seruant sitteth at Table, the Emperor may not sit with him: When he sitteth in Councell, the Emperor sitteth below at his feet: Princes and Kings doe him seruice: they hold his Stirop, lead his Bridle, carrie his Traine, and beare Dishes to his Table: he walketh not forth on foot, but is carried on mens shoulders, in gorgeous Attire, shining and glittering with Gold and pretious Stones. It is worthy the noting which Albertus Krantzius, who writeth the Historie of Germanie, reporteth of Pope Boniface the eight: *Virumq; penes se vnum gladij potestatem manere affirmabat, quod ipso apparatu in eo quitum agebatur in vrbe iubilio solenniter fertur ostentasse, primo quidem solemni die in pontificalibus apparens populo, Apostolicam illis benedictionem impartitur: postero autem die imperiali habitu, insula nihilominus Cæsarea insignis, gladium ante se nudatum iussit deferri, & sedens alta voce testatur, Ecce duo gladij hic*: *Boniface* did affirme, that the power of both Swords did remaine in him alone, which thing (they say) he did solemnlie declare in his Attire at the Iubilee, which was then kept in the Citie. For, the first day of that solemnitie, he shewed foorth himselfe before the people in Bishop-like Arraie, and gaue them Apostolike blessing. But the next day he was clothed in Robes like an Emperour, hauing the Imperiall Crowne vpon his head. He commanded a naked Sword to be carried before him, and as he sate spake out in a loud voice, Behold here are two Swords. *Vides ô Petre* (saith Krantzius) *Successorem tuum, & tu salutifer Christe tuum cerne Vicarium. Vide quò ascendit superbia serui seruorum tuorum.* Thou seest thy successor ô *Peter*: and thou ô Sauiour Christ looke vpon thy Vicar. Behold the pride of the seruant of thy Seruants, whither, and to what it is come.

* *In the Confutation of the Apologie of the Church of England.*

Saxonic. lib. 8. cap. 36.

Ibidem.

No doubt, his Holinesse hath bestowed some studie about the matter, and therefore would faine it should be knowen, and neuer forgotten, but registred *Ad futuram rei memoriam*, to remaine and be remembred hereafter. Heare it therefore ye men and brethren, yée babes and children. You are the Sonnes of God, you are the children of the Holy Fathers. You shall sée that *Babylon*, which hath made drunken the Princes of the World with her golden Cup. You shall sée him that doth sit as God in the Temple of God, shewing himselfe that he is God. And that you may take the better view of him, I will lay open before you the manifest vntruths of his Libell, and so make you Iudges of his vniust sentence.

Reuel. 17. 2. Thess. 2.

First, it is vntrue, that he is the Seruant of Seruants, because he writeth himselfe in the same Sentence, Prince ouer all Nations and Kingdomes. Againe, it is vntrue, that he is Prince ouer all Nations and kingdomes, because he writeth himselfe *Seruus Seruorum*, a seruant vnto Seruants. That also which followeth is false: *Regnans in excelsis vni soli Petro Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam & Apostolicam commisit gubernandam*: He that ruleth the Heauens hath giuen to *Peter* alone the gouernment of the Holy, Catholike, and Apostolike Church. For where did Christ make this commission to Peter only? where be the words? in what Scripture? in what Gospell or Epistle? where did Christ euer say to Peter, I commit the gouernment of the Church to thée alone? if Pope Pius tale be true, why doth he not proue it? if it be false, how dare he write it? it is not méet the Vicar of Christ should falsifie the words of Christ. Christ spake to all the Apostles, and not to Peter alone, Goe to the lost sheepe of the house of Israel. Christ said to all the Apostles, and not to Peter alone, Goe and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. Dauid the Prophet spake not of Peter alone, but of all the Apostles, Their sound is gone into the ends of the world. Wherefore doth he then enclose that to Peter alone, which is common vnto all the Apostles? Hee saith, Christ hath giuen charge ouer his Church to Peter alone. But Cyprian saith, *Parem tribuit Apostolis omnibus authoritatem, hoc vtique erant cæteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi & honoris & potestatis.* The Lord gaue vnto his Apostles like power, the rest of the Apostles were euen the same that *Peter* was

1. *Vntruth.*

2. *Vntruth.*

3. *Vntruth.*

Matth. 20. Matth. 28. Psal. 19.

Cypr. de simplicitate Prælatorum.

was endued with like fellowſhip, both of honor and of power. And Hierome ſaith: *Lib. 1. aduerſus Iouinianum.* *Æquo ſuper omnes Apoſtolos Eccleſiæ fortitudo ſolidatur*: The ſtrength of the Church is founded equally vpon all the Apoſtles.

He addeth further: *Petrique ſucceſſori Romano pontifici*: And to the Biſhop of Rome *Peters* Succeſſor. This is another vntruth, and the cauſe of all his ſtir. This is it, wherefore Peter is ſet ſo far before his fellowes. The Pope maketh Peter a rocke, the other Apoſtle ſmal pæble ſtones to be built vpon him: Peter a ſhæpheard, the other Apoſtles ſhæpe: Peter a Schoolmaſter, the other Apoſtles his Scholars: Peter a Giant, the other Apoſtles little Babes. And all this he doth to enfeoffe the Pope with that fulneſſe of power whereunto he entitleth Peter. To proue whereof M. Harding ſaith, Now we are not bound to obey *Peter* and *Paul*, but him that ſitteth in their Chaire. This is their Doctrine, thus they teach: ſo boldly dare they ſet out their blaſphemies againſt God. *4. Vntruth.*

The whole Church, (ſaith Pope Pius) is committed to the Pope alone, by the commandement and word of God. What Apoſtle or Euangeliſt euer wrote ſo? where did Chriſt at any time ſpeake of the Pope, or of Peters ſucceſſor, or of the Biſhop of Rome? What Ancient Councell, what old Doctor, what Father, Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Hierome, Chryſoſtome, Baſil, euer ſaid, that the whole Church was committed to the Pope alone? It is not fit the Pope ſhould draw his own Charter. If no Euangeliſt, nor Apoſtle: no ancient Doctor, nor old Councell, will come in and beare him witneſſe, it is not likely he hath giuen true euidence. Yet he ſaith moreouer: *In plenitudine poteſtatis tradidit*: Chriſt hath giuen this commiſſion in fulneſſe of power. This is a fift vntruth. *5. Vntruth.*

It is wonderfull to ſee how much they make of this fulneſſe of power. Abbat Panormitane telleth vs, *Plenitudo poteſtatis omnem ſuperat legem poſitinam, & ſufficit quòd in Papa ſit pro ratione voluntas*: The fulneſſe of power paſſeth all poſitiue Law: and it is ſufficient in the Pope, that the will ſtand in ſtead of reaſon. Durand doth tell vs, All Biſhops are deriued from the Pope, as members from the head, and all they receiue of his fulneſſe. There was a Councell holden at Laterane in Rome, vnder Leo the tenth, where one Stephanus Patraſenſis gaue forth theſe words: In the Pope is all maner of power aboue all powers, as well in Heauen as in Earth. They tell vs, that whatſoeuer he doe, no man may preſume to ſay, *Domine cur ita facis?* Sir, why doe you ſo? To make an end of their tales, and vaine ambitions claime, another of his flatterers beareth the world in hand, *Poteſt Papa quaſi omnia facere quæ Deus poteſt*: The Pope in a maner may doe all things that God may doe. Nay, not ſo only ſaith another, *Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita, & eſt pluſquam Deus*: The Pope doth whatſoeuer he liſteth, yea, although it be vnlawfull, and is more than God. They ſay, He maketh right wrong, and wrong to be right at his pleaſure. He may command Angels, Archangels, Cherubin and Seraphin. This is the fulneſſe of power whereof they dreame. Who would thus preſume, but that man of Sinne and child of Perdition? let them ſhew, where euer Peter had like fulneſſe of power. If he neuer had it, with what face can they require it? Cyprian told vs, Chriſt gaue like authoritie to all the Apoſtles. The authority of Peter was ſuch as the authority of Iohn and of Iames, and no otherwiſe. All the Apoſtles were the light of the world, all were Miniſters of Chriſt, and diſpoſers of the ſecrets of God, they all had the ſame authority and fulneſſe which Peter had.

Extra de conſtit. cap. 1. *Lib. 2. de miniſt. & ordinib. eccle.* *De conceſſ. præb. an gloſſ. Hoſtienſis. Zabarella.*

Extra quam (Eccleſiam Romanam) nulla eſt ſalus. Without which (the Church of Rome) there is no ſaluation. That is, who liue not vnder the obedience of the Church of Rome, can not bee ſaued. No man can be ſaued without her Bulls and Pardons. The Church of Rome is the Arke of Noah, whoſoeuer is without it, is drowned. *Subeſſe Romano Pontifici* (ſaith Pope Boniface) *omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus definimus, & pronunciamus omnio eſſe de neceſſitate ſalutis.* We declare, ſay, determine, and pronounce, that it is of the neceſſity of ſaluation, for euery mortall creature to be ſubiect to the Biſhop of Rome. If the caſe were ſo hard as it is made by his words, then it would goe amiſſe with all thoſe Nations and Kingdomes, and people which beléeue in Chriſt in Æthiopia, India, Arabia, Africa, Aſia, Græcia, Moſcouia, of which ſome are greater than all Chriſtendome. They are not ſubiect to the Pope, they yéeld no obedience to the Church of Rome. Are they all drowned, becauſe they bee not within that Arke? are they all damned becauſe they know not their good maner to the Biſhop of Rome? The Kingdomes of England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Sweden: the Dukes of Saxony, Brunſwicke, and Wittenberge: the Palſegraue of Rheine, the Lantgraue of Heſſia, the Earles and Noble men throrow the whole Countrie of Germany, the infinite number of their people and ſubiects: many hundred thouſands in Spaine, Italy, France Hungary, and in the kingdome of Pole, are without that Church, and liue not vnder the obedience thereof: are they all therfore damned? God forbid: the mercie of the Lord is aboue all his workes; in euery place, whoſoeuer calleth on the name of the Lord ſhall bee ſaued; whoſoeuer truſteth in the Lord, ſhall not be confounded. You

Extra de maiorit. & obedien. vnam S.

may

may well reckon this for the fifth vntruth: All which fiue are made in the compaſſe of fiue lines. 6. *Vntruth.*

Nos nullum laborem intermittimus, We take paines, we ſpare no trauell, we forſake no labor. 7. *Vntruth.*
Alas good man, I had thought he would haue ſaid, I was often in perils of waters, in perils among the Gentiles, in perils in the Sea, in wearineſſe and painfulneſſe, in watching often, in hunger and thirſt, in faſtings often, in colde and in nakednes. I had thought he would haue ſaid: From *Ieruſalem:* and round about to *Illyricum*, I haue cauſed to abound the Goſpell of Chriſt. I haue preached in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon. I haue done the worke of an Euangeliſt. I haue fought a good fight, and haue finiſhed my courſe. I made my ſelfe ſeruant to all men, that I might win the more. I am made all things to all men, that I might ſaue ſome: and this doe I for the Goſpels ſake. He keepeth himſelfe ſafe enough from theſe paines and trauels. Yet we muſt beleeue him, that he ſpareth no labor. He commeth not into the Pulpit, he preacheth not the Goſpell, he ſpareth that labor. He is a Shepheard, but feedeth not the Sheepe, and feedeth not the Lambes: he is a Steward, yet diſpoſeth not the Myſteries of God: this labor alſo he ſpareth. As for ſome other his trauels, we deny them not. He ſendeth his Inquiſitors, Eſpies, Agnos Dei, and Buls. He ſpreadeth rumors, ſtirreth ſedition, raiſeth ſubiects againſt their Princes, & forceth Princes to plague their Subiects. He hath conference with Traitors in England, with Traitors in Ireland, with Traitors in Germany, with Traitors in Heluetia, with Traitors in Denmarke, with Traitors in Poleland. He hath bin cauſe of all that ſpoile and waſte in the noble kingdome of France. He hath loſed and weakned the ſtate of all Chriſtendome: it was neuer ſo weake as it is at this day. And can we thinke all this could be brought to paſſe without paine and trauell? It may appeare he ſpareth no labour. And this doth he (For the Goſpels ſake? and That he may ſaue ſome?) No, but as did Caiaphas, to arraigne Chriſt, to crucifie the Lord of glorie, to cut all thoſe out of the Land of the liuing, that their name may bee no more in memorie, whoſe mouthes the Lord hath opened to publiſh the ſecret of the Goſpell, by whom the word of truth is come vnto all the world, and is fruitfull. Hee is childe to them that murdered the Prophets, and taketh all trauell and paines to fulfill the meaſure of his Fathers.

Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia inualuit, vt nullus iam in orbe locus relictus ſit, quem illi peſſimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint: But, the number of the wicked hath increaſed ſo much, that there is now no place in the world, which they haue not ſought to infect with corrupt doctrine. Now at length it breaketh from them. Here is the matter of all their griefe. When the Scribes and Phariſies perceiued the paſſage and glorie of the Goſpell of Chriſt, and could not ſtay it, they ſaid among themſelues, Perceiue yee how yee preuaile nothing? Behold, the world goeth after him. And againe, What ſhall we do? If we let him thus alone, all men will beleeue in him. Our credit is gone, his Doctrine is receiued, and ours is forſaken. The Prieſts and Saduces tooke it greeuouſly that Peter and Iohn taught the people, and when they ſaw the boldneſſe of them, they conferred among themſelues, ſaying: What ſhall we do to theſe men? let vs threaten and charge them that they ſpeak henceforth to no man in this name. So they called them, and commanded them, that in no caſe they ſhould ſpeake or teach in the name of Ieſus. So did Annas the chiefe Prieſt, and Caiaphas, and Iohn, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high Prieſts, gather themſelues together, to reſiſt the truth then: ſo did the Phariſies then deuiſe, that the light of the glorious Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt might not ſhine, and be knowen to the world. And ſo doth Pope Pius now for the like cauſe, rage, and ſtorme, and ſpeake his pleaſure of vs. They are wicked (ſaith he) their number daily encreaſeth, their Doctrine ſpreadeth far and wide: it doth much harme, it hath preuailed in moſt places: they are a wicked rabble, their Doctrine is corrupt, it hath infected the world. Belike his Holineſſe is much diſquieted, elſe he would write more modeſtly, and make more aduiſed reports of ſuch with whom hee is not acquainted. A man would thinke hee hath to doe with Turkes and Infidels: with ſuch who neither beleeue in God, nor keepe his Lawes, nor dread his Iudgements: That he hath made out Commiſſion againſt Outlaries, who rob, and ſpoile, and murder, and deſtroy, without mercie: againſt ſuch, who haue no regard of honeſty, but being paſt ſhame, maintaine Stewes, and Harlots, euen as his Holineſſe liketh well, and ſuffereth to be done at Rome. But where are they, and who be they, whom he calleth wicked? what ſay they? what doe they wickedly? it is much, to bee accuſed and condemned of wickednes. This hee ſpeaketh and writeth of you and your children, whoſe eies the Lord hath opened to eſpie his errors. You are they whom he accounteth wicked, euen you and all ſuch who (like as you doe) know that Ieſus Chriſt is the power of God, and the wiſedom of God. 1. Cor. 1.
Which confeſſe that he is the Lambe of God, which taketh away the ſinnes of the world. Iohn 1.
Which ſay with the Apoſtles, Among men there is giuen none other name vnder Heauen Acts 4.
whereby

Rom. 15.
2. Tim. 4.
1. Cor. 9.
Iohn 12.
Iohn 11.
Acts 4.

Galat.6. whereby we muſt be ſaued. And with Paul, God forbid that I ſhould reioice, but in the Croſſe of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

We read the Scriptures of God: we ſend the people to the fountaines, there we require them to examine our doctrine: we call vpon the name of the Lord who liueth for euer: we teach the people to make their prayers in a language they vnderſtand: we adminiſter the Sacraments according to Chriſts inſtitution: we ſay, that Chriſt is the only Sacrifice for the forgiuenelle of ſinnes, and, that God hath appointed him euer all things to be the head of the Church: we doe not make our prayers to dead Creatures: we ſeeke no helpe at their hands which neither heare vs, nor can helpe vs. We moue the people to repentance: we rebuke ſinne: we ſeeke reformation of life: we make it manifeſt, that the Pope hath ſhamefully abuſed the whole world: that the man of ſinne, euen the Sonne of perdition ſhall be deſtroied with the Sword of the Spirit: that euery Plant which our heauenly Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted out, and that the word of the Lord ſhall continue for euer. This is our profeſſion, this is that doctrine which we receiue from God, and learne by the word of truth, which is able to make vs wiſe to ſaluation through the Faith which is in Chriſt Ieſus. This doctrine the Pope calleth wicked. This doctrine (he ſaith) hath done much hurt. Bleſſed be God: For the things that are acceptable to God are declared to vs. The things which eie hath not ſeene, neither eare hath heard, neither came it into mens heart, which God hath prepared for them that loue him, God hath reuealed them to vs by his Spirit. It hath pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſſe of preaching to ſaue them that beleeue. The number of them which are conuerted vnto God by this word, increaſeth, and will more and more increaſe in all places. It is not the counſell or worke of men, for then it would come to nought. But it is of God: the Pope cannot deſtroy it. Chriſt came to put fire on the Earth, it ſhall not be quenched. If we hold our peace, or if we all (whom the Pope thus reuileth) be taken out of the World, the ſtones ſhall cry out, and giue witneſſe to this Doctrine. For God is able of ſtones to raiſe vp children vnto *Abraham*. He is God alone, he will make his name to be knowne, he will not Giue his glory to another. This maketh vp eight Vntruths, plaine, and euident to be ſeene. Vnto which number he laieth fiue more, all together in one line, ſo that he maketh almoſt a ſeuerall falſhood for euery ſeuerall word.

Baruch 4.
1.Cor.2.
1.Cor.1.
Luc.12.
Mat.3.
8.*Vntruth.*

Miſſæ Sacrificium, preces, ieiunia, ciborum delectum, cœlibatum aboleuit. She (Queene *Elizabeth*) hath cleane put away the Sacrifice of the Maſſe, Praiers, Faſtings, choice or difference of Meats, and ſingle Life. I beſeech you conſider this ſpeech, and iudge vprightly. You are able to diſcerne truth from falſhood. You haue knowledge of theſe things, be not deceiued. Haue we no Sacrifice? no Praiers? no Faſtings? no difference in Meats? are none vnmarried? be all theſe aboliſhed? I aſke you againe, be they all aboliſhed? when was this done? at whoſe ſute? by what Law, or Statute, or Proclamation, or Parliament? Indeed the Maſſe is aboliſhed through the gratious working of God. It was a worke of his great mercy to doe it away. For it was a dumbe, vncomfortable, and vnprofitable thing. They did tell vs that in their Maſſe they were able to make Chriſt the Sonne of God, and to offer him vnto God his Father for our ſinnes. Oh blaſphemous ſpeech, and moſt iniurious to the glorious worke of our redemption! Shall a vile wretch, a lump of earth, a ſinfull man take vpon him the power of God in Creation, and preſume to make his Creator? Shall he which is conceiued in ſinne, in whom there dwelleth no good, who is altogether vnprofitable, which neuer can recompence his own debt of ten thouſand Talents: who is a ſtranger to the couenant of promiſe, and hath no entrance vnto the Father, but through Ieſus Chriſt; make interceſſion to the Father, that for his ſake, he will looke vpon, and receiue his Sonne, euen becauſe he doth offer him for a Sacrifice? What is blaſphemy, if this be not? Such kind of Sacrifice we haue not.

Chriſt himſelfe is our high Prieſt, which offereth vs vp vnto God, which maketh vs a pure, a liuely, and a well pleaſing Sacrifice: by whom alſo we haue acceſſe through Faith vnto this grace wherein we ſtand, and reioice vnder the hope of the glory of God: by whom we are ſanctified, euen by the offering of the Body of Ieſus Chriſt once made: who take away our ſinnes, and faſtned them vpon the Croſſe. It is therefore the blood of Ieſus Chriſt, which cleanſeth vs from all ſinne. This is our Sacrifice, this is our Propitiation, this is the propitiation and Sacrifice for the whole world. Now then ſaith Pope Pius we haue no Sacrifice? It is the ninth vntruth.

9.*Vntruth.*

Againe, he ſaith we haue no Praiers. He thinketh we met together, like wilde men, or rather like brute beaſts. You know he ſpeaketh vntruly. Behold the Suffrages, the Pſalmes, the Leſſons taken out of the old and new Teſtament. Conſider the forme and order of our Churches. We make humble confeſſion of our ſinnes, we heare eſpeciall comfortable places of Scripture, which ſhew vs how mercifull God is, to them that truly and earneſtly repent. We giue thankes to God for his mercies and bleſſings which he powreth vpon

10.*Vntruth.*

vpon vs. We pray him to continue his goodnesse towards vs, and to lead vs into all truth. We pray for the Queenes Maiesty, for all that are in authority, for all the people, for those which suffer affliction, for all that either obstinately or ignorantly refuse the comfort of the Gospell. To be short, with one minde, and with one mouth, we praise God, euen the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, and all the people say Amen. Why should Pope Pius report vntruthes? What meaneth he to say we haue no Praiers? Is it because we haue not his Latine Praiers? The people do not vnderstand them, they are like the chirping of Birds, and the tinckling of Cymbals. Thankes be to God for the Praiers which we haue, and grant that we may hold them vnto the end.

Againe, All Fasting is abolished. So the Scribes and Pharisees said vnto Christ: Why doe thy Disciples breake the Traditions of the Elders? They eat and drinke, they do not fast. Would God we were all more careful than we are of keeping the true fast. The fasting which the Lord hath chosen (saith the Prophet) is it, that a man should afflict his soule for a day, and to bow downe his head as a bull rush, and to lie downe in Sackcloth and ashes? Wilt thou call this Fasting, or an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the Fasting that I haue chosen, to loose the bands of wickednesse, to take off the heauy burdens, to let the oppressed goe free, that ye breake euery yoke? Is it not to deale thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poore that wandreth vnto thine house? When thou seest the naked that thou couer him, and hide not thy selfe from thine owne flesh? 11. *Vntruth.* Matth. 15. Luk. 5. Esai. 58.

In like sort the Apostle Paul, hauing occasion to speake of the true Fast, saith: Bodily exercise profiteth little: but godlinesse is profitable to all things. Whereby we learne, not to esteeme the workes of the body, such as are, watchings, abstaining from meats, often rehearsall of Praiers, and long Praiers, going barefoot, and lying on the ground, and such like (which the body suffereth) as an acceptable Fast: but we require the crucifying of the flesh, with the affections and the lusts, that in the daies of our Fast the Lord be honoured, in that no man doe his owne waies, nor seeke his owne will, nor speake a vaine word. 1. Tim. 4.

And herein we follow the iudgement of the holy Fathers. Chrysostome saith: *Ibi est ieiunium, si pecuniam despecis, si ardeas charitate, si famelicos pascas, si gloriam contemnas*: There thou doest fast, if thou despise money, if thou be feruent in loue, if thou feed the hungie, and if thou forsake glory. And Origen: Wilt thou that I yet shew what maner of Fast thou must keepe? fast from all sinne, eat none of the meat of malice, eat none of the delicates of pleasure, stir not vp lust with the wine of riotousnesse, fast from doing euill, abstaine from euill words, keep thy selfe from euill thoughts, touch not the stollen bread of corrupt doctrine, desire not the deceitfull meats of Philosophie, which will lead thee from the truth. Such a fast pleaseth God. But to abstain from meats which God hath created to be receiued with giuing thanks of them which beleeue and know his truth: and this to do after the example of them which haue crucified Christ, cannot be acceptable to God. And againe saith Chrysostome: What profit commeth of thy fasting, if thou eat nothing all the day long, and yet plaiest and triflest, yea oft times takest false oathes, and blasphemest, and so doest spend the day? I pray you let vs not neglect our owne saluation: but let our talke rather be of spirituall things, and let some one take the Booke of God in his hand, and call his neighbours together, and with godly speeches water the minde both of himselfe and the congregation: that so wee may escape the snares of the Diuell, and reape much fruit by our fasting, and be partakers of the mercy of God. Thus farre Chrysostome. *Hom.* 47. *in* 13. *Matt.* *In Leuit. cap.* 16. *hom.* 10. *Hom.* 6. *in* 1. *Gen.*

Now, what if some few be wanton, and neglect the holesome vse of Fasting? What if godly Preachers exhort the people to put away the abuse, & do teach them out of the word of God, and the ancient writings of holy Fathers, the true order & vse of Fasting? Should Pope Pius therefore vntruly charge her Maiesty, that she hath abolished Fasting daies? You know the Lawes stand in force, which are made for that purpose: and moreouer that common Praiers, and an order for publike Fast to be vsed in time of contagious sicknesse, and other troubles and vnquietnesse, haue been set forth by the Queenes Maiesties speciall commandement. You know the maner and forme of that generall Fast was, first, that it should be kept in euery weeke vpon the Wednesday: secondly, by all persons betweene fortene yeeres of age, and threescore (sicke folkes and labourers, &c. excepted) that it appointed but one only competent and moderate meale, that it leaueth it indifferent in the same meale to eat flesh or fish, so that the quantity be smal, and fit for sober and spare diet, without variety of meat, spices, confections, or wines, but only such as may serue for necessity, comelinesse, and health: and that men of wealth and ability, who by this order did abate the costlinesse of their fare, should increase their liberality towards the poore, with that which they spared: then, that the same day ought to be bestowed in Praiers, study, reading or hearing of the Scriptures, or good exhortations, and other godly exercises: but no part thereof to be spent in plaies, pastimes, or idlenesse, much lesse in leand, wicked or wanton behauiour. This *Anno* 5. *Elizabeth.* 20. *August.*

Fast

Fast was commanded, and set forth in print, this Fast we obserued, and taught the people, that they should answer before God, if in such godly exercises, they either should contemne publike order, or dissemble with God, pretending abstinence, & doing nothing lesse. Let Pope Pius shew what Law of this Realme hath forbidden, or what doctrine of ours hath condemned Fasting. We commend it, and shew the necessary vse thereof.

Coloss. 2. Againe: She hath abolished all choice of meats. I pray you where did God euer command the choice of meats? *Paul* saith: Let no man condemne you in meat and drinke. And to the Corinth. Meat maketh vs not acceptable to God. And Christ saith: That which goeth into the mouth defileth not a man. What if some eat flesh, whose weake stomacks cannot be nourished with fish? Doe they not kill and eat flesh in the City of Rome? Doth not Pope Pius for money sell licence to eat what a man listeth? The thing is not made holy, because hee selleth it, nor vnholy because it commeth freely. This might be sufficient for answer. But yet, because hee maketh himselfe so privy to our doings, and doth so precisely charge vs with his vaine accusations, let him consider, that we to whom he maketh this report, and sendeth ouer this tale, are English men, acquainted (better then he semeth to be) with the Lawes of our Country. What one Fish day is changed thorow the whole yere? What Lenten, Ember, Saturday, Friday, or other vsuall Fasting day? Our Law saith:

1. Cor. 8. Mat. 15.

Elizab. Anno quinto cap. 5. It shall not be lawfull to any person or persons within this Realme to eat any flesh vpon any daies now vsually obserued as Fish daies. Nay, besides those daies which our forefathers kept, we haue appointed that Wednesday in euery weke throwout the yere, be kept fish day, and that no maner of person shall eat any flesh on the same day. Whereby we haue made nigh fifty fish daies more, than haue bin obserued hereto fore by the Lawes and customs of this Realme. We cannot heare of the like increase of fasting daies procured by the Pope, and kept in the Countries of Spaine, France, Italy, or in his own City of Rome. It

Ibidem. may be he is angry, with the Prouiso in the said Statute: Because no maner of person shall misse-iudge of the intent of this Statute, limiting orders to eat fish, and forbeare the eating of flesh, but that the same is purposely intended and meant politikely, and not for any superstition to be maintained in the choice of meats; be it enacted, that whosoeuer shall by preaching, teaching, writing, or open speech, notifie that any eating of Fish, or forbearing of flesh, mentioned in this Statute, is of any necessity for the saluing of the Soule of man, or that it is the seruice of God, otherwise than as other politike Lawes are and be, that then such persons shall be punished as Spreaders of false newes are or ought to be. Why doth he lay it against

August. ad Casulan. her Maiesty, that shee hath abolished all difference of meats? We professe, as doth S. Augustine, *In nostro ieiunio nihil melius est, quàm vt non manducans manducantem ne iudicet*: In our Fasting there is nothing worthy better account than this, that he which eateth not, doth not condemne another which eateth. We warne the people in times of abstinence to liue in the obedience of such order, as the Law and Magistrates haue appointed, and that, whiles they forsake a common and necessary diet of flesh, they feed not their fantasie with such costly sorts of Fish, or such dainty banqueting and iunkets, whereby they should giue force to the lusts of the flesh in the day of their Fasting.

13. *Vntruth.* It followeth: She hath abolished single life in Priests and Ministers. Is it not lawfull for a Minister to be single? you are witnesses to the contrary, you know some vnmarried, and againe you know some that haue wiues, and are married. They which marry do well: God

Heb. 13. grant they do no worse which do not marry. The Apostle saith: Mariage is honourable among all, and the bed vndefiled: but Whoremongers and Adulterers God will iudge. All

2. Cor. 7. haue not the gift of Chastity, saue they to whom it is giuen: for euery man hath his proper gift, one after this maner, and another after that. The holy Patriarches, the Prophets, and

Lib. 3. ca. 30. Hieron. epist. ad Oceanum. Idem lib. 1. aduersus Iouinia. the Apostles of Christ, Peter, Paul, Iames, Philip, and others, had Wiues: they liued in Marriage. Eusebius reporteth out of Clemens Alexandrinus, that Peter when he saw his wife led away to execution, called her by her proper name, and said, O wife, remember the Lord. Hierome saith, if he should name seuerally all the married Bishops, they would be more in number than all the multitude of the Councell of Ariminum. And in another place: *Quasi non hodie quoque plurimi Sacerdotes habeant Matrimonia*: As though at this day many Priests had not their wiues. We heare of the Bishops in Æthiopia, that they are at this day married. It is not long sithence Priests were married heere in England, and in France, and in Germanie. Will these men be more holy than so many Bishops, and Saints, and Martyrs, and Patriarchs, and Prophets, and Apostles, which by their example haue approued, and commended vnto vs this diuine ordinance?

Let euery man consider the strength of his own vessell, for which he shall render account before God in that Consistory, where we shall be iudged, not by the lawes of Rome, but by the Lawes of God, our owne conscience accusing or excusing vs. Paul saith: If they cannot

1. Cor. 7. abstaine, let them marry: it is better to marry than to burne. The name of Virginity is commendable,

dable, but euery thing is not as it sheweth. I protest before the liuing God, which is the Iudge of the quick and the dead, that no filthinesse vnder the Sun is comparable to forced Virginitie. I condemne not, but rather highly commend single life. No doubt there are many true Virgins, holy in body, and holy in spirit: but yet all are not Virgins which liue vnmaried, as Hierome seemeth to note: *Eliguntur mariti in sacerdotium, non nego, &c.* Such as are maried are chosen into the Priesthood, I denie not. For Virgins are not to be so much accounted of, as Priests. And againe: But why (say you) in giuing of Priestly orders is one, which is a Virgin, often times refused, and another which is maried admitted? It may be, because his doings are not agreeable to his Virginity, or because he is thought to be a Virgin, yet is not: or because his Virginity is infamous. So much saith Hierome, for reason why maried men were preferred to Orders of the Church before others which caried the shew of Virginity. Now to conclude this, we say, our Lawes (after the counsel of the Apostle, and finding so many examples in all ages of the godly which were maried, and the notable inconueniences which grew by forced chastity) haue giuen liberty, that those who haue not the gift of chastity, to auoid fornication, may mary. But no law made among vs, hath forbidden Virginity or single life. This is the thirteenth vntruth: & so haue you in these few words, the number which I spake of: euen fiue vntruths in little more than fiue words.

Lib. 1. aduers. Iouinian.

Ibidem.

First, that we haue no Sacrifice. This is not true. For we haue the Sacrifice of the death and blood of Christ, a Sacrifice which lasteth for euer.

Againe, that we haue no Praiers. This is vntrue. For we cal vpon the name of the Lord. We glorifie God euen the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ. God grant all the Churches in Christendome may doe the like.

Againe, that we haue no Fasting. This is vntrue. Our Doctrine requireth fasting: our Lawes command it: we commend it.

Againe, They make no difference of Meats. This is vntrue. For we haue not put down one Fish day: and we haue appointed 50. more than our Forefathers kept.

Againe, Single life is abolished. This is vntrue. For a Minister may liue single, if he will, there is no Law to the contrary. God grant our liues may be single and simple, and pleasing him: else we are like painted graues, faire and holy without, but within full of stinking carrion.

Now let vs proceed. You haue heard 13. vntruths: and may we thinke, that he which hath vttered so much falshood, will stay there?

14. *Vntruth.*

Eadem occupato regno supremi Ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, eiusq; præcipuam authoritatem atq; iurisdictionem monstrosè sibi vsurpans, regnum ipsum rursum in miserum exitium reuocauit: She (the Queenes Maiesty) inuaded the kingdome, and by vsurping monstrously the place of the supreme head of the Church in all *England*, and the chiefe authority and iurisdiction of the same, hath againe brought the said Realme into miserable destruction.

You must keepe reckoning: for here to the 13. vntruths, he giueth 3. others, more wicked & slanderous than the rest. Hath Queen Elizabeth inuaded the Realme? O vain man! Is it beseeming for Christ Vicar to speake so vntruly? What, sendeth he such tales vnto vs, who know the truth, & can reproue him? Did her Maiesty inuade this Realme? Came she by force and violence to her Crowne? No child so simple, but he may controle him herein. Was not Queen Mary her Sister? Was not King Edward her Brother? was not King Henry her naturall Father? and King Henry the 7. her Grandfather? Is she not the right inheritour of both the houses, Yorke & Lancaster? Hath she not both the Roses, that is, both the Titles to the Kingdome inclosed in one? Did not the whole body of the Counsell take their Oth to her 35. yeares ago? Was not the Crown due to her by inheritance and by succession, and by the Lawes of this Realme? Did not her Father warrant it to her by Will, as to his daughter? Did not Queene Mary by expresse words leaue it to her, as to her Sister? Did not the whole Nobilitie of the Realme confirme it? Did not Queene Maries Bishops knéele downe before her, and acknowledge her to bee their naturall and lawfull Queene? Did not you? Did not all the Commons of this Realme, willingly of your selues, make Bonefires, ring your Bels, and clap your hands for ioy? Did not the Children and little Babes crie out in your streets, God saue Queene Elizabeth?

How then dareth the Pope, a wilfull Frier, a wilfull and vnlearned Frier, how dareth he say, that Queene Elizabeth is no lawfull Queene, but did inuade this Realme with force and violence? O good and gracious Lady! what Host had she? what Captaine? what Souldiers? what weapon was worne? what Sword drawen? what Speare bent? what Banner displaied? what Trumpet sounded? She entred to her right peaceably, and hath raigned in great peace, saue that Pope Pius hath practised her trouble by certaine rebels & traitors. But God doth mercifully preserue her to the confusion of her enemies, to the comfort of her subiects, and the aduancement of his glory. Yong Men and Maidens, Old Men

and children may see and say, Pope Pius is a forger, a reporter of vntruth, hath no regard what he saith or doth: that he is past all shame, and hath no feare of God.

15. *Vntruth.* Againe: *Supremi capitis locum vsurpans:* Taking vpon her the place of the Supreme head. This is vntrue. Here lay a chase. If the Pope go forward, he wil win the game. Where is she euer called the supreme head? Peruse the Acts of Parlament, the Records, the Rolles, and the Writs of Chancery or Exchequer, which passe in her Graces name: where is she euer called the supreme head of the Church? No, no, brethren, she refuseth it, she would not haue it, nor be so called. Why then doth Christs Vicar blaze and spread abroad so grosse vntruth? why should he say Queene Elizabeth maketh her selfe the head of the Church?

16. *Vntruth.* Nay yet more: *Monstrosè præcipuam eius auctoritatem atq; iurisdictionem vsurpans:* Taking vpon her monstrously the chiefe authority and iurisdiction of the same. Here I might well say: *O monstrum hominis!* O monster in the likenesse of man! He imagineth that her Maiesty preacheth in the pulpits, that she ministreth the Sacraments, that she sitteth in the Consistories & heareth all spirituall causes. Which if she do, she doth more than the Pope doth. It were monstrous to see the Pope in a Pulpit. And it is monstrous to see Antichrist sit in the Temple of God, to see a Bishop girded with both swords, to see a Priest take vpon him the rule of heauen and earth, the seruant of seruants aduanced aboue all the Princes of the world, & to set his foot vpon their necks: a wretched man to claime authority ouer the Angels of God, & a sinful creature to suffer himselfe to be called by the name of God. This is a misshapen wonder, & a monster in nature. Let the Pope therefore look vpon himself, & know what supreme authority & iurisdiction, and ouer whom he taketh it vpon him monstrously.

Queen Elizabeth doth not any thing monstrously. She preacheth not, she ministreth not the Sacraments, she doth neither excommunicate nor absolue from excommunication: she sitteth not to giue sentence in spirituall causes: she challengeth not the dispensation of the keies of the kingdom of heauen. She doth nothing but which she may lawfully do, nothing but whereunto the Lord God hath giuen her especiall warrant. Her Maiestie is supreme Gouernour ouer her Subiects. The Bishops within her Realm are Subiects to her. She gouerneth, they yeld obedience. When occasion is offered to dispose of any thing, specially appertaining to the seruice of God, or to iudge of any controuersie arising in spirituall causes; she commendeth and giueth to her learned Diuines, the due consideration thereof: All other pleas and sutes she causeth to be ended at home, and suffereth no appeales to flie to Rome. Which is done for the ease and quietnes, and wealth of her good subiects. For wherin grew more extremity against plain dealing, simple and honest poore men: whereby were they oftner shifted off, and put from the right of their sute, than by such appeales? when after they had bene haled thorow all the Courts of their owne Country, they were driuen to follow the matter 1500. miles at the Popes Court in Rome.

To be short, Queene Elizabeth doth, as did Moses, Iosua, Dauid, Salomon, Iosias, Iehosaphat, as Constantine, Valentinian, Gratian, Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, and other godly Emperours haue done. God hath giuen charge to her of both Tables. In the first she hath charge of Religion, in the other of Ciuill causes. By the Prophet Esay God promiseth to his Church, Kings shalbe thy Nursing Fathers, and Queens thy Nurses. And Dauid saith: Be wise therefore ye Kings, be learned ye Iudges of the earth, serue the Lord in feare. Upon which place, the learned Father Augustine saith: *Quomodo ergo Reges seruiunt Domino in timore, nisi ea quæ contra iussa Domini fiunt, religiosa seueritate prohibendo atq; plectendo? aliter enim seruit quia homo est: aliter quia Rex est. Quia homo est, ei seruit viuendo fideliter: quia verò etiam Rex est, seruit ei leges iusta præcipiendo, & contraria prohibendo conuenienti rigore sanciendo, sicut seruiuit Ezechias, &c.* How then doe Kings serue the Lord in feare, but in that they do forbid, & in a religious seuerity punish such things as are done against the Lords commandements? for he serueth after one maner as a man, and after another, as a Prince: as a man he serueth the Lord in liuing faithfullie: but in that he is also a King, he serueth him by making Lawes, which command the things that are right, and which with conuenient rigour forbid the contrarie, as Ezechias serued the Lord, when hee destroied the Woods and Temples of Idols, and those high places which were built against the commandements of God; as Iosias serued, doing also the like: as the King of Nineuie serued, gathering together all his City to appease the wrath of the Lord: as Darius serued, giuing authority to Daniel to breake the Idoll, and casting his enemies into the Lions: as Nabuchodonosor serued, of whom we spake before, who by a terrible Law forbad all within his kingdome to blaspheme God. *In hoc ergo* (saith he) *seruiunt Domino Reges, quando ea faciunt ad seruiendum illi, quæ non possunt facere nisi Reges:* Herein therefore doe Kings serue the Lord, when they doe those things to serue him, which none may doe but Kings. The Pope therefore writeth vnaduisedly. We know not any so monstrous and vnlawfull doing. It is her office, it is her dutie. I trust God will giue her grace to discharge the same to his glory.

Esay 49. Psalm. 2. *Epist. 50. ad Bonifacium Comitem.*

Regium

Regium Conſilium ex Anglica Nobilitate conflatum diremit: She hath remooued the Noble men of England from the Kings Counſell. The Poets had a fond deuice of their great God Iupiter, that he held a golden Chain in his hand, and tied to the end of it both the Land and Sea, and coaſts of the whole worlde, and ſo might toſſe and turne, and ſet them higher and lower at his pleaſure. Pope Pius beſtirreth himſelfe, as though he were in Iupiters place, and might by his Bulles and curſes ſet higher and lower, place and diſplace, appoint who ſhall, and againe who ſhall not be in Princes Counſels. Nothing may be done but by his ſufferance. Such a practiſe he hath to make himſelfe King of Kings, and the God of this World. For when he may rule the Counſell, he may rule the King: and being able to rule the King, he may rule the people thorowout the worlde. He ſaith, Queen Elizabeths Counſell is not to my liking. She hath put thoſe from the Counſell, which were of the Nobilitie of England. 17. *Vntruth.*

Thus he goeth on, and increaſeth his follie. He ſingeth by reports, and ſpeaketh he wotteth not what. Hath her Maieſty remoued all the Nobility? Who would thinke the Vicar of Chriſt would be ſo vaine? You which haue liued in countenance, and haue beene at the Court, and haue theſe many yeares knowen the ſtate of our Country, you know well that this is falſe. The Nobility are all in England, and in Court, and in Counſell, as before. I do not ſpeake of ſuch as became Traitours. You know what vnnaturall attempts were lately made. Their guilty conſcience did make ſome to flie. I ſpeake not of one in durance: I diſpute not his caſe. A Prince ought to be very carefull and iealous, for his preſeruation. It toucheth not himſelfe only, but the welfare of his people. Of theſe I ſpeake nothing. Yet when this Bull was ſtamped at Rome, all were at liberty. Marke the date, the fifth of the Calends of March in the yeare paſt: at which time they were all at liberty and of the Counſell, or at leaſt in good fauour. Since which time, what hath beene wrought by this Bull, I pray you conſider. Remember what enſued the Summer following. The coales were kindled here, but the bellowes which gaue the winde lay at Rome, and there ſate he which made the fire. At what time he wrote this Bul, ſhe had diſplaced none, neither Lord, Baron, nor Earle: nor touched them in their liues, bodies, goods or lands. Indeed Pope Paulus 4. caſt Moronus into priſon, and there kept him all the time of his papacie. Pius 4. toke Caraffa, a chiefe Cardinall, he caſt him into priſon, and in the midnight ſent a ſlaughterman to put him to death. Pope Vrbanus toke ſix Cardinals, and knit them in bagges, and threw them into the ſea. Her milde, gratious, and mercifull nature, hath neuer beene diſtained by any the like cruelty, neither haue any of her Noble men beene ſo by her diſhonoured. *Anno Domini* 1569.

Againe: *Hominibus obſcuris compleuit:* She hath made her Counſell of poore, darke beggarly fellowes, and hath placed them ouer the people. What hath Pope Pius to doe with the Counſell of Princes? May not a King chuſe a Counſellour, vnleſſe he allow of him? Men take their owne eies to chuſe their wiues, and Princes take their owne hearts to chuſe their Counſellours. As well he might ſay: No King ſhall haue any Secretary, any Iudge or Iuſtice, or Sergeant, or Atturney, or Solicitour, or man at Law: any Captaine for warres, any Guard to his perſon, any Phyſician to his Body, any Sewer or Caſter, but by his appointment. O what a charge this man taketh! 18. *Vntruth.*

He calleth her Honorable Counſellours darke, and obſcure and beggarly. What if they had beene ſuch? May not Princes haue any other Counſellours than Dukes and Earles? Cardinal Woolſey was able to do ſomething in this Realme in the late time of King Henry. Of what noble houſe came he? Of what noble houſe came B. Heth, Stephen Gardner, Iohn Bourne, and M. Boxall? Of what honorable parentage, of what noble blood came they? They were of the Counſell: yet who was their Father, Grandfather; what Duke, Earle, Lord, Baron, or Knight? I ſpeake not this in deſpight of their perſons, let no man ſo miſtake mee: ſome of them are yet aliue; I pray for them as for my ſelfe. God direct them to do thoſe things which may be for his glory. He is noble, which is the childe of God, which is borne from aboue: he is honourable, he is noble.

But what are they who are now in authority, whom Pius calleth ſo poore and beggarly? I will not name them. I cannot flatter: it were vnſeemely I ſhould. You know them, and are thankfull to God for them. There is none of them which hath not beene at the leaſt a Knight, or worthy of that degree, aboue theſe twenty yeares: ſo wiſe, learned, vertuous, and godly, ſo carefull of the Common weale as euer were bred vp in this Realme. They haue euer beene in credit, in the countenance and knowledge of the world.

As Pope Pius complaineth now of the Counſellors of England, ſo did the Wolfe ſometimes make complaint to the ſhepheard againſt his Dogs. Thou haſt two vile ill fauoured Curres, they iet vp and down, they barke and howle, and trouble thy flocke, which cannot be quiet nor fed for them. Remoue them away, tie them vp, braine them, hang them, what

do they here? The Shepheard answereth; Would you so? nay, I may not spare my dogs, they do me good seruice. Spaniels and Greyhounds are faire and dainty, yet they neuer do me so much good: these watch when I slape, they ease me of much pain, and saue my flocke. If I should tie them vp, thou wouldest be bold with me, and take thy pleasure. I shall not need to applie this. The Queenes Maiestie is our shepheard: we are left by God to her safe keeping. The faithfull Counsellors are like the watchfull Mastiues, they take pains, they ease our Shepheard, they saue the flock. Now you may soon iudge who is the Wolfe. If Pope Pius could place his Pilot in our Ship, he would make vs arriue at what Port he liked.

Seeing Pius hath vpon ghesses or vain reports after this maner vnseemly dealt with the Peeres and Honorable estats of our Country: let vs looke somewhat abroad, and see what worthy wights the Pope hath placed in the Counsels of Kings. And so let vs be aduised by the harmes of our neighbors. Did he not place one Dauid Retchio so high in Scotland, that he toke vpon him to rule the Queene there, and sought all meanes to disgrace and disquiet the Nobles, and to vndoe that Country, and therfore was slain in the Queenes presence? Was not the Cardinall of Lorraine the highest Counsellour in France? Did not Cardinall Granuele beare the whole sway in Flanders? they were appointed by Pope Pius, they were endued with his spirit, they went from his side, they knew what hee would haue done. Haue not they spoiled and wasted those two noble Countries, and brought them to such villany and misery, as they neuer felt before? The King of Spaine suffereth Monkes and Friars to gouerne him and his Country. It is well knowen what good they haue done him. By these few you may see what Counsellours the Pope alloweth, and for what purpose. Yet that we may the better marke the order of their gouernment, and what good Cardinals worke in Princes Counsels, one telleth vs: *Legati Romanorum Pontificum sic bacchantur in prouincijs, acsi ad flagellandam Ecclesiam Satan egressus sit à facie Domini:* The Popes Legates keepe such reuels in Kingdomes and Countries, as if Satan were sent abroad from the face of the Lord to scourge the Church. He was wise, and did see what was done. If we open our eies and behold the storie and present course of their doings, we may finde the like. What Prince soeuer receiueth them, receiueth traitors and enemies to his estate. They alwaies breed suspicion, stirre vp dissension, increase hatred betweene Prince and Prince, and set them one against another, they seeke to aduance their Master the Pope, they spoile all Churches to furnish one, they be the very plagues and decay of Countries. Let not Pope Pius complaine of the Counsellours of England: no Prince in Christendome this day hath better. God grant them the spirit of vnderstanding and of counsell, God continue them in his feare, and direct them in his glory. If Pope Pius had but one so wise a Counsellour, he neuer would haue sent such Bulles and Babies about the World.

Cornel. Agrip. de Van. Sci. ca. 61. ex Camotense.

Againe: *Hominibus hereticis complent.* The Counsellours are not only poore and beggarly, but also Heretikes. The accusation of Heresie is heauie, and should not be laid vpon any, but after due proofe. Paul the Apostle was accused for Heresie: but he answered: After that way, which they call Heresie, worship I the God of my fathers, beleeuing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets. The high Priests and Pharisees called our Sauiour, a Deceiuer. All the Christians of the Primitiue Church were called Heretikes. *Misistis per omnem terram, qui circumirent & dicerent impiam haresim surrexisse Christianorum:* You haue chosen (saith Iustine the Martyr) certaine men fit for that purpose, and haue sent them ouer the world, to goe about and say there is a wicked heresie of the Christians sprung vp. Euen so it liketh the Pope to speake of them which be in authoritie among vs, and calleth them Heretikes. God forbid his mouth should be a slander, and all bee Heretikes, whom he so calleth. Then as many, as reproue his errours, and refuse to fall down and worship him, shall be Heretikes. They spare not to say so: *Qui Romanæ Ecclesiæ Priuilegium auferre conatur, hic proculdubio labitur in haresim:* He doubtlesse falleth into heresie, which goeth about to take away the priuilege of the Church of Rome.

Act. 24.

Matth. 27.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 18.

Dist. 22. Omnes.

But Heresie is another matter. An Heretike is he which denieth the Articles of our Christian faith. We deny them not, no not any one Article. We hold the Creed of the Apostles, and of the Nicene Councell, and of Athanasius. We hold all the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. We hold all the ancient Councels. We hold all the ancient Fathers, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostome, &c. We condemne all Heresies, which our Fathers condemned. This is our profession, and yet notwithstanding doth the Pope lightly and rashly giue sentence against vs of Heresie. But let him take heed lest whiles he calleth others Heretikes, and reckoneth not the causes wherefore, his Arrow which he hath shot vp, fall vpon his owne head, and he fall into the pit he hath digged for others.

Yet there remaineth one pretence more against her Maiesty: *Ad quam velut ad asylum omnium infestissimi perfugium inuenerunt:* Vnto whom all such as are the worst of the people resort

ſort, and are by her receiued into ſafe protection. Is it not lawfull for the Quéne to receiue ſtrangers without the Popes warrant? This he ſpeaketh of the poore exiles of Flanders and France, and other Countries, who either loſt, or left behind them all that they had, goods, lands, and houſes: not for adultery, or theft, or treaſon, but for the profeſſion of the Goſpell. It pleaſed God here to call them on Land: the Quéne of her gratious pitie hath granted them harbor. Is it become ſo hainous a thing to ſhew mercy? God willed the children of Iſrael, to loue the ſtranger, becauſe they were ſtrangers in the Land of Ægypt. Deut.10. He that ſheweth mercy, ſhal find mercy. If God ſhall turne his hand, thou maiſt be in caſe of pouerty and baniſhment as well as they. I am not a Prophet, nor the ſon of a Prophet, but I doubt the time will come, when men ſhall looke for the Pope at Rome, and not finde him. His ſeat ſhall be remoued, he ſhall not be there. Then ſhall he know what it is to be a ſtranger. He which deuoureth, ſhall be deuoured.

But what is the number of ſuch, who haue come in vnto vs? Are they three or foure thouſand? Thanks be to God this Realme is able to receiue them if the number be greater. You may remember what other ſtrangers arriued within theſe parts not long ſithence: Theſe are few, they were many: Theſe are poore and miſerable, they were lofty and proud: Theſe are naked, they were armed: Theſe are ſpoiled by others, they came to ſpoile vs: Theſe are driuen from their Country, they came to driue vs from our Country: Theſe come to ſaue their liues, they came to haue our liues. The difference is great betwéen theſe ſtrangers. If we were content to beare them then, now let it not grieue vs to beare theſe: It is the commandement of God, that we loue the ſtranger: yet a Prince that doth it, ſhall abide the Popes controlement.

He himſelfe is good to them, and ſpareth the liberties of his City to ſome number, and of worſe condition. For (beſides thoſe which reſort thither out of England, Germanie, France, Spaine, &c.) he giueth harbour to 6000. Iewes, which liue by vſury, and pay him yéerely penſions. He alloweth in his City of Rome 20000. Courteghians or common women. This was the old reckoning. It may be, the number is now improued. All theſe liue by filthineſſe, and yéeld him therefore a penſion of 30000. Ducats.

If the Pope may maintaine ſo many thouſand adulterers, harlots, Iewes, and enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt, why may not Quéen Elizabeth receiue a few afflicted members of Chriſt, which are compelled to carry his Croſſe? If it be no fault in him to receiue ſo many ſeruants of the Diuell, why may not Quéene Elizabeth receiue a few ſeruants of God? Whom when he thought good to bring ſafely by the dangers of the ſea, and to ſet in at our hauens, ſhould we cruelly haue driuen them back again, or drowne them, or hang them, or ſtarue them? Would the Vicar of Chriſt giue this counſell? or, if a King receiue ſuch, and giue them ſuccor, muſt he therfore be depriued? They are our brethren, they liue not idly. If they haue houſes of vs, they pay rent for them. They hold not our grounds, but by making due recompence. They beg not in our ſtréets, nor craue any thing at our hands, but to breath our aire, and to ſée our Sun. They labour truly, they liue ſparefully. They are good examples of vertue, trauell, faith and patience. The townes in which they abide are happie, for God doth follow them with his bleſſings.

Thus haue I opened nineteéne vntruths all packed in this Bull. If I would haue béene curious or quarrellous, I might haue gathered twice ſo many. But I haue no pleaſure to paſſe further in them. God and man, heauen and earth know they are vntrue. I may ſay to Pope Pius, Thou Son of man how long wilt thou blaſpheme the honour of God? Why haſt thou ſuch pleaſure in vanitie, and ſeekeſt after leaſing? What opinion hath he of our nation? Doth he thinke we are ſo ſimple to be led in a maſſe with ſo vaine fables? Doth he thinke we haue neither eies to ſée, nor hearts to iudge? Doth he thinke his bare word will goe for Goſpell? Would he write thus if he thought there were a God? If he deceiue vs in theſe earthly things which we ſée with our eies, no reaſon we credit him in heauenly things. Chriſt is the truth. It becommeth not his Vicar to ſpeake falſhood. Pſal.4.

Now let vs examine how he wreſteth and corrupteth the Scriptures of God, how he giueth vs a falſe interpretation, and corrupteth them. In this whole Bull he hath one onely place out of the Scripture, only one place, I ſay, & no more: and the ſame he ſetteth downe to maintaine his owne authoritie, and to vphold his power, whereby he ſetteth vp, and depoſeth the Kings and Princes, and States of the World. The words be the firſt Chapter of Ieremy: Behold this day haue I ſet thee ouer the nations and ouer the kingdoms to pluck vp, and to root out, and to deſtroy, and throw downe, to build and to plant. If he abuſe this place of Scripture, which he hath aduiſedly choſen, and ſent ouer, to make thereby ſome ſhew of his Diuelliſh practiſes, to worke rebellion and treaſons among vs: we may well thinke he dealeth the like with other places, when he draweth them to ſerue his turne. Ierem.1.

Hunc vnum ſuper omnes gentes principem conſtituit, qui euellat, deſtruat, &c. He hath appoin-

ted him onely (Peter and his Succeſſor the Biſhop of Rome) Prince ouer all nations, to pluck vp, and to deſtroy, to root out and throw downe, to build and plant. No doubt this commiſſion is large. There can be no greater authority giuen in matters of the world. But this
Prouerb. 8. authority hath no man. God keepeth it to himſelfe. By me Kings raigne, and Princes decree iuſtice. They beare my name, they draw my ſword, they are my Miniſters to take vengeance on him that doth euill: their hearts are in my hands, I turne them whitherſoeuer it pleaſeth me: I take the praiers and ſupplications, and interceſſion for Kings, and for al that are in authority, that men may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſſe and honeſty.
Daniel 4. Daniel telleth King Nabuchodonoſor, That the moſt High beareth rule ouer the kingdoms of men, and giueth it to whomſoeuer hee will. Wherefore doth he not giue this glory vnto God? Wherefore ſaith he, I will go vp and be like vnto the Higheſt: I will exalt my ſelfe, and ſhew my ſelfe that I am God? I haue (ſaith he) a deed of gift. The words ſet downe by the Prophet Hieremy, are my warrant to place and depoſe whom I will.

And he doth not only ſay thus, but as if it were too ſmall and baſe a title, to ſet the name of God, or of our Sauiour Chriſt, before the words of his priuilege, he keepeth his ſet from the ground, and raiſeth aloft, and ietteth in the aire aboue, as though he were one of
Epheſ. 6. the ſpirituall wickednеſſes which are in the high places, and ſaith: *Regnans in excelſis, cui data eſt omnis in cœlo & in terra poteſtas, &c.* He that ruleth in the heights, to whom all power is giuen both in heauen and in earth, &c. Let him not deceiue you with vaine words. You ſhall witneſſe againſt him, that he taketh the name of the Lord his God in vain. For if any word in that peece of Scripture be ſpoken either of Prince, or remouing of Princes: if the whole ſenſe of thoſe words carry any greater authority to the Pope, than to the Biſhop of any other place, or to the ſimpleſt Miniſter in the world, let me be no more credited. Marke therefore, and ſee how boldly and fondly Pope Pius ſeeketh to mocke the world. Firſt he ſaith: *Deus conſtituit me vnum Principem ſuper gentes:* God hath appointed me alone, to be Prince ouer the nations. Heere is a ſhameleſſe falſifying of Gods words. The Prophet ſaith: I haue ſet thee ouer the nations. The Pope thruſteth in three words more, Me, Alone, and Prince, that ſo he, and none but he, may reuell and rule in all places. Read the place of the Prophet, if you haue your Bookes. The words are: I ſet thee ouer the nations. They ſay nothing, neither of the Pope, nor of Peters Succeſſour, nor of one alone, nor of Prince. All theſe the Pope hath peeced of his owne deuice.
Prouerb. 30. But Salomon warneth him: Put nothing to his words leſt he reproue thee, and thou be
Reuel. 22. found a liar. Alſo S. Iohn telleth him: If any man ſhall adde vnto theſe things, God ſhall adde vnto him the plagues that are written in this Booke. Whoſe words, or what euidence, will he not corrupt, which dareth in ſuch preſumption to handle the word of God deceitfully, and without ſhame ſend it forth ſo into the world?

As for Hieremy the Prophet, vnto whom God ſpake the words, which the Pope ſendeth vs, will Pius ſay that he was a Prince, and had authority ouer nations and kingdomes? will he ſay that Hieremy depriued Princes, and thruſt them from their royal ſeats? Hieremie did no ſuch thing. But all contrary, he ſuffered perſecution, not only of the Princes,
Hier. 20. but of the wicked people. Paſhur ſmote him and put him in the ſtockes. He was in deriſion daily, euery one mocked him. He heard the railing of many, and feare came on him on euery ſide. All his familiars lay in wait for him, that ſo they might preuaile againſt him, and execute their vengeance vpon him. He moneth his caſe before God, ſaying: How is it that I came forth of the wombe to ſee labor and ſorrow, that my daies ſhould be conſumed with ſhame? And in the ſix and twentieth Chapter, all the people were gathered againſt Hieremie in the houſe of the Lord, then the Prieſts and the Prophets and al the people toke him
Hier. 26. and ſaid: Thou ſhalt die the death.

Was all this done vnto him by rebellion as againſt their Prince? was it becauſe he had vſed himſelfe proudly or cruelly in matters of temporall gouernment? was it not rather,
Hier. 19. & 20. becauſe he ſtood in the Court of the Lords houſe, where the Lord had ſent him to Prophe-
Hier. 26. cie, and ſaid to all the people the words of the Lord of Hoſts? Was it not becauſe he prophecied in the name of the Lord?

Would Pope Pius be thus ſet ouer nations and kingdomes? would he be ſmitten and
Id. cap. 38. put into the ſtockes, and railed at? Would he haue his daies conſumed in ſhame? would he be let downe with cords into the dungeon where was no water, but mire, and ſo ſticke faſt in the mire? would he haue his friends mone his caſe to the King, and tell what euill hath beene done to him, in that they haue caſt him into the dungeon, and ſay, hee dieth for hunger in the place where he is? would he, I ſay, thus be ſet ouer nations and kingdoms? or will he ſay, that Hieremy ſuffering theſe reproches of the Rulers and the Prieſts and the people, did enioy an earthly peace, and poſſeſſe a worldly kingdome? or will he ſay, that God mocked his Prophet, when he ſaid vnto him, This day I ſet thee ouer nations?

The

The words therefore must néeds haue another meaning, and what that meaning is, who is better able to declare than Ieremy himselfe? The Lord stretched out his hand, and touched my mouth, and the Lord said vnto me, Behold, I haue put my words in thy mouth. I haue ordained thee to be a Prophet vnto the nations. Thou shalt goe to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoeuer I command thee, thou shalt speake. Be not afraid of their faces. For I this day haue made thee a defensed Citie and an iron pillar, and walles of brasse against the whole land, against the Kings of *Iuda*, and against the Princes thereof: against the Priests thereof, and against the people of the land. For they shall fight against thee, but shall not preuaile against thee. For I am with thee, saith the Lord. Such authority hath he ouer the nations: to be their Prophet, to speake what the Lord commanded, to reproue them without feare. Hierem. 1.

In like authority spake Elias to Achab: I haue not troubled Israel, but thou and thy fathers house, in that you haue forsaken the commandements of the Lord, and thou hast followed *Baalim*. In like authority spake Iohn the Baptist vnto Herod: It is not lawfull for thee to haue thy brothers wife. And the like authoritie did God giue vnto Moses: Behold I haue made thee *Pharaohs* God. Thou shalt speake all that I command thee. And thou shalt say vnto him, The Lord God of the Hebrewes hath sent me vnto thee. As Moses was set ouer Pharao King of Ægypt, and Elias ouer Achab King of Israel, and Iohn ouer King Herod, so was this Prophet set ouer the nations: not to remoue or pull them downe, but to rebuke their errours, and to direct their liues: to plant the truth, to ouerthrow the vanity of men, and to build the feare of the Lord. In all this we finde nothing for the Popes purpose. Mark. 6. Exod. 7.

But, if it were so, and that had béene the meaning of this place, what had that made for him? Was Hieremy his predecessor in the Bishoprieke of Rome? or is he the successor of Hieremy in Israel? was the Prophet called the head of the Church? had he, and did he exercise such iurisdiction ouer Kings and Princes, as the Pope hereby challengeth? if he neuer attempted any such things, how doth Pope Pius maintaine his proceedings by the example of Hieremy? or, if the words will carry no such meaning, why doth he so vainly allege them? One of their own Doctors saith: He speaketh not of the ouerthrowing of the Kingdoms of the world, but of the ouerthrowing of vices, and of the planting of faith and maners. And so Hierome writing vpon the same place: *Omnis plantatio, quam non plantauerit pater cœlestis eradicabitur: & ædificatio, quæ super petram non habet fundamentum, sed extructa est in arena, sermone Dei suffoditur atq; destruitur*: Euery plant which our Heauenly Father hath not planted, is rooted vp: and that building which is not founded on a Rocke, but is built vpon the Sand, is vndermined, and ouerthrowen with the word of God. *Ioh. de Parisijs cap. 15. Hieron. in 1. Hierem.*

Such power Hieremies hath God giuen vnto the world who haue ouerthrown and pulled vp the vanities and follies which were growen to a great height in the Church of God. They haue planted faith and maners. They haue opened and preached the truth. The Lord hath prospered their labors, as we sée this day: he hath rooted out those strange plants, and thrown downe the weake foundations with the breath of his mouth. This is the plucking vp, the rooting out, the destroying, and throwing downe: this is the building and planting whereof the Prophet speaketh: as we haue heard it proued by the Prophet himselfe, by the interpretation of Hierome a learned Father, who maketh good this saying with two seuerall places written in the New Testament, and by the confession of their owne Doctor Iohan. de Parisijs, and might be further proued by sundry others.

Yet all this notwithstanding, it must be taken in the sense wherein Pius vseth it, or else some of his predecessors Popes of Rome might likewise be worthily blamed for their doings. Pope Adrian wrote somewhat roundly to the Emperor Fredericke: *Imperator quod habet, totum habet à nobis. Sicut Zacharias transtulit imperium à Græcis ad Teutonicos: ita nos possumus illud transferre ab Alemannis ad Græcos. Ecce in potestate nostra est, vt demus illud cui volumus. Progressi constituti sumus à Deo super gentes & regna, vt destruamus, & euellamus, ædificemus, & plantemus*: Whatsoeuer the Emperor hath, he hath it of vs. As Pope *Zacharie* translated the Empire from the Greekes vnto the Germans, so may wee againe translate the same from the Germans to the Greekes. Behold it is in our power to bestow the Empire vpon whom we list. Therefore we are appointed by God ouer nations, and kingdomes, to pull down, to root vp, to build and to plant againe. No mouth would vtter these blasphemies but the mouth of Antichrist. *Auentinus in Adriano 4. an. 1154.* Hier. 1.

Thus haue we tried the Pope to be a corrupter, and a falsifier of the Scriptures. He putteth in three words, Me, Alone, Prince. He applieth the place to himselfe, and among all other to himselfe alone, and so setteth himselfe aboue Princes. He changeth the rooting out of error, to the ouerthrowing of Princes: and the preaching of the truth, to the deposing of Kings. He forgeth a sense which the spirit of God, and the Prophet Ieremy neuer meant. He saith, Thus saith the Lord, when the Lord neuer spake it. He knew them well, which said

ſaid, They wreſt the Scriptures to maintaine their power. This thou ſeeſt O God, and ſuffereſt. He calleth himſelfe the Vicar of thy Chriſt, he abuſeth thy moſt holy word, he deceiueth thy people, he maketh thee to be a falſe witneſſe to his folly; and all this doth he to countenance his ambition and pride.

Now vpon warrant of theſe words ſo fondly applied, he addreſſeth himſelfe ſolemnly to pronounce ſentence: *Declaramus prædictam Elizabetheiq; adhærentes in prædictis anathematis ſententiam incurriſſe:* We make it knowen, that *Elizabeth* aforeſaid, and as many as ſtand on her ſide in the matters aboue named, haue run into the danger of our curſe. This is a terrible thunderbolt ſhot in among vs from Rome, in Paper. Theſe clouds are without rain: Theſe Guns will doe no harme. Euen ſo did the Phariſies caſt Chriſt Jeſus out of their Synagogues, and excommunicate him, and accurſe him. So did Diotrephes excommunicate Iohn the Euangeliſt, and did neither himſelfe receiue the brethren, but forbade them that would, and did thruſt them out of the Church. So was Hilary accurſed and excommunicated by the Arians. He laieth his curſe not only vpon the Lords Anointed our bleſſed Queen, but vpon all that follow her godly proceedings, that is, vpon euery one of you, and vpon all other her Maieſties true ſubiects. He knoweth you not, and yet accurſeth you. You are children of God, yet he maketh you the children of the Diuell. The Lord hath ſhewed the light of his countenance vpon you, and hath giuen you his heauenly word, whereby you haue gotten vnderſtanding, and are made wiſer than your enemies, and are taught to refraine your feet from euery euill way, and therefore the Pope crieth out againſt you, and doth reckon you accurſed. But his own words tell vs: *Neminem ligare debet iniqua ſententia:* A wrongfull ſentence bindeth no man. The curſe ſhall come into his owne boſome. For the Lord our God turneth the curſe vnto a bleſſing to vs, becauſe the Lord our God loueth vs. And, He will ſend a curſe vpon them, and will curſe their bleſſings: yea, he hath curſed them already, becauſe they doe not conſider in their hearts, nor giue glory vnto his name. He hath alſo made them to be deſpiſed and vile before all the people, becauſe they haue not kept his waies.

Epiſt. 3. Ioh. 11. Q. 3. Deut. 23. Malac. 2.

In this caſe Chriſt ſaith: Reioice and be glad. For ſo perſecuted they the Prophets which were before you. Origen ſheweth how all that be like minded vnto Pharao cry out that men are ſeduced, and led out of their way, if Moſes and Aron, that is, if the ſpeech of the Preachers call vpon them to be diligent in the Law of God, and to follow his word. And Chryſoſtome telleth vs, this is no new thing. *Ne admiremur quòd ſpiritualibus inſtantes multa patiamur aduerſa, &c.* Let vs not maruell, if we abide many aduerſities, becauſe wee follow after and deſire thoſe things which are ſpirituall. For, as the theefe diggeth not, nor laieth his wait at the place, where ſtraw, and chaffe, and feathers are laid, but there, where is gold and ſiluer: ſo is the Diuell moſt out of quiet, with thoſe which take in hand ſpirituall buſineſſe. Theſe things (ſaith our Sauiour) haue I ſaid vnto you, that ye ſhould not be offended. They ſhall excommunicate you: yea the time ſhall come, that whoſoeuer killeth you will thinke that he doth God ſeruice. And theſe things will they doe vnto you becauſe they haue not knowen the Father, nor me.

Origen. hom. 3. in Exod. *Chryſoſt. Hom. 1. ad popul. Antiochen.* Iohn. 16.

But what are the effects and force? what ſucceſſe take the Popes bleſſings and his curſes? He ſtirred vp the King of France, to plague his ſubiects, and to that purpoſe he bleſſed him and his followers: they and their Country were brought to great miſery. He bleſſed Philip King of Spaine: he hath beene wonderfully troubled by the Moores at home, and liueth in continuall turmoile with his ſubiects in other his dominions abroad. He bleſſed the States of Venice: they are ſtill diſquieted by the Turke. On the other ſide, he hath accurſed England: thankes be to God it was neuer better in worldly peace, in health of body, in abundance of corne and victuals. He hath accurſed the Princes and States of Germanie: they were neuer ſtronger. He bleſſeth his owne ſide: but it decaieth, and withereth. He curſeth the Goſpell, but it preuaileth and proſpereth. The more he curſeth, the more it proſpereth. This is the Lords doing, and it is maruellous in our eies. So doth God turne the Popes curſe into a bleſſing vnto vs. And ſo we may well ſay with Seneca: *Cœleſtis ira quos premit miſeros facit; humana nullos.* The anger of God maketh thoſe men miſerable vpon whom it lighteth: but ſo doth not the wrath of man.

Seneca in Hercule Oeto.

Quinetiam ipſam pretenſo regni prædicti iure, necnon omni & quecunque dominio, dignitate, priuilegioque priuatam: We alſo make it knowen, that we haue depriued her from that right ſhe pretended to haue in the Kingdome aforeſaid, and alſo from all and euery her authority, dignity, and priuilege. This is the other part of the Popes ſentence. In this his vaine fantaſie, and by this childiſh mockery he thinketh to depoſe Queene Elizabeth from her kingdome. O vaine man! As though the coaſts and ends of the world were in his hands, or as if no Prince in the world might rule without his ſufferance.

So haue the proud Prelates of that See, theſe many yeeres troubled the States of all Chriſtendome,

Christendome, and therby bene cause of much slaughter and shedding innocent blood. And so at this present he seeketh to disquiet Elizabeth: Elizabeth, I say, our soueraign and most gratious Lady, a Virgin full of wisdome, vertue, grace and compassion: she is vnto vs as a comfortable water in a dry place, as a refuge for the tempest, and as the shadow of a great rocke in a weary land.

The greatest blessing which God giueth to any people, is a godly Prince to rule ouer them. The greatest misery that can fall vpon a people is to haue a godly Prince taken from them. For by a godly Prince he doth so rule the people as if God himselfe were with them in visible appearance. The Prince walketh in the waies of the Lord: the Nobles follow the steps of the Prince: and the people fashion themselues to the example of the Nobles. The face of a godly Prince shineth as the Sunne beames, and bringeth ioy and comfort to his subiects.

When the Lord was displeased with the people of Israel, he toke Samuel from them, and gaue them Saul to be their King. Saul did wickedly, without Iustice, without Mercy. He deuoured the people like a Lion, he ouerthrew the Tabernacle, and slew the Priests. Then was there no Reuelation: None that did Prophecie, or care for the name of the Lord.

But when God toke mercy vpon the people, he gaue vnto them Dauid, a man after his owne heart. He deliuered him from danger, and toke him out of the Lions Mouth. He crowned him, and did set a Crowne of pure gold vpon his head. Dauid loued the people, he taught them the waies of God, he put down Idolatry, and destroied the Groues, he set vp a Tabernacle to the God of Iacob. Vnder him the people had great prosperity in their houses, and abroad, in their Vines, in their Corne, and in their Cattell, in time of Peace, and in time of Warre.

When it pleased God to send a blessing vpon vs, he gaue vs his seruant Elizabeth to be our Queene, and to be the instrument of his glory in the sight of all the world. Who is so blind which seeth not? who is so vnthankfull that remembreth not what things God hath wrought by her? who seeth not the glorious beames of the truth? who seeth not the wonderfull peace in which we haue liued? who seeth not the wise and safe guiding of the people? One of those alone were a great blessing, but all together are such a blessing, as our Fathers before vs neuer enioied so happily.

As touching religion, let vs thinke of that time of ignorance, wherein we were before. How miserable a case was it to see such deadly dumbnesse in the Church of God? to see the people led away in the darke, they knew not whither? to see the word of life taken away? to see the people fed with fables? to see an Idoll set vp in the place of God? to see Iesus Christ our Sauiour put to silence? In this case were we. This we did see, we did feele this. Out of this deadly dungeon God deliuered vs by the hand of our Queen. By her he restored the truth: by her he sent vs the light of his holy word: by her he hath releaued the hearts of the people. God himselfe hath bene the worker hereof. Elizabeth hath bene his instrument, and the meane by whom he hath done this worke.

And marke the time when she attempted this. Euen at the first entry into her kingdome: at which time the King of Spaine, the King of France, the Queene of Scots, and many of the Nobles and the Bishops of this Realme were against it. She had learned, First to seeke the kingdome of God: she had learned to seeke his glory, and not her owne: she had learned to say as Dauid said, I wil not suffer mine eies to sleepe, nor mine eie lids to slumber, vntill I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of Iacob. She had learned to say, If God be on our side, who can be against vs? So was her gratious heart consumed with the zeale of Gods house. O who can conceiue the ioy and comfort of the people! It was so great, as no man can declare. They held vp their hands to God, they had not words to giue him, they could not speake for ioy. They reioiced as a Bird doth at the day spring: as Ionas reioiced when he came out of the Whales belly: as Daniel reioiced when he was brought safe out of the Lions den: as the children of Israel reioiced when they came out of Ægypt: as the three children reioiced when they came forth of the burning furnace: so did we reioice and said: This is the day which the Lord hath made, let vs reioice and be glad in it.

Matt. 6.

Psal. 132.

Rom. 8.

I need not speake of the continuall peace, which God hath giuen vs al the tims of her gouernment. He that knoweth not the price of peace, and how to esteeme it, let him behold the kingdomes which border next vpon vs, how pitifully they be afflicted. Let him behold Spaine, France, Denmarke, Flanders, and Scotland: and consider what they haue suffered these few yeres past: what houses haue bene ouerthrowen, what Cities haue bene burnt, what blood hath bene shed? how many women haue lost their husbands? how many mothers haue lost their children? and how many children haue bene made fatherlesse?

But

But God, euen our God, gaue vs Quéene Elizabeth: and with her gaue vs Peace, and so long a Peace as England hath seldome seene before.

What should I speake of her wisdome in gouernment? Let vs loke vpon the state as it was before: What hunger was in this land? many of our brethren died for lacke of food. What cruell executions were then in London? there were few streets where was not set vp a gallows or a gibbet. In Oxford two and fifty were executed at one Sessions. What diseases fell vpon vs? the graueſt, and wiſeſt, and richeſt men were taken away. Calais was loſt. A ſtranger and forraine people had the rule ouer vs. All things went againſt vs, becauſe God was not with vs.

But God reſtored by his ſeruant our Quéene thoſe ioies againe, which we lacked. He hath giuen vs ciuill peace among our ſelues, and peace with forraine nations. He hath giuen vs health of body, and ſtore of victuals: diſcharge of debts, and auoiding of ſtrangers: he hath giuen vs mercy in iuſtice, abandoning all cruelty. We are now with God, and all things goe well with vs.

They talke much of an vnbloody Sacrifice. It is not theirs to offer it. Quéen Elizabeth ſhall offer it vp vnto God: euen her vnbloody hands, and vnbloody ſword, an vnbloody people, and an vnbloody gouernment. This is an vnbloody Sacrifice. This Sacrifice is acceptable vnto God. I ſay not, that it is not lawfull for her to put to death. God ſaith: Thine eie
Deut. 13. ſhall not pity the wicked, nor ſhew mercy: but thou ſhalt kill him: that all *Iſrael* may heare and feare, and do no more any ſuch wickednesſe as this, among you. She muſt doe it: if ſhe would not, yet her lawes would ſee offenders puniſhed. But I ſpeake it to ſhew the gratious goodneſſe of her mercifull nature.

Oh how gratiouſly did her Maieſty commend vs her ſubiects, to the carefull and wiſe gouernment of her Counſell, and Iudges, when ſhe ſpake thus vnto them! Haue care ouer my people. You haue my place: Doe you that which I ought to doe. They are my people. Euery man oppreſſeth them, and ſpoileth them without mercy. They cannot reuenge their quarrell, nor helpe themſelues. See vnto them, ſee vnto them, for they are my charge. I charge you, euen as God hath charged me. I care not for my ſelfe, my life is not deare to me, my care is for my people. I pray God whoſoeuer ſucced mee, be as carefull as I am. They which might know what cares I beare, would not thinke I tooke any greatioy in wearing the Crowne.

Theſe eares heard when her Maieſty ſpake ſuch words. I truſt they will worke ſuch affection in your hearts, which heare them reported, as they did in mee when I heard them ſpoken. She loueth her Subiects, and they reuerence her: ſhe is carefull for them, and they are true to her. God continue his bleſſing towards her, and ouerſhadow her with his mercifull hand. For ſhe is the comfort and Diamond of all Chriſtendome. This is ſhe againſt whom Pope Pius rageth and ſtormeth, and hath ſent his curſe, and ſentence of deprination againſt her. If he had been acquainted with our happy eſtate vnder her, he might with better grace haue ſaid to her: Becauſe thy God loueth *England*, to eſtabliſh it for euer, therfore hath he made thee Queen ouer them to execute iudgement and iuſtice. He might with more
Num. 23. and better aduiſement haue ſaid, How ſhall I curſe where the Lord hath not curſed? or how ſhall I deteſt where the Lord hath not deteſted? He is not ſo wiſe as Balaam, which would not for a houſe full of gold, paſſe the commandement of the Lord, to doe either good or bad of his owne minde.

Præcipimus & interdicimus vniuerſis, & ſingulis proceribus, ſubditis, & populis, & aliis prædictis: neilli eiuſue monitis, mandatis, & legibus, audeant obedire: quiſecus egerint, eos ſimili anathematis ſententia innodamus: We charge and forbid all and euery the Nobles and Subiects, and people, and others aforeſaid, that they bee not ſo hardy as to obey her, or her will, or commandements, vpon paine of like accurſe vpon them. Would you take this man to be the Vicar of Chriſt? He ſeemeth rather to be ſome Maiſter of miſrule, which ſo diſchargeth all maner of Subiects from all maner obedience. For, what order will he leaue vs, when we may not doe thoſe things which we doe vnder her obedience, by charge of her will, or commandements or lawes? His words ſpeake very broad. I command vnder paine of damnation, that no ſeruant obey his Maiſter, no wife obey her husband, no childe obey his Parents, and that no ſubiect obey his Prince. I command and forbid, that you dare not obey her, &c.

But what if you ſhew him of our lawes which Quéene Elizabeth hath made and eſtabliſhed againſt Burglary and robbing by the high way, and any other kind of theft: againſt murder, adultery, and all filthineſſe (as keeping of Concubines and Courteghians) (like to the vſe of his City at Rome?) Keepe them not, ſaith the Pope, vnder pain of my curſe. Again, ſir, by her lawes we are required to reſort to our ſeuerall Churches, there to heare the word of God, to giue thanks vnto him, and to poure out our praiers before him, &c. He yet

ſaith

saith, Obey them not. What shall we doe then for lawes of common peace, and of holding our possessions, and goods to our priuate vse, and so maintaining the good estate of our neighbors? For paying our rents to Land-lords, and custome, and tribute, where tribute and custome are due? Let not any obey these lawes, saith the Pope. Let no man dare obey her, or her will, or commandements, or lawes. Esteeme not her law, as a law; take not her to be your Queene.

Is not this fatherly Counsell? Are they not happy which follow it? What godly creature euer gaue the like? What Patriarch, or Prophet, or Euangelist, or Apostle euer sent the like commissions into the world? Pius will be called the Vicar of Christ. Did Christ euer set vp himselfe against the Prince, did he so teach his Disciples, was it any part of that doctrine he hath left vs?

Pius telleth vs, he is Successor to Peter and Paul, that he is inuested in their authority, and enthronized in their chaire. Let vs conferre the doctrine of Peter and Paul, with that which is written by their Successor. Pius saith of our Soueraigne: Let no man be subiect to her, or obey her. But Peter saith: Submit your selues to all maner ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be vnto the King, as vnto the Superior: or vnto Gouernors, as vnto them which are sent of him for the punishment of euill doers, and for the praise of them that doe well: for so is the will of God. And againe he saith: Feare God, honor the King. Peter saith: It is the will of God, that you obey your Prince. Pius saith, Obey not your Prince, my will is that you obey not. 1. Pet. 2.

Paul hath left words for our obedience. Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoeuer therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist, receiue vnto themselues iudgement. For he is the Minister of God for thy wealth: But, if thou do euill, feare, for he beareth not the sword in vaine. Wherefore ye must be subiect, not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake. Giue therefore tribute to whom you owe tribute, custome to whom custome, feare to whom feare, honour to whom you owe honour. Now saith Pius, Let no soule be subiect to the higher powers, resist power, resist the ordinance of God, be not subiect neither for wrath, nor for conscience. Yeeld your Prince no tribute, no custome, no feare, and no honor. How agreeth this with the Apostle? whether it be right in the sight of God that you be led by Peter and Paul, the Apostles of Christ, or by Pope Pius, iudge ye. And for what Prince doth Paul require this of the Romans? For Nero, an enemy to God and godlinesse, and all that liued godly: who destroied and burned their City: who slew his mother, and ripped that belly which brought him to life: a Monster in nature, and the most wicked ruler that euer raigned. And yet doth Paul require them to obey him, because he is the Minister of God, &c. Rom. 13.

Who was like to Nabuchadonosor, King of Babylon? he was the rod of the Lords wrath, he oppressed the people of God: fired and raced their City, sacked their Sanctuary, and spoiled their Temple; yet are the people commanded to pray for the life of *Nabuchadonosor* King of *Babylon*, and for the life of *Baltazar* his son, that their daies may be vpon the earth as the daies of Heauen. And againe God speaketh by the Prophet Hieremy: I haue caused you to be carried away Captiues from *Ierusalem* vnto *Babylon*. Seeke the prosperity of the City, whither I haue sent you away Captiues, and pray vnto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall you haue peace. If the Apostle withdrew not the Romanes from the subiection of Nero, if the Prophets willed the children of Israel to pray for the life of Nabuchadonosor, who were wicked Princes, will Pope Pius tell the Subiects vnto a godly and vertuous Lady, that they must not obey her? Baruch 1. Hierem. 29.

Into what case doth he lead miserable simple men, that giue him some credit? How doth he amaze them? God telleth vs we receiue to our selues iudgement, if we resist his ordinance. Pius saith, we are accursed, vnlesse we doe resist it. What shall a simple man doe? Which way shall he follow? If he obey God, he must forsake the Pope? Or, if he obey the Pope, he must forsake God. If he obey the Prince, as God willeth him, then the Pope curseth him: Or, if he disobey the Prince, as the Pope willeth him, then doth God condemne him. The commandement of the one is as contrary to the commandement of the other, as light is contrary vnto darknes. But thanks be to God who hath filled vs with the knowledge of his will. We know Pope Pius is no God. We pray for him that he may be the seruant of God.

Paul hath warned vs, If an Angel from heauen, or if any man preach vnto you otherwise than that you haue receiued, let him be accursed. We haue receiued of Paul, and of Peter, and of God himselfe, that we should obey: yet dareth Pope Pius, no Angell, but a man, command vs that no man obey, no not vnder paine of his curse. Accursed is he for so commanding: we haue good warrant to say he is accursed. Galat. 1.

Omnes

Omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, à iuramento huiusmodi ac omni prorsus dominij, fidelitatis, & obsequij debito, perpetuò absolutos declaramus: We pronounce, that all, whosoeuer by any occasion haue taken their oath vnto her, are for euer discharged of such their oath, and also from all fealtie and seruice, which was due to her by reason of her gouernement. Doth Pope Pius know what an oath meaneth? Doth he know what it is to sweare by the name of God? An oath is a solemne promise made betwæn men, wherin God (who knoweth the secrets of the heart) is called to witnesse of the doing. As for example: we haue taken this oath: I will be a true and liege Subiect to our Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth: I will neither in word nor deed procure her euill: I will not conceale any treason or conspiracie against her: and this doe I promise, as I hope to be saued by the blood of Iesus Christ: and I take witnesse to this of God, who seeth the singlenesse of my heart, beseeching him to auenge it vpon me, to put my name out of the booke of the liuing, and to giue me no portion in the kingdome of Christ, and of God, if I willingly or wittingly breake this my promise. Such is the oath, which we haue taken to her Highnesse.

This is nothing (saith Pope Pius) I can dispense with it, I am able to dispense against the law of nature, against the Canons of the Apostles, against the new Testament: I can dispense for all things done contrary to the commandements of the old and new Testament: I can dispense against the law of God. I am aboue all generall Councels, my will must be kept for a law. And doth he only say this? Or shall we thinke they be words of reuerence, written by such as are deuout to his holinesse, and that he doth not so much as he may by vertue of his speciall priuilege? Who was it that gaue a dispensation to the brother, that he might marry his owne sister? Who was it that gaue dispensation to Henrie the fift to rise vp against Henry the fourth his own father, and put him from the Empire? What dispensation Pope Pius sent to King Philip God knoweth, but the yong Prince the Kings Son lost his life. I know not what dispensation past lately into Scotland, but the King was strangled, &c. A horrible deed; the world knoweth it was so, what mists and pretences soeuer they make. To worke such practises, the Pope sendeth abroad his dispensations.

Such a dispensation did Pope Pius lately send into England, and discharged the Subiects from their due obedience to our Prince, and thereby made way for them, with his fauour and licence to run headlong into euerlasting damnation. With some weake heads he hath preuailed. It is likely he hath vsed secret conference with them some long time, before they would be drawen to be traitors to their own country, and be emboldned to put themselues in armor, and rob, and spoile, and burne, and kil their country men, and friends, and kinsfolkes, and children, and parents against the law of nature, and the commandement of God.

This was done not long sithence. You cannot but remember it, they were in armes, and had gathered a great compane of Confederates: the banner was displaied in the field. What thinke you was their meaning? Or to what end did they rise? Among al those that liue within this realme, whose person sought they? against whom bent they their speares? And against whose Body drew they their swords? But the Lord preserued his Anointed: he hath placed her vpon his holy hill of Sion: no traiterous malice shall annoy her.

Consider now whence all this rebellion grew. There is no treason, without conference. There, euen there began all our trouble. The master of all this mischiefe sitteth at Rome, as I told you before: the coales were kindled here, but the bellowes were there, and there sate he that blew the fire. We saw the poppets, but the iugler that drew the strings kept himselfe close. They which rebelled brake their oaths, forswore themselues, robbed their country, spoiled townes, burnt the holy Bible the word of God, they cared neither for God, nor man: neither for Prince, nor for law. They were promised furtherance in their doings, by insurrections which should haue bin likewise made in other places of the realm. In all this they toke courage and countenance of Pope Pius. He furnished them with all deuice of counsell, he blessed them in their purpose, he promised them forgiuenesse of their sinnes, for part of their wages.

Miserable man which could find no better company: and in miserable case when he cannot bee vpholden by other meanes than by treason. But most miserable are they which through his wicked perswasions are content to cast themselues, and to seeke how their country may be brought vnder the subiection of forraine enemies, into bondage and miserie. So doth he lose and set at libertie the consciences of men, and flattereth the wicked in their vngodlinesse, as if his dispensation should be their excuse.

It is an old saying: *Caueat emptor*, let him that buieth take heede. What colour soeuer the Pope setteth on his marchandize, let the buier take hed of them. We haue called God to record vnto our soules: our conscience standeth charged. If we commit periurie, God will auenge it. If we resist the power, we breake the ordinance of God, and then we receiue

reiue to our ſelues damnation. Let vs therefore be wiſe and circumſpect. As for Pope Pius word, it is no warrant for vs againſt the iudgement of God. In the day of the Lord, when we would call him forth for our diſcharge, we ſhall not finde him. He is not able to warrant himſelfe.

Yet for his better credit, & to preuaile the more with vs, he ſaith well of himſelfe, and magnifieth and aduanceth his own name, when he telleth vs: I am a Prince: I am aboue nations and kingdomes: I excommunicate Kings and Princes: I depriue them, and put them downe, and root them vp: I haue authority ouer their Subiects, I diſcharge them of their oathes: I curſe them, and giue them vp to the Diuell: I am like to the Higheſt. Theſe are blaſphemous and ghominable words, meet words for him that ſent them: to whom is giuen a mouth to ſpeake great things, and blaſphemies. And thus he imagineth all the World ſhould fall downe before him with a *Sanctus*. He imagineth he holdeth the Sunne and Moone in his hands, and can rule them as it pleaſeth him: and thus is fallen into a pleaſant phrenſie: he dreameth of great matters, and with his owne breath he bloweth himſelfe big like a bladder.

But this breath is nothing, it is eaſie to let it out, and then the bladder will alſo be as nothing. It will not be ſo eaſie as he thinketh, to haue ſuch place giuen him in the conſciences of men, as he ſometimes had: or to rot out all that profeſſe the Goſpell of Chriſt, or to make, that the name of the holy one of Iſraell ſhall be no more ſpoken of. Yet he attempteth it, and thereto imployeth all his power, and his wiſedome, and his counſell. But he that dwelleth in Heauen, laugheth him to ſcorne, the Lord ſhall haue him in deriſion. As though he were a Samſon, he taketh hold of the pillars, he crasheth them in peeces: but the houſe which he pulleth downe, ſhall fall vpon his owne head. His heart is exalted againſt his fall which is at hand. All his great boaſt is but a could of darkneſſe: a cleare winde will blow it ouer. Pſal. 2.

And now to giue you a ſhort view of the whole matter. Remember that Pope Pius hath ſent vs ouer againſt our gratious Queene, and all her Subiects, a Sentence of his curſe and depriuation. Wherein he hath dealt ignorantly, and contrary to the Lawes, without wit or diſcretion, and followeth no order. For the Sentence which ſhould be kept vntill the laſt, is giuen out before the parties were called, or the cauſe and proofes duly alleged and examined.

Remember, that he is no competent Iudge, that he hath no iuriſdiction ouer vs, that he himſelfe is a party, that he hath béne accuſed and found guilty by the iudgement of the whole world, that he is ouermuch affectionate in the caſe, wherein he ſéeketh to exalt and inrich himſelfe.

Remember, that he hath conueied nineténe vntruthes into this one bundle: that he hath forged a falſe Commiſſion: that he hath corrupted and falſified the Word of God, and hath made God a falſe witneſſe vnto his follies. Remember that he teacheth vs contrary to that we haue receiued of Peter, and of Paul, and of Chriſt, and of God: and that he ſaith: Let no ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers, let euery ſoule reſiſt the Prince, let him withſtand the ordinance of God, be not obedient neither for wrath, nor for conſcience; giue no cuſtome, nor tribute, nor feare, nor honour vnto her.

Remember, if thou obey thy Prince as God hath commanded thée, thou art accurſed by the Pope: or if thou diſobey thy Prince as the Pope requireth thée, thou art condemned by the iudgement of God.

Remember, that the Pope hath conference with Traitours in all Countries, that hée raiſeth Subiects againſt their Princes, that he cauſeth Princes to plague their Subiects, that he hath no regard of the ſtranger and the fatherleſſe, that he ſuffereth Iewes and Parlots to liue in wealth and peace with him at Rome; and yet will not ſuffer a Chriſtian and lawfull Prince, to liue in the peace of her owne Countrie at home, that he is the procurer of theft and murder, of rebellion and diſcenſion in the Land: that he hath ſent in a Bull to ſhew his meaning, and to worke our diſquiet, ſo bold, and vaine, and impudent a Bull, and ſo full fraught with blaſphemie and vntruth, as neuer before him did any. Let theſe things neuer be forgotten. Let your children remember them for euer.

Let vs and our children with vs pray, God ſaue Queene Elizabeth, and confound all thoſe which riſe vp againſt her. Let vs at the length take knowledge of the Pope, and of his enterpriſe and boldneſſe. He and his Predeceſſours haue deceiued the world, and our Fathers before vs. Let vs be no more children in vnderſtanding. God hath giuen vs the light of his word: we haue by it eſpied wherein they robbed vs, let vs be no more deceiued. I ſay vnto you againe, I beſéech you, let vs at the length take knowledge of the Pope, and of his enterpriſe, and boldneſſe. He and his Predeceſſours haue deceiued the World, and our Fathers before vs. Let vs be no more children in vnderſtanding. God hath giuen vs

the light of his Word, we haue by it espied wherein they robbed vs. Let vs be no more deceiued.

And thou O most mercifull Father be our defense in these dangerous times. The Lion rangeth and seeketh whom he may deuoure. Loke downe from thy heauens vpon vs. Giue thy grace vnto Elizabeth thy seruant. Thou hast placed her in the seat of her Fathers: Thou hast made her to be a comfort vnto the people: Thou hast endued her with manifold gifts: shadow her vnder the wings of thy mercifull protection: confound and bring to nothing the counsell of her enemies: direct the worke of thine owne hands: establish that, O God, which thou hast wrought in vs: so we which be thy people, and the sheepe of thy pasture, shall giue thee honour and praise for euer and euer. *Amen.*

A TREATISE OF THE HOLIE SCRIPTVRES,

gathered out of certaine Sermons, which *the reuerend Father in God, Bishop* IEVVEL preached at *Sarisbury*:

ANNO DOMINI, 1570.

AMong all his creatures in heauen or earth, God hath not made any like vnto the Sunne in the firmament, the beames whereof are beautifull and pleasant, and doe giue comfort in all places to all things. It reioiceth the whole, and releeueth the sicke: it causeth birds to sing, fishes to play, cattell to stirre, wormes to creepe, grasse to grow, and trees to bring fruit: it renueth the face of the whole earth. Yet a blinde man hath no pleasure in the beauty thereof, because he is blinde, and cannot see it: Yet a dead man hath no warmth by the heat thereof, because he is dead and feeleth it not. Adam was placed in Paradise, in perfect estate, and in the companie of Gods Angels. God walked and did talke with him. He heard the voice and beheld the presence of God. The riuers yelded waters abundantly, the trees brought him food of life. He had plenty without trauell, he had pleasures, ioy, and his hearts desire. But Adam was vnthankfull, he knew not God the worker of his happinesse, he knew not the place in which he was, he knew not his owne estate and blessednesse: therefore the wrath of the Lord grew against him: he fell into the snares of the Diuell, he became mortall, and returned to dust.

What nation in all the World, so happy as Israel? they were deliuered by a mighty hand out of Ægypt, from the tyranny of Pharao, from seruice and villany. Their children were no more slaine before their faces. They passed thorow the bottome of the Sea, as vpon drie land. When they were hungrie, there went forth a winde from the Lord, and brought them Quailes from the sea, and Manna was giuen them from heauen to eat: when they thirsted, the rockes opened and powred out water that they and their beasts might drinke. In battell they were mighty and strong, no power was able to stand against them. The Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to giue them light. When they called vpon the Lord, he heard them. When they trusted in him, they were not confounded. But they grew vnmindfull of all these mercies, and murmured against the Lord, and against his seruants: therfore God raught forth his hand against them. He sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest. He sent his Angell and destroied them in the wildernesse.

Euen so fareth it with all such which regard not the word of their saluation; because they haue eares and heare not, nor will vnderstand with their hearts, the furie of the Lord shall be kindled against them. The Prophet saith in the name of God to Israel: I haue sent vn- Hier. 7.

to them all my seruants the Prophets, yet would they not heare me, nor incline their eare.
2. Esdr. 9. And: Behold, I sow my Law in you, that it may bring foorth fruit in you. But our Fathers which receiued the Law kept it not, neither obserued thine ordinances, neither did the fruit of thy Law appeare. For they that receiued it perished, because they kept not the thing that
1. Sam. 15. was sowen in them. Samuel telleth Saul: Thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, and the
Hier. 6. Lord hath cast away thee. Againe Ieremie saith: How do ye say, We are wise, and the Law of the Lord is with vs? They haue reiected the word of the Lord, and what wisdome is in them? Againe: Vnto whom shall I speake, and admonish that they may heare: Behold, their eares are vncircumcised, and they cannot hearken: behold, the word of the Lord is vnto them as a reproch: they haue no delight in it. I will cause a plague to come vpon this people, euen the fruit of their owne Imaginations: because they haue not taken heed vnto my words, nor to my Law, but cast it off.

After this sort doth God shew the cause, why his word taketh not place in vs, because we are wilfull, and will not heare it, nor receiue it, nor take delight in it, nor let the fruit thereof appeare, but reiect it, and make it a reproch, and cast it away from vs: and therefore is it, that the Lord doth cast vs away, that we are vnwise, that we please our selues with our owne deuises, and follow our owne imaginations, and perish, because we haue not vnderstanding to heare the instruction of the Lords word, but like ignorant men disallow it, and cast it behind the backe.

The consideration hereof moueth me to say some what of the holy Scriptures, which are the bright Sunne of God, which bring light vnto our waies, and comfort to all parts of our life, and saluation to our soules. In which is made knowen vnto vs our estate, and the mercie of God in Christ our Sauiour witnessed. That we may the better see the path which we haue to walke in, my meaning is, truly and plainly, and shortly, to shew you, what Authority and Maiesty the Word of God beareth: then, what profit we may reape by it also, how needfull it is, that we be well instructed in the holy Scriptures: and, what pleasure and delectation a Christian conscience may finde in them: and lastly, whether they be darke and doubtfull, or plain and easie for your vnderstanding: that when we know the Maiesty and Authority of the Word, and what comfort and profit God giueth vs by it, we depriue not our selues thereof by our vnthankfulnesse, nor close vp our eies that we see it not: but heare it in reuerence and in feare, that it may be fruitfull in vs, and we receiue it not in vaine.

The authority of the Scriptures.
2. Pet. 1. The Scriptures are the word of God. What title can there be of greater value? What may be said of them to make them of greater authority, than to say, The Lord hath spoken them? That they came not by the wil of men, but holie men of God spake as they were moued by the holie Ghost? At the word or Proclamation of an earthly Prince we stand vp, and baile our bonnets, and giue good eare to it: we are bound so to doe, it is our duty, such honour belongeth to the powers that are placed to rule ouer vs: for they are ordained of God. And whosoeuer resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God. If we should haue a reuelation, and heare an Angell speake vnto vs, how carefull would we be to marke, and remember, and be able to declare the words of the Angell? yet is an Angell but a glorious Creature, and not God. And what is a King? great and mighty: yet mortall and subiect to death. His breath departeth, and his name shall perish. Both he, and his word, his power and his puissance shall haue an end. But the word of the Gospell is not as the word of an earthly Prince. It is of more Maiesty than the word of an Angell. The Apostle saith:
Heb. 2. If the word spoken by Angels was stedfast, and euery transgression and disobedience receiued a iust recompence of reward: how shall wee escape if we neglect so great saluation, which at the first began to bee preached by the Lord, and was confirmed vnto vs by them
Esai. 55. that heard him? God saith by the Prophet Esay: My word shall accomplish that which I
Esai. 40. will, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it. And the same Prophet saith: The
Luke 16. word of God shall stand for euer. And, It is more easie that Heauen and Earth passe away, than that one title of the Law should faile, saith our Sauiour. For it is the word of the liuing & almighty God, of the God of Hosts, which hath done whatsoeuer pleased him, both
Iohn 12. in Heauen and in Earth. By this word he maketh his will knowen. I haue not spoken of my selfe (saith Christ) but the Father which sent me, gaue me a commandement, what I
Iohn 15. should say, and what I should speake. And againe: If I had not come and spoken vnto them, they should not haue had sinne: but now haue they no cloke for their sinne. No man hath seene God at any time: He is inuisible, no eie can reach vnto him. The onely begotten Sonne which is in the bosome of his Father, hee hath declared him: hee hath shewed vs the throne of grace, that we may seeke for mercy, and finde grace in time of need: he hath disclosed vnto vs the will of his father. He hath left vnto vs, and ordained that we should heare his holy word.

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This word the Angels and blessed spirits vsed when they came downe from Heauen, to speake vnto the people: when they came to the blessed Virgin, and to Ioseph, and to others: they spake as it was written in the Prophets and in the Scriptures of God: they thought not their owne authority sufficient, but they take credit to their saying, and authority to their message, out of the word of God. This Word the Prophets vouched and alleged to the people. Albeit they were sanctified in their mothers wombe: albeit God had endued them with his heauenly spirit: although a Seraphin came vnto one of them and touched his mouth with a hot coale: albeit he saw the Lord sitting vpon an high throne: yet they would not speake as of themselues, but onely in the name of the Lord: for thus they vse to say; The Lord hath spoken: This is the word of the Lord. Heare what the Lord saith. Saint Paul, albeit he was taken vp into the third Heauen, and into Paradise, and heard words that are not lawfull for man to vtter, yet he wrot not his owne words to the Churches of Rome, of Corinth, and Thessalonica, and of other places, but deliuered them which he had receiued, and taught them according to the Scriptures.

This word is the true Manna: it is the bread which came down from Heauen: it is the key of the Kingdome of Heauen: it is the sauour of life vnto life: it is the power of god vnto saluation. In it God sheweth vnto vs his might, his wisdome, and his glory. By it he will be knowen of vs. By it hee will bee honoured of his creatures. Whatsoeuer truth is brought vnto vs contrary to the Word of God, it is not truth, but falshood and errour: whatsoeuer honour, done vnto God, disagreeth from the honour required by his Word, it is not honor vnto God, but blasphemy. As Christ saith: In vaine they worship me, teaching for doctrines mens precepts. By Esay God saith: Who required this at your hands? And by Ieremie: I spake not vnto your Fathers, nor commanded them, when I brought them out of the Land of Egypt, concerning burnt Offerings and Sacrifices. But this thing commanded I them, saying? Obey my voice, and I will bee your God, and yee shall bee my people: and walke yee in all the waies which I haue commanded you, that it may bee well vnto you. Againe: What is the Chaffe to the Wheat, saith the Lord? What are your dreames to be weighed with the truth of God? Search the Scriptures: In them ye shall learne to know me, and how you should worship me: in them ye shall finde euerlasting life: the words of the Lord are pure words, as the siluer tried in the furnace: there is no filth, nor drosse remaining in them. They are the storehouse of wisedome, and of the knowledge of God. In respect whereof, all the wisdome of this World is but vaine and foolish.

Matth. 15. Esai. 1. Ierem. 7. Ierem. 23.

Numa Pompilius King of the Romans, Lycurgus King of Lacedemon, and Minos King of Creta, were wise men, and of great gouernment: they deuised Lawes to rule the people, and bare them in hand, that they were taught by reuelation: that so their ordinances might win the more credit, and be established for euer. But where are they now? Where is Numa, Minos, or Lycurgus? where be their Bookes? what is become of their Lawes? They were vnwise, and had no knowledge, nor vnderstanding of God: they and their Lawes are dead, and their names forgotten. But the Law of God came from Heauen indeed, God wrote it with his finger, it is the fountaine of all wisdome, and therefore shall it continue for euer, and neuer haue an end.

Heere let vs behold the great power and worke of God. When Moses receiued the Law, God himself came down in person, with thousand thousands of Angels: the aire was darkned at his presence, the Mount stood all couered with fire, the earth shook, the heauens thundered, the people stood afar off, and fled for feare, and said vnto Moses, Talke thou with vs, and we will heare: but let not God talke with vs, lest we die. This was the first proclaiming and publishing of the Law: such force and credit God gaue to his word, and warranted himselfe to be the Lord.

Exod. 19.

Since that time, so many thousand yeres are already passed. In the meane time the people of Israel were oppressed by Tyrants, were spoiled and chased out of their Country. First by Nabuchodonosor into Babylon: after that by Antiochus into Syria: and lastly, were as vagabonds driuen from Countrie to Countrie. Their Citie Ierusalem was sackt, their houses ouerthrowen, their Temple raced, and not a stone left vpon a stone: their Librarie destroied: their Bookes burnt: the Tabernacle lost: the Couenant broken: No vision, no reuelation, no comfort for the people left, nor Prophet, nor Priest, nor any to speake in the name of the Lord. In all those times of decaies, of sackings, of darknesse, and of misery, what was done with the word of God? It was wickedly burnt by Ioachim King of Iuda: and Antiochus burnt the Bookes of the Law, and cut them in peeces. No man durst be knowen to haue them, and auouch the hauing. So thought they vtterly to deface the glory of God, and abolish all remembrance of his Lawes.

Ierem. 36. 1. Mac. 1.

Then came the Pharisees, they drowned the word of God with their traditions: they

take away the Key of knowledge, and entred not in themselues, but forbad them that came in. After them came Heretikes, they denied some one part, and some another part of Scriptures. They razed, blotted, corrupted, and altered the word of God: of the word of God, they made it their owne word, or which is worse, they made it the word of the Diuell.

By the space of so many thousand yeares, the word of God passed by so many dangers of Tyrants, of Pharisies, of Heretikes of fire, and of sword, and yet continueth and standeth vntill this day, without altering or changing one letter. This was a wonderfull worke of God, that hauing so many, so great enemies, and passing thorow so many, so great dangers, it yet continueth still without adding or altering of any one sentence, or word, or letter. No creature was able to doe this, it was Gods worke. He preserued it, that no Tyrant should consume it, no Tradition choake it, no Heretike maliciously should corrupt it. For his names sake, & for the elects sake, he would not suffer it to perish. For in it God hath ordained a blessing for his people, and by it he maketh couenant with them for life euerlasting. Tyrants, and Pharisies, and Heretikes, and the enemies of the Crosse of Christ haue an end, but the word of God hath no end. No force shall be able to decay it. The gates of Hell shall not preuaile against it. Cities shall fall: Kingdomes shall come to nothing: Empires shall fade away as the smoke, but the truth of the Lord shall continue for euer. Burne it, it will rise againe: kill it, it will liue againe: cut it downe by the rot, it will spring againe:

Prou. 21. There is no wisdome, neither vnderstanding, nor counsell against the Lord.

Let vs behold the Nations and Kingdomes which sometimes professed Christ, and are now Heathenish: Illyricum, Epyrus, Peloponnesus, Macedonia, and others. Againe, let vs behold such Kingdomes and Countries, which were in times past heathenish and knew not God: as England, Ireland, Rome, Scotland, and diuers other. They were all without the Gospell, without Christ, without God, and without hope of life. They worshipped Idols, euen the work of their own hands. To them they appointed Priests for their seruice, daies and places for the people to resort together to worship them. Here in England, Pauls Church in London was the Temple of Diana: Peters Church in Westminster was the Temple of Apollo. In Rome they had the Temple of the great God Iuppiter. And in Florence the Temple of Mars, and in other places they had Temples dedicated to other Idols.

Iupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Diana, were vncleane spirits, and filthy Diuels: yet gaue they thankes to them for their peace and prosperity, prayed to them in warre and in misery, and commended vnto them, their wiues, their children, themselues, the safe keping and custodie of their soules. They built gorgeous Churches and Chappels: set vp Images of siluer and gold to them: prayed, lifted vp their hands, did Sacrifice, and offered vp their children to them. A horrible thing to say: yet true it is: the darknesse of those times were such, that men slew their owne children, and offered them vp to Idols. They said, Great is Iupiter: Great is Apollo: and Great is Diana of the Ephesians. These are the Gods of our Fathers, our Fathers trusted in them, they made vs, and haue defended vs, and haue giuen vs victory against our enemies. Whosoeuer denied them, were thought worthy to die.

Thus were the Kings and the Princes, and the people perswaded. And so continued they by the space of some thousand yeares, without controulment, or contradiction. They had great props of Antiquitie, Vniuersalitie, and Consent. Antiquitie of all times. Vniuersalitie of all places, Consent of all the people. So strongly, and so mightily were they founded. Who would thinke such a Religion, so ancient, and so vniuersall, and so defended by common consent, should euer possibly be remoued?

But when the fulnesse of time came, God sent forth his word, and all was changed. Errour fell downe, and truth stood vp: men forsoke their Idols, and went to God. The Kings, and Priests, and People were changed: the Temples, and Sacrifices, and Prayers were changed: mens eies and hearts were changed. They forsoke their Gods, their Kings, their Priests: they forsoke their antiquity, customes, consent, their Fathers, and themselues. What power was able to worke these things? What Emperour by force euer preuailed so much? What strength could euer shake downe so mighty Idols from their seat? What hand of man could subdue and conquer the whole world, & make such mighty Nations confesse they had done amisse? This did the Lord bring to passe by the power of his word, and the breath of his mouth. This was it, that lead captiuity captiue, and threw downe euery high thing that lifted it selfe vp against the Lord: and brought all powers vnder subiection vnto the Lord. It is the image, the power, the arme, the sword, and the glory of God. It is mighty, of great force and vertue, of authority and maiesty, because it is the word of God: therefore the glory thereof is great.

profit h Christi- reape by Scriptures.

Now let vs stand a farre off, and humble our selues, and in reuerence and feare learne to take the fruit and comfort of the same: for so is the will of God, that we may be partakers

partakers of his glory. But where ſhall we find entrance into this matter? And how ſhall we be able to come a land? For this is the Sea, and the depth of all the works, of the iudgements, and mercies, and of the kingdome of God. This is a Sea that hath no ſhore, a pit that hath no bottom. The holy Scriptures are the mercy ſeat; the regiſtry of the myſteries of God, our Charter for the life to come, the holy place in which God ſheweth himſelfe to the people, the Mount Sion, where God hath appointed to dwell for euer. The more comfort in them, ſo much the more greedily let vs deſire them: the more heauenly and glorious they are, with ſo much the more reuerence let vs come vnto them.

For conſideration of this matter of the fruit and comfort which God worketh by the word: what may we better call to mind, than that is recorded by S. Paul? Whatſoeuer things are written afore time, are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might haue hope. All that is written in the word of God, is not written for Angels, or Archangels, or heauenly Spirits, but for the Sons of men, for vs and for our inſtruction: that by them we may receiue ſtrength, and comfort in all aduerſities, and haue hope of the life to come. It is the word of God, God openeth his mouth and ſpeaketh to vs, to guide vs into all truth, to make vs full and ready in all good workes, that we may be perfect men in Chriſt Ieſus: ſo rooted and grounded in him, that we be not toſt to and fro with euery tempeſt. Rom. 15.

The profit which the word of God bringeth, ſhall beſt appeare, if we firſt take a view of our eſtate, what we are, in what place we ſtand, and what enemies make force againſt vs. We are the Sons of Adam, ſtubborne children, the children of vanity, and of wrath: The children of thoſe fathers which forſooke God, and haue erred in their hearts, and were deceiued. God which created man, and breathed into him the breath of life, ſaith: The imagination of mans heart is euill from his youth. Such are we euen by the iudgement of God: and his iudgement faileth not. What error, what Idoll, what wickedneſſe euer hath bin heard, which hath not been forged and wrought in the heart of man? We can neither do, nor ſpeake, nor thinke the thing that is good: our vnderſtanding is heauy, our will froward, our eies blind, and our heart vncleane. We goe aſtray thorow this world as leſt ſhepe, euery man after his owne way. Euen as a leafe is carried vp and downe with a blaſt of winde, ſo are we eaſily driuen into error: in our ſelues we find no ſtay, no ſuccor, nor helpe. Such are we, and ſo weake of our ſelues. Gen. 8.

But where are we? in the world. And what is the world? Some thinke it to be a place full of all delights and pleaſures, a goodly ſtrong and gorgeous palace, and a paradiſe of ioy. Let no man deceiue vs, nay rather let vs not deceiue our ſelues: the world is a ſhop of vanities, it is a dungeon of darkneſſe, a pot full of poiſon, a ſhip full of leakes, a way full of ſnares. It blindeth our eies, beguileth our ſenſes, and helpeth vs forward into all dangers. We are blind our ſelues, and the place wherein we are is nothing elſe but darkneſſe.

Whereunto may I reſemble our caſe? Ieremy the Prophet was caſt into a dungeon. There he ſate without light, and without comfort. His caſe was miſerable, and the place loathſome; yet he knew where he was: he knew what he lacked: he cried vnto the Lord, and was deliuered. Daniel was caſt into the den of Lions, there to be torne in peces and deuoured. But he ſaw his miſery, and the danger in which he ſtood: he ſaw the Lions, the pawes which ſhould gripe him, and the teeth which ſhould teare him. His caſe was miſerable: yet is ours more miſerable. We are in the deepe dungeon of Hell, and thinke we are in ſafety: we are in the middeſt of darkneſſe, and thinke it to be light: we are compaſſed with Lions, with Dragons, and Scorpions, yet thinke not of our miſery.

Who hath not heard the ſtory of Ionas? Ionas was in a Whales belly: The place was very darke: the waues beat on euery ſide: he was drowned, yet touched no water: he was ſwallowed vp, yet not conſumed: he liued without any ſenſe of life: the fiſh was death, the Sea was death, and the tempeſt was death: yet he died not, but liued in the midſt of death: he could not ſee, he could not heare, he knew not to whom he might call for helpe: he was taken and carried away, he knew not whether. Let vs marke well this ſtory, it is a true paterne of our eſtate, and ſheweth what our life is in this world. We are beſet with like dangers, we are driuen with tempeſts, we are drowned in like floods, we liue in the middeſt of horrible darkneſſe, we are caried we know not whether.

The Philoſopher telleth vs, truth and falſhood are nigh neighbors, and dwell one by the other: the vtter porch of the one is like the porch of the other; yet their way is contrarie: the one leadeth to life, the other leadeth to death: they differ little to the ſhew, ſaue that oft times the doore of falſhood is faire, painted, grauen, and beautifully adorned; but the doore or forefront of truth, is plaine and homely. Thereby it happeneth that men be deceiued, they miſtake the doore, and goe into errors houſe, when they ſeeke truth. They call euill good, falſhood truth, and darkneſſe light. They forſake that is good, deny the truth, and loue not

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Rom. 10. the light. This moued S. Paul to say of his brethren the Iewes: I beare them record that they haue the zeale of God, but not according to knowledge: they haue the care and feare of God: they are zealous in their doings: they haue deuotion: they pretend conscience:
Rom. 1. they thinke they doe well, and that they please God. When they professed themselues to be wise, they became fooles. They knew not what they did: for if they had had knowledge, they would neuer haue crucified the Lord of glory. But they know not the truth of God: they know not God: they are carried away in the vanity of their own heart. Their praiers are no praiers: The truth they hold is falshood: their faith is no faith: they are sheepe without a shepheard. Thus we haue heard, what we are, and in what place.

Now let vs see what enemies bend their force against vs. We fight against the gates of hell, with the Diuell, the prince of darknesse, the father of lies: with the Diuell, which hath power ouer the children of disobedience, by whose malice death came into the world. Euen that Diuell bendeth his force against vs, which deceiued Adam in Paradise: which hath deceiued the learned Philosophers: and beguiled the Princes, and wise men, and the worthies of the world: which doth abuse, and entice our hands, our eies, our learning, our wit, and our owne heart to deceiue vs. He rampeth as a Lion, and rangeth ouer the world, seeking whom he may deuoure. This is his delight and study. He hath béne a murtherer from the beginning. If this were euer true at any time, our times haue found it most true. We are they vpon whom the ends of the world are come.

Now is this Scripture fulfilled in our eares: Now see we the daies whereof Christ warned his disciples so earnestly: They shall say, Loe here is Christ, and there is Christ. This is
Matth. 24. the truth, that is the truth. There shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets, and shall deceiue many, they shall betray the truth. Many shall be offended by them: if it were possible, the verie elect, they whose names are written in the booke of life, should be deceiued. And except those daies should be shortned, there should no flesh be saued: but for the elects sake those daies shall be shortned. The Sunne shall be darkned, and the Moone shall not giue her light. The Sunne is the word of God: the Moone signifieth the Church. The powers of
2. Thes. 2. heauen shall be moued, all the kindreds of the earth shall mourne. Abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place. Let him that readeth, consider it. This is the mysterie of iniquitie, of which S. Paul speaketh to the Thessalonians, which worketh among them that perish. Thus are we forewarned. God hath giuen vs his word to aduise vs, that we be not cast away vnawares. They that walke in the darke know not whether they go: if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch: he that is ignorant, shall not be knowne. Christ shall say vnto him, I know you not: depart from me yé cursed into euerlasting fire. Their worme shall not die, and their fire shall not be put out.

In this case, what shall a godly disposed simple man doe? How shall he settle himselfe? To which side may he safely ioine himselfe? If hé make reckoning of learning, there are learned men on both sides: if he make reckoning of vertue, and godly life, there be vertuous men and of godly life on both sides: if he make reckoning of zeale, either side is zealous in the religion they hold: if he make reckoning of the name of the Church, they take it as well to the one side as to the othee: if he make reckoning of the multitude, there are many on either side, but neither side hath so many as hath the Turke. Whither then may a man turne himselfe, and to which side may he safely ioine? In this case we find the comfort and profit of the word of God. In this case S. Paul telleth vs, whatsoeuer things are written
Psal. 119. aforetime, are written for our learning: to lighten our eies, to resolue our doubts, and to guide our feet. This light God hath kindled in his mercy, to lighten them that sit in darknesse. Except hé had left vs a sparke of this light, wé had perished, and become like to Sodome and Gomorrah.

David saith, Thy word is a Lanterne to my paths, and a light to my feet. By it I may see the way which is before me: by it I can escape danger, and by it I can keepe the path wherein I ought to walke. When Christ perceiued that the Capernites and the Iewes misliked his doctrine, and went backe and walked no more with him, he said to the twelue;
Iohn. 6. Will ye also goe away? You are my Disciples, whom I haue chosen out of this world: will you also goe away? Simon Peter answered him, Master, to whom shall we goe? thou hast the word of eternall life. If wé forsake thée, who shall instruct vs? thy word is the word of eternall life.

With this word Christ confounded the Scribes and Pharisies, and put them to silence.
Mark. 7. Ye reiect (saith hé) the commandement of God, that ye may obserue your owne tradition. For, *Moses* said, Honor thy father and thy mother; whosoeuer shall curse father or mother, let him die the death. But ye say, if a man say to father or mother, *Corbam*, that is, by the gift that is offered by me, thou maist haue profit, he shall be free. With this word he confounded
Matth. 21. them, for misusing of the Temple by buying and selling: It is written, Mine house shall be

called

called the house of prayer; but ye haue made it a Denne of theeues. With this word he put them to silence, and confounded their error, in that they thought it lawfull for a man to put away his wife for euery fault: From the beginning it was not so. With this word he confounded the Diuell, and chased him from him: It is written, Man shall not liue by bread onlie, but by euery word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. And againe: It is written, Matth. 19. Matth. 4.
Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And againe: It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serue.

This word confounded the Arians and all sects of heretikes. What is become of Marcion, of Nestorius, of Valentinus, of Menander, of Sabellius, of Eutyches, and others: they are blowen away as smoke before the wind: the word of God hath confounded them, and beat them away. As Dagon fell, and brake his hands and necke, and could not stand in the presence of the Arke of the Lord: euen so shall all faithles fall and hide it selfe in the presence of the truth of God. As the Rod of Moses deuoured the Rods of the Charmers: as the beames of the Sunne driue away and consume darknesse, so shall the word of God chase away errors.

When the two Disciples walked by the way with Christ, they said betweene themselues, after their eies were opened, that they knew him: Did not our hearts burne within vs, while he talked with vs by the waie, and opened to vs the Scriptures? His words did possesse all our senses: this talke was not like common talke, we felt it forcible in vs as the word of God. Israel heard Peter declare vnto them at Ierusalem by proofe of the Scriptures, that Christ was come, they were not able to resist the word of God, but were pricked in their hearts, and said vnto Peter and the other Apostles, Men and brethren what shall we do? we acknowledge our error: the words which you speake are most true: they are the words of life: teach vs and instruct vs what we shall doe. They felt the force of it, and yelded vnto it: they did acknowledge it was the word of God. Luk. 24. Acts 2.

S. Augustine after he had continued long in error, and withdrawne himselfe into a secret place where he might make his praier, and bewaile his ignorance, heard a voice say vnto him: *Tolle, lege; tolle, lege,* Take vp and read, take vp and read. And he foorthwith tooke vp the Epistles of Saint Paul, and opened them, and secretly read the Chapter which he first lighted on, euen these words: Not in gluttonie, and drunkennesse, neither in chambring and wantonnesse, not in strife and enuying: but put ye on the Lord Iesus Christ, and take no thought for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts of the same. *Nec vltra volui legere* (saith he) *nec opus erat. Statim quippe cum fine huiusce sententiæ, quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo, omnes dubitationis tenebræ diffugerunt*: I would read no farther, for I needed not. For when I had read to the end of this sentence, all the darknesse of doubtfulnesse vanished away, as if some cleare light of securitie were powred into my heart. It was as if it had bin said: O man acknowledge thy misery: thou art naked, couer thy filthinesse: put vpon thee Iesus Christ. And forthwith, I felt a fire within me, my heart was lightned, the scales fell from mine eies, I was able to see. Thus he was comforted, and staid by this, the word of God. *Lib. 8. confessionum. cap. 12.* Rom. 13.

This profit of the word S. Cyprian vttereth: *Si ad diuinæ traditionis caput & originem reuertamur, cessat omnis error humanus*: if we returne to the head, and the beginning of the Lords traditions, all error of man must needs giue place. Theophylactus writing vpon these words in the Gospel by S. Iohn, He that entereth not in by the dore into the Sheepfold, but climbeth vp another way, he is a theefe and a Robber, saith: *Non ingreditur per ostium, hoc est, per Scripturas. Non enim vtitur Scripturis testibus, neque Prophetis. Nam profecto scripturæ ostium sunt per quas addiscimur ad Deum: Illa lupos non permittunt intrare: prohibent hæreticos vt nos securi simus: & de omnibus rationem dant de quibus volueri mus. Fur igitur est qui non ingreditur per scripturas in stabulum ouium, & itaque vult deprehenditur. Sed ascendit aliunde, hoc est, aliam sibi viam & insolitam parat. Talis erit Antichristus*. He entreth not in by the dore, that is, by the Scriptures. For he doth not vse the Scriptures, nor the Prophets, as witnesses. For indeed the Scriptures are the dore by which we are brought to God: and they suffer not the Wolues to come in, they keepe off Heretikes, that we may be in safetie: and they teach vs the reason of any thing, wherein we would be instructed: therefore he is a theefe which entreth not into the sheepfold by Scriptures. And by the Scriptures it appeareth he is a theefe, that climbeth vp another way, that is, maketh himselfe another away, a way which was not knowen, nor beaten. Such a one shal Antichrist be. What greater profite they bring vs to God: teach vs the truth, and giue vs reason of all things: they keepe vs in safetie: suffer not Wolues to deuoure vs, keepe off Heretikes, bewray a theefe, and make knowen who is Antichrist. Therefore, vpon the Gospell by S. Luke he expounded these words: Let your lights be burning, that is, haue not your being in the darknesse, and be ye not void of iudgement: but take vnto you the light of Gods word: which will teach you what things you should doe, and what things you ought not to doe. *Cyprian. ad Pompeium.* *Theophyl. in 10. cap. Iob.* *Theophyl. in 12. Luc.*

And

And as the word of God is the light to direct vs, and to keepe errours: so is it also the standard and beame to trie the weights of truth and falshood. Chrysostome writing vpon the foure and twentieth of S. Matthew, sheweth it were impossible for a man to say himselfe, and finde out which is the true Church, but by the word of God: For it could not be tried by working of miracles, because the gift of working miracles is taken away: and such false miracles as carrie some shew, are rather to be found among false Christians: nor yet by their conuersation and life, because Christians liue either as ill, or worse than Heretikes. *Hom. 49. in opere imperf.* *Nulla probatio potest esse vera Christianitatis, neque refugium potest esse Christianorum aliud, volentium cognoscere fidei veritatem, nisi tantummodo per scripturas*: There can be no triall of true Christianitie, and Christians, which desire to know the truth, whereupon they may build their faith, haue no other refuge, but to trie and learne this by the Scriptures. For (saith he) Heretikes haue the counterfait and likenesse of those things which are proper to Christ. They haue Churches, they haue the Scriptures of God, they haue Baptisme, they haue the Lords Supper, and all other things like the true Church: yea they haue Christ himselfe. Hee therefore that will know which is the true Church of Christ, how may hee know it, but by the Scripeures? Therefore our Lord, knowing that there should bee such confusion of things in the latter daies, commandeth, that Christians which liue in the profession of Christian faith, and are desirous to settle themselues vpon a sure ground of Faith, should goe to no other thing, but to the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they had regard to other things, they should be offended and perish, and not vnderstand which is the true Church.

The Master of the Ship, when he is on the maine Sea, casteth his eie alwaies vpon the Load Star: and so directeth and guideth his waies. Euen so must we which are passengers and strangers in this world, euer settle our eies to behold the word of God. So shall no tempest ouerblow vs: so shall we be guided without danger: so shall we safely arriue in the hauen of our rest. The Prophet Dauid therefore saith: Blessed are they that keepe his testimonies, and seeke him with their whole heart, Their faces shall not be ashamed: they shall not be confounded which haue respect vnto his commandement. Blessed is the man whose delight is in the law of the Lord, and in that law doth exercise himselfe day and night. The Law of the Lord is perfect, conuerting the soule: the testimony of the Lord is sure, and giueth wisdome vnto the simple. This is the rule of our faith: without this, our faith is but a fantasie, and no faith: for faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. Therefore Christ saith, Search the Scriptures, they are they that testifie of me. *Iohn. 5.* There shall ye find testimony of my doctrine, there shall ye know what is the will of my heauenly Father, and there shall you receiue the comfort for euerlasting life. Againe: He that followeth me *Iohn. 8.* shall not walke in darknes, but shall haue the light of life. If a man keepe my word, hee shall know the truth, he shall neuer see death. Therefore Baruch saith: O Israel, we are blessed, *Baruch. 4.* for the things that are acceptable vnto God are declared vnto vs. This is thy blessednesse, herein hath God shewed his fauour vnto thee, he hath reuealed the secrets of his will vnto thee, and hath put his word in thy mouth. He sheweth his Word vnto Iacob, his statutes and his iudgements vnto Israel: hee hath not dealt so with euery nation, neither haue they knowen his iudgements. Therefore the Prophet Dauid teacheth vs to pray vnto God for *Psalm. 25.* the knowledge of his word: Shew me thy waies O Lord, and teach me thy paths. Take not *Psalm. 51.* thy holy Spirit from me, and incline my heart vnto thy testimonies: Giue mee vnderstan- *Psalm. 119.* ding, that I may learne thy commandements: Open mine eies, that I may see the wonders *Psalm. 13.* of thy Law. And, Lighten mine eies, that I sleepe not in death: that I may discerne betweene safety and danger, that I may know truth to be the truth, and error to be error.

Thus I haue declared part of that profit which groweth to vs by the word of God: but it doth not only direct our iudgement in the triall of truth, but doth also graffe in vs a boldnesse and constancie in the defence of the truth. Salomon saith, A foole changeth as the *Eccle. 27.* Moone: He is alwaies vnstable and inconstant, he knoweth not, neither what to doe, nor what to beleeue: he is sometimes full, and sometimes empty: and turneth and changeth as the Moone: He buildeth and laieth his foundation vpon the sand: therfore his house falleth to the ground. He halteth on both sides: sometimes worshippeth God, and somtimes worshippeth Baal: he is neither hot nor cold: he ebbeth and floweth like the waues of the sea, he doubteth & staggereth, and resteth in nothing. He knoweth not the truth, he knoweth not that the scriptures are the word of God; so he wandreth in the darke, and knoweth not the way in which he walketh. He hath no feeling, no part, no vnderstanding. He is vnfaithfull towards God, & keepeth no faith towards man: he is wauering in al his waies. And why? Because he knoweth not the will of God, nor hath the light of his word to guide his feet.

But a wise man is one and stedfast as the Sun. He buildeth his house vpon a rocke, and that rocke is Iesus Christ the Son of God. Therfore his house is neuer shaken down. Be the storme or tempest neuer so rough, yet it shal stand fast like mount Sion, because his trust

is

is in the name of the Lord. He knoweth that his name is written in the Booke of life, hée knoweth that he belongeth to the Lords Sheepfold, & that no man can take him away out of the Lords hand. In this boldnesse Dauid saith: Though I should walke thorow the vallie of the shadow of death, I will feare no euill: for thou art with me: thy rod and thy staffe they comfort me. Psalm.23. And againe: The Lord is my light and my saluation, whom shall I feare? Psalm.27. And againe: Except thy lawes had beene my delight, I should now haue perished in mine affliction: Psalm.119. When Ezechias heard the proud message of Senacherib sent to him and his people by Rabshaketh, that they should not obey Ezechias nor trust to him, when he said, The Lord will deliuer you: and, Let not thy God deceiue thee, in whom thou trustest: he went vp into the house of the Lord, and praied vnto the Lord, to saue him and his people out of their hands, that all the kingdomes of the earth might know, that he is God alone. 2.Kings 19. Euen so the Apostle: Whether we liue or die, we are the Lords. Rom.14. And in this boldnesse our Sauior Christ setled himselfe to beare their reproches, and to carry his Crosse: Father, if thou wilt, take away this Cup from me; neuertheless, not my will, but thine be done. Luk.22. Thus they that are taught by the Word of God, to put their trust in the Lord, and are thereby rooted and setled in him, cannot be remoued by any practise of Sathan, but stand fast, and continue for euer.

Which shall more plainly appeare, if we loke backe into the times of persecution, and behold the boldnesse & constancy of the Saints of God. They were brought before Magistrates, cast into prisons, spoiled of their goods, cruelly murdered. Some were hanged vpon gibbets, some run thorow with swords, some torne with wild horses, some drowned in the water, and some burnt in the fire. They were hated of all men for the name of Christ. They were despised as the filth of the world, and dung of the earth. Yet continued they faithfull and constant. They armed their hearts with the comfort of Gods word: thereby were they able to resist in the euill day. They were faithfull vntill death, therefore God gaue them a Crowne of glory.

When they were called before Kings, and Princes, and others of authority, and commanded to forsake the truth they had learned, and the comfort which they toke in the truth, they answered in this maner: O my gratious Lord, I would faine doe your commandement: I am your subiect: I haue done faithfull seruice with my body, and with my goods; but I cannot serue you against God: He is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: He is my Lord, before whom I stand: I haue put my life in his hands. He hath forbidden me to doe this thing which you command: I cannot therefore doe it. Judge vprightly, whether it be meet to obey you, rather than God. My liuing, my wife, my children, and my life, are deare vnto me. I am a man like others, and haue mine affections. Yet neither liuing, nor wife, nor children, nor my life is so deare vnto me as the glory of God. I am but a poore worme, yet am I the worke of his hands. God hath put his word in my mouth: I may not deny it. I may not beare false witnesse against the Lord. My life is not deare vnto me in respect of the truth. I know if I should deny him to saue my life, I should lose it: and if I lose my life for his sake, I shall find it. That which your authority shall lay vpon me, is not done without his will. All the haires of my head are numbred. I owe you obedience, I will not resist your power, for if I should resist, I should resist the ordinance of God. I am subiect to you for conscience sake. I will forsake my country, my goods, my children, and my selfe at your commandement. I will say to mine own flesh, I know thee not: only I cannot forsake my Lord God.

Deare sir, you fight not against me. Alas, what am I? What can I doe? You fight against God, against the most holy, against him, which can command your life to goe out of your body: it is a hard thing for you to kicke against the spur. It is no hard matter for you to kill me: for so mighty a Prince to kill so wretched a worme. But this I declare to you, that my blood which you shed is innocent, and shall be required at your hands.

It may please God to giue vnto you repentance, and the knowledge of the truth. If my blood may be a meane thereto: if my blood may open your eies: if my blood may soften your heart: it could neuer be spent in a better cause: blessed bée the name of God which hath made me his instrument for your so happie conuersion: this is the only thing wherein I cannot yéld. The Lord hath spoken vnto me: I haue heard his voice: my heart hath felt it: my conscience knoweth it: I cannot deny it. No sword can cut me from it: no water can drowne it: no fire can burne the loue I beare vnto it: there is no creature in heauen or earth, that can carrie me from that blessed hope I haue conceiued by his Word.

So constant is he that hath learned the word of God, and hath set his delight vpon it, and is through it assured of the will of God. Heauen shall shake, the earth shall tremble, but the man of God shall stand vpright. His foot shall not faile: his heart shall not faint: he shall not be moued. Such a ground, such a foundation, such a rocke is the word of God.

Blessed

Blessed is the man whose hope is in the name of the Lord. He shall build vpon a sure place: he laieth his foundation vpon the corner stone. He needeth no army to make him strong: he needeth no friends to comfort him in aduersity. His strength is within, the gates of Hell shall not preuaile against him. His comfort is inwardly, within his heart. He speaketh to God, and God vnto him. His eies behold the kingdom, & power, and glory of God.

The authority of the Fathers.

But what say we of the Fathers: Augustine, Ambrose, Hierome, Cyprian, &c? What shal we thinke of them, or what account may we make of them? They be Interpretors of the word of God. They were learned men, and learned Fathers: the instruments of the mercy of God, & vessels full of grace. We despise them not, we read them, we reuerence them, and giue thankes vnto God for them. They were witnesses vnto the truth, they were worthy pillars and ornaments in the Church of God. Yet may they not be compared with the word of God. We may not build vpon them: we may not make them the foundation & warrant of our conscience: we may not put our trust in them. Our trust is in the name of the Lord.

And thus are we taught to esteeme of the learned Fathers of the Church, by their owne iudgement: by that which they haue written, either for the credit of their owne doings, or of the authority which they haue thought due to the writings of others. S. Augustine said of the Doctors and Fathers in his time: *Neque quorumlibet disputationes, quamuis Catholicorum, & laudatorum hominum, velut Scripturas Canonicas habere debemus: vt nobis non liceat, salua honorificentia quæ illis debetur, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare, aut respuere: si forte inuenerimus, quod aliter senserint, quàm veritas habet. Talis sum ego in scriptis aliorum, tales esse volo intellectores meorum:* Neither weigh we the writings of all men, be they neuer so worthy and Catholike, as we weigh the Canonicall Scriptures: but that sauing the reuerence that is due vnto them, we may mislike and refuse somewhat in their writings, if we find that they haue thought otherwise, than the truth may beare. Such am I in the writings of others, and such would I wish others to be in mine. Some things I beleeue, and some things which they write, I cannot beleeue. I weigh them not as the holy and Canonicall Scriptures. Cyprian was a Doctor of the Church, yet he was deceiued: Hierome was a Doctor of the Church, yet he was deceiued: Augustine was a Doctor of the Church, yet he wrote a Booke of Retractations, he acknowledged that he was deceiued. God did therefore giue to his Church many Doctors, and many learned men, which all should search the truth, and one reforme another, wherein they thought him deceiued. S. Augustine saith: *Auferantur de medio charta nostra, procedat in medium codex Dei: audi Christum dicentem, audi veritatem loquentem.* Take away from amongst vs any our own Bookes: let the Booke of God come amongst vs: heare what Christ saith: hearken what the truth speaketh. He is the wisedom of his father, he can not deceiue vs. Again he saith: *Audi, Dicit dominus; non, Dicit Donatus, aut Rogatus, aut Vincentius, aut Hilarius, aut Ambrosius, aut Augustinus:* Heare this, The Lord saith: heare not this, Donatus saith, or Rogatus, or Vincentius, or Hilarius, or Ambrose, or Augustine saith. All these were learned, most of them were holy: yet saith Augustine, we may not yeld to that which is said by learned men: but we must yeld our full consent & beleefe to the word of God. Origen saith: *Necesse nobis est in testimonium vocare sanctas Scripturas. Sensus quippe &c.* We must needs call to witnesse the holy Scriptures: for our iudgements and expositions, without those witnesses, carrie no credit. Marke well: our words and expositions and constructions, vnlesse they be warranted by the Scriptures, are not enough, they carry not credit. Augustine saith: *Nos nullam Cypriano facimus iniuriam, cùm eius quaslibet literas, &c.* We offer no wrong to S. Cyprian, when we seuer any his Letters or Writings from the Canonicall authority of the holy Scriptures. Thus speaketh Augustine a Doctor of the Church, of Cyprian another Doctor also of the Church. Cyprian was a Bishop, a learned Father, a holy man, and a Martyr of Christ: yet saith Augustine, his word is not the Gospell: his word is not the word of God: there is no wrong done to him, though his writings carry not like credit as the holy Scripture.

Aug. ad Fortunatianum, Ep. 111.

Aug. in Ps. 57.

Aug. Epi. 48.

Origen. in Hier. cap. 1.

Aug. contra Cresc. Gra. li. ca. 29.

I could shew many the like speeches of the ancient Fathers, wherein they reuerence the holy Scriptures, as to which only they giue consent without gainsaying: which can neither deceiue nor be deceiued. In this sort did Origen, and Augustine, and other Doctors of the Church speake of themselues and of theirs, and the writings of others, that we should so read them, and credit them, as they agreed with the word of God. *Hoc genus literarum non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum iudicandi libertate legendum est:* This kind of writings is to be read, not with a necessitie of beleeuing them, but with a liberty to iudge of them. S. Paul saith: Though that we, or an Angell from heauen preach vnto you otherwise, than that which we haue preached vnto you, let him be accursed. But of which place, S. Augustine speaketh thus: *Siue de Christo, siue de eius Ecclesia, siue de re quacunque alia, quæ pertinet ad fidem, vitamque nostram, non dicam, si nos, sed si Angelus de cælo nobis annuntiauerit præter quam quod in Scripturis legalibus & Euangelicis accepistis, anathema sit.* Whether it be of Christ, or of his Church,

Aug. contra Faustum. lib. 12. ca. 5.

Gal. 1.

Aug. li. 3. cap. 6. contra lit. Petil.

or

or of any thing else whatsoeuer, pertaining either to our life, or to our faith: I will not say, if I my selfe, but if an Angell from heauen shall teach vs otherwise than yee haue receiued in the Bookes of the Law, and in the Gospels, hold him accursed.

Now to conclude this matter, the same Father saith: *Ecclesiastici Iudices, vt homines plerunque falluntur*: The Iudges or Doctours of the Church, as men, are often deceiued. *Aug. lib. 2. cap. 2. contr. Cresc.*
They are learned: they haue preheminence in the Church: they are Iudges: they haue the gifts of wisdome and vnderstanding; yet they are often deceiued. They are our Fathers; but not Fathers vnto God: they are starres, faire, and beautifull, and bright; yet they are not the Sunne: they beare witnesse of the light, they are not the light. Christ is the Sunne of righteousnesse, Christ is the light, which lightneth euery man that commeth into this World. His word is the word of truth. He is the day-spring which hath visited vs from an high: he came downe from the bosome of his Father: he shall guide our feet into the way of peace. Of him God the Father spake: This is my welbeloued Sonne in whom I am well pleased, heare him. He is the Lambe without spot: out of his mouth goeth a two edged sword. This is he in whom all the ends of the world shall be blessed, heare him, giue heed to his saying, embrace his Gospell, beleeue his word. Thus much touching the credit and authority which is to be giuen to the writings of ancient Fathers. Matt. 3.

S. Paul speaking of the word of God, saith: The whole Scripture is giuen by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improoue, to correct, and to instruct in righteousnesse. 2. Tim. 3.
To teach the truth, to improoue falshood, to correct all vice, to instruct in all vertue. Againe: I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ: for it is the power of God vnto saluation, to euery one that beleeueth. S. Basil saith: The Scripture of God is like an Apothecaries shop, full of medicines of sundry sorts, that euery man may there chuse a conuenient medicine for his disease. There are salues and ointments to cure all maladies. Whosoeuer cannot be cured by the word of God, his disease is growne desperate, and past cure. Rom. 1. *Basil. præfat. in Psal.*

Many thinke, the Apostles speech is hardly true of the whole Scripture, that all and euery part of the Scripture is profitable. Much is spoken of Genealogies, and Petidegrees, of Lepers, of Sacrificing Goats, and Oxen, &c. these seeme to haue little profit in them, but to be vaine and idle. If they shew vaine in thine eies, yet hath not the Lord set them downe in vaine. The words of the Lord are pure words, as the siluer tried in a furnace of earth fined seuen times. There is no sentence, no clause, no word, no syllable, no letter, but it is written for thy instruction: there is not one iot, but it is sealed and signed with the blood of the Lambe. Our imaginations are idle, our thoughts are vaine: there is no idlenesse, no vanity in the Word of God. Those Oxen and Goats which were Sacrificed, teach thee to kill and sacrifice the vncleannesse and filthinesse of thy heart: they teach thee, that thou art guilty of death, when thy life must be redeemed by the death of some beast: they lead thee to beleeue the forgiuenesse of sinnes by a more perfect Sacrifice, because it was not possible that the blood of Bulles and Goats should take away sinnes. That leprosie teacheth thee to know the vncleannesse and leprosie of thy soule. Those Genealogies and Petidegrees lead vs to the Birth of our Sauiour Christ. So that the whole word of God is pure and holy: No word, no letter, no syllable, no point or prieke thereof, but is written, and preserued for thy sake. Psal. 12. Heb. 10.

Art thou a King? Reade the Scriptures, thou shalt finde who hath stablished thine estate: and what duty thou owest to God. God there telleth thee: By me Kings rule, and Princes decree iustice. I haue giuen thee authority: thou carriest my sword: I haue put a crowne vpon thy head: thou art my seruant, walke before me, let thy heart bee perfect in my sight. Prou. 8.

Art thou a Subiect? Read the Scriptures, they will teach thee to know thy duty. There Paul biddeth thee, Giue tribuite to whom tribute: custome to whom custome: feare to whom feare: honour to whom honour is due. Ye must be subiect, not because of wrath onely, but for conscience sake. For he beareth not the sword for nought: for he is the minister of God to take vengance one them that doth euill. Rom. 13.

Art thou a Minister? Read the Scriptures, they will teach thee thy duty. The Prophet saith to thee: Crie aloud, spare not: list vp thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people there transgressions. The Apostle saith vnto thee: Preach the word, bee instant, in season and out of season. Watch in all things, doe the worke of an Euangelist, make thy ministery fully knowen. Thou shalt giue an account for the soules of the people, there blood shall be required at thy hands. Esa. 48. 2. Tim. 4.

Art thou a Father? hast thou children? Read the Scriptures, they will teach thee: If thou hast sonnes instruct them. Againe: Hee that teacheth his sonne, grieueth the enemy, and before his friends he shall reioyce of him. Giue him no liberty in his youth, and winke not at his folly. Chastise thy childe, and be diligent therein, lest his shame grieue thee. Eccles. 7. Eccles. 30. 1. Sam. 2.

Elie the Prophet, by ſparing his wanton children, caſt away himſelfe and his children. They were ſlaine, the Arke of God was taken, and old Elie fell downe and brake his necke.

Art thou a Childe? Haſt thou a Father? Reade the Scriptures, they will teach thée:
Epheſ.6. Children obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right. Honour thy father and mother,
(which is the firſt Commandement, with promiſe) that it may be well with thee, and that
Coloſſ.3. thou maiſt liue long on earth. **And againe:** Children, obey your Parents in all things, for
Prou.30. it is well-pleaſing vnto the Lord. **The Wiſe man warneth thée:** The eie that mocketh his father, and deſpiſeth the inſtruction of his mother, let the Rauens of the vally plucke it out, and the yoong Eagles eat it.

Hath God bleſſed thée in Wealth? Art thou rich? Read the Scriptures, they will teach
1.Tim.6. **thée:** Be not high minded, and truſt not in vncertaine riches, but in the liuing God, which gi-
Pſal.62. ueth vs abundantly all things to enioy. **Againe:** Truſt not in oppreſſion and robbery: be not
vaine: if riches increaſe, ſet not your heart thereon. **Thou ſhalt depart and leaue them be-**
hinde thée: they ſhall forſake thée. Thou ſhalt die, thou knoweſt not how ſone. Salomon
Prou.11. **ſheweth thée,** Riches auaile not in the day of wrath: but righteouſneſſe deliuereth from death.

Art thou poore, **and ſuffereſt ſcarſity in this World? Read the Scriptures, they will**
Iob 1. **teach thée. Say with** Iob: Naked came I out of my mothers wombe, and naked ſhall I return
Prou.16. againe. **Learne of** Salomon: Better is little with righteouſneſſe, than great reuenues without
Prou.28. equity. **And againe:** Better is the poore that walketh in his vprightneſſe, than he that per-
1.Tim.6. uerteth his waies, though he be rich. S. Paul **ſaith:** Godlineſſe is great gaine, if a man be content with that he hath: for we brought nothing into the world, and it is certaine, that we carrie nothing out. **And againe, Let him that is poore, labour, and worke with his hands, the thing which is good, that he may haue to giue to him that needeth.**

Art thou a Merchannt? Vſeſt thou to buy and ſell? Read the Scriptures, they will teach
1.Theſſ.4. **thée:** This is the will of God, that no man oppreſſe or defraud his brother in any matter.
Prou.20. **Thou ſhalt learn,** That diuers weights and diuers meaſures are abomination vnto the Lord, and deceitfull balances are not good.

Art thou an Vſurer? Thy caſe is hard: yet heare the Scriptures, they will teach thée.
Exod.22. **God commandeth thée thus:** If thou lend mony to my people, to the poore with thee, thou
Leuit.25. ſhalt not be as an Vſurer vnto him: yee ſhall not oppreſſe him with vſurie. **Againe:** If thy brother be impoueriſhed, and fallen in decay with thee, thou ſhalt releeue him: thou ſhalt take no vſury of him, nor vantage: thou ſhalt not lend him thy victuals for increaſe, but thou
Matth.7. ſhalt feare thy God, that thy brother may liue with thee. **And:** Whatſoeuer ye would that
Pſal.15. men ſhould doe vnto you, euen ſo do ye to them. **And:** He that giueth his mony vnto vſurie, ſhall not enter into the kingdome of heauen.

Art thou a Fornicator **and liueſt in adultery? Read the Scriptures, they will teach thée:**
1.Cor.6. He that committeth fornication, **ſaith** S. Paul, **ſinneth** againſt his owne body. Know you not that your body is the Temple of the holy Ghoſt? Know you not that your bodies are the members of Chriſt? Shall I then take the members of Chriſt, and make them the members
1.Pet.1. of an Harlot? God forbid. As hee which hath called you is holy, ſo be ye holy in all maner
1.Theſſ.4. of conuerſation, **ſaith** S. Peter. **The reaſon is ſet downe by** S. Paul: For this is the will of God, euen your holineſſe, and that you ſhould abſtaine from fornication, **that you may bee**
Heb.13. holy both in body and in ſpirit. **And:** Whoremongers and adulterers God will iudge. **They**
ſhall haue no inheritance in the kingdome of Chriſt, and of God.
Coloſſ.3. **Art thou a** Seruant? **Read the Scriptures: they will teach thée:** Seruants bee obedient vnto them that are your Maſters, according to the fleſh in all things, not with eie ſeruice as men pleaſers, but in ſingleneſſe of heart, fearing God. And whatſoeuer ye doe, doe it hear-
Tit.2. tily, as vnto the Lord, and not vnto men. **Againe:** Please your Maſters, not anſwering againe: be no pickers, but ſhew all good faithfulneſſe, that yee may adorne the doctrine of God our Sauiour in all things.

Rom.11. **Art thou** proud? **Read the Scriptures, they will teach thée:** Be not high minded, but
1.Cor.14. feare. What haſt thou, that thou haſt not receiued? If thou haſt receiued it, why reioiceſt
Matt.11. thou as though thou hadſt not receiued it? **And:** Learne of me, that I am meeke, and humble
Iam.1.4. in heart. **And:** God reſiſteth the proud, but giueth grace to the humble.
Pſal.34. **Art thou in** aduerſitie? **Read the Scriptures:** Great are the troubles of the righteous:
Pſal.91. but the Lord will deliuer him out of them all. **And:** Hee ſhall call vpon mee, and I will heare him: I will be with him in trouble. I will deliuer him, and glorifie him. **And** Saint Pe-
1.Pet.3. ter **telleth thée:** The eies of the Lord are ouer the righteous, and his eares are open to their
1.Cor.10. praiers. God is faithfull, which will not ſuffer you to be tempted aboue that you bee able,
Pſal.145. but will giue the iſſue with the temptation, that yee may be able to beare it. The Lord is

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neere vnto all them that call vpon him, yea, to all that call vpon him in truth.

Art thou a sinner? hast thou offended God? Read the Scriptures, they will teach thee. Hate the euill, and loue the good. And againe: Flie from euill and doe good, and dwell for euer. Amos 5. Psal. 37.

Rise vp and goe to thy Father, and say vnto him, Father, I haue sinned against Heauen, and against thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy sonne. Luke 15.

Doest thou despaire of the mercy of God? Read the Scriptures, they will teach thee. Christ telleth thee: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. Againe: Come vnto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you. Matth. 9.

At what houre soeuer a sinner doth repent him of his sinne from the bottome of his heart, I will put all his wickednesse out of my remembrance, saith the Lord. Matth. 11. Ezech. 18.

Againe: I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turne from his way, and liue. Ezech. 33.

And, The Lord is good to all, and his mercies are ouer all his workes. Psal. 145.

Art thou going out of this life? Read the Scriptures: they will teach thee: I am the Resurrection and the Life: hee that beleeueth in me, though hee were dead, yet shall hee liue; and whosoeuer liueth and beleeueth in me, shall neuer die. John 11.

Say with S. Paul: Christ is to me both in life and in death aduantage. I desire to be loosed and to be with Christ. Philip. 1.

What should I say more of the Scriptures, how profitable and comfortable they be in all cases and parts of our life? in aduersity, in prosperity, in life and in death, they are our especiall comfort. If we must fight, they are a sword: if we hunger, they are meat: if we thirst, they are drinke: if we haue no dwelling place, they are a house: if we be naked, they are a garment: if we be in darkenesse, they be light vnto our going.

They are comfortable to Kings, to Subiects, to Old men, to Young men, to Man and to Wife, to Father and to Childe, to Master and to Seruant, to Captaine and Souldier, to Preacher and People, to the Learned, to the Vnlearned, to the Wise, and to the Simple.

They are comfortable in peace, in warre, in heauinesse, in ioy, in health, and sickenesse, in abundance, in pouerty, in the day time in the night season, in the towne, in the wildernesse, in company, and when thou art alone. For they teach faith, hope, patience, charity, sobriety, humility, righteousnesse and all godlinesse. They teach vs to liue, and they teach vs to die.

Therefore hath Paul said well: The whole Scripture is profitable. It is full of great comfort. It maketh the man of God absolute, and perfect vnto all good workes. Perfect in faith, perfect in hope, perfect in the loue of God, and of his neighbour: perfect in his life, and perfect in his death. So great, so large and ample, and heauenly, is the profit which we doe reape by the word of God.

Now it followeth, that we consider how necessary & needfull it is for vs to be guided by the word of God, in the whole trade of our life. *The necessity of the Scriptures.* The word of God is that vnto our soules, which our soule is vnto our body. As the body dieth when the soule departeth, so the soule of man dieth, when it hath not the knowledge of God. Man liueth not by bread onely, but by euery word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Deut. 8. Behold saith God, I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord. Amos 8. Their tongue shall wither, their heart shall terue, they shall die for hunger: They shall wander from Sea to Sea, and from the North vnto the East, shall they run to and fro to seeke the word of the Lord, and shall not finde it. They shall stumble at noone daies, as at the twilight they shall grope for the wall like the blinde: and truth shall fall in their streets. Esa. 59. For how shall they be saued vnlesse they call on the name of the Lord? How shall they call on him, in whom they haue not beleeued? How shall they beleeue in him of whom they haue not heard? and how shall they heare without a Preacher? and how shall they Preach except they be sent? Rom. 10. Chrysostome therefore saith: Neither can it bee, I say, it cannot bee, that any man shall attaine to saluation, except he be alwaies occupied in spirituall reading. The Wise man saith: Where there is no Prophecie, the people decay. Prou. 24. When the Scriptures are not opened, when there is none that can edifie, exhort, and comfort the people by the Word of God, they must needs perish: for they know not the way in which they should walke: they know not whom to honour, nor vpon whose name they should call: they know neither what to beleeue, nor what to doe. Hell hath enlarged it selfe, & hath opened his mouth without measure, and they that are wilfull and ignorant, the children of darkenesse, goe down into it. They become thrall, and captiues vnto Satan. Their heart is bound vp, they vnderstand nothing: their eies are shut vp, they can see nothing: their eares are stopt vp, they can heare nothing. They are carried away as a pray into Hell, because they haue not the knowledge of God.

So doth Christ tell the Sadducees: Ye are deceiued, because you know not the Scriptures, nor the power of God. Matth. 22. Thus he teacheth, that error is the childe of ignorance. The cause why

you are so deceiued, is because you know not the Scriptures: you haue hated the light, and loued darknesse: you haue neither knowen the Father nor me. He that knoweth not the truth of God, knoweth not God. Herein, in this case there is no plea of ignorance. Ignorance shall not excuse vs. Chrysostome saith: *Dices, non legi: non est hæc excusatio, sed crimen:* Thou wilt say, I haue not read the Scriptures: this is no excuse, but a sinne. Againe he saith: This is the working of the Diuels inspiration, he would not suffer vs to see the treasure, lest we should get the riches. Therefore he counselleth vs, that it vtterly auaileth vs nothing to heare the Lawes of God, lest that vpon the hearing hee may see our dooing follow. Gregory saith: *Qui ea quæ sunt Domini, nesciunt, à domino nesciuntur:* Whoso know not the things that pertaine vnto the Lord, bee not knowen of the Lord. Origen also giueth reason of this practise of Satan: Vnto the Diuels it is a torment aboue all kindes of torments, and a paine aboue all paines, if they see any man reading the Word of God, and with feruent study searching the knowledge of Gods Law, and the mysteries and secrets of the Scriptures. Heerein standeth all the flame of the Diuels: in this fire they are tormented: for they are seased and possessed of all them that remaine in ignorance.

Hom.17.ad Hebræos.
Hom.2.in Mat.
Greg.in Pastor. lib.1.cap.1.
Hom.27.in Numeri.

Carneades a Philosopher, was wont to say of his Master and Reader Chrysippus, If it had not bene for Chrysippus, I neuer had bene any body. He was my Master and teacher: he made me learned: whatsoeuer I haue, I haue it of him. How much better may we vse the like words of the Scripture? and say, Vnlesse it were for the word of God, our wisdome were nothing, and our knowledge were nothing. Whatsoeuer we haue, we haue it by the word. Without it, our praier were no praier: without it, our Sacraments were no Sacraments: our Faith were no Faith: our Conscience were no Conscience: our Church were no Church. Take away the light of the Sunne, and what remaineth but darknesse? Heauen and Earth are darkned. No man can see his way or discerne the things about him. Euen so, if the word of God be taken away, what remaineth, but miserable confusion, and deadly ignorance?

When the Philistines had shorn the haires of Samson, they fell vpon him, take him, bound him, and plucked out his eies: they daunced about him, and made scorne and games of him. We are Samson, the strength of our haires is the knowledge of the will of God: It is laid vp in our heads, in the highest and principall part of vs: if that be shorne off, if we be kept from hearing, reading, and vnderstanding of the word of God; then will error, superstition, and all wickednesse get the vpper hand, and fall vpon vs, and binde vs, and plucke out our eies, and make scorne of vs, and vtterly destroy vs.

When the people of Ierusalem were besieged and wanted food to eat, they fed on Rats and Mice, and many vnholesome and filty things. A woman was driuen for want of meat to doe a cruell part vpon her owne Child: she toke her own babe, which was the fruit of her owne body, killed it, cut it in peces, dressed it, and fed vpon it: a loathsome meat, especially, for a mother to eat her owne child. But she was driuen to it by extremity and hunger: it was so cruell a thing to lacke wherewith life might be preserued

Euen so fared it with vs, and our Fathers, after it pleased God to take away his Gospel, and to send a famine of hearing the Word of the Lord. We were driuen to eat those things which were loathsome and horrible to behold, we were driuen to feed vpon our owne children, euen the phantasies and vanities of our own heart. There was no substance in them, they could not feed vs.

In this case were the children of Israel, when they grew weary of the Word of God, and left the ordinances set downe vnto them. God had no pleasure in them, their praiers and sacrifice were not accepted. I can not suffer, saith the Lord, your new Moones, nor Sabbaths, nor solemne daies. Who hath required this of your hands?

Esay 1.

In such case were the Scribes & Phariseis, when they forsoke to be guided by the word of God, and toke away the key of knowledge, they fed vpon their own deuises, they neglected the commandements and will of God, and followed their owne Traditions. Therefore Christ reproued them: O Hypocrites, Esaias prophecied well of you, saying: This people draweth neere vnto mee with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is farre off from me. But in vaine they worship me, teaching for doctrines mens precepts.

Matth.15.

Therefore if we seke to know the Sacraments of the Church, what they are: if we would be instructed in the Sacrament of Baptisme, or in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ: if we would learne to know our Creatour, and to put the difference betweene the Creatour and a Creature: if we desire to know what this present life is, and what is that life which is to come: if we would beleeue in God, and call vpon the name of God, and doe worship vnto God: if we would be setled in perfect zeale and true knowledge if we would haue an vpright conscience towards God: if we would know which

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is the true Church of God, it is very needfull that we heare the word of God. There is no other word that teacheth vs vnto ſaluation.

Now it remaineth we ſpeake of the delectation and pleaſure which the word of God giueth. The word of God is full of ſad and graue counſell, full of the knowledge of God, of examples of vertues, and of correction of vices, of the end of this life, and of the life to come. These are the contents of the word of God. These things (ſay you) are great and weighty of themſelues: there is no vanity or pleaſure in them. *Ioy and pleaſure by reading the Scriptures.*

They are great and weighty, I grant, and becauſe they are ſo weighty, they be the more worthy, that we heare them. But we muſt take a delight and ſettle our fantſie, that it may like of the weight and greatneſſe. They were vnto the Prophet Dauid, More ſweet than hony, and the hony combe. If we taſt them with ſuch an affection as he did, we ſhall feele and ſee the great, and weighty, and heauenly pleaſure which is in them.

Many are delighted in the ſtories of Iulius Cæſar of Alexander the Great, of mighty and victorious Princes. They haue pleaſure to read of their wars, of their victories, and of their triumphes. And many take their pleaſure in trauell to farre Countries, to ſee the diuers faſhions and behauiour of men.

If it were poſſible we might ſtand vpon ſuch a Hill, from which we might at once ſee all parts of the World, the Cities and Townes, and Mountains, and Forreſts, and Caſtles, and gorgeous buildings, and all the Kings and Princes of the World, in their Princely eſtate: if we might ſee the variety of the whole World, how ſome liue quietly in peace, others are turmoiled in warre: ſome liue in wealth: others in pouerty and miſery: ſome riſe, others fall. To ſee and behold ſo great variety of things, it cannot be but it would delight vs.

Such a Hill, from whence we may take view of ſo great variety, ſuch a ſtory in which we may read of noble Princes, of their Wars and Victories, is the Word of God. Vpon this Hill you may at once behold all the workes of his hands, how he made Heauen and Earth: the Sunne and the Moone: the Sea and Floods: the Fiſhes in the Water: the Fowles in the Aire: and the Beaſts in the Field. Vpon this Hill you may ſtand and ſee his Angels, and his Archangels, and bleſſed Spirits, how ſome of them fell, and ſome continued in glory: how God hath ſent them in meſſage, how they haue come down from Heauen to ſerue the ſonnes of men.

Heere you may read of the warres of the God of Hoſts, how he hath pitched his tents in the middeſt of his people, and hath gone before them, and fought for them. How the Amorrheans and Canaanites were rooted out: how the Amalekites were ouerthrowen by the lifting vp of Moſes hands in praier: how the wall of *Iericho* fell downe flat at the ſound of a Trumpet, and the ſhooting of the people: and how 185. thouſand Aſſyrians were ſlane in one night by the hand of one Angell, when God raught out his hand from Heauen to giue victory to his people.

Heere may you ſee how God plagued and ouercame his enemies: how he drowned Pharao in the red ſea, and his horſes, and men, and Chariots all together. Heere may you ſee Nabuchodonoſor a mighty Prince, ſo bereft of his wits, that he forſooke his Palaces, and the company and order of men, and liued in the fields after the maner of beaſts. Heere may you ſee how God ſtrucke King Antiochus and King Herod with filthy diſeaſes, and cauſed lice to eat their fleſh. How he ſent downe fire and brimſtone from Heauen and deſtroied Sodome and Gomorra, for their ſinnes. How he made the earth open and ſwallow vp Dathan and Abiram: how King Ozias was ſtricken with Leproſie, and carried from the Temple, and cut off from his kingdome. What ſtories of any Princes or people in any age can report vnto vs ſo ſtrange battels, ſo mighty conqueſts, ſo wonderfull deliuerance in extremities, ſo dreadfull ſubduing of the enemies, as the hand of God hath wrought, and the ſtory of the Scriptures declareth vnto vs?

This word alſo ſheweth the goodneſſe and mercy of God towards the people which put their truſt in him. How he made them terrible to their enemies: how he made their enemies their foot ſtole: how he led them ſafe thorow the red Sea: how he ſent his Angel to goe before them, and guide them: how he gaue them Water out of a Rocke, and rained downe Bread from Heauen: how hee brought them into a Land that flowed with Milke and Hony, and ſware vnto them, that he would be their God, and they ſhould be his people.

In this word, are to be ſeene wonderfull and ſtrange works of God, ſuch as are beyond the courſe of nature, and paſſe the reaſon of man. That the Sea parted, and ſtood on both ſides as a high wall: that at the word of Ioſua, the Sunne ſtood ſtill, and went not on his courſe: Ezechias ſpake the word and required it, and the Sunne went backe ten degrees! At the word of Elias, fire came downe from heauen to conſume his Sacrifice. Heere may you ſee an Aſſe open his mouth and ſpeake, and reproue his Maſter: there ſeruants of God Ioſ. 10. 2. King. 20.

walke in a hot burring furnace without hurt: Daniel in the den among Lions, and not deuoured: Peter in the raging Sea, and not drowned: Lepers cleanſed: the lame to goe: the dumbe to ſpeake: the deafe to heare: the blind to ſée: the dead to riſe out of their graues and liue: ſimple and vnlearned men to ſpeake in ſtrange tongues: the Diuell to goe out of the poſſeſſed, and to ſay, I know thou art Chriſt the Sonne of God.

Héere may you ſée twelue poore ſilly men without ſpeare, or ſword, or force, make conqueſt and win the whole world. No power could repreſſe them, no might could withſtand them. It is reckoned a great matter for a King or a Nation to yéeld ſubmiſſion vnto another King or Nation. It muſt therefore bée a matter of great wonder to ſée all Kings throw downe their Maces, and all people to yéeld before ſo few, ſo ſimple, ſo vnarmed, and to acknowledge they imbraced lies, and liued in ignorance: and that theſe twelue are the ſeruants of the higheſt: and to ſée how God hath choſen the fooliſh things of this world, to ouerthrow the wiſe: and the weake things of this world, to confound the mighty things. Such force did God giue to their words. He made them the ſonnes of thunder: they ſhoke the foundations of the world: they threw downe whatſoeuer ſtood againſt them.

Héere may you ſée the fight of Gods elect children. How they patiently ſuffered afflictions in their bodies, rather than they would deny the truth of God: they gaue their backes to the ſcourge, their neckes to the ſword, their bodies to the fire. No tyrant, no menacings, no racke, no torment, no ſword, no death could remoue them from the loue of the Goſpel which they had receiued. The more of them were cut downe, the more did ſpring vp: the more were killed, the more were left aliue. Auguſtine ſaith: *Ligabantur, includebantur, torquebantur, vrebantur, & multiplicabantur:* They were bound, and ſhut vp, and racked, and burnt, and yet were increaſed. This is the victory that hath ouercome the world. For the Lord anſwered S. Paul: My power is made perfect through weakneſſe. It liueth in death, it is made whole and ſound by wounds and ſtripes: it is increaſed by thoſe meanes, whereby men deſtroy it. Iacob ſaw a ladder ſtand vpon the Earth, and the top of it reach vp into heauen, and the Angels of God goe vp and downe by it. This was but a dreame and viſion in his ſléepe, yet when he awoke he toke pleaſure and comfort of this viſion.

Deciuit. Dei lib. 22. ca. 6.

2. Cor. 12.

We haue not only the delight of this with Iacob, but we haue other far greater viſions. We ſée Eſay beholding the Lord as he ſate vpon an high throne: we ſée Paul taken vp into the third heauens: we ſée the glory of God appeare, and heare the voice which came out of the cloud, ſaying: This is my well beloued Son in whom I am well pleaſed, heare him. We ſée Ieſus Chriſt the Sonne of God, borne of a Virgin, and how he made himſelfe of no reputation: and tooke on him the forme of a ſeruant, and was made like vnto man, and was found in ſhape as a man. That he humbled himſelfe, and became obedient vnto the death euen the death of the Croſſe. We heare him cry with a loud voice: My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken mee? We heare him ſay: Father for giue them: for they know not what thy doe. And, Father, into thine hands I commend my ſpirit.

Matth. 17.
Phil. 2.

Matth. 27.
Luke 23.

Héere, we may ſée, the Sunne to be darkned, that the Moone giueth no light: the Earth to ſhake, the Rockes to cleaue aſunder, the Vaile to rent, the Graues to open, and Chriſt riſe from the dead, and goe vp into Heauen, and ſit at the right hand of his Father.

Héere may we ſée the ouerthrow of Babylon, which made all Nations to drinke of the wine of the wrath of hir Fornication. How ſhe is deſtroied with the breath of Gods mouth. Héere we behold the Reſurrection of the dead: and foure and twenty Elders ſit before God on their ſeats, and the ancient of daies ſit vpon his throne, and the iudgement ſeat, and the Bookes opened, and all fleſh appeare before him, and how ſome are taken into euerlaſting life, and ſome are ſent into euerlaſting death.

Reuel. 14.

What tongue is able to expreſſe theſe pleaſures and delights, which are laid open to vs in the Word of God? We buy Images and Pictures, and Mappes of men, and of diuers things and Countries: But what Mappe or Picture can ſhew vs the like variety and change of things?

We purchaſe Lands, and haue a liking ſo to doe. Héere we are taught, how we may come to that land which ſhall ſtand with vs, and in which we ſhall continue for euer.

To ſée any one of theſe, it were great pleaſure, either the creation of Heauen and Earth or the Angels and Archangels, and bleſſed ſpirits: or the battels of the God of Sabaoth: or Amalech daſht in peeces like a Potters veſſell: or the wals of Iericho, blowen downe with the ſound of a Trumpet: or Pharao drowned in the Sea: or Nabuchodonoſor eating graſſe among the beaſts: or Antiochus ſmitten from heauen: or Sodome and Gomorrha burnt with fire and brimſtone: or the earth to open and ſwallow vp the wicked: or the ſea to ſtand like a wall: or water to come out of a ſtone: or bread to come from Heauen: or the Sunne to ſtand ſtill, or to change his courſe: or an Aſſe to ſpeake and teach his Maſter: or fire to be extreme hot, yet not burning: or Lions hungry, yet not eating their meat: or the ſea tempeſtuous,

peſtous, yet not drowning: or blind to ſee, deafe to heare, dumbe to ſpeake, dead to riſe: or ignorant men to ſpeake in languages they neuer learned: or the Diuell to roare, and confeſſe Chriſt: or God ſitting in his Maieſty, and Chriſt at his right hand: or Babylon throwen downe, and become a Tabernacle of foule ſpirits, and a den for the Diuell: or Chriſt to ſit in iudgement, and giue ſentence vpon the quicke and the dead: to ſee any one of all theſe wondrous workes of God, it were great pleaſure.

How can it be then, but that we reioyce and take delight to ſee ſo many, ſo great, ſo maruellous, ſo heauenly, and ſo glorious wonders in one heape all together? How far would we ride, or goe, to ſee the triumph of a mortall King? Here is to be ſeene the triumph of God, the Lord of Lords, and the King of Kings: how he hath made the name of his Sonne triumph ouer principalities and powers, and ouer the whole world. Here is a Paradiſe full of delights, no tongue is able to ſpeake them, they are ſo many: No heart is able to conceiue them, they be ſo great.

Here is a ſhop, wherein is ſet out the wiſedome, and knowledge, the power, the iudgements and mercies of God. Which way ſoeuer we looke, we ſee the workes of his hands. His workes of creation, and preſeruation of all things: his workes of ſeuere iuſtice vpon the wicked, and of gratious redemption to the beleeuer. If we deſire pleaſant muſicke, or excellent harmony: it ſpeaketh vnto vs the words of the Father, and the conſent of the Sonne: the excellent reports of the Prophets, Apoſtles, Angels and Saints of God, who haue borne all taught by the holy Ghoſt. If we would learne, it is a ſchole, it giueth vnderſtanding to the ſimple. In it there is, that may content the heart, the eare, the eie, the taſte, and the ſmelling. It is a ſauor of life vnto life. Oh taſt ye and ſee how gratious the Lord is, ſaith the Prophet Dauid. So manifold and maruellous are the pleaſures which are giuen vs in the word of God. God hath made them, and wrought them all for the Sons of men. Pſal. 34.

Thus haue I performed promiſe, and ſimply and homely opened thoſe foure things which I toke in hand. I haue declared what waight and Maieſty the word beareth: what huge harueſt of profit we may reape by it: how needfull it is for vs trauelling thorow the wilderneſſe of this life: and what repaſt and pleaſure we may finde in it.

But all this notwithſtanding, ſome take exception, and ſay: the Scriptures are darke and doubtfull, the matters are deepe, the words are hard, few can vnderſtand them. One taketh them in this ſenſe, another in a ſenſe cleane contrary. The beſt learned cannot agree about them: they are occaſion of many great quarrels: Iohn ſeeth this booke ſealed with ſeuen ſeales: and an Angell preaching with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the booke, and to looſe the ſeales thereof? No man can open it, no man can read it. S. Peter ſaith: Among the Epiſtles of Paul, ſome things are hard to be vnderſtood, which they that are vnlearned and vnſtable, peruert as they doe all other Scriptures, vnto their owne deſtruction. And S. Paul ſaith: God dwelleth in the light that none can attaine vnto; whom neuer man ſaw, neither can ſee. Reuel. 5. 2. Pet. 3. 1. Tim. 6.

Therefore, although the Maieſty bee neuer ſo waighty, the profit, the neceſſity, and the pleaſure neuer ſo great: yet it is not good for the people to read them. Pearls muſt not be caſt before Swine, nor the bread of the children vnto dogs. Thus they ſay. Indeed the word of God is Pearles: but the people are not Swine. They may not read them (ſay ſome): they are not able to weeld them: the Scriptures are not for the people. Hereof I will ſay ſomething, and a word or two of the reuerence and feare, with which we ought to come to the hearing of them.

They ſay, the Scriptures are hard, and aboue the reach of the people. So ſaid the Pelagian Heretike Iulian, whom S. Auguſtine therefore reproueth: *Exaggeras quàm ſit difficilis pauciſque conueniens eruditis, ſanctarum cognitio literarum*: Ye inlarge and lay out with many words, how hard a matter the knowledge of the Scripture is, and meet only for a few learned men. You ſay the Scriptures are hard, who may open them? There is no euidence or triall to be taken by them: they are fit only for a few learned men, they are in no wiſe fit for the people. Thus ſaid Iulian an Heretike. *Aug. lib. 5. ca. 1. contra Iulianum.*

But God himſelfe, and the ancient Fathers of the Church ſaid otherwiſe. God ſaith in Deuteronomy: This commandement which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heauen, that thou ſhouldſt ſay, Who ſhal go vp for vs to heauen and bring it vs and cauſe vs to heare it, that we may doe it? Neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhal go ouer the Sea for vs, and bring it vs, and cauſe vs to heare it, that we may doe it? But the word is very neere vnto thee: euen in thy mouth, and in thy heart, for to do it. Thou needeſt not run hither and thither, nor wander ouer the Sea, nor beat thy braines in ſearching what thou ſhouldeſt doe, or by what meanes thou maiſt liue vprightly: the Word and commandement of God will teach thee ſufficiently. The Prophet Dauid ſaith; The commandement of the Lord is pure, and giueth light vnto the Deut. 30. Pſal. 19.

eies

Pſal. 119. eies. And, Thy word is a Lanterne vnto my feet, and a light vnto my paths. Thy word is not darke, it is a light vnto my path, it giueth light vnto the eies. What is cleare if the light be darke? Or, what can he ſee, which cannot ſee the light.

Humane knowledge is darke, and vncertaine. Philoſophy is darke, Aſtrology is darke, and Geomatry is darke. The Profeſſors thereof often times runne a maſket: they leſe themſelues, and wander they know not whither. They ſeeke the depth and bottome of naturall cauſes: the change of the elements: the impreſſions in the aire: the cauſes of the rainbow: of blazing Stars, of thunder, and lightning, of the trembling, and ſhaking of the earth, the motions of the planets, the proportions and the influence of the celeſtiall bodies. They meaſure the compaſſe of heauen, and count the number of the ſtars: they goe downe and ſearch the Mines in the bowels of the earth: they rip vp the ſecrets of the Sea. The knowledge of theſe things is hard, it is vncertaine. Few are able to reach it. It is not fit for euery man to vnderſtand it.

But the holy ſpirit of God, like a good teacher, applieth himſelfe to the dulneſſe of our wits. He leadeth not vs by the vnknowne places of the earth, nor by the aire, nor by the clouds: he aſtonieth not our ſpirits with naturall vanities. He writeth his law in our hearts: he teacheth vs to know him, and his Chriſt: he teacheth vs, that we ſhould deny
Tit. 2. vngodlineſſe and wordly luſts, and that we ſhould liue ſoberly, and righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world: he teacheth vs to looke for the bleſſed hope, and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. This matter is good, and it is plain: the words are plaine, and the vtterance is plaine. Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Propterea Spiritus*
Hom. 3. de Lazaro. *gratia diſpenſauit illa, temperauitq; quo Publicani, Piſcatores, &c.* Therefore hath the grace of the holy Spirit diſpoſed and tempered them ſo, that Publicanes, and Fiſhers, and Tentmakers, Shepheards, and the Apoſtles, and ſimple men, and vnlearned, might be ſaued by theſe bookes: that none of the ſimpler ſort might make excuſe by the hardneſſe of them: and that ſuch things as are ſpoken, might be eaſie for all men to looke on: that the labouring man, and the ſeruant, the widow woman, and whoſoeuer is moſt vnlearned, may take ſome good, when they are read. For they whom God euer from the beginning endued with the grace of his ſpirit, haue not gathered all theſe things for vaine glory, as the Heathen writers vſe, but for the ſaluation of the hearers.

Some things in the Scriptures are hard, I deny it not. It is very expedient that ſomwhat ſhould be couered, to make vs more diligent in reading, more deſirous to vnderſtand more feruent in praier, more willing to aſke the iudgement of others, and to preſume the leſſe of our owne iudgement. Gregory ſaith: *Magna vtilitatis eſt ipſa obſcuritas eloquiorum*
In Ezech. hom. 6. lib. 1. *Dei. Facit enim, &c.* The hardneſſe which is in the word of God is very profitable: For it cauſeth a man to take that profit by paines, which he could not take with negligence. If the
Lib. 4. ca. 13. in Iohan. vnderſtanding were open and manifeſt, it would be little ſet by. Cyrillus ſaith: *Omnia plana & recta ſunt illis, qui cognitionem inuenerunt: fatuis verò etiam facilima obſcura videntur*: All things are plaine and ſtraight to them, that haue found knowledge: but to ſuch as are fooles
Cyril, in Io 14. the moſt eaſie places ſeeme hard. And againe: *Ea quæ perſpicua ſunt, difficilia ſunt hæreticis. Quomodo enim in maleuolam animam intrabit ſapientia?* Thoſe things which are plaine, are hard vnto Heretikes. For how can wiſdome enter into a wicked heart? It is true which Saint Peter hath ſaid, ſome things are hard to be vnderſtood. But it is alſo true, that they which peruert them vnto their owne deſtruction are vnlearned, and vnſtable: that is, they to whom they are hard, haue not their eies opened, that they may ſee the light of the word: or they be wicked, and turne the truth of God into lies, and abuſe the Scriptures to their owne damnation. The Howlet ſeeth not by the brightneſſe of the Sunne, not becauſe the Sunne beames are darke, but for that his eies are weake, and cannot abide ſo cleere light: it is therefore but a pretence and colour for their ignorance, and a meanes to deceiue the people more boldly with their errors, when they charge the word of God with darkneſſe and hardneſſe.

Exod. 20. For how many hundred places are there which be as cleere as none day? God ſaith: I am the Lord thy God, thou ſhalt haue none other Gods before me. Thou ſhalt make thee no grauen Image, neither any ſimilitude of things that are in Heauen aboue, neither that are in the Earth beneath, nor that are in the waters vnder the earth, thou ſhalt neither bow
Wiſd. 14. downe to them, neither ſerue them. Againe he ſaith: That is curſed that is made with hands, both it, and hee that made it: hee, becauſe hee made it; and it, becauſe it was
Pſal. 97. called God, being a corruptible thing. And againe: Curſed be all they that worſhid carued Images, and delight in vaine Gods. This is the word of God. What darkneſſe is in any of theſe ſayings?

Exod. 22. God ſaith: If thou lend money to my people, to the poore with thee, thou ſhalt not be as
Ezec. 18. an vſurer vnto him: yee ſhall not oppreſſe him with vſury. Againe: If a man hath not giuen forth

forth vpon vsurie, neither hath taken any increase, &c. he shall surely liue: but he that hath giuen forth vpon vsury, or hath taken increase, shall he liue? He shall not liue. And, The wages of sinne is death. And, The soule that sinneth, it shall die. And againe: This ye know, that no whoremonger, neither vncleane person, nor couetous person, which is an Idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdome of Christ, and of God. Let no man deceiue you with vaine words: for, for such things commeth the wrath of God vpon the children of disobedience. These are the words of God, and what darknesse is in them. Rom. 6. Ezech. 18. Eph. 5.

S. Paul saith: If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, haue peace with all men. Abhor that which is euill, and cleaue to that which is good: auenge not your selues, but giue place vnto wrath. Againe: Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers, there is no power but of God. He is the Minister of God for thy wealth: but if thou doe euill, feare: for he beareth not the sword for nought. These be the words of God, what darknesse is in them? Saint Iohn saith: Christ is the Lambe of God, which taketh away the sinnes of the world. And, The blood of Iesus Christ his Sonne, cleanseth vs from all sinnes. S. Peter saith, His own selfe bare our sinnes in his bodie on the tree, that we being deliuered from sinne, should liue in righteousnesse. Christ saith: Aske, and it shall be giuen you: seeke and ye shall find: knocke, and it shall be opened vnto you. And againe: Come vnto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you. The Prophet saith: Whosoeuer call on the the name of the Lord, shall be saued. These be the words of God. What darknesse is in them? What eie so simple, but he may see them. Rom. 12. Rom. 13. Ioh. 1. 1. Ioh. 1. 1. Pet. 1. Luk. 11. Matth. 11. Ioel. 2.

The waies of the Lord are straight, and his words plaine, euen vnto the simple. Chrysostome saith: *Omnia clara & plana sunt in scripturis diuinis: quæcunque necessaria sunt, manifesta sunt:* All things are cleare and plain in the holy Scriptures: Whatsoeuer things there are necessary for vs, are also manifest. Some things are couered, as men couer precious stones, and precious garments. They are couered, and yet we see them. We see them, and yet they are couered. Yet all things that are necessary are plaine and open. Clemens saith: *Nullus celatum est uerbum, lux est communis, omnibus illucescit hominibus, nullus est in verbo Cymmerius:* The word of God is hid from no man: It is a light common vnto all men: there is no darknesse in Gods word. Marke, it is a common light, and shineth to all men. It is as bright and beautifull as the Sun, there is no dungeon or darknesse in it. So saith Irenæus: *Scriptura in aperto sunt, & sine ambiguitate: & similiter ab omnibus audiri possunt:* The Scriptures are plaine, and without doubtfulnesse, and may be heard indifferently of all men. All men may heare them, euen all sorts of men without exception. *Hom. 3. in 2. ad Thessa.* *Clem. Alex. in Orat. ad gen.* *Lib. 1. cap. 31.*

Where be they then which say it is not lawfull for the people to haue the word of God, and that the Scriptures are not meet for their reading? they are bread: they are drinke: they nourish vnto euerlasting life: great crueltie it is to starue Gods people to death. Are they vnfit to haue the Scriptures, because they be poore? Christ saith: The poore receiue the glad tidings of the Gospell. And, Blessed are the poore in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heauen. They want riches, and worldly glory, but God giueth his feare and grace to them, as well as to the rich. Are they vnfit to read the Scriptures, because they are not bred vp in other learning? S. Paul saith: I esteemed not to know any thing among you, but Iesus Christ, and him crucified. The Prophet Dauid saith: Blessed is the man O Lord, whom thou teachest in thy Law. And Christ saith: Thou hast hid these things from the wise, and men of vnderstanding, and hast opened them vnto babes. The Apostles were sent into all the world to preach the Gospell vnto euery creature, to learned and vnlearned, to poore and rich. There is no man too poore, none too rich, none too yong, none too old. Whosoeuer hath eares to heare, he hath learning enough to be a hearer. Mat. 11. Matth. 5. 1. Cor. 2. Psalm. 94. Matth. 11.

As for the wisest and learned men, in matters of this world, they haue not alwaies proued the readiest and most willing to set forth the glory of God. They haue not borne the masterst scholars for this schoole. Who were they that resisted Moses and Aaron, the seruants of God? Not the people, but the wisest and best learned in Ægypt. Who where they that stood against Elias? not the people: but the learned and wise men, and the Prophets, and Priests of Baal. Who were they that stoned and killed the Prophets? not the people: but the chiefest and wisest in Israel. Who were they that resisted Christ, and his Gospell, and sought to deface the glory of God? not the people: but the Scribes and Pharisies, and high Priests, and all the troupe of their Clergy. They called Christ, a deceiuer: and Beelzebub: a companion of Publicans and Harlots: They laid in wait euery where to entrap him: they sued him to death.

Saint Paul saith for conclusion in this matter: It is written, I will destroy the wisedome of the wise, and will cast away the vnderstanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made the wisedome of this world foolishnesse? For seeing the world by wisedome knew not God, in the wisedome of God 1. Cor. 1.

God, it pleased God by the foolishnesse of Preaching, to saue them that beleeued. Brethren, you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called, but GOD hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise: and God hath chosen the weake things of the world, to confound the mighty things, and vile things of the world, and things which are despised hath God chosen. **Marke, saith he, how mercifully God hath dealt with you. Few of the learned sort, few such as are counted wise, embrace the Gospell with you, or ioine with you in Faith, or keepe you company. God hath let them be deceiued in their wisedome. They take themselues to be wise, and yet are become fooles. And contrary to worldly iudgement, God hath made you, which were weake and simple, and of no reputation, wise, and righteous, and sanctified, and redemed in Christ Iesus. And Christ saith:** Except ye be conuerted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdome of Heauen. Mat. 18.

Therefore the godly Father Chrysostome **calleth vpon the people, to read and heare the Scriptures.** *Audite seculares omnes: comparate vobis Biblia, animæ pharmaca. Si nihil aliud vultis, vel, nouum Testamentum acquirite: Apostolum, Euangelia, Acta, continues & sedulas doctores*: Heare me ye men of the world: get ye the Bible, that most holesome remedie for the soule; if ye will nothing else, yet at the least, get the new Testament, S. Pauls, Epistles, the Gospels, and the Acts, that they may be your continuall and earnest teachers. *Hom. 9. in ep. ad Colos.*

And againe: *Neque in hoc tantùm concessu, sed domi quoque, vir cum vxore, pater cum filio, inuicem de his frequenter loquantur, & vltrò, citroque suam & ferant & inquirant sententiam, velintque hanc probatissimam inducere consuetudinem*: Hearken not hereto, only here in the Church, but also at home, let the husband with the wife, let the father with the child, talke togither of these matters, and both to and fro, let them both enquire, and giue their iudgements; and would God they would begin this good custome. *Chrysost. hom. 2. in Ioan.*

In like sort saith Origen: *Vtinam omnes, faceremus illud quod scriptum est, Scrutamini Scripturas*: Would God we would all do accordinglie as it is written, Search the Scriptures. *Orig. in Esai. hom. 2.*

It were a token that we doe loue Christ. Then would the Father loue vs, and Christ would loue vs, and shew himselfe vnto vs: and he, and his Father would come vnto vs, and dwell in vs. Chrysostome **saith:** *Hoc omnium malorum causa est, quod Scripturæ ignorantur*: This is the cause of all ill, that the Scriptures are not knowen. To know nothing of Gods Lawes, **saith he in another place,** is the losse of saluation; ignorance hath brought in heresies, and vitious life: ignorance hath turned all things vpside downe. S. Hierome **expounding those words of the Apostle:** Let the word of Christ dwell in you plenteously, **saith:** *Hic ostenditur, verbum Christi, non sufficienter sed abundanter etiam laicos habere debere, & docere se inuicem, vel monere*: Here we are taught, that the Lay people ought to haue the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also with abundance, and to teach, and counsell one another. *Hom. 9 ad Colos. Hom. 3. de Lazaro. Hierom. in 3. cap. Ep. ad Colos.*

And now to conclude what the learned Fathers, and ancient Doctors haue said in this matter. Theodoretus **saith:** *Passim videas hæc nostratia dogmata non ab ijs solùm teneri, qui sunt ecclesiæ magistri, populorumque præceptores, sed ab ipsis quoque sutoribus, fabris ferrarijs, lanificibus, &c.* Ye may commonly see, that our doctrine is knowen, not only of them that are the Doctors of the Church, and the Masters of the people: but also euen of the Tailors, and Smiths, and Weauers, and of all Artificers: yea, and further also of women, and that not only of them that be learned, but also of labouring women, and Sewsters, and Seruants, and handmaides: neither only the Citizens, but also the Country folkes doe verie well vnderstand the same. Ye may find, yea, euen the very Ditchers, and Deluers, and Cowheards, and Gardiners, disputing of the holy Trinity, and of the creation of all things. **Thus we see there was a time, before ignorance crept into the Church, and got the vpper hand, when the word of God was not counted hard, and darke, and doubtfull: when children, and women, and seruants, and men of the Country had the knowledge of God, and were able to reason of the workes of God. Then went it well with them: they could not easily be deceiued, because they had that word which bewraieth the theefe: they carried with them like money changers the waights, and touchstone, and were able to trie coines whether they were true or false. Such were the people, such was the state of Gods Church in those daies.** *Lib. 5. de curandis Græcor. affect.*

Gold, and siluer, and lands, and possessions, are the portions but of few. They are not common to all alike. The wise man saith: House and riches come by inheritance of the Fathers. **But the Word of God, the Law, and the Prophets, the Apostles, the Euangelists, the gift of the spirit, and the knowledge of God are giuen vnto all men: they are made common for all men. If the word were ordained but for a few, then Christ was giuen into the world but for a few. The heauen was made but for a few. The mercy and loue of God was but for a few. But the mercy of God is ouer all, and vpon all, and for all. All haue right to heare the word of God, all haue nede to know the word of God.** All haue sinned, Prou. 19. Rom. 3.

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and are depriued of the glory of God. Therefore Chriſt calleth all, *Venite ad me omnes, &c.* Mat. 11.
Come vnto me all ye that be weary and laden. Yong men and old men: men and women:
rich and poore come to me. God is no accepter of perſons. It is not the will of your Father Acts 10.
which is in Heauen, ſaith Chriſt, that one of theſe little ones ſhould periſh. Who will, that Matth. 18.
all men ſhall be ſaued, and come to the knowledge of the truth. God will looke to him that is 1. Tim. 2.
poore, and of a contrite ſpirit, and trembleth at his words. God will regard ſuch a one, and Eſay 66.
make him a fit veſſell to receiue his truth. Vpon him that is ſuch a one ſhall the ſpirit of
wiſedome and vnderſtanding, the ſpirit of knowledge, and of the feare of God reſt. Not
only vpon the rich, the wiſe, and the learned: but vpon him that is poore, and of a contrite
heart, and trembleth at his words. Vpon him that humbleth himſelfe vnder the mighty
hand of God. He is the Temple and the Tabernacle of the holy Ghoſt. He that is humble
in heart, ſhall be ſaued. God reſiſteth the proud, but giueth grace to the lowly.

Therefore Chriſt ſaid: I giue thee thankes O Father, Lord of heauen and earth, becauſe Mat. 11.
thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and men of vnderſtanding, and haſt opened them
vnto babes. Euen to ſuch as haue no learning, which reioyce in nothing but in thee. The
wiſe and learned of the world cannot heare them, cannot ſee them: but they to whom it
pleaſed thee to giue vnderſtanding. It is thy mercy. Fleſh and blood cannot reach the
knowledge of thy will. The ſpirit of the Father hath reuealed it. Chriſt ſaith: My ſheepe Iohn 10.
heare my voice, and I know them, and they follow me. They will not follow a ſtranger. My
people are ſimple as ſheepe: they are rude, and know not what they doe. Yet they know
my voice, and follow me: they know their Shepheard from a theefe: they follow not the
call and voice of a ſtranger. So we ſee that God chaſeth no man away from hearing his
word: he loatheth not the poore, becauſe of his pouerty, he refuſeth him not: for he is the
God of the poore: they be his creatures. S. Auguſtine ſaith: *Deus in Scripturis, quaſi amicus familiaris loquitur ad cor doctorum, & indoctorum.* Almighty God, in the Scriptures, ſpeak- *Aug. ep. 3. ad Voluſianum.*
eth as a familiar friend without diſſimulation, vnto the hearts, both of the learned, and of the
vnlearned. He abaſeth himſelfe, and ſpeaketh to their capacity: for his will is, that all ſhould
come to the knowledge of the truth, and be ſaued.

Now let vs conſider with what feare and reuerence we ought to come to the hearing or
reading of the word of God: The Angell of the Lord appeared vnto Moſes in a flame of Exod. 3.
fire, out of the mideſt of a buſh. When Moſes turned aſide to ſee, God ſaid vnto him, Come
not hither: Put thy ſhooes off thy feet, for the place whereon thou ſtandeſt is holy ground.
Againe, when God had appointed to ſpeake vnto the people from Mount Sion, he ſaid to
Moſes: Goe vnto the people, and ſanctifie them to day, and to morrow, and let them waſh Exod. 19.
their clothes, and let them be ready on the third day: for the third day the Lord will come
downe in the ſight of all the people vpon mount Sinai.

The word of the Lord is the Buſh, out of which iſſueth a flame of fire. The Scriptures
of God are the Mount, from which the Lord of Hoſts doth ſhew himſelfe. In them God
ſpeaketh to vs. In them we heare the words of euerlaſting life. We muſt be ſanctified,
and waſh our garments, and be ready to heare the Lord. We muſt ſtrip off all our affecti-
ons: we muſt fall downe before him with feare: we muſt know who it is that ſpeaketh:
Euen God the maker of Heauen and Earth: God the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt:
God, which ſhall iudge the quicke and the dead: before whom all fleſh ſhall appeare.

His word is holy. Let vs take heed into what hearts we beſtow it. Whoſoeuer abu-
ſeth it, ſhall be found guilty of high treſpaſſe againſt the Lord. We may not receiue it, to
blow vp our hearts, and war proud with our knowledge: We may not vſe it, to maintain
debat & cõtention: we may not vſe it to vaunt our ſelues, or to make ſhew of our cunning.

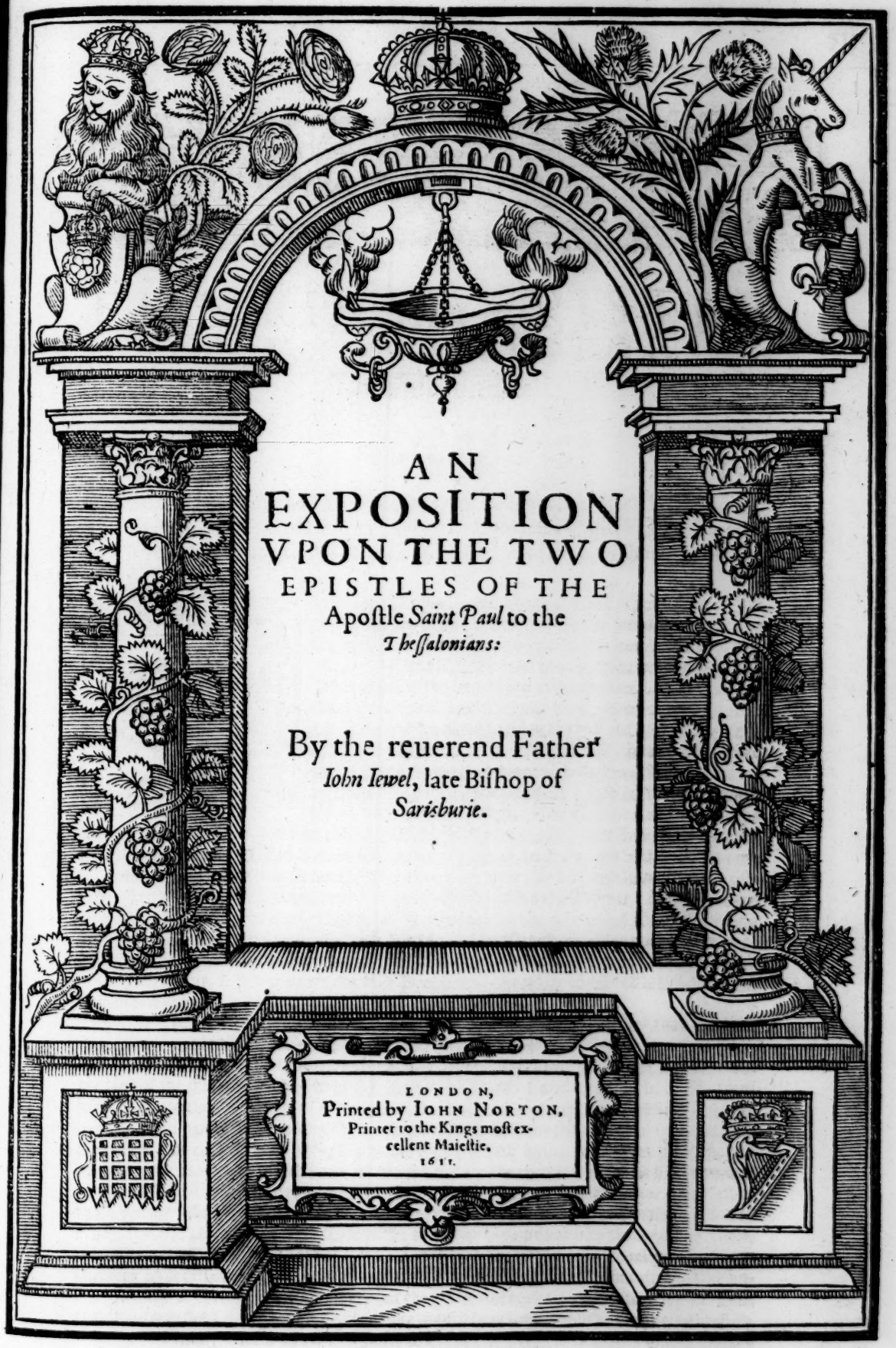
The word of God teacheth lowlineſſe of minde: it teacheth vs to know our ſelues. If
we learne not humility, we learne nothing. Although we ſeeme to know ſomewhat, yet
know we not in ſuch ſort as we ought to know. The Scriptures are the myſteries of God
let vs not be curious: let vs not ſeeke to know more than God hath reuealed by them. They
are the ſea of God: let vs take heed we be not drowned in them. They are the fire of God:
let vs take comfort by their heat, and warily take heed, they burne vs not. They that gaze
ouer hardly vpon the Sun, take blemiſh in their eie-ſight.

When the people of Iſrael ſaw the Manna in the deſart, they ſaid, Man Hu? what is
this? ſo they reaſoned of it, when they toke it vp in their hands, and beheld it. They aſ-
ked one another, what good it would doe. The Scriptures are Manna, giuen to vs from
Heauen, to feede vs in the deſert of this world. Let vs take them and behold them, and
reaſon of them, and learne one of another what profit may come to vs by them: let vs
know, that they are written for our ſake, and for our learning, that through patience and
comfort of the Scripture we may haue hope. They are giuen vs to inſtruct vs in faith, to
ſtrengthen vs in hope, to open our eies, and to direct our going.

If

If we withhold the truth in vnrighteouſneſſe: if we know our Makers will, and doe it not: if the name of God be ill ſpoken of through vs; the word of God ſhall be taken away from vs, and giuen to a nation which ſhall bring forth the fruits thereof: God ſhall ſend vs ſtrong deluſion, that we ſhall beléeue lies: our owne heart ſhall condemne vs: and wée ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes.

Therefore wee ought diligently to giue héede to thoſe things which wée heare: we muſt
Leuit. 11. conſider of them, we muſt chew the cud. Euery beaſt that cheweth not the cud is vncleane, and not fit for Sacrifice. Let vs be pure in ſpirit, and méeke in heart: let vs be gentle, as becommeth the Lambes of Chriſt: and as his ſheepe, let vs heare his voice, and follow him. Let vs be of a contrite ſpirit, and tremble at the words of God: let vs when we know God, glorifie him as God. So ſhall God looke vpon vs: ſo ſhall the ſpirit of wiſdome and vnderſtanding, and of counſell, and of knowledge, and of the feare of God reſt vpon vs: ſo ſhall we be made perfect to all good workes: ſo ſhall we reioice in his ſaluation, and with one mouth glorifie God euen the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.



AN EXPOSITION VPON THE TWO EPISTLES OF THE Apoſtle *Saint Paul* to the *Theſſalonians:*

By the reuerend Father *Iohn Iewel*, late Biſhop of *Sariſburie.*

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THE FIRST EPISTLE OF S. PAVL TO THE Theſſalonians.

Chap. I.

PAul and Syluanus, and Timotheus, vnto the Church of the Theſſalonians, which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt: Grace be with you and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

THE Apoſtle Paul preached the Goſpell of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt vnto the Theſſalonians, as he did alſo in other places from Ieruſalem, round about to Illiricum. But his trauell had not like ſucceſſe in all places. For in Damaſcus the Gouernour of the people vnder King Aretas, laid watch in the City of the Damaſcens, and would haue caught him. At Lyſtra they ſtoned Paul, and drew him out of the City, ſuppoſing he had bene dead. At Philippi, he and Silas were drawen into the market-place vnto the magiſtrates, and accuſed that they troubled their City, they were beaten with rods, and caſt into priſon. The Corinthians receiued the doctrine of the Goſpell, and made much of the profeſſours therof. But they fell ſone from their good beginning. They walked like men in enuying, in ſtrife, and diuiſions. Some called themſelues after Paul, ſome after Apollo, ſome after Cephas, and ſome after Chriſt. They ſtirred contention about Meates: they abuſed the Lords Supper, and they were doubtfull of the Reſurrection of the dead. In like maner the Church of God which was gathered at Rome grew proud, and high minded, and boaſted themſelues ouer the Iewes. The Galathians forſoke the good way of the Goſpel whereunto they were called, and wherin they did walke. They gaue eare to falſe Prophets. Therefore the Apoſtle telleth them, I am in feare of you, leſt I haue beſtowed on you labour in vaine. 2. Cor. 11. Act. 14. Act. 16. Gal. 4.

But the Theſſalonians, after they had heard the glad tidings of the Goſpel, they receiued it gredily, and laid it vp cloſe and ſafe in their hearts. Albeit the Iewes withſtood them and vexed them ſore, albeit falſe brethren vſed diuers ſecret meanes to draw them from the loue of the truth: yet they kept ſtill their ſtedfaſtneſſe: and could not be driuen from their faith, neither by cruelty of perſecution, nor by ſubtilty of crafty perſwaſion. Paul being at Athens a place farre diſtant from thence, ſendeth Timothy to know in what caſe they ſtood. So carefull was he for that houſe which he had built: for the fire which he had kindled: for the grafts which he had planted: and for the children which he begot among them. When Timothy made report of their conſtancy, that they continued ſtedfaſt in thoſe things which they had learned, he writeth this Epiſtle to commend them, and to exhort them to abide ſteadfaſt in their faith: that they become not like the fooliſh Iſraelites, which longed after the fleſh pots of Egypt, and were vnmindfull of their deliuerance from bondage vnder Pharao: that they returne not like filthy Dogs to their vomit, and like vncleane ſwine to their puddles of mire: that they looke not backe againe after they haue put their hands to the Lords plough, and ſo make themſelues vnworthy the kingdome of God.

He giueth many leſſons and inſtructions to godlineſſe: that they would walke worthy of God, and bring forth the fruits of the Goſpel. There were among them that liued idly,

and did trouble the Church without a cauſe: whom he reproueth, willing them to be quiet, and to meddle with their owne matters, and worke with their hands. Others mourned ouer the dead without meaſure, euen as if they had no hope: whom he inſtructeth in the reſurrection, and comforteth with the ſpæch of the bleſſed comming of our Lord, when we which liue ſhall be caught vp to mæt him, and ſo we ſhall euer be with the Lord. Others reaſoned fondly of the latter day, when it ſhould be, when the ſon of God ſhould appeare, and when the world ſhould haue an end: as if man might reach to the knowledge hæreof. But them alſo he reproueth, and warneth that they take care rather to watch and loke for the Lords comming, that they may be found ready, hauing their loines girded, and their lampes burning.

Many are deſirous to ſæ the countenance of S. Paul, to ſæ his ſword, or the relikes of his blod, which was ſhed at his death, or of his vpper garment, or of his coat, or of the haire of his head: and for purpoſe to ſæ ſuch things, many take painfull pilgrimage to far places, where they are dereined. How much better may they be ſatisfied by reading the ſtory of his life ſet downe in the ſcriptures? In theſe his Epiſtles written to the Churches of God, he is to be ſæne in more excellent ſhew, than when he was yet in body. For hære is to be ſæne his heart filled with the holy Ghoſt, and the care which he had for all Saints: how he did trauell in birth of them againe, that Chriſt might be formed in them, and how he did wiſh himſelfe ſeparate from Chriſt for their ſake. The matter of this Epiſtle is plaine, and treateth not of dæpe and profound myſteries. The maner of vtterance which the Apoſtle vſeth, is open and euident. So that the whole Epiſtle is full of ſwæt and holſome doctrine, wherein the ſimpleſt may find great comfort.

Paul and Syluanus and Timotheus. Theſe two were companions vnto Paul in his iourneis, and in the worke of his miniſtery. Whom hære he ioyneth in his Letter to the Congregatien at Theſſalonica, to witneſſe their conſent and agrément with him, that they all with one mouth, and with one hand, and heart, ſet forth the glorious Goſpell of our Sauiour Chriſt. And that therefore they alſo which are called to the fellowſhip of the Goſpell, ſhould bæ like minded, being one body and one ſpirit in Chriſt Jeſus: and the children of one Father, in whom there is no diſſenſion, but all peace and conſent and vnity.

Vnto the Church of the Theſſalonians, which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. There are ſundry ſorts of Churches. There is a Church of the wicked, whereof the
Pſal. 26. Prophet ſaith, I haue hated the aſſembly of the euill, and haue not companied with the wicked. Two hundred and fifty Captaines, men of renowme, and famous in the Congre-
Num. 16. gation, ioyned themſelues to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. But Moſes ſaid vnto Korah; Thou and all thy company, are gathered together againſt the Lord. The builders of the
Gen. 11. great Tower of Babel, were many in number, and conſented to that they had imagined to doe, thereby to get them a name; but the Lord did confound their language, and ſcattered
Act. 4. them vpon the face of the earth. The Scribes and Phariſeis and high Prieſt held a Counſell, and conferred among themſelues. But, againſt the Lord, and againſt his Chriſt. Iohn
Reuel. 2. is commanded to writ vnto the Angell of the Church of the Smyrnians: Theſe things ſaith he which is firſt and laſt, which was dead, and is aliue. I know the blaſphemy of them, which ſay they are Iewes and are not, but are the Synagogue of Satan. They reuile you, and ſpeake all maner of euill againſt you for my names ſake. They charge you with teaching falſe doctrine, & ſay you haue departed from the church: that they are the ſæd of Abraham, the children of promiſe, the true worſhippers of God, and which walke in the ſteps of their forefathers. But their boaſt hæreof is vaine. It profiteth them nothing, that Abraham was their Father, that the couenant was made with them, that they were circumciſed, that a Law was giuen vnto them. Let them not truſt in their Fathers, let them not truſt in lying words, & ſay, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord, this is the Temple of the Lord. If they were Abrahams children, they would doe the workes of Abraham. If God were their Father, then would they loue Chriſt his ſon, & ſæk to ſet forth his glory. If they were of the ſhæpfold of God, they would heare his voice. They are of their Father the Diuel, & the luſts of their Father they will do. They are in name the ſeruants of Chriſt, but ſerue Antichriſt. They call themſelues Iews, but are the Synagogue of Satan. For (ſaith
Rom. 2. the Apoſtle) he is not a Iew, which is one outward: neither is that Circumciſion which is out-
Leo epiſt. 83 ad Paleſtinos. ward in the fleſh: but he is a Iew which is one within, & the Circumciſion is of the heart, in
Hom. 19. in Matt. in opere imperf. the ſpirit, not in the letter, whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God. Of theſe which are ſuch, Leo ſaith: *Eccleſiæ nomine armamini, & contra Eccleſiã dimicatis?* Ye arme your ſelues with the name of the church, & yet ye fight againſt the church. And Chryſoſtom ſaith: The name only of Chriſt doth not make a Chriſtian, but he muſt alſo haue the truth of Chriſt: for there are many which walke in the name of Chriſt, but few which walk in his truth. It is therfore

manifeſt

manifeſt, as Lyra ſaith: That the Church is not among men, by reaſon of any Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular authority or dignity: becauſe many Princes and high Prieſts, and others of the inferiour ſort haue forſaken the faith. Though they pretend ſhew of holineſſe, though they draw to themſelues credit by long continuance, though their numbers be great, and they conſent together: yet if they haue forſaken the faith, if they hold not the truth of Chriſt, if they fight againſt and perſecute the Church, if their Circumciſion be not the Circumciſion of the heart, and in the ſpirit; if they heare not the voice of the ſhepheard, if they loue not Chriſt Ieſus the Sonne of God, and ſet not forth his glory, if they ſeeke to ſtop the courſe of the Goſpell, if they ſeeke to get a name among men, if they reſiſt Moſes and Aaron: they haue only a painted vizard, and carry onely an empty name of the Church: they call themſelues ſo, and are not. *Lyra in 16. Matth.*

But the Church of God is in God the Father, and in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt: it is the company of the faithfull, whom God hath gathered together in Chriſt by his word and by the holy Ghoſt to honour him, as he himſelfe hath appointed: This Church heareth the voice of the ſhepheard. It will not follow a ſtranger, but flieth from him: for it knoweth not the voice of ſtrangers. Of this Church S. Hierom ſaith: *Eccleſia Chriſti in toto orbe Eccleſias poſſidens, ſpiritus vnitate coniuncta eſt, & habet vrbes Legis, Prophetarum, Euangelij, & Apoſtolorum. Non eſt egreſſa de finibus ſuis, id eſt, de Scripturis:* The Church of Chriſt which containeth the Churches thorow all the World, is ioyned together in the vnity of the ſpirit, and hath the Cities of the Law, of the Prophets, of the Goſpell, and of the Apoſtles. This Church goeth not foorth, or beyond her bonds, that is, the holy Scriptures. It is the pillar of the truth: the body, the fulneſſe, and the ſpouſe of Chriſt: it is the vine, the houſe, the city, and the kingdome of God. They which dwel in it, are no more ſtrangers & forrenners, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the houſhold of God, and are built vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe being the head corner ſtone, in whom all the building coupled together, groweth vnto an holy Temple in the Lord. This Church Chriſt loued, and gaue himſelfe for it, that he might make it vnto himſelfe a glorious Church not hauing ſpot or wrinkle, or any ſuch thing: but that it ſhould be holy and without blame. Such a Church was the Church of God at Theſſalonica, ſuch a Church are they whoſoeuer in any place of the World feare the Lord, and call vpon his name. Their names are written in the Booke of life: they haue receiued the ſpirit of adoption, by which they crie Abba Father: they grow from grace to grace, and abound more and more in knowledge and in iudgement: they caſt away the workes of darkneſſe, and put on the armor of light: they are made abſolute and perfect vnto all good workes: they are euermore comforted in the mercies of God, both by the holy Scriptures wherein God declareth his gratious goodneſſe towards them, and by the Sacraments: which are left vnto the Church to be witneſſes and aſſured pledges for performance of the promiſe of Gods good will and fauour towards them. *Hieron. in Mich. lib. 1. cap. 1.* Ephe. 2. Ephe. 5.

Grace be with you, and peace, &c. God giue you the forgiueneſſe of your ſinnes, and the peace and comfort of your conſcience. God let all his bleſſings fall vpon you, that you may ſee the riches and the treaſures of his mercy: that you may be filled with all fulneſſe in the ſpirit: that you may behold the glory of the kingdome of God: and thoſe things may be reuealed vnto you by his ſpirit, which he hath prepared for them that loue him. Without this grace you can doe nothing, you can neither feele the burden of your ſinnes, nor ſeeke to be eaſed of them, nor perceiue when they are forgiuen: you cannot rent your heart, & ſet apart from you the vanities and luſts of the fleſh, which doth euermore fight againſt the ſoule: you cannot diſcerne the word of God, and by it enter the way to euerlaſting life: you cannot abhorre that which is euill, and cleaue vnto that which is good: without the grace of God you cannot continue ſtedfaſt and conſtant in faith, and in hope of the mercies of God through our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

VERSE. 2. We giue thankes to God alwaies for you all, making mention of you in our praiers.

3. Without ceaſing, remembring your effectuall faith, and diligent loue, and the patience of your hope in our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, in the ſight of God euen our Father.

4. Knowing, beloued brethren, that ye are elect of God.

5. For our Goſpell was not vnto you in word onely, but alſo in power, and in the Holy Ghoſt, and in much aſſurance, as yee know after what maner we were among you for your ſakes.

We giue thankes, &c. Paul teacheth what is the office of a good Minister. He must euer carry in remembrance the state of the Congregation ouer which the Lord hath placed him. He must giue thankes to God in their behalfe, and pray for them, that God will bleſſe that which he hath begun, and confirme them vnto the end, that they may be blameleſſe in the day of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: that he will behold them from aboue, and bleſſe his inheritance, and guid the ſhepe of his paſture. Your effectuall faith: Faith is not idle, it worketh and is forcible, it breaketh out like fire: it is alwaies fruitful through loue. Faith without workes is no faith, it is dead and bringeth death. And diligent loue: Loue is painful, and full of trauell: it thinketh not euill: it ſeketh not her owne things: it is bountifull. This loue had the Theſſalonians to the Saints of God, which ſuffered affliction in all places for the Goſpels ſake. Many were ſpoiled of their goods, caſt out of their houſes, and baniſhed from their Country. Euen as at this day for the like cauſe many of our brethren the good ſeruants of God are driuen into baniſhment, caſt into priſons, put to the ſword, or conſumed in fire, in thoſe places, where the God of this World hath ſo blinded their eies, that the light of the glorious Goſpell of Chriſt ſhould not ſhine vnto them. It is high time in ſuch caſes for charity to ſhew her ſelfe. She cannot diſſemble, nor deſpiſe the teares of her brother. It ſheweth forth as the morning light: it taketh from her ſelfe, to releeue them which are in need. It dealeth bread to the hungry, and bringeth the poore that wander vnto her houſe, and couereth the naked, and hideth not her face from her owne fleſh.

Pſal. 41. Vnto them that haue this loue the Lord giueth his bleſſing: Bleſſed is hee that conſidereth the poore and needy, the Lord ſhall deliuer him in the time of trouble. And Chriſt ſaith:

Matth. 5. Bleſſed are the mercifull, for they ſhall finde mercy.

And the patience of your hope. How many are the troubles which the children of God ſuffer in this life! Let vs behold the times which were before vs. Abel was innocent and iuſt, yet was he ſlaine by the hands of his brother, and without a cauſe. The Prophet Da-

Pſal. 44. uid ſaith of the Prophets and holy men of God: and the ſame words ſaith the Apoſtle of

Rom. 8. the Church of Chriſt vnder the Goſpell: For thy ſake are we killed all the day long: we are

Ierem. 6. counted as ſheepe for the ſlaughter. Ieremy ſaith: Thy Word is vnto them as a reproch,

Ierem. 15. And again: For thy ſake I haue ſuffered rebuke. What villanies were brought againſt our Sauiour Chriſt? They reproched him in ſpeeches, brought falſe accuſations, and falſe witneſſe againſt him, & killed the innocent, in whoſe mouth there was found no guile. When S. Paul appealed to the witneſſe of Timothy who did fully know his doctrine, maner of liuing, purpoſe, faith, long ſuffering, loue, and patience: and that he knew alſo the perſecutions and afflictions, which came vnto him, and which he ſuffered at Antiochia, Iconium and at Lyſtra, after he had thus remembred his perſecutions and his owne innocency, he

2. Tim. 3. ſaith: All that will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſus ſhall ſuffer perſecution.

What then hath the godly to leane vnto, but hope? The Prophet Dauid therfore ſaid:

Pſal. 23. Though I ſhould walke thorow the vally of the ſhadow of death, I will feare no euill, for

Iob. 13. thou art with me. Therefore ſaid Iob: Though he ſlay me, yet will I truſt in him. For he

Phil. 1. that putteth his truſt in the Lord ſhall neuer be confounded. In this hope ſpake S. Paul:

Rom. 14. Chriſt is to me both in life and death aduantage. Againe: Whether we liue or die, we are

Gal. 6. the Lords. And againe: God forbid that I ſhould reioyce, but in the Croſſe of our Lord Ie-

Rom. 8. ſus Chriſt. And to the Romans he ſaith: There is no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Ieſus. This is the foundation of faith, euen a ſtrong rocke which ſhall continue for euer. Neither tribulation, nor anguiſh, nor perſecution, nor famine, nor any danger can remoue the faithfull from this hope.

But the wicked and vnſtable fall from their hope, and their fall is miſerable. They haue heard the word of God that teacheth vnto ſaluation, but did not regard it, they haue forgotten the workes of the Lord, and receiued his grace in vaine. For when they haue heard the word, the Diuell commeth, and taketh away the word out of their hearts, leſt they ſhould beleeue, and be ſaued. And the end of theſe men is worſe than the beginning.

It was not ſo with the Theſſalonians. They receiued the word of God willingly, and it was fruitfull in them, ſo that thereby they increaſed in faith, in loue, and in hope. Their faith the Apoſtle calleth forcible or effectuall: their loue diligent and painefull: their hope mighty through patience, whereby they ouercome all maner of danges: and reioyceth on their behalfe, becauſe he found ſo great ſucceſſe of his trauell in the Goſpel amongſt them.

Knowing that you are elect of God. You were blinde, the children of wrath, without vnderſtanding, without God, and without hope. But God hath had mercy vpon you, and hath giuen you grace to know your calling. Herein it appeareth that you are the choſen

Iohn 10. of God, and of the flocke of Chriſt. My ſheepe (ſaith he) heare my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, and I giue vnto them eternall life, and they ſhal neuer periſh, neither ſhall any plucke them out of mine hand.

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For our Goſpel was not vnto you in word only, but alſo in power, and in the holy Ghoſt, and in much aſſurance. That you haue yelded obedience vnto the word, and that my miniſtery hath bene effectuall amongſt you, it commeth not of any power in your ſelues, or in me, it is the worke of God. He hath bleſſed my miniſtery, he hath bleſſed your hearts. It is the gift of God, leſt any man ſhould boaſt thereof. Hereof he ſpeaketh to the Corinthians: Who is Paul then, and who is Apollos, but the miniſters by whom ye beleeued, and as the Lord gaue to euery man? I haue planted, Apollos watered, but God gaue the increaſe. 1. Cor. 3.
It is he which hath the key of Dauid, which openeth, and no man ſhutteth, and ſhutteth, and no man openeth. Without him we can doe nothing. He guideth vs and all our counſels, and leadeth vs into all truth. No man can come vnto mee (ſaith Chriſt) except the father which hath ſent me draw him. Iohn 6.
And by the Prophet Ezechiel God ſaith: I will giue you a new heart, and a new ſpirit will I put within you. I will put my ſpirit within you, and will cauſe you to walke in my ſtatutes, and you ſhall keepe my iudgements and doe them. Ezechi. 36.
And by the Prophet Ieremy: I will put my Law in their inward parts, and write in it their hearts. Ier. 31.
Therefore Dauid maketh his prayer: Teach me O Lord, giue me vnderſtanding and I will keepe thy Law. Pſal. 119.

The words of the Preacher enter in at the eare. The ſpirit of God conueieth them into the heart. Auguſtine ſaith: *Auditur euangelium: quidam credunt, quidam non credunt: qui credunt intus à patre audiunt & diſcunt; qui non credunt, foris audiunt, intus non audiunt, neq; diſcunt. Hoc eſt, illis datur vt credant, illis non datur.* The Goſpell is declared. Some there are which beleeue, ſome there are which beleeue not. They which beleeue, heare it inwardly by the Father, and ſo learne it. They which beleeue not, heare it only with their outward ſenſe, and not with inward feeling, and therefore learne it not. As much to ſay, To them it is giuen, to beleeue: to the other it is not giuen. *De prædeſtinat. Sanctorum. cap. 8.*
In the Acts of the Apoſtles Lydia a woman of the City of the Thiatyrians heard the preaching of the Apoſtle Paul: But it is ſaid, Whoſe heart the Lord opened, that ſhe attended vnto the things that Paul ſpake. Acts 16.
The people which ſaid vnto Peter and the other Apoſtles, Men and brethren what ſhall we doe? did heare all the words of Peter: but they had another teacher, that gaue force vnto the word and made it fruitfull in them, and therefore it is ſaid, They were pricked in their hearts. Acts 2.
This alſo appeared in the Diſciples which walked towards Emmaus: they heard Chriſt open the ſcriptures vnto them, they reaſoned with him, yet vntill their eies were opened they knew him not. His word crept into their eares, but it was the ſpirit of God which wrought within them, which inflamed their hearts, and made them to know him. Luk. 24.

Thus God bleſſeth his word, and maketh it yeld fruit in ſuch meaſure, as his wiſdom hath appointed. His bleſſing appeareth greater, when many are conuerted: yet is his word all one, and the power thereof no whit ſhorter when it is vtterly refuſed, or receiued but of few. Surely (ſaith God) as the raine commeth downe, and the ſnow from heauen, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it fruitfull, that it may giue ſeed to the ſower, and bread to him that eareth: ſo ſhall my word be that goeth out of my mouth. It ſhall not returne vnto me void, but it ſhall accompliſh that which I will, and it ſhall proſper in the thing whereto I ſent it. Eſa. 55.
It is the word of the liuing God, which is bleſſed for euer. And bleſſed is that heart which can receiue it, which God inſtructeth, and giueth knowledge of his word, which doth ſo learne it, that he is aſſured of the truth therof, and nothing doubteth but it is indeed the word of life; which ſaith thereof, this is the way, in which if I walke, I ſhal certainly goe forward to the City of my God: this is the truth, if I hearken vnto it, I ſhall neuer be deceiued. Whoſoeuer findeth himſelfe indued with this grace, he doth as plainly and euidently iudge of the words of God, and trie out the trueth thereof, from the deuiſes and doctrines of men, as a man of clare eie ſight is able to iudge of colours, & to know one colour from another. Yea, in this is the knowledge of that more certaine, becauſe colour doth fade and alter, and many times one colour thereby waxeth like another: but the truth of God doth neuer alter. It continueth one thorow all ages. It is the word of euerlaſting life. Heauen and earth ſhall periſh, but one tittle thereof ſhall not bee left. The truth of God ſhall be eſtabliſhed for euer. The humble ſhall heare it, and be glad.

As ye know after what maner, we were among you for your ſakes You know how I behaued my ſelfe, and after what maner I haue liued among you. You know my firſt comming and entry vnto you. You know what doctrine I haue taught, and what hath bene my converſation of life, I neuer deceiued any, nor offered wrong vnto the ſimpleſt. I ſought not you, nor yours, but thoſe things which are Ieſus. I haue liued by the labour of my hands, in watchings, in hunger, in cold, and nakednes. God hath ordained, that they which teach the Goſpel, ſhould liue by the Goſpell. Who feedeth a flocke and eateth not of the milke of the flocke: but I haue not vſed this liberty. For I haue a great care leſt by any

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meanes I should offend you. Yet would I neuer flatter any in that thing they had done amisse: I neuer spared to rebuke ill. If I should seare, or seeke to please men, I were not the seruant of Christ. I seeke not mine owne glory, but the glory of him that sent me, who also hath made me a minister of his Gospel. I haue forsaken all things, my goods and life, my flesh and my body: and am daily in perils, compased daily by persecution, and see death daily before mine eies, for the loue I beare to you, and for the care I haue of the Church. You are the Lords shæpe, I am your shepheard: you are the house of God, I am your builder: you are Gods Orchard, I am your ouerséer and workeman. I shall giue an account for your soules. You know how tenderly I haue loued you in the Lord. Your griefe hath bæne my griefe, your ioy hath bæne my ioy. I haue praied for you day and night, and haue giuen thankes to God for you, and reioyced in your behalfe. What is more dære to a man than life? yet haue I desired to yéld vp my life, that you might liue. I haue bén ready to suffer death, if thereby I might doe you good. These things you cannot but remember, your conscience beareth mé witnesse, that I haue thus liued among you for your sake.

VERS. 6. And ye became followers of vs, and of the Lord, and receiued the word in much affliction, with ioy of the holy Ghost.

He commendeth the godly for the practise of that which they haue learned and séene in him, in that they haue receiued the Gospell, and framed their liues accordingly, and haue continued stedfast in the same in the midst of persecution. Herein he doth not only lay out himselfe and the other Apostles for an example: but telleth them that this way is also troden out by our Lord himselfe. Who as he is the way, and the light that lightneth euery man which commeth into the world, so did he beare his crosse, and did lay downe his life for his shæpe. Therefore he said to his Disciples, The Disciple is not aboue his master, nor the seruant aboue his Lord. It is enough for the Disciple to be as his Master is, and the seruant as his Lord. If they haue called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household? Mat. 10,

But this is reckoned vnto them for happinesse. Blessed are you when men reuile you, and persecute you, and say all maner of euill against you, for my sake, falsly. Reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heauen. For so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you. They slew them, and drowned them, hewed them with swords, and cut them in péces with sawes. If any man (saith our Sauiour) will follow me, let him forsake himselfe, and take vp his crosse, and follow me. So far must the children of God be from the loue of this world: in such sort must he forsake his owne life, and endure affliction, that will come vnto Christ. Matth. 5. Mat. 16.

In the old law, the Priests went on, and carried the Arke before, and the people came after: In token that they should giue good example, and the people should follow them. The Priest was appointed to be a shrill trumpet sounding in the eares of the people: and the people were commanded to prepare themselues for the battell of the Lord of hosts. Therefore saith S. Paul, so haue I followed the Lord, and so haue you followed me: and receiued the word (not in affliction only, but) in much Affliction. Where he describeth the vnmercifull hearts, and tyrannous hate of the wicked against all those that follow the Lambe, and receiue the word of God with gladnesse. No torment so cruell, no deuice so strange, no maner of death so horrible, which hath not bæne, or which is not laid vpon them. Their bodies be cast into prisons: they are stript out of their houses, and spoiled of their goods. Thus doe the enemies of God worke tyranny and much affliction vnto the godly. They consume their bodies in fire, shed their blood without measure, throw out their bones and scatter them vpon the face of the earth, and this doe they, not as against murtherers, robbers, adulterers, or such like, but only because they receiue the word, and beare a loue to the truth, and cannot deny the power thereof.

With ioy of the holy Ghost. This is that which passeth all naturall sense and wisdome. Many séeme to take in good part, and abide patiently afflictions, losse of goods, imprisonment, and losse of life. But no man can reioyce in the suffering of these things, but the child of God: no man, but whom Christ hath chosen out of the world: but whose name is written in the booke of life: but he, in whom the spirit beareth witnesse with his spirit that he is the child of God. He knoweth that throw many tribulations he must enter into rest. He knoweth, the wicked could haue no power ouer him, vnlesse it were giuen them from aboue: he knoweth that all is done for the best to them that loue God: and that God could dispose meanes, if it were so expedient, to bring to nought all the deuices of the vngodly.

When the seruants of God were cast into the hot burning furnace because they would not worship the golden Image, that the king Nabuchodonosor had set vp: who would haue thought, that the fire could not burne? or that their bodies should not haue bén consumed?

ſumed: yet did God in the middeſt of the fire preſerue them ſo, that not one haire of their head was burnt, neither were their coats changed, nor any ſmel of fire came vpon them. Let vs neuer forget this notable example of Gods power to deliuer his ſeruants, that we may euer be earneſt and carefull to profeſſe our faith in him, and to ſtriue vnto the death for the ſetting forth of his glory. Dan. 3.

It fareth euen ſo with the children of God in the perſecution of this world: troubles, miſeries, and aduerſitie compaſſe them, as the fiery furnace compaſſed thoſe three men of God. But God couereth them with his mercy, as with a cloud, that nothing ſhall hurt them. I ſay not, all that ſtand in like defence, ſhal in like ſort be ſo preſerued, that their bodies ſhall not be pierced. For God ſuffereth the wicked to deſtroy and kill his ſeruants, and to conſume their bodies to duſt and aſhes. Yet are his ſeruants warned not to feare them. When the Apoſtles were beaten becauſe they had ſpoken in the name of Ieſus, They departed from the Councell, reioycing, that they were counted worthy to ſuffer rebuke for his name. We reioyce (ſaith Saint Paul) in tribulations, knowing that tribulation bringeth foorth patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not aſhamed, becauſe the loue of God is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghoſt which is giuen vnto vs. Act. 5. Rom. 3.

The comfort which is giuen in this caſe to the godly, is hidden within them. For to him that ouercommeth ſhall be giuen a white ſtone, and in the ſtone a new name written, which no man knoweth ſauing he that receiueth it. The afflictions of this preſent time, are not worthy the glory, which ſhall be ſhewed vnto vs. When our Sauiour did ſee the time of his paſſion draw nere, he ſaid to his Diſciples, You are they which haue continued with me in my temptations. Therefore I appoint to you a kingdome, as my Father hath appointed vnto me, that yee may eat and drinke at my Table in my kingdome, and ſit on ſeats, and iudge the twelue tribes of Iſrael. And in his ſermon vpon the mountaine, he ſaith, Bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſſe ſake, for theirs is the kingdome of Heauen. The caſe ſhall be altered. It ſhall be betweene them and their perſecuters as it was betweene Lazarus and the rich man. When the wicked and cruell tyrants ſhall ſee them in the preſence of the throne of God, becauſe they came out of great tribulation, & haue waſhed their long robes, and haue made them white in the blood of the Lamb: the God of Abraham ſhall ſay vnto the wicked: Sons, remember that you in your life time receiued your pleaſures, and likewiſe theſe men paines: now therfore are they comforted, and you tormented. They are taken out of affliction into reſt, from their bonds into liberty, out of priſon into a kingdome, out of miſery vnto glory, from life vnto death. The promiſe of this comfort is often renued. The Prophet Dauid ſaith: They that ſowe in teares, ſhall reap in ioy. Our Sauiour telleth his Diſciples, Ye ſhall weepe and lament, and the world ſhall reioyce: and you ſhal ſorrow, but your ſorrow ſhall be turned to ioy. S. Iohn heard a voice from heauen, ſaying, Bleſſed be the dead, which hereafter die in the Lord. Euen ſo ſaith the ſpirit, for they reſt from their labours, and their workes follow them. He is commanded to write vnto the Angell of the Church of the Smyrnians. Feare none of thoſe things which thou ſhalt ſuffer. Behold it ſhall come to paſſe, that the diuell ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon, that you may be tried, and ye ſhall haue tribulation ten daies: be thou faithfull vnto death, and I will giue thee the crowne of life. Thus God ſuffereth his ſeruants to be ſifted, and to be tried as pure gold in the furnace, and receiueth them as a ſweet ſmelling ſauour of burnt ſacrifice. And this is it whereof the Apoſtle putteth the Theſſalonians in remembrance, that they are ſtrengthned by the holy ghoſt, not only to abide ſuch afflictions as they ſuffer becauſe they haue receiued the Goſpell: but alſo to reioyce, becauſe they are aſſured whatſoeuer ſhall happen vnto them, they be the children of God. Rom. 8. Luk. 22. Matth. 5. Reu. 7. Pſalm. 126. Iohn 16. Reu. 14. Reu. 2.

VERS. 7. So that you were as examples to all that beleeue in Macedonia and Achaia.

8. For from you ſounded out the word of the Lord, not in Macedonia and Achaia only: but your faith alſo which is toward God, ſpread abroad in all quarters, that we need not to ſpeake any thing.

9. For they themſelues ſhew of you what maner entring in wee had vnto you, and how you turned from Idols to God, to ſerue the liuing and true God.

10. And to looke for his ſonne from heauen, whom he raiſed from the dead, Ieſus, which deliuereth vs from the wrath to come.

The countries round about them were drawen by the example of the Theſſalonians, to beleeue the Goſpell preached vnto them. You are (ſaith he) as the bright Sun beames: they behold you, and reioyce of you, euen as of the morning light. You are an holy City

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ſet vpon an hill, you cannot be hid, your faith is a paterne of faith, your life is a paterne of life vnto them. They haue learned of you how to guide their waies. You haue called them backe from error, and from vngodlineſſe, to ſerue the true and liuing God. You are made vnto them a ſweet ſmelling ſauor of life vnto life. For ſo it hath pleaſed God to make his Goſpel knowen in all places through you, and to make you the builders of his Church. When they behold your godly converſation which is in Chriſt, they are aſhamed of themſelues. When they behold your light, they find fault with their owne darkneſſe. O, ſay they, this is a holy people, this is a people that feareth God. Let vs heare them what they teach: let vs lead our liues in holineſſe and righteouſneſſe as they doe.

Let vs by hearing theſe words enter into our ſelues. God hath giuen his light to ſhine vpon vs, he hath bleſſed vs with the knowledge of his Goſpell. Let vs take heede, we turne not the light into darkneſſe, nor the truth of God into lies. Many thouſand eies are ſet vpon vs, to looke vpon and behold vs. Let vs be an example of godlineſſe. Let vs be as a light to them that yet abide in darkneſſe. Let not the name of God be euill ſpoken of through vs. His name is holy. Wo be vnto the world (ſaith Chriſt) becauſe of offences: Matth. 18. for it muſt needes be that offences ſhall come, but wo be vnto that man by whom the offence commeth. Whoſoeuer ſhall offend one of theſe little ones, it were better for him, that a milſtone were hanged about his necke, and that he were drowned in the depth of the ſea. It were better for that man, if he had neuer beene borne. For the blood of them that periſh by his offence, ſhall be required at his hands. The wrath of God is reuealed from heauen againſt thoſe that are ſuch, becauſe they withhold the truth in vnrighteouſneſſe. The kingdome of God ſhall be taken away from them, and giuen to a nation that will bring forth the fruits thereof.

It followeth: From you ſounded the word of the Lord, not in Macedonia and Achaia only, &c. If a man carry in his hand a light burning candle, it giueth not light to him only that carrieth it, but to all thoſe which be in the houſe, and they alſo ſee it which are without. Euen ſo, if any be the child of knowledge, and carry about him the light of God, he doth not only taſte of the comfort thereof himſelfe, and worke comfort to thoſe that appertain to the Church of God: but lightneth alſo the hearts of Pagans and Infidels, which are abroad. Such as are bathed or perfumed with precious ointments, or powders, haue not only the pleaſure to themſelues, but the ſauor thereof caſteth it ſelfe out, and is pleaſant to all thoſe which ſtand by. The Goſpel is the light of God: It ſhineth in the darkneſſe of this world, It is the ſweet incenſe and ſauour of God: Whereſoeuer the breath therof is receiued, it bringeth life.

But your faith alſo, which is toward God, ſpred abroad in all quarters. As the lightning is ſeene from one part of the aire to the other, and as the ſound of great noiſe ſpreadeth it ſelfe far and wide, ſo doth the light of good converſation in the godly ſhew it ſelfe forth. And therefore he telleth them, they haue filled all the Country of Macedonia with knowledge, and with wonder at their faith, and ſtedfaſtneſſe in the truth. As if he had ſaid, Great is the renowne of your King Alexander, and your country is famous. He hath ouerrun the whole world and ſubdued it. He hath conquered Græcia, Aſia, Arabia, Phrygia, Armenia, Scythia, and India. Kings and Princes fell downe before him. The whole world ſtood in awe of his name. Yet Alexander had but the power, and force of men. He had great treaſures of gold and ſiluer. He had numbers of Horſes, and Camels, and Elephants. He had ſwords, billes, ſpeares, and darts, and ſuch like artillery and armour. Theſe were the things wherewith he ouercame his enemies. Hereby both he and his people were renowned.

What then may be ſaid of the battell which you haue fought? or of the victory which you haue gotten? you haue won, that Alixander could neuer win. You haue ouercome your ſelues. You haue ouercome the world. He conquered the bodies of many, and had them at commandement. But their ſoules ſtood out, and would not be conquered. You haue ſubdued your ſoules, and brought them to the obedience of the Goſpell. You haue ouerrun all the country, and triumphed among the people. And all this is brought to paſſe, without force, without policy, without armour, without artillery, onely by your patience and ſuffering for the Goſpell ſake.

That we need not to ſpeake any thing. To make the commendation of their faith more euident, he telleth them, the fame of their zeale and conſtancy is knowen in all places. Whithereſoeuer I goe (ſaith he) they know you, and ſpeake of you, and hearken to you. Hereby appeareth how needfull it is, that chiefe townes and cities be well gouerned, that vice in them be ſeuerely puniſhed, that vertue and godlineſſe be maintained, and the people inſtructed, becauſe the examples of ſuch places doe ſpread abroad in all quarters nigh them.

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They themſelues ſhew of you, what maner of entrance we had vnto you. After what ſort you receiued me, and how deare I was vnto you. All places were laid and beſet for me to ſeeke my life, but you enlarged your ſelues toward me, and toke me in. When I was in priſon, you came to me, and feared no man: you were not aſhamed of my bonds, you were ready to loſe your owne liues to ſaue me. This is ſpoken of to your great praiſe.

And how you turned to God from Idols, to ſerue the liuing and true God. Here are ſet downe in few words the ſumme and parts of Chriſtian Religion. The firſt is to forſake all Idols, to turne from them: then to turne vnto God, and to put all our truſt in him: laſtly, to ſerue the liuing and true God. The ſeruice of God and Idols cannot ſtand together. No man can turne vnto God, that turneth not from Idols. This is a wonderfull effect of the Goſpell, to forſake Idols and ſerue God: to leaue cuſtomes and the vſage of forefathers, and giue eare to the truth. To loue from the heart, that which thou didſt ſometimes hate: and to deteſt from the heart, that which thou didſt ſomtimes loue, is ſtrange and wonderfull. But to doe this for Chriſt, which was borne of poore Mary, whom the wiſe, and learned, and mighty men of this world diſpiſed, which was crucified and hanged betweene two theeues, whom they ſcorned vpon the Croſſe: to follow, or beleeue, or put truſt in him: to call him the power and the wiſdome of God, to confeſſe him to be, in whom all Iſrael ſhal be bleſſed, & in whom all the world ſhal be ſaued: to giue body or life for his ſake, is a ſtrange myracle. No King, no Prince, no law, no wiſdome of man can worke this, and bring it to paſſe. This is the Lords doing, and it is marueilous in our eies. And this doth he in thoſe only which receiue the word of the Goſpell with ioy of the holy Ghoſt.

And to looke for his ſonne from heauen, whom he raiſed, &c. The holy Scriptures doe not onely teach vs to turne vnto God, but alſo what it is that God giueth vnto all them which ſeeke him; Euen that they be deliuered from the wrath to come: & for whoſe ſake he deliuereth vs; For Ieſus his ſon whom he raiſed from the dead. Therefore he telleth them, howſoeuer they be reiected or deſpiſed as fooliſh among men, if they continue in the things which they haue learned, they ſhal be wiſe vnto ſaluation. That therefore they lift vp their heads, and looke for their Redeemer: That they ſay, Thy Kingdom come, &, Come Lord Ieſus: becauſe he is appointed by God to be the Iudge of the quicke & the dead: & he ſhall come in the glory of his Father; and deliuereth from the wrath to come all thoſe that truſt in him. For among men there is none other name giuen vnder Heauen, whereby we muſt be ſaued. This is the depth of all knowledge and the comfort which paſſeth all vnderſtanding, that againſt all temptations and afflictions which oppreſſe our conſcience, or vex and trouble our bodies, we may grow ſtrong by faith in the ſonne of God Chriſt Ieſus, and aſcertaine our ſelues of his comming from Heauen for our deliuerance.

Chap. 2.

Vers 1. For you your ſelues know, brethren, that our entrance vnto you was not in vaine.

He taketh witneſſe of them, of his diligence and paines taken in the fulfilling of his miniſtery: ſeeing it hath ſo good ſucceſſe among them, that they by the preaching of the Goſpel haue forſaken ſuperſtition, and are turned vnto, and doe now ſerue the true and liuing God, and doe beleeue for giuenneſſe of their ſinnes, and deliuerance from the wrath to come, by Ieſus Chriſt.

It is a great and deadly ſmart to the faithfull ſeruant of God, to ſee the people wilfull, and to deſpiſe the word of their ſaluation. Whereof Eſay complaineth: I haue ſpred out my hands al the day long to a rebellious people, which walked in a way that was not good, euen after their own imaginatiõs. They ſtopped their eares, & would not heare, nor be reclaimed, nor returne, that they might be ſaued. And Ieremy: O that my head were full of water, and mine eies a fountain of teares, that I might weep day & night for the ſlaine of the daughter of my people, for they be adulterers, & an aſſembly of rebels. Sword & deſtruction commeth vpon them, & they will not ſee: Oh that they would giue eare and repent in time! Againe: My people is fooliſh, they haue not knowen me: they are fooliſh children and haue no vnderſtanding: they are wiſe to do euil, but to do wel, they haue no knowledge. Dauid crieth out: O ye ſons of men, how long will ye loue vanity and ſeeke after lies? Why forſake you the truth of God, and haue no regard to his mercy? So our Sauiour mourneth ouer Ieruſalem: O Ieruſalem, Ieruſalem, which killeſt the Prophets, and ſtoneſt them that are ſent to thee, how often would I haue gathered thy childrē together, as the hen her brood vnder hir wings, and ye would not? How carefully and tenderly haue I ſought thy ſaluation? How often haue I called vpon thee, ſent vnto thee my ſeruants, and powred out my bleſſings before thine eies? So bitter & mournful a thing is it to all thoſe that ſeeke the glory of God,

Eſa. 65.
Iere. 9.
Iere. 4.
Pſal. 4.
Luke 13.

to

to see no fruit follow of their labours, to see the people continue ignorant, and wilfull, and to seeke their owne destruction,

Therefore they turne themselues vnto God, which is the father of lights, and God of all comfort, in whose hand are the hearts of the people, that his word may haue free passage and be glorified: that God will open vnto them the dore of vtterance, to speake the mysterie of Christ, and publish the secret of the Gospell boldly: that he will giue power to his word declared by them, and assist them with his holy spirit: that he will open the eies of the
Psal. 51. people, that they may see: and turne their hearts, that they may be conuerted. So did Dauid make his praier: Open thou my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall shew foorth thy praise. Albeit my mouth is simple, and rude, and barbarous; yet if thou wilt, it may be an instrument to declare thy glory. Then shall I teach thy waies vnto the wicked, and sinners shall be conuerted vnto thee. Be fauourable vnto Sion, build the walles of Ierusalem. Thus doe they lift vp their hands, and call vnto God, that he would send downe his ligt into the hearts of the people, that what they heare, they heare not in vaine, but may receiue it, and vnderstand it, and keepe it. For vnlesse God direct the heart, and make it fit to receiue instruction, the Preacher, though he be neuer so desirous to doe good, doth labour in vaine.

God only disposeth the waies of men, it is he which trieth the corne from the chaffe: He knoweth whom he will bring to be of his fold, and make to heare his voice. Many times he blesseth his word with great increase among them, which at the first despise it, and entreat cruelly the Preachers, and messengers thereof. When Paul disputed, and exhorted the Iewes, and the Grecians at Corinthus, and found little fruit of his labour, and that there were few or none that liked his Doctrine, and many enemies which resisted and blasphemed it, he purposed to depart and goe away from them: Then the Lord said vnto Paul, in
Act. 18. the night by a vision, Feare not, but speake, and hold not thy peace. For I am with thee, and no man shall laie hands on thee to hurt thee: for I haue much people in this City. They shall heare thee: If not now, yet they shall heare thee at some other time. They shall beare thy sayings in mind. I will be with thee, I wil open their hearts, and make them obedient to the Gospell, and they shall be turned vnto me. Thou shalt see the fruit of thy labour, and that thy comming vnto them hath not borne in vaine.

VERS. 2. But euen after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated at *Philippi* (as ye know) we were bold in our God, to speake vnto you the Gospell of God with much striuing.

The story of these his persecutions is written in the xvi. of the Acts. He was stript naked, and scourged with rods, and cast into prison, and put in hazard of life. Yet notwithstanding he were thus euill entreated at Philippi, when he came to Thessalonica hee was nothing discouraged, but proceeded more boldly than before, and went into the synagogue
Act. 17. of the Iewes, and disputed three Sabbath daies, and taught them that Christ is that Messias, euen the Son of God.

But, that we may the better conceiue how mightily God worketh, and what great strength he giueth to weake creatures, when he appointeth them to set forth his glory, let vs behold this boldnesse of the Apostle in speaking the Gospell vnto them. To whom did he speak? to the Iewes, the enemies of the Crosse of Christ. Where? not in hugger mugger, and in corners: but openly, in their synagogue, for he feared no man. What time chose he? then, when all the Iewes were assembled together. How often? three Sabbath daies together. In what City? in Thessalonica, the greatest, and most famous City of all that Country. How was he entreated? there arose great trouble and contention. They resisted him spake against him, and sought to destroy him. For what cause? what had he deserued? what had he taught? the Gospell of God, and of Christ, of the kingdome, and of the life to come. The Gospell in which God offereth his grace, and reconciliation, and comfort, and peace, and saluation.

Who would thinke such ioyfull tidings should not be welcome? what eie would not willingly open it selfe to behold the brightnesse of the Sunne? what eare will refuse to heare God speake? But it hath alwaies been so. There haue euer been some, that haue loued darknesse, rather than light. The world shall neuer be without some Annas, or Caiaphas, or Iudas, or Pilate. The children of the Diuell shall alwaies set themselues against the children of God.

The cause of tumults and troubles proceedeth not from the Gospell. The Gospell of Christ, is the Gospel of peace. But the enemies of the Gospel are stirrers of vnquietnesse and inflamers of war. Abel was simple, Cain spightful. Iacob smoth, Esau rough and hairy. Dauid gentle, Saul cruel. Ioseph innocent, his brethren wicked, and fell vpon him. The Apostles humble in heart and peacemakers, the Pharisies blood thirsty, & sought to put them

to

to death. The like examples are before vs this day. The whole world is in an vproare, and great troubles and afflictions are in all places. No man is able to declare the miſery thereof. Let no man therefore ſlander or forſake the Goſpell. It hath bene ſo from the beginning, and from time to time.

Such troubles, confuſion, and miſery, are wrought not by the Goſpell, or them that receiue the Goſpell: but by thoſe which reſiſt it. They practiſe all meanes, and turne all things vpſide downe, rather than it ſhould take place. The wicked are angrie therewith, they gnaſh their teeth and conſume away. This is the cauſe, for which the children ſhall riſe Matth. 10. againſt their parents, and ſhall cauſe them to die. Cain murdered Abel, becauſe God had reſpect vnto Abel and to his offering. Eſau could not abide Iacob, becauſe Iſaac had giuen him his bleſſing. The brethren of Ioſeph ſought to make him away, becauſe God had a fauour vnto him. Saul was wrathfull againſt Dauid, becauſe God gaue him great gifts of courage, and ſtrength, and wiſedome. The Ægyptians loathed the children of Iſrael, becauſe they were Gods people. The Galathians reſiſted Paul, becauſe he preached the truth. Therefore 1. Tim. 4. (ſaith S. Paul) wee labour and are rebuked, becauſe wee truſt in the liuing God, which is the Sauiour of all men; ſpecially of thoſe which beleeue. Like wiſe ſaith our Sauiour: They Ioh 16. ſhall excommunicate you, yea the time ſhall come, that whoſoeuer killeth you, will thinke he doth God ſeruice. And theſe things will they do vnto you, becauſe they haue not known the father nor me.

Euen ſo ſtandeth it with the Church of God this day. There is nothing new that is vnder the Sunne. Whatſoeuer is done now, hath bene done afore. Who will lift vp his eies, and looke to the doings of men, ſhall ſe Cain riſe vp againſt Abel, Eſau againſt Iacob, the cruell brethren againſt Ioſeph, Saul againſt Dauid, Pharao againſt Moſes, the Ægyptians againſt the people of God, the High Prieſts and the Phariſeis, againſt Chriſt and all that will be his Diſciples: they change peace into warre, they turne iudgement into gall, and the fruit of righteouſneſſe into wormwood, they reſiſt the truth of God, to eſtabliſh deuices and doctrines of men. But bleſſed be God, they ſhall not preuaile. He giueth vs peace. He hath made vs turne our ſwords into mattockes. He hath taught vs all together with one mouth, and one heart, to praiſe him, euen the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. His truth is mighty, and ſhall preuaile.

Vers. 3. For our exhortation was not by deceit, nor vncleanneſſe, nor by guile.

4 But as we were allowed of God, that the Goſpell ſhould be committed vnto vs, ſo wee ſpeake, not as they that pleaſe men, but God, which trieth our hearts.

God (ſaith he) hath choſen me from my mothers wombe, and ſet me a part to the office of an Apoſtle. He hath appointed me to carry his name before the Gentiles. Therefore as he hath giuen me charge to preach the Goſpel, and to bring the people vnto him from the power of Satan: ſo I ſpeake, truly, faithfully, ſincerely, not as the words of men, but as the words of God. I haue vſed no deceit, nor taught you to follow traditions of men in ſtead of the commandements of God. In like ſort ſaith he to the Corinthians: I haue receiued of 1. Cor. 11. the Lord, that which I alſo haue declared vnto you. And againe: We are Ambaſſadours for 2. Cor. 5. Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you through vs. For this cauſe he ſaith vnto them: See- 2. Cor. 4. ing that we haue this miniſtrie, as we haue receiued mercie, we faint not, but caſt from vs the cloaks of ſhame, and walk not in craftineſſe, neither handle we the word of God deceitfully: but in declaration of the truth, we approue our ſelues to euery mans conſcience in the ſight of God. In theſe ſpeeches he aſketh credit, becauſe of his vpright handling of the word: and chargeth the falſe Prophets for marring the word of God with vncleane and deceitfull corruptions and gloſſes.

In foren Countries, women that haue no naturall beauty of their owne, vſe to paint and colour their faces, that whereas they lacke beauty indeed, yet they may ſeeme beautifull. Euen ſo is it often times in matters of Religion. Such as hold not the trew Religion, as it is taught by the word of God, and hath ben practiſed in thoſe Churches, which the Apoſtles planted and among thoſe Chriſtians which liued nigheſt vnto that time when the Apoſtles preached: becauſe they know, their Religion which they profeſſe now will not agree with that, they deale deceitfully and with guile. Theſe be falſe Apoſtles, and deceitfull workemen. They beguile our ſenſes, and blind our eies. They call vs to worſhip an Idoll, in ſtead of the true and liuing God. They lead vs out of the light into darkneſſe, from the truth into errour, from knowledge vnto ignorance. They forbid lawfull matrimony, and call it filthineſſe, and allow open ſtewes and harlots as a thing which nothing impaireth their holineſſe.

I will not ſpeake all that I might, nor in ſuch ſort as the matter occaſioneth. Yet can I not but ſay ſomewhat of their ſpirituall craftineſſe, in abuſing and beguiling the people of God.

The Ægyptians furniſhed richly and decked their Churches beautifully, and all in the honour of a Cat. Many things among theſe men carrie great ſhew of holineſſe, which are nothing elſe, but cloakes of their ſhame, and manifeſt proofe that they are not allowed of God, but are crept in by deceit, and by guile.

Single life carrieth a faire ſhew. But O mercifull God! what ſhame and villanies haue béne couered with this cloake? Pius ſecundus ſaw ſomewhat, when he ſaid, As Marriage was taken away from Prieſts vpon great conſiderations, ſo now vpon other greater conſiderations it were to be reſtored to them againe. Hierome ſaw ſomwhat when he wrot thus: *Platina in Pio 2.*

Videas nonnullos accinctos renibus, pulla tunica, barba prolixa, à mulieribus non poſſe diſcedere, ſub eodem manere tecto, ſimul inire conuiuia: ancillas iuuenes habere in miniſterio, & præter vocabulum nuptiarum omnia eſſe matrimonij: You may ſee ſome (that pretend grauity) are girded and goe in blacke, and haue long beards, who can in no wiſe leaue the company of women, but keepe houſe with them, and banket with them. They take yong maides into their ſeruice, and do all things as if they were married, ſaue that they lacke the name of marriage. *Caſtitatem docent, & caſtitatem non ſeruant,* ſaith Origen: They teach chaſtitie, and yet keepe not chaſtitie. And Epiphan. They refuſe marriage, but not luſt or pleaſure. *Ad ruſticum Gallum.* *Orig. tract. 24. in Matth.* *Epiph. contra Origenian. hæreſ. 42.*

Images are faire and beautifull. The Churches are decked and beſet with them. But they are a cloake of ſhame. They are ſet in place of teachers. The Prieſts are ignorant, and liue in idleneſſe, and ſend the people to learne at pictures. They call them lay mens Bookes: yet, What profiteth the Image? ſaith Abacuc) for the maker thereof hath made it an Image, and a teacher of lies. And Ieremy ſaith, The ſtocke is a doctrine of vanitie. Abac. 2. Ierem. 10.

What is their meaning to ſpeake and pray in the Church in a ſtrange tongue? This is a cloake of their ſhame. Their Prieſts be ſo vnlearned, they can ſcarſe vnderſtand Engliſh, yet they ſaue their credit, ſeeing they are able to read Latine. And hereby they couer all their blaſphemies and ſuperſtitions: becauſe the people cannot vnderſtand, and therefore not reproue them.

I ſpeak nothing of their relikes, pilgrimages, purgatory, and ſuch other cloakes of ſhame, which they vſe to hide their couetouſneſſe, and thereby draw vnto themſelues the riches of the whole world. They cannot ſay with the Apoſtle, our exhortation was not by deceit, nor vncleanneſſe, nor by guile.

I know there are ſome, that lay it vnto our charge, as the falſe Apoſtles did vnto Paul, that we vſe the word of God deceitfully: they find fault with our tranſlations of the Scriptures. They ſpare not to ſay, there be a thouſand faults in the New Teſtament. Yet would they neuer ſet downe 500, or 100, or 50, or 25, or 5.

If there be errors in the Tranſlation, I know they were men which tranſlated it, and might erre like men. May no tranſlation be allowed that is not altogether perfect? as if the Greeke tranſlation were without fault, or as if many faults were not in the common vulgar tranſlation in Latine, or in the tranſlation of Hierom. What then? muſt the Greeke tranſlation be forbidden? Muſt Hieromes tranſlation, or the vulgar tranſlation be forbidden? As for the old Latine cõmon tranſlation, though many learned men haue ſhewed the groſſe errors thereof: yet haue they well prouided for it in the Councell at Trident: *Ne quis veterem vulgatam editionem reijcere quouis prætextu audeat, vel præſumat:* Let no man dare or preſume (ſay they) by any maner of colour, to refuſe the old common tranſlation of the Bible. Yet is no tranſlation of ours ſo corrupt, as that which they haue thus priuileged. But if it were true which they falſly report: reaſon would, they did correct the errors, and ſo ſet it abroad. But thus they beare you in hand, that they may bring you in hatred of it, and pull you from the reading of the Scriptures. I will not ſay in what ſort they abuſe the word of God. What ſpeake I of abuſing? May they doe manifeſtly againſt, and contrary to the word. The word of God teacheth vs forgiueneſſe of our ſinnes by the blood of Jeſus Chriſt once offered. They teach contrary, that the ſame blood is daily offered, and Chriſt as often new borne, as pleaſeth the Prieſt to ſay Maſſe. The word of God forbiddeth to make any grauen Image, to bow downe to it or worſhip it. They teach contrary, that Images are to be worſhipped, and euen with ſuch honour, as is due to the paterns themſelues. The word of God teacheth vs to pray in a knowen tongue: they teach the contrary, and account it for hereſie to pray in a knowen tongue. The word of God chargeth all ſtates of men to be ſubiect to their Prince or higher power: They withdraw their obedience vnto ciuill Magiſtrates, and teach the people to reſiſt authority. Eraſmus ſaith in his notes vpon theſe words of Chriſt; Let theſe goe their way: *Noui quendam magni nominis Theologum, &c.* I know a Diuine of great fame and account for his learning, which did wreſt theſe words of Chriſt, to *In Eraſ. annot. 18. Iohn.*

defend

defend the immunity or lawleſſe eſtate of clergie men. But this did he *ridiculè*, fondlie or peeuiſhlie: ſaith Eraſmus.

It would be ouer long to declare vnto you the ſolish or rather blaſphemous applying of the Scriptures, to approue their geſtures at Maſſe, and the ſoueraignty & chiefty that they challenge. One of their Biſhops in the late councell of Trent ſaid of Paulus Tertius then Pope, *Papa lux venit in mundum*, the Pope which is the light, is come into the world. Which are the words of the Euangeliſt, declaring the Godhead of Chriſt. *Cornelius Epiſc. Biſont.*

By theſe few it may appeare how vniuſtly they charge vs with corrupting the word of God. And how truly this fault is to be laid vnto them, which either abridge the ſenſe of the Scripture, or reach it further than it yeeldeth, or vtterly refuſe to ſtand to the authority thereof, and in no caſe can like that the people of God ſhould read the Scriptures: and haue adiudged them heretikes, and conſumed their bodies in the fire, which haue defended in ſpeech, and ſought to maintaine the doctrine of truth ſet down in the holy Scriptures.

The Apoſtle ſaith: He was allowed of God. They that enter into the miniſtry, muſt be allowed, not of men only, but of God. Therefore whoſoeuer taketh that charge ouer the people, muſt looke narrowly into himſelfe, and ſee whether his calling be of God. If he haue not a teſtimony that God hath called him inwardly, all other outward calling is to ſmall purpoſe. God is a righteous Iudge. He will ſay to the conſcience and to the heart of ſuch a one, Friend how cameſt thou in hither without thy wedding garment? Who brought thee in? Giue an account of thy ſtewardſhip. Thine account is great.

And becauſe ſome are this day to be admitted into this office, let vs pray vnto God for them, that God will allow them, that he will giue them hearts to conceiue, and tongues to ſpeake the truth of God, that they may be the ſeruants of Chriſt, and diſpoſers of the myſteries of God: that they may be the ſalt of the earth, and the light of the world: that they may lay out the Lords mony to his aduantage: and ſo it may be ſaid vnto them: Thou haſt been faithfull in little, I will make thee ruler ouer much, enter into thy maſters ioy. Matth. 25.

VERS. 5. Neither yet did we vſe flattering words, as you know, nor coloured couetouſneſſe, God is record.

VERS. 6. Neither ſought we praiſe of men, neither of you, nor of others.

The ſeruant and meſſenger of God muſt ſo ſpeake, as God ſpeaketh. God ſpeaketh deeply, and to the heart. He lanceth the ſpirit, and woundeth the inward parts. He biddeth Eſay ſhew the people their tranſgreſſions, and the houſe of Iacob their ſinnes: God himſelfe ſaith: I viſit the ſinne of the fathers vpon the children, vnto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. Againe he ſaith: If ye ſhall diſpiſe my ordinances, either if your ſoule abhor my lawes, ſo that ye will not doe all my commandements, I will ſet my face againſt you, and you ſhall fall before your enemies, and they that hate you ſhall raigne ouer you. But vnto thoſe that repent them of their ſinnes, and turne vnto him, God ſaith: Turne vnto me, and ye ſhall be ſaued. Againe: Thou diſobedient Iſrael, returne ſaith the Lord, and I will not let my wrath fall vpon you. So muſt the miniſter of God, he muſt ſhew forth the mercy of God, and not hide his iudgements. He hath the Lords buſineſſe in hand, he may not doe it negligently. A flatterer maketh it his greateſt care to pleaſe men, he ſeeketh their fauour, he feareth to diſpleaſe, and dareth not ſpeake that, that will be euill taken. When he ſeeth a theefe, he runneth with him, and is partaker with the adulterers: he ſoweth pillowes vnder the armes of ſinners. Whoſoeuer ſaith, nay, his nay is ready: and if any ſay, yea, he is ready to ſay, yea. He changeth often as the Weathercocke. He dareth not ſtrine againſt the ſtreame. His heart is at the will of others. He ſeeketh ſome gaine, he ſeeketh his owne glory, & not the glory of God. They which are ſuch, are called in the ſcriptures, hirelings, dumbe dogs, that cannot barke. They deny God, betray his truth, and deceiue the people. They locke vp the truth in lies. Of ſuch the ſpirit of God ſaith: Woe vnto them that haue a double heart, and to the wicked lips. And: A double minded man, is inconſtant in all his waies. And: He that is not with me is againſt me: And, He that gathereth not with me, ſcattereth. And: How long halt ye betweene two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal be he, then goe after him. And againe: What communion hath light with darkneſſe? and what concord hath Chriſt with Belial? Curſed is he which flattereth the people, and is vnfaithfull in the Lords worke. Eccle. 2. Iames 1. Luke 11. 1. King. 18. 2. Cor. 6.

Nothing is ſo requiſite in the ſteward of God, as that he be found faithfull, and that he ſpeake thoſe things whereunto the Lord hath ſent him, boldly. That they keepe not backe the meſſage giuen them of God, nor feare to doe their errand, for any malice of men. Who is it (ſaith S. Peter) that will harme you, if you follow that which is good? notwithſtanding, bleſſed are ye, if ye ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake: yea, feare not their feare, neither be troubled. If the Apoſtle ſpeake this comfort to all Chriſtians, which haue a care to ſerue God, 1. Pet. 3.

and thereby exhorteth them to ſtedfaſtneſſe, and to ſanctifie the Lord in their hearts, and to be ready to giue an account of their faith, and of the hope that is in them: how much more ought Preachers and they which are appointed to the Miniſtery lay aſide all feare and flattery of men? Woe vnto them that goe down into Ægypt for helpe. The Ægyptians are men, and not God; and their Horſes fleſh, and not ſpirit: and when the Lord ſhall ſtretch out his hand, the helper ſhall fall, and he that is holpen ſhall fall, and they ſhall all together faile.

Eſa. 31.

Chriſt telleth his Diſciples, they are ſalt, and they are light. Salt muſt néds be ſharpe to a rotten wound. Light muſt néds be painfull to a ſore eie. A good Phyſitian muſt néds trouble and diſquiet his ſicke Patient, before he can heale his diſeaſe: and a good Surgion muſt néds launce and rip vp feſtered wounds. We are Surgions, we are Phyſitians. The word of God is committed vnto vs, that by vs it might be applied to ſeaſon the earth, and that the light therof ſhould ſhine forth in all the world. Crie out aloud, liſt vp thy voice as a trumpet. If the trumpet giue an vncertaine ſound, who ſhall prepare himſelfe to the battell? When God had called Ieremie to the office of a Prophet, and ſaid: Thou ſhalt goe to all that I ſhall ſend thee, and whatſoeuer I command thee, ſhalt thou ſpeake: He ſaid further: Feare not their faces, leſt I deſtroy thee before them. For behold this day, I haue made thee a defenſed City, and an iron pillar, and wals of braſſe againſt the whole land. Thou ſhalt not bend, thou ſhalt not yéld. Thou ſhalt be a conſuming fire, they ſhall be ſtubble before thée. Likewiſe ſaith God to Abraham: Feare not Abraham, I am thy buckler, and thine exceeding great reward. When Moſes ſought to refuſe the meſſage, and thought himſelfe ouer ſimple to goe vnto Pharao, God anſwered, Certainly I will be with thee. And after he ſaith: I haue made thee Pharaos God, he ſhall tremble and quake at thy voice. So ſaith Chriſt: What I tell you in darkneſſe, that ſpeake you in light, and what yee heare in the eare, that preach yee on the houſes. And feare ye not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoule: but rather feare him which is able to deſtroy both ſoule and body in hell.

Eſa. 58.
Ierem. 1.
Gen. 15.
Exod. 3.
Exod. 7.
Matth. 10.

The conſideration héreof euer moued the Prophets and Apoſtles to warrant their ſayings with authority from God, and to ſet apart all feare when they ſpeake in his name. When Ahab reproued Elias: Art thou he that troubleth Iſrael? He anſwered: I haue not troubled Iſrael, but thou and thy Fathers houſe, in that yee haue forſaken the commandements of the Lord, and thou haſt followed Baalim. The Prophet Eſay is bold with the Princes of Iudah and Ieruſalem, and ſaith: Heare the word of the Lord, O Princes of Sodome, hearken vnto the Law of our God, ô people of Gomorrha. Iohn the Baptiſt, nothing feared to tell Herod a mighty Prince, It is not lawfull for thee to haue her to wife. If Balaac would giue me his houſe full of ſiluer and gold, ſaith Balaam, I cannot paſſe the commandement of the Lord, to do good or bad of mine owne mind: What the Lord ſhall command, that ſame will I ſpeak. Moſes was bid to tell Pharao: The Lord God of the Hebrewes hath ſent mee vnto thee. Chriſt calleth Iames and Iohn, the ſonnes of Zebedeus, Boanerges, which is, the ſonnes of thunder, becauſe they ſhould not flatter, but raiſe tempeſt, and lighten and thunder in the eares and hearts of their hearers.

1. King. 18.
Eſa. 1.
Matth. 14.
Numb. 24.
Exod. 7.

S. Paul ſaith: I am not aſhamed of the Goſpell of Chriſt, for it is the power of God vnto ſaluation to euery one that beleeueth. It is the word of God, and ſhall endure for euer. He hath not giuen vs the ſpirit of feare to flatter, but the ſpirit of might and of power, to ſpeake roughly and courageouſly, where occaſion ſo requireth. And therfore ſaith: If I would pleaſe men, I were not the ſeruant of Chriſt. But I preach Gods doctrine, and not the doctrine of men: I ſéke to pleaſe God, and not men.

Rom. 1.

The Phariſies ſought to pleaſe men, and to deceiue the people. They taught them to walke in the waies of their forefathers, to beléeue, as they beléeued, to do as they had done. They flattered them, and ſaid, You are the Church of God, You are Gods people, You are the ſonnes of Abraham, You cannot erre, You cannot be deceiued. They that in this ſort flatter the people & deceiue them, they ſerue not Ieſus Chriſt, but their belly, and through flattery and faire ſpéch ſeduce the hearts of the ſimple.

Nor coloured couetouſneſſe. The Scribes & the Phariſies deuoured vp widowes houſes vnder pretence of their long prayers. They prayed, and made money of their prayers. They gaue almes, and made money of their almeſgining. They faſted and made money of their faſting. This did the Scribes and the Phariſies. Their doings continue ſtill. They be dead, their name is taken away, but their profeſſion abideth. As they made gaines of their prayers, and almes, and faſting, ſo do ſome now make great gaines, and wax rich vnder pretence of holineſſe. They haue brought in a profeſſion of wilfull chaſtity, and forbidden marriage in ſome whole eſtate of men. No doubt chaſtity is a holy thing. But they haue giuen licence for money, to ſuch as would, to forſake their vow of chaſtity. They haue forbidden to eat certaine meats vpon certain daies. God left meats as frée to the choice of euery man, as he left his ſun to ſhine frély to the vſe of all men. And they make frée liberty for money,

to

to eat what euery man liketh. They make money of Purgatorie, money of Pardons, and money of their Maſſes. They make money of Peter and of Paul, of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, and of Chriſt himſelfe. Theſe are they of whom S. Peter ſpeaketh: Through couetouſneſſe ſhall they with fained words make merchandiſe of you. 2. Pet. 2. One ſaith of them: *Curia Romana non captat ouem ſine lana:* The Court of Rome careth not for that ſheepe, that hath no fleece. I will not lay forth at large, how they do all things for couetouſneſſe. I haue no pleaſure in ſpeaking ill. God grant vs to deliuer the Goſpell aright, that we vſe not the truth of God for a cloke of couetouſneſſe.

Neither ſought we praiſe of men, neither of you, nor of others. This is another hinderance of the courſe of the Goſpell, when the Miniſters thereof loue the praiſe of men more than the praiſe of God. How can ye beleeue (ſaith Chriſt) which receiue honor one of another, and ſeeke not the honour that commeth of God alone? Ioh. 5. How farre the Apoſtle was from this ambition, it appeared. For he was reuiled and euill ſpoken of, and counted the filth and out caſt of the World.

VERS. 7. When we might haue been chargeable, as the Apoſtles of Chriſt: but we were gentle among you, euen as a nurce cheriſheth her children.

8. Thus being affectioned to you, our good will was to haue dealt vnto you, not the Goſpell of God only, but alſo our owne ſoules, becauſe yee were deare vnto vs.

9. For ye remember, brethren, our labour and trauell: for we laboured day and night, becauſe we would not be chargeable vnto any of you, and preached vnto you the Goſpell of God.

10. You are witneſſes, and God, how holily, and iuſtly, and vnblameably, wee behaued our ſelues among you that beleeue.

I might haue required meat and drinke, and other things neceſſary at your hands. For who feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flocke? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? who goeth a warfare at any time of his own coſt? who muzleth the mouth of the Ox that treadeth out corne? We plant the vineyeard of the Lord of hoſts. We feed Chriſts flocke. We go to warfare, and ſtand in the watch and defenſe of your ſafety. We are the poore Oxen that tread out the corne, which will feed you to ſaluation. We are your ſeruants, we labour to doe you good, we are ordained to miniſter in the Church of God. It were great reaſon we ſhould reape your carnall things, which haue ſowen to you ſpirituall things. The workman is worthy his wages. Yet taught I the Goſpell freely, and without reward, and was ready to giue my blood, my life, and my ſoule out of my body for your ſakes. What could you aſke of me more? what greater gift could I beſtow vpon you?

VERS. 11. And ye know how that we exhorted you, and comforted, and beſought euery one of you (as a father his children.)

12. That ye would walke worthy of God, who hath called you to his kingdome and glory.

I take care of you as of mine own ſoule, and deale with you by all waies of comfort, and exhortation, that you would take heed vnto your ſelues, and your calling. I do put you in minde, that you were placed in the middeſt of the vnfaithfull people, which knew not God: and that they watched you and your doing: that their eie was vpon your houſhold, your wiues, your ſeruants, and your children: vpon your ſelues, and your words, to eſpie if they might finde any occaſion to ſpeak euill of you. I did beſeech you by the glorious comming of our Lord & Sauior Jeſus Chriſt, that the name of God might not be ill ſpoken of through you. You cannot deny this. You muſt needs confeſſe, you haue thus beene taught. Ignorance cannot be your excuſe. What remaineth then? but that you performe it. For, The ſeruant that knoweth his maſters will, and doth it not, ſhall beaten with many ſtripes.

As a father his children. What maner care is it that the father taketh of his children? Many men are fathers of children: but what man taketh the care he ought to take for them? Paſtours or teachers of the people ſhould be affected towards their people, as fathers are to their naturall children.

Let ſuch as are fathers, and haue children, know in what ſort they muſt be carefull. Your children are a good bleſſing of God, they be members of the body of Chriſt, and the ſonnes of God. The kingdome of heauen belongeth to them. God hath appointed his Angels to guide and lead them, and to ſhield them from euill: and their Angels be in the preſence of God, and doe behold the face of their Father which is in Heauen. They be freſh

plants of the Church. Who knoweth what necessarie instruments they may be in the Common wealth, and in the house of God? It is not enough to feed them, and to nourish their bodies with necessary sustenance. For this do the Heathen that know not God: and the sauage and brute beasts, and the birds which haue no vnderstanding. They bred vp their yong ones, and are tender and painfull to prouide for them. The Asse though she be dull; the Beare and Lion, though they be wilde and cruell, yet seeke they farre and neere to get wherewith to helpe their yong. Therefore if there be any, or can be any, which doth forsake and leaue his owne, he is more beastly than the foolish Asse, and more vnnaturall than most cruell Beares, and Lions, and Tigres.

But in this part men are for the most part ouer carefull. For this cause many build their houses with blood, and seeke possessions by iniquity: they ioine house to house, and field to field, and will dwell alone vpon the earth: they oppresse the poore and needy, and do wrong to the widow and the fatherlesse: they make money their God, and spoile one another: and all to prouide for their children. This is the couer and cloake for all their mischiefe, they may not leaue their children vnprouided. Vnhappie are the fathers, which in this sort care for their children by the ruine and spoile of the needy and innocent, and so breake the commandement of God: because their portion shall be with the wicked in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. And vnhappy are their children, because they are partakers of their fathers wickednesse, and therefore shal also be partakers of punishment with them.

Psal. 37. The Prophet Dauid saith: I haue seene the wicked strong, and spreading himselfe like a greene Bay tree. Yet he passed away, and loe, he was gone, and I sought him, but he could not be found. His rot was deepe, his stocke strong, his branches broad, he spread ouer and shadowed the whole Countrey, yet he passed away. He departed, his sonnes died, his house soone decaied, and his name was in little time quite forgotten.

Oh how much better then is it to furnish the minds of your children, and to instruct them in godlinesse, to teach them to know God, to lead their life vertuously, and to rebuke them, and correct them for dealing ill!

The beginning of wisedome is the feare of God. Let them then learne what that good and acceptable will of God is. Shew them the way in which they should walke, that they goe neither to the right hand, nor to the left. The word of God is pure and giueth vnderstanding to the simple: it is a light to their footsteps: it teacheth those that are yong to amend their waies.

Matth. 21. When Christ came into Ierusalem, the yong children receiued him. They cried Ozanna to the sonne of Dauid: Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord. Christ giueth witnesse of them: By the mouth of babes and sucklings, hast thou set foorth thy praise. The words of the little and simple children were able to confound the wisedome of the Pharisies. Thus were they taught from their cradle, so carefull were their godly Parents for them.

Contrariwise, they cannot haue any wisedome, that despise the Law of the Lord. They become blinde, and wicked, and abhominable in all their waies. They haue no sense nor feeling of the will of God. They cannot know light from darknesse, nor God from Belial.

2. King. 2. Such were the little children that mocked the Prophet Elizeus, and said to him, Come vp thou bald head, Come vp thou bald head. Their bringing vp was no better. Their wicked Fathers had taught them nothing else but wantonnesse. But the wrath of God fell vpon them, and there were destroied by two Beares two and forty of them.

Another care which a Father ought to haue of his children, is to lead them vp in the studie of vertue, and of godly life. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. They

Matth. 5. which keepe not this way, are the children of wrath. Herein standeth the whole profession

1. Thess. 4. of a Christian life. For God hath not called vs to vncleannesse, but vnto holinesse. This is the will of God, and this is our promise made vnto him, that we serue him in holinesse and righteousnesse all the daies of our life, that we increase in vertue, and grow from grace to grace.

A good and louing Father, which sendeth his sonne to a dangerous iourney, either by sea or land, first instructeth him with aduice, and telleth him in what sort he shall auoid perils. Take heed, saith he, the way is perillous, which thou must passe. The sea is terrible. The waues rise vp as high as Heauen, and by and by thou shalt see a pit as low as Hell. The sands may swallow thee, the rockes may destroy thee. Thou shalt passe by huge mountaines, and thorow wildernesse, where theeues will assault thee. Thy heart will quake. Thou shalt crie for succour, and find no man to helpe thee. In these and these places hath many a good mans child beene cast away. Oh take heed my sonne, thou art the staffe and the comfort of mine age: If ought come to thee otherwise than well, I shall soone after end my daies in sorrow.

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If a Father be thus careſull, that his child ſhould eſcape worldly dangers, he muſt bee more careſull of ſpirituall dangers, in which whoſoeuer is loſt, is loſt for euer. Therefore, thus will he ſay to him: Oh my ſonne, vnderſtand what God hath done for thy ſake. Take heed to thy ſelfe. The world is all ouer ſtrawed with ſnares. The Diuell rangeth, and ſeeketh whom he may deuoure. Giue no ground to him, but reſiſt him, and he will flee from thee. Be ſtrong in faith. The name of the Lord is a ſtrong tower of defence. Call vpon him in the day of thy trouble, and he will deliuer thee. He will giue thee of his ſpirit.

Take heed my Son, and be not deceiued: let no wilfulneſſe caſt thee away. If ſinners entice thee, be not a companion of them in wickedneſſe. Faſhion not thy ſelfe to the likeneſſe of this world: for the world paſſeth away, and the luſt thereof. He that loueth this world, the loue of God is not in him. Be not like vnto them that periſh. Thou waſt conceiued, and borne in ſinne, thou art by nature the child of wrath. But God made thee meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the Saints in light, and hath deliuered thee from the power of darkneſſe, and hath tranſlated thee into the kingdome of his deere Sonne. Receiue not this grace in vaine. Caſt away the workes of darkneſſe, and put on the armour of light. Be renued in thy heart and in thy ſpirit, that it may appeare I haue been careſull for thee. Thus a good father ſeeketh to traine vp his ſonne, and to nurture him.

Beſides theſe, fathers muſt alſo be careſull for their children, to giue them correction, and chaſtiſement. God knoweth the mould of mans heart. He ſeeth our inward parts. He hath ſaid it in the beginning: The imagination of mans heart is euill from his youth. He did ſee that all the imaginations of the thoughts of his heart were only euill continually. Gen. 8. Gen. 5. Behold mans nature, and conſider it euen from our firſt birth. How full of affections, how wayward is the yong child, which lieth in the cradle! His body is but ſmall, but he hath a great heart, and is altogether inclined to euill. And the more he waxeth in reaſon by yeares, the more he groweth proud, froward, wilfull, vnruly, and diſobedient. If this ſparkle bee ſuffered to increaſe, it will rage ouer, and burne downe the whole houſe. We are not borne good, but by edutation we are changed, and become good.

Therefore the wiſe man ſaith: Fooliſhneſſe is bound in the heart of a child: but the rod of correction ſhall driue it away from him. Prou. 22. And againe: The rod and correction giue wiſedome: but a child ſet at libertie maketh his mother aſhamed. Prou. 29. And in the ſame Chapter: Correct thy ſonne and he will giue thee reſt, and will giue pleaſures vnto thy ſoule. He that ſpareth the rod hateth the child. For, If thou bring vp thy ſonne delicately, he ſhall make thee afraid: and if thou plaie with him, he ſhall bring thee to heauineſſe. Bow downe his necke, whiles he is yong, and beat him on the ſides while he is a child, leſt he wax ſtubborne, and be diſobedient vnto thee, and bring ſorrow to thine heart, ſaith Salomon. Eccle. 30.

Who hath not heard the ſtory of Elie and of his Sonnes? It is worthy to be remembred for euer. He had wicked children, they feared not God, but brake his commandements, and offended the people. Their father heard of their doings, but toke no care for it: he ſuffered them, and let them alone. So long, that God grew diſpleaſed thereat, and called vnto Samuel, and ſaid: Behold, I will doe a thing in Iſrael, whereof whoſoeuer ſhall heare, his two eares ſhall tingle. In that day I will raiſe vp againſt Elie all things which I haue ſpoken concerning his houſe: when I begin I will alſo make an end. And I haue told him, that I will iudge his houſe for euer, for the iniquitie which he knoweth, becauſe his ſonnes ran into a ſlander, and he ſtaied them not. And it came to paſſe ſhortly after: The Arke of God was taken by the Philiſtines, and the two ſonnes of Elie, Hophni and Phinees died. And Elie alſo when he heard the report thereof, fell from his ſeat backward, and his necke was broken. Such ſhame and confuſion came vpon him. This was the hand and iudgement of God: in ſparing his children, he caſt away his children and himſelfe all together. 1. Sam. 3. 1. Sam. 4.

But Iob dealt far otherwiſe with his children, his eie was vpon them, and he toke care leſt they ſhould offend God. He ſanctified them, and offered burnt offerings for them daily. For Iob thought, it may be that my ſonnes haue ſinned, and blaſphemed God in their hearts. Therefore he praied for them. My ſonnes (ſaith he) are yong and tender, and lacke diſcretion. The waies wherein they walke are ſlippery, they may ſone be deceiued and run into danger. O Lord be thou their guide, bee thou vnto them a Tower of defence, let thy holy ſpirit goe before them to direct them in all their waies. So mindfull was he of his children. Iob 1.

Infancie is the firſt part of our life, and as it were the foundation thereof. Where a vertuous and a godly childhood goeth before, there a godly and vertuous age followeth after. Contrariwiſe, when the Fathers are not careſull to teach their children to know God, and to know themſelues: when they doe not bred them vp in vertue: nor reproue them when they doe amiſſe; they become corrupt in their vnderſtanding, and abominable in their doings, void of all knowledge, and grace, and of reuerence, or feeling of nature.

VERS.

VERS. 13. For this cause also thanke we God, without ceasing, that when you receiued of vs the word of the preaching of God, ye receiued it not as the word of men, but as it is indeed, the word of God, which also worketh in you that beleeue.

As the Ministers duty is to teach the word of God, and diuide it aright, without deceit or guile: so ought the people to receiue it with reuerence, and to giue obedience vnto it. But herein haue we not power of our selues, our readinesse commeth of God; vnlesse it please God to worke within vs, and to remoue the vaile, and to mollifie our hearts, whatsoeuer we heare, it moueth vs not, it helpeth not our vnbeléefe, it bringeth vs not to the obedience of Christ.

If an earthly Prince speake, or send message vnto vs, we giue all shew of reuerence, and heare him with all diligence. This word is not of flesh and blod, it proceedeth not from Kings, or Emperors, or from Parliament, or from Counsels of men: but from God the Father, and from Iesus Christ. When this word is read, Princes and Emperors stand vp, and lay downe their sword, and vncouer their head, and bow their body, and doe reuerence, because they know it is the word of God, which God himselfe vttered, that it should be as the dew of Heauen to moisten our soules, as a well of water springing vp to euerlasting life: as a sauour of life vnto life: and the very power of God vnto saluation to euery one that beléeueth. Without this word we can receiue no comfort, we cannot see the light, nor grow in faith, nor abide in the Church of God. It is the word of reconciliation. By it God maketh attonement betweene himselfe, and the Sonnes of men.

Therefore when the Epistles, the Psalmes, the Chapters, and the Gospell are read in our hearing, let vs remember whose word we heare. Let vs thinke thus with our selues: These are the words of our gratious God. By God openeth his mouth from heauen aboue. He speaketh to me, that I may be saued: he speaketh to me, to kéepe me from error; to comfort me in the aduersities & troubles of this life: and to lead me to the life to come.

What is the cause why so many so little regard the word of God; why they doubt it, and suspect it; why they are so sone weary of it, and beare it not that reuerence, that belongeth to it? Because they thinke not, neither from whom it commeth, nor with whose blod it is sealed, nor to whose benefit it is written. Let vs not be ashamed to giue place to the word of God, to awake our senses, and to submit them, and our wisedome, and learning, and bodies, and soules vnto it. Let vs not harden our hearts. Let vs humble our selues before
2. King. 15. God, and say, Behold heare am I, let him doe to me as seemeth good in his eies.

Which also worketh in you that beleeue. Whosoeuer heareth the words of God, and doth them not, shall be likened to a foolish man that builded his house vpon the sand. If yee
Iohn 13. know these things (saith Christ) blessed are yee, if yee doe them. The same word of God which Paul taught the Thessalonians, which was preached by Peter, and the rest of the Apostles to the faithfull, which Christ receiued of his Father, and deliuered to his Church, is this day by the mercy of God purely, and truly set downe vnto you. By it you are required to amend your liues, and comforted in the promises of God to the forgiuenesse of your sinnes. If there be any, in whom it worketh not this effect: if there be any, which (though they heare it,) beléeue it not, nor are thereby renued in their mindes: it is a token, that they haue not receiued the loue of the truth of the Gospell: they despise the word of saluation, and it shall iudge them in that day.

VERS. 14. For Brethren, you are become followers of the Churches of God, which in Iudea are in Christ Iesus, because yee haue also suffered the same things of your owne country men, euen as they of the Iewes.

15. Who both killed the Lord Iesus and their owne Prophets, and haue persecuted vs, and God they please not, and are contrarie to all men.

16. And forbid vs to preach vnto the Gentiles, that they might be saued, to fulfill their sinnes alwaies. For the wrath of God is come on them to the vtmost.

Wherein became they followers? In suffering as they did. This is the badge, and cog-
Luk. 9. nizance of the Sons of God. Christ saith: If any man will come after me, let him denie himselfe, and take vp his Crosse daily, and follow me. They followed others, not in pleasure, and glory, but in trouble and persecution. For that was the way of the Prophets, and Apostles, and of Christ himselfe.

Esay the Prophet, was cut in sunder with a saw. What more cruell death? His body was rent, his bowels torne, & yet he not quite dead. In such sort it liked the cruell tormenters to sport themselues. Why? what had he done? he was a Prophet. They néded no other matter against him. It was enough, that they found him to be a prophet. Ieremy was stoned to death.

death. Wherefore? Becauſe he called the people to repentance, that they might be ſaued: becauſe he was a Prophet. Amos was ſlaine with a bar, poore old man. No reuerence giuen to his gray head, no regard or pity was taken of him. Wherefore? Becauſe he rebuked iniquity: becauſe he was a Prophet. Zacherie was ſlaine when he was in his prayers, and doing ſacrifice in the holy place, betwéen the entrance and the altar. Wherefore? Becauſe he declared the truth: becauſe he was a Prophet.

This hath béen the malice and hatred of the Diuell. The Prince of the darkneſſe of this world hath raged ſo euen from the beginning. By this meanes he hath ſought to deface the truth and glory of God, and to eſtabliſh his owne kingdome in ſhedding the blod and murthering the Saints of God.

The Churches of God in Iudea were miſerably vexed and afflicted, they were hated of all men, and counted vnworthy of life. Wherefore? Becauſe they turned to the true and liuing God, and did beléeue in the name of Jeſus Chriſt. Therefore they were ſtript, ſpoiled, headed, quartred, drowned, burnt and put to moſt reprochfull death. Who would become their followers? Who would willingly learne to be ſo perſecuted, and made gazing ſtockes to all the world? yet this diſcouraged not the Theſſalonians. They were a thouſand miles diſtant from Iudea, but were ioined in fellowſhip of the Goſpell, and in brotherly loue vnto them. They heard of their mildneſſe and of their conſtancy, and were ſtirred vp by their example. They did hearken after them, and were carefull for them, as for their brethren, and the members of the ſame body.

You haue heard what numbers of late haue béen perſecuted and put to death among vs. Wherefore? Becauſe they turned from Idols to ſerue God as hée hath commanded, and did put their truſt in him. You haue heard how patiently and meekly they went to their death, and what a plentifull harueſt God hath raiſed of their blod. For the death of his Saints is precious in the ſight of the Lord. Their blod cannot be ſpent in vaine. We muſt remember their patience and zeale, and the cauſe why they ſuffered. We muſt not deſpiſe, or ſet light by the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt, for which they ſo ioyfully gaue their liues.

And it is not enough that we bé mindfull of ſuch examples as we haue had at home: We muſt alſo carefully conſider of other Churches abroad. God hath kindled a fire: hée will haue it burne. O what torments do our brethren daily ſuffer! What cruelty is deuiſed daily againſt them? I ſpeake not of death only, but of rackings, and wonderfull extremities, more painfull than death. Wherefore are theſe things done vnto them? Becauſe they are turned to the true and liuing God, and beléeue in the name of Jeſus Chriſt. Some they hang by the hands, and draw vp with a pully, and bind great waights of lead at their héeles to rent them, and teare their bodies aſunder. Some they haue tied vnto great péeces of timber, and haue put fire at the ſoales of their fét. They haue opened their mouthes, and made them draw in Lawne into their body. A thing moſt cruell, and yet which they haue practiſed: the maner whereof hath béen thus reported. They lay it ſo far in the mouth, that a mans breath eaſily draweth it into his body, and ſo it is conueied into the ſtomacke. When it is well ſetled, then commeth the tormentor and taketh the Lawne by the other end, and raſheth it ſuddenly with ſuch a force, as it ſéemeth he doth plucke out the very heart and entrailes: ſuch a rare and ſtrange kind of cruelty as is not practiſed vpon moſt notorious rebels and traitors. As for death, forty or fifty at one time haue béene heaped together, and burnt in one fire. They haue ſet vpon the ſeruants of God, and compaſſed the Church where they haue aſſembled together to pray vnto God, and murthered them in their innocency, whiles they lifted vp pure hands vnto God. The French King, by the counſell of ſuch as hate the Goſpell of Chriſt, ſent his cruell ſouldiers, and murthered his ſubiects at Valois. He ouerthrew their houſes, burnt their Towne, deſtroied man, woman and child: ſpoiled their corne, and turned their trées vpſide downe. Hée walled, defaced, and vnpeopled it, not for that they were théeues or rebels: but becauſe they beléeued in the name of Chriſt. Conſider how many are murthered in Flanders, and in the kingdome of France. They are not ſo far from vs, as Iudea from Theſſalonica. They ioine next vnto vs. God is bleſſed in his Saints, and holy in all his workes, no cruelty is able to quench his truth. There is no counſell, which ſhall preuaile againſt the Lord. Hée giueth increaſe, and placeth children in ſtead of their fathers. The more are ſlaine by the enemies, the more ſpring vp by the working of his Spirit. The more are hewen downe, the more multiply. We may not be ſtrangers in this caſe. It behoueth vs to conſider the afflictions of our brethren. They belong vnto vs: We muſt pray to God for them, that he will put an end to their miſeries: otherwiſe, we haue not the ſpirit of God, wée beare no loue, nor care for his houſe.

Of your countriemen. This was the greateſt, and heanieſt part of their troubles. For what

what a hearts greefe is it to the Father, if his ſonne riſe vp againſt him? or to the Son to ſee his father ready to betray him, and to ſeeke his blood? Where this is done, hee will ſay, O father I am thy Son, alas what haue I done to haue thy diſpleaſure? death is bitter, but thy diſpleaſure is more bitter than death. It were a cruell thing, that any man ſhould kill another: what is it then, if thou ſhouldſt kill thine owne child? yet if thou be ſo bent, take my life and ſpare my conſcience: ſpare my ſoule, that I may deliuer it vp into his hands that hath giuen it mee. I would be obedient vnto thee, thou art my father, but I may not diſobey God. He is the father of fathers. He hath ſaid: He that loueth father or mother more than me, he is not worthy of me. It is a miſerable caſe when perſecution groweth ſo hot, that the child is driuen to forſake his father, or the father his child: yet ſo doth the world blind many, and Satan ſo poſſeſſeth their harts, that he turneth their loue into hatred, and ſhutteth their ſenſes, and choaketh and dammeth vp the ſprings of nature. They become ſo blinde, and ſo vnſenſible, that they neither faile their owne fleſh, nor know their owne blood. They thinke in ſo doing they doe God good ſeruice. They are enemies to the truth. They are the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt: their end is deſtruction.

Matth. 10.

And forbid vs to preach vnto the Gentiles, that they might be ſaued. This is the end whereunto the Goſpell is giuen, that the people ſhould be ſaued. S. Paul ſaith: God will that all men ſhall be ſaued, and come to the knowledge of the truth. Therefore our Sauior appointed his Apoſtles to this office of preaching his word, ſaying: Goe and preach the Goſpell vnto all nations. Goe vnto the loſt ſheepe of Iſrael. He ſaith: It is not the will of my Father that one of theſe little ones ſhould periſh. Whoſoeuer beleeueth and ſhall be baptized, ſhall be ſaued. S. Iames exhorteth the faithfull: Receiue with meekneſſe the word that is graffed in you, which is able to ſaue your ſoules. By it we heare the ſweet voice of our Sauiour: Come vnto me all yee that trauell and be heauily loaden, and I will refreſh you. By it, we heare the mercifull calling of God: Turne vnto me, and yee ſhall be ſaued: By it we are warned to depart from the company of ſuch as are enemies to the truth: and to haue no fellowſhip with the vnfruitfull workes of darkneſſe: Saue your ſelues, ſaith S. Peter, from this froward generation: By it we are taught to beleeue that Jeſus Chriſt is the Sonne of God: that his name is Jeſus, becauſe he ſhall ſaue his people from their ſinnes: and that there is not ſaluation in any other beſides him. For faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. This is therefore the duty of the Preacher, to preach vnto the people: that ſo they may be ſaued: that they may know the waies of God, that they may repent them of their ſinnes, and be renued vnto godlineſſe.

1. Tim. 2.
Iames 1.
Matth. 11.
Eſa. 45.
Acts 2.

Who would thinke there were any that would hinder the courſe of the Goſpell? or forbid to preach it vnto the people? The Apoſtle here laieth that fault to the Iewes: That they forbid him to preach to the Gentiles. The ſame fault Chriſt found in the Scribes and Phariſies: Woe be to you, interpreters of the Law: for yee haue taken away the key of knowledge: yee entred not in your ſelues, and them that came in yee forbad. Such there haue been alwaies, and ſuch there are now. O ſay they, why ſhould the people know theſe things? what ſhould they meddle with the Scriptures? let them doe their buſineſſe, and apply their occupations. It is not reaſon, nor fit, that euery one ſhould be learned. When they thinke they know ſomewhat, they become proud, and deuiſe hereſies and maintaine them: as if God had not left them to inſtruct the people: or, as if the holy Scriptures, and not the malice of Sathan, were the cauſe of hereſies.

Luk. 11.

But God hath ſaid: Gather the people together: men, and women, and children, and thy ſtranger that is within thy gates, that they may heare, and that they may learne, and feare the Lord your God, and keepe and obſerue all the words of this Law. The Prophet Dauid thought it meet the people ſhould know the Scriptures, therefore ſaid: Bleſſed is that man whoſe delight is in the Law of the Lord, and in that Law doth exerciſe himſelfe day and night. And againe: Wherewith ſhall a yong man redreſſe his waies? In keeping thy words.

Deut. 31.

When Chriſt himſelfe came firſt into the world to plant his Church, he vouchſafed the poore and ſimple the knowledge of his truth, and ſhewed it firſt vnto them. The firſt that had tydings of his birth, were not Scribes and Phariſies, but a company of poore ſhepheards. The firſt that receiued his Goſpell and taught it in the world, were not Doctors or learned men, but fiſhers, and toll-gatherers, and of baſe condition. The firſt that met him with triumph at Ieruſalem, and ſang Ozanna, were not Biſhops and Prieſts, but babes and infants. They that followed him moſt, and beleeued, were not the greateſt men of power and policie, but ſuch, as the Phariſies termed, a curſed people, which knew not the Law. The firſt that told the Apoſtles the reſurrection of Chriſt, were not the ſageſt and wiſeſt men, but two or three ſilly women. The firſt that were conuerted to the faith after his reſurrection,

reſurrection, were not any of the great learned or otherwiſe eſteemed, and knowen amor g the people, but about 3000. poore, ſilly, ſimple men, ſo baſe, and ſo out of knowledge, that not one of their names could euer be knowen.

Why ſhould any man reſiſt the wiſedome of God: and deny the people the bread whereon they ſhould feed: the light by which they may ſafely walke: the hearing and reading of the word, by which they may be turned to God from Idols to ſerue the liuing and true God? They haue cruell hearts, and are enemies to the glory of God, and to the ſaluation of his people, which in ſuch ſort deny them the knowledge of the Scriptures.

To fulfill their ſinnes alwaies. They haue refuſed the word of reconciliation, they are not contented that they haue ſtoned the Prophets, and killed them that were ſent to them, but they yet reſiſt the holy Goſpell, and deuiſe meanes to keepe all others from the comfort thereof. This is a token of Gods heauy diſpleaſure vpon them, that they repent not of their former euils, but grow worſe and worſe. When the Scribes and Phariſies ſeemed to miſlike the cruelty of their fathers, and ſaid, if they had been in their daies, they would not haue been partners with them in the blood of the Prophets; our Sauiour maketh their hypocriſie knowen, that herein they ſhould be like to their fathers, for they ſhould kill and crucifie the Prophets and wiſe men, and ſcourge them in their ſynagogues, & perſecute them from City to City, and ſaid to them: Fulfill ye alſo the meaſure of your fathers. The cauſe Matth. 23.
of this iudgement of God in giuing ouer the wicked to increaſe the heape of their ſinnes, the Apoſtle ſetteth downe to the Romanes: As they regarded them not to know God, God Rom. 1.
deliuered them vp to a reprobate mind to doe thoſe things which are not conuenient. For ſo he ſometimes puniſheth our ſinnes, and ſuffereth the wicked to heape ſinne vpon ſinne, that ſo their damnation may be the greater.

For the wrath of God is come on them to the vtmoſt. Though God bee patient, and long ſuffering, becauſe he would haue all men come to repentance: yet in whom his mercy taketh no place to worke their amendment, vpon them hee powreth out his wrath and indignation to the vtmoſt. He meaneth not, that all the whole nation of the Iewes were ſo caſt out of the fauour of God, that neuer any of them ſhall be ſaued: for in another place hee ſaith: Hath God caſt away his people? God forbid. For I my ſelfe am an Iſraelite, of the Rom. 11.
ſeed of *Abraham*, of the tribe of *Beniamin*. God hath not caſt away his people, which he knew before. But miſerable ſhall be their end, and a terrible damnation ſhall they haue, whoſoeuer withſtand the truth of God, and to the reſt of their wickedneſſe, ioine ſuch a hatred, and deſpightfull contempt of the poore, and ſimple ſort of the people, that they keepe them from the holeſome words of doctrine, and forbid ſuch as are willing to preach vnto them. This is their condemnation, that light came into the world, and they loued darkneſſe better than light. They perſecute vs (ſaith S. Paul) and forbid vs to preach vnto the Gentiles, that they might be ſaued: to fulfill their ſinnes alwaies: for the wrath of God is come on them to the vtmoſt.

VERS. 17. Foraſmuch brethren, as wee were kept from you for a ſeaſon, concerning ſight, but not in heart, we enforced the more to ſee your face with great deſire.

18. Therefore we would haue come vnto you, (I Paul, at leaſt once or twice) but Satan hindred vs.

He told them before how deerly and tenderly hee loued them, exhorting, comforting, and beſeeching euery one of them, as a Father his children. Hee taking care, leſt by any meanes they ſhould doubt of his great good will towards them. And therefore doth both witneſſe the ſame, and ſhew them through what cauſe, he hath ſtaied from them. Such a zeale, and care had he ouer the people. O in what caſe then are they, that are careleſſe and make no regard of the people of God! which hunt after many liuings, and bend not themſelues to doe good; which ſerue their owne belly, and ſeeke to be rich, and eat vp the people of God, as if they were bread. They cannot ſay, they haue a deſire to ſee the face of their flocks, and that their heart is with them. Howſoeuer they find time for other matters, they can neuer take time to know their charge, and to doe the worke of their Miniſterie among them. They care not for them, they thinke not of them. They plant not, they water not, they watch not, they giue no warning of the dangers at hand: they teach them not to deny vngodlineſſe and worldly luſts, and to liue ſoberly, and righteouſly, and godlily in this preſent world.

It were happy, if all ſuch were remoued out of the Church of God. They deſtroy the ſoules of many, and lead them to deſtruction by their negligence. What account ſhall they giue vnto God for the ſoules of their brethren? Where ſhall they ſtand, or what will they ſay, when hee ſhall bid them make a ſtrait account of their ſtewardſhip? This is the

practise of Satan. He vseth all meanes to snare vs, and withdraw vs from that blessed hope. Sometimes he letteth the increase of the Gospell, by raising vp tumults, and disquieting the Church of God, and stirring the hearts of such as are in authoritie to persecute by all meanes the teachers of the Gospell of Christ. Againe, when God giueth peace and quietnesse to his Church, he leadeth the ouerseers of the people to a forgetfulnesse of their dutie: to seeke the pleasures & delights of this life, and to haue no regard of the worke of the Lord. Such occasions the Diuell seeketh, to hinder our saluation, and to withstand the truth and glory of God.

VERS. 19. For what is our ioy or crowne of reioicing? are not euen you it in the presence of our Lord Iesus Christ at his comming?

20. Yea, ye are our glory and ioy.

The greatest comfort to him that laboureth, is to see that his labour commeth to good effect, and worketh that which he purposed. He hath before approued his diligence and shewed the mercy of God in making his word fruitfull, by opening their hearts that it might sinke into them, and take rot in them. Therefore now he exhorteth them to continue stedfast: that so he may present them vnto God, and be partaker with them of euerlasting glory. This ought to be the care of all such which are ministers, they should seeke aboue all things to bring the people to such perfection of vnderstanding, and to such godlinesse of life, that they may reioice in their behalfe, and so chearfully wait for the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ.

CHAP. III.

VERS. 1. Wherefore since we could no longer forbeare, we thought it good to remaine at Athens alone.

2. And haue sent *Timotheus* our brother, and Minister of God, and our labourfellow in the Gospell of Christ, to stablish you, and to comfort you, touching your faith.

I know your faith in Christ Iesus is many waies assaulted. The enuious man will take all occasions to sow darnell among the Lords corne. He will seeke to take away the good seed that is sowed in your hearts. You are deare vnto me. Your wounds are my wounds, and your griefe, my griefe. Therefore, since I my selfe am hindred that I cannot come vnto you, to be with you in your afflictions, I send vnto you my fellow labourer in the Gospell. I haue but one with me, whom I loue tenderly, and trust him as mine owne soule: him I send vnto you. I leaue my selfe destitute, and without a companion, among the Infidels, here at Athens, in a City much giuen to Idolatry, and which cannot abide the name of Christ. Thus haue I burthened my selfe to releeue you, and taken from my selfe to comfort you. I haue beene careleſse of my selfe, and carefull for you, and for the Church of God, which is among you.

The Apostle had sent Timothie to other places, to the Corinthians, and to the Philippians. He alwaies found him constant in faith, and zealous to doe good vnto the Saints: And now commendeth him to this congregation, and calleth him brother, a minister of God, and his labour-fellow, that so, they might conceiue his great care for them, which sent so worthy a man vnto them: and also that they would esteeme him, and haue him in reputation, to hearken vnto Timothie, and to doe in all things, as he should direct them.

Such as S. Paul nameth Timothie, should all they be, which are sent vnto the people. They must hold the faith of Christ vnfainedly, and professe it boldly: they must be called, and allowed of God to his seruice: and must not be idle, but painfull, and labouring to build vp the house of God, and to gather in his haruest: that they may truely be called the Ministers of God, and labourers in the Gospell.

They that are called to this seruice, must not thinke it enough, that they serue God, as men of other trades doe. For Princes, and all sorts of people owe seruice and homage vnto God, to serue him in holinesse and righteousnesse all the daies of their life. This seruice of godly conuersation, and obedience, must Ministers also most carefully performe. But the especiall seruice, which belongeth to their calling, is to carry the arke of the couenant before their people, to doe their message truly when they are sent. To teach, to instruct, to exhort, to comfort, to rebuke in season and out of season: to plant, to weed, to graffe, to build, to hold vp their hands and to pray for the people. To doe this seruice for kings, for subiects, for rich, for poore, for the wise, for the simple: for the godly, and for the wicked: to establish them, and comfort them touching their faith.

Paul calleth himselfe often, The seruant of God, and the seruant of our Lord Iesus Christ. He reioiceth in this seruice, and reckoneth it in part of his glory. If we consider the paines

and

and trauels which he take, we ſhall know; what diligence all others that are called to the ſame ſeruice ought to ſhew. Thus he writeth of himſelfe: I am debter both to the Græcians and to the Barbarians, both to the wiſe men, and to the vnwiſe. Therefore as much as lieth in mee I am ready to preach the Goſpel to you alſo that are at Rome. Againe: Though I bee free from all men, yet haue I made my ſelfe ſeruant vnto all men, that I might win the more. And vnto the Iewes I became as a Iew, that I may win the Iewes: to them that are vnder the Law, as though I were vnder the Law, that I may win them that are vnder the Law. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all meanes ſaue ſome. Againe: We preach not our ſelues, but Ieſus Chriſt the Lord, and our ſelues your ſeruants for Ieſus ſake. Againe: We are reuiled, and yet we bleſſe: we are perſecuted, and yet ſuffer it. I ſeeke not my ſelfe, ſaith he, but God. I ſeeke not to ſeeke mine owne affections, but to ſet forth his glory. Thus in his owne example he teacheth vs, that in the ſeruice of the Church of God, we muſt endure all paines, and not refuſe to follow our calling for any reproach or ſhame or villany, which may be wrought againſt vs by men. Rom. 11. 1. Cor. 9. 2. Cor. 4. 1. Cor. 4

VERS. 3. That no man ſhould be mooued with theſe afflictions: for yee your ſelues know, that we are appointed thereunto.

Thinke not that you ſhall enioy the pleaſures of this world, if you be the faithfull ſeruants of Chriſt. Chriſt ſhed his blood for thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not refuſe to giue thy blood for him. Drinke the cup of bitter gall, whereof Chriſt began to thee: and carry thy croſſe, that thou maieſt follow him. If thou bee aſhamed of the croſſe, thou art aſhamed of Chriſt: if thou be aſhamed of Chriſt, hee will be aſhamed of thee before his Father in Heauen: The croſſe cannot hurt thee, for Chriſt hath ſanctified it in his blood. Behold not the ſword, which ſtriketh thee, but thinke on the crowne of glory, which thou ſhalt receiue. Gold is clearer after it hath beene put into the fire. Be thou gold, and the fiery perſecution ſhall not hurt thee. Let not the feare of death put out thy faith. Truſt in the Lord, be ſtrong, and he ſhall eſtabliſh thy heart. Be rooted and built in Chriſt, and eſtabliſhed in the Faith. Then ſhall thy heart reioyce, and no man ſhall take thy ioy from thee.

VERS. 4. For verily, when wee were with you, we told you before that wee ſhould ſuffer tribulations, euen as it came to paſſe, and ye know it.

God giueth vs warning to be ready to ſuffer afflictions for his name. My ſonne, if thou wilt come into the ſeruice of God, ſtand faſt in righteouſneſſe and feare, and prepare thy ſoule to temptation. And in the Prouerbes: My ſon, refuſe not the chaſtening of the Lord, neither be grieued with his correction. For the Lord correcteth him whom he loueth, euen as the Father the Child in whom he delighteth. As many as I loue, I rebuke and chaſten, ſaith Chriſt. Therefore the Apoſtle telleth the Hebrewes: If you be without correction whereof all are partakers, then are yee baſtardes, and not ſonnes. In the tenth of Matthew, our Sauiour warneth his Diſciples hereof: Behold, I ſend you as ſheepe in the middeſt of Woolues. Thus God ſcholeth and nurtereth his people, that ſo thorow many tribulations, they may enter to their reſt. Frankincenſe when it is put in the fire, giueth the greater perfume: ſpice if it be pounded, ſmelleth the ſweeter: the earth when it is torne vp with the plough, becommeth more fruitfull: the ſeede in the ground, after froſt and ſnow, and winter ſtormes, ſpringeth the ranker: the nigher the vine is pruned to the ſtocke, the greater grape it yeeldeth: the grape when it is moſt preſſed and beaten, maketh the ſweeteſt wine: fine gold is the better when it is caſt in the fire: rough ſtones with hewing are ſquared, and made fit for building: cloth is rent, and cut, that it may be made a garment: linnen is buckt, and waſht, and wrung, and beaten, and is the fairer. Theſe are familiar examples to ſhew the benefit and commodity which the children of God receiue by perſecution. By it God waſheth and ſcoureth his congregation (ſaith Saint Paul) in tribulations, knowing that tribulation bringeth foorth patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not aſhamed. The power of God is made perfect in weakneſſe. And all things turne vnto good to them that feare the Lord. Eccleſ. 2. Prou. 3. Reue. 3. Hebr. 12. Matt. 10. Rom. 5.

VERS. 5. Euen for this cauſe, when I could no longer forbeare, I ſent him that I might know of your faith, leſt the tempter had tempted you in any ſort, and that our labour had beene in vaine.

6. But now lately when Timotheus came from you vnto vs, and brought vs good tidings of your faith, and loue, and that ye haue good remembrance of vs alwaies deſiring to ſee vs, as we alſo doe you.

7. Therefore brethren we had conſolation in you, in all our affliction and neſſitie through your faith.
8. For now are we aliue, if yee ſtand faſt in the Lord.
9. For what thankes can we recompenſe to God againe for you, for all the ioy wherewith we reioyce for your ſakes before our God?
10. Night and day praying exceedingly, that we might ſee your face, and might accompliſh that which is lacking in your faith.

The Apoſtle continueth in declaring his earneſt affection towards them, and how greatly he reioyced to heare of their conſtancy in the faith, and of their loue and agrement together: for he feared it might haue happend to them, as it had done to others. He preached to the Galathians, but they gaue eare to falſe Apoſtles, and went backe from that he had taught them. Gal. 4. I am in feare of you (ſaith he) leſt I haue beſtowed on you labour in vaine. Gal. 5. And. Ye did run well, who did let you, that you did not obey the truth? It is not of the perſwaſion of him that calleth you. The Diuell hath bewitched you, and beguiled your eies. Such is the ſubtilty and the power of Satan in the children of diſobedience. Iudas was an Apoſtle equall with Peter and the other Apoſtles. The Diuell entred into his heart, and bewitched him, and then he became the child of deſtruction. Iulian the Apoſtata, was a Chriſtian, and a Reader in the Church, but became an enemy of Chriſt, and when he was ſtricken in the field by myracle from Heauen, he threw vp his blud in deſiance of Chriſt: ſo had the Diuell bewitched him, and changed his heart to wickednеſſe. It might haue bene that their weakneſſe ſhould in like ſort haue bene ouercome, when the Tempter tempted them. And ſo the gold which he had left with them might haue bene turned into droſſe, and the light into darkneſſe, and the kingdome of God taken away from them. For then had his labour bene in vaine, and they had receiued the word to their owne damnation. For it had bene better for them not to haue knowen the way of righteouſneſſe, than after they haue knowen it, to turne from the holy commandement giuen vnto them.

The Diuell is the tempter. His ſtrength and practiſe is not alwaies by force of armes, but by ſubtile perſwaſions and other ſleights. He reaſoneth with Eue, why ſhe would not taſte of the apple, which was ſweet, pleaſant and delicate: and telleth the poore woman, God did nothing but mocke her: For God knew, what day they ſhould eat thereof, their eies ſhould be opened, and they ſhould know as much as God. He came to Chriſt, and ſaid; Command that theſe ſtones be made bread: and, Caſt thy ſelfe downe, if thou be the ſonne of God: then thou ſhalt be worſhipped, and taken for a great Prophet. He tempted Dauid after this ſort: Pſal. 73. Why wilt thou ſerue God? he hath aduanced thine enemies, and hath forſaken thee, and left thee in miſery. I fretted (ſaith Dauid) at the fooliſh: Theſe are the wicked, yet proſper they alway, and increaſe in riches. Certainly I haue clenſed my heart in vaine, and waſhed my hands in innocency, for daily haue I beene puniſhed, and chaſtned euery morning. Mine heart was vexed: ſo fooliſh was I and ignorant. I was a beaſt beaſt before thee. He tempted Iob the faithfull ſeruant of God, and told him, that he was righteous and holy, and gaue almes in vaine: that God had no regard to his praiers, and would not heare them.

This tempter waiteth all occaſions to draw vs from our faith and ſtedfaſtneſſe in the Lord. Yet is he neuer ſo buſie, as when any perſecution is raiſed againſt the truth. Then is he in his ruffe. Then plaieth he his part, and leaueth nothing vndone, whereby he may moue vs to forſake the truth. Wilt thou (ſaith he) be ſo fooliſh to loſe thy life, and knoweſt not wherefore? Art thou wiſer than thy forefathers? Why ſhouldeſt not thou be contented to doe as thy father and mother, and friends, and kinſfolkes? Thinkeſt thou they haue not as good care of their ſoules, as thou haſt of thine? Wilt thou make them Pagans and Infidels? Doeſt thou thinke they are damned? Be wiſe, and caſt not thy ſelfe away. Fleſh is fraile, life is ſweet, death is dreadfull; but to die in the fire, to be burned aliue, to ſee thy armes, and thy legges quite burnt from thy body, and that yet thou canſt not die, this is moſt terrible, thou canſt neuer abide it.

Behold ſo many Kings, and Princes, Noble men, Cardinals, Biſhops, Doctours, and learned men, and whole Kingdomes and Countries of the contrary opinion. Be not wilfull. Thinke not thy ſelfe wiſer than all the world. What were it for thee to come to the Church, and to ſhew thy ſelfe obedient, and to doe, as others doe? It is a ſmall matter, to loke vp, and hold vp thy hands at the ſacring. If it be an offence, thou ſhalt be excuſed, becauſe thou art forced to doe it by authority. God is mercifull, he will forgiue thee. Thus

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and thus doth Satan tempt vs, and fitteth vs, to lead vs from our ſtedfaſtneſſe. Theſe deuices he practiſed of late daies before our eies, with many conſtant profeſſors of Chriſtian Religion, but through the mighty power of God, they quenched all his firy darts, and through many tribulations entred into glory.

Thankes be to God, which doth make vs able through his grace, not onely to beléeue in him: but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. He is faithfull, and will not ſuffer vs to be tempted, aboue that we are able, but will euen giue the iſſue with the temptation, that we may bée able to beare it. He hath bidden vs call vpon him, in the day of trouble, and he will deliuer vs. Commit thy way vnto the Lord, and truſt in him (ſaith the Prophet) and he ſhall bring it to paſſe. Pſal. 37. I haue ſet the Lord alwais before mee, for hee is at my right hand: Therefore I ſhall not ſlide. Pſal. 16. And againe: The Lord is with mee: Therefore I will not feare what man can doe vnto mee. It is better to truſt in the Lord, Than to haue confidence in Princes Pſal. 118.

When our Sauiour foretold his Diſciples of the troubles to come, he alſo maketh comfort to them of the ſtrength, and the helpe which they ſhall receiue of God, ſaying: When they deliuer you vp, take no thought how, or what yee ſhall ſpeake: for it ſhall bee giuen you in that houre, what yee ſhall ſay. He telleth them by whom they ſhall bée perſecuted: Yee ſhall be betrayed alſo of your parents, and of your brethren, and kinſmen, and friends. And in what ſort: They ſhall lay hands on you, and perſecute you, and deliuer you to the Synagogues, and into Priſons, and bring you before Kings and Rulers. And for what cauſe: For my names ſake. Then what the Godly in this caſe muſt doe: Feare them not. He that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaued. Laſt of all, he promiſeth to be with them and to ſtrengthen them. This ſhall turne to you for a teſtimoniall. Lay it vp therefore in your hearts, that you premeditate not what you ſhall anſwer. For I will giue you a mouth and wiſedome, where againſt all your aduerſaries ſhall not be able to ſpeake, nor reſiſt. Matth. 10. Luke 21. Matth. 10. Luke 21.

Thus were the things ſpoken of, long before, which we haue ſéene lately done. Whoſoeuer will ſet downe the ſtory thereof, now they are paſſed, muſt néeds declare it in the maner as it was fore-ſpoken. Their owne kinſfolkes, and friends betraied many, and brought them to the Biſhops, who deliuered them into priſons, for the name of Chriſt, and for the loue of his truth. The bleſſed witneſſes or Martyrs of God, feared not, but endured. Many were ſimple, young men, young maydens, men and women of great age, labouring men and men of occupations. Yet God gaue them ſuch a mouth, and ſuch wiſedome, as all their aduerſaries were not able to ſpeake againſt it, nor reſiſt it. Who readeth that Scripture diligently, and conſidereth this ſtory of our time aduiſedly, cannot confeſſe but that the light of Gods Goſpell is come among vs. And that we are they vpon whom the latter end of the world is come, and in whom he doth ſhew forth the great might of his power.

Therefore ſuch temptations as Satan vſeth cannot make the man of God fall from his ancker hold. His hope is ſafely laied vp in his breaſt. He knoweth not in whom he putteth his truſt. And therefore ſaith, I preſume out of knowledge. I eſteeme not to know any thing, ſaue Chriſt Ieſus, and him crucified. I beléeue not in my fathers, I reuerence them and loue them, but I beléeue only in God. I feare not the ſword, I feare not what man can doe vnto mée: but I feare him, that can kill my body and ſoule. It is better for mée to abide the fire, and loſe my life, that I may liue for euer, than to deny God for ſafegard of my life, and be caſt into hell fire. If there be ſo many partakers of their errours, and ſo few that cleaue to the truth, the multitude of them ſhall not ſaue me: and it is no triall of Gods truth, whether it be receiued of many or of few. Cardinals, and Biſhops, and Doctours may be wiſe and learned. So were Annas and Caiaphas, the high Prieſts, and Scribes and Phariſeis, which did put to death the Lord of glory. I dare not doe ill, becauſe other men doe it. I may not tempt God. My conſcience is truly aſſured by Gods word what is idolatry, and the diſhonour of God. If I ſhould come into the Church, and make ſuch ſhewes as you aduiſe me, and be partaker with Idolaters, I ſhould doe hurt to others in mine ill example: I ſhould doe againſt mine owne conſcience, which would be a heauy witneſſe againſt me, both whiles I liue in this World, and in the dreadfull day of Iudgement.

VERS. 11. Now God himſelfe, euen our Father, and our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, guide our iourney vnto you.

12. And the Lord increaſe you, and make you abound in loue one toward another, and toward all men, euen as we doe toward you.

13. To make your hearts ſtable, and vnblameable in holineſſe before God euen our Father, at the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt with his Saints.

I haue planted you, you are my children, whom I haue begotten in Christ. I loue you, and haue care ouer you. I haue an exceeding desire to see your face. But Satan hath withstood my purpose, and found meanes to keepe me from you. I commit my voyage to God: if it please him, that I may come vnto you, to reioyce with you, & comfort you. He knoweth what is good for me, and what is profitable for you. The cause is his owne. He will doe all things to his glory. He will tread Satan vnder our feet. We cannot purpose any dispose of our selues. I know that the way of man is not in himselfe, neither is it in man to walk and to direct his steps. Iere. 10.

The Lord increase you, in all godlinesse, that you may abound more and more, euen as you haue heard of vs how you ought to walke. You are but a little flocke, God increase your number, and make all them partakers of his kingdome with you, which beare of your faith and conuersation in Christ.

To make your hearts stable and vnblamable. That nothing moue you or trouble you: that your hearts and consciences be quiet: that you may stand vpright, and shew your selues in great confidence before his iudgement seat: that when you shall see Gods hand stretched out, and his plagues prepared against the wicked, you be not afraid. This is the hauen of rest, whereto no man commeth but he that hath a quiet conscience: this is the tabernacle of the highest, wherin they shall dwell: this is the holy mountaine, wherein they shal rest, that walk vprightly, and worke righteousnesse, and speake the truth in their heart.

Here let vs consider the rages and tempests of a troubled minde, and of an vnquiet conscience: which knoweth that God is an auenger of all wickednesse, and that death is the due reward of sinne: which acknowledgeth himselfe to be a sinner, and findeth no way how he shall escape hell fire. This man when he thinketh with himselfe of these things, he cannot but be amazed and disquieted aboue measure. The sound of the trumpet is euer in his eares, he heareth the voice of the Iudge, saying: Stand forth sinner: now declare how thou hast vsed thy body, giue a reckoning of thy whole life. Then his conscience beginneth to quake and tremble. Then he needeth no witnesse to accuse him, nor Iudge to condemne him. He is both witnesse and Iudge against himselfe.

The danger hereof may somewhat appeare in those which are taken and prisoned, and arraigned before a Iudge. When he knoweth himselfe guilty, heareth the euidence proued against him, seeth the Iudge seuere to deale iustice without mercy, and therfore is assured of death: what griefe and torment feeleth he at heart: what would he not giue? what would he not doe to escape the danger?

But the danger whereunto God iudgeth vs is greater, and the maner of his iudgement is straiter. Here the Iudge may be deceiued, he is but a man: but there God is the Iudge, who is the searcher of the heart and reines, and no man shall be hid from his heat. Here nothing can be done without euidence, without witnesses and proofe: before God, he that hath offended shall accuse himselfe. This is the case of conscience. It selfe is witnesse, it self calleth for iudgement to condemnation. His conscience shal make the sinner say, I haue offended against God: I haue despised his word, and would not giue eare to learne it. I would not know the time of Gods mercy, and of my visitation: I liued in fornication: and committed theft: and kept wrongfully other mens goods: I was disobedient to parents: nurtured not my children in the feare of God: kept not my heart from doing iniquity: I abused my goods, my wits, my senses, and the good grace of God: I haue sinned against Heauen, and against God, and am not worthy to be called his sonne: the wrath of God is worthily fallen vpon me, Hell fire is my meed: the mercy of God cannot saue me, for my sin is greater, than that it can be forgiuen. Mine owne heart and conscience, Heauen and Earth, the Angels and Archangels, God himselfe, and Christ the Redéemer of them that beléeue in him, are against me: I cannot cast mine eies to any place, but euer I see my damnation before me. Then doth he tremble with agony, and stand in feare. His heart daseth and beateth, as the waues of the sea. He feeleth vproare, war, lightning, thunder, death, and hell in his heart: he shall flie when no man followeth him. He shall say to the hils and rockes, Fall on me, and hide me from the presence of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lambe. Such is the terror of an vnquiet minde. Though all the Princes in the World, would ioyne themselues to do it, the wicked can neuer inioy peace. God keepe vs far from such agonies, and giue vs pure hearts, and cleere consciences.

Chap. IIII.

Vers. 1. And furthermore we beseech you brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Iesus, that ye increase more and more as yee haue receiued of vs, how yee ought to walke and to please God.

2. For

2. For ye know what commandements we gaue you by the Lord Ieſus.

WE command you not, nor vſe any force, but intreat you with all patience and meekneſſe, that ye will loue your owne ſoules, and thinke and doe thoſe things which pleaſe God. You are they to whom the promiſe was made. God hath called you out of darkneſſe into his marueilous light. He hath not dealt ſo with euery nation, neither haue they knowen his iudgements.

We come not to you in our owne name. We haue charge to preach the Goſpell to all nations. Therefore we ſpeake vnto you in the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. We ſhew you the way that you may walke in it: we declare vnto you the will of God, that you may be ſaued. For yet will the Lord wait that he may haue mercy vpon you; and therfore will he be exalted, that he may haue compaſſion vpon you, ſaith the Prophet Eſay. We haue opened vnto you the whole treaſure of Gods mercy. We haue lead you to the throne of grace, and made you ſee the Lambe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the World. We haue preached vnto you remiſſion and forgiueneſſe of your ſinnes through his name. If you haue heard vs and beleeue, you ſhall be ſaued. If any man preach vnto you otherwiſe than that you haue receiued, let him be accurſed. Eſay. 30.

How ye ought to walke and pleaſe God. It is not enough that ye beleeue: ye muſt alſo walke and liue according to knowledge. This is the will of God. For we are his workmanſhip created in Chriſt Ieſus vnto good workes, which God hath ordained that we ſhould walke in them. For the grace of God hath appeared, that bringeth ſaluation vnto all men, and teacheth vs that we ſhould liue ſoberly, and righteouſly, and godly in this life. Looking for the bleſſed hope, and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. In this ſort hath our teaching beene among you: That you might ſhew forth your faith by your workes: That it auaileth you nothing to ſay you haue faith, if you haue no workes; becauſe the faith that hath no workes, is dead. This we are taught by the words of our Lord Ieſus: he ſaith; Not euery one that ſaith vnto mee, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdome of heauen, but he that doth my Fathers will that is in heauen. Againe: Euery tree that bringeth not foorth good fruit, is hewen downe, and caſt into the fire. The ſeruant that knoweth his maſters will, and doth it not, ſhal be beaten with many ſtripes. Thus hath our Lord commanded vs to be like our father which is in heauen: to let our light ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee our good workes. Thus the Apoſtle taught: Thus the church of God this day teacheth. It requireth faith, as the inſtrument, and meanes to apply the merits and paſſion of Ieſus Chriſt for our ſaluation: and good workes, as fruits and witneſſes of our faith. Whoſoeuer learneth aright, and beleeueth the Goſpel as he ought, groweth, and goeth forward from vertue to vertue. If he were ignorant before, he commeth thereby to knowledge. If hee were weake, he groweth in ſtrength. If he were wicked, he turneth vnto godlineſſe. Eph. 2. Tit. 2. Matth. 7.

VERS. 3. For this is the will of God, euen your holineſſe, and that ye ſhould abſtaine from fornication.

4. That euery one of you ſhould know how to poſſeſſe his veſſell in holineſſe and honour.

God requireth true and vnfained holineſſe. Waſh you, ſaith the Prophet Eſay, make you cleane, take away the euill of your workes, from before mine eies, ceaſe to doe ill. This is the commandement of God, that ſo we ſhould be partakers of his heauenly nature. As he which hath called you is holy, ſo be yee holy in all maner of conuerſation, ſaith Saint Peter. Eſay 1. 1. Pet. 1.

Abſtaine from fornication. Nothing ſo much hinderth true holineſſe as fornication, vncleanneſſe, wantonneſſe, and ſuch like. Euery ſinne that a man doth, is without the body, but he that committeth fornication, ſinneth againſt his owne body. God is the auenger of ſuch. He will iudge the adulterers and fornicatours. Be not deceiued: Neither fornicatours, nor adulterers, nor wantons, nor buggerers ſhall inherit the Kingdome of Heauen.

Know to poſſe his veſſell. That is, his body. And the body is the temple of the Holy Ghoſt, as he ſaith to the Corinthians: And therfore glorifie God in your body, and in your ſpirit, for they are Gods. In this body we ſhal riſe out of our graue, and appeare before the iudgement ſeat of God; in this body, we ſhall ſit vpon the twelue ſeats, and iudge the twelue tribes. God ſhall crowne it with glory and honour. Keepe this veſſell cleane, it is pretious: keepe it in honour, keepe it in holineſſe. Make not the member of Chriſt, a member of the Diuell. Shame not your bodies, ſhame not your ſelues. 1. Cor. 6.

VERS. 5. And not in the luſt of concupiſcence, euen as the Gentiles which know not God.

Giue not your ſelues ouer to filthy affections, as the Horſe and Mule which haue no vnderſtanding, and as the Gentiles which haue no feare of Gods iudgement. Their heart and minde is vncleane. They know not God, they know not themſelues. They know not the difference of this life, and of the life to come. Therefore they know not ſinne, or if they know it, they refraine it not, but follow the luſts of their corrupt nature, and giue themſelues to wantonneſſe, to worke all vncleanneſſe, euen with greedineſſe. Thus the Apoſtel ſetteth downe, what is the fruit of ignorance: and whereto a man groweth, that knoweth not God. That deuotion therefore, which ſome ſay is the daughter of ignorance, hath no likeneſſe with true holineſſe. For this is life eternall, ſaith Chriſt, that they know
Iohn 17. thee to be the only very God, and whom thou haſt ſent, Ieſus Chriſt.

VERS. 6. That no man oppreſſe or defraude his brother in any matter, for the Lord is an auenger of all ſuch things, as we haue alſo told you before-time and teſtified.

Let no man defraud his brother, neither by falſe weight, nor by falſe meaſure, nor by lying words. Let your meaſures, and weights, and words be true: let your gaines be iuſt and true, that God may bleſſe them. His bleſſing will make you rich, and whatſoeuer he bleſſeth not, ſhall waſte and conſume, and doe you no good. Doe vnto others as you would they ſhould doe vnto you. This is true dealing, and vpright.

If thou ſpeake more than is true, if thou take more than thy ware is worth, thy conſcience knoweth it is none of thine. God will deſtroy all the workers of iniquity. He that delighteth in ſinne hateth his owne ſoule. The mouth that accuſtometh to lie, ſlaieth the ſoule.

Defraud not thy brother: he is thy brother, whether he be rich or poore: he is thy brother, and the ſonne of God. Wilt thou doe wrong to thy brother? Wilt thou oppreſſe the ſonne of God, and that euen in the ſight of God? God is his father, he will not leaue it vnpuniſhed in thée. If he be ſimple and vnſkilfull, abuſe not his ſimplicity. God is the God of rigteouſneſſe. Deale iuſtly, that thine owne conſcience accuſe thée not. Teach not thy ſonnes nor thy ſeruants to deceiue others, and to gaine by wickedneſſe, After they haue learned of thée to deceiue others, they will deceiue thée alſo. Iob praied daily for his children. Bée thou alſo carefull that thy children and ſeruants deceiue no man, nor hurt any. Their ſinnes ſhall be laid to thy charge. Why aſkeſt thou of God, that he will fée de thée, and giue thée thy daily bread, and waiteſt not vpon his will, but fédeſt vpon the bread of iniquity? This meat will not nouriſh thée, this wealth will not ſtand by thée, for
Prou. 20. God will not proſper it. The wiſe man ſaith: The bread of deceit is ſweet to a man, but afterward his mouth ſhall be filled with grauell. Ill gotten goods haue an ill end. God hath
Agge. 1. ſaid by the Prophet Aggeus: Yee haue ſowen much, but you haue brought in little: Yee brought it home, and I did blow vpon it. We haue examples héereof daily. We haue ſéene great heapes of wealth ſuddenly blowen away, and conſumed to nothing: great houſes decaied, and the hope of the wicked quite ouerthrowen.

Héere wil I ſpeak ſomwhat of the vnhappy trade of Vſury, becauſe therein ſtandeth the moſt miſerable and ſhamefull deceiuing of the brethren. I will not ſpeake all that may bée ſaid, for it would be to long and ouer wearifome. I will haue regard of that ſhall be agréable, and profitable, and behouefull for you to heare. And that you may the better conſider héereof, and ſée the whole matter of Vſury, I will ſhew you firſt, what Vſury is: Then, whence it ſpringeth and what are the cauſes of Vſury: Thirdly, what commeth of it, what hurt it worketh to the Common-wealth: and I will lay forth ſuch reaſons, as may make any good man abhorre it: Then I will declare, what the holy Fathers, and the Apoſtles, and Martyrs, and Chriſt, and God himſelfe haue thought and ſpoken of Vſury.

Many ſimple men know not what is Vſury, nor neuer heard of the name of it. The world were happy, if no man knew it. For euill things doe leſſe harme when they be moſt vnknowen. Peſtilences and plagues are not knowen, but with great miſery. But that you may learne to know it, and the more to abhorre it, this it is.

Vſury is a kind of lending of mony, or corne, or oile, or wine, or of any other thing, wherin, vpon couenant and bargain, we receiue againe the whole principal, which we delinered and ſomewhat more, for the vſe and occupying of the ſame. As, if I lend 100. pound, and for it couenant to receiue 105. pounds, or any other ſumme, greater than was the ſumme, which I did lend. This is that, that we call Vſury. Such a kind of bargaining as no good man, or godly man euer vſed. Such a kind of bargaining as all men that euer feared Gods iudgement haue alwaies abhorred, and condemned. It is filthy gaines, and a worke of darkneſſe. It is a monſter in nature: the ouerthrow of mighty kingdoms the deſtruction of flouriſhing ſtates, the decay of wealthy Cities, the plagues of the world, the miſery of the people.

people. It is theft, it is the murdering of our brethren, it is the curſe of God, and the curſe of the people. This is Uſury. By theſe ſignes and tokens you may know it: for whereſoeuer it reigneth, all thoſe miſchiefes enſue. But how and how many waies it may be wrought, I will not declare. It were horrible to heare: and I come now to reprowue Uſury, and not to teach it.

Let vs ſee then what is the cauſe hereof, and whence it groweth, who is the mother, the nurſe, or the bréder of Uſury. For it groweth not euery where, nor among all men. Many hate it, and deteſt it, and had rather die, than line of ſuch ſpoile. It is not of God; for God ſtraitly forbiddeth it. Neither is it found among the children of God; for loue ſéketh not her owne profit, but to doe good to her neighbour.

Whence then ſpringeth Uſury? Some ſhewed. Euen thence, whence theft, murder, adultery, the plagues and deſtruction of the people doe ſpring. All theſe are the workes of the Diuell, and the workes of the fleſh. Chriſt telleth the Phariſies, You are of your father the Diuell, and the luſts of your Father you will doe. Euen ſo may it truly be ſaid to the Uſurer, thou art of thy father the Diuell, and the luſt of thy father thou wilt doe, and therefore thou haſt pleaſure in his workes. The Diuell entred into the heart of Iudas, and put in him this grédineſſe, and couetouſneſſe of gaine, for which he was content to ſell his Maſter. Iudas heart was the ſhop, the Diuel was the foreman to worke in it. S. Paul ſaith: They that wil be rich, fall into tentation and ſnares, and into many fooliſh and noiſome luſts, which drowne men into perdition, and deſtruction. For the deſire of money is the roote of euill. And S. Iohn ſaith: Whoſoeuer committeth ſinne is of the Diuell. Thus we ſée that the Diuell is the planter, and the father of Uſury.

Iohn 8.

1. Tim. 6.

1. Iohn 3.

Couetouſneſſe, deſire of mony, vnſatiable grédineſſe, deceitfulneſſe, vnmercifulneſſe, iniury, oppreſſion, extortion, contempt of God, hatred to the brethren, and hatred of all men, are the nurſes and bréders of Uſury. It ſpringeth from Satan, and groweth, and is watered, and fed and nouriſhed by theſe cruell and damnable monſters.

Let vs ſée farther, what are the fruits which come of Uſury. For perhaps it doth ſome good, and you may thinke that many are the better for it. Theſe therefore are the fruits. It diſſolueth the knot and fellowſhip of mankind: it hardneth mans heart: It maketh men vnnatural, and bereaueth them of charity and loue to their déereſt friends. It bréedeth miſery, and prouoketh the wrath of God from Heauen. It conſumeth rich men, it eateth vp the poore, it maketh bankrups, and vndoeth many houſholds. The poore occupiers are driuen to flée, their wiues are left alone, their children are helpleſſe, and driuen to beg their bread, through the vnmercifull dealing of the couetous Uſurer.

When Dauid laieth out the wickednes of the Country where he was perſecuted, hée ſaith of them: *Non defecit Vſura, & dolus in plateis eorum:* Vſury and deceit departeth not from their ſtreets, one ſéketh to ſpoile and eat vp another. Theſe are the commodities and the fruits of Uſury. Such is Uſury in the midſt of a City, and ſuch good it worketh, as fire doth, when it is ſet to the roofe of a houſe; or as the plague doth, when it is taken to the midſt of the body, and toucheth the heart.

Pſal. 54.

We haue heard whence Uſury ſpringeth, and what hurt it doth. Which whoſoeuer conſidereth, may find cauſe enough to loath it, and forſake it. One aſked of Cato, What it was to commit Vſury. What is it (ſaith he againe) to kill a man? He that is an Uſurer, is a murtherer. The ſame Cato ſaith: Our fathers puniſhed a theefe, with paiment of the double of that hee had taken; but the Vſurer was alwaies condemned to pay foure times the value. They were wiſe men. They thought that an Uſurer was much worſe than a Théefe.

For a théefe is driuen by extremity and néed: the Uſurer is rich and hath no néed. The théefe ſtealeth in corners, and in places where he may be vnknowen: the Uſurer openly and boldly at all times, and in any place. The théefe, to releeue his wife and children: the Uſurer, to ſpoile his neighbour, and to vndoe his wife & children. The théefe ſtealeth from the rich, which haue enough: the Uſurer from the poore that hath nothing. The théefe fléeth and will be ſéene no more: the Uſurer ſtandeth by it, continueth, and ſtealeth ſtill: day and night, ſléeping and waking, he alwaies ſtealeth. The théefe repenteth of his déed, he knoweth he hath done wrong and is ſorry for it: the Uſurer, thinketh it is his owne, that it is wel gotten, and neuer repenteth, nor ſorroweth, but defendeth, and maintaineth his ſin impudently. The théefe, if he eſcape, many times becommeth profitable to his country, and beſtoweth himſelfe painfully in ſome trade of life: the Uſurer leaueth his merchandize, forſaketh his houſbandry, giueth himſelfe to nothing, whereby his country may haue benefit. The théefe is ſatiſfied at length: the Uſurer hath neuer enough. The belly of the wicked will neuer be filled. As the Sea is neuer filled with water, though all the ſtreames of the world run into it: ſo the grédineſſe of an Uſurer is neuer ſatiſfied, though he gaine neuer

ſo

so vnreasonably. The Sea is profitable: the Usurer is hurtfull and dangerous. By the Sea we may passe, and come safely to the Hauen: but no man passeth by Usury without losse or shipwracke.

Now heare what the godly and learned Fathers of the Church haue thought of Usury. No doubt they were godly men, and wrot hereof, as God had inspired them, and as others before them had done. Augustine saith: *Quid dicam de Vsuris, quas ipsæ leges, &c.* What shal I speake of Vsury, whereof the Lawes and Iudges require that restitution be made? is he more cruel which stealeth something away from the rich man, or he that killeth a poore man with Vsury? Marke this, an Usurer, saith Augustine, is cruell. Why? he killeth. Whom? the poore man, whom in charity he is bound to releeue. *Aug. Macedon. Epist. 54.*

Ambrose hereof saith: *Vsuras solvit, qui victu indiget: an quicquam gravius? &c.* He that lacketh wherewith to keepe life, payeth yon Vsury. What heauier case may there be? He seeketh to be healed, and you poison him: he asketh you bread, and you giue him a knife, he desireth you to set him at liberty, and you bring him to further bondage. And againe: Thou Vsurer growest wealthy by other mens heauinesse: thou makest gaines of their teares and weeping: thou art fed with their hunger: thou coinest thy money of the skins of those men whom thou destroiest: how thinkest thou thy selfe to be rich, and yet beggest an almes of him that is poore? And the same father saith further: *Ab hoc Vsuram exige, quem non sit crimen occidere:* Whomsoeuer it is lawfull to kill, thou maiest lend him thy mony to Vsury. For he that taketh Usury, killeth without a sword. These be holy Fathers, and worthy of credit: they shew vs, that Usury is as bad as to kill and murther a man wilfully. *Lib. de Tobia cap. 3.* *Ibid. cap. 15.*

Chrysostome likewise: *In his sensibilibus pecuniis prohibuit ne quis vsuram acciperet, &c.* God hath forbidden that no man shall take Vsury, in this sensible, or common money. Why? because either of them is much hindred. He that oweth mony is made poorer, and hee that lendeth it, by this kind of enriching himselfe encreaseth the number of his sinnes. Againe he saith: *Sicut fermentum modicum quod mittitur in multam farinam, totam conspersionem corrumpit, &c.* Euen as little leauen leaueneth the whole lumpe of dowe, euen so Vsury, when it commeth into any mans house, draweth all his substance, and changeth it into debt. *Hom. 41. in 18. Genes.* *Hom. 12. in 5. Mat.*

He that is an Usurer, wisheth that all others may lacke, and come to him and borrow of him: that all others may lose, so that he may haue gaine. Therefore our old forefathers so much abhorred this trade, that they thought an Usurer vnworthy to liue in the company of Christian men: they did excommunicate him. They suffered not an Usurer to be a witnesse in matters of Law. They suffered him not to make a Testament, and to bestow his goods by will. When an Usurer died, they would not suffer him to be buried in places appointed for the buriall of Christians. So highly did they mislike this vnmercifull spoiling, and deceiuing our brethren.

But what speake I of the ancient Fathers of the Church? there was neuer any religion, nor sect, nor state, nor degree, nor profession of men, but they haue disliked it. Philosophers, Greeks, Latines, Lawyers, Diuines, Catholikes, Heretikes, all tongues and nations haue euer thought an Usurer as dangerous as a theefe. The very sense of nature proueth it to be so. If the stones could speake, they would say as much.

Therefore our Sauiour saith: Doe good, and lend, looking for nothing againe. He saith not, lend and loke not for your principall againe. But loke for no gaine thereby, loke not to receiue more than thine owne for the vse and occupying of it. Defraud not another: thou wouldest not another should defraud thee. Oppresse him not, haue pity on his wife and children: thou wouldest not haue thy wife and children vndone. In Leuiticus God saith: If thy brother be impouerished and fallen in decay, thou shalt take no Vsury of him, nor vantage, but thou shalt feare thy God, that thy brother may liue with thee. God saith, thou shalt take no Usury. And he hath power and authority to command. And in Exodus: If thou lend mony to my people to the poore with thee, thou shalt not be as an Vsurer vnto him, ye shall not oppresse him with Vsury. Shew them mercy for my sake, they are my people. I can inrich him, I can impouerish thee. I set vp, and throw downe whom I will. When thy neighbour needeth thy help, and seeketh comfort at thy hands, afflict him not as an enemy, oppresse him not like a tyrant. Luke 6. Leuit. 25. Exod. 22.

Ezechiel the Prophet setteth downe the wrath of God against Usurers: He that hath giuen foorth his mony vpon Vsury, or hath taken increase, shall he liue? he shall not liue, saith the Lord. He shall perish in his owne sin, his blood shall be vpon his head. Therfore when he reckoneth the offences of Ierusalem, and declareth the heauy plagues that are prepared against that wicked City, he saith: Thou hast taken Vsury and increase, and thou hast defrauded thy neighbours by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord God. Behold Ezech. 18. Ezech. 22.

hold therfore I haue ſmitten thine hands vpon the couetouſneſſe, that thou haſt vſed. Thou haſt done iniury to my people, that thou mighteſt make thine owne gaine. Thy wrongs and oppreſſions done by Vſury riſe vp into heauen, therefore I will gather thee, and blow the fire of my wrath vpon thee, ſaith the Lord.

Thus hath God ſpoken, euen the Lord of heauen and earth, which can ſcatter thy gold in the winde, and blow it to nothing. Thus he ſpeaketh to thee, that heareſt, and readeſt his word, which knoweſt that his will is, thou ſhouldeſt not lend thy mony to Vſury. Thou doeſt oppreſſe (ſaith he.) Whom? thy brother, for whom Chriſt vouchſafed to ſhed his bloud. And what brother? him that was poore, which came to thee for need, to ſeeke thy helpe. How? wickedly, cloſely, ſlilly, craftily, deceitfully, like an hypocrite, vnder colour to doe him good. Wherewith? with thy mony, thy gold, and ſiluer, which God hath giuen thee to releeue the poore and needy withall.

God hath ſaid, thou ſhalt not take Vſury, and what art thou that deſpiſeſt the voice of the Lord? whoſe words wilt thou heare, that wilt not heare the word of God? remember the words, you cannot forget them. Thou ſhalt not take Vſury of thy brother, he is poore and fallen in decay: thou ſhalt not be an Vſurer vnto him: thou ſhalt not oppreſſe him with Vſury. For it is cruelty, and abhomination in the ſight of God: therefore will God poure out his wrath, and conſume the Vſurer: he ſhall not enter into the Tabernacle of the higheſt, he ſhall haue no part in the kingdome of Chriſt, and of God, but ſhall be caſt into the vtward darkneſſe.

But ſome will ſay, all kinds of Vſury are not forbidden. There may be caſes where Vſury may ſtand with reaſon & equity. And herein they ſay ſo much as by wit may be deuiſed, to paint out a foule, and vgly Idol, and to ſhadow themſelues in manifeſt and open wickedneſſe. Whatſoeuer God ſaith, yet this or this kind of Vſury, ſay they, which is done in this or this ſort, is not forbidden. It profiteth the common wealth, it releeueth great numbers. The poore ſhould otherwiſe periſh, no man would lend them.

By like good reaſon, there are ſome that defend theft, and murder. They ſay, there may be ſome caſe, where it is lawful to kill or to ſteale: for God willed the Hebrews to rob the Ægyptians, and Abraham to kill his owne ſonne Iſaac. In theſe caſes their robbery and the killing of his ſonne were lawfull. So ſay they. Euen ſo by like reaſon doe ſome of our Country-men maintaine Concubines, Curtizans, and Brothell-houſes, and ſtand in defence of open Stewes. They are (ſay they) for the benefit of the Country: they keepe men from more dangerous inconuenience: take them away, it will be worſe. Although God ſay, There ſhall be no whore of the daughters of Iſrael, neither ſhall there be a whore-keeper of the ſonnes of Iſrael: yet theſe men ſay all manner of whoredome is not forbidden. In theſe and theſe caſes it is not amiſſe to allow it. Deut. 23.

God ſaid to Saul: Goe and ſtrike Amalek, and deſtroy ye all that pertaineth to them, and haue no compaſſion on them, but ſlaie both man and woman, both infant and ſuckling, both Oxe and Sheepe, both Camel, and Aſſe. So ſtrait, and preciſe was Gods commandement. Forth marcheth Saul, ſetteth vpon his enemies, God aſſiſteth him, and giueth him the victory. When he tooke Agag priſoner, and ſaw him to be a goodly tall Gentleman, he had pity on him, and ſaued him aliue. And the beſt and faireſt of the ſheepe, and Oxen, and other cattell, he did not deſtroy, although he knew well, that God had commanded him to kill man and beaſt, euery one without exception. Then came Samuel vnto him, and ſaid: Oh why haſt thou not done as thou wert commanded? Heere let vs marke the wicked anſwer of Saul, in defence of his wilfull diſobedience. It had beene great pity to haue ſlaine Agag ſo comely, and tall a Gentleman. I haue taken him, and kept him priſoner. And if I ſhould haue deſtroied this goodly cattell, they had come to nothing. It was better to ſaue them for the victualling of my ſouldiers: and the faireſt of them may be offered in ſacrifice. So breake he the commandement of God vnder pretence of doing honour to God. 1. Sam. 15.

But Samuel ſaid, hath the Lord as great pleaſure in burnt offerings and ſacrifices, as when the voice of the Lord is obeied? behold, to obey is better than ſacrifice. And to diſobey his holy will, is to renounce and forſake him.

So may we ſay to the Vſurer. Thou haſt deuiſed caſes, and colours to hide thy ſhame, but what regard hath God to thy caſes? what careth he for thy reaſons? the Lord would haue more pleaſure, if when thou heareſt his voice thou wouldeſt obey him. For what is thy deuice againſt the counſel, and ordinance of God? What bold preſumption is it for a mortall man to controll the commandements of the immortal God? and to waigh his heauenly wiſdome in the ballance of humane fooliſhneſſe? When God ſaith, Thou ſhalt not take Vſury, what creature of God art thou, which canſt take Vſury? When God maketh it vnlawfull, what art thou, oh man, that ſaieſt, It is lawfull? This is a token of a deſperate minde. It is found true in thee, that Paul ſaid, The loue of mony is the roote of all

euill

euill. Thou art so giuen ouer vnto the wicked Mammon, that thou carest not to doe the will of God.

Wilfulnesse and presumption, are tokens that such men are impudent, and past shame. He that offendeth of simplicity, may finde mercy. But they which of pride and boldnesse goe against the knowen truth, and doe that thing which they know to be ill, and deuise shifts to colour that, which all reason, and learning, of God, and men, and nature it selfe haue condemned, they are fallen into temptation and snares, and into foolish lusts which drowne them in destruction.

God is the Lord. We are but seruants: he hath made vs, and not we our selues: we are but as clay in his hands: we can not repeale the Law that God hath established: we must obey it. We may not doe the things that seeme good in our owne eies, they may deceiue vs: but we must doe whatsoeuer God biddeth vs to doe, and forsake to doe those things which he forbiddeth.

Thus much for an entry to those, which can bring so good reasons, for so ill a matter.

Many defend their Vsury, by that liberty which they thinke they haue, to vse their goods in such sort, as seemeth best to themselues, and is most to their aduantage. May I not, say they, do with mine own goods what I will? This would they not say, if they were of him, which hath said by his holy Apostle: Let euery man, as he hath receiued the gift, so minister
1. Pet. 4. the same one to another, as good disposers of the manifold grace of God. It is the law of nature, that no man abuse the things that are his, to the hurt and hinderance of another. May a man take his owne dagger, and therewith commit murther? or may a man take of his owne fire and therewith burne his neighbours house? He that said, Thou shalt not kil, hath also said: Thou shalt not steale: Thou shalt not commit Vsury: Thou shalt not defraud thy brother in bargaining. He is not vnrighteous, that he will iudge the murtherer, and will not condemne the Vsurer. In that day the Vsurer shall know, whose mony it was, wherewith he defrauded his brother. His mony shall not helpe him, he shall haue no shift to conueigh himselfe from the wrath of God: he and his mony shall perish together.

But the Vsurer will say. The poore man came to me, I was not in hast to seeke him. He moned his case to me. I toke pitty of him, and lent him mony. Since then he and all his haue beene the better. Here you shall see the great kindnesse and pitifull heart of this rich Vsurer. He draweth his purse, giueth out his goods, and helpeth the poore, and the poore is much eased by him. But alas what helpe is this? euen such as he findeth, that in the midst of his fit of an ague drinketh a great draught of cold water. No doubt he is refreshed, and cooled, and for that present time much the better. But after a while when his heanes renue the heat increaseth: his heart panteth, his pulse beateth, his mouth is dray, his tongue burneth: he is more terribly tormented, than euer before. So fareth it with him that borroweth mony vpon Vsury. He looketh in his hand, and seeth somewhat it is not his owne: yet is he refreshed therewith, and much eased. The yere passeth, the day of paiment draweth on, the creditor calleth for mony: then, then the heats, and fits, and agonies begin to grow. Then must pot and pan trudge to redeeme his body. Then he feeleth more cruell torments than euer before.

Thus doth the gentle Vsurer helpe to releeue the poore in time of his necessity: as if a man would cure a sore finger by cutting off the arme: or as if he would cure the blemish of the eie sight, by the pulling out the eies: or as if he would quench thirst by giuing poison to drinke: or, as if to saue one from drowning in a boisterous tempest, he would cast him ouer the boat into the sea.

The Scorpion imbraceth a man swetly with his legs, but in the meane while striketh him deadly with his taile. His face looketh amiable, his taile poisoneth. So an Vsurer looketh faire, and giueth good words: but at the end he vndoeth.

Who is stung by an Adder, he perceiueth no hurt: But feeleth a gentle beating of his veines with some delight, whereat he reioyceth. After this he falleth into a slumber: then the poison worketh, ouercommeth him, and killeth him. Euen so he that borroweth vpon Vsury, findeth himselfe wonderfully amended, and reioyceth: but he is stung, and hath a deadly stroke. The poison will grow ouer him, he shall die in a slumber, and be vndone before he is aware. So necessary is an Vsurer for to releeue the poore and needy, as rust is to helpe iron, and as the moth is to helpe a garment: it eateth him thorow from one side to another. Therefore saith Ambrose: *Talia sunt vestra diuites beneficia. Minus datis, & plus exigitis. Talis humanitas, vt spolietis etiam dum subuenitis.* Such are the benefits that you rich men bestow: you giue out little, and require much againe. Such is your kindnesse, that you vndoe them whom yee helpe. And thus much of the ease that poore men find in borrowing vpon Vsury. They are bitten, and stung, and eaten vp and deuoured by it. Most men confesse that this kind of Vsury is forbidden, because it releeueth not, but spoileth and consumeth.

Lib. de Tobia. cap. 3.

meth. God take the liking of it out of all mens hearts, then ſhall they be the better able to iudge of the other ſorts, which they yet thinke allowable.

What if one rich man lend money to another? What if a Merchant take money to Vſury of a Merchant, and both be the better, and both be gainers? Here is no ſting, nor biting. What ſhall we thinke of this? What if a Theefe or a Pirate take Vſury of a Pirate or a Theefe, and both be partakers of the gaine, and be both of them holpen? Let no man miſlike the compariſon. For, as I ſaid before, a Pirate or a Theefe is not ſo noiſull, as an Vſurer. Here, ſay you, he that lendeth is a gainer, and he that borroweth is a gainer. It doth good to both. If both be gainers; who is the loſer? for Vſury neuer palleth, without working loſſe. Take this as a rule, There is neuer Vſury without loſſe.

Here, I pray you to lend me your minds, and conſider what I ſay. A Merchant taketh vp of his neighbor a hundred pounds, and muſt anſwer againe a hundred and ten pounds. He beſtoweth it all in Corne, and buieth for his hundred pounds, a hundred quarters of Corne. He ſendeth it to the Market, the people haue néede of it, and buy it. If he ſold it for eight groats a buſhel, he might make vp his hundred pounds, and be a gainer. But vnleſſe he make vp a hundred and ten pounds to diſcharge his Vſury, he muſt néedes be a loſer and vndone. But vndone he will not be: he will rather vndoe many others. Therefore he ſetteth price at three ſhillings the buſhel, and ſo maketh his money, and paieth the Vſurer, and ſaueth himſelfe, and is no loſer. Who then paieth the ten pounds? who is the loſer? Any man may ſee. The poore people which buy the corne. They find it, and ſéele it in euery morſell the eat. Thus, if the Merchant borrower be not hindred by the Vſurer: yet the people that buieth his wares are plaged. Thus it is no hard matter to find, that howſoeuer Vſury be vſed, it is alwaies dangerous, and beguileth the people, and is therefore the deſtruction and ouerthrow of the common wealth.

But, ſaith he, why ſhould I not make mony to yéeld me gaines, as well as my wares? I lend my ſhop for a yéere, or two, or three, ſo many pieces of Veluet, Satins, Taffata, Grograine, Chamblet, Hollands, &c. And for the vſe he ſhall pay me by the yeere forty pounds, and in the end reſtore me my ſhop, ſo many péeces of Veluet, &c. ſo long, ſo broad, of the ſame making, ſo good, ſo fine as were the other. This, ſaith he, is lawfull, therefore the other is lawfull.

No, no, this is not lawfull. It is not lawfull ſo to ſet out thy ſhop. It is Vſury, it is forbidden. But he that taketh the ſhop ſhal be a gainer: who ſhall be the loſer then? They that buy the wares muſt néeds buy at the dearer price. We may not allow one ill thing by the allowance of another. He ſhould rather ſay, Vſury taken vpon wares, is not lawfull: therefore Vſury for bare mony is leſſe lawfull. Hierome vpon Ezechiel ſaith: *Putant quidam Vſuram tantùm eſſe in pecunia: quoa prænidens Scriptura diuina, omni rei auſert ſuperabundantiam, vt plus non accipias, quàm dediſti.* Some thinke there is no Vſury, but in money. This did the holy Scriptures foreſee, and therefore taketh away the increaſe or gaines in any maner of thing: and requireth that thou receiue no more, than thou didſt deliuer. *Lib. 6. in 18. Ezech.*

An occupier waxeth old, his occupying is done. He hath in ſtocke two hundred pounds: he commeth to a yong man, wiſe, of good credit, and of honeſt dealing, and ſaith: I giue thee this money freely, it ſhall be thine for euer, vpon this condition: That thou giue mee twenty markes by the yéere during my life. This may be done, it is no Vſury. Wherefore? it is a plaine gift with a condition. The principall is gone from me for euer: I haue no right vnto it, it is none of mine. If I die to morrow before I receiue any peny, my executors cannot claime any thing. But in Vſury it is otherwiſe. The Vſurer requireth his whole ſome againe, and ſomewhat more for the vſe and occupying. Therefore this is a guift, and not Vſury.

Againe, I lend my neighbour twenty pounds vntill a day. He hath it freely, and frindly without any Vſury. Yet I ſay to him. Neighbour, you muſt néedes keep day, for the next day after I muſt diſcharge a paine, I ſtand bound for a paiment. I haue no more but this which you borrow. If I miſſe, I forfet fiue pounds. I pray you be carefull for it. The day commeth any neighbour commeth not: I lacke my mony, and becauſe I lacke it, I loſe fiue pounds. He commeth afterward and offereth me mine owne mony Then, ſay I, Neighbor, I haue loſt fiue pounds by your negligence and ſlackneſſe, I hope you will not ſuffer me to be a loſer for my gentleneſſe. This is intereſt, it is no Vſury.

Here, by the way, you may learne wherefore it is called intereſt, becauſe he may ſay, *Interfuit mea habuiſſe*: It behooued me, it ſtood me vpon to haue it, and now by your default I ſuſtaine loſſe. It is good to know the one from the other. This kind of dealing is Intereſt, and not Vſury. In Vſury I ſéeke to be a gainer: in intereſt I ſéeke only to be no loſer; gaine or profit I ſéeke none. And hereof I may lawfully ſéeke to be anſwered: it ſtandeth with equity, and conſcience, and good reaſon. This is intereſt, & no Vſury, that a man

who

who requireth no gaine, should seeke to saue himselfe harmelesse. Beare patiently with mee, if I be long. My desire is, you should vnderstand this whole matter, and be able to know one thing from another: That so, no man may excuse his Vsury by name of interest: and others be not offended, nor reckon all men to be Vsurers, which lend forth their mony, or any waies dispose of their stocke.

A poore Orphane left in his Cradle hath a hundred pounds stocke. This stocke may bee put out to Vsury. And the Vsury is allowed. This is a deed of charity, it is no Vsury, as shall appeare. For, if the hundred pounds should lie still without increase, and be bestowed from yeere to yeere to the vse of the child, the whole stocke would be spent, before the child should come to yeeres. But if the stocke be put to occupying, and into an honest mans hands, something will grow to the reliefe of the Orphane, and yet his stocke remaine whole. This is charity to releeue the Infant, that cannot releeue himselfe. The like is, in using the stocke of a man that hath not his wits, and is not able to dispose of his goods. Or, if a Merchant by sickenesse, or maime, or any other hinderance, be not able to follow his businesse, he desireth another to vse and occupy for him, and to doe with his stocke, as it were his owne, only to maintaine him with the increase therof. This is not Vsury. Why? because he that taketh the stocke of the Orphane, or of the mad man, or of the diseased merchant, is not bound to answer all aduentures, and casualties that happen. As, if to like vse I take a stocke in cattell, and they die without my default: or a stocke in mony or wares, and the wares be burnt by fire, or the money stollen without my default, I am not bound to answer the principall: therefore it is no Vsury.

But he that taketh money to Vsury, whether he gaine or lose, or whatsoeuer happen vnto him he must answer the whole stocke he borrowed. And this it that vndoeth so many, and maketh them bankrupts. But this happeneth not in this case. He that occupieth the Orphanes mony or stocke, is charged only to vse it as his owne, and no otherwise. If it perish, or decay, or miscarry without his default, he is not bound to answer it. Therefore, as I said, it is no Vsury.

Yet, say they, farther for defence of Vsury: It is suffered in other countries, in France, Spaine, Italie, Rome, &c. the lawes permit it. And what law doth suffer it? I trow, not the law of God, for that law straitly forbiddeth it. But what speake I of the Law of God? the Ciuill law condemneth Vsury, the Canon law condemneth it, the Temporall law condemneth it, and the law of Nature condemneth it. And how is that sufferable by any Law, that by so many Lawes is condemned? or how is he worthy to liue among men, that despiseth the authority of so many Lawes? or what will you iudge of that man, that will be tempered and ordered by no Law? neither by Ciuill, nor by Cannon, nor by Temporall, nor by law of Nature, nor by law of Men, nor by law of God. I say not, how may wee thinke him to be a man of God? But, how may we thinke such a one to be a man? for it is the part and duty of a man to be ruled by law and reason.

But it is euery where, and therefore to be suffered. Too true that it is common euery where. Would God it were false. It vndoeth all the world. So the Diuel is euery where and suffered: so are the Stewes suffered in France, Spaine, Italie, Lombardie, Naples, Venice, and in Rome. Rome is called the holy City, the most holy hath his seat there, and yet suffereth he the Stewes in Rome. So were the Canaanites among the people of God and suffered. But they were as goades in their sides, & as thornes in their eies. As these were suffered, and as the Stewes are suffered, and as the Diuel is suffered: so and no otherwise are Vsurers. Such good, and no better doe they. For they are the children of the Diuell: their houses be the shops, wherein the Diuell doth his worke of mischiefe. They be Canaanites, and enemies of Gods people. They be goades in our sides, and sharpe thornes, and prickles in our eies. God grant that the Law may espy them: and the people abhorre them: and they may repent and loath their wickednesse.

Some other are bold to take authority for Vsury from Christ himselfe. He saith: The kingdome of Heauen, is as a man that going into a strange countrie, called his seruants, and deliuered to them his goods, and vnto one he gaue fiue talents, and to another two, and to another one. And said vnto them occupie vntill I come. The first did so, the second accordingly. They increased his stocke, and are commended for their Vsury. The third wrapt his talent in a Napkin, and kept it together. His master returned, and chid him, and said: Wherefore gauest not thou my mony into the banke, that at my comming I might haue required it with vantage? Therfore Vsury is allowed by the mouth of Christ. The two first are commended, not for any thing else, but for the gaine they made by Vsury. The third is rated & rebuked, not for theft, nor adultery, but because he laid not out his stocke to Vsury.

Matth. 25.

Luke 19.

What? and is Vsury allowed & allowed by the witnesse of Christ? How can that be? for Christ, as we heard before, doth plainly forbid it. How is it then? what is the meaning of

of this parable? This it is. When Chriſt deliuered his Goſpell vnto his Diſciples, he gaue them charge to be diligent, and to multiply and increaſe the number of them that ſhould beleeue. To this purpoſe he ſaith, be as carefull in this buſineſſe for the glory of God, and the ſaluation of your brethren, as worldly wiſe men shew themſelues in taking wicked Mammon. Behold the Vſurers, they occupie their ſtock, and make it grow, and ſo of fiue pounds make ten, and of ten make twenty pounds, and ſo they become rich. So deale you in the gifts and knowledge that God hath beſtowed on you, giue them to the exchangers, put them out to Vſury, increaſe the Lords ſtocke. If they be diligent and faithfull in the things of this world, how much more ought you to be ſo in heauenly things?

This therefore is the meaning: Couetous men, and the children of this world be wiſe in their generation: You are the children of light, be you alſo wiſe, and doe you ſo likewiſe in your office and ſeruice, as you ſee them do. So he ſaith: Behold the fowles of Heauen, Matth. 6.
learne how the Lilies of the field grow. What of this? The Lilies are but graſſe: the Fowls of the aire are but Birds. The mercy of God in his prouidence and care, wherin he giueth vs all things needfull, is made plaine by example of theſe, and therby our diſtruſt and ouermuch carefulneſſe reproued. So doth Chriſt ſpeake this parable of the Vſurer, that as he is diligent in doing ill, ſo we ſhould be painfull and ready to do well.

But ſhall Vſurie therefore be lawfull, becauſe Chriſt draweth a compariſon, or maketh an example by an Vſurer? If it were ſo, we ſhould do many things otherwiſe than well. For in the Scriptures we are often times required to take example of thſe things which are ill. In the ſixteenth of Luke, Chriſt biddeth his Diſciples take example of the vnfaithfull ſteward, to be prouident and careful as he was. Doth he therefore commend the falſhood of the Steward? or ſhall falſhood therefore be lawfull? S. Paul ſaith: The day of the Lord 1. Theſſ. 5.
ſhall come, euen as a theefe in the night. Is theft therefore lawfull? S. Iames ſaith: The Diuels Iames 2.
beleeue, and tremble: take example of the Diuels. They beleeue, but their bare, baine, and dead faith, in which they can do no good, cannot ſerue them. Euen ſo ſhall not your faith if it be dead, and void of all good workes, ſaue you. God himſelfe to reprooue the vnthankfulneſſe and forgetfulneſſe of his people, which did ſo often forſake him, and followed Baal and Aſtaroth, ſaith in this maner vnto them: What nation did euer forſake their gods? Doth he in this ſpeech approue, that the Idols of the Heathen are gods? or becauſe God taketh example of idolatrie, ſhall idolatrie therefore be lawfull? he biddeth his ſeruants to be as faithfull and willing, and ready to ſerue him the God of heauen and earth, as the Gentiles were in ſeruice of their Idols, the workes of their owne hands. As God did will the Iſraelites to take example of the Idolaters: and as Chriſt biddeth take example of the falſe ſteward; and as Iames of the Diuels: ſo is this parable an example of that which is commendable: that is, the diligence of the ſeruants. Vſurie is no more allowed by this, than idolatry and falſhood and the Diuell, is by the other. Some will ſay, I haue no trade to liue, I muſt needs giue my money to Vſurie, or elſe I muſt beg. This is it that I ſpake of: This sheweth that deſpaire and miſtruſt in the prouidence of God, is the mother of Vſurie. If this were cauſe why he ſhould be an Vſurer, if this be well ſpoken for defenſe of his wickedneſſe, why may not the theefe, or the baud, or the inchanter, by like anſwer excuſe themſelues, and ſtand in defenſe of their doings? Auguſtine therefore ſaith: *Audent etiam fœneratores dicere, non* In Pſal. 128.
habeo aliud vnde viuam, &c. The Vſurers are bold to ſay, they haue no other trade whereby to liue. So will the theefe tell me, when I take him in his theft. So will he ſay that breaketh into other mens houſes. So will the baud ſay, that buieth yong maidens to vſe them to filthineſſe. So will the wicked enchanter, that ſelleth his ſin. If we reproue any of all theſe, they will anſwer, that this is their maintenance, and that they haue not any other way to liue. But Auguſtine ſaith: *Quaſi non hoc ipſum in illis maximè puniendum eſt, quia artem nequitiæ delegerunt vnde viuerent, & inde ſe volunt paſcere, vnde offendant eum a quo omnes paſcuntur.* As if they were not therefore moſt worthy to be puniſhed, becauſe they haue choſen a trade of wickedneſſe to liue by: and will maintaine themſelues by that thing, wherewith they diſpleaſe him by whom all are maintained. How much better would it be with them, if they did ſerue god truly in ſuch place and calling, whereto they might moſt ſet forth his glory, and do ſuch things as ſhould be profitable to themſelues and others?

The ſeruant of God knoweth, there is no want to thoſe that feare him. He knoweth the Lord hath care ouer him, and therefore caſteth his care vpon the Lord. He ſaith as the Prophet: The Lord is my ſhepheard, I ſhall want nothing. And: The Lord is the defen- Pſal. 23.
der of my life, of whom then ſhall I be afraid? I truſted in thee, O Lord, and ſaid, Thou art Pſal. 27.
my God. My times are in thy hand. Pſal. 31.

Thus much I thought expedient to ſpeake of the loathſome and foule trade of Vſury. I know not what fruit will grow therby, and what it will worke in your hearts. If it pleaſe God, it may do that good that I wiſh. I haue done my duty: I call God for a record vnto my

seule, I haue not deceiued you. I haue spoken vnto you the truth. If I be deceiued in this matter, O God thou hast deceiued mée. Thy word is plaine. Thou saist: Thou shalt take no Vsury: thou saiest, He that taketh increase shall not liue. What am I, that I should hide the words of my God, or kepe them back from the hearing of his people? The learned old Fathers haue taught vs, it is no more lawfull to take Vsury of our brother, than it is to kill our brother. They that be of God, heare this, and consider it, and haue a care that they displease him not. But the wicked that are no whit moued, and care not what God saith, but cast his word behind them: which haue eies and sée not, & eares, yet heare not: because they are filthy, they shall be filthy still. Their greedy desire shall increase to their confusion, and as their money increaseth, so shall they increase the heapes of their sinnes. Pardon me if I haue béene long, or vehement. Of those that are Vsurers I aske no pardon.

I heare that there are certaine in this City, which wallow wretchedly in this filthinesse, without repentance. I giue them warning in the hearing of you all, and in the presence of God, that they forsake that cruell and detestable sinne. If otherwise they continue therein, I will open their shame, and denounce excommunication against them, and publish their names in this place, before you all: that you may know them, and abhorre them, as the plagues and monsters of the world: that if they be past all feare of God, they may yet repent and amend for worldly shame.

Tell mée thou wretched wight of the world, thou vnkind creature, which art past all sen'e and féeling of God, which knowest the will of God, and doest the contrary: how darest thou come into the Church? it is the Church of that God, which hath said, Thou shalt take no Vsury; and thou knowest he hath so said: how darest thou read or heare the word of God? It is the word of that God which condemneth Vsury; and thou knowest, he doth condemne it: how darest thou come into the company of thy brethren? Vsury is the plague and destruction and vndoing of thy brethren; and this thou knowest: how darest thou loke vpon thy children? thou makest the wrath of God fall down from Heauen vpon them: thy iniquities shall bée punished in them to the third and fourth generation: this thou knowest: how darest thou loke vp into heauen: Thou hast no dwelling there: thou shalt haue no place in the tabernacle of the highest. This thou knowest. Because thou robbest the poore, deceiuest the simple, and eatest vp the widowes houses: Therefore shall thy children be naked, and beg their bread: therefore shalt thou and thy riches perish together.

John 5. But Christ saith: The houre shall come, and now is, when the dead shall heare the voice of the Sonne of God, and they that heare it shall liue. Zacheus was a receiuer of tribute, and
Luke 9. was rich, when he receiued Iesus to abide in his house: He stood forth, and said vnto the Lord: Behold Lord, the halfe of my goods I giue to the poore: and if I haue taken from any man by forged cauillation, I restore him foure-fold. Then Iesus said vnto him; This day saluation is come into this house, forasmuch as he also is become the son of Abraham. God may make his word worke so in the hearts of Vsurers, that they may also receiue Iesus, and forsake Vsury, and restore foure-fold if they haue deceiued any, and so may also receiue saluation. Let vs increase in that Vsury which is to the glorie of God. He hath giuen vs knowledge, and many excellent graces. Let vs put them forth, let vs occupie that talent which he hath left vs. He will returne, the day of his comming is at hand. He will require his talents, we must answer them. Let vs restore them with increase, that our seruice may be allowed, and we receiued into his tabernacle.

VERS. 7. For God hath not called vs vnto vncleanesse, but vnto holinesse.
8. He therefore that despiseth these things, despiseth not man, but God, who hath euen giuen you his holy spirit.

Leuit. 11. Let euery man possesse his vessell in holinesse and honour, for this is the will of God:
Luke 6. hereto are yée called. I am the Lord your God, saith he, be sanctified therefore, and be holy, for I am holy. So our Sauiour to his Disciples: Be mercifull, as your father also is mercifull. Vnmercifulnesse, cruelty, vncleanesse, fornication, vsury, and such like, are not of
2. Tim. 2. God. They answer not their calling that commit any maner of sinne. If any man therfore purge himselfe from these, hee shall bee a vessell vnto honour, sanctified and meet for the Lord.

It behoueth euery man when he is in secret and alone, to bethink himselfe whereto God hath called him. The Magistrate thus; I am called to doe iustice, to be mercifull to the widow, to haue pity vpon the fatherlesse; I am the minister of God, for the wealth of them that do well: and to take vengeance on him that doth euill. The minister and preacher thus; I haue charge giuen me to lead the people of God to the way of righteousnesse, I am called to do the worke of an Euangelist, to preach the word in season, and out of season, to shew the people their offences, & to reproue them with all earnestnesse, to teach them that they

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denie all vngodlinesse, and turne wholly vnto God: for necessitie is laid vpon me: and wo is me if I preach not the Gospell. The subiect must thus think with himselfe, I owe obedience to my Soueraign, I must be subiect, not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake. If I resist, I resist the ordinance of God, and shall receiue to my selfe damnation. 1. Cor. 4.

It behoueth all men when they fele themselues led to any euill purpose, to bethinke themselues: Alas what meane I? why should I do it? This is not the will of God: God hath not called me to vncleannesse, but vnto holinesse: God is my God, I am his creature, I must serue him with my heart. The eyes of the Lord are ouer the righteous, and his eares open to their prayers: but the face of the Lord is vpon them that do euill.

He therfore that despiseth these things, despiseth not man, but God. Alas what are we? we are but vnprofitable seruants: we are the voice of the crier in the wildernesse. By vs it hath pleased God, to make his name knowen thorow all the World: we are your brethren, and your seruants for Christs sake. We are your helpers, by whom you are called to the faith. We preach not our selues, but Iesus Christ. We speake vnto you in the name of God. If you despise vs in doing this seruice toward you, you despise not vs, but you despise God, who hath sent vs, and God can in due time auenge your vnthankfulnesse. Who hath giuen you his holy spirit. You haue receiued the spirit of wisdome and vnderstanding you know these things are true, you cannot deny them. If you shall now offend, you shall offend against Gods spirit, which is giuen vnto you.

VERS. 9 But as touching brotherly loue, you need not that I write vnto you: for ye are taught of God to loue one another.

Loue is the bond of vnitie, of perfection, of knowledge, of wisedome, and of all godlinesse. Paul the more to set forth the sweetnesse, and comfort therof, calleth it, brotherly loue. Brethren are bound to loue one another. God, and nature, and bringing vp, do bind them. Many brethren haue endangered themselues to saue their brethren. It were a monster in nature, that one brother should kill another. You are all brethren, and haue one father, euen God. How then can you hate and trouble your brethren? Hereto Christ calleth vs: A new commandement giue I you, that ye loue one another: as I haue loued you, that ye also loue one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye haue loue one to another. Hereof the Prophet Dauid saith: Behold, how good and how comely a thing it is, brethren to dwell euen together. There is peace, there is comfort, there is heauen, there is God himselfe among them. This is the duty of the children of God, to loue together, as the parts and members of one body, as brethren, and as the sonnes of one father. Iohn 13. Psal. 133.

Here let vs consider one great disorder among vs that are Christians. If an action or matter at Law grow betweene man and man, then forthwith is the bond of brotherly loue broken: They are no longer friends. If he stand against him in suit of Law, he will haue no more to do with him, will not pray with him, nor drinke in his companie, nor talke together with him. Whensoeuer he seeth him, his heart riseth at him, as if he did see his enemie. This should not be so, it is a disorder in Christian behauiour.

Next after the Gospell, the Law is the greatest comfort that God hath giuen to the sons of men. It remedieth iniuries, and giueth to euery man, that is his. He that goeth to a Iudge, goeth to him that is the minister of iustice, and that sitteth in the rome of God to do right. For the seat of iustice, is the seat of God. If there were no Law to be ministred, but euery man might do what he would, and recken all his owne, whatsoeuer he could get or come by: what a life would it be? How should any man be master of that he hath? Who can imagine what iniuries, cruelties, murthers, and streames of blod would follow? Thankes be vnto God, who in mercy hath giuen vs a Law, and iustice to guide vs by.

Let vs be content to seke helpe at this Law without wrath or malice: let vs come to it, as we would come to our father. Let vs aske counsell at it, as we would at the mouth of God. As euery man thinketh it lawfull to vse his owne, or to require his owne: so let euery man be content, to leaue that he holdeth, when Law saith, it is none of his. The law is no breach of charitie, it is the bond and knot to kepe men in loue. A sonne may attempt law with his father, yet doe it in such duty as becommeth a sonne. A subiect may attempt law with his Prince, and yet lose and reuerence his Prince, as becommeth. Who vseth the law otherwise, doth abuse it. All strife and contention must be laid aside. Loue may auoid wrong, loue may require right, loue may stand forth, and seke defense before a Iudge. Loue is patient and gentle, it enuieth not, it doth not boast it selfe, it is not puffed vp, it disdaineth not, it seketh not her own things, it is not prouoked to anger, it thinketh not euill, it reioiceth not in iniquity, but it reioiceth in the truth. It suffereth all things, it beleueth all things, it hopeth all things, it endureth al things. Such is the nature of loue, such it is, whersoeuer it is, when it seketh right, when it defendeth it self against challenge of doing wrong.

VERS. 10. Yea, and that thing verily you do vnto all the brethren which are thorowout all Macedonia: but we beſeech you, brethren, that you increaſe more and more.

You loue the brethren, not only thoſe that are with you, and whom you know; but all, whatſoeuer they be, and in what place ſoeuer, though ye know them not. Some loue none but ſuch as are of their ſort, and deuotion, and ſect, and fellowſhip. If any be of an other mind, than they are of, they can not loue them. This loue is not of God, it is carnall and proceadeth but from the fleſh. Whoſoeuer carrieth the name of Chriſt, is our brother, wee muſt loue him for Chriſts ſake. Chriſtian loue doth loue thoſe that are enemies, and doe not loue vs: it bleſſeth them that ſpeake ill of vs, and praieth for them that perſecute vs.

Oh that theſe words of Paul might truly be ſpoken of vs, As touching brotherly loue, we need not write vnto you! Oh that God would touch our hearts with his holy ſpirit, that we were all ſo knit together, and loued one another, as he hath commanded vs! Then ſhould we taſte that peace that paſſeth all vnderſtanding: then would it appeare, how ioyfull a thing it were for brethren to dwell together in vnitie: then ſhould wee taſte of the comfort of the ſonnes of God. And alas, what is our life, or what is our profeſſion without
1. Cor. 13. loue? What is the Sun without light? What is the fire without heat? Though I ſpeake with the tongues of men, and of Angels (ſaith the Apoſtle) and haue not loue: I am as ſounding braſſe, or as a tinkling Cymball. And though I had the gift of prophecie, and knew all ſecrets, and all knowledge, yea, if I had all faith, ſo that I could remoue mountaines, and had not loue, I were nothing.

That you increaſe more and more. When of this world ſeeke to increaſe in their wealth and riches. They neuer thinke their ſtore ſo great, but it may abide to haue more laid to it. Wicked men ſtand not at a ſtay, they ceaſe not to doe ill, they heape ſinne vpon ſinne, and draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and ſin with cart ropes, vntill they come to the height
1. Cor. 4. and extremity of wickednes. So you increaſe in euery thing that is good. The kingdome of God is not in word, but in power. A child that ſtaieth at one ſtature, and neuer groweth bigger, is a monſter. The ground that proſpereth not, and is not fruitfull, is curſed. The tree that is barren, and profiteth not, is cut downe. This muſt all know, men, and women, and babes, and infants. They muſt all walke on ſtill in the way of godlineſſe, and increaſe and goe forward therein. Vnleſſe we goe forward, we ſlip backe. If we wax weary to doe the worke of God, God will forſake vs.

VERS. 11. And that ye ſtudie to be quiet, and to meddle with your own buſineſſe, and to worke with your owne hands, as we commanded you.

12. That yee may behaue your ſelues honeſtly towards them that are without, and that nothing be lacking vnto you.

Let no man among you be a buſie bodie in other mens matters. Be not eaues droppers, and harkning what is ſaid or done in your neighbours houſe. Wide eares and long tongues dwell together. They that loue to heare all that may be told them, doe alſo loue to blab out all they heare.

Study to be quiet, and meddle with your owne buſineſſe. The Church of God, is as the body of man. In a mans bodie euery part hath his ſeuerall office, the arme, the legge, the hand, and foot doe that, whereto they are appointed: and doing the ſame, they liue together in peace. But if the arme would take in hand to doe that is the dutie of the legge, or the foot that is the part of the hand, it would breed great diſorder in the whole body. So if euery man in the Church of God, ſeeke to doe that to them belongeth, the Church ſhall flouriſh, and be in quiet. But when euery man will be buſie, and take vpon him to looke into other: when euery priuate man will gouerne, and the Subiect take in hand to rule the Prince; all muſt néds come to wracke and decay. Buſie bodies euer finde fault with their brethren and neighbours, with the State, the Clergie, the Common wealth, the Church, the Gouernment, and with the Prince. They are an vnquiet kind of men euer looking for that they may miſlike, and neuer contented. From theſe men come priuie whiſperings, ſlander, backbiting, mutinies, conſpiracies, treaſons, depoſing of Princes, and vtter decay of common wealths. Theſe are the fruits of curioſitie.

And to worke with your owne hands. God hath ordained that all ſorts of men ſhould labour, and eat their bread in the ſweat of their browes. And heare the Apoſtle doth not only charge them to worke, but that they worke with their owne hand. Thou that haſt hands, and ſetteſt them not to worke, thou that abuſeſt the grace of God by thy idleneſſe, ſhalt giue an account thereof. What filleth your priſons? What dubbeth and enricheth your gallowes, but idleneſſe? When your children come to theſe places, and ſée they muſt

muſt liue no longer, whereof complaine they, but of idleneſſe? then they curſe the time, and their Father and mother that brought them vp in idleneſſe.

Though kings, and princes, and counſellours, and preachers, and magiſtrates dig not, and plow not, nor doe any handy worke, yet they breake not therefore the commandement of God, they breake not this rule of the Apoſtle. The head walketh not as the fæt, nor trauelleth as the hands: yet is it not idle. There is no labour comparable to the labour of a Prince: Day and night, ſleeping and waking, he is full of cares, & full of paines. The noble man and magiſtrate, if he regard his countrie, be carefull for the lawes, aid the poore, repreſſe tyrannie, comfort the weake, puniſh the wicked, is not idle. The miniſter, if he applie his booke, be diligent in praier, exhort, and teach publikely, and priuately, is not idle. Theſe labours are greater, than all the labours of the bodie.

VERS. 13. I would not, brethren, haue you ignorant concerning them which are aſleepe, that ye ſorrow not euen as other which haue no hope.

14. For if wee beleeue that Ieſus is dead, and is riſen, euen ſo them that ſleepe with Ieſus will God bring with him.

Herein ſtandeth the comfort of Chriſtian Religion. Were it not for the hope of the ſecond life, the godly in this world were in worſe caſe than the dumbe and brute beaſts. When Chriſt appointed his Diſciples to go and preach, he ſaid, I ſend you as ſheepe in the middeſt of wolues. They will ſcourge you, you ſhall be hated of all men. As the Goſpell encreaſed in any place, theſe words were fulfilled. The godly were put to death for the name of Chriſt. The father did ſee his ſonne ſlaine before his face, and the ſonne his father cruelly tormented. Hence grew great mourning and heauineſſe. Oh, ſaid they, he was a reuerend ſage father: oh he was a wiſe yong man, learned, zealous, and a great ſtay in the Church. Why would God take him before his time? There is not now any one left, whom wee may behold, or heare, or follow. We are left comfortleſſe, and without hope. After this ſort it is likely the Theſſalonians mourned, when they beheld the perſecution of the Church of God among them. Herein they grew towards miſtruſt, and to be like the Heathen, which had no hope. S. Paul thought good to reforme this erreur. And becauſe this abuſe grew of ignorance, for that they knew not the happie eſtate of ſuch which die in the Lord; hee ſaith, I would not haue you ignorant, what is become of them, and what God hath done for them. He hath tried them as gold, and hath made them worthy for himſelfe. Therefore you ought rather to reioice, there is no cauſe at all of mourning. When Chriſt ſaw his Diſciples heauy and ſad becauſe of his departure, he ſaid: If ye loued me, ye would verily reioice, becauſe I ſaid, I goe to the Father: for my Father is greater than I. I ſhall ſit at the right hand of my Father in glory, then ſhall euery knee bow vnto mee, and euery tongue ſhall confeſſe my greatneſſe. Therefore if ye loued me, you would reioice in my behalfe. It is ignorance that maketh you heauy, becauſe you know not whither I goe. Iohn 14.

When Ioſeph was ſold into Ægypt, good father Iacob thought he was dead, and therefore mourned day and night. Nothing could comfort him. Alas, ſaith he, that I haue liued to ſee this day: O Ioſeph my ſonne, my ſonne Ioſeph, oh that I might giue my life to redeeme thee. Now ſhall my hoarie head goe downe to the graue in heauineſſe. But when he heard that Ioſeph liued, & did ſee him with his eies: When he did ſee that he was a Prince, next in place to the King, and had all the Countrie at commandement; then he knew he had mourned without a cauſe. Then his heart leapt within him, his eies guſht out with water, he wept for ioy. Ignorance, as we ſee, made him heauy, knowledge of the truth as it was, reioiced his heart, and made him glad.

There is great error and darkneſſe, and ignorance, in mans life. We reioice when we haue cauſe to mourne, and mourne many times when we haue cauſe to reioice. Therefore he ſaith, I would not haue you ignorant. Be not deceiued. God hath giuen you eies to ſee the right way: God hath giuen you eares to heare counſell: and a heart to know reaſon, and to vnderſtand and iudge. God hath giuen you the Scriptures, and by them the knowledge of his will. He hath giuen you a face to looke vp to heauen, and the ſpirit of life hath he powred into you, that you ſhould not by any meanes be deceiued.

That yee ſorrow not as other that haue no hope. He doth not forbid naturall affection. Our parents, and our children are deare vnto vs. They are our fleſh and blood, and the chiefe and principall parts of our body. Any part of our body can not be cut off, but wee ſhall feele it. The father if he feele not the death of his ſonne: or the ſonne, if he feele not the death of his father, and haue not a deepe feeling of it, he is vnnaturall. Dauid mourned for Ionathan. The whole land mourned for Ioſias. Paul ſaith, God haue mercy vpon Epaphroditus, (he was ſicke, very neere vnto death) and not on him only, but on me alſo,

leſt I ſhould haue ſorrow vpon ſorrow. If God had taken Epaphroditus out of life, no doubt Paul would haue ſorrowed. What néd more examples? Chriſt mourned for Lazarus, and ſhed teares for him. Then ſaid the Iewes, Behold how he loued him. Iohn 11.

We are not therefore forbidden to mourne ouer the dead: but to mourne in ſuch ſort as the heathen did, we are forbidden. They, as they did neither beléeue in God, nor in Chriſt, ſo had they no hope of the life to come. When a Father ſaw his Sonne dead, he thought he had bén dead for euer. He became heauy, changed his garment, delighted in no company, forſook his meat, famiſhed himſelfe, rent his body, curſed his fortune, cried out of his gods. Oh my deare ſonne, (ſaith he) how beautifull, how learned, and wiſe, and vertuous waſt thou! Why ſhouldeſt thou die ſo vntimely? why haue I offered ſacrifice, and done ſeruice to my gods? they haue made mée a god recompence. I will truſt them no more, I will no more call vpon them. Thus they fell into deſpaire, and ſpake blaſphemies.

Therefore, ſaith Paul, you may mourne, as did the holy men of God: but in ſuch ſort as the vnfaithfull ſorrow for their dead, you may not mourne. You are the ſonnes of the holy Fathers: faſhion not your ſelues therefore like to the heathens, do not as they did, neither in feaſts, nor in mariages, nor in your attire, nor in your mourning, nor in your paſtimes. But behaue your ſelues as becommeth the children of the moſt high.

But why may not Chriſtians mourn, and continue in heauineſſe? Becauſe it is no new thing, for a man to die: becauſe he goeth the way of all fleſh. Againe, they that depart this life, are not dead, they are not gone for euer, as the heathen imagined. They are laid downe to take reſt quietly for a time. The death of a godly man, is nothing elſe, but a ſléepe. So ſaith our Sauiour of Lazarus, Our friend Lazarus ſleepeth: howbeit, Ieſus ſpake of his death. Iohn 11. Act. 7. So it is ſaid of Steuen. And they ſtoned Steuen, who called on God, and ſaid, Lord Ieſus receiue my ſpirit. And hee kneeled downe, and cried with a loud voice, Lord lay not this ſinne to their charge; and when he had thus ſpoken, he ſlept. Whoſoeuer dieth in the peace of conſcience, he may ſay, I will lie downe and take my reſt. Thus doth the man of God repoſe himſelfe. For Chriſt is vnto him both in life, and in death aduantage. Rom. 14. He ſaith with the Apoſtle: Whether we liue, we liue vnto the Lord; or whether we die, we die vnto the Lord: whether wee liue therefore or die, we are the Lords. He goeth into his graue as into a bed: he forſaketh this life, as if he lay downe to ſléepe. He ſhall ſhake off his ſléepe, rouſe himſelfe, and riſe againe. As wée wake out of ſléepe, wée know not how: ſo ſhall wee riſe againe, though wée know not how. As we are much refreſhed, and our bodies ſtrengthened by ſléepe: ſo ſhall wée riſe againe in much more ſtrength, and our corruption ſhall put on incorruption, and our mortalitie, immortalitie. So often then as we goe to our beds, let vs thinke of our reſurrection from death. Who is ſorrie to goe into his bed? What father lamenteth to ſée his child lie quietly, and take his reſt? Why then ſhould he ſo mourne for his death? Wherein God dealeth mercifully with him, and doth tranſlate him to the glory of the ſonnes of God, where is no death, nor feare: but wée ſhall be made like to the Angels of God.

The bodie rotteth in the ground: yet God preſerueth it, that it ſhall not periſh. His ſpirit ſhall returne to it againe, and it ſhall liue. God is able to bring this to paſſe. He hath promiſed ſo to do. He hath done it already, and will do it againe. Luke 7. When Chriſt came neere to the gate of the Citie of Nain, there was a dead man carried out, the onely begotten ſonne of his mother, which was a widow, and much people of the Citie was with her, and when the Lord ſaw her, he had compaſſion on her, and ſaid vnto her, Weepe not. And hee went, and touched the coffin, and they that bare it ſtood ſtill, and he ſaid, I ſay vnto thee, yong man ariſe. And hee that was dead ſate vp, and began to ſpeake, and hee deliuered him to his mother. Lazarus was laid in his graue, he had bene foure daies dead, his body did ſtinke: Iohn 11. Yet when Chriſt cried with a loud voice, Lazarus come foorth: then he that was dead, came foorth, bound hand and foot with bands, and his face was bound with a napkin; Ieſus ſaid vnto them, Looſe him, and let him go. Matth. 27. Saint Matthew ſaith: The graues did open themſelues, and many bodies of the Saints which ſlept aroſe, and came out of the graues after his reſurrection, and went into the holy Citie, and appeared vnto many. Theſe few ſtories witneſſe vnto vs the riſing againe of our bodies vnto life. But what doe I ſpeake of the bodies of men? They are the houſes of God, the temples of the holy Ghoſt, God hath appointed vnto them a kingdome.

Who conſidereth not the ſwallowes and other birds? They ſleepe all the winter long. But when the ſpring commeth, they come to life againe, and are ſéene abroad. What creatures ſo little, ſo vile, and ſo little worth as the flie? yet by thoſe ſo baſe, and contemptible things, doth God teach vs to know our ſelues and our eſtate. The greateſt part of the winter, they are as dead. They créepe into chinkes and corners, as into their graue, and lie there without life, without feeling. Proue it, who liſt, he ſhall ſée it ſo. The body is dead, the

wings

wings moulted. Yet the very ſame flie ſo little, and ſo vile, ſhall be reſtored againe at the ſpring, and ſhall liue in the warme weather, and haue the ſame wings, and the ſame fact and the ſame body. If we be hard of beléefe, to giue credit to the word of God, theſe are manifeſt proofes to teach vs the reſurrection of our bodies. If God doe ſo much for the flies, which are ſo vile a creature: how much rather will he quicken vs againe, whom he hath choſen out of this world to liue with him for euer?

The Word of God is almighty. He ſhall but ſpeake, and it ſhall be done. The Trumpet ſhall ſound, and the dead ſhall returne to life. I am ſure, ſaith Iob, that my redeemer liueth, and that I ſhall riſe out of the earth in the latter day, and ſhall be couered againe with my ſkin, and ſhall ſee God in my fleſh. Whom I my ſelfe ſhall ſee, and mine eies ſhall behold, and none other for me. This is my hope laid vp in my boſome. Saint Paul willeth Timothie neuer to forget his doctrine: Remember that Ieſus Chriſt made of the ſeed of Dauid, was raiſed againe from the dead according to my Goſpell. This is the foundation, the beginning, and the ending of Religion. If the ſpirit of him that raiſed vp Ieſus from the dead dwell in you, he that raiſed vp Chriſt from the dead, ſhall alſo quicken your mortall bodies, becauſe that his ſpirit dwelleth in you. 2. Tim. 2. Rom. 8.

This is an Article of our faith. We beléeue the reſurrection of the body, euen of this bodie, in which we liue, and which we carry about with vs. All fleſh ſhall ſée the ſaluation of our God. This is the hope of Chriſtians, the reſurrection of their fleſh. Set your affections on things which are aboue, not on things which are on the earth. For ye are dead, ſaith the Apoſtle, and your life is hid with Chriſt in God. When Chriſt which is our life ſhall appeare, then ſhall ye appeare with him in glorie. Colloſſ. 3.

Therefore let not your hearts be dull through vnbeléefe. As God was able to ſaue the bodies of his ſeruants, that they were not hurt in the fire, as he was able to kéepe Ionas ſafe in the Whales belly: ſo can he preſerue our bodies ſafe in the earth. Yea, much better: becauſe the fire naturally conſumeth, and the fiſhes belly deſtroieth thoſe things which they rauine: but the earth naturally preſerueth that which is earthly.

As our God is of power, to diuide the waters, to make the Sea ſtand like a wall, and giue paſſage to his people: as he can change the courſe of the heauens, and make the Sunne goe backe, as he can draw water out of the hard rockes: ſo is he of power to raiſe our dead bodies againe vnto life. If he made the earth, the water, the aire, the heauens, and all creatures in them of nothing: he is much more able to reſtore againe thoſe bodies which haue bén. We looke, ſaith Paul, for the Sauiour, euen the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who ſhall change our vile bodie, and make it like his glorious bodie, according to the working whereby he is able to ſubdue all things to himſelfe. The Prophet Eſay comforteth the people of God in their afflictions: Thy dead men ſhall liue: euen with my bodie ſhall they riſe: awake and ſing, ye that dwell in the duſt: for thy dew is the dew of hearbs, and the earth ſhall caſt out the dead. Againe: The earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood, and ſhall no more hide her ſlaine. Therefore ſaith our Sauiour: This is the Fathers will, which hath ſent me, that of all which he hath giuen me, I ſhould loſe nothing, but ſhould raiſe it vp againe at the laſt daie. Againe he ſaith: The houre ſhall come, in the which all that are in the graues ſhall heare his voice. And they ſhall come foorth that haue done good, vnto the reſurrection of life: but they that haue done euill, vnto the reſurrection of condemnation. And againe: I am the reſurrection and the life: he that beleeueth in me, though he were dead ſhall liue, and whoſoeuer liueth and beleeueth in me ſhall neuer die. Philip. 3. Eſay 26. Iohn 6. Iohn 5. Iohn 11.

For, if we beleeue, that Ieſus is dead, and is riſen: that he was deliuered to death for our ſinnes, and is riſen againe for our iuſtification: if we beléeue that hée is aſcended vp into Heauen, and ſitteth at the right hand of God his father: he will alſo raiſe vp our mortall bodies, and bring vs with him. Now, Chriſt is riſen from the dead, and was made the firſt fruits of them that ſleepe. He is our head, we are his body: We are fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bone. He hath giuen vs his Spirit to dwell in vs. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Chriſt, the ſame is not his. Chriſt our head, liueth. His body then can not be dead. Where I am, ſaith he, there ſhall alſo my ſeruant be. Wherefore if we be dead with Chriſt, we beleeue that we ſhall liue alſo with him. 1. Cor. 15. Rom. 8. Iohn 12. Rom. 6.

What then ſhall become of the Infidels, which haue no faith, which haue not the ſpirit of God? Shall not they riſe againe? Yes verily. They ſhall riſe, but not with Chriſt. They ſhall not riſe the reſurrection of the iuſt. Some ſhall riſe vnto life, ſome vnto death: ſome to ſaluation, others to damnation: ſome to glory, others to ſhame. We muſt all appeare before the iudgement ſeat of Chriſt, that euery man may receiue the things which are done in his bodie, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or euill. The wicked ſhall riſe vp againe with their bodies, and their portion ſhall be with the Diuell and his Angels: they ſhall come forth of their graues, to the reſurrection of condemnation, their bodie and ſoule 2. Cor. 5.

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shall be cast into hell fire. Their worme shall neuer die: their fire shall not be quenched. It had bene better for them, they had neuer bene borne.

VERS. 15. For this say we vnto you, by the word of the Lord, that we which liue, and are remaining in the comming of the Lord, shall not preuent them that sleepe.

16. For the Lord himselfe shall descend from Heauen with a shout, and with the voice of the Archangell, and with the trumpet of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first.

This that we declare vnto you is not of our selues. It is the truth of God, it shall stand good and be found true for euer. God will raise our bodies out of the graue, and restore them from death to life. You may not reason how, or in what order this shall be done: or, who shall be the first, or the second, or the third, that shall rise vp in the resurrection. Such que-
1. Cor. 15. stions are vnfit and not to be moued. We shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eie. At that houre, some shall be aliue, and some shall be dead. For he shall come to iudge both the quicke and the dead. We that are remaining in the comming of the Lord, shall not preuent them that sleepe. Neither is their part better in the resurrection, that shall then be found aliue: nor their part worse, that haue bene dead many yeres before. For they which were dead shall as soone be partakers of the glorie of the sonnes of God, as the other.

Touching the state of men that shall liue in the end of the world, Christ saith: As the
Matth. 24. daies of Noah, so likewise shall the comming of the sonne of man be. I doubt not but you remember the storie, what dreadfull plague of raine and tempest fell, when all the world was drowned, and destroied with water. Vice and vngodlinesse increased, and all flesh had corrupt his way vpon earth. They had no shame, there was no feare of God before their eies. Gods wrath was kindled against them. He sent Noah a preacher of righteousnesse to reforme them, to tell them of the destruction at hand, that they might repent, and be saued. But they regarded it not. They laught Noah to scorne, and grew desperate, and continued in sinne. Suddenly all the fountaines of the great deepe were broken vp, and the windowes of heauen were opened. As they were eating and drinking, buying and selling, building, purchasing, stirring and trauelling: as they were in the midst of their ioies, and trauels, and pleasures, the raine came vpon them, and the flods grew so great, that it destroied the whole world, except Noah and a few of his companie. Their lands, their goods, Cities, Castles, nor any other their pleasure or wealth could saue them: so shall it be in the comming of Christ.

As it was in the daies of Lot, and as it befell to Sodom, and Gomorrha: they liued and increased in filthinesse. Their hearts were blind and regarded no counsell. Their bodies were filthie: their soules, their liues, their houses and Cities were full of filthinesse. The Angell of God departed from them, Lot went out from among them: and fire came downe from Heauen and consumed them to ashes, and carried them downe quicke into hell. There was no father left to lament his child, no child left to lament his father. So shall it be at the comming of Christ. He shall come as a theefe, suddenly, when no man looketh for his comming: he shall come at such season, when mens hearts will be aslepe, and thinke not of him.

2. Pet. 3. S. Peter saith: There shall come in the last daies, mockers, which will walke after their lusts, and say, where is the promise of his comming? for since the fathers died, all things continue alike from the beginning of the creation. They scorne the threatnings of Gods iudgement. When shall the world come to an end? We haue winter and sommer, raine, snow, day and night as before. The Sunne keepeth his course: the flods run: the trees beare fruit: all things are as they haue bene. O, saith Peter, know this, that God hath made the heauen and earth, and all the furniture in them. They are his creatures: he doth hold them vp, and preserue them by the power of his word. When God shall withdraw his word, they shall decay, and haue an end. As for our Lord, he shall come, and not tarry: at his comming Heauen shall depart away as a scrole that is rolled, the element shall melt with heat, and the earth with the workes that are therein, shall be burnt vp and consumed before his face. Deceiue not your selues with lying words. For when you say, peace, peace, and all
Matth. 24. things are safe, then shall suddaine destruction come vpon you. Then two men shall be in the fields: the one shall be receiued, and the other refused. Two women shall be grinding at the mill: the one shall be receiued, and the other refused. So shall also the comming of the sonne of man be.

The number of the faithfull that shall remaine at his comming, shall not be many. So
Luke 18. saith Christ: When the sonne of man commeth, shall he find faith on the earth? S. Iohn pro-

phecying

phecying of that day, ſaith: The Sunne was as blacke as ſackcloth of haire, and the Moone Reu. 6.
was like blood. The beauty of the Church ſhall be defaced, the light of the Goſpell ſhall be put out. Then ſhall few be left of thoſe that ſhall behold the glory of God. Theſe ſhall giue witneſſe vnto the truth. And albeit they be but few, yet are they enow to condemne the vngodlineſſe of the wicked. We ſhall not goe in routs: for we ſhall be but few. We ſhall then be in the body, and liue in this world, and loke vp, and ſée theſe things: yet when the Lord ſhall come, we ſhall not preuent them that ſléepe. Although we liue, and they were dead, yet ſhall they be as ready as we.

Why? For the Lord himſelfe ſhall deſcend with a ſhout, &c. Here is laid before vs, the true maner of the terrible iudgement of God. For our better vnderſtanding, let vs compare heauen with earth, and the iudgement of God with the iudgement of men. The Iudges ſit on high, accompanied with noble men, and Iuſtices, attended on with Conſtables, and Baillieffes, and the State and preſence of the Country: the théefe is brought with pinyond, and bound in chaines and fetters. The poore wretch ſtandeth in great feare: his conſcience accuſeth him, and ſaith, Thou didſt ſteale, thou art worthy to die. The voice of the Iudge is as a blaſt of thunder: the face of the Iudge terrible to him, as hell fire. But the innocent that is wrongfully impriſoned, and hath not offended, he ſéeth himſelfe cléere, his conſcience excuſeth him, and therefore reioiceth at the comming of the Iudges. He thought it long before they came. Theſe, ſaith he, will ſtrike off my ſhackles, and ſet me at liberty. Their voice vnto him, is as the voice of life: he beholdeth them, and they are as the Angels of God.

Such ſhall be the ſhew and ſight of the Sonne of God: he ſhall come downe with Maieſtie from Heauen: the Trumpet of God ſhall ſound, and be heard from the one end of the heauen, to the other: and whoſoeuer ſhall heare it, ſhall quake for feare. Then ſhall hée be the Iudge ouer all flesh. Then he ſhall ſhew himſelfe to bée King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Then ſhall he not come in humility, méekneſſe, and mercy: but with dread and terror of iudgement, and iuſtice. Not with twelue poore Apoſtles: but with twelue thouſand Angels to attend vpon him. Not in the preaching of the Goſpell, and calling ſinners to repentance: but, in the ſound of a Trumpet, wherewith all the corners of the earth ſhall be amazed. Then ſhall he not ſay, Come vnto me all yée that trauell, and be loaden, and I will refreſh you: I am ſent to the loſt Shéepe of Iſraell. He ſhall not ſay, Father forgiue them, for they know not what they doe. But, You haue béen aſhamed of mée, and of my word, before men: therefore now will I be aſhamed of you before my heauenly Father.

Then ſhall they that deſpiſe the word of God, know what they deſpiſed: and the blaſphemers ſhall reape the fruit of their blaſphemy. Then the careleſſe Shepheard which hath not fed the Lords ſhéepe, but neglected them, and left them at all aduentures: which hath betraied his flocke, and giuen them to be a préy vnto the Wolfe, ſhall receiue a iuſt reward for his treaſon. Then the adulterer, oppreſſor, and Vſurer, ſhall haue their life laid open before them. Then ſhall euery eie ſée him. They ſhall ſee him, whom they pearced thorow: Reu. 1.
they ſhall ſée his wounds, which they did not regard. They ſhall ſée his Sword ready drawen to ſlay all his enemies, and ſhall fall downe for feare of him that ſitteth vpon the throne, and of the Lambe.

But the hearts of the righteous ſhall reioice. They ſhall lift vp their heads, and ſée him in whom they haue truſted. Then they ſhall ſay, This is the day which the Lord hath made, let vs reioice and be glad in it. Come, let vs reioice vnto the Lord, let vs come before his face with praiſe: let vs ſing loud vnto him with Pſalmes. Such ſhall be the ſtate and countenance, and honor, and maieſtie of our God, when he ſhall come downe from Heauen for our deliuerance.

And the dead in Chriſt ſhall riſe, firſt. The earth ſhall open and yéeld forth her dead bodies: that ſo they may be ready with vs that remaine, to goe before the preſence of our Iudge. Which are dead in Chriſt. Who are they? They whom he choſe out of this world: and which haue choſen God for their portion: whom God hath ſealed vnto the day of redemption. Which haue ſaid, Chriſt is to me both in life, and death, aduantage. And, I liue, not I now, but Chriſt liueth in me. And againe: Whether we liue or die, we are the Lords. Which ſay, I haue bound my ſelfe to ſerue the Lord, all the daies of my life.

They are dead in Chriſt which commend themſelues wholly vnto him, and ſay, O Lord in thée haue I truſted, let me neuer be confounded. I deſire to be loſed, and to bée with Chriſt. Into thy hands O Lord, I commend my ſpirit, thou hath redéemed mée, O Lord of truth. To be ſhort, whoſoeuer liueth in the Lord, he dieth in the Lord. He in whom Chriſt liueth, which hath a taſte and féeling of Chriſt in his heart: he that reioiceth in Chriſt, and loketh for that bleſſed hope, and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt: hée is a ſhéepe of his paſture, he is a member of his body, hée is the apple of his eie: hée liueth, and dieth in Chriſt. Bleſſed is hée that ſo liueth, and ſo dieth, for hée

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shall rise with Christ in the resurrection of the righteous, and shall haue his part in the land of the liuing.

Vers. 17. Then shall we which liue and remaine, be caught vp with them also in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the aire: and so shall we euer be with the Lord.

18. Wherefore comfort your selues one another with these words.

We which shall see all these things, shall also be caught vp our selues. But here you must note, that Paul speaketh not this of his own person, and of them that liued in his time, as if they should continue aliue vnto the end, or that the world should haue an end, before they should die: but he sheweth what shall be the state of such, whosoeuer shall then remain aliue. And againe, marke, that he saith not, we which liue and remaine, shall die forthwith, or, our bodies shall be turned into dust, and so our soules alone goe to meet the Lord: but, whether we be standing, or sitting; doing well, or ill occupied; we shall be caught vp. For the trumpet shall suddenly blow, and then the dead shall rise, and we shall be changed. So
1. Cor. 15. saith S. Paul. Behold, I shew you a secret thing, we shall not all sleepe, but we shall all be changed. In a moment, in the twinckling of an eie shall they that are dead arise, and we shall be changed. This our mortall body shall be changed, and shall put on immortalitie: this corruptible body shall be changed, and put on incorruption. Christ will change our earthly bodies, to the likenesse of his glorious heauenly body. Then shall our flesh be pure,
1. Cor. 15. and heauenly, and spirituall, and we shall be able to beholde the glory of God. Then shall be brought to passe, the saying that is written, Death is swallowed vp into victory. O death, where is thy sting? O graue, where is thy victory?

To meet the Lord in the aire, &c. This is a comfortable end of all troubles and persecutions which the godly suffer in this life, that they be receiued into the glory of God, and that both their body and soule doth liue with him, and enioy his presence for euer. Then shall they eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God. They shall hunger no more, nor thirst any more, neither shall the Sun light on them, nor any heat. God shall wipe away all teares from their eies. Then shall they see those ioies, which eie hath not seene, nor eare hath heard, nor hath entred into the heart of man. Such an end shall they haue, whosoeuer feare the Lord.

Comfort your selues one another with these words. You see the turmoiles, and troubles of the world, what vexations and afflictions Satan raiseth vp against all those that will liue godly. Open and notorious sinners are forborne. Theft, adultery, vsury, extortion, wilfull murther, rebellion, treason, are many times pardoned, and vnpunished; but true religion, which is the turning from Idols to serue the true and liuing God, and faith in Iesus Christ, that by him we shall be deliuered from the wrath to come, findeth few friends, and seldome escapeth without strange and most cruell torments. What is this, but to crucifie
Psal. 2. the Lord of glory, and to set Barrabas a murtherer at liberty? Dauid saith: The Kings of the earth band themselues, and the Princes are assembled together against the Lord, and against his anointed. They seeke to spoile the vine of the Lord, and to destroy his little flocks. They vse all meanes to put out the light of the Gospell. But be you of good cheare, continue you stedfast in the truth, your redemption is euen at hand. You shall be caught vp into the clouds, to meet the Lord, and so shall abide with him for euer. Let euery neighbour comfort his neighbour, and euery father his child: let vs all one comfort another with these words.

Chap. V.

Vers. 1. But of times, and seasons, brethren, you haue no need that I write vnto you.

2. For ye your selues know perfectly, that the day of the Lord shall come, as a theefe in the night.

3. For when they shal say, peace, and safety, then shall come vpon them sudden destruction, as the trauell vpon a woman with child, and they shal not escape.

Matth. 24. When the Disciples came vnto Christ apart, and said: Tell vs when these things shall be, and what signe shall be of thy comming, and of the end of the world? he answered, Take heed lest any man deceiue you. It is not for you to know the
Acts 1. time, or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. For of that day and houre knoweth no man, no, not the Angels which are in Heauen, neither the Son himselfe saue
Mark. 13. the Father. Vex not your spirit in vaine. Seeke not for that you may not know, you shall not be able to find it.

Therefore saith Paul: I need not to write of times and seasons, in which these things shall be done. Your selues haue been taught the word of God, you haue learned what his will

will is: you know the day of the Lord ſhall come vpon you as a thefe. And how commeth a thefe? not in the day time, not when a man hath company about him, not when he is watched: but in the night, in the darkneſſe, when all light is out, when the good man of the houſe taketh his reſt, when the ſeruants are aſleep. Euen ſo, when the light of the truth is taken away, when the heart of the good man of the houſe is at reſt, and his eies are darkned, that they cannot ſee: and all his ſenſes drowned in worldly pleaſures; when we care for nothing, and thinke of nothing, when we ſay, peace, and ſafety: then will the Sonne of man come to iudgement, then ſhall deſtruction ſuddenly fall vpon vs. Therefore let vs be ready, for in the houre that we thinke not, will the Sonne of man come.

Marke that Paul ſaith, Ye haue no need that I write vnto you of times and ſeaſons: and that our Sauiour ſaith, it is not for you to know the times, or the ſeaſons. What may we thinke then of them, that write bookes and Almanackes, and ſay, ſuch a yere, and at ſuch a time, Chriſt ſhall come, and with theſe ſpeches fray and mocke the world? Paul was the Apoſtle of Chriſt, an elect veſſell of the holy Ghoſt, he ſaid, I haue no need to write of it, you cannot know it. What need is there now that ſuch bookes and pamphlets ſhould be written? why ſhould the world be troubled with ſuch vanities?

Spare me your patience, and giue me leaue a little to deale with theſe wiſards. Tell me, thou that doeſt meaſure and behold the compaſſe of Heauen, and markeſt the coniunctions, and oppoſitions, and aſpects of the ſtars: and by that wiſedom canſt foretell the things that ſhall be done hereafter: where learneſt thou this ſkill? how commeſt thou by this deepe knowledge? Paul was taken vp into the third heauen, and heard words which cannot be ſpoken, which are not lawfull for man to vtter: yet he knew not this ſecret, nor might not know it. What art thou then? art thou greater than the Apoſtle of Chriſt? haſt thou ben taken vp into ſome place higher than the third heauen? haſt thou heard ſuch words, as are not lawfull to vtter? if it be ſo, why doeſt thou vtter them? wilt thou take that vpon thee, which the holy Apoſtle dareth not? art thou of Gods priuie Counſell? the Angels, and Archangels know not hereof: and ſhall we thinke that thou knoweſt it? Art thou wiſer than an Angell? Conſider thy ſelfe, thou art a miſerable man, thy breath fadeth as the ſmoake. Thou art nothing but duſt and aſhes: thou canſt not attaine to the knowledge hereof.

And what is that, which thou boaſteſt? the knowledge of that terrible day, when all fleſh ſhall appeare before the Iudge: euen of that time, which God hath put in his owne power. O vaine man, thou knoweſt not thine owne day, thou knoweſt not when thy ſoule ſhall be taken from thee. By what helpes, and meanes cameſt thou vnto this knowledge? by reading the writings of the Apoſtles? by reading the Goſpell of Chriſt, or any part of the word of God? No, God wot, thou haſt no great ſkill in this learning. Thou haſt it from Manilius, Maternus, Albumazar, or Haly. What is Manilius, Maternus, Albumazar, and Haly? What are they? But Heathens, Painims, and Infidels. Were they not void of all knowledge of God? were they not the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt? theſe neuer beleeued in God, how could they then know that day, when he would iudge the world? Let thy common reaſon reforme thee. Can Saturne and Mars know this, when the Angels of God cannot know it?

To what end write they thus? to giue a token of their knowledge? Nay, hereby they proclaime and publiſh their folly and want of knowledge. Theſe two hundred yeres, there haue euer ben ſome, which haue aduentured to tell ſuch newes, and to ſay, in this yere, or that yere, you ſhall haue domes day. Such a day will Chriſt come to iudgement, and the world ſhall haue an end. They haue appointed many ſuch yeres, and daies, and houres. The yeres be gone, the daies be paſt, and the houres be ſlipt away, but the world abideth, and giueth witneſſe of their folly.

But the meaning of theſe men is good. Hereby they moue the people to repentance. For, when men thinke the end of the world is at hand, they will beare the leſſe affection to the things of this world. This is not the way to teach repentance, and amendment of life. The people may not be taught by lies and fables. If this had ben good for them, God himſelfe would haue vſed it. God graunt them grace to repent, which thus preſume of knowledge, and reach ſo high, and yet know nothing.

Let vs yet reaſon further with them. How haue they this knowledge? of certainty, or by coniecture? If of certainty, then it muſt needs be ſo, it can not faile, nothing can let it. But you will ſay, it is a coniecture, it may ſo be, and it is likely: for ſuch a day, ſhall be a coniunction of Saturne and Mars in a fiery houſe: and therefore all things ſhall be conſumed with fire. Alas, what hath Saturne or Mars to do with the day of the Lord? They are but creatures, they are no gods. They are ſtars made to giue vs light, why ſhould they lead vs into darkneſſe? in the day of the Lord they ſhall be melted and periſh with fire.

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Why then trouble they the worlde with such vanities, and set those things down for truth, wherof they haue no certainty, but only a ghesse and coniecture?

And what time chose they to cast abroad these newes? the same, in which the Gospell through the mercy of God, is well knowen of most men. Euen now tell they these tales, when all men know, that Christ saith, the Angels in heauen know not of that day and houre. The Angels behold the face of God, and stand in his presence, yet know they not the day of the Lord. This is a secret, which God reuealeth not vnto any.

Children can reproue this folly in them, and say: *Mitte arcana dei, cælumque inquirere quid sit:* Seeke not to know the secrets of God, nor what maner thing the Heauen is. Know thy selfe, that thou art but a mortall man crauling on the ground like a worme. He that will stare vpon the Sunne, may be blind and lose his eies. God hath giuen thee knowledge in measure: thou canst not know, as much as thou wouldest. Know that is fit for thee to know, and speake that is lawfull to be spoken. Thinke of the commandements of God, to follow them. Search not into his workes, to be curious in them. For he that is curious in searching the Maiestie of God, shall be oppressed and confounded by his glory.

Thus much we may well know, that the Lord will come, that all flesh shall appeare before him: that the world, the heauen, the earth, the Sun, and the Mone shall haue an ende: that the day of the Lord shall come suddenly, as a Theefe in the night. This warning God hath giuen vs, that we should not be taken vnawares, but that we repent, and stand in readinesse, and watch, and pray, that we may be caught vp into the clouds to meet our Redeemer.

Vers. 4. But you brethren, are not in darknesse, that that day should come on you, as it were a theefe.

5. Yee are all the children of light, and the children of the day, we are not of the night, neither of darknesse.

6. Therefore let vs not sleepe as doe other: but let vs watch and be sober.

7. For they that sleepe, sleepe in the night, and they that be drunken, are drunken in the night.

8. But let vs, which are of the day, be sober, putting on the brest-plate of Faith and Loue, and the hope of saluation for an helmet.

9. For God hath not appointed vs vnto wrath, but to obtaine saluation by the meanes of our Lord Iesus Christ.

10. Which died for vs, that whether we wake or sleepe, we should liue together with him.

Your conuersation is in heauen, from whence you looke for the Sauiour, euen the Lord Iesus Christ. Ye were once darknesse, but now you are light in the Lord, walke as children of light, approuing that which is pleasing to the Lord. That day shall be dreadfull, and come suddenly vpon the wicked: but to you it shall not come sudden, which feare the Lord, and put your trust in him, and take all care to be in readinesse at his comming. Arme your selues strongly: the enemie seeketh to ouerthrow you. Your enemie is the Diuell with all his force. Your strength standeth not in your owne prowesse, or manhood, but in the mighty power of God: put on therefore the brest-plate of faith and loue, he that beleeueth shall be saued, he that abideth in loue, abideth in God, and whosoeuer putteth his trust in him, shall not be confounded.

Here I may take occasion to say somwhat of the troubles of war, how Satan seeketh by it to disquiet the Church of God. Who hath not heard what force is this day raised in this Realme? who hath not heard of it? but let it not trouble you. God will turne all to his glory. I loue not to speak of such things. Yet somwhat I must speak therof, the time inforceth me.

This is the first disturbance and breach of that blessed peace in which God hath so long and so quietly preserued this realme, since the time that her Maiesty came to the Crowne. It giueth great occasion to the enemy, to breake in vpon vs: it is the spoiling of our Country. The barbarous souldiers rush into mens houses, and take out what they list. They draw their sword, bend their force, ioine themselues to war against the Lord, and against his Anointed. They haue torne, and defaced, and burnt in fire the holy Bible, the Gospell of our saluation: and would set vp the loathsome seruice of the Masse.

What hath the word of God offended? why should it be torne in peeces? why should it be burnt? what word is in it, which is not the word of life? it is the power of God vnto saluation, to them that beleeue. And where should the word of God haue place, where should it be heard, but in the Church of God? O cursed hands that so despightfully rent it? Woe worth that vnhappy fire that burnt it.

As

As for the Maſſe, would God they that ſo much deſire it, knew what it is. Would God they knew how the people of God are mocked by it, and how the precious blood of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt is blaſphemed by it: would God they knew how greeuously God is offended with them in this thing, wherein they thinke, they pleaſe him ſo highly. But the Maſſe, and Gods word cannot dwell in one houſe together: the one is ſo contrary to the other.

God forgiue them, and lay it not to their charge. For they know not what they doe. They are driuen on to worke the things which others haue moſt wickedly deuiſed. There is no doubt, but God will confound their enterpriſe. For this is his owne cauſe, this quarrell is pickt againſt his Church, and againſt the knowledge and ſetting forth of his Goſpell: and therefore againſt the ſetting forth of his glory. Onely let vs lift vp our hands vnto heauen, and call for helpe from aboue. Let vs ſay vnto him, Riſe vp for our ſuccour, Pſal. 44. and redeeme vs for thy mercies ſake. Let vs ſay, They haue caſt thy ſanctuary into the fire, Pſal. 74. and raced it to the ground, and haue deſtroyed the dwelling place of thy name. Ariſe oh God, maintaine thine owne cauſe: remember thy daily reproch by the fooliſh man. Let vs ſay, Saue, oh Lord, Quæne Elizabeth thy ſeruant, eſtabliſh that good thing which thou haſt begun: open the eies of all people, that they may ſee thy ſaning health, and enioy it through hearing thy Goſpell, which thou haſt made knowen vnto vs: ſaue thy people, which truſteth in thee, breake the cords of the wicked in ſunder. Let vs comfort our ſelues with theſe words, that God hath not appointed vs to wrath, but to obtaine ſaluation, by the meanes of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. He hath ouercome the world: let vs be of good chere. And let vs walke as the children of light: let vs walke honeſtly, as in the day. Then whether we wake or ſleepe, whether we liue or die, we ſhall liue together with him.

Vers. 11. Wherefore exhort one another, and edifie one another, euen as ye doe.

This is the bond of true loue and Chriſtian friendſhip, that euery man be carefull of his brother, as of himſelfe: that euery man, exhort and teach the things that are good, and rebuke others in ill: that euery man ſeeke to bring home the loſt ſheepe, and to reſtore him to his maſter. Therefore Chriſt ſaith: If thy brother treſpaſſe againſt thee, goe and tell him Matth. 18. his faults, betweene him and thee alone: if he heare thee, thou haſt woone thy brother. For what knoweſt thou, whether thou ſhalt ſaue thy brother? Brethren, ſaith S. Iames: If any Iam. 5. of you hath erred from the truth, and ſome man hath conuerted him, let him know that hee which hath conuerted the ſinner, from going aſtray out of his way, ſhall ſaue a ſoule from death, and ſhall hide a multitude of ſinnes.

Therefore ſaith the Apoſtle: Exhort one another, and edifie one another. Let the father exhort his ſonne: Oh ſonne, walke vprightly before God, liue honeſtly and vertuously in the ſight of all men, doe thoſe things that are good: thou art the child of God, be holy in ſpirit, and holy in body, becauſe he is holy. Say to the adulterer, O brother be not deceiued. Whoſoeuer is an adulterer hath no inheritance in the Kingdome of Chriſt and of God: God hath ſaid of them that are ſuch, They ſhal not enter into my reſt. Say to the ſwearer, Oh take not the name of God in vaine, for God will not hold him guiltleſſe that taketh his name in vaine. He that ſweareth, and nameth God continually, he ſhall not be faultleſſe. Eccleſ. 23. A man that vſeth much ſwearing ſhalbe filled with wickednes, and the plague ſhall neuer goe from his houſe; Nor from his cattell, nor from his corne, nor from his ſeruants, nor from his children, nor from himſelfe. His houſe ſhall be full of plagues.

Say to the Vſurer, Oh heare the voice of the Lord, thus ſaith the Lord, before whom thou ſhalt ſtand to giue an account of thoſe things which thou haſt done in this life: Thou ſhalt not giue thy money to Vſury. He that careth not for theſe words, but doth otherwiſe ſhall not eſcape vnpuniſhed. Say to the rich man: Oh put not your truſt in riches. Lay vp your treaſure in heauen: lay it vp in the boſome of the poore, and it ſhall make interceſſion for thee. Put thy truſt in the liuing God, which giueth vs abundantly all things to enioy. Thy houſe, thy land, thy mony thy gold and ſiluer ſhall not continue: thou ſhalt goe the way of all fleſh, and thy riches ſhall not be able to deliuer thee in the day of wrath.

Say to the learned man, to the wiſe man, and to the man whom God hath endued with worldly power: What haſt thou that thou haſt not receiued? Be not high minded. It is the gift of God. It is not thine. Thou ſhalt giue a reckening of all that thou haſt receiued. Abuſe it not to the diſhonour of God. It is of charity, that I ſpeak vnto thee. Thou art my brother, God hath a care ouer thee: it is his will, that one of vs ſhould exhort another. Oh why ſhould thy life giue offence to any man? why ſhould the name of God be ill ſpoken of through thee? He hath made thee to be a veſſell of honour, thou belongeſt to his fold, why ſhouldeſt thou be loſt, and periſh in thy wilfulneſſe?

VERS. 12. Now we beſeech you, brethren, that ye know them which labour among you, and are ouer you in the Lord, and admoniſh you.

VERS. 13. That ye haue them in ſingular loue, for their workes ſake. Be at peace among your ſelues.

They which exhort you, and warne you, and are ouer you in the Lord: they be ſhepheards, and huſbandmen, and watchmen for you. They fæd the Lords flocke, plow the Lords ground, and watch the tower of the God of hoſts. You are Gods ſhéepe, ye muſt be fed, elſe you cannot liue. You are a field, you muſt be plowed, elſe you will be ouer growen with brambles, and ſtand vnfruitfull, and lie waſte. You are the Lords tower, you muſt be watched, elſe the enemy will breake in vpon you, and ſo you ſhould be deſtroied. They labour and trauel in your behalfe: they muſt giue an account for your ſoules: they are ambaſſadours ſent from God: they come to tell you the truth: they preach not themſelues, but Chriſt Jeſus: they ſpeake to you in the name of the Lord. Although you recken them fooles, vnlearned, and ſimple, they are the meſſengers of the great King: euen of him that
1. Cor. 11. is Lord ouer all. S. Paul ſaith: It pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſſe of preaching to ſaue them that beleeue. The heauenly treaſure is brought to you, in poore, broken, earthy veſſels. The veſſels are ſimple, but the treaſure is heauenly. The meſſenger is weake, but his word is the word of life, which can caſt downe euery high thing that is exalted againſt the glory of God. Whatſoeuer they ſéeme to you: they are the eies of the Church, and the mouth of God. Chriſt ſaith vnto them, whom he appointeth to this miniſtery: As my fa-
Iohn 20. ther ſendeth mee, ſo ſend I you. They haue the ſame commiſſion be they neuer ſo poore. He
Luke 10. that heareth you, heareth mee, and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth mee: and he that deſpiſeth mee, deſpiſeth him that ſent mee, ſaith Chriſt.

Some there are, that thus ſay: O that I might heare Chriſt, or Peter, or Paul! I would verily beléeue what they ſhould preach. This is fondneſſe, and curious vanity. For whenſoeuer thou doeſt heare the miniſter of God breake vnto thée the word of life, and teaching thée the truth of the Goſpel, thou heareſt Paul, and Peter, and Chriſt himſelfe. If thou deſpiſeſt the word of God ſpoken vnto thée by him, and the grace which God offereth thée by him, thou deſpiſeſt Chriſt himſelfe, and heapeſt vp the heauy diſpleaſure of God againſt thée. God will giue thee ouer into a reprobate minde: thou ſhalt haue eies, yet ſhalt not ſée: thou ſhalt haue eares, yet ſhalt not heare: thou ſhalt die in thy ſinne. It ſhall be eaſier for Sodom at that day, than for thée. Therefore acknowledge them, giue credit to their meſſage, they watch, and take paines for you.

What ſhall we ſay of them that labour not? that doe neither teach, nor exhort, nor re-
Eſa. 56. proue, nor correct: that haue no care to do their meſſage, and no regard to the people? What may I ſay of ſuch? God himſelfe ſaith: They are dumbe dogges, and cannot barke: they lie and ſleepe, and delight in ſleeping: they all looke to their owne way, and to their owne aduantage, and euery one for his owne purpoſe. Chriſt calleth them théeues and robbers.
1. Cor. 9. They are vnſauoury ſalt, profitable for nothing, but to be caſt forth and troden vnder the feet of men. Woe is vnto mee, ſaith Paul, if I preach not the Goſpell. Woe to the ſeruant that wrappeth his talent in a napkin, and increaſeth not his maſters gaine. God grant ſuch idle and ſlothfull miniſters, grace to know their office, and to doe it. If not, God giue the people grace to know them, and ſhun them, and to flie from them.

1. Tim. 5. That ye haue them in ſingular loue, for their workes ſake. Ye telleth Timothy, The elders that rule well, are worthy of double honour, ſpecially they which labour in the word and doctrine. Reuerence them, and loue them. Loue them for your owne ſakes: you haue life and comfort by them. Honour them for their office ſake: They are your fathers, they haue begotten you in Chriſt, they carry the keies of the kingdome of heauen: They are the Stewards of Gods houſe, and the diſpoſers of his myſteries. Honour them, and loue them for Gods ſake: He hath ſent them, and hath put his word in their mouth. He hath ſaid to them, Goe ye into all the world, preach the Goſpel vnto euery nation. Goe ſpeake to the heart of Hieruſalem, that they may féele the weight of thy words, and repent. Loue them therefore. For they loue you in Chriſt, and are ready to giue their liues for your ſake,
Gal. 4. The Galathians, ſo reuerenced and loued S. Paul, that he ſaith: Ye receiued me as an Angel of God. For I beare you record, that if it had beene poſſible, yee would haue plucked out your eies, and haue giuen them mee.

Be at peace among your ſelues. You are the ſonnes of God. God is the God of peace. Diſcord, contention, and vnquietneſſe are fit for the children of Satan. Liue in godly vnity, as becommeth the children of peace.

VERS. 14. We deſire you, brethren, that ye admoniſh them that are vnruly: comfort the feeble minded: beare with the weak: be patient towerd all men.

15. See

15. See that none recompence euill for euill vnto any man: but euer follow that which is good, both towards your ſelues, and towards all men.

There are ſome which walke among you inordinately: They breake the bond of peace: they ſow diuiſions and diſcord betweene the brethren: they draw diſciples after them: and diſquiet the Church of God: they command that hath beene forbidden by God, and forbid that God hath commanded. Warne them that are ſuch, ſay vnto them as did S. Paul to the Corinthians: We haue no ſuch cuſtome, neither hath the Church of God. Woe to him by whom offence commeth. Say vnto them as Ioſuah ſaid to Achan: Inaſmuch as thou haſt troubled vs, therefore God will trouble thee this day. After this ſort admoniſh them, and lay open their wilfulneſſe, and blaſphemy before their eies: That they may ſee the blindneſſe of their hearts, and in what ſort their life is diſordered, and ſo repent, and be ſaued. 1. Cor. 11. Ioſuah 7.

But what greater diſorder can there be, than that of theirs, who haue this day aſſembled themſelues in force and in armour? Which haue lifted vp their ſword againſt their Soueraigne, and diſturbed the peace of this Realme, and haue miſled the people, & ſought to ouerthrow the Church of God? Let vs admoniſh them, if we may ſpeake with any that are ſo ill diſpoſed, and ſhew them the danger that hangeth ouer their heads. Let vs ſay to them, Thou haſt done wickedly in the ſight of God, thou haſt reſiſted the ordinance of God, becauſe thou haſt reſiſted the power which he hath ordained: thou haſt ſtricken with the ſword, therefore thou ſhalt periſh by the ſword: thou haſt diſquieted the Iſrael of God, therefore God ſhall diſquiet thee. Such rebels are vnruly. They riſe vp againſt their Prince, as did Dathan and Abiram againſt Moſes: they aduance themſelues againſt God, as did Lucifer, therefore ſhall they be caſt downe aliue into Hell.

Comfort the feeble minded: and thoſe that be heauy in heart: which ſuffer impriſonment, and liue in pouerty, and are grieued, and cannot helpe themſelues. Say vnto them, as S. Iames: Bleſſed is the man, that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he ſhall receiue the crowne of life, which the Lord hath promiſed them that loue him. Say vnto them as S. Peter: This is thankes worthy, if a man for conſcience toward God endure griefe, ſuffering wrongfully. Comfort them with the words of the Prophet: They that ſow in teares, ſhall reape in ioy. Comfort them with the words of Chriſt: Bleſſed are ye which weepe now, for ye ſhall laugh. Iam. 1. 1. Pet. 2. Pſal. 126. Luke 6.

See that none recompence euill for euill to any man. Though you ſuffer many things at the hands of the wicked, yet you may not be followers of that euill, which is in them. Auenge not your ſelues, but giue place vnto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, ſaith the Lord. Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him: if he thirſt, giue him drinke. Herein ſhall it appeare if we loue our neighbour as our ſelfe: if we patiently abide iniuries, and ſeeke to doe good to them that grieue and oppreſſe vs. I ſay vnto you, ſaith Chriſt, loue your enemies: bleſſe them that curſe you, doe good to them that hate you, and pray for them that hurt you, and perſecute you: that you may be the children of your father that is in heauen: for he maketh his ſunne to ariſe vpon the euill, and the good, and ſendeth raine on the iuſt, and vniuſt. Rom. 12. Matth. 5.

Vers. 16. Reioyce euermore.

They ioy of the wicked ſhall haue an end. They reioyce in their goods, in their wiſdom, in their peace and worldly ſafety, and in the multitude of their children, or deſcent of their petidegree. This ioy is tranſitory, it fadeth and abideth not. The world paſſeth (ſaith S. Iohn) and the luſt thereof. They reioyce in their wickedneſſe, the Lute and the Harpe, Tabret and Pipe, and wine are in their feaſtes; but they regard not the worke of the Lord. They eat vp the people as it were bread: they doe whatſoeuer they can deuiſe againſt the ſeruants of God: but the latter end of their ioy ſhall be heauineſſe, as it is ſaid: Woe be vnto you that laugh now, for you ſhall weepe and lament. 1. Iohn 2. Luke 6.

But the ioy of the righteous is euerlaſting. Their heart ſhall reioyce, and no man ſhall take their ioy from them. They haue comfort in this, that their names are written in the booke of life. They know the Lord is at hand, therefore they are careful for nothing, but reioyce alwaies in the Lord. S. Peter therefore ſaith: You are kept by the power of God through faith vnto ſaluation, which is prepared to bee ſhewed in the laſt time: wherein ye reioyce, though now for a ſeaſon (if need require) ye are in heauineſſe, through manifold temptations. Againe: Ye reioyce with ioy vnſpeakable and glorious, receiuing the end of your faith, euen the ſaluation of your ſoules. This is the happineſſe, the ioy, and the comfort that the godly haue, and ſhall continue with them. 1. Pet. 1.

Vers. 17. Pray continually.

It is the part of a good Chriſtian, & a wiſe man to know himſelf: and to know the nature of this fleſh, which we beare about with vs, which fighteth alwaies ſo mightily againſt the

spirit: to know the waiwardnesse and crokednesse of our heart, and the weaknesse and vanity of our minde. Many are so farre from this, that they thinke all their ability is of themselues. I haue, saith he, iudgement, I haue the light of reason, I haue sense, I haue vnderstanding and counsell, and the ordering of mine owne way. Thus say they that neither know God nor themselues.

But we must humble our selues vnder the mighty hand of God, and acknowledge that we are nothing. We must confesse with S. Paul: I know that in me, that is to say, in my flesh, dwelleth no good. And againe: It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth; but in God that sheweth mercy. Our Sauiour saith: That which is borne of the flesh is flesh: and that that is borne of the spirit is spirit. And God saith: The imagination of mans heart is euill, from his youth. He hath made vs, and not we our selues: he knoweth vs, and not we our selues. This is his saying, and his iudgement of vs. This we finde true. For our will is froward, and our vnderstanding blinde. Therefore saith the Prophet: O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himselfe, neither is it in man to walke and direct his steps. And Salomon: The steps of man are ruled by the Lord: how can a man then vnderstand his owne way? And the Prophet Ieremy: Behold, as the clay is in the potters hand, so are you in my hand, O Israel. I mould you, and forme you to my glory.

Rom. 7. Rom. 9. Iohn 3. Gen. 8. Ier. 10. Prou. 20. Ier. 18.

When the Apostle putteth the Corinthians in minde of that good successe which God gaue vnto his ministery among them, he saith: Such trust haue we through Christ to God: not that we are sufficient of our selues to thinke any thing as of our selues: but our sufficiency is of God. Christ sheweth this to his Disciples: I am the vine, you are the branches: hee that abideth in mee, and I in him, bringeth foorth much fruit: for without mee yee can doe nothing. To the Colossians saith Paul: It is God which worketh in you, both the will and the deede, euen of his good pleasure. It is God that disposeth our goings, and turneth our hearts, as seemeth best to him. He is able to make of the stones in the stretes children vnto Abraham: hee is able to take away our stony heart, and to giue vs a heart of flesh.

2. Cor. 3. Iohn 15. Colos. 2.

The consideration hereof leadeth vs to seeke helpe and comfort by praier at the hand of God. And then because we stand in continuall need of Gods helpe, either to giue vs something that is good, or to deliuer vs from that is euill, the Apostle biddeth vs pray continually. The eares of the Lord are open to the praiers of the righteous. Therefore Christ saith: Aske, and it shall be giuen you: Seeke, and ye shall finde: Knocke, and it shall be opened vnto you. God will giue you your hearts desire. Let vs therefore goe boldly to the throne of grace, that we may receiue mercy, and finde grace to helpe in time of neede.

Matth. 7. Heb. 4.

Dauid praied vnto God: Open thou mine eies, lighten my darkenesse: direct my feete into the way of peace: incline my heart, O Lord, vnto thy testimonies: stablish, O God, that which thou hast wrought in vs: take not thy holy spirit from vs: be thou our helper in troubles. O forsake vs not vtterly. He found no way to attaine vnto knowledge of the will of God, vnlesse God would open his vnderstanding, and endue him with his spirit. Faith is the gift of God, or else was the Apostles praier in vaine: Increase our faith. Our Sauiour teacheth vs to pray in this maner: Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdome come, thy will be done: because without the grace and mercy of God, we can doe nothing to the setting forth of his glory.

Luke 7.

VERS. 18. In all things giue thankes: for this is the will of God in Christ Iesus toward you.

These three are the badges or cognisance of a Christian souldier: to reioyce in the mercy of God: to be feruant in praier: and to giue thankes to God in all things. The heathens, which haue no part in the Kingdome of Christ, are thankfull for their life and liberty, and wealth, and glory, and worldly prosperity. But Christians ought to be thankfull in persecution, in thraldome, in aduersity, in shame, in misery, and in death it selfe. Who would thinke that a Lyon, which by nature is fierce and cruell, should yeld forth hony? yet Samson found hony in the body of a Lion. Who would thinke it likely that a man should be preserued in the belly of a fish? Ionas was swallowed vp of a Whale, and yet not hurt. Who would thinke that a man might be saued in the middest of burning fire? yet the three seruants of God walked in the fire safely, and came safe forth againe. We know, saith the Apostle, that all things worke together for the best, vnto them that loue God. The Apostles reioyced in their persecution, that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for Christs sake. And Paul speaking of this perfection in the godly, saith: We reioyce vnder the hope of the glory of God. And not so only, but also we reioyce in tribulations.

Iudg. 14. Rom. 8. Rom. 5.

Who hath not heard of the patience of Iob? His heards of cattell were driuen away: his houses consumed with fire: his children slain: his body stricken with a scurfe or mangines:

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his wife loathed him, and his friends forſoke him. What did Iob in all theſe miſeries? What thought he? or what ſpake he? let his patience in ſuffering, & his words of thankſgiuing teach vs how to beare aduerſity. The Lord (ſaith he) hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken it: bleſſed be the name of the Lord. Againe: Though he ſlay mee, yet will I truſt in him. Who is able to expreſſe the manly comfort of his heart? which ſaid, I will truſt in him though he kill me. He is my God, I am his creature. His will be done. I will alwaies giue him thankes, and praiſe his holy name. By theſe we are learned to giue thankes in pouerty, in afflictions, in miſery, & in all things, though they are heauy & grænous vnto vs. Iob. 1. Iob. 13.

What are we then that are neither thankfull for riches, nor for health, nor for our pleaſures, nor in the abundance of all things? yea, which abuſe the good gifts of God to diſhonour God, who hath giuen them vnto vs? The earth is the Lords, and all that therein is: the world, and they that dwell therein. He openeth his hand, and filleth all things liuing with his good bleſſing. Let vs looke vp into the heauens: there is God the father of lights, from whom euery good and perfect gift commeth: there is our redeemer Ieſus Chriſt, in whom are hid all the treaſures of wiſdome and knowledge. When we turne in our beds: when we ſæ our fare, and the furniture of our table: when we ſæ our ſeruants, and children about vs: when we ſæ our money and houſes, & lands; let vs thinke with our ſelues, how many good men, and faithfull ſeruants of God lacke the ſame, and haue not receiued theſe bleſſings in ſuch meaſure as we. In all theſe things God ſpeaketh to vs, and ſaith, I haue giuen them thæ, thou haſt them at my hands: vſe them well, and be not vnthankful.

If I would ſtand hærein, and declare what cauſes we haue to giue thankes vnto God, I ſhould neuer make an end. There is no beaſt on the ground, no fiſh in the ſea, no bird in the aire, no ſtar in the heauens, no leafe of the træ, no corne of the field, no ſand on the ſhore, no drop of water, no ſparkle of fire: but God hath created them all for the ſonnes of men. So much are we bound alwaies to giue thankes to God, and to ſay as the Prophet: O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the world! Let vs confeſſe before the Lord his louing kindneſſe, and his wonderfull workes before the ſonnes of men. Pſalm. 8.

But who is able to render thankes ſufficient to God, for that he giueth vs the knowledge of his Goſpell, and maketh vs know the ſecrets of his will. This is a great bleſſing, and far aboue all the other comforts of this life. They that haue not this, are in darkneſſe, and in the ſhadow of death. To be ſhort: euen in death, we haue to praiſe God: we muſt ſay, I thanke thæ, O God, for thou haſt deliuered him from the body of this death, thou haſt tranſlated him vnto thy ſelfe, that ſo he may remaine with thæ in thy glory. Thus whitherſoeuer ye turne, what ſtate or part of life or death ſoeuer ye conſider; whether it be trouble or peace: things preſent or things to come, heauen or earth, life or death, you ſhall alwaies finde cauſes to be thankfull.

VERS. 19. Quench not the ſpirit.

He meaneth by the ſpirit, the gifts and graces of the ſpirit. The ſpirit of God is the ſpirit of wiſdome, and the ſpirit of truth. No man, ſaith S. Paul, can ſay that Ieſus is the Lord but by the holy Ghoſt. Againe: The ſpirit helpeth our infirmities. And againe: The ſame ſpirit beareth witneſſe with our ſpirit, that we are the children of God. It is he that leadeth vs into all truth, that openeth our hearts to vnderſtanding, and guideth our fæte into the way of peace. O, ſaith he, deſpiſe not the wiſdome of the ſpirit: refuſe not his helpe, but ſæke it that you may be ſtrengthened: comfort your ſelues in his teſtimony of your adoption: quench not the light he hath kindled in your hearts: diſdaine not his leading: abuſe not his mercy: abuſe not the time of your viſitation: let not ſo great mercy of God be beſtowed on you in vaine: fulfill not your owne wils, abſtaine from fleſhly luſts: walke in the ſpirit: deſire the beſt gifts, and let euery man, as he hath receiued the gift, ſo miniſter the ſame to another, as good diſpoſers of the manifold grace of God. 1. Cor. 12. Rom. 8. *Ibid.* 1. Pet. 4.

VERS. 20. Deſpiſe not prophecying.

Prophecie is the preaching and expounding of the word of God: and he is called a Prophet and doth prophecy, that openeth vnto vs the will of God. This is not meant of fond and vaine, and lying prophecies, as were thoſe of Merline, and ſuch like, which tell you tales of Lions, and Beares, and Goats, of the Sunne, of the Moone, and many ſtrange deuices. Such prophecies muſt be deſpiſed: they are workes of darkneſſe: and forged by the Diuell to make vproares, and to begnile the people.

But, deſpiſe not prophecying. That is, deſpiſe not to heare the word of God: turne not away thine eare from vnderſtanding. God giueth power to his word, that it may worke according to his good pleaſure. It will let thæ ſæ the weakneſſe of thine errour, and ſettle thæ in the way wherein thou ſhouldeſt walke. If it had bæne dangerous for the people to heare the preaching of the Goſpell, he would not haue ſent his Apoſtles into all the world.

If Lydia ſhould not haue liked to heare Paul prophecy, how might ſhe haue knowen God? If thoſe great numbers, which heard Peter, and were conuerted, had deſpiſed prophecying, and would not haue heard him open the Goſpell vnto them, they had neuer conſidered the great mercy of God, nor ſought to be inſtructed in their ſaluation. Faith commeth by hearing. This hath beene the meanes by which Chriſt hath giuen knowledge to Kings, and
1. Cor. 1. Princes, and all nations. It hath pleaſed God, ſaith S. Paul, by the fooliſhneſſe of preaching to ſaue them that beleeue. Deſpiſe not then to come to the church of God, to pray in the congregation of the faithful, to heare the Scriptures of God read and expounded, it is the bleſſing of God offered vnto thee. Where there is no prophecy, the people periſheth. He that deſpiſeth it, ſhall be deſpiſed of the Lord: he ſhall be caſt into darkneſſe, becauſe he would not delight in the light.

VERS. 21. Trie all things, and keepe that which is good.

Trie all things. God hath giuen you the ſpirit of diſcretion, and of iudgement. Be wiſe, and know what is that good and acceptable will of God. Be not deceiued with words of mans wiſdome. Let not the baſeneſſe or ſimplicity of any, cauſe you to refuſe the meſſage which he bringeth: and carry not your ſelues to liking of all that whatſoeuer ſhall be told you of ſuch as beare great ſhew and countenance. This was it that deceiued the people of God, they gaue eare to falſe teachers, which lead them to worſhip the workes of their own hands. Therefore, they ſaid vnto the ſtone, Thou art our father, thou haſt deliuered vs: they fell downe before it, worſhipped it, beleeued in it: they ſlew the Prophets of God, and ſtoned to death ſuch as were ſent vnto them.

The Scribes and Phariſeis ſeemed ſo graue and wiſe, that the people thought nothing good but what they allowed. They were altogether appliable to beleeue, to doe, to ſpeake,
Matth. 7. and to thinke, whatſoeuer the Phariſeis willed them. Chriſt ſaith vnto them: Beware of falſe Prophets, which come to you in ſheepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening
1. Iohn 4. Woolues. S. Iohn therefore ſaith: Dearely beloued, beleeue not euery ſpirit, but trie the ſpirits whether they are of God: for many falſe Prophets are gone out into the world. And further directeth vs, how we ſhould trie them: Hereby ſhall ye know the ſpirit of God: euery ſpirit that confeſſeth that Ieſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is of God. Againe, hereby
2. Ioh. may you try them: Whoſoeuer tranſgreſſeth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Chriſt, hath not God. He that continueth in the doctrine of Chriſt, he hath both the father and the ſon. If there come any vnto you and bring not this doctrine, receiue him not to houſe, neither bid him, God ſpeed. Hereby S. Paul requireth the Galathians to trie betweene him, and
Galat. 1. the falſe Apoſtles. If any man preach vnto you otherwiſe, than that ye haue receiued, let him be accurſed. For now, doe I preach mans doctrine or Gods? The Sadduces erred touching the Reſurrection, becauſe they ſearched not the Scriptures. God teacheth vs by
Eſay 8. the Prophet Eſay, to make triall of Teachers and doctrines. When they ſhall ſay vnto you, enquire of them that haue a ſpirit of diuination, and at the ſoothſayers, which whiſper, and murmur; ſhould not a people enquire at their God? from the liuing to the dead? To the law, and to the teſtimony: if they ſpeake not according to this word, it is becauſe there is no
1. Tim. 1. light in them. Paul putteth Timothy in minde wherefore he left him at Epheſus, to command ſome, that they teach none other doctrine. And to warne both the teachers and the hearers, that they giue no heed to fables and genealogies, which are endleſſe, which breed queſtions, rather than godly edifying, which is by faith. Thus are the people of God called to trie the truth, to iudge betweene good and ill, betweene light and darkneſſe. God hath made them the promiſe of his ſpirit, and hath left vnto them his word. They of Berea, when they heard the preaching of Paul, ſearched the Scriptures daily, whether thoſe things were ſo, as he taught them, and many of them beleeued. So doe you: giue heed to inſtruction, and yet receiue not all things without proofe and triall, that they are not contrary to the holſom doctrine of the word of God.

Keepe that which is good.

When you haue tried and found out the truth, be conſtant and ſetled in it. A wauering minded man is vnſtable in all his waies. Follow the truth, and be not carried about with euery winde of doctrine. The Diuill will come in the name of God, and change himſelfe into an Angell of light. Let him not take the loue of the truth from you. Let him not remoue you from faith and a good conſcience: returne not like ſwine vnto your mire. God hath purged your hearts, and made them cleane. Except they be preſerued and kept occupied, the vncleane ſpirit will returne, and enter in, and dwell in you: ſo the laſt ſtate of you ſhall be worſe than the firſt.

We haue great cauſe to harken diligently to the Apoſtle, to keepe that is good. We ſee this day great confuſion in all places. Satan would faine entangle vs againe with the error of the wicked, and ſeeketh to draw vs from our ſtedfaſtneſſe. Now is the time wher-

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in God maketh ſome triall of his ſeruants: now iniquity ſéeketh to haue the vpper hand. They ſeduce the people, and ſay, Here is Chriſt, there is Chriſt: here is the Church, there is the Church. God giue vs his holy ſpirit to guide vs in iudgement, that we may diſcerne the truth from falſhod, and knew the bleſſed and gratious wil of God: that we may walke in his waies, and ſerue him in reuerence and feare all the daies of our life.

In this world, as there is a Iacob, ſo is there an Eſau: as there are many that loue Chriſt with an vnfained heart, ſo are there many that ſerue Antichriſt: and as there be many true profeſſors of the truth of God, ſo are there many deſpiſers of the ſame. This we may ſée here at home within this realme. We may ſée it, and mourne, and lament for it in our hearts.

Their practiſes are opened: thy haue broken out into open rebellion, to the breach of the peace both of God and man. They ſay with their lips, God ſaue Quéene ELIZABETH: yet they hold vp their ſword againſt her. Alas what hath ſhe deſerued at their hands? She hath alwaies dealt mercifully, without cruelty, without ſhedding of blod. God preſerue her, that ſhe may long raigne ouer vs, and bring all her enemies to confuſion.

What pretence make they for this their doing? That héereby they ſéeke to haue religion reformed. Thankes be to God: religion is reformed far better than our fathers knew it theſe many hundred yéeres. If thoſe which liued before vs, might haue ſéene and heard as we ſée and heare, they would haue reioyced, and thought themſelues happy.

But they would haue the Maſſe. What find they or ſée they in it, wherfore they ſhould ſo deſire it? Try all things, ſaith Paul. Therefore, examine, and try the Maſſe. What do we learne by it? what doctrine, what godlineſſe in life, what comfort for ſalnation? It is a dumbe and deadly ſeruice. The people are forced to be at it, it is the very key of their religion: the people are bound to be preſent at Maſſe: yet they neither receiue any thing, nor eat, nor heare, nor vnderſtand any thing. You are wiſe, you haue reaſon, you are the children of God: be you Iudges herein, and iudge vprightly, for it is Gods cauſe. Will they call this the Lords ſupper? Is this the Sacrament of our redemption? Is this that, which Paul receiued of the Lord, and deliuered vnto the Church? Is this the ſhewing forth of the Lords death vntill he come?

They would haue the Popes authority reſtored. What is the Pope? They ſay, he is the ſucceſſor of Peter. What doth the Pope as Peter did? or what did Peter as the Pope doth? Yée is a mortall man. And curſed are they of God, that put their truſt in man. Yée fédeth not the flocke, he teacheth not the ſimple, he ſtrengtheneth not the weake: I will ſay no more. God make him a ſeruant of Chriſt, and a faithfull diſpoſer of the myſteries of God.

They are offended at the marriage of the Miniſters of the Church. Yet Gratian their great maſter ſaith: *Copula ſacerdotalis, nec Legali, nec Euangelica, nec Apoſtolica authoritate prohibetur:* The mariage of Prieſts is not forbidden by any authority, either of the Law, or of the Goſpell, or of the Apoſtles. The holy Fathers that liued in the Apoſtles time, and ſhortly after, report, that Peter, and all the other Apoſtles, excepting only Iohn, were married, and had wiues: the Prophet Eſay was maried, and yet he ſaw the Lord ſitting vpon an high throne. Moſes was married, and yet he ſaw God face to face. Will they reforme the Prophets, and the Apoſtles? Will they account that to be vnholy, which the Apoſtle calleth honorable in all men? Ignatius the ſcholar of S. Iohn ſaid: I wiſh to be found meet for God, as was Peter and Paul, and the other Apoſtles that were married. *26. Qua. 2. Sors.* *Ignat. ad Philadelphenſes.*

They paint their banner with the Croſſe, and fiue wounds. Why bring they thoſe armes againſt vs? Doe not we beléeue the Croſſe of Chriſt? doe not we reioyce and comfort our hearts by the remembrance of his wounds? doe not we read, and ſhew forth to the people the ſtory of his paſſion? God knoweth it, and you can beare vs witneſſe, and they cannot deny it, that we make this worke of our redemption, wrought by the paſſion of our Sauiour Chriſt, the chiefe and principall rocke and foundation of our faith. Therefore ſay wée with the Apoſtle, God forbid that we ſhould reioyce in any thing, but in the Croſſe of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Nay rather, they are become our enemies becauſe we beléeue in Ieſus Chriſt crucified: Becauſe we ſay, as Gods word teacheth, that Ieſus Chriſt is the only aduocate to the Father for our ſinnes: and, that he hath with one offering conſecrated for euer them that are ſanctified: and, that the blood of Ieſus Chriſt his Son cleanſeth vs from all ſinne. For this cauſe are they become our enemies. Heb. 10. 1. Iohn 1.

Let vs nothing feare their treacheries and attempts: let vs kéepe that is good: and hold it faſt vntill death. Now we haue taſted the word of God, and haue receiued the comfort of the Goſpell, let vs not deſpiſe it, nor be weary of it. Let vs pray vnto God, that he eſtabliſh the loue of his truth in vs: and that he will open the eies of their hearts, and bring them to be partakers of thoſe mercies, which yet through ignorance they haue deſpiſed.

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VERS. 22. Abstaine from all appearance of euill.

Keepe your selues not only from doing those things which are euill: but also from all appearance of euill. Offend not the conscience of thy brother, that he may haue no occasion to thinke euill of thee. Commit not adultery, and withdrawe thy selfe from the company of such vnthrifty, and light, and suspected persons. Be not like to them that are such. Lay not out thy mony to Vsury, nor doe any thing, whereby others may thinke so of thee. Beware of vncharitable conueiance of thy mony. Be not Idolaters. And leaue off to doe any thing that may bring you into suspicion of Idolatry. Giue not that honour vnto any creature, which is proper to God. Haue no fellowship with their workes, beare no appearance of liking their euill. Goe not as they goe: liue not as they liue. S. Paul reproueth the Galathians: Yee obserue daies and moneths, and times, and yeares. I am in feare of you, lest I haue bestowed on you labour in vaine. So doth he the Colossians also: If yee be dead with Christ from the ordinances of the world, why as though yee liued in the world, are ye burdened with traditions? as touch not, taste not, handle not. So doe the Idolaters: you should not be like vnto them. They are the children of darkenesse, you are the sonnes of light. They will not be like vnto you, and forsake their false gods: Why should you become like vnto them, and forsake the God that made the heauens, and the earth? You can not make them ashamed of their errors, and imbrace the truth. Why then should you betray the truth, and be partakers with them in error?

Gala. 4.

Col. 2.

The Christians in old time began to weare Garlands made of Bay. What harme might be in that? What is a Garland, but a furniture for the head? What is Bay, but a little tree, or bush? Yet the Fathers that liued with them to teach them, said it was not lawfull: not for that the thing it selfe was ill of it selfe, but for that they would not seeme to follow Idolaters. It had some appearance of euill. It was a ceremony, and solemne fashion among the Heathen: they would not bee imboldned: and it would offend the hearts of many of the faithfull, to see Christians follow the fashion of the Heathen.

Machab. 1.

When King Antiochus sent vnto Hierusalem, and to the Cities of Iuda, that they should follow the strange lawes of the Country: many chose rather to die, than to be defiled with vncleane things, and to breake the holy couenant, which God had giuen them.

Daniel 6.

Darius made a decree, whosoeuer should aske a petition of any God or man for thirty daies, saue of the King, he should be cast into the denne of Lions. Daniel would not be kept so long from the seruice of God. He would not dissemble: he would not hide his zeale: nor shew any appearance of ill. He prayed and praised God, as he did before, and opened his chamber windowes, that it might be seene.

Polycarpus might haue saued his life, if he would haue dissembled. He would not, he could not. He saw it would haue beene an appearance of euill, and a discourage vnto the brethren: therefore spake boldly, *Christianus sum*, I am a Christian. And being required to speake ill of Christ, said, *Octoginta & sex annos seruio ei, & nihil me laesit vnquam: quomodo possum maledicere ei, & blasphemare regem meum, qui salutem mihi dedit?* I haue serued Christ these fourescore and sixe yeeres, and he did neuer any thing hurt me: how may I speake ill, and blaspheme my king, which hath giuen me saluation? This is my faith, Christ is my God: this is my religion: I am not ashamed to suffer death, rather than I will deny him, who suffered death in his owne body to saue mee.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15.

Rom. 14. 1. Cor. 8.

It is good, saith S. Paul, neither to eat flesh, nor to drinke wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weake. Againe he saith: Now when yee sinne so against the brethren, and wound their weake conscience, yee offend against Christ. Wherefore if meat offend my brother, I will eate no flesh while the world standeth, lest I should offend my brother. He that hath once made a shipwracke, standeth watchfull euer after, not onely to escape that rocke, or sand, whereat he had bene before, but all other the like rockes and sands whatsoeuer.

Therefore, Abstaine from all appearance of euill: bee not like the wicked of this world. You are the salt of the earth. You should not be partners of their corruption, but ponder and season them. You are the light of the world: you may not be partners of their darknesse, but lighten and guid them. Dissemble not: Serue God in the simplicity of your heart, and in the sight of all the world. Let it be written in your forehead what you thinke in your heart. Why should any man be ashamed of Gods truth?

VERS. 23. Now the very God of peace sanctifie you thorowout: and I pray God, that your whole spirit, and soule, and body, may be kept blamelesse vnto the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Our God is the God of peace. He giueth peace & quiet to his church. He doth muzzel the Lion,

Lyon, amaze the tyrant, make blunt the ſword, and quench the fire prepared againſt his ſeruants. He giueth his Sons peace and quietneſſe, among themſelues. He abhorreth diſcord and malice betweene brethren. God is loue, ſaith S. Iohn: And he that dwelleth in loue, dwelleth in God and God in him. He that loueth not his brother, abideth in death. God hath made vs all members of one body. There is no reſpect of perſons with him, no difference of learned and vnlearned, wiſe or ſolish, rich or poore. His will is, that we all ſhould be as one, of one minde, and that we ſhould all thinke one thing, and ſpeake one thing: that we ſhould be one fold vnder one shepheard, and with one mouth glorifie the father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. For this peace Chriſt praied: Sanctifie them through thy truth. Bleſſe them, take away all bitternesſe, and ſwelling from amongſt them. Make them Citizens of thy heauenly Hieruſalem, that they may liue in peace, and loue one another, and delight one in other. That they all may be one, as thou, ô father, art one in me, and I in thee.

1. Iohn 4. 1. Iohn. 3. Iohn 17.

God is the God, and giuer of peace. Whence then commeth diuiſion and diſſenſion of minds? What is the cauſe that the whole world is ſo shaken with ſects and troubles? All are not the children of peace. Chriſt himſelfe the Lamb of God, in whoſe mouth there was no guile, came vnto his owne, and his owne receiued him not. Cain is alwaies againſt Abel. Eſau will neuer loue Iacob. The darkneſſe and the light can neuer agree. This is the cauſe of all vnquietneſſe and trouble. Theſe things, ſaith Chriſt to his Diſciples, haue I ſpoken vnto you, that in me yee might haue peace. in the world you ſhal haue affliction. The wicked ſhall not only hate, but betray, and cauſe them to die, which profeſſe the name of Chriſt. Whoſoeuer killeth you, will thinke he doth God ſeruice. And theſe things will they doe vnto you, becauſe they haue not knowen the Father, nor me. The ſetting forth of the Goſpel of Chriſt, is that which the world cannot abide. It reuealeth things that were hidden, it diſcloſeth the couetouſneſſe of thoſe, who kept the people in ignorance, to make gaine and merchandiſe of their ſoules: it ouerthroweth mighty buildings and holds of Merits, of Pardons, of Maſſes, of Purgatory, which by the policy, and wiſdome, and power of this world were exalted againſt God. This is the only cauſe of all this ſtrife and trouble.

Iohn 16. Ibid.

We haue need of peace, of the peace of conſcience within our ſelues: of peace, from the rage and fury of the world: and of peace and loue among thoſe that are of Gods houſhold. Let vs ſeeke peace at the hands of God, and he will eſtabliſh vs in the peace of his Goſpell, and ſo giue vs the reſt and peace of our ſoules.

Sanctifie you throughout. The God of peace bleſſe you, and keepe you vnder the ſhadow of his wings, that your whole ſpirit, and ſoule, and body, may be kept blameleſſe vnto the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Here marke, that the Apoſtle diuideth man into three parts: The ſpirit, the ſoule, and the body. So that he ſeemeth to make the ſpirit one thing, and the ſoule another. How is it then that we diuide man into two parts, the ſoule and the body, and ſay that he doth ſtand but of two parts? There is no difference, the matter is all one. For Paul diuideth the ſoule into two parts. The firſt is reaſon and vnderſtanding, which he calleth the Spirit: The other is, will and affection, which he calleth the Soule. For as God hath giuen vs reaſon to ſee what is good: ſo hath he giuen vs will to ſeeke after that which is good. Reaſon hath eies: Will is blind, and cannot ſee the way. Therefore Will muſt be led and guided by Reaſon. Reaſon muſt goe before, Will muſt follow after. Therefore Reaſon is compared to the husband, and Will to the Wife. If Will take in hand to rule Reaſon, it is no leſſe diſorder, than if the wife will aduenture or take vpon her to rule her husband. Therefore in this place Reaſon, which is the principal part of our ſoule, is called the Spirit; and Will, which is the other part, is called the Soule. So the ſpirit is not a ſeuerall ſubſtance, but the ſoule and the ſpirit are one ſoule, euen as the body and the fleſh are one body. Thus therefore Paul praieth for the Church, The God of peace ſanctifie you throughout, that your ſpirit, your reaſon and vnderſtanding: your ſoule, your will, and affection: your body and your fleſh, may altogether be pure and holy: that they may be found innocent, and vpright in the day of the Lord.

VERSE. 24. Faithfull is he which calleth you, which will alſo doe it.

He hath begun a good worke in you, he will finiſh it. He will lead you from vertue to vertue, from ſtrength to ſtrength, from glory to glory. He hath called you, he will alſo keepe you faithful vntil the day of the appearing of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. You are Chriſts ſheepe. No man ſhall take you out of his hands. He hath not loſt one of all them, whom his father had giuen him. He knoweth his ſheepe. None ſhall be confounded that put their truſt in him. There is no condemnation to them that be in Chriſt Ieſus. He is faithfull, he will performe this vnto you: not for your merits, but for his owne name, and for his mercy ſake. Becauſe he is faithfull, he will not deſpiſe the worke of his owne hands.

VERS. 25. Brethren, pray for me.

I wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with the Prince and power of darkneſſe. My enemies are ſtrong, they are the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt; I am weake, and of no reſiſtance. Our ſufficiency is of him. Without him we can doe nothing. Pray for me, that he will put his word into my mouth, that I may be a veſſell of his glory to preach forth the glad tidings of his Goſpel: that I may be a faithfull Miniſter of the new Teſtament: that I may diſcloſe the myſtery of our redemption: that his holy ſpirit will aſſiſt me; and make my trauels fruitfull.

VERS. 26. Greet all the brethren with an holy kiſſe.

27. I charge you in the Lord, that this epiſtle be read vnto all the brethren, the Saints.

Salute one another in token of true and vnfained loue. And withhold not this Epiſtle from any of the brethren. It is written for their ſakes. Let them heare it, that they may take comfort by it. How agreeth Paul in this charge, with them, that in no caſe would haue the people read the Scriptures? That ſay, Ignorance is the mother of deuotion. It is the word of God the father: why ſhould not the people of God vnderſtand it? It is the water, that ſpringeth out to euerlaſting life: why ſhould the people of God be driuen away, and not ſuffered to drinke thereof? It is the light of the world: why ſhould the people be hoodwinkt, and kept that they ſhould not looke vp and ſee it? why ſhould they ſit, and periſh in the darkneſſe of death? It is the wil of God that all the people ſhould know him, from the leaſt to the greateſt among them. S. Paul ſaith: Whatſoeuer things are written afore time, are written for our learning, that we throught patience and comfort of the Scriptures might haue hope. Chriſt ſaith: This is life eternall, to know thee to be the only very God, and whom thou haſt ſent Ieſus Chriſt. Let vs not forget theſe words of Paul. I charge you in the Lord, by his death, by his Croſſe, by his blood, by the day of his appearance, that this Epiſtle be read to the learned, and vnlearned; to the wiſe and ſimple; to the maſters, and to the ſeruants: to all our brethren, to all the Sons of God.

Rom. 15.

Iohn 17.

VERS. 28. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you. Amen.

God open your eies, that you may behold the way of righteouſneſſe, and direct you, that you may walke in it. Through his grace you haue receiued the word, and it hath bene fruitfull in you: and by the ſame grace, you ſhall continue in it for euer. His grace, and bleſſing, and mercy bee with you all. Amen.

THE

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF THE APOSTLE S. PAVL to the Theſſalonians.

Chap. I.

PAVL, and Syluanus, and Timotheus, vnto the Church of the Theſſalonians, which is in God our father, and in our Lord Iesus Chriſt.

IN the former Epiſtle hee wrote ſomwhat touching the latter day, and the comming of our Lord to iudgement, and ſaid, that, that day ſhall come as a theefe in the night: and therfore exhorted them to watch, and pray, and to prepare themſelues to be in a readineſſe. The falſe Apoſtles did fondly, and malitiouſly miſtake his words: and deuiſed meanes thereby to diſquiet the minds of the faithfull, and to trouble the Church of God. Thus could the Prince of darkneſſe, the old Serpent, and deceiuing ſpirit, turne the truth of God into occaſion of ſlander. In the meane while the Apoſtle was far off from them at Athens. But when he heard of their caſe, hee ſent vnto them this other Epiſtle, wherein he declareth more plainly that matter which before ſeemed doubtfull, and ſeeketh to ſatiſfie their hearts, and to remoue them from all that error which they had conceiued.

In diſcourſe hereof, he taketh occaſion to ſpeake of Antichriſt, of whom we heare much, and haue had warning often. He telleth vs, that he ſhall come in working of ſignes, and wonders: that he is the man of ſin, which ſhall thruſt himſelfe into the place of Chriſt. He ſheweth who is Antichriſt, and how we may know him: what things he ſhall doe, what credit he ſhall haue in the world: and by what power he ſhall be ouerthrown, and confounded. After this he ſpeaketh of idleneſſe, and of bodily labour, and requireth euery man to liue in the ſweat of their browes, and in painful trauel, as God hath ordained. Other comfortable, and neceſſary doctrine is deliuered in this Epiſtle, as will appeare. The whole matter of the Epiſtle is ſo fit for theſe daies in which we liue, as if it were purpoſely written for vs. For we liue in the latter age of the world: and it cannot be, but the end of all things is at hand, and that the glorious appearing of our Lord ſhall be ſhortly.

Paul, and Syluanus, and Timotheus. This Epiſtle was ſent, not only from Paul, but alſo from Timothy, and Syluanus. Theſe three were all guided by one ſpirit, and had all one like care for the Church of God. Therefore he writeth thus: Paul, and Syluanus, and Timotheus, the ſeruants of God, choſen from our mothers wombe, and appointed to publiſh the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and to carry his name before Kings, and Princes: and eſpecially, I Paul, which am your father, and haue begotten you in Chriſt: which was ſometimes a blaſphemer, and did perſecute the faithfull: whom it pleaſed God to make a choſen veſſell for himſelfe: which am alſo hated of my brethren and kinſmen after the fleſh, for the Goſpels ſake: and which am ready to giue my life for your behalfe.

Vnto the Church of the Theſſalonians, which is in God our father, &c. You are (ſaith he) the beloued of God, you are his people, and he hath aſſured his mercy vnto you: you haue the promiſe, and the earneſt of the life to come. Here let vs marke the ſtate of that country, as it was then, and compare it with it ſelfe as it is now. Then it was the Church of God: for otherwiſe S. Paul would not ſo haue called it, according to the grace of God giuen vnto

him

him he laid the foundation, he planted and watered their harts, and God gaue the increase. So that they receiued the word in much affliction: and the word of the Gospell sounded from them, not only in Macedonia, and Achaia, but their faith towards God was spred also abroad in all quarters. In such sort were they a Vessell sanctified vnto honour, full of blessing, and full of the mercy and grace of God.

But what is become of that country? In what case standeth the Church of Thessalonica at this day? It is now the Synagogue of Satan, vnder the tyranny of the Turke, and such as are enemies of the Crosse of Christ. Such a change hath the right hand of the Lord wrought in that place, which hath somtimes bin his holy Tabernacle. I thought good to marke this, that we might vnderstand how vaine a thing it is, to put confidence in Cities or Churches, or in the names of our fathers.

The Church of Thessalonica, whose foundation was surely built by S. Paul himselfe, for which he was so carefull, vnto which he wrote speciall letters to commend their increase in godlinesse, and their stedfastnesse in the Gospell, is forsaken, and laid waste. If the worke which the spirit of God wrought by the Apostle be decaied, whose worke may we thinke shall stand? Ieremy spake vnto the people of the Iewes, saying: Trust not in lying words, saying, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord, this is the Temple of the Lord. That temple God himselfe commanded to be built, the forme and fashion thereof God himselfe deuised, and appointed; therein he placed his Tabernacle, and set vp his Mercy seat; therein he shewed forth his Maiesty, and the glory of his countenance. Yet, all this notwithstanding, God said by the Prophet, Trust not in these words, they be lying words, and will deceiue you. Ierem. 7.

As the Prophet spake of the Temple at Ierusalem, so may it be said of any other Church throughout the world. So may it be said of the Church of Rome. We may say, Trust not in lying words, saying, The Church of Rome, the Church of Rome. Say not thus with your selues, The Church of Rome is built vpon a rocke, so surely that it cannot be moued, or that no wind can shake it: say not, The faith of that Church can neuer faile. These be lying words, trust not in them, for Christ neuer spake any such thing of the church of Rome It neuer had promise of more speciall priuiledge, than was giuen to the Church at Thessalonica. Read the Scriptures, behold the words of our Sauiour, and consider them, you shal find no speech made of the Church of Rome, nor any promise, or peece of promise, wherein he bindeth himselfe more to the Church of Rome, than he hath done to other Churches, or to this of Thessalonica.

Thessalonica was beautifull in the sight of God, the Lord of Hosts had pitched his tents round about her, the name of the most holy was placed in the middest of her, she enioyed like spirituall peace and prosperity, as did the Ierusalem of the Almighty: she was as a City fenced within it selfe: but the Lord hath taken away the light of his countenance from her, she hath forsaken the waies of righteousnesse, she hath left off to serue the Lord, and is become the place which the Lord hath forsaken: there is scarse any remnant left there of those which call vpon the name of our saluation, and loue the Lord Iesus with an vnfained heart. This is the Lords doing, and it is maruellous in our eies. And is his hand shortned, that he cannot, or is his zeale abated that he will not, in like seuerity deale with such as forsake him? If he spared not the naturall branches, if Ierusalem were ouerthrawen because of her iniquities, it cannot be, that he will spare other places, that doe the like, but that they shall also be cut off. This is it that our Sauiour hath said in the Gospell by S. Matthew: Therefore say I vnto you, the kingdome of God shall be taken from you, and shall be giuen to a nation, which shall bring foorth the fruits thereof. Such terrible, and dreadfull examples hath God laid before our eies, to keepe vs in his feare, and in awe of his iudgements. Mat. 21.

VERSE. 2. Grace be with you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Iesus Christ.

This is the salutation of Paul in all his Epistles: to say, I wish that the blessing, and fauour, and loue of God may light vpon you. But for the better consideration hereof, and that we may know how earnestly we ought to pray vnto God for this grace and peace, the Apostle wisheth to the Churches; let vs looke into our selues, and see how miserable we are, if we be left void of this grace, & if God take his holy spirit away from vs. By nature what are we other, than the bondslaues of sin? We are not able to lift vp our eies vnto heauen, nor to beleeue in God, nor to praise him, nor to call vpon his name. We are not sufficient of our selues to thinke any thing as of our selues. Vnlesse he open our lips, we cannot shew forth his praise: Vnlesse he heale our deafnesse, we cannot giue eare to his word: Vnlesse he giue vs vnderstanding hearts, we cannot take knowledge of his will. Destruction, & vnhappines, saith the prophet Dauid, are in their waies, & the way of peace Psalm. 14.

haue

haue they not knowen, there is no feare of God before their eies: ſpeaking of ſuch as had not receiued the fauour and grace of God to guide and direct them. And by the Prophet Malachie God vttereth his diſpleaſure againſt them, ſaying: I haue no pleaſure in you, ſaith the Lord of hoſts, neither will I accept an offering at your hands. Malac. 1.

Therefore the Apoſtle praieth, that they may receiue ſuch meaſure of Gods grace as may quench in them the fierie darts of the wicked, and enable them to hold faſt that worthy thing, that is committed vnto them, and may keepe them holy and vndefiled, againſt the glorious comming of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt.

VERS. 3. We ought to thanke God alwaies for you brethren, as it is meet, becauſe that your faith groweth exceedingly, and the loue of euery one of you towards another aboundeth.

4. So that we our ſelues reioice of you in the Church of God, becauſe of your patience, and faith in all your perſecutions, and tribulations, that yee ſuffer.

God hath wrought this good worke of faith, and loue, and patience in your hearts: he will make it proſper, and increaſe. It is he which hath put this fire in you, and he will make it burne. He hath laied his leauen in the dough or meale of your heart, and will make it heaue, and worke, vntill all be leauened. He will make you abound more and more, and will bring to a good end the thing he hath begun.

Your faith groweth exceedingly. That is the will of God, that we wax and increaſe in all holineſſe. Hereby we know, whether we be of God or no. We may not ſtand at a ſtay, but muſt be renued. On ſaith: *In via virtutis qui non proficit, deficit*: Whoſoeuer mendeth not himſelfe in the practiſe of vertue, he groweth worſe. God hath placed vs in a race to run; we muſt ſo run, that we may attaine the price. We are grafts of the Lords planting, we muſt grow to the heigth and breadth of a tree, and bring forth fruit. We are pilgrims and ſtrangers, and paſſe by the wildernеſſe of this world, into our heauenly reſting place: we may not ſtay by the way, but muſt remoue our tents, and continually march on forward, vntill that day come, when we ſhall enter into the land of promiſe.

So that we our ſelues reioice of you in the Church of God, &c. Your faith is not onely true, and pure, but ſetled, and conſtant. For you continued ſtedfaſt in the middeſt of perſecution: you haue beene tormented, and ſuffered afflictions in your body, by the hands of Tyrants: yet could they neuer remoue you from the faith in our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, nor from your obedience to the will of God. You know, that all which will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſus, ſhall ſuffer perſecution. Yet are you comforted, and ſay as the Prophet Dauid: The Lord is with me, therefore I will not feare, what man can doe vnto me. You cannot forget who it is that ſaid: Whoſoeuer ſhall confeſſe me before men, him will I confeſſe alſo before my father which is in Heauen. But whoſoeuer ſhall denie me, I will alſo denie him before my father which is in Heauen. Hee that loſeth his life for my ſake, ſhall find it. Hee that endureth vnto the end, he ſhall be ſaued. And againe: Bleſſed ſhall yee be, when men reuile you, and perſecute you, and ſay all maner of euill againſt you, for my ſake, falſely. Reioice and be glade, for great is your reward in Heauen. For ſo perſecuted they the Prophets, which were before you. 2. Tim. 3. Pſal. 118. Matth. 10. Matth. 5.

VERS. 5. Which is a manifeſt token of the righteous iudgement of God, that yee may be counted worthy of the kingdome of God, for the which yee alſo ſuffer.

6. For it is a righteous thing with God, to recompence tribulation to them that trouble you.

7. And to you, which are troubled, reſt with vs, when the Lord Ieſus ſhall ſhew himſelfe from Heauen, with his mightie Angels,

8. In flaming fire, rendring vengeance vnto them, that doe not know, and which obey not the Goſpell of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

9. Which ſhall be puniſhed with euerlaſting perdition, from the preſence of the Lord, and from the glorie of his power.

10. When he ſhall come to be glorified in his Saints, and to be made marueilous in all them that beleeue, becauſe our teſtimony towards you was beleeued in that day.

Many are the troubles which the righteous men do ſuffer, but the Lord will deliuer them. After Paul and Barnabas had preached the glad tydings of the Goſpell, they confirmed the diſciples hearts, and exhorted them to continue in the faith, and ſaid, that we muſt thorow many afflictions enter into the kingdome of God. We muſt not therefore be afraid Act. 14.

for any terror of them which trouble vs for righteousnesse sake: but rather looking ouer, and beyond them, we must reioice, and giue thankes to God, who hath made vs worthy
2. Cor. 5. not only to beleeue in him, but also to suffer for his sake. For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be destroied, we haue a building giuen of God, an house not made with hands, but eternall in the heauens. These persecutions and tribulations, which you suffer, are a manifest token (saith the Apostle) of Gods loue towards you. For, Whom the
Heb. 12. Lord loueth, he chastneth: and he scourgeth euery sonne that he receiueth. The Prophets, and Apostles, and Martyrs, which were not only reuiled, and scourged, but beheadded, cut in peeces, drowned in the waters, consumed in the fire, or by any other deuices of Tyrants, cruelly put to death, did by this way receiue the manifest token of their happy and blessed estate, and by this way did enter into the kingdome of God. Athanasius an ancient father reckoneth the suffering of persecution, to be a speciall note of a Christian man, saying: *Cadi Christianorum proprium est: cedere autem Christianos, Pilati & Caiaphæ officia sunt:* It is the
Athanas. ad solitariam vitam agentes. part of Christians to be persecuted: but to persecute the Christians, it is the very office of Pilate and Caiaphas.

The Lord is not vniust, but all his workes are righteousnesse and truth. Their little and short tribulation in this life prepareth an eternall, and exceeding waight of glory vnto his seruants. Though they sow in teares, they shall reape in ioy. They shall be taken vp into Heauen, and shall see God face to face, and shall be crowned with glory and honour. As for the vngodly, it is not so with them, they may flourish for a time, and haue great power and authority in this world, but the Lambe shall ouercome them, and their end shall be ac-
Psal. 11. cording to their workes: Dauid saith, Vpon the vngodly, he shall raine snares, fire, and brimstone, storme and tempest: this shall be their portion to drinke.

When the Lord Iesus shall shew himselfe from Heauen. There are many which are ashamed of Christ, and of his word, in the presence of such as are enemies to the crosse of Christ, and haue countenance and authoritie in this world. But a time shall come, when Christ will shew himselfe from Heauen, accompanied with his holy Angels: Then will he also be ashamed of them, and put them from his presence: then will he render vengeance to them that haue hated his truth: they shall then know whose members they haue killed, and whose word and Gospell it was, which they so despightfully reproched. Then the smoke of their torments shall ascend euermore, and they shall haue no rest, day nor night. In this maner shall God triumph in victorie ouer the wicked, by iudging them to euerlasting destruction: and will shew himselfe wonderfull in giuing rest, and ioy, and glory, and euerlasting blessednesse to all those which loue his truth, and beleeue in him.

VERS. 11. Wherefore we also pray alwaies for you, that our God may make you worthy of this calling, and fulfill all the good pleasure of his goodnesse, and the worke of faith with power.

12. That the name of our Lord Iesus Christ may be glorified in you, and you in him, according to the grace of our God, and of the Lord Iesus Christ.

God blesse that good thing which he hath begun in you, and keepe you stedfast in the truth, that you loke not backe now, after you haue put your hand to the plough, and that you giue no place to their dangerous and subtile perswasions, who persecute you: take heed to your selues, and beware, that you put not the word of God from you. He hath shewed you his goodnesse and mercie, in that he hath deliuered you from the power of darknesse, and hath translated you into the kingdome of his deare sonne. I make my praier to God without ceasing, for you alwaies, that he will make you worthy of this heauenly calling, and that he will euer more and more fill you with the riches and abundance of his goodnesse and mercy, that through him you may be made perfect in all good workes.

CHAP. II.

VERS. 1. Now I beseech you brethren, by the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ, and by our assembling vnto him:

2. That ye be not suddenly mooued from your minde, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as it were from vs, as though the day of Christ were at hand.

YOu are the children of those fathers which haue fallen from their stedfastnesse, and haue borne led into errour: beware lest you also be caried away with euery blast of false doctrine. The Diuell is subtil, his baits are pleasant; you are weake and simple, he will soone deceiue you. Here let vs consider how easily man may be deceiued, that so we may know the corruption and weaknesse of our nature, and therefore what cause we haue euer to walke warily, to take heed to our steps, and to pray vnto God that he will in-

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cline our hearts vnto his teſtimonies. When I ſay, man may be deceiued; I meane not boies or children, or fooles, or the ſimpler ſort of men: but the learned, the wiſe, the politike: the Kings and Princes of the world: the teachers, and rulers alſo of the people. When Adam was yet in paradiſe, and made the ruler ouer all the beaſts of the field, and was full of the graces and bleſſings of God, he ſone departed from the counſell of God, and gaue eare to the Serpent: ſo eaſily was he deceiued. Iſrael was as the apple of the Lords eye, a people whom the Lord loued, and to whom he gaue their hearts deſire. He deliuered them from Pharao, and with an outſtretched arme led them thorow the red ſea. Who would thinke ſo great mercies would euer be forgotten? or that ſuch a people, ſo well inſtructed in the knowledge of God, and ſo often put in mind of their dutie, ſhould either the moſt part, or all of them turne from God? Moſes was abſent but a while: he went aſide to receiue the Tables of couenant, in the meane time they made vnto themſelues a molten Calfe, and worſhipped it, they offered vnto it, and ſaid: Theſe be thy Gods, O Iſrael, that Exod. 32.
haue brought thee out of the land of Ægypt. So eaſily were the wiſeſt of them, and Aaron, and the whole multitude deceiued.

Their children after them forſooke the Lord, and ſerued Baal, and Aſtaroth. They ſaid to Iudges 2.
a tree, Thou art my father, and to a ſtone, Thou haſt begotten mee. They haue turned their backe to mee, and not their face; ſaith God by the Prophet Ieremie. And was this the Ier. 2.
offence but of ſome ſmall number of them? were they but few, or of the baſer & ſimpler ſort, whom the wicked ſpirit had thus ſeduced, to make them forſake the true and liuing God, and to giue the glorie due vnto him, to dumb creatures, and to the works of their owne hands? No, they departed from God in great multitudes, with full conſent, and vnitie; they warranted their doings by antiquitie, and by the cuſtome of their fathers before them. The Prophet ſaith: According to the number of thy Cities were thy Gods, O Iudah: and to Ier. 11.
the number of the ſtreets of Ieruſalem, haue ye ſet vp altars of confuſion, euen altars to burne incenſe vnto Baal. And in another place he ſaith: A great multitude, euen all the people that Ier. 44.
dwell in the land of Ægypt in Phathros anſwered Ieremie, ſaying: The word that thou haſt ſpoken vnto vs in the name of the Lord, we will not heare it of thee. But we will do whatſoeuer thing goeth out of our owne mouth, as to burne incenſe to the Queene of heauen, and to poure our drinke offerings vnto her, as we haue done, we and our fathers, our Kings and our Princes, &c. Thus, euen among that nation, which God hath choſen vnto himſelfe, the Apoſtaſie was ſo great, the departure from true holineſſe was ſo vniuerſall, that not only euery citie, but euery ſtreet was defiled with their Idolatrie. And, beſides the women which burnt incenſe to other gods; a great multitude, yea, all the people with one conſent cried out againſt their Preacher, refuſed to heare the word of God, and maintained their ſuperſtition.

The like may be ſaid of the Scribes and Phariſies. They were wiſe, they were learned, and caried great ſhew of holineſſe: yet they loued darkneſſe better than light: they were blind leaders of the blind, they deſpiſed the commandements of God, for their own traditions: and not only they, but Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and people of Iſrael gathered themſelues together againſt the Lord, and againſt his Chriſt. What ſhould I ſpeake of thoſe Churches which the Apoſtles of Chriſt planted, and watered, and confirmed in the truth? At Corinth Paul preached the Goſpel, they receiued it gladly: he thanketh God on their behalfe, That in all things they were made rich in him, in all kind of ſpeech, and in all knowledge. Yet ſone after they abuſed the holy myſteries, they denied the reſurrection of the dead, they became carnall, and had enuying, and ſtrife, and contention among themſelues. The Galathians reioiced ſo much in him, that he writeth thus of them: I beare you record, that if it had been poſſible, you would haue plucked out your owne eies, Galat. 4.
and haue giuen them to mee. Yet they did not abide in the truth, but gaue eare to falſe Apoſtles, and were deceiued. Therefore he reproueth them, ſaying: O fooliſh Galathians, Galat. 3.
who haue bewitched you, that you ſhould not obey the truth? Are yee ſo fooliſh, that after yee haue begun in the ſpirit, yee would now be made perfect in the fleſh? Yee did run well: Galat. 5.
who did let you, that yee did not obey the truth? I am in feare of you, leſt I haue beſtowed Galat. 4.
on you labour in vaine.

This frailtie and weakneſſe of our corrupt nature, hath ſhewed it ſelfe forth, and hath appeared in all ages. We, and our fathers, haue gone aſtray, and haue followed after lies. Pſal. 14.
The Lord hath looked downe from Heauen vpon the children of men, to ſee if there were any that would vnderſtand, and ſeeke God. All are gone out of the way: they are all corrupt: there is none that doth good, no not one, ſaith the Prophet Dauid. Therefore the Apoſtle beſeecheth the Church at Theſſalonica, that they ſettle themſelues vpon a ſure foundation, and that they be not remoued from the truth. He putteth them in mind what they haue heard, and of whom they haue heard it, & exhorteth them to continue ſtedfaſt therein.

Neither by ſpirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as it were from vs. Let no man intice you from the loue of the truth, nor withdraw you, or remoue you from that bleſſed hope vnto which you be called, neither by pretence of reuelation, which any would ſeeme to receiue of the ſpirit of God: nor by pretence of any word of mine, as if I had ſo ſpoken: nor by any letter, giuen vnto you in my name, as if I had ſo written. In theſe words, he doth not only ſtrengthen them againſt ſuch practiſes of craftie and falſe teachers: but giueth them therewithall a teſtimonie of their conſtant abiding in the trueth of the Goſpell.

Otherwiſe, if the ſeducers had preuailed; and if the Theſſalonians had yelded vnto them, and receiued their errour, hee would then haue framed his ſpeech vnto them after this maner: Oh ſuffer your ſelues to be abuſed. You doe not run well, you haue loſt the high way. Giue place to the ſpirit of God, ſubmit your ſelues vnder his mighty hand, refuſe not the calling whereby hee hath called you. I could ſpeake ſuch things, wherewith you would be better pleaſed: but your caſe is ſuch, it requireth rather ſtrong, and plaine, and ſharp reprehenſion, whereby you may be brought to conſider, and amend your errors, than faire, and ſmothed ſpeech, which might hold you ſtill in your follie.

Seeke therefore the kingdome of God, and the glory thereof, and ſeeke not your ſelues. Weigh truth and falſhood in an indifferent ballance, ſo ſhall the heauier weight of the one ſoone beway the lightneſſe of the other. What thing in the world ſo maſſie, and ſo weightie, as is the truth? Harden not your hearts, as did your Fathers in the wilderneſſe. It is no ſinne to yeld vnto God: it is no ſhame to lay apart all affection, and to change your minde to the deniall of all vngodlineſſe, and imbracing of true holineſſe. The wiſe man
Eccle. 4. ſaith: There is a ſhame that bringeth ſinne, and a ſhame that bringeth worſhip and fauour. In this ſort it is likely the Apoſtle would haue ſpoken, if need had ſo required. But now ſeeing them forcibly aſſaulted, and that yet they ſtriued with ſuch good courage againſt the perſwaſions of the wicked; hee commendeth their ſtedfaſtneſſe, and exhorteth them by theſe words, not to yeld vnto their perſecutors, nor to goe from their faith in Chriſt Ieſus.

Neither by ſpirit: that is, by reuelation of the ſpirit. The ſpirit of God wrought mightily, and beſtowed ſundrie and great giftes vpon men. Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples,
Matth. 10. When they deliuer you vp, take yee no thought, how, or what yee ſhall ſpeake: for it ſhall be giuen you in that ſame houre, what yee ſhall ſpeake. For it is not yee that ſpeake, but the
Iohn 14. ſpirit of your father, which ſpeaketh in you. And againe, ſaith he: I will pray the father, and he ſhall giue you another comforter, that he may bide with you for euer: The ſpirit of truth, whom the world cannot receiue, becauſe the world ſeeth him not, neither knoweth him: but yee know him: for he dwelleth with you, and ſhall be in you. The holy Ghoſt ſhall be with you, to aſſiſt you, to teach you all things, to direct your counſels, to lead you into all truth, and to preſerue you from all errour.

Now, as the ſpirit of God was among the faithfull, and diſtributed to euery man ſeuerall gifts, as it ſeemed beſt to profit withall: ſo did the ſpirit of Satan wait vpon the wicked, and poſſeſſed their hearts and bodies, and cauſed them to imagine, and to do thoſe things which were vnſeemely. He vſed them as inſtruments to diſquiet the Church of God, and to caſt into it the ſeed of errour, of vntruth, and diſſention. Of ſuch ſpirits Saint Iohn
1. Ioh. 4. giueth warning, ſaying: Beleeue not euery ſpirit, but trie the ſpirits, whether they are of God: for many falſe prophets are gone into the world. At what time Achab would not beleeue the anſwer which the Prophet Micheas made him; there came forth a ſpirit, and ſtood
1. Kings 22. before the Lord, and ſaid: I will go out, and be a falſe ſpirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. This ſpirit euer walketh vp and downe, ſeeking whom he may deuoure, and blindeth the mindes of many, that the light of the glorious Goſpell of Chriſt may not ſhine vnto them. Take heed that you be not deceiued by any ſuch, which ſhall ſeeke to abuſe you, by pretence of reuelation. Though they ſhall take vpon them to tell you of the day or houre of the comming of our Lord, beleeue them not: for the falſe ſpirit is in the mouth of ſuch Prophets.

Nor by word: or, if any ſhall report, and goe about to perſwade you, that I haue ſo ſpoken, or taught in the congregations: or will boldly countenance out ſuch matters, and tell you, ſaying, I was preſent, I heard his words and remember them, this was the doctrine which Paul preached: refuſe him that is ſuch a one, for hee bringeth not the truth vnto you, but deceiueth you with lying and vaine fables. Nor by letter, as it were from vs. Againe, it may be, they which lie in wait to deſtroy you, for their better way, will counterfet letters, and ſend them vnto you in my name. This is a token in them that they be paſt ſhame: bee not you caried away by any ſuch pretence from that which wee haue preached vnto you. Wee haue not taught you that the day of Chriſt is at hand. Oh then be not ſo ſoone remoued away vnto an other Goſpell, by them which trouble you, and intend to peruert the Goſpell of Chriſt.

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Many ſuch ſleights and falſe deuices haue bẽ vſed by deceiuing ſpirits, to blinde the eies of the ſimple. There haue bẽne ſome, which haue ſet abroad their owne fantaſies vnder the names of Adam, the firſt man that God created vpon the face of the earth, and of Cain and Seth. Others haue called their owne dreames, the Goſpell of Thomas, and of Bartholmew, and of Barnabee, and of the Apoſtles of Chriſt. S. Auguſtine ſaith of the Manichees: *Manichei legunt Scripturas Apocryphas, neſcio à quibus ſutoribus fabularum, ſub nomine Apoſtolorum Scriptas*: The Manichees read ſecret hidden Scriptures, written, I know not by what coblers of fables, vnder the name of the Apoſtles. Such writings were neuer written by them, whoſe name they beare: but were wickedly and falſly counterfetted vnder their names by ſundry Heretikes. *Auguſt. contra Fauſtum, lib. 22. cap. 80.*

This is that, whereof our Sauiour gaue vs warning: Take heed that no man deceiue you: for many ſhall come in my name, ſaying; I am Chriſt: and ſhall deceiue many. Againe he ſaith: If any ſhall ſay vnto you; Lo, heere is Chriſt, or there, beleeue it not: for there ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſts, and falſe Prophets. Into what ſhape cannot he transforme himſelfe? In whoſe name will not he craftily ſet forth his errours, which dareth falſely ſet himſelfe in the place of the ſonne of God? This hath euermore bẽne the practiſe of that old Serpent, to change himſelfe into the likeneſſe of an Angell of light: and vnder the credit of holy men, to deceiue the world with vnholy and vnholeſome things. Since the time that the Church of God hath departed from her firſt faith, and would no longer bee guided by the voice of the Goſpell; what, and how great forgeries haue there bẽne wrought? What Epiſtles, and Canons, and Decretals, haue bẽne deuiſed to maintaine ſeuerall parts of falſe Religion, and publiſhed vnder the name of Clemens, Cletus, Anacletus, and of others, whereof theſe holy Fathers neuer thought! Thus haue they cloaked themſelues vnder the couert of the Apoſtles, and of the Fathers of the Primitiue Church, and haue ſought to win credit in the world by falſe ſhew of antiquitie. Matth. 24.

It is certaine that the ſonne of man ſhall come with his holy Angels, and ſhall reward euery man according to that he hath done in this life. Then will he giue ſentence againſt the wicked, and will place the faithfull at his right hand. In that day the heauens ſhall paſſe away with a great noiſe, and the elements ſhall melt with feruent heat, the earth alſo and the workes that are therein, ſhall bee vtterly burned. In that day wee which liue, and remaine, ſhall be caught vp together with them (that are dead in Chriſt) in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the aire. But of that day and houre knoweth no man: no not the Angels of heauen, but my Father only, ſaith our Sauiour Chriſt. 2. Pet. 3. 1. Theſſ. 4. Matth. 24.

Now, it remaineth, that we ſee, by occaſion of this practiſe of the falſe Prophets, or falſe Apoſtles, of whom Saint Paul heere warneth the Theſſalonians, how the wicked abuſe the holy Scriptures, and vnderſtand them contrary to their meaning. Saint Peter ſaid, The day of the Lord will come as a theefe, in the night, euen as Paul had written vnto this people: as alſo it is ſpoken in the words of Chriſt: They ſhall ſee the ſonne of man come in the clouds, with power and great glorie. The falſe Apoſtles vſe the ſame words, and wreſt them to euill purpoſe: and take vpon them to iudge of the end of the world, and at what time the comming of Chriſt ſhould be. 2. Pet. 3. Matth. 24.

Chriſt ſaid: Deſtroy this temple, and in three daies I will raiſe it vp againe. There aroſe certaine, that did beare falſe witneſſe againſt him, ſaying, We heard him ſay, he would deſtroy this temple made with hands. They remembred, that temple was fortie and ſix yeares a building, and thought it impoſſible that he could reare it in three daies. They tooke his words otherwiſe than he meant. They thought of the materiall temple of ſtone in Hieruſalem, and he ſpake of the temple of his bodie. Iohn 2.

Againe, Chriſt ſaith, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church. Theſe are the words of Chriſt ſpoken vnto Peter, after he had witneſſed of him, that he is Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God. Hereof they ſay, Peter is the rocke: and the Biſhop of Rome, is Peters ſucceſſour: he is the rocke vpon which the Church is builded, and ſhall ſtand ſtedfaſt for euer. But they vnderſtand the words contrarie to the meaning. For, alas who would conceiue, that God would build his Church vpon a man, or vpon any creature? Chriſt only is that rocke whereupon his Church is ſetled. Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Ieſus Chriſt. Therefore Chryſoſtome expoundeth thoſe words, *Super hanc Petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam: Id eſt, ſuper fidem atque confeſſionem*: I will build my Church vpon this Rocke: that is, vpon this faith and confeſſion. Likewiſe Saint Auguſtine: *Super hanc petram, quam confeſſus es, &c.* Vpon this rocke which thou haſt confeſſed, vpon this rocke which thou haſt knowen, ſaying, Thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God, will I build my Church. That is, I will build my Church vpon my ſelfe, which am the ſonne of the liuing God. I will not build my ſelfe vpon thee, but I will thee vpon me. Matth. 16. 1. Cor. 3. *Chryſ. hom. 55. in Mat. Hom. 13. de verba dom. ſec. Mat.*

Ioh. 3. Chriſt ſaith, Except a man be borne againe, he cannot ſee the kingdome of God. Theſe words are moſt true. For by our owne nature, we be the veſſels of Gods wrath, and the children of damnation. Vnleſſe we be regenerate, and borne anew of water and of the holy Ghoſt, we cannot be ſaued. Yet Nicodemus a wiſe man, a Phariſie, and a ruler of the Iewes miſtook this ſpeech: it ſeemed ſtrange vnto him how a man might be borne, when he is old. Can he enter (ſaith he) the ſecond time into his mothers wombe, and be borne? how can theſe things be? Ieſus anſwered, and ſaid vnto him, Art thou a maſter of Iſrael, and knoweſt not theſe things? This new birth muſt be from aboue, euen by the working of the holy Ghoſt.

Ioh. 6. Againe Chriſt ſaith: Except yee eat the fleſh of the ſonne of man, and drinke his blood, you haue no life in you. The Iewes heard him, but miſtooke his words. They did not vnderſtand his meaning. Therefore they ſaid: This is an hard ſaying, who can abide the hearing of it? They reaſoned among themſelues, how it might be, that either he could giue them his fleſh to eat: or, that they could take his fleſh and eat it, or take his blood to drinke it. But when Ieſus knew, that his Diſciples murmured at it, he ſaid vnto them; Doth this offend you? It is the ſpirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing. Hereof Auguſtine

Auguſt. in Pſal. 98. ſaith: *Acceperunt illud ſtultè, &c.* They tooke the ſaying of Chriſt fooliſhly, they thought of it carnally, and imagined that the Lord would cut off ſmall peeces from his body, and giue it to them. Therefore they ſaid; This ſaying is hard. They were hard, and not the ſaying. For if they had beene meeke, and not hard, they would haue ſaid to themſelues: This is not ſpoken without ſome cauſe: There is ſome myſterie hidden vnder his words.

Ibid. And againe he ſaith: *Spiritualiter intelligite quæ locutus ſum. Non hoc corpus, &c.* Vnderſtand thoſe things ſpiritually, which I haue ſpoken vnto you. You ſhall not eat (with the mouth of your body) this body that you ſee, nor ſhall you drinke that blood which they ſhall ſhed, that ſhall crucifie me. I haue commended vnto you ſome Sacrament: vnderſtand it ſpiritually, and it ſhall quicken you.

Thus we ſee the true meaning of Chriſt words, and after what groſſe maner the Capernaits vnderſtood them. Let vs beware we fall not into like errour. Chriſt ſpake truly of his body, when he called it a temple. The Iewes deſtroied it, and in three daies he did raiſe it vp againe. Miſtake not his words, be not deceiued. It is true that he ſaid: Vpon this rocke will I build my Church. Miſtake him not: Chriſt himſelfe is the rocke, and not Peter. It is true, that a man muſt be borne anew, or elſe he cannot be ſaued. Miſtake not this: hereby is meant not a bodily birth, but a renuing of the ſoule of man. It is truly ſaid, that Chriſts fleſh is that bread, that came from heauen, and giueth life to the world: but miſtake it not, for this bread filleth not the body, but the minde: it requireth the hunger of the inner man. Euen ſo is it true that the Apoſtle ſaith of the day of the Lord. Take heed you miſtake him not, and fall into the errour of the falſe Apoſtles, which take vpon them to appoint the time, and houre, when the ſonne of man ſhall come vnto iudgement.

VERS. 3. Let no man deceiue you by any meanes: for that day ſhall not come, except there come a departing firſt, and that that man of ſinne be diſcloſed, euen the ſonne of perdition.

The Church of God hath euer beene vnder perſecution and afflictions, as may appeare by the ſtories of all ages: but God hath not failed to comfort them, and worke their deliuerance. Iſrael was in great bondage vnder Pharao. They were put to great ſlauery, to chop ſtraw, and to bake bricke, &c. Their male children were ſlaine before their faces. This was done vnto them that ſo they might be rooted out, and their name quite put out from the earth. It was high time for the Lord to put to his hand. They called vpon him in their troubles, and he heard them. Then ſent he Moſes and Aaron, and deliuered them: he opened the red ſea, and gaue them paſſage.

When the Philiſtines oppreſſed them, God ſent them Gedeon, Barac, Iehu, Debora, and Samſon, whom he indued with wiſdome, and courage, and power to ouercome their enemies, and to ſet them at liberty. What ſhould I ſpeake of Nabuchodonoſor, Antiochus, Nero, Iulian, and other tyrants? They oppreſſed the ſeruants of God, and kept them in great miſerie. But God looked downe from heauen, and was their helper in the time of need: he brake the cords aſunder, and deliuered them. The more crueltie was intended or practiſed againſt them, the more glorious did God ſhew himſelfe, in the ouerthrow of their enemies. Great oppreſſions, and cruell perſecutions were done vpon the Saints of God, by theſe, and other wicked Princes But the moſt cruell of any, that euer were, or are, or ſhall be, is the crueltie of Antichriſt. By him the Church of God ſhall ſuffer great tribulation, ſuch as was not from the beginning of the world. And then ſhall his furie

increaſe

increaſe, and his tyranny be the greater, when his kingdome ſhall decay, and the daies of his deſolation ſhall be at hand. Primaſius ſaith: *Tunc cadet Babylon, quando nouiſſimè poteſtatem perſequendi ſanctos acceperit:* Then ſhall Babylon come to the ground, when ſhe ſhall laſt of all take power to perſecute the Saints of God. *Primaſ. in Apoc. ca. 16.* For then will God ariſe, and will iudge his owne cauſe, he will deliuer the afflicted, and will ſlay Antichriſt with the breath of his mouth. Hereof S. Gregory ſaith thus: The Church after theſe daies of her affliction, ſhall afterward notwithſtanding be ſtrengthned with great power and might of preaching. *Greg. in Iob. ca. 29. lib. 19. cap. 9.*

Except there come a departing firſt. There muſt firſt be a departing from faith in the Church of God, and then ſhall be the comming of the Lord. There was one generall departing in the daies of Noah. All fleſh had corrupt their waies: there was not any that did ſeke after righteouſneſſe. Then came the day of the Lord vpon them: he powred out the waters, and they preuailed vpon the earth, ſo that both man, and cattell, and worme, and the fowle of the heauen were deſtroied. There was a generall departing of the Iewes, and people of God at Hieruſalem. They made the houſe of God a den of theeues: they ſaued a theefe, and crucified the Lord of glory. God had no delight in them, neither regarded their ſacrifices. Chriſt ſaid vnto them: O Ieruſalem, Ieruſalem, thou that killeſt the Prophets, and ſtoneſt them which haue been ſent vnto the, how often would I haue gathered thy children together, euen as a hen gathereth his chickens vnder her wings, and yee would not? Behold, your houſe is left vnto you deſolate. They ſhall not leaue in thee one ſtone vpon another becauſe thou knoweſt not the time of thy viſitation. Matth. 23. Luke 19. Such a departing it ſhall be, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, and ſo generall, that the ſonne of man when he commeth ſhall hardly finde faith vpon the earth.

But this departing is diuerſly taken. Some vnderſtand it of the Empire, that the kingdomes and countries which were before in ſubiection to that eſtate, ſhall depart from it, and that then Antichriſt ſhal ſpring vp. Others thinke, that this is ſpoken of that departing wherein the godly haue carried themſelues from the obedience of the Church of Rome. But others more truly ſay, it is the departure from the doctrine, and religion, and loue, and obedience of the Goſpell of Chriſt: whereof in another place he ſaith: In the latter times 1. Tim. 4. ſome ſhall depart from the faith, and ſhall giue heed to ſpirits of error, and doctrines of Diuels, forbidding to marrie, and commanding to abſtain from meats, which God hath created to be receiued with giuing thankes of them which beleeue and know the truth. Theſe men ſhall haue a forme of godlineſſe, but ſhall deny the power thereof. They ſhall turne their eares away from the truth, and will incline their hearts to beare fables.

The words of the Apoſtle are plaine, to ſhew that there ſhall be a departing. But, as we ſee, it is not agreed vpon, what maner of departing this ſhall be, nor by whom it ſhall be wrought. Our aduerſaries lay it vnto vs, ſaying, you haue wrought this departing: you haue departed from the Church of Rome, you are they of whom S. Paul hath ſpoken: you are the founders of Antichriſt: ſo ſay they. But would to God, they and their fathers, and the Church of Rome had not wrought this departure. Bernard beheld the ſtate, and pride, and diſorders of the Church of Rome in his time, therefore ſaid: *Supereſt vt reuelatur homo peccati, filius perditionis: non modò dæmonium diurnum, ſed & meridianum: quod non ſolùm transfiguratur in angelum lucis: ſed extollitur ſupra omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur:* It remaineth, that the man of ſinne, that is, the ſonne of perdition, be reuealed: euen the Diuell which flieth not only in the day, but deſtroieth in the noone day: which is not onlie changed into an Angell of light, but is exalted aboue all that is called God, or that is worſhipped. And Gregory did ſee who they were that ſhould worke this departing, and make way for Antichriſt: therefore ſaid: *Ego fidenter dico, &c.* I ſpeake it boldlie: Whoſoeuer calleth himſelfe the vniuerſall prieſt, or deſireth ſo to be called (as doth the Pope) in the pride of his heart, he is the forerunner of Antichriſt. *Bern. Serm. 6. in Pſal. 91.* *Greg. lib. 6. epiſt. 30.*

Now, that we may yet better know what maner of departure that ſhall be, let vs conſider, what S. Paul ſpeaketh of the Church of God, which was in his time. Vnto the Corinthians he ſaith: If all prophecie, and there come in one that beleeueth not, or one vnlearned, he is rebuked of all men, he is iudged of all men, and ſo are the ſecrets of his heart made manifeſt, and ſo will he fall downe on his face, and worſhip God, and ſay plainlie, that God is in you in deed. How is it then Brethren? When you come together euery one of you hath a pſalme, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a reuelation, hath an interpretation: let all things be done vnto edifying, &c. For God is not the author of confuſion, but of peace, as we ſee in all the Churches. Bleſſed were they of God. All things among them were done to edifying. The holy Scriptures were read openly in the preſence of the people: the people reuerently kept ſilence, and giue eare, and vnderſtood the will of God, and ſubmitted themſelues vnto it. The praiers were in a knowen tongue, ſo that the vnlearned might vnderſtand them, and ſay, Amen. The holy myſteries were duly miniſtred. The people receiued the Sacra- 1. Cor. 14.

ment

ment of the Lords Supper vnder both kinds, as Christ had instituted: and did all communicate together. Chrysostome writing vpon that Chapter, saith: *Verè tum Ecclesia cælum fuit, &c.* Verily the Church then was a heauen, the spirit of God ordering all things, and directing all the heads of the Church.

Chry. hom. 36. in 1. ad Cor.

In the time of Tertullian, the Christians still kept this maner. Therefore he saith: *Cœtus ad diuinarum literarum commemorationem, fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus:* We meet together at the reading of the holie Scriptures: wee nourish our faith with those heauenly words: by them we raise vp our hope, and settle our affiance and trust. Augustine, Chrysostome, Origen, and other ancient and godly fathers commended the reading of the Scriptures vnto the people, called vpon them to read them themselues, or to get others to read vnto them: And that they would heare them not only in the Church, but also at home in their houses. They taught them, the hurt and danger of ignorance, that ignorance of the Scriptures hath bin the cause of heresies, and that it hath brought in corruption of life and of maners. This was the order and vsage of the Church in the time of the holy Apostles, and of our first fathers. The people were guided by the word of God, they were made partakers of the holy mysteries, and all things were done in the Church to edifying. And the same order is this day restored, and practised in our Churches.

Tertul. in Apologetico.

Let vs loke into the Church of Rome, and behold the vsage and behauiour thereof. Where shall wee find that heauenly comelinesse which S. Paul requireth? Where is the comfortable reading of Scriptures? Where is the people taught their saluation in Christ Iesus? where is the brotherly meeting of all the congregation at the communion of the Lords Supper? May wee say of Rome that it holdeth fast the forme and fashion of that Church which Christ and his Apostles left vnto vs, and which the holy Ancient fathers continued? nay, rather, we may say of them with Chrysostome: They may haue the chests and cofers wherein the treasure was sometimes kept, but the treasures they haue not. Wee may say, It is not now a house of praier, but a den of theeues. We may say, It shall no more be called Bethel, the house of God, but Bethauen, the house of vanitie, or of lying.

Iupiter and Bacchus, and the Idols of the heathen, were not so dishonored of their worshippers, as the Almighty and euerlasting and only true God is dishonored in that Synagogue. I speake of it, as it is now, and as it hath bin these many yeeres. For in the time of our elder fathers, it had great testimony of true holinesse. Ignatius called it *castissimam*, most chaste. Tertullian said, it was a happy Church, because the Apostles of Christ suffered martyrdome in it, and left their whole doctrine vnto it. And in like sort did others giue vnto Rome as it was in those times reuerend and worthy commendation. But now, saith he: *O Roma, à Roma quantum mutata vetusta est! nunc caput es scelerum, quæ caput orbis eras:* O Rome, how much art thou changed from the old Rome! Thou which hast been the chiefe in all the world, art now the chiefe in all naughtinesse. They haue forsaken the trade of life, and the loue of the Gospell, which they of old time had in Rome; and therefore cannot be inheritors of their commendation.

When Chrysostome considered the state of the Church as the Apostle speaketh of it vnto the Corinthians, and did see, how far the Church in his time swarued from that, hee said: *Nunc verò vestigia tantùm rerum illarum tenemus:* We haue now only the bare signes of those things. Againe: *Videtur Ecclesiæ hodiè, mulieri quæ mansitudine veteri excidérit similis, quæque Symbola tantùm, &c.* The Church which is now, may be likened to a woman, which hath forsaken her wonted modestie. And hath only certaine outward shewes of that first felicitie, and keepeth still the hutches and boxes of precious things, but lacketh the treasure which was in them. To such a woman may the Church this day be likened. I speake not this of the gifts: (for the matter were not so great, if we wanted them only:) but of life and of vertue. And againe he saith: *Scrinium aliud paterni thesauri exinanitum hodiè dicam, &c.* I will tell you of one other box of that treasure which our father left vnto vs, which is emptie, and hath nothing left in it at this day. In times past they did sing all together; so doe we also: but then they were all of one mind, and of one heart: at this day you shall not find one man that agreeth with himselfe, there is such war and discord in all things euery where. The name of peace is common in all places, but peace it selfe is no where to be found. Then men did vse their houses like Churches: now men doe vse the Church, as they vse their house, nay, more prophanely than any house. Thus Chrysostome blamed the Church in his time, and laieth out their departing from the faith. He liued about 411. yeeres after Christ.

Chrys. est. in 14. 1. Corinth.

What may wee thinke, he would say of the Church that hath bin of latter yeeres, if hee had liued to see the deformitie and abuses thereof? Where, besides that they are not of one mind and of one heart, they suffer not the people all together to sing the praises of God: Where they haue not only emptied such bores or hutches, wherein Christ left great treasures vnto his Church, but haue made light account of them, and haue cast away the very

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paterns and Images of true godlineſſe. They driue away the people from reading the Scriptures, and reckon that as vnlawfull, as to caſt the bread of the children vnto dogs, or Pearles before Swine. They lead men from truſt in the blod of Chriſt, and teach them to beleeue ſuch things, and to put confidence in thoſe creatures, which cannot profit, or helpe them at all. You may remember what prayers they vſed. But bleſſe your eares: for they are words full of horrible blaſphemy. They ſaid to the holy and bleſſed Virgin Marie, the mother of our redeemer and Sauiour: *In te virgo Maria confidimus, in te ſperamus, nos defendas in æternum.* Our truſt and hope we put in thee O Virgin Marie, defend vs euerlaſtinglie. They ſay: *O felix puerpera noſtra pians ſcelera:* O happie mother which doeſt purge vs from our ſinnes. And: *Sanctæ Mariæ merita ducant nos ad regna cæleſtia:* The merits of holy Marie bring vs to the heauenlie kingdome. Againe: *Tu mediatrix Dei & hominum, aduocata pauperum, refugium peccatorum:* Thou art the mediatour betweene God and man, the aduocate for the poore, the refuge of all ſinners. O mercifull Chriſt, what is become of thy paſſion! where is the price of thy blod! how are we led away from thee to ſeeke redemption in a creature! Againe they ſay vnto her: Thou art the Lady of Angels: thou art the Queene of heauen. Command thy Sonne: ſhew thy ſelfe to be a Mother. He is thy ſonne, thou art his mother: the mother may command, the child muſt obey. Againe, they turne all that is ſpoken in the whole booke of the Pſalmes of the Prophet Dauid, either of God, or of Chriſt, and apply it to the Virgin Marie, and call that Pſalter, *Pſalterium beatæ Marie*, the Pſalter of bleſſed Marie. Who will take the paines to peruſe it, ſhall find that comfortable ſpeech of our Sauiour, Come vnto me all yee that are wearie and laden, and I will eaſe you, thus blaſphemouſly abuſed in the ſecond Pſalme: *Venite ad eam omnes qui laboratis, & tribulati eſtis: & refrigerium & ſolatium dabit animabus veſtris*: Come vnto her all yee that trauell, and be heauily loaden: and ſhe will giue reſt and comfort to your ſoules. Another ſaith, the kingdome of God is of two parts, of iuſtice and of mercy. He reſerueth iuſtice to himſelfe: and the other part, that is, mercy, he hath yelded vnto his mother. Therefore one of them plaieth the Proctor, and taketh vpon him to ſhew the difference of theſe two courts, ſaying: *A foro iuſtitiæ Dei appellandum eſt ad forum miſericordiæ matris eius*: You muſt appeale from the Court of Gods iuſtice, to the court of his Mothers mercie. And is there not good cauſe, he ſhould giue vs this counſell, if it be true that he hath written? *Nulla gratia venit de cœlo ad terram, niſi tranſeat per manus Marie. Eſt enim mediatrix ſaluationis, iuſtificationis, reconciliationis, communicationis.* No mercy commeth from heauen to the earth, but it muſt paſſe by the hands of Marie: For ſhe is the mediator of our ſaluation, of our iuſtification, of our reconciliation, and of our participation. What is blaſphemy, if this be not blaſphemy? They which will ſeeme ſomwhat to bluſh at theſe things, will perhaps excuſe this, and call it ſpirituall alliance. Vnhappy are they, and heauy iudgement ſhall abide them, that in ſuch ſort daily and ſcorne the price of our redemption. O let vs open our eies: we are the Sons of God. God hath giuen vs eies to ſee, and eares to heare, and hearts to vnderſtand. Let vs iudge vprightly. It is Gods cauſe. Whoſoeuer conſidereth theſe, and ſuch other great errors, muſt needs confeſſe that the Church of Rome hath wrought that departing whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh. In the late Councell of Trident, Cornelius the Biſhop of Bironto did ſomething plainly acknowledge the great Apoſtaſie, and departing of the Church of Rome, both in matters of faith, and in conuerſation, and life. Theſe be his words: *Vtinam a religione ad ſuperſtitionem, &c.* Would God they were not gone whollie with generall conſent from religion to ſuperſtition. from faith to infidelitie: from Chriſt to Antichriſt: from God to Epicure: ſaying with wicked heart and filthy mouth, There is no God. Neither hath there been this great while any Paſtor or Pope, that regarded theſe things. For they all, both Pope and Cardinals, and other, ſought their owne: and not ſo much as one of them, ſought for the things, that pertaine to Ieſus Chriſt. Yet ſay they, there can be no departing from faith in the Church of Rome, the faith thereof cannot faile: for Chriſt hath ſaid: I haue praied for thee, that thy faith faile not. And againe: The gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it. Therefore in that place there can be no decay. This is the ſaying of ſome, who humble not themſelues to know their error: who loue the praiſe of men more than the praiſe of God: whoſe glorie is their ſhame, which mind earthly things.

Matth. 11.

Pſal. Beatæ Mariæ Pſal. 2.

Bernardinus in Mariali.

Luke 22.

Matth. 16.

The Apoſtle ſaith, there ſhall be a departing: that it ſhall be, not among the Iewes, and Infidels, but among thoſe which were reckoned to be of the houſhold of faith, and the children of God. What is it from which they ſhall depart, or wherein the decay ſhall be? Doth he meane their riches, their gold, and ſiluer, and bread, &c. No, but the doctrine of the Goſpell, and faith in Chriſt. The pure words, which as ſiluer from the earth are tried, and purified ſeuen times in the fire: the well of water which ſpringeth vp into euerlaſting life, ſhall decay in the houſe of God. The people ſhall ſhut their eares that they may not heare the truth, and ſhall giue head vnto ſpirits of error, and doctrines of diuels, which ſpeake

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lies through hypocrisie. And let them not say, the Church of Rome can not erre. For, where did Christ euer giue, or where haue the Apostles euer made mention of any such priuiledge
1. Pet. 2. granted to that Church? S. Peter saith: There were false prophets also among the people, euen as there shall be false teachers among you: which priuily shall bring in damnable heresies, euen denying the Lord that hath bought them, and bring vpon themselues swift damnation; and many shall follow their damnable waies, by whom the way of truth shall be euill
Acts 20. spoken of. Paul warned the Church of God at Ephesus, not only that after his departing
Luke 18. grieuous wolues should enter in among them: but also, that of themselues should men arise speaking peruerse things, to draw disciples after them. When Christ said; When the Son of man shall come, shall he find faith vpon the earth? And when he told his disciples that the
Matth. 24. abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place: when he warned them in this sort: Then if any shall say vnto you, Loe, here is Christ, or there, beleeue it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets, and shall shew great signes and wonders, so that if it were possible the verie elect should be deceiued: It is most euident, he spake of that departing which should come, and should appeare in the Church of God: which departing our forefathers did behold, and marke in their times: and which hath of late yeres appeared so manifestly, that no man, who is not wilfully blind, can doubt thereof.

S. Paul knew not any such state of the Church of Rome, or any especiall grant made vnto
Rom. 11. it, in such sort, that it should neuer erre. For vnto the Church of Rome he writeth: Boast not thy selfe. Bee not high minded, but feare. For if God spared not the naturall branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Through vnbeleefe they are broken off, and thou standest by faith. Behold therefore the bountifulnesse and seueritie of God: Towards them which haue fallen, seueritie: but, towards thee, bountifulnesse, if thou continue in his bountifulnesse: or els thou shalt also be cut off. That is, If he spared not the Iewes his own people, how will hee spare thee that art but a stranger? If thou continue not, thou shalt be cut off. It may be thou shalt also depart from the faith, as the Iewes haue done: then shalt thou be as a withered branch, and shalt not draw any moisture from the rot: then will God also forsake thee: and thy end shal be worse than the beginning. I trow in saying thus, he said not, Thou shalt not erre. If the Church of Rome cannot erre, what need haue they of that Church, either of the scriptures, or of the fathers, or of Councels? Perhaps through this pride, they grew first to despise the holy Scriptures, and would not direct their waies by them. They are high minded, and boast themselues, that they are as mount Sion, which shall not be moued. Yet our Sauiour likeneth the Church somtimes to sheepe; as in the fifteen of S. Matthew: I am not sent, but vnto the lost sheepe of Israel. Somtimes to children, which are simple, and soone beguiled. Somtimes to a Vine, which is weake, and easily throwne downe: somtimes to the Wine, which wareth, and is also in wane, and many times giueth no light. The ancient fathers compare the Church of God to no one thing so vsually, as to a ship. And who knoweth not how a ship is tolled hither and thither: how it is in danger of sands, and of rocks, & of pirates and in danger of drowning by leaking? If the sheep were not a straying kind of cattell, what should they need a shepheard? If little children could guide themselues, what need had they of a guider? If the Vine did not hang down and lie on the ground, what need were there of props, or of one to set it vp? If there were no feare for the passage of a ship, if it could not miscarry, what should it need a Pilot? Let no man therefore say, the Church is safe for euer, it cannot erre, it cannot decay. Such words are deceiueable, and lying words. For, false Prophets shall come. There shall be a desolation: there shall be a departing, euen in the house of God: and that day of Christ shall not come, except there come a departing first. And that, that man of sinne be disclosed, euen the sonne of perdition.

VERS. 4. Which is an aduersarie, and exalteth himselfe against all that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he doth sit in the Temple of God, shewing himselfe that he is God.

This the Apostle speaketh of Antichrist. Hee is the man of sinne, and the son of perdition. It will be somewhat hard to treat of this matter, and to open the words of this Scripture. Whatsoeuer I shall speake, it will be ill taken of many, and many will doubt of the truth of my speeches; such affection they beare to him whom the Apostle discipbereth to be Antichrist. Albeit, whatsoeuer I wil vtter in opening the Apostles words, shalbe such, as the holy scriptures and learned writings of the holy Fathers haue left vnto vs, and the Church of God hath proued, and at this day doth proue to be true. God promised, that Christ should come into the world, euen the Shiloh, vnto whom all the people should be gathered: and that he should be the hope of Israel, and deliuer his people from their sinnes. God made promise of him to Adam, & to Abraham, Dauid, &c. The Scriptures are full, & the prophets make often mention of this promise. Old men, and yong men, and all the people waited for the fulfilling thereof

therof, and ſaid: Send him whom thou wilt ſend. And againe: Ye heauens ſend the dew from aboue, and let the clouds drop downe righteouſneſſe: let the earth open, and let ſaluation and iuſtice grow foorth: And againe: God will come and ſaue you. Thus was euery eie bent vpon him, and euery heart waited for his comming. But when the fulneſſe of time was come, God ſent foorth his Sonne made of a woman: that wee might receiue the adoption of the ſonnes. He was in the world, and the world knew him not. He came vnto his owne, and his owne receiued him not. Light came into the world, and men loued darkneſſe better than light. They to whom the promiſe was made, and which wished for him, and made all their common talke of the hope of his comming, when he came knew him not, they reuiled him, and ſaid: Behold a glutton, and drinker of wine, a friend vnto publicans and ſinners. They called him Beelzebub: and a falſe prophet, and a ſeducer of the people. Him they did take by the hands of the wicked: they betraied him, they denied the holy one and iuſt: they hanged on a tree, and killed the Lord of life. Such was the receiuing of Chriſt. This did they to him through ignorance. It was not giuen them to know the ſecrets of the kingdome of heauen. They haue not knowen the Father, nor whom he hath ſent, Ieſus Chriſt. Therefore ſaith he: I confeſſe vnto thee Father, Lord of heauen and earth, that thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and learned, and haſt reuealed them to babes: euen ſo Father, becauſe it ſo pleaſed thee.

Exod. 4. Eſa. 45. Eſa. 35. Galat. 4. Iohn 1. Iohn 3. Matth. 11. Luke 10.

Now, as the comming of Chriſt was, ſuch is the comming of Antichriſt. God hath foretold of his comming. Daniel hath foretold. Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, Paul and Iohn haue foretold it, the Scriptures, and old Fathers make often mention hereof. There is none, neither old nor yong, neither learned nor vnlearned, but he hath heard of Antichriſt. They hate his name, and deteſt him, before they know him. But here you may marke the wonderfull ſleight and ſubtilty of Sathan. The world ſhall loke after the comming of Antichriſt. He ſhall not faile but come. All men ſhall carry hatred againſt him, and reckon him abominable, and yet their eies ſhall be blinded, and their hearts deceiued, ſo that they ſhall not know him. They ſhall hate his name, and imbrace his doctrine: he ſhall couer himſelfe with a cloake of holineſſe. They ſhall thinke they doe good ſeruice vnto Chriſt, but ſhall therein doe ſeruice vnto Antichriſt.

Dan. 9.

The diuers fantaſies of men haue deuiſed many ſundry fond tales of the perſon of Antichriſt. Some ſay he ſhould be a Iew, of the tribe of Dan. Some, that he ſhould be borne in Babylon: ſome, that he ſhould be bred vp in Bethſaida and Corazin: ſome, that he ſhould riſe vp in Syria: ſome, that Mahomet is Antichriſt: ſome, that he ſhould ouerthrow Rome: ſome, that he ſhould build vp the City of Hieruſalem: ſome, that Nero was Antichriſt: ſome, that he ſhould be borne of a Frier and a Nunne: ſome, that he ſhould continue but three yeares and a halfe: ſome, that he ſhould turne trees vpſide downe, with the tops in the ground, and ſhould force the rots to grow vpward, and then ſhould flie vp into heauen, and fall downe, and breake his necke. Theſe tales haue been craftily deuiſed to beguile our eies, that whileſt we thinke vpon theſe gheſſes, and ſo occupy our ſelues in beholding a ſhadow or probable coniecture of Antichriſt, he which is Antichriſt indeed may vnawares deceiue vs.

Except that man of ſinne be diſcloſed. The Apoſtle ſemeth to teach vs of Antichriſt, as if he ſhould be one man, becauſe he calleth him, The man of ſinne. But we may not ſo take him. The maner of the Scripture is often times, and in diuers places it ſpeaketh that of many, which ſeemeth to be ſpoken but of one. So doth Daniel ſet forth the kingdome, and all the kings of Perſia, in the name and likeneſſe of a Beare, and ſo deſcribeth the ſtate of other whole kingdomes in ſuch particular names. And ſo doth the ſpirit of God in the Reuelation ſet downe vnder the name of the Beaſt, the ſucceſſion and continuance of many. Hee meaneth not therefore, that Antichriſt ſhall be any one only man, but one eſtate of kingdome of men, and a continuance of ſome one power and tyranny in the Church.

Dan. 7. Reuel. 13.

We read of Pharao a cruell tyrant, that he did perſecute the people of God in Ægypt. And of Nabuchadonoſor, that he oppreſſed them, and brought them captiues into Babylon. And of Antiochus, that he likewiſe fought againſt them, and did ouercome them, and led them captiues into Macedonia. They all were mighty and cruell tyrants: Yet one other ſhall come, whoſe cruelty ſhall be heauier, and whoſe continuance ſhall be longer then was the cruelty or continuance of any of theſe. Who ſhall worke his purpoſe, not in Ægypt nor in Babylon, nor in Macedonia; but in the holy place, euen in the Church of Chriſt, and in the houſe of God. And this ſtate, and continuance of perſecution in the Church, is the ſtate of Antichriſt.

But what ſhall be doe whereby hee may be knowen? Paul ſaith: Which is an aduerſary: This ſhall be the marke whereby you may know him, he ſhall ſet him ſelfe againſt God, and againſt Chriſt, for he is an enemy of the Croſſe of Chriſt. Why then (ſay you) are

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not the Iewes, and Mahomet, and the Turke, either all, or the moſt wicked of them, ſo called, ſeing they vtterly refuſe all Chriſtian Religion? Becauſe none of theſe ſit in the Temple of God; which is the place, where Antichriſt ſhall aduance himſelfe: and becauſe Antichriſt ſhall not in open ſhew ſet himſelfe againſt Chriſt as doth Mahomet, and the Turkes: but ſubtlely and craftily like an euill and vngratious ſeruant. He will not openly ſpeake his blaſphemies, or ſpit at the Goſpell of God, or defie the name of Chriſt: but hee wil call himſelf, The ſeruant of God: perhaps; The Vicar of Chriſt; and perhaps, The ſeruant of Gods ſeruants: or perhaps, The head, or the chiefe member of the Church He ſhall ſay, he is led with the zeale of Gods houſe, and ſhall doe nothing leſſe: for, hee ſhall ſeeke himſelfe. He ſhall ſay, he ſeeketh the glory of God, when all that he doth is for the enriching and ambitious inlarging of his owne worldly pompes and vanities.

In matters of Princes, if any man take vpon him the name of an Emballador, or deputie to a Prince, hauing no commiſſion thereto, and in this boldneſſe preſume to leuie and raiſe a power, and force the ſubiects to follow him: although hee worke all this vnder the name, and by the colour of the Princes authoritie (as is the maner of Rebels to do) yet hee is a Traitor, and his doings are not well thought of, becauſe he dealeth in the Princes matters without warrant from the Prince. Euen ſo Antichriſt, he ſhall come in the name of Chriſt, yet will he doe all things againſt Chriſt, and vnder pretence and colour of ſeruing Chriſt, hee ſhall deuoure the ſheepe and people of Chriſt: hee ſhall deface whatſoeuer Chriſt hath taught: hee ſhall quench that fire which Chriſt hath kindled: hee ſhall rot vp thoſe plants which Chriſt hath planted: hee ſhall vndermine that houſe which Chriſt hath built.

Hee ſhall be contrary to Chriſt: his faith contrary to the faith of Chriſt: and his life contrary to the life of Chriſt. Is any man deſirous to know Antichriſt? His comming ſhall be notable, it ſhall aſton the world. By this marke you may know him: Hee ſhall be contrary to Chriſt. To ſhew you at large this contrariety by compariſon of things contrary in Chriſt and Antichriſt, would aske long time. It ſhall be ſufficient, we conſider only ſome few wherein they are manifeſtly contrary, that by them, iudgement may be made of the reſidue.

Heb. 10. Saint Paul ſaith: With one offering hath he conſecrated for euer them that are ſanctified.
Ibid. And againe: We are ſanctified by the offering of the Bodie of Ieſus Chriſt once made. What is hee then that ſaith, I make Prieſts to offer a daily Sacrifice, for the ſinnes of the people: by whom the offering vp of the body of Chriſt is made euery day? He is contrary to
Ephe. 1. Chriſt, he is Antichriſt. Saint Paul ſaith: God hath appointed Chriſt ouer all things to bee the head of the Church. What is he then, which ſaith: I am the head of the Church? which ſaith: All the Churches of God are knit in me: You muſt vnderſtand as I vnderſtand: you muſt heare with mine eares, and ſee with mine eies: I will gouerne, and direct you? He is
Matth. 26. contrary to Chriſt: This is Antichriſt. Chriſt ordained that the Communion ſhould bee miniſtred vnder both kinds. What is hee then that deliuereth it to the people but vnder one kind? He is contrary to Chriſt. He breaketh the firſt inſtitution of the Lords Supper: He is Antichriſt.

Iohn 18. Chriſt ſaith: My kingdome is not of this world. What is hee then which ſaith: I am Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, I haue right to both ſwords: My power and authoritie reacheth ouer all the kingdomes of the world? Hee is contrary to Chriſt; hee is Antichriſt.
Iohn 13. Chriſt waſhed his diſciples feet. What is hee then, that giueth his feet to be kiſſed of Kings
Matth. 17. and Emperors? He is contrary to Chriſt; he is Antichriſt. Chriſt paid tribute to Cæſar.
Mark. 10. What is he then, that exempteth himſelfe, and his Clergie from the temporall ſword and authoritie? He is contrary to Chriſt; he is Antichriſt. Chriſt allowed marriage, and reproued fornication. What is he then that alloweth fornication, and forbiddeth marriage?
Iohn 5. He is contrary to Chriſt; he is Antichriſt. Chriſt ſaith: Search the Scriptures. What is he then, which ſaith, Giue not that which is holy to dogs, neither caſt pearles before Swine: ye may not ſearch the Scriptures? He is contrary to Chriſt; he is Antichriſt. Theſe be the certaine and vndoubted markes of Antichriſt.

So that he doth ſit in the Temple of God. That is, he is bold and without force of any danger. He is not driuen to hide himſelfe in a corner: he is exalted in the eie, & in the heart of the world. He beareth rule in the conſcience of men. He hath the keies to open and ſhut at his pleaſure. He maketh Kings and Princes become his ſubiects. He ruleth them: not by ſword or ſpeare only, but by pretence of Religion: he telleth them, all things are put in ſubiection vnder his feet: that he is the Vicar of Chriſt: that his word muſt be taken as the word of God. So, he ſitteth in the Temple of God, as if he were God.

The godly Preachers ſit alſo in the Temple of God: they are the Miniſters of Chriſt, and diſpoſers of the ſecrets of God. There they expound the Scriptures, and ſhew the word

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and acceptable will of God. There they exhort, and teach, and reprooue, and correct, and inſtruct the people in righteouſneſſe. Antichriſt ſitteth not in the Church after this ſort. He teacheth not, nor exhorteth the people. He maketh that no part of his office. How ſitteth he then? What ſhall he ſay? What ſhall he doe? The Apoſtle telleth vs: He exalteth himſelfe againſt all that is called God, or that is worſhipped. He ſhall be honoured with the honour that is due vnto God. He ſhall ſhine and glitter in golde and precious ſtones. He ſhall be caried vpon the ſhoulders of men, and waited vpon by Kings, and Princes, and great Eſtates. So ſhall he be contrary to Chriſt.

Chriſt was humble and lowly. The Prophet in his owne perſon ſpeaketh of him: I am a worme, and not a man: a ſhame of men, and the contempt of the people. And the Apoſtle ſaith: He humbled himſelfe, and became obedient vnto the death, euen the death of the Croſſe. Behold his parents, his birth, his cradle: behold his life, his diſciples, his doctrine, and his death. All were witneſſes vnto his humilitie. He ſaith of himſelfe: The ſonne of man hath not whereon to reſt his head. And to his Diſciples he ſaith: The Kings of the Gentiles raigne ouer them, and they that beare rule ouer them are called gracious Lords: but you ſhall not be ſo. And againe: Learne of me, that I am meeke and lowly in heart: and yee ſhall finde reſt vnto your ſoules. Pſa.22. Phil. 2. Mat. 8. Luk. 22. Mat. 11.

Now on the other part take view of Antichriſt. Behold his birth, his place, his chaire, his eſtate, his doctrine, his diſciples, and all his life. You ſhall ſee nothing but pompe and glory. Gregory calleth him the king of pride. He is proud in life, proud in doctrine, proud in word, and proud in deedes. He is like vnto Lucifer, and ſetteth himſelfe before his brethren, and ouer nations and kingdomes. He maketh euery knee to bow downe to him and worſhip him: hee maketh Kings to bring him water, to carry his traine, to hold his cup, to beare his diſh, to lead his bridle, and to hold his ſtirrup: he claimeth power ouer heauen and earth: he ſaith, he is Lord ouer all the world, the Lord of Lords, and the King of Kings: that his authority reacheth vp into heauen, and downe into hell: that he can command the Angels of God: that he condemneth whom he will condemne: that he maketh Saints at his pleaſure: that, whatſoeuer he bleſſeth, is bleſſed: and that it is curſed whatſoeuer he curſeth.

He ſelleth merits, the forgiueneſſe of ſinnes: the ſacrifice for the quicke and the dead. He maketh merchandize of the ſoules of men. He laieth his filthy hands vpon the Lords Anointed. He remoueth Kings, and depoſeth the States and Princes of the world. This is Antichriſt. This is his power. Thus ſhall he worke and make himſelfe manifeſt. So ſhall he ſit in the Temple of God. The people ſhall wonder at him, and ſhall haue him in reuerence: They ſhall ſay, Who is like vnto the beaſt? Who is ſo wiſe, ſo mighty, ſo godly, ſo vertuous, ſo holy, ſo like vnto God? So intolerable and monſtrous ſhall be his pride.

It were much for him to ſit in the ſeat and to occupy the rome of an earthly King or Emperour. But hee ſhall take vpon him the authoritie and the name of God, the name of the liuing Lord, the name of God which hath made Heauen and earth, euen the name of God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And in this pride he ſhall exceed all others that haue beene wicked. The Phariſeis and the Scribes were wicked; yet none of them did ſit in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe that he was God. Arius, Neſtorius, Montanus, Valentinus, were wicked heretikes; yet they neuer toke vpon them the name of God. What ſhould I ſay of this blaſphemy? or in whom may we finde the like? Mahomet was a Turke, and a falſe Prophet, and a deceiuer of the people; yet hee toke not vpon him the name of God. This point and reach of vngodlineſſe belongeth only to Antichriſt. He ſhall ſit in the place of God in iudgements: hee ſhall ſhew himſelfe out of that place as if he were God. Irenæus ſaith: *Quum ſit ſeruus, tamen adorari vult vt deus.* Whereas he is but a ſeruant, he will be worſhipped as if he were God. *Ireneus li. 5. cap. penultimo.*

But ſome will ſay, Antichriſt ſhall be mortall as other men, borne of a mortall Father, and Mother: hee ſhall know, that he ſhall die: and that hee is but duſt, and ſhall returne againe into duſt: that he cannot make himſelfe, no that he cannot make the leaſt, and vileſt of all creatures. How then will he proclaime himſelfe to be an immortall God? How, will hee call himſelfe God that made heauen and earth? or, God which had no beginning, nor ſhall haue any end? No, this is not the meaning of theſe words. He ſhall not ſo thinke of himſelfe, nor ſo ſay. I will tell you after what ſort hee ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, and how the world ſhall receiue him, and reuerence him as God. He ſhall take to himſelfe that ſupreme authoritie, and prerogatiue, which appertaineth onely to GOD by nature. Although hee bee but a man, yet in office hee will be accounted as GOD. Hee ſhall compare his lawes, with the lawes of GOD. Hee ſhall ſay, his word is the word of GOD. Whatſoeuer hee ſaith, hee ſhall ſay, it is the voice of the ſpirit of GOD: of the ſame authoritie, that is the Goſpell of Chriſt: no man may

breake it: no man may touch the credit thereof: if any man withstand it, he must thinke he doth sacrilege, committeth blasphemy, and sinneth against the holy Ghost. Againe, he shall breake the lawes of God to vphold his owne, and shall pull downe God to set vp himselfe. Such shall be the power and authoritie of Antichrist: so shall he possesse the consciences of the people: so shall he sit as an Idoll in their hearts: so shal he stand in the place of God, and shew himselfe that he is God. The people shall receiue his doctrine, and beleeue his word.

Reue. 13. They shall fall downe before him and worship him. They shall say, Who is like vnto the beast? What creature is so beautiful as he? They shal honor him as God. But what is he, which hath suffered himselfe to be so called? Who is he which hath bin called by the name of God? of all the creatures which haue professed the faith of Christ, of all the Kings, or Bishops, or Priests, or lay people that euer were in the Church of God, who euer required to be called by the holy name of God? or, who euer liked well of them which so called him? who hath beene so wicked? who hath euer so much forgotten himselfe? In what place hath he dwelt? Or what hath he beene?

Heere, mee thinketh I see the secret motions of your heart. You looke that I should name the Bishop of Rome, that it is he which hath suffered himselfe to be called by the name of God, I will not tell you in mine owne words. Vnlesse the Bishop himselfe so speake, I will not tell you. Marke then, and witnesse of my indifferencie, whilest I speake hereof, that I follow not affection, but deale vprightly. Therefore, I say againe, vnlesse the Bishop himselfe, suffer himselfe to be called by the name of God, I will not say of him so. Then let vs see what he hath written of himselfe, and what he hath suffered others to write. Pope Nicholas saith: *Constat secundum pontificem a pio Principe Constantino Deum appellari.* It is well knowne, that the Pope, of the godly Prince Constantine was called God. And therefore Pope Pius in his Bull saith: *Nemo audeat obedire.* No man dare obey her, or her will, or commandements, or lawes vpon paine of our curse.

Dist. 96. Satis euidenter.

Bulla Pij V. contra Eliza.

The Pope was well content to suffer Christopher Marcellus, one of his parasites in the Councell of Laterane, to say vnto him: *Tu es alter Deus in terris.* Thou art another God in earth. The Pope is content in such sort to haue a diuision of tenures made betweene him and God, as the Poet some time flatteringly wrote: *Diuisum imperium cum Ione Cæsar habet.* The Emperour parteth his rule, and holdeth halfe with Iupiter. In the extrauagants it is set downe. *Dominus Deus noster Papa.* Our Lord God the Pope. Marke these words. Our Lord God the Pope. In them the Pope is called Lord, and is called God. Oh mercifull Lord God, which from the heauens beholdest this vanitie, how great is thy mercie in suffering this? I deuise not this. His owne bookes, his owne doctors, his owne decrees and decretals speake it and set it downe. *Credere dominum deum nostrum Papam non potuisse statuere, prout statuit, Hereticum censeretur.* To beleeue that our Lord God the Pope might not decree, as he decreed, it were a matter of Heresie: it is so written there, he hath heard it, he hath seene it, he knoweth it is so, yet he suffereth it to goe a broad, and thereby suffereth himselfe to be called God.

In concilio Later. sess. 4.

Extrauag. Ioh. 22. cum inter. in Glossa.

Ibid.

He hath burnt many Saints of God, and holy men for no other cause, but for the profession of the Gospell. He hath in many places burnt the holy Bible, and such bookes as teach nothing but Godlinesse. Where did hee euer burne? what speake I of burning? where may it appeare that euer he controuled any for so writing, or called in such speeches?

One of them seemeth to take shame of this shamelesse and blasphemous stile or title. He seeketh friendly to temper, and qualifie, and take vp the matter. *Nec Deus es, nec homo, quasi neuter es inter vtrumque:* Thou art neither God nor man: in a maner thou art neither of both: but rather a meane betweene both. That is, thou art not so high as God, nor yet so base as man. Whom then shall wee imagine him to bee? Is hee an Archangell, or Angel, or a spirit of the aire? God giue him grace to see his own vanitie: that hee may know hee is but a miserable and mortall man: that hee may know that a time shall come when his hypocrisie and dissimulation shall bee disclosed. God giue him grace to become Godly: as becommeth the man of God. That hee may indeed bee the Minister of Christ, and a disposer of the secrets of God: That hee may serue GOD in truth, in holinesse and righteousnesse all the daies of his life. But you say, the Pope at this day is not called God. Hee rather abaseth himselfe, and writeth himselfe by a title of humilitie, and is called so: *Seruus seruorum:* The seruant of seruants. Bee it so, that hee is so called, and so written. Yet hee is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. This seruant saith, I doe make holy the vnholy: I do iustifie the wicked: I do forgiue sinnes: I open, and no man shutteth. This seruant can say, Whosoeuer obeieth not mee, he shall be rooted out. This seruant may dispence for any commandement of the old and new Testament. This seruant hath Christs lieutenantship not onely ouer things in Heauen, ouer things in Earth, and ouer things in Hell: but also ouer the Angels both good and bad. No man may iudge this

Clement. in proœmio. in glossa.

Extra. de Maior. & obedientia. Summa angel. in dictione. Papa. Extra. de constit. statuta canonum: Felinus.

seruant,

ſeruant. For they ſay: *Papa ſolutus eſt omni lege humana.* The Pope is exempted from all law of man. And againe: *Nec totus clerus, nec totus mundus poteſt Papam iudicare aut deponere.* Neither all the Clergy, nor all the whole world, may either iudge or depoſe the Pope. Such a power this ſeruant of ſeruants claimeth to himſelfe. What greater power may be giuen vnto God? What Angell, what Archangell euer had the like power? *9. Qne. 3. Cuncta. Pet. de palude de poteſt. Pp. Artic. 4.*

And this power euen at this day Pope Pius challengeth as proper to his ſeat. That he hath the autority which is due to Chriſt, ouer his Church that no man may iudge him, nor ſay he doth erre, nor aſke why he doth ſo. He is inueſted in the priuiledge of his Church, and loſeth no one iot of his dignity. It is yet good at this day which hath bene ſet downe: *Sacrilegij inſtar eſſet diſputare de facto Papæ:* It is ſinne, as great as Sacriledge, or Church-robbing, to reaſon of any the Popes doings. Theſe be their owne words. God knoweth, before whom we ſtand this day, they be their owne words, and not mine. Thus doth hee ſit in the Temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe that he is God. *Diſtinct. 40. Non nos: in gloſſ.*

And therefore may we ſay, as ſometime ſaid Euſebius: *Hoc eſt argumentum, eos odiſſe Deum, quòd velint ſeipſos appellari Deos:* This is an euident token, that they hate God, becauſe they will haue themſelues called by the name of God. Or as Gregory, who ſpeaking of Antichriſt, ſaid: *Cùm ſit damnatus homo, & nequaquàm ſpiritus, Deum ſe eſſe mentitur:* Whereas he is a curſed man, and not a ſpirit, he faineth himſelfe, by lying, to be a God. *Euſeb. de præparat. lib. 7. Greg. in Iob. lib. 25. ca. 14.*

VERS. 5. Remember yee not, that when I was yet with you, I told you theſe things?

Before I departed from you to go farther, to plant the Goſpel in other Churches, I told you that Antichriſt ſhould come, & that he ſhould oppreſſe & confound the church of Chriſt. Paul was choſen to be an Apoſtle. The office of an Apoſtle was not to reſt in any one certain place, but to paſſe from country to country, from land to land, and to fill all the world with knowledge of the Goſpell: and therein appeareth the difference betwixt an Apoſtle and a Biſhop: A Biſhop had the charge of one certaine Church, an Apoſtle had the charge ouer all the Churches.

But Paul was not tied to any one Citie, or Iland, or Country. He had authority to Preach to all Cities and Countries: to all Lands and Ilands from the Eaſt to the Weſt. So did Chriſt appoint his Apoſtles: Go yee into all the world, and Preach the Goſpel vnto euery creature. *Mark. 16.* They were not ſent to *Ieruſalem*, nor to *Samaria*, nor to *Epheſus*, nor to *Rome* only: but into al the world. The whole world was their dioceſſe, and their prouince. So ſpeaketh the Prophet Dauid of them: Their ſound is gone forth thorow the earth: and their words into the ends of the world. *Pſal. 19.* This was the commiſſion which our Sauiour gaue vnto Iohn, and to Iames, to Paul, and to Peter, and to the reſt of the Apoſtles; that they ſhould goe into all the world. Therefore if any of the Apoſtles ſhould haue ſtaid in one only place, and haue gone no further, he had offended, and done otherwiſe than Chriſt commanded.

Here we ſee how foully they are deceiued, which ſay, Peter was Biſhop of *Rome*, and did ſit there fiue and twenty yeers. They that ſay ſo, know not what they ſay. It is an errour. Chriſt made Peter an Apoſtle, and not to ſit as a Biſhop at *Rome*. He ſaid vnto Peter, Goe into all the world; thou ſhalt be a witneſſe vnto me, vnto the vtmoſt coaſts of the earth: I ſend thee vnto all the Churches, and not to one alone. The like charge receiued Paul: he trauelled from Damaſcus to Arabia: from Arabia to Ieruſalem: from Ieruſalem to Illyricum: from Illyricum to Rome, and ſo from country to country, and from coaſt to coaſt, to make a pleaſant perfume of the Goſpell of God, in all the world, that it might be vnto them a ſauour of life vnto life. Therefore ſaith he to the Theſſalonians: Yee remember, that when I was with you, I told you theſe things. The ſpirit of God warned me to goe farther. Other Churches required my preſence: I was debter vnto them as vnto you. Yet before I left you, I told you what dangers ſhould inſue. It was mine office: I was bound ſo to doe, leſt you might be deceiued. I told you Antichriſt ſhould come, euen that man of ſin; the ſonne of perdition, which ſhould deſtroy himſelfe and others alſo. I told you he ſhould be an aduerſary of the Goſpel of Chriſt: that he ſhould aduance himſelfe ouer all the kings and powers of the world: that he ſhould ſit as God in the holy place: that the people ſhould giue him place to ſit in their hearts, and in their conſciences.

This warning the Apoſtle gaue to the Theſſalonians. The like warning hee gaue to other Churches where he taught the Goſpell: and the ſame is alſo ſpoken vnto vs. They knew by his teaching that Antichriſt ſhould come. We know by the marks which he hath giuen to know Antichriſt, that he is already come: and that, the very ſame is come, which the Apoſtle deſcribeth: that he is growen vnto his fulneſſe, and hath ſtalled himſelfe in the place of God.

VERS. 6. And now yee know what withholdeth, that he might be reuealed in his time.

Paul ſæmeth not in theſe wordes to ſay, what letteth the comming of Antichriſt: but what ſhall ſtay the comming of Chriſt. For ſo he maketh entry into his matter: I beſeech you, by the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that yee be not troubled, as though the day of Chriſt were at hand. Let no man deceiue you by any means. For the day of Chriſt ſhall not come, except there come a departing firſt, and that Antichriſt be diſcloſed. Euen ſo here he ſaith, ye know what withholdeth Chriſt, and why he commeth not: Euen this, that Antichriſt might firſt be reuealed in his time. His time is appointed. The ſpring commeth not, vntill the winter haue gone before: the night goeth before, and then the day commeth. And ſo ſhal not the glorious maieſty of Chriſts comming appeare, before the dreadfull and dangerous daies of Antichriſt ſhall come. There ſhall be no deliuery, vnleſſe bondage goe before.

Antichriſt ſhall bring the world into bondage: he ſhall do violence to the ſaints of God: he ſhalbe as a continual ſtorme, and darknes in the church. The godly ſhal looke vp to heauen, and call for aid: they ſhall cry vnto the Lord, and he will hoare them. They ſhall ſay, O come Lord Ieſus, thy kingdome come, confound thine enemies. Then will he not ſtay: he will appeare, and ſhew himſelfe in glory. In the meane while this is the cauſe of his ſtay, this letteth his comming: Antichriſt muſt firſt come. This I take to be the Apoſtles meaning. It agreeth with the beginning. It is ſimple, cleare, & plain, & without danger of error.

Antichriſt ſhall appeare, not when he will: but he ſhalbe reuealed in his time. His time is the time of darkneſſe: when ſheapheards and the guides of the people ſhall be careleſſe: when the word ſhalbe loathed: when the light ſhalbe put out: when ſuperſtition ſhal raigne: when ignorance ſhal haue the vpper hand: when the creature ſhal not be knowne from the Creator: when there ſhalbe no feare of God, no regard of godlineſſe: when the people ſhall not know neither wherefore they pray, nor whom they worſhip, nor in whom they beleeue; then ſhall it appeare that Antichriſt is come, then he ſhall ſhew himſelfe: this is his time.

VERS. 7. For the myſtery of iniquity doth already worke, onely hee which now letteth, ſhall let till he be taken out of the way.

The myſtery of iniquity doth already worke. Let vs not be deceiued. Antichriſt ſhall certainely come, and ſhall draw many into errour. As it was with Chriſt at his comming; he was in the world, he did the workes of his Father, yet few knew him: So ſhall it bee with Antichriſt; he ſhall be in the world, hee ſhall worke his iniquitie, and few ſhall know him. Paul liued more than fiftæne hundred yeares paſt, yet then hee ſaid the myſtery of iniquity doth already worke. The diuel is not idle, ſaith he, Antichriſt euen now worketh, when as the blood of Chriſt was freſh: when as yet the Apoſtles, & many other witneſſes of our redemption by Chriſt, were liuing. And S. Iohn ſaith: Euen now are there many Antichriſts come already. So ſone was his foundation caſt, his plot laid, his way prepared, and his worke begun. So long ſithence did Paul ſæ ſome which delighted in the workes of darkneſſe: which were the enemies of the croſſe of Chriſt, which ſerued their bellie, and not the Lord: euen then did he ſæ, that græuous wolues, not ſparing the flock, ſhould enter in among them. All theſe were the forerunners, and the harbingers of Antichriſt.

1. Ioh. 2.

We may not thinke that Antichriſt ſhall come as a robber by the high waies, or like a murtherer, or like a tyrant that burneth our houſes, or ſacketh our Cities, or deſtroieth our fields, or pulleth downe all that is before him. We may not looke that he ſhould ſay, I am Antichriſt, I am that man of ſinne, I am the ſonne of perdition, I am the aduerſarie, and am contrary to Chriſt. Hee ſhall not ſhew forth himſelfe in ſuch a ſort, he ſhall not ſo ſpeake of himſelfe. He is ſubtle and cunning, he ſhall deceiue the learned and the wiſe: he ſhall caſt himſelfe into a colour of holineſſe: he ſhall faſt, he ſhall pray, he ſhall giue almes, and ſhew mercie: he ſhall walke as if he were a diſciple of Chriſt: hee ſhall counterfeit an Angell of light. He ſhall goe before, and the world ſhall follow him. So ſhall the myſterie of iniquitie worke. His life, his religion, his doctrine, ſhall be cloſe and hid, and ſecret. Antichriſt worketh in myſterie. Hierome ſaith: *Ingemuit totus orbis, & Arianum ſe eſſe miratus eſt.* The whole world mourned, and did marueil that they were poſſeſſed with the errour of Arius: that they denied the Diuinity of Chriſt before they were ware. This was a myſterie. So ſhall the learned and wiſe be deceiued. They ſhall honor Antichriſt vnwares. They ſhall ſay, We defie him, and deteſt him, and yet ſhall fall downe and worſhip him. This is a myſtery. So ſecret ſhall his dealing be, it ſhall not be knowne to many.

Hieron. dial. cont. Luciferian. cap. 7.

He ſhall walke in craftineſſe, and handle the word of God deceitfully: hee ſhall mingle his lies with the truth of God: hee ſhall mingle his poiſon with the holeſome food of our ſoules,

ſoules, ſo cloſely and ſubtelly, that it ſhall hardly be eſpied: he ſhall goe forward by little and little, and ſo win credit, and conuey himſelfe into the hearts of the people. This is a myſtery. Chriſt ſaith: A man ſowed good ſeed in his field, but while men ſlept, there came his foe, and ſowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. They grew together, Mat. 13.
and had both one like colour. The houſeholder willed them to let both grow together till harueſt come, leſt with the tares, they plucke vp the wheat alſo. So ſhall be the comming of Antichriſt. He ſhall come whiles men ſlæp, in the night of blindneſſe, and of negligence, and of ignorance: and ſhall ſow his tares with the Lords wheat. They ſhall both grow vp together. The day of the Lord ſhall reueale them, and ſet each part by it ſelfe. This is a myſtery: and as it is ſecret, ſo it is long in working. This myſtery began in the daies of the Apoſtles, and continueth on ſtill vnto our time: It is ſtill in worke.

But who be they, which follow his lore: which yeld themſelues to him, and which ſhall be deceiued? Are they poore men, or Artificers, or labourers? Or are they vnlearned and ignorant men? No, no, he ſhall deceiue Prieſts, Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Princes, Kings, Emperors, the graueſt, the beſt learned, the wiſeſt, the mightieſt men in the world. He ſhall blinde their eies and amaze their hearts. They ſhall run to him out of all parts of the earth: they ſhall fall downe before him: they ſhall aſke counſell of him: they ſhall ſay, Thou art the Doctour of Doctours, thou art the Father of Fathers, thou art the comfort of the Church, thou art the light of the world, thou art moſt holy: all law, and all knowledge is hid in thy breaſt: we beſeech thy holineſſe, ſhew vs thy way, expound thou the law vnto vs, teach vs how we may be ſaued: thou haſt the key of knowledge, thy word is the word of truth. So ſhall they crepe to Antichriſt, ſo ſhall they powre out their ſoules before him, ſo ſhall they ſæke counſell at his mouth, ſo ſhall they fetch light at the Prince of darkeneſſe.

This myſtery, ſaith Saint Paul, doth already worke, it ſhall increaſe and go forward and grow to a perfection. A Thorne when it is yong is ſoft and gentle, yee may thruſt at it with your finger, it will not hurt you: but after, it waxeth and groweth hard and ſtubborne, it will pierce the fleſh and draw blod. A Beare when he is yong is harmeleſſe and innocent, yee may dandle it, and dally with it, as with a whelp, it hath no chambers to gripe, no teeth to bite, nor pawes to teare: but after, it will grow, and become fierce and cruell like the ſire. A Serpent when it is yong, is little and pretty; it hath no ſting, nor poiſon: you may take it in your hand and lay it in your lap, it will not hurt you. After, it will increaſe in venome, and grow in miſchiefe, and be like it ſelfe: then it will ſhake the ſting, and caſt poiſon, and proue dangerous.

Such a Thorne, ſuch a Beare, ſuch a Serpent is Antichriſt. At the firſt he ſhall ſeeme ſoft and gentle, and pretty and innocent. After, he ſhall grow fierce, and arme himſelfe with ſting and poiſon. But a Thorne though it be ſoft, is a Thorne: a Beare though he be little, is a Beare: a Serpent, though he be pretty, is a Serpent. Euen ſo Antichriſt, though he ſeeme gentle, milde, and ſimple, yet is he Antichriſt. He groweth by degrees, he will be like his ſire, his pawes will be dreadfull, his mouth will be deadly.

Whoſoeuer know the nature and working of an earthquake, how it groweth and how it worketh, know that at the firſt it is ſome little winde, gathered and kept in ſome hollow places of the earth: there it lieth cloſely ſometimes for many yeeres, without giuing forth any noiſe, without ſtirring or ſhaking. One may walke ouer it and perceiue nothing. After, it groweth ſtrong and violent, it ſeeketh a way out, it forceth it ſelfe, it gathereth ſtrength, and commeth abroad, it will ſtay no longer. But it breaketh, it teareth the earth, and renteth rockes, ouerthroweth mountaines, ſhaketh downe townes and Cities, ſwalloweth vp whole riuers: it inflameth the aire, raiſeth thunder, roareth vp into heauen, and aſtonieth the world. Such is the working of an earthquake: ſo great and mighty at the end, ſo little and ſimple at the firſt. Such ſhall be the myſtery and comming of Antichriſt. At the beginning he ſhall be like a little winde, he ſhal enter into the hollowneſſe and darkneſſe of the Church, but after he ſhall ſhake the whole world. He ſhall ſhew forth himſelfe at the firſt with countenance of deuotion and holineſſe, that he may cloſely and priuily and ſecretly wreath in himſelfe. Few ſhal be able to vnderſtand the myſtery of his dealing: After, he ſhall be opened, and appeare as he is.

Who would thinke there were any euill in forcing of virginity, chaſtity or ſingle life? He that is vnmarried, careth for the things of the Lord, how he may pleaſe the Lord, that he may be holy both in body, and alſo in ſpirit. Would God it were ſo with all, that haue taken the profeſſion of ſingle life. But the colour is faire. Hence hath it growen, that Biſhops, and Prieſts, and yong men, and maydens haue continued ſingle. This ſeemed ſtrange, and a miracle, and a matter of great holineſſe. But this is a myſtery: this is a way to bring in Antichriſt. Marke what S. Paul ſpeaketh hereof: They ſhal forbid to marry: 1. Tim. 4.

Of whom speaketh he? Of Antichrist, and his disciples. They shall forbid lawfull marriage, as vnholy, and as a state of life vnfit for their holinesse. Yet Christ Iesus the Sonne of God did neuer forbid it. His Apostles were married and had wiues.

This, saith S. Paul, is a marke of Antichrist, by this shall he be knowen. Forbidding of marriage is a doctrine of diuels: Not of Christ or of God, but of diuels. It is a gulfe, it is a sea, it is a world, it is a hell of iniquitie: and the vilest vilanie that euer crept into the Church of God. Hierome expounding the words of Daniel: He shall haue no regard to the desires of women, saith *Facilior interpretatio est, de Antichristo, quod ideo simulet castitatem vt plurimos decipiat*: The better exposition hereof is to apply these words to Antichrist, for that he shal pretend chastitie, that he may deceiue many. This is the mysterie of iniquitie. This is the practise of Antichrist. He shal come with a cloake of counterfeited chastitie, not with true chastitie, both in body, and also in spirit; but with counterfeit chastitie, and so shall deceiue the hearts of many.

Hieron. in 11. Daniel.

Who would thinke there were any euill in single communion? or why may not euery body follow his owne deuotion, and receiue the sacrament when he will? what harme is herein? It may seeme to be done for the reuerence vnto the Sacrament, lest it should grow in contempt, if it were vsed often. These reasons are faire and fresh; but this is a mysterie, and a practise of Antichrist. For by this meanes haue they shut out the faithfull people of God, and made them negligent and careless for the receiuing of the Lords supper: they abused the Church of the liuing God: they turned the remembrance of the death of Christ into a Maygame: they made the people commit horrible and open idolatrie, to worship the creature in stead of the Creator, which is God blessed for euer.

Who would thinke there were any euill in the keyes of the Church? they are the expounding of the law, and the disclosing of the will of God. They are the chiefest comfort of our conscience. But Antichrist shall take these keies vnto himselfe, and shall build vp his owne kingdome with them. He shall shut that God hath opened. And shall open that God hath shut. This is also the mysterie of iniquitie.

Who would thinke there were any euill in godly prayers of the Church? Christ saith: Watch and pray, for you know not in what houre your master will come. And againe: Pray thou to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth thee in secret shall reward thee openly. And againe: Aske, and ye shall receiue: seeke, and ye shall find: knocke, and it shall be opened vnto you. Saint Paul saith: Pray without ceasing. The Prophet Dauid saith: The Lord is nigh vnto all them that call vpon him, to all that call vpon him faithfully. For the Lord will heare the prayers of his Saints, and deliuer them when they call vpon him. These prayers shall Antichrist take to worke his iniquitie: and vnder pretence of them shal deuour widdowes houses: and shall make a net of them to fish and drag for al the riches of the world. This is also the mysterie of iniquitie.

Matt. 24. Matt. 6. Matt. 7. 1. Thess. 5. Psal. 145.

Who would thinke there were so great euill in the doctrine of Purgatorie? What if one thought that his father or friend died in some veniall sinne, and were chastised somewhile in Purgatorie fire, and that he might be released by prayers? for this idlly pretence and imagination haue they theref. What if one should so think? what hurt were it? Brethren, this is the mysterie of all mysteries, and the secret of al secrets. In this standeth the countenance, and all the welfare of Antichrist. He hath imparied the whole kingdome of Purgatorie to himselfe, and hath made it more gainefull than heauen and earth. There he selleth prayers: there he maketh port sale of Buls and pardons: there he selleth forgiuenesse of sinnes: *à culpa & pœna*. He selleth the merits of God, the blood of the martyrs, the workes of supererogation, the merits of his fratries, the blood of Christ. There he selleth paradise, deliuerance or assurance from hell, and entrance into heauen, he maketh merchandise, of the soules of the people. This is the alonely mysterie aboue all other mysteries.

Who would thinke there were an euill in the name of the Church? it is the witnesse-bearer vnto the Gospell. It is the pillar of truth. It is the spouse of Christ. Yet saith Christ; Antichrist shall come in my name. He shall seeme holy, he shall talke of the Gospel, he shall carrie the face of the Church, and deceiue many. This is a mysterie.

Who would think it a matter of so great inconuenience, for a man to call the Bishop of Rome the greatest Bishop, or the chiefest Patriarck, and the highest Iudge: and to say that all appeales lie vnto him? What hurt may this be? it seemeth a small matter, a matter of nothing. But it is a practise, it is a secret, and a mysterie. Hence flowed all the streames of vanitie and presumption wherein he aduanceth himselfe. Hence it is, that he saith, I am aboue Kings and Emperours. I am aboue generall Counsels. I am aboue the whole Church of Christ. I am aboue the Angels of God. I haue power to command and to Countermand them at my pleasure. I am the successor of Peter. I am the Vicar of Christ.

No

No man may iudge me whatſoeuer I do. I cannot erre. General Councels might erre, the Apoſtles might erre: the Angels of God might erre: but I cannot erre. I haue the fulneſſe of power. The whole world is my dioceſſe. Whoſoeuer is ſaued, is vnder me. Whoſoeuer is not vnder me is curſed of God. I am the light of the world. I can in a maner doe whatſoeuer God can doe. All theſe ſpeaches are written, are printed, are publiſhed, and proclaimed abroad. This is a myſtery of iniquitie, this is a deepe ſecret. Theſe are the verie waies and ſteps of Antichriſt. God giue vs eies to ſee them, and hearts that we may diſcerne them.

Paul did ſee the myſtery working euen in that time he liued. Iohn ſaith: Diotrephes loueth to haue the prehemmence: Exalt vp himſelfe aboue his brethren, to be the head of the Church, and to beare a maſtery. So Paul eſpied contentions in Corinth: Euery one of you ſaith, I am Pauls, and I am Apollos, and I am Cephas, and I am Chriſts. Theſe were the beginnings of Antichriſt. But Paul ſaith: We preach not our ſelues, But Chriſt Ieſus the Lord, and our ſelues your ſeruants for Ieſus ſake. So the true Diſciples of Chriſt reckon not themſelues any thing, but the members one of another; but the miniſters by whom the people beleeue, but witneſſes choſen before of God, but ſuch as are commanded to preach, but Gods labourers. *Epi. 3. Ioh.* 1. Cor. 2. 2. Cor. 4.

Now let vs conſider theſe markes of Antichriſt. Was there euer any, which hath forbidden lawfull marriage? and accounted it a ſtate of life which is vncleane, and not meete for his holineſſe: and deceiued the world with counterfet chaſtitie: the ſame is Antichriſt. For Hierome telleth vs, Antichriſt ſhall pretend chaſtity, that he may deceiue many: and Paul calleth forbidding of marriage, the doctrine of diuels.

Was there euer any which hath ſhut forth the faithfull from the holy Communion, and hath made them careleſſe for the receiuing thereof: which hath defaced the Sacrament, abuſed the Church of God, and cauſed the people to giue the honor of God vnto a creature? This is the working of the myſtery of iniquitie: he is Antichriſt.

Was there euer any which toke the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and wrought to himſelfe therewith a principality or kingdome in earth: was there euer any which hath ſhut them out from the kingdome of God, to whom God hath opened it, and hath ſet free the conſciences of thoſe ſinners whom God hath not loſed? He is Antichriſt.

Was there euer any which beguiled the people, which deuoured widowes houſes vnder colour of long prayers, and hath vſed them as a net to fiſh for the treaſures and riches of all the world? He is Antichriſt.

Was there euer any which ſold Buls, and pardons, and forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, and the merries of God, and the merits of men, and the blood of the martyrs, and the paſſion of Chriſt the Son of God? Was there euer any that ſold Paradiſe, and Heauen, and made ſale of the ſoules of the people, and all for money? The ſame is Antichriſt.

Was there euer any which came in the name of Chriſt, with the ſhew of holineſſe, with the countenance of the Church, and hath ſhewed himſelfe in all his life and doctrine contrary to Chriſt? He is Antichriſt?

Was there euer any which hath ſaid, I am aboue Kings and Emperors, and the States of the world: I am aboue Councels, I am aboue the whole Church of Chriſt, and aboue the Angels of God: No man may iudge me: I cannot erre: Whoſoeuer ſhall be ſaued muſt be vnder me: If any ſhall not obey me, they are curſed before God: God and I haue one iudgement ſeat, we ſit together, I can doe whatſoeuer God can doe? He that thus ſaith is Antichriſt. The myſterie of iniquitie doth worke alreadie, ſaith the Apoſtle. He ſhall not open himſelfe. Whatſoeuer he doth, he doth it in ſecret. So ſhall he aduance himſelfe: ſo ſhall he ſpeake great things and blaſphemies againſt the higheſt; ſo ſhall he prenaile and proſper: ſo ſhall he darken the heauens, and draw the third part of the Starrs after him: ſo ſhall he ſit in the holy place, euen in the ſeat of God and all this ſhall he worke vnder pretence of humilitie, and ſhall call himſelfe the ſeruant of ſeruants.

Onely he which now withholdeth, ſhall let till he be taken out of the way.

Now the Emperor holdeth the whole power and authoritie ouer the world: but it ſhall be taken away from him, and then ſhall Antichriſt come, when all ſtops and lets ſhal be remoued. Who is he that doth ſtop him and let his comming? The Emperor of Rome. So ſaith Tertullian, ſo Auguſtine, Ambroſe, and Chryſoſtome. Antichriſt ſhall poſſeſſe a great part of the Romane Empire: yet ſo long as the Emperor ſhal ſtand and proſper, he wil not ſuffer any part of his Empire to be abated. So long as the Emperor ſhall be able to beare himſelfe, Antichriſt ſhall neuer be able to grow. But a time ſhall come when the Empire of Rome ſhall be rent aſunder, then the authoritie of the Emperor ſhall decay, then Antichriſt ſhall gather ſtrength, and ſhall place himſelfe where the Emperor was: A traitor can not vſurpe the Crowne ſo long as the right king is able to ſtand and maintaine his ſtate,

Antichrist is a traitor. A traitor both to God and man. When the Empero⁊ shall fall and decay, then he shall rise vp. When the Empero⁊ becommeth weake, then he shall grow strong. Therefore Paul saith, Antichrist shall not come yet, for the Empero⁊ letteth him. The Empero⁊ shall be removed, and then shall Antichrist come.

But before I proceed to say more of this division of the Empire; that we may come to the bottome of this matter, and so see the meaning of this prophecie euidently laid open before vs, I will shew more plainly, and particularly of Antichrist, who he shall be. It is a hard and doubtfull thing, as are all prophecies; but marke well, that shall be spoken. I will speake nothing without good warrant and authority of the old writers and fathers. I will tell you the conditions of Antichrist, and where he shall dwell: that knowen, it shall be no hard matter to know the rest.

Who shall he be then, or of what condition, that we may know him? Some haue said, he should be a Iew of the tribe of Dan: some, that Nero the bloody tyrant should rise againe and he should be Antichrist: some, that he should be a mighty persecuto⁊, which should rage and range ouer the whole wo⁊ld, race Towers and Castles, set on fire the church and Oratories, and kill whomsoeuer he meeteth. Hippolytus saith, he shall be begotten by the Diuell, and himselfe shall be a diuell. These deuices were imagined and written many hundred yeares sithence, as euery body were best able to deuise. But these are fables, and haue no ground. To say the truth, Antichrist shall neither be a Iew, no⁊ Nero, no⁊ one begotten by the Diuell. He shall be a Christian, he shall be a Bishop, and a holy Father, and a Bishop of great shew and countenance in the wo⁊ld. Marke, he shall not be a King, no⁊ an Empero⁊, no⁊ a tyrant, no⁊ a tempo⁊all Prince, but a Bishop.

But how may this be known, that we may be certaine of it? For you will charge my sayings with partiality, as if what should be spoken by me, might proceed of displeasure and malice. Who then hath so spoken or written, that we may beleeue him? Heare Gregory himselfe a Bishop of Rome, what he recorded of this matter well nigh a thousand yeares agoe. *Rex superbiæ propè est, & quòd dici nefas est, sacerdotum est præparatus exercitus:* The King of pride (that is, Antichrist) is euen at hand, and an armie of Priests is prepared: which is a wicked, or horrible thing to be spoken. Loe, both the King, which is Antichrist: and his gard to wait vpon him, a company of Priests and Clerkes, of Monks and Friers to attend vpon him. And vpon whom shall an armie of Priests attend, but vpon a Bishop.

Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 38.

If you say, this is no plaine proofe, but forced, and wrested, because he nameth not a Bishop but a King of pride: heare him againe: *Fidenter dico, quòd quisquis se vniuersalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit:* I speake it boldly, whosoeuer either calleth himselfe the vniuersall Priest, or desireth so to bee called (as doth the Pope) in the pride of his heart hee is the forerunner of Antichrist. In this place, he doth not only tell vs, Antichrist shall be a Bishop, but also what maner of Bishop. He shall be a Bishop, and that Bishop, which shall claime vniuersal authority. Such a Bishop as shall say: It is of the necessitie of saluation, that euery soule be subiect to me. Which shall say, it is plaine, that the Church is one, because in the vniuersall Church, there is one supreme head, that is, the Pope.

Greg. lib. 6. Epist. 30.

Sibylla saith, this king, shalbe πλιοκεφαλος that is, shal haue a white head: and shall be called by a name much like to Pontus. In which two marks of his head and name, whom can we find but a Bishop? who weareth solemnly a white miter of silver, and adorned with pretious stones, and in Latine is named *pontifex*. Againe, Ioachimus Abbas saith, he shall exalt him selfe aboue all that is called God: for he only shall be called holy Lord, and most holy Pope. So that for our direction, we heare not only of a King of pride, and his gard of Priests: but we are learned, that this king shall haue a white head, and a name much like *pontius*; that is, shall be *pontifex*, a Bishop. Gregory moreouer hath said, he shall call himselfe, or desire to be called, an vniuersall priest: and Ioachimus an Abbat hath told vs Antichrist shall be called, holy Lord, and most holy Pope.

Oraculorum cap. 8.

But where shall Antichrist be resident? In what place shall we seeke him? for, if we looke for him in one place, and he be in another, we shall not finde him. Where then is he stalled, in what City? in what Church? Som say in Babylon, som in Syria, som in Chaldea, some in Ierusalem vpon mount Sion, some in one place, som in another. These are but guesses, and beare no waight. Paul telleth vs, he shal creepe into the Empire of Rome. So saith the Apostle, and so the fathers. The Empire shall be made waste, and then Antichrist shall come, and inuade the Church. But the Empire was great and wide, it reached ouer a great part of the wo⁊ld. It did containe England, France, Spaine, Germanie, Poland, Denmarke, Italie, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thracia, Græcia, Asia, Armenia, Ægypt, Mauritania, and the rest of Africa. All these were parts of the Empire of Rome. In what part, or in what City,

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or in what Church of all theſe ſhall he ſit? S. Iohn ſaith: The ſeuen heads, are ſeuen mountaines, on which the woman ſitteth. Antichriſt ſhall ſit in a Citie built vpon ſeuen hilles. Where ſhall we find ſuch a Citie in the whole world? Is it Hieruſalem, or Athens, or Conſtantinople, or Antioch? Where we find a City ſo built, that City is the place of Antichriſt. There is none but one. The ſpirit of God cannot lie. But which is that one? All writers, as well olde as new, call that City, Rome. Rome is built vpon ſeuen hils. They be yet ſtanding. The names of the hils are knowne to be theſe; Palatinus, Quirinalis, Auentinus, Cœlius, Viminalis, Exquilius, Ianicularis. The Poet ſpeaking of this City, ſaith: *Septemq; vna ſibimuro circundedit arces*: And this one City hath compaſſed in to it ſelfe with a wall ſeuen high places. Therefore Plutarch calleth it ἑπτάλοφον, of ſeuen hils. They haue vſed in Rome, in their generall proceſſions in gang weeke to goe to theſe ſeuen hils, and to doe ſome ſolemne peece of ſeruice at euery of them. Rome is the City of ſeuen heads. Rome is the City built vpon ſeuen hils: therefore the City which Iohn deſcribeth: and therefore it is the Tabernacle, and ſtall in which Antichriſt ſhall ſit. Reuel. 17.

Sibylla wrote two thouſand yeares ſithence, That the greateſt terror and fury of his Empire, and the greateſt woe that he ſhall worke, ſhall be by the banks of Tyber. And who is there that hath heard any thing of the ſituation of Rome, that doth not know it is built on the banks of Tyber? Irenæus, who liued well neere fiftéene hundred yeares agoe, ſaith, the name of Antichriſt, expreſſed by that number, ſhall be Latinus, that is, he ſhall ſit in a City called Latium, that is, Rome. Ioachimus Abbas ſaith: *Antichriſtus iampridam natus eſt Romæ, & altius extolletur in ſede Apoſtolica*: Antichriſt is long ſince borne in Rome, and yet ſhall be aduanced higher in the Apoſtolike ſee. Bernard ſaith: *Beſtia illa de Apocalypſi cui datum eſt os loquens blaſphemias, & bellum gerere cum ſanctis, Petri cathedram occupat, tanquam Leo paratus ad prædam*: The beaſt that is ſpoken of in the booke of Reuelations, vnto which beaſt is giuen a mouth to ſpeake blaſphemies, and to keepe warre againſt the ſaints of God, is now gotten into Peters chaire, as a Lion prepared to his prey. Theſe words are cleere as the Sunne beames. *Syb. oracul. cap. 8.* *Iren. lib. 5. cap. vltimo.* *Bern. Epiſt. 125.*

Saint Iohn ſaith: Antichriſt ſhall ſit in a Citie built vpon ſeuen hils. That Citie is the City of Rome. Dame Sibylla ſaith: His greateſt worke ſhall bee by the banks of Tyber. That City ſo built, is the City of Rome. Irenæus ſaith, the name of Antichriſt ſhall be Latinus: this name belongeth to the Biſhop of Rome. Bernard ſaith: The beaſt that is ſpoken of in the Reuelation, is gotten into Peters chaire. Iohn liued 1560. yeares ſince: Sibylla 2000. Irenæus about 1500. Ioachimus Abbas 300. Bernard liued about foure hundred yeares ſithence: and by the teſtimonie of all theſe, Antichriſt ſhall be a Biſhop, and placed at Rome.

You marueil at this, how it ſhould be poſſible that Antichriſt ſhould ſit in Peters chaire: you heare who hath ſaid it: and no wonder at all; for he ſhall ſit in the place of God, in the holy place, in the Church of Chriſt. So doth Auguſtine gather vpon the Apoſtles words: *Non enim templum alicuius idoli, aut dæmonis, templum Dei Apoſtolus diceret*: For the temple of an Idoll, or of a Diuell, the Apoſtle would neuer call the temple of God. And Hierome ſaith: *Antichriſtus ſedebit in templo Dei, vel Hieroſolymis (vt quidam putant) vel in Eccleſia (vt verius arbitramur) oſtendens ſe tanquam ipſe ſit Chriſtus & filius Dei*: Antichriſt ſhall ſit in the Temple of God, either at Hieruſalem (as ſome imagine) or in the Church (as we more truly think) ſhewing himſelfe as if he were Chriſt, and the ſonne of God. Againe he ſaith of him: Antichriſt ſhall tread vnder his feet all approoued and true religion. And S. Hilarie ſaith: *Annè ambiguum eſt, Antichriſtum in iis eſſe ſeſſurum?* Is there any doubt but Antichriſt ſhall ſit in the ſame houſes? He ſhall ſit in thoſe houſes and buildings, with which you are in loue, and which you honour. And againe he ſaith: *Sub ſpecie Euangelicæ prædicationis, Chriſto contrarius erit: vt dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus denegetur, quum prædicari creditur*: He ſhall be contrary to Chriſt, vnder the colour of preaching the Goſpell: ſo that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt ſhal then be denied, when a man would thinke he is preached. Thus we haue ſéene who ſhall be Antichriſt, and in what Church he ſhall be: that hee ſhall be a Biſhop, and ſhall bee ſtalled or placed in Rome. *Decinit. Dei lib. 20. ca. 19.* *Ad Algaſiam. Hieron. Quæſt. 11.* *Ibid.* *Hil. contra Auxentium.* *Ibid.*

Now to returne againe to the words of the Apoſtle: Only he which now letteth, ſhall let till he be taken away.

Now the Emperor hath the rule ouer the world. Let him kéepe it. There ſhall a time come when he ſhall loſe his poſſeſſions: then Antichriſt ſhall appeare. When the Empire ſhall be diſmembred, and the kingdomes belonging to him ſhall depart from him, then ſhall be the comming of Antichriſt. Who will looke into the ſtory of things and times paſt, ſhall perceiue the meaning of the Apoſtle: and how the Empire of Rome, being ſo great, is conſumed and brought to nothing: and in what ſort Antichriſt, which was once ſo poore, and ſimple, ſo little regarded and obſcure, might grow to bee ſo great, and aduance himſelfe

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abone Kings and Princes. The impouerithing of the one was the enrichyng of the other.

I told you that the Empire of Rome contained ſometimes a great part of the world, as England, France, Spaine, Germanie, &c. Where is England now? It is diuided from, and is no part of the Empire. Where is France, Spaine, Italie, Illyricum? Where is Rome it ſelfe? They are taken away from it, and are now no part of the Empire. Where is Macedonia, Thracia, Græcia, Aſia, Armenia, &c. We cannot thinke of them but with heauines. They bee now vnder the Turke: they are taken away, and are no part of the Empire. What is become of the great countenance which the Emperor had in all the world? He is now in compariſon no body. What part of all the Empire is left vnto him? Not one. He hath not left him one City, or towne. What is become of al which did belong to him? They are diſſolued, taken from him, and his eſtate is brought to nothing.

In the meane while Antichriſt increaſed, and grew to wealth by ſpoile of the Empire. The Biſhop of Rome hath at this day many Countries and Lordſhips. Poore Peter had none. How then came he by them? By the ſpoile of the Empire. He hath the title of *Forum Iulium*. Where hath he it, but of the ſpoile of the Empire? Where hath he ſo many Countries, beginning at Luke and onward to the Alps, but by the ſpoile of the Empire? He hath Rauenna, Forum Sempronij, Beneuentum and Spoletum. All theſe he hath by the ſpoile of the Empire. He claimeth the kingdome of Naples and of Sicile, he is the Lord Paramount. King Philip is his vaſſall, and paieth him tribute. He hath Rome it ſelfe. It did belong vnto the Emperor. How grew it to the Biſhop? whence hath he it? by the ſpoile of the Empire. We ſee then, that the Emperor is abated: that the Biſhop is increaſed, and ſo increaſed, that he hath made the Emperor to be his man, to beare his traine, to wait vpon him, to knele downe, and to kiſſe his fot. This could he neuer bring to paſſe, whiles the Empire ſtood whole, and the Emperor was able to make his part good. But theſe things were done
Reue. 17. that it might be fulfilled, which was ſpoken: The kings of the earth ſhall giue their ſtrength and power to the beaſt, &c. That they may agree together, and giue their kingdome vnto the beaſt, vntill the words of God be fulfilled. Who that beaſt ſhall be, Auguſtine writing vpon the Pſalmes very well declareth: *Ita traditur de Antichriſto, quòd omnes reges ſuperaturus ſit, & ſolus regnum obtenturus*: Thus it is written of Antichriſt, that he ſhall conquer all
Aug. in Pſa. 9. kings, and obtaine the kingdome himſelfe alone. And who it is vnto whom the kings of the earth haue giuen their kingdome, and which doth obtaine the kingdome himſelfe alone, if any man doubt, let him be aduiſed by this ſaying of them, which knew it well, and were
Iohan. de Pariſ. de poteſtat. regia. ca. 22. not enemies to the Biſhoprick of Rome. *Iohan. de pariſijs* ſaith: Some thinke that by reaſon of this donation (of Conſtantine) the Pope is the Emperor, and the Lord of the world: and that hereby he hath power both to ſet vp: and alſo to put downe kings, as an Emperor. And if this be too little, to ſay thus vpon heare ſay, the ſame ſaith further plainly: *Omnis poteſtas ſæcularis immediatè data eſt Papæ*: All maner temporall power was giuen immediatlie vnto the Pope. What other thing is it that Innocentius ſaith? The Emperor holdeth his Empire of the Pope: and therfore he is bound to ſweare homage and fealtie to the Pope, as the vaſſal is bound to his Lord. In this right Pope Adrian ſaid: Behold, it is in our hand to beſtow the Empire vpon whom we liſt. Were not the ſtate of the Empire now decaied: were not the prophecie of the Apoſtle now fulfilled: were not the Emperor (howſoeuer he haue in a miſterie a bare name left) taken away, as well in reſpect of the Countries which hee did hold, as of the authoritie, the rule, and power which hee had ouer the world; theſe proud ſpeeches could neuer haue beene ſuffered.

Now then ſeing the Empire is ſo decaied, and abaſed, and the Biſhop of Rome ſo highly aduanced into his ſeat and authoritie (ſo highly I ſay) that ſome are bold to ſay: The Pope hath the Princehood of all the whole world: and; The Pope is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: Let Gregorie, who hath otherwhere giuen great light to this prophecie, ſhew vs
Greg. lib. 33. ca. 22. in Iob. heere by alſo to know who is Antichriſt. He ſaith: *Antichriſtus veniens, ipſas etiam ſummas huius ſæculi poteſtates obtinebit*: Antichriſt when he ſhall come, ſhall conquer the higheſt eſtates and powers of this world.

Dan. 7. This whole matter is alſo expreſſed in the ſeuenth of Daniel: The fourth beaſt was fearful, and terrible, and very ſtrong: it had great iron teeth: it deuoured and brake in peeces, and ſtamped the reſidue vnder his fet: and it was vnlike to the beaſts that were before it: for it had ten hornes. And behold, there came vp among them another little horne, which had eies like a man, and a mouth ſpeaking preſumptuous things. This beaſt is the Empire of Rome, the greateſt Empire that euer was. It was diuided into ten, or, into ſundry kingdomes, as I ſhewed you, and as we ſee this day. The little horne is Antichriſt. The Empire ſhall be diuided and weakned, then Antichriſt ſhal come. He ſhal ſpeake words againſt
Dan. 7. the moſt high, and ſhal conſume the Saints of the moſt high, and thinke that he may change times and lawes, and they ſhall be giuen into his hand. Daniel, ſaith he, ſhall ſpeake words

againſt

againſt the moſt high, and ſhall thinke he may change times and lawes, and they ſhall bee giuen into his hand. Wherein hee ſheweth not onely the pride and preſumption of Antichriſt, but that he ſhall alſo preuaile for a time. Such a one there hath been, and yet is. Hee blaſphemeth God, murdereth the ſaints, hath changed times and lawes, the Lawes of God, and the Lawes of nature. He is Antichriſt.

To make an end of this part for knowledge of Antichriſt, who he ſhall be, in what place he ſhall dwell, and of that which ſhould let his comming: let vs remember hee ſhall be no Iew nor heathen, but a Chriſtian, and no King or temporall wight, but a Biſhop, an vniuerſall Prieſt, and moſt holy Pope. As Hierome vpon the words of the Prophet, *O Paſtor & Idolum, &c.* O Idoll ſhepheard, that, &c. ſaith: *Paſtor ſtultus & imperitus haud dubitem quin ſit Antichriſtus, qui in conſummatione mundi dicitur eſſe venturus:* I doubt nothing but that this fooliſh and vnskilfull ſhepheard is Antichriſt, which ſhould come towards the end of the world. *Hieron. in 11. Sachar.* And further ſaith: *Tam ſceleratus eſt paſtor vt non Idolorum cultor, ſed ipſe Idolum nominetur: dum ſe appellat deum & vult ab omnibus adorari:* This ſhepheard is ſo wicked that he is not called a worſhipper of Idols, but an Idoll it ſelfe: becauſe hee calleth himſelfe God, and will be worſhipped of all men. *Ibid.*

Let vs remember we may not ſeeke him in the ſtreets, or in market places, or in woods, or in the wilderneſſe: but in the temple of God. There ſhall he ſit, and hold the ſterne, and deuiſe Lawes and Cannons: and ſhall rule the hearts and conſciences of the people: there ſhall he ſhew his power, and put on him the cloake of ſimplicitie, and of truth, and of holineſſe.

S. Auguſtine ſaith, Antichriſt ſhall not only ſit in the Church of God, but alſo ſhall ſhew himſelfe in outward appearance, as if he himſelfe were the Church it ſelfe. *Non in templo Dei, ſed in templum Dei ſedeat, tanquam ipſe ſit templum Dei, quod eſt Eccleſia:* Not, that he ſitteth in the Temple of God, but he ſitteth as the Temple of God, as if hee himſelfe were the Temple of God, which is the Church. *De Ciuit. dei li. 20. ca. 19.* Let vs remember what ſhall let his comming, euen the ſafety of the Emperor, and his continuance in that full power and eſtate wherein hee then was. The decay of the Empire ſhall make way for Antichriſt. If therefore it bee weakned, and hath been weakned any time ſithence, if the kingdomes of the world be diuided from it, that is an euident token that the comming of Antichriſt is not ſtopped, but he hath come and ſhewed himſelfe, and by little and little euer ſince ſuch decay of the Empire, hath inlarged himſelfe & eſtabliſhed his power ouer all Countries and nations, as Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Donec illius Imperij timor fuerit, &c.* As long as the Empire ſhall be had in awe, no man ſhall ſtraightway ſubmit himſelfe to Antichriſt: but after that the Empire ſhall be diſſolued, Antichriſt ſhall inuade the ſtate of the Empire ſtanding void: and ſhall labour to pull vnto himſelfe the Empire both of man and God. *Chryſo. hom. 4. in 2. Theſſ. 2.*

VERS. 8. And then ſhall that wicked man be vttered, whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the ſpirit of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy him with the appearance of his comming.

Antichriſt ſhall be opened by little and little. All his deuiſes and practiſes ſhall be diſcloſed: that they may appeare and be ſeene of the world. Hee is in this place called ὁ ἄνομος, a man without order. This is another peculiar note of Antichriſt. He ſhal ſeeke to be free, and goe at libertie: he ſhall be tied to no law, neither of God, nor of man. Let vs once againe looke into the ſtate of the Church of Rome to ſeeke out this lawleſſe man. There he ſitteth that ſaith, I cannot erre. Why is it ſaid, *Papa ſolutus eſt omni lege humana?* The Pope is exempted from all law of man? And againe: why muſt we expound any fact of the holy father for the beſt? and, if it be theft, or any other thing, that of it ſelfe is euill (as adulterie or fornication) we muſt thinke it is done by the ſecret inſpiration of God. Againe, why ſay they the doings of the Pope are excuſed, as Sampſons murthers: as the Iewes robberies: and as the adulteries of Iacob. And againe: why ſay they? Neither all the Clergie, nor all the whole world may either iudge or depoſe the Pope? but becauſe he is lawleſſe. *Extra. de conſtit. licet. 9. qu. 3. cunct. Io. de pariſijs, de pot. reg. & papali. Diſt. 40. non nos: in gloſſa. Pet. de Palude de pot. Pp. Art. 4.*

Why is it ſaid: *In ijs quæ vult, eſt ei pro ratione voluntas, nec eſt qui dicat illi, domine cur ita facis?* In ſuch things as he willeth, his will ſtandeth in ſtead of reaſon, neither may any man ſay vnto him, O ſir, why doe ye this? but, becauſe he is lawleſſe. Why is it ſaid of him, although all the world would iudge in any matter againſt the Pope, yet it ſeemeth we ought to ſtand to the iudgement of the Pope. For he ſeemeth to haue all lawes in the cheſt of his boſome, but becauſe hee is ὁ ἄνομος, that lawleſſe man? Why is it, notwithſtanding the Pope draw innumerable companies of people by heaps with him into hell, that yet no mortall man may once dare reprooue him, but becauſe he is that lawleſſe man? *Extra. de tranſlat. Epiſc. quanto in gloſſ. Diſtinct. 40. ſi Papa. in gloſſa. Ibid. De tranſl. Epiſc. ca. quanto gloſſa. tit. 7.*

Why is it ſaid: *Papa etiam rerum naturam immutat, ſubſtantialia alicuius rei applicando alteri & de nihilo poteſt facere aliquid, & ſententiam quæ nulla eſt aliquam facere. Ille enim poteſt*

ſupra ius diſpenſare, & de iniuſtitia facere inſtitiam, corrigendo iura & mutando: The Pope may alſo change the very nature of things, in applying the ſubſtantiall parts of one thing to another: and of nothing can make ſomething: and of no ſentence, may make a ſentence: for he may diſpenſe aboue the law, and of wrong may make right, by correcting and changing the lawes. One Zabarella ſaith, they perſwaded the Biſhops, that they might doe all things: and therefore whatſoeuer they lifted, yea, ſuch things as are not lawfull. How could this haue bin wrought, but that the Scriptures ſhould be fulfilled? This is he whom Paul deſcribeth, that wicked lawleſſe man. Thus he reigneth and ruleth without law, without reaſon, without feare of God without regard of man. He is exempted from all law, & his word is law to bind all the world. This is Antichriſt. This is he of whom Daniel prophecied: He ſhall thinke he may change lawes and times: the times of nature and the lawes which God himſelfe hath ordained. This is he which hath carried himſelfe ſo long time vnder the colour of holineſſe: this is he, which hath beguiled and blinded the eies of the world.

Dan. 7.

But bleſſed be the name of our God, which is the God of truth, and the God of lights: his tyranny and treachery is now reuealed, and therefore not regarded. Oh what mountaines of mony made he ſomtimes of pardons! His pardons were reputed the only ſafety, and comfort of mens ſoules. He was not reckoned a Chriſtian, whoſoeuer ſought them not. No man might lacke them, neither in his life, nor after his death. But where are they now? what is become of them? who buyeth them? who regardeth the hauing of them? who repoſeth his truſt in them? children make ſport of them, and play with them in the ſtreets. They ſee the filth of them, and the folly, and abhorre them. How commeth this ſo to paſſe? The man of ſinne is reuealed.

What a kingdome made he of Purgatory? He ſhut out thence whom he liſted: and releaſed ſuch as were there at his pleaſure. He claimed power ouer the quicke and dead: he ſold the yeeres, the daies, and the moneths by round reckoning, a hundred, fiue hundred, and a thouſand, and thouſand thouſands yeeres of pardon. Of which folly his owne Canoniſts were aſhamed. One of them ſaith: *Nam quod dicitur Petro: Tibi dabo claues, &c.* Touching that Chriſt ſaid vnto Peter: Vnto thee will I giue the keies, &c. We muſt vnderſtand this authoritie with a corne of ſalt (otherwiſe it may bee vnſauorie.) Therefore certaine of the Popes pardons that promiſe twentie thouſand yeeres, are fooliſh and ſuperſtitious.

Io. Maior in 4. ſenten. diſt. 20. qu. 2.

This was not giuen for nothing, but ſold for mony. Who had ought to giue, had ſpéedie diſpatch: but poore ſoules that had nothing, or no friends to pay for them, ſhould lie ſtill. This was a wealthy kingdome. But now where is Purgatorie? who regardeth it? who careth for it? Children ſcorne it in their ſtreets, and know it is a fable. How commeth this ſo to paſſe? The wicked, or lawleſſe man is reuealed.

He was able to rule the whole world with a becke. His word ſtood as the word of God: no Prince nor Emperor durſt withſtand it. It was thought impoſſible that he ſhould erre. But now the world ſaith, his word is deceiuable and vaine: he erreth, and hath liued in great error. Now few men will beléeue him: no Prince will truſt his word: howſoeuer they (whoſe eies God hath not yet opened to ſée the truth) truſt him in religion, in worldly matters they will not truſt him. How commeth this ſo to paſſe? The man of ſinne is reuealed.

What ſhall I ſay more? Behold round about the world all places, and euen Rome it ſelfe. The poore maſſing Prieſt ſtandeth a cold, and can get no hire: the Popes Pals lie a rotting: his Buls goe a begging: his wares ſtand vpon his hand: no wiſe man will buy them. Why? how commeth this ſo to paſſe? The man of ſinne is reuealed, all his deceit and treachery is reuealed.

The Pope ſtirreth, and ſtriueth at this day all that he can. He excommunicateth, and curſeth: he ſendeth out his Buls: he bloweth vp ſeditions: he bréedeth treaſons: he raiſeth ſubiects againſt their Princes: he ſetteth Princes vpon their ſubiects: he impriſoneth, and murdereth the Saints of God: he ſhaketh and enflameth the whole world in his quarrels. But all in vaine. Why ſo? how commeth this to paſſe? There is no counſell, no wiſedome, no fire, no ſword, that ſhall preuaile againſt the Lord. The man of ſinne, and his errors are reuealed. Men ſée and know, and deteſt the blindneſſe wherein they were led: the people forſake him ouer and ouer the world.

Whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the ſpirit of his mouth, and ſhall aboliſh with the brightneſſe of his comming.

VERS. 9. Euen him whoſe comming is by the effectuall working of Satan, with all power and ſignes, and lying wonders.

10. And in all deceiueableneſſe of vnrighteouſneſſe, among them that periſh, becauſe that they receiued not the word of the truth, that they may be ſaued.

By

By the order of the Apoſtles words I ſhould now ſpeake of the ouerthrow of Antichriſt: how, and by what power he ſhall be confounded. But, becauſe the two verſes next following, ſpeake yet of the ſtate of Antichriſt, by whoſe meanes he ſhall come: and of what countenance he ſhall be: and with whom he ſhall preuaile; it ſhall be good we conſider theſe things firſt, and then ſhew how he ſhall be deſtroied.

When Chriſt came into the world, he came in the name of his father, to ſaue the loſt ſheepe of the houſe of Iſrael, and to gather the flocke that was ſcattered. Antichriſt ſhall come in the name of the Diuell, to ſcatter and diſperſe, and conſume the flocke of Gods ſheepe. His comming ſhall be by the effectuall working of Satan. And what, or who is Satan? He hath been a murderer from the beginning: through his enuie came death into the world: he is the Prince of this world: the Prince of darkneſſe: the father of lies: the ſpirit of pride: which hath ſaid, I will aſcend aboue the height of the clouds, and I will be like the moſt high. He ſhall worke and inflame the heart of Antichriſt, and fill it with his ſpirit, and wickednes, and ſhall make him the man of ſinne, and the ſonne of perdition, full of vanitie, and of pride, and of vngodlineſſe, that he may mocke the world, and blind the hearts of the people.

His comming ſhall be by the working of Satan: yet he ſhall make ſhew as if he came in the name of Chriſt. He ſhall come with fatherly lokes, with holy countenance, and ſhall ſet himſelfe in the holy place: but his whole endeuour ſhall be to deface the kingdome of Chriſt. Which he ſhall practiſe to doe, not by the leading of any Angell, or Archangell, or by the power of God, but by the effectuall working of Satan. He ſhall alleage the Doctours and Fathers: he ſhall alleage Peter and Paul, the holy Apoſtles of Chriſt: he ſhall alleage Chriſt, and God himſelfe, as though his doings were warranted by them: he ſhall ſay, I am the buttreſſe and pillar of the Church, my word is the word of God: he ſhall ſet vp maſſes and ſacrifices of his owne: he ſhall take away the word of God: he ſhall teach the people to giue diuine honour to a weake creature.

But S. Paul in this place diſcloſeth him, and his doings, and laieth them open to the eies of the faithfull. He worketh not the work of an Euangeliſt, as did Peter, or other the Apoſtles; he taketh not power and authoritie either of God, or of Chriſt: but his comming is by the operation of Satan. Therefore he foreſheweth, Antichriſt ſhall command to abſtaine from meats. He ſhall ſay, Touch not, taſte not. He ſhall alſo forbid to marrie. He ſhall ſay, marriage is vnholy, and vnlawfull, not conuenient, not meet for holy profeſſion. Who would not thinke it a holy thing, to abſtaine from meats, and to chaſtiſe the body? Who would not thinke it a holy thing, to abſtaine from marriage, and to thinke of thoſe things which belong to God? Hauing holineſſe and deuotion are a pleaſant ſacrifice to God. But yet it is not all ſo. Some ſhall ſpeake lies through hypocriſie, forbidding to marrie, and commanding to abſtaine from meats. They ſhall depart from the faith, and giue heed to the ſpirits of errour, and doctrines of diuels. He ſaith, it is the diuels goſpell. They are canons and rules of Antichriſt. Satan ſhall inſtruct him, Satan ſhall be the authour and founder of that religion. 1. Tim. 4.

With all power, and ſignes, and lying wonders, and in all deceiueableneſſe of vnrighteouſneſſe. He ſhall need to be of great power and force that ſhall incounter with God. Therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, he ſhall come with miracles and deuiſes of Satan. Chriſt foretold that falſe Chriſts ſhall riſe, and falſe Prophets, and ſhall ſhew ſignes and wonders, to deceiue, if it were poſſible, the very elect. Againe he ſaith: Many will ſay to me in that day, Lord, Lord, haue we not in thy name Prophecied? and by thy name caſt out diuels? and by thy name done many great workes? And then will I profeſſe to them, I neuer knew you, depart from me ye that worke iniquity. Theſe things ſhall Satan bring to paſſe vnder my name. Mark. 13. Matth. 7.

The Apoſtles wrought myracles, thereby to confirme the Goſpel which they preached. As the Euangeliſt writeth: The Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the word with ſignes that followed. And as the Apoſtle: Saluation at the firſt began to be preached by the Lord and was confirmed vnto vs by them that heard him, God bearing witneſſe thereto, with ſignes and wonders, and with diuers miracles, and gifts of the holy Ghoſt, according to his will. So ſhall Antichriſt worke miracles to ouerthrow the Goſpell. As Iannes and Iambres withſtood Moſes; ſo doe theſe alſo reſiſt the truth, men of corrupt mindes, reprobate concerning the faith. But they ſhall preuaile no longer, for their madneſſe ſhall be knowen to all men, as theirs alſo was. Mark. 16. Heb. 2. 2. Tim. 3.

Aaron caſt forth his rod before Pharao and his ſeruants, and it was turned into a Serpent: And the Charmers of Ægypt did in like maner with their enchantments. Aaron ſmot the water, and all the water that was in the riuer, was turned into blood. And the enchanters of Ægypt did likewiſe with their ſorceries. And as Aaron cauſed Frogges to come and couer the land: ſo the ſorcerers did likewiſe with their ſorceries. But the illuſions Exod. 7. Exod. 8. Wiſ. 17.

of the Magicall arts came to nought (saith Salomon) and it was a most shamefull reproch for boasting their knowledge. So shall Antichrist come in working signes and lying wonders, as did Iannes and Iambres, to deface the Gospell and glory of God.

It is not said, he shall worke wonders, but false lying wonders. But how can his miracles bee false? If false, how be they miracles? If miracles, how be they false? They shall be false after two sorts: some are called false miracles, because they seeme to be miracles, and are not. Some are called false miracles, because they be used falsly to maintaine his falshood.

Of the first sort of false miracles, we haue seene an infinite number in the dates of our fathers in the kingdome of Antichrist. Then was there appearance of spirits, and visions of Angels: our Lady came swimming downe from heauen, poore soules came creeping and crying out of Purgatory, and letted abroad, and kept stations, casting flakes of fire, and beset high waies, and bemoned their cases, the paines and torments were so bitter. They sought for helpe, and cried for good praiers, they cried for Diriges, they cried for Masses of *Requiem*, for Masses of *Scala cœli*, for trentals of Masses. Hereof grew portsale of pardons, and hereof grew the Prouince of Purgatory, the most gainfull country, that euer was vnder the Citie of Rome.

But these miracles were no miracles at all. They were deuised by subtle varlets, and lazy lorданes for a purpose, to get money. Often times the spirit hath been taken and laid in the stockes: the Angel hath beene stript: good Lady hath beene caught: the conueiance and the miracle hath appeared: the engines, and sleights, and the cause, and the maner of the working hath beene confessed. In those daies, Idols could goe on foot: Rodes could speake: Bels could ring alone: Images could come downe and light their owne candels: Dead stockes could sweat and bestir themselues: they could turne their eies: they could moue their hands: they could open their mouthes: they could set bones, and knit sinewes: they could heale the sicke, and raise vp the dead. These miracles were conueiances and subtleties, and indeed no miracles. The trunkes by which they did speake, the strings and wires with which they moued their faces and hands: all the rest of their treachery hath beene disclosed. These be the miracles of which Paul speaketh: Miracles in sight, but indeed no miracles. The other sort of false miracles, is, when such things as bee indeed wrought and done, are vntruely applied by Antichrist to maintaine his falshood. God giueth reconcile to the diseased: the deafe receiue their hearing: the blind receiue their sight: He asswageth the tempests, and quieth the rage of fire, that it continue not. These things are done by the finger of God. Antichrist draweth vs from so thinking of the mercy of God, and telleth vs we haue other friends to whom we are beholding, which haue done so and so for vs. It was this Saint, saith he: it was that Saint, that toke pitie of your case, and wrought the remedy for you. It was Apollonia, it was Genouefa, it was Sitha, it was our Lady. Such a Saint is able to doe much: such a Saint can worke miracles.

Hereof grew inuocation of Saints. Hereof it came to passe that each Saint was assigned and allotted to his sundry charge and seuerall office apart: Saint Blase for the choaking: S. Roche, for the pestilence: Anthonie, for the burning: Valentine, for the falling sicknesse: Romane, for madnesse: Apollonia, for the tothach: Petronilla, for agues: and others, for other purposes. Wherein it was wisely foreseene, that they were so limitted and ordered, lest perhaps else any one might be ouer saucy, and incroach vpon, and trouble his fellowes. It was also foreseene, that all Saints should not haue power to worke in all places. Some wrought at Canterburie, some at Walsingham, some at Yorke, some at Buxton, some in one place, some in another, some in the townes, some in the fields. Euen as Hieremy said among the Iewes: According to the number of thy Cities, were thy gods. Hereof grew Pilgrimages, and Worshipping of Images: and kissing of Reliques. Hereof grew oblations and enriching of Abbies. Euery man had his peculiar Saint, on whom he called. Euery countrie was full of Chapels: euery Chapell full of miracles: and euery miracle full of lies. Iere. 11.

These miracles are wrought by Antichrist. They are his tooles wherewith he worketh, they are his weapons wherewith he preuaileth. They are full of lying, full of deceitfulnesse, and full of wickednesse. So shall Antichrist prenaile, and rule ouer the world. By these miracles he shall possesse the eares, the eies, and the hearts of many, and shall draw them after him. He shall shadow the Moone, and darken the Sunne, and make the third part of the Starres of Heauen to follow him. He shall change light into darknesse, and darknesse into light. He shall worke in all things at his pleasure. If a man see well, he shall make him blind. This is a miracle. Such as are whole he shall make sicke: he shall infect them with leprosie which before were cleane. This is a miracle. He shall change the sense and feeling of nature, he shall make the Sonne hate the Father: and shall

make

make the Father hate the Sonne, yea, to ſeeke the death of his Sonne. This is a miracle. He ſhall make the people miſlike and doubt the worde of God, and imbrace his follies. This is a miracle.

These be the workes of Antichriſt, which he ſhall bring to paſſe. This ſhall he worke in all deceiueableneſſe of vnrighteouſneſſe. He ſhall come with all kinds and ſhifts of deceit. He ſhall come with ſhew of praying, with vizard of faſting, with companies of Monkes, Friers, Chanons, and all kind, and colour of holineſſe. He ſhall ſeeke to preuaile by threatning, and by flattering, by faire meanes, and by foule. He ſhall excommunicate, and releaſe from excommunication: he ſhall promiſe forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, and life euerlaſting. He ſhall make boaſt of the Fathers, and ancient Doctours: he ſhall make boaſt of the vniuerſall conſent: he ſhall boaſt of generall Councels: he ſhall boaſt of Chriſts Apoſtles, and of the Goſpell of Chriſt, and of the worde of God. So ſhall he falſely and deceitfully worke himſelfe credit, and beguile the world, in abuſing the holy name of God. No kinde of deceitfulneſſe or ſubtletie, but he ſhall vſe it. So ſhall he make the people ſeeke vpon him, and Kings, & Emperours to fall downe before him, and to ſay, Who is like vnto the beaſt? Who is ſo wiſe, ſo learned, ſo holy, ſo wealthy, ſo mighty, and ſo catholike? Without him no man is to be reckoned holy or learned. Without him no man may traffike, buy nor ſell. Without him no man may read publikely in Vniuerſities: no man may preach to the people: no man may be accounted a Chriſtian: no man may hope to be ſaued without him, without his leaue and liking. Such wonders, ſuch miracles ſhall he worke, ſo ſhall he conquer and ſubdue the world.

Now, who they be which ſhall be deceiued, in whom ſhall he preuaile? Among them that periſh, becauſe they receiued not the loue of the truth that they might be ſaued. They ſhall be deceiued by him, Which periſh, whoſe hearts are not marked with the ſpirit of God: Whoſe names are not written in the booke of life: in whom the God of this world hath blinded the mindes, that the light of the glorious Goſpell of Chriſt ſhould not ſhine vnto them: they ſhall follow him, and ſhall be the children of damnation, and ſhall haue their reward with him. Be he Learned or Vnlearned: be he King or Subiect: albeit he be holy, albeit he be catholike: Antichriſt ſhall come vnto him in all deceitfulneſſe of vnrighteouſneſſe, becauſe he hath not receiued the loue of the truth that he might be ſaued.

Here marke, he doth not ſay, Becauſe they receiued not the truth: but: he ſaith, Becauſe they receiued not the loue of the truth. Many in our daies can ſpeake thus, I am not Rom. 1.
aſhamed of the Goſpell of Chriſt: for it is the power of God vnto ſaluation to euery one
that beleeueth: for it is the ſauour of life vnto life. They can ſay: There is giuen none other 2. Cor. 2.
name vnder heauen, whereby we muſt be ſaued: neither is there ſaluation in any other Acts 4.
than by Jeſus Chriſt, whom we haue learned by the Goſpell: Many will confeſſe, there was neuer more, nor better teaching ſince the time of the Apoſtles. They ſeeme to receiue the truth. But they are like the Horſe and Mule, in whom is no vnderſtanding. They receiue it, becauſe the Prince receiueth it, and becauſe the politike Lawes of countries eſtabliſh it. They are carried away with the ſway of the world. They heare it with their eares: (Nay, I would God they would lend their eares to the hearing of it) but with their hearts they doe not heare. They haue no feeling of the worde of God, and of the truth. They weigh it not, they loue it not. They conſider not what it is, nor from whom it is ſent. They know not that it is the water of life, and the bread which is ſent from Heauen. They haue no taſte, no ſauour, nor pleaſure in it.

Therefore it ſhall be taken from them, and giuen to a nation which ſhall bring forth the fruits thereof. They ſhall be caſt into vtter darkneſſe, and the laſt ſtate of them is
worſe than the firſt. It had been better for them not to haue knowen the way of righteouſ- 2. Pet. 2.
neſſe, than after they haue knowen it, to turne from the holy commandement giuen vnto them. It ſhould not be charged vpon them for their damnation: for our Sauiour ſaith,
If I had not come and ſpoken vnto them, they ſhould not haue had ſinne: but now haue Ioh. 15.
they no cloake for their ſinne. They finde no ſweetneſſe in the worde of God: they are not conuerted by it that they may be ſaued: they haue no pleaſure in the waies of the Lord, they haue no comfort to know his will. These be the bondſlaues of Sathan: theſe bee they vpon whom ſhall come the abomination of deſolation: theſe bee they againſt whom Sathan and Antichriſt ſhall preuaile, becauſe they haue not receiued the loue of the truth. They haue not receiued it into their hearts, that they might be ſaued. They had no hearts to feele it, they had no eies to ſee it.

VERS. 11. And therefore God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions, that they ſhould beleeue lies.

12. That all they might be damned which beleeued not the truth, but had pleaſure in vnrighteouſneſſe.

The ſpirit of God, is the ſpirit of truth, and giueth light into our hearts, and maketh vs behold that bleſſed hope, and reioice in the knowledge of his will. Therefore the Prophet
Pſal. 51. Dauid maketh praier: O God, renue a right ſpirit within mee; and, take not thy holy
Pſal. 13. ſpirit from mee. And againe: O Lord my God, lighten mine eies that I ſleepe not in death.
Pſal. 36. And againe he ſaith: With thee is the well of life, and in thy light ſhall we ſee light. Without
1. Cor. 2. this ſpirit wee are but fleſh and blod: euen void of ſenſe and vnderſtanding. The naturall man perceiueth not the things of the ſpirit of God: for they are fooliſhneſſe vnto him. No man knoweth the things of God, but the ſpirit of God. And thoſe things which God hath prepared for them that loue him, he hath reuealed vnto vs by his ſpirit. Chriſt
Ioh. 6. ſaith: No man commeth to me, except the Father draw him. Vnleſſe a man be borne from aboue, vnleſſe God print and ſeale his heart with his finger, he ſhall not be able to ſee the kingdome of God.

Now, if we haue the word of God before our eies, and regard it not, nor be thankfull for it, nor ſet price by it, God in his iuſtice will withdraw it from vs. Then ſhall we delight in darkneſſe, and haue pleaſure in errour: our latter end ſhall be more dreadfull than was our firſt beginning. This is it which Paul ſaith, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſion. That is, his holy ſpirit, the ſpirit of truth, ſhall depart from their hearts, and the power of Satan ſhall dwell with them, and wholly poſſeſſe them. This is the iuſt iudge-
Ioh. 3. ment of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loued darkneſſe rather than light. They forſake the light, and delight in darkneſſe, and this is their condemnation. They will not vnderſtand, nor ſeeke after God, that they may
Pſal. 109. be reformed. The Prophet ſaith: Becauſe he loued curſing, it ſhall come vnto him; and becauſe he loued not bleſſing, ſo ſhall it be far from him. God will ſtrike them with blindneſſe. They ſhall be aſtonied. They ſhall fall into rebuke and the ſnares of the Diuell. They ſhall be drowned in perdition and deſtruction.

So great ſhall be the power of errour. Men ſhall not only be deceiued, but ſhall be deceiued mightily and ſtrongly. They ſhall deſire to be deceiued, and ſhall beare a deadly hatred againſt him whoſoeuer ſhall ſeeke to reforme them. They ſhall harden their hearts againſt God and his holy word: they ſhall ſtop their eares, and not hearken to his counſell: they ſhall not open their eies to behold the deſtruction which is to come vpon them. So great and ſo mighty ſhall be the deluſion. So deadly ſhall be the cloud and blindneſſe of their hearts. They ſhall be giuen ouer into a reprobate mind. They ſhall be filthie, and increaſe in filthineſſe. Such ſhall be the power of Satan, ſuch ſhall be the power of errour and deceitfulneſſe. They ſhall deſpiſe the glorious Goſpell of Chriſt: Therefore God ſhal forſake them, and giue them ouer to follow Antichriſt.

God hath this day ſent the light and comfort of his holy word into the world. Many godly men haue deſired to ſee that we ſee, and to heare that we doe heare. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord, which hath in mercie viſited vs. We beſeech him to bleſſe the worke that
Tit. 2. he hath begun. Saint Paul ſaith: The grace of God that bringeth ſaluation to all men hath
Colloſſ. 1. appeared. And, to the Coloſians he ſaith: The Goſpell is come vnto you, euen as it is vnto
Rom. 10. all the world. And againe: Haue they not heard? no doubt their ſound went thorow all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world. The more receiue the glad tidings of the
Rom. 10. Goſpell. God hath viſited and redeemed his people. But yet the Apoſtle ſaith: They haue
Eſai. 65. not all beleeued our Goſpell: For Eſaias ſaith: Lord, who ſhall beleeue our report? And againe ſaith the Prophet Eſaie: I haue ſpred out my hands all the day vnto a rebellious
Prou. 1. people, which walked in a way that was not good. Wiſedome crieth in the ſtreets: I haue called and yee refuſed, I haue ſtretched out mine hand, and none would regard. Such is the power of Satan, ſo ſhall he ſtop their eares, that they ſhall not heare nor vnderſtand what is ſpoken in the name of the Lord.

Paul is a true Prophet, and foretold long before that which we may now behold with
1. Tim. 4. our eies: In the latter times, ſome ſhall giue heed vnto ſpirits of errour. They ſhall be as men without ſenſe or feeling, they ſhall forſake the truth, and betake themſelues to follow lies and fables. Euen they ſhall doe this, which ſhall ſit in the Church of God, who ſhall
Luke 22. profeſſe and carry the name of Chriſt. Chriſt miniſtred his laſt Supper in both kindes. S.
1. Cor. 11. Paul telleth the Corinthians: As often as yee ſhall eat this bread, and drinke this cup, yee ſhal ſhew the Lords death till he come: That this inſtitution of Chriſt ſhould bee kept in the Church vntill the end of the world. The Apoſtles receiued this order: the holy Fathers and Martyrs vſed it. But now many, euen too too many, will not ſo haue it, nor ſo vſe it. They will not follow the example of the Fathers, nor of Martyrs, nor of the Apoſtles, nor keepe the ordinance of Chriſt: ſo ſtrong a deluſion hath bewitched them.

The

The people of God were taught to praie in the vulgar tongue, that their hearts might giue conſent, and their mouth ſay, Amen. This order did Peter, and Paul, and Iohn, and Iames, and the godly fathers kepe. There is not one of them that toke order for the contrarie: but now there are ſome riſen vp, which in deſpight of Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſay, praiers ſhall be made in a ſtrange tongue, either Latine or Greeke. The people ſhall not vnderſtand what they heare. They ſhall not know what it is which they themſelues ſay: their hearts cannot giue conſent thereto, their mouths cannot ſay, Amen. The example of the Apoſtles, the commandement of Chriſt, the comfort of the people, the confuſion of the Church nothing moueth them: ſo great and mightie is the power of errour.

The people worſhip a creature in ſtead of the Creator, who is God ouer all bleſſed for euer. They ſee they doe amiſſe, yet continue in it, and find no fault. They ſee wherein their fathers were deceiued, yet they ſay, they could not be deceiued. They ſee many and foule abuſes, yet ſeeke not to redreſſe them. For they ſay, We will walke in the waies of our forefathers: we will beleeue as they beleeued, howſoeuer they beleeued. We will doe as they did, whatſoeuer they did: we will not heare the word of the Lord. Thus ſhall they delight in darkneſſe, and loath the light: they will be deceiued, and will not ſee the truth. So mightie and ſo terrible is the power of errour.

They be learned in Philoſophie and in the tongues: they be learned in the Lawes: they be learned in Phyſicke: learned in the Doctours: and learned in Stories. They are ſkilfull to buy and ſell, to purchaſe land to enrich themſelues, and to prouide for their children. They haue knowledge in all things elſe. But themſelues, and the truth of God, and the way to ſaluation they haue not knowen. A theefe when he is taken, blucheth. A harlot is aſhamed of her filthineſſe, and a drunkard of his beaſtlineſſe. But they that are ſuch, haue hardned their faces, they cannot bluſh. Whatſoeuer they haue ſaid, or done, either openly, or in ſecret, by hypocriſie or crueltie, by rauine or treacherie, in offering pardons to ſale, in deceiuing the people of God, in accuſing the righteous, and condemning the innocent: they cannot repent, they know no ſhame. So great is the power of errour. Chriſt ſaith vnto them, The Publicans, and the Harlots ſhall goe before you into the kingdome of God. Matth. 21. They conſider that they haue done amiſſe: but you are wilfull in your blindneſſe. Oh the depth of the wiſedome and knowledge of God. Who is wiſe and conſidereth this? They ſtriue againſt the manifeſt truth, they ſtriue againſt their owne conſcience, they ſtriue againſt the ſpirit of God. This is that ſinne which ſhall neuer be forgiuen, neither in this world, nor in the world to come.

Therefore ſaith Paul, that all they might be damned, which beleeued not the truth. All ſhall be damned, which beleeued not. Then let no man ſay, I will follow the example of my Fathers, I will do as the greater part doth. So many, and ſo many, for ſo many yeeres, in ſo many places haue beene on this ſide. The iudgement of God ſtandeth not in the multitude, but in the truth. Whoſoeuer ſhall ſet themſelues againſt his holy will, be they neuer ſo many, they ſhall be damned. Let ſuch marke well what Ignatius, who liued in the time of the Apoſtles hath ſaid. *Audiui quoſdam dicentes, ſi non inuenero Euangelium in antiquis, non credam. Talibus autem ego dico: quia mihi antiquitas Ieſus Chriſtus eſt, cui non obedire, manifeſtus & irremiſſibilis interitus eſt. Ignatij Epiſt. 5. ad Philadel.* I haue heard ſome which ſay, vnleſſe I finde the Goſpell in them of old time, I will not beleeue it. But vnto ſuch I ſay, that Ieſus Chriſt is, vnto me antiquitie, whom to diſobey is manifeſt and vnpardonable deſtruction. Let no man ſay, I hope I doe well, my meaning is good, I haue a deſire to pleaſe God: I beleeue well, I do my conſcience: If I do amiſſe, God will regard my ſimplicitie. Let no man ſo ſay. Saint Auguſtine ſaith: It is certaine that a fooliſh faith not onely doth no good, but alſo hurteth. If thou beleeue not the truth, thou dwelleſt in lying: thou art the child of the Diuell, which is a liar, and the father thereof. The mouth which ſpeaketh lies ſlaieth the ſoule. Thy faith is no faith, it is but a wilfull opinion, it is but an errour, for it is not according to the truth, it is not built vpon the rocke, it is not grounded on the word of God. Change thine errour. Faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God: receiue the truth, beleeue the truth, and loue the truth. Otherwiſe, if thou refuſe the bread of life, and feed on poiſon: if thou forſake the water of life, and dig vnto thy ſelfe a Ceſterne that will hold no water, thou ſhalt lead thy daies in wilfulneſſe, and ſhalt die in ſinne; thy bloud ſhall be vpon thine owne head. Thou ſhalt not ſee the glory of God, death and damnation ſhall be thy meed, becauſe thou haddeſt pleaſure in wickedneſſe, and didſt not giue thy heart to receiue, and loue, and beleeue, the truth.

Aug. quæ. 43. in Queſtion. veter. & Nou. Teſtam. Wiſ. 1. Rom. 10.

Now it remaineth, that we heare how Antichriſt ſhall be ouerthrowen. We haue ſeene his pompe and pride, his might and power, that he ouer looketh all the world, bindeth all Kings, and Princes, and nations, to kepe his Lawes, and is himſelfe exempted from all Lawes of God or man. So mightie and ſo maruellous is his power. Who can declare it?

He is called of his owne ſide, *Stupor mundi*, The gaze-ſtock, or wonder of the world. Something leſſe than God, ſomething more than man. But, being in all this eſtate, in the middeſt of his *Pontificalibus*, ſo faſt mortized, ſo high built vp to the ſkies, ſo ſurely ſheared, ſo ſtrongly beſet on euery ſide, he ſhall be ſuddenly ſhaken downe, and become the ſhame of the world.

How may this be done? being ſo mortized, ſo built, ſo ſhoared and ſo beſet, who ſhall ſhake him downe? What power ſhall conſume him? ſhall it be the great power of Kings,
Reu. 17. or of Emperors? They ſhall giue their power and authoritie to the Beaſt, and fight with the Lamb, that is, againſt Chriſt. Shall it be the authoritie of Biſhops and Cardinals, and great Clerks? All they are linckt and ioined to him. Shall it be by the wiſedome and drift of Counſellours, and men of Law? They be the ſaid men, and ſworne to him. Shall it be the violence and conſpiracie of the people? They ſhall kneele downe to him, and honor him, and reuerence him as an Angell of God. If neither the power of Doctors, nor of Biſhops, nor Archbiſhops: if not the power of Counſellours, and men at Law: if not the power of the Kings and Princes of the world: if not the power and commotion of the people: if all theſe ſhall not abolith him, what power then is it, wherewith he ſhal be conſumed? It ſhall be the power of God which ſhall be reuealed from aboue, The Lord ſhall conſume him with the ſpirit of his mouth.

Theſe words are diuerſly taken. Some expound them thus: God ſhall appoint the great Angell Michael to ſet vpon Antichriſt, and he ſhall deſtroy him. Others take theſe words to be ſpoken of the day of iudgement, and then this ſhall be fulfilled when Chriſt ſhall ſay, Depart from mee yee curſed into euerlaſting fire: that, this is the ſpirit of the Lords mouth wherewith hee ſhall be conſumed. But the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the Preaching of the Goſpell. That God by his word, which is mighty to do all that whereunto hee appointeth it, ſhall make his doings manifeſt, and let all the world ſee, that hee was not ſent of God: that hee did neuer ſet forth the glory of God: that hee hath not ſought the ſaluation of the people: that in matters of faith, and in all his life he is aduerſary to Chriſt. This is that breath that ſhall deſcrie his errours and vanities, that is that ſpirit which ſhall conſume the kingdome of Antichriſt. This ouerthrow is already begun, as our eies may behold this day.

Eſa. 11. In like ſort ſpeaketh Eſay the Prophet: Hee ſhall ſmite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips ſhall he ſlay the wicked. Princes make their conqueſts by power and ſtrength, by fire and ſword, and engines of war; but God ſhall beat downe his aduerſary with the rod of his mouth: by the true Preaching of his word. His word is mighty, it is his ſword, it is his mace: it is the rod of his mouth: it is the breath of his lips. It is of great force, no ſtrength ſhall withſtand it, it ſhall ſmite the earth, it ſhall
2. Cor. 10. ſlay the wicked. S. Paul ſaith: We doe not war after the fleſh, for the weapons of our warfare are mightie through God to caſt downe holds. This ſword hath hewen downe, in manie places, the cruelty, tyranny, ſimony, inſatiable grædineſſe, the errours, ignorance, darkneſſe, vanities, hypocriſie, ſuperſtition, and idolatry, which haue bene brought into the Church and vſed by Antichriſt. Theſe were the pillars, and ſtrength, and glory of his kingdome.

And here marke the Apoſtles ſpæch. He ſaith not, God ſhall conuert Antichriſt, or change his heart that he may be ſaued: but he ſaith: Whom the Lord ſhall conſume. Gods word is almighty. By his word hee can doe whatſoeuer pleaſeth him. He can make the deafe to heare, and the blinde to ſee. He was able to call the theefe vpon the Croſſe vnto repentance. He was able to raiſe vp Lazarus out of his graue. He is able of ſtones to raiſe vp children to Abraham. He can throw downe euery high thing, that is exalted againſt the glory of God, and will bring Kings and Princes, and the Rulers of the earth to the obedience of Chriſt. But of Antichriſt it is ſaid, The Lord ſhal conſume him. Such is the hardneſſe and blindneſſe of his heart, he will not receiue the loue of the truth, he will not beleeue the truth of God, that he might be ſaued. Therefore diſtruction ſhall come vpon him.

Hereby we are taught what to thinke, or hope of reformation of the abuſes and errors of the Church of Rome. They haue bene aduertiſed of them not only by the profeſſors of the Goſpell: but alſo many of themſelues haue ſpoken for reformation of ſundry abuſes. They haue kept many Counſels and Aſſemblies. They haue promiſed redreſſe. They haue ſit in conſultation many yeres. What one thing haue they reformed? See and looke ouer their acts and ſeſſions. They be abroad in print. Hitherto they haue reformed nothing, no, not their pardons: no, not their ſtewes: they haue hardned their hearts, and ſet themſelues againſt the Highest. Therefore ſhall the glory of the Lord ſhew it ſelfe in their deſtruction. With the breath of his lips they ſhall be conſumed and brought to nothing.

And ſhal abolith with the brightneſſe of his comming. The Lord ſhal come, and ſhal make

his

his enemies his footſtoole. Then the Sun ſhall be black as a ſackcloth, and the Moone ſhall be like blood. There ſhall be an earthquake: kings, and great men, and rich men, and euery bond man, and free man ſhall hide themſelues in dens: they ſhall ſay to the hils, and mountaines, and rocks, Fall vpon vs and hide vs from the preſence of him that ſitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lambe. Then ſhall Antichriſt be quite ouerthrowen. Then his kingdome ſhall be vtterly aboliſhed and haue an end. Then it ſhall appeare, who hath ſought the glory of Chriſt, who hath followed the doctrine of the Goſpel, and who hath done the true endeuour of a faithfull ſhepheard: then it ſhall appeare who is the woolfe, who ſcattereth and ſpoileth the flocks. S. Hierome ſaith: *Circumdabit eum calix dexterę domini, &c.* The cup of the Lords right hand (which is the Lord and Sauiour) ſhall compaſſe him about, when he ſhall ſlay him with the breath of his mouth, and ſhall deſtroy him with the brightneſſe of his comming. Then all the ignominie and ſhame which he hath heaped vp vpon himſelfe with thoughts, deeds, and words, ſhall fall vpon his glory and pomp: inſomuch that he ſhall be afterwards as vile and contemned of all men, as he was before reputed or highly eſteemed of them. *Hieron. lib. 2. in 2. Abac.*

This might ſuffice touching the ruine and fall of Antichriſt; Yet I will adde to that hath bin ſpoken, the maner of the fight, and of the victory, and of the triumph which ſhall follow. The fight is doubtfull and dangerous: the victory ſhall be glorious: the triumph ſhall be ioyfull. Here let vs call to remembrance the wars which Tyrants & vngodly Princes haue made againſt the people of God, and what hath followed. Senacharib the great King of the Aſſyrians, came vp againſt Ieruſalem with horſes and chariots, and infinite numbers of pickt ſouldiers. The whole Countrie of Iewrie was in an agonie: all the people were aſtonied with feare, to ſee ſo many enemies, and themſelues ſo few: to ſee the enemies ſo ſtrong, and themſelues ſo weake. They knew not, neither where to ſeeke aid, nor how to eſcape the preſent danger. Suddenly the Lord ſent his Angell from Heauen to releeue his people. In one night he ſmote in the campe of the Aſſyrians, an hundred fourſcore and fiue thouſand, which were all dead coarſes. The reſidue were ſcattered, and ran away ſtraggling: they knew not where to hide their head. King Senacherib went his way and returned. And when he was in ſafety at home, and worſhipping his God Niſroch, in the Temple, Adramelech and Sharezer his ſonnes ſlew him. 2. King. 19.

Remember the cruell wars which Nabuchadonoſor King of Babylon made againſt Gods people. He toke their City, ſpoiled their Temple, ſacked Ieruſalem, and gaue the prey to his ſouldiers. He toke the Nobles and gentlemen, and merchants, and yeomen, and led them captiues. Some of them he toke with him to Babylon, and ſome he ſold for money: ſo great and ſo terrible was his victory. In the middeſt of all his pompe, God bereft him of his wit, and aſtonied him with deadly madneſſe. He was driuen from men, and did eat graſſe as the Oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heauen, till his haires were growen as Eagles feathers, and his nailes like birds clawes. He imagined that he was an Ore, that he had hoofe and horne, and haire as Oxen. Here therefore forſooke his palace, his Princely apparrell, and daintie fare, and lay abroad, and fed with beaſts. So did God auenge the cauſe of his people. Daniel 4.

Who hath not heard of the war which Pharao had againſt the Iſraelites? the battell was ſtrange, and the victory ſudden. The people of God was beſet with dangers on euery ſide, the wildernеſſe had ſhut them in. Before their faces they ſaw the raging ſea, that they could not eſcape it; behind their backs, they did behold Pharao with his army march after them: if they went forward, they muſt nèeds be drowned: if they retired, they muſt nèeds be ſlaine. Their enemies were mighty, and they were weake. Suddenly God diuided the waters, and made the Sea dry land, ſo that the children of Iſrael went thorow the midſt of the Sea vpon dry ground, ſafely as thorow a meadow. Pharao followed after with his ſword and ſpeare to worke his furie. Then the Sea returned to his courſe, and drowned the chariots, and horſemen, and all the hoſt of Pharao, there remained not one of them aliue. Their carcaſes lay afloat vpon the water, and were caſt in heapes vpon the ſhoare. Such ſhall be the end of thoſe that hate the Lord. So ſhall he make his name triumph ouer all the world. Exod. 14.

Let vs imagine a battell of two mighty Princes, both of great power, and of great courage, they mèet together in the field, they ioine battell, both ſides encounter together, either part is bent to beat downe the other: what an horror is it to heare the braying of Horſes, the ſound of Trumpets, the thunder of drums, the roaring of guns, the claſhing of ſwords, the groaning and mournfull voice of them which are ſlaine, and the crying and trembling of the people? Now let vs by this make ſome reſemblance of the battell betweene Chriſt and Antichriſt, betweene Chriſt the Son of God, and Antichriſt the ſonne of the Diuell. Either of them is well prepared. They are both mighty, and haue both of them ſouldiers, and knights to attend vpon them.

Antichriſt

Antichrist shall come from the earth, for all his glory is vpon the earth, his power shall be the power of Satan. Christ shall come from the heauens aboue, euen from the bosome of his father. What cognisance shall they giue? how and by what difference shall their souldiers be discerned? the ensigne of Christ shall be euerlasting truth: the ensigne of Antichrist shall be falshood and vanity, and all deceitfulnesse. By these markes shall either be knowne. With what souldiers shal they make their field? they that shall follow Christ are poore and simple, who haue forsaken themselues, their goods, and their liues, and tremble at the word of God. The men of war which fight with Antichrist and follow him, shall be mighty Kings and Princes, and powers, and states of the world, as S. Iohn hath said. And Gregory hath said: An army of Priests is prepared to wait vpon the king of pride. And hereby may you know him.

Reuel. 7.

What armour shall they haue, and with what weapon shall they fight? Antichrist shall furnish his men with speare, and sword, and fire. He shall reioyce in killing, in burning, and in sheding of blood. Christ shall send his men into the field naked, and armed with patience. They shall take vp their Crosse and follow him, ready to suffer whatsoeuer shall be laid vpon them. Their weapons shal be prayers and weeping. What shal be the pretence of this fight? Antichrist shal come in his owne name, to maintaine and exalt himselfe. Christ shall come in his fathers name, to maintaine the glory of his father. What shal they seek? wherefore fight they? what is it they shall desire to maintaine? Antichrist shall desire to maintaine his owne traditions, Christ shall maintaine the holy word of God. Christ shall procure the glory of his father: Antichrist shall maintaine his owne glory. In what place shall this battell be? vpon what downes or plaine, or in what Country? neither in hill, nor in any plaine, but in the hearts of the people. There shall the war be. There shall it bee fought. If it were possible the elect should be confounded. His assault shall be so terrible, that many shall be offended in Christ: many shall deny Christ: many shall be ashamed of him: and the loue of many shall way cold. But blessed is he which continueth to the end.

We haue heard briefly of Christ and Antichrist, their estates, their seuerall cognisance, what bands of men they shall haue, what armour they shall beare, by what title they shall claime, what they shall seeke, and where the fight shall be, that it shall be made in the consciences of the people. There shall Antichrist sit, there shal he be worshipped as God: there they shall call him the holy and most holy Father: there shall be giuen to him the power of heauen and earth: there he himselfe shall rouze himselfe, and bee setled, and shall say, I sit as a Prince, I shal neuer be remoued, I cannot fal. But Christ shal blow him down with the breath of his mouth, and shall abolish him with the brightnesse of his comming. Christ shall haue the vpper hand, and destroy him. Euen that Christ whom they made the reproch and scorne of the people, whom they reuiled calling him drunkard, and companion vnto publicans and harlots, which was so poore and simple, which was oppressed and afflicted, and yet opened not his mouth; which was brought as a sheepe to the slaughter, and was killed.

Reu. 1. S. Iohn had a reuelation, and did see Iesus Christ the sonne of God. And, Hee had in his right hand seuen starres, and out of his mouth went a sharp two edged sword. It was sharpe and mighty: it entreth thorow euen to the diuiding asunder of the soule and the spirit, and of the ioynts and the marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. So we see the breath of the mouth of Christ is a sword. This sword shal ouerthrow Antichrist. Remember how Dagon fell on his face vpon the ground before the Arke of the Lord, how he could not stand, how at that presence, the head, & the two palmes of his hands were cut off vpon the threshold with a fall. So shall Antichrist fall at the presence of Christ. His armes and his head shall be broken off, and he shall not stand. Remember that Aaron cast forth his rod before Pharao and his seruants, and it was turned into a Serpent: so did the charmers of Ægypt. They cast downe euery man his rod, and they were also turned into Serpents. But Aarons rod deuoured their rods, and consumed them to nothing. Euen so shall the truth of Christ consume and bring to nothing the falshood of Antichrist. All his glory shall be scattered as the chaffe which the wind driueth away, as a thin fome is scattered away with a storme, and as the smoke which is dispersed with the wind, and as the darknesse which cannot abide in the sight of the Sun: it shall be consumed, it shall be defaced, it shall not stand. At the name of Iesus euery knee shall bow, and euery tongue shall confesse that Iesus Christ is mighty, to the glory of God the father: that he is worthy to receiue glory, and honour, and power.

Heb. 4.

1. Sam. 5.

Exod. 7.

But who may better disclose this mystery, and the fall of Antichrist, than Iohn the Euangelist, which leaned on Iesus bosome, whom Iesus loued, and which was indued with wisedome from aboue? Let vs heare him. I saw (saith he) an Angell flie in the middest of heauen, hauing an euerlasting Gospell to preach vnto them that dwell on the earth, and to

Reu. 14.

euery

euery nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, ſaying with a loud voice, Feare God, giue glory to him: for the houre of his iudgement is come, and worſhip him that made heauen and earth, and the ſea and the fountaines of waters. And there followed another Angel ſaying, It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon the great City: for ſhe made all nations to drinke of the wine of the wrath of her fornication. And the third Angell following them, ſaid with a loud voice, If any man worſhip the Beaſt and his image, and receiue his marke in his forehead, or on his hand, the ſame ſhall drinke the wine of the wrath of God, and ſhall be tormented in fire and brimſtone, before the holy Angels, and before the Lambe; they ſhall haue no reſt day nor night.

Again, the ſeuenth Angel powred out his viall into the aire, and there came a loud voice out of the Temple of heauen from the throne, ſaying, It is done. That is, it is concluded, iudgement is giuen, it ſhall ſtand for euer. And there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and there was a great earth-quake, and the great City was rent into three parts, and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to giue vnto her the cup of the wine of the fierceneſſe of his wrath. Then one of the Angels talked with me ſaying, Come I will ſhew thee the damnation of the great whore that ſitteth vpon many waters, with whom haue committed fornication the kings of the earth; and the inhabitants of the earth are drunken with the wine of her fornication. And, in the ſame Chapter he ſaith: Theſe haue all one mind, and ſhall giue their power and authority to the Beaſt, that is, to Antichriſt. Thus the kings and all princes (as ſquires to his body) ſhal fight againſt the Lamb. But the Lambe ſhall ouercome them: for he is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings. Reu. 16. Reu. 17.

I ſaw another Angell comming downe from heauen, hauing great power, ſo that the earth was lightned with his glory, and he cried out mightily with a loud voice, ſaying: It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon the great City (the harbour and palace of Antichriſt) and is become the habitation of Diuels, and the hold of all foule ſpirits. And I heard another voice from heauen ſay, Goe out of her my people (beleeue her not, doe not as ſhe commandeth you) that ye be not partakers in her ſinnes, and that ye receiue not of her plagues. For her ſinnes are come vp into heauen, and God hath remembred her iniquities. Reward her euen as ſhe hath rewarded you, and giue her double according to her workes: and in the Cup that ſhe hath filled vnto you, fill her the double. In as much as ſhe glorified her ſelfe, and liued in pleaſure, ſo much giue you to her torment & ſorrow. For ſhe ſaith in her heart, I ſit being a Queene: the world is mine, no ill ſhall touch me. Therefore ſhall her plagues come at one day, death, and ſorrow, and famine, and ſhe ſhall be burnt with fire; for ſtrong is the Lord God which will condemne her. And the kings of the earth, which haue committed fornication, and liued in pleaſure with her, ſhall bewaile her, when they ſhall ſee the ſmoke of her burning: and ſhall ſtand afar off for feare of her torment, ſaying, Alas, alas, the great City Babylon, the mighty City; for in one houre is thy iudgement come. And the marchants of the earth ſhall weepe and waile ouer her: for no man buieth their ware any more: the ware of gold and ſiluer, and of pretious ſtone, and of pearles, and of fine linnen, and of purple, and of ſilke, and of ſcarlet, of all maner of Thime-wood, and of all veſſels of Iuory, and of all veſſels of moſt pretious wood, and of braſſe, and of yron, and of marble, and of Cinnamone, and odors, and ointments, and frankincenſe, and wine, and oile, and fine flower, and wheat, and beaſts, and ſheepe, and horſes, and chariots, and ſeruants, and ſoules of men: no man any more ſhall buy her parchment, wax, and ſeales: no man ſhall buy her orders, her diſpenſations, pluralities, *totquot*, *non reſidence*, *Perinde valere*. No man ſhall buy her Concubines, her oile, ſalt, holy water, holy bread: no man ſhall buy her pals, her *Agnos Dei*, her *Iubilees*, Maſſes, trentals, and pardons: no man ſhall any more buy of her, forgiueneſſe of their ſinnes, and life euerlaſting. No man ſhall regard her, no man ſhal buy, or ſeeke to get this merchandiſe of her any more. Reu. 18.

The merchants of theſe wares ſhal ſtand a far off, for feare of her plagues, and ſay, Alas that great City that was clothed in reines, and ſcarlet, and purple, and gold, and diamonds, and pretious ſtones, in one houre is all thy glory ſtript from thee. O what City vnder heauen was like vnto thee! thou waſt the great City, the noble, and the holy City. Then a mighty Angel toke vp a ſtone, like a great milſtone, and caſt it into the ſea, ſaying: With ſuch violence ſhall the great City Babylon be caſt, and ſhall be found no more. She ſhall be out of remembrance, they ſhall ſeeke the place where ſhe ſtood, and not find it. The voice of harpers and muſicians, ſhall be no more heard in her. The light of a candle ſhall ſhine no more in her: her merchants, officers, and dataries, were the great men of the earth, and by her enchantments were all nations deceiued. And in her was found the blood of the Prophets, and of the ſaints, and of all that were ſlaine vpon earth.

After I heard a great voice of a great multitude in heauen, ſaying *Halleluiah*, ſaluation, and glory, and honor, and power be to the Lord our God. For he hath condemned the great whore,

whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath auenged the blod of his ſeruants ſhed by her hand. And againe they ſaid, *Halleluiah*: And the ſmoke roſe vp for euermore, and the foure and twenty Elders fell downe, and worſhipped God that ſate on the throne, ſaying, *Amen, Halleluiah*. Then a voice came out of the throne, ſaying, Praiſe our God all ye his ſeruants both ſmall and great. And I heard like the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of ſtronge thundrings, ſaying *Halleluiah*: for our Lord God almighty hath reigned. Let vs be glad and reioyce, and giue glory to him: for the is fallen, ſhe is fallen, Babylon that great City, there ſhe lieth, the mother of filth and fornication. There lieth Antichriſt the man of ſinne, the Son of perdition, which is an aduerſary, which hath ſit in the Temple of God, and exalted himſelfe aboue all that is called God: that wicked and lawleſſe man lieth there. The Lambe, the rote of Ieſſe, the Lion of the tribe of Iuda, hath ouercome, and gotten the victory. He is worthy to receiue the glory and honor. Then ſhall the Apoſtles, and the Prophets, and the Angels ſay, Praiſe, and honor, and glory be vnto him, that ſitteth vpon the throne, and vnto the Lambe for euermore. We thanke thee, we giue thankes to thee O God, which art, and was, and ſhall be. Thou haſt auenged the blod of the Prophets and Martyrs, thou haſt deſtroied them that haue defiled the earth. Thy name be bleſſed for euer. *Amen, Halleluiah*. Such glee and triumph ſhall be in heauen for the ouerthrow of Antichriſt.

Thus haue I by occaſion of the Apoſtles words ſpoken of the comming, and of the kingdome of Antichriſt. And, leſt wee might be deceiued as touching his perſon, I haue ſaid what he ſhould be, what things he ſhall doe, of what eſtate he ſhall be, what countenance he ſhall carry, in what place he ſhall ſit, at what time ſhall be his comming, by what meanes he ſhall preuaile, who they be that ſhall beleeue in him, what power ſhall beat him downe, what end he ſhall haue, what triumph ſhall follow vpon his fall.

I haue told you, that hee ſhall bee the ouerthrow of the world, the confuſion of the Church, the Sonne of perdition: that he ſhall deſtroy himſelfe, and be the deſtruction of others.

I haue told you, he ſhall be a reuerend father, and weare a miter, and be a Biſhop, and a Biſhop of Biſhops. So ſaith Gregory, ſo Ierome, ſo Auguſtine, and Bernard, and others. And cannot we tell who it is, that calleth himſelfe an vniuerſall Biſhop, the Biſhop of all Churches? Doe we not heare of ſuch a one? Doe we not know him? Whatſoeuer he be, whereſoeuer he dwell, what countenance ſoeuer he beare, he is Antichriſt. I haue told you, he ſhal ſit in the Temple of God, in the conſciences of the people: that the people ſhal heare, credit, follow, and honor him, as if he were God: and thinke it ſinne and damnation to breake his lore.

I haue told you where he ſhall be ſtalled, where his chiefe place ſhall be, whence he may be ſeene. S. Iohn ſaith, he ſhall ſit in a City built vpon ſeuen hils: that City is the City of Rome. Rome is ſo built, Rome is ſet vpon ſeuen hils. Dame Sibylla ſaith, Antichriſt ſhall ſit by the water of Tyber: and Tyber is a riuer, that runneth by Rome. Ioachimus Abbas ſaith, Antichriſt is long ſince borne at Rome, and ſhall be aduanced in the Apoſtolike See. He is borne, and ſheweth himſelfe, not at, Babylon, not at Conſtantinople, but at Rome. Theſe be plaine ſpeeches. If any man doubt this, let him read their bookes, they be extant abroad. Antichriſt ſhall ſit in Peters chaire, and Rome ſhall be the ſeat of his kingdome.

I haue told you, he ſhall come when the ſtate, and maieſty of the Empire ſhall be weakned. Antichriſt ſhall poſſeſſe the Emperors lands, and beare the ſword, and weare his Crowne, and ſhall make the Emperor fall downe and worſhip him, and kiſſe his feet. Hath there euer bin any ſuch Biſhop in the world? Hath there (I ſay) euer bin any ſuch? If euer there were any ſuch. S. Paul ſaith, the ſame is Antichriſt.

I told you, the world ſhall fall downe, and reuerence him, and ſhall ſeeke life and ſalvation at his hands. Iohn ſaith, they ſhall cry, Oh who is like the beaſt, who is like our Holy Father? who is ſo wiſe, ſo learned, ſo holy? they ſhall follow him whitherſoeuer he will lead them: they ſhall eat whatſoeuer he will giue them. And they which ſhall doe thus, are ſuch as haue no feeling, no care, no loue to the truth of God. Therefore God forſaketh them, and leaueth them to follow lies. I told you, he ſhall preuaile by falſhood, and by fained miracles: by Buls, by Pardons, by Purgatories, and by ſuch other deuices and ſhifts of Satan.

I told you, he ſhall be contrary to Chriſt, in Sacraments, in ſacrifice, in praiers, in life, in doctrine, in religion, in the whole forme and order of the Church. He ſhall ſhut that Chriſt hath opened. He ſhall open that Chriſt hath ſhut. He ſhall curſe that Chriſt hath bleſſed: and bleſſe that Chriſt hath curſed. No man ſhall be accounted faithfull, no man Catholike, no man the ſon of the Church, no man may be ſaued without him. Such credit and countenance ſhall he beare.

I told you, hée ſhall be confounded and beaten downe by the force and power of Gods mighty word. His word is omnipotent. It ſhall diſcloſe the workes of darkneſſe: it ſhall hew downe Idolatry, Superſtition, and the whole kingdome of Antichriſt, as our eies doe ſée this day. Bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: his mighty hand hath wrought theſe things. He hath triumphed the name of his Chriſt: he will bleſſe the things he hath begun. He will ouerthrow the whole power of Antichriſt, by his preſence, and by the glory of his comming. Then ſhall it appeare who is the ſucceſſor of Peter, who is the true vicar of Chriſt, and who is Antichriſt.

VERS. 13. But we ought to giue thankes alwaies to God for you, brethren, beloued of the Lord, becauſe that God hath from the beginning choſen you to ſaluation, through ſanctification of the ſpirit, and the faith of truth.

14. Whereunto he called you by our Goſpell, to obtaine the glory of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

God hath choſen you from the beginning, his election is ſure for euer. The Lord knoweth who are his. You ſhall not be deceiued with the power and ſubtilty of Antichriſt, you ſhall not fall from grace, you ſhall not periſh. This is the comfort, which abideth with the faithfull, when they behold the fall of the wicked. When they ſée them forſake the truth, and delight in fables. When they ſée them returne to their vomit, and to wallow againe in the mire. When we ſée theſe things in other, we muſt ſay, Alas, they are examples for me, and they are lamentable examples. Let him that ſtandeth, take héed that hée fall not. But God hath loued me, and hath choſen me to ſaluation. His mercie ſhall goe before me, and his mercie ſhall follow in me. His mercie ſhall guide my feet, and ſtay me from falling. If I ſtay by my ſelfe, I ſtay by nothing, I muſt néeds come to ground. Although all the world ſhould be drowned with the waues of vngodlineſſe, yet will I hold by the boat of his mercie, which ſhall ſafely preſerue me. If all the world be ſet on fire with the flame of wickednes, yet will I creepe into the boſome of the protection of my Lord, ſo ſhall no flame hurt me. He hath loued me, he hath choſen me, he will keepe me. Neither the example, nor the company of others, nor the entiſing of the Diuell, nor mine owne ſenſuall imaginations, nor ſword, nor fire is able to ſeparate me from the loue of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. This is the comfort of the faithfull. So ſhall they waſh their hands in the blood of the Lambe.

Therefore ſaith Paul, you are my children: I haue begotten you in Chriſt, God hath giuen you vnto me, he hath made the Goſpell which is come vnto you by my miniſterie, fruitfull in you; I ought to giue God thanks alwaies for you. Whatſoeuer falleth vpon others, although others fall and periſh, although they forſake Chriſt, and follow after Antichriſt, yet God hath loued you, and giuen his Son for you, he hath choſen you and prepared you to ſaluation, and hath written your names in the booke of life.

But how may we know that God hath choſen vs? how may we ſée this election? or how may we feele it? The Apoſtle ſaith, Through ſanctification, and the faith of truth: theſe are tokens of Gods election. Haue you receiued the Goſpell? it is the light of the world, it teacheth vs to know that God is God, and that we are his people. The credit you giue to the Goſpell, is a witneſſe of your election. We beléeue whatſoeuer God ſpeaketh, becauſe it is the word of God: For his word is truth. We beléeue that Chriſt is the Lamb of God, that he hath taken away the ſinnes of the world: becauſe it is the word of God. Ioh. 1.
We beléeue that the blood of Jeſus Chriſt cleanſeth vs from all ſinne: becauſe it is the word of God: 1. Ioh. 1.
We beléeue, Chriſt came to ſaue ſinners: becauſe it is the word of God. We beléeue, God Matth. 9.
will defer his wrath, & will ſhew mercy for himſelfe, for his own names ſake: becauſe it is Eſai. 48.
the word of God. We beléeue, they that truſt in the Lord, ſhall not be confounded: becauſe Pſal. 22.
it is the word of God. We beléeue, we are ſaued by grace through faith, and that not of Ephe. 2.
our ſelues, it is the gift of God: not of works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt: becauſe it is the
word of God. We beléeue, without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God: and againe, that Heb. 11.
faith commeth by hearing: and againe, that it is the gift of God: becauſe it is the word of Rom. 10.
God. It is the truth. We beléeue that Antichriſt ſhall be confounded, and bereft of all his Philip.
glory: becauſe the word of the Lord hath ſpoken it. His word is righteouſneſſe and truth. Reu. 18. 19.
We will alwaies beléeue that is true, therefore we cannot but beléeue the word of God.

Faith knoweth no falſhood, it beholdeth the truth only, and not all truth, but the truth of God. It is not ſetled vpon vanities, nor vpon errors. Vnleſſe it be truth by the word of God, whatſoeuer thou holdeſt in opinion, is not to be called faith. The Turke is ſetled in errors, he perſwadeth himſelfe he is rightly ſetled, hée calleth his opinions, Faith and beléefe. Yet this is not faith, becauſe it is not the faith of truth, it hath not the word of God to aſſure it. Therefore when men will ſay, Beléeue our Maſſes, beléeue our Sacrifices: beléeue

our transubstantiations, and our reall presences: beleeue vs whatsoeuer we say, beleeue that we cannot erre, beleeue that you are in a good beleefe, if you say you beleeue as the Church beleeueth, though you know not how or what the Church beleeueth. They abuse and mocke the people of God. There is no truth in this doctrine. It neuer past out of the mouth of God. God ordained not Masses, nor that the Priest should offer sacrifice for the quick and dead. Therefore it is no matter of faith, it is folly, and vanity, it is vngodlinesse, it is error, it hath no substance. He that receiueth such doctrine, maketh much of a shadow, he cannot hold it.

Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. The word of God is truth. The Gospell is the word of God, and the power of God to saue them that beleeue. The beleefe of the Gospell is laid vp in our hearts by the spirit of God. He bringeth vs to the knowledge of the truth. This spirit beareth witnesse vnto our spirit, that we are the sonnes of God.

This spirit teacheth vs to withdraw our minds from worldly cares, to call our doings to a reckoning, to thinke of the dreadfull day of iudgement, to repent for our former sinnes, and to serue God in holinesse and righteousnesse. This spirit sheweth vs the mercy of God, helpeth vs to pray, and praieth for vs, is our comforter, helpeth our infirmities, and maketh vs know the things that are giuen vs of God. This did Dauid see, when he praied: Create a cleane heart in me, O God, and renue a right spirit within me. My heart is sinfull, my heart is foule. Renue it with thy spirit: thy spirit is right, he shall make my heart cleane. Againe, Take not thy holy spirit from me. I am thy seruant, and the son of thy handmaiden, turne thy face away from my sinnes: behold me, and receiue me in thy mercy. Restore me to the light of thy countenance. Open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise: stablish me with thy free spirit. This strength we gather in God by his spirit. This comforteth vs in all temptations, and beareth witnesse with our spirit, that we be the children of God: that God hath chosen vs, and doth loue vs, and hath prepared vs to saluation: that we are the heires of his glory: that God will keepe vs as the apple of his eie, that he will defend vs, and we shall not perish.

VERS. 15. Therefore, Brethren, stand fast, and keepe all the instructions which yee haue been taught, either by word or by our Epistle.

God hath set you in a race: Let no man hinder you, let no man keepe you from the goale. Stand fast, and keep that doctrine which you haue receiued. When I was present with you, I taught you by word of mouth: when I was away from you, I taught you by letters. I am carefull for you. I beare you in my heart: and loue you in Christ Iesus. He hath giuen me charge ouer you, he will require you at my hands: I haue cleansed and garnished your hearts by the word of truth; take heed, take heed the wicked spirit come not, and bring seuen spirits worse than himselfe, and enter in, and dwell with you, and the end of you be worse than the beginning.

Remember Lots wife: she went not forth straight in the way appointed her, but loked backe behind her, and she became a pillar of salt: and so continueth vntill this day. A terrible example to those, which haue set their hand to the plough, and loke backe againe, and haue made themselues vnworthy the kingdome of heauen. God will forsake such, & make their hearts hard as a stone. You are the corne of the Lords field, God hath blessed you: grow then and be fruitfull vntill the harnest, that you may be gathered into the Lords barne. You are the light of God, which God himselfe hath kindled: let no puffe of wind put you out. You are the house of God, God hath built you vpon a rocke: let no violence, nor tempestuous weather beat you downe.

I haue spoken to you, I haue written to you: I haue shewed you the whole counsell of God. The word which I spake to you, is the word of God. I testifie before the Lord, and call God to witnesse vnto my soule, that it is the truth of God, and not any deuice of man. You did beleeue it, you receiued it not as the word of men, but as it is indeed the word of God. Become not now vnfaithfull, although you spy many infirmities in your teachers: although you see them fall into offences, and war couetous, & giue euill example in their life and conuersation. Although you see the faith of many shaken, and that they haue put away from them a good conscience, and turne backe from the loue of the Gospell, which they once seemed to professe, and so are gone out from among you: yet stand you vpright. Hold fast the doctrine which you haue receiued: and continue in the things which you haue learned, and be perswaded that they are able to make you wise vnto saluation, through the faith which
Matth. 18. is in Christ Iesus. Christ saith, Wo be to the world because of offences, whosoeuer shall offend one of these little ones, which beleeue in me, it were better for him, that a millstone were hanged about his necke, and that he were drowned in the depth of the Sea. And

And againe hee ſaith: Bleſſed is he which is not offended in me. Therefore worke your owne ſaluation in trembling and in feare. Bleſſed is he that abideth with Chriſt in temptations, and continueth faithfull vnto the end. Matth. 11.

VERS. 16. Now the ſame Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, and our God, euen the Father, which hath loued vs, and hath giuen vs euerlaſting conſolation, and good hope through grace;

17. Comfort your hearts, and ſtabliſh you in euery word and good worke.

After his exhortation that they would ſtand faſt, and continue faithfull vnto the end; he turneth himſelfe to God, and praieth him to looke vpon them mercifully downe from heauen, and to fulfill the worke begun, and to increaſe and multiply his grace in them. So ought all Preachers and Seruants of God to doe in their Sermons. For, alas what are wee? What is our word? What is our labour, without the aſſiſtance of God? We are onely the voice of a Crier in the wildernesſe: wee call vpon the people to prepare the way of the Lord, and to make his paths ſtraight: wee giue warning, that the Lord is euen at hand. He that teacheth is nothing: he that planteth is nothing: he that watereth is nothing: our tongue is nothing: our word is nothing: our wit is nothing: Peter is nothing: Paul is nothing. It is God which openeth the hearts of the people, and maketh them tremble at his words. It is God which giueth the increaſe, and maketh his word to bee of force.

The Prophet ſaith: The Lord gaue the word: great was the companie of Preachers. It is the worke of God, both to make his word mighty, and to make the people to receiue it, and yeld vnto it. He giueth vs hearts to feele the comfort of his word, & to yeld our obedience in doing, as the word requireth. For he is the father of lights, from whom all gifts are powred downe vpon vs. We are the children of Adam: wee are fleſh and blood, and nothing but vile clay and aſhes. Our eies are dim, our ſenſes dull, and our hearts heauy. Chriſt telleth vs truly: Without me yee can doe nothing: neither heare the word, nor beleeue it. Pſal. 68. Ioh. 15.

I marke your preſence, that you are many gathered together this day in this place. Euerie man ſeemeth to ſtand with bent countenance, and earneſt lookes, and deſirous to learne. And albeit, I which ſpeake am but a worme, vnworthy to creepe vpon the earth, yet the word which wee haue heard is the word of God, the word of comfort, and the word of life. But God knoweth in all this company how many haue eares to heare. In the Acts of the Apoſtles, when God opened their hearts, they vnderſtood the Scriptures. Before, they heard, and knew not what they heard. Paul preached: Lydia, a woman which ſold purple, heard him: the Lord opened her heart, that ſhee hearkned vnto Paul. Then ſhee vnderſtood his words, and beleeued. This comfort is of God, who hath loued vs, and hath giuen vs euerlaſting conſolation; he will giue you vnderſtanding hearts, and will ſtabliſh you in euery word, and good worke. Act. 16.

CHAP. 3.

VERS. 1. Furthermore Brethren, pray for vs, that the word of the Lord may haue free paſſage, and be glorified, euen as it is with you.

PRay for me, that I may be a faithfull ſeruant, doing the will of God from my heart, that he will open my mouth boldly to publiſh the ſecret of the Goſpell, and to declare the riches and glorie of his kingdome. For of my ſelfe I am nothing. I haue not the key of Dauid. I cannot giue light vnto the world, and am not able to open the hearts of the people. That the Word of God may haue free paſſage. He ſaith not, pray for vs, that my word may haue paſſage: or that my name may be ſpoken of and glorified: or that the people may behold my doings, and talke of mee. For we preach not our ſelues, but Chriſt Ieſus the Lord, and our ſelues your ſeruants for Chriſts ſake. I am but an vnprofitable ſeruant. I am the poore Dre that treadeth out the wheat: I am a poore Crier, to proclaime the will of the Lord. 2. Cor. 4.

Pray you that the word of the Lord may haue free paſſage, that the Goſpell of Chriſt may be glorified, that the hearts of the people may be ready and greedy to receiue it, that the kingdome of Heauen ſuffer violence, and the violent take it by force: that the word may ſo poſſeſſe the hearts of the people, as fire hath paſſage thorow ſtubble: that it may ſhine as the Sun beames ouer all the world: that it may be knowen from Eaſt to Weſt, and from North to South. In this ſort pray, that the word may haue a glorious entrance into you, and alſo among other. Herein ſhall appeare the loue you haue to the Saints, and the zeale you beare to the houſe of God, when you wiſh others to be partakers of this bleſſednes with you: when you ſeeke not your owne glory, but the building of the Church of Chriſt: when

you pray that God will be mercifull vnto others, as vnto you: that a light may be giuen to them that sit in darknesse, and in the shadow of death: that they may know the time of their visitation.

Such a praier made Dauid, God be mercifull vnto vs, and blesse vs, and cause his face
Psal. 67. to shine among vs: that they may know thy way vpon earth, thy sauing health among all nations. Let the people praise thee O God, let all the people praise thee. Thus did Hieremy
Lam. 5. pray: Turne thou vs vnto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned. Giue vs a new heart and a new spirit, incline our hearts vnto thy testimonies, that we may know and feare thy
Matth. 6. name. So did Christ teach vs to pray: Hallowed be thy name, among the Infidels which know thee not: let thy name be had in reuerence among all people. Thy kingdome come, thy will be done. There is no other God but onely thou, let all the earth come and worship thee. Euen so must we also pray, that the word of God may haue free passage, and his name be glorified in all places.

VERS. 2. And that we may be deliuered from vnreasonable and euill men: for all men haue not faith.

3. But the Lord is faithfull, which wil stablish you, and keep you from all euill.

4. And we are perswaded of you through the Lord, that yee both do, and will doe the things which wee command you.

5. And the Lord guide your harts to the loue of God, & the waiting for of Christ.

From vnreasonable and euill men. Which conspire against the Lord and his Anointed: which blaspheme that good name that is called vpon vs. Such were Iannes and Iambres,
Iere. 44. which resisted Moses in the time of the Law. Such were they in the time of the Prophets, which said: The word that thou hast spoken vnto vs in the name of the Lord, we will not heare it of thee. But we will doe whatsoeuer thing goeth out of our owne mouth, as to burne incense to the Queene of Heauen, as we haue done, both we and our Fathers, our Kings and
Matth. 15. our Princes. Such were in the time of the Gospell the Scribes and the Pharisies: Which made the commandement of God of no authoritie by their tradition. Which turned darknesse into light, and light into darknesse. Such was Alexander the copper smith. Such were others. The whole Scriptures are full of such. They were false Prophets, false Apostles, false Brethren. They caused diuision in the Church. They went out to preach in the name of Christ, but inwardly they were rauening wolues.

Such were in the daies of our fathers, and such there are in our daies: such Iannes and Iambres, such idoll worshippers, such scornes of Gods word, such Scribes and Pharisies, such Alexanders, such false Prophets, false Apostles, and false Brethren, we haue more than a good many in our daies. They pretend the Gospell: no man more. In companie of Protestants, they will be Protestants; in companie of others, they are quite become contrarie. They come to the Church, and receiue the holy Communion: they resort secretly to corners, where they heare Masse. They like the one, and like the other. They like the light, and they loue darknesse, and make no difference betweene them. These are ready to serue Christ, and also readie to serue Antichrist: faithfull neither to God, nor to Baal. And this is among many counted the highest point of wisedome, to be able so to colour and hide himselfe, that you shall not know what profession he is of, to what Church he ioineth himselfe, what Religion he holdeth, whose word or Gospell he followeth, in what God he beleeueth. Such there are. And they only be the singular men, reckoned the fine witts, and cunning fellows of the world. This is to be lamented, that in a Christian estate, there should be any such: that they at whose hands God shall require a straiter account, than of others, because he hath giuen them the vse of greater talents, either of wit or of learning, or of preferment, or of riches, should so misspend the good gifts of God, or vse his talents to such euill purpose, that they more than all other, should deuise meanes how to denie Christ among men, and, as much as in them lieth, to seeke to crucifie againe the Lord of glorie.

The Iewes deale not so wickedly, the Turkes deale not so traitorously. The Iew, although his case be miserable, and his heresies most dangerous; yet he is earnest in his follie: he will not dissemble his profession. The Turke is faithfull vnto Mahomet, and will not denie, or forsake him.

These false brethren, and dissembling Christians are worse than Iewes and Turkes. They are void of conscience, void of faith, void of feare, of shame, and of the grace of God. They are filthie swine, shamelesse dogges, and the enemies of the crosse of Christ. These hinder the passage of the Gospell, and blaspheme the holy word of their saluation, and do all that in them lieth to abolish the light of Gods truth. S. Paul telleth vs: All men haue not faith: many hearts be naked and void of faith, many seeme to liue, and yet are dead.

Howsoeuer these men carie out their doings in this life, they cannot mock God. He know-

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eth who are his. Chriſt ſhall ſay vnto theſe cunning witted diſſemblers; Depart from me ye hypocrites, I know you not. You ſhall receiue your portion with the Diuell & his Angels.

Pray that we may be deliuered from ſuch vnreaſonable and euill men, that they ſtop not the free paſſage of the Goſpell: that they may haue no power againſt the glory of God. Then ſhall it appeare, that God is faithfull in all his words, and holy in all his workes: that his truth and mercy ſhall laſt for euer. He will eſtabliſh vs in all goodneſſe, and defend vs from all euill: he will keepe vs from all the power of Satan: he will keepe vs from all temptation, that the wicked ſhall not preuaile againſt vs.

And we are perſwaded of you through the Lord, that yee both doe and will doe the things which we warne you of. You know what commandements wee gaue you by the Lord. I ſpake vnto you the will of God, and not mine owne. I was vnto you but a meſſenger, to deliuer vnto you ſuch an errand as God ſent vnto you: I hope yee haue receiued it in ſuch dutie as becommeth, and that you both doe, and will hereafter obey it. I am your Phyſitian: The receit which I haue giuen you, is ſoueraigne, and ſhall worke your health: I truſt it tarrieth with you, and you broke it well. I haue ſpoken vnto you in the name of God: his name is holy. He will cauſe that my labour ſhall not be in vaine, but will make it fruitfull in you. Although all men haue not faith, yet all men are not void of faith. Although there be many, the children of this world, yet there be ſome the children of light: he that is of God, heareth the word of God. They that be the ſonnes of God are obedient to the wiſdome of God their father. God guide your hearts, that you may loue him, that you may know what good God hath wrought vnto your ſoules: that you may ſee the deapth of his mercy: that in all your tribulation and aduerſitie vnder the croſſe, and in your death, you may looke for the day of Chriſt: when the trumpet ſhall be ſounded, the graues ſhall be opend, the dead bodies ſhall come forth, and wee ſhal be taken vp into the clouds: then ſhall hee change our vile body, that it may be like his glorious body: then ſhall wee be like the Angels of God, wee ſhall ſee God face to face, and reſt with him for euer.

VERS. 6. We warne you brethren in the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that yee withdraw your ſelues from euery brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the inſtruction which he receiued of vs.

The kingdome of God is like to a draw net caſt into the Sea, that gathereth of all kind of things: it is like a field, wherein groweth both corne and weeds. Many Virgins went out to wait vpon the Spouſe, ſome were wiſe, ſome were fooliſh: ſome had oile in their Lamps, ſome had none. Many came to the mariage, ſome had their wedding garment, ſome lacked it. Many are called, but few are choſen. Some beare the name of Chriſtians, yet liue in Uſurie, to the ſpoile and vndoing of their brethren. Some beare the name of Chriſtians, yet liue in adulterie and fornication, as the heathen which know not God. Theſe be they, through whom the name of God is euill ſpoken of. Matth. 13.

Therefore ſaith Paul, I warne you, that you withdraw your ſelues from euery brother, that walketh inordinately. Forſake him, refuſe his companie, eat not with him, drinke not with him, that ſo he may be aſhamed of his filthineſſe. Receiue him not to your houſe, nor bid him God ſpeed. For he that biddeth him, God ſpeed, is partaker of his euill deeds. Haue you no fellowſhip with the vnfruitfull workes of darkneſſe, but euen reproue them rather. A little leauen doth leauen the whole lump. The wrath of God ſhall come, not only vpon thoſe which commit wickedneſſe, but alſo vpon all thoſe which conſent to the working thereof. Among the Corinthians one had committed inceſt, and taken his fathers wife. Saint Paul ſaith, Let ſuch one be deliuered vnto Sathan, for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaued in the day of the Lord Ieſus. Deliuer him vp to Satan. 1. Cor. 5.

Marke his words, and in what caſe he ſpeaketh them. For, they that delight in wickedneſſe, and are ſold ouer vnto ſinne, which are filthie, and increaſe in filthineſſe; they are not of God, they haue no part in the Church of God. The Diuell and Satan hath power ouer them, therefore deliuer them vp vnto Satan. The reward of ſinne is death: the ſoule which hath ſinned, ſhall die. For this cauſe hath the Church of God ordained excommunication; that he which hath done wickedly may be aſhamed: that others who are guiltleſſe may be afraid: and that the heauie diſpleaſure of God may be auoided.

We warne you (ſaith he) in the name of our Lord. You know mee, and my name, and that I am an Apoſtle of Chriſt. But the commandement which I giue you, is in the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. I warne you by the glorious day of his comming, that you withdraw your ſelues from euery one that liueth inordinately. Receiue him not to your companie, bid him not God ſpeed, that you be not partakers of his euill, that he may know his filthineſſe, and be aſhamed. Yet let vs pray for ſuch, that they may be ſorie, that they may know whom they haue offended, and turne againe vnto the Lord. For, God would

not the death of a ſinner, but that he repent of his wickednesse, and liue. The mercy of God is aboue all his workes.

VERS. 7. For yee your ſelues know, how yee ought to follow vs: for we behaued not our ſelues inordinately among you.

8. Neither tooke we bread of any man for nought: but we wrought with labour and trauell night & day, becauſe we would not be chargeable to any of you.

9. Not becauſe we haue not authoritie, but that we might make our ſelues an example vnto you, to follow vs.

10. For euen when we were with you, this we warned you of, that if there were any, which would not worke, that he ſhould not eat.

11. For we heare, that there are ſome which walke among you inordinately, and worke not at all, but are buſie bodies.

12. Therefore them that are ſuch, we warne and exhort by our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that they worke with quietneſſe, and eat their owne bread.

13. And ye, brethren, be not wearie in well doing.

Here Paul maketh his ſpeech againſt thoſe, who vnder the pretence of the Goſpell liued idlely, and would not labour. Take an example of mee, I liued not idlely, I earned my bread, I was not chargeable to any. Do you as you haue vs for an example. So ought the ſeruants of God to liue, that their well doing may be a paterne for the people to follow.

1. Tim. 3. Saint Paul telleth Timothie, A Biſhop muſt be vnreproueable. He ſaith not, without ſinne: for no man is without ſinne: but, without rebuke. And againe: Let no man deſpiſe thy

1. Tim. 4. youth, but be vnto them that beleeue, an example in word, in conuerſation, in loue, in ſpirit, in faith, and in pureneſſe. And vnto Titus the Biſhop of Candia he ſaith: In all things ſhew thy ſelfe an example of good workes, with vncorrupt doctrine, with grauitie, integritie, and with the holſome word, which cannot bee condemned, that he which withſtandeth may be aſhamed, hauing nothing concerning you to ſpeake euill of. So, in this place to the Theſſalonians, he ſaith, You behold my converſation, how I haue liued among you. Be yee followers of mee: let mee be the patterne for you to follow. Such ſhould be the ſpeech of all thoſe who are Biſhops and Miniſters in the Church of God. They muſt walke ſo vprightly, that they may be vnto all others the paterns of good life, of liberalitie, of mercie, and of loue. They muſt carrie the arke of the Lord, that the people may follow them.

We behaued not our ſelues inordinately, &c. Whereas I was an Apoſtle of Chriſt, the firſt fruits of the Goſpell, a choſen veſſell, called from aboue, and ſet apart from mine owne buſineſſe, to be the embaſſadour of God into the world, and had ſo much to do: yet I vſed my hands, and pained my bodie, to get my bread. I liued like one of Adams children in trauell of my bodie, and ſought my bread in the ſweat of my browes. Not that I might not lawfully haue liued vpon you, and haue required my maintenance at your hands. It was lawfull for mee to haue done ſo, for the workman is worthy of his hire. God hath appointed, that he which teacheth the Goſpell, ſhall liue by the Goſpell.

1. Cor. 9. This matter S. Paul reaſoneth with the Corinthians: Haue we not power to eat and drinke? or haue we not power to lead about a wife, a ſiſter, aſwell as the reſt of the Apoſtles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Who goeth a warefare at any time at his owne coſt? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milke of the flock? I might eat and drinke at your charge, and require charges of you for mee, and mine. I am the ſouldier of God; Chriſt is my captaine: I haue planted the vine of the Lord of hoſts among you: I haue fed you, you are the ſhepe of the houſe of Iſraell. The hire due to the ſouldier, the fruit whereof he ſhould eat which keepeth the vine, and the milke which Chriſts ſhepe yeeld to their feeder, is nothing elſe but your charitable benevolence towards the ſeruants of Chriſt. Againe: It is written in the law of Moſes; Thou ſhalt not muſſell the mouth of the Oxe that treadeth out the corne. He trauelleth for thee, that thou maiſt liue. Suffer him to licke a little for his paines. We are the Lords Oxen, we threſh forth his corne. If we haue ſowen vnto you ſpirituall things, is it a great thing if we reap your carnall things? We are Gods huſbandmen, we trauell and take paines, we plough, we ſow, we harrow, we are abroad in wind and weather, in ſtorme, in haile, in lightning and thunder. No man knoweth the care the poore huſbandman taketh. Winter, nor Summer, our worke is neuer at an end. Now if we by our labour miniſter to you the bread which commeth from heauen, is it much that you giue vs the bread of the earth? Do you not know, that they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? If thatis ſo ſeemed good vnto God, it is his appointment, he hath eſtabliſhed

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it by his law, and it is moſt agreeable to the law of reaſon and nature.

Yet this is alſo to be weighed in the conſideration hereof, that whoſoeuer aſketh the pay a ſouldier, muſt buckle his armour, and goe a warfare. He that drinketh the wine, muſt plant the grape: he that requireth milke, muſt feed the flock: he that will not be muzled, muſt threſh the corne: he that reapeth carnall things, muſt ſow ſpirituall things: he that requireth the bread of the earth, muſt miniſter to his hearers the bread of heauen: he that will liue of the ſacrifice, or of the altar, or of the Goſpell: muſt offer the ſacrifice, wait vpon the altar, and teach the Goſpell. He that teacheth not the Goſpell, nor careth for the teaching: he that ſerueth not the Altar, nor careth for the ſeruing: he that goeth not on warfare, that planteth not, that feedeth not, that threſheth not, that ploweth not, that trauelleth not, that taketh no paines, that abideth not lightning, thunder, wind, weather, ſtorme and haile: he that carethnot to do theſe things: I can make no account of him. He is not within Pauls reckoning. The workman is worthy of his hire. But what right hath he to the hire which is not a workman?

I might, ſaith he, haue receiued maintenance at your hands. But I take nothing, that I might bee an example for you to follow, that none ſhould liue idlely, but that they worke with quietneſſe, and eat their owne bread. Idleneſſe is the mother of all miſchiefe. An idle packe, is as if he were already dead. His feet ſerue him not to trauell: his hands help him not to worke: his eies ſerue him not to ſee his eſtate: his heart regarded not the time and miſerie of his age. Beggerie falleth vpon him, & gnaweth his bones, but he feeleth it not. For he is, as if he were alreadie dead. Salomon ſaith: He that followeth idleneſſe, Prou. 12.
hath no vnderſtanding. And againe: He that followeth idleneſſe, ſhall be filled with pouer- Prou. 28.
tie. He is vnprofitable to himſelfe, and vnto others. His children ſhall beg at euery dore. Prou. 28.
Againe, he ſaith: The ſlothfull will not plough becauſe of winter: he ſhall beg in ſummer, Prou. 20.
but haue nothing. That is, men that haue receiued increaſe of Gods bleſſing by taking paines, ſhall denie bread vnto ſuch, and vpbraid them for their idleneſſe, and ſo driue them to labour. They will ſay, as it is deuiſed that the ant ſaid, in like caſe, to the graſhopper: In the Summer thou diddeſt nothing but ſing, therefore thou maiſt ſtarue in the winter. Theſe extremities be great, if a man will weigh them aduiſedly. Yet Eccleſiaſticus ſaith Eccle. 23.
farther: Idleneſſe bringeth much euill. It is an euill teacher. He that doth nothing is ill occupied. The mind of man is euer ſtirring and doing ſomewhat. If it be not doing well, it is doing ill. Water is cleare, and faire, freſh and comfortable: yet if it ſtand ſtill in a hole, or be kept long in a veſſell, whence it hath no iſſue, it will rot and ſmell, and be vnholeſom. Euen ſo it fareth with the ſonnes of Adam, if they haue nothing to do, no way to beſtow their wit, they will rot and proue vnholeſome, and deuiſe miſchiefe all the day long.

What is it that filleth the priſons and bringeth ſo many to the gallowes, and cauſeth ſo many parents to bewaile the vntimely death of their children, but idleneſſe? When the poore wretches haue receiued their iudgement, and come to the place of execution, and ſtand on the ladder, what counſell giue they to yong men, and to children, but to beware of idleneſſe? what is cauſe of ſuch, and ſo many diſeaſes in the body? Aſke the Phyſitians, and they will tell you, idleneſſe. Whereof riſe mutterings in Cities againſt Magiſtrats? Whereof riſe rebellions in Kingdomes againſt Princes? You can giue no greater cauſe thereof, than idle- Ezec. 16.
neſſe. Behold (ſaith the Lord) this was the iniquitie of thy ſiſter Sodome, pride, fulneſſe of bread, and a bundance of idleneſſe. This was it that called for fire downe from heauen, and Matth. 12.
walked ſo many cities into aſhes. Chriſt ſaith: Of euery idle word that men ſhall ſpeake, they ſhall giue an account thereof at the day of iudgement. If we ſhall make account for our idle words, what ſhall we doe for our idle hands, for our idle feet, for our idle body, for our idle ſoule? What account for all our idleneſſe, ſhall we make at the day of iudgement?

We warned you, ſaith the Apoſtle, that if any would not worke, the ſame ſhould not eat. This is a hard ſaying. Yet ſaith Paul, I my ſelfe haue kept it. I haue fulfilled it in mine own body. He doth not ſay, if any be ſicke, or weake, or impotent, and cannot worke, but if any be idle, and froward, and will not worke: to ſuch a one giue not to eat. That ſo he may ſee the danger of idleneſſe, and worke with his hands the thing which is good, that he may Ephe. 4.
haue to giue him that needeth. It is not lawfull to giue them the bread of the Church, and the almes ordained for releefe of the poore. This bread they may not eat.

But you will ſay, Kings and Counſellors, Biſhops, Preachers, and all other ſorts of learned men, neither plough, nor ſow, nor hedge nor ditch, nor vſe ſuch painfull labour of the body: they ſit at reſt & liue idlely. They that ſo thinke are deceiued. The toile which Princes take, and the great cares wherewith they are occupied, paſſe all other cares in the world. Saint Paul calleth the office of a Biſhop, a good worke. If a Biſhop, or Miniſter ſtudy the 1. Tim. 3.
Scriptures, preach the Goſpell, catechize the children, and take a care of the ſoules of Gods people: if he ſow the Lords Field, feede the Lords Flocke, threſh the Lords Corne, 2. Cor. 11.

and walke before the people carefully: if hée haue the care of the churches, and can ſay with
2. Cor. 11. the Apoſtle, Who is weake, and I am not weake? Who is offended, and I burnt not?
2. Tim. 4. Any offence that is giuen to my brother, is to mée as a fire, or as a torment. If he be inſtant in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon: if he doe the worke of an Euangeliſt, and make his miniſtery fully knowen; he ſhall finde himſelfe occupied, and not be idle.

The Maſter of the ſhip ſeemeth to be idle, to ſit ſtill, and to doe nothing. He ſtirreth not the pumpe, he driueth not the oares, he ſoundeth not the déepe, he rideth not the ropes, hée ſcaleth not the ſhrowds, hée runneth not hither and thither, forward or backward, vnder the hatches, or aboue. Yée ſitteth ſtill, holdeth his peace, and looketh vpon the load ſtar, and in appearance doth nothing. But his labour paſſeth all the reſt. Without his labour, all the paines, which the other Marines take, were loſt. Were it not for his labour, the ſhip would ſone ſtrike vpon rockes, and be ſtaied in the ſands, and they all ſhould periſh. Euen ſo fareth it in the ſtate of Princes, and of their Counſellours, they ſéeme to do nothing, yet they do all things, which is for the peace, and the wealth, & the ſafegard of all the people.

Be not weary in well doing. Many occations to diſcourage you to doe well: the world is full of lets; but be you ſtedfaſt, vnmoueable, and abundant alwaies in the worke of the Lord, foraſmuch as you know that your labour is not in vaine in the Lord. Stand faſt, and kéepe the inſtructions, which you haue béene taught. Diſtribute to the neceſſity of the Saints. Doe good vnto all men, eſpecially to them that be of the houſhold of faith. Liue not after the luſts of men in wantonneſſe, drunkenneſſe, and gluttony, and in abominable idolatrie. Though they ſpeake euill of you becauſe you run not with them vnto the ſame exceſſe of riot: though the diuell caſt you into priſon, and there you haue tribulation, be you faithfull vnto death. They that haue afflicted you ſhall giue an account to the righteous Iudge: and the afflictions which you ſuffer in this preſent time are not worthy of the glory which ſhall be ſhewed vnto you.

VERS. 14. If any man obey not this our ſaying, note him by a letter, and haue no company with him, that he may be aſhamed.

15. Yet count him not as an enemie, but admoniſh him as a brother.

You haue béene taught not onely what you ſhall beléeue, but alſo how yée ought to liue: be yée doers of the word, and not hearers onely. If any deſpiſe and will not follow our doctrine, forſake him, and let him haue no fellowſhip with you: that ſo he may be aſhamed, and repent, and turne againe to the obedience of Chriſt. But lay apart all bitternéſſe, and anger, and wrath. Remoue him, but hate him not. Will the ſinne that is in him by all the meanes you can, for it is the worke of the diuel: but recouer againe the man that did offend, and reſtore him, if it be poſſible, by exhortation, and by your praiers made for him: for he is the creature of God.

Heere I haue good occaſion to ſpeake of excommunication, a principal part of the diſcipline of the Church: a matter which many know not, which ſome doe foulely abuſe, and ouer lightly giue forth, and which many regard not as they ought. It cutteth vs off from the body of Chriſt, and remoueth vs from the fellowſhip of the Goſpell. Let no man deſpiſe it: It is the ſword of God, the power of the holy Ghoſt, the diſcipline of Chriſt, it is an ordinance which the Church hath receiued from aboue.

By it the goats are diuided from the lambs, the wéed from the good corne, and the ſonnes of God from the ſonnes of Belial. It hath continued from the beginning and hath béene vſed in the Church of Chriſt, in the Synagogue of the Iewes, in the law of Moſes, and before Moſes receiued the law: among the Patriarchs, and the Prophets, and the Apoſtles of Chriſt.
Matth. 18. Chriſt ſaith: If thy brother treſpaſſe againſt thee, in doing any wickednéſſe, go and tel him his fault betweene thee, and him alone: if he heare thee, thou haſt wone thy brother. But if he heare thee not, take yet with thee one or two: and if he will not vouchſafe to heare them, tell it vnto the Church: publiſh it, and make it knowen: And if he refuſe to heare the Church alſo: if he continue wilfull, and ſtand in his wickednéſſe: Let him be vnto thee as a Heathen man and a Publican. This forme of excommunication our Sauior hath ſet downe, whereby the wicked and vngodly are remoued from the Church of Chriſt.
1. Cor. 5. So Saint Paul ſpeaketh of him that liued in filthinéſſe, with his fathers wife. That they giue him no comfort in wickednéſſe, but take away the euill from among them. Let ſuch a one, ſaith hée, bee deliuered vnto Satan, for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaued in the day of our Lord Ieſus. Company not together with fornicatours. If any that is called a brother, be a fornicatour, or couetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with ſuch a one eat not. Let him be put away from the company of
1. Tim. 1. the faithful. So did S. Paul excommunicate Himenæus, and Alexander, and deliuered them to Satan, that they might learne not to blaſpheme.

In

In the law of Moſes God commanded the children of Iſrael to put out of the hoſt euery leper; that they ſhould neither eat, nor drinke, nor walke abroad, nor come to Church, nor offer Sacrifice, nor make their prayers with the people. Such one, whitherſoeuer he went, hid his face, rent his clothes, gaue warning to auoid his companie, and to flie from him, becauſe he was foule and filthy. His hands were filthy, and made the water vncleane, his breath was corrupt, and infected the aire. So miſerable was his caſe. This was a kind of excommunication: in ſuch ſort were the filthy diuided from the cleane. Num. 5.

God alſo ſet downe this ordinance to Abraham, that euery vncircumciſed manchild, ſhould be cut off from his people, becauſe hee hath broken the couenant. This ordinance of excommunication God hath appointed againſt Idolaters, againſt fornicators, and craftie deceiuers, and other ſuch like offenders in the ſeuen and twentieth of Deuteronomie: Curſed bee the man that ſhall make any carued or molten Image, an abomination vnto the Lord, the worke of the hands of the craftſman, and putteth it in a ſecret place. And all the people ſhall anſwer and ſay, Amen. Curſed be he, that maketh the blind goe out of the way: and all the people ſhall anſwer and ſay, Amen. This is excommunication. This is the vſe of the keies. This is that, of which Chriſt ſpake: He that heareth you, heareth me: and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me: and he that deſpiſeth me, deſpiſeth him that ſent me. And, Whoſoeuer ſinnes ye remit, they are remitted: and whoſoeuer ſinnes ye retaine, they are retained. Whatſoeuer ye bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heauen: and whatſoeuer ye looſe on earth, ſhall be looſed in heauen. That which you ſay, ſhall be confirmed: it ſhall continue and ſtand for euer. Gen. 17. Luke 10. Iohn 20. Matth. 18.

If any therefore be excommunicate from the Church, and remoued from the fellowſhip of the Goſpell, and from the hope of the life to come; let him humble himſelfe, and pray vnto God, that he will open his eies, and that he may ſee in what caſe he ſtandeth. Let him lay forth his heart in the ſight of God, and conſider his fault, & behold his miſery, and think thus with himſelfe: I was ſometimes the child of God, and a member of his body: I was a branch of the Vine, which God hath planted: and a ſhep of his paſture. But now alas I am diuided from the paſtures of life. I am fruitleſſe and withered, and cut off from that bleſſed Vine. I receiue no moiſture from that heauenly rot: I am no more a member of the body of Chriſt. I am out of Paradiſe, and haue no ioy, or pleaſure, I am out of the Temple and cannot offer any ſacrifice: I am fallen from that heauenly Hieruſalem, from the Citie of God, from the fellowſhip of the Saints, and cannot kneele downe, nor lift vp my hands, nor make my prayers. God will not heare me, I am none of his: I am as a heathen and a publican, I can not thinke of thoſe things which are on high aboue.

But why art thou cut off from thy brethren, and baniſhed out of the flocke of Chriſt? Becauſe of thine vngodlineſſe, and loſneſſe of life. Becauſe thou haſt offended heauen and earth: and haſt offended againſt the Church of God, and liued in fornication, and adulterie: and both thy body and thy minde are defiled: thou art vnworthy to dwell in the houſe of God: his houſe is holy.

By what authority is this done? Thou muſt not thinke that the Iudge, or the Officer doth it. It is not the iudgement of any mortall man. It is the iudgement of the Almighty, and euerlaſting God. It is his hand that bringeth this to paſſe againſt thee. It is his word, it is his key. His hand is mighty, his worke ſhall ſtand, his word is forcible, his key is the key of Dauid, it openeth, and no man ſhutteth; it ſhutteth, and no man openeth. God is departed from thy heart: his ſpirit will not dwell in a filthy ſoule: there is no agreement betweene God and Belial. Thy ſoule is void of grace, and of the feare of God.

What becommeth of thee in this caſe? Whither doeſt thou goe, into what miſerie doeſt thou fall? Into the gulfe of death: into the ſeat of peſtilence, and the power of Satan, and the ſnares of the Diuell, and into a reprobate minde. Thy heart followeth him: thy ſoule ſerueth him. He is the father of all the children of diſobedience, and his children follow him. Thou art filthy, and increaſeſt in filthineſſe, the feare of God is not before thee, thou doeſt not acknowledge thy ſinne, becauſe of the blindneſſe of thy heart.

Wreake not thy ſelfe vpon thy neighbor, that accuſed thee; nor vpon the Iudge, that pronounced ſentence againſt thee. The ſentence is none of his: this is not his worke, he hath not iudged thee. The hand of God is ſtretched forth to thy puniſhment: it is thine owne life and wickednеſſe which forceth iudgement vpon thee. The Iudge ſitteth in the place of God, in the ſeat of iuſtice: he cannot bleſſe that God hath curſed: he muſt needs doe right and equitie. He ſeeth the abomination of thy life, he ſeeth the filthineſſe which thou haſt done in the houſe of GOD, and therefore ſaith: *In nomine Dei, &c.* In the name of the liuing God, and of Ieſus Chriſt, before whom I ſtand, and before whom all fleſh ſhall appeare: by the authoritie of his word, and by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, I diuide thee from the fellowſhip of the Goſpell, and declare, that thou art no more a member of the

body

bodie of Chriſt, thy name is put out of the bookes of Life: thou haſt no part in the life to come: thou art not in Chriſt, and Chriſt is departed from thee. I deliuer thee to Sathan, the Prince of darkneſſe. Thy reward ſhall be in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone. Thou ſhalt ſtarue and wither, and not abide. The grace of God is taken out of thy heart. The face of the Lord is againſt all them that doe euill, they ſhall not taſte of his mercie.

As for the Iudge and Miniſter, which giueth ſentence againſt thee, he mourneth and lamenteth for thee. When he ſtriketh thee, he ſtriketh himſelfe. We are all one fleſh, and one blood, and all together make one body, and are one anothers members. Therefore, when he doth excommunicate thee from the brethren, he cutteth of an arme from his owne body. Ieremie dealt roughly with the people that offended God, and threatned them, that the enemy ſhould come vpon them, the ſword ſhould deuoure them, and they ſhould be vtterly deſtroied; yet he wiſht that he had a ſtreame of teares, that his heart might haue wherewith to mourne for their tranſgreſſions.

Pſal. 59. Pſal. 35. Pſal. 69. Pſal. 109. Dauid praieth that God wil ſtretch forth his hand vpon the wicked: Scatter them abroad by thy power, and put them downe, oh Lord our ſhield, Againe: Let them be chaffe before the winde, and let the Angell of the Lord ſcatter them. And againe: Let their table bee a ſnare before them, and their proſperitie their ruine. Againe: Let his praier bee turned into ſinne. Aid him not, heare him not when he calleth vnto thee. Yet he ſaith: I ſaw the tranſgreſſors, and was greeued, becauſe they kept not thy word. I pined away and conſumed to death, the griefe was ſo deadly vnto my ſoule.

Luke 19. Chriſt cried out woe vpon Corazin, and Bethſaida: vpon the Scribes and Phariſies: yet when he came nigh to Hieruſalem he wept ouer it: Saying, Oh if thou haddeſt euen now at the leaſt in this thy day knowen thoſe things, which belong vnto thy peace! but now are they hid from thee. Thine enemies ſhall make thee euen with the ground, they ſhall not leaue in thee a ſtone vpon, a ſtone, becauſe thou knoweſt not the time of thy viſitation.

2. Cor. 11. Euen ſuch a ſorrow alſo had S. Paul for thoſe that offended God: Who is weake, and I am not weake, who is offended, and I burne not? My body is ſhaken, my heart is wounded for them, ſuch a care haue I for the Church of God.

Euſe. lib. 3. cap. 23. It is reported of Iohn the Euangeliſt, that he commended a yong man to the education of a certaine Biſhop nigh to Epheſus: and when hee heard that he was fled and followed the company of ſuch as were diſſolute, riotous, and giuen ouer to all maner leaudneſſe; he was carefull for him, and ſought him out. And came to the place, where hee & his ill company were. When the yong man knew him, hee was aſtonied, and fled away from him. But the old man followed him, and cried, Oh my child turne againe, turne vnto mee, I am thy Father, I haue begotten thee in Chriſt Ieſus. I come not to hurt thee, there is yet hope of ſaluation, I will make anſwer vnto Chriſt for thee. Fall to the ground, hold vp thy hands, aſke mercie of GOD, he is mercifull and will receiue thee. At theſe words the yong man caſt downe his weapons, and trembled, and wept bitterly, and was conuerted.

2. Sam. 18. When Dauid heard of the deſtruction of that wicked wight Abſalon, he wrung his hands and wept, ſaying: O my ſon Abſalon, my ſon, my ſon Abſalon, would God I had died for thee, O Abſalon, my ſon, my ſon. Such a care, ſuch a loue, and zeale hath a godly miniſter ouer his people, if he be a true paſtor, which hath taken his calling from God, and hath due conſideration of his charge.

He weepeth for the ſinnes of the people, as did Ieremie: he guſhed out into teares, and conſumeth away, as Dauid, becauſe of the vngodly: he is wounded at heart, & trembleth, as Paul, to ſee them periſh. He ſeeketh for them, calleth after them, that they may returne to him, as did Iohn the Euangeliſt: and is willing to die for their ſake, if ſo be hee might redeeme them, as Dauid was for Abſalon. The people are his children, he is their father. Albeit they be wicked, and filthy; yet he preſenteth himſelfe before God for them, and poureth forth his praiers: and ſaith, Sanctifie them O Lord, ſanctifie them with thy truth, thy word is truth. Let their hearts feare the wrath to come, and thy heauy diſpleaſure, which they haue deſerued, and hangeth ouer their heads. They are thine, ſaue them, and let not Satan preuaile againſt them. Turne them O Lord, and they ſhall be turned. Giue them a new heart, and renue a cleane ſpirit in them, that they may feare thee all the daies of their life. Turne away the captiuity of their ſoules. Bring them to the fellowſhip of the Goſpell: make them liuely ſtones meet for thy building, build vp the walles of Hieruſalem. So carefull is a good miniſter for the people of his charge, be they neuer ſo vngodly. Yea the more they lacke the comfortable grace of God, the more muſt be his care for them. This is that S. Paul ſaith, haue no company with ſuch, to incourage him; yet count him not as an enemy, but admoniſh him as a brother.

VERS.

Vers. 16. Now the Lord of peace, giue you peace alwaies by all meanes. The Lord be with you all.

17. The ſalutation of me Paul, with mine owne hand, which is the token in euery Epiſtle: ſo I write.

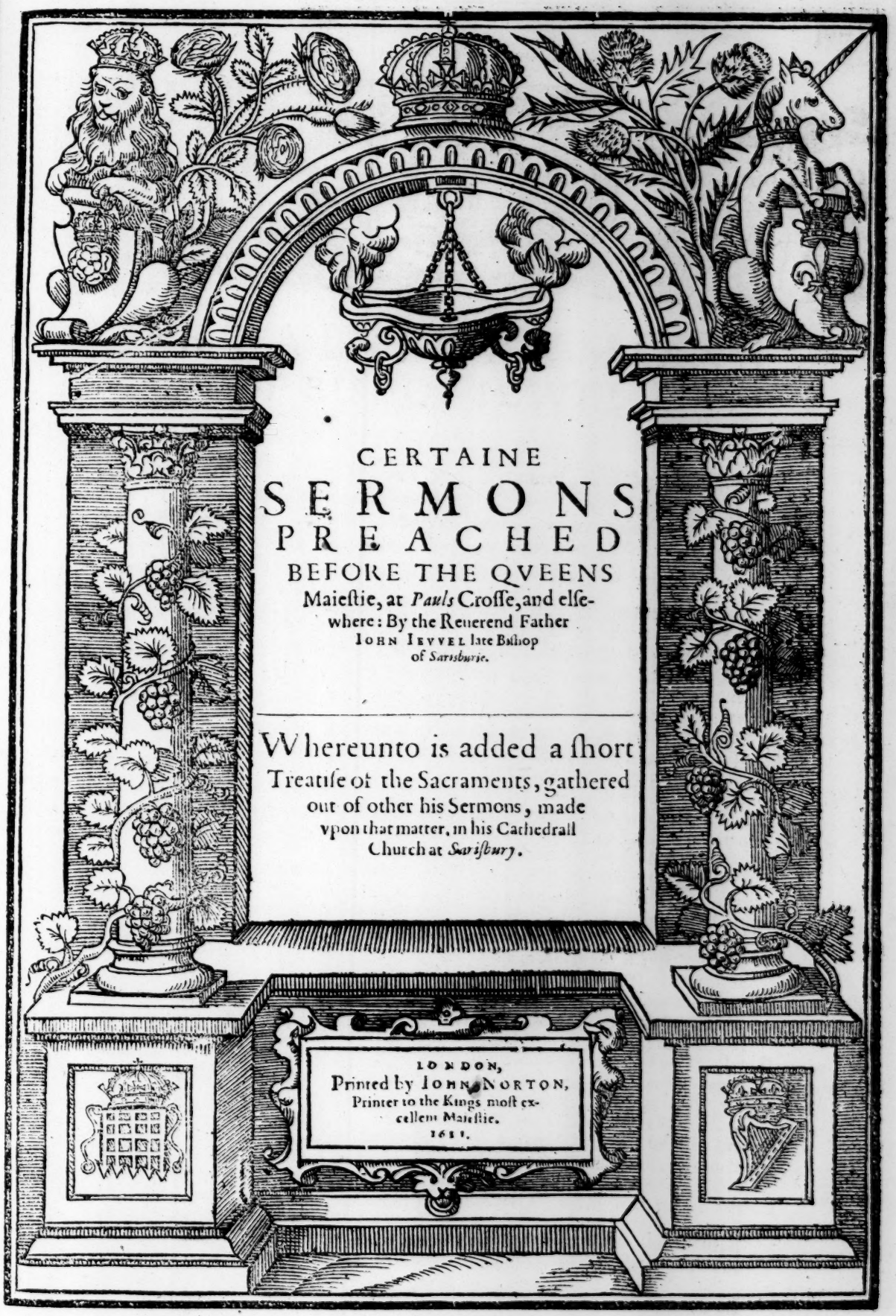
18. The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you all.

I néed not commend peace vnto you. It is the guard and ſtrength of mighty Princes: it is the Nurſe and foſterer of the Church of God: it is the wealth and proſperitie of the world: it is the comfort and quietneſſe of our conſcience: it is truce taken with God and man, and our owne ſelues. I néed not to tell you who is the worker of peace. You know God is the God of peace. Worldly peace ſéemeth to be made by the will and liking of men: but God moueth their hearts, and eſtabliſheth it. But the peace of the heart, and quietneſſe of minde paſſeth all vnderſtanding. The power, and wiſdome, and ſtrength, and riches of all the world are not able to make it. It is the glorie of God, that he alone is the God of peace.

I pray for you, that nothing may be done among you, to the hinderance of peace: but that it abide with you alwaies, not for a while, not in proſperitie only: but in perſecution, in your death, and for euer. If God be with you, you ſhall haue peace. And if you loue one another and kéepe his word, God will come to you, and loue you, and abide with you, and giue you the comfort of his peace.

The ſalutation of me Paul. He gaue them warning before of falſe Apoſtles, who came in his name, and pretended his word, or his letter: therefore now telleth them, how they ſhall know certainly, whether ſuch Epiſtles as they receiue, be his, written, or ſent by him. In euery Epiſtle, that I ſend, ſaith he, to the Churches, or to any the brethren, I writ mine owne name, and ſend this greeting written with mine owne hand, which now I ſend to you all: The grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt be with you all. Amen.

FINIS.



CERTAINE SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE QVEENS Maieſtie, at *Pauls* Croſſe, and elſewhere: By the Reuerend Father IOHN IEVVEL late Bishop of *Sarisburie*.

Whereunto is added a ſhort Treatiſe of the Sacraments, gathered out of other his Sermons, made vpon that matter, in his Cathedrall Church at *Sariſbury*.

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CERTAINE SERMONS OF BISHOP IEWEL.

Ioshva 6.

NOw Hiericho was ſhut vp and cloſed, becauſe of the children of Iſrael, none might goe out, nor enter in.

2. And the Lord ſaid vnto *Ioſhua*, Behold I haue giuen into thine hand, Hiericho, and the King thereof, and the ſtrong men of war.

3. All yee therefore, that be men of war, ſhall compaſſe the Citie, &c.

IN diuers maners God ſpake and opened himſelfe to our Fathers: by viſions and dreames, by Sacraments, by Angels, by plaine expreſſe words, by Allegories, by ſecret and myſticall vnderſtanding, where one thing is couered vnder another. And all this did hee, that he might condeſcend to our capacitie: that wee might be conuerted and ſaued: that we might be guided in the right way, and not goe aſide, neither to the right hand, nor to the left. By viſion God ſpake to Ezechiel, as appeareth in the firſt Chapter of his prophecie: The wheeles which he ſaw were horrible to behold, they were full of rings, and the rings were full of eies: the foure beaſts were alſo terrible, they had faces like a man, like a Lion, like a Bullocke, and like an Eagle. Ezek. 1.

In dreame God ſpake to Samuel, ſaying: Behold, I will doe a thing in Iſrael, whereof whoſoeuer ſhall heare, his two eares ſhall tingle, &c. 1. Sam. 3.

Touching Sacraments God himſelfe ſaith: Thou ſhalt ſhew thy Sonne in that day, ſaying, This is done, becauſe of that which the Lord did vnto me when I came out of Ægypt. Thou ſhalt ſet apart vnto the Lord all that firſt openeth the wombe, &c. And when thy Sonne ſhall aske thee to morrow, ſaying, What is this? thou ſhalt then ſay vnto him, With a mighty hand the Lord brought vs out of Ægypt, out of the houſe of bondage. For when *Pharao* was hard hearted againſt our departure, the Lord then ſlue all the firſt borne in the land of Ægypt, from the firſt borne of man, euen to the firſt borne of beaſt: therefore I ſacrifice vnto the Lord all the males that firſt open the wombe; but all the firſt borne of my ſonnes I redeeme. Exod. 13.

Sometimes he ſpake by Angels, as by ſundry examples it may appeare. Sometimes by himſelfe in his owne perſon, as he ſpake to Moſes face to face. **Sometimes by plaine expreſſe words:** Thou ſhalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoule, and with all thy might. Deut. 6.

And againe: Thou ſhalt haue none other Gods before my face; Thou ſhalt make thee no grauen Image, &c. Deut. 5.

Theſe are plaine words: theſe are the words which our Lord God hath ſpoken. Sometimes he expreſſed his holy will, not in words, or viſions, or in ſuch ſort as I haue ſhewed, but only by ſome myſticall or ſecret Allegorie, by ſome deed which the people ſaw done before their eies: of which kind is this which wee haue now to conſider. Therefore hath God ſaid by the Prophet: What could I haue done any more to my vineyard, that I haue not done vnto it? What ſhould I do, but it hath been done? What ſhould I ſay, but it hath been ſaid? What warning ſhould I giue, but it hath been giuen? I haue been carefull for my people, that they ſhould repent and turne to me, that all Iſrael ſhould be ſaued. If they periſh, I am free from their deſtruction: they periſh in their owne wilfulneſſe, they haue none excuſe. Eſai 5.

Now touching an Allegorie, whereof we are at this preſent to ſay: God opened his mind ſomtimes not by words, but by ſome notable kind of deed: and the people heard God

ſpeake vnto them, not with their eares, but with their eies. The people of Iſrael as they were paſſing thorow the wilderneſſe, lacked water to drinke, and were like to periſh; there ſtood a mighty great Rocke of hard ſtone, which Moſes ſmot with his rod, it opened and yalded out a great ſtreame of water; the whole people dranke of it, and was refreſhed: the ſame people being likewiſe in the ſame wilderneſſe vtterly void of bread, & all other ſuſtenance, was like to famiſh; God ſent them Manna from Heauen aboue, they gathered it, they ground it, and they ate of it: it was ſweet and delicate, and full of comfort.

This was an Allegory, that is to ſay, a ſecret and myſticall kind of vtterance. For, by this Manna, and by this Rocke, the people was led to vnderſtand and thinke on that bread
2. Cor. 10. and that water that ſhould come from heauen. S. Paul ſaith; the Rocke was Chriſt: his ſide was clouen, his blod iſſued out, it is a water ſpringing vp into euerlaſting life, we drinke of it, and liue for euer.

So likewiſe that Manna was the body of Chriſt, the people did eat of it, and liued by it. Chriſt had not yet taken vpon him a naturall body, yet they did eat his body: he had not yet
1. Cor. 10. ſhed his blod, yet they dranke his blod. S. Paul ſaith: All did eat the ſame ſpirituall meat, that is, the body of Chriſt: and all did drinke of the ſame ſpirituall drinke, that is, the blod of Chriſt, and that as verily and as truely as we do now; and whoſoeuer then did ſo eat Chriſt, liued for euer, not becauſe the Rocke was turned into his fleſh, or the water into his blod: it was an Allegory, as all other Sacraments be: the people hereby was taught to conſider of other things.

When the people was ſtung with Serpents in the wilderneſſe, and were ſwollen, and heaued vp, and periſhed in the wilderneſſe without hope of cure, Moſes erected vp a braſen Serpent vpon a pole: the people beheld it, their anguiſh abated, their ſwelling ſlaked, and they were healed: Chriſt was this Serpent, he was lifted vpon the Croſſe: whoſo truſteth in him ſhall neuer be aſhamed.

In certaine of their ſacrifices they had a Lambe, they ſtickt him, they killed him, and made ſacrifice of him: this Lambe was Chriſt the Sonne of God, he was killed, ſtickt, and
Matth. 3. made a ſweet ſmelling Sacrifice for our ſinnes. Of him ſaith God himſelfe: This is my be-
Iohn 1. loued Sonne, in whom I am well pleaſed. Of him ſaith Iohn: Behold the Lambe of God,
Act. 4. which taketh away the ſinnes of the World. Of him Saint Peter ſpeaketh: Among men there is none other name giuen vnder Heauen, whereby we muſt be ſaued. In his righteouſneſſe only we are receiued as righteous, his blod cleanſeth vs from all ſinne, there is no other Sacrifice wherewith we may be reconciled to God our heauenly Father: All theſe were Allegories, that is to ſay, certaine reſemblances and ſignifications of ſecret matters. That ſtriking of the Rocke, that feeding vpon Manna, that lifting vp of the Serpent, that killing of the Lambe, were certaine myſticall kindes of ſpeaking. And let no man thinke theſe things are impertinent, or from the purpoſe: they are incident vnto the matter, and grow neceſſarily of the things we haue to ſpeake of.

When Ioſhuah that noble and worthy Captaine by Gods ſpeciall conduct had paſſed thorow the water of Iordan, and taken poſſeſſion in the Land of Canaan, a Land flowing with milke and hony, there to plant the people of Iſrael according to the promiſes that God had made them; the Citizens of Hiericho that ſtood in the frontiers of the Countrey, rampired their wall, and placed their artillery, and appointed themſelues to reſiſt him, and to withſtand his force. To aſſault this Citie, Ioſhuah practiſed a ſtrange kind of battery. He commanded that the Arke of Gods Maieſty ſhould be caried reuerently about the walles ſeuen daies together, and that the whole hoſt in armour ſhould goe before it: that after them ſhould follow ſeuen Prieſts with ſeuen Trumpets, that all the reſt of the people ſhould follow after the Arke: and that thus they ſhould doe euery day once. The ſeuenth day he increaſed their labour, and bade them to goe about ſeuen times in like order. The people within laughed them to ſcorne to ſee their folly. At the ſeuenth and laſt turne, Ioſhuah commanded them all to make a ſhout. Straightway after ſo long ſilence, they lifted vp their voices, and ſhouted with a great ſhout, ſo many hundred thouſands of men, women, and children: the Trumpets blew in euery corner, the whole Heauen and Earth was full of their noiſe, and the wall fell downe flat.

Here let vs conſider and glorifie the power of God: there was neither mine, nor ramme, nor other engine, nor warlike force, nor worldly policy practiſed: onely at this roare and ſound of Trumpets, and voices of men, the rampiers were broken, the walles fell downe, and ſunke, and were made euen with the ground: the Souldiers went ouer and ſlew without mercy, man, woman, and child, and cattell, and whatſoeuer creature they found before them: they fired the Citie, and conſumed it, and burnt it to aſhes.

Then Ioſhua ſware at that time, ſaying, Curſed be the man before the Lord, Whoſoeuer hereafter ſhall take in hand to reſtore this City of Hiericho: Let him lay the founda-

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tion thereof in the death of his eldest Sonne, and in the death of his yongest child let him close vp and finish the gates: let him neuer more reioice in the fruit of his body, but let him liue as a man accursed in the middest of the people: let his name and memorie, and all his posteritie perish with him. This was the tenor of Iosh uas curse.

Sir hundred yeres after, in the time of the wicked King Achab, one Hiel (hauing no regard to his curse) set vpon to reedifie Hiericho: and it came to passe euen as it was foresaid by Iosh ua, Gods curse fell vpon him, he buried his eldest Sonne, he buried his yongest Sonne, he was left without comfort, euen as a man that the Lord had cursed: for Gods will was that Hiericho should lie wast, and desolate for euer, as an euerlasting remembrance of his wrath, that all people should feare to withstand his will. This is the plaine story only, according to the letter. 1. King. 16.

But as touching the Allegorie, or the matter which therein lieth couered, it hath a farre deeper meaning. This Hiericho whereof the story speaketh, was a citie in Canaan, in a low, sower, barren ground, in the middest of a rotten and pestilent water, by reason whereof before the same water was cured by the Prophet Elizeus, the men that dranke thereof died of sundry diseases, and the women also became vnfruitfull. This City withstood the people of God, and laboured to keepe them from their inheritance that God had giuen them. 2. King. 2.

That Hiericho, of which we haue now to consider, is a spirituall power of darkenesse, that resteth only in flesh, and in worldly promises, that withstandeth Gods people, and exalteth it selfe against God. For euen in this life, as there is a Ierusalem, so is there a Hiericho: as truth hath her house, so is there also a house wherein falshood and errour dwelleth. As there is a glorie of the light, so is there a power of darkenesse. This Hiericho of falshood and darkenesse God ouerthroweth when it seemeth good in his sight, with the breath of his mouth, and with the blast of his holy word he doth ouerthrow it, and whosoeuer will seeke to reedifie it shall be accursed.

There things therefore I haue thought good by Gods sufferance to treat of.

1. First, how high this Hiericho is built, and how strongly it is fenced, and yet how easily it is ouerthrowen.

2. How vainely, and how miserably they lose their labour, that seeke by any meanes to reedifie it.

3. What good remedies may be deuised, that this Hiericho be not reedified againe.

Whatsoeuer my simple learning or vtterance shall be, yet I doubt not, but the very bare consideration hereof, of it selfe, vnto the godly must needs be comfortable.

They that goe downe to the Sea in ships, and occupie by the great waters, they see the workes of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe. For God is marueilous in the surges and tempests of the Sea: he is marueilous in the firmament of Heauen: but much more marueilous is he in the surges and stormy tempests of his Church. Here may we behold the worke of his hands. This is the shop of his power, of his wisedome, of his light, & truth, and righteousnesse, and patience, and mercy. Here may we see the children of light, and the children of darkenesse: the vessels of honor, and the vessels of shame: the assaults of falshood, and the glorie and victorie of truth. Here shall we see how God leadeth euen into Hell, and yet bringeth safely backe: how he killeth, and yet reuiueth: how he refuseth the full, and feedeth the hungrie: how he is the ruine of many, and the resurrection of many. Here may we see the wonderfull waies, and the vnsearchable iudgements of God. It is a place full of terrour, and a place full of all comfort. In respect hereof the Prophet Dauid saith; O Lord our Lord, how wonderfull is thy name in all the world! Againe he saith: One thing haue I desired of the Lord, that I will require, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the daies of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to visite his Temple. Psal. 107. Psalm. 8. Psalm. 27.

Hiericho was a mighty strong Towne, well manned, well victualed, well walled, well fenced: and in affiance thereof it withstood the whole power of Gods armie. Iosh ua (notwithstanding he had great force of armed men) during the assault, suffered no man to vse his weapon: he willed them all to walke quietly, and silent, without doing violence: his strength was not in the number and courage of men, but only in the Arke, that is, in the presence and power of God.

Thus it fareth often times in spirituall warfares: falshood is armed, and truth goeth naked: falshood maketh outcries, and truth saieth little: falshood is bold, and truth is outfaced. Blindnesse of it selfe naturally is hardy and venturous: and falshood is wily and shifting. When the high Priests and Captaines of the Temple, and the elders were come to lay hands on Christ, he said vnto them: This is your verie houre, and the power of darkenesse. Their hearts were darkned, their eies were blinded, they saw not their waies, they knew not their dangers, they would not vnderstand, they would not bee taught: malice and frowardnes had made them blinde, therefore the feare of God was not before their eies. Luke 22.

Pſal. 2. Luke 19. Ierem. 44. Herein ſtood their power, therefore they were bold, and ſaid: Let vs breake their bands, and caſt their cords from vs. Therefore they ſaid: We will not haue this man to raigne ouer vs. Therefore they ſaid: The word that thou haſt ſpoken to vs in the name of the Lord, we will not heare it of thee. Thus cried they, becauſe of the blindneſſe which was in them, and becauſe of the folly of their hearts.

Yet is there no ſouldier ſo ſtout in defence of Hiericho, as he that thinketh his cauſe is good, and that his doing pleaſeth God well, and therefore is moued thereto in conſcience. None ſo deſperate & wilful for the falſhood and darkneſſe of Hiericho, as ſuch who haue zeale without knowledge, as are blinde, and follow their blinde guides: who when they ſlander, or perſecute, or kill others for righteouſneſſe ſake, thinke they make a ſacrifice vnto God, and that God is highly pleaſed with their doing. Such were they that cried againſt Chriſt: Iohn 19. Crucifie him, Crucifie him: And, Matth. 26. He hath blaſphemed. Therefore Chriſt maketh his prayer Luke 23. for them: Father, forgiue them; for they know not what they doe. They know not me, they know not whence I come, nor who it is that ſent me, they take light for darkneſſe, and Prou. 3. darkneſſe for light. Therefore the wiſe man ſaith: Leane not vnto thine owne wiſedome, Prou. 14. do not the things that ſeeme right in thine owne eies. There is a way which ſeemeth right to a man, but the iſſues therof are the waies of death. It ſameth Catholike, it ſameth holy, but 1. Cor. 2. the end thereof leadeth to death. S. Paul ſaith of the Iewes: If they had knowen the wiſedome of God, they would not haue crucified the Lord of glorie. If their eies had bin open to ſee him, if their heart and vnderſtanding had bin open to know him, they had not bene guilty of innocent blood, they would not haue betraied the Lord of glory.

But Hiericho is not onely thus ſenſed with blinde zeale and wilfull ignorance, but alſo often times hath helpe of mans ſtrength, and the fauour and ſuccour of worldly power. The Egyptians had mighty Chariots, ſtraked & barred with iron, in the ſtrength whereof they put their truſt. The people of Babylon built themſelues a Tower as high as the Pſal. 2. Heauens, to ſhew forth their pride, and get themſelues a name. Hereof Dauid ſaith: The Kings of the earth band themſelues, and the Princes are aſſembled together againſt the Lord, and againſt his Chriſt. He ſaith not, the vulgar people, or a ſort of Raſcals onely, but Kings and Princes, and they which beare authoritie in the world, aſſembled themſelues againſt the Lord, and in this power they thinke they are inuincible.

Exod. 5. When Moſes and Aaron did the meſſage of God vnto Pharao, ſaying: Thus ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael; Pharao ſaid: Who is the Lord, that I ſhould heare his voice, and let Iſrael goe? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Iſrael goe. What is his power? What hurt can he doe? I know him not, I care not for him, Iſrael ſhall not depart my country. So ſaid Dan. 3. Nabuchodonoſor: Who is that God, that can deliuer you out of mine hands? In like ſort did 1. Kings 19. Sennacherib king of the Aſſyrians vant himſelfe in the pride of his ſtrength, & did defiance againſt the God of Iſrael: Thus ſhall ye ſpeake to Ezechiah King of Iuda, and ſay, Let not thy God deceiue thee, in whom thou truſteſt, ſaying, Ieruſalem ſhal not be deliuered into the hand of the King of Aſſur. Haue the gods of the Heathen deliuered them which my fathers haue deſtroied? Reue. 18. And euen ſo doth S. Iohn bewray the folly of Babylon: She ſaith in her heart, I ſit, being a Queene, and am no widow, and ſhall ſee no mourning. Acts 4. In truſt hereof they ſaid ſometimes, and commanded the Apoſtles, that in no wiſe they ſhould ſpeake or teach in the name of Ieſus. They ſaid, We are the children of Abraham, we are the ſonnes of the Pro- Malach. 2. phets. They ſaid, We cannot erre; for it is written: The Prieſts lips ſhould preſerue know- Ioh. 7. ledge, and they ſhould ſeek the law at his mouth. In truſt hereof they ſaid: Doth any of the Rulers or Phariſies beleeue in him? But this people, which know not the law, are curſed. In truſt hereof they haue ſaid: Let vs cut them out of the land of the liuing, let the name of Iſ- rael be had no more in remembrance, this doctrine is ſchiſmaticall, this religion is new, it hath no ground, it ſhall not preuaile, it ſhall not ſtand. Such courage haue the Citizens of this ignorant Hiericho taken in the ſtrength of mans arme, & in the help of worldly policy.

Then they fell to ſword and perſecution, and all kind of torments and cruell death: the 1. Cor. 4. people deſpaired, the verie elect began to faint: S. Paul ſaith: We are made a gazing ſtocke vnto the world, and to the Angels, and vnto men. The Prophet Dauid prayeth vnto God Pſal. 74. againſt ſuch: Ariſe O God, maintaine thine owne cauſe: remember thy daily reproach by the fooliſh man. So ſtrong is the hold of this ſpirituall Hiericho: and ſo ſtoutly it fighteth againſt the Lord.

Albeit Hiericho was ſo ſtrong, and the walles therof ſeemed inuincible, ſuch as no power could pierce, yet at the ſound of ſeuen trumpets, and the ſhout of the people, they fell downe flat to the ground. So mightily did God in ſuch weake meanes ſhew forth his wonderfull and fatherly care to worke the reſt and peace of his people. Pharao had Iſrael euen in his mouth as a pray, the Sea was before them, and the hils on each ſide: they were vnarmed, he had the power, and all the policie of his countrie: it ſeemed impoſſible they ſhould euer

bee

be able to escape that danger: but marke the turning of Gods mighty hand: suddenly the Sea opened, Israel passed thorow the middest of it, as vpon drie land: Pharao followed after, and was swallowed, and drowned with all his men. Israel loked back and saw the Exod. 9.
maruellous workes of God, how it was now performed which God had said vnto Pharao: Thou shalt perish from the earth: and indeed for this cause haue I appointed thee, to shew my power in thee, and to declare my name throughout all the world. Therefore they reioiced in God, and feared him, and made him sacrifice.

Nabuchodonosor when he fell vpon Iurie, made the whole countrie to shake with the terrour of his name. He was like to a mighty great tree, whose height reached to the heauens, and the sight thereof thorow all the world: yet suddenly was this mighty tree hewen downe, as the holy one that came downe from heauen had said: Hew downe the tree, and Dan. 4.
destroy it. Nabucodonosor was driuen from men, and had his dwelling with the beasts of the field, and did eat grasse and fodder as the oxen, seuen yeeres, till his haires were growen as Eagles feathers, and his nailes like birds clawes. The power of Senacherib was terrible, the people of Israel were not able to withstand it, he did glory in the pride thereof, he said no God was able to deliuer Ierusalem, nor to saue it out of his hands: yet suddenly the An- 2. King. 19.
gel of the Lord, in one night smot in the camp of Assur an hundred fourescore and fiue thousand of his men: he fled away with the rest, & was slain by his sons, & the people of God left at liberty. Though Babylon said, she should neuer mourne, nor feele any heauinesse: yet an Reue. 18.
Angel came downe from heauen, and cried out mightily with a loud voice, saying: It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon the great citie, and is become the habitation of Diuels, and the hold of all foule spirits, and a cage of euery vncleane and hatefull bird. It were an infinite labour, and yet very comfortable, to consider, how marueilously God in the old times hath ouerthrown his enemies, and deliuered his poore seruants.

Dauid to saue his life, was faine to runne from king Saul, and remained in a mountaine 1. Sam. 23.
in the wildernesse of Ziph, and Saul sought him euery day, but God deliuered him not into his hand. Dauid was not only without aid or hope of aid, but also without sustenance, and loked when he should be taken, and thought it not possible to escape: for Saul and his men compassed Dauid and his men round about to take them. But there came a messenger to Saul, saying: Haste thee, and come for the Philistines haue inuaded thy land. Wherfore Saul returned from pursuing Dauid. And thus poore Dauid was deliuered. God is a helper in due season, he commeth with aid when things are desperate, he helpeth when there is no hope of helpe elswhere: the counsels, attempts, and policies of the wicked are in vaine. He that Psal. 2.
dwelleth in the Heauens shall laugh them to scorne. The Prophet Dauid found himselfe disquieted at the worldly prosperity of the wicked, and saith: As for mee, my feet were al- Psal. 73.
most gone, my steps had welneere slipt: for I fretted at the foolish, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked, &c. Then thought I to know this, but it was too painfull for mee, vntill I went vp into the Sanctuarie of God, then vnderstood I their end. Surely thou hast set them in slipperie places, and castest them downe into desolation. How suddenly are they destroied, perished, and consumed! As for mee, it is good to draw neere vnto God? therefore haue I put my trust in the Lord God, that I may declare all thy workes.

A King is strong, a woman is strong, and wine is strong, but truth doth abide and is strong for euer. Truth is great and strongest. Whither may a man go from the spirit of the Lord? or whither may a man fly from his presence? If he ascend vp into heauen, the Lord is there; or if he descend into hell, the Lord is there also. The face of the Lord is vpon them that doe euill. When they shall say, peace and safetie, then shall come vpon them sudden destruction.

Let no man be deceiued, and thinke that these things are wrought by the power of starres, or by the pleasure of princes: it is God that ruleth the world, and not the starres. It was not Iosuah that ouerturned the wals of Hiericho, nor the crie of the people, and sound of the trumpets. It was neither Constantinus, nor Iouinian, nor Valentinian, nor Theodosius, that planted the Gospell, and changed the hearts of the people. These were vertuous and godly Emperours, yet those changes were not made by their power, but it was God which sent forth his spirit, and renued the face of the earth. Christ Iesus the sonne of righteousnesse had loked vpon them: The morning starre from an high, had risen ouer them. God princes, and good rulers are the good instruments by whom God setteth forth his glory, their hearts be in the hands of God, he bendeth them, & inclineth them to his purpose: but the truth of the Gospell is not planted and setled in our hearts, neither by the will of man, nor by the authority of princes. No creature can claime part of this glorie, this glory belongeth vnto God: but vnto vs, and to our fathers, to our kings, and to our prophets, Baruch. 1.
the confusion of our faces. This is the Lords doing, and it is maruellous in our eies. This is Psal. 118.
the day which the Lord hath made, let vs reioice and be glad in it. This is a change wrought not by the starres, but by the right hand of the most high: The sonnes of God, euen they which Iohn 1.

beleeue in him, are borne not of blood, nor of the will of fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of
Ezech. 36. God, as by the Prophet Ezechiel God himſelfe declareth: A new heart will I giue you, and
a new ſpirit wil I put within you; I wil put my ſpirit within you, and cauſe you to walke in my
Ierem. 31. ſtatutes. And by the Prophet Ieremy: I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in
their hearts, and will be their God, and they ſhalbe my people. Let vs then know this our
Eſai. 41. ſelues; and of others let vs with the Prophet Eſay ſay: Therefore let them ſee and know,
and let them conſider and vnderſtand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this.

He is able to ſet ſtarres and heauens out of courſe, to ſet the Sunne backe, and to make it ſtand, to open the earth, to diuide the Sea, to make the drie Rocke to yeld water, to make the Clouds to giue dread, to make Children to preach, to make an Aſſe to ſpeake, to make
Luke 4. the Diuels to confeſſe his holy name, and to ſay, I know who thou art, euen the holy one of God. With this power he blew downe the wals of Hiericho, with this power he beateth downe whatſoeuer hold is built vp againſt God. This power ſtandeth not in worldly
1. Cor. 1. ſtrength, but is ſhewed in weakeneſſe: God hath choſen the weake things of the world, to
Pſal. 20. confound the mighty things, ſaith the Apoſtle Paul. Some truſt in chariots, and ſome in horſes: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. Our helpe is in the name of the Lord, which hath made both heauen and earth. Thus is the prince of darkeneſſe caſt out, thus is the Goſpell of Chriſt caried throwout the world: this is the ouerthrow of Hiericho: this is the might of Gods hand.

But is Hiericho ſo laid flat, that no man will attempt or wiſh to reſtore it? Verily, it was afterward reſtored in the daies of Achab: but he that reſtored it was accurſed. Euen ſo it fareth with this ſpirituall Hiericho, it is neuer ſo blowne downe, but ſome would wiſh to raiſe it vp. God deliuered his people out of Egypt, and yet there were that looked backe, and wiſht to be there againe: & when they had Manna in their mouthes, they thought it a lothſome & a ſquamiſh meat, and wiſht for their Onyons and Onions: and hauing the Angels of God to goe in viſible forme before them to be their guides both day and night, yet wiſhed to be vnder Pharao, in the houſe of bondage, to be tormented with labours, to liue in tyrannie and oppreſſion, where they had their children ſlaine before their faces.

Notwithſtanding God had deliuered his people from the captiuity of Babylon, yet the greateſt part of them remained ſtill there, and would neuer returne to ſee Ieruſalem.
Reue. 18. Babylon the great City is fallen, and is become the habitation of Diuels: yet Iohn ſaith:
Manie ſhall mourne and weepe, and lament and crie ouer her, alas, alas, the great Citie Babylon, the mightie Citie Babylon, that was clothed in fine linnen and purple, and ſkarlet, and
glided with gold, and pretious ſtone and perles: What Citie was like to this great Citie?
Pſal. 19. Dauid ſaith: Their ſound is gone foorth thorow all the earth, and their words into the
Eſay 52. ends of the world. And the Prophet Eſai: How beautifull vpon the Mountaines are the feet
of him that declareth and publiſheth peace, that declareth good tidings and publiſheth ſal-
Rom. 10. uation! Yet S. Paul ſaith: They haue not all obeied the Goſpell. And Eſai: Lord who hath
Eſay 53. beleeued our report? or to whom is the arme of the Lord reuealed? And againe: I haue
Eſay 65. ſpred out my hands all the day vnto a rebellious people, which walked in a way that was not good, after their owne imaginations. The truth of God is not alway taken, and it is neuer ſo receiued, that euery man liketh thereof. The Lord knoweth who are his, and to whom he will make himſelfe knowen.

Chriſt himſelfe was a ſtumbling ſtone vnto the vnbeléeuing Iewes, and a ſigne that ſhould be ſpoken againſt. S. Iohn ſaith: This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loued darkneſſe rather than light, becauſe their deeds, were euill. The Goſpell of Chriſt is the power of God to ſaluation, it is the ſauour of life vnto life; yet is it
2. Tim. alſo the ſauour of death vnto death. For many will not ſuffer holſome doctrine, but hauing their eares itching, ſhall after their own luſt get them a heap of teachers, and ſhall turne their
2. Tim. 4. eares from the truth, and ſhall be giuen vnto fables, and ſhall giue heed vnto ſpirits of error, and doctrine of Diuels. Becauſe wiſdome cannot enter into a wicked heart, nor dwell in a body that is ſubiect to ſinne, the Diuell, the Prince of this world was caſt forth: yet S.
1. Pet. 5. Peter ſaith: He walketh about like a roaring Lion, ſeeking whom he may deuoure. And euen ſo ſtandeth it with Ieruſalem the City of the Lord, and that curſed City Hiericho. Many refuſe the bleſſing of the Lord in their deliuerance from vnder Pharao, and fading them with heauenly Manna, and giuing them his Angels to be their guides: they will not returne home to their owne country out of their captiuity in Babylon: though they ſee the iudgements of God done vpon proud Babylon, yet they mourne and lament ouer it, they looke not vpon the hands that are ſpread all the day vnto them, they obey not the Goſpel: Chriſt is vnto them a ſtumbling ſtone: and ſo take they to reſtore againe Hierico, which the Lord hath ouerthrowen, and which he would not haue built againe, but curſeth them that ſhall take to reſtore it. And this doe they, becauſe they know not how amiable the

Tabernacles

Tabernacles of the Lord are, becauſe they did neuer taſte and ſée how ſwéet the Lord is.

Three ſpeciall helpes the Diuell hath vſed to further this purpoſe of reſtoring Hiericho. Firſt, the hard heart, and blindneſſe of the people: ſecondly, the eloquence, and ſubtill perſwaſion of the learned: thirdly, the ſword and violence of tyrants. Of theſe three the firſt is the greateſt, for blindneſſe and ſtubbornneſſe will preuaile, where cunning and tyranny can doe nothing. Hereof the Prophet Ieremie complaineth: My people is fooliſh, they haue not knowen me: they are fooliſh children, and haue none vnderſtanding: they are wiſe to doe euill, but to doe well they haue no knowledge. Of this ſort our Sauiour ſpeaketh: This peoples heart is waxed fat, and their eares are dull of hearing, and with their eies haue they winked, leſt they ſhould ſee with their eies, and heare with their eares, and vnderſtand with their hearts, and ſhould returne, that I might heale them. Of this ſort Eſai reporteth: It is a rebellious people, lying children, and children that would not heare the Law of the Lord, which ſay vnto the Seers, ſee not: and vnto the Prophets, prophecy not vnto vs right things: but ſpeake flattering things vnto vs, prophecy errors, depart out of the way, go out of the path, cauſe the holy one of Iſrael to ceaſe from vs. Through blindneſſe and ſtubbornneſſe, all the children of Iſrael murmured againſt Moſes and Aaron: Wherefore now hath the Lord brought vs to this land to fall vpon the ſword? were it not better for vs to returne into Ægypt? Therefore the Lord ſaid, I will doe to them as they haue ſpoken, they ſhall not ſée the land, whereof I ſware to their fathers, but their carcaſes ſhall fall in this wildernéſſe, they ſhall not enter into my reſt: with this blindneſſe God doth punish thoſe which obey not his word. The Lord ſhall ſmite thee (ſaith Moſes) with madneſſe and blindneſſe, and with aſtonying of heart; thou ſhalt grope at noon daies, as the blind groupeth in darkneſſe. I will take my ſpirit from thée, I will command the clouds, that they ſhall not giue thée raine: thou haſt forſaken me, and I will forſake thée: I will cauſe the Sunne to goe downe at noon: and I will darken the earth at clére day, ſaith the Lord. I will ſend a famine vpon the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt for water, but of hearing the word of the Lord: they ſhall ſeeke the word of the Lord, and ſhall not find it. S. Paul told the Iewes at Antiochia; Seeing you put the word from you, and iudge your ſelues vnworthy of euerlaſting life: loe, we turne to the Gentiles: you ſhall be left in your filthineſſe.

Now, what ſhall be done to theſe hard hearted and blind builders of the ſpirituall Hiericho? Chriſt telleth vs, It ſhall bee eaſier in that day for them of *Sodom*, than for that Citie, which will not receiue the Diſciples. And againe: Except yee beleeue that I am he, you ſhall die in your ſinnes. The end of ſuch is worſe than the beginning. All thoſe plagues and vtter deſtruction came vpon Hieruſalem, becauſe ſhe knew not the time of her viſitation, euen the day of Gods mercy, as they were foretold by the Prophet Ieremie: Behold, that which I haue built will I deſtroy, and that which I haue planted will I plucke vp, euen this whole land. So doth God plague one ſinne with another, and letteth them which are filthy grow in filthineſſe, becauſe of the hardneſſe of their heart which cannot repent: whereby they heape vnto themſelues vengeance againſt the day of the Lords wrath: ſuch are not worthy to ſée Hieruſalem: therefore are they left to periſh in Hiericho.

As for the eloquence and deceitfull perſwaſion of the learned, I will ſay nothing. Notwithſtanding it hath bin, and is ſo vſed to the reſtoring of Hiericho, that a blind man may perceiue it, and all the world may rue it. One ſaid ſometimes, that, were the matter neuer ſo falſe, he would proue it by eloquence to be true. Another ſaid, the Sunne and Moone ſtand ſtill, and the earth goeth about. Another ſaid, that ſnow was blacke and that he was able well to proue it, and there were many which beléeued them. Such were they of whom it is written in the Prophet Eſay: that ſpake good of euill, and euill of good: which put darkneſſe for light, and light for darkneſſe, and put bitter for ſweet, and ſweet for ſower. So they mocked the eies of the ignorant, and abuſed the gifts of God. Thy wiſedome and thy knowledge (ſaith the Prophet) they haue cauſed thee to rebell, and thou haſt ſaid in thine heart, I am, and none elſe: thou art wearied in the multitude of thy Counſels: let now the Aſtrologers, the Star-gazers, and Prognoſticators ſtand vp, and ſaue thee from theſe things that ſhall come vpon thee.

We may anſwer ſuch learned diſputers, as Dauid anſwered the proud Goliah: Thou commeſt to me with a ſword, and with a ſpeare, and with a ſhield: that is, with great eloquence and ſhew of learning: but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hoſts, the God of the hoſt of Iſrael, whom thou haſt railed vpon. By the Prophet Ieremie thus ſaith the Lord: Let not the wiſe man glory in his wiſedome, nor the ſtrong man glory in his ſtrength, neither the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he vnderſtandeth and knoweth me. Again: It is written (ſaith the Apoſtle) I will deſtroy the wiſedome of the wiſe, and will caſt away the vnderſtanding of the prudent. And Eliphas ſaith: He taketh the wiſe in their craftineſſe, and the counſell of the wicked is made fooliſh: hée

Iſai. 30. Numb. 14. Deut. 28. Amos 8. Acts 13. Luke 10. Iohn 8. Ierem. 45. Iſai. 5. Iſai. 47. 1. Sam. 17. Ierem. 9. 1. Cor. 1. Iob. 5.

will

will open their errors, he will bewray their craftineſſe, he will ouerthrow the cunning deuiſes of their wit: theſe helpes ſhall not ſuffice to build vp curſed Hiericho.

Now to ſpeake of the third helpe of the power of Princes, whom the wicked builders of this ſpirituall Hiericho haue in all ages deceiued. The authority of a Prince is great, he is the ſeruant of God, he carrieth the ſword for God to take vengeance on him that doth euill. Prou. 16. Salomon ſaith: The wrath of a King is as Meſſengers of death. Vnto them theſe builders haue recourſe, and accuſe the ſeruants of the Lord, which haue waited vpon Ioſhuah, and haue done the Lords will, vpon this wilfull and rebellious City.

The Heathen and Infidels vſed this helpe againſt the Chriſtians, they accuſed them before Kings, that they were wicked, that they worſhipped ſtrange gods, that they liued in adultery, and inceſt, that they killed their children, and did feed vpon mans fleſh. Before them they charged the Chriſtians with diuiſions and ſchiſmes, ſaying: You Chriſtians agree not among your ſelues, you haue ſo many ſects, and one ſect is at defiance with another, and condemneth one another: therefore your religion is not true, it is not of God. Since the time we forſooke our gods, theſe and theſe euils are come vpon vs. They charged Chriſtians that they were ſtirrers vp of rebellion, and that they diſquieted the minds of the people. Let theſe Chriſtians, ſaid they, be caſt to the Lions. Such complaints were brought before Kings and Princes againſt the Chriſtians of the Primitiue Church, and theſe falſe charges haue bin thought true: therefore were there ſharpe lawes made againſt them. It was commanded, that no man ſhould ſpeake in the name of Chriſt, and who did not obey this, ſhould die the death.

Who is able to expreſſe the miſeries, which followed in the execution of thoſe Lawes? There was no ſword nor weapon, no racke nor torment, no fire nor water, but they were prepared for, and ſtained with Chriſtian blood. Souldiers were kept in whole garriſons: Princes made Leagues, kept Counſels, deuiſed new and cruell lawes, vſed conſpiracies, practiſed all kinds of ſtrange and terrible deaths for the defence of Hiericho: they killed Chriſtians by thouſands. Maximianus burnt in one Temple twenty thouſand, aſſembled together to celebrate the memory of the Natiuity of Chriſt. Dioclesian made proclamation for the ouerthrowing of the Chriſtian Churches throwout all the Romane Empire: hee cauſed the Bookes of holy Scripture to bee burned in the open market place: and diſplaced with great ignominy ſuch Chriſtians as were Magiſtrates, and all other that bare any office. Theſe thought, that hereby the Goſpell of Chriſt ſhould bee aboliſhed, and quite ouerthrowen.

But the Lord, which was mighty to ſaue Daniel in the middeſt of the Lions, and Ionas in the whales belly, and his three ſeruants in the flaming fire, and Iſrael in the red Sea: whoſe eies are ouer the righteous, and which is nigh vnto all that call vpon him; was alſo able to make his owne cauſe good, to giue courage to his ſeruants, and trembling and anguiſh of mind to their enemies. For the more his ſeruants were diminiſhed, the more they increaſed: and the more tyrants preuailed, the more they were weakned. He that ſhould die, was bold and careleſſe: he that ſhould kill, was fearefully amazed: the tormentor mourned, the condemned reioiced: the dead had the glory, the tyrants the ſhame: their ſacrifices ceaſed, their Temples were forſaken, their gods laught to ſcorne, their Prieſts were wood, and lacked their large offerings: the Lord did let the curſe fall vpon them, which hee made by his ſeruant Ioſhua, and which ſhall come vpon all thoſe that will ſeeke to raiſe vp Hiericho.

To rehearſe the examples of Gods mighty hand, and to declare what he hath done in all ages, to ſhew forth his power, no tongue is able: yet is it expedient to giue forth one or two examples thereof. Licinius an vngodly Emperor, after he had extended his force againſt the Chriſtians to ſuppreſſe them, and gaue greateſt ſhew of his fauor to ſuch about him, as could beſt deuiſe new and ſtrange torments, felt the plagues of God, was ſundry times vanquiſhed by Conſtantinus, to whom he yelded himſelfe, and led a priuate life in Theſſalia, vntill at length, he which had bin before the enemy vnto all learning, was ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers. The palme of the hand which Balthazar ſaw write vpon the plaſter of the wall, did more amaze him, his countenance was more changed, and his thoughts more troubled therewith, than if he had bin aſſaulted with the force of a hundred thouſand men.

Tripart. Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 8. Carion. lib. 3. Dan. 5.

King Pharao firſt ſaid to the meſſengers of God, Moſes and Aaron, I know not the Lord, I care not for him. But when he felt the ſmart of Gods hand, he cried out vnto them: The Lord is righteous, but I and my people are wicked: pray yee vnto the Lord (for it is enough) that there be no more mighty thunders, and haile, and I will let you goe, and you ſhall tarie no longer. Exod. 9.

1. Mach. 1. Antiochus placed Idols in the Temple of God, and blaſphemed his name, and brought Ieruſalem

Ierusalem into bondage, he burnt the Bookes of the Law in the fire, and cut them in peeces, that so the name of God might no more be remembred: but when the torments which God cast vpon him began to vex him, then he began to leaue off his great pride and selfe-will: when he was plagued, and came to the knowledge of himselfe with the scourge of God, when he himselfe might not abide his owne stinke, he said: It is meet to be subiect vnto God, and that a man which is mortall, should not thinke himselfe equal to God through pride. Then he prayed to the Lord, then he deliuered the Iewes, then he would restore the Temple, then he would also become a Iew himselfe, and goe thorow all the world, and preach the power of God. 2. Mach. 9.

Maximianus practising the like attempts, was likewise stricken: his flesh was eaten with lice, his body rotted inwardly, he was not able to abide the smell of himselfe. Then he confessed his errour, found his guilt, called in his proclamation, staied his sword, and (albeit it were against his minde) commanded that the Christians should haue their Bookes, and vse their Churches, and heare the Scriptures, and call vpon the name of Christ, as they had done before. *Eusеb. lib. 8. ca. 10. & 19.*

Iulian of all other began most politikely and subtilely, and therefore most mightily, to set vp Hiericho: He gaue commandement that no Christian mans child should go to schole, deuising thereby to keepe them rude and barbarous: that no Christian should beare office, or liue in any maner authority, thereby to make them vile: that they should neuer be Captaines or souldiers, that so they might be kept in weaknesse: he remoued the Christians out of his Court. He opened againe the Temple of the Heathen, and did erect Idols in them, and the more to giue credit and countenance to the matter, he himselfe being the Emperor, toke vpon him the office of a Bishop, and did offer sacrifice: many of the nobles, and many of the people, applied themselues to follow this example, and did the like. He licenced the Iewes to returne home againe, & to build vp Ierusalem, he allowed them money, he gaue them liberties, and all this only in the despite of Christ: only to discredit and deface the glorie of the Son of God. Hereby the Heretikes vpbraided and defied Christ: the faithfull were dismaied, and the Church of God was brought to great confusion.

But now let vs enter into the sanctuary of the Lords counsels, and behold the latter end of these doings. The Iewes fell to worke, laid their foundation, prouided all things needfull, and began to build: suddenly brake out an Earthquake, and ouerthrew their worke: lightnings fell from Heauen and burnt their tooles in their hands, and their coats on their backs. The print that the lightning made in their garments was a Crosse, in token that they were the enemies of the Crosse of Christ. Then was the name of Christ more glorious, and his Gospell more beautifull than before.

Iulian toke his iourney into Persia, and had made great threats, that at his returne he would consume the name of Christians, rot out the name of the Galileans, and not leaue one Christian aliue, and would set vp the Image of Venus in all his Churches. But being in the field, he was suddenly stricken in the breast with an arrow from heauen: he pulled it out, the wound was deadly, he cursed Christ, he toke of the blod into his hand, threw it vp into the aire, and thus cried: *Vicisti Galilee:* O thou Christ of Galilee, thou hast conquered. Thus suddenly the tyrant was slaine, his attempts were accursed, his frame of Hiericho would not stand. The faithfull Christians were set at liberty, they went to their Churches, they gaue God the glory, they made triumphs and were ioyfull. Thus God loketh vpon his faithfull: such is the power and readinesse of his hand.

The Dinell himselfe confessed, that when any Christian was present, his mouth was muzled, he could not speake, he could do nothing. The like might be said of Nero, Caligula, Maximinus, Diocletian, Valerian, and others: they had conquered France, Spaine, Germanie, England, Hungarie, Dalmatia, Arabia, India, Persia, and Scythia: they had the world at commandement; yet a few poore Christians, artificers, women, and maidens, ignorant and vnlearned people, they could neuer conquer. Nero had crucified Peter, and beheaded Paul that preached the Gospell, but the Gospell which they preached, they could not behead, they could not crucifie. Nero, Caligula, Commodus, and sundry others like tyrants were slaine. Diocletian, as it is thought, was stricken mad, made vnable to rule, and therefore left the Empire. Valerian was taken in the field by Sapores King of Persia, and tied in a chaine, and being the Emperor of the world, was made to lie downe on all foure, that Sapores might set his foot on his shoulders, and so get to horsebacke. *Hist. tripart. lib. 7. ca. 39.*

All this notwithstanding, the Gospell of Christ grew still and went forward. Such successe shall they haue, that take in hand to build Hiericho. The Lord will smite his enemies vpon the cheeke bone, he will breake the teeth of the wicked. Well may they barke, they shall not bite. God knoweth the way of the righteous, and the way of the wicked shall perish. God resisteth the proud, but giueth grace to the lowly. Yet a little while (saith Dauid) Psalm. 37.

and

and the wicked ſhall not appeare, and thou ſhalt looke after his place, and hee ſhall not be found: The remembrance of him ſhall periſh. Euery plant which our heauenly father hath not planted, ſhall be roted out. Put not your truſt then in Princes, nor in the ſonnes of men, which cannot ſaue themſelues: their breath departeth, and they returne to their earth. It is God that is King of Kings, which loueth the righteous, and ouerthroweth the way of the wicked. All fleſh is graſſe, and all the grace thereof is as the flower of the field: the graſſe withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God ſhall ſtand for euer.

Eſai. 40.

Was God able in thoſe daies to auenge the cruelty of Tyrants, to withſtand the proud, to defend the humble and lowly, and ſhall we think that his hand is ſhortned? Great is our God, and his power is wonderful, and there is no end of his iudgements. O what leagues and confederacies, what practiſes and policies haue we ſéen defeated! What abundance of blod hath bén ſhed by ſword, and by fire! The workers thereof are gone, the end of many of them was horrible; yet the Goſpell continueth, and increaſeth in all places. Æneas Siluius, who was afterward Pope, and called Pius the ſecond, ſheweth in his ſtory of Bohemia, what great preparation was made to maintaine the Church of Rome, and to deſtroy all thoſe which profeſſed the Goſpell, whom they called Huſſites and Calixtians, becauſe they defended the receiuing of the Cup, as well as of the bread in the Lords Supper. Two Cardinals, the one of them Cardinall Beauford, an Engliſh man, and Biſhop of Wincheſter, the other Iulianus, were ſent into Germany to leuy power: at whoſe intreaty the Emperor and States appointed three armies of men to fulfill the Popes purpoſe. But (ſaith the ſtorie) *Non viſum hoſtem fugerunt*: They fled before they did ſee the enemy. And againe the ſecond time: *Priuſquam hoſtis vllus daretur in conſpectu, fœdiſſima cœpta fuga*: They fled away with ſhame, before any enemie came to fight. Hereof one of the Cardinals, Iulianus, writeth thus to Eugenius the fourth: *Nonne videbitur hic digitus Dei? Ecce, exercitus armatorum toties fugit à facie eorum, & nunc ſimiliter Eccleſia vniuerſalis fugit: Ecce, nec armis, nec literis vinci poſſunt. Videbitur miraculum Dei euidenter, demonſtrans illos vera ſentire, nos falſa.* Is not the power of God heere to be ſeen? our armies of ſouldiers haue fled before them many times, and now the vniuerſall Church fleeth. They cannot be ouercome, neither by weapons, nor by learning. This muſt needs appeare a miracle wrought by God, to declare that their opinion is true, and ours falſe.

Hiſt. Bohemica, cap. 48.

Thus we ſée how vainly, and miſerably they encumber themſelues which take vpon them to reſtore Hiericho. God withſtandeth them, and defeateth their purpoſe, as we may ſée this day. Let vs therefore reioice in God, and let vs ſay with the people of Iſrael: I will ſing vnto the Lord; for he hath triumphed glorioully: the horſe and him that rode vpon him hath he ouerthrowen in the ſea.

Exod. 15.

It is not enough, that wée looke backe and gaze at this decaied Citie of Hiericho, and behold the rampiers lowſed, the walls thrown downe, the houſes burned, and the people thereof ſlaine. God can giue peace, God can withdraw it: we haue ſéene the iudgements of the Lord vpon them, we haue ſéene the turning of the Lords hand towards vs. That thing which hath bœn done, may be done againe. The Arke of God was taken by the Philiſtins, and God ſuffered his Temple to be ſpoiled: not that he was offended with the Arke, or with the Temple, but for the vnworthineſſe of the people. He neuer forſaketh, but hée is firſt forſaken; as hée ſaith: Seeing ye haue forſaken me, I will alſo forſake you. God himſelfe telleth vs by the Prophet Ieremie, as you heard before: That which I haue built, will I deſtroy; and that which I haue planted, will I plucke vp. When Chriſt rebuked the vnthankfulneſſe of the Iewes, he ſaid vnto them: The kingdome of God ſhall be taken from you, and ſhall be giuen to a Nation, which ſhall bring foorth the fruits thereof. And againe: The children of the kingdome ſhall be caſt out into vtter darkneſſe: for many are called, but few are choſen. It behoueth vs therefore not ouermuch to glory in victory. It is fickle, and caſuall, and may be loſt. Let vs humble our ſelues vnder the mighty hand of God, let vs acknowledge the wonderfull worke that he hath wrought in our daies, and pray him to continue the good thing he hath begun among vs. In him we haue our liuing, our mouing, and our being. We are nothing but clay before him: that he which reioiceth, may reioice in the Lord.

2. Eſd. 1.

Matth. 21.

Matth. 20.

Now it remaineth we conſider what holeſome remedies may be deuiſed, that Hiericho be neuer againe reſtored. Hereof I will ſay ſomewhat, the time ſo requireth. Here might we marke the practiſes and policies of noble Conquerors, what waies they take to kéepe themſelues in ſafety, and their conquered ſubiects from rebellion. Some when they had gotten a Citie, thought it enough to ouerthrow the walles thereof. Some raced all the Caſtles, and threw downe all the holds. Others haue built ſtrong places, and Towers, and furniſhed them with munition to bridle the people. Others haue ſpoiled them, and kept them poore. Others haue vnarmed them, and kept them from all weapon. Others, to with-

draw

draw them from vnquiet fancies, haue ſet them to plough the ground, and to others bodily labour. Others haue cut off their Captaines, and all ſuch as might ſeeme able to lead the people, and to moue rebellion. Some haue killed their male children. Some diſſolued the old Lawes, and gaue them new. Others haue forbidden banquets and feaſts, and all other conuenticles or aſſemblies, to make them ſtrange one to another. Others haue purpoſely ſowed and maintained factions, and ſet Citie againſt Citie, ſirname againſt ſirname, blood againſt blood, that no man might ſafely truſt another. Some haue deuiſed othes and bands of conſcience: ſome haue deuiſed Lawes martiall, and other cruelty: ſome haue tranſported, and carried away the whole people, man, woman, and child: as Nabuchodonoſor did the Iewes into Babylon, and put others in their place. By theſe, and ſuch other like waies, as much as wiſedome and policy could deuiſe, they thought to keepe countries and nations in obedience.

But, as touching our ſpirituall Hiericho, Ioſhuah ſuffered nothing to ſtand, he burnt houſes, and palaces, and killed man, woman, and child, and cattell without mercy, all together. For ſo God had giuen him in commandement, and ſo is it often written of him, that where the Lord gaue any people into his hands, he left nothing remaining, no were it neuer ſo little. Of this policy Moſes ſpeaketh: If you will not driue out the inhabitants of the land before you, then thoſe which ye let remaine of them, ſhall be pricks in your eies, and thornes in your ſides, and ſhall vex you in the land wherin ye dwell. Deſtroy not ſome only, to leaue ſome: you ſhall leaue nothing, no not a little. If you doe leaue, you breake the commandement of God. Numb. 33.

In religion, no part is to be called little. A haire is but little, yet it hath a ſhadow. In the body, a little diſquiet is often times cauſe of death. The Cniphes were but little, yet are they reckoned among the great plagues of God.

Metellus a noble man of Rome, by receiuing a haire in his milke, was choked with it, and died thereof. Some things are ſmall and doe no hurt: ſome things though they be ſmall, do great hurt. Therefore doth God ſtraitly charge his people to keep the law, ſaying: Thou ſhalt not turne away from it, neither to the right hand nor to the left. And S. Paul ſaith: A little leauen leaueneth the whole lumpe. Ioſh. 1. & 6. Deut. 15. & 28. 1. Cor. 5.

I ſpeake not this, becauſe I thinke nothing at all may be left to any eſpecial purpoſe. For euen in Hiericho, where was made a generall deſtruction, God himſelfe commanded, that all ſiluer and gold, and veſſels of braſſe and iron ſhould be ſaued, and not ſaued only, but be brought into the Lords treaſury. Howbeit, the things that may be reſerued, muſt not be duſt, or chaffe, or hay, or ſtubble: but gold, and ſilner, and iron, and braſſe; I meane, they may not be things meet to furniſh and maintaine ſuperſtition, but ſuch things as be ſtrong, and may ſerue either directly to ſerue God, or elſe for comelineſſe and good order. Such things may be reſerued, notwithſtanding they came out of the ſpoile of Hiericho. Ioſh. 6.

Now to ſtay the reſtoring of Hiericho, many good waies may be deuiſed. For our conſideration at this preſent, and becauſe the time is far ſpent, I will neme only foure vnto you. The 1. Maintenance of ſchooles and learning. 2. Vnderſtanding of the cauſe: that is, that euery man may conſider, what he hath left, and what he hath receiued: out of what darkneſſe, into what light he is come. 3. Kindneſſe towards God, and thankefulneſſe. 4. The diſcipline of the Church. With theſe foure, by Gods grace, we may keepe Hiericho from reſtoring. Of each of theſe a few words, and ſo I will end.

That learning and knowledge is able to hinder the builders of Hiericho, it is ſo plaine that it needeth no ſpeech. In the time of Moſes law, Aaron the great Biſhop and high Prieſt had written in a tablet before his breaſt, Doctrine, and Truth: not only learning, but alſo truth: whereby was meant, that neither might be without other. For, as learning is dangerous and hurtfull without religion, ſo is religion vnable to defend it ſelfe, and to conuince the gainſaiers, without learning.

For this cauſe, the Heathen, when they erected Temples in the honor of their gods, did alſo build libraries, that is, places to keep bookes: that by ſuch meanes, their Prieſts might grow in knowledge, and be better able to perſwade others to their religion. Strabo writeth of the Smyrnians, that they built a Temple in the honor of Homer, and ioined thereto a library. Auguſtus the Emperor, built a Temple and alſo a library in the honor of Apollo. Trajanus in like maner built a library, and called it Vlpia, after his own name. At Rome in the Capitol where all the gods had a ſolemne place for to be worſhipped in, there was alſo placed a library. Athens was a famous Vniverſity, and had many Colledges and ſchooles of learning, Academia, Stoa, Lycæum Canopus, Prytanneum, Tempe, Cynoſura, in which places were diuers ſects of Philoſophers. Such were in Perſia the wiſe men, whom they called Magi, in Babylon, the Chaldees: in India, Brachmanes: in Æthiopia, Gymnoſophiſtæ: in France, and England, Druides, and others in other Countries. In all times the Kings and

Princes

Princes which did ſet forth religion, were alſo builders of ſchooles and Colleges, and aduancers of learning. The people of Iſrael were neuer in better ſtate (as P. Phagius, a learned man noteth out of their ſtory) than when they had in euery towne and village Bathe cheneſioth, and Bathe medraſchoth, that is, Synagogues wherein they aſſembled together, and places to preach in. The ſame Phagius reporteth of Hieruſalem, that there were in it more than foure hundred Common-ſchooles and Synagogues, in which the Law of God was taught. The Patriarch Iacob was called *Miniſter domus doctrinæ*, a Miniſter of the houſe of learning, becauſe he applied himſelfe to the knowledge of the law of God, and to godlineſſe. The Prophets of God had their ſchooles, to breed vp vnder them ſuch as might after their death draw the people from Idolatry, and reſiſt the falſe Prophets. They which were ſo taught by them, were called *filij Prophetarum*, The ſonnes of the Prophets. Samuel taught in ſuch ſort at Rama. Elias and Elizeus the Prophets, in ſuch ſort, taught the Law of God, beſides Hiericho. S. Iohn the Euangeleſt, taught at Epheſus: and Euſebius reporteth out of Philo, that S. Marke had at Alexandria ſundry ſcholars, which gaue themſelues to reading and reaſoning, and expounding of the ſcriptures. Others did the like at Antioch, and at other places. But of ſuch ſchooles it pleaſed God to make many excellent men, and place them in his Church, as Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Arnobius, Baſilius, Nazianzenus; Chryſoſtomus, Hieronymus, Ambroſius, Auguſtinus, who were brought vp in all kind of learning, and became ſhining ſtars, and bright lights in the houſe of God, notable defenders of religion, ouerthrowers of Idols, and confounders of Heretikes. Chriſtian Princes herein haue witneſſed their zeale, in ſetting forth the glory of God. After Charles the Great had made his notable conqueſts, he erected fiue famous Vniuerſities, one at Paris, another at Tolouſe, another at Papia, another at Padua, another at Prage.

Suidas in Leone. Suidas reporteth of Leo the Emperor: *Cum aliquando Eulogio Philoſopho ſtipendium dari iuſſiſſet, &c.* When Leo on a time commanded that Eulogius a Philoſopher ſhould haue his Princely reward, a noble man of his Court, ſaid: That, that money would be better imploied for maintenance of ſouldiers. Nay (ſaith he) I would rather it might be brought to paſſe in my time, that the wages which are now beſtowed vpon ſouldiers, might be giuen to maintaine Philoſophers.

Charion. Chronic. lib. 3. Alex. Sen. Alexander Seuerus ſo highly eſtéemed that famous and notable Lawyer Vlpian, that when certaine of his ſouldiers ran fiercely vpon Vlpian, purpoſing to ſlay him, the Emperor ſtept forth, and ſet himſelfe betwéene the body of Vlpian, and the fury of the ſouldiers, and couered him with his owne robes, that the ſouldiers might know how carefull he was for the good eſtate of Vlpian.

As alſo for the contrary, ſuch as haue practiſed cruelty vpon learned men, and haue hated knowledge, are worthily diſcommended in the ſtories of all ages. I told you before of that wicked Apoſtata Iulian, how he forbad that Chriſtians ſhould bring vp their children in learning. Such an enemy to knowledge was alſo Licinius the Emperor, who called learning the poiſon and ouerthrow of Common-weales. The like is reported of Caligula, Caracalla and Domitianus, that either they vtterly hated all maner of learning, or had ſome ſpeciall malice againſt the writings of ſome one notable men, and therefore ſought to deſtroy them. Such was the policy of Satan, ſo thought he to get the vpper hand, and to reſtore againe his wicked Hiericho.

And were theſe the practiſes of heathen Princes only? May not we remember the like attempts wrought in our daies? Who will call to minde the time that is not far paſt, ſhal finde that this ignorant Hiericho, had many friends, who by all meanes drew men from knowledge: they gaue liberty rather to doe any thing, than to take vnderſtanding, and yet ſuffered rather the vſe and reading of fabulous and vncleane writers, that of the holy ſcriptures, and bookes which carried fruitfull inſtruction.

God letters, and ſtudy to increaſe knowledge, are not to be neglected. Such as preſume of Gods ſpirit ouer boldly, that, without their endeuour to vſe the holſome meanes which he hath left vnto his Church, they ſhall and doe by ſpeciall inſpiration vnderſtand his wil, do tempt God. The Prophet Dauid praied for the preſence of Gods ſpirit, but to the purpoſe, he might take profit and fruit of his reading in the law of God. Therefore he ſaith:

Pſal. 119. Open mine eies, that I may ſee the wonders of thy Law: And, giue me vnderſtanding, and I will keepe thy Law. And again: Incline mine heart vnto thy teſtimonies. S. Paul taught the Corinthians, That no man can ſay that Ieſus is the Lord, but by the holy Ghoſt: And in the 2. Chapt. of his 1. Epiſtle ſaith: Now we haue receiued, not the ſpirit of the world, but

1. Cor. 12. 1. Cor. 2. the ſpirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are giuen to vs of God. This

Acts 9. ſpirit prepared the heart of Paul, yet ſent him to Ananias, that by him it might be told him

Acts 8. what he ſhould do. This ſpirit prepared the hearts of the Eunuch, & of Cornelius: yet ſent

Acts 10. vnto them Philip & Peter to open the ſcriptures vnto them. Lydia heard Paul, & the Lord opened

opened her heart that ſhe attended vnto the things that Paul ſpake. I haue planted, ſaith he, Apollos watered, but God gaue the increaſe. Thus are we taught, not to forſake the helps of reading, of hearing, and ſuch like: yet to know, that neither of them can ſettle vs vnto godlineſſe, without the eſpeciall grace of Gods ſpirit. Auguſtine ſaith well: *Non verbis hominis fit vt intelligatur verbum Dei, facit Deus vt intelligatis:* The words of man do not cauſe that Gods word is vnderſtood: God giueth the vnderſtanding thereof. And Chryſoſtome vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle: Such truſt haue we through Chriſt to God, not that we are ſufficient of our ſelues to thinke any thing, as of our ſelues, but our ſufficiency is of God; ſaith: *Hoc eſt, non ita dicebam fiduciam habemus, vt id partim ſit noſtrum, partim ſit Dei. Sed totum illi tribuo acceptumque fero:* that is, I did not ſo ſay wee haue truſt, that this worke is partly ours, and partly Gods: but I allow it, and yeeld it wholly vnto God. The conſideration hereof putteth vs in minde to ioine humble and hearty prayer to our diligent reading and hearing, that God will giue vs vnderſtanding and knowledge. Act. 16. 1. Cor. 3. *Hom. 3. de verbis Dom. ſecund. Iohan. In 2. cap. 2. ad Corint.*

Now to conclude this firſt remedie, whereby Hiericho may be kept from building; we may ſay that of the vſe of good learning, which S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh againſt thoſe that charge the Scriptures with vnneceſſary ſpeaches: *Solo vomere terra proſcinditur: ſed vt hoc fieri poſſit, etiam catera aratri membra ſunt neceſſaria:* The ſhare only renteth the ground, but to helpe this worke, the other parts of the plough are alſo needfull. We ſay, eloquence and other liberall Arts are to be likened to that part of the Carpenters wimble, which turneth about, goeth round, and by little and little draweth in the iron, or ſteele bit. The wooden handle entreth not into the wood, but wreatheth in the pierce: ſo doe theſe Arts, if they be rightly vſed, further the vnderſtanding of the word of God. This vſe Lactantius ſeemed to ſeeke, when he ſaid: *Vellem mihi dari eloquentiam, vel quia magis credant homines ornatæ veritati, vel vt ipſi ſuis armis vincantur:* I would gladly haue the gift of eloquence, either becauſe men might giue better credit to the truth, when it is beautified: or elſe becauſe the heathen may the ſooner be ouercome with their owne weapons. And in another place hee ſheweth that this eloquence muſt ſerue and wait vpon the wiſdome of God: *Circumliniatur poculum cœleſtis ſapientiæ melle, vt intelligamus non hominem loqui, ſed Deum:* Let the cuppe (of your ſpeech) bee ſeaſoned with the hony of Gods wiſdome, that wee may know it is God that ſpeaketh, and not man. Where this is not done, but men giue themſelues rather to be curious in hearing eloquence and pleaſantneſſe of ſpeech, than deſirous to learne the truth, the word of God becommeth vnfruitfull, as it is to bee feared in many, that they little account of the Goſpell of Chriſt, but ſeeke to pleaſe their itching eares with fantaſies of men. Auguſtine ſaith to ſuch: *Bonorum ingeniorum inſignis eſt indoles, in verbis verum amare, non verba. Quid enim prodeſt clauis aurea, ſi aperire quod volumus non poteſt? aut quid obeſt lignea, ſi hoc poteſt? quando nihil aliud quærimus, niſi vt pateat quod clauſum eſt:* Such as bee of good diſpoſition, ſeeke not after words, but after the truth: For what auaileth a key of gold, if it cannot open that we would haue opened? and what hurteth a key of wood, if it can open? ſeeing we deſire no other thing, but that it be opened vnto vs, which is ſhut. *Lact. Inſti. lib. 5. cap. 1. De doctr. Chr. lib. 4. cap. 11.*

The ſecond let or ſtay that Hiericho be not reſtored, is, that the people may be inſtructed, why it was ouerthrowen, and why God hath curſed them that ſhall ſeeke to reſtore it. This knowledge is a ſingular gift of God. When the Lord declared his fauour towards Iſrael, among other his ſpeciall mercies he ſpake in this ſort: This ſhall be the couenant that I will make with the houſe of Iſrael: After thoſe daies, I will put my Law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they ſhal be my people: and they ſhal teach no more euery man his neighbour, and euery man his brother, ſaying, Know the Lord: for they ſhall all know me, from the leaſt of them to the greateſt of them, ſaith the Lord. And againe, our Sauior ſaith out of the Prophet Eſay: They ſhal all be taught of God. And in the ſeuenteenth of S. Iohn, he ſaith: This is life eternall, that they know thee to be the onely very God, and whom thou haſt ſent Ieſus Chriſt. To this end, and for this cauſe, He gaue ſome to be Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Euangeliſts, and ſome Paſtours, and Teachers, for the gathering together of the Saints, for the work of the miniſtery, and for the edification of the body of Chriſt: that we henceforth be no more children wauering and carried about with euery wind of doctrine, by the deceit of men, and with craftines, wherby they lay wait to deceiue. Therefore doth S. Peter call vpon them that are of the Church of God, in all places, that they ſhew forth the mercies of God, that they witneſſe vnto all the world, what the Lord hath done for them, in filling them with all ſpiritual knowledge & vnderſtanding: Be ready alwaies to giue an anſwer to euery man that asketh you a reaſon of the hope that is in you. Therefore doth God giue charge to his people the children of Iſrael, to heare his law and keepe his commandements, not as an ordinance that ſhould ſtand good but for a ſeaſon, which ſhould be kept onely by them: but alſo requireth that they teach the ſame to their poſterity, that ſo his great bleſſings may neuer be forgotten. For thus he ſaith: Theſe words Ieremi. 31. Iohn 6. Iohn 17. Ephe. 4. 1. Pet. 3. Deut. 19.

which I command thee this day, ſhall be in thine heart, and thou ſhalt rehearſe them contially vnto thy children, and ſhalt talke of them, when thou tarrieſt in thine houſe, and as thou walkeſt by the way, and when thou lieſt downe, and when thou riſeſt vp. Thus doth God, by promiſe that he will giue the ſpirit of knowledge and of vnderſtanding vnto his people, and by raiſing vp labourers whom hée hath ſent forth into his Vineyard, Prophets, Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, and Paſtours, and Teachers, and by his earneſt commandement that we gaue eare to his word, and ſpeake of his wonderfull kindneſſe ſhewed vnto vs and our Forefathers, make it appeare how néedfull a thing it is, that we know his will. Without this knowledge we cannot loue him as our Father, we cannot feare him as our Lord.

But when we ſée the miſerable blindneſſe and ignorance in all places abroad, what hope may we haue to ſée Hiericho ſuppreſſed and quite ouerthrowen? It cannot be but great inconueniences ſhall follow in the Church of God, as confuſion of order, and diſſolution of life, to the indangering of the State, vnleſſe by godly care of the Magiſtrates, ſome helpe be prouided. This care muſt ſhew it ſelfe in remouing blinde watchmen, which haue no knowledge, who are but dumbe dogs that can not barke, who lie and ſléepe, and delight in ſléeping. Theſe grédy dogs can neuer haue enough (ſaith the Prophet Eſay:) *Non reſidence* and abſence from their cure, is a fault that would be amended in the Shepheards of the Lords flocke. Though they be neuer ſo able to inſtruct, and therefore worthy to haue the roomes in the Church, yet if they haue not a deſire to doe good, if they féed not Chriſts ſhéepe, if they be ſtrangers to the people of their charge, if they be not at hand to giue their flockes their bread in due ſeaſon, what let may there be, but that ignorance and blindneſſe ſhall grow and increaſe in the people?

Eſai 56.

Another fault no leſſe hurtfull to the Church of God, is the ſuffering of pluralities, when one man taketh the profit of two or more benefices, which is not worthy of one. Theſe *Non Reſidents* and plurality men teach not, they know not, nor care for the people of their charge: they haue brought this confuſion and ſhame into the houſe of God. They are blinde guides, they are the darkneſſe of the world. Againſt theſe which are ſuch, God ſheweth his heauy diſpleaſure: My ſheepe, ſaith he, wandred thorow all the Mountaines, and vpon euery high hill: yea, my flocke was ſcattered thorow all the earth, and none did ſeeke or ſearch after them. And againe: Neither did my ſhepheards ſeeke my ſheepe, but the ſhepheards feed themſelues, and not my ſheepe. And by the Prophet Ieremie he ſaith: They that ſhould miniſter the Law, knew me not. And againe: The Paſtours are become Beaſts, and haue not ſought the Lord: therefore haue they none vnderſtanding: and all the flockes of their paſtures are ſcattered. Theſe either be a remnant of the wicked inhabitants of Hiericho, that reſiſt the paſſage of Gods people towards the land of promiſe: or ſuch as haue forgotten the commandement of the Lord, and haue giuen themſelues to do the ſinnes of the people, whom the Lord gaue ouer vnto them. Theſe be they that ſéeke the reſtoring of Hiericho, and the ouerthrow of Hieruſalem, therefore the curſe of God will fall vpon them: the blod of Gods people ſhall be required at their hands, becauſe they bring the abomination of deſolation into the holy place: becauſe they ſuffer Chriſts flocke to periſh for lacke of knowledge, and to be carried away after euery wind of falſe doctrine. God grant all ſuch, that they may ſée with their eies, & vnderſtand in their hearts, and know the gratious goodneſſe of the Lord, that the people be not through their negligence like Horſe and Mule: but that they may diſcerne betwéene darkneſſe and light, and betwéene Hiericho and Hieruſalem: that they may be able to giue a reaſon of the faith which is in them and that they may teach the ſame vnto their children. So ſhall wée be built vpon a rocke, ſo ſhall wée ſtand as firme as mount Sion, ſo ſhall wée neuer be confounded.

Ezech. 34.
Ibidem.
Ierem. 2.
Ierem. 10.

The third meanes to ſtay the building of Hiericho, is to be thankfull for the benefits which God hath beſtowed vpon vs: and in ſuch ſort to lead our life, that it may appeare we be his ſeruants. To this end God hath giuen his holy word: and to this end hath he left his holy Sacraments, that wée ſhould bée put in minde of his kindneſſe, and not become vnmindfull, or vnthankfull, and ſo receiue his grace in vaine.

But, you will ſay, What thankes ſhall I giue? Some lead me one way, and ſome another: ſome ſay héere is Chriſt, ſome ſay there is Chriſt: I know not, nor wherefore, nor how to yéeld thankes. Héereto a ſhort anſwer cannot ſuffice, and a long would be tedious. Let vs call to remembrance the Leſſon that was giuen vs in this place on Sunday laſt: Let vs ſearch the Scriptures. Eſay the Prophet ſaith: To the law, & to the teſtimony: if they ſpeak not according to this word, it is becauſe there is no light in them. Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Nullo modo cognoſcitur quæ ſit vera Eccleſia Chriſti, niſi tantummodo per Scripturas*: By no meanes may it be knowen, which is the true Church of Chriſt, but only by the Scriptures. Without them our faith is no faith, without the help of them we cannot know Chriſt frō Antichriſt, we cannot know the church of Chriſt from the ſynagogue of ſatan: Hereby let vs learne to

Eſai 8.
Hom. 49. in opere imperfecto.

know

Hieruſalem, hereby let vs learne to know Hiericho. Certainly if the word of God, and the breath of his mouth be not able to ſhew this; tradition and cuſtome ſhall be much leſſe able.

It is a good thing to be thankfull, and to praiſe the Name of the moſt high: the ſeruants of God find cauſe of thankfulnes in conſideration of the great and wonderfull mercies continually powred vpon them. Moſes commanded Niſan to bee the firſt moneth in the yeare, Exod. 12. becauſe God had deliuered Iſrael from the hand of Pharao in that moneth. In like ſort Mardocheus the Iew, and Eſther the Queene, ſent letters vnto all the Iewes that were thorow all the Prouinces of the King Aſſuerus both neere and farre, enioyning them that they ſhould keepe the fourereenth day of the moneth Adir with ioy and feaſting, for that vpon that day God had deliuered them from the hand of Haman: and that they would not faile to obſerue the ſame euery yeare.

Vpon this day, euen vpon this day, I ſay, the xxiij. of this Moneth, God ſent his handmaid, and deliuered vs. Let vs be kinde and thankfull vnto God for ſo great a bleſſing. I ſay not, let vs make it the firſt day of the yeare. Yet this I ſay, let vs haue it in remembrance, let vs ſing with the Prophet: When the Lord brought againe the Captiuitie of Si- Pſal. 126. on, we were like them that dreame; then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with ioy. The Lord hath done great things for vs, whereof we reioice. Let no man be offended herewith, it is onely a remembrance of the mercy of God, it behoueth vs to remember it, it is good to ſpeake of it. For if we haue eies to ſee, and neglect not our owne ſaluation, we haue now much greater cauſe to reioice than Dauid had, becauſe the things which are this day reſtored vnto vs by the goodneſſe of our God, are far greater and worthier than thoſe, which Dauid and the people of Iſrael receiued in their deliuerance out of the captiuity of Babilon. For by how much the heauens are greater than the earth, and God is more excellent than a creature: ſo much doth the knowledge of God, and his true worſhip, paſſe all worldly bleſſing, and all other felicitie that can be deuiſed vnder the Sun. For what knoweth he, which knoweth not God? Or what worſhippeth he, which worſhippeth not God? He that worſhippeth not God, hath not the comfort of God: but he that hath God & knoweth God, and ſerueth God, hath a ſure helpe and defence in all aſſaies. Let vs therefore be glad and reioice, let vs witnes our ioy, and ſing vnto the Lord a new ſong. Let vs kindle in our hearts the fire of the loue of God, and of our neighbour, and let the flame thereof breake out to the glory of God. Let vs decke the Altars of our hearts with the flouriſhing branches of vertue, and good workes: let vs ſacrifice and kill our luſts and affections. In this maner if we ſhew our thankfulneſſe towards God, we ſhall hinder the wicked purpoſe of them that wiſh the reſtoring of Hiericho, we ſhall ſee the land of Gods promiſe, and enter into his reſt.

The fourth ſtay to hinder this building is diſcipline, which is ſo needfull, that neither without it ſhall we be able thoroughly to diſcomfort thoſe that ſeeke to build vp Hiericho againe, nor your ſelues happily and proſperouſly to goe on forward in ſetting forth the glory and maieſtie of our God, and to paſſe ſafely to the countrie promiſed. It is as the ſinewes of the Church to ſtrengthen it, and to ioine and knit the parts thereof together. But, becauſe the time is paſſed, and this matter waighty, and worthy of larger diſcourſe, I will leaue it to your godly conſiderations, and for ſome other time.

And thou, O mercifull Father, riſe vp we beſeech thee, to iudge thine owne cauſe, ſtabliſh the thing thou haſt begun in vs, guide our feet in the way of peace, giue force vnto thy word, bleſſe thine inheritance, blow downe the wals of Hiericho: ſo ſhall Hieruſalem proſper, and her wals be made ſtrong: ſo ſhall the day ſtar lighten our hearts: ſo ſhall Iſrael reioice, and all the people truly know thee, and praiſe thy name for euer. Amen.

1. HAGGAI. 1.

VERS. 2. Thus ſpeaketh the Lord of hoſts, ſaying: This people ſay, The time is not yet come, that the Lords houſe ſhould be builded.

3. Then came the word of the Lord by the miniſtery of the Prophet Haggai, ſaying:

4. Is it time for your ſelues to dwell in your ſeeled houſes, and this houſe lie waſte?

THeſe words be written in the firſt Chapter of the Prophet Aggæus. For better vnderſtanding whereof, I muſt call to your remembrance the ſtory of that time, vpon occaſion whereof, theſe words were ſpoken.

Almighty God being for many and ſundry cauſes highly diſpleaſed with his people the Iewes, after he had chaſtened them many waies, and ſaw none amendment, at the laſt gaue them ouer into the hands of their enemies, and ſuffered both the king and all the peo-

ple of the countrie to be carried away priſoners into Babylon, where they continued in miſery the ſpace of ſeuenty yeres. In the meane ſeaſon, their countrie partly lay waſt, and grew full of wild beaſts: partly was inhabited by forreners: The Temple that Salomon had built them, the ſtatelieſt and richeſt worke of the whole world, was burnt to the ground, and all the ornaments thereof rauened vp, and carried into Babylon.

After fifty yeres, King Cyrus ſhewed fauour towards his people, and did licence them to depart home againe. But as they were about the building, vpon occaſion of complaint of their enemies, the whole worke was ſtaied. At the length, after 70. yeres, God remembred his promiſe and mercie, and ſtyred vp the heart of King Darius King of Perſia, who had then conquered the Chaldees, to licence the Iewes to depart home againe into their countrey, and to redifie their Citie and Temple. This King Darius (as the Rabbines or Doctors of the Iewes, and moſt part of learned men coniecture) was ſonne vnto the king Aſſuerus, begotten of the good Lady Quéne Heſter, which Lady Heſter he married after he had imbaſed and diuorced from him the proud and ſtubborne Quéne Vaſthi. This was Gods marueilous prouidence, by that meanes twice to deliuer his people. Firſt, by
Heſter 3. the good Lady Heſter, from the tyranny of Haman, as it appeareth by the ſtory: and after, by her child Darius clérely to deliuer them, & to diſcharge them out of their enemies hands for euer. The Iewes notwithſtanding they had ſo gracious a grant of their King, yet many of them would not returne home, but made their abode euen there among their enemies in Babylon, and the moſt part of them that were returned, fell to building of their own houſes, and left the houſe of God vnbuilded: ſo ſone they had forgotten Gods mercy towards them. In the time of their trouble, they cried out, If I ſhrinke from God, I pray God ſhrinke from me. But being reſtored home and at liberty, they ſaid, as the Prophet héere reporteth: *Nondum venit tempus, &c.* The time is not yet come, that the Lords houſe ſhould be builded. They ſaw they had many enemies on euery ſide, the matter it ſelfe was marueilous weighty, and to their iudgements almoſt impoſſible. They had begun before vnder King Cyrus, and becauſe the matter was then daſht, and their enemies preuailed againſt them, they were vtterly diſcouraged and caſt into deſpaire.

Wherefore God ſpake to them by the Prophet Aggæus: Is it time for your ſelues to dwell in your ſeeled houſes, and this houſe lie waſte? Haue you found leaſure to ſet vp and furniſh your owne houſe, and can you neglect the reſtoring of my houſe? My houſe (I ſay in which my Law hath béene read and preached to you, where your Fathers haue made me ſacrifices, towards which houſe you turned your faces, whenſoeuer you praied vnto me in Babylon, and were heard? Therefore ſaith the Lord: You haue ſowen much, and bring in little: yee eat, but yet haue not enough: yee loked for much, and loe, it came to little: and when you brought it home, I did blow it out. You ſet your ioy vpon vaine things, and the ſame ſhall deceiue you. This place of the Prophet Aggæus, I haue thought good to applie to the preſent ſtate of our time. For as then the Citie of Hieruſalem was miſerably raced, and the Temple of God burnt downe by Heathens: euen ſo hath it fared in time lately paſt with the Church of Chriſt, héere among vs. And as then God mollified & ſoftned the heart of the king Darius for the deliuery of his people, euen ſo of his great mercy hath he now ſtirred vp a moſt noble & vertuous Lady our ſoueraign Quéne Elizabeth, for the ſame purpoſe. And, as then there were many that ſet light by Gods benefits, & thought it mát enough for him to wait vpon their leaſure: euen ſo, I pray God, the ſame ſecurity be not found in vs at this time. I pray God there be none of vs that make light of Gods grace, & ſay in our harts: *Nondum venit tempus, &c.* The time is not yet come, that the Lords houſe ſhould be builded.

1 Wherefore, firſt I will proue (by Gods grace) that our Church hath bén ouergrowen with errours and abuſes, as then the Temple of Hieruſalem was defaced by the Chaldees.

2 Secondly, I will ſhew what things they be, that do ſtay men from redifying of this Temple.

3 Laſt of all, after what ſort this Church ought to be builded, and ſo I will leaue you to God.

Touching the firſt part, I ſhall not néed many words; for God hath in our daies ſufficiently reuealed, and we haue ſéene the ſtate of the Church in time paſt. And indéed, the errors and abuſes haue béene ſo groſſe, that whoſo can not ſée them with his eies, yet may feele and grope them with his fingers. Yet, becauſe I know ſome are not thorowly perſwaded hérein, but think that the Church of Rome hath euer more bén pure and without ſpot: and ſome others in their writings call it the rule of the truth, that whatſoeuer the Church ſaith, whatſoeuer it be, muſt néeds be true: as Syluéſter ſaith, it is *Infallibilis regula*; A rule that neuer deceiueth: Some ſet it aboue the word of God, as the ſame Syluéſter: *A doctrina Eccleſiæ Romanæ & Romani Pontificis ſacra Scriptura robur trahit & authoritatem:* The holy Scripture taketh force and authority of that doctrine of the Church and Biſhop of Rome. And as

Cuſanus:

Cusanus: Sequuntur Scripturæ Ecclesiam, & non è converso: The Scriptures follow the Church, and not on the contrary part, the Church followeth the Scriptures. Others say: *Impossibile hæreticari, &c.* It is not possible he should fall into heresies which followeth the Church of Rome. Some others say, that if Christ & his Apostles were alive, they were not able to rule the Church in better sort, than is now ruled, by the Pope and his Cardinals. Thus some sely wise doctors have written, I am able to alleage mine authors. Therefore I must of force stand upon this matter a little; not because I thinke it needfull, but that all men may be satisfied. First, Christ our Saviour, as he foreshewed the prosperous course of the Gospell, that it should be preached throughout the world, & that the gates of hell should not be able to withstand it: so he and his Apostles forewarned also the ruine and decay of that church: and that in so many places, and in so plaine words, that no man can doubt of it, or deny it. *Epist. 2. ad Bohemos.*

For, Christ alleaging the Prophet Daniel saith, that abomination should sit in the holy place, and that there should be such confusion and disorder, that if it were possible the very elect should be peruerted. He saith, that when he shall come to iudge, there shall scarcely be found faith in the world. Paul likewise saith, that the man of sinne, that is, such a one as in all things should be contrary to Christ, and is called Antichrist, should sit in the Temple of God, and beare himselfe as if he were God indeed. Matth 24. 2. Thes. 2.

Daniel saith: The truth shall be cast downe to the ground. And to Timothy Paul saith: In the latter times some shall depart from the faith, and shall giue heed to spirits of error, and doctrines of diuels. S. Peter saith: There shall be false teachers among you. Dan. 8. 1. Tim. 4. 2. Pet. 2.

And, where saith Christ (I beseech you consider) this horrible desolation should be? Among the Turkes, or Iewes? No but in the holy place. Where shall the Sonne of man scarcely finde faith? Where shall the very elect stand in doubt what they may beleeue? Among the Heathens, or Infidels? No, but in the Church. Where saith S. Peter shall be the maisters of lies; where saith Daniel shall the truth be troden downe? Where saith S. Paul shal the man of sinne perch, and settle, and behaue himselfe as if he were very God? Among the Heathen? No, no good brethren, but *in Templo Dei*, In the Temple of God, in the very Church, among them that should beare the name of Christ. But, forasmuch as it cannot be doubted among Christian men, that Christ and his Apostles appointed the Church in their time in such sort, as no better could be deuised, let vs compare the church of late time to that originall, as the vse is, in trying of measures, where, in triall whether is true or false, we haue euermore recourse to the standard: for if there be any fault, whatsoeuer it be, the standard will bewray it. This order Christ himselfe vsed with the Priests & Pharisies, saying: *Domus mea Domus orationis vocabitur:* My house shall be called the house of praier. But you haue gone from the paterne or originall, and you haue made it a harbour for theeues. And whereas the contention stood vpon diuorce, Christ called them to the first originall: *A principio non fuit sic*, From the beginning is was not so: they twaine shall be one flesh. And S. Paul when the holy mistery of the Lords Supper was abused, called them home to the first institution: I haue receiued of the Lord, that which I also haue deliuered vnto you. By this standard Christ reproued the Sadducees: *Erratis, nescientes Scripturas:* You erre, not knowing the Scriptures. And by the same he confuted the Diuell, when he came to tempt him, *Scriptum est*, It is written. This standard shall be able to warrant vs, if we can say truly: *Scriptum est.* For as the learned father Irænæus saith: *Scriptura est basis & fundamentum fidei nostræ*: The Scripture is the pillar and foundation of our faith. It is rashnesse to beleeue without the warrant or direction of the Scriptures. It is not deuotion, nor Catholike faith, but wilfull rashnesse. Now, how many waies, and in how many points the Church of late daies hath dissented from the Church of Christ and of the Apostles (which no doubt was the Catholike Church) it were almost an infinite worke to recken vp. For they disagree in so many things, that in maner they agree in nothing. Notwithstanding, I will lay out one or two things before you, and by them your wisedomes shall ghesse the rest. Matth. 21. Matth. 19. 1. Cor. 11. Matth. 2. Matth. 4. *Iren. lib. 3. cap. 1.*

Christ gaue the Sacrament of his body and blood to be frequented in the Congregation, that all should be partakers thereof, in remembrance of his death, and said: *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*: Doe you this in remembrance of mee. Thus Christ himselfe ordained and commanded: thus the Apostles, and the Catholike Fathers in the Primitiue Church vsed it: and there can no commandement, nor example be shewed forth to the contrary. Yet our latter fathers, against Christ, against the Apostles, against the Primitiue Church, haue thought it sufficient, that one Priest alone should communicate for all the rest. Luke 22.

Christ deliuered the holy Communion vnder both kindes, and so it was vsed in the Primitiue Church, and in the times of the Doctours, Chrysostome, Ambrose, Gregory, Augustine, & Hierome. But our fathers in the Councel holden at Constance of late yeres, haue gone from the original, and haue decreed against Christ himselfe, against his Apostles, & Doctors, that, to minister the Communion to a lay man vnder both kindes, is an open heresie. Alas,

(good brethren) I beſeech you conſider by the way, in what ſtate was the Church of Chriſt then, when Chriſts owne inſtitution, and the Apoſtles doctrine was called hereſie?

Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and the Catholike Fathers vſed their Prayers in a common tongue, that the people might perceiue what was ſaid in the Church, and ſay, Amen. But how neare our latter Fathers come to that originall, it needeth no rehearſall. For you haue heard it taught you as a neceſſarie doctrine, that your Prayers ſhould be in the Latine tongue, although you did not vnderſtand what ye prayed for: and that kinde of prayer hath beene called deuotion.

God left order to his Church: *Non facies tibi ſculptile:* Thou ſhalt not make thee any grauen image. From Chriſts time for the ſpace of 500. yeares, there was no allowance of Images in the Catholike Church: but our latter Fathers cannot take it for a Church, vnleſſe it be decked and ſet about with Images.

The Apoſtles were married (as Ignatius and Ambroſe witneſſe) and ſo were others the Miniſters of the Church after them, as it is well knowen, for 1000. yeares after Chriſt. To hold good this originall, there haue beene certaine Canons ſet downe: *Si quis docuerit, Sacerdotem ſub obtentu Religionis, propriam vxorem contemnere, anathema ſit:* If any man teach that a Prieſt, for colour of Religion ſhould contemne his wife, let him be accurſed. And the generall Councell holden at Gangra, as it is ſet down alſo by Gratian: If any put difference betweene the Prieſt that is married, by reaſon of his marriage, that he ſhould not offer, and for that cauſe commeth not to his offering, he is accurſed: yet Pope Hildebrand, one of the latter Fathers, decreed and commanded, that no man ſhould heare ſuch Prieſts Maſſe that had a wife: but cauſed their tenth to be burnt, their prayers and bleſſings to be holden as curſes, and the Sacrament which they had Conſecrate, to be ſpit at, and troden vnder mens feet.

Diſtin. 28. *Si quis.*

Diſtin. 28. *Si quis deſcernit,*

You will ſay, Theſe be but ſmall matters, and may be borne withall, for decencie and good order. But you ſhall vnderſtand, that the Canons of the Apoſtles, and diuers of the firſt Biſhops of Rome, and other holy Fathers required, that all ſuch as were preſent at the miniſtration of the Communion, ſhould alſo be partakers of the Sacrament: and accounted worthy to be put out of the Church, whoſoeuer would not communicate with the Miniſter. And Chryſoſtome calleth ſuch a one impudent and malepert. *Quiſquis myſteriorum conſors non eſt, &c.* Whoſoeuer, ſaith he, doth not communicate, and ſtandeth by, he is ſhameleſſe and malepert. Communion vnder one kinde, is no ſmall matter, but ſuch a matter, and of ſuch weight, that Gelaſius calleth it open ſacrilege, to miniſter the Sacrament in one kinde.

Homil. 3. *ad Eph.*
De conſecrat. diſt. 2. *Canone comperimus.*

Common Prayer in a ſtrange tongue, is ſuch a matter, that it taketh away the very vſe of common Prayer. For the people (as Paul ſaith) cannot ſay, Amen, nor be edified, nor giue God thankes. And the Emperour Iuſtinian in a Law that he maketh, touching the publike prayers of the Church, ſaith thus: We command all Biſhops and Prieſts to miniſter the holy Oblation, and the prayer at the holy Baptiſme, not vnder ſilence, but with ſuch voice as may be heard of the faithfull people: to the intent that the hearers may be ſtirred vp to more deuotion, &c. And let the holy Prieſts vnderſtand, that if they neglect any of theſe things, they ſhall make anſwer therefore at the dreadfull iudgement of the great God, and our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. And yet neuertheleſſe, wee our ſelues vnderſtanding the ſame will not paſſe it ouer, nor leaue it vnpuniſhed.

To haue Images in the Church of God, is no ſmall matter. It is forbidden by a generall Councell called Eliberinum: and Epiphanius a Catholike Father, calleth it abomination.

The violent inforcing of ſole life, is ſuch a matter, that S. Paul calleth it *doctrinam Demoniorum*: the doctrine of Diuels. And Daniel ſaith, it is one of the markes of Antichriſt: Neither ſhall he regard the deſires of women. Which place S. Hierome expoundeth: *Ideo Antichriſtus ſimulat caſtitatem, vt plurimos decipiat*: Therefore doth Antichriſt faine or pretend chaſtity, that he may deceiue many.

Dan. 11.

Thus farre they diſagree from the originall of Gods word. But they vſe commonly to ſay, the Church was then in her minority and infancie: afterward, ſhe was better informed. So when Chriſt, and the Apoſtles, and the Doctours pleaſe them, they ſhall rule the matters, they ſhall be holy Doctours, and holy Fathers: if not, they ſhall not be paterns to follow, but children and infants. They vſe them as Merchants vſe their counters: for that counter which now ſtandeth for a pound, anon after ſhall be removed and made a ſimple halfe peny. Yet notwithſtanding they crie, Fathers, Doctours, Church: and yet indeed do all things contrary to the Church of Chriſt, contrary to the Doctours and Fathers of the Church.

Two principall things there be that ſeeme to beare vp the whole brunt of the Religion, that

that hath bẽn in the woꝛld of late time: the one is the Maſſe, and things therunto belonging: the other is the authoꝛitie of the Pope. Theſe two I will bꝛiefly compare to the firſt oꝛiginall: onely running ouer certaine ſpeciall bꝛanches of them both, in as few woꝛds as I can deuiſe.

And as touching the Maſſe, if there be any man here that hath any good opinion of it, and is alſo learned and able to iudge, let him think with himſelfe, what Doctoꝛ oꝛ Father in the Pꝛimitiue Church euer vſed, oꝛ taught vs to vſe a pꝛiuate Maſſe: what Doctoꝛ oꝛ Father euer heard of ten, twenty, oꝛ thirty Maſſes in one Church ſaid at one time: what Father oꝛ Doctoꝛ euer taught the Pꝛieſt to communicate foꝛ other? Chryſoſtome noteth, it is an eꝛꝛoꝛ to ſay, the Sacraments receiued of one, may doe good to others, that receiue them not. What Father oꝛ Doctoꝛ euer taught, that *hoc facite*, was *hoc ſacrificate*? What Doctoꝛ oꝛ Father euer taught vs, that the bꝛead is tranſubſtantiate into Chꝛiſts body? I aſſure you that woꝛd was neuer heard of, vntill now within little moꝛe than thꝛee hundꝛed yeꝛes vnder Innocentius the third. What Father oꝛ Doctoꝛ taught vs, that there remaine *accidentia ſine ſubiecto*? that Chꝛiſts body is in a hundꝛed thouſand places at once, that the Pꝛieſt ſhould hold the bꝛead ouer his head, and turne his backe to the people? that the Sacrament ſhould be hanged vp in a Canopy foꝛ the people to adoꝛe? What Father euer taught vs, that their Communion bꝛead ſhould be round, becauſe the earth is round? That the Pꝛieſt ſhould kiſſe the Altar, becauſe Iudas kiſſed Chꝛiſt? That he ſhould waſh his fingers, becauſe Pilate waſhed his hands? That he ſhould knocke his bꝛeaſt, in token of the thefues repentance vpon the Croſſe? Theſe things haue bẽn wꝛitten by Durand, Bonauenture, and Innocentius, and others like of late time: but the Fathers in the Pꝛimitiue Church neuer heard of them. *Hom. 40. in 1. ad Cor.*

Yet ſome men of late time haue beaten into your heads, that theſe and many other like things haue come by ſucceſſion, euen from the Pꝛimitiue Church, and from the Apoſtles. But ſo the Coniurers and Soꝛcerers ſay, that their Books of Coniuration & Soꝛcery came from Moſes, from Enoch, and from Abel. Plutarch wꝛiteth, that Theſeus, Romulus, Hercules, and other like pꝛincely gentlemen, indeed were baſtards, and were begotten of fathers of veꝛy low degꝛee: but after they came into honoꝛ and eſtimation, the people (becauſe they knew not whoſe ſons they were) thought they had come from heauen, and theꝛefoꝛe they called them the ſonnes of the gods.

Euen ſo, theſe things that I haue heꝛe repoꝛted, notwithſtanding indeed they are baſe boꝛne, yet becauſe they haue ſtollen into the Church, and haue bẽn had in honoꝛ, ſome men haue taught you, they haue come euen from heauen, and theꝛefoꝛe they haue fathered them vpon Chꝛiſt, and his Apoſtles. But in the meane ſeaſon, they haue not dealt iuſtly with you, but haue done wꝛong both to Chꝛiſt, and to his Apoſtles. Hieꝛome wꝛiting vpon Aggeus, ſaith: *Qua abſq; authoritate & teſtimonijs Scripturarum quaſi traditione Apoſtolica ſponte reperiunt atque confingunt, percutit gladius Dei*: The ſword of God ſtriketh thoſe things which men finde out and deuiſe of themſelues without the authoꝛitie and teſtimonies of the Scriptures, and deliuer foꝛth, as if they came by the tradition of the Apoſtles. *Hieron. in 1. Agge.*

Againe, what Catholike Father taught vs, that the Pope is the head of the Church, aboue Kings, aboue Councels, aboue the woꝛd of God, greater and of moꝛe authoꝛity than the Apoſtles? that he cannot eꝛꝛe? that the whole woꝛld is his Dioceſſe? that he may not be iudged whatſoeuer he doe, although he dꝛaw a thouſand ſoules downe into hell? that he is neither man noꝛ God, but a mixture meddled together of God & man? All theſe things, our later Fathers haue wꝛitten of the Pope: and yet I leaue a hundꝛed things vntouched. Thus faꝛ haue they gone from their oꝛiginall and paterne.

But what greater diſoꝛder can there be in the Church of God, than when Antichꝛiſt ſhall come and ſit in the place of God? There is an old fable of Antichꝛiſt, that when he commeth, he would turne tꝛees vpſide downe, and doe ſuch like wonders. But the markes whereby Antichꝛiſt ſhall be knowen indeed, are otheꝛwiſe ſet downe in the holy Scꝛiptures. In his comming, abomination ſhall ſtand in the holy place, and truth ſhall be thꝛowen downe in the earth.

I know many men are offended to heare the Pope pointed out foꝛ Antichꝛiſt, and thinke it an vncharitable kind of doctrine: theꝛefoꝛe I teſtraine to vſe any ſuch names, and only will repoꝛt to you of other, by what tokens Antichꝛiſt, when he commeth, may be knowen. Gregorie, as it were in the ſpirit of pꝛopheſie, wꝛiting againſt Iohn Biſhop of Conſtantinople, ſaith: *Rex ſuperbiæ propè eſt, & (quod dici nefas eſt) Sacerdotum eſt præparatus exercitus*: The King of pride is at hand, and (which is vnlawfull to be ſaid) an armie of Prieſts is pꝛepaꝛed. By theſe tokens, ſaith Gregorie, you may know him: he ſhall be the Pꝛince of pꝛide, and he ſhall haue an armie of Pꝛieſts to wait vpon him. In another place he ſaith: *Quiſquis ſe vniuerſalem ſacerdotem vocat, vel vocari deſiderat, in elatione ſua Antichriſtum præcurrit*: Whoſoeuer *Greg. lib. 4. epiſt. 38.* *Greg. lib. 6. epiſt. 30.*

Whoſoeuer calleth himſelfe the vniuerſall Prieſt, or deſireth ſo to be called, in the pride of his heart is the forerunner of Antichriſt. **Theſe words were written by** Gregory **more than** 900. **yeares ſince.**

If there were euer any that might be knowen by theſe tokens, which was or is the Prince of pride, **and is called or deſireth to be called the** Vniuerſall Prieſt, or Biſhop, **or hath** an army of Prieſts, **I leaue that to your iudgement, whether the ſame be he whom** Gregory **deſcribeth, or ſome other. I pray God to lighten the eies of all the world, that all the world may ſpy him, and the man of ſinne may be reuealed.**

When the woman of Samaria **ſaw the miracles that Chriſt had done, and heard ſome men doubt whether he were** Meſſias **or no: Why** (quoth she) **when** Meſſias **ſhall come, ſhall he doe more ſignes, than this man hath ſhewed? So may we ſay by the Biſhop of** Rome, **When** Antichriſt **ſhall come, ſhall he worke more ſignes, than they of that See haue done? ſhall he worke more diſorder in the Church? ſhall he doe more to the diſhonour of** God, **and againſt Chriſt?**

Some man will ſay, that for vnity ſake it is méte, that ſome man be named head of the
Greg. lib. 6. epiſt. 30. **Church. But** Gregory **ſaith:** *Si quantitatem vocis perpendimus, duæ ſunt ſyllabæ: Si pondus iniquitatis, vniuerſa pernicies:* If we waigh the quantity of the word, it ſtandeth in two ſyllables: if we conſider the weight of the wickedneſſe, it is an vniuerſall deſtruction. **Vnto** Anaſtaſius
Lib. 6. epi. 24. **the Biſhop of** Antioch, **he writeth thus:** To diſſemble the iniury done to your honor, if one Biſhop bee called Vniuerſall, then if that one Vniuerſall Biſhop fall, the whole Vniuerſall Church goeth to ground. **Therefore** Franciſcus Zabarella, **a Canoniſt, ſeeing the great inconueniences that grew hereof, ſaith:** the Popes doe now whatſoeuer they liſt to doe, yea although it be vnlawfull, and are become more than God. Hereof hath followed infinit errors: for the Pope hath inuaded and entred vpon all the right of the inferior Churches: ſo that the inferior Biſhops may go for nought; and vnleſſe God helpe the ſtate of the church, the vniuerſal church is in danger. **In conſideration of this great danger which hereby groweth to the whole Church,**
Lib. 4. epi. 38. Gregory **ſaith to** Iohn **the Biſhop of** Conſtantinople: *Tu quid Chriſto vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ capiti in extremi iudicij diſcrimine es examinè, qui cuncta eius membra tibimet conaris vniuerſalis appellatione ſubponere?* What anſwer wilt thou make at the triall of the laſt iudgement vnto Chriſt the head of the vniuerſal Church, which thus by the name of vniuerſall Biſhop ſeekeſt to make all his members ſubiect vnto thee? **This decay of the Church, the old Catholike Fathers foreſaw in their time. When** Conſtantinus **the Emperour endowed the Church with lands and poſſeſſions, they ſay there was a voice of Angels**
Ioh. de pariſijs cap. 22. in vita Silueſtri. **heard in the aire, ſaying:** *Hodie venenum infunditur in Eccleſiam:* This day poiſon is powred into the Church. **If there were poiſon powred into the Church then, I doubt there was neuer Triacle powred into it ſince. This we ſée, that from that time ſhe hath done worſe and worſe.** Auguſtine **findeth fault with the multitude of ceremonies, and ſaith the Church in his time was in worſe caſe by mans deuiſes, than was the Church of the Iewes.** Bernard **ſaid:** There is no part ſound in the Clergy. **And againe:** They which chuſe the firſt places in the Church, are chiefeſt in perſecuting Chriſt. **And againe:** *Non doctores, ſed ſeductores: non paſtores, ſed impoſtores: non prælati, ſed Pilati:* They be not teachers, but deceiuers: they are not feeders, but beguilers: they be not Prelates, but Pilates.

What ſhould I hold you with calling the fathers to witneſſe in this matter? they themſelues that haue béene Proctors for the Church of Rome, **are contented ſometimes to acknowledge, that they haue forſaken the originall.** Latomus **findeth fault that the Lords ſupper was miniſtred to the people in one kind only.** Abbas Ponormitane, Faber, Pius ſecundus, **found fault with the forbidding of Prieſts marriage.** *Ex agamia* (ſaith Faber) *multi lapſi ſunt in pedicas diaboli:* Many haue fallen into the ſnares of the Diuell, by forſaking mariage. **And further, eſpecially the miſchieuous purpoſe of thoſe which brought ſuch ordinance into the Church, by a ſimilitude, ſaying:** *aranea texunt ſubtilia retia &c.* Spiders weaue their webs ſo ſmall and fine, that they may ſcarſely be ſeene: if any thing fall into them, they firſt ſet vpon the head thereof, and ſo take away all ſenſe and feeling. Albertus Phighius **confeſſed there were errors and abuſes in the Maſſe. I will ſay nothing of their liues. Some of themſelues ſay that they ſucceed** Peter **in place, but** Iudas **in life.** Boniface **being himſelfe a Biſhop, ſaid: In old time we had tréene Chalices and golden Prieſts, but now we haue tréene Prieſts, and golden Chalices. And** Adrian **being alſo a Biſhop, ſaid:** *Succedimus non Petro in docendo, ſed Romulo in parricidio:* We ſucceed not Peter in teaching, but Romulus in ſlaughter of our brethren.

Yet notwithſtanding (ſay they) **we are ſucceſſors to** Peter, **and Vicars of Chriſt: we are the Church. But Chriſt taketh it for an argument againſt the Scribes and Phariſies;**
Mich. 3. This did not Abraham. **You are not the Church, you are of your father the Diuell. And** Micheas: My Prieſts teach for reward, and my Prophets prophecy for mony, and yet they

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reſt themſelues vpon the Lord and ſay, Is not God in the middeſt of vs? Are not we the Church? Therefore night ſhall be vnto you for a viſion, and darkneſſe ſhall be vnto you for a diuination, and the ſunne ſhall goe downe ouer the Prophets, and the day ſhall be darke ouer them.

I will ſpeake nothing of the blindneſſe of the time paſt; for our aduerſaries take that for a ſpeciall hold, and call ignorance the mother of deuotion: and ſay, Scriptures are a buckler, and a defence for heretikes. Not long ſithence, in this City there were certaine interrogatories put forth, to inquire of ſuch as then they called heretikes, wherein one inquiry was made in this ſort: Item: Whether you know or haue heard of any perſon or perſons within your pariſh, that hath kept, or at this preſent doth keepe, any hereticall, naughty, and ſeditious booke or bookes, eſpecially, Engliſh Teſtaments, or Bibles. I faine not this of my ſelfe, the booke is to be ſeene, imprinted euen in this yard. But this matter will ſome be anſwered, will they ſay: for it followeth, Falſly tranſlated. That were ſome what, if they would appoint you out one, that were tranſlated aright, or did allow any tranſlation of the Teſtament in Engliſh to be vſed.

Whenſoeuer any great Eclipſe chanceth in the Sunne or Moone, ſome marueilous impreſſion, or change, or mortality followeth vpon the earth: Euen ſo, when true knowledge faileth in the Church of God, it cannot be but the ſoules of the people ſhall periſh. If in the little time of Moſes abſence, the people forgat God, and fell to Idolatry: if when Chriſt ſlumbred, and toke but a little nap in the ſhip, the ſhip began to drowne: how ſhall it bee with them that receiue not Moſes at all, and giue no place to our Sauior Chriſt, who only is able to ſaue the church from drowning? For as Hilarie ſaith: *Eccleſia, intra quas verbum Dei non vigilauerit, naufragæ ſunt: Non quòd Chriſtus in ſomnum relaxetur, ſed quòd ſomno noſtro conſopiatur in nobis*: Thoſe Churches are in danger of drowning, wherein the word of God waketh not: Not for that Chriſt is in any ſlumber, but becauſe his word is heauy in vs through our heauineſſe: And Origen ſheweth how dangerous the ſtate of them is where the Goſpell is not preached. Such a Church cannot ſtand before the abomination of deſolation ſtedfaſt, or without danger of ſeducing. *Hilar. in Mat. cap. 8.*

And therefore Chriſt compareth his Church to the weakeſt things that be. Sometimes he calleth it a Vine, which vnleſſe it euermore be propt and borne vp, and loked vnto, and pruned, of it ſelfe is not able to ſtand, but falleth to the ground, and groweth wild. Sometimes he likeneth it to a flocke of ſheepe, which without attendance, is ready to take infinite maladies. Sometimes to a ſhip, which if it be not well prouided on euery ſide, if it be deſtitute of light of Sun and Starres, is in danger of the rocke and winds, and ſurges of the Sea. Sometimes to the Moone, which hath no light, but from the Sun.

What needeth more proofe in a matter being of it ſelfe ſo cleere? Chriſt himſelfe, and Daniel, and Peter, and Paul, gaue vs warning that this confuſion ſhould come to paſſe in the Church of God. We ſee with our eies, how far we are ſtraied from the originall. We ſee what darkneſſe and blindneſſe hath beene euen in them that ſhould haue ruled the ſterne. Good men haue had their eies opened, and haue pointed to vs that the Pilot of the ſhip a long time hath beene Antichriſt. The ancient and old Doctors in their time foreſaw that this great captiuity and confuſion was comming euen vpon them. Our fathers of late yeeres (though our aduerſaries and Patrons of the contrary cauſe, yea, the Biſhops of Rome and their chiefeſt pillars) doe confeſſe, that the patern and originall hath not beene kept. Diſcipline, which is the greateſt bond of the Church, hath beene broken. I pray God it may now be reſtored. The Sacraments that Chriſt left for our moſt comfort, haue ben miſerably mangled and defaced. Our praiers haue beene without ſpirit and verity, and ſo abuſed, that indeed they were no praiers.

What greater proofes or authorities doe we looke for? Now then, can there be any man ſo wilfull, that will ſay, there hath beene no diſorder in the Church? or, that Chriſt himſelfe, and his Apoſtles (if they were aliue) could rule the Church in no better ſort, than it hath beene and is by the Pope and his Cardinals?

But me thinke I heare ſome ſay, The Church cannot be ſo forſaken. it is the houſe and Temple of God, it is the ſpouſe of Chriſt: Chriſt made her a ſure promiſe, that he would neuer forſake her. *Ero vobiſcum vſque ad conſummationem ſeculi*: I will be with you to the end of the world. All this is true; yet is it not true, that euery particular Church of the world ſhal be eſtabliſhed for euer. For was not this Temple that Salomon built, the Temple of God? yet was it ouerthrown, & burnt downe to the ground by the Chaldees. Iupiters Image was ſet vp in it by Antiochus. It was afterward ouerthrown by the Emperor Titus; yet was it the Temple of God. Gods houſe is a houſe of praier; yet Chriſt ſaith; *Vos feciſtis ſpeluncam latronum*: You haue made it a den of theeues. The Lord made choice of his Vine, he loued it, it was a choſen heritage; yet Ieremie ſaith: Many paſtors haue deſtroied my Matth. 28. Luke 19. Iere. 12.

my Vineyard, and troden my portion vnder foote; of my choſen place, they haue made a deſolate wilderneſſe. Hieruſalem was called the holy City; yet is ſhe charged, that ſhe hath plaied the harlot and done ſhamefully. The Iewes called themſelues the people of God, but Chriſt calleth them the Synagogue of Satan. The Church of God is called the holy place; yet Chriſt ſaith, the abomination of deſolation, and S. Paul ſaith, the man of ſinne ſhall ſtand in the holy place. Reuel. 1.

If we beléeue Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, that forewarned vs hereof: if we beléeue the old Doctors: if we beléeue the writers of later yéares: if we beléeue ſuch as God hath ſtirred vp in our time to reuiue his Goſpell: if we beléeue our aduerſaries: if we beléeue our owne ſenſes and experience; let vs confeſſe that the Church hath béene defaced with abuſes: let vs giue God thankes, that of his great mercies hath reſtored it, and let vs euery man endeuour to reedifie it.

God had mollified the Kings heart to be gracious towards them, he had deliuered them, he had reſtored them home to their country, he gaue them Prophets to call vpon them, and a godly Prince to rule ouer them: but the people cried out: The time is not yet come that the Lords houſe ſhould be builded. Here muſt I touch the cauſes that withhold men from the building of Gods Temple, not all that may be reckoned: For that would require more time; but only the chiefeſt, that ſhall come to hand.

The firſt ſéemed to be deſpaire of the cauſe. For they ſaw it was a long trauell from Babylon to Hieruſalem. They had béene ſpoiled of all they had, and were poore, and the greateſt part euen of their owne people forſoke them, and would not returne home with them. Their enemies were ſtrong, and laughed them to ſcorne, and hindered their buildings. Others charged them with ſedition, and ſaid, if theſe men may once recouer their City, they will pay no more tribute, they will be longer in ſubiection, and this matter at length ſhall redound to the Kings dammage: Looke in your Chronicles, and you ſhal find that the Iewes haue euer béene traitors.

Euen ſo, when the man of God Luther was raiſed vp by God to reforme the Church, a friend of his ſaid vnto him; O father Luther, you ſhall neuer be able to preuaile: the Pope and Princes, and all the world are againſt you: The matter is paſt recouery: go into your ſtudy, and ſay: *Deus miſereatur noſtri.* Euen ſo, whenſoeuer it pleaſeth God to build vp the walles of his Temple, he chuſeth out ſuch, that for their owne infirmities, and for the force and ſtrength of their enemies, they might be diſcouraged, and deſpaire. Euen now that it hath pleaſed God to reſtore his Goſpell, they that are of the contrary part, cry out: Theſe men be rebels, they would haue no magiſtrate, they would haue all things in common. Behold what they haue done in Heluetia: behold what they haue don in Germanie: Looke out your Chronicles, you ſhall finde that all the vproares and ſeditions which haue béene theſe forty yéares, haue béene ſtirred vp by ſome of them.

But all this diſcouraged not the good Prince Zorobabel, but armed himſelfe with Gods promiſe againſt all impoſſibilities, and ſo called the people to the building of the Temple. And therefore God proſpered him, and moued the king Darius heart to make Proclamation, that whoſoeuer would withſtand Zorobabel in his doings, timber ſhould be taken out of his owne houſe, and a gallowes made, and he theron hanged without redemption. Euen ſo, that man of God deſpaired not, though he ſaw all the world againſt him, but gaue the glory to God. And therfore God bleſſed his doings as we ſée at this day. For it is the cauſe of God, and not of man. The zeale of the Lord of hoſts hath done this. I will bring this to paſſe (ſaith the Lord) not for your ſakes, but that my name may be glorified among the nations. For God chuſeth the weake things, and the fooliſh things of the world. As for the Aduerſaries, be they neuer ſo ſtrong, he that dwelleth in the heauens laugheth them to ſcorne. Theſe, through feare and deſpaire, kéepe backe from building the Temple.

Some there be that confeſſe, that many things are out of frame, and ought to be looked on, but they ſay, it is no time to fall a building. We muſt looke for a generall Councel. And God grant we may once ſée that day, that a generall Councel may be called, wherein Chriſt may ſit preſident, and all theſe matters that are now in queſtion, may haue indifferent hearing, and may be decided by the word of God.

But alas, they that make a face and ſhew of generall Councels, themſelues ſtop and ſtay, that there may be no generall Councell. When Luther made his firſt appeale from the Pope that then was, to a generall Councell, they made him anſwer, that it was againſt the decree of Pope Iulius, and Pope Pius, that any appeale ſhould be made from the Pope to any Councell.

When the Emperor had compelled them to a Councell, and the Princes of Germany & Common-weales, had ſent learned men thither, the Biſhops that were there aſſembled, would not heare any of them preach, or diſpute, or declare their minde. For only Biſhops

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may ſit and ſpeake in their Councel, and ſuch as are ſworne to maintaine the Pope. Æneas Syluius, otherwiſe called Pope Pius the ſecond, ſaith, If a Biſhop ſpeake againſt the Pope, yea although he ſpeake the truth, yet neuertheleſſe he ſinneth againſt the oath, that he hath made vnto the Pope.

Æneas Sylui. us ad capitulum Magun. tin.

And laſt of all, when the Councell hath done all that it can, the whole concluſion of the matter hangeth vpon the determination of the Pope. Now iudge you, what ſentence there is like to be, whereas hee ſhall be Iudge in his owne cauſe. Thus when they crie out and ſpeake of Councels, they ſeeke delay, they mocke with God and man, and indeed meane to haue no Councell.

S. Paul, after he was called of God, and touched in his heart and conſcience with Gods truth, appealed not to a generall Councell, but ſaith: *Non acquieui carni & ſanguini*: I communicated not with fleſh and blood. The kingdome of heauen ſuffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. There is no Councell aboue God.

Galat. 1. Mat. 11.

A Councel may teſtifie the truth to be truth, but it cannot make falſhood to be truth. Auguſtine anſwered moſt indifferently, writing to Maximinus a Biſhop of the Arrians, that alleged a generall Councel holden at Ariminum: *Nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminenſe tanquam præiudicaturus proferre Concilium, &c*: Neither may I lay to thee the Councell of Nice, nor maieſt thou lay to me the Councell of Ariminum, either of vs thinking thereby to find preiudice againſt the other: But let vs lay matter to matter, cauſe to cauſe, and reaſon to reaſon, by the authority of the Scriptures, which are indifferent witneſſes for both.

Lib. 3. cont. Maxim. c. 14.

When Ageſilaus minded to make his paſſage with his army thorow his neighbors land, he deſired licence of the Prince of that country: the Prince ſaid, he could make him no ready anſwer, but that he would take aduice of his Counſell. Well then, ſaid Ageſilaus, take you aduiſement: in the meane ſeaſon, I will paſſe thorow. So when our aduerſaries delay oft, and ſoiourne till they may take their deliberation in a Councell, let them deliberate while they will: but in the meane ſeaſon, let vs paſſe on in the buſineſſe of God, and take the occaſion offered vs to build vp a houſe to the Lord.

Some other ſay, it is not yet time: the Biſhops be they that ſhould redreſſe the Church. Would to God they would. For they ſhould be *Lux Mundi*: The light of the world: they ſhould be Shepheards, and Watchmen, they ſhould be builders of Gods Church. But what if the light become darkneſſe? What if the Shepheards become Wolues? What if the Watchmen lie a ſleepe? What if the Builders become ouerthrowers? Ieremy ſaith, the Paſtors haue ouerthrowen the Vineyard: and is it likely that they will reare it vp againe? Chriſt ſaid vnto the Biſhops, You haue made my houſe a den of theeues: and is it likely that they will bring it againe to the former ſtate, and make it a place of praier? But O mercifull God, what a building is that like to be, where ignorance is the foundation, where ignorance is deuotion, & the greateſt corner ſtone of the building? I pray God lighten their hearts with his holy Spirit, and make them to bee that they profeſſe themſelues to be, the light of the world, and true labourers in Gods Vineyard, and faithfull builders of his houſe.

In the meane ſeaſon let vs remember, that in the old Law, whenſoeuer the Biſhop grew out of order, God raiſed vp ſomtimes Prophets, ſomtimes Princes, to reforme the Church, to redreſſe things that were amiſſe, and to edifie the decaies. For the Prince is keeper of the Law of God, and that of both Tables, as well of the firſt that pertaineth to religion, as of the ſecond that pertaineth to good order. For he is the Head of the people, not only of the Commons and Laity, but alſo of the Miniſters and Clergy. By that authority, Moſes being a Magiſtrate rebuked Aaron the Biſhop, for making the golden Calfe. Ioas being a King, reformed the riot of the Prieſts. Salomon being King, firſt builded the Temple of God, and put downe the high Biſhop Abiathar, and ſet vp Sadoc. Afterward, the ſame Temple being polluted was reſtored, not by the Biſhops, but by the Kings, Ezechias, Ioſias, Abias, Ioſaphat: and at this time after the captiuity of Babylon, it was reſtored, not by the Biſhops, but by Zorobabel the Prince of Iuda.

And after the comming of Chriſt, when the Emperors became Chriſtned, Conſtantine a godly Emperor threatned the Biſhops, if they would not be ruled, he would take vpon him to ſee them puniſhed, as hauing indeed authority and power ouer Biſhops. And Iuſtinianus in his law threatneth the Biſhops, that if they would not make their praiers in a loud voice, that the people might ſay Amen, he would puniſh them with his ſword, as hath beene ſaid before.

But what needeth more examples? When the Arke of God was reſtored home, Dauid being King, plaied the chiefeſt part: Dauid being King, made Pſalmes and ditties: Dauid being King, danced before the Arke: and being King, ſet the Biſhops and Prieſts in order. And for this cauſe they are Kings, euen to ſerue the Lord. And therefore they doe not wel

that

that diuide Common weales in two, and deuise two heads, the one for the spiritualty, the other for the laity. For S. Paul saith: *Omnis anima superioribus potestatibus subdita sit*: Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers. Euery soule, whether he be Bishop, Cardinall, or Pope, all are subiect to their Prince. And Chrysostome vpon that place saith: *Etiam si Apostolus sis, si Euangelista, sine Propheta, sine quisquis tandem fueris: neque enim pietatem subuertit ista subiectio*: Yea, if thou be an Apostle, if thou be an Euangelist, if thou be a Prophet, or of what state soeuer thou be: for this subiection is no hinderance to godlinesse. And of the superiority of Princes power, Tertullian speaketh thus: *Colimus Imperatorem: vt hominem à Deo secundum, solo Deo minorem*: We worship the Emperor as a man next vnto God, and inferiour only vnto God.

Rom. 13.

Hom. 23. in 13. Ro.

Tertull. ad Scapulam.

Some other there be that see and know, that the Church of God is now a building, and yet not onely refraine themselues from the worke, but also spurne downe that other men haue built vp: that see we teach nothing but the word of God, and the Doctrine of the Primitiue Church; and yet lest they should seeme to receiue the doctrine which they haue persecuted, inforce themselues to be constant, and lay violent hands vpon their owne conscience, and say: *Non regnabit super nos*: He shall not beare rule ouer vs: and as Pharao said in the hardnesse of his heart: *Nescio Dominum*, I know not the Lord.

I take not here vpon me to iudge other mens consciences: but such men there haue bin, as we may know by reading, and as God hath opened by notable iudgement; and I pray God there be none such now. I pray God there be none that offend against their owne conscience and knowledge, and against the holy spirit of God.

But alas, I speake not now of the ignorant and vnlearned sort of people, that offend of simplicity, and haue a zeale of God, although it be not according to knowledge: but I speak of them that be learned, that know well, that we teach you nothing this day, but that Christ and his Apostles taught before vs, and was euermore frequented throughout the Church, vntill all things grew to corruption. And of the contrarie part, they doe know, and their consciences doe testifie vnto them, that their doctrine for the most part is contrarie to the vse of the Primitiue Church, contrarie to the Apostles, contrarie to Christ himselfe.

Yet will these men sooner leaue their liuing, than be present at the hearing of an English praier, or communicate with the people vnder both kindes. They call it a schisme to haue the common praiers in a tongue that the people may vnderstand. To communicate vnder both kinds, they call it a schisme. For the Ministers to be married, they call it a schisme. And other like things, which were tedious to rehearse at length. Those things which were ordained by Christ and his Apostles, and vsed throughout the whole Catholike Primitiue Church without question, they call schismaticall.

O mercifull God! Shall we say, that all the whole world of the Christians, euer from Christs time, vntill the late time of these latter fathers, was in a continuall schisme? Shall we say that S. Augustine, S. Ambrose, and other old fathers were schismatikes? Shall we say that Christ and his Apostles taught vs schismes? or, that was once true, and Christian doctrine, is now become a schisme? Is the Church now within fiue hundred yeres become Catholike? and was Christs Church, and the Apostles Church, and the Doctours Church not Catholike? O Lord, if we be deceiued, thou hast deceiued vs: for if in these doings we be schismatikes, for hauing praier in a knowen tongue, or for communion vnder both kinds, or for the mariage of Priests and Ministers, whereas thou gauest thy communion vnder both kinds, and didst chuse such as were maried to be thy Apostles, and diddest pray in the common and vulgar tongue, as also thy Apostle Paul taught vs to doe: If this be schisme, we are become schismatikes, for following thine example, and that ordinance which thou hast left vnto thy Church.

But S. Hilarie sheweth how we shall be sure to know an heresie or a schisme. *Hæc est regula fidei: Christus dixit, Apostolus dixit*: This is a rule of faith, to say, Christ hath said it, The Apostle hath said it. Christ saith: *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drinke ye all of this, without exception. Paul biddeth vs to pray so, that the people may say, Amen. And saith: *Honorabile coniugium in omnibus*: Mariage is honorable in all men. Then is this by Hilaries rule the Catholike faith, and the contrary is schismaticall: for our faith is builded vpon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets. S. Cyprian saith: *Non pax est, sed bellum; nec Ecclesiæ iungitur, qui ab Euangelio separatur*: It is no peace but warre, no Catholike peace or vnitie, but open warre and schisme: neither can he say, I am of the Church, that is diuided from the Gospell. Iustinus Martyr, as it is reported by Eusebius, said: *Ipsi Domino non acquiescerem, si alium Deum diceret præter omnium Creatorem*: I would not beleeue Christ himselfe, if he should say there were another God than the Creator of all things. If he would not beleeue God himselfe, teaching otherwise than is set down by the word of God, much lesse would he beleeue the

Cyprian. Sermone 5. de lapsis.

Ecclesia. histo. lib. 4. cap. 18.

the Church, teaching contrary to the Goſpell.

God of his mercy grant, that all our controuerſies that we now ſtand vpon, may be heard and determined by Gods Goſpell, and open the eies of our aduerſaries, that they may ſée the hope whereunto they are called.

In the meane ſeaſon let not vs ſhun or refraine them, but exhort and counſell them with all ſobrietie in the ſpirit of mæknesſe, as our brethren.

Who knoweth whether God of his mercy will call them to repentance? As God ſaid to S. Paul by Reuelation: *Populus mihi multus eſt in hac ciuitate*: I haue much people in this citie: So I truſt I may ſay, at leaſt I doubt not but wée may charitably hope, God hath a great number, euen among them that run to the Maſſe, that will yet heare no reaſon, but are ſtubborne and wilfull.

Their hearts are in the hands of God, and he is able, and will mollifie them, and of ſtony will make them fleſhy, and of ſtones make them the children of Abraham, and the principall Corner-ſtones in the building of his Church.

Other impediments there be, that kéepe men from the building of Gods houſe. But that which GOD complaineth of by the Prophet, is, that euery man fell to build his owne houſe, and left the houſe of God vnbuilded. This is the corruption of our nature. Such things as we ſhould glorifie God withall, wée abuſe moſt to the diſhonor of God. Therfore Chriſt calleth them Thornes, and the Mammon of wickednesſe, not becauſe they are ſo of themſelues, for they are the gifts of God, but becauſe our froward nature maketh them ſo.

The man, as Chriſt ſaith in the parable, that was bid to the marriage feaſt, ſent word that he was married and could not come. Eſay ſaith: The Harpe, and Violl, and Timbrell, and Pipe, and wine are in their feaſts: but they regard not the worke of the Lord. The fantaſies and pleaſures of this life raviſh our minds and pull them cleane from God. So ſaith the Prophet: You can haue your houſes ſeeled, and furniſhed: in the meane while, my houſe lieth forſaken. Eſay 5.

O that Aggeus the Prophet were now aliue, and ſaw the rearing vp of Gods Temple here in England! What, thinke you he would ſay, You build your owne houſes, and leaue the houſe of God forſaken? Nay, he would ſay, You build your owne manſions, and pull downe the houſe of God.

The maſters of the worke, build benefice vpon benefice, and Deanry vpon Deanry, as though Rome were yet in England. The poore flocke is giuen ouer to a Wolfe: the poore children crie out for bread, the bread of life, and there is no man to breake it to them.

The Noblemen or Gentlemen, the Patrons of benefices, giue preſentations of benefices, either to bée Farmars themſelues, or elſe with exception of their owne Tenths, or with ſome other condition that is worſe than this. The poore Miniſter muſt kéepe his houſe, buy him bookes, releeue the poore, and liue, God knoweth how, and ſo doe you too.

O good my Lords and brethren, I come not hither to be a patrone for mony matters: God ſeeth my heart before whom I ſpeake it. But I ſee Gods Temple by this meanes is forſaken.

Yong men, ſuch as are of moſt towardneſſe, turne themſelues to be Phyſitians, or men of Law: yea, Clerkes, or Apothecaries. The matter is ſo vſed, that they are aſhamed to be Miniſters in Gods Church.

They ſhould not ſo doe, ſay you: no, neither yet you, as your doings are, can be angrie with them. They are not Angels, but your owne children, your brethren, your Coſins, of your owne affections, of your owne fleſh and blood, and they thinke themſelues too good to become your ſlaues.

O mercifull GOD! at the beginning of the Goſpell, euery man brought his goods, and laid them at the feet of the Diſciples. Now euery man is ready to pull out in a manner, neceſſarie ſuſtenance, euen out of the mouthes of Chriſts Diſciples. Then that, that was euerie mans owne, euerie man made it common, and no man counted it to bee his owne. Now that appertaineth to others, and is appointed to the building and preſeruing of GODS Church, that euery man laieth hands on, and counteth to bee his owne. In the meane ſeaſon, the poore Vniuerſities are neglected, the Schooles euery where vnfurniſhed, the youth driuen and chaſed away from the building.

Thinke of this in your hearts: conſider with your ſelues. There lack already Miniſters thorowout the Realme, to teach the people, and to build vp the wals of Gods Church. One

poore hireling is driuen to ſerue two or three pariſhes. The ſicke haue no man to comfort or counſell them: the dead haue no man to bury them: one man buriеth another. That thing I know is not materiall: yet it ſemeth not ſo to all men, and our bodies are the Temples of the holy Ghoſt, and ought reuerently to be brought to their graues.

View your Vniuerſities: view your ſchooles, which euer haue beene nurſeries to this purpoſe: alas, how many ſhall you finde in both the Vniuerſities, and in all the Schooles thorow England, not only that are already ripe, but alſo that are minded to the Miniſterie? If they be not found there, alas where thinke you to haue them? Where thinke you will they be found? Thinke you that they will ſpring out of the ground, or drop down from the heauens? No, no, they be of you, and muſt be bred and reared amongſt you. If there be none to be found, nor hope of any to be hereafter: be you well aſſured, that Acts of Parliament, and Proclamations, are not enough to content the conſcience of the people, and to build vp the Temple.

Oh, that the Queens Maieſty knew the great ſcarſity, and miſerable need of Miniſters that is abroad! And I beſeech you, good my Lords, and other Honorable and Worſhipfull that are here, that haue or may haue acceſſe vnto her, to put her in remembrance, that her Grace will be mindfull of the houſe of God, and redreſſe the greedineſſe both of corrupt patrons, and of ſuch, who engroſſe and gather into their hands many liuings, being themſelues the remnant of the ignorant and perſecuting Babylon: and yet leaue to take charge ouer the people, blinde ſir Iohns, not only lacke Latine, but lacke honeſty, and lacke conſcience, and lacke religion. It would be a great furtherance to the Church of God, a wonderfull way to increaſe Schooles and the Vniuerſities.

Now remaineth the laſt part that I haue taken in hand to ſpeake of: that is, of the maner of the building. Whereof, becauſe the matter of it ſelfe is long, and I ſcanted of time, I will ſpeke two words, and ſo make an end. And what better way can be deuiſed to reſtore Chriſts Church, than that we ſe vſed by Chriſt himſelfe? Chriſt when he was appoſed of the Phariſies in the caſe of diuorce, whether it were lawful for a man to put away his wife vpon any kinde of matter, and to marie another, called them backe to the Scriptures: *Ab initio non fuit ſic: Scriptum eſt*: From the beginning it was not ſo: It is written. And ſo in other places in like matters, he ſaith: *Scriptum eſt*: and euer returneth them to the Scriptures. The ſame order vſed Eſaias: *Ad Legem, & ad Prophetas*, Haue recourſe to the Law and the Prophets. So Ioſias, ſo Ezechias, ſo Ioſaphat reformed the Temple of God when it was polluted, according to the patern of the Scriptures. For as Tertullian ſaith: *Peraque ad vniuerſas hæreſes iam hinc præiudicatum eſt, Id eſſe verum quodcunq; primum, id eſſe adulterum quodcunque poſterius*: By this rule wee may equally preſcribe againſt all hereſies. That is true that was firſt appointed, that is falſe that was afterward deuiſed. S. Auguſtine ſaith: *In Scripturis didicimus Chriſtum, in Scripturis didicimus Eccleſiam: has Scripturas communiter habemus; quare non in eis & Chriſtum & Eccleſiam communiter retinemus?* In the Scriptures we haue learned Chriſt: in the Scriptures we haue learned the Church: theſe Scriptures we haue indifferently between vs; why do we not after one ſort hold Chriſt and the Church by them? And againe, where he writeth againſt Petilian a Donatiſt: *Non audiamus, Hæc dico, hæc dicis: ſed audiamus, Hæc dicit Dominus. Sunt certi libri Dominici, quorum authoritati vtrique conſentimus, vtrique credimus, vtrique ſeruimus: Ibi quæramus Eccleſiam, ibi diſcutiamus cauſam noſtram*: Let vs not heare, Thus I ſay, thus thou ſaieſt: but let vs heare, Thus ſaith the Lord. There be certaine bookes of our Lord, vnto the authority whereof ech part agreeth, ech part beleeueth, ech part yeeldeth: there let vs ſeeke for the Church, thereby let vs examine and trie our matters.

Tertul. aduerſus Praxeam.

Exhortat. ad concordiam Eccleſ. Tom. 2.

De vnitat. Eccleſ. Tom. 7.

This is the Rocke vpon which Chriſt hath built his Church: againſt this Rocke the gates of Hell ſhall not preuaile. Auguſtine ſpeaketh this in a prety alluſion: *Non me ædificabo ſuper te, ſed te ædificabo ſuper me.* I wil not build my ſelfe vpon thee, but I will build thee vpon mee. The ſame affirmeth Hierome, Baſil, Cyril, Hilarius, and other the ancient writers. It would be too long to alleage any more: only I will recite vnto you Lyraes iudgement of theſe words, more for that he was one that fauoured our Aduerſaries, than for the waight of his authority: *Super hanc Petram*, ſaith he, *id eſt, ſuper Chriſtum*: Vpon this Rock, that is, vpon Chriſt: *ex quo patet, quòd Eccleſia non conſiſtit in hominibus ratione poteſtatis &c.* Wherby it is manifeſt that the Church is not among men, by reaſon of any Eccleſiaſticall or Secular authority or dignity: becauſe many Princes and chiefeſt Biſhops haue forſaken the faith: therefore the Church reſteth in theſe perſons, in whom are to bee found true knowledge, the confeſſion of faith, and acknowledging of the truth. Wherfore the foundation of this building, wherupon all the whole worke muſt reſt, muſt be Chriſt and his holy word: for as S: Paul ſaith; No man can lay another foundation, than that which is laid already, Ieſus Chriſt.

Lyra in 16. Matth.

1. Cor. 3.

The

The Emperor Domitian pretending a reforming of the Empire, which afore his time, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and other wicked Emperors had ſpoiled and defaced, aſked a Philoſopher, one Apollonius Tyanæus, what order were beſt to be taken therein. Apollonius made him anſwer: Sir, if it pleaſe your Maieſtie, you muſt doe as the Muſician bade his ſcholars doe. How is that, ſaid Domitian? Mary ſir, quoth Apollonius, there was a cunning Muſician that ſet his ſcholars to an ignorant and homely minſtrell to learne Muſicke of him: but before he ſent them out he gaue them this Leſſon, Whatſoeuer you ſee your Maſter doe, ſee that you auoid it: he is vnlearned, and his Leſſons and maner of fingering, naught: therefore ſee you doe the contrary. Euen ſo may I ſay, whatſoeuer we ſee that they haue done, that were our latter fathers before vs, that haue deſtroied Chriſts Church, let vs remember to doe the contrary. Their foundation, as you know, and as they themſelues confeſſe, is ignorance: let our foundation be Chriſt, and knowledge of Gods word. They haue pulled the Scriptures out of the peoples heads and hands, that no man might ſee their doings. Let vs exhort all men, as S. Chryſoſtome, Origen, and other holy Fathers did, to read the Scriptures, that all the world may ſee our doings. They build Gods word vpon the Church: let vs, as Paul doth teach vs, build the Church vpon Gods word. They contrary to God, and contrary to his word, haue made the Biſhop of Rome ſupreme head of the Church; contrary I ſay, to the word of God haue they made him ſupreme head of all the Church. Theſe are not my words, but S. Gregory, who was himſelfe a Biſhop of Rome, ſaith of them: *Pia leges, venerandæ Synodi, ipſa Domini noſtri Ieſu mandata, ſuperbis atque pompaticis cuiuſdam ſermonis inuentione turbantur*: The godly Lawes, the reuerend Synods, and the verie commandements of our Lord Ieſu, are broken, by the innention of a certaine proud and pompous name. And thereof, as Gregory himſelfe teſtifieth, hath enſued *Vniuerſa pernicies*: An vniuerſall deſtruction. *Greg. lib 4. epiſt. 32.*

Marke, I beſeech you, and let it not out of your remembrance. They ſay, this is the key of the Church, that one be the head of it, to rule it, and to gouerne; kept in vnity all the reſt. But Gregory, which was himſelfe a Biſhop of Rome, ſaith, it is *Vniuerſa pernicies*: A generall corruption and plaugue of the Church. Let vs according to Gods word, according to the Canons, know, that as Cyprian ſaith: *Vnus eſt Epiſcopatus, cuius à ſingulis in ſolidum pars tenetur*: There is but one Biſhoprick, part wherof is holden in whole of euery ſeuerall Biſhop. And as Hierome ſaith: *Vbicunq; fuerit Epiſcopus, ſiue Romæ, ſiue Engubij, ſiue Conſtantinopoli, ſiue Rhegij, ſiue Alexandriæ, ſiue Tanais, eiuſdem meriti, eiuſdem eſt & ſacerdotij*: Whereſoeuer there be a Biſhop, be it at Rome, be it at Eugubium, be it at Conſtantinople, be it at Rhegium, be it at Alexandria, be it at Tanais, they are all of one worthines, they are al of one prieſthood. *Cypri. de ſimp. Prælatorum. Hieron. ad Enagrium.*

They ſet the Pope aboue Kings and Princes, againſt Gods word. Let vs know, that according to Gods word, euery ſoule muſt be ſubiect to the higher powers. In theſe things and in all other the like, in which they forſake the paterne and originall, and in which they doe contrary to the Scriptures, to Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, contrary to the practiſe of the Primitiue Church, and contrary to the ſound iudgement of the ancient Catholike fathers, grounded vpon the word of God: let vs remember, whatſoeuer they doe, or haue done, to doe the contrary. For it is not poſſible, by what meanes things haue growen to corruption, that by the ſame meanes they ſhall euer be well reſtored againe.

After the Temple was builded, or was in building and rearing, Eſdras the Prophet read the Law of God, and ſacrificed oxen, ſheepe, and lambes, and the people wept in conſideration that they and their Fathers had ſo vnkindly offended God, and deſerued ſo extremely to be puniſhed at his hand. So the good king Ioſias, after he had found the booke of the law, and ſaw how highly both he and his fathers had offended God, he fell a weeping: (for the conſideration of Gods great benefits, and our own vnworthines, cauſeth vs to mourne at the ſight of our owne vnkindneſſe.) When they turned vnto God, repented themſelues of their wickednеſſe, and left ſuch vanities as they had walked in before. So Chriſt our Sauiour, when he began to preach the goſpel, and to ſpread abroad the vnſpeakable treaſure of our ſaluation, called vs firſt to repentance, and ſaid: *Pœnitentiam agite, appropinquauit enim regnum cœlorum*: Repent ye, for the kingdome of God is at hand. Zacheus when he had receiued Chriſt to his table, repented him of his extortion, and made reſtitution: Then Ieſus ſaid vnto him, This day is ſaluation come vnto this houſe, foraſmuch as he is alſo become the ſonne of Abraham. So the Chriſtian men in the beginning repented themſelues, and changed their whole life, and therefore were called Saints: as S. Paul vſeth in many places to name them: *Vocatis Sanctis*: To thoſe which are called Saints. And, *Sanctis qui ſunt Corinthi*: To the Saints which are at Corinth. Plinie being a Heathen, and ſet by the Emperor to enquire of Chriſtian men, made report in his Epiſtle to Traianus, that they were a ſect which would not offer vp to Idols, which could not be compelled to blaſpheme Chriſt, but were wont at certaine times appointed to meet together and ſing hymnes to one Chriſt Luke 19.

their God, that they were of one minde, and agreed among themſelues, and did abſtaine from theft, murder, and adultery, and did kepe their faith, and defrauded no man.

Euen ſuch ſhould we be, thus ought we to liue, theſe things are examples for vs to follow, we ſhould met often to ſing hymnes, and giue thankes to our God, we ſhould lament our former wickednelle, wherewith we haue called Gods anger vpon vs.

But alas, there appeareth not in vs that change of life that ought to be in ſuch as turne to Chriſt; we are as proud, as couetous, and wicked in abuſing the holy name of God, as euer we were in the time of ignorance. Thus we abuſe the great mercie of God, thus we withhold his truth in vnrighteouſnelle. We ſay, we know God, but giue him not the glory that is due vnto God.

And beſides this, we are in loue with our owne corruption: and as the Prophet ſaith, we reioice when we haue done wickedly: we cannot abide to haue our fault touched, our pride is growen vp as hie as heauen, our couetouſnelle is ſunke as deepe as hell, our poore weake brethren be offended, and thinke that theſe be the very fruits of Chriſts Goſpell. Yet we can in no wiſe ſuffer to be reproued, we ſay to the Preacher, Peace, and talke not to vs in the name of the Lord, tell not vs of the Scriptures, tell not vs of Chriſt, of Peter, and Paul: we bid him ſpeake vs faire, & bleſſe thoſe things that be accurſed by Gods own mouth. We ſay, he is too buſie, he medleth with that he knoweth not. Yes, yes man, he knoweth it well enough, he knoweth that pride is pride, that vſurie is vſurie, that ſinne is ſinne: and thou and thine owne conſcience knoweth it too, if thou wouldeſt be knowen of it, yea, thou knoweſt it, & indeed in thy heart, of force art wearie of it, and this is extreme miſerie, that we are ſo far plunged in ſinne, that we can neither abide our own faults, nor yet the amending of them. Is this the repentance of our life? Are theſe the fruits of Gods Goſpell? are theſe the fruits of the innocent blod, that we ſee ſhed before our eies? Are theſe our teares for the ſinnes we haue committed? Is this the thanks that we render vnto God, for giuing vnto vs ſo great bleſſings? But, what ſaid I, bleſſings? Would God we were ſo bleſſed, that we might conſider our bleſſednelle. Many already bewray the weaknelle of their ſtomacks, they breake not the Goſpel: yea, they ſeem already weary of theſe Preachers, they call them pulpit men, men of the ſpirit, and I know not what: as though they themſelues had nothing to doe with Gods ſpirit. Ah, merciſull God, what way may God take to win you? Alas, what are we? what haue we offended you? Are we become your enemies for telling you the truth? I feare me, this murmuring is not againſt vs, but againſt the Lord.

You haue had the Maſſe, and that you worthily hated: you haue now the Communion, and that you regard not. God hath ſent to call you with fire and fagots: thoſe which vſed that ſeuerity and cruelty, you call tyrants. He hath ſent vnto you now ſimple men, that bring you nothing elſe, but the kingdome of God, & ſake for nothing, but only for your ſalnation: and them you diſdaine. It is euen now come to paſſe, that Chriſt ſaid: We haue piped to you, and you haue not danced: we haue mourned to you, and you haue not wept: but wiſedome is iuſtified of all her children. Many of you are euen full of that Goſpell, and full and weary of theſe ſchoolmaſters. Therefore ſhall God ſend amongſt you another maner of ſchoolmaſter, that ſhal intreat you after another ſort, that ſhal put the pride from your necks, and the ruffes from your ſhoulders, I will ſay (I would God I might not ſpeak thus in the ſpirit of truth) I would to God it might proue vntrue, & neuer come to paſſe. But God is iuſt, and the extreme diſdaine of Gods truth, and his holy Goſpell, iuſtly deſerueth the extremity of Gods vengeance: and this Goſpell, that you are already ſo weary of, ſhall be taken away from vs. The kingdome of God ſhall be taken away from vs, and ſhall be giuen to a nation, that ſhall doe the fruits of it. The kingdome of God, which is the true vnderſtanding of Gods word, ſhall be taken away. And then what ſhall remaine, but blindneſſe and ſalſhood, which is the kingdome of the Diuell? I will ſend (ſaith God) a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord.

Luke 7.

Amos 8.

Let vs therefore, good brethren, remember for what cauſes God ſuffered his Temple at Ieruſalem, to be deſtroied and burnt by the Chaldees: let vs remember wherfore God toke from vs his holy Goſpel that he had planted amongſt vs of late time: let vs now thankfully receiue it, with teares, & repentance for our former life: let vs not make our ſelues vnworthy of the great grace and bleſſing of God. To you this holy promiſe is made, you are the children of Abraham, to you Chriſt ſpreadeth out his armes to imbrace you: receiue not the grace of God in vaine, let vs not put out that heauenly light, which God hath kindled, let vs pray to God to giue vs new hearts, and to put a new ſpirit within vs. Why ſhould you periſh, you that are ſo derely ſaued? why ſhould you periſh, O you the houſe of Iſrael? Let vs once fall to the building vp of Gods holy Temple, let vs not driue it off any longer.

The Foxes haue burrowes, and the birds of the aire haue nefts, but the Son of man hath not yet a place to reſt his head in. God calleth to vs by the Prophet: Bring wood, and build

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this houſe, and I will be fauourable in it. Is it time for your ſelues to dwell in your ſieled houſes, and this houſe lie waſt? Your houſes are freſh and faire furniſhed, and yet my houſe lieth deſolate, flat vpon the ground. Behold the miſerable deſolation of my holy place, my flocke is ſcattered in the mountaines: behold your brethren that lie in chains in a thouſand places bound, beaten, tormented, and drawen to moſt cruell death, not for any offence they haue committed, but onely for the building of my Temple, and profeſſion of my name. They are your owne body, fleſh and blood. My bones are ſcattered vpon the face of the earth, my blood is ſhed without compaſſion, as it were water vpon the ground. O what crueltie haue you, that can ſee this, and not be moued! That can build your owne houſes, and ferme your owne pleaſures, and leaue my houſe forſaken!

Thus almighty God ſpeaketh to vs. O good brethren, let vs not deſpiſe his calling, let him not ſpeake to vs in vaine, let vs no longer ſay, it is not yet time to build vp the Lords houſe. God hath raiſed vp vnto vs a moſt vertuous and noble Lady, that hath already ſet labourers a worke, and begun the building. Let vs remember that the Chaldees, when they came to Ieruſalem, neuer ſtrained courteſie, or ſaid, it is not yet time to pull downe the houſe of God: they laid hands on it, and ſpoiled it, they burnt it without mercy, euen vnto the ground. Let vs not in Gods cauſe be more negligent, than our enemies were againſt God. Let euery man ſay with himſelfe: It is Gods Temple that muſt be built vp, it is the heauenly Hieruſalem, it is the Arke of the Lord, it is the Lords buſineſſe that I haue in hand; accurſed be he that doth the Lords buſineſſe vnfaithfully.

And you, my Lords, foraſmuch as God hath planted you in chiefeſt honour, and made you the greateſt ouerſeers of his worke, I beſeech you, euen for his ſake, when you ſee your owne houſes ſo furniſhed, as is meete for your eſtates, remember the poore houſe of God. When you ſee your men waiting and attending at your tables, remember how few there be to wait vpon Chriſt at his table. When you conſider that your owne houſes cannot be maintained without prouiſion, remember there be prouiſion made for the houſe of God. Let the zeale of Gods owne houſe rauiſh and deuoure our hearts, let vs build vp the tabernacle of the moſt holy, and dreadfull, and euer liuing God: ſo will God dwell and abide with vs; and be glorified in the middeſt amongſt vs.

And thou moſt mercifull father, deale fauourably with Sion, that we may ſee the walles of thy Hieruſalem reſtored. For now is the time of thy mercy come vpō vs, now is the time. And as thou haſt begun this worke in vs, in theſe our daies, ſo vouchſafe to bleſſe the ſame, that it may endure, and continue for euer, that all the world may know thee, the only true and liuing God, and thy Son Ieſus Chriſt, whoſe Goſpell thou haſt reuiued amongſt vs. To whom with thee, and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour & glory, world without end. Amen.

Psalm. 69.

Vers. 9. The zeale of thine houſe hath eaten mee.

Certaine learned and wiſe men of old time, that had no vnderſtanding or fauour of God, when they conſidered with themſelues to what end and purpoſe mankind was created and ſet in this world, after they had driuen the matter, as far as they might by natural knowledge, at length they concluded; ſome, that man was made to know the properties and qualities, the conuenience, or difference of naturall things, either in the aire, or in the water, or in the earth, or vnder the earth: Some other, that man was made to conſider and behold the Sunne and Mone, the Starres, the courſe and reuolutions of the Heauens. And ſo, they iudged that man, which either had moſt abundance of naturall reaſon, or beheld and conſidered the heauens beſt, to be moſt perfect of all others, and that he came neereſt to the end of his creation. Thus ſaid they, as men without feeling of God, only endued with the light of nature.

But (as God himſelfe declareth, who faſhioned vs, and made vs, and knoweth vs beſt) the very true end why man was made, was to know, and to honour God. Therefore, whoſo knoweth him beſt, and honoreth him with moſt reuerence, he is moſt perfect, he commeth neereſt the end of his creation.

When Salomon had deſcribed the deceiuable vanities of the world, and ſaid, Vanity of vanities, vanity of vanities, all is vanity: when he had concluded by long diſcourſe, that riches, empire, honour, pleaſures, knowledge, and whatſoeuer elſe vnder the Sunne, is but vanity; he knitteth vp the matter with theſe words: Feare God and keepe his commandements, for this is the whole duetie of men. That is, this is trueth, and no vanitie: Eccle. 1. Eccle. 12.

this is our perfection, to this end are we made: not to liue in eating and drinking, not to paſſe our time in pleaſure and follies, not to heape vp thoſe things, which are daily taken from vs, or from which we are daily taken away: but that in our words, in our life, in our body, and in our ſoule we doe ſeruice vnto God, that we loke aboue the Sun and Moone, and all the Heauens: that we become the Temples of the holy Ghoſt, that the holy ſpirit of God may dwell in vs, and make vs fit inſtruments of the glory of God.

Therefore God gaue vs his holy word, and hath continued it from the beginning of the world vntill this day, notwithſtanding the Philoſophers, and learned men in all ages, who ſcorned it out, as the word of folly; for ſo it ſéemeth to them that periſh: Notwithſtanding the wicked Princes, and Tyrants, and high Powers of the world, who conſumed and burnt it, as falſe and wicked, or ſeditious doctrine: notwithſtanding the whole world and power of darkneſſe were euer bent againſt it; yet hath he wonderfully continued and preſeruedit, without loſſe of one letter, vntill this day, that we might haue whereby truely to know him the true and onely God, and his Sonne Ieſus Chriſt whom he ſent.

Therefore haue we Temples and Churches, places to reſort vnto all together, to honor, to worſhip, and to acknowledge him to be our God, to ioyne our hearts and voices together, and to call vpon his holy name. In ſuch places God hath at all times vſed to open his maieſty, and to ſhew his power. In ſuch places God hath made vs a ſpeciall promiſe, to heare our praier, whenſoeuer we call vpon him. Therfore are they called the dwelling place and houſe of God. In ſuch places all godly men euermore ſet their greateſt pleaſure, and thought themſelues miſerable, when they were ſecluded or put off from the ſame: as the
Pſal. 112. Prophet and holy Prince Dauid: *Lætatus ſum in his quæ dicta ſunt mihi, In domum Domini ibimus:* O (ſaith that holy man) my heart reioyced within my body, when my fellowes called vpon me, and ſaid: Let vs goe into the houſe of the Lord. Againe: I am in loue with the beauty of thy houſe. And againe: O how beautifull is thy tabernacle, O Lord! O thou the God of hoſts, my heart longeth and fainteth to come within thy courts. His ſpirits were raviſhed with the ſight and maieſty of the tabernacle: not for that the place it ſelfe at that time was ſo beautifull; for in Dauids time it was almoſt rotten, and ruinous, a homely thing to behold, nothing in compariſon to that Temple that afterward was built by Salomon: But therein ſtood the ſhew and worthineſſe of that holy place, that Gods truth and law was opened and proclaimed in it, and the ſacraments, and ceremonies ſo vſed, in ſuch forme and order, as God had commanded them to be vſed, and the people receiued them obediently, and liued thereafter.

Therefore when the tabernacle was reſtored, when the Arke was ſet home from *Obed-edom*, and ſet in the mount *Sion*: when religion reuiued, which through the negligence and malice of Saul was forſaken: when he ſaw his Nobility, his Biſhops, his Prieſts, and all his people willing and forward, he could not refraine himſelfe, but brake out and ſang: *Hæc eſt dies, quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea*: This is the day which the Lord hath made, let vs be glad and reioyce in it. Let vs be merry, and ioy that euer we liued to ſée it. Euen ſo Paul, when in his time he ſaw the Goſpell take roote and proſper, and that the ſauour of life was powred abroad, that the kingdome of God was enlarged, and the kingdome of Satan ſhaken downe, his heart leaped, and ſprung within him. *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile*: Behold now that acceptible time: Behold, God hath loked downe mercifully vpon the world, behold the day of ſaluation is come vpon vs.

But the Godly man, as he reioyceth at the beauty of Gods houſe, ſo when contrariwiſe he ſeth the ſame diſordered filthily, when he ſeth the Sacraments of God abuſed, the truth troden vnder foote, the people mocked, the name of God diſhonored, he cannot but lament and mourne, and finde himſelfe wounded at heart. When the good King Ioſias ſaw the booke of God, which was ſo long hid in the wall, and out of remembrance: when he conſidered the blindneſſe, in which they had liued, and the vnkindeneſſe of their forefathers, he could not forbeare, but fell a weping: he feared leaſt God would take vengeance vpon them for ſo great contempt of his word. When Ieremy ſaw the wilfulneſſe, and frowardneſſe of the people, which would not ſubmit themſelues, and be obedient vnto God, he cri-
Ier. 9. ed, Oh, that my head were full of water, and mine eies a fountaine of teares, that I might weepe day and night, &c. Such care had they for Gods people: thus the zeale of Gods houſe had eaten them vp.

Zeale if (any man know not the nature of the word) is an earneſt affection and vehement loue, as is the loue of a mother towards her children, or of the naturall childe towards his mother. This zeale cannot abide to ſée that thing which it loueth, deſpiſed or hurt. Such a zeale and care carieth God euer his people, he loueth them as a mother loueth her little chil-
Eſay 49. dren: he will not ſuffer them to be hurt. By the Prophet Eſay he ſaith: Can a woman for-

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get her child, and not haue compaſſion on the ſon of her wombe? though they ſhould forget, yet will I not forget thee. Zachary alſo ſaith: He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eie. For God hath ſaid, They ſhall be my people, and I will be their God. Such care likewiſe beare all the godly towards their God, they loue him with all their ſoule, with all their heart, with all their ſtrength: they reuerence him as their deare father, they are greeued at any blaſphemy, and with any contempt of his holy name. Zach. 2.

But, as euery man, be he neuer ſo wicked, yea, euen he that ſaith in his heart there is no God, which is become filthy and abominable in all his doings, yet in his talke outwardly ſaith he hath a God, and that he beleeueth in him: euen ſo there is none ſo wicked, or ſo forſaken of God in his heart, but he perſwadeth himſelfe he hath the zeale of God: and what he doth in ſelfeloue of his owne fantaſie, he will beare in hand, he doth it for the loue of God. The ouerthrowers and waſters of the Church, will ſeeme to ſhew a ſpeciall care for the Church. Diſſemblers, hypocrites, deſpiſers, ſcorners, euen ſuch as ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt, which deny the truth of God after they haue knowen it, which witting and knowing, fight againſt the truth, which ſay of Chriſt, we will not haue him to rule ouer vs, which worke that ſinne that ſhall neuer be forgiuen in this world, nor in the world to come; yet notwithſtanding will pretend and ſeeme to haue the zeale of God.

Thus the Scribes and Phariſies ſet vp their bylles againſt Chriſt: Thy Diſciples kép not the common faſt: thou ſuffereſt them to pull and to eat the eares of corne: thou ſuffereſt them to eat with vnwaſhed hands: thou breakeſt the tradition of the Elders: thou breakeſt the Law of God, which he gaue vs by Moſes: thou art a ſeditious teacher: thou art a Schiſmatike, thou art an Heretike. They ſaid, We faſt twice in the weak: we haue Abraham to our father: we are Moſes Diſciples. Therefore when they heard Stephen ſpeaking thoſe heauenly words: Behold, I ſee the heauens open, and the Sonne of man ſtanding at the right hand of God: through zeale they gaue a ſhout with a loud voice, and ſtopped their eares, and ran vpon him all at once. Acts 7.

When Chriſt had ſaid: Yee ſhall ſee the Sonne of man ſit at the right hand of God, and come in the clouds of heauen: the high Prieſt, through zeale, rent his clothes, and ſaid: Yee haue heard the blaſphemy. This naughty man ſpeaketh blaſphemy againſt God. He called a Councell, the Scribes and Phariſies met together, not one man amongſt them but of themſelues: they loked about them, as if they only were the pillars and buttreſſes of the Church, and were only zealous and carefull for the houſe of God. But their meeting was (as Dauid foreſpake, and as Peter declareth, and as we know) againſt the Lord, and againſt his anointed. They were touched with zeale of their owne glory, and not with the zeale of Gods truth. They ſought their owne praiſe, but not the praiſe which is of God. They made crakes that they knew the Scriptures, that they were the Temple of God, that they had the conſent of all antiquity: as others haue done ſince that time, and as we ſee many do this day, and in very deed, theſe men now haue euen as much as they had then, as by proofe and triall it will appeare. Mark. 14.

There are others, which haue a feeling of God, and a great care for his Church: but ſuch a feeling and care as commeth either of their owne fantaſies, or of ſome opinion and credit they haue in their Fathers which were before them, not of the vnderſtanding of Gods pleaſure. Such are they which offended God, not of malice or wilfulneſſe, but only for lacke of teaching and vnderſtanding. Such were they which withſtood S. Paul in all his preaching; for that they tooke him for an Heretike, and thought his preaching was againſt God. I beare them witneſſe (ſaith he) that they haue the zeale of God, but not according to knowledge. Such a zeale haue many, who forbid that God commandeth, and command that which God forbiddeth. Such a zeale had Paul himſelfe: I was a blaſphemer, and a perſecutor, and an oppreſſor: but I was receiued to mercie: for I did it ignorantly without beleefe. Such a zeale haue they, who thinke they doe God good ſeruice, when they kill and murder the righteous, and good ſeruants of God. Such a zeale haue they, who (as ſaith Nazianzene) defend Chriſt againſt Chriſt, and defend the Church againſt the Church. And theſe things doe they, not of malice, nor of wilfulneſſe, nor againſt their conſcience, but, becauſe they know not God the Father, nor his Chriſt whom he hath ſent. Therefore they ſtumble at Chriſt, and ſpurne away the Goſpell of God, and thinke ill, and ſpeake euill of the word of life, becauſe they know not the Goſpel of God, nor the word of life. Thus they perſwade themſelues, that they defend the Church, that they honour the Sonne of God, that they do God great ſeruice, and that they haue the zeale of God. Rom. 10. 1. Tim. 1.

But this pride was euer in the heart of man, and it appeared euen in our grandſire Adam: whatſoeuer liketh vs well, we thinke that cannot but pleaſe God. Such is the opinion we fondly conceiue in our fantaſies: in truſt whereof whatſoeuer we doe, we thinke our ſelues ſure and ſafe. Origen writing vpon the place of the Apoſtle: *Zelum Dei habent, ſed*

non

Origen in 1C. Rom. lib. 8. *non ſecundùm ſcientiam*: They haue the zeale of God, but not according to knowledge, ſaith: *Similiter poteſt dicere Apoſtolus & de alijs, quòd timorem Dei habeant, ſed non ſecundùm ſcientiam: de alijs &c.* In like maner the Apoſtle may ſay of others, They haue the feare of God, but not according to knowledge: of others, they haue the loue of God, but not according to knowledge: of another, he hath the faith of God, but not according to knowledge: And another may be ſaid to faſt, but not according to knowledge. And ſo in all things whatſoeuer we doe, vnleſſe we haue knowledge and vnderſtanding, it may be ſaid vnto vs, that we haue the zeale of a good worke, but not according to knowledge. *Ideo danda eſt præcipuè opera ſcientiæ, ne res nobis infeliciter accidat, vt in fide poſiti fruſtremur à fide, zelum habentes bonorum, decidamus à bonis:* Therefore all heed is chiefly to be giuen to the attaining of knowledge, leſt it goe not well with vs, leſt we faile from our faith, when we thinke we beleeue, and thinking we haue a zeale of good workes, we be found void of all good workes. The wiſe man ſaith: This was not enough for them, that they erred in the knowledge of God: but whereas they liued in great warres of ignorance, thoſe ſo many and ſo great plagues they called peace. The zeale that they had, and the contentation of their hearts made them beleeue that all their ſuperſtition and idolatry, and other enormities, was Catholike vnity.

Wiſd. 14.

This zeale, as on the one ſide it hath many tokens of goodneſſe, for that it hath a conſcience, and a feare, and an obedience towards God: ſo, on the other ſide it is very dangerous, becauſe it lacketh knowledge: euen as a ſhip for lacke of a gouernor is euer in danger of the rocks; and as the body which hath no eie, is euer in danger of falling. Such kind of zeale, the greater it is, the worſer it is: the more vehement it ſeemeth, the more vehemently it fighteth againſt God. For, our good meaning maketh not our doings good: our zeale is not a rule, whereby we may meaſure out either our faith, or our workes: but only the knowen will and pleaſure of God. Therefore ſpeaketh God in this maner by the Prophet Eſai: My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your waies my waies. Therefore ſaith Salomon: Truſt in the Lord with all thine heart, and leane not to thine own wiſedome: in all thy waies acknowledge him, and he ſhall direct thy doings. This counſell alſo doth Moſes giue: Take heed that ye doe as the Lord your God hath commanded you: turne not a ſide to the right hand, nor to the left.

Eſay 55.
Prou. 3.
Deut. 5.

But the true and godly zeale proceedeth not from hypocriſie or intention, but is led and trained by vnderſtanding, and is moulten into the heart, and the vehemency and heat of it no man knoweth, but he that feeleth it. It taketh away the vſe of reaſon, it eateth and deuoureth vp the heart; euen as the thing that is eaten, is turned into the ſubſtance of him that eateth it; and as iron while it is burning hot is turned into the nature of the fire: ſo great and ſo iuſt is the griefe that they which haue this zeale conceiue, when they ſee Gods houſe ſpoiled, or his holy name diſhonoured. So ſaith Elias: I haue been very iealous for the Lord God of hoſts: for the children of Iſrael haue forſaken thy couenant, broken down thine altars and ſlain thy Prophets with the ſword, and I only am left, and they ſeek my life to take it away. So when Moſes found that the people had forſaken God, and were fallen down before a molten Calfe, and did put their truſt in the worke of their owne hands: his wrath waxed hot, and he caſt the tables out of his hand, and brake them in peeces beneath the mountaine. His heart was ſo inflamed with zeale, that he conſidered not what he had in his hand, nor what he did. Ieremie, when he ſaw the diſorder of the people, and how they were not mended with his preaching, and would inwardly conceale the griefe he conceiued, and purpoſed not to make mention of the Lord, nor to ſpeake any more in his name; yet could he not: for his zeale found way, and brake out: His word (ſaith he) was in mine heart as a burning fire ſhut vp in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not ſtay.

1. King. 19.
Exod. 32.
Ierem. 20.

And, albeit there is much likeneſſe betwéen the rage and fury of hypocrites, and the godly zeale of good men: for either are hot, either are vehement, either wiſheth redreſſe: yet this is an euident difference: godly zeale is tempered and ſeaſoned with charity, the vngodly is ioined with bitterneſſe and reuenge: the godly ſeeketh to win, the vngodly to kill and to deſtroy. The vngodly haue their hands full of blood, they kill the Prophets, they ſay, We haue a law, and by our law he muſt die. They ſay, Come, let vs deſtroy them, that they be no more a nation.

Let not the name of Iſrael be had any more in remembrance. They burne the holy bookes of the Scriptures, as did Aza and Antiochus. They ſay, Ranſacke it, pull it downe, race it to the foundation, let not one be left aliue. They dig vp the bodies of the dead out of their graues. They ſhew their cruelty vpon the bones and aſhes, which were long before buried, and well nigh conſumed. It greeueth them when they lacke vpon whom they may whet their bloodthirſty and cruell zeale. It greeueth them, no one thing elſe ſo much, that they did not worke ſurely, and cut vp the rot. Such is the zeale of the vngodly. Euen ſuch a zeale as was in Nero, in Caligula, of whom it is reported, he wiſhed that all the Romanes had but

one

one necke, that he might cut off all their heads at one ſtroke: as was in Herod, in Annas, and Caiaphas, and the like murtherers.

But the godly, when they ſee any diſorder, they doe nothing like the other: they mourne in their hearts to ſee that the truth is not receiued, and to ſee the mindes of their brethren ſo obſtinately hardned: they make praier to God for them: they are deeply touched with the feeling of ſuch calamities which God laieth vpon other. The zeale of Moſes could not like the Idolatry of the people: yet he went vnto the Lord againe, and ſaid: Now if thou pardon their ſinne, thy mercy ſhall appeare: but if thou wilt not, I pray thee race me out of thy Booke which thou haſt written. Exod. 32.

Chriſt lamented ouer Hieruſalem: O Hieruſalem, Hieruſalem, which killeſt the Prophets, and ſtoneſt them which are ſent to thee, how often would I haue gathered thy children together, as the hen gathereth her chickens vnder her wings, and ye would not? Behold, your habitation ſhal be left vnto you deſolate. Mat. 23.

Paul ſuffered much at the hands of the wicked Iewes: They troubled the Church of God, they hindred the courſe of the Goſpel, they were enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt, they were dogs, they were conciſion: Yet he ſaith: I haue great heauineſſe and continuall ſorrow in mine heart for I would wiſh my ſelfe to be ſeparated from Chriſt, for my brethren that are my kinſmen according to the fleſh, which are the Iſraelites. Rom. 9.

Dauid ſaith: Mine eies guſh out with riuers of water, becauſe they keepe not thy Law. Pſal. 119.
And againe: My zeale hath euen conſumed me, becauſe mine enemies haue forgotten thy words. Againe: I ſaw the tranſgreſſors, and was grieued, becauſe they kept not thy word.
And when he ſaw the whole nation of Iſrael, waſted by the enemies, how mournfull a complaint made he to God? O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance: thine holy Temple haue they defiled, and made Hieruſalem heapes of ſtones. The dead bodies of thy ſeruants haue they giuen to be meat vnto the fowles of the heauen, and the fleſh of thy ſaints vnto the beaſts of the earth. Pſal. 79.
At this time when the tabernacle was loſt, when Saul was vnquiet and the Prieſts were ſlaine, and the Prophets deſpiſed, and the people left without all comfort, he powreth out his heart in theſe words: *Zelus Domus tuæ comedit me*: O Lord, the zeale I beare vnto thine houſe hath eaten me vp. It inflameth my heart, drieth my blood, conſumeth my marrow. Such a care had he for the houſe of God: it was death vnto him to ſee it ſo deſtroied and laid waſte.

So Chriſt, when he ſaw the Temple of God foully and vnſeemely abuſed: that they made the holy place, a place for their vnlawful and vnhoneſt gaine by vſury: that they turned Religion into robbery, ſold Oxen, Sheepe, and Doues, and kept their bankes for exchange in the Temple: when the Prieſts and Leuites, which ſhould ſerue God, were become Merchants and ſerued themſelues: when the Temple or houſe of God, which Dauid purpoſed, and Salomon finiſhed, and Ezechias and Ezras, and other godly Princes preſerued, in which was kept the booke of the Law, whither all the people aſſembled together to ſerue God was not vſed like Gods houſe, but like a common faire or market, and was made a den of theeues: when theſe groſſe abuſes were ſuffered, and things were let run to ſuch extremities, and all this vnder pretence of holineſſe, as if it were not only lawfull, but needs it muſt be ſo; moued with zeale, he could not abide it: He made a ſcourge of ſmall cords, and droue them all out of the Temple, and poured out the changers money, and ouerthrew the Tables, and ſaid, Make not my fathers houſe a houſe of merchandize. And his diſciples remembred, that it was written, The zeale of thine houſe hath eaten me vp. This was no frantike or melancholly paſſion, neither in Moſes, nor in Dauid, nor in Chriſt. Moſes was a very meeke man aboue all that were on the earth, Dauid was a man that hateth not, and in whoſe mouth are no reproſes. Iohn 2. Numb. 12.

And Chriſt ſaid, Learne of me, for I am humble and meke. When his diſciples Iames and Iohn, grew wrothfull againſt the Samaritanes that would not receiue him, and ſaid: Lord wilt thou that we command that fire come downe from heauen, and conſume them, euen as *Elias* did? he turned about and rebuked them, and ſaid, Yee know not of what ſpirit you are. Yet through zeale for Gods houſe, Chriſt whipped out the buiers and ſellers: Dauid ſhed forth teares abundantly; and Moſes daſht in peces the tables of Gods commandements. All men ought to be patient and gentle in matters appertaining to themſelues: but in Gods cauſe, no man muſt yeld or be patient. Luke. 9.

In our daies, vpon whom the end of the world is come, when we did lately ſee thoſe times, whereof our Sauiour foretold ſo long ſithence, that deſolation ſhould be in the holy place, and ſuch confuſion, ignorance, and blindneſſe, that men ſhould ſtumble at noone daies that truth ſhould be a ſtranger vpon earth, that men ſhould forſake holeſome doctrine, and giue eare vnto fables, that the myſtery of iniquity ſhould worke, and the very elect (if it were poſſible) be deceiued, what triall was made of true and godly zeale? How notably did it ſhew it ſelfe againſt the rage and fury of the wicked? What ſhould I ſpeake hereof?

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The examples are freſh, you cannot forget them. you heard of them ſo late, it is ſo late ſince you did behold them. What moued ſo many, ſo learned, ſo vertuous, to yeld their backes to the ſcourge, their necks to the tormentors, their bodies to the fire, to forſake their gods, their friends their parents, their wiues and children, but the zeale of Gods houſe? Neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor things preſent, nor things to come was able to ſeparate them from the loue of God. They continued ſtedfaſt vnto the end: the zeale of Gods houſe did eat them vp.

But now God hath reſtored vs, he hath taken away the deſolation from vs, he hath giuen vs his truth, he hath reuealed the man of ſin, he hath raiſed vp a banner of hope. We ſee and enioy ſuch things as many Kings and Prophets would haue enioyed, and could not. What remaineth, but that we take the zeale of the Lords houſe into our hearts, and ſeeke by all meanes the glory of the ſame? As our good fathers and brethren ſhewed the vehemency of their loue in diſliking the diſorders which troubled the Church of God: ſo in this bleſſed peace which God giueth to his Church, let vs witneſſe our earneſt zeale in ſeeking that it may be made beautifull, and eſtabliſhed for euer.

Let our next care bee, to continue poſſeſſion. Kingdoms are preſerued by the ſame meanes, by which they were firſt gotten: That which is conquered by zeale, by carefull zeale muſt be kept. It was ſaid of Annibal, that he knew how to get the victory, but how to vſe it, he knew not. Many haue loſt that by negligence, which they had by diligence won. Therefore we ought, as our hearts were carefull, and deſirous to ſee theſe daies: ſo by our thankfulneſſe to God for ſo great bleſſing, and by Chriſtian and godly prouidence foreſee ſuch meanes, whereby we may long hereafter enioy the ſame. When Phydias had made the pourtraiture of Iupiter Piſanus, he ouerlaid it with oile, that it might continue freſh and greene, and neuer putrifie. When God gaue order to Noah for making the Arke, he ſaid: Thou ſhalt pitch it within and without with pitch; that it might be ſound, and ſure, and abide the waues. Gen. 6.

He which challengeth to himſelfe, that proud and wanton name, to be called the head of the vniuerſall Church, after by little and little he was gotten into poſſeſſion, was not behind hand by all meanes to maintaine and keepe the ſame. In this policy, he toke away the reading of the Scriptures from the people: he made noble men and Princes his Cardinals. He threw downe, and ſet vp, and changed whom, and what he would. The Kings and States of the world, the Biſhops, Profeſſors and Scholars in Vniuerſities, and Preachers were brought to ſweare allegeance and obedience vnto him. I deuiſe not this, the ſtories hereof are abroad, and the oath which they toke is knowen. His authority grew greater than the authority of generall Councels. Nothing might be decreed in Councels, but what pleaſed him: none might be admitted to ſpeake in Councels, but ſuch as were ſworn to him. He had all law in his breſt. There was ſometimes a Proclamation made in Rome, that for conſiderations no man ſhould erect or build vp any Theater: and that if any were ſet vp, it ſhould be raced, and pulled downe. Pompeius a gentleman of great wealth, and noble courage, did build a Theater, ſuch a one as before had not beene ſeene, which would receiue 2500. men, contrary to the Proclamation, and order taken. But doubting leſt the next Magiſtrates ſhould deſtroy it, he cauſed a place of religion to be ſet vpon it, and called it the Temple of Venus. Whereby he prouided, that if any would ouerthrow it, becauſe it was a Theater, they might yet ſpare it for the Temples ſake: for to pull downe a Temple was ſacrilledge. Euen ſo, there haue been Proclamations, and Canons, that no man ſhould be called the chiefe, or the head of all Churches, or vſurpe ſuch authority ouer others: but when the Pope built vp his ſupremacy againſt the meaning of ſuch Canons, he pretended religion for his doing: he ſaid, it was *de iure diuino*, that no man ſhould preſume or attempt againſt it, and that ſo his power might continue for euer.

If they haue beene thus carefull to maintaine falſhood, how much more careful ſhould we be to maintaine the truth? If they to aduance their owne kingdome, how much more wee, to ſet forth the kingdome of God, and to build vp the Church of Chriſt? And if they ſought to doe that by lies, and by falſe meanes, why ſhould we be ſlake to vſe the right, and true, and good meanes, whereby that good thing which God hath wrought for vs, may be eſtabliſhed? And albeit there be many waies, by which the kingdome of God may be maintained, as the fauour and countinance of the Prince, which ſo comforteth and cheriſheth the Church, as the Sunne beames comfort and cheriſh the earth: and knowledge, and learning, and Diſcipline, which are as the life and ſinews, and without which the Church muſt needes fall aſunder: at this time, I will leue to ſpeake of the reſt, and only ſtay vpon learning, which may truely be called the life or the ſoule of the Church, and of Chriſtian religion.

How neceſſary a thing, they haue counted learning to the ſetting forth of Religion, the

ſtories of our old fathers, of Heathens, and Chriſtians in all ages, doe witneſſe. They thought, that neither Religion might ſtand without knowledge, nor knowledge were to be eſtæmed without Religion. Charles the Great, that he might the better plant Religion in Saxonie and Helvetia, did erect many places for increaſe of learning. He knew well, that there was no other way better to eſtabliſh Religion. The Cathedrall Churches, before ſuch times as ignorance and blindneſſe grew over all the world, and brought in an vniverſall corruption, maintained Schooles of learning, that the Doctrine which was taught in thoſe places, might be defended againſt the gainſaiers by ſuch learned men, as were there bred vp. The Princes of Germanie, and the free Cities, after they had received the Goſpell, they diſſolved their Monaſteries which had bin harborers for ſuch as lived in idleneſſe, and ſet vp Schooles and Colleges, which ſhould be nurſeries to breed vp learned men, that might be able to teach the people, and to maintaine Religion. Whereby it came to paſſe, that in ſhort time they had great ſtore of worthy and learned men.

This did they well ſee, that have bin the enemies of Religion, and therefore vſed all meanes to hinder the increaſe of learning, that they might have the better way to overthrow Religion. For, if learning decay, it is likely that Religion can not abide. Beare with me, if I ſpeake that which may ſeem more fit for ſome other place, than for this audience: the beſt here vnderſtandeth me well. In other Countries, the receiving of the Goſpell hath alwaies bin cauſe that learning was more ſet by: and learning hath ever bin the furtherance of the Goſpell. In England, I know not how, it commeth otherwiſe to paſſe. For ſince the Goſpell hath bin received, the maintenance for learning hath bin decaied. And the lacke of learning will be the decay of the Goſpell. Would God it were not ſo: or, that yet before the fault be incurable, there may be ſome redreſſe.

Loth I am to ſpeake, yet the caſe ſo requireth, that it is needfull to be ſpoken, I truſt I ſhall ſpeake in the hearing of them that will conſider it. Maintenance of learning, whereby an able and ſufficient miniſtery may grow, and be eſtabliſhed in all the Churches of this realme, is to be wiſhed for. The good eſtate of this noble kingdome, the comfort of poſteritie, the ſtay of religion, the continuing of the Goſpell, the removing of darkneſſe hangeth vpon it. One aſked ſometimes, How it was that in Athens, ſo godly and great a City, there were no Phyſitians. To whom this anſwer was made, Becauſe there are no rewards appointed for them that practiſe Phyſicke. The ſame anſwer may be made for our times: the cauſe why the Church of God is ſo forſaken, is the want of zeale in them that ſhould either for their courteſie, or for their ability be ſoſterers of learning, and increaſe the livings where occaſion is, and give hope and comfort to learned men. What ſaid I, increaſe: nay, the livings and proviſion which heretofore were given to this vſe, are taken away.

Have patience, if any ſuch be here, as I well know there are, whom theſe things touch. Suffer me to ſpeak the truth, it is Gods cauſe. The livings of ſuch as are in the miniſtery, are not in their hands, to whom they are due. All other labourers and artificers have their hire increaſed double as much as it was wont to be: Only the poore man that laboureth, and ſweateth in the vineyard of the Lord of hoſts, hath his hire abridged and abated. I ſpeake not of the Curates, but of Parſonages and Vicarages, that is, of the places which are the Caſtles and Towers of fence for the Lords Temple. They ſeldome paſſe now adaies from the patrone, if he be no better than a gentleman, but either for the leaſe or for preſent mony. Such merchants are broken into the Church of God, a great deale more intolerable than were they whom Chriſt chaſed and whipt out of the Temple. Thus they that ſhould be carefull for Gods Church, that ſhould be patrons, to proviſde for the conſciences of the people, and to place among them a learned Miniſter, who might bee able to preach the word vnto them out of ſeaſon, and in ſeaſon, and to fulfill his miniſterie, ſeeke their owne, and not that which is Jeſus Chriſts. They ſerve not Jeſus Chriſt, but their belly. And this done, not in one place, or in one country, but throughout England. A gentleman cannot keep his houſe, vnleſſe he have a Parſonage or two in farme for his proviſion.

O mercifull God, whereto will this grow at laſt! If the miſerie which this plague worketh, would reach but to one age, it were tolerable. But it will be a plague to the poſterity, it will be the decay and deſolation of Gods Church. Young men which are toward and learned, ſee this: They ſee that he which feedeth the flocke, hath leaſt part of the milke: he which goeth a warfare, hath not halfe his wages. Therefore they are weary and diſcouraged, they change their ſtudies: ſome become prentiſes, ſome turne to Phyſick, ſome to Law: all ſhun and flee the Miniſtery. And beſides the hinderance that thus groweth by wicked dealing of patrons: by reaſon of the impropriations, the Vicarages in many places, and in the propereſt market townes, are ſo ſimple, that no man can live vpon them, and therefore no man will take them. They were wont to ſay, *Beneficia ſine cura*: Benefices without charge: but now may be ſaid, *Cura ſine beneficio*: Charge or cure without benefice.

I ſpeake not this of my ſelfe: many heere preſent know I ſpeake the truth. And my ſelfe know the places, which haue continued ſtill theſe many yeeres without a Miniſter reſident among them, and haue prouided themſelues, as they might, with their owne money.

Your Graces ſubiects had hope of amendment, in your Graces late viſitation. But yet it ſtandeth ſtill in caſe as miſerable, as it did before. I know, your Grace heareth not of theſe matters. And I hope God will worke in your gracious heart, to prouide ſome remedie againſt them. For otherwiſe, the Schooles will be forſaken, the Church deſolate, the people wild and diſmaied, the Goſpell diſcredited: otherwiſe, we ſhall ſee that wrought againſt the houſe of God, that neuer any Ieroboam, or Iulian, or Licinius, could haue brought to paſſe againſt vs. This noble Realme which euer was famous for the name of learning, is like thereby to come to ſuch ignorance, and barbary, as hath not been heard of in any memory before our time.

I know that there are grieuous complaints made, that the Biſhops appoint Prieſts and Miniſters, that are ignorant and haue no vnderſtanding in the Latin tongue. Would God it were not true. Or would God that they which be the cauſers hereof, would ſomewhat helpe to amend it. But alas, are we able to make learned men vpon the ſudden? Or can we make others than come vnto vs, or will come to liue in miſery?

But there are many which can ſay, Such as be miniſters in the Church, ſhould teach freely, without hope of recompence or hire for their labour. Our Preachers are no better than Peter and Paul, and the other Apoſtles. They are no better than the holy Prophets, who liued poorely. Pouertie is a commendable eſtate. So ſay ſome, in like deuotion as did Iudas: What needed this waſte? this might haue been ſold for much and giuen to the poore: not that he cared for the poore, but becauſe he was a theefe, and had the bag, and bare that which was giuen. I doubt not, there are many which teach Chriſt for Chriſts ſake, which ſay in their ſoule, The Lord is my portion: who in that heauy time, from which God deliuered them, if they might haue receiued their life only for a recompence, would haue been glad to take the paines: who ſeeke you and not yours: which haue forſaken all they had, to follow Chriſt. I doubt not, there are ſuch.

But for the hope of poſterity, I report me to all you which are fathers, and haue children for whom you are carefull. Although your ſelues haue a zeale, and care for the houſe of God: yet will you breed them vp, keep them at Schoole, vntill foure and twenty yeeres old to your charges, that in the end they may liue in glorious pouerty? that they may liue poorely and naked like the Prophets and Apoſtles? Our poſterity ſhall rue, that euer ſuch fathers went before them: And Chronicles ſhall report this contempt of learning among the puniſhments, and murraines, and other plagues of God. They ſhall leaue it written in what time, and vnder whoſe raigne this was done. Or if we grow ſo barbarous that we conſider not this, or be not able to draw it into Chronicle, yet forraine Nations will not ſpare to write this, and publiſh it to our euerlaſting reproch and ſhame.

In the meane time, what may be gheſſed of their meaning, which thus ranin and ſpoile the houſe of God, which decay the proviſion thereof, and ſo baſely eſteem the Miniſters of the Goſpell? They cannot ſay to God, The zeale of thy houſe hath eaten me vp. Howſoeuer in other things they do well, howſoeuer they ſeem to reioice at the proſperitie of Sion, and to ſeek the ſafety and preſeruation of the Lords Anointed: yet needs muſt it be, that by theſe meanes forraine power, of which this Realme by the mercy of God is happily deliuered, ſhall againe be brought in vpon vs. Such things ſhall be done vnto vs, as we before ſuffered: the truth of God ſhall be taken away, the holy Scriptures burnt & conſumed in fire. A marueilous darkneſſe and calamitie muſt needs enſue. For, if the tempeſt be ſo darke in the ſea that the load ſtar loſe her light, & the needle faile to giue token of the North Pole, no maruell though the ſhip loſe her courſe, and be ſwallowed vp in the ſands.

The Goſpell of Chriſt is the fountaine of light, and of knowledge. It cannot be maintained by ignorance and darkneſſe. Theſe be the props of their kingdome which take away the Scriptures, which hold the people in blindneſſe, which flie the light, which haue their common prayers, miniſter the Sacraments, marry, bury their dead in a ſtrange tongue, that the people may vnderſtand nothing: which make a famine of hearing the word of God: which ſtop vp the ſprings of the water of life: which take away the keies of the kingdome of Heauen, and neither enter in themſelues, nor ſuffer them that would enter: which ſay ignorance is the mother of deuotion, and the Church is then in beſt order, and the people moſt deuout, when they are hoodwinckt and blinded, and ſee nothing.

Theſe are not fit inſtruments wherewith we may ouercome the aduerſaries. This is not the ſword of the ſpirit, theſe are not the ſpirituall weapons, which caſt down holds, and euery high thing that is exalted againſt the knowledge of God. What man that would

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kéep out his enemy, will pull downe his holds? what Captaine that meaneth to giue a forcible aſſault vpon the enemy, will diſcourage his fighting ſouldiers? But our ſouldiers are out of courage, our Caſtles are falling: therefore that which wee feare will fall vpon vs.

The ore that treadeth out the corne is muzled. He that goeth a warfare, receiueth not his wages: the cry heereof goeth vp into the eares of the Lord of Hoſts. He will not abide ſo great contempt of his word, and preachers: his owne name is thereby diſhonored. Our Sauiour ſaith: He that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth mee. And S. Paul: Hee that deſpiſeth theſe things, deſpiſeth not man but God. And thinke we, that he will ſuffer his holy name to bee deſpiſed? Nay, his wrath is already kindled. He hath already begun his iudgements, and therefore many places are left deſolate. There is none that can warne them of their ſinne, none that can moue them to repentance, none that can preach vnto them forgiueneſſe through Chriſt, none that can inſtruct them in the comfort of euerlaſting life. Becauſe they worke ſuch things againſt the Lord, the hearts of many are aſtonied. Though they heare, they vnderſtand not. They ſcorne and ieſt at the word of ſaluation: it is vnto them a ſauor of death vnto death: they are earthly minded, whoſe God is their belly, and whoſe glory is to their ſhame. Luke 10. 1. Theſſ 4.

For this cauſe you liue ſtill in your ſinnes, in adultery in couetouſneſſe, and in pride, without any feeling of conſcience, without any feare of God. Your daughters, your heires, to whom you ſhall leaue your lands, are ſtolne away from you, robberies and theft are ſo common, as if it were not onely lawfull: but alſo commendable: as if ſinne were no ſinne, and hell fire but a fable.

Thus we prouoke God to anger. Many walke, of whom we cannot thinke but with weeping: they are the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt: the name of God is blaſphemed through them. Many are ſo ignorant, they know not what the Scriptures are, they know not that there are any Scriptures. They cal them Heretical, and new Doctrine. Many will beléeue neither ſide, whatſoeuer they allege. Bring they truth, bring they falſhood: teach they Chriſt, teach they Antichriſt: they will beléeue neither, they haue ſo hardned their hearts. Be the Preacher rough or gentle, learned or vnlearned, let him vſe authority of the Scriptures, of the Doctors, of the Councels, of Decrees or Decretals, of Gods law, of mans law nothing will moue them, nothing wil pleaſe them, becauſe the miniſtery of God, and thereby God himſelfe is deſpiſed.

Theſe words happily ſéeme ſharpe and ouer vehement: but the darkneſſe of our hearts againſt God, and the lacke of zeale of his houſe, inforce me to them. We are almoſt fallen into the loweſt pit: we are left without zeale, as ſenſeleſſe men, and as if we had cleane forgotten our ſelues, as the heathen wich know not God. Therefore vnleſſe we repent, the kingdome of God ſhall be taken away from vs. He will ſend vpon this Land a famine of the word. Ieruſalem ſhall be ouerthrowne and made an heape of ſtones: the man of ſin and they which haue not the loue of the truth ſhall preuaile with many, & withdraw them from obedience to the Prince: this noble Realme ſhall be ſubiect to forraine nations: al this wil the zeale of the Lord of hoſts bring to paſſe.

I could haue ſpent this time in opening ſome other matter: but nothing in my iudgement is more worthy your good conſideration, and ſpéedy redreſſe. I would be loth raſhly or rudely to abuſe the reuerence of this place: but vnleſſe theſe things be cared for, vnleſſe we ſhew forth greater zeale then hitherto, if the yéeres to come eat vp and take away from the Miniſtery as the late yéeres haue done, there wil not be left within a while any to ſpeak the word of God out of this place. The pulpits ſhall haue none to vſe them: the people ſhal grow wild and void of vnderſtanding.

When Xerxes beheld the great company of Souldiers, ſuddenly he breake into teares, and wept bitterly. One ſaid to him, O Sir, you haue cauſe to reioice, you haue a goodly company, they are able to fight for you againſt any Nation. But what ſhal become of them, ſaith Xerxes? after a hundred yéeres not one of all theſe ſhall be left aliue. If the view of the ſmale number of Preachers might be taken, how few they are, and how thin they come vp, we haue greater cauſe then Xerxes to lament, if wee haue any zeale to the houſe of God.

For, of the Preachers which now are, within few yéeres none will remaine aliue. And Xerxes Souldiers left iſſue behinde them, which might afterwards ſerue their Country: But there is like to be ſmall increaſe for the ſupply of learned men. The Lord ſhall lacke men to bring in his harueſt, the little ones ſhall call for bread, and there ſhall be none to giue it them. They that ſhall come after vs, ſhall ſee this to be true. There is no houſe ſo ſpoiled, as the houſe of the Lord. There is no Seruant ſo little rewarded as the ſeruant of Chriſt, and the diſpoſer of the myſteries of God.

O that your Grace did behold the miſerable diſorder of Gods Church, or that you might

foreſee the calamities, which will follow. It is a part of your kingdome, and ſuch a part, as is the principal prop and ſtay of the reſt. I wil ſay to your Maieſty, as Cyrillus ſomtimes ſaid to the godly Emperors Theodoſius and Valentinian: *Ab ea quæ erga Deum eſt pietate, reipublicæ veſtræ ſtatus pendet:* The good eſtate and welfare of your common wealth hangeth vpon true godlineſſe. You are our Gouernor, you are the Nurſe of Gods Church. We muſt open this griefe before you. God knoweth if it may be redreſſed, it hath grown ſo long, and is run ſo far. But, if it may be redreſſed, there is no other beſides your Highneſſe, that can redreſſe it.

Cyril. epiſt. ad Theod. & Valen.

I hope I ſpeake truly, that which I ſpeak without flatterie, that God hath endued your Grace with ſuch meaſure of learning and knowledge, as no other Chriſtian Prince. He hath giuen you peace, happineſſe, the loue and true hearts of your Subiects. Oh turne and imploy theſe to the glory of God, that God may confirme in your Grace the thing which he hath begun. To this end hath God placed Kings & Princes in their State, as Dauid ſaith, that they ſerue the Lord, that they may ſee and cauſe others to ſee to the furniture of the Church. The good Emperor Iuſtinian cared for this as much, as for his life. Conſtantine, Theodoſius, Valentinian, and other godly Princes, called themſelues Vaſſallos, the ſubiects and bond ſeruants of God. They remembred that God furniſhed them in their houſes, and were not vnmindfull to furniſh his houſe.

When Auguſtus had beautified Rome with ſetting vp many faire buildings, he ſaid: *Inuenit lateritiam, marmoream reddidi:* I found it made of bricke, but I leaue it made of marble. Your Grace when God ſent you to your inheritance, and the right of this Realme, found the Church in horrible confuſion, and in reſpect of the true worſhip of God a Church of bricke, or rather (as Ezechiel ſaith) daubed vp with vnſeaſoned morter. Your Grace hath already redreſſed the Doctrine: now caſt your eies towards the Miniſtery, giue courage and countenance vnto learning, that Gods houſe may be ſerued: ſo ſhal you leaue a Church of God, and a teſtimony that the zeale of the Lords houſe hath eaten you vp.

And you, O dearely beloued, if there be any ſuch, which are neither hot nor cold, which do the worke of the Lord negligently, which eſteeme the word of God but as a matter of policie, which are aſhamed to be called profeſſors of the Goſpell of Chriſt; pray vnto God that he will increaſe your zeale. Let vs continue rooted and built in Chriſt, and ſtabliſhed in the faith. Let vs haue care for the houſe of God. Whoſoeuer is not after this ſort zealous, is a man of a double heart. We may not halt betweene two opinions. If the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal be he, then goe after him: hee that is not with Chriſt, is againſt him. Many talke of the Goſpell, and glory in their knowledge: but it is neither talke nor knowledge which ſhall ſaue them in that day. He that feareth the Lord, and ſerueth him with a pure heart, and may truly ſay, The zeale of thine houſe hath conſumed me, he ſhal be ſaued. If they ſhal not eſcape which haue zeale without knowledge, what ſhal become of vs which haue knowledge without zeale?

And you, whoſoeuer you are, that by ſuch meanes haue decaied the Lords houſe, and abridged the proviſion and maintenance thereof, and ſee the miſerable wrake of Gods Church: if there be any zeale of God in you, if you haue any fellowſhip of the Spirit, if any compaſſion and mercy, if you loue God, if you deſire the continuance of the Goſpell; oh remember you haue the patrimony due vnto them that ſhould attend in the Lords houſe: you take vnto your ſelues wrongfullie, that which was not lotted for you. Giue vnto Cæſar thoſe things which belong to Cæſar, and vnto God the things which appertain to him, and make for the beauty and furniture of his houſe. Enrich your ſelues by lawfull meanes, and without the ſpoile and waſte of Gods Church. Let not the Miniſtery by your meanes bee deſpiſed. You enriched them, which mocked, and blinded, and deuoured you: Spoile not them now that feed, and inſtruct and comfort you. Let vs ſeeke the glory of God. Let vs at length ſerue the Lord and not our belly, and greedy wantonneſſe.

So ſhall God bleſſe you and proſper you in all your affaires: ſo ſhall he ſtrike a terror of you into all forraine Princes that dwel about you: ſo ſhal your heart be kept ſtedfaſt in the hand of God: ſo ſhal your heart be perfect before the Lord: ſo ſhal you leaue ſuch as ſhal alwaies praiſe the Lord in Sion, ſo ſhal you ſee your childrens children, and peace vpon Iſrael.

And, thou O moſt mercifull Father, grant that thy words be not ſpoken in vaine: it is thy cauſe. Thou art our Father, we are as clay in thine hands. Thou haſt the key of our hearts: giue zeale to them that haue knowledge, giue knowledge to them that haue zeale, that they may be enflamed and raviſhed with the loue of thy houſe, to ſorrow for the decay thereof, and to doe all their endeauour to build vp and eſtabliſh the ſame for euer: Amen.

MATTHEVV.

MATTHEW 9.

VERS. 37, Then ſaid he to his diſciples, Surely the Harueſt is great, but the labourers are few.

38. Wherefore pray the Lord of the harueſt, that hee would ſend labourers forth into his harueſt.

CHriſt our Sauiour, after he was baptized by Iohn and tempted by Satan in the wildernelle, began to execute the Commiſſion whereunto his Father had ſent him, choſe vnto himſelfe a number of Diſciples, to be at his commandement, and ſo toke his progreſſe thorow a great part of the Country. In the meane way, in euery place where he came, he taught the people that the kingdome of God was come amongſt them: he healed their diſeaſes; wrought ſtrange miracles before their eies: and gaue many ſingular and euident tokens of his comming.

But ſpecially, he beheld in what ſtate the poore people ſtood, touching their readineſſe in receiuing Gods truth, in all the country where he had bin: and therefore at the end of his circuit, he was moued with pity, and ſaid, he ſaw them in moſt wofull caſe, forſaken and loſt, as if they had bēn a flocke of ſheepe without a heard: and that not through their owne malice, but through the wilfull blindneſſe & negligence of them that were ſet to guide them.

Sheep (as Ariſtotle and Plinie write of them) are a ſimple kind of cattell, profitable to many vſes, ready to receiue all maner wrongs, without ſkill, to helpe or ſuccour it ſelfe: it coueteth to breake out of the fold or cloſe, if it may eſpie any hole open, it ſtraieth and wandreth abroad, many times hangeth in the briers, many times is taken vp by the Wolfe: it is euer in danger of the wind and raine, yea, of the very graſſe and water it liueth by, and thereof is infected often times with a number of maladies: ſo that the health and ſafety of the ſheep, reſteth onlie in the care and diligence of the ſhepheard. To ſuch a kind of cattle are the people likened.

Chriſt ſaith not, they were like vnruly ſheep, that would not be guided by their heard: but he ſaith; They were like poore loſt ſheep, that had no heard at all. For the people of themſelues were not vnwilling to receiue the Goſpell: but there was none to inſtruct them. And for that, he addeth another ſimilitude, to declare the ſame, and ſaith; The harueſt indeed is great, but the workemen are but few: the corne is ripe, and ready to be cut, but their lack hands to fetch it in.

The comming of theſe times was promiſed long before, euen from the firſt creation of mankind, but the performance thereof at the firſt was darke, and as it were wrapt vp, and hid in a cloud, and like corne buried in the ground.

After, it was ſomewhat more clērely ſet forth in the Law giuen by Moſes. After that, it was reuiued by the Prophets, and in maner plainely, in what place, at what time, of what mother, of what houſe or ſtock Chriſt ſhould be borne: what Doctrine he ſhould teach, what miracles he ſhould worke, what death he ſhould die, how he ſhould be buried, how he ſhould ariſe, how he ſhould aſcend into heauen, how the heathēs ſhould be called to beleeue in him, how the holy Ghoſt ſhould be ſent, and to conclude, how Chriſt ſhould come at the laſt, to iudge the world. After that came S. Iohn the Baptiſt, to point out Chriſt plainly, with his finger, and to ſay: *Ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi*: Behold the Lambe of God, that taketh away the ſinnes of the world.

Laſt of all, Chriſt himſelfe began to preach and prophecie of himſelfe, and to gather vnto him a choſen people, that ſhould be followers of good workes. Then was the accompliſhment and fulneſſe of time come to paſſe, that had ſo long bēn looked for: then the kingdome of God began to ſuffer violence, and men violently euen by force, breake in vpon it: then the corne ſowen and caſt into the ground by the Patriarchs long before, and watered and cheriſhed by the dew of the Prophets, was ripened and kerned by the Spirit of God: then was the harueſt great, and the eares white, euen ready to be cut.

Yet this notwithſtanding, Chriſt ſaith, the harueſt men are but few. He ſaith not, the harueſt is great, and there are but few Scribes, but few Phariſeis, but few Sadduces, but few Prieſts, but few Leuites: For the Prieſts and Leuites were diſtributed thorow the whole countrie. In euery little towne or borough there was a College, and as one of their Rabbines recordeth, in the City of Hieruſalem there were no leſſe then 400. ſchooles: ſo that the number was almoſt infinite.

Hiere.18. Moreouer, they vsed commonly to say, as it is reported by the Prophet Ieremie: *Non peribit Lex a sacerdote, nec consilium à sapiente, nec sermo á Propheta:* It cannot be that the true vnderstanding of the Law should be taken from the Priest, nor good counsell from the wise, nor the word from the Prophet. They read and expounded the Law to the people euery day: they had their daily sacrifice, and whensoeuer the Oxe, or Calfe, or Sheep, or Goat, was slaine, and offered vnto God, as then the maner was, the Priest for his share had the breastlet that couered the heart, in token, as Origen writeth, that the Priest should be a man of counsell. He had also appointed to him the right shoulder, and the tongue in token that he should be prompt and ready in good workes, and eloquent to declare the Law of God.

The Bishop had euermore before his breast a tablet, wherein was imbrodered in letters of gold, Vrim, and Thummim: in token that he should be a man both perfect in life, and also full and plenteous in the truth of God. In the same were set twelue stones, and therein grauen the names of the twelue tribes of the people, that he might haue them euermore in remembrance. The skirts or hems of his robes were set with bels of gold, and pomgranades: in token that his life should giue a good sauour, and his voice should ring, and bee heard among the people.

The Phariseis had certaine speciall points, and sentences of the Law written round about in the borders of their garments, that it might neuer be out of their eies: they prayed, no men more, and that in euery corner of the streets: they fasted twice euery weke: the bed that they lay vpon, as Epiphanius writeth, was but a span broad, and yet, that they might slepe with lesse ease, they strowed thornes vnderneath them. Briefly, all their life in appearance was such, and all their apparell and behauiour so seemly and decent, that if a man would paint out wisedome, sobriety, and perfect holinesse, he could haue no better patterne. And therefore they were called *Pharisæi*, that is, diuided, as men in holinesse and perfection of life far passing all the rest of the people.

Yet for all this, notwithstanding their great shew of wisedome, of learning, of perfection of life, and the great multitude of them, Christ saith there were few workmen to goe to the haruest. For: They did prophecy out of their own hearts, they did not rise vp in the gaps, Ezech 13. nor made vp the hedge for the house of Israel to stand in the battell in the day of the Lord: they haue seen vanity, and lying diuination, saying, The Lord saith it, and the Lord hath not sent them: and they haue made others to hope that they would confirme the words of their Prophecie, saith Ezechiell.

No, contrariwise, these that should haue bén the chiefe haruest men, were the wasters Iere.50. and destroiers of the haruest: My people (saith God) hath been as lost sheep: their shepheards haue caused them to go astray, & haue turned them away to the mountains. Christ telleth the Phariseis, they haue made his fathers house a den of théeues. He speaketh thus Iohn.10. of them. All that euer came before me, are theeues and robbers. Notwithstanding their stout learning and shew of holinesse, they were nothing els but théeues and robbers: they did rob mens soules, they stole the sheep out of the fold, they spoiled God of his glorie.

When they saw the people follow thick after Christ, and to haue him in reuerence, they cried out, None of the Princes & great holy learned men beléeue in him; but these rascals, that thus run after him, are accursed, and ignorant, and know not the law. The vnlearned sort said of Christ, He casteth out vncleane spirits by the power of God: the great learned men said, No, He throweth out diuels by the power of Beelzebub, the prince of the Diuels. The vnlearned marueled, and were astonied at the wonderfull workes that he did: the learned said, He hath a diuell, he is out of his wits. The vnlearned said, No doubt a great Prophet is risen amongst vs: the learned said, He deceiueth the people. The vnlearned said, God hath visited: and sent comfort amongst his people: the learned said, Behold a glutton and a companion of Publicans and sinners. The great learned shepheards persecuted Christ and chased him from place to place: the poore sheep followed him into the desert. They that were the guiders of the flocke crucified Christ, and shed his blod: the poore flocke set their whole affiance in his death, and so dranke his blod to the release of their soules, they beléeued in him, they knew the time of their visitation.

And therefore, notwithstanding there were grosse and damnable errors amongst the people, as wel as amongst the learned: yet Christ challenged not the people for them, but only the Priests and the Phariseis that toke vpon them to lead the people: for that he saw the Phariseis and Priests offended euen of malice, and the poore people only of ignorance Mat.3. and simplicity. Woe be vnto you Scribes and Phariseis, that haue taken away the keies, and shut vp the kingdome of God before the people; and neither will you enter in your selues, nor suffer others that would gladly enter.

But, as for the people, he had compassion one them, for that he saw they were forsaken, & perished

periſhed euen as ſheep without a heard: that they had a certaine zeale of God, although not according to knowledge: that they fell into the pit, not of wilfull malice, but only becauſe they followed the blinde guides, that fell before them: that they were Gods haruеſt, and lay abroad, and were loſt, and no man would take the paines to fetch them in.

S. Paul was not only led away by ignorance, but alſo was a moſt earneſt perſecuter of the Church of Chriſt; yet was he a portion of Gods haruеſt. And therefore aſſone as God had ſtricken him downe from his horſe, he knew he had done amiſſe, and cried out: Lord, what wilt thou that I doe? and after, he writeth of himſelfe; God hath had mercy, and taken me to his grace, becauſe I knew not what I did. Acts 9.

Many there were that cried out vpon Chriſt, Crucifie him, crucifie him: and after when he hung vpon the Croſſe, nodded their heads vpon him, and made mowes at him, and did him all maner of ſpight and villany; and yet pertained they to Gods haruеſt, and afterward as it is credible, were crucified for him and ſhed their blood for him themſelues.

Euen ſo are there, euen at this time, many that of ignorance perſecute the Goſpell of Chriſt, and as it were crucifie Chriſt againe: which if they felt indeed, that it were the Goſpell of God, they would not ſo little regard their owne ſaluation. God make them to be of his haruеſt, and ſend out labourers to fetch them in.

Whenſoeuer we begin to feele a lacke within our ſelues, and can ſuffer our ſelues to bee informed, and taught by the ſpirit of God, then may we be aſſured God will take vs for his haruеſt. Plato the old Philoſopher imagineth that the god Loue was borne of the Lady Penia, that is to ſay, Madam lacke or neceſſity. For no man loueth a thing before he feele himſelfe ſtand in need of it: ſo loue is the childe, and lacke or need is the mother.

S. Auguſtine writeth of himſelfe, that before he became Chriſtened, a friend of his offered him the Scripture to looke vpon: but he, after he had read a little, becauſe he felt in himſelfe no lacke of it, he deſpiſed it, and flung it from him. Afterward he began to find much folly in himſelfe, and becauſe he could ſee no redreſſe, he fell to weeping and praier. In the midſt of his mourning and groning he heard a voice: *Tolle, lege: tolle, lege:* Take vp, and read, take vp and read. He marueiled much what it ſhould be. At the laſt, he tooke vp a booke that lay by him of Pauls Epiſtles, and the firſt words that he ſet his eies vpon, were theſe: *Induimini Dominum Ieſum Chriſtum:* Put ye one the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. *Auguſt. Conf. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

S. Hierome writing vpon the Prophet Nahum ſaith: *In aduentu Meſſiæ, populus qui fuerat conſopitus ſub magiſtris, excitabitur, & ibit ad montes Scripturarum:* What time Meſſias ſhall come, the people that were lulled aſleepe in ignorance by ſuch as ſhould haue been their teachers, ſhall awake, and get them foorth to the mountaines of the Scriptures. *In Nahum. cap. 3.*

And Chryſoſtome vpon Geneſis: *Si deſit miniſterium hominis, ipſe Dominus ſuperne illuſtrabit mentem noſtram:* If the miniſtery of man be wanting, the Lord himſelfe will lighten our minde from aboue. And Chriſt in the Goſpel of S. Iohn ſaith: My ſheep heare my voice, and follow me, and they will not follow a ſtranger, but flie from him. And to conclude, whoſoeuer feeleth a lacke within himſelfe, and can ſuffer himſelfe to be enformed and taught by the ſpirit of God, he may be aſſured, God will take him for his haruеſt. Thus was the haruеſt great, the labourers very few, the ſcatterers and waſters almoſt infinite. This was the ſtate of the Church at the comming of Chriſt. *Hom. 36.* Iohn 10.

Euen likewiſe in theſe our daies, Chriſt our Sauiour hath gone abroad in progreſſe, and done maruellous cures, and ſhewed ſtrange miracles among his people, and hath cauſed his Goſpel to ring throwout the world. And as he ſaid then, euen ſo may it now be ſaid: *Meſſis multa:* The haruеſt is great, and maruellous forward: yea, euen there, whereas no worldly hope of haruеſt could haue béne. Many there are that hunger and thirſt after the kingdome of God, which is the knowledge of his Goſpel: many that are yet grene & ignorant, many that lie by the way ſide, and yet haue gathered no rot, many that as yet are but tares and darnel, I meane blind and obſtinate; but when Gods holy will ſhall be, may be turned into good corne, and pertaine to his haruеſt.

Bet the labourers are few. I ſay not, there be but few Cardinals, few Biſhops, few Prieſts, that ſhould be preachers, few Archdeacons, few Chancellors, few Deanes, few Prebendaries, few Vicars, few pariſh Prieſts, few Monks, few Friars: For the number of theſe is almoſt infinite. Gregory Nazianzene in his time complained at the multitude of Prieſts, and ſaid, they were almoſt as many as the reſt of the people.

And Iuſtinian the Emperor in his time was faine to reſtraine the number of them, and to giue commandement, that in one Cathedrall Church there ſhould neuer be aboue 60. Prieſts, and 100. Deacons. The like order was taken in a generall Councel, for the abating of the multitude of Monks, and Friars. *Concil. tom. 3. concil. delect. cardinalium.*

And in the booke called *Opus tripartitum*, ioined to the Councell of Lateran, theſe words were written: *Totus fere mundus obloquitur, & ſcandalizatur de multitudine religioſorum* *Concil. tom. 2.*

pauperum, qui introierunt in mundum, qui non iam religioſi, ſed trutannij vocantur: Well neere the whole world crieth againſt, and is offended at the great multitude of begging Monks and Friars, which are entred into the world, and now for their behauiour are called not religious men but varlets. These be the words of the Councell.

The number of these is great: but alas, the number of labourers is very ſmall. And yet they giue a ſhew to the world, that they be paſtors and feeders of the flocke, that they be the Fathers of the people, that they be the teachers of the multitude, that they be the labourers in the harueſt, that the whole Catholike Church ſtaieth altogether vpon them.

They giue the Biſhop of Rome theſe titles, that hee is the onely key of Chriſtian faith, that he is greater then the Apoſtles, for that they could erre, and he cannot: they ſay, he is Chriſts Vicar, whereas indeed to any mans ſight, Chriſt may be contented to be his Vicar. They ſay, he is no bare man, but a God, as it is written in the Decretals of Nicholas Pope, and many other the like, which I leaue.

The Pope calleth the Cardinals, *Cardines mundi, &c.* The very hookes and ſtaies of the world, vpon whom the doore of the Church militant muſt bee turned. Another ſaith: As a doore turneth vpon the hook, euen ſo the Church of Rome is ruled by the Cardinals. Therefore they haue pillars and pollares carried afore them, in token that they be the pillars and ſtaies of the Church: and pollares, to beat downe all euill doctrine.

And what ſhall I ſpeake of Biſhops? their clouen miter ſignifieth perfect knowledge of the new Teſtament and the old. Their croſiars ſtaffe ſignifieth diligence in attending the flock of Chriſt. Their purple boots and ſandales, ſignifie that they ſhould euer be booted and ready to goe abroad thorow thicke and thin, to teach the Goſpell. And thereto they applied the words of the Prophet: *Quàm ſpecioſi pedes Euangelizantium pacem, Euangelizantium bona!* How beautifull are the feet of them which bring glad tidings of peace, which bring glad tidings of good things! But alas in what kinde of things do they beare themſelues for Biſhops? These myſticall titles and ſhewes are not enough to fetch in the Lords harueſt: they are garments more méete for plaiers, then for good labourers. S. Bernard writeth thus to Eugenius the Biſhop of Rome, who ſometime had béene his ſcholar: Thou which art the ſhepheard, ietteſt vp and downe ſhining in gold, and gorgeouſly attired: but what get thy ſheepe? If I durſt ſpeak it, theſe things are not the fodder for Chriſts ſheepe, but for diuels. Whatſoeuer apparell they haue vpon them, vnleſſe they will fall to worke, Chriſt will not know them for labourers.

De conſiderat. ad Eug. lib. 4.

How then can the Biſhop of Rome be taken for the chiefe paſtor of Chriſt, which theſe 900. yéeres hath not opened his mouth to feed the flocke? Theſe 900. yéeres, I ſay, ſince Gregory the firſt of that name, it can hardly be found, that euer anie Biſhop of Rome was ſeene in a pulpit. One of themſelues, Adrianus the fourth a Biſhop of Rome, was wont to ſay: *Succedimus non Petro in docendo, ſed Romulo in parricidio*: We ſucceed not Peter in teaching, but Romulus in murthering.

Aug. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 19. cap. 19.

And in the Canon of the Apoſtles it is decréed, that the Biſhop that teacheth not his flocke, ſhould be depoſed. To which purpoſe they allege S. Auguſtine: *Epiſcopatus, nomen eſt operis, non honoris: vt intelligat ſe non eſſe Epiſcopum, qui vult præeſſe, non prodeſſe:* A Biſhops office is a name of labour, not a name of honor, that hee which coueteth the place of preeminence, and hath not a deſire to doe good, may know he is not a Biſhop. Thus ſaith Origen, thus ſaith Chryſoſtome, thus ſay diuers others of the old Fathers, whom it were long and néedleſſe to reherſe. *Multi Sacerdotes, pauci Sacerdotes,* ſaith Chryſoſtome; *multi nomine, pauci opere:* There are many Prieſts, and few Prieſts: many that beare the name, but few that bee Prieſts indeed. Thus the harueſt is great and plenteous, but the labourers are but few.

Chryſoſt. hom. 43. in opere imperfecto in Mat.

The labourers are but few, but the deſtroiers and waſters are exceeding many; yea, ſuch as ſhould be the harueſt men, moſt of all deſtroy the corne. I will not heere report that I am well able, that your eies haue ſéene, and that many of you haue felt, the ſtate of our time hath béen ſuch. S. Bernard ſaw it in his time, and therefore ſaith: *Omnes amici, & omnes inimici: omnes neceſſarij, & omnes aduerſarij*: All are friends, and all are enemies: all are helpers, and all are aduerſaries, or hinderers. Againe: *Heu, heu, Domine Deus, ipſi ſunt in perſequutione tua primi, qui videntur in eccleſia tua primatum diligere, gerere principatum:* Alas, alas, O Lord God, they are the chiefeſt in perſecuting thee, that ſeeme to loue the higheſt roomes, and to beare rule in thy Church. The time being ſo ſhort as it is appointed me, will not ſuffer mee to ſpeake of them that euen now hinder Gods harueſt: and being ſuch men as ſhould ſtay the people, as much as they may doe by their example, diſquiet and diſturbe them that withſtand at this time, and reſiſt your Graces doings, not in darke and doubtful matters, wherein ſomething may be ſaid on both ſides, but in ſuch things as they themſelues doe know were appointed by Chriſt, publiſhed by the Apoſtles, receiued by the old Doctours, and vſed, and frequented in the Primitiue and Catholike Church. Why then will they not

Serm. 33. in Cantica. Bern. ſer. 1. in conuerſ. S. Pauli.

not receiue them? Chriſt himſelfe giueth the reaſon: *Quia dilexerunt magis gloriam hominum quàm gloriam Dei.* Becauſe they loued the praiſe of men, more then the praiſe of God. They know they ſhould endanger their credit, if they ſhould once again turne. Why would not the Phariſies ſuffer the people to beleeue in Chriſt? Cyrillus maketh anſwer: *Quia quicquid Chriſto credentium acceſſerit, ſibi detractum putabant:* This was the cauſe, ſaith he, for that they thought, how many ſoeuer faithfull came vnto Chriſt, ſo many were loſt from them. And therefore they had leuer keepe the traditions of their elders, then hazard their eſtimation. And Chryſoſtome vpon the ſame matter ſaith: *Cum timerent ne principatum amitterent, ceu legum latores, vt maiores eſſe viderentur, multa innouabant; quæres ad tantam peruenit nequitiam, vt præcepta ſua cuſtodirent magis quam mandata Dei:* Leſt they ſhould loſe their authority, as if they had beene lawmakers, men able to ſtabliſh and ordaine lawes, to the end they might ſeeme greater, they altered much; which thing (in the end) grew to ſuch a wickednes, that they kept their owne commandements more then the commandements of God. Thus euen now the Lords harueſt is great, the labourers few, and the deſtroiers and hinderers aboue number. O lift vp your eies, and conſider how the hearts of your poore brethren lie waſte without inſtruction, without knowledge, without the food of life, without the comfort of Gods word, ſuch a miſery as neuer was ſeene among heathens. The Turkes haue teachers ſufficient for their people, the Iewes, albeit they haue no ſtated country, but liue in baniſhment, and wander about, yet haue they their Teachers: the Chriſtians which this day liue in India, Æthiopia, Barbary, Mooreland, and other places vnder the perſecution of heathen Princes, yet haue their inſtructors in true religion. The Chriſtians in old time, when they liued vnder tyrants, and were daily put to moſt ſhamefull death, and were hated, and deſpiſed of all the world, yet neuer lacked Miniſters to inſtruct them. It is therefore moſt lamentable, that Chriſtians liuing vnder a Chriſtian Prince, in the peace & liberty of the Goſpel, ſhould lacke learned Miniſters to teach them, and inſtruct them in the word of God: this is the greateſt plague, that God doth ſend vpon any people. John. 10. *Cyril. in Ioh. lib. 8. cap. 1.* *Chryſ. in Mat. hom. 52.*

Contrariwiſe, the greateſt bleſſing which any people can receiue at Gods hands, is to haue Prophets and Preachers, by whom they may be inſtructed. When the Prophet declareth the mercy of God towards Iſrael, that he would put an end to their afflictions, and bring them home again from Babylon, he ſaith thus: Behold (ſaith the Lord) I wil ſend out many fiſhers, and they ſhal fiſh them. In like ſort ſaith Eſay: How beautifull vpon the mountaines are the feet of him, that declareth, and publiſheth peace; that declareth good tidings, and publiſheth ſaluation, ſaying vnto Sion, thy God reigneth! The voice of thy watchmen ſhal be heard, they ſhall lift vp their voice, and ſhout together. And Baruch: Nor the Agarens that ſought after wiſedome vpon the earth, nor the merchants of Nerran and Theman, nor the expounders of fables, nor the ſearchers out of wiſedome, haue known the way of wiſedome. There were the Giants, famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature, and ſo expert in warre. Thoſe did not the Lord chooſe, neither gaue he the way of knowledge vnto them, but they were deſtroied becauſe they had no wiſdome, and periſhed through their owne fooliſhneſſe. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath giuen it vnto Iacob his ſeruant, and to Iſrael his beloued. And againe: O Iſrael, we are bleſſed: for the things that are acceptable to God, are declared vnto vs. He hath not dealt ſo with euery nation, neither haue they knowledge of his iudgements, ſaith the Prophet Dauid. Iere. 16. Eſay. 52. Baruch 3. Baruc. 4. Pſal. 147.

But when God taketh away his Miniſters which ſhould preach peace, and open vnto the people the will of God, and make knowne his iudgements, it is a token that God is highly diſpleaſed with his people. Where there is no viſion, the people decay: they know not what to beleeue. Of this miſery ſpeaketh Ieremy: The yong children aske bread, but no man breaketh it vnto them. Of this ſpeaketh Eſay: The poore and needy ſeeketh water, and there is none. They would haue ſome counſell, ſome comfort, and there is no man to giue it them. My ſheepe wandred (ſaith God) thorow all the mountaines, and on euery high hill: yea, my flocke was ſcattered thorow all the whole earth, and none did ſeeke or ſearch after them. They were full of diſeaſes, they were pined for hunger, and taken vp by the Wolfe, but none had care to deliuer them. Prou. 29. Lamen 4. Eſay. 41. Ezech. 34.

In ſuch ſtate as the flock is in, which hath no ſhepheard; or the ſhip which is toſſed by the tempeſts amidſt the ſurges and rocks of the Sea, and hath no skilful Pilot to guide it; or the yong ſucking child, that hath no nurſe to feed it: euen in ſuch ſtate are your ſoules if you haue not the miniſtery of Gods word abiding with you. You are children, the Preacher is your nurſe: you are a ſhip in danger of many wrecks thorow the boiſterous tempeſts of this world, the Preacher is your Pilot to guide you ſafely towards the hauen of reſt: you are the flocke, the Preacher leadeth you from dangerous places, to feed vpon the holeſome

holeſome paſtures of Gods holy woꝛd. Whoſoeuer they be which reioyce not in the increaſe of the Lozds haruеſt, he foꝛſaketh them, and leaueth them comfoꝛtleſſe, and giueth them few oꝛ no labourers.

Wherefore pray the Lord of the haruеſt, that he would ſend forth labourers into his haruеſt. It is the Lozd which caſteth the firſt ſeed into the earth, which doth moiſten the ground, and maketh it fruitfull, & giueth foꝛth his Sunne, that it may come to ripening. All the ſoile, field, coꝛne, and the husbandꝛy thereof is the Lozds. Let vs pꝛay to him to ſend foꝛth labourers to trauell and take paines.

Notwithſtanding we ought to pꝛay to God, that he will ſtirre vp and ſet foꝛth men to inſtruct his people: yet that nothing embarreth the authoꝛity of pꝛinces. Foꝛ, as God calleth him inwardly in the heart, whom he will haue to be a miniſter of his woꝛd: ſo muſt he be authoꝛized of his Pꝛince by outward and ciuill calling, as I could ſhew at large, if time would ſuffer it.

So Salomon the king depoſed Abiathar the high pꝛieſt, and ſet vp Sadoc. So Iuſtinian depoſed two biſhops of Rome, Siluerius, and Vigilius, and authoꝛized others. And the ſame Iuſtinian was wont to ſay, That he had no leſſe regard to the Church of God, then he had to his owne ſoule. So Conſtantinus, Valentinianus and Theodoſius called themſelues *Vaſſallos Chriſti*, The vaſſals of Chriſt. And Socrates in his ſtoꝛy ſaith. We haue alſo herein compriſed the Emperours liues, for that ſithence the Emperours were firſt Chriſtned, the affaires of the Church haue depended of them, and the greateſt Councels both haue bin, and are kept by their aduice. It pertaineth theꝛefoꝛe alſo to Kings and Pꝛinces to ſend out labourers into the haruеſt.

Socrat. li. 5. in pꝛœmio.

Labourers they muſt be, and not loiterers. Foꝛ Chꝛiſt compareth the teaching of his people to things that be of great labour, as to plowing and fallowing of the ground, to planting of a Vine, to rearing of a houſe, to thꝛeſhing of coꝛne, to ſeeding of ſheepe, to leading of an Hoſt, and keeping of war: in which things is required much diligence & labоꝛ.

Cato in his bookes of husbandꝛy ſaith, it was an old ſaw among husbandmen: *Qui terram colit, ne ſedeat: eſt enim aliquid ſemper quod agat*: He that plougheth the ground, muſt not ſit ſtill: for he hath alwaies ſomewhat to doe. The woꝛke of the husbandman is neuer ended, he falloweth, ſtirreth, ſoweth, harroweth, weꝛdeth, and tendeth his land.

Theꝛefoꝛe, if they be Paſtours, let them feed the flocke: if they be Doctours, let them teach the people: if they be watchmen, let them ſtand vpon their watch: if they be meſſengers, let them doe their errand. This is the way to build vp the Church of Chꝛiſt. This commiſſion Chꝛiſt gaue vnto his Diſciples: *Ite in mundum vniuerſum, &c.* Goe ye into all the world, and preach the Goſpell vnto euery creature. Thus by twelue poꝛe Apoſtles al the woꝛld was conquered: Pꝛinces and Kings, and Emperours were ſubdued to the faith of Chꝛiſt. This is the key that openeth the conſcience, this is the two edged ſwoꝛd which entreth thoꝛow, euen to the diuiding aſunder of the ſoule and the ſpirit. Theꝛefoꝛe the Apoſtle ſaith: The weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but mighty through God, to caſt downe holds, caſting downe the imaginations and euery high thing that is exalted againſt the knowledge of God, and bringing into captiuity euery thought to the obedience of Chꝛiſt. This is the only inſtrument, wherewith we may cut downe and haue in the haruеſt of God.

Mark. 16.

2. Cor. 10.

Foꝛ all mens deuices, acts, lawes oꝛ commandements, be the authoꝛity thereof neuer ſo great, yet are not ſufficient to content one mans conſcience. Foꝛ the wiſdome of man is but folly befoꝛe God, and God knoweth the fancies and cogitations of men, that they be but vaine and fooliſh.

Ariſtotle the great wiſe Philoſopher on a time being ſicke, when the Phyſitian came to him to miniſter him a potion, and ſhewed him not what was in it, began to chafe and take on with him: Why, ſaid he, heale not me as thou wouldeſt heale an oxe oꝛ a hoꝛſe, but ſhew mee what thou giueſt me, what are the ingredients, and wheꝛefoꝛe thou giueſt it me. Euen ſo muſt the people be healed of their eꝛꝛoꝛs: they muſt know what is giuen them, and wheꝛefoꝛe.

Fides (ſaith Bernard) *ſuadenda eſt, non imponenda*: Faith may not be compulſed by force or rigour, but gently brought in by perſwaſion: Foꝛ foꝛced faith is no faith. Saint Paul ſaith: Faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. And theꝛefoꝛe it is well obſerued by the wiſe and politike father S. Ambroſe, that the Church of Chriſt was not gathered by the law, but by faith. Baſil ſaith: If you will haue Gods wiſedome take place, all your woꝛldly wiſedome muſt be ſet a part. And in like ſoꝛt, Hilarius: *Humanis operibus extructa non permanent: aliter ædificanda Eccleſia, aliter cuſtodienda eſt &c.* Things that be ſet vp with mans workemanſhip (ſaith Hilary) will not endure: the Church of God muſt otheꝛwiſe be builded and preſerued: for the foundation of it muſt be laid vpon

Rom. 10.

the

the Apoſtles and Prophets. The Church being thus built by God, that is to ſay, by the doctrine of God, ſhall neuer fall.

I ſpeake not this againſt al ciuil, and honeſt lawful policy: for I know it is the gift of God, without the which, nor common State, nor the Church can be maintained. But this ſeemeth to haue bẽ the meaning of theſe old Fathers, that in the building of Gods Church, the preaching of Gods word muſt goe before, to quiet mens conſciences: and wiſedome and policie, like handmaids muſt follow after. For this honour and prerogatiue God claimeth only to himſelfe, that his Church muſt be built vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets. Which if it be otherwiſe built, *Niſi Dominus ædificauerit domum, in vanum laborauerunt, qui ædificant eam*: Vnleſſe God himſelfe build vp the houſe, they ſweat and labour but in vaine, that ſet it vp.

Thus Chriſt at the beginning gathered his Church, not by lawes of men, but againſt all law and policie, by the preaching of his word. God might haue inſtructed Cornelius by the Angell that appeared to him, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apoſtles: but hee would not ſo, but ſent Peter to him, that he might be inſtructed by the mouth of a Preacher. He might haue taught Paul, after he had ſtricken him downe from his horſe, when he appeared to him, and ſaid, *Ego ſum Ieſus quem tu perſequeris*: I am Ieſus whom thou perſecuteſt. But he would not ſo, but rather left him to be taught by Ananias. And as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apoſtles, at the preaching of Peter, 3000. people were conuerted and won in one day, that it might appeare by what tooles, and with what workemen God would haue his harueſt ſet forward.

Now let vs behold the preſent ſtate of our country. Theſe words of Chriſt our Sauiour were neuer more true, then we find them now in theſe our daies. The harueſt is great, and the labourers very few: the poore people lieth forſaken, and left as it were ſheep without a guide: the afflicted in conſcience haue no man to quiet them: they grow wild and ſauage, as it were a people that had no God: they are commanded to change their religion, and for lacke of inſtruction, they know not whither to turne them: they know not, neither what they leaue nor what they ſhould receiue.

Some other deſie, and ſpit at the holy Goſpell of our Sauiour Chriſt, and refuſe the couenant of euerlaſting life. Some other for lacke of knowledge follow after wilfull and blind maſters, and become Arrians or Pelagians, and thus they blaſpheme the Sonne of God. Some other giue themſelues ouer to their owne affections, and, as he ſaith, reioice and triumph in their filthineſſe, without feare of God, without conſcience of ſinne, and ſo tread downe the blood of the Teſtament vnder their feet: and this do they for lacke of teaching, becauſe they haue not learned men and preachers to ſhew them what they ſhould do.

O, ſaith our Sauiour Chriſt the good ſhepheard and biſhop of our ſoules, my harueſt is beaten downe and loſt, and their is none that will goe abroad and ſaue it. My people run headlong to their owne deſtruction, not of malice but of very ſimplicitie, only becauſe they are not taught, becauſe they know not my father nor mee. Alas, it is not my fathers will, that any of them ſhould be loſt.

They be our brethren, they be the flocke of God, they be the harueſt, they are bought with great price: I beſeech you, euen for that blood that was ſhed and ſpent for them and vs all, let vs not deſpiſe them.

If the kingdome of God be not worthy to be promoted, yet the kingdome of Satan is worthy to be ouerthrowen. Now is that acceptable and ioifull time come amongſt vs, euen now God hath viſited his people: now the harueſt is great and plenteous. All the world this day longeth, and groneth after the Goſpell. Let vs therefore all together, direct our praiers to the Lord and maſter of the harueſt.

We beſeech thee moſt mercifull father, for thy Sonne Ieſus Chriſts ſake, as thou haſt plentifully encreaſed thy harueſt, and brought it to a ripeneſſe in theſe our daies, ſo ſend out labourers, to get it in, that it be not ſpilt. Gather in all thy ſheep that lie ſtraying without a heard. Lighten the hearts of thine aduerſaries, that they may know the time of their viſitation, and ſee that bleſſed hope, whereunto thou haſt called them. That all the world with one mouth, and one minde, may know and glorifie thee, the only true and liuing God, and thy ſonne Ieſus Chriſt: to whom with thee and the holy Ghoſt, be all honor and glory. Amen.

Luke

Lvke ii. Vers. 15.

But ſome of them ſaid, he caſteth out Diuels through Beelzebub the chiefe of the Diuels,&c.

THAT it may pleaſe God ſo to order both my vtterance, and your vnderſtanding, that whatſoeuer ſhall be ſpoken or heard, may turne to the glorie of his holy name,and to the profit and comfort of his Church, before I enter into the expoſition of theſe words, I deſire you to call vpō our gratious God with your earneſt and hearty praier. And here, I commend vnto you the good eſtate of Gods holie & Catholike Church, & therein the Quēnes moſt excellent maieſty, by the eſpeciall grace of God, Quēne of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the true, ancient, and Apoſtolike faith, & the highest gouernour next vnder God, of this Church of Englād, &c. That as God of his mercie, hath marueilouſly preſerued her to the poſſeſſion of her right, to the great comfort of all our her ſubiects hearts, and to the reformation of the Church: ſo it may pleaſe him to aid and encreaſe her with his holy ſpirit, to the continuance and perfourmance of the ſame. The Quēnes moſt honorable Councell, with the reſidue of the nobilitie. The miſerable ſtate of both the Vniuerſities, and all other ſchooles of learning, the only nurſeries of this Realme. The Biſhops and preachers, that the number of them may be encreaſed, and that they may haue grace, to ſet forth the truth of Gods Goſpell, as their duty is, diligently, ſoberlie, ſincerelie, truelie, and faithfullie: And the whole Commons of this Realme, eſpeciallie, ſuch as ſpeake ill, or thinke ill of Gods holie word, that they may haue grace to regard the ſaluation of their ſoules, to lay aſide all blinde affection, to heare the word of God, and ſo to come to the knowledge of the truth.

Whoſo liſt to peruſe either the whole courſe of the Scriptures, or other ſtories and records of antiquity, ſhal find, that the meſſengers of God, ſuch as haue bēn ſent of purpoſe to giue knowledge of his holy will, haue at all times bēn vnkindly receiued of the more part, and ſlanderouſly reported of: and whatſoeuer they haue ſaid or done, hath bēne falſly depraued, and turned to the worſt.

Moſes, that godlie Captaine, notwithſtanding he were purpoſely called, and ſent from God, and in his name wrought many and ſtrange wonders before the people: yet were there ſome that ſaid he was a Sorcerer, and whatſoeuer he did, he did by way of coniuration.

The religion of the Iewes, was the true worſhip of the only God: Yet Plinie ſaith, it was *contemptus omnium numinum*, The deſpiſing of all the gods. The Iewes ſuffered no images to be in their Churches, becauſe God had forbidden them: Yet Cornelius Tacitus ſaith, They worſhip their God in forme of an aſſe. Others ſaid, they worſhip a god whom they call Sabaoth, in the ſhape and faſhion of a hogge: and that therefore they were forbidden to eat ſwines fleſh. Others, that they worſhip Saturnus, becauſe they were commanded to kēpe holy the Saturday.

The wicked and cruell Aman, to bring the people of God into hatred with the king Aſſuerus made his complaint of them in this wiſe: May it pleaſe your Maieſty, ſaith he, to vnderſtand, you haue a people here in your Realme, that vſeth a new kind of Religion, and will not be ordered by your Graces lawes.

When the godlie prince Cyrus, had giuen Eſdras and Nehemias, leaue to build vp againe the Church of God at Hieruſalem, there came diuers to him, and bade him take good hēd, for that the Iewes were his enemies, and euer had beene traitors to his crowne.

Likewiſe, after that Chriſt our Sauiour had aſcended into heauen, and the holy Ghoſt was powred downe vpon the Apoſtles, and they began to ſpeake diuers tongues that they neuer had learned, the enemies diſdainefully ſcorned at the gifts of God, and ſaid, *Muſto pleniſunt iſti*, Theſe men be drunken, and full of new wine. And therefore they talke they know not what.

When Paul and the other Apoſtles taught frē remiſſion of ſinnes, without any goodneſſe or deſert of our parts, only of Gods mercie, and in the blood of Chriſt: the enemies iefted at that kind of learning, and ſaid, *faciamus mala, vt veniant bona*: then if Gods mercy be declared by forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, Let vs do euill that good may come thereof: Let vs continue in ſinne, that grace may abound.

Rom.3.8.
Rom.6.1.

Becauſe

Becauſe the Chriſtians in the miniſtration of the holy Communion vſed bread and wine; ſome ſaid, they worſhipped not Chriſt, but Bacchus and Ceres, gods of the Heethens.

Whereas the Chriſtian men ſome after the Apoſtles time, vſed to reſort together in the night time, or in the morning before day, into ſome priuate houſe, there to call vpon the name of God, and to receiue the Sacrament together, for feare of the cruelty of tyrants; the enemies reported, that being thus together, they killed a child amongſt them, and ſo deuoured vp his fleſh, and dranke his blood, and after put out the lights, and ſo committed inceſt and adultery one with another.

But what nedeth moe examples? Becauſe we ſay, that iuſtification ſtandeth only vpon the free grace and mercy of God; the aduerſaries report, that we forbid good workes. And becauſe we ſpeake againſt ſuperſtition vſed in faſting, as before vs did Eſay, Paul, and Chriſt himſelfe; they report, that we would haue no faſting. And becauſe we reproue the errors and abuſes in the maner of praier; they ſay, we would not haue the people to pray. And becauſe we reſtore the Sacraments to the firſt inſtitution of our Sauiour Chriſt, and the example of the primitiue Church; they ſay, we take away the Sacraments.

This is Gods holy will, that for our exercíſe whatſoeuer we ſay or doe, be it neuer ſo well, it ſhall be ill taken.

Iulian the Apoſtata found fault with the ſimplicity and rudeneſſe of Gods word.

Tertullian ſaith, the heathens in the time of the Primitiue Church, were wont to paint out in mockery the God of the Chriſtians, with an Aſſes head and a booke in his hand, in token that the Chriſtians profeſſed learning, but indeed were Aſſes, rude, and ignorant. And doe not our aduerſaries the like this day, againſt all thoſe that profeſſe the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt? O, ſay they, who are they that fauour this way? none but Shoomakers Tailers, Weauers, Prentiſes, ſuch as neuer were in the Vniuerſity but be altogether ignorant and void of learning. Thus haue you béene borne in hand, that you might be brought to miſtruſt the Goſpel.

And as the Phariſies vpbraided thoſe that heard the doctrine of Chriſt: Doth any of the Rulers, or of the Phariſies beleeue in him? But this people, which know not the law, are curſed. Euen ſo this day, they ſay by you: They vnderſtand not their Pater noſter, they know not their Creed; ye be ignorant. O miſerable men, do they auance themſelues of your ignorance? If you know not your beléefe, if you vnderſtand not your Pater noſter, if you be ſo ignorant, through whoſe fault are you ſo ignorãt? why were they your Paſtors? why did they not teach you? why take they from you the holy Scriptures? why wil they haue you be ignorant and vnlearned ſtil? Iohn 7.

This doe they, that they may the more diſcredit and deface the Goſpel, which God of his mercy hath in our daies reſtored vnto vs, and cauſed the beames thereof to ſhine ouer al Countries, in ſuch ſort, that now the ſimple & vnlearned, the rich, the learned, the worſhipful, the honourable, the States and Princes of the world, be become profeſſors and maintainers of it, as our eies doe ſée this day. Bleſſed be his holy name therefore.

They ſay, that the preachers of the ſame are vnlearned, as men that read nothing but a few Engliſh bookes, and neuer ſtudied or ſaw the old Doctors.

We find not ſuch fault in their learning, neither do we ſpeake thoſe things by them, that the moſt part of you doth know we might iuſtly and truly ſpeake. For we ſéeke not to confound them by ſuch meanes, it is not our profeſſion. We malice them not, we are not enemies vnto them. And that, thou O Lord that knoweſt al things, knoweſt beſt.

Let them haue the commendation of learning: God giue them grace to ioyne it with truth, and to vſe it to his glory, & not to their own. Yet they muſt néeds be very wel learned, that will charge all their aduerſaries with ignorance.

Albeit in contention of learning, I may be worſt heard to ſpeake, being the vnworthieſt of al my brethren: yet, this dare I be bold to ſay, becauſe it is true, we are not ſo far to ſéeke in learning, as they would haue vs appeare to be. S. Paul being driuen to anſwer in his own defence in a like matter, in compariſon betwéene him and the falſe Prophets, writeth on this ſort: *Hebræi ſunt, & ego: Iſraelitæ ſunt, & ego: Semen Abrahæ ſunt, & ego: miniſtri Chriſti ſunt, & ego:* They are Hebrewes, ſo am I: they are Iſraelites, ſo am I: they are the ſeed of Abraham, ſo am I: they are the miniſters of Chriſt, ſo am I. 2. Cor. 11.

So will I ſay, and truly ſay, betwéen vs and them. They are ſéen in the tongues, Latin, Gréeke, and Hebrew; ſo are we. They haue ſtudied the Arts; ſo haue we: they haue read the Doctors, the generall Councels, and the Scriptures; ſo haue we. If they can be learned doing this; O what vnfortunate and vnhappy men are wée, that are ſo vnlearned, & yet do the ſame? This lucke commonly followeth al them that be profeſſors of the truth.

S. Paul was counted and called a rebel, and accuſed that he was an Egyptian, and had gathered

Act. 24. gathered a number of men of war to disquiet and trouble the country. We haue found (saith Tertullus) this man a pestilent fellow, and a mouer of sedition amongst all the Iewes thorowout the world.

So saith Tertullian, that in his time the Christians were called *Hostes publici*, that is, enemies and destroiers of all common States.

And those reports the enemies not onely scattered among the common people, but also dropped them into the magistrates and princes eares, that they might haue an ill opinion of Christian religion, and suppresse the ministers and preachers of it: so vnkind commonly many haue bene towards the messengers of Gods word.

When Christ himselfe came downe from heauen, from the bosome of his father, and began to vtter and to teach the Gospel of euerlasting life, and to confirme the same with many a strange miracle: the poore people gaue eare vnto him, and beleeued his doctrine, and by his wonderous workes knew him to be the Sonne of Dauid, the very Messias that was promised them.

But the Scribes and Pharises, that bare the name of Doctours, and had bene euermore brought vp in learning, and were the instructors of the people, made light of Christs miracles, and said to the people; He casteth out diuels through Beelzebub the chiefe of the Diuels.

The miracle was such, that no reasonable man would haue thought it to bee wrought by the Diuell. The poore man that before had bene deafe, was now able to heare: that before was possessed of the Diuel, was now deliuered: that before was sick, was now restored to his health. The poore people marueiled at the doing, and glorified God. But the Pharisies cried out against him: *In Beelzebub principe dæmoniorum, ejcit dæmonia:* He casteth out diuels through Beelzebub, the chiefe of the diuels. Not because it was true, nor because it was likely to be true, nor because they in their conscience thought it to bee true: but only to bring Christ in hatred with the people, and to deface his doctrine. And therefore they blasphemed that, that indeed they could not deny: and that they knew to be the workmanship of God, they said it proceeded from the Diuell.

Christ our Sauiour putteth backe these slanders with diuers reasons; whereof at this time for shortnesse sake, I will touch but two. The first reason is: Euery kingdome that is diuided in it selfe, shall be brought to desolation: if Satan be diuided against himselfe, then must his kingdome needs be dissolued, and that by his owne working. But that is not likely. For all the Angels of Satan agree and conspire together to the vpholding of their kingdome: therefore must you needs confesse that I haue remoued this Diuel by some other greater power, and not by the power of Beelzebub the chiefest of the Diuels.

Heere perhaps, some man will replie, that witches, and coniurers often times chase away one Diuell by the meane of another. Possible it is so; but that is wrought, not by power, but by collusion of the Diuels. For one Diuell, the better to attaine his purpose, will giue place, and make as though he stood in awe of another Diuell. And by the way, to touch but a word or two of this matter. for that the horrible vsing of your poore subiects inforceth thereunto: It may please your Grace to vnderstand, that this kind of people, I meane witches, and sorcerers, within these few last yeares, are marueilously increased within this your Graces realme. These eies haue seene most euident and manifest marks of their wickednesse. Your Graces subiects pine away euen vnto the death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benummed, their senses are bereft.

Wherefore, your poore subiects most humble petition vnto your Highnesse, is, that the lawes touching such malefactours, may be put in due execution. For the shole of them is great, their doings horrible, their malice intollerable, the examples most miserable. And I pray God, they neuer practise further, then vpon the subiect. But this only by the way, these be the scholers of Beelzebub the chiefe captaine of the Diuels.

This first reason that Christ vseth, is taken of common experience. For notwithstanding there be nothing so puissant, as the force of a kingdome: yet if it be diuided in it selfe, it will perish and come to confusion. For, concord and agreement is the strength and maintenance of all States. Breake the hoopes of a vessell, and all the boords will fall asunder. The examples hereof are too rife. The mightiest kingdomes that euer were, by such meanes haue bene conquered, and fallen into the power of their enemies.

Therefore, Esay prophecying the destruction of the kingdome of the Iewes, saith, first the people shal fall at dissension within themselues, and then should follow their confusion.

When Vespasian the Emperour and his sonne Titus came with an army against Hierusalem, the whole nation of the Iewes was diuided into three factions, each of them ready to vndoe the other. Then followed the ouerthrow of the kingdome. Then was Hierusalem raced to the ground: Then were there slaine of the Iewes to the number of

1100000.

1100000. Once againe I will say it, because it is maruellous, and most true as Iosephus (who was then a Captaine in the field) writeth, there were then slaine of the Iewes, of men, women, and children, no lesse then 1100000.

Of late yeeres, the dissention betweene two brothers, brought all Græcia and Asia, and al the East parts of Christendome into the possession of the Turke. But what needeth vs to goe to Hierusalem or to Turkie for examples?

This Kingdome of ours, the mightiest, the noblest, the richest, the blessedest land that is, or euer was vnder heauen, could neuer yet be conquered by any enemy, but onely at such time, as the people were at variance within themselues. Then was Iulius Cæsar with a smal number, then were the English Saxons, then were the Danes, then was the Duke of Normandy, able to ouerrunn vs, and to possesse our Country.

Therefore the Prince that desireth to be a Conqueror, laboreth not so much to furnish his owne men, and to make himselfe strong, as to set discord among his enemies. For that is a manifest token of their vndoing and that Gods vengeance is at hand. And for that cause Herodian an old writer pronounceth, that as much as warre is worse then peace: so much is ciuill sedition worse then warre. And Titus Liuius in his story saith: *Hæc res sola facit, vt magna Imperia sint mortalia*: Dissention only, saith he, causeth that great Empires cannot continue but haue an end. For, if the one part conquer, and haue the victorie, it is euen as if a man with his right hand would maime himselfe, and chop of the left. This example Christ vseth to confound the malice of the Phariseis.

The second reason is this: If I cast out diuels by the power of Beelzebub, by what power doe your children, my disciples, Iohn, Iames, Peter, Andrew, and the rest, cast them out? They granted that Christs disciples wrought miracles, only by the name of God. And yet that they allowed in the scholers, euen of malice & hatred and contrary to their conscience, they reproued and blaspemed in the Master. Hereof Christ concludeth; If I cast out diuels in the power of God, then doubtlesse the kingdome of God is among you: your own children shall be iudges ouer you.

Now to apply these words vnto this our present time, wherein vnder a most godly and gracious Prince, the truth of Christs Gospell is freely preached, Gods holy name therefore be praised for euer.

As Moses in his time was counted a sorcerer: as the Iewes were called despisers of all religion, seditious and heady against their Princes: as the Apostles were counted drunken, and full of new wine: as all Christians were called idolaters, worshippers of Bacchus and Ceres, murtherers, incestuous, and adulterers: as S. Paul for his preaching was iudged a rebel: and al Christians were taken for enemies of all common Estates: euen so in these latter daies, all these or other the like crimes, haue béene laid to preachers and professors of Christs Gospell: that they haue bén godlesse, seditious, rebels, despisers of good orders, incestuous, adulterers, masters of all sinne and wickednesse.

But this is our comfort, that nothing can be deuised to be spoken against vs, but the same aforetime hath bén deuised and spoken against Christ himselfe. For he himselfe was called a Samaritan, a companion of Publicans and harlots, a glutton, a liar, a blasphemer, a subuerter of the whole nation, a seducer of the people, a rebel against Cæsar, a sorcerer, a worker by the diuell, and a breaker of the Sabbath day.

We are set vp, saith Paul, as a marke for men to speak against, and whatsoeuer be spoken of vs, be it neuer so vntrue or vnlikely, yet are there some that will beléeue it. Yea such things as would not be beléeued spoken of a théefe, or a murtherer will sone be beléeued of him that professeth the name and Gospell of Iesus Christ: Woe is me, my mother (saith Ieremie) that thou hast borne me a contentious man, and a man that striueth with the whole earth: I haue neither lent on vsury, nor men haue lent vnto me on vsury: yet euery one doth curse me. The true report of these things caused such extremity, as this day you may heare of in other countries, and somtimes haue séene presently before your eies. Ieremi. 5.

Princes, and noble men hated the doctrine of the Gospel, before they knew it. They hated it, and thought il of it, not of malice, nor against their conscience, nor against the testimony of the holy Ghost, but onely of ignorance, because they lacked instruction. They had a zeale, and a féeling of God, but not according to knowledge. And therfore doing as they did, they thought they did God high seruice.

This courtesie had Christ our Sauior shewed him when he was in the world. The same courtesie must they looke for, that will become Christs disciples. They said of Christ, that whatsoeuer he did, he did it in the name of Beelzebub the chiefe of the diuels. Euen so, whereas it hath pleased almighty God to blesse vs with the true preaching, and light of his holy Gospel: yet there are some that condemne it and call it heresie, and beare the people in hand, that all this doctrine is nothing else but a renuing of old heresies.

It is a greeuous matter for a Christian man, iustly to be accused of heresie. For whosoeuer is an heretike, is an enemie of God, and a waster & destroier of all true Religion. And therefore, vnlesse the crime bee maruellous euident, hee doth great wrong that calleth any man heretike: and though a man be falsely charged, yet may he not dissemble it. Ruffinus would say, that man were not a Christian, whosoeuer would abide to be called an heretike. All other iniuries may be borne withal, but this is such and so hainous a crime, that vnlesse it be manifestly euident, no man may suffer to be so iudged: and it should not be beleeued, when it is laid to the charge of any Christians.

Wherefore, forasmuch as the cause is Gods, and pertaineth to the conscience of a great many, let it be as lawful for the poore man that is vniustly hurt, to make his saue, as others thinke it lawfull for them to giue the wound.

Christ our Sauiour, when he was thus charged, made answer: *Si ego in Beelzebub eycio dæmonia, filij vestri in quo eyciunt?* If I through Beelzebub cast out diuels, by whom doe your children cast them out? So may we say to such as this day be aduersaries to this cause, and speake against vs: If we be heretikes that teach this doctrine, what are the Ancient Fathers, the Doctors, and the Apostles that haue taught the same? If they were Catholikes, and haue beene euermore so taken, writing as they did, how is it that only we are not Catholikes, writing and saying as they did? they shall iudge on our side against you. And would God in the greatest and speciallest points of our controuersies, all parts would bee contented to stand to their iudgement: so should all contention be soone at an end.

For I call Heauen and Earth to witnesse, and speake it before God and his holy Angels, and before the consciences of all them that speake against vs, that touching the very substance of religion, we teach nothing this day but that hath beene taught before by Christ himselfe: set abroad by his Apostles: continued in the Primitiue Church, and maintained by the old and ancient Doctors.

And in one or two words onely to giue a taste of the same, that thereby ye may the better iudge of the rest:

We say, that in the Sacrament after the consecration, remaineth the substance and nature of bread and wine. The same saith S. Augustine, S. Chrysostome, Theodoretus, Gelasius, and others. Gelasius words are so plaine, as no man can denie them: *Non desinit esse substantia panis & vini:* There leaueth not to be the substance of bread and wine. Thus wrote they, and were Catholikes.

We say that Christs last Supper must be vsed as a communion, and frequented with more then one. So Christ ordained it, so the Apostles, the Primitiue Church, and all the old Doctors practised it, and neuer was there any of them that euer made mention of a priuate Masse: Thus did they, and yet were they Catholikes.

We say the holy Communion or Sacrament of the breaking and shedding of the body and blood of Christ, ought of necessity to be vsed vnder both kinds: Thus did al the Doctors vse it. And Gelasius an old Father saith: that otherwise to vse it, is open sacrilege. And for the space of 1000. yeares after Christ, there can no example be found to the contrarie. Thus did they, and yet were Catholikes.

We say, the publike praiers ought to be in the common tongue: that the Bishop of Rome ought not to take vpon him to be the head of the vniuersall Church: that the Prince is of right, and by the authority that God hath giuen him, the highest Ruler of his Church and Realme as well of the Ecclesiasticall officers, as of the temporall.

And all these things bee auouched and confirmed by the examples of the Primitiue Church, by the old generall Councels, and by the Doctors. And the contrary hereof shal neuer be proued, nor by old Father or Doctor, nor by ancient Councel, nor by example of the Primitiue Church, nor by any sufficient authority of the Scriptures. I leaue the rest, for it were an infinite labour to say as much as might be said.

Thus they taught, thus did they, and were Catholikes: and alas, are we, saying the same, only because we say the same, become heretikes? that was once true, is it now become false? that was once Catholike doctrine, is it now at last become heresie? O mercifull God! was it thy will, that thy truth should be true but for a season, vntil there should come men to decree the contrary? If we be heretikes that teach the same that the old Doctors of the Church taught, what then are they, that teach contrary to the Doctors? Christ our Sauiour to reproue the Phariseis, thought it sufficient to say to them: *Hoc Abraham non fecit:* This thing Abraham neuer did. Therefore are you not the children of Abraham. Euen so may we truly say to such as hold not themselues contented with this doctrine; These things that you do, S. Augustine neuer did, S. Hierome neuer did: none of the ancient fathers euer did: the Apostles in the Catholike primitiue Church neuer did: therefore yee are not the children of S. Augustine: ye are not the children of S. Hierome: yee are not the children

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of any of the old Catholike Doctors: ye are not the children of Chriſts primitiue, catholike, and vniuerall Church.

It may not become me to ſet order in theſe things: yet if it were lawful, I would wiſh that once againe, as time ſhould ſerue, there might be had a quiet and a ſober diſputation: that each part might be required to ſhew their grounds, without felfe will, and without affection: not to maintain or breed contention, (for I truſt it ſhould be the way to take away all contention) but only that the truth may be knowen, many conſciences quieted, and the right ſtone tried, by compariſon of the counterfet. For, at the laſt diſputation that ſhould haue bin, you know which party gaue ouer, and would not meddle. Some will ſay, the Iudges wil not be indifferent. And alas, what man that doubteth his own matter, will euer thinke the Iudges indifferent? Let the whole world, let our aduerſaries themſelues be Iudges herein, (affection put apart) let our aduerſaries themſelues be Iudges. What can we offer more? if this be not ſufficient, what can there be ſufficient?

Pompeius a noble gentleman of Rome, at what time he ſhould go into the field againſt Cæſar, that then was his enemy, and ſome of his Counſel told him he lacked men, and ſhould neuer be able with ſo ſmal a number to ſtand in field againſt Cæſar, being wel furniſhed: Tuſh, quoth he, whenſoeuer I ſhal but beat the ground with my foot, I ſhal by and by raiſe vp a ſwarme of ſouldiers. Afterward it befel that Pompey was vanquiſhed, and glad to flee. Then Marcus Cato, an old gentleman, and one of his army ſaid to him: O ſir, remember your promiſe, you lacke men, now let vs ſee your ſwarme of ſouldiers.

It is wel knowen that it hath bin ſpoken, both in this place, and in other like, that al the Doctors, and al the general Councels were againſt vs. Now the army is diſcomfited, now they ſtand in need of men, now let them cal for their Doctors and Councels: if they come but with one ſufficient Doctor or Councel, they may haue the field.

I ſpeake not this to boaſt my ſelfe of any learning, but the goodneſſe of the cauſe maketh me the bolder. Neither would I haue in this behalfe ſaid ſo much as I haue, ſauing that the matter it ſelfe, and very neceſſity inforced me ſo to do. Alas, it were great pity that Gods truth ſhould be defaced with priuy whiſperings. It were great pity that whole houſes ſhould be ouerthrown, mens conſciences wounded, the people deceiued. Gods truth and the loue thereof pulled from your hearts, his word blaſphemed, as if it came frō Beelzebub, without any good groūd, without any authority of ỹ ſcripture, without any example of ỹ Primitiue Church, without Councel, without any ancient Doctor or Father.

But they haue another kind of learning, which becauſe we haue not, therefore they ſay we are vnlearned. For if controuerſies might haue bin tried by learning, you ſhould neuer haue ſeen the Maſſe againe after it was once down.

If there euer come another change, as I pray God we may neuer ſee, nor ſurely euer ſhal we, vnleſſe our vnkindneſſe pul down Gods plague vpon vs: but, if a change come, ſuch a one as they looke for, you ſhal ſee with what argument they wil proue their Maſſe. We read that Chriſt did put the Phariſeis to ſilence; yet afterward when their time came, they ſaid: We haue a law, and by our law he muſt dy. But Gods name be praiſed, no perſecutions, no torments, no fire, no fagot, haue euer weakned the cauſe of the Goſpel. Tertullian ſaith: *Plures efficimur, quoties metimur*: The more we be cut down, the more we increaſe. *Tertul in Apologet.* Theſe be their arguments, this is their Logicke: they haue no liking to try the matter by Scripture, by Doctors, by Councel, or by the practiſe of the moſt ancient Churches: and, if they make any pretence of liking ſuch trial, they do it for ſome other hidden purpoſe, to moue mutinies and diſquet: that they may worke their practiſes, whiles mens heads are occupied and buſied with talke of ſuch matters.

Pyrrhus, a luſty gentleman, and king of Epyrus, when he firſt tooke counſel with his Nobles to wage war againſt the Romans, heard ſay he might ſoon conquer them, for that they were nothing els but a ſort of wild and barbarous people: but afterward, when he came to the view of the Romans army indeed, and ſaw their Captaines and ſouldiers wel appointed and their flags, and ſtandards in good order: Mary (quoth he) whether theſe men be barbarous or no I cannot tel, but wel I wot their behauiour, and the order of their campe is not barbarous.

So, what account ſoeuer men make of this doctrine, that God be thanked is taught this day, yet whoſoeuer ſhal come nere and view it well, and try it to the vttermoſt, and ſhal find that al things are done ſeemly and orderly according to the old Doctours, to the Apoſtles, and to the primitiue Church of Chriſt, ſhal fal down to the ground, and confeſſe that the order and maner thereof, or any thing that is taught therein, is not heretical.

S. Iohn Baptiſt ſent his Diſciples to Chriſt to know whether he were the true Meſſias or no, or els, whether they ſhould looke for another: Chriſt made them anſwer: Goe and ſhew Iohn what things ye haue heard and ſeen: the blind receiue ſight, & the halt go, the lepers Luke. 7.

are cleansed, and the deafe heare, the dead are raised vp, & the poore receiue the Gospel. For these tokens were sufficient to make Iohn vnderstand, that Christ was the true Messias.

Euen so, if a man stand in doubt of this religion, whether it be of God or no, let him but consider, and thinke with himselfe thus: great numbers of errors are now reuealed, superstition is remoued, idolatry is taken away, the Sacraments are rightly and duly vsed, the dumbe speake, the blind see, the poore afflicted minds receiue the Gospel, the prayers are in such sort as the people may take profit and comfort by them. God giue vs grace to know how great need we haue to pray, that in al places we may lift vp cleane hands and hearts vnto God, and cal vpon him in spirit and truth.

If this be heresie, then alas, what is true religion? Can these be done by the power of Beelzebub? Can the diuel reforme errors, remoue superstition, take away idolatry, cause the Sacraments to be directly vsed, the dumbe to speake, the blinde to see, the poore to receiue the Gospell, the people to take fruit and comfort by their prayers?

O good brethren, this is the worke of Gods right hand, the kingdome of God doubtlesse is come vpon vs, the Prince of error is put to silence, the readinesse of the people vniuersally and in all places is maruellous, Kings and Princes suffer themselues to be led captiues to the obedience of Christ. They that before were enemies and persecutors of this doctrine, are now contented to yeld their bodies and liues for the defence of the same: and to be short, al the world this day crieth, and groneth after the Gospell.

And al these things are come to passe, at such time as to any mans reason it might seem impossible: when al the world, the people, priests, and Princes were ouerwhelmed with ignorance: when the word of God was put out of sight: when he that toke vpon him the general rule of al together, was crept into the holy place, and had possessed the conscience of man, as if he had been God, and had set himselfe aboue the scriptures of God, and gaue out decrees, that whatsoeuer he should do, no man should find fault with him: when al schooles, Priests, Bishops, and Kings of the world were sworne to him, that whatsoeuer he toke in hand, they should vphold it: when he had chosen Kings sons and brothers to be his Cardinals: when his Legates and espies were in euery Kings counsel: when nothing could be attempted any where, but he by and by must haue knowledge of it: when whosoeuer had but muttered against his doings, must straightwaies haue been excommunicate, and put to most cruel death, as Gods enemy: when no man could haue thought there had been any hope, that euer these daies should haue been seen that God of his mercy hath giuen vs to see: when all things were void of al hope, and ful of desperation.

Euen then, I say, euen then, contrary to al mans reason, God brought al these things to passe. Euen then God defeated their policies, not with shield or speare, but only with the spirit of his mouth, that is, with preaching of the Gospel. There is no counsel against the Lord, the diuels were cast out by the power of God.

This is the day which the Lord hath wrought: to thee O Lord, the praise hereof is due: thou hast turned our mourning into ioy: thou hast put to silence the spirit of error: thou hast inflamed the hearts of thy people: thou hast brought Princes and Kings to the obedience of thy Son Iesus Christ: thou hast opened the eies of the world to espy out, and to cry for the comfort of the Gospel. When al things were in despaire, yet thou didst reserue vnto thy selfe one little sparke, that should inkindle againe light in thy Church, that should remoue rubbish and filth out of thy Temple, whose heart should euer be in thy hand, who should do that that good is in thy sight, and should walke in the waies of her father Dauid. This is the hand and power of God, this is the Lords doing, and it is marueilous in our eies. God giue vs grace to haue these things euer before our eies, that we neuer be vnthankful. Now for al these graces that God hath so plentifully powred vpon vs, let vs consider what kindnesse ought to be rendred one our part. O Israel, O my people, saith almighty God what thing is it that I require of thee, but only that thou loue me, and walke in my waies: this is our homage, this is our duty, this shal be looked for at our hands. The grace of God, saith Paul, that bringeth saluation vnto all men, hath appeared, and teacheth vs that we should liue soberly and righteously in this present world, looking for the blessed hope, and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our sauiour Iesus Christ.

Tit. 2.

Such in old times was the life of al them that professed the name of Christ. Tertullian of his time saith, a Christian man could be knowen by nothing so wel, as by the changing of his life. Cyprian, of the Christians in his time, saith: *Veniunt vt discant, discunt vt viuant:* They come, that they may learne, they learne, that they may know how to liue. S. Paul commendeth the Philippians, that they shine as lights in the world, that their life doth testifie what they be. Eusebius saith: *Valeriani aula, erat referta pijs, & Ecclesia Dei facta:* They that were of the court of Valerian, were become Christians, and then was the court not like a court, but likevnto the Church of God.

Ad Iulianum.

Philip. 2.

Eccle hist. lib. 7. cap. 9.

Iustinus

Iuſtinus the Martyr ſaith, he was firſt turned to Chriſt: for the admiration that he had of the innocent and godly life of Chriſtian men.

Such then was the life of them that bare the name of Chriſt, they came to learne, they learned to liue. You might haue known their profeſſion, by the only changing of their maners. The Court wherein they liued, was ſo reuerently kept, without notable ſin or wantonneſſe, as if it had bene the Temple of God.

O almighty God, how fares it now with them that would be called Chriſtians, and bee reckoned among profeſſors of the Goſpell! how many are there that come to learne! how many are there that learne to liue! how many are there that may be known by changing of their maners! Unleſſe it be, for that they make a mockery of Gods holy Goſpel, and ſo become more diſſolute, more fleſhly, more wanton, then euer they were afore.

What Court can we find, that any part may be like the Temple of God? Seldome is it, that almighty God may be heard to ſpeake his mind. But when he hath ſpoken, who is hee that thinketh vpon it? who is he that doth not deſpiſe it? who is he that ſpurneth not at it?

If our life ſhould giue teſtimony and report of our Religion, ſory I am to ſpeake it, but alas, it is to true in to many, it crieth out, *Non eſt Deus:* the very courſe of our life beareth witneſſe againſt vs, that in our hearts we thinke there is no God, and that there is no feare of God before our eies. I amplifie not, nor enlarge the matter: I would to God it were no more then I make of it.

Thus we doe withhold the truth of God in vnrighteouſneſſe: thus the grace of God is abuſed to the contenting of our pleaſures: thus we become the veſſels of Gods wrath, and heape vp vengeance vpon our heads. Therefore will God take away his holy ſpirit from vs, therefore will God giue vs ouer to a reprobate minde, therefore ſhall the end of vs bee worſe then was the beginning.

O good brethren, let vs not abuſe the mercy of God, let vs not receiue the grace of God in vaine. Remember how many eies are ſet vpon vs, let vs take occaſion away from them that ſeek occaſion to ſlander our profeſſion: let not, let not our life cauſe the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt to be ill ſpoken of and blaſphemed: let vs walke ſo as becõmeth them that are called, and indeed are *Filij lucis:* The children of light.

The truth of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, hath now ſhined ouer the whole world: if it be yet hidden from any, it is hidden from them that periſh: he that periſheth now, ſhal periſh in his own blod. Now if any beléue not, he is inexcuſable. The wiſdome of God in publiſhing his word, contrary and againſt the courſe of mans policie: the continuall preaching of it in al places: the aſhes of ſo many learned fathers and godly men and women, who haue yélded their bodies to the cruell torments of tyrants, to be conſumed in the fire for the teſtimony thereof, are yet ſo freſh in your eies, and ſpoken of in your hearing, and witneſſed in your hearts and conſciences, that you can not denie, but the kingdome of God is come amongſt vs. But if there be any, that is not perſwaded in his religiõ, (forasmuch as it is a matter of life and death, of ſaluation and damnation) I beſeech you before God, and before his Chriſt, let vs not be careleſſe, let vs not bee negligent. If we miſlike it, let vs read the Scriptures, and know wherefore we miſlike it.

Deſpiſe not, good brethren, deſpiſe not to heare Gods word declared. As you tender your owne ſoules, be diligent to come to ſermons: for that is the ordinary place, where mens hearts be moued, and Gods ſecrets be reuealed. For be the preacher neuer ſo weake, yet is the word of God as mighty, and as puiſſant as euer it was. If thou heare Gods word ſpoken by a weake man, an ignorant man, a ſinner as thou thy ſelfe art, and yet wil beléue it, and heare it with reuerence; it is able to open thine eies, and to reueale vnto thée the high myſteries of thy ſaluation.

Remember we are the Sons of the Prophets. The kingdome of God is come amongſt vs. Let vs not withſtand the ſpirit of God: let vs not tread downe the blod of the euerlaſting Teſtament. The hand of God hath wrought this: let vs not arme our ſelues againſt God, and ſay, They are wrought in the name of Beelzebub.

It is not our doctrine that we bring you this day, wee wrote it not, we found it not out, we are not the inuẽtors of it, we bring you nothing, but that the old fathers of the Church, that the Apoſtles, that Chriſt our Sauiour himſelfe hath brought before vs. O condemne it not, before you know it: In the meane while thinke well of them that labour for you, that doe you ſeruice, that pray for you, that ſhall giue their life for you.

Let vs lay aſide al blind affection, let vs labor to know the truth, let God haue the victory. And then, when we know God, let vs glorifie him as our God; let vs ſo liue, that our words, our déeds, & our whole life may teſtifie, that the kingdom of God is amongſt vs. Let our light ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſée our good works, & glorifie our father which is in heauen. So ſhal God powre down his bleſſings vpon vs, ſo ſhal God bleſſe whatſoeuer we

take in hand, ſo ſhall we be bleſſed in peace, ſo ſhall we be bleſſed in war, ſo ſhall God goe forth before our armies, ſo ſhall we be the children of God, ſo ſhall God be our God, and remaine with vs for euer.

And thou moſt mercifull father, as thou haſt ſent vs thy heauenly kingdome, that is, the moſt comfortable tidings of the Goſpell of thy ſonne Ieſus Chriſt: ſo we beſeech thee for thy mercy, bleſſe that thing that thou haſt begun, that it may continue among vs, and remaine with vs for euer. Open the hearts of them, that of ignorance thinke ill of it, that they may ſee that bleſſed hope whereunto thou haſt called vs, that all the world may know thee, and thy ſonne our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, whom thou haſt ſent for the redemtion of the world. Amen.

ROM. 13.

VERS. 12. The night is paſt, and the day is at hand: let vs caſt away the works of darkneſſe, and let vs put on the armour of light.

THis little portion of the Scripture, hath beene often expounded and opened in your hearing: yet ſhall it not be vnprofitable once againe to entreat thereof. For, albeit the propoſition, and ground of matter be one, yet ſome difference may be in the maner of vtterance.

The word of God is the water of life, the more yee laue it forth, the freſher it runneth: it is the fire of Gods glory, the more yee blow it, the clearer it burneth: it is the corne of the Lords field, the better you grinde it, the more it yeldeth: it is the bread of heauen, the more it is broken and giuen forth, the more remaineth: it is the ſword of the ſpirit, the more it is ſcoured, the brighter it ſhineth. The voice of God cannot be vnpleaſant to their eares which are the children of God: the oftner they heare it, the more comfort they receiue: they can neuer haue ouermuch who neuer haue enough.

S. Paul in theſe words ſtirred vp the Romans, and awaked them out of the ſlumber of death, that they might behold the cleare light of the Goſpell, and know the time of their viſitation, and ſhake off the workes of darkneſſe, and apparell themſelues with the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt our Sauiour.

But before I proceede further to declare that which is to be ſpoken at this preſent, let vs turne our hearts to God, euen the father of lights, that it may pleaſe him to open the eies of our vnderſtanding, and to direct all our doings to his glory, &c.

In worldly buſineſſe, it is reckoned a great point of wiſdome, to doe things in due time, and to chuſe the fitteſt ſeaſon to ſpeake or to hold ſilence, to buy or to ſell, to build or to pull downe. Salomon therefore ſaid: To all things their is an appointed time, and a time to euery purpoſe vnder the heauen. Who ſo doth not waigh the ſeaſon, and take his conuenient time, he is vnwiſe and defeateth himſelfe, and bewraieth his folly. But of all wiſedomes this is the greateſt, that a man lift vp his eies to the throne of Gods mercy, and know the time of his bleſſing, and direct his life to the ſeruice of God, as he warneth: Mak no tarrying to turne vnto the Lord, and put not off from day to day: for ſuddenly ſhall the wrath of the Lord breake forth and in thy ſecurity thou ſhalt be deſtroied. If the good man of the houſe were wiſe, if he knew at what houre the theefe would come, he would ſurely watch, and ſtand in readineſſe, and not ſuffer his houſe to be digged thorow. Of this wiſdome in taking the vantage of time, ſpake the Prophet Dauid: This day if you heare his voice harden not your hearts. Foreſlow not the time, loſe not this good occaſion, heare his voice now, this day. Of this wiſedome ſpake S. Paul: We as workers together beſeech you, that ye receiue not the grace of God in vaine. For he ſaith: I haue heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of ſaluation haue I ſuccored thee. Behold now the accepted time, behold now the day of ſaluation.

Eccleſ. 3.

Pſam. 94.

2. Cor. 6.

Whoſo knoweth not this time, is not wiſe. Of this blindneſſe and heauineſſe of the people, God complaineth in many places of the Prophets. In the eighth Chapter of Ieremie: Euen the Storke in the aire knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow obſerue the time of their comming: but my people knoweth not the iudgement of the Lord. Of this their blindneſſe and folly, our Sauiour reproueth Hieruſalem: O if thou haddeſt (euen now at the leaſt in this thy day) known thoſe things, which belong vnto thy peace: but now are they hid from thine eies. For the daies ſhall come vpon thee, that thine enemies ſhall caſt a trench about thee, and compaſſe thee round, and keepe thee in on euery

Ieremi. 8.

Luke 19.

euery ſide, and ſhall make thee euen with the ground, and thy children which are within thee, and they ſhal not leaue in thee a ſtone vpon a ſtone, becauſe thou knoweſt not the time of thy viſitation. Therefore the Apoſtle calleth vpon the Romans, telleth them that the Sun is vp, and the day open: and warneth them, not to loſe the ſeaſon: for now, euen now (ſaith he) it is time to riſe.

That we may the better diſcerne the light, let vs behold the darkneſſe of that time, which was before. The whole world was diuided into the people of the Iewes, and the heathens: and beſides theſe, there were no other people. The Heathens were forſaken of God: the Iewes were his choſen people. The Heathens worſhipped the works of their own hands, and gaue the glory of God vnto creatures, which are not God. They went after Idols, euen as they were led: they had many gods, according to the number of their Citties: they deliuered vp their bodies to all maner filthineſſe: God gaue them ouer to follow their luſts. The Fathers amongſt them ſlew their own children, and offered them vp in Sacrifice to Diuels. So ſtrongly did the Prince of darkneſſe poſſeſſe them, they had not the Arke of the Teſtimony, they liued without Prophets, or couenant, or Chriſt, or God: they liued without hope, or light, or comfort. In ſuch a night, and ſuch a darkneſſe lay the heathen.

The Iewes, Gods choſen people, they were alſo bereft of knowledge: there was no Prophet left among them, nor any to teach them the will of the Lord. The law did periſh from the Prieſt, and Counſel from the ancient: light was turned into darkeneſſe, and iudgement into wormewood: they were bitter and grieuous to the poore: they ſlew the Prophets which were ſent vnto them, they did forſake the fountaine of liuing waters, & followed Baal and Aſtaroth. Like people, like prieſt: from the ſole of the foot, vnto the head there was nothing whole in them. Of them God ſpake by the Prophet: I haue no pleaſure in you, neither wil I accept an offering at your hand. Of them he ſaid: When you ſhal ſtretch out your hands, I will hide mine eies from you: and though you make many praiers, I wil not heare you. In ſuch a darkneſſe lay the Iewes, in ſuch a darkneſſe lay the Gentiles. All had ſinned, they were all corrupt and abominable in their waies, they were the Children of wrath, and the veſſels of deſtruction. So were they wrapt in the cloud of ignorance, & couered in the ſhadow of death. Such was the night S. Paul ſpake of, ſo vgly, ſo darke, ſo void of comfort. Eſay. 1. 6. Malach. 1. Eſay. 1.

But God gaue forth his light to ſhine vpon them, he ſent the Patriarchs & Prophets, and holy Fathers, he ſent vnto them Moſes and Aaron, and Angels from heauen, to giue out ſparkes of this light. He made it appeare by his Prophet Eſay: Behold, the Virgin ſhal conceiue, and beare a Sonne, & ſhe ſhall call his name Emmanuel. In him ſhall all Iſrael be ſaued, he is the light to lighten the Gentiles: his name ſhall be called, Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the euerlaſting Father, the Prince of peace: in him ſhal all the ends of the world be bleſſed. This light they beheld, when it was not cleerly opened vnto them, they did ſee it comming, and reioyced in it; they were vnder a ſchoolemaſter, and had not the perfect knowledge of this light. Eſay. 7.

But now God hath ſcattered al theſe Clouds, and we behold as in a mirror the glory of the Lord with open face. Our elder Fathers in the old Teſtament had only a dim candle to guide their feet, we haue the bright Sun beames: They had only the grẽ blade of the Corne, we haue the plentiful increaſe, euen as in the time of harueſt: they had the ſhadow, we haue the light: they had only a drop to refreſh themſelues, we haue the whole ſtreame of Gods mercy powred out vpon vs.

Now hath God remembred his holy couenant, and the oth which he ſware to our Father Abraham: now the Word was made fleſh, and dwelt with vs. The day ſtar is ſprung vp in our hearts, the Spirit of God hath filled the whole world: the earth is ful of his glory. The Idols of the Heathen are faine, and are put to ſilence: their greateſt miſeries appeare to be follies, and are laught to ſcorne, the children make games of them in their ſtreets. Sathan the Prince of this world, which is the accuſer of our brethren, is now caſt forth.

Now is it knowne, that ſaluation, and power, and glory belongeth to our God. He hath raiſed his Chriſt, and hath eſtabliſhed his kingdome, the kings and nations of the world ſhal walke in his light, and his light ſhall not be put out, and his kingdome ſhall haue no end. Now is that new Hieruſalem, the glorious City of our God reuealed from on high: now hath God made the Heauens new, and a new earth, and hath fixed his Tabernacle and dwelling place among men. The fulneſſe of time is come, the ſound of the Apoſtles is gone thorow all the earth: the Sunne of righteouſneſſe hath appeared: he is the light and comfort of the whole world. This is the gracious yeare of mercy, this is the day which the Lord hath made. Now is the mercy of the Lord ſhewed more & more towards

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vs, and his truth endureth for euer. When Balaam the falſe Prophet beheld the glory of
Numb. 24. this time, he brake out and ſaid; Who ſhall liue when God doeth this? Who ſhall liue, and ſee, and enioy theſe things?

Awake therefore, or ariſe from ſléepe, the time ſo requireth: For now is our Saluation neerer then when we beleeued it. Of thoſe few words haue growne diuers ſenſes, all good and godly: yet in my iudgement, the ſimpleſt and plaineſt ſenſe is this: When wee were heathen, and ſat in darkeneſſe, we thought we did wel, and that we ſhould be ſaued in that way, in which we walked: and that there was no hope of ſaluation, but only in that: and we had a great liking in our doings. This is the vanity and miſery of man: often times where he thinketh himſelfe moſt ſure, he is déepely deceiued.

The Turkes and the Iewes at this day, and others the enemies of the croſſe of Chriſt, thinke there is no other true religion but theirs: and in that they are wonderful zealous, and ſtand in it vnto death: no perſwaſion nor force can remoue them. When the people of Epheſus heard of the preaching of Paul, they raiſed vproare, and filled the Citie full of
Acts 19. tumult: they caught Gaius and Ariſtarchus men of Macedonia, and Paules companions in his iourny, and would haue ſlaine them: they made an outcry, ſaying; Great is Diana of the Epheſians; ſhe is a goddeſſe, ſhe hath made heauen and earth, we haue put our truſt in her, we will call vpon her, and ſhe wil heare vs. Chriſt ſheweth his Diſciples, The bro-
Mat. 10. ther ſhall betray the brother to death, and the father the ſonne, and the children ſhall riſe againſt their parents, and ſhall cauſe them to die, and ye ſhall be hated of all men for my
1. King. 18. name. For zeale to their god, the Prieſts of Baal cut themſelues with kniues and lancets. Through zeale, many fathers ſlew their owne children, and burnt them quicke in fire, in the honour of the Idol Moloch. Circumcelliones, which were a ſort of Heretikes ſprung out of the Donatiſts about 420. yéeres after Chriſt, through zeale murthered one another, they threw themſelues downe from high Rockes and deſtroied themſelues, and thought that the only way to pleaſe God: ſo hot and feruent was their deuotion. The children of light haue ſeldome ſuffered more, or more willingly, or with more affiance, then the children of darkeneſſe: ſo ſtriued they for God, but againſt God: and abuſed his name againſt himſelfe, and wittingly and willingly went downe to hell. They haue great zeale and earneſt deſire of the glory of God, but not according to knowledge. They contented themſelues with that they had receiued of their fathers, and would ſéeke no further, they thought they did ſerue God, but they blaſphemed the name of the Sonne of God. In ſuch ſort did God ſuffer them to walke in the blindneſſe of their heart. In the lat-
Mat. 7. ter day many ſhal ſay vnto Chriſt; Lord, Lord, haue we not by thy Name prophecied, and by thy Name caſt out Diuels, and by thy Name done many great workes? We haue praied and giuen Almes for thy ſake: was it not done of zeale and deuotion towards thée? So wel ſhal they be perſwaded of their doings, they ſhal preſſe boldly to the throne of Gods Maieſty, and require their méed.

But Chriſt ſhal anſwer them, I neuer knew you: you ſerued your fancy, you ſerued not me: your almes, and miracles, and your praiers ſhall condemne you. Therfore Chriſt
Iohn 4. ſaid to the Woman of Samaria: Ye worſhip that which you know not. You are led with a zeale, and follow your Fathers, but are deceiued. Euen ſo, he praied his Father for them that crucified him, and ſtod by, and reuiled him; O Father, thou art full of mercy, forgiue them; they are moued of zeale, and thinke they pleaſe thée, they know not what they doe, they know not thée, nor mée thy Sonne whom thou haſt ſent. Saint Hierome ſaith: *No-*
Hieron. contra Luciferianos. *mine vnitatis & fidei infidelitas ſcripta eſt*: Infidelity hath beene written vnder the name of faith and vnity. For herein they thought themſelues good, and holy, and Catholike, if they departed not from the vnity of the world. Therefore they followed the generall conſent of others, they thought themſelues (ſaith he) the true Church, and ſéemed to follow vnity, though indéed they fel to infidelity. Whatſoeuer is not of faith, in ſinne: whatſoeuer it be,
Rom. 14. be it neuer ſo holy, neuer ſo glorious, it is ſin, it diſpleaſeth God: the end therof is deſtruction. Therefore Chriſt ſaith: I am the light of the world: hee that followeth me, ſhall not
Iohn 8. walke in darkeneſſe, but ſhal haue the light of life. So ſpake almighty God to his people: Take heed that you do as the Lord your God hath commanded you: turne not aſide to the
Deut. 5. right hand, nor to the left. Thou ſhalt not doe the thing that ſéemeth right in thine owne eies: Thou ſhalt not follow the zeale of thine owne heart. Thinke that thou maiſt bée deceiued: diſpoſe thy ſelfe to harken to the voice of the Lord: whatſoeuer he ſhal command thée, that onely ſhalt thou doe. For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your waies my waies, ſaith the Lord. For as the heauens are higher then the earth,
Eſay 55. ſo are my waies higher then your waies, and my thoughts aboue your thoughts. The will of the Lord is the onely meaſure whereby al truth muſt bée tried. Hereunto the Prophet Dauid humbleth himſelfe, and ſpeaketh vnto God in this manner: Lighten

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mine eies, O Lord, O teach me to doe thy will, teach me to follow it, and to practiſe it. Heereof S. Paul ſpeaketh; Vnderſtand what the will of the Lord is. Leaue the pretence of zeale, leaue the deuotion of your owne heart, reſt not vpon the wil of your forefathers, nor of fleſh and blood. Learne to feele and taſte the wil of God, it is good, and gratious, and mercifull: thereby direct your ſteps, therein ſhal you finde the poſſeſſion of life. Epheſ. 5.

We were drowned in darkneſſe (ſaith the Apoſtle) yet thought we had the light. I my ſelfe (ſaith he) was a blaſphemer, and did perſecute the Church of God. I followed the way of my Fathers, I had a great zeale, and thought I did wel, but the way wherein I walked, was ſlippery, the light was darkneſſe. I delighted in vanity, and had pleaſure in leaſings. I was blind, yet perceiued it not, and therefore was my blindneſſe and miſerie ſo much the more.

But now is our ſaluation come nere vnto vs: our bodies are made the Temples of God, and his ſpirit dwelleth within vs. We haue the word of life put both in our mouth, and in our heart: the kingdome of God is in the middes amongſt vs. The Sonne of God calleth vnto vs: Come vnto me all ye that trauell and be heauily laden, and I will refreſh you. S. Iohn ſaith: We haue looked vpon, and our hands haue handled the Word of life. And againe: The Word was made fleſh, and dwelt among vs, and we ſaw the glory thereof as the glory of the only begotten ſonne of the Father, ful of grace and truth. So nere is the Lord to them that ſeke him: ſo nere vnto vs is our ſaluation. 1. Iohn 1. Iohn 1.

When Dauid heard the voice of the Lord, he awaked and roſe vp, he gaue thanks vnto God, and powred out his heart before him, ſaying: O Lord our Lord, how wonderfull is thy name in all the world! And againe: Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoule, and all that is within me praiſe his holy name. When the Apoſtles heard this voice of the Lord, they were awaked, they forſoke all they had, they toke vp their Croſſe, and went euer al the world preaching the Goſpel of ſaluation. When Paul heard the voice of Chriſt from heauen aboue, he fel flat on the earth, and being aſtoniſhed, ſaid; Lord, what wilt thou that I doe? I am thy ſeruant, and the ſonne of thy handmaid: make me to do that thou commandeſt me to doe.

Then could neither life, nor death, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other Creature ſeparate Paul from the loue of God which is in Chriſt Ieſus our Lord: then he eſteemed not to know any thing, ſauing Ieſus Chriſt, and him crucified. He brake his ſléepe, roſe vp, and went forward. In like maner the Prophet Eſay ſtirreth vp Hieruſalem: Ariſe; be bright; for the light is come, and the glory of the Lord is riſen vpon thee. Know thy time, and the day of thy viſitation, awake thou that ſléepeſt, and ſtand vp from the dead, for the Sonne of God hath ſhined ouer thée. Eſay. 60.

The Apoſtle therefore ſaith; It is now time that we ſhould ariſe from ſleepe. We are the children of God, we are the children of the truth, we are the ſonnes of the Prophets, we are they whom God hath choſen out of the world. Whoſoeuer putteth his hand to the plow, and loketh backe, is vnmeet for the kingdome of heauen. Theſe things are ſent for our vnderſtanding: God hath giuen his word vnto vs. We haue ſéene the workes of God, the dumbe to ſpeake, the deafe to heare, the blinde to ſée, the lame to goe, the dead to riſe and come out of their graues: the Sunne to be darkned, the earth to quake, rockes to rent, and the Diuel to confeſſe the Sonne of God: for he was forced to ſay, Thou art Chriſt the Sonne of God. Now doth the kingdome of heauen ſuffer violence. The night is paſſed, the day is at hand; we haue ſlumbered enough in ignorance, it is now time we know the bleſſings which God hath beſtowed vpon vs: it is time we ſhould be thankful, and awake out of the ſléepe of forgetfulneſſe, that we humble our ſelues vnder the mighty hand of God, and dreame no more of our owne ſtrength: our conſcience is charged; we cannot plead ignorance: it is time that we riſe: the mercy of God, the abundance of his bleſſing, the feare of his iudgment, the regard of our ſaluation ſo requireth.

Let vs caſt away the workes of darkneſſe: they be vnfruitful, lothſome and horrible. They darken the heart, and blind the conſcience: he that doth them ſhal be caſt into vtter darkneſſe. Let vs be afraid, let vs be aſhamed hereof, ſuch things are not fit for the children of light.

Let vs put on the armour of light. God hath choſen vs to be his Souldiers, and hath called vs forth into the field. Our fight is not againſt fleſh and blood, but againſt the Diuel, the Prince of this world, and the Father of darkneſſe: he rampeth like a Lion, and lieth in wait, and ſéeketh whom he may deuoure. All the vanities of this life, our bodies, our own hearts conſpire againſt vs: the fight is terrible, the danger is great. Let vs not be vnprouided, let vs not ſtand open to the ſtroke of the enemy. Let vs take vnto vs the whole armour of God, let our loines be girded with verity, let vs put on the ſhield of faith

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the breſtplate of righteouſneſſe, the ſworde of the ſpirit, and the helmet of ſaluation. Theſe be the weapons of righteouſneſſe, theſe be the armor of light. Let vs not feare to declare the truth, though thereby we ſhould danger our life. Let vs be faithfull vnto the end; let it appeare that the weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but mighty through God to caſt downe holds, and imaginations, and euery high thing that is exalted againſt God: ſo ſhall our armor be complete, ſo ſhall we ſhew glorious in the field, and be terrible to the enemie: ſo ſhall we ſtand ſtrong and boldly againſt ſworde, and fire, and death: ſo ſhall we like faithfull ſouldiers of our captaine Chriſt, manfully ſtand againſt the gates of hell, and reſiſt al the aſſaults, and quench all the fiery dartes of the wicked: then ſhall we eat of the fruit in the middeſt of Paradiſe, and ſhall receiue the Crowne of euerlaſting glory.

Let vs walke honeſtly, as in the day, not in gluttony and drunkenneſſe, neither in chambering and wantonneſſe, nor in ſtrife and enuying. He ſetteth downe three things, as three botches and carbuncles of the ſoule: they oppreſſe the body, defile the minde, and breake the bond and vnity of the Church of God.

The firſt is gluttony and drunkenneſſe, the roote and mother of all euill: nothing ſtandeth ſafe, where wine preuaileth. This was the iniquity of Sodome, abundance and fulneſſe of bread: they abuſed the gifts of God, to the diſhonor of God. This was the cauſe of all her filthineſſe: and her filthineſſe was the cauſe of her deſtruction. Hereof God ſpeaketh: My choſen people, my darling is waxed fat: Therefore he forſooke God that made him, and regarded not the ſtrong God of his ſaluation. And againe, by the Prophet Eſay: The harpe, and viole, timbrell and pipe, are in their feaſts; but they regard not the worke of the Lord, neither conſider the worke of his hands. And in the one and twentith chapter: Behold ioy and gladneſſe, ſlaying oxen, and killing ſheepe, eating fleſh, and drinking wine, eating and drinking: for two morrow we ſhall die. So through gluttony and drunkenneſſe they deſpiſed the threatnings of God, and entred not into the way of repentance, but continued in their ſinnes, and made ſcorne of the Prophets of God. The people of Iſrael ſate them downe to eat and drinke, and roſe vp to play. They forgat God, and the mettles he had ſhewed vpon them, and worſhipped a golden calfe: So groſſe and ſo deadly are the clouds of drunkenneſſe. Our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith, towards the latter day the people ſhal eat and drinke, and be void of care, as in the daies of Noah, and deſtruction ſhal ſuddenly fal vpon them: therefore Chriſt ſaith; Wo be to you that are full, for you ſhall hunger.

Deut. 32.

Eſay. 5.

Eſay. 22.

Exod. 32.

Luke. 6.

Many haue bene ſlaine in the field, but many more haue taken their deadly wound by ſurfetting: many haue bene drowned in the ſea, but many more haue periſhed by the ſtrength of wine. It is not ſet downe, that the rich glutton was an oppreſſor, an extortioner, an vſurer, or that he came vniuſtly by his goods, but that he abuſed the ſame, that he fared deliciouſly, and became vnthankfull: and therefore was puniſhed in hel fire. When he which before had abundance, and did ſwimme in wine, had not one drop to quench his thirſt. Many make their belly their God. They haue more comfort in the taſte of ſweet ſare, then in the conſideration of the workes of God. Their table is turned into a ſnare, their glory is to their ſhame. Here wil I ſpeake nothing of forcing and quaffing; God kepe it far from Chriſtian tables. it is to to wild and barbarous: the heathens hate it, nature abhorreth it, the horſe and mule would not vſe it. S. Auguſtine ſaith: *Ebrius non peccatum facit, ſed ipſe totus eſt peccatum*: A drunken man doth not commit ſinne, but he is altogether ſinne. And therefore his reward is death. S. Paul ſaith: Drunkards ſhall not inherit the kingdome of God. They ſhall drinke the cup of the wine of the Lords wrath. Therefore Chriſt ſaith: Take heed to your ſelues, leſt at any time your hearts be oppreſſed with ſurfetting and drunkenneſſe, and the cares of this life: and leſt that day come on you at vnwares. Therefore ſaith the Apoſtle, Let vs not walke in eating and gluttony: it will drowne our ſenſes, it will oppreſſe our nature.

1. Cor. 6.

Luke. 21.

The kingdome of God is neither meat nor drinke: our meat is to doe the will of our Father. Let vs not abuſe the creatures of God: Let vs eat and drinke, that we may liue, only to the ſuſtenance of our bodies: that we by the moderate and ſober vſe of thoſe things, may be the better able to follow and pleaſe God in our vocation. The meat for the belly, and the belly for the meats: but God ſhal deſtroy both it and them. Let vs thinke of the Cup which Chriſt had on the Croſſe: his Cup was eiſel and tempered with gal: at his hand let vs take the Cup of thankſgiuing, and cal vpon the name of the Lord. Let vs whether we eate or drinke, remember who it is that hath beſtowed his gifts vpon vs, and whatſoeuer we do, let vs do it to the glory of God.

Another botch and carbuncle, is chambering and wantonneſſe. Of this alſo the Apoſtle warneth vs: for adulterers and fornicators God ſhal iudge; they ſhall haue their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death: the Lord is the auenger of all ſuch. It is the wil of God, that our bodies be kept in holineſſe, they are the

Temples

Temples of God, he hath called vs to be veſſels of honour, that we ſhould be holy in body and holy in ſpirit, that we ſerue him in holineſſe and righteouſneſſe all the daies of our life.

The laſt, is ſtrife and enuying. We are one body in Chriſt Ieſus, we are indued with one ſpirit, we are members one of another. The Goſpel of Chriſt is the Goſpel of peace, he hath broken the ſtop of the partition wall, he hath ſet al things at peace. He hath taught vs: Learne of me, for I am humble and meeke. Let vs not (ſaith S. Paul) be deſirous of vain glory, prouoking one another, enuying one another. Let not one of you ſay, I am Pauls, and another, I am Apolloes; the body of Chriſt is one, it is not diuided. If you bite and deuoure one another, take heed leſt you conſume one another. If there be enuying, and ſtrife, and diſſenſions among you, you are yet carnall, you ſauour not of the ſpirit of God. You are but a little flocke, the world hateth you, ioyne together, loue one another, beare you one anothers burden, and ſo fulfil the Law of Chriſt. The fruit of the ſpirit is loue, ioy, peace, long ſuffering, gentleneſſe, goodneſſe, faith, meekeneſſe, and temperancy. Loue ſuffereth long, it is bountiful: loue enuieth not: loue doth not boaſt it ſelfe: it is not puffed vp: it diſdaines not: it ſeeketh not her owne things: it is not prouoked to anger: it thinketh not euil: it reioyceth not in iniquity, but reioyceth in the truth; it ſuffereth al things: it beleeueth al things, it hopeth al things: it endureth al things: loue is the bond of perfection. The ſeruant of Chriſt is not quarrellous: let vs keepe the vnity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace. Let not diſſenſion or malice trouble our hearts; let vs walke after this maner, and ſo, let vs glorifie God in our mortal bodies. Let vs auoid theſe things, gluttony, drunkennelle, chambering and wantonneſſe, ſtrife and enuying. They be the vnfruitful workes of darkneſſe: the way of them leadeth vnto damnation.

Gal. 5.

But put you on the Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

If we behold our ſelues, and conſider our owne nakednelle, we ſhal find, that by nature we are nothing elſe but the children of wrath. Who can cal that cleane, that is conceiued of vncleane ſeed? Dauid ſaith: Behold, I am conceiued in ſinne: my ſinnes haue gone ouer my head: there is no health in my fleſh. None that liueth ſhal be iuſtified in thy ſight. Who can vnderſtand his faults? Cleanſe me from my ſecret faults. Iob ſaith: *Verebar omnia opera mea*: I ſtood in feare of all my workes, knowing that thou wilt not iudge me innocent. Againe: The Starres are vncleane in his ſight: How much more man a worme, euen the ſon of man, which is but a worme? In like ſort ſaith Eſay: We haue al bin as an vnclean thing, & all our righteouſneſſe is as filthy clouts. Our vertue, our holineſſe, our faſting, our prayers are filthy, when they come to his ſight. We cannot ſay, our heart is cleane. We cannot ſay, we haue not ſinned. God hath ſhut vp al in vnbeleefe, that he may haue mercy vpon al. That is borne of the fleſh, is fleſh. The ſpirit fighteth againſt the fleſh, and the fleſh againſt the ſpirit. Open ſhame belongeth to vs, and to our fathers. Curſed is he that abideth not in al things that are written in the Booke of the Law. And whoſoeuer offendeth in one, is made guilty of al the Commandements. When the miſerable and wretched ſoule boaſteth it ſelfe, ſaying: I am rich, and increaſed with goods and haue need of nothing, the ſpirit of God maketh anſwer: Thou art wretched, and miſerable, and poore, and blinde, and naked. Thou haſt nothing to put vpon thee, to couer thy ſhame. I counſel thee to buy of me, gold tried by the fire, that thou maiſt be made rich: and white raiment, that thou maiſt be clothed, and that thy filthy nakednelle doe not appeare: and anoint thine eies with eie ſalue, that thou maiſt ſee. The ſame ſpirit in the Apoſtle, giueth this counſel, that we put on vs Ieſus Chriſt. Let him couer vs with his body, and with his blood, as with a garment: his blood hath cleanſed vs from al our ſinnes. He is the Lambe of God that taketh away the ſinnes of the world. He is become vnto vs, wiſedome, and righteouſneſſe, and ſanctification and redemption. S. Hierome ſaith: *Si merita noſtra conſideremus, deſperandum eſt*: If we weigh our owne deſerulngs, if we appeare in our owne apparel, we muſt deſpaire. And Baſil ſaith: *Qui non fidit recte factis, nec ſperat ex operibus iuſtificari, ſolam habet ſpem ſalutis miſericordias Domini*: He that truſteth not to good deeds, nor hopeth to be iuſtified by his workes, hath no other hope of ſaluation but by the mercies of the Lord.

Iob 9.
Iob 25.
Eſay 6.4.
Reuel. 3.
Hier. in Eſa. 64.

Let vs therefore put on vs Ieſus Chriſt. Let vs couer vs vnder his apparel as Iacob couered himſelf vnder the coat of his Brother Eſau, and ſo let vs preſent our ſelues before our heauenly father. The phraſe of putting on is vſual: whereby he meaneth, we muſt be wholly clad, and poſſeſſed with Chriſt. In like phraſe it is ſaid in the twelfth of the Reuelation: There appeared a great wonder in heauen, a woman clothed with the Sun. And in the 104. Pſalme: My ſoule praiſe thou the Lord. O my God thou art exceeding great, thou art clothed with glory and honour. And; Which couereth himſelfe with light, as with a garment. And to the Coloſſ. Put on tender mercy, kindneſſe, humbleneſſe of mind, meekneſſe, long ſuffering. Chryſoſtome ſaith; *Dominum ipſum, quod horribile eſt, veſtimenti loco tradit:*

Reuel. 12.
Pſal. 104.
Coloſſ. 3.
Chryſoſt. ſerm. 24. *in* 13. *Rom.*

tradit: Behold he giueth vs Chriſt to be put on as a garment, which is a haineus thing to be ſpoken. It paſſeth al ſenſe of nature, it paſſeth the iudgement of fleſh and blod.

Here remember, theſe wordes may not be taken, as if Chriſt were a material and earthly coat, made of cloth to couer our bodies: they are ſpiritual wordes, and haue a ſpiritual vnderſtanding. Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Omnia tibi factus eſt Chriſtus, menſa, veſtimentum, domus caput, & radix*: Chriſt is become al things for thee, thy table, thy garment, thy houſe, thy head, and thy root. Origen ſaith: *Verbum Dei & caro dicitur, & panis, & lac, & holera*: The word of God is called fleſh, and bread, and milke, and herbs. Nazianzen alſo ſaith: *Quemadmodum Dominus Ieſus appellatur vita, via panis, vitis, lux vera, & mille alia: ita etiam appellatur gladius*: After the ſame maner as our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is called the life, the way, the bread, the vine, the true light, and a thouſand things elſe: ſo is he alſo called the ſword.

Ad populum Antiochenum, hom. 11.
Orig. in Exodum, ca. 15. hom. 7.
Nazianz. in Pſal. 44.

He is ſpiritually a table, a garment, a houſe, a root, a head, fleſh, milke, herbes, the way, the light, a ſword, bread or drinke: we dwell in him ſpiritually, we are clothed with him ſpiritually. We grow out of him, and walke vpon him, and are made one with him, euen members of his body, ſpiritually. We doe ſpiritually eat him and drinke him, we liue by him ſpiritually, we eat him by hearing, and digeſt him by faith. Origen ſaith: *Appellatur panis vita, vt habeat guſtus animæ quod deguſtet*: He is called the bread of life, that the ſoule may haue whereon to feed.

Hom. 2. in Cantica.

O brethen, O that we had ſenſes to feele this food, that we could sauour of the bread of life, and taſte and ſee how ſweet the Lord is! he that thus taſteth of this bread ſhall liue for euer.

Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Dentes inſerimus in carnes Chriſti*: Wee thruſt our teeth into the fleſh of Chriſt. And Cyprian: *Intra ipſa vulnera redemptoris noſtri linguam figimus*: We faſten our tongue within the wounds of our redeemer. Theſe be vehement and ſpirituall kind of ſpeeches, to raiſe vp our ſenſes, and to teach vs to feele the vnſpeakeable ſweetneſſe of this heauenly feeding.

Chryſoſt. in encæniis.
Cypr. de cœna Domini.

Likewiſe ſaid Bernard: *Deſidero totum Chriſtum videre & tangere: & non id ſolum, ſed accedere vſq; ad ſanctum vulnus lateris eius, oſtium arcæ quod factum eſt in latere, vt intrem totus vſq; ad cor Ieſu*: I deſire to behold whole Chriſt, and to touch him: and not ſo only, but alſo to come to the holy wound of his ſide, which is the doore that was made in the ſide of the Arke, that I may enter wholly, and goe in, euen vnto the heart of Ieſus. Thus are we taught to lift vp our hearts, and to ſeeke thoſe things which are aboue, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God. Why ſhould we then follow the fleſhly errour of the Capernaits? why ſhould we be ſo inſenſible in heauenly things? Let vs haue ſome feeling hereof in our heart. Salomon ſaith: The wiſe mans eies are in his head, but the foole walketh in darkeneſſe. Our Sauiour therefore ſaith: The words that I ſpeake vnto you, are ſpirit & life. To eat the body of Chriſt, and drinke his blod, is not the part of the body: it is rather a worke of our mind. And therefore S. Ambroſe ſaith: *Non corporali tactu Chriſtum, ſed fide tangimus*: We touch not Chriſt by bodily touching, but we touch him by faith. And again, *Stephanus in terris poſitus, Chriſtum tangit in cœlo*: Stephen being in the earth, toucheth Chriſt being in heauen. By faith therefore we eat Chriſt, and by faith we drink Chriſt: by faith we are apparelled and clothed with Chriſt. And this is that the Apoſtle ſaith: Put ye on the Lord Ieſus Chriſt. Let vs be incorporate in him. Let God ſee nothing in vs but the image of his ſonne, ſo ſhall he dwell in vs, and we in him.

Bern. de amore Dei. ca. 1.
Eccle. 2.
Iohn 6.
In Lucam. lib. 10. cap. 24.
Serm. 58.
Rom. 13.

Take no thought for the fleſh, to fulfill the luſts thereof.

The ſonnes of God reſt vpō the prouidence of God their father. He giueth them water out of the rockes: he raineth downe bread from heauen: he openeth his hands, and filleth euery liuing thing with his bleſſing. The Prophet ſaith: The Lord is my ſhepheard, I ſhall not want. The things of this world ſhall haue an end, they fade away and will not continue. If riches abound, we muſt not ſet our heart vpon them, but rather be carefull for the life to come. We muſt ſeeke the kingdome of God, and the righteouſneſſe thereof: then all theſe things ſhall be miniſtred vnto vs.

Pſal. 23.

He doth not forbid honeſt and moderate forecaſt and prouiſion: as if it were not lawful for Chriſtians to deale in matters appertaining to the good eſtate of this life. For he hath ſaid vnto Timothy: If there be any that prouideth not for his own, and namely for them of his houſehold, he denieth the faith, and is worſe then an infidell. Againe he ſaith: No man euer yet hated his owne fleſh, but nouriſheth it, and cheriſheth it. Againe, writing to Timothy: Drinke no longer water, but vſe a little wine for thy ſtomakes ſake, and thine often infirmities. In which ſpeeches he ſheweth we are bound to nouriſh, and feed, and be carefull for our bodies.

1. Tim. 5.
Epheſ 5.
1. Tim. 5.

Though the converſation of the faithfull be in heauen, and they ſeeke after the things which

which are on high, yet whiles they passe the pilgrimage of this life, they must nedes haue the fellowship and company of their naturall bodies: the which they must not so weaken, that thereby they shall become vnprofitable, and not able to doe seruice in the Church of God: and yet so keepe them vnder, that they may be made obedient to the spirit.

Only we may not be ouer carefull. To take great care for the body, is to cast away all care for the soule. For they that will be rich, fall into temptation and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drowne men in perdition and destruction: for the desire of mony is the root of all euill, which whiles some lusted after, they erred from the faith, & pierced themselues with many sorrowes. Of this care speaketh our Sauiour: It is easier for a Camel to go thorow the eie of a needle, then for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. 1. Tim. 6. Matth. 19.

No care can satisfie the vncontented minde. The righteous eateth, and is satisfied: but the belly of the wicked euer wanteth. He hath enlarged his desire as hell, and ladeth himselfe with thick clay, he encreaseth that which is not his, and cannot be satisfied. The horse leach hath two daughters, which cry, Giue, giue. There be three things that will not be satisfied; Yea, foure that say not, It is enough. They care not by what means they make their gaines, they liue in vsury, a most filthy trade, a trade which God detesteth, a trad which is the very ouerthrow of all Christian loue. They eat vp the people as they eat bread. Such are the waies of euery one, that is greedy of gaine. He would take away the life of the owners thereof. They haue hardned their heart against God, they doe not serue God, but Mammon. Prou. 13. Prou. 30. Prou. 1.

But their gaine shall be to their losse, and their mony to their destruction. He that giueth his mony vnto Vsury, shall not dwell in the Tabernacle of the Lord, nor rest vpon his holy mountaine.

We haue here no continuing City, we are strangers as were al our fathers before vs. If we gather riches to our selues, and be not rich in God, he shall say vnto vs: O fole, this night will they fetch away thy soule from thee: Then whose shal those things be which thou hast prouided? Let him therefore that hath this worlds goods, bee as if hee had them not. They are the gifts of God. The Lord giueth them, and the Lord taketh them away. Settle not your hearts vpon them. As they come, so will they fade away: they be vncertain, they will deceiue you. Set your desire vpon heauenly things, seeke after the life which is to come in the land of the liuing, when we shall see those vnspeakeable ioies, we shall perceiue, that all the pleasures of this life, in comparison of them were nothing.

Now somewhat more specially to apply the words of the Apostle to this present time. It is now time also, that we should arise from sleeps. God hath deliuered vs also from the night. We may say, This is the day which the Lord hath made: Let vs reioice and be glad in it, we may say, he hath shewed his mercies towards vs, and the truth of the Lord endureth for euer.

Let vs looke backe to the time late past, and behold the night of error and ignorance. What shall I say? Where should I begin, or how may I end? The matter is of great compasse: the time I haue to speake is but short: and I haue no delight to speake of darknesse. After God had deliuered the people of Israel, and giuen them passage thorow the red sea, Marie the Prophetesse, sister of Aaron, looked backe into Egypt. There she remembred Pharao, & his cruelty, how he plagued the children of God: she remembred how by a mighty hand and outstretched arme, he deliuered them, and wrought his wonders vpon Pharao, and all the land of Egypt. She looked backe vpon the great darkenesse, and vpon the frogs, and flies, and botches: she beheld the waters turned into blood, the killing of the first borne of man and beast, the ouerthrow of Pharao and all his Chariots in the midst of the Sea. And therefore she answered the men: Sing ye vnto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously: The horse and his rider hath he ouerthrowne in the sea. Exod. 15.

Euen so, let vs cast backe our eies, and make a view of the Church. Loth I am to speake of it: yet it is needfull to say somewhat thereof, that we may reioice in our deliuerance. All things were done in a strange tongue: the priest spake, and the people heard they know not what. No man could say Amen to their praiers. The matters were such, that he might bee reckoned happy which heard them not. They abused the Church of God with vain fables. If you doubt hereof read their Legends and festiuals. They know this, they acknowledge it. It might well be spoken of them which Hilary said: *Sanctiores sunt aures populi quam corda Sacerdotum*: The eares of the people are more holy then the hearts of the Priests. *Hilar. con. Auxentium.*

I beseech you, marke the forme & fashion of their praiers. To the blessed virgin they say: *Aue Maria, salus & consolatrix viuorum & mortuorum*: Haile Mary, the sauior and comforter both of quicke and dead. And againe: *O gloriosa virgo Maria, libera nos ab omni malo, & a pœnis inferni*: O glorious virgin Mary, deliuer vs from al euil, & from the paines of hel. Again, *Monstra te esse matrem*: shew that thou art a mother. They call her, *Regina Cœli, domina mundi, vnica spes miserorum*: Queene of heauen, Lady of the world, the only hope of them that

be in misery. It were tedious, and vnpleasant to recite the like their blasphemies. How did these men account of the crosse and passion of Christ? What leaue they to be wrought by the price of his blod? To speak nothing of the multitude of their intercessors and patrons, of their false miracles, of their deceiueable merits and works of supererogation: how foule a kind of Idolatry was it, to worship the image with the selfe same honor, wherewith they worship the thing it selfe, that is represented by the Image! As if the thing it selfe be worshipped with godly honor, then must the Image thereof be worshiped with godly honor.

The holy Scriptures, which are the light to direct our waies, and the power of God to saue our soules, were hid vnder a bushell. Whosoeuer built himselfe and his faith vpon them, was adiudged an heretike. Mariage was forbidden, and fornication suffered. They did not only deuour widows houses, but drew to themselues the fat of the land, by pretence of their long prayers. I spare your chaste and godly eares: otherwise, I were able to rehearse many their foule abuses, and workes of darkenesse.

Yet will I shew you one of their nightbirds, lately hatched in the nest of all superstition. It is the *Agnus dei*: here it is. It was lately consecrate by the holy Father and sent from Rome. They teach that by the vertue of their consecration, (or rather coniuration) and blessing, these little things haue power to defend the faithfull from lightening and tempest.

O mercifull God! what hath the Pope to do with the lightning: what can a pece of wax preuaile to the staying of a tempest? The Lord of heauen and earth, it is he that sendeth forth lightnings, and raiseth vp tempests. Fire and haile, snow and vapors, stormy wind, execute his word. God will send forth his lightning and consume them. Behold (saith Ieremy) the tempest of the Lord goeth foorth in his wrath, and a violent whirle wind shall fall downe vpon the head of the wicked.

Psalm. 148.

Ierem. 25.

O, what a shepheard is he, that now in this light of the day, thus mocketh and deceiueth the lambs and sheepe of Christ! Is this to worship Christ in spirit and truth? Is this the hope we haue in Christ? Is this the profession of the Gospel? Is this the will of God, to commit our liues to so vile a cake? Howbeit, there is no cause why any man should maruel hereat. For, ignorance which is the mother of error, by their own confession, is become the mother of deuotion: and these be the fruits, and children of blindnesse and ignorance. I will speake nothing of that man from whence this geare commeth. Would God he were the man he would seeme to be. But if the light it selfe be darkenesse, how great then is the darknesse? Yet they say of him, his voice must be receiued as the voice of Peter; and the word of God himselfe must take authority and credit of him. Thus hath he come betweene, like a Cloud, and eclipsed the sunne of Gods glorious Gospell.

If we behold either their Schools or their Churches, their Quier, their Pulpit, their Prayers, their Sacraments, their Clergy, their People, their Doctrine, or their Life; we may truly say as the Prophet said: Surely our fathers haue inherited lies, and vanity, wherein was no profit. We may truely say, The Law hath perished from the Priest, and counsell from the wise, and the word from the Prophet: the blind did lead the blind, they haue turned siluer into drosse, and fed the people with chaffe, in stead of wholesome and good meats. Blessed be the name of God, who hath giuen vs eies to espie their dealings, and hath reuealed vnto vs his word, to guide our feet into the way of peace.

Ierem. 16.

I know these things are defended boldly and obstinatly: no maruell. For the Apostle saith: They haue not all obeied the Gospell. There haue bene, that haue called the light darkenesse, and the darknesse light. If our Gospell be hid (saith he) it is hid in them that perish, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds.

Rom. 10.
2. Cor. 4.

I will not here make answer to any particular, albeit occasion be offered, and happily it be loked for. Contention and quarrels haue no end: All doctrine shall be brought to triall, the day of the Lord shall reueale errors, and giue witnesse for the truth. God will turne all to his glory. Whatsoeuer stir is raised vp against the truth, it is but a smoke, it will soone fade and come to nothing.

There are this day many, to all appearance, godly men, of good life, of righteous dealing, of great zeale and conscience: but yet haue not eies to see these things. I protest in their behalfe, as did Paul, they haue a great zeale of Gods glory; would God it were according to knowledge. We may say with the Prophet: O Lord, thy iudgements are like a great deepe. Who hath knowne the mind of the Lord? or, who is of his counsell? God knoweth his time. He hath the key of Dauid, he openeth and no man shutteth: he is the Father of lights. We are in his hand, both we and all our counsels: God grant we may put off al fleshly affections, and put on Iesus Christ, and that all the earth may see his glory.

Psalm. 36.

Now on the other side, let vs consider how mercifully God hath dealt with vs. He hath restored vnto vs the light of his Gospel, and hath taught vs the secrets of his heauenly wil. We heare him talke with vs familiarly in the scriptures, as a father talketh with his child.

Thereby

Thereby he kindleth our faith, and ſtrengtheneth our hope: thereby our hearts receiue ioy and comfort. We haue the holy miniſtration of the Sacraments: we know the couenant of Baptiſme: we know the couenant and myſtery of the Lords Supper. We fall down together, and confeſſe our life before God: we pray together, and vnderſtand what we pray. This was the order of the Primitiue Church: this was the order of the Apoſtles of Chriſt. If we compare this with the former, we ſhall ſone ſée the difference betwéen light and darkneſſe. The kingdome of God now ſuffereth violence. The ſound of the Goſpell hath gone ouer al the world, and the whole world is awaked therewith, and draweth to it. The ſunne is riſen, the day is open: God hath made his kingdome wonderfull among vs. It is now time, now is it time that we ſhould ariſe from ſléepe: for now is our ſaluation néere. Now it is in our mouth, we can ſpeake of it: God grant it may be néerer vs, euen in our hearts. The night is paſt, God grant it be paſt for euer: that we be neuer againe throwen into the darkneſſe of death, that the word of life, the truth of Chriſt, be neuer againe taken from vs. And it ſhal neuer be taken away, if we be thankfull. Vnkindneſſe can neuer ſcape vnplagued. Let vs wake, let vs wake, our ſléepe is deadly. Let vs pray God to awake vs: he is able to raiſe the dead. Our Sauiour ſaith, The houre ſhall come, when the dead ſhall heare the voice of the Sonne of God, and they that heare it, ſhall liue. Lazarus was dead, yet he heard the voice of Chriſt, and roſe vp againe, and came abroad. Iohn. 5.

Let vs put on Ieſus Chriſt, let it appeare vpon vs that we weare him, let vs not be aſhamed of his Goſpell, it is the power of God to ſaluation. If we be aſhamed of him and of his words, hee will be alſo aſhamed of vs, when he commeth in the glory of his father, with the holy Angels.

Let vs caſt away the workes of darkneſſe, and all doctrines of ſuperſtition and ignorance. Let vs behold the troubles and miſeries of other countries. Heauen and earth, our brethren, the care of our ſaluation, the Son of God himſelfe put vs in minde, that it is now time. Whiles we haue time, let vs do good: let vs ſéek God whiles he may be found. The Lord waiteth when he may ſhew his mercies: Let vs turne vnto him with an vpright heart. So ſhall he turne to vs: ſo ſhall we walk as the children of light; ſo ſhal we ſhine as the ſun in the kingdome of our father; ſo ſhall God be our God, & will abide with vs for euer.

And thou, O moſt mercifull Father, we beſéech thée for thy mercie ſake, continue thy grace and fauour towards vs: let the ſun of thy Goſpell neuer go downe out of our hearts, let thy truth abide, and be eſtabliſhed among vs for euer. Helpe our vnbeléefe, increaſe our faith, giue vs hearts to conſider the time of our viſitation: Apparell vs throughly with Chriſt, that he may liue in vs, and ſo thy name may be glorified in vs in the ſight of all the world. Amen.

1. CORINTH. 4.

VERS. 1. Let euery man eſteeme vs, euen for the Miniſters and Stewards of the ſecrets of God.

2. Now is there no more required of the Stewards, but that they be found faithfull.

DEarely beloued in our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, the people of the City of Corinth, to whom S. Paul wrote this Epiſtle or letter, were at great ſtrife, contention, and variance among themſelues, as touching the Preachers of Chriſts Goſpell, and Miniſters dwelling among them. For, whereas God had ſent them ſore of Preachers, as Peter, Paul, Apollo, Cephas, and ſuch other, which were notable in the miniſtery of God; they of theſe great gifts and benefits of God, toke occaſion of ſtrife; toke (I ſay) occaſion of great contention and debate among themſelues. For whoſoeuer liked Peter beſt, would ſay, I holde of Peter; whoſoeuer thought Pauls doctrine better then Peters, would ſay, I ſtand of Pauls ſide; whoſoeuer againe thought that Apollo excelled the reſt, would ſay, I hold with Apollo. And thus of their owne fancies, they toke occaſion of ſtrife, and found fault with the preaching of Chriſts Goſpell. As for Peter, as for Paul, as for Apollo, they all preached one thing, they taught one doctrine, there was no ſtrife, no debate, no diſſenſion among them. Yet notwithſtanding, though the Scholemaſters agréed, the Diſciples & Scholars could not be at one: though they all preached one and the ſame Doctrine, yet could not the people fancie their

Preachers alike. And therefore Paul concluded before, and ſaid: Let no man reioice in men; for all is yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollo, whether it be Cephas or the world, all is yours. And hereupon followed theſe words of his, that you heard read vnto you: As for vs (ſaith S. Paul) eſteeme vs as the Miniſters of Chriſt: whatſoeuer they be that preach vnto you the Goſpell of GOD, regard them as the Stewards of the ſecrets of God.

So it hapneth oftentimes, that either the people iudge too much of the preachers of Gods word, or elſe they iudge too little: Sometime they attribute vnto them too much honour, ſometime againe they giue them too little honor: Sometime they credit them too much, ſometime they beleeue them nothing at all. So are the people alwaies inconſtant,
Acts.14. ſo are they moued on either ſide. When Paul and Barnabas at Lyſtra began to preach, by and by the whole multitude of the people thought them to be gods and no men; forthwith they erected Altars, they brought their Sacrifices, their Oxen, their Calues, their Sheep, minding to haue ſacrificed vnto them, and Paul they called Mercurius; Barnabas, Iupiter. This was too great an honor. And therefore when Paul and Barnabas
Acts.10. vnderſtood the ſame, they rent their clothes, tore their own garments, ran in among the people, cried out and ſaid: Yee men and brethren, why do ye this? So likewiſe Peter being appointed by God to goe to Cornelius the Captaine, ſo ſone as he came in vnto him, by and by Cornelius met him, fell downe at his feet, and worſhipped him; he thought him a God and no man. And thus, as yee ſee, ſomtimes the people offended too much on that hand, and gaue more honor and reuerence vnto Gods Miniſters then God himſelfe required, or they loked for: Somtimes againe on the other hand, they gaue them no reuerence, they attributed no honor vnto them, they did ſet too little by the Preachers of Gods word: and this was a fault on the other ſide.

When Chriſt in our nature began firſt to preach, and ſet abroad his Fathers will, and the glad tidings of the goſpell, the people forthwith found fault with him; Yee is,
Iohn.6. ſaid they, but a Carpenters Son, we know his Father, we know his Mother; hee was neuer ſet to Schoole, how can this man haue learning? Afterward, when the Diſciples and Apoſtles of Chriſt preached and taught the people, and began to ſpeake with ſtrange
Acts.2. tongues, in ſo much that euery man maruelled to heare his owne ſpeech and language, both Medes, Perſians, and they of Meſopotamia; yet ſaid the people, Theſe men are full of new wine. And this was too little honour. Therefore if the Preacher be too much honoured, then is GOD diſhonoured: if he be deſpiſed and nothing ſet by, then is Chriſt himſelfe deſpiſed and not regarded. They that ſaid Chriſt was a Carpenters ſonne, a man vnlearned, and ſuch a one as neuer went to Schoole: they that ſaid the Apoſtles of Chriſt were full of new Wine, ſpake not this of any priuate malice or hatred that they bare either vnto Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, but only to bring Gods word to ſhame, only to bring Chriſtes holy goſpell out of credit with the people: this was their intent and purpoſe, and nothing elſe. Therefore Saint Paul in this place sheweth the Corinthians how they ſhould eſteem the Teachers of GOD holy word, how they ſhould thinke and iudge of them. For the people ſometime eſteeme moſt a politike man, ſuch a man as by his great wit is able to conclude Peace and Leagues betweene Princes; they regard him that is of ſtoute courage and learned in the Lawes; they ſet moſt by him that is eloquent and able to perſwade; yea and they regard him not that is not excellently learned, and ſeene in all Sciences: but here S. Paul sheweth them, that they ſhould not eſteeme the Preachers of Gods goſpell as men politike, as men of great wit, as men of ſtout courage, and learned in the Law, as men eloquent, and excellentlie well ſeene in Sciences: but as the Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of the ſecrets of GOD.

Thus ſhould the Miniſters of Chriſt be eſteemed, and thus ought the Teachers of Gods word, shew themſelues as Miniſters of Chriſt, and diſpenſers of Gods ſecrets.
2.Cor.4. And therefore Saint Paul in another place ſaith: We come not to preach our ſelues, but all our preaching, all our teaching, all our Doctrine, is, that you know Jeſus Chriſt;
Iohn.7. as for our ſelues, we are but your ſeruants. So Chriſt himſelfe: *Qui de ſe loquitur gloriam propriam quærit*: He that ſpeaketh of himſelfe, ſeeketh his owne glory, ſaith Chriſt.
1.Cor.3. So Paul likewiſe: *Quid Petrus, quid Paulus, quid Apollo, niſi Miniſtri?* What is Peter? what is Paul? what is Apollo? Thinke you them any other then the ſeruants and Miniſters of God? Paul hath planted, Apollo watered, but God hath giuen the increaſe. The increaſe came not from Peter, not from Paul, not from Apollo, but from God alone. Apollo, Paul, and Peter, are nothing elſe but the Miniſters and ſeruants of God; God is he that giueth the increaſe; God alone is he that giueth the increaſe. When the great City of Hieruſalem vnderſtood of Iohn the Baptiſt, and began to reſort vnto him, they aſked him,

What

What art thou? He anſwered them: *Ego vox clamantis in deſerto, Parate viam Domini:* I am, ſaid he, a man not worthy to bee eſteemed, I am but a meſſenger ſent vnto you: I am nothing elſe but a voice to crie, Prepare you the way of the Lord. So Moſes and Aaron that had the conducting of the people of God, when the whole Campe was in a tumult and vproare, and the people ranne in rage againſt them, like to haue ſlaine them, they ſtretched out their hands and ſaid: *Non contra nos ſed contra Dominum; nam nos qui ſumus?* This ſtirre, this hurly burly, this tumult, that you make, is not, ſaid they, againſt vs, but againſt God; for alas, what are we? We are but Gods ſeruants, Gods meſſengers: appointed to leade and guide you. Thus therefore ought euery man eſteeme the Preachers of Gods Goſpell, as meſſengers, as ſeruants, as Miniſters of Chriſt; thus ought euery man thinke, and iudge of them. I Iohn 1. Exod. 16.

But what kind of ſeruant is this Preacher, what maner of Miniſter is hee? Saint Paul ſaith: Hee is the Steward and Diſpoſer of Gods ſecrets: hee ſetteth forth and ſheweth abroad the myſteries of his holy Goſpell. And theſe myſteries that S. Paul heere meaneth, (to conclud in one word) are none other then the Articles of our Faith: That Chriſt is the Sonne of God, conceiued by the Holy Ghoſt, borne of the Virgin Marie; that he was crucified, dead, buried, deſcended into Hell, roſe againe, and ſitteth at the right hand of his Father; that by his blood, our ſinnes were waſhed away; that our bodies ſhall at the laſt day ariſe, and wee poſſeſſe eternall life. Theſe bee the ſecrets, theſe be the myſteries, that the Miniſters of Chriſt, the ſeruants and Stewards of God doe vtter and declare to Gods people: no wiſdome of man is able to compaſſe this, no learning of this World able of it ſelfe to expound theſe hidden ſecrets. For, ſaith Saint Paul: *Animalis homo non percipit ea quæ ſunt ex Deo:* The naturall man perceiueth nothing of the ſpirit of God: He vnderſtandeth not ſuch things as are of God. It is foolihneſſe vnto him, and he cannot perceiue it, for it muſt bee ſpiritually diſcerned. Chriſt himſelfe alſo: *Non ex hominibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, ſed ex voluntate Dei:* they which are Gods Children, and able to vnderſtand his myſteries, are ſuch which are not borne of blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of God. When Chriſt had aſked of Peter, what he thought of him, and Peter had ſaid: *Tues Chriſtus, filius Dei viui:* Thou art Chriſt the Sonne of the liuing God: He anſwered: O happy art thou Simon the ſonne of Ionas, for fleſh and blood hath not opened that vnto thee, but my Father that is in Heauen. Theſe myſteries therefore are onely opened by the ſpirit of God, by Gods onely working, not by any wiſdome of man, not by any cunning and great learning of this World. 1. Cor. 2. Iohn 1. Matth. 16.

Now therefore, ſaith Saint Paul, thinke thus of vs, iudge vs to be the Miniſters and Seruants of God, and marke well whether we reueale vnto you Gods myſteries, and his holy Goſpell; Conſider with your ſelues, and ſee whether we open vnto you Gods hidden ſecrets: By this ſhall you know, whether we be the ſeruants and diſpenſers of Gods myſteries.

But like as in S. Pauls time there was diſſenſion, ſtrife, and great debate, euen amongſt the Chriſtians, and ſuch as profeſſed the name of God: So likewiſe in our daies, (good Brethren) euen in the time that we our ſelues haue ſeene, there hath beene diſcord and parts-taking among vs. Some haue ſaid, I will beleeue the old learning: ſome againe haue ſaid, I will beleeue the new: ſome haue ſaid, I will credit this man: ſome I will beleeue that man. And thus the Father hath fallen out with the ſonne, the mother with the daughter, the brother with his brother, and one neighbour with an other; each man defending that part, which hee himſelfe beſt liked. But alas, (good brethren) this is no new thing, this hath beene from the beginning, and euen in Chriſts time. For at what time Chriſt himſelfe walked heere on this earth, and began to preach the glory of his Father, ſome ſaid he was a good man, ſome other ſaid, no; ſome ſaid he was a Prophet, ſome other ſaid he was none, but one that deceiued the people; ſome reioiced that it pleaſed God to ſend ſuch a Preacher as Chriſt was, ſome againe deſpiſed his doctrine, and ſaid, Hee had a Diuell. Theſe words the people then ſpake of Chriſt; theſe words, I ſay, they ſpake of Chriſt himſelfe. He was called a Samaritane, a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and ſinners, a ſeducer of the people. Therefore, it is the leſſe maruell if ſuch words be now at theſe daies ſpoken, as were ſpoken in the beginning of the Church; if ſuch words bee ſpoken againſt vs, as were ſpoken againſt Chriſt himſelfe. But Saint Paul hath heere giuen vs a rule, whereby to know the true ſeruants of Chriſt, and Stewards of Gods ſecrets. Iohn 7. Luke 7. Iohn 7. Luke 7.

Chriſt was the true Prophet, and why ſo? Becauſe hee preached his fathers will. What euer I haue heard of my Father, ſaith Chriſt, the ſame haue I declared vnto you. Saint Paul was the true ſeruant of Chriſt, and Steward of his ſecrets, and why ſo? becauſe Iohn 15.

he laboured in Gods vineyard, he preached, he taught, more then all the rest of the Apostles of Christ did: *Laborani plus quàm cæteri omnes:* I haue laboured more then all the rest of the Apostles haue done. Therefore was hée the true and faithfull minister of Gods mysteries, because he thus diligently alwaies taught Gods Gospell and the glory of his name: for this cause, I say, and none other, was he the Steward and dispenser of Gods secrets. So were the Patriarchs, and the Prophets, the true seruants of God, because they declared the will of God. And here haue we to consider, that Christ, which was the true Prophet; the Apostles, which were the true Ministers and Stewards of Christ; the Patriarchs & Prophets, which were the true and faithfull seruants of God, were al grieuously afflicted, persecuted from place vnto place, and lastly put to most cruell death. This, I say, hapned to Christ himselfe, and all his Apostles, S. Iohn the Euangelist only excepted. And yet was Christ, Gods own sons, the Apostles were the true Ministers and Stewards of Gods secrets. And therefore if we shall in our time sée the Preachers of Gods word afflicted, the Teachers of the Gospell of Christ persecuted, the Stewards of Gods secrets miserably tormented, yet let not vs (good Brethren) let not vs giue ouer and shrinke from Gods Gospell, let vs consider that this is no new thing, no strange hap, but such as happened to the Patriarches, to the Prophets, to the Apostles, yea and to Christ himselfe.

1. Cor. 15.

Now then, let vs take this rule of S. Pauls, and thereby let vs trie whether the Preachers in times past, the Popes, the Cardinals, the Bishops, were the true seruants of God, Stewards and dispensers of his holy secrets. There are at this day some that be called Bishops, some that be called Cardinals, and they say that they carry vp the Church of Christ, and are the props and pillars of the same: and therefore in token thereof they haue alwaies pillars borne before them. At this day the Bishop of Rome calleth himselfe a generall Bishop, an vniuersall Bishop, not ouer this part, or that part, but ouer all Christendom; yea, and he saith, he is the head of Christs Church: he saith that he hath power ouer Kings, ouer Princes, he hath power ouer Purgatory, ouer Soules departed, ouer Diuels, ouer Angels: he can pardon not only sinnes already done, but such also as shall be at any time hereafter committed: and that he cannot mistake the Scriptures of God, that he cannot erre, and be deceiued: what euer he doth, all is well done: no man can iudge him and sit vpon his doings. I speake not this of malice, I speake it not for any grudge or hatred I owe to his person, God is my witnesse; I neither know him that now is, nor any of them that haue hæretofore time bæne Bishops of Rome. But all these their doings are written, all these words which I haue heere spoken, are written, I say, euen in their owne Lawes and decrées; the places may be alleged and brought forth. Alas, these are glorious Titles, to be called vniuersall Bishop, and head of Christs Church, to haue dominion ouer Kings and Princes, to haue power ouer Purgatory, ouer Soules departed, ouer Diuels, ouer Angels, to haue authority to pardon sinnes past, and sins hereafter to be committed, not to erre, not to be deceiued: all these are glorious and triumphant Titles, as you well sée. But let vs now take Pauls rule, the rule, I say, that S. Paul hath here giuen vs, and let vs by the same trie, whether the Bishops, the Cardinals, the Popes, haue heretofore time, or at this time, doe dispense vnto vs the mysteries of the Gospell, as Stewards of the secrets of God: whether they doe preach and teach the Gospell of Christ, as the seruants and Ministers of Christ. Alas, we sée they doe nothing lesse, they doe, wee sée, nothing lesse then set forth the Gospell of God, and the glory of his holy name. How then can they call themselues Pastores, when they fæd not Gods shæpe? how can they call themselues watchmen, when they haue no regard to Gods flocke? how can they call themselues pillars of the Church, yea, and the head of the Church, when they shew themselues rather destroiers of the Church of Christ, and not members of the same? Alas, if they be not Gods seruants, whose seruants are they? if they bee not Dispensers and Stewards of Gods secrets, of whose secrets are they Stewards? if they be not so much as members, how are they then the pillars and head of Christs Church?

Saint Paul goeth further, and saith, It is not sufficient to be called Seruants, to be called Ministers, to be called Stewards of Gods secrets, but it is further required at the Stewards hand, that he be found faithfull. In this world the Master committeth the order of his house to the gouernance of his Steward; the disposing of his whole liuing, and order of all other things, he committeth only to his stewards wisdome: and he loketh that he bæ found faithfull in all his doings. And if this be in worldly things, if the Master heere in this world will loke for, and require faithfull dealings at his Stewards hands, in such things as are but transitory, and of little value: how much more then will God require faithfulnesse in his Stewards, as touching things Eternall, things heauenly, and the disposing of his secrets? But from the beginning, euen from the first beginning of the world,

worlde, there haue bene alwaies vntrusty and wicked Stewards. For, at what time God framed man, and placed him in Paradise in great ioy and pleasure, The Diuell enuying this his felicity, became a wicked Steward, and said vnto Adam; Tush, Ye shall not die; eat of this fruit, ye shall not die; God doth but mocke with you: For he doth know, that in what euer houre ye eat of it, your eies shall be opened, and ye shal be as God, knowing both good and euill. Gen. 3. And thus he became a most wicked Steward. Ieremy also the Prophet saith, that in his time there were wicked and vntrusty Stewards: *Currunt*, saith he, *at ego non misi; loquuntur, at ego non sum loquutus illis*: They runne, saith God, but I sent them not; they haue spoken, but I speake not vnto them. Ier. 23. So Christ himselfe said, that in the latter daies there should come false Stewards, false Prophets, false Preachers, and say; *Hic est Christus, illic est Christus*: Lo, here is Christ, there is Christ; and should doe great wonders and tokens, in so much, that if it were possible, the very chosen should bee brought into errour also. Math. 24. Antichrist in like wise shall come saith Paul: The man of sinne, the sonne of perdition, he shall exalt himselfe aboue all that is called God, he shal sit in the holy place, in the Temple of God, in the conscience of men: and when he commeth he shal not say, I am Antichrist, I am a false Prophet, I am a wicked Steward; but he shall rather say, I am a true Prophet, I am a faithfull Steward. I am Christ the sonne of God, yea I am God himselfe. 2. Thess. 2. Now therefore how will you know the true seruant from the false Minister; how will you try the faithfull Steward from the vnfaithfull? Mary, saith S. Paul, if he doth his masters will and commandement, if he doth all those things faithfully that his master requireth at his hands; if he this doth, then is he a faithfull Minister and a trusty Steward. By this shall you know him, by this token, and none other shall you sone discerne, whether he be a faithful Steward, this is the point of a trusty seruant. And therefore God vnto Ezechiel his Prophet, and so by him to all such as shall become his Stewards and Preachers of his gospell, saith: I haue appointed thee a Watchman ouer my house of Israel, to crie vnto my people; therefore take good heed to the words of my mouth, and giue them warning at my commandement: thou shalt heare it at my mouth, saith God, and then shalt thou pronounce it vnto my people. Ezech. 3. So Paul was bold to say: *Quod accepi à Domino, tradidi vobis*; That which I deliuered vnto you, receiued I of the Lord: what thing soeuer I receiued of the Lord, that haue I deliuered & shewed vnto you, without adding any thing thereto, or diminishing any thing therefro. 1. Cor. 11. Euen so, Christ himselfe said: *Sermo quem audisti is non est meus, sed patris mei qui misit me*: The doctrine which you heare is not mine, but his that hath sent me: These words that you haue heard, are not mine, but my fathers that sent me: I doe but my Fathers message, saith Christ; all that I teach, all that I preach vnto you, is nothing else but the wil of my Father. Ioh. 7. By this therefore (my Brethren) shal you sone try whether they are true seruants of God: for if they shal only disclose vnto you the wil of God, if they shall preach vnto you the secrets of Gods gospel, & the glory of his holy name, then are they true seruants, then are they Christs ministers, & faithful dispensers of Gods secrets. But if they teach you not the sincerity of Gods gospell, if they preach not vnto you the mysteries of Gods word, if they disclose not vnto you the wil of God; if they doe not this, then are they not Gods seruants, then are they not Christs Ministers, nor Stewards of Gods secrets. Ioh. 7. And therefore saith S. Iohn in his Epistle: If any man come vnto you, and bring not this doctrine, receiue him not into your house, neither salute him: if any man, saith he, come vnto you, & teach you any other gospell, then this that I haue preached, let him not enter into your house, doe not so much as bid him, God speed. 2. Iohn 1. So Esay the Prophet: If they speake not according to this word, they shall haue no morning light. Esay 8.

Now as touching the variance and diuersity of opinions now a daies, as touching the dissension & controuersie that is at this time among vs, I would to God that al such as defend and maintaine the Popes authority & power, would be content to be iuged by this rule, to be tried by this only rule that S. Paul here giueth. These are the most and the greatest controuersies, whereupon hath risen all the contention & variance that we haue seen; whether we should haue a Communion, or a Priuate Masse: whether the Communion should be ministred vnder both kindes or not: whether we ought to haue our Praiers in our vulgar tongue: whether we should haue and set vp in our Churches any grauen Images: and whether we may lawfully haue the Scriptures in our common tongue, that euery man may read and vnderstand them. These are, I say, the controuersies whereon hangeth all our debate. But now let vs see and consider, whether such as taught you to haue a priuate Masse: such as would haue the Communion ministred vnder one kind alone: such as taught you to worship Images: such as would you to pray in an vnknown tongue: such as would not suffer you to haue the knowledge of Gods word and his gospell: let vs, I say, according vnto S. Pauls rule, see whether they were the true Ministers

of

of Chriſt, and faithfull ſtewards of the ſecrets of God, let vs weigh whether they diſcloſed vnto you the myſteries of Gods word, and whether their doctrine agreed with the goſpell of Chriſt.

Luke 22. Chriſt at his laſt Supper ordained a Communion for the comfort of all our ſoules; but they turned this into a Priuate Maſſe, that one ſhould receiue alone. This was contrary to Chriſt, contrary to that he ordained. And how then ſhould we eſtæme them, as the Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of the ſecrets of God? Chriſt miniſtred the Communion to his Diſciples in both the kindes: yet they notwithſtanding miniſtred it vnder one kinde alone, they robbed the people, and toke the cup from them. And this was contrary to Chriſt, and his inſtitution. And how then ſhould we eſtæme them as the Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of the ſecrets of God? God gaue vs in commandement to make no grauen Image: they taught, that we ſhould make our ſelues grauen Images, that we ſhould knéele, that we ſhould bow, that we ſhould crépe vnto them, and that we ſhould offer and ſticke vp candles before them.

This they taught to be neceſſary doctrine, and that our ſaluation depended thereupon. This haue they done, you all right well know, and this contrary to the expreſſe commandement of God. And how then ſhould we eſtæme them as the Miniſters of Chriſt and Stewards of the ſecrets of God? S. Paul willeth our praiers in the congregation to bee
1. Cor. 14. ſuch, to be read and ſung in ſo plaine a tongue, in ſo diſtinct and knowne a language, that the common people may vnderſtand them, and ſo all together may anſwer the Miniſter, and ſay, Amen. And this was vſed in the Patriarchs, in the Prophets, in the Apoſtles, in the old Doctours times, in the Primitiue Church: and yet there haue béene men, and now are, that would haue the Praiers in Latine, in a tongue to vs ſtrange and vnknown, and in a tongue that few or none vnderſtand. And how then can they ſay they are the
Num. 15. Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of Gods ſecrets? God in the old Law gaue in charge
Deut. 11. to his people, that they ſhould haue his Law alwaies before their eies, that they ſhould haue his commandements written in their hands, on their ſleeues, on their doore threſholds, in the skirts of their garments. This God himſelfe commanded. And Chriſt in
Iohn 5. the new Law: *Scrutamini Scripturas*, ſaith he; *illæ enim teſtimonium perhibent de me:* Search ye the Scriptures; for they do beare witneſſe of me. And yet this notwithſtanding, notwithſtanding Chriſt cõmanded vs to ſearch the Scriptures; yet you your ſelues haue knowne men, and ſuch as were Preachers, forbid you to haue Gods Goſpell in your hands, would not ſuffer you to haue the holy Teſtament of Chriſt in your houſes, no nor in the Churches for all men to read. This was contrary to Gods commandement, and the mind of our Sauior Ieſus Chriſt. And how then can they ſay they are the Miniſters of
Iohn 21. Chriſt, and Stewards of Gods ſecrets? Chriſt ſaid vnto Peter: *Amas me? paſce oues meas, paſce agnos meos, paſce gregem meũ:* Peter (ſaid Chriſt) loueſt thou me? feed my ſheepe, feed my lambes, feed my flocke: But our great Clerkes, our Popes, our Cardinals, our Biſhops, would ſeldome or neuer make a ſermon; they fed not Gods ſhéepe, they fed not Gods lambs, they had no regard to Gods flocke: and how then could they ſay, they were the Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of Gods ſecrets? I leaue out much of purpoſe, good brethren, I wittingly ouerpaſſe héere many things elſe, that I could ſay hérein: the time would faile me if I ſhould rehearſe vnto you all thoſe things wherein they haue moſt ſhamefully abuſed themſelues. But iudge you, my brethren, by theſe things onely which I haue héere ſhewed vnto you, whether they ſhould be eſtæmed as the Miniſters of Chriſt and Stewards of the ſecrets of God. Chriſt willed them not onely to be Stewards, but faithfull Stewards, faithfull Miniſters, faithfull diſpenſers of his ſecrets. If to doe nothing be the faithfulneſſe that God requireth in them, if this be the charge that Chriſt demandeth of them, then may we well cal them the ſeruants of God and Miniſtery of Chriſt: otherwiſe how can we ſay, that they are the Stewards of Gods ſecrets, and faithfull diſpenſers of his hidden myſteries?

Saint Paul goeth forth and ſaith: It is but a ſmall thing that I ſhould be iudged of you. Saint Paul notwithſtanding he was an elect veſſel of God, to beare abroad the glory of his name, notwithſtanding he was the greateſt of the Apoſtles, and a faithfull diſpenſer of Gods ſecrets; yet ſome men ſaid that he was vnlearned, ſome ſaid he was no Miniſter of Chriſts, ſome ſaid that there were many other Preachers better then he. And this was ſpoken of him euen by the Chriſtians, and ſuch as profeſſed Gods name. And thus a great number of the people iudged that S. Paul was not the ſeruant of God, was not the Miniſter of Chriſt, was not a Steward of Gods ſecrets. But S. Paul appealed from them, he appealed from their iudgements, and ſaid: It is but a ſmal matter for me to bee iudged of you, or of mans day &c. Héere may we ſée what a bold courage, what a ſtout ſtomacke was in S. Paul, when he durſt thus openly, and, as it were, to their faces, appeale from the

peoples

peoples iudgement, and ſo bring them before the dreadfull maieſty of the eternall God. This was a great courage of his, this was a ſigne that he little or nothing feared the force of the people. But this he did, becauſe he well knew, that what euer befel him in this world, what euer punishment he ſuffered in this life, he could not miſcary before God, he could not doe other then well in the life to come. And therefore likewiſe in another place he boldly ſaid vnto the people: I am pure from the blood of all men; I haue kept backe nothing that was profitable, I haue hid nothing from you, but haue ſhewed you all the counſell of God. And ſo, where at this day ſome men there are, which ſay that this doctrine which is now preached vnto you, ſhall againe haue a change; that this religion ſhall be taken away and once againe altered, that it cannot long ſtand and continue: to ſuch we boldely anſwer heere as S. Paul to the Corinthians did; That it is but a ſmall matter for vs to be iudged of you, that we much force not what you iudge and deeme of vs. For we haue kept nothing backe from you, we haue diſcloſed vnto you all the counſel of God. But if ſuch change doth happen, if any alteration of our religion doth chance, as poſſible enough it is ſo to come to paſſe, yet is it not (good brethren) a thing to be reioiced at, it is not a thing whereat we ſhould triumph and be glad.

For oftentimes when God ſeth his benefits miſuſed, when he perceiueth his Goſpell little regarded, when he eſpieth his holy word neglected and nothing ſet by: then he pulleth from vs againe his benefits earſt beſtowed, then he taketh his word from out of the congregation, then he will not ſuffer the light of his holy goſpell any longer to ſhine vpon them. And this when he doth, he doth it only for our ſinfulneſſe, only for our own ſinnes and wretchedneſſe. For ſo in times paſt he ſaid by Oſe his Prophet: For the wickedneſſe of my people I will get me away, they ſhall not ſee me. So Chriſt himſelfe alſo ſaid: *Auferetur à vobis regnum Dei*: The kingdome of God ſhall be taken from you, and giuen to the heathen, which ſhall bring forth the fruits of it. Matth. 21. But alas, when Gods kingdom is taken away, in whoſe kingdome and dominion do the people then liue? when Gods Goſpell and his word is no longer preached, what learning, what doctrin, what diſcipline is there left to be taught? And this often times commeth to paſſe by meanes of our owne ſinne and wickedneſſe: that for the miſuſing of God and his goſpell, we neither haue Gods kingdome, nor his goſpell among vs. But then, alas, in what great miſery, in what wretchednеſſe, in what wofull caſe ſhall we ſtand! For if Gods kingdome be ſhut from vs, whither ſhall we flie? If the light of his goſpell be taken from vs, what light ſhall be left vs? If God will get him away from vs, who ſhall be our ſuccour? And therefore no man ought to reioice hereat, no man ought to be glad of ſuch a change. But though Gods kingdome be taken away from vs, though Gods goſpell be no more preached vnto vs, though God flie from vs, and will hide himſelfe away, yet is God and his goſpell nothing thereby altered; God is ſtill one, and the ſame God, his goſpell is the ſame goſpell that it was before, his kingdome continueth in one ſtay and eſtate, it is not changed nor altered. For, ſaith Chriſt: *Cœlum & terra tranſibunt, verbum autem meum non tranſibit*: Heauen and Earth ſhall periſh, but my word ſhall not periſh. Matth. 5. And againe: *Portæ inferorum non præualebunt aduerſum illud*: The gates of hell ſhall not preuaile againſt it. Matth. 16. And therefore S. Paul hauing one his ſide this word of God, which neuer changeth, but alwaies continueth one and the ſame: hauing, I ſay, this words of his, which ſhal neuer periſh, and againſt which the very gates of hel ſhal not prenaile, he was bold to appeale from the ſlanderous iudgement of the people and ſay; I paſſe not what you thinke of me, It is but a ſmall matter for me to be iudged of you, or of mans day, &c.

Good people you haue heard declared vnto you, and thereby you may well perceiue, that S. Paul notwithſtanding he was the ſeruant of God, an elect veſſel of the holie Ghoſt, and the cheifeſt Apoſtle of Chriſt; yet was euil ſpoken of and miſliked euen of the Chriſtians, and ſuch as profeſſed the name of God: notwithſtanding he was indeed the true ſeruant of God, the Miniſter of Chriſt, and a faithfull diſpenſer of the ſecrets of God, yet could not all men ſpeake wel of him, all men could not giue him a good report. And therefore to cauſe them to conceiue a better opinion of him, and report of him none other then he deſerued, he heere willeth them, that they ſhould firſt weigh wel and conſider his doings, they ſhould examine his doctrine, and the Goſpel that he had preached amongſt them: they ſhould marke wel and ſee whether he had beene a faithfull diſpenſer of the myſteries of Gods goſpell, and then ſo eſteeme him, as the Miniſter of Chriſt, and Steward of the ſecrets of God. And therefore, Iudge you nothing (ſaith he) before the time that the Lord come, which ſhall bring that to light which is hid in darkneſſe, and open the counſels of the hearts, and then ſhall euery one haue praiſe of God. And ſo in theſe daies, as Paul in his time was miſliked of many, ſo I ſay in theſe our daies the Miniſters of God, and Preachers of his goſpell, are euill ſpoken of amongſt all men: ſome ſay they are vn-

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learned, they know nothing, they are crafts men, they were neuer ſet to ſchoole. This they haue ſaid, and doe yet report of them. Some men ſay, they preach they cannot tell what, they ſpeake againſt praier, againſt faſting, againſt almes dæds, and all other good workes; they allow nothing that good is, they diſallow in maner al things. This you know hath bẽn ſpoken, and yet is reported of ſuch as now are miniſters in Gods Goſpel. But hereunto haue I none other thing to ſay, then that which S. Paul in this place writeth to the Corinthians: It is ſufficient for vs to be found the ſeruants of God, the miniſters of Chriſt, and faithfull diſpenſers of Gods ſecrets. In the meane ſeaſon do not you (good brethren) thinke euil of the preachers of Gods word, report not amiſſe of the miniſters of Chriſt, account not them your enemies, that bring vnto you the glad tidings of the Goſpel. When Paul came to Berea from Theſſalonica, and began there to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, the people ran to their bookes, ſearched the Scriptures, conferred his doctrine with the word of God: and when they found that in al points it agréd therewith, then they beléeued Paul, then they embraced his doctrine, then with willing hearts they clane to his diſcipline. And as they did, euen ſo let vs do, good brethren; let vs not iudge raſhly of Gods miniſters, let vs not ouer haſtily giue ſentence of them, let vs not report euil of Gods ſeruants: but let vs wel weigh and conſider what thing they teach vs: let vs examine and try their doctrine with the touch ſtone of Gods word: let vs conferre their preaching, their teaching, their diſcipline, with the Scriptures of the holy Ghoſt. And this when you haue done, then be you our Iudges; then if you ſée that we teach you nothing but the myſteries of God, if you perceiue that we only diſcloſe vnto you the wil of God, if you ſée that we preach vnto you none other thing then the ſecrets of Gods Goſpell, eſteeme vs to be the ſeruants of God, the miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of the ſecrets of God.

Acts. 17.

PSALME 67.

VERS. 3. Let the people praiſe thee, O God, let all the people praiſe thee:
4. O let the people reioice and be glad, that thou iudgeſt the folke righteouſly, and gouerneſt the Nations vpon the earth, &c.

AT what time the Iewes had grieuouſly offended God their Lord, forgotten their obedience towards him, and betaken themſelues to ſtrange gods, euery man wandring after his owne luſt and fancy; and thereupon God began to plague and puniſh them with ſundry and diuers plagues and with vnſeaſonable weather, ſo that their graſſe, their corne, their fruits, and what euer other commodities ſprang out of the earth, were all in great danger: then Dauid the Prophet, ſeing al theſe miſeries at once fal vpon the people, called them home againe, ſhewed them how they ſhould returne from their wickednes, and come vnto God. For God deſireth not our deſtruction, he is loth to worke reuengement vpon vs when we anger and diſpleaſe him: In what euer houre the ſinner ſhall returne from his ſinne, and come vnto me, ſaith the Lord; I ſhall be readie to receiue him. As for all his ſinnes that he did before, they ſhall not be thought vpon: but in his righteouſneſſe that he hath done he ſhall liue. In what euer time a man ſhal hold vp his hands, acknowledge Gods mercy, and be ſory for his offenſes from the bottome of his heart, God aſketh no more, he craueth no more at his hands, he is pleaſed only with his humble repentance. And therefore Dauid in the beginnig of this pſalme ſhewed the people how they ſhould in this wiſe come vnto God, and deſire mercy at his hands, ſaying: God be mercifull vnto vs, and bleſſe vs, and ſhew vs the light of his countenance, and bee mercifull vnto vs.

Eze. 18.

And now therefore, when Dauid perceiued that this grace of God, this mercy, this bleſſing of his was not giuen in vaine, was not fruſtrat and void, he cauſed all the people to ſay: Let the people praiſe thee O God, let all the people praiſe thee. This is a ſhort ſentence, but ſuch a ſentence it is, as ſhall endure and continue for euer. This is our profeſſion, this is our baptiſme, this is our religion: It is not ſufficient to know the Goſpell, to know God, to know Chriſt, but we muſt confeſſe the Goſpell, we muſt confeſſe God, we muſt confeſſe and acknowledge Chriſt. The Goſpell that Chriſt left vs, is not a ſong to delight our eares, it is not an harmony to content and pleaſe our hearing; but it is a ſquire to direct our lines by, it is a rule to frame all our doings by. S. Paul ſaith: To this end

Titus. 2.

hath

hath the grace of God, that bringeth ſaluation, appeared vnto vs, that we ſhould deny vngodlineſſe and worldly luſts: and that wee ſhould liue diſcreetly, righteouſly, and godly in this world. Therefore hath God giuen vs his goſpel, therefore hath hee giuen vs his word, that we ſhould according thereunto liue a ſober, a diſcréet, and modeſt life, ſaith he. And in another place: That we by the ſame Goſpel may ſerue and pleaſe him in newneſſe of life. And ſo Zachary that holy Father, being filled with the holy Ghoſt, ſaid: that wee Luke 1.
being deliuered out of the hands of our enemies, might ſerue him al the daies of our life, in ſuch holineſſe and righteouſneſſe, as is accepted before him. For like as our profeſſion is, ſo ſhould our liues be. If we profeſſe the name of Chriſt, wée ſhould liue like Chriſtians: if we profeſſe God, we ſhould liue as becommeth the ſeruants of God. Saint Iohn ſaith: For this purpoſe appeared the Sonne of God, to looſe the works of the Diuell: to this end, 1. Iohn 3.
that all ſinne and wickednes ſhould be left and forſaken. By this are the children of God knowne from the children of the Diuel. S. Paul in his Epiſtle to the Romans ſaith, before God they are not righteous which heare the Law, but they that doe the Law ſhall be iuſtified. God reckoneth no man iuſt for hearing of the Law, he accounteth no man righteous for knowing of his goſpel, but for the keeping of his Law, for the obſerning of his goſpel; though no man indeed be able thoroughly to fulfil and keepe the ſame. S. Iames alſo ſaith: See that yee be doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiuing your own ſelues. Iam. 1.
For if any heare the word and doe it not, he is like vnto a man that beholdeth his bodily face in a glaſſe: for as ſoone as he looketh on himſelfe, he goeth away and forgetteth immediately what his faſhion was. But whoſo looketh in the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein (if he be not a forgetfull hearer, but a doer of the worke) the ſame ſhal bee happy in his deed. If ye therefore heare the word of God preached vnto you, if you know the goſpel of Chriſt neuer ſo wel, if ye daily & hourely read and ſtudy the ſame: yet if you liue not according to the word of God, if you walke not after the goſpel of Chriſt, you do nothing elſe but deceiue your ſelues; you doe, I ſay, nought elſe but deceiue your owne ſelues. S. Iohn the Baptiſt when he preached and prepared the way of the Lord, he began with this leſſon; *Pœnitentiam agite:* Do you (ſaid he) the workes of repentance. For hereunto are we al called, not only to know Gods way, but alſo to walke in Gods way: not only to know God and his name, but alſo to confeſſe God and praiſe his holy name. Therefore doe we receiue Chriſts holy Sacraments, therefore are we baptiſed, therefore eat we the Sacrament of Chriſts body, and drinke his moſt holy blood. But O merciful God, how many are there that ſay they know Gods way, and yet walke not in that way! how many that ſay they know their faith and promiſe made in baptiſme, and yet forſake the ſame! how many that receiue the Sacrament of Chriſts body and blood, & yet continue in their old ſinne & wickednes! But God ſaith; God I ſay, that cannot lie, ſaith: *Qui manet in peccato non nouit me:* He that continueth in ſinne knoweth not mee. Ezechiel declaring 1. Iohn 2.
the folly of the people in his time, ſaith: O theſe come vnto thee after the maner of a great Ezech. 33.
people: yea my people ſit downe before thee, and heare thy words, but they doe not thereafter: For in their mouthes they ſhew themſelues as though they were feruent, but their heart goeth after their owne couetous lucre. They haue my word in their mouthes, they ſpeake euer of my name, ſaith God, but their hearts are farre from mée. And ſo likewiſe Iude the Apoſtle of Chriſt: *Veritatem Dei verterunt in luxum,* ſaith he: They haue turned Iude 1.
the truth of Gods word into riot: they are vngodly, and turne the grace of our God into wantonneſſe, and deny God. Paul complaining of the miſliuing of the people in his time, ſaid: Whereas they know God, they glorifie not God: Where they know his name, they Rom. 1.
glorifie not his name. Whoſoeuer he be that taketh vpon him to know Gods way, and walketh not in Gods way, whoſoeuer taketh vpon him to know God and his Goſpell, and directs not his doings according vnto Gods will and his holy commandements, hée doth not confeſſe God, and glorifie his holy name. Saint Paul found fault with the Iewes, and ſaid: For your ſake is the name of God euill ſpoken of among the Gentiles: for Rom. 2.
your ſake, for your euill and corrupt liuing, ſaid S. Paul.

God brethren, let vs conſider, that as many of vs as ſay, we know Gods way, wée know Gods word and his goſpell; if vertue follow not, if honeſt converſation and vpright liuing follow not this our profeſſion, wee ſhame God, and diſhonor his holy name. *Dicunt ſe noſſe Deum,* ſaith S. Paul, *ſed factis negant:* They ſay they know God, ſaith hée, Titus 1.
they ſay they know his holy word and goſpell, but in their deeds they deny God, they deny his Goſpell. An horrible thing it is to deny God. The Turkes, the Iewes, the Heathen, and Infidels, doe not deny God: and yet Saint Paul ſaid, that in his time Chriſtian men, ſuch as profeſſed the name of God, in their déeds denied God and his Goſpell. If thou ſay thou knoweſt God, if thou ſay thou knoweſt his Goſpell: if thou liue not as God commandeth thée, if thou liue not as it becommeth a profeſſor of Gods

Goſpel

Eſay 29. Goſpel, thou blaſphemeſt Gods name, and diſhonoreſt his Goſpell. *Ore ſuo appropinquant ad me*, ſaith God by his Prophet Eſay, *corda autem illorum longe abſunt a me*: This people draweth nigh vnto me with their mouthes, but their hearts are farre from me. They honor mee with their mouthes, but with their hearts they deny mee. And in another place
Pſal. 50. God by his Prophet Dauid ſaith: O thou man, why doſt thou preach my lawes, & takeſt my couenant in thy mouth? for with the ſinfull thou art ſinfull, with the theefe thou art a theefe, with the adulterer thou art an adulterer.

Therefore, if we haue the word of God as a ſong to delight our eares; if we turne the truth of Gods Goſpel into riot and wantonneſſe; if we confeſſe God with our lips, and deny him in our deeds; if we ſay we know Gods Law, we know his commandements, and yet liue not thereafter; we doe not praiſe God and confeſſe his name, but we ſhame God, and diſhonor his holy name: we cauſe the people to thinke euill of Gods word, and ſlander his goſpel. And this is the cauſe why the common ſort of people iudge, that not to be the goſpell, which is this day preached and taught vnto them; becauſe ſuch as profeſſe the goſpel, liue not after the goſpel; becauſe ſuch as ſay they know Gods way, walke not in Gods way. And thus through our own folly, through our owne euil and corrupt liuing, we offend our brethren, we offend our ſelues, and ſo in them offend Ieſus Chriſt: and their blod ſhalbe required at our hands. Let vs remember what God by the Prophet Eſai ſaith:
Eſay 30. *Hæc eſt vera via, ambulate in ea:* This is the true way, walke in the ſame. Chryſoſtome ſaith: If ye heare Gods word preached vnto you, and ye follow it not, ye learne, ſaith he, but your own damnatiõ, ye learn nought elſe but your own deſtruction: The words that you heare preached vnto you, ſhal accuſe and condemne you. God ſaith: Thou ſhalt not ſteale, thou
Exod. 20. ſhalt not commit adultery, thou ſhalt beare no falſe witneſſe, &c. Theſe words, this Law of God written vnto vs, ſhal accuſe, yea and condemne vs, I ſay, if we to our powers follow not the ſame, if we walk not and continue in them accordingly. Alas, them very age of the World, the profeſſion that we haue taken vpon vs, is, or ſhould be, enough to put vs in remembrance of another life, of another world to come. Let vs not take the name of God in vain, let vs al praiſe and extol God, let our mouthes, our hands, our hearts, and all other our members praiſe and confeſſe his name for euer. *Lætentur & exultent populi, &c.* O let the people reioyce and be glad, that thou iudgeſt the folk righteouſly, & gouerneſt the nations vpon the earth. Thy way, O Lord, is known, ſaid Dauid, thy way is known vpõ the earth, therfore let al people, al nations, yea, al the whole world reioyce and be glad thereat.

Diuers people ſet their mindes on diuers things: ſome in conqueſt, ſome in great power and force of men, ſome in heapes of money and treaſures of this world, ſome others, that they are able to make other men feare, and they feare nothing themſelues. But al theſe things are vaine, both conqueſt, power, and heapes of great treaſure are tranſitory and fade away: but the man of God, that dreadeth God, and hath a delight in his Law, ſetteth his ioy and delight in thoſe things which haue no end, but continue for euer. And therefore Dauid here ſaith; Let all the people reioyce and be glad, in this thing alone, becauſe thou iudgeſt the folke righteouſly, and gouerneſt the nations vpon the earth.

Let vs conſider if there were a whole Chriſtian Nation brought in captiuity vnder the Turke, in thraldome & ſubiection vnto him, in ſuch ſort that they ſhould neuer heare the Scriptures, neuer receiue the Sacraments, neuer come to the Church to pray, but alwaies be where God ſhould be deſpiſed, & his name diſhonored: conſider, I ſay, with your ſelues, in what miſery, in what wretchedneſſe, in what great thraldome ſhould they be. With what conſcience ſhould they be able to abide this? But if it would then pleaſe God to deliuer them ſtanding in this ſtate, if it would pleaſe God to reſtore vnto them his Scriptures, if it would pleaſe God that they might receiue againe his holy Sacraments, and might come and pray together: if God would thus much do for them, O what ioy, what triumph, what mirth would they make! Let vs therefore here conſider the eſtate of Gods
1. Reg. 5. Church before the time of the Prophet Dauid, and as it was in his time. Before the reigne of Dauid, the Tabernacle of God was broken, the Arke loſt, the Scriptures taken from them, the Prieſts ſlaine: God made them no anſwer by Prophet, Angel, nor by dreame: euery man ran whither himſelf beſt liked, without any feare of God, or dread of his Law: ſo had Saul that wicked king miſerably toſſed and turmoiled the ſame. But it pleaſed God, by the hands of King Dauid his Prophet, to reſtore againe his Church ſo ouerthrowne, to her former eſtate and condition: it pleaſed God by him to make vp the Taber-
2. Reg. 6. nacle againe, to find out the Arke that before was loſt, to ſet vp al other things in good ſtay and order: and this was as much, as if he had called them from death vnto life, from bondage to freedome, from Hel to Heauen. Therefore when all theſe things were thus reſtored again by the might and power of God, this Prophet Dauid comforted his heart, &
Pſal. 118. ſaid: *Hæc eſt dies quam fecit Dominus, lætemur & exultemus in ea:* This is a ioyful day which

the

the Lord hath made, let vs reioice and be glad therein. And so likewise in an other place; *Dominus regnauit, moueatur terra:* The Lord beareth the rule, the Lord is king, be the people neuer so vnpatient. Let the whole world conspire (saith he) let it be moued and doe what it can against God, for God ruleth and raigneth ouer all. Psal. 99.

Zachary when he sawe the comfortable time that should ensue the birth of Christ, he fell down and cried out, saying: *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia visitauit & fecit redemptionem plebis suæ:* Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people. Luke 1.

So Simeon that old and holy father, so sone as he beheld Christ, and had receiued his redeemer into his armes, by and by his heart brake out for ioy, and said; *Nunc dimittis seruum tuum Domine, secundùm verbum tuum in pace, &c.* Luke 2.
Now lettest thou thy seruant, O Lord, depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eies haue beholden thy saluation, mine eies haue seene thy Sauiour, whom thou hast prepared for al people.

Euen so in this place the Prophet Dauid considering the great mercy that God had shewed, the wonderous work that he had then wrought, and how that in his time al the whole people knew Gods way, he said: *Lætentur & exultent populi, &c.* Let the people reioice & be glad, yea let al the people reioice, because thou iudgest the folke righteously, and gouernest the nations vpon the earth. Now, good brethren, forasmuch as we haue here seen & considered the state of Gods Church before Dauids time, and the state whereunto it was restored againe in Dauids time: euen so let vs in like consider the state of Christs Church before our time, and the state and condition of the same in our own time, in those daies that wee our selues haue seene. Let vs consider how horrible darkenesse, what error and confusion hath of late time bin in the Church of God, let vs weigh and consider, I say, the deformity and great abuses that were in the same. For alas, we had the Sacraments, we had the holy Gospel & word of God; but we had them all in vain. Baptisme we had, but we knew not the principles of our faith. The Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ we had, but we vnderstood not why Christ left vs this Sacrament: we knew not why he said: Take eat, this is my body, &c. It is the greatest Sacrament, and yet we perceiued not what it meant. We had praiers, we had psalmes, we had supplications vnto God; and yet we vnderstood them not, we vnderstood no word of them. We worshipped things made with mens hands, images of blocks & stones, such as had eies & saw not, eares & heard not, neither had any breath in their mouthes: such things we worshipped, and this contrary to the expresse commandement of God. The Scriptures were rent, were torne, were troden vnder foot, were burnt before our eies. Wee groped our way in the midst of the day, as said the Prophet Ieremie. And as the same Prophet of his own time spak, saying: *Secundum numerũ ciuitatum tuarum sunt Dij tui:* According to the number of the cities, are thy Gods, O Iuda: so might we of our own time haue said. For loke how many cities we had, so many gods had we also. Euery borough, euery towne, yea, euery village, in a maner, had his proper & peculiar Saint. Ierem. 11.

It was then come to passe that Esay prophesied, saying: Hel hath opened her mouth maruellous wide. Hel hath gaped, saith he, because they haue no knowledge of God, because they haue no vnderstanding. Esai 5.

And so likewise Salomon: When Prophesie faileth, the people must needs be scattered. Pro. 29.

This is the word of God. The old father Toby, when God had stricken him with blindnesse, and so taken his sight from him and therefore his friends & acquaintance resorted vnto him to comfort him, and somewhat, if they might, ease him of his great griefe: Alas (said he) what comfort can I receiue that cannot see the light the Sun? Thus said he only because he could not behold the light of this world. Tob. 5.

Alas, what comfort then, what ioy, what consolation, could we haue, when God toke from vs the knowledge of his Gospel, the light of his word, yea the knowledge of God himselfe; when euery man ran whither himselfe best liked, & followed that way which pleased his own fansie? Therefore were we carried away, therefore were we led into error, therefore lost we the knowledge of God, because prophesie failed, because Gods word was not taught & preached vnto vs. But now it hath pleased God to reueale himselfe vnto vs; now we know what is what, now can we discerne light from darkenesse, good from bad; now we vnderstand & know this, I say: Now we haue the scriptures in our mother tongue, that euery man may read & vnderstand them: the same scriptures that Christ hath sealed with his own blood. And these scriptures Ieremy that old father calleth; The propof our faith. So Christ himselfe; *Illæ sunt quæ testimonium perhibent de me:* They beare witnesse of me, saith Christ, and they shall lead you into all truth. Hilary saith: The Scriptures are the squire and rule of our life. In the Scriptures, saith Christ, you shal find euerlasting life. And Paul writing vnto the Romans, saith: The Gospel of Christ is the power of God to saue al that beleeue thereon. The scriptures were written, saith he, that we thereby should know our saluation. Al these things God hath now restored vnto vs. Now are we able to know our profession, now are we able to know our religion, to know God, to know Christ, to know our saluation. Now haue we the vse of ỹ primitiue church, the communion vnder both kinds: now haue we praiers in our known tong, as in the Apostles time, as in ỹ Ioh. 5. Ioh. 5. Rom. 1.

Fathers and Doctors times they were vſed. Tertullian that old Doctor ſpeaking of his time; We come together (ſaith he) and heare the Scriptures read vnto vs. We may now doe, as S. Baſil writeth the people in his time did: *Sonus virorum, mulierum, & parvulorum, in orationibus clangorem edit, tanquam fluctus ferientes littora:* The ſound (ſaith he) of men, women, and children praying together, maketh a noiſe like the waues of the Sea beating on the ſhore. Thus ſaith that old Father, they did in his time, and thus may you now doe. Now may we ſay, as Athanaſius ſaid: If I be deceiued, thou haſt deceiued me, O Lod. For thy word is plaine, thy Goſpell is true, and therfore if we be now deceiued, it is thy word, it is thy Goſpel that deceiueth vs: God hath ſo plainly ſhewed vnto vs the light of his Goſpel, the knowledge of his word. Therfore haue we moſt iuſt cauſe to ſay with the Prophet Dauid: *Lætentur & exultent populi:* Let the people reioice and be glad. And therefore let vs not be vnkind, let vs not be vnthankefull; let vs ſay: Thou, O Lord, iudgeſt the folke righteouſly, and gouerneſt the Nations vpon the earth. Thou haſt now reſtored vnto vs our prayers in our known tongue, thy Sacraments as they were vſed in the Apoſtles time, in the Primitiue Church, in the old Fathers & Doctors times. And let vs ſay with Zachary that holy Father: *Benedictus Dominus Deus Iſrael:* Bleſſed is the Lord God of Iſrael. Let vs ſay with Dauid: *Hæc eſt dies, lætemur & exultemus in ea:* This is the ioifull day, let vs reioice and be glad therein. Let vs with Simeon the Prophet ſay: *Nunc dimittis ſeruum tuum Domine, ſecundùm verbum tuum in pace:* Now letteſt thou thy ſeruant, O Lord, depart in peace, according vnto thy word. Let vs ſay as the Prophet here ſaith: *Lætentur & exultent populi:* Let the people reioice and be glad, becauſe thou ruleſt the Nations vpon the earth. O let the people praiſe thee, O God, let all the people praiſe thee. And God euen our owne God giue vs his bleſſing, that the earth may bring foorth her increaſe. Thou haſt, O Lord, ſent vnto vs thy meaſure, thou haſt giuen vs thy ſquire, wherby to meaſure and rule our liues: thou haſt ſent, I ſay, vnto vs thy Goſpel, thy holy word, the light of thy derely beloued Son Ieſus Chriſt, whereby we may guide our ſelues, and direct our waies vpon the earth. And when we ſhall thus liue, when we ſhall once begin ſo to direct our doings, as Gods Goſpel teacheth, and his holy word commandeth vs: then ſhall the earth bring forth her increaſe, then ſhall ſhe yelde vs her fruit in due ſeaſon. For like as God, when we turn from him following our own luſts and deſires, plagueth and puniſheth vs; ſo when we repent and returne vnto him, he is good, he is louing, he is mercifull vnto vs. Ierem. 3. Turne vnto me, ſaith God by his Prophet Ieremy, and I will turne vnto you. Whenſoeuer a ſinner repenteth him of his ſins, Eze. 33. I will forget his iniquities, ſaith the Lord. It is the Lord that giueth vs fruit; it is the Lord that maketh the ground fertile; it is not the ground of it ſelfe that bringeth forth fruit; it is not the corne that fedeth vs; it is the bleſſing of God; the bleſſing, I ſay, of God alone. And therefore ſaid the Prophet Dauid: if thou, O Lord, wilt open thy hand, then all things ſhall Pſalm. 145. be filled with thy bleſſing. It is the Lord that maketh the Sun to ſhine, the Mone to giue light, the raine to fal on the earth. I am the Lord that doth this, ſaith God. Dauid alſo in his Pſalme: Pſalm. 144. *Sciant quòd manus tua fecit hæc:* Let them know, O Lord, ſaith he, that thy hand alone hath done theſe wonders. It is God, I ſay, that cauſeth the earth to be fruitfull, Pſal. 85. and bring forth increaſe; it is God that cauſeth the heauens to heare the earth, the earth to crie vnto the heauens. Your hearts ſhal be full of my bleſſing, ſaith the Lord. If we ſhal forſake our ſins, if we will leaue our wickednes, and turn vnto God, our hearts ſhal be ful of his bleſſing, and then ſhall the earth bring forth her encreaſe: the earth, this dead thing, this vnſenſible thing, this maſſe of clay, at Gods commandement, at his wil and pleaſure, it ſhal bring forth corne, it ſhal bring forth graſſe, and al other kinde of fruits, to ſerue them, that neuer thinke vpon him that beſtowed them. O that we were kinde, that we were not vnmindfull, that we would remember God! But alas, we are vnkind, we are vnmindful, wee neither thinke on God, nor his works: and therefore God cloſeth vp his hand, therefore he giueth not vnto vs his bleſſing, therefore is the earth barren and vnfruitfull. And this our own ſinnes cauſeth, this our own wickednes, and ſinfull liuing cauſeth. Oſe the Prophet vnto the people of Iſrael (when they had forſaken God their Lord, and therefore were grieuouſly puniſhed) cried out and ſaid: *Malum tuum ex te ô Iſrael:* Thy euill is come of thy ſelf Oſe. 13. O Iſrael. All this ſcarſity, all this dearth, all this plague commeth of thy ſelfe alone. Thou art, ſaith he, the cauſe, thou thy ſelfe art the cauſe hereof. And euen as they were the cauſe of their plague, ſo are we the only cauſe of all this our puniſhment: & yet we ſee not, nor know Gods anger. I haue ſtricken thee, ſaith God by his Prophet: and yet thou feeleſt not: and Eſa. 1. where ſhal I ſtrike thee once again? *Filios educaui:* ſaith God by his Prophets, I haue bred vp, I haue nouriſhed vp children, and they deſpiſe me, they ſet nought by me, they will not acknowledge me their father. Good brethren, let vs turne vnto God, let vs amend our ſinful liuing, let vs ſubmit our ſelues wholly to his mercy: ſo ſhall the earth bring forth her increaſe, ſo ſhal ſhe yeeld vs her fruit in due time and ſeaſon. Let vs conſider the dignity that

God

God hath giuen vs: he made vs in Paradise, he fashioned vs to his own likenesse, he breathed life into vs; and lastly, where we by the fall of our first parent Adam, were al adiudged to eternal death, he redeemed vs again by the blud of his dear son, & passion of our Sauior Iesus Christ. Behold these things, and be not vnthankfull. Let vs (good brethren) behold our selues, let vs behold our owne vocation, our own profession, let vs behold Christ our Sauior. We are the children of God, the brethren of Christ, & heirs of the euerlasting kingdom; we are Christian men, we profesle Gods gospell: let vs therefore remember that we must walke as becommeth the seruants of Christ, we must line like the professors of Gods holy gospell. Let vs remember how many waies God calleth vs, how diuerslie he allureth vs vnto him, by what sundry meanes he prouoketh vs to come vnto him. O thou proud soule, saith God by his prophet, thou earth & ashes, when wilt thou forsake thy sinful liuing & come vnto me? when wilt thou repent & turne vnto me? Alas, do we loke that the stone in the streets, the very stones vnder our feet should rise vp, and call vs to repentance? The heauens drop down teares for our sake, they weep and are sory for vs; and wilt not thou O man burst out in teares, & bewaile thy sinfull life? God loketh when we wil come, he watcheth when we will returne vnto him, he daily and hourely watcheth when we will submit our selues, and receiue his mercy. So louing, so good, so gratious a Lord is he. Why should you perish, saith Christ: Giue me thy heart, O thou man, and I am contented.

Let vs al therefore my brethren, let vs all returne vnto God, let vs al together come forth and confesse Gods holy name; let our hands, our mouthes, our hearts, praise and laud him for euer: let all the people reioice and be glad, that God iudgeth the folke righteously, and gouerneth the Nations vpon the earth. So shall the earth bring forth her increase, so shall the yeild vs her fruit in due season: so shal we be blessed in our houses, blessed in the fields, blessed in our commings in, and our goings out: so shall our corne, our cattell, our sheep, and oxen, be alwaies blessed: and so shall Gods blessing be vpon vs, and our children: and God euen our own God, shal bless vs, and remaine with vs for euer. Amen.

ROM 6.

VERS. 19. Like as ye haue giuen ouer your members to the seruice of vncleannesse, from one wickednesse to another: euen so now also giue ouer your members, to the seruice of righteousnesse, that ye may be holy, &c.

FOr the better vnderstanding of these words written by the Apostle S. Paul, we must consider that there be two Princes of contrary dispositions and natures, which haue the rule and gouernance of this world; that is to wit, God, and the Diuel; and that neuer was there man sithence the first foundation of the world; but was in subiection and vnder obedience either of the one, or of the other: And as God is the father of light; the God of all good men; so is the Diuel the father & prince of this world, the lord of darknesse, the king of this age, as saith S. Paul, and ruler of the wicked: And like as all good men fight vnder the banner of God their Lord, so all vngodly fight vnder the standard of the Diuel their Prince: and euen as the iust man hath his reward of God, so hath the wicked man his stipend of the Diuel. And thus be Infidels, Turkes, Iews, and al heathen people, vnder the power & dominion of the diuel, vnder the standard of Satan: and therefore are they not able to think any good, to conceiue one good thought, because they fight vnder his Banner, because they haue giuen ouer al their members to be ordered of the Diuell, without any feeling of good, without any feare of God. And thus, as I said, doe the Turkes, thus do the Infidels, thus doe all heathen people at this day, & so did the Iewes in the time of Paul; *In vmbra mortis ambulauerūt*, saith he, They walked in the shadow of death. But after that it pleased God the Father, by the comming of his dear Son Iesus Christ, to reueale himself vnto them, to open & declare his gospell among them, then began the people to renounce the Diuel, to forsake his Law and seruice, and to betake themselues wholly to the gouernance of God. And therefore S. Paul, the further to incourage them thereunto, willeth them in this Epistle of his. That like as before time they gaue ouer their mēbers to the seruice of vncleannesse, from one wickednesse to another, so should they now giue ouer the same their members, to the seruice of righteousnes. For, to this end was Christ borne into this world, to this end liued he here among vs, to this end preached he, and taught the people Gods holy word, that we by his example, and the doctrine of his gospel, should liue an vpright and holy life. And therefore Zachary, that holy Prophet, being filled with the holy ghost prophecied, and said, before Christs birth, that Christ should for this cause appeare in this world, That we being by him deliuered from the feare of our enemies, might serue him in purenes and holines all the daies of our life. And S. Paul likewise saith: Ye were darknes, but now ye are light; walke therefore as becommeth the children of light. Therefore are we deliuered from the power of darknesse, saith S. Paul, that we should walke in the light.

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Ephes. 6.

Psal. 107.

Ephe. 4.

Luke. 1.

Ephe. 5.

and haue no fellowship with the vnfruitfull workes of darknesse. And so in like, *Vocauit nos Deus, non ad immunditiem, sed ad sanctitatem*: God hath not called vs to vncleannesse, but to holinesse and sanctity of life. Thus hath he called vs, that we not only in body, but in soule, should be pure & vnspotted. And therfore S. Paul vnto the Romanes; Know you not, saith he, that al we which are baptized into Iesus Christ, are baptized into his death? Therfore are we buried with him by baptisme into death, that like as Christ was raised vp frō the dead, euen so also should we walke in a new life. And for this cause, this same Paul likewise saith: *Exhibete vos tanquam viua membra*: Shew your selues as quick and liuely members. And in another place: *Exhibete corpora vestra sacrificium sanctum & acceptatum Deo*: Giue ouer your bodies for a sacrifice holy & acceptable before God. And also: *Nescitis corpora vestra esse tẽpla Dei?* Know you not that ye are the temple of God, & that the spirit of God dwelleth in you? These and such other many lessons hath S. Paul giuen vs, to call vs vnto pureues & holines of life. Let vs therfore (good brethren) liue holily; consider that God hath not called you to vncleannes, but to purity of life; consider if ye be baptized with Christ into death, you must also walke with him in a new life: let our bodies be a sacrifice holy & acceptable vnto God: shew your selues liuely members of Christ, & the temple of the holy ghost. *Vocauit nos Deus*, saith S. Paul, *Vt viueremus sobrié*: God hath called vs, God hath appointed vs, to liue in sobernes, to liue in pureneſſe, to liue in holineſſe: and this not in one part of our bodies, not in one part of our soules, but in our whole bodies in our whole soules. For Christ our sauior suffered not his body to be crucified in one part; *Sed a planta pedis, vsq; ad summũ capitis*: But euen from the sole of the foot, to the crown of his head, was he beaten, rent, and torn, and miserably tormented in his whole Body. His body was scourged with whips, his head prickt with thornes, his hãds & fẽt nailed to the Crosse, his side pierced with a sharpe speare. For Christ speaking of himself, saith: *Foderunt manus meas, & pedes meos*: They haue digged my hands, & my feet, they haue made holes thorow them. And thus sithence Christ suffered al his whole body to be tormented for vs, sithence he suffered al his members to be crucified for our sakes; let vs apply our selues, and al our members to serue & please him in holinesse and vpright liuing al the daies of our liues. And therefore saith S. Paul here; Ye haue now betaken your selues vnto Christ; therfore let your conuersatiõ be according, liue as becommeth the seruants of Christ: For euen as before this time, ye gaue ouer your members to vncleannes frō one wickednesse to another, so now giue ouer your members to the seruice of righteousnesse. And such (good brethren) was the life of al Christian men, in the beginning of Gods Church: such was, I say, their life & liuing. They subdued their flesh, they mortified their members, and gaue them ouer wholly vnto Christ, and so made them members vnto righteousnesse. When Christ walked here on this earth, & was conuersant in our flesh, and this nature of ours; at what time he entred into the house of Zacheus, which was a Ruler of the Publicans, & desired to sée Iesus; by and by Zacheus was turned into a new man, and by and by he stood forth, and said vnto the Lord: Behold Lord, the halfe of my goods I giue vnto the poore; and if I haue defrauded any man, I restore him foure-fold. Thus was he only by the presence of Christ, turned into a new man; thus he of an vncircumcised Publican was made the child of Abraham, and of a sinfull & wretched creature, he became forthwith a Christian. And so in like, when Christ had but once called vnto Matthew, & bad him follow him, immediatly he left the Tol-gathering, he left the receit of the custome, he left his own proper gaine & profit, and ran after Christ. Of such force was the presence of Christ vnto Zacheus, of such power was the commandement of Christ, with Matthew the Tol-gatherer. S. Augustine a little before he returned vnto Christ, & imbraced his truth, he feared, he trembled, and alwaies stood in doubt: but so soone as Christ had once inspired him with his holy spirit, and reuealed his truth vnto him, forthwith without any further doubt or delay, he renounced his errors, and became a perfect Christian. There was once a Christian man, whose name was Eusebius, and being demanded what he was, answered, A Christian; being asked what countriman, said, A Christian: who was his father, a Christian: where he dwelt, A Christian: & so to ech other demand, he answered a Christian: as who would say, Whatsoeuer I be, I am nothing else but a Christian. In the beginning of Gods Church, all good men were called Christian men: and yet was it not one thing to be a Christian & a good man. The Christian men, for that they considered they were called to saluation, to redemption by the death of Christ, and to the inheritance of heauen, they had their delight & only felicity in heauenly things: they esteemed not the vain pleasures of this world: & because they thus carried Christ in their bodies, because they had their members crucified vnto Christ, therfore were they called Christians. And so should we do, (good brethren) so should we consider our redemption, so should we mortifie our members, and renouncing the vaine delights of this world, we should fix our eies, our minds, and al our doings on heauenly things alone. S. Cyprian saith, The people come to learne the Gospell.

Rom. 6.

Rom. 12.

1. Cor. 3.

1. Thess. 4.

Matth. 27.

Psal. 22.

Luke. 19.

Mat. 9.

to

to heare the word of God; and wherefore? that they might worke according vnto the Goſpell: that they might bring forth fruits worthy the word of God: that they may thus doe, therefore they heare Gods word, ſaith S. Cyprian. And thus if wee doe not, what euer wee brag of our redemption, what euer wee brag of our profeſſion, what euer wee boaſt of the knowledge of Gods Goſpel, it is to no end, it is not to effect or purpoſe. And therfore if we haue heeretofore time giuen ouer our members vnto vncleanneſſe, from one wickedneſſe vnto another, now let vs giue ouer the ſam our members vnto the ſeruice of righteouſnes. For, ſaith S. Paul, What profit, what fruit had ye at that time in thoſe things, wherof you are now aſhamed? for the end of ſuch things is death. It is the part of a wiſe man, and the office of a diſcreet man, in ſuch good order to diſpoſe all his buſineſſe, and to bring all his doings to ſo good end, that he take no foile, nor haue any ſhame therefore. Ye haue committed ſin (ſaith S. Paul) ye haue giuen ouer your members from one wickednes to another, and now ye be aſhamed, now are ye ſorry for thoſe your miſdoings: But what profit then had ye of thoſe things whereof you are now aſhamed? This is an horror, and the greateſt horror that may be, that no man can commit ſinne without a great burden of conſcience, without great torment & diſquietneſſe of mind. Iudas, when he had betraied his maſter Chriſt, by and by, his conſcience accuſed himſelfe, and was ſo great a burden vnto him, that to be deliuered & eaſed thereof, he went immediately and hanged himſelfe. When Cain had ſlaine his owne brother, and committed that execrable murther, God ſaid vnto him: Why doſt thou lowre? Such a thing is ſinne, that whoſoeuer committeth it, it wil forthwith appeare in his face, it will appeare & ſhew in his countenance. But happy is that man that ſoneſt commeth to repentance, happy is he that is ſoneſt ſorry for his ſinnes and miſdoings. Adam, ſo ſon as he had eaten of the forbidde fruit, and ſo tranſgreſſed the commandement of God, God called vnto him, and ſaid: Adam, *vbi es?* Where art thou? He anſwered: I am fled away, Lord, I hide my ſelfe. And why fled he away, why hid he himſelfe from the ſight of God? becauſe he was aſhamed. The prodigall ſon ſpoken of in the Goſpel, after he had riotouſly conſumed his whole ſubſtance, & ſo brought to extream pouerty, he returned again, came home to his father, fel down before his feet, and ſaid: O father, I haue ſinned againſt heauen and againſt thee. And why ſaid he thus? becauſe he was aſhamed. The people in the time of Daniel the Prophet, when they ſaw their own wickedneſſe, and repented them therof, cried out and ſaid: Shame is come vpon vs, ſhame and confuſion is this day fallen vpon vs. Dauid the Prophet, when he had by tyranny cauſed his faithful & truſty ſeruant Vrie to be ſlain, thereby to haue his pleaſure of Berſabee his wife, & after had ſeen his own folly, cried out vnto God, ſaying; *Miſerere mei, quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognoſco:* Haue mercy vpon me O Lord, becauſe I know mine iniquities. And why ſaid he thus? becauſe he was aſhamed. Ieremy: *Poſtquam oſtendiſti mihi peccata mea, erubui:* After thou hadſt, O Lord, ſhewed me mine offences, I was aſhamed (ſaid he.) Thus (good brethren) a wicked conſcience euermore beareth ſhame about with it, euermore carrieth a moſt heauy burden, euermore is prickt and tormented, & neuer at quiet. And though ſome men there be, ſo giuen ouer vnto ſinne, that they feele no ſhame in this life, that are not moued in their conſcience in this world, yet may they aſſure themſelues they ſhall feele bitter torments in the world to come, & eternall ſhame that neuer ſhal haue end, and if there be any that wil now ſay, as the people in the time of Daniel did; whatſoeuer we do, God will not looke vnto vs, he regardeth not our doings, whether we doe good or euill, God hath no reſpect vnto it; and ſo be nothing moued in their conſcience for their ſinful liuing: when they ſhall be caſt into vtter darkneſſe, where ſhal be weeping & gnaſhing of teeth, then ſhall their conſcience be moued with repentance, then ſhall they be aſhamed: but then all to late. Remember the glutton, the rich glutton (that in his life time had nothing but pleaſure, neuer felt aduerſity, nor neuer was prickt in conſcience for his miſliuing) after he fel into hel fire, was there tormented, & the worme of his conſcience began to gnaw him; then he cried out vnto Abraham, then he was aſhamed; but then was it too late. And thus ſhall the wicked people do at the laſt day; the wicked people (I ſay) that ſhall then be liuing and ſee the great terror of that day: They ſhal ſay vnto the hils, Fall vpon vs; vnto the mountaines, Come couer vs: then ſhall their own wicked conſcience accuſe them, then ſhall they be aſhamed; but then to late. Now (good brethren) what profit had all theſe of their own ſinfulneſſe, what profit & commodity had they of all their wickednes? What profit had Adam by tranſgreſſing the commandement of God? What profit had Cain for murdering of his brother? What profit wan the prodigal ſon by miſpending of his fathers goods? What profit had the people in the time of Daniel, for their miſliuing? What profit had Dauid by killing of Vrie? what profit had the rich glutton that liued in ſuch pleaſure? what profit (I ſay) had al theſe of their own wickednes? No profit, no commodity, no pleaſure at al but ſhame, nothing els but ſhame and confuſion. Euen ſo here S. Paul: What profit (ſaid he) had ye then of al thoſe things, of which ye are now aſhamed? It appeares wel ye haue gotten

Matt. 27.

Gen. 4.

Gen. 3.

Luke 15.

Dan. 9.

2. Reg. 11.

Pſal. 51.

Luke 16.

Luke 23.

nothing but diſpleaſure, nothing but ſhame and confuſion. For the end of ſuch things is death.

And this that is well ſpoken of honeſty of life, this that is well applied to honeſt conuerſation, may well be ſpoken and applied to religion. For it behoueth a man ſo to worſhip God, that he haue no ſhame, no confuſion therefore. But alas, from the beginning, euen from the firſt creation of man, there haue bene good, there haue ben bad: ſome there haue bene, that forſaking the liuing God, haue worſhipped their own deuiſes: ſome in ſtead of
Ierem. 8. God, haue worſhipped ſtocks and ſtones: ſome haue ſacrificed to the Sun and Mone, and made them their gods: and this hath been from the beginning. And therefore Ieremy wri-
Ierem. 44. teth, that the people in his time ſaid: *Ibimus & ſacrificabimus Lunæ Reginæ cœli:* We will do ſacrifice and offer oblations vnto the Queene of heauen: for ſo (ſaid they) our Fathers did,
Ierem. 2. and did proſper in their doings. Some ſaid vnto the ſtone, *Pater noſter es*; and to a ſtocke, *Deus noſter es, exurge adiuua nos.*

Bel. And this hath bene euen from the beginning. The Babilonians worſhipped Bel their god, which was but a blocke: they worſhipped alſo a Dragon, which they called their liuing god; and this did they in good ſooth. The Iewes made a golden Calfe, and fell downe
Exod. 32. before the ſame, and worſhipped it, and ſaid: *Iſti ſunt Dij tui:* Theſe are thy Gods, O Iſrael, theſe are they that brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and deliuered thee. We read alſo
2. Reg. 18. that they worſhipped a Brazen Serpent, and burnt incenſe and ſacrifice vnto it. And as they had theſe vaine Idols for their gods: ſo likewiſe had they a number of ſuperſtitious ceremonies of their owne deuiſing, which here were too long to be ſpoken of. And all this did they of blindneſſe, thinking they had done well, meaning nothing but good therein. But afterwards when it pleaſed God to ſhew them their owne blindneſſe, to ſhew them their folly, to ſhew them the wickedneſſe they walked in: then were they aſhamed of their doings; then (I ſay) they were aſhamed and confounded. And therefore ſaid Ieremy the Prophet: *Verè patres noſtri coluerunt mendacia:* truly our forefathers followed after lies. The Gentiles, when they perceiued that the Sun and Mone their chiefe gods, were indeed no gods, and able to do them no pleaſure, then they were aſhamed. When the people of Babylon ſaw and vnderſtood their owne folly in worſhipping their god Bel and their Dragon, and that they were not ſuch, as they tooke them to be; then were they aſhamed. And ſo in like, when the Iewes ſaw before their eies their golden Calfe molten, and their braſen Serpent broken and ground into powder, then were they aſhamed, then were they ſorry and aſhamed of their former doings. Thus ſaith the Prophet Eſai, or rather God by the
Eſai. 1. mouth of his Prophet: Why offer ye ſo many ſacrifices vnto me? offer me no moe oblations. I abhor your incenſe, I may not away with your new Moons and Sabbaths. I am troubled with them, I am weary of them; *Quis iſta requirit?* Who looketh for theſe things, who commandeth you ſo to doe? Eſay in an other place alſo; Why do ye lay out your mony for
Eſai. 55. the thing that feedeth not, and ſpend your labour about the thing that ſatiſfieth not? And ſo likewiſe in another place the ſame Prophet ſaith: They make my people forget my name,
Eſai. 59. for their owne traditions: He ſaith alſo: *Telas aranearum texunt:* They weaue the Spiders web; they do nothing els but breed the Cockatice egs and weaue the Spiders web, ſaith he.
Ierem. 2. And ſo Ieremy cried out, and ſaid: *Duo mala fecit populus meus, me dereliquerunt Dominum Deum ſuum, & foderunt ſibi ciſternas quæ aquas non poſſunt continere:* My people, ſaith God by his Prophet Ieremy, haue forſaken me their Lord & digged themſelues pits that can hold
Eſai. 1. no water. Eſay calleth mans inuention, *Sordes*, droſſe: Ieremy calleth it chaffe: Malachi, very mans dung: Zachary, Gods curſe. Chriſt himſelfe calleth it, *Fermentum Phariſæorum*, the
Ierem. 23. Malach. 1. leaueu of the Phariſies: He calleth it alſo, *Tenebras*, vtter darkeneſſe. Thus it pleaſed God to
Luke 12. deſcribe vnto vs mans inuention, to call it cobwebs, to cal it filth, to call it droſſe, & chaffe, mans dung, Gods curſe, the leuen of the Phariſies, and vtter darkeneſſe. And this doth he for none other purpoſe, then only to make his people aſhamed of their own inuentions, aſhamed of their owne deuiſes. Paul notwithſtanding he was a great learned man, ſkilful in
Acts 22. the lawes and cuſtomes amongſt the Iewes, brought vp at the feet of Gamaliel: yet when he knew Chriſt, when he was filled with the holy ghoſt, and imbraced Gods Goſpel, he was
Iohn. 20. aſhamed of all he had learned before, he was aſhamed of his owne ignorance. S. Thomas, who would not beleeue Chriſt to be riſen from death, when he felt Chriſts ſide, & had put his finger into his wound: then he was aſhamed, then he was ſorry for his vnbeleefe. The Iewes
Acts 2. when they perceiued their own folly and ignorance, ſaid: *Viri fratres, quid faciemus?* O men
Acts 19. and brethren, what ſhall we doe? The Epheſians, when S. Paul had preached vnto them, and they receiued the doctrin of Chriſt, by and by ſuch as vſed curious crafts, came and brought their bookes of inchantment, their books of witchcraft, & burnt them; caſt them into the fire & burnt them: ſo much were they aſhamed of their own folly. And ſo S. Paul: *Cum eſſem paruulus, ſentiebam vt paruulus:* When I was a child, I ſpake as a child, I vnderſtood as a child, I imagined
1. Cor. 13.

gined as a childe. But as soone as I was a man, I left all childishnesse. Now I am become a man, and therefore I am now ashamed of my childishnesse.

Thus might the Prophets haue said to the Gentils; What profit had you of your gods, the Sun and the Mone? what profit had you of them, whereof ye are now ashamed? So might Moses haue said to the children of Israel; What profit had ye in this golden calfe? So Ezechias; What profit had ye in this brasen Serpent, of which now ye are ashamed? Euen thus Esay might likewise haue said; What profit had ye in your calends, and new Mones, in your holy daies and sacrifices? And so either the Prophets might well haue said; What profit had ye in your dreames, in your spider cobbes, in your drosse, in your chaffe? what commodity had ye of all these things? Alas ye are now ashamed of them, and therefore ye had no profit of them, ye had no pleasure by them, they brought you no commodity, they brought you only shame and confusion.

Thus (good brethren) let weigh and consider, what profit wee had in times past of those things, of which we are now ashamed. And let vs consider how much we are beholden to God, that now may see and know our owne folly and ignorance, and so be ashamed. But herein, good brethren, there needs not many words: for there is no man so blind, but may well see, no man so deafe, but may well heare, no man so dull, but may well perceiue and vnderstand, the great errour, the great blindnesse, the great darknesse, that wee haue bene in. And therefore let vs all now giue God thanks that he hath restored his light vnto vs, and taken that great errour and darknesse from vs. Loth I am here to speake of those things whereof we may be ashamed: loth and sory I am to repeat that vnto you, whereof we are now ashamed: but this place now requireth the same, this time and place willeth me somewhat to speake thereof.

The time hath bene that we haue put our trust in Pardons, in Bulles of the Popes, in vaine scrolles, and writings of his; yea, & in them we haue had greater hope and affiance then in the death of Christ, or merits of his passion. We haue fallen downe before images, before stockes and stones, such as had eies, and saw not; eares, and heard not: before them we prayed, before them we kneeled, and stucke vp candles. But now we are ashamed of them; we all are, I think, now sory and ashamed of this our folly: but what profit had we then of all these things? Sometime we prayed in a strange tongue, in a tongue that we vnderstood not: we prayed contrary to the vse that was in the Patriarchs times, in the Prophets times, in the Apostles times: but then what profit had we of those prayes, whereof we are now ashamed? We haue seen lawful marriage forbidden, and mens lawful wiues taken from them: and yet the vse of a concubine granted; as though God were displeased with marriage, and pleased with whoredome: but what profit had ye then of that thing, of which ye now are ashamed? We had Baptisme, but we vnderstood not the principles of our faith: and euen as the Prophet spake of his time: *Qualis populus, talis Sacerdos*: The Priest is become like the people: so might we wel haue said of our own time; Blind were they both, and therefore both fell into the dike. This we are now ashamed of, but what profit had we then thereby? The Prophets (said Ieremy) teach falsly, and the Priests follow them, and my people hath pleasure therein. And lo, euen this same which the Prophet Ieremy said, the Priests and Prophets did in his time, we our selues haue seene done in our daies, and now weare ashamed thereof: but what profit had we then by it? We had the Sacrament of Christs body, but we knew not why Christ instituted the same, we knew not why Christ left vs that Sacrament; we did al things contrary to Christs institution. Christ ordained a Communion: but we had a Priuate Masse: Christ ordained, that the whole people should receiue in both kindes: but wee ministred it vnder one kinde alone: Christ, when he instituted this Sacrament, spake in thee common tongue that al might vnderstand him: but we contrary to Christ, contrary to the Apostles, contrary to the Primitiue Church, consecrated the same in an vnknowne tongue, that no man might vnderstand vs. And hereof are we now ashamed, but what profit had we then thereby? We haue knowne this to be taught, that the Bread in the Sacrament was turned into the very body and blood of Christ our Sauiour: this we all know, and doe yet remember. But Christ, when he said the Sacrament should be turned, meant not that the bread should be turned into his body, but that we which receiue the same should be turned; that we, I say, should be turned, and made one body with him. This was the meaning; this I say, was the meaning of our Sauiour Christ. And therefore Saint Paul: *Panis quem frangimus, participatio corporis & sanguinis Christi est*: The bread which we breake is the participation of the body and blood of Christ. For we many are one bread, and one body, in as much as we all are partakers of one bread. Christ himselfe said: I will drink no more of the liquor of the vine: Christ, I say, after the consecration, said he would not drinke any more of the liquor of the Vine: The blood of Christ is not Wine, it is not the liquor of the vine. Saint

Ose 4.

Ier. 5.

1. Cor. 10.

Math. 14.

Augustine

Augustine, *in Sermone ad Infantes*, saith plainly: *Quod videtis in mensa, panis est:* That which you see on the table, is bread. Theodoretus also: *Non mutatur substantia panis*: The substance & nature of the bread is not changed, saith he. Gelasius likewise, whom peraduenture yée will the more credit, because he was sometime Bishop of Rome, saith: *Non desinit esse substantia panis*: There leaueth not to be the substance of bread. *Natura panis in Sacramento remanet*: The nature of the bread remaineth in the Sacrament. Chrysostome also: *Non mutatur substantia panis*: The substance of the bread is not altered. I could say more, but this is for this time enough: this only I trust, amongst a number of other, shal be now sufficient to perswade you the truth herein. Yée see here that S. Augustine, Theodoretus, Gelasius, and Saint Chrysostome doe al affirme, and herein agree, that the substance or nature of the bread, after the consecration is not changed.

Let vs therefore, good brethren, notwithstanding we haue béene otherwise taught, let vs, I say, beléeue these holy Doctors, let vs credit them; they will not mocke vs, they wil not deceiue nor beguile vs. But this other doctrine, this doctrine of transubstantiation, was of late deuised, not past three hundred yeeres agos, in the councell of Laterane. And there, vpon this new deuice of theirs, they made a great solemne, and festiuall day, and called it, *Corpus Christi* day. And now we are ashamed of this: but then what commodity, what profit had we thereof? Wee found out of our selues a new sacrifice, the sacrifice (I meane) of the masse, as though the death of Christ had not beene a sacrifice sufficient, as though Christs blood had not once for al washed away our iniquities, as though Christ had not said, I haue paid the ransome for your sinnes. It were an infinite labour to repeat vnto you particularly, all the abuses of late daies vsed in the Church of Christ; you your selues can well remember them, I néed not héere to rehearse them vnto you. But then what profit had yée of all such things of which you are now ashamed? But some men there be peraduenture, that will not be ashamed of these abuses, but alwaies vphold and maintaine the same: and such, if there be any, they are like them, whom Ieremy
Ier. 3. prophesied of, saying: Thou hast taken an harlots countenance, thou hast gotten thee a whores forehead, and canst not be ashamed: they are like them also, whom Esay the Prophet speaketh of, and saith: Malice hath made you blind, you barke against the truth. This is the sinne that neuer will be forgiuen; this is so great an offence, that it will neuer bée pardoned. Therefore let vs, to whom God hath giuen eies to sée, eares to heare, and hearts of vnderstanding; let vs, I say, consider that it is no shame to confesse our errours, to acknowledge our blindnesse: but shame it is to continue in error, too much shame it is to remaine stil in blindnesse. And such as will not be ashamed of their euil, but laught at and scorne others, that are sorry and ashamed, may wel be likened vnto them, whom S. Paul
Eph. 4. writing to the Ephesians speaketh of, saying: They being past repentance, haue giuen themselues ouer vnto wantonnesse, to worke all maner of vncleannesse, euen with greedi-
Rom. 1. nesse. And such are giuen ouer, *In reprobum sensum*, into a leaud minde. Such Dauid the
Psal. 17. Prophet speaketh of, saying: They cast their eies downe to the ground. For such as wilfully offend, and wittingly cast away themselues, there is no saluation Paul saith: *Finis illorum mors est*:
Rom. 6. Their end is death, their end is onely destruction. This is the same that S.
Math. 12. Iohn speaketh of, which neither shall be forgiuen in this world, nor in the world to come. Wherefore were they cast into hell, that now lie therein? for what cause continue they in those endlesse torments? because they would not acknowledge their errours, because they would not be ashamed of their owne folly. Wherefore is there in hel, fire vnquenchable, torments such as cannot be thought, vtter darknesse, and eternal death; but only to punish such as wilfully liue in wickednesse, to plague them that wil not be ashamed of their sins
Mar. 9. and offences? They shal be cast into vtter darknesse, where shal be weeping and gnashing of teeth, into fire that neuer shall be quenched, where the worme of the conscience neuer
Psal. 15. dieth. If we delight in couetousnesse, in adultery, in fornication and filthy liuing, the end, let vs say, is death; the end thereof is none other then eternal death. *Quis habitat in tabernacule tuo?* said Dauid the Prophet: O Lord, who shal dwel in thy Tabernacle, saith he, or who shal rest vpon thy holy hill? Euen he that leadeth an vncorrupt life, that doth the thing which is right, and speaketh the truth from his heart: Hee that hath not sworne and deceiued his neighbour. But O merciful God, who walketh now innocently? Who leadeth an vncorrupt life? Who doth the thing that is right? Who speaketh truth from his heart? What man is there, that hath not sworne and deceiued his neighbour? Ieremy speaking of the people in his time, saith: *Confusi sunt, imo non sunt confusi*: They are ashamed, nay, they are not ashamed, saith Ieremy. And euen so may we of our daies well say: The people are not ashamed, they are nothing sorry nor ashamed of their euill liuing. These S.
Philip. 3. Paul speaketh of writing vnto the Philippians: I speake with teares, saith he, they are the enemies of Christs Crosse, their end is damnation, their glory shall be turned into shame.

And

And shall we then liue thus? shall we thus die? shall we thus end our liues? shall we thus appeare at the latter day, and not be ashamed? shall adulterers, fornicators, whoremongers, couetous persons, come and stand before the iudgement seat of God, before the throne of his maiesty, and not be ashamed? Is this the marriage garment that we should be clad with? are we those that are called to the feast by the Bridegroome? are we Christs brethren, and heires of the kingdome of God? No. *Non resurgent impij in iudicio*: The wicked shall not arise in iudgement, saith the Prophet Dauid; the vngodly shall not be able to stand in the iudgement, neither the sinners, in the congregation of the righteous. Psal. 1. Woe be vnto them that run from God with a desperate minde, woe be vnto them that wilfully forsake, and flie from him. S. Gregory saith: One sinne linketh another, as one linke of a chaine holdeth the other. It is an horrible thing to turne from God, it is a terrible thing to flie from him: for if we turne from God, whither shall we goe? if we flie from him, whither shall we run? *Conscientia mille testes*; our owne conscience, though we hide our selues neuer so close, shall be as a thousand witnesses against vs; our own conscience shall vtter and bewray vs. Saint Augustine saith: If we do not indeed repent, we faine that we doe repent: we only faine, saith he, that we do repent, and so we mocke with God. But God will not be mocked of vs, he will not be deluded by vs. But we shal be ashamed and confounded, when we appeare before God; when we appeare, I say, before the iudgement seat of God. But then what profit shall we haue of that we are ashamed of? what commodity shall we then haue of that whereof we are ashamed? Let vs consider, that we are flesh of Gods flesh, bones of his bones, and members of his members. And therefore let vs giue ouer our whole bodies, let vs giue ouer all our members, let vs giue ouer our eies, our eares, our tongues, our hearts, vnto the homage and seruice of God. So shal wee haue profit of Christ our Sauiour, so shall we haue profit of his death and passion, and so shall Christ say vnto vs: Come ye blessed of my Father, and inherit the kingdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Amen.

PSALME 7.

VERS. 11. God is a righteous Iudge, and God is euer threatning.

12. If men will not turne, he hath whet his sword, he hath bent his bow, and made it ready.

13. He hath prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrowes to destroy.

ALmighty God our heauenly Father, like as he is both good, and also mercifull, like as he is patient, and of long sufferance: So he vseth two maner of waies to allure and cal vs vnto him, when we of our owne heads follow our owne deuices, and leaudly run whither our lusts lead vs: Sometimes of his great mercy he vseth promises; sometimes of his iustice he vseth threatning. He promiseth to vs for our well doing, his fauour and grace; for keeping his commandements, eternal blisse. He threatneth vs for euil liuing, with plagues and punishments: and for breaking of his Law, eternal death. Thus he of his mercy sometimes vseth promises, and threatneth againe of his rigour and iustice. He promiseth to comfort, aid, and succour vs, if we come vnto him: and he threatneth to strike the terror of death into vs, if we turne from him. And so almighty God most mercifully vsed his promises vnto Abraham: *Ego sum protector tuus & merces tua*: I am (said he) thy defender and thy reward, *Ego benedicam benedicentibus tibi, & maledicam maledicentibus tibi*: I will blesse them that blesse thee, and curse them that curse thee. So ample, so large, so great a promise made God vnto him. And thus almighty God when he would deliuer his elect people, the children of Israell from their great bondage and captiuity: *Inducam te in terram fluentem lacte & melle*: I will bring you into a land that shall flow with milk & hony. This wil I perform, this wil I bring to passe for you, & this wil I do for my names sake. And likewise to these his people he made this mercifull promise against their enemies saying: Ye shal chase your enemies, & they shal fal into the sword before you; fiue of you shal chase an hundred, & a hundred of you shal chase ten thousand. Thus also God by his Prophets promised his people, and said: Turne vnto me, and I wil turne vnto you. And euen thus likewise Christ in the Gospel, maketh most cleere and manifest promises of euerlasting life and saluation, to all such as for his names shal forsake the pleasures Gen. 12. Deut. 11. Leuit. 26. Zach. 1.

sures and delights of this World, and repose their felicity only in him. *Beati pauperes spiritu, beati qui lugent, beati qui esuriunt, beati qui persequutionem ferunt*: Blessed are the poore in spirit: blessed are they that mourn, blessed are they that hunger & thirst, blessed are they that suffer persecution. And why so? For what cause are they blessed that are poore in spirit? For what cause are they blessed that mourn? Why are they happy that hunger? What reward shall they haue that suffer persecutiō? Because (saith Christ) theirs is the kingdome of heauen, they shall be comforted, they shall be filled, they shall obraine a crown of glory. When two or three are gathered together in my name (saith Christ) I will be in the middest of them. Whatsoeuer ye shall aske my father in my name, it shall be giuen vnto you. These manifold & great promises it pleased almighty God to make vnto his chosen & elect people: these cōfortable promises Christ himself vouchsafed to pronounce to al such as shal cleaue vnto him: thus mercifully it pleased God by faire promises to allure and win vs vnto him. But often times alas, we set little or nothing by these swēt and comfortable promises, we little esteeme or regard them: and therefore God then vseth his threatning, his rigor and iustice among vs: when no swēt words can win vs, then he striketh his terror into vs. For when God in old time perceiued that no gentlenesse, no kindnesse, no mercy of his could win his people vnto him, he caused Esay his Prophet to crie out and say; *Impium in beneficijs me non agnouit; in angustijs autem clamauit ad me.* The wicked and sinfull man (saith he) in my great goodnesse and benefits bestowed vpon him, would not acknowledge nor confesse me; but in his misery or trouble, in his anguish and woe, then he ran vnto mee and called on my name.

And so likewise by the Prophet Ieremie God himselfe saith; *Conuerterunt ad me terga, non facies suas: in die autem tribulationis inclamant me:* They haue turned their backes, and not their faces vnto me: but in the day of their trouble, in the time of necessity they call and crie vpon me. And so in like the same Prophet Ieremie, or rather God by this Prophet, saith: *Impinguatus & in crassatus est populus meus*: My people are waxen fat and lusty, they haue forsaken me the well of life and digged themselues pits, yea vile and broken pits that can hold no water. Such a thing is the felicity and pleasure of this world, that maketh vs soone to forget God, and the felicity of the world to come. And therefore God so often warned his people of Israel, that when they were once come into the land of Canaan, into that plentiful country which flowed with milke and hony, wherein should be no dearth nor scarcenesse: that then they should not forget the Lord their God, that then their hearts should not be deceiued, that then they should not goe aside, and serue other gods; and so his wrath and indignation ware hote vpon them. And therefore when faire promises and louing kindnesse, cannot win vs to God, then vseth he another way, then doth he appoint another meane, then beginneth he to threaten and feare vs, and that of his rigour and iustice. And thus did he to our first father Adam: because he would not he should transgresse his commandement, he threatned him, and said; *In quocunque die comederis ex hoc fructu, mortem morieris*: In what euer day thou shalt taste of this fruit, thou shalt die the death. So likewise God to the whole multitude of his people of Israel said: Vnlesse yee giue eare to the voice of the Lord your God, to do all his commandements & ordinances, cursed shall you be in the towne, and cursed in the field, cursed shall thy basket be and thy store, cursed shall be the fruit of thy body & the fruit of thy land, cursed shalt thou be in thy comming in, and in thy going out. You shal call, and I will not heare; you shal cry vnto me, & I will not giue eare. *Dabo vobis cælum æneum, & terram ferream*: The heauen shall be brasse, and the earth as Iron; the heauens shal giue you no raine, the earth shall bring you forth no fruit, your trauel & labour shal be lost, your land shal not giue her increase. Thus almighty God threatned his elect and chosen people, and al to keepe them in awe and feare of him. And so in another place he saith; I will set my face against you, and ye shall be slaine before your enemies, & they that hate you shal haue dominion ouer you, & ye shal flie whē no man chaseth you. Thus you see, that it pleaseth almighty God oftentimes to vse these & such like words of threatning, to vse such rigor, to beat a terror into his people, when faire promises and swēt words can do nothing: and this doth he of his great iustice. And therefore Dauid in this place: God is indeed, saith he, a rightfull Iudge, and God is euer threatning. If men will not turne, he hath whet his sword, and hath bent his bow, and made it ready: he hath prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrowes to destroy. So mighty, so omnipotent is God, that he can punish, and so righteous a Iudge is he, that hee wil punish when it best pleaseth him. But some man wil here peraduenture say; If God be thus able to punish, and wil indeed punish when he is offended, why then doth he it not by and by, why is he not reuenged out of hand? Because (saith the Prophet) he is mercifull, patient, and of long sufferance. Therefore he proceedeth not to reuenge his anger, therefore he hasteth not to wreake himselfe on vs, so soone as wee offend him, and transgresse his

will:

will: but tarieth, and maketh long delaies to ſee whether we will repent and returne vnto him. But yet (ſaith Dauid) forasmuch as he is abuſed, for as much as ye haue left and forſaken him, notwithſtanding he be mercifull, notwithſtanding he be patient and of long ſufferance, He hath now whet his ſword, he hath bent his bow, and made it ready, hee hath prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrowes to deſtroy: and this will he doe out of hand, he will make no longer delay at all. Here muſt we not fancy, that God will ſtrike vs with a ſword of iron, that he hath a bow bent and arrowes to deſtroy withall: for euery creature on the earth, what euer it bee, bee it neuer ſo vile, neuer ſo ſimple, neuer ſo weake and abiect, is able at Gods commandement to bee an inſtrument to plague and puniſh withall. And therefore conſider what is ſo weake as water, ſo ſimple as flies, ſo vile as lice and frogs: and yet it pleaſed almighty God, by theſe weake, by theſe ſimple, by theſe vile things, to puniſh and ſtrike the Egyptians; yea, and ſo much thereby to plague them, that neuer before they felt the like, neuer earſt they heard of the like puniſhment. It pleaſed God to turne their water into blod, ſo that in the whole country no water could be found to drinke, no liquor of water to refreſh their bodies. This was a great plague, and yet was this wrought by want of water, which was but a weak and ſimple creature. A flie, you know, is a ſimple thing, a thing of little ſtrength and no force: yet God ſo increaſed the number of them, he ſent ſuch a multitude of flies among the Egyptians, that euen in the kings houſe they ſet vpō what euer the king eat or drank, fell vpon his meat, fell into his drinke, and ſo putrified and corrupted the ſame. The Lice wherewith God in like plagued them, fell not onely vpon the king, and his people, but vpon their Shæpe, their Oxen, their Aſſes, their Horſes, their Mules, and their whole heards of Cattell, what euer they were. The Frogs entred into their houſes, into the kings Palace, into his hall, his parlor, his chamber, yea, and into his bed alſo. Thus it pleaſed God to vſe againſt the Egyptians theſe ſimple, theſe baſe, and vile creatures, as his rod, as his ſcourge, as his ſword of puniſhment. Euery creature, euery thing, whether it hath life, or no life, when it pleaſeth God to vſe it, is his ſword, is his rod to ſtrike withall. The fire that fell from heauen, and deſtroied the two famous Cities, Sodom and Gomorra, and the whole Region there about, was none other then the ſword of God. Therefore ſaith the Prophet Dauid: The ſpirits of tempeſts doe his will, the thunder and lightnings fulfill his commandement. And ſo the ſame Prophet, here in this place: now hath God begun to ſtrike; Now hath hee whet his ſword, and bent his bow, ſaith he, now hath he prepared his arrowes to deſtroy: and there is no way now to eſcape his vengeance, no way to auoid his puniſhment, but onely this, to turne vnto him, to run and ſubmit your ſelues wholly to him.

Exod. 7.

Exod. 8.

Gen. 19.

Pſal. 104.

These words Dauid the Prophet (being perſecuted of his enemies, and beſet round about of them) ſpake vnto Saul the proud king, and his adherents and ſouldiers: putting them in remembrance how they had prouoked and iuſtly deſerued the vengeance of God, for perſecuting of his innocent ſoule. And euen as this Prophet Dauid ſpake and pronounced theſe words vnto Saul, & his wicked company to reduce vnto their memory the power of God, and the puniſhment that then hanged ouer their heads: So may we likewiſe well vſe the ſame in theſe our daies, firſt to bring vs in remembrance, that God is a righteous Iudge; and then to conſider how we daily prouoke and deſerue his iuſt wrath, and ſo at the leaſt for feare of puniſhment, to be ſorry for our miſdæds, and returne vnto him: for if we will not be conuerted, he hath whet his ſword, hee hath bent his bow, prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrowes to deſtroy. But before we come vnto God (good brethren) before we returne vnto him, we muſt one come vnto another; wee muſt one turne to another: before we be reconciled to Chriſt, we muſt be reconciled vnto our neighbour; before we be at one with God, we muſt be at one with our Chriſtian Brother. This is the order that God liketh we ſhould obſerue, this is that rule which Chriſt commanded vs to kæpe. *Remitte, & remittetur tibi:* Forgiue, and thou ſhalt bee forgiuen. *Si remiſeris alijs peccata ſua, tua remittentur tibi:* If thou ſhalt forgiue other men their offences towards thee, then ſhall thy ſinnes alſo be forgiuen: Then ſhall God pardon thée thine offences, when thou ſhalt pardon thy Brother that he hath offended thée; then, I ſay, ſhall God forgiue thée, and not before. And againe: *Niſi remiſeritis alijs peccata ſua, veſtra non remittentur vobis:* Vnleſſe ye forgiue other men their treſpaſſes, your owne ſinnes ſhall not be releaſed, ſaith Chriſt. Remember (good Brethren) remember and marke well theſe words; Chriſt is the authour; Chriſt is the ſpeaker; Chriſt is the commander hereof. And ſo Chriſt our Sauiour in another place of his Goſpell: When thou offereſt thy gift at the Altar, ſaith he, and there remembreſt that thy brother hath ought againſt thee; leaue there thine offering before the Altar, and go thy way firſt and reconcile thy ſelfe to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. God is contented his honor be deferred; he is contented

Luk. 6. Math. 18.

Math. 5.

Math. 5.

to

to tarry for his sacrifice, till thou art agreed with thy brother, till thou art at one with him. And when thou hast thus done, then come and there offer thy sacrifice. This is the ground of the attonement betwæn God and vs, this is the token that Christ is reconciled vnto vs, if we be at one with our neighbour, if we be reconciled to our Christian brother.

1. Ioh. 4. For if we shall hate our brethren whom we see, if we shall be at debate with our neighbors being daily conuersant with vs; how can we loue God, whom we see not: how can we agree with Christ, with whom we are not conuersant? But to declare further vnto you, that God accepteth not our Sacrifices, that he regardeth not our petitions, that he is not pleased with our praiers, vnlesse we be at one and pleased with our brethren; he crieth out by

Esay 1. Esay his Prophet, and saith: *Cum clamabitis ad me, ego non exaudiam vos, quia manus vestræ plenæ sanguinis sunt*: When you shall call vpon me, I will not heare you: though yee make many praiers, yet heare I nothing at all, saith God. And wherefore? Because your hands

Gen 4. are full of bloud. It is written in Genesis, that God would not looke vpon Cain and his offring, that he would haue no regard to his Sacrifice: And wherefore? Because his heart was full of malice. Salomon saith: *Precatio iniusti abominabilis est*: The praier of the wicked is abominable, the sinfull mans praier is abominable in the sight of God. Dauid also:

Psal. 109. Let their praiers be as a sinne: let their praier be turned into sinne, saith he. O miserable man thou art, if thou be not in charity: wretched and ful sinfull thou art, if thou be not in loue and vnity, thy praier is abominable, yea, thy praier is no praier, thy praier is sinne. Thou praiest to be forgiuen, but thou thy self wilt not forgiue: this is enough to condemn thee. For our religion is none other but a brotherhod knit together in the loue of God; our profession is none other then charity and brotherly loue towards all men in our Sauiour and Redeemer Iesus Christ. God is the God of loue, Christ is the Prince of peace,

1. Ioh. 4. his Gospel is the Gospell of peace; and we that are Gods seruants, ought to liue in godly loue: we that are Christs brethen, ought to liue in brotherly peace. We are all baptized in one water, whereby we should haue in remembrance, that we should in loue liue as one together. These, and such other are, or may be, sufficient to bring vs in remembrance of brotherly loue, of faithfull amity, and vnfained concord, if we of our selues were not

Ioh. 14. Ioh. 13. forgetfull. O how oft said Christ to his Disciples, *Pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis*: I giue you my peace, my peace I leaue vnto you? By this cognisance and none other shall men know you to be my Disciples, saith Christ, if ye loue together, if yee haue loue one to an other. He saith also: A new commandement giue I you, that you loue together, as I haue loued you. What a zealous fire, what an earnest loue had Christ

Ioh. 17. when he praied and said: O Father, cause that these be one, as thou and I are one, that like as thou Father art in mee, and I in thee, that they also may be one in vs? Because ye be few, said Christ to his Disciples, and in the middest of your enemies, line you in concord and peace one with an other, one beare with another, and all you hold together. S. Paul saith:

Rom. 13. That he which loueth his brother, hath fulfilled the whole law. Let not the Sunne go down
Eph. 4. on thy wrath, saith Paul. And againe: Reuenge not, but giue place vnto displeasure; wreke
Rom. 12. not your selues, but giue rome to the wrath of God. Dauid, when he was in most extreme persecution, and his enemies laid daily wait for his life, seeking his destruction, euen then fel he to most earnest praier: he sought not to bee reuenged, but he made his praier vnto

Psal. 108. God and said, O Lord, they speake euil of me, they reuile me, they call me Traitor, they cal me al that naught is; but I haue none other help, but to pray vnto thee, my only succor is to flie vnto thee. Thus did that holy Prophet Dauid, and so did the Christians in the beginning of Christs Church. For, Tertullian, an old and holy father, saith: *Fratres se appellabant, & mori voluerunt pro inuicem*: They called themselues brethren, saith he, & one would not stick to die for an other. O what a charity, what a loue, what a brotherly affectiō was this among Christians, in the beginning of Gods Church! S. Steuen, when he was stoned, all his bones crusht and burst in peces, and his soule ready to leaue his body, euen then he

Act. 7. praied for his Tormentors, euen then he cried out vnto God, and said: *O Domine, ne statuas illis peccatum hoc*: Lord, lay not this sinne to their charge. So that holy father Nazianzen, when the hangman that most cruelly had tormented him, desired pardon of him, he meekely answered: *Qui mihi ignouit, ignoscat tibi*: He that hath forgiuen mee, the same forgiue thee: God hath pardoned me, and I beseech him that he will in like pardon thee. Euen so likewise Christ, when he hanged on the Crosse, when his hands and feet were nailed to the tree, and he in the middest of all his woe, euen then he praied for his persecutors, then he desired his father to pardon them, and said: *O Pater, ignosce illis; nesciunt enim*

Luk 23. *quid faciunt*: Father, forgiue them, for they wot not what they doe. This is an example for vs to follow, thus ought we to doe, as in the beginning of Christs Church, the Christians did, who called themselues Brethren, and one would die for an other: Thus ought we to say, as S. Steuen said; Lord, lay not this sinne to their charge: thus should we doe,

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as that holy father Nazianzene did, and say: He that hath forgiuen me, the same forgiue thée.

And lastly, so ought we to pray for our enemies, as Christ did for his persecutors, & say, Father forgiue it them, they wot not what they doe. Thus ought we to doe, if we minde to liue according to our profession, and if we will be Christians, as we are called Christians. We read, written by S. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, that in the beginning and first Acts 4.
spring of Gods Church, the whole congregation had one thought, one minde, one heart. Such a loue, such a charity, such a Christian conformity was among them. And in commendation of Christian charity, and brotherly loue one with another, the Prophet Dauid
said: *O quàm bonum, & quàm iocundum, habitare fratres in vnum!* Behold how good and Psalm. 133.
ioifull a thing it is, brethren to dwell together in vnity! He estéemed loue to bée so great a iewell, he thought concord and vnity a thing of so great price, that he could not speake to much good of it. And therefore he said: It was like the ointment that ran vnto Aarons beard, and like the dew of Hermon which fell vpon the hill of Sion, where the Lord promised his blessing, and life for euermore. But O mercifull God! vnto what times hast thou reserued vs? where is now the peace giuen, the loue left by our Sauiour Iesus Christ? where is that charity that should alwaies remaine among Christians? Now is the time, euen now, (good Brethren) are the daies come, which Christ himselfe prophesied should come, say- Matth. 24.
ing: The time shall bee, that iniquity shall haue the vpper hand, and the loue of many shall abate. Christ said, that such a time should come, and euen now, euen now, that time and 2. Tim. 3.
season is come vpon vs. So likewise Saint Paul the Apostle of Christ said: In the last daies there shall come perillous times: *Erunt homines seipsos amantes*: There shall be men which shall loue themselues, couetous, boasters, proud, cursed speakers, and such as shall bee des- Ose 4.
pisers of them that are good. Osee the Prophet saith: *Non est veritas in terra*: There is no truth, no faithfulnesse in the whole world: there is no mercy, no knowledge of God in the land: but swearing, lying, manslaughter, theft, and adultery. Ieremy also the Prophet of God: *Frater venabitur fratrem ad mortem*, saith he; One brother shall hunt and persecute Ierem. 9.
another vnto death: no man may safely trust his owne Brother, for one brother undermineth another, and on neighbour beguileth another. And all this do we now sée; we, I say, in these our daies doe sée and behold all this. Wee sée now that which Nazianzene that old holy Father speaketh of: *Membra Christi pugnant inter se*: The members of Christ are at strife and variance among themselues, saith he, and euen those members that Christ died for; those members, I say, that Christs blood redéemed, those members we now see at debate and fighting together. I speake but in generality, I speake not now in particularity; I doe not heere repeate to your memories our particular offences, and great crimes, which to consider would cause any honest heart to be sorry, yea, which to remember would enforce the stony heart to bléed. I doe not now rehearse vnto you by name any such our offences. O rip vp your consciences, descend into your owne hearts, sée whether iniquity doth not abound, sée whether there be not in these our daies, men, such as are louers of themselues: sée whether there be any truth, any fidelity vpon the earth: sée whether one brother doth not hunt and persecute another vnto death: and lastly, sée whether the verie members of Christ are not now at debate and fighting together. Dauid when he considered the great oppression, tyranny, and persecution vsed against the faithfull, in his time, cried out and said: *Serua me Deus, quia defecit sanctus*: O saue mee Lord, for there is not Psal. 12.
one Saint more, very few faithfull are there among the children of men: Euery man telleth lies to his neighbour, they doe but flatter with their lips, and dissemble in their heart. Ieremy the Prophet, when he saw the whole multitude of the people in his daies forsake God, and run after their owne affections, euery man whither his lust led him, he cried out and said: Ierem. 9.
Quis capiti meo dabit aquam, & oculis meis fontem aquarum! O who will giue my head water enough, and a well of teares for mine eies, that I may bewaile the iniquity of this people! And euen like as Dauid in his time, so may the iust man say now: *Serua me Deus, quoniam defecit sanctus*: O Lord helpe, because there is no holy man left. Like as Ieremy, so may the vertuous bewaile now the wickednesse of these our daies, and say: O who shall powre water into my head, and giue a fountaine of teares vnto mine eies, that I may bewaile the wickednesse of this people. O Christ, where is now thy new commandement? where is now thy cognisance, thy badge whereby thy seruants are knowne? where is that peace which thou leftest to thy Disciples? where is now that one heart, that one minde, that one thought, that was in the congregation in the beginning of thy Church? But what néed I to speake, what néed I to say any thing, if they would heare thée, Lord, if they would heare thy word and Gospell? O Lord, where is thy strength become? where is that power, that force of thy word, which was able to diuide the marrow from the bone? What Heb. 4.
is now become of that maruellous might of thy word? Thy word, O Lord, is one,

thy Gospell is the selfe same and one; but the hearts of men, the hearts of thy people are not one. But this commeth to passe for my sins; this I sée wel is wrought by thée, O Lord, for mine owne sinnes and offences: for other prize men preach thy Gospell, other prize men do teach & instruct thy people with thy holy word, and by and by the people mourne, by and by they are sorry for their sinnes, they repent them of their wickednesse, and turne vnto thée. And I speake as they doe, I preach the same Gospell, the same word of thine as they doe; and yet I doe sée no amendment, I do not sée any one won vnto thée through my teaching. And therefore my sinne is the cause, mine owne sinne and nothing else is the cause hereof: thou hast not thought me a man worthy, by whom any one lost sheepe should be conuerted, and brought home vnto thée. But O thou my Brother, that heere standest like an Idoll, thou hast eies to sée, and eares to heare: séest thou not that God hath his sword whet, his bow bent, his arrowes ready to destroy: heerest thou not how he calleth thee to repentance. Thou dost sée, and heare this, and yet thou increasest sinne vpon sinne, and so heapest vp anger and displeasure against the day of wrath. I call God to witnesse, I haue vttered vnto you Gods truth, I haue preached among you his holy Gospell, I haue reuealed vnto you his diuine word, so that none of you all can excuse your selues by ignorance. But take you héed to your selues, take good héed, I say, my brethren, and marke well what S. Paul saith:

Hebr. 10. *Peccantes post acceptam gratiam, destituti sunt omni misericordia:* They which wilfully sinne after they haue once receiued the knowledge of the truth, are destitute of all mercy: there remaineth vnto them no more sacrifice for their sinnes, but a fearefull looking of iudgement, and violent fire, which shall consume the aduersaries. And this is it that the Apostle saith, to be cast into a reprobate sense. This is the sinne that S. Iohn maketh mention of, saying, *Est peccatum in spiritum sanctum:* there is a sinne against the holy Ghost, which shall neuer bee forgiuen in this world nor in the world to come. And for this great sinne, for this horrible wickednesse, good people, God hath drawne out his sword, for this cause hath he bent his bow, and prepared his arrowes to destroy.

Therefore (good brethren) let vs lay aside all contention, al strife, and debate, and let vs looke vp vnto heauen, let vs cast our eies thither, where is no rancor, no discord, no strife, no debate: let vs fix our eies, our hearts, and our whole minds on Iesus Christ; on him, I say, who hanging on the Crosse, prayd for his persecutors, and said: O father forgiue them, they wot not what they doe. Let vs imagine that we now behold him, and that he now spreadeth out his armes vnto vs, and saith, O thou sinfull man that slumbrest in thy sins, and slépest in thine own wickednesse, awake, now is it time for thée to awake out of thy slumber, to arise from thy heauy slépe: remember thou art a Christian man, consider thou art a limbe of my limbes, a member of my body, the child of God, and coheire of my fathers kingdome. You children of men, how long will ye dwell in your old wickednesse? How long will yee liue in hatred one with an other? How long will ye continue in rancor and strife? Shall I so forgiue you as you forgiue your neighbours? shal I so pardon you your sins, as you pardon your brethren their offences? O I forgaue thée thy great debt, and wilt not thou forgiue thy brother that little, wherein he hath offended thée? I haue paid his debt, I haue paid the ransome for his trespasse, if my blood be a sufficient ransom for the same: for that bloods sake of mine forgiue him; if nought else wil moue thée, if thou wilt not for his own sake, yet for my sake pardon him. Good brethren, we haue long enough serued the diuel, the prince of this world; let vs now serue God our maker, and Christ our redéemer. Wee haue long enough, yea too long, continued in rancor and malice one with an other: let vs now therefore, if there be any society betwéen God and vs, if there be in vs any loue of Christ, if there be any feare of Gods wreake and vengeance, let vs one forgiue another: let euery man forgiue his Christian brother, let vs all cast aside all rancor, strife, and debate, and so let vs dwell together in vnity, in brotherly loue, and concord.

This day we haue heard Gods Gospel preached vnto vs, this day we haue learned out of the word of God, that if we be Christians, we should liue like Christians, if we be the children of God, we should liue as becommeth the children of God, without enuy, without hatred, without strife or malice. Let vs therefore now leaue off our old contention & strife, let vs euen héere in this place one forgiue an other, and so be reconciled one vnto another, and say; *Remitte nobis debita nostra, sicut & nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris:* O Lord forgiue vs our sins, as we forgiue them that trespasse against vs. This is our profession, this is our religion, hereunto are we called of God, appointed by Christ, & commanded by his holy word. Let vs consider our white & hoare haires, let vs behold our riueled skin, let vs haue alwaies before our eies the graue whereunto wee are créeping: Let vs consider that death daily hangeth ouer our heads. And shall wée then in this sort liue out the rest of our yeeres? Shall wee thus die, and come to our graues? Let vs shew our selues in our workes to be the children of God, and the brethren of Christ: let vs not shew our selues Christians

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in name, and not indeed: let vs not lone in word alone, but in deed and verity: let vs not requite euill with euill, one mischiefe with another; but let vs (according vnto S. Pauls rule) Ouercome euill with good, hatred with loue, and so fulfill the Law of God. So shall Rom. 12. God hold backe his sword, though already drawen; so shall he not smite vs, though he hath bent his bow, prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrowes to destroy. But God shall continue our God, and remaine with vs for euer. Amen.

Lvke 10.

Vers. 23. And he turned him to his disciples, and said: Blessed are the eies which see that ye see.

24. For I say vnto you, many Prophets and Kings would haue seen the thing that ye see, and haue not seen them, and haue heard the things that ye heare, and haue not heard them.

OVr Sauiour Christ, before he began to declare & set forth the will of his Father, before he began to preach abroad the high mysteries of our redemption, the glad tidings of mans saluation, sent abroad into the world a many of disciples, to the number of three score & ten, to the end that they should espie out and see the stay of the people, how they would accept his doctrine, & first to giue them this warning, and say; *Pœnitentiam agite, appropinquat enim regnum cœlorum*: Repent your selues, for the kingdome of heauen is at hand. These disciples of Christ, after they had in al points accomplished their masters commission, & fulfilled his commãdemẽt, returned again vnto Christ, & shewed him the maruels that they had wrought in his name, reioicing much therat, & especially for that Diuels departed from men possessed, & were driuen out by them; The very Diuels (said they) are subdued vnto vs in thy name. But when Christ heard them thus say, and perceiued that they reioiced therat, he turned to his Disciples, he pulled them from this vaine fancy, and said; I saw Satan fall downe from heauen as lightning. Behold, I haue giuen you power to tread vpon Serpents, to goe ouer Scorpions, ouer all venemous and noisome beasts; they shall be subiect, and obedient vnto you, & they shall not hurt you. But reioice not in this, reioice not that you shall haue power ouer Serpents, that you shall be able to tread vpon Scorpions, and all other venemous beasts, and be nothing therewith annoied: but reioice you in this, that your names are written in the book of life. Put away (said Christ) this vain glory that you haue conceiued, this fond fancy wherin ye reioice, and reioice ye only in this, that your names are written in heauen: and that you know God, and his Son, whom he hath sent into the world. For no man knoweth the Son, Matth. 11. but the Father: neither knoweth any man the Father, saue the Son, and he to whom the Son will open it. This is your felicity, this is your ioy, and no man but you, hath this great ioy and felicity. And therefore blessed are the eies which see, that ye see. This heauenly felicity, this maruellous blisse, that Christ in this place spake of to his Disciples, was prophesied and long time before spoken of, euen at the first beginning of the world: for at what time Adam had transgressed Gods commandement, and so fallen from the ioies of Paradice; God himselfe, to put Adam in some comfort againe, pronounced these words against the wicked Serpent, that had wrought him that woe, and said: *Ipsum conteret caput tuum*: The Gen. 3. seed of the woman shall tread downe thy head: he, he it is that shal breake downe and destroy the power of the diuell, said God vnto Adam. This promise (I say) euen at the beginning of the world was made by God vnto Adam, and so continued to the time of Christ: for afterward this same promise declared God likewise, to many a good and godly man. He said vnto Abraham: *In semine tuo benedicentur omnes fines terræ*: In thy seed (said God) in Gen. 22. that seed of thine shall all the Nations of the earth be blessed. To Dauid also God declared likewise this promise, & said: *De semine tuo ponam super solium tuum*: Of the fruit of thy body shall I set vpon thy seat. And so in the time of Esay his prophet, God continued this promise, & said: *Ecce virgo concipiet & pariet filium cuius nomen erit Emmanuel*: Behold, a virgin Esay 7. shal conceiue & bring forth a Son, whose name shal be Emmanuel, that is, God amongst vs. And hereunto witnessed al the Patriarchs and Prophets, euen from the first beginning of the world, vnto the time of the cõming of our Sauior Iesus Christ. And therfore because the whole scriptures, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, spake thus plainly of Christ, & declared his cõming, Christ said: *Scrutamini, Scripturas illæ enim testimonium perhibent de me*: Search Iohn 5. you the scriptures, for they do beare witnes of me. Likewise again to the Scribes & Pharisies he said; *Si Moysi crederetis, & mihi*: If ye beleeued Moses, ye would beleeue me, Iohn 5.

for Moses also hath written of me; he hath told you of me, saith Christ, and therefore if you beleeued him, ye would also beleeue me. And thus all the whole body of the Scriptures bare record of the comming of Christ: the Patriarchs knew long before that Christ should be borne: the Prophets prophesied of his comming into the world. But when Christ should be borne, when his glorious comming should appeare, that neither the Scriptures declared, neither the holy Patriarchs knew, nor the Prophets were able to shew. And therefore said Christ: *Abraham voluit videre diem meum:* Abraham would faine haue seen my day, and he saw it, and therefore he reioiced. But how did Abraham see it? with bodily eies? no, but in faith, and because he was in faith able to see it, therefore he reioiced. What then if he had with his eies seene Christ, if he had talked with him, if he might haue touched and imbraced Christ: what ioy would he haue made? how would he haue reioiced and been glad? No doubt, as the birth of Christ was most acceptable and welcome to al good men in that time, so was his comming much longed for of the holy Patriarkes and Prophets before time: for they well knew that his time should be a time most acceptable, that then all things should be in quietnesse, vnity and concord in euery place, peace thorow the whole world. And therefore said Esay the Prophet: *Et vocabitur princeps pacis*: He shall be called the Prince of peace. And to declare this more plainly, the same Prophet saith: Then shall the Wolfe dwell with the Lamb, the Leopard shall lie downe by the Goat: Bullocks, Lyons, and cattell shall keep company together; the Cow & the Beare shal lie together: and there shall be no crying, no wailing, no noise heard in the streets. And therefore this Prophet Esay in another place, considering the great ioy, the great felicity that Christ should bring into the world, when he should be borne, cried out and said: *Disrumpe cœlos & descende:* O Lord, said hee, breake the heauens and come downe. And so another Prophet in like sorte seeing this great felicity that should ensue the birth of Christ, said: *Quis vivet, & videbit hæc?* O who shall liue to enioy this maruellous felicity? When Christ was come into this world, though then not borne, but in his mothers wombe, Iohn the Baptist being a babe, and in his mothers belly also, yet at the Maiesty of his Lord, and at the presence of Christ, he sprang for ioy, and leapt in his mothers wombe. So likewise at the birth of Christ, for ioy that the Angels in heauen conceiued therat, they sang: *Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terra pax hominibus:* Glory be to God one high, and in earth peace vnto men. After that time when Simeon that holy Prophet had in spirit perceiued the true Messias, and Sauior of the world to be borne, and had receiued Christ into his armes, he cried out and said: *Nunc dimittis seruum tuum Domine, secundùm verbum tuum in pace:* Now letteſt thou thy seruant depart in peace, according to thy word: Now, euen now that this light is prouided before the face of the whole world, that so long hath been loked for, now that light is appeared which shall be the light of the Gentiles: Now, O Lord, said he, let thy seruant depart in peace, I haue liued long enough to see thy saluation.

Iohn 8.

Esai. 9.

Esay 11.

Esay 46.

Luke 1.

Luke 2.

Luke 2.

Thus, good brethren, all the scriptures thorowout, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, shewed long before vnto vs, the ioy and felicity that should come vpon the whole world, at such time as Christ should be borne. And therefore to confirme all this that they before had prophesied of him, Christ here said vnto his Disciples: Blessed are the eies which see, that ye see. Blessed are your eies, said Christ, for your eies haue seen Gods promises performed: that promise which he made to Adam, saying: The seed of the woman shall breake the head of the serpent: Your eies haue seen that promise made vnto Abraham: The seed wherein all nations shall be blessed: That promise also your eies haue seen performed, which God made vnto Dauid, saying: Of the fruit of thy body will I set vpon thy seat: You haue seen, and do now see that Emmanuell, of whom Esay prophesied: You, I say, haue seen that thing, whereunto all the Patriarchs, al the Prophets, & the whole body of the scriptures do beare witnesse: You do see and behold him, whom Abraham would gladly haue seen: You see him, whom Esay calleth the Prince of peace: him, in regard of whom the Prophet cried out and said: O who shall liue to see this great ioy! You see him, at whose presence S. Iohn the baptist being in his mothers womb, sprang & leapt vp for ioy: him, at whose birth the very Angels in heauen sang, *Gloria in excelsis:* him, whom Simeon pronounced to be the Sauior of the world. All this, said Christ, you see, you my Disciples: your eies do see all this, and therefore blessed are your eies, happy and blessed are the eies that see which ye see. In the beginning, saith S. Paul, God spake diuersly, and by sundry meanes vnto his people, somtimes by dreams, somtimes by reuelation, somtimes by Prophecies, somtimes by Angels, & somtimes by his own voice: but now in these daies he hath sent amongst vs his own sonne; by him, saith he, God hath declared his will vnto vs clerely and plainly, euen by the mouth of his own sonne. When S. Iohn the Baptist baptized Christ in the riuer of Iordan, it pleased God the Father to crie from heauen, and say: *Hic est meus filius dilectus, ipsum audite:* This is my beloued Sonne, heare him: hearken vnto his voice, giue eare vnto his doctrine:

Heb. 1.

Luke 23.

for

for he it is to whom both the law and the Prophets haue their respect. And S. Paul saith: *Mysterium absconditum à seculis, nunc autem reuelatur per Iesum Christum*: the mystery, that high mystery of mans saluation, that hath been so many hundred yeeres hid, is now reuealed by Christ our Sauiour: so long it hath bæn hidden, saith S. Paul, and now it is opened and shewed vnto the whole world by Christ. Therefore blessed are your eies, said Christ, yea, blessed are the eies which see that yee sæ; for your bodily eies sæ that which the Angels did lacke, you sæ that which the Patriarchs and the Prophets neuer saw: you, said Christ, you my Disciples are blessed that sæ me, that heare my Gospel and beleæue the same; and therefore blessed are your eies, and the eies which sæ that you see. For otherwise the Scribes saw Christ as the Apostles did, the Pharisies saw him as the Apostles did, and yet were they alwaies Scribes and Pharisies, that is, such as withstood Christ, and gainsaid his doctrine: Caiaphas saw Christ as the Apostles did, and yet he rent his clothes, and said, that Christ was a blasphemer. Pilate saw Christ as the Apostles did, and yet he gaue iudgement against Christ. Iudas saw Christ as the rest of his fellowes the Apostles saw him, and yet he betraied Christ. The Souldiers, and such as hung Christ on the Crosse, saw Christ as the Apostles did, yet were they wicked men, and did put Christ vnto death. Shall we then say, that these mens eies were blessed: that the eies of the Scribes and Pharisis were blessed: that Caiaphas eies, Pilates eies, Iudas eies were blessed: shall we say, that the souldiers eies, and the eies of them that put Christ vnto death, were blessed, because they saw Christ, and beheld his body? O good brethren, these men saw Christ, and yet saw him not: they saw him with their bodily eies, and yet they knew him not: they saw him as the Asse, the Wolfe, and the dog saw him: they saw him as the diuel saw him, and said: *Tu es filius Dei*: Thou art the son of God. Thus they saw Christ as touching the body: but they saw him not as the Apostles saw him: they saw him as a man, but not as the son of God: they saw him as the son of a Carpenter, for so they said he was, but they saw him not as the Apostles saw him, to be the very son of God: they saw Christ as a miserable man, but the Apostles saw him as the Sauior of the world. And therefore Peter was bold to say: *Tu es Christus, filius Dei viui*: Thou art Christ, the son of the liuing God. And again he was inabled to say: *Tu habes verbum salutis*: Thou hast the words of life. Thus the Apostles saw Christ, and beleæued him to be the redæmer of the World, and therefore Christ said vnto them: Blessed are your eies, and the eies which see that you see. For I say vnto you, many Kings and Prophets would faine haue seene the things that you see, and could not see them.

Luke 8.

This promise, good brethren, of the birth of Christ, and his comming into the world, to redæme mankind, was made long before, yea, it was promised by God the father, euen in the first beginning of the world, as I haue already declared vnto you. And therefore in hope of the performance of this promise, many a godly man did put his affiance in Christ, and long before his comming had a fixed trust in the merits of his passion. The Patriarchs, the Prophes, and all such as liued vnder the old law, had the same Law and Testament that we now haue, they had the same doctrine, the same faith, the same prayer, the same Sacraments that we now haue: we drinke of Christ, and so the Iewes drank of Christ. *Bibebant de petra, petra autem erat Christus*: They dranke of the rocke, saith S. Paul, and the rock they dranke of was Christ. They were circumcised, and so are we: for, saith S. Paul, We are so are circumcised, but with circumcision without hands: We are circumcised, but we are circumcised in heart by the power of the holy Ghost. The Patriarchs and the Prophets knew well, and beleæued, that by Christ they should be redeemed, that by his onely blood, shed on the Crosse, all the world should be saued: but thus they knew, this the saw, only by faith, and in spirit, for then was not Christ borne: we haue the Lamb of God offered vp for vs, and so had they the same Lamb offered vp for them. For S. Iohn saith: *Agnus occisus a principio mundi*: Christ was the Lamb offered vp from the beginning of the world. And now therefore, forasmuch as the Patriarchs, the Prophets, and the holy men in old time, had the same testament, the same doctrine, the same faith, the same prayer, the same Sacraments that we haue: forasmuch as they drank of Christ as wee doe: forasmuch as they were circumcised, and so are we: forasmuch as they did beleæue that they should bee saued by the death of Christ, as we do; shall we thinke that they were not blessed: that their eies were not as happy as ours: that they saw not as much as we doe? Shall we thinke, that Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Ioseph, & diuers others such good men, lackt any part of their felicity? Or if they were blessed, why said Christ only to his Apostles: Blessed are the eies which see that ye see? When our Sauior Christ said thus, blessed are your eies, & the eies which see that ye sæ, he meant not any peculiar blessing giuen vnto them alone, but he signified the blessing of that time: as if he should haue said, Blessed is this time, blessed are the daies that you sæ. For there is in times & seasons a great difference & diuersity. Some on time is blessed, another is accursed. The time of the wicked king Manasses, wherin the testament & law of God

Luke 4. Matth. 13. Matth. 16. John 6. 1. Cor. 10. Coloss. 2. Apocal. 13. 1. Pet. 1. 4. Reg. 21.

was burnt, Baals altars reedified, and Idols ſet vp, was a miſerable time: this time I ſay,
4. Reg. 23. of Manaſſes raigne, was an accurſed time. But the time of Ioſias, wherein the law of God was reſtored again, Baal caſt out of the Temple, the Idols pulled downe, and al good orders againe ſet vp in their former eſtate, was a bleſſed time, a time moſt happy: and bleſſed was he that liued to ſée that time. So likewiſe the time of the birth of Chriſt was a bleſſed time, and the time of Antichriſt a time accurſed. And therefore Chriſt oftentimes wept o-
Luk. 19. uer Ieruſalem and ſaid: O Ieruſalem, Ieruſalem, thou that killeſt my Prophets, and ſtoneſt them that are ſent vnto thee: O that thou kneweſt the time of thy viſitation! O that thine eies would once ſée, thine eares heare, and ſo thou wouldeſt know when God hath ſent his ſon
Rom. 13. vnto thee! S. Paul ſaith: *Nunc tempus eſt nobis à ſomnis ſurgere:* Now is the houre for vs to ariſe from ſleepe. *Nox præceſſit, dies autem illuxit:* The night is paſt, and the day now beginneth
1. Cor. 6. to ſhine: and therefore in concluſion he ſaith: *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile:* Behold now is the acceptable time, behold now is the time of ſaluation. Theſe were bleſſed times, theſe
Iohn 12. were acceptable times, that Chriſt our Sauior and S. Paul ſpake of: *Dum habetis lucem, ambulate in luce:* Whiles you haue light, walke in the light, ſaith Chriſt: receiue the light, and ſo ſhall you be the children of light. And ſo that time was a bleſſed time: becauſe Chriſt was borne in that time, becauſe the force and power of the diuell was by Chriſt then deſtroied, becauſe the dominion and kingdome of ſatan was then throwen down, therefore was it a bleſſed time. But as touching the bleſſing of the men in times long before, men were as bleſſed as they were then: Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, Ioſeph, and ſuch other, were as bleſſed as the Apoſtles. They had the ſame Chriſt, the ſame Sauior and redéemer that the Apoſtles
Hebr. 15. had. For ſaith S. Paul; *Ieſus Chriſtus, heri, hodie, & ſemper:* Chriſt, is for yeſterday, this day, and for euer. One Chriſt ſerued for all the world. Otherwiſe moſt miſerable were we, and in moſt wretched condition were all ſuch as either now liue, or haue liued ſithence the time of Chriſt, for we neuer ſaw Chriſt in the fleſh, we neuer beheld his body, we were neuer conuerſant with him on the earth. But Chriſt hath told vs by S. Thomas: *Beati qui non vi-*
Iohn 20. *dent & credunt:* bleſſed are they that beleeue and haue not ſeen: bleſſed are they that ſée not, and yet beleeue. Theſe things be for our great comfort. For although we neuer ſaw Chriſt with our eies, though he was neuer conuerſant with vs, as he was with his Apoſtles, yet haue we through him the ſame ſaluation that the Apoſtles had, we haue him our redéemer and Sauior as they had him.

Now let vs compare this ſaying of Chriſt vnto our ſelues and our time: let vs ſée whether this that Chriſt then ſpake to his diſciples, may not be ſpoken of vs, and our time. For thus ought wee to read Gods word, to this ende wee ſhould read the Scriptures of God. Now therefore good brethren, let vs conſider well, and ſée whether the Church of God hath not béene ſo diſordered before our time, yea, and in our time, that we may now well ſay, Bleſſed are our eies, and the eies which ſée that we ſée: for many good and godly man would faine haue ſéene that we ſee, and could not ſée it. I will bée ſhort, I will not long trouble you in this thing, I will not vſe many words vnto you herein. The errors that haue béene taught and preached in the Church of Chriſt, haue béen (good brethren) ſo groſſe, that ſuch as could not ſée them with their eies, might haue felt them euen with their fingers: ſo horrible and ſo groſſe were the errors in the Church: ſo were all things confounded, and ſcarſely the forme of the Church left vnto vs. But that this ſhould ſo come to paſſe, Chriſt himſelfe, S. Paul, S. Peter, and Daniel the Prophet, long time before gaue warning to the world, and propheſied it ſhould ſo be. And euen as they ſpake, ſo hath it come to paſſe; looke what they ſaid, the ſame haue we ſéene fulfilled. For Chriſt himſelfe o-
Mat. 24. penly ſhewed that the time ſhould come, That deſolation ſhould ſtand in the holy place. And again he ſaid: When the ſonne of man ſhall come to iudge the earth, thinke you that hee ſhall find any faith vpon the earth? As if he ſhould haue ſaid; When hee ſhall come to iudge, there ſhall be no faith on the earth, no fidelity and truſt among men; ſo ſhall all things be confounded and no faith ſhall be found. S. Paul likewiſe ſaith: The time ſhall bee,
2. Theſſ. 2. that Antichriſt ſhall neſtle himſelfe in the Temple of God, in the conſciences of men, in the place of Chriſt, and ſhal be exalted aboue al that is called God, or Gods ſeruice. And he ſaith
2. Tim. 4. further: *Erit tempus cum ſanam doctrinam aſſpernentur:* The daies ſhall come, when men ſhall deſpiſe and caſt away all holeſome doctrine: the time ſhall be (ſaith he) that they ſhall not ſuffer this Goſpel that I haue preached, theſe Epiſtles, and letters which I haue ſent vnto you: But they ſhall turne their eares from the truth, and ſhall be giuen vnto fables. This S.
2. Pet. 2. Paul aforehand told vs, & indeed we haue found his tale moſt true. S. Peter alſo ſaith: *Erunt magiſtri mendaciorum:* There ſhall come Preachers and teachers of lies: there ſhal come falſe teachers, which priuily ſhal bring in damnable ſects. Daniel likewiſe that Prophet of God, long before the comming of Chriſt, propheſied & ſaid, Antichriſt ſhal come, there ſhall be an
Dan. 9. abominable deſolation in the temple: it ſhal be deſtroied all, and the truth ſhal be caſt flat to

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the ground. Now, good brethren, consider wel with your selues, where should this desolation be, which Christ spake of? Amongst whom shal so smal faith be found? Where should Antichrist nestle himselfe? Where should good doctrine be despised? Where should there be preachers and teachers of lies? Where should the truth be cast flat to the ground? Where should al these things come to passe? Amongst the Turkes, the Saracens, the Heathen, the Infidels? amongst such as neuer heard of Christ, nor his Gospel? Should these things that Christ, that S. Paul, that S. Peter, that Daniel prophesied to come to passe; should they (I say) be fulfilled amongst them? Let not vs deceiue our selues, good brethren: Christ said that desolation should come into the holy place, that such as professed God and his name, should haue little faith. S. Paul said, that Antichrist should sit in the holy place, in the Temple of God: that amongst Christians holesome doctrine should be despised, and cast away: S. Peter also, that euen amongst the professors of Gods Gospel, some there should be that should preach and teach lies: And Daniel likewise, that in the Temple Antichrist should sit, and there al truth should be cast flat to the ground. And this should not come to passe among the Heathen and Infidels, but in the Church of Christ, euen in the very Church of God. S. Hilary, who was an old Father in the Church, saith: O you wil soone deceiue your selues if ye trust in the wals: know you not that Antichrist is in the Church? Let vs not therefore deceiue our selues; let not vs, good brethren, deceiue our selues. And here I pray you consider with me, how that God, for our better vnderstanding, hath in similitudes opened and set forth vnto vs the state of his Church. For Christ in the Gospel cōpareth his Church vnto a ship in the sea, tossed & tumbled with perilous waues: & what, I pray you, betides vnto a ship so tossed in the sea, if there be no Lodes-man to steere it, or if the Lodes-man doth not his duty? Christ hath likened his Church to a vine: & what becomes to a vine, if it be not shred and vnderpropped? He doth also liken it to a flock of sheep: and what becomes to a flock of sheep, if there be no shepheard to guide & loke vnto them? And now therefore consider with me, I pray you, euen from the meane Priest, to the Bishop of Rome: consider, I say, whether they haue done their duties: which of them al hath done that which is required in them? which of them hath fulfilled that God gaue them in charge to do? Christ to his Disciples, and in them to all such as should become Preachers, gaue this Commission, saying: *Ite, & prædicate*: Goe you, and preach. And what is he that euer saw the Bishop of Rome in a Pulpit? Who hath heard a Cardinal many times preach? Iudge you then (my brethren) when shall the ship come safe to the hauen, if the Lodes-man doth not his duty? When shal the vine bring forth any fruit, if the husbandman apply not his diligence to dung, to shred, to vnderprop the same? What shal become of the flocke, if the shepheard sheweth not his industry and earnest labour among them? Now let vs consider a little further, what they were that should haue bēn our Lodes men: what they were that should haue plaid the good husbands in Gods vineyard: what they were that should haue loked to the flock of Christ. Here wil I declare nothing of my self, I wil not here vtter vnto you any thing of mine owne inuention: I wil only shew you the minds of the ancient Doctours in the Primitiue Church, and the sayings of old holy Fathers, that haue written of the Church of God. S. Gregory speaking of the Church of God, saith: *Ecclesia Dei, si ab vno pendebit, corruet*: If the Church of God shal hang vpō one man, if the whole sway thereof shal depend vpon one alone, that Church must needs fal, saith S. Gregory. Now let vs consider whether in times past it hath bēn so in the Church of God, whether we haue known one man to haue called himselfe the Head of the Church: and if it so be, how can it then be otherwise, but that the same Church must nēds perish and fal? Saint Bernard, an old holy Father, writing of the Bishops and Prelates of the Church in his time, saith: *Non sunt Pastores, sed Impostores; non Doctores, sed Seductores: non Prælati, sed Pilati*: They are not (saith S. Bernard) good Pastors and Feeders of Gods flocke, but they are Impostors, such as deceiue Gods sheepe; they are not Doctours, but they are Seductors, such as lead men out of the right way; they are not Prelats, but they are very Pilats. And againe, the same S. Bernard, in the Councel holden at Rhemes, where he made a Sermon in the presence of the Bishops there assembled, said: *Habemus iam non mercenarios pro Pastoribus, neque Lupos pro mercenarijs, sed in loco Luporum, Dæmones habemus*: We haue not now, said this holy Father, hirelings in stead of shepheards, nor woolues in stead of hirelings; but in place of woolues we haue very Diuels. This spake Saint Bernard of the Preachers and Pastors in his time. But O miserable is that Church, wherein are hirelings in stead of good shepheards; more miserable, where are woolues in place of hirelings; and most miserable, where Diuels in roome of Woolues. For then al goeth to ruine and decay, then must nēds al goodnesse in Gods Church be ouerthrowne.

Esay 5. Iohn 10. Math. 16.

And so was it then, so was it in his time, said this old Father S. Bernard. So Platina also an ancient Writer: *Defecit tum maxime Imperatorum, & sanctitas Episcopi*; When the Bi-

shop

ſhop of Rome, ſaith he, tooke ſo much vpon him, when he would be called, Vniuerſall Biſhop, and head of Gods Church, then decaied the Maieſty of the Emperour, and the holineſſe in the Biſhop. Saint Hilary likewiſe ſaith; The Church wherein Gods word is not preached, muſt needs runne againſt the rocke. Tertullian alſo: *Miremur ſi fides deficit, cum non ſit inſtructio?* Doe we maruell (ſaith hée) if faith faile, if faith be not found amongſt men, ſithence there is no Preaching, no teaching, no inſtruction? Euen ſo another old writer ſpeaking of his owne time, ſaith: *Calamitoſa eſt deſolatio in Domo Dei:* There is an horrible deſolation in the Church of God. And therefore alſo hée ſaith further: *Nos ſumus, in quos feces terræ deuenerunt:* We are they, vpon whom all the dregs of the earth are fallen. So Chryſoſtome: If you (ſaith hée) perceiue it to waxe darke in the vale, you ſay it is toward night: if you ſee it beginne to be darke on the hils, you ſay it is nigh night: but if you ſee it once darke in the skie, you ſay it is high night: So if you ſée ignorance in the people, you may ſay it is towards night: if you ſée ignorance in the Prieſts, it is almoſt night: but if you ſée ignorance and little learning in the Biſhops and Prelates, then may you wel ſay, it is high night.

Bernard, that holy father, in another place ſpeaking of the Prieſts of his owne time, ſaith: Nothing is now ſafe amongſt the Clergy, all things are confounded, all things out of order; and therefore there is now nothing left, but that Antichriſt be reuealed. I recoũt hére nothing vnto you, my brethren, but only the ſayings of the ancient Doctours and holy Fathers which haue written of Gods Church in times héere before, and therefore I truſt you will beléeue them the better. The ſame S. Bernard, of whom I ſpake before, ſaith alſo: It appeareth now, that there is no perſecution, no Martyrs done vnto death: Nay, not ſo, ſaith he, it is not ſo, for now euen they that ſit higheſt in the Church of God, they that beare the greateſt ſtroke therein, they begin to perſecute and deſtroy Gods ſeruants. And againe, ſpeaking of the Prieſts and Prelates: They would ſeeme to be Gods friends, yet they are his enemies; they would be Chriſts kinſmen, yet they are his aduerſaries; they would be ſeruants to Chriſt, and yet they ſerue Antichriſt. And thus, (good brethren) it hath béene in our time, & you your ſelues haue ſéene it, you your ſelues haue ſéene that the whole Church hath hanged on one man alone: that ſuch as ſhould haue béene Paſtors, haue béene deceiuers: ſuch as ſhould haue béene teachers of the right way, haue bin ſeducers and guides into blind waies: ſuch as ſhould haue béene Prelats, haue béene Pilats. You your ſelues haue ſéene in the Church of God hirelings in ſtead of good ſhepheards, wolues in place of hirelings, & very diuels in the roome of wolues. All theſe things haue béene ſpoken of afore: That the Maieſty in the Emperor, and holineſſe in the Biſhop ſhould decay: that where Gods word is not preached, there muſt the Church néeds run againſt the rock: that it is little maruel if faith faileth, where good inſtruction wanteth: that pitiful deſolation is come into the houſe of God: that we are they vpon whom the dregs of the whole earth are come: that it is then high night, when ignorance raigneth in the Biſhops: and laſtly, that there is nothing now left, but that Antichriſt be reuealed. All theſe things haue béen ſpoken of before, and are now come to paſſe, & you your ſelues haue ſéene them; you your ſelues, I ſay, haue ſéene all theſe things fulfilled. You haue ſéene ſuch ſit higheſt in Gods Church, that haue perſecuted God & his Church: ſuch as haue martyred the ſeruants of Chriſt, ſuch as would ſéeme Gods friends, & yet are his enemies: ſuch as would be Chriſts kinſmen, & yet are his aduerſaries: ſuch as would be ſeruants to Chriſt, & yet do ſerue Antichriſt: ſuch as Eſay ſpeaketh of ſaying: They haue broke down my vine,
Math. 21. and deſtroied my wine preſſe: ſuch as Chriſt himſelf ſpeaketh of, and ſaith: They haue made my Church a den of theeues. Therefore (good brethren) let vs not deceiue our ſelues, let vs not ſay, All things were wel in the Church, there néed no reformation, all things were as they ſhould be, there néed nothing to be amended. For alas, all things were out of order, all things out of ſquare, all things ſo confounded, that all things néeded to be amended. I ſpeake hérein only generally, I ſpeake not héere of the particular things amiſſe in Gods Church; for then ſhould time faile me, if I ſhould recount them vnto you particularly. In time paſt, if any one man would haue ſought comfort for his afflicted conſcience, where ſhould he haue ſought it? whither ſhould he haue gone for comfort? where ſhould he haue craued conſolation? what comfort could we haue of our own merits, what help by our own deſerts, and good deeds? what conſolation of the Popes Bulls & Pardons? Alas, no cõfort, no conſolatiõ, no help at al. And yet vnto theſe were we taught to run, in theſe were we taught to ſéek comfort, & at the to craue conſolation. In the Church, before time it hath béen both ſaid & ſung vnto the people: *Tuo per Thomæ ſanguinem, fac nos aſcendere vbi Thomas nunc eſt:* Thou Chriſt, by the bloud of thy Martyr S. Thomas, make vs worthy to aſcend thither, where Thomas now is: This, I ſay, as a prayer hath béen vſed in the Church of God. The mother alſo, that bleſſed mother of our ſauior Chriſt, hath bin openly blaſphemed in the

Church:

Church: ſhee is called, *Spes, vita, dulcedo:* Our hope, our life, and our ſweetneſſe. And further: *Salua omnes ſperantes in te:* Saue all them that truſt in thee. Thus haue men openly praied vnto her, to the great blaſpheming of her holy name. But, O Chriſt, O thou that ſuffereddſt for the whole world, where was then thy paſſion, where was then that precious blood of thine that waſhed away the ſinnes of Man, where was then the Lamb of God that redeemed all mankind? Loth I am to ſpeake of theſe things; loth and ſory I am to repeat them here vnto you; but I am inforced ſo to doe, ſomewhat the more plainly to open vnto you the great abuſes, the wonderfull errors that long time haue raigned in the Church of God. We had Praiers; but alas, as they were vſed, they were no praiers: we had the Sacraments, but we knew not to what end thoſe Sacraments were left vnto vs. We had Baptiſme; but we knew not what Baptiſme meant. The Teſtament, & holy Goſpell of God, was burnt, caſt downe, and trode vnder foot. And in one word, in one word for all, there was in Chriſts Church nothing but a heape of wickednеſſe, nothing but a very heap of confuſion and wickednеſſe. Ieremie the Prophet ſaid, That all men (after Chriſt once appeared) ſhould haue ſuch knowledge, ſuch perfect knowledge of God, that no man ſhould ſay to his neighbour, Know the Lord; for all men ſhould know him, euen from the higheſt vnto the loweſt. Baruch alſo the Prophet, ſaid: O bleſſed art thou Iſraell, how happie art thou, ſeeing God hath ſhewed vnto thee all ſuch things as are pleaſant vnto him! what euer God would haue knowen, that is reuealed vnto thee. O then, what may we ſay of our ſelues, and the blind time that is now paſt, wherein we neither knew God, nor had Gods word reuealed vnto vs? What may we ſay of that time? O we may well ſay, Miſerable were we, and curſed was that time wherein we then liued. Ier. 31. Baruck. 4.

And thus (good brethren) I haue in few words laid open before you, both the miſerable eſtate that Gods Church hath ſtood in, and the great ignorance, error, and blindneſſe that you haue been led in: to the end, that you may now become the more thankfull for Gods great mercy ſhewed vnto you. For now hath it pleaſed Almighty God to reueale vnto you his holy Goſpell, his truth, and verity. Now we know that whatſoeuer we doe, when we haue done all things that we can doe, yet, we are vnprofitable ſeruants. Now we know, that all our comfort, all our conſolation, all our helpe, is to be ſought for at Gods hands alone. Now we know, that Chriſt is only our Sauiour, our Redeemer, and that his blood alone, as S. Iohn ſaith, hath waſhed away our iniquities. Now we know what we pray. Now we know wherefore, and to what end the Sacraments were left vnto vs: what our Baptiſme meaneth. Now haue we Gods Teſtament, and his holy word reſtored vnto vs. Now we need not ſay to our neighbour, Know the Lord; for we all are, or may be, ſufficiently inſtructed to know God, to know Chriſt, to know the holy Ghoſt. Now may we ſay, as Baruch to the children of Iſraell: O happy are we, for all things that God would haue knowen are reuealed vnto vs. And therefore bleſſed are our eies, and the eies which ſee that we ſee; and on the other part, accurſed are thoſe eies, which will not ſee that we ſee; accurſed are the eares, which will not heare that we heare; and accurſed are thoſe hearts that will not beleeue God, and his Goſpell. My brethren, conſider the miſerable eſtate that the Church of God long time hath ſtood in; and conſider againe, the ſpeedy redreſſe thereof, which God now hath ſent vnto vs. The kingdome of God is come vpon vs: Gods kingdome (my brethren) is euen now come vpon vs. Chriſt: ſaid O Ieruſalem, Ieruſalem, thou that ſtoneſt my Prophets, and ſuch as are ſent vnto thee; O that thou wouldeſt know the time of thy viſitation! We are that Ieruſalem, Chriſt hath called, Chriſt hath cried vnto vs: O therefore let vs now ſee and conſider the time of our viſitation. O how many of our brethren which haue ſuffered perſecution for Chriſt and his Goſpell, how many of them, I ſay, would faine haue ſeen the things that we ſee, and heare that which we heare, and could not ſee it? O let vs not deſpiſe our brothers blood, let vs not deſpiſe the calling of Chriſt, let vs not deſpiſe the bleſſing of God, the greateſt that may be. Alas, if we conſider the miſerable eſtate that we haue ſtood in, and the great goodneſſe and mercy of God now ſhewed vnto vs, doubtleſſe we cannot deſpiſe this great mercy of his, vnleſſe we will be too vnthankfull; we cannot neglect this marueilous worke, and goodneſſe of his, vnleſſe we will be counted too much ingratefull. Luc. 17. 1. Ioh. 1.

Let vs therefore make our ſelues new hearts, new ſoules, new mindes; let vs ioifully imbrace God and his Goſpel; let our eies, our eares, and our hearts ſay: Bleſſed are the eies which ſee that we ſee, and eares which heare that we heare: for many Kings and Prophets haue deſired to ſee that we ſee, and could not ſee it. And thus if we doe, then ſhall we be bleſſed, then ſhall our eies, our eares, our hearts, be bleſſed: and GOD the Father of Light, and giuer of al goodneſſe, ſhal bleſſe vs, and remaine with vs for euer. Amen.

2. Cor. 6.

VERS. 1. We therefore as helpers, exhort you, that ye receiue not the grace of God in vaine.

2. For he ſaith, I haue heard thee in an acceptable time, and in the day of ſaluation I haue ſuccoured thee, &c.

SAint Paul after he firſt began to preach the glad tidings of the Goſpell, and teſtifie the name of Chriſt vnto the whole world, as he was much troubled with falſe Prophets, falſe Teachers, and ſuch as ſeduced the people from God; euen ſo he found a number of them among the Corinthians, to whom he wrot this Epiſtle or Letter. Some of them, to diſcredit Paul, & bring an euil opinion of him among the people, ſaid he was an enemy vnto Moſes, one that ſought to aboliſh the Law giuen by Moſes, & ſuch a one as deſpiſed & brake the ſame. Some other ſaid, that he was a teacher of falſe doctrine, a ſeducer of the people, one that diſſented cleane from the reſt of the Apoſtles, yea, & ſuch a one as diſquieted the whole Church of Chriſt. All theſe were reported by S. Paul; thus was he ſlandered, thus was he euil ſpoken of: and this was done euen by ſuch as profeſſed the name of Chriſt. Therefore he feeling himſelfe herewith touched, and perceiuing alſo that this not only touched him, but God himſelfe, thought good by his Letters to auoid this ſlander ſo riſen, and to cleare himſelfe vnto the Corinthians, among whom this euil bruit firſt ſprang of him. And therefore in the Chapter before, he ſaid: Chriſt hath committed vnto vs the preaching of the attonement; and ſo what euer we doe, what euer we teach or preach vnto you, is only to this end, to ſhew our ſelues inſtruments of the reconciliation betweene Chriſt and you. Now then are we meſſengers in the roome of Chriſt, and therefore, euen as though God did beſeech you through vs, ſo pray we you, that ye be at one with God: and further we exhort you, that ye receiue not the grace of God in vaine:

Gen. 6. Almighty God perceiuing the frailty and weakneſſe of this nature of ours, euen at the firſt beginning of the world pronounced thus, and ſaid: *Pronum eſt cor hominis ad malum, à iuuentute ſua:* The heart of man is prone and ready vnto euill, euen from the cradle. This God himſelfe ſaw wel in our weake nature, and therefore he ſpake thus of it. So dul are we of our ſelues, to learne any good, and ſo quicke are we to forget the ſame; ſo ready are we to fall into vice; and ſo hard are we to incline vnto vertue. And this hath bene ingrafted in vs, this hath bene grounded in this nature of ours, euen from the beginning, and this wil ſo continue in vs whiles the world laſteth. The heart of man hath alwaies bene ready to fal from God, and decline to vice, alwaies prone vnto euil, and hard to be won vnto good. And therefore it behoueth all ſuch as are Preachers, all ſuch as are meſſengers ſent from God, and will ſhew themſelues as truſty and faithfull ſeruants, it behoueth them not only to ſhew their meſſage, to declare their commiſſion, but they muſt alſo incourage them to whom they are ſent, they muſt improue, rebuke, exhort, and controll them, and that in time and out of time, in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, that their meſſage may

2. Tim. 4. be fruitfull, and they found faithfull. So Paul to Timothy ſaith, *Inſta opportunè, importunè:* Preach the word, be feruent, be it in ſeaſon, or out of ſeaſon: Doe the worke of a Preacher, be earneſt, call vpon them, both in time, and out of time. And euen this thing that he willed his Scholar Timothy to doe, the ſame performed he in him ſelfe; I haue not ceaſed,

1. Theſſ. 2. ſaith he, to preach vnto you, to teach you both day and night. So likewiſe in another

Act. 20. place, he ſaith: *Mundus ſum ego à ſanguine omnium veſtrorum:* I am cleane from the blood of you all. I am pure from the blood of all men: For I haue kept nothing backe, but haue

2. Cor. 11. ſhewed you all the counſell of God. So in like, he ſaith: *Quis infirmatur, & ego non infirmor?* Who is weake, and I am not weake? Who is hurt in the faith, and my heart burneth not? As who would ſay, There is none of you all, no not the leaſt of you, that is greeued, but I alſo am greeued; none of you troubled, but I alſo troubled; none of you made weake, but I alſo am made weake with him. So Paul againe ſaith: *Filioli mei, quos iterum partu-*

Gal. 4. *rio:* My little children, of whom I trauell in birth againe, vntill Chriſt be faſhioned in you. Thus was S. Paul alwaies carefull for the ſaluation of the people: thus was he continually mindfull of the ſafegard of his brethren, and what euer griefe or diſquietneſſe fell to any of the flocke of Chriſt, the ſame was a griefe and diſquietneſſe vnto him. And thus muſt euery good Preacher doe, thus muſt all ſuch doe as are meſſengers from God, and will ſhew themſelues faithfull ſeruants and true workmen in Gods vineyard. We muſt doe

that

that which longeth vnto vs, and then will God doe that longeth vnto him. We must admonish the people outwardly, and God wil moue their hearts inwardly. S. Paul speaking of himselfe, of Apollo, of Cephas, and other such, notable in the ministery of God, saith: *Paulus plantauit, Apollo rigauit, at Dominus dedit incrementum*: Paul planted, Apollo watered, but God gaue the increase. God it was, yea, God alone that gaue the increase. 1. Cor. 3.

These things I speak now to them which haue taken vpon them the ministery of Gods word, to them that haue taken vpon them to be guides vnto the flocke of Christ: to them I speake this, to put them in remembrance, that they neuer forget their message, that they forget not their duty, that they improue, rebuke, exhort, and control the people, that they be earnest and feruent, calling stil vpon them, both in time and out of time, in season and out of season; that they fulfil the office whereunto they are called, that their conscience may be found without spot: and in conclusion, that they may plant, that they may water, and God may giue the increase; that they may both reforme the vngodly, and incourage the godly. And this haue we in our commission, this is our duty, this will be required of vs: and this if we doe not, we shal be found faulty, for, we are debtors vnto all men, aswel vnto the Page, as vnto the Prince, vnto the poore, as vnto the rich, vnto the foolish, as vnto the wise, vnto the bad, as vnto the good. And therefore (my brethren) euen for this cause alone, all good and godly Preachers, and such as were sent from God, haue euer bin so zealous, and so much desired the saluation of Gods people. Moses, when he saw the people of Israel after their deliuerance from captiuity by the mighty hand of God, fal from God, forsake him, and forget the wonders that he had wrought for them, he cried out vnto God, and said: *O Domine, me potius dele ex libro vitæ*: Sooner then that these perish, O Lord, wipe me out of the booke of life: let my name be stricken out of it. So Paul: *Cupio anathema esse pro fratribus meis*: I wish my selfe to be accursed from Christ for my brethren: I would that I might be cast away, so they might be saued. Rom. 1. Exod. 31. Rom. 9.

O my brethren, consider these hearts, consider, I say, the zealous heart that Moses, the zealous affection that Paul had vnto the saluation of the people. What thinke you is it to be stricken out of the booke of life? What thinke you is it to be a man accursed, and haue portion among reprobates? Moses was content to be blotted out of the booke of life, so that the people of Israel might be saued. S. Paul was content to be accursed and cast from the face of God, so that Gods people might not be cast to perdition. Thus they of an earnest heart and zealous loue they bare to the congregation of God, wished their owne destruction for the safegard of others. Therefore also it behoueth you, my brethren, you that are temporal men, it behoueth you on the other part, not to despise Gods messengers, not to set light by them that preach you the Gospel and glad tidings of your saluation. For this is the only meanes whereby it pleaseth God that we should be saued, this only is it whereby the people is won vnto Christ. God might haue sent an Angel vnto the Chamberlaine of the Queene Candace, and so haue conuerted him: but he sent Philip; he sent Philip, I say, a poore and meane man, that through his preaching he might be won to the faith, and so brought to saluation. God might haue sent an Angel to Cornelius: but he sent Peter, who instructed him in the faith, and wan him to the Gospel of Christ. God might haue sent an Angel vnto Paul to haue mollified his heart, and so turned him from persecution of Gods Saints: but it pleased God to send Ananias, that through the putting on of his hands the scales should fal from his eies, that by him he should receiue his sight, & be baptised, and so by meanes of a man he might be brought home vnto God, and made a member of his flock. Therefore whensoeuer we heare the word of God preached, notwithstanding the preacher beare no pomp of eloquence, or shew of great learning, notwithstanding he be a simple and poore man; yet if he bring vnto vs the rule of Christs Gospel, if he teach vs the will of God, and the glory of his word, let vs not despise him, let vs consider that he is Gods messenger, and appointed by God to helpe vs to saluation. Act. 8. Act. 10. Act. 9.

I beseech you, saith S. Paul, that ye receiue not the grace of God in vain. This only boun I aske of you, this is only the request that I make vnto you, that ye take not the grace of God in vain. A great matter it were if any one man would misuse the grace of his Prince, a great matter it were for a man to despise the friendship of his friend, or the gentlenesse of his enemy: but a greater matter it is, yea a far greater matter, to take the grace of God in vaine. For what auaileth it vs, what should it profit vs, if God once deliuer vs from our sinnes, and we turne againe to our old wickednesse?

What gained we, if the couenant of God, & Testament of our Sauiour Christ be broken vnto vs, if we receiue the same in vaine? Blessed are they (saith Christ) which heare the word of God, and keepe it. The Scribes, the Pharisies, the Iewes, Annas, Caiaphas, & Pilat heard the word of God, heard Christ himselfe speak & preach amongst them, and yet they receiued this word of God in vain. Christ likened his word to a sower, that went forth Luke 11.

and

and ſowed his ſeed, whereof ſome fel by the way ſide, & ſo was troden with mens feet and deſtroied; ſome on the ſtone, which tooke roote, but yet ſoone withered away becauſe it lacked moiſtneſſe; ſome fell among thornes, and the thornes ſprung vp with it and choked it. So the poꝛe huſbandman loſt in manner his whole coſt and labour, foꝛ of all that he ſowed, little fel into the good ground and bꝛought any increaſe. And euen thus ſtandeth it with Gods Goſpel now adaies: foꝛ pꝛeach we neuer ſo oft, teach we neuer ſo much, few, yea very few are found that receiue the ſame, and continue therein, and ſo bꝛing foꝛth fruits of ſaluation. When Moſes the ſeruant of God was but a little time departed from the people, and gone vp into the mount there to talke with God, and aſke counſel of him, the people by and by made themſelues a golden Calfe, and fel to the woꝛſhipping of that Image. And this did they, becauſe they receiued the grace of God in vaine. When Moſes was dead, and Ioſua ſucceeded into his rome, ſtraightwaies the people woꝛſhipped Baal and Aſtaroth, they foꝛſoke the liuing Loꝛd, who had deliuered them, and in ſtead of him they woꝛſhipped very Diuels. And this did they, becauſe they receiued the grace of God in vaine. Saul, though he once was the ſeruant of God, & inſpired with his ſpirit, yet at the length he fel from God and perſecuted Dauid the choſen of God, and ſo in the end miſerably ſlew himſelfe. And this did he, becauſe he receiued the grace of God in vaine. Iudas being one of the Apoſtles, and the ſeruant of Jeſus Chꝛiſt, yet he not only betraied his maſter Chꝛiſt, but alſo became himſelfe a very Diuel: foꝛ ſo ſaid Chꝛiſt: *Vnus veſtrum Damon eſt*: One of you is the Diuel. And this did he, becauſe he receiued the grace of God in vaine. And therefoꝛe S Paul in this place willeth the Coꝛinthians, that they ſhould not receiue the grace of God in vaine, as the people did in Moſes time: that they ſhould not receiue it as they did which liued in the time of Ioſua: that they ſhould not in ſuch ſoꝛt take it as Saul did: and laſtly, that they ſhould not ſo receiue it in vaine as Iudas did, and woꝛke their owne deſtruction. This was his requeſt, this thing he only deſired, that they would not receiue the grace of God in vaine.

Exod. 32.

1. Reg. 28.

Ioh. 6.

Foꝛ God ſaith: In an acceptable time haue I heard thee, and in the day of ſaluation haue I ſuccoured thee. Theſe woꝛds are witten in the pꝛopheſie of Eſay, and pꝛonounced they were by him of the appearance of Chꝛiſt our Sauiour, and his comming into this woꝛld. And theſe woꝛds thus ſpoken by the Pꝛophet, S. Paul hære fitly applied to the pꝛeaching of Chꝛiſts Goſpel. Foꝛ like as our Sauiour came into the woꝛld at ſuch time as Chꝛiſt was boꝛne; ſo when the Goſpel is truely pꝛeached, and Gods holy woꝛd ſincerely taught vs, then is Chꝛiſt opened vnto vs, then is the acceptable time and our ſaluation is woꝛought thereby. Thereforе S. Hierom, that holy father and old Doctour of the Church, ſaith: *Quotieſcunque audimus Euangelium Chriſti, toties caro & ſanguis Chriſti funduntur in aures noſtras*: As often as we heare the Goſpel of Chꝛiſt pꝛeached vnto vs, ſo oft the fleſh and bloud of Chꝛiſt is powred into our eares, ſaith S. Hierom. And theſe woꝛds of his do plainly and moſt euidently ſhew vs, how we ſhould vnderſtand the eating of Chꝛiſts body, and dꝛinking of his moſt holy blod in the Sacrament: theſe woꝛds, I ſay, may ſufficiently teach vs what is meant by the eating and dꝛinking of Chꝛiſts body and blod. This is it that S. Paul hære ſpeaketh of, that they receiue not the grace of God in vaine. And whenſoeuer the Goſpel of God is truly and ſincerely pꝛeached, and it receiued accoꝛdingly, then is the acceptable time, then is the time of grace and ſaluation. O what a comfoꝛtable ſaying is this! whenſoeuer we heare the Goſpel taught vs, whenſoeuer we heare Gods holy woꝛd pꝛeached vnto vs, then is the gate of ſaluation ſet open vnto vs, & then is the time of grace. And on the contrary part, when Gods woꝛd is taken from vs, and the light of his Goſpel hidden from our eies, then is the gate of ſaluation ſhut vpon vs, & then is the time of perdition. But alas, the time of grace, the acceptable time, the time of mercy and ſaluation hath often times but little continuance among vs, often times it hath ſmal time of abiding with vs. Foꝛ beforе Chꝛiſt appeared, and was boꝛne into this woꝛld foꝛ the ſpace of foure thouſand yæres, the whole woꝛld, the Jewes only excepted, was in ignoꝛance and altogether blindneſſe. And when Chꝛiſt was boꝛne, when he once appeared, then was the acceptable time, then was the time of grace, then was the time of ſaluation. Hære ſome man wil peraduenture ſay: Why did God ſuffer the whole woꝛld ſo long to be in blindneſſe? why would he in that long time haue no reſpect to any other nation, but only to the nation of the Jewes? This caſe is dæpe, & paſſeth our capacity to reaſon, it is aboue the reach of mans wit, and thereforе hærein we haue only to ſubmit our ſelues, to humble our hearts & our minds, and ſay with Paul the Apoſtle: *O homo, quis tu qui Deum arguis*: O man, what art thou that findeſt fault with God? What art thou that repꝛoueſt the almighty? As God of his pꝛouidence and good wiſedome hath appointed foꝛ vs both Summer and Winter, the ſpꝛing, and likewiſe the fall of the leafe againe: So hath he oꝛdained a time of light, and a time of darkeneſſe, a time of ſaluation, & a time of deſtruction. And no man may ſay vnto

him

him, Why doſt thou thus? Theſe things ſeeme good in his eies, and therefore what art thou, O man, that wilt call God to account why he doth this, or why he doth that? Thus it pleaſeth God, and ſtandeth with his good will, often times to ſhew vs his light, and the glory of his Goſpel: and often times againe to take the ſame from vs, and leaue vs altogether in blindneſſe, altogether in ignorance, altogether in vtter darkeneſſe. For ſo he hath ſaid by Amos his Prophet: I will ſend an hunger vpon the earth, not the hunger of bread, nor the thirſt of water, but an hunger to heare the word of the Lord: ſo that they ſhall goe from one Sea to the other, yea, from the North to the Eaſt, running about to ſeeke the word of the Lord, and ſhall not find it. Chriſt himſelfe alſo in the Goſpell, ſaith: The kingdome of God ſhall be taken away from you. Rom. 9. Amos 8. Matth. 21.

And yet, when hee hath thus done, when he hath ſent an hunger and thirſt of his word into the earth, when he hath taken Gods kingdome from amongſt vs; yet I ſay, he oftentimes powreth downe his truth into the earth, hee diſtilleth his grace from heauen, that it may ſinke into the hearts of men: For ſo ſaith God by his Prophet Malachie: *Ab ortu ſolis, vſque ad occaſum, magnum eſt nomen meum inter gentes:* My name is great, euen from the riſing of the Sunne to the fall thereof, amongſt all Nations. I am a great King (ſaith the Lord) and my name is fearefull amongſt the heathen. This is the time that the Prophet Eſay calleth The acceptable time. And what needeth moe examples? the whole Scriptures, both the Old and the New Teſtament, are full of theſe and ſuch like other. Malach. 1.

There are times that are times of knowlege, there are times againe that are times of ignorance. And who is there now, what man ſo old, or child ſo yongue, but may well remember the blindneſſe that hath beene in our time, and our Fathers times before vs? Who is ſo blind, who ſo far paſt knowledge, but may both wel ſee and remember the darke ignorance that hath beene in times paſt, and the great grace that God hath now powred downe vpon vs in theſe our daies?

Therefore as Saint Paul gaue the Corinthians warning, that they ſhould not receiue the grace of God in vaine: euen ſo now he warneth vs, and biddeth vs beware that wee take not this grace of God in vaine, that wee turne not to our old vanity againe, that we returne not to our former wickedneſſe, that we defile not the Goſpell of God by our euill and corrupt liuing. And therefore in another place he ſaieth: Giue your members as inſtruments of righteouſneſſe vnto God, and let not ſinne haue power ouer you. Wherein is ſet out vnto vs, and as it were painted before our eies, our whole office and duty, and how that we as wel by our workes, as by our words, ſhould be an example and patterne for other men to follow, and that we giue no cauſe of offence or ſlander of the Goſpell of God. I ſpeake this not onely to the Preachers and Miniſters of Gods word (though chiefly to them indeed) but I ſpeake it generally to all you my brethren, that profeſſe Gods Goſpell, and beare the name of Chriſt. Rom. 6.

For Saint Paul indifferently to all men ſaith: Yee are not the children of darkneſſe, but the children of light; walke you therefore as becommeth the children of light. And againe in another place, he ſaith: Giue man no occaſion of euil, offend no man, that in your office ye be not found faulty. And ſuch was in old time the life of all good and godly men, ſuch was their liuing that profeſſed Gods Goſpell, and the name of Ieſus Chriſt. 1. Theſſ. 5. 2. Cor. 6.

But if it ſo happen (as often times it chanceth) that men will needs bee offended with vs liue liue we neuer ſo vprightly, walk we neuer ſo circumſpectly (as Chriſt notwithſtanding he was the Sauiour of the world, notwithſtanding he was without ſpot, and one that neuer tranſgreſſed the Law, yet was called the Sone of offence:) If it thus happen, I ſay, that we be ill reported of without cauſe, then may we ſay as Chriſt himſelfe to the Scribes and Phariſies ſaid: *Sinite illos, cæci ſunt, duces cæcorum:* Let them alone, they are blinde, the leaders of the blinde. 1. Pet. 2. Matth. 15.

This is the comfort that we haue, this is all the comfort that is left vnto vs, if any man wilfully be offended with vs, if any man iudge of vs other then we deſerue. For ſo it behoueth vs to liue, ſo ought wee to direct our liues, that if any man accuſe vs, if any man finde fault with vs, our vpright liuing may bee a teſtimony againſt him, and bee able to confound him. Saint Paul ſaith: It is our part to take away occaſion of offence. When Chriſt by procurement of his enemies (the Scribes and Phariſies) was brought before Pilat to be condemned and adiudged to death, the innocencie of his life was ſuch, that he was cleered and acquited euen by the mouth of his very enemy: For when Pilat had heard all that was laid againſt him, and the whole accuſations wherewith they burdened him, hee pronounced openly, and ſaid: I finde no fault in this man. The Scribes, when they had nothing to accuſe Chriſts Diſciples of, nor nothing wherein they might intrap them, as in breach of their Law, they came vnto our Sauior Chriſt, and ſaid: 2. Cor. 6. Luke 23.

Quare non obseruant Discipuli tui traditiones patrum nostrorũ? Why doe not thy disciples obserue the traditions of our fathers? Why kepe they not the customes of our elders? said they. And vpon this place of the Gospell, S. Chrysostome an old Doctor of the Church, saith thus: That the Disciples of Christ in all points so exactly fulfilled the law, that the Scribes could find no fault in them, as touching the same: and therefore they controlled them for breaking their owne traditions, and the traditions of their forefathers. Traianus that Emperor of Rome, and most cruell persecutor of the Christians in his time, when hee had vsed al kind of extremity towards them, and indeed put a wonderfull number vnto death, and heard say, that they all suffered maruellous patiently, and willingly went to execution; and that notwithstanding this, they daily increased and grew more and more: he sent abroad into all parts of his dominion, to vnderstand what manner of men they were, of what conuersation, and in what sort they liued, that professed the name of Christ: And answere hee had from Plinie a gentleman of Rome and a Magistrate in that City, who said, That they were men without fault, and liued without offence, as touching the lawes; sauing that in the morning they vsed to resort together, and so make their praiers and call vpon the name of Iesus. Tertullian also, an old father of the Church, saith, that in his time this report went of one Seianus, a Christian, and was amongst al men so common a saying, that in maner it became a Prouerbe: *Marcus Seianus, vir bonus, si non Christianus:* This was all the fault they could finde in him: That he was a Christian man, and one that professed the name of Christ. So the same Tertullian in another place speaking of the Christians in his time, saith: *Vide, appellant se fratres, & mori volunt pro inuicem:* Loe, they cal themselues brethren, and one will die for another. This was the only fault they found in them, that they loued so together, that one would vouchsafe to die for the other: this was, I say, the greatest fault that they could find no fault in them.

Luke 5.

Thus was it amongst Christians in the beginning of Christs Church; and thus ought it to be amongst vs: so should we liue, that we may be found vnreprooueable and vnspotted in the sight of all men. And therefore S. Paul heere saith, that we should walke in such honestly, in such vprightnesse of life, That we giue no man occasion of euill, that in our office there be found no fault: that if any man would accuse vs he might be controlled by our vertuous life: that our enemies haue nothing to lay to our charge, nothing to accuse vs withall; but that euen their owne mouthes should acquit and discharge vs: that in our selues and our liues, there should none other fault be found, but onely this, that wee are called Christians: that we should in such loue liue together, that one of vs would willingly die for the other: And lastly, that this only fault should be in vs, that we are cleane and without fault, that both our words, works, and deeds may testifie vs to be professors of God, and his holy Gospell.

Good people, let vs consider that God of his goodnesse hath sent vnto vs this acceptable time, the time of mercy and grace, that he hath deliuered vs from the horrible thraldome that we sometimes liued in: that God hath put away the blindnesse, & dispersed that great darkenesse whereunder the whole world was sometime whelmed: that we may now worship him in spirit and holinesse without superstition or Idolatry: that we may now walke in the light, without any error or wandring. And this great blessing of his, whoso seth not I pray God open his eies that he may both see and vnderstand it.

Let vs not, good brethren, let vs not take this grace of God in vaine, let vs not despise this Gospell of Christ, whereby the whole world is saued. God knoweth how long this acceptable time, this time of grace, this time of saluation, shall last and continue amongst vs. And what knowest thou, O thou man, whether by one only sermon many may be conuerted, and won to the faith of Iesus Christ: S. Peter by one only Sermon conuerted fiue thousand people, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles.

Acts 4.

S. Hierome hath a saying worthy to be noted, and it is this: I know not, saith S. Hierome, whether that soule may be saued, that is negligent in hearing the word of God, and the Gospell of his saluation preached: I know not, saith he, whether such a soule may be saued. Alas, good brethren, we are not able to saue you, God is your only Sauior and Redeemer: we are but Gods messengers sent vnto you, we are but helpers appointed to exhort you to the Gospell of God, and to open vnto you the glory of your saluation. If you then will wilfully refuse to heare Gods holy word, and will not imbrace the same, we cannot saue you, we are not able to worke your saluation. I my selfe rose vp euer betimes to warne my people, saith God by his Prophet Ieremy: I my selfe stand all the day at the gate crying vnto them to commune with them, yet would they not heare: I called vnto them, yet would they not answer me.

Ierem. 7.

O my deare brethren, God knocketh, let vs open the gates of our hearts vnto him: hee calleth, let vs heare him: he crieth, and willeth vs to come vnto him; O therefore let vs

ran,

run, let vs make haſt, let vs flie vnto him. I haue euer ſtretched out my hands to Eſay 65.
an vnfaithfull people, ſaith GOD by his Prophet Eſay: all the day long haue I ſtretched out mine armes vnto a people that will not heare me: all the day long haue I ſtretched out mine hands vnto them, and yet they will not know me: I haue ſent you the acceptable time; I haue giuen you the daies of grace, the daies of mercy, the daies of ſaluation. O then let vs not receiue this acceptable time in vaine, let vs not take this grace of God in vaine: Let vs remember how many thouſands of people periſh this day for want of the Goſpell of God, and knowledge of his holy word. We are they whom God hath called to be his children, whom he hath appointed to be ſaued, whom he hath receiued to his grace and mercy. If we haue any great policy, if we haue any great wit, if we haue any learning, riches, wealth, and felicity in this world; let vs conſider that we haue them from God alone, that God giueth vs our policy, that God giueth vs our wit, that God giueth vs our learning, that he alone giueth vs our riches, our wealth, and all other felicity that we haue in this life. O then let vs not take theſe great gifts of God in vaine, let vs not take theſe graces of his in vaine. Let our liues ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee our good works, and glorifie our Father which is in Heauen. Amen.

ROM. 12.

VERS. 16. We deſire you, that ye thinke all one thing, that ye haue like affection to another. Be not high minded: be not wiſe in your owne opinion.
17. Recompence to no man euill for euill.
18. If it be poſſible haue peace with all men.

DEerly beloued in our Lord and Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, This Epiſtle or letter of S. Paul, written vnto the Romans, is diuided into two ſeuerall parts.

In the firſt part S. Paul inſtructeth and telleth them of the beginning of their religion, of the foundation of their faith, of the grace whereunto they are called by the merits & death of Jeſus Chriſt. And forbecauſe, he ſaw and wel perceiued, that euen ſuch of the Romans, who had receiued the faith, to be far from the workes of the faith, & the profeſſion of the Goſpel of Chriſt, therefore he inſtructeth them, that they know the Teſtament of Chriſt, that they know the couenant of their ſaluation: & that they ſhould remember, that where beforetime they were ſtrangers from God, cleane without any promiſe of grace, enemies vnto God, and the children of perdition, were now called vnto God, were become the ſons of Abraham, Gods deare friends, and the children of adoption: and this not of any deſert of theirs, not by any merit of their owne: but only through the great grace, and meere mercy of Jeſus Chriſt. For the whole world was couered vnder wickednes: the whole world, I ſay, the Jewes only excepted, was ouerwhelmed in ſin, and had no hope at al of any ſaluation by God. But yet when Chriſt Jeſus the Sauiour of al the world appeared, and the Jewes would not acknowledge him their Redeemer, it pleaſed God, by him to ſaue the whole World, and cal vnto his grace as wel the Gentile as the Jew, the vncircumciſed as the circumciſed: and this did he only of his infinite and great goodnes. And therefore S. Paul in the concluſion hereof, trieth out, and ſaith: O the depthnes of the abundant wiſdome and knowledge of God, how vnſearchable are his iudgements, and his waies paſt finding out! Who knoweth the mind of the Lord? who was his Counſellour? Who hath giuen vnto him firſt, that he might be recompenced againe? And therefore he concludeth thus: *Quia in illo, ex illo, & per illum omnia, illi omnis honor & gloria.* For of him, through him, and for him are all things: to him therefore be glory for euer. Thus doth S. Paul conclude the firſt part, to know the couenant of their ſaluation, to know the greatneſſe of Gods mercy, wherunto they are called, and to giue the praiſe and thankes to him alone. Rom. 11. 33. Rom. 11. 36.

In the ſecond part, which I now handle, he inſtructeth them of a vertuous life, of honeſt converſation, and vpright liuing among all men. For it is not enough to change our Religion, it is not ſufficient to alter our faith, but we muſt alſo change our old life, we muſt walke in newneſſe of life, we muſt walk in holineſſe, we muſt walk as becommeth the profeſſors of a new Religion, as becommeth them that are of a right faith, as becommeth all ſuch as confeſſe God and his Goſpel. And therefore S. Paul writing vnto the Hebrews ſaith: Seeing that we by the meanes of the blood of Jeſus haue liberty to enter into the holy place, let vs draw nigh with a true heart in a ſure faith, let vs prouoke vnto loue & to good works. Heb. 10. 19.

Epheſ. 5. 8. So in another place he ſaith; You were ſometimes darkneſſe, but now ye are light in the Lord, walke therefore as becommeth the children of light. So God himſelfe when he had choſen the Iewes to be his people, and them alone amongſt all other Nations to worſhip him, ſaid; O Iſraell, what is it that I require or ſeeke for at thy hands, but that thou loue me, and keep my commandements? This is the only thing that I would haue you to doe, that you kéep my Law and walke in my Precepts.

Deut. 10.

Therefore Saint Paul himſelfe alſo, after he had declared and ſet forth at large, the great goodneſſe and mercy of God, he ſaid: I beſeech you, that ye make your bodies a quicke and liuely Sacrifice, holy and acceptable vnto God, which is your reaſonable ſeruing of God. Renue your ſpirits, make your ſelues new hearts, that it may ſhew and appeare in you, that you are reconciled vnto God, that you are the children of adoption, and profeſſours of Gods holy name.

Therefore be not high minded, be not wiſe in your own opinions: recompence no man euill for euill: prouide aforehand things honeſt in the ſight of all men: and if it be poſſible, haue peace with all men. Marke well my brethren theſe words by the way; If it be poſſible haue peace with all men. Chriſt, though he was the author of peace, and the true peace it ſelfe, yet could he not haue peace with all men. *Non veni pacem mittere in terras, ſed bellum, ſed diſcordiam*: I am not come (ſaith Chriſt) to ſend peace into the world, but war and diſſenſion: for from hence forth there ſhall be fiue in one houſe diuided, three againſt two, and two againſt three: the father againſt the ſonne, and the ſonne againſt the father: the mother againſt the daughter; and the daughter againſt the mother. The peace of the world is no peace with God: the loue of this world is no loue before God.

Luke 12.

So the Patriarchs and the Prophets, though they were men of peace, yet could they haue no peace in this world. And therefore S. Paul here ſaith: If it be poſſible, as much as in you ſhall lie, haue peace with all men; be in vnity and loue with all maner of men. This thing, my brethren, I haue put you in remembrance of by the way.

But that S. Paul ſhould thus doe, that he ſhould exhort the Romans, as he here doth, that they become not high minded, nor wiſe in their owne opinions, nor recompence no man euill for euill, & that they ſhould, if it were poſſible, haue peace with all men; good cauſe there was, there was, I ſay, good cauſe why he ſhould thus doe. For there were at the ſame time in Rome, a great number both of Iewes and Gentiles, and amongſt them there was great ſtrife and diuiſion. The Iewes on the one ſide eſtéemed not the Gentiles: the Gentiles on the other ſide deſpiſed the Iewes. Thus betwéen them the people were diuided, and rent into diſſenſion: thus betwéen them the whole people often times were ready to fall together by the eares: and thus through them, were they at ſuch great contention and ſtrife, that they that were brethren would not vouchſafe to commune & talke together: they that before were linked in ſuch loue and united together, that one would die for the other, could not then one abide another: and ſuch as were friends, became open enemies. And this came to paſſe onlie through pride. Pride was the cauſe, that ſuch as were brethren fell out one with another: pride was the cauſe, that ſuch as ſhould haue died one for another could not one abide another: pride was the cauſe, that ſuch as beforetime were friends, became then open enemies. The Iewes on the one part, were proud, for that they were the children of Abraham, for that they were vnder the Law & promiſe, for that they had knowledge of Gods will by Oracles, for that God had often times both ſent his Angels vnto them and ſpoken by his owne mouth vnto them. And the Gentiles had none of all theſe: they were not of the ſeed of Abraham: they were not vnder the promiſe: they neuer had knowledge of Gods will, neither by Oracle, nor viſion; God neuer ſpake vnto them, nor neuer ſent his Angels vnto them. The Gentiles on the other ſide, were as proud as the Iewes: they ſaid that they had wiſe men amongſt them, men of great learning and knowledge: they had Philoſophers, they had Aſtronomers, they had Geometricians, and great Orators; and ſo had not the Iewes amongſt them: They had no men of great wiſdome, they had no men of any high learning, they had no Philoſophers, no Aſtronomers, no Geometricians, nor Orators; they were men ignorant, and without any great knowledge at all. S. Paul therefore to ſet an vnity betwéen theſe two which were thus far at diſcord, exhorteth them, that They all thinke one thing, that they be of like affection one towards another: that they be not high minded, nor wiſe in their owne opinions. For pride it is that breaketh all loue, and pride it is that breedeth all diſſenſion. There was neuer yet diuiſion, there was neuer any diſcord or diſſenſion, but pride was the firſt cauſe and authour thereof.

Rom. 9.

Lucifer, that ſometime was an Angell of God, ſet himſelfe againſt God, and ſaid: *Exaltabo me ſuper Aquilonem, & ero ſimilis Altiſſimo*: I will get me vp aboue the North Pole, I will ſit aboue the clouds, and I will be like vnto the moſt high. And this did he, for that

that he ſwelled with pride. And therefore was he throwne downe; only for this great pride of his was he caſt into vtter darkeneſſe, and deepe dungeon of hell.

Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, being puffed vp with pride, conſpired againſt Moſes and Aaron: but God cauſed the earth to open, and ſwallowed vp both them, and all ſuch as then were in the Tents with them. Numb. 16.

The Iewes themſelues, which had profeſſed the Goſpell of Chriſt in S. Pauls time, were diuided; and ſome of them ſaid; I ſtand with Paul: ſome other ſaid; I hold with Apollo, and ſo were drawen on either ſide. 1. Cor. 1.

And this did they only through pride. But alas, ſaith S. Paul: Is Chriſt diuided? Both Paul and Apollo preach one and the ſame Chriſt vnto you, they teach you all one Goſpell; is Chriſt then diuided amongſt you? So likewiſe ſome of them, which profeſſed Chriſts Goſpell (becauſe al meats and drinks were indifferent vnto them, becauſe they could with ſafe conſcience indifferently eat of all meats, and drinke of all kinds of drinke) were proud, and thought themſelues more perfect then other men. On the other ſide, ſuch as had a conſcience therein, ſuch as could not for conſcience ſake indifferently vſe all kinds of meats and drinks, were likewiſe proud and thought themſelues more holy then other men. Rom. 14.

And thus pride, euen amongſt ſuch as profeſſed Chriſt and his Goſpell, brake the loue and vnity which ſhould haue bene amongſt them that lined vnder the Goſpell. Pride it was that cauſed the Iewes to hate the Gentiles, and the Gentiles to deſpiſe the Iewes. Pride it was that cauſed Lucifer ſo much to exalt himſelfe, and make himſelfe equall with God. Pride it was that cauſed Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, to conſpire againſt Moſes, and Aaron. Pride it was that cauſed ſuch as could indifferently eat all meats, to thinke themſelues more perfect then ſuch as could not ſo doe. Pride it was againe, that cauſed the other which could not indifferently vſe all meats, to thinke themſelues more holy then the reſt. Therefore in this place S. Paul willeth the Romanes for auoiding of all diſſention, firſt to put away all pride, which is the very rot and mother of all diſcord: Be not high minded, ſaid he, for ſo ſhall you abate this rancor and malice among you; but humble your ſelues, humble your courage; bee not proud of your wit, of your great learning, of your eloquence: but make your ſelues equall to them of the lower ſort. This is the golden chaine of humility. For like as pride is the mother of all wickednes, ſo is humility the mother of all vertue: like as pride maketh vs like vnto Lucifer, ſo humility maketh vs like vnto Chriſt. Therefore Chriſt himſelfe, when he firſt gaue his Diſciples charge for to preach, when he firſt gaue them in commandement vpon the mount, to publiſh abroad his Goſpell, *Beati pauperes*, ſaid he. And why ſo: *quoniam ipſorum eſt regnum cœlorum.* Bleſſed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdome of God. Luke 6. And againe: *Beati mites.* And why ſo: *Quoniam ipſi poſſidebunt terram:* Bleſſed are the meeke, for they ſhall inherit the earth. Matth. 5. So againe to his diſciples he ſaid; *Diſcite ex me, quia ego mitis ſum:* Learne ye of me, for I am meek; I am gentle, learne this of me, ſaid Chriſt. Matth. 11. So Paul: *Hic ſenſus ſit in vobis, qui fuit in Chriſto:* Let the ſame minde be in you, that was alſo in Chriſt Ieſus: which when he was equall with God, yet neuertheleſſe made himſelfe of no reputation, & humbled himſelfe vnto death, euen the death of the Croſſe. Philip. 2. So Dauid, notwithſtanding he was a King, a Prophet, and a man choſen, euen according to the heart of God, yet he humbled himſelfe and ſaid: *Non ambulaui in magnis, neque in mirabilibus ſuper me:* I am not high minded, I haue no proud looks, I do not exerciſe my ſelfe in great matters, which are too high for me. Pſalm. 131. So Paul: God hath choſen the fooliſh things of this world, that by them hee may bee able to confound the wiſe: hee hath choſen the weake things that through them hee may ſubdue the ſtrong. Thus God vſeth humble and lowly things, ſaith S. Paul. *Ex ore infantium & lactantium perfeciſti laudem tuam.* Out of the mouth of very babes & ſucklings haſt thou made perfit thy praiſe; euen by the mouths of infants & ſucking babes thou haſt ordained ſtrength, & ſpread abroad the glory of thy name. 1. Cor. 1. Pſalm. 8. So Paul, notwithſtanding he was a great learned man, and ſkilful in the Lawes among the Iewes, yet he bragged not, nor boaſted of his great knowledge he had, but he humbled himſelfe, and ſaid; *Ego me arbitror nihil ſcire niſi Chriſtum, & eum quidem crucifixum:* I thinke thus of my ſelf, that I know nothing, ſaue Ieſus Chriſt, euen the ſame that was crucified. Other knowledge haue I none to aduance my ſelfe of, ſaid S. Paul. 1. Cor. 2. And vpon this foundation of humility, it pleaſed almighty God, at the firſt to erect and build his holy Church, vpon his Apoſtles; I ſay, who were the very patternes of meekeneſſe, it ſeemed good vnto God to build his holy Church. And after them, ſuch as were of the congregation of Chriſt, ſuch as profeſſed the name of Chriſt, were not proud men, were not men of hauty courage, nor high minded. And therefore, as we read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, *Erat illis cor vnum, & anima vna:* They were all of one heart, and one minde together. Acts. 4. So at the beginning, the Diſciples of Chriſt were poore in ſpirit, and therefore were they meet to inherit the kingdome of heauen: they were meeke in heart, and humble of minde, and therefore were they

mæt to poſſeſſe the earth: they learned at Chriſt to be méeke and lowly: they had the ſame ſenſe in them that was in Chriſt, and therefore they humbled themſelues vnto death: they were counted the fooliſh things of the earth, therefore were they mæte inſtruments to confound the wiſdome of the world; they were counted the weake things, and therefore were they mæt to ouercome the mighty. The babes were méeke and lowly, and therefore were they mæt to ſpread abroad the glory of God. S. Paul of all his learning thought that he knew nothing, ſo much he humbled himſelfe: and therfore was he mæt to be an Apoſtle of Chriſt, and Preacher of his Goſpell. There is a ſtory, or rather a fable, written of S. Anthonie; whether you take it as a ſtorie, or a fable, I much recken not, but it ſerueth well for this purpoſe: It is thus: S. Anthonie on a time lay in a trance, and as he ſo lay, he loked down from heauen (as he thought) and ſaw all the whole earth ſo thicke couered with ſnares, that poſſible it was not for any man to tread vpon the earth, and not be intangled therwithall: and this when he beheld, ſuddenly he cried out, and ſaid; O Lord, and who can then walke on the earth, and not be intrapped? With that he heard a voice that anſwered him, & ſaid: *Sola humilitas:* Onelie humilitie it is, ſaid that voice, that may go, and not be intangled: only Humilitie, and nothing elſe. Who ſo is Humble, he may walke without danger, he may goe and not be taken. This is written that S. Anthonie ſhould ſée, and heare in his trance. But Dauid, the Prophet of God, ſaith indéed: *Sacrificium Deo ſpiritus contritus:* The contrite and humble heart, is a ſacrifice vnto God: the méeke and lowly heart is a ſweet and acceptable Sacrifice vnto God, ſaith the Prophet Dauid. So againe, in another place he ſaith:

Pſal. 138. *Deus humilia reſpicit, & alta à longè proſpicit:* God hath regard to the humble and lowlie, and as for the proud, hee beholdeth them a far off. Eſay alſo, or rather God by his Prophet

Eſay 65. Eſay ſaith: *Super quem requieſcet ſpiritus meus, niſi ſuper humilem?* Vpon whom ſhall my ſpirit reſt, ſaith God, but vpon the humble and meeke? for otherwiſe, ſaith S. Paul,

Titus 3. *Qui inflatur, cadit:* Hee that is puffed vppe with pride, falleth into the hands of the Diuell.

Thus, (good Brethren) humility preſerueth the Church of God; humility vpholdeth all good Common weales. Pride it is that ſcattereth the Church of God; pride ouerthroweth all good Common weales. There was yet neuer pride in any Citie without diſſenſion, nor diſſenſion that continued without deſtruction of the whole Common weale. Yee ſhall neuer read in any record, either of City, Kingdome, or Common weale, but that, if pride raigned therein, there conſequentlie followed diſſenſion, and of diſſenſion inſued the ouerthrow of the ſame. In the City of Rome, which was called the Lady of the whole world, there were two that toke vpon them the gouernance of the Empire: Iulius Cæſar, and Pompey. Iulius Cæſar was a man of ſo haughty courage, that hee could abide no Péere: Pompey was of ſuch an high mind, that hee could ſuffer no man to be his equall. And thus for dominion, ſtroue theſe two together: and thus through their diſſenſion, was not onely the whole City, but the Kingdome it ſelfe brought to deſtruction. The State of the Grecians, which then chiefly aboue other flouriſhed, becauſe it was diuided, came to vtter confuſion. But what ſpeake I of theſe? what ſpeake I of Rome, and the State of the Grecians. Who is there that hath not heard of Ieruſalem; Ieruſalem I ſay, that great City, that ſame Towne that God had choſen to him ſelfe, euen that ſame Towne wherein God would haue his Temple erected, and his holie name honored, after that the Rulers thereof began to be diuided, after that the Magiſtrates fell to diſcord, and each man would bée a Captaine, and no man would bee ruled: then came the enemies in, then was it beſieged, then was the Mother for very famine conſtrained to eat her owne child, then was it vtterly deſtroied, and no one ſtone left vpon another; and which was moſt miſerable, there were ſlaine in that Citie eleuen hundred thouſand people, and the verie chanels in the ſtrætes ran all with bloud. Thus miſerably was it ouerthrowen, and in ſuch wretched eſtate were the whole people thereof: and this onely came to paſſe through pride and diſſenſion. And this was it that Eſay long time before propheſied of, and ſaid: Then

Eſay 3.24. ſhall the whole Countrie be ſcattered, when the people once conſpire againſt their Princes. And therefore alſo an old writer, Petrus Lilius ſaith: Diſcord is the onelie cauſe of the ouerthrow of Kingdomes; Diuiſion is the onelie cauſe that great Empires cannot ſtand; Diſſenſion maketh two Kingdomes of one; Diſſenſion maketh of two Cities one; and at length it maketh of two Kingdomes, no Kingdome; of two Cities, no Citie. This writeth Petrus Lilius of Diſſenſion; this is the end of Diſcord ſaith hee: and indéed experience hath taught that this is moſt true.

But wherefore ſpeake I of theſe things? wherefore doe I héere repeat vnto you theſe old and ancient hiſtories? why recount I vnto you the ouerthrow of Rome? the deſtruction of the Grecians? the deſolation of Ieruſalem? which all hapned through Diuiſion. I would to God I ſaw nothing euen now before mine eies, that cauſeth me thus to ſay: I

would

would to God, I ſay, that I ſaw now nothing preſent before mine eies, that cauſeth mee thus to ſay. But theſe examples (my brethren) God hath placed before our eies, that wee might take heed by them, that wee might the better looke to our ſelues, and beware of our owne deſtruction. Chriſt hath ſaid; Chriſt that is the authour of truth, and truth it ſelfe, hath ſaid: *Ciuitas diuiſa, deſolabitur:* The City that is diuided, bee it neuer ſo rich, neuer ſo ſtrong, neuer of ſo great force, yet, ſhall it be deſtroied, it ſhall be brought to vtter deſolation. Rome, that ſometime was the wealthieſt City in the World, and called therefore the Lady of the whole world, fell to diuiſion: and therefore was ſhee ouerthrowen and vterly deſtroied. The Grecians, which were a people of greateſt force, fell to diſſenſion: and therefore was their whole eſtate pulled downe, and caſt flat to the ground. Ieruſalem, that holy City, that City that was ſo ſtrong, fell aſunder, fell at diſcord within it ſelfe: and therefore was ſhee ſpoiled of her enemies, and brought to deſolation. Luke 11.

Remember, good brethren, remember with your ſelues, how can that ſhip which ſaileth in the Sea, bee ſafe in the middeſt of the waues, if the people within the ſame doe bore through it, or rent vp the ribs of the ſame? How can that City be preſerued, where no man will heare counſell, where no man careth for the publike State, where no man paſſeth for other, where God is not in the middeſt: *Deus charitas eſt*, ſaith S. Iohn, *& qui in charitate eſt, in Deo manet:* God is charity, and he that dwelleth in charity, dwelleth in God. Or, ſaith Salomon: *Turris fortiſſima nomen Domini:* The name of the Lord is a ſtrong Tower: The name of God ſaueth the City. Dauid alſo the Prophet of God ſaith: *Niſi Dominus cuſtodierit ciuitatem, in vanum laborant qui cuſtodiunt eam:* Except the Lord keepe the City, except the Lord defend it, ſaith hee, they labour in vaine, they watch in vaine that are ſet to defend it. 1. Ioh. 4. Pſal. 127.

Theſe things, good brethren appertaine both to our office that are Miniſters, and appointed by God to inſtructe the people, and they appertaine alſo vnto all Magiſtrates, yea, and vnto the whole people. As for vs that are Gods Miniſters, and meſſengers ſent vnto you, we do ſtand vpon the Tower to crie, and giue you warning that the enemies are comming, to ſhew you before hand that your foes are approching: our part is to declare vnto you, that your fight is not againſt King, nor Cæſar; is not againſt any Prince or power of this world, but againſt ſpirituall enemies, againſt the Diuell and his adherents: our part is to diſſuad you from diſſenſion: to diſſuad you from diſcord and diuiſion. This muſt we doe aſwell to the Magiſtrate, as to the reſt of the people: aſwell to him that beareth office, as to him that beareth none. For we are debtors vnto all men, aſwell to the rich, as to the poore; to the wiſe, as to the foliſh; to the good, as to the bad. This is alſo the Magiſtrates office; this is likewiſe his duty. Therefore hath God ſet him vp; therefore hath God exalted him aboue the reſt of the people, that hee ſhould guid them in peace, and lead them in loue and vnitie together. Rom. 1.

Thus did Dauid, that good king; he found the whole kingdome left by Saul his predeceſſor in diſſenſion & diuiſion within it ſelfe; he found, I ſay, the whole country at variance and great debate; but by his great wiſdome & good gouernance together, he reduced the ſame into good order againe, and ſuch as before were enemies, he made faithfull friends, and the whole Country he brought to quietneſſe, peace, and mutuall vnity. And therefore, when he had this brought to paſſe, for ioy that he had thus of mortall foes, made louing friends, he ſung: *O quàm bonum, & quàm iucundum habitare fratres in vnum!* O how ioyfull a thing is it, for brethren to dwell together in vnity! So much it comforted him, ſo glad was hee when he ſaw his people agree together. Therefore in the ſcriptures the Magiſtrates are called Shepheards, for that they ought ſo to guid the people committed to their charge, as the Shepheard doth his flocke. Therefore they are called alſo Captaines, for that they ought to haue ſuch reſpect to Gods people, as the good Captaine hath regard to his Souldiers. Therefore likewiſe are they called the Heads, for that, like as the head gouerneth the whole body, ſo ſhould they rule and gouerne the people, as members of their body. Therefore in like are they called Fathers, for that the people are ſo in ſubiection vnto them, as the child is in obedience vnder his Father. But chiefly it is required in them; it is chiefly, and aboue all other things required in ſuch as are Magiſtrates, that they themſelues knowe God; that they themſelues, I ſay, aboue all other men, haue perfect knowledge of God, and his Lawes: ſo that the people by that meane may follow him, and they all together may follow God. Therefore in the Booke of Deuteronomie, God himſelfe gaue in charge to all ſuch as ſhould become Magiſtrates, ſaying: He that is called to beare Office, whatſoeuer he be that is appointed to be a Ruler, ſhal firſt write out all this booke of my Law with his own hand. And againe, he ſaid: *Non recedet liber iſte ab ore tuo:* This booke of mine ſhall not depart from thy mouth: this booke of mine ſhall not be out of thy hand. This is Gods charge to all them that beare office, this is his charge and commandement giuen vnto them. Iohn 1. 1. Pet. 2. Ioſua 1.

Ther-

fore that good king Dauid, when God had appointed him to be king and chiefe Ruler of his people, he said: *Si dedero oculis meis somnum, aut palpebris meis requiem, antequam inuenero domum Domino meo, & Tabernaculum Deo Iacob*: If I shall giue my selfe vnto sleepe, or mine eie lids any rest, before that I find out a house for my God, and a Tabernacle for the God of Iacob, &c. As who would say, I will neuer study mine owne matters, I will neuer go about mine owne business, before I haue established the matters of my God, and the businesse of the God of Iacob. Therefore in like maner Ezechias, that vertuous king, when he was called by God to beare office, would not go home to his own affaires, before he had purged the Church of God. Iustinian also, that good and godly Emperor, was wont to say; That hee asmuch cared for the preseruation of Gods Church, as he did for the safegard of his owne soule. And thus, loke what care Dauid the prophet of God had ouer Gods people: loke what care that vertuous king Ezechias had: loke what care that good and godly Emperor Iustinian had; the same, and the like ought euery good Magistrate to haue: as Dauid, Ezechias, and Iustinian did, so should euery good and godly officer doe: he must not giue himselfe vnto sleep, nor his eie lids vnto rest, before he hath prouided a Temple for the God of Iacob: hee must not goe home vnto his owne house, before that hee hath purged Gods Church: he must haue as great respect to the saluation of Gods flocke, as he hath regard to the safegard of his owne Soule: he must remember, that his chaire is Gods chaire, that his sword is Gods sword. Now (good Brethren) it behoueth you of your part, to put away all hatred, to abolish from him all pride, dissension, all discord, and to honor the Magistrate, to follow you your Shepheard, as the sheepe doe there shepheard: to ioy in him your Captaine, as the Souldiers reioice in their Captaine: to bee gouerned by him your head, as the members of the body are ruled by the head: and lastly, so to bee in subiection vnto him, as the childe is in obedience and subiection to his father. And so shall there then be, both a godly Magistrate, so shall there be godly people, and so shall there bee a godly Realme.

Pſal. 132.

2. Chro. 29.

Now let vs here thinke, that S. Paul speaketh these words vnto vs (as indeed he speaketh them vnto vs, if we are, or will be called Christians) vnto vs, he saith: Bee not high minded: vnto vs he saith; Be not wise in your owne opinions: vnto vs he saith; Recompence no man euill for euill: vnto vs he saith; If it be possible haue peace with all men. O then, why are we of such proud hearts? Why are we high minded? Why are we wise in our owne opinions? Why recompence we euill for euill? Why seeke wee reuengement? Why agree not wee together? O by whose name shall I call you? I would I might call you brethren: but alas, this heart of yours is not brotherly. I would I might call you Christians: but alas, you are no Christians. I know not by what name I shall call you: for if you were brethren, you would loue as brethren: if you were Christians, you would agree as Christians. Christ said vnto his disciples, and so by them to all such as professe his name; *Mandatum nouum do vobis, vt diligatis inuicem, sicut & ego dilexi vos*: I giue you a new commandement, said Christ, that you loue together, euen as I haue loued you. By this token, by this cognisance of mine shall men know you to be my Disciples, if you loue together as I haue loued you. Let vs loke well vpon our selues, let vs behold our selues well: alas, this badge, this cognisance is gone, this peace that Christ left vnto vs, is not to be found amongst vs. O ye that sometimes were brethren, but now mortall enemies, ye that sometimes ware this badge, this cognisance of Christs peace, which now ye haue cast from you: O how long will you follow vanity, how long will ye dwell in dissension? I haue done my part, I haue called you to peace, I haue called you to loue, I haue called you to vnity: doe you now your parts, doe you ensue after peace, loue you ech other, continue ye in vnity together. I haue not the keies of your hearts, I am not able to lose and open those stony hearts of yours: God make you all one, God mollifie your hearts, God make you friends, God grant you to loue as brethren together.

Ioh. 13.

Let vs lay aside this pride of our heart, let vs not be wise in our owne opinions, let vs not requite euill with euill; let vs, as much as may be, haue peace with all men. Alas, it is no great thing that I require of you: I require only your loue, I require your friendship one towards another; I aske no more, but that your hearts be ioined in mutuall loue and vnity together. Alas, it is a thing that some may bee granted of such as pray together, of such as haue one heauenly Father, of such as are partakers of Christs holy Sacraments, of such as professe Christ, and will be called Christians.

O how can we pray our Heauenly father to forgiue vs, if we will not forgiue our brother wherein hee trespasseth against vs? How can wee with cleere conscience come vnto the holy Communion, and bee partakers of Christs most holy body and bloud, if wee are not in charity with our owne neighbour? Let vs therefore lay aside all discord without hypocrisie, let vs lay apart all malice without dissimulation, let vs all ioine together

ther in brotherly loue, let vs all be of like affection one towards another; but let vs not be high minded, let vs make our ſelues equall to them of the lower ſort. So ſhall we make our bodies a quicke and liuely Sacrifice, ſo ſhall we make them holy and acceptable vnto God; ſo ſhall we be reconciled vnto God, and God reconciled vnto vs: and finally, ſo ſhall we which are called Chriſtians, be knowen to be Gods ſeruants, and ſuch as profeſſe the name of Chriſt, if we ſhall be found to haue this peace and brotherly loue, which is the badge and cogniſance of Chriſt. And ſo ſhall God be ours, and remaine with vs for euer. Amen.

A TREATISE OF THE SACRAMENTS GATHERED

out of certaine Sermons, which the *Reuerend Father in God, Biſhop* Iewel, preached at *Salisbury*.

I Haue opened vnto you the contents of the Lords Praier, and ſhewed you vpon whom we ought to call, and what to aſke: and the Articles of our Chriſtian Faith, in God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie Ghoſt; of the Church, of Remiſſion of Sinnes, of the Reſurrection, and of Life euerlaſting, &c. And I haue opened vnto you the Tenne commandements, and in them what our duty is towards God, towards our Prince and Magiſtrates, towards our Parents, towardes our neighbour and towards our ſelues. All this haue I done ſimplie and plainelie, without all ſhew of learning, that it might the better ſinke into our hearts.

Now I thinke good to ſpeake of the Sacraments of the Church, that all you may know what they are, becauſe you are all partakers of the holy Sacraments. Chriſt hath ordained them, that by them he might ſet before our eies the myſteries of our ſaluation, and might more ſtrongly confirme the faith, which we haue in his blood, and might ſeale his grace in our hearts. As Princes ſeales confirme and warrant their deeds and charters: ſo doe the Sacraments witneſſe vnto our conſcience, that Gods promiſes are true, and ſhall continue for euer. Thus doth God make known his ſecret purpoſe to his Church: firſt, he declareth his mercy by his word: then he ſealeth it, and aſſureth it by his Sacraments. In the word we haue his promiſes: in the Sacraments we ſee them.

It would require a long time, if I ſhould diſcourſe that might be ſaid in this matter: eſpecially in laying open ſuch errors and abuſes, as haue crept into the Church. But I will haue regard to this place, and ſo frame my ſpeech, that the meaneſt and ſimpleſt may reape profit thereby. That you may the better remember it, I will keepe this order. I will ſhew you, what a Sacrament is: Secondly, who hath ordained them: Thirdly, wherefore they were ordained, and what they worke in vs: Fourthly, how many there are: and then I will briefly ſpeake of euery one of them.

A Sacrament is an outward and viſible ſigne, whereby God ſealeth vp his grace in our hearts, to the confirmation of our Faith. Saint Auguſtine ſaith: *Sacramentum eſt inuiſibilis gratiæ viſibile ſignum*: A Sacrament is a viſible ſigne of grace inuiſible. And that we may the better vnderſtand him, he telleth vs what thing we ſhould call a ſigne: A ſigne, is a thing that beſids the ſight it ſelfe, which it offereth to the ſenſes, cauſeth of it ſelfe ſome other certaine thing to come to knowledge. In Baptiſme, the water is the ſigne: and the thing ſignified, is the grace of God. We ſee the water, but the grace of God is inuiſible: we cannot

Auguſt. de doctrina Chriſtiana, li. 2. ca. 1.

ſee

Ad Marcellinum epist.5. ſee it. Moreouer he ſaith: *Signa, cum ad res diuinas adhibentur, Sacramenta vocantur*: Signes, when they be applied to godly things, be called Sacraments. The ſignification and the ſubſtance of the Sacrament, is to ſhew vs, how we are waſhed with the paſſion of Chriſt, and how we are fed with the body of Chriſt. And againe: If Sacraments had not a certain likeneſſe & repreſentation of the things wherof they be Sacraments, then indeed they were no Sacraments. And becauſe of this likeneſſe which they haue with the things they repreſent, they be often times termed by the names of the things themſelues. Therefore after a certaine maner of ſpæch (and not otherwiſe) the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, is the body of Chriſt, and the Sacrament of the blod of Chriſt, is the blod of Chriſt: ſo the Sacrament of faith, is faith.

Aug. epiſt.23. ad Bonifacium.

Who hath ordained the Sacraments? Not any Prelat, not any Prince, not any Angel, or Archangell, but only God himſelfe. For, he only hath authority to ſeale the charter, in whoſe authority only it is to grant it. And only he giueth the pledge, and confirmeth his grace to vs, which giueth his grace into our hearts. Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Diuinum & integrum non eſſet myſterium, ſi quicquam ex te adderes*: The myſtery were not of God, nor perfect, if thou ſhouldeſt put any thing to it. In the daies of Noah, when God determined to be mercifull vnto his people, and neuer to drowne the whole world with water, he ſaid:

Hom 7. in 1. Corin.

Gen.9. I haue ſet my bow in the cloud, and it ſhall be for a ſigne of the couenant between me and the earth; and when I ſhall couer the earth with a cloud, and the bow ſhall be ſeene in the cloud, then will I remember my couenant which is between me and you, and between euery liuing thing in fleſh, and there ſhall be no more waters of a flood to deſtroy all fleſh.

Gen.17. In like maner, when God would witnes and ſtablish to Abraham and his ſeed after him the promiſe of his mercy; he himſelfe ordained a ſacrament to confirme the ſame: This is my couenant which ye ſhall keepe between me and you, and thy ſeed after thee. Let euery manchild among you be circumciſed. Thus God ordained the ſacrament of circumciſion. This ſacrament was a ſeale of Gods promiſe to Abraham, and a ſeale of Abrahams faith, and obedience towards God. By this ſacrament was man bound to the Lord: and by the ſame ſacrament God vouchſafed to bind himſelf to man. But how is the ſacrament formed? of what parts is it made? Auguſtine ſaith: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, & fit Sacramentum*: Ioine the word of Chriſts inſtitution with the ſenſible creature, and thereof is mad a Sacrament. Ioine the word to the creature of water, and therof is made the Sacrament of Baptiſme: take away the word, then what is the water other then water? The word of God & the creature make a ſacrament. But why were ſacraments ordained? he telleth you

Tract.80. in 13. Ioh.

Lib.19. contra Fauſt. cap.11. *In nullum nomen religionis, ceu verum, &c.* Men cannot be gathered together to the profeſſiō of any religion, whether it be true or falſe, vnleſſe they be bound in the fellowſhip of viſible ſignes of ſacraments. The firſt cauſe why they were ordained, is, that therby one ſhould acknowledge another, as fellowes of one houſehold, and members of one body. So was all Iſraell reckoned the children of Abraham, becauſe of there circumciſion; and all ſuch as were vncircumciſed, were cut off from the people, and had no part in the common wealth of Iſraell, becauſe they were vncircumciſed: Euen as we take them that are not baptized, to be none of our brethren, to be no children of God, nor members of his Church, becauſe they will not take the Sacrament of Baptiſme. Another cauſe is, to moue, inſtruct, and teach our dul and heauy hearts, by ſenſible creatures, that ſo our negligence in not heeding or marking the word of God ſpoken vnto vs, might be amended. For if any man haue the outward ſeale, and haue not the faith thereof ſealed within his heart, it auaileth him not: he is but an hypocrite and diſſembler. So the circumciſion of the foreſkinne of the fleſh, taught them to mortifie their fleſhly affections, and to cut off the thoughts and deuiſes of their wicked hearts. Therefore ſaid Stephen to the Iewes, Ye ſtiffenecked and of vncircumciſed hearts and eares, you haue alwaies reſiſted the holy Ghoſt.

Act.7.

So, when in Baptiſme our bodies are waſhed with water, we are taught that our ſoules are waſhed in the blod of Chriſt. The outward waſhing or ſprinkling doth repreſent the ſprinkling and waſhing which is wrought within vs: the water doth ſignifie the blod of Chriſt. If we were nothing elſe but ſoule, he would giue vs his grace barely and alone, without ioining it to any creature, as he doth to his Angels: but ſeeing our ſpirit is drowned in our body, and our fleſh doth make our vnderſtanding dull; therefore we receiue his grace by ſenſible things.

Hom.7. in 1. Cor. Chryſoſt. ſaith: *Aliter ego, & aliter incredulus diſponitur. Ille cum, &c.* I am otherwiſe affected, then is he which beleeueth not. When he heareth of the water of Baptiſme, he thinketh it is nothing elſe but water: but, I ſee (not the creature only, which mine eies do ſee, but alſo) the cleanſing of my ſoule by the holy Ghoſt. He thinketh that my body only is waſhed: I beleeue, that my ſoule is thereby made pure & holy: & withal I conſider Chriſts buriall, his reſurrection, our ſanctificatiō, righteouſnes, redemptiō, adoption, our inheritance, the kingdome

dome of heauen, and the fulnesse of the spirit. For I iudge not of the things I see by my bodily eies, but by the eies of my mind.

When one that is vnlearned, and cannot read, loketh vpon a booke, be the booke neuer so true, neuer so well written, yet because he knoweth not the letters, and cannot read, he loketh vpon it in vaine. He may turne ouer all the leaues, and looke vpon all, and see nothing: but another that can read, & hath iudgement to vnderstand, considereth the whole storie, the doughty deeds, graue counsels, discreet answers, examples, promises, threatnings, the very drift, and meaning of him that wrot it. So doe the faithfull receiue the fruit and comfort by the Sacraments, which the wicked and vngodly neither consider, nor receiue. Thus doe the Sacraments lead vs, and instruct vs to behold the secret and vnknowne mercies of God, and to carrie our selues to the obedience of his will. And this is the other cause, why Sacraments were ordained.

Thirdly, they are seales and confirmations of Gods promise. S. Paul saith: Abraham receiued the signe of circumcision, as the seale of the righteousnesse of the faith, which he had when he was vncircumcised. By these, we stop the mouth of heretikes. For, if they denie that our Lord Jesus Christ was deliuered to death for our sins, and is risen againe for our iustification: we shew them our Sacraments, that they were ordained, to put vs in remembrance of Christ, and that by the vse of them, wee shew the Lords death till hee come. We tell them, these are proofes, and signes, that Christ suffered death for vs on the crosse. As Chrysostome saith: Laying out these mysteries, we stop their mouthes. Rom. 4. *Chrys. in Mat. hom.* 83.

What? Are they nothing else but bare and naked signes? God forbid. They are the seales of God, heauenly tokens, and signes of the grace, and righteousnesse, and mercie giuen and imputed to vs. Circumcision was not a bare signe. That is not circumcision, which is outward in the flesh, saith Paul, but the circumcision of the heart. And againe: In Christ yee are circumcised with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinfull body of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ. Euen so is not Baptisme any bare signe. *Baptisma eius*, saith Chrysostome, *etiam passio eius est*: Christs baptisme, is Christs passion. They are not bare signes: it were blasphemie so to say. The grace of God doth alwaies worke with his Sacraments: but we are taught not to seeke that grace in the signe, but to assure our selues by receiuing the signe, that it is giuen vs by the thing signified. Wee are not washed from our sinnes by the water, wee are not fed to eternall life by the bread and wine, but by the precious bloud of our Sauiour Christ, that lieth hid in these Sacraments. Rom. 2. Coloss. 2. *Ad Hebr. hom.* 16.

Bernard saith: *Datur annulus ad inuestiendum, &c.* The fashion is to deliuer a ring, when seisin and possession of inheritance is giuen: the ring is a signe of the possession. So that he which hath taken it, may say; the ring is nothing, I care not for it: it is the inheritance, which I sought for. In like maner, when Christ our Lord drew nigh to his passiõ, he thought good to giue seisin and possession of his grace to his Disciples, and that they might receiue his inuisible grace by some visible signe. *Serm. de cœna Dom.*

Chrysostome saith: *In nobis non simplex aqua operatur: sed cum accepit gratiam spiritus, abluit omnia peccata*: Plaine or bare water worketh not in vs, but when it hath receiued the grace of the holy Ghost, it washeth away all our sinnes. *Hom. 35. in Iohan.*

So saith Ambrose also: *Spiritus sanctus descendit, & consecrat aquam*: The holie Ghost commeth downe, and halloweth the water. And, *Praesentia Trinitatis adest*: There is the presence of the Trinity. So saith Cyril: *Quemadmodum viribus ignis aqua, &c.* As water thorowly heat with fire, burneth as well as the fire: so the waters which wash the body of him that is baptized, are changed into diuine power, by the working of the holy Ghost. So said Leo, sometimes a Bishop of Rome: *Dedit aqua, quod dedit matri. Virtus enim altissimi, & obumbratio Spiritus Sancti, quae fecit vt Maria pareret saluatorem, eadem fecit, vt regeneret vnda credentem*: Christ hath giuen like preeminence to the water of Baptisme, as hee gaue to his mother. For that power of the Highest, & that ouershadowing of the holy ghost which brought to passe, that Mary should bring foorth the Sauiour of the world, hath also brought to passe, that the water should beare a new, or regenerate him that beleeueth. *Ambr. de Sac. lib. 1 cap. 5.* *Cyril. in Ioh. lib. 2. cap. 42.* *Leo. Serm 5. de nat. Dom.*

Such opinion had the ancient learned Fathers, and such reuerend words they vsed, when they intreated of the Sacraments. For, it is not man, but God which worketh by them: yet is it not the creature of bread or water, but the soule of man that receiueth the grace of God. These corruptible creatures need it not: we haue need of Gods grace. But this is a phrase of speaking. For the power of God, the grace of God, the presence of the Trinitie; the holy Ghost, the gift of God, are not in the water, but in vs. And we were not made, because of the Sacraments: but the Sacraments were ordained for our sake.

Now for the number of Sacraments, how many there be: it may seeme somewhat hard to say, and that it cannot be spoken without offence. For mens iudgements heerein haue swarued

swarued very much: some haue said, there are two: others three: others foure: and others, that there are seuen Sacraments. This difference of opinions standeth rather in termes, then in the matter. For a Sacrament in the maner of speaking which the Church vseth, and in the writings of the holy Scripture, and of ancient fathers, sometimes signifieth properly euery such Sacrament which Christ hath ordained in the new Testament, for which he hath chosen some certaine element, & spoken special words to make it a Sacrament, and hath annexed thereto the promise of grace: sometimes it is vsed in a generall kind of taking, and so euery mistery set downe to teach the people, and many things that indeed and by special property be no Sacraments, may neuertheless passe vnder the generall name of a Sacrament.

The Sacraments instituted by Christ are only two: the Sacrament of Baptisme, & of our Lords Supper, as the ancient learned fathers haue made account of them. Saint Ambrose hauing occasion of purpose to entreat of the Sacraments, speaketh but of two. *De Sacramentis*, saith he, *quæ accepistis, sermonem adorior*: I begin to speake of the Sacraments which you haue receiued. And yet in his whole treatise diuided into sir bookes, he writeth but of two: his booke is extant, if any man doubt this, he may see it.

Lib. 1. de Sac. cap. 1.

De Symb. ad Catechumen. lib. 3. cap. 9. de doct. Christ.

S. Augustine reckoneth them to be but two: *Hæc sunt ecclesiæ gemina Sacramenta*: These be the two Sacraments of the Church. Againe he saith: *Quædam pauca pro multis, eademq; factu facillima, &c.* Our Lord and his Apostles haue deliuered vnto vs, a few Sacraments in stead of many: and the same in doing most easie, in signification most excellent, in obseruation most reuerend, as is the Sacrament of Baptisme, and the celebration of the body & bloud of our Lord. Thus Augustine and Ambrose, vnto whom I might also ioyne other ancient fathers, reckon but two Sacraments. Let no man then be offended with vs for so doing: we doe no new thing, but restore the ordinance of Christ, and kepe the example of the holy fathers.

What then? Do we refuse Confirmation, Penance, Orders, and Matrimony? Is there no vse of these among vs? doe we not allow them? Yes. For we do confirme and teach Repentance, and minister holy Orders, and account Matrimony, and so vse it, as an honorable state of life. We visite the sicke among vs, and anoint them with the precious oyle of the mercy of God. But we call not these Sacraments, because they haue not the like institution. Confirmation was not ordained by Christ: Penance hath not any outward element ioyned to the word: the same may be said of Orders. And Matrimony was not first instituted by Christ: for God ordained it in paradise long before. But in these two, we haue both the element and the institution. In Baptisme, the element is water; in the Lords supper, bread and wine. Baptisme hath the word of institution: Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.

Math. 28.

The Lords supper in like maner hath the word of institution: Do this in remembrance of me.

Luke 22.

Therefore these two are properly and truly called the Sacraments of the Church, because in them the element is ioyned to the word, and they take their ordinance of Christ, and be visible signes of inuisible grace.

Now, whatsoeuer lacketh either of these, it is no Sacrament. Therefore are not the other fiue, which are so reckoned, and make vp the number of seuen, in due signification and right meaning taken for Sacraments. For in such sort as these are called Sacraments, that is, because they signifie some holy thing, we shal find a great number of things, which the godly learned Fathers haue called Sacraments; and yet, I trow, we must not hold them as sacraments ordained to be kept and continued in the Church: for then should there be not seuen, but seuenteene Sacraments.

Serm. de cœna Dom.

S. Bernard calleth the washing of the Apostles feet a Sacrament: *Ablutio pedum Sacramentum est quotidianorum peccatorum*: The washing of feet, is the Sacrament of daily sinnes.

Serm. 2. de Resur. D.

So Leo calleth the Crosse of Christ a Sacrament. *Crux Christi quæ saluandis est impensa fidelibus, & sacramentum est, & exemplum*: The Crosse of Christ, which was giuen to saue the faithful, is both a Sacrament, and also an example. Tertullian calleth the whole state of Christian faith, *Religionis Christianæ Sacramentum*: The Sacrament of Christian Religion.

Lib. 4. contra Marcion.

S. Hilary in diuers places saith: *Sacramentum orationis, Sacramentum ieiunii, Sacramentum fitis, Sacramentum fletus, Sacramentum Scripturarum*: The Sacrament of praier, the Sacrament of fasting, the Sacrament of thirst, the Sacrament of weeping, the Sacrament of the Scriptures. Thus much for the number, that by the institution of Christ, there are but two Sacraments, as Cardinal Bessarion confesseth: *Hæc duo sola Sacramenta in Euangelijs manifestè tradita legimus*: We read, that these two only Sacraments were deliuered vs plainly in the Gospell.

Bessar. de Sacram. Eucha.

I will now speake briefly of the Sacraments in seuerall, and leaue all idle and vaine questions, and only lay open so much as is needful, & profitable for you to know. Baptisme

therefore

therefore is our regeneration or new birth, whereby wee are borne anew in Christ, and are made the Sons of God, and heires of the kingdome of heauen, it is the Sacrament of the remission of sinnes, and of that washing which we haue in the blood of Christ. We are all borne the children of wrath, and haue our part in the offence of Adam. S. Paul saith: By one man sin entered into the world. Augustine saith: *Non dixit, veniet super eum, sed manet super eum. Respexit originem, &c.* Christ said not, it shall come vpon him; but it abideth on him: He had regard to our offspring, when hee saith; the wrath of God abideth on him. Vpon which when the Apostle also looked, he said; and we our selues also were sometimes the children of wrath. That which in Adam was imputed to his offence, and not to be of nature, is now in vs, which are come of Adam, become natural. Therefore saith the Prophet; Behold I was borne in iniquitie, and in sinne hath my mother conceiued me. So that we all haue cause to crie out and mone with S. Paul: I see another law in my members rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captiue vnto the law of sinne which is in my members. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliuer me from the body of this death? Hereof speaketh our Sauiour: That which is borne of the flesh is flesh: and that which is borne of the spirit, is spirit. And for this cause, saith he; except a man be borne of the water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of God.

Rom. 5. De verbis Apost. Serm. 14.

Psal. 51. Rom. 7.

Iohn 3.

For this cause are infants baptized, because they are borne in sinne, and cannot become spiritual, but by this new birth of the water & the spirit. They are the heires of the promise: the couenant of Gods fauour is made vnto them. God said to Abraham: I will establish my couenant betweene me and thee, and thy seed after thee in their generations, for an euerlasting couenant, to be God vnto thee, and to thy seed after thee. Therefore saith the Apostle: If the root be holy, so are the branches. And againe: The vnbeleeuing husband is sanctified by the wife, and the vnbeleeuing wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children vncleane: but now are they holy. When the Disciples rebuked those that brought little children to Christ, that he might touch them, he said: Suffer the little children to come vnto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdome of God. And againe: Their Angels alwaies behold the face of my father which is in heauen.

Gen. 17.

Rom. 11. 1. Cor. 7.

Mark. 10. Mat. 10.

The kingdome of heauen is of such, saith Christ: not only then of those, but of other like infants which shall be in all times.

As God tooke the seed of Abraham to bee partakers of the couenant which he gaue to Abraham: so he appointed that euery man childe of eight daies old should bee circumcised. And Abraham circumcised his sonne Isaac, when he was eight daies old, as God had commanded him. May we thinke, that the promise of God hath an end, so that it reacheth not to our children? Or might the children of the Iewes receiue the signe of the couenant, and may not the children of the Christians? Whatsoeuer was promised to Abraham, the same is also performed vnto vs. We enioy the same blessings, and free priuiledge of Gods fauour. S. Paul to the Galathians saith: Know yee, that they which are of faith, are the children of Abraham. Againe: If ye be Christs, then are yee Abrahams seed, and heires by promise.

Gen. 21.

Galat 3.

Now is the signe of the Couenant also changed, and Baptisme is in stead of Circumcision, as S. Paul declareth, and calleth them circumcised, which are baptized. In whom (meaning Christ) also yee are circumcised, with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinfull bodie of the flesh, thorow the circumcision of Christ, in that you are buried with him through baptisme. Our Sauiour giueth charge to his Apostles, to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. The Apostles baptized not only such as professed their beléefe, but whole housholds. The keeper of the prison was baptized, with all that belonged vnto him. So was Crispus the chiefe ruler of the Synagogue, and his houshold, and the houshold of Stephanas. Infants are a part of the Church of God: they are the sheepe of Christ, and belong to his flocke. Why should they not beare the marke of Christ? they haue the promise of saluation: why should they not receiue the seale whereby it is confirmed vnto them? they are of the fellowship of the faithfull: Augustine saith: *Vbi ponis parvulos non baptizatos? præfecto in numero credentium:* Where place you young children, which are not yet baptized? Verily in the number of them that beleeue. Why then should not they be partakers of the Sacrament together with the faithfull?

Coloss. 2.

Acts 16.

De verbis Apost. Serm. 1.

And as the children of the faithfull by right ought to be baptized: So such others also as were borne of vnbeléeuing parents, and were aliens from the common wealth of Israel, and were strangers from the couenant of promise, and had no hope, if they acknowledge the error in which they liued, and séeke the forgiuenesse of their former sinnes, may well receiue this Sacrament of their regeneration. So when they which heard Peter were pricked in their hearts, and said to Peter and the other Apostles: Men and brethren what shal we do? Peter said

Acts 2.

said vnto them, Amend your liues, and be baptized euery one of you in the Name of Iesus Christ, for the remission of sinnes. **They were buried with Christ by Baptisme into his death, and made partakers of his blood, and continued in the Apostles doctrin and fellowship.**

Ephes. 5. Tit. 3. Christ, saith the Apostle, loued the Church, and gaue himselfe for it, that he might sanctifie it and cleanse it by the washing of water through the word. **Againe**: According to his mercy he saued vs by the washing of the new birth, and the renewing of the holy Ghost. **For this cause is baptisme called saluation, life, regeneration, the forgiuenesse of sinnes, the power of God to resurrection, the Image and pledge of resurrection, and the wæde of immortality. And yet are not these things wrought by the water: for then what need had wee of Christ? what good did his passion? what doth the holy Ghost worke in our hearts? what power or force is left to the word of God?**

Tract. 80. in Iohn. Augustine saith: *Quare non ait, mundi estis propter Baptismum quo loti estis: nisi quia etiam in aqua verbum mundat? detrahe verbum, & quid est aqua nisi aqua?* Why doth not Christ say, now ye are cleane, because of the Baptisme wherewith yee are washed: saying that because in the water it is the word that maketh cleane? take away the word, and what is water more then water? **It is the couenant, and promise, and mercy of God, which clotheth vs with immortality; assureth our resurrection, by which we receiue regeneration, forgiuenesse of sinnes, life, and saluation. His word declareth his loue towards vs: and that word is sealed and made good by Baptisme. Our faith, which are Baptized, and our continuance in the profession which we haue made, establisheth in vs this grace which we receiue. As it is said:** *Verus Baptismus constat non tam &c.* True Baptisme standeth not so much in washing of the bodie, as in the faith of the heart. **As the Doctrine of the Apostles hath taught vs, saying**; By faith purifying their hearts. **And in an other place**: Baptisme saueth vs, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examining of a good conscience before GOD, by the resurrection of Iesus Christ. **Therefore** Hierome saith: They that receiue not Baptisme with perfect faith, receiue the water, but the holy Ghost they receiue not.

De consecrat. Dist. 4. Verus. Acts 15. 1. Pet. 3. *In Eze. ca. 16.*

The water wherein we are baptized, doth not clense the soule: But, the blood of Iesus Christ his Sonne doth clense vs from all sinne. **Not the water but the blood of Christ reconcileth vs vnto God, strengtheneth our conscience, and worketh our redemption. We must seeke saluation in Christ alone and not in any outward thing. Hereof saith** Cyprian: *Remissio peccatorum, siue per Baptismum, siue per alia Sacramenta donetur, proprie spiritus sancti est. Verborum solennitas &c.* The remission of sins, whether it be giuen by baptisme, or by any other Sacraments, doe properly appertaine to the holy Ghost. The solennitie of the words, and the inuocation of Gods holy Name, & the outward signes appointed to the ministerie of the Priest by the institution of the Apostles, worke the visible outward Sacrament. But touching the substance thereof, it is the holie Ghost that worketh it. S. Ambrose **also saith**: *Vidisti fontem, vidisti Sacerdotem &c.* Thou hast seene the water, thou hast seene the Priest, thou hast seene those things, which thou mightest see with the eies of thy body, and with such sight as man hath: but those things which worke and do the deede of saluation, which no eie can see, thou hast not seene.

1. Iohn. 1. *Cypr. de Baptis. Christi.* *Lib. 1. de Sac. Cap. 3.*

Such a change is made in the Sacrament of Baptisme. Through the power of Gods working the water is turned into blood. They that be washed in it receiue the remission of sinnes: their robes are made cleane in the blood of the Lamb. The water it self is nothing: but by the working of Gods spirit, the death and merits of our Lord and Sauiour Christ, are thereby assured vnto vs.

A figure hereof was giuen at the red Sea. The children of Israel passed thorow in safetie: but Pharao **and his whole army were drowned. Another figure hereof was giuen in the Arke. The whole world was drowned, but Noah and his family were saued aliue: Euen so in the fountaine of baptisme, our spirituall** Pharao **the Diuel, is choaked: his army, that is, our sinnes are drowned, and we saued. The wicked of the world are swallowed in concupiscence, and vanities, and we abide safe in the Arke: God hath chosen vs to be a peculiar people to himselfe; we walke not after the flesh, but after the spirit, therefore we are in Christ Iesus, and there is now no condemnation vnto vs.**

Now, touching the Minister of this Sacrament, whether hee bee a good man or an euill man, godly, or godlesse, an Heretike, or a Catholike, an Idolater, or a true worshipper of God: the effect is all one, the value or worthinesse of the Sacrament dependeth not of man, but of God. Man pronounceth the word, but God setteth our hearts with grace: man thoucheth or washeth vs with water, but God maketh vs cleane by the Crosse of Christ. It is not the minister, but Christ himselfe which is the lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.

Againe,

Againe, whether the infant be signed with the signe of the crosse, or be put into the water once or thrice; whether one or two or three, or more be godfathers, or witnesses of the baptisme, it maketh nothing to the vertue of the Sacrament, they are no part thereof: without these, baptisme is whole and perfect. Hereof Gregory saith: *In una fide nihil officit consuetudo Ecclesiæ diuersa*: The Faith being one, the diuersity of customes hurteth nothing. Christ left no order for the vse of these things, neither did by his word or example require them. The Church of God hath liberty to dispose herein, as may be most fitting for decency and godlinesse. *Greg. lib. 1. Epist. 41.*

Some make doubt of those infants the children of the faithfull, which depart before baptisme, whether they be saued or not. What, shall we say that they are damned? It is a hard matter, and too curious for man to enter into the iudgements of God: his mercy is infinite, and his purpose secret. He sheweth mercy vnto those, vpon whom he will haue mercie. Who can appoint him, or set him an order what he shall doe? It is not good, nor standeth with Christian reuerence to be contentious and busie in searching out, or reasoning of matters, which the wisdome of God hath hid from our knowledge.

Yet, if any would faine be resolued: he may thus safely reason. It is true, that children are borne in sinne, and that by the sinne of one man death hath entred into the world, and that the reward of sinne is death: but who knoweth if God hath forgiuen them their sinne? Who is his Counsellor, who knoweth his meaning? Our children are the children of God. He is our God, and the God of our seed. They be vnder the conenant with vs. The sobrest way is to speake least, and to leaue them to the iudgement and mercy of God.

Howbeit, if any should despise, and of wilfulnesse refuse this holy ordinance, so that they would in no case be baptized, or suffer their children to be baptized; that were damnable. Otherwise the grace of God is not tied so to the ministration of the Sacrament, that if any be preuented by death, so that he cannot be receiued to the fellowship thereof, he should therefore be thought to be damned. For many haue suffered death for Gods cause, for their faith in Christ, who neuer were baptized: yet are they reckoned, and are indeed blessed Martyrs. So Valentinianus a Christian Emperor died without Baptisme: yet doth Ambrose commend him, and nothing doubteth, but that he is saued. He saith: *Audiui vos dolere, quod non acceperit, &c.* I haue heard that you are greeued, because he tooke not the Sacrament of Baptisme. Tell me, what other thing is there in vs, but our will, and our desire? Againe: He which was induced with thy spirit, O God, how might it be that he should be void of thy grace? Or, If this moue you, because the mysteries were not solemnly ministred: are not the martyrs crowned if they be only nouices (that be not yet Christned?) But if they be washed in their blood, then is he also washed in his godlinesse and in his desire. S. Augustine saith: He is not depriued from the partaking and benefit of the Sacrament, so long as he findeth in himselfe that thing, that the Sacrament signifieth. *Orat. de obit. Valentiniani.* *In serm. ad infantes.*

Constantinus the great, was the first Christian Emperor: yet was not baptized vntil the time of his death. *Qui, cum Nicomediæ ageret* (saith Theodoretus) *langore grauatus, nec ignorans vitæ huius incertum, gratiam baptismatis est adeptus*: Who, when he was at Nicomedia, being grieuously sicke, and knowing the vncertainty of this life, was baptized. The theefe vpon the crosse, was not baptized: yet Christ said vnto him, this day thou shalt be with me in Paradise. The Prophet Ieremy, and Iohn Baptist were sanctified in their mothers wombes. By these few it may appeare, that the Sacrament maketh not a Christian, but is a seale and assurance vnto al that receiue it, of the grace of God, vnlesse they make themselues vnworthy thereof, and that no man may despise this holy ordinance, and keep backe his infants from baptisme, for in so doing he procureth his own damnation. In time of ignorance many could see this, and acknowledge it, that the outward baptisme by water was not necessary vnto saluation, so that the children or others that died without, were for lacke therof damned. The Church hath alwaies receiued three sorts of baptisme: the baptisme of the spirit, or of blood, or of water: If any were preuented by death or hindered by cruelty or persecution, so that they could not receiue the sacrament of baptisme at the hands of the minister, yet hauing the sanctification of the holy ghost, or making their faith knowen by their suffering, they were borne anew, and baptized. God hath his purpose in vs, our children. Before we be borne, when he had done neither good nor euill he hath mercy and compassion on vs. Iudgement appertaineth vnto God. He knoweth who are his. No man knoweth the things of God, but the spirit of God only. And thus much of the sacrament of baptisme, which is the badge and cognisance of euery Christian. If any be not baptized, but lacketh the marke of Gods fold, we cannot discerne him to be one of the flocke. If any take not the seale of regeneration, we cannot say, he is borne the child of God. This is the ordinary way, let vs vse it, let vs not despise, nor forslow to receiue the Sacraments: they are the meanes by which God maketh sure his good will towards vs. *Hist. tripart. lib. 3. cap. 12.*

It shall not be amisse, to speake a word or two of the naming of your children. Some are herein ouerseen, they refuse to call their children by the names of holy men and women, because they thinke it to sauor somwhat too much of religion, and therefore either they name them at aduenture, hauing no regard at all, how they be named: or els they giue them the names of heathen men, and call them Iulius Cæsar, Hercules, Lucretia, Scipio, or such like. These, although they were notable in wisdome, learning, chastity, boldnesse, and in conquests: yet were they heathen men, and knew not God. The name is nothing, it commendeth vs not to God. Yet may a Christian father be ashamed to call his child by the name of such, who were enemies to the Crosse of Christ.

Hom. 21 in Genesim. Chrysostome a godlie father, saith; *Non solum hic parentum monstratur pietas, sed & magna erga pueros diligētia, &c.* In this thing, that is, in the naming of their children, both the godlinesse of the parents, & also their great care for their children is declared. And how haue they forthwith and from the beginning taught the children which were borne vnto them, giuing them warning, by the names wherewith they call them, that they should practise virtue? They did not giue names at aduenture and without reason, as is vsed now adaies. For now men say, let the child be called after the name of his grandfather, or great grandfather: but our old fathers did not so. They took all heed to call their children by such names, which should not only prouoke them to virtue which carried the names, but should teach all others much wisdome, whosoeuer should remaine many yeers after them. Againe he saith: *Hom. 51 in Gen.* See how great vnderstanding they of old time had, that euen the women named not their children rashly or by chance, but called them by names that foreshewed such things as might happen after. And of Lea Iacobs wife, he maketh a speciall commendation. *Hom. 56. in Gen.* *Vidisti quomodo non simpliciter, neq; temere nomina natis indiderit, Vocauit enim Simeon, quoniam audiuit (inquit) Dominus.* See how shee nameth not her children simply, nor at aduenture: shee called him Simeon, because (saith she) the Lord hath heard. Therefore he saith, *Hom. 21. in Gen.* *Igitur nos ne vulgaria nomina pueris indamus, neq; auorum, &c.* Let not vs therefore giue names vnto our children that are common names, or because they were the names of our grandfathers, or great grandfathers, or of such who haue been famous for their parentage: but rather let vs call them by the names of such as haue excelled in virtue, and haue been most faithfull towards God. Let them carry the names of the Apostles, of the Prophets, of the Martyrs, of such who haue been constant in the faith, and haue suffered death for Christs sake. That so they may be taught by their name to remember whose name they beare, and that they neither speake, nor doe any thing vnworthy of their name.

As, if any be called Iohn, that he pray for grace, and desire to be filled with grace: that he giue witnesse of Christ, that he is the Lambe of God which taketh away the sins of the world: that he rebuke vice boldly, as Iohn did in Herod, though he were a mighty Prince. Or, if he be called Paul, that he so become a follower of Paul, as Paul was of Christ: and say with Paul, That I might liue vnto God, I am crucified with Christ. Thus I liue, yet not I now, but Christ liueth in me: and heare Christ speaking vnto him as did Paul, and fal down and say, Lord, what wilt thou that I do? So let him, that is called Thomas, touch the bosome of Christ, and handle his wounds, & make a good confession as Thomas did, and say, My Lord and my God. Let Matthew forsake his custome, euen the deceitfull gaines of the world, & follow Christ. Let Daniell remember Daniell, and though he should be thrown into the den of Lions, or be burnt in the fire, or suffer anie cruell torments, yet let him not therfore forsake God, but put his whole trust in him. Thus should our names teach vs, that whether we write them, or vtter them, or heare them spoken, they may put vs in mind of Christian duty and godlinesse. The other sacrament of Christs Church, is the Sacrament of the Lords supper, which some haue called the sacrament of the Altar: some the sacrament of the holie table: some the sacrament of bread and wine: but we most properlie may call it the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. And that we wander not at large, but may stand in certaine ground, I will expound those words of our Sauior: This is my body; and this is my blood of the new Testament, that is shed for many: for the remission of sinnes.

Galat. 2. Acts 9. Matth. 26.

This matter these two or three hundred yeres late past, hath been incumbred with manie questions and much controuersie. Some say, the words are plaine. Christ himselfe spake them: he is almighty, and can do whatsoeuer he will: he hath not spoken otherwise then he meant: If we expound them by signes and figures, we take away the force of the holie mysterie; and make nothing of it: the words must be taken euen as they lie, they must not haue anie other construction. Therefore at this day, many wise men, which yeld from other points of superstition, and in manie other things receiue the truth, stand heare, and sticke at this, and cannot yeld.

I will declare the whole matter, simply and plainlie, and submit my selfe to the vnderstāding and capacity of all men. That which I will vtter herein, shall not be of my selfe, but

of

of the fathers of the Church: not of those which haue beene of later yeeres; but of the most ancient: not of the heretikes: but of the most Catholike, which euer haue been the enemies and confounders of Heretikes. I will shew the vse, and order, and faith of the Primitiue Church which was in the times of the Apostles, and of Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Nazianzene, Hierome, Augustine, Chrysostome, and other Catholike and godly learned Fathers. Let no man regard me, or my speech: I am onely a finger: these are cleere and bright starres. I doe but shew them vnto you, and point them, that you may behold them. God giue vs grace that we may see them truly, and by them be able to guid, and to direct our way. Let vs lay aside all contention, and quietly heare that shall be spoken. Whatsoeuer shall bee said, if it be true, if it be ancient, if it be Catholike, if it be so cleere, as the Sun beames, let vs humble our hearts, and beleeue it. There is no truth but of God. Whosoeuer resisteth the truth, resisteth God.

First, I will shew you, that we doe truly and indeed eat the body of Christ, and drinke his blood. And this shall be the foundation and key of entrance into all the rest.

Secondly, I will open these words, This is my body: and there how, by what sort, in what sense and meaning, the bread is the body of Christ. Thirdly, that the bread abideth still in former nature and substance as before; euen as the nature and substance of water remaineth in Baptisme. Fourthly, how the body of Christ is eaten: whether by faith, or with the mouth of our body: and how the body of Christ is present in the Sacrament.

Fiftly, What difference is betweene the body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the body of Christ. Sixtly, how we ought to prepare our minds, and with what faith, and deuotion we must come to the receiuing thereof.

We say, and beleeue, that we receiue the body and blood of Christ truly, and not a figure or signe: but euen that body which suffered death on the Crosse, and that blood which was shed for the forgiuenesse of sinnes. So saith Christ; My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drinke indeed. And againe: Except ye eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye haue no life in you. And againe: Hee that eateth mee, euen he shall liue, by mee. We say there is no other substantiall foode of our soules: and that he is diuided among all the faithfull; and that he is void of saluation, and the grace of Christ, whosoeuer is not partaker of his body and blood. This we say, and may not flee from it hereafter. Iohn 6.

Yet, lest happily any should be deceiued, we say this meat is spirituall, and therefore it must be eaten by faith, and not with the mouth of our body. Augustine saith: *Vt quid para dentes & ventrem? crede & manducasti:* Why preparest thou thy teeth and thy belly? beleeue, and thou hast eaten. And againe: *Nolite fauces parare, sed cor:* Prepare not your iawes, but your heart. As materiall bread nourisheth our body, so doth the body of Christ nourish our soule, and is therefore called bread. *Deus panis intus est animæ meæ,* saith Augustine: God is the inward bread of my soule. For we receiue him, and eat him, and liue by him. But hereof hereafter more at large. *Tract. 25. in Iohn. Serm. 23. in Lucam. Confess. lib. 1.*

Now, let vs consider the words of Christ, This is my body: and, This is my blood. These words you say, are plaine, open, easie, and manifest. So are they: yet albeit they they are plaine, they must haue a right construction. The plainest words that be, vnlesse they be duly expounded, may breed error. S. Iohn saith; The word was made flesh. These words are plaine, yet of these plaine words Appollinaris did breed an heresie. Christ saith, My Father is greater then I. His words are plaine: yet did the Arians gather thereof an heresie, that Christ is not equall with his Father. Christ saith of Iohn Baptist: This is Elias, which was to come. He saith not, he doth signifie Elias, but, he is Elias. The words are plaine: yet were there some, that stood in the maintenance of their error thereby, and said, that the soule of Elias, did abide in Iohn Baptist. Christ saith; If thine eie cause thee to offend, plucke it out and cast cast it from thee. And, If thy hand or foot cause thee to offend, cut them off, and cast them from thee. The words are plaine: yet he meaneth not that you should picke out your eies out of your head, nor chop off your hands or feet from your body. Iohn saith of Christ, He will baptize you with the holy Ghost, and with fire. These words are plaine, yet hereof some raised this error, that children at the time of their baptisme, should be marked in the forehead with a hot burning iron. S. Paul saith: he hath made him to be sinne for vs, which knew no sinne. The words are plaine: yet Christ neuer sinned. He is the Lambe of God, in whom there is no spot. He is hereby said to be the Sacrifice for sinne. Christ saith; They two shall be one flesh. And: They are no more two, but one flesh. These words are plaine: yet if you try the words by common sense, it is not so, they are not one, but two seuerall flesh. Christ saith: You are the salt of the earth: you are the light of world. The words are plaine: yet indeede, the Apostles were neither materiall light, nor materiall salt. Christ said of Iudas: one of you is a diuell. The words are plaine: yet Iudas in nature and substance was not a Diuell. Heb. 7. 1 Cor. 10. 1 Ioh. 1. Iohn 3. Iohn 6. Iohn 1. 1. Ioh. 14. Mat. 11. Matth. 18. Matth. 5. 2. Cor. 5. Mat. 19. Iohn 3. Matth 6. Mark 1. Iohn 6.

Heb.7. S.Paul ſaith of Melchiſedech: He was without father, and without mother, without kinred, and hath neither beginning of his daies, neither end of his life. These words are plaine: yet indeede he had father and mother, and was a man, and was borne, and died as other men. So he ſaith: The rocke was Chriſt. So Moſes ſaith: The life of all fleſh is his blood. And ſo is Chriſt called a Lamb, a Lion, a worme, a way, a bridegroom, a head, a doore, a vine, the light, bread, water, a garment. These ſpeeches, and infinite others the like, are plaine, open, and euident: yet are they not true, as the words ſound them, and literally. For Chriſt is not a Lamb in ſubſtance and nature, but a ſpirituall Lambe. So is he a ſpirituall garment, ſpirituall light, ſpirituall water, and ſpirituall bread.

1. Cor. 10. Leuit. 17.

Iohn 3. Chriſt ſaid to Nicodemus: Except a man be borne againe, he cannot ſee the kingdome of God. These words are plaine: yet Nicodemus miſtooke them and was deceiued, and ſaid:

Iohn 6. How can a man be borne that is old? can he enter into his mothers wombe againe and bee borne? Chriſt meant the ſpirituall birth of the ſoule and the ſpirit, not the naturall and corporall birth of the body.

And to come nearer to the matter in hand, when Chriſt ſaid: I am the bread which is come downe from heauen: and except ye eate the fleſh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye haue no life in you: and, My fleſh is meat indeed: and, My blood is drinke indeed: He that eateth of this bread, ſhall liue for euer. The Capernaits thought theſe words plaine enough: therefore they ſay; How can this man giue vs his fleſh to eat? This is an hard ſaying, who can heare it? And they departed away from him. Then ſaid Ieſus; The words that I ſpeake vnto you are ſpirit and life. Vpon occaſion hereof, S.Auguſtine writeth thus; *Spiritualiter intelligite quod loquutus ſum vobis. Non hoc corpus, &c.* Vnderſtand ye ſpiritually, that I haue ſpoken vnto you. Ye ſhall not eat this body that ye ſee, neither ſhall yee drinke that blood, that they ſhall ſhed that ſhall crucifie me. I haue recommended vnto you a certaine ſacrament: being ſpirituallie vnderſtood, it will giue you life.

In Pſa. 98.

Euen ſo Chryſoſtome: What is it, that he ſaith, the fleſh profiteth nothing? He ſpeaketh it not of fleſh indeed; God forbid: but of ſuch which take the things carnally that are ſpoken. And what is it to vnderſtand carnallie? Euen to take things ſimply as they be ſpoken, and to ſeeke no further meaning. For the things which are ſeene, are not ſo to be iudged of: but all myſteries ſhould be conſidered with inward eies, that is, ſpiritually.

In 6. Ioh. hom. 46.

Ibidem. Againe vpon theſe words: If any man eat of this bread, he ſhal liue for euer: he ſaith; *Panem verò ſine doctrinam hoc in loco, & ſalutem, & fidem in ſe, ſiue corpus ſuum dicit: vtrumq; enim animam fortiorem reddit:* He calleth bread in this place, either doctrin and ſaluation and faith in him, or elſe his body: For either of theſe maketh the ſoule ſtronger. S.Paul ſaith: Hee that eateth or drinketh vnworthilie, eateth and drinketh his own damnation. Damnation is a ſpirituall thing, which is not receiued in by the mouth, or broken with the teeth. So Chriſt ſaith: This Cup is the new Teſtament in my blood, which is ſhed for you. Yet now is not his blood ſhed any more: for he is riſen and dieth not.

1.Cor.11. Luke 22.

Ibid. And theſe words which are ſo plaine, if they be examined, wil not be ſo plaine to yeld the ſenſe, vnto which they are forced. It is written: He tooke bread, and when hee had giuen thankes, he brake it, and gaue to them, ſaying, This is my body. This bread is my body. The bread was ſtill bread, and neither fleſh nor his body. And, This cup is the new Teſtament. In due, and right, and open meaning, the cup cannot be the new teſtament. Here we ſee, how the words are not all ſo plaine, but muſt haue a reaſonable conſtruction. It is a rule in the law; *In fraudem legis facit, qui verbis legis ſaluis, ſententiam eius circumuenit:* Hee doth wrong to the law, that following onlie the bare words, defraudeth the meaning of the Law.

De ll. & Senatuſc. & lon. con. contra.

Origen ſaith: *Eſt & in nouo Teſtamento litera, quæ occidit eum, &c.* There is alſo in the new Teſtament a letter which killeth him, that doth not ſpirituallie vnderſtand thoſe things which are ſpoken. For if he follow this after the letter, where it is ſaid, Except ye eat my fleſh, and drinke my blood; this letter killeth. Marke if yee take the word of Chriſt barely, and nakedly, and as the letter ſoundeth, it killeth. S.Auguſtine ſaith; *In allegoria omni hæc regula tenenda eſt, vt pro ſententia præſentis loci conſideretur, quod per ſimilitudinem dicitur:* This rule is to be kept in euerie allegorie, that what is ſpoken by ſimilitude, be waighed by the meaning of the preſent place. Hierome ſaith: *Non in verbis Scripturarum eſt Euangelium, ſed in ſenſu:* The Goſpell is not in the words of Scriptures, but in the meaning. And: *Non in ſuperficie, ſed in medulla; non in ſermonum foliis, ſed in radice rationis:* It is not in the outward ſhew, but in the inner marrow: not in the leaues of words, but in the roote of reaſon. When Chriſt ſaid, Deſtroy this Temple, and in three daies I will raiſe it vp againe. The Iewes following the bare letter, did beare falſe witneſſe againſt him, ſaying; We heard him ſay, I will deſtroy this Temple made with hands, and within three daies I will build another made without hands.

Auguſt. in Pſalm. 8.

Hier. in 1. Gal.

Iohn 2. Mark. 14.

We may not take the letter in all places of the Scripture as it lieth. The Scriptures ſtand

stand not in the reading, but in the understanding. By taking the bare letter, the Iewes found matter to put Christ to death. Origen saith: There is a letter in the New Testament, which killeth. Ierome saith: The Gospel is not in the words of the Scripture, nor in the outward shew, nor in the leaues: but in the meaning, in the marrow, and in the root, which are hid, and not open and manifest. So that they may not be taken by the bare sound, but must haue some other construction.

But what shal be the construction of these words, This is my body? Whose interpretation or iudgement of them shal stand? The learned men which haue beene of late yeers, and which yet liue, are suspected. Let vs heare the elder ancient Fathers, whom, there is no cause, that any should suspect: they were not Sacramentaries, nor Zuinglians, nor Lutherans: they were not diuided into any of these sects.

Tertullian, an ancient Father, who liued more then 1500. yeeres since, expoundeth them thus: *Acceptum panem, & distributum Discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo; Hoc est corpus meum: id est, figura Corporis mei. Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Caterum vacua res, quæ est phantasma figuram capere non potest:* Christ taking the bread, and distributing it to his Disciples, made it his body, saying; This is my body; that is to say, this is a figure of my body. But a figure it could not be, vnlesse there were a body of a truth, and indeed. For a void thing, as is a fantasie, can receiue no figure. Chrysostome saith: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cuius Symbolum ac signum hoc Sacramentum est?* If Christ died not, whose signe and whose token is this Sacrament? Againe: The very body of Christ it selfe is not in the holy vessels, but the mystery or Sacrament thereof is there contained. *Lib. 4. contra Marcion.* *Hom. 83. in Math.* *Hom. 11. in Math.*

Augustine against the Heretike Adimantus, writeth: *Non dubitauit Dominus dicere, Hoc est Corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui:* Our Lord doubted not to say, This is my Body, when he gaue a token of his body. And in another place: Christ tooke Iudas vnto his table, whereat he gaue vnto his Disciples the figure of his body. S. Hierome saith: Christ represented the verity of his body. *Aug. cont. Adim. cap. 12.* *August. in Psal 3.*

S. Ambrose saith: Before Consecration, it is called another kinde: after Consecration, the body of Christ is signified. And againe: In eating and drinking (that is, in receiuing the holy Communion) we signifie the body and bloud of Christ, that was offered for vs. So also Gelasius saith: *Imago & similitudo corporis & sanguinis in actione mysteriorum celebratur:* The image & similitude of his body and bloud is shewed in the action of the mysteries. It would be ouerlong to lay forth vnto you what other reuerend old Fathers haue written to like effect, and haue expounded those words of Christ by such termes as you haue heard, of signe, figure, token, image, and likenesse. I trust no man be offended: these speeches are not mine owne, but the speeches of most ancient Fathers, and haue beene spoken or written, and continued in the Church, these 1200. 1300. and welneere 1400. yeeres, and neuer condemned in them as false, though many of late times haue sought otherwise to vnderstand the words of Christ. The Gloss vpon the Canons ioineth herein with the Fathers: *Dicitur Corpus Christi, sed improprie: vt fit sensus, Vocatur Corpus Christi, &c.* It is called the body of Christ, but vnproperly: the meaning thereof may bee this, It is called Christs body, that is to say, It signifieth Christs body. *In Math. cap. 26.* *De iis qui initiantur, cap. 9.* *Ambros. 1. Cor. 11.* *Gelas. contra Eutych.* *De Con. dist. 2.*

Therefore doth S. Augustine giue vs good and holesome aduertisements: thus he writeth to Bonifacius: Vnlesse Sacraments had a certaine likenesse of the things, of which they be Sacraments, then indeed they were no Sacraments. And of this likenesse often times, they beare the names of the things themselues, that are represented by the Sacraments. And againe: In Sacraments wee must consider, not what they bee (in substance and nature) but what they signifie. Againe he saith: It is a dangerous matter, and a seruitude of the soule, to take the signe in stead of the thing that is signified. And againe: If it be a speech that commandeth, either by forbidding an horrible wickednesse or requiring that which is profitable, it is not figuratiue: but if it seeme to require horrible wickednesse, and to forbid that is good and profitable, it is spoken figuratiuely. Except ye eat (saith Christ) the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his bloud, ye haue no life in you. He seemeth to require the doing of that which is horrible, or most wicked: it is a figure therefore commanding vs to communicate with the passion of Christ, and comfortably and profitably to lay vp in our remembrance, that his flesh was crucified, and wounded for vs. In another place he saith: It is a more horrible thing to eat mans flesh, then to kill it: and to drinke mans bloud, then it is to shed it. Againe he saith: We must beware, that we take not a figuratiue speech according to the letter: for thereto it pertaineth, that the Apostle saith, the letter killeth. Beside this that hath beene shewed you out of the godly learned old Fathers, how they haue expounded these words, whosoeuer will aduisedly consider these principal sentences, or rather rules of S. Augustine, shal be holpen much, and directed to the due and Catholike construction and meaning of them. *Ang. ad Bonif. epist. 23.* *Lib. 3. contra Maxim.* *Lib. 3 cap. 5. de doctr. Christ.* *Lib. 3 cap. 16. de doct. Christ.* *Lib. 2. cap. 9. cont. aduers. legis & Proph.* *Lib 3. ca. 5 de doctr. Christ.*

The next matter, and the third of the six is, whether the bread and wine abide still in former nature and substance as before, euen as the nature and substance of water remaineth in the Sacrament of Baptisme. There are some that say by vertue of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, the bread is changed into the body of Christ, that the substance of bread is gone, and nothing remaining, but only accidents: that is, a shew, and appearance, and likenesse of bread. They say, it seemeth to be the same it was, but it is changed: it seemeth to be bread, but it is not bread: and the wine, by the taste and colour seemeth to be wine, but it is not wine. They say we may not beleeue our eiesight, nor stand to the iudgement of our senses. They say, Christ is almighty, he spake the word, and all things were made: he hath said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, therefore it is now no more bread, but his body: and that this is the faith of the Church, in which we were borne and christned.

Indeed, this hath lately béene receiued, as a matter of faith. But if we examine it well, we shall find it to be an errour, and no point of faith. I say it hath béene receiued of late: for our old Fathers neuer beleeued it, as I wil declare and proue, and let you see, that it hath not béene the Catholike Faith, nor the Faith of Primitiue Church, nor of the Apostles of Christ, therefore no faith at al. The opening of this matter will be somewhat darke, and wherewith you haue not béene acquainted: but giue me your attendance, lend me your senses, and I trust by the grace of God I shal make it plaine.

They say, the bread is changed, and done away vtterly: and that it is no bread, though it seeme to be bread: that in this case we may not trust our eies, but leane to faith. Marke, I say, they tell vs that the bread remaineth not, and for trial hereof, they require vs not to leane to any other thing then faith. We wil then close and shut vp our senses, and hearken what Christ, what S. Paul, what the holy Fathers of the Church, who are best able to instruct our Faith, haue spoken.

1. Cor. 11. S. Paul to the Corinthians, in one péece of a Chapter, calleth it bread, foure times. Read the place, ye shal find it so, in the eleuenth of the first Epistle. The Lord Iesus in the night that he was betraied, tooke bread. And, As often as ye shal eat this bread, and drinke this cup, ye shew the Lords death till he come. Againe: Whosoeuer shall eat this bread, and drinke the cup of the Lord vnworthily, shal be guilty of the body and bloud of the Lord. And againe: Let a man therefore examine himselfe, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. They say it is not bread; but Paul saith, and so many times saith, it is bread. And of the wine, Christ said after he had giuen thankes, and it was consecrate, and after his Supper, I wil not drinke of this fruit of the vine henceforth, vntil that day when I shal drink it new with you in my fathers kingdome. The fruit of the vine, in wine: therefore the selfe same fruit of the vine, the selfe same wine in substance did abide stil after Consecration, as before.

Math. 26.

De fide ad Petr. cap. 19. S. Augustine calleth this holy mystery, *Sacramentum panis & vini*: The Sacrament of bread and wine. Iustinus Martyr saith: *Diaconi distribuunt vnicuique præsentium de pane in quo gratiæ actæ sunt: & de vino & aqua ad eos qui non sunt præsentes deferunt*: The Deacons diuide vnto euery one of them that are present, part of that bread ouer which thanks were giuen: and they carry of the wine and water to such as are not present. Againe he saith: *Alimento humido & sicco admonemur, quæ propter nos Dei Dei filius perpessus sit*: By drie and moist food (whereby he meaneth the Sacrament) we are taught what things God the Son of God hath suffered for vs. What meant he by drie food, but bread? or by moist food, but wine? It cannot be auoided, but that he thought that bread & wine remain after the Consecration. He liued 1400. yéers since. And before him Ignatius: *Vnus panis omnibus fractus*: It is one bread which is broken for al. So Irenæus who also liued 1400. yéers since, saith: *Eum calicem, qui est creatura, &c.* He made that cup, which is a creature, his body, by which he increaseth our bodies. Therefore when the cup of mixture, and the bread which is broken, receiueth the word, it is made the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, by which the substance of our flesh is increased and nourished. He saith, after Consecration it is a creature, and such a creature as nourisheth the substance of our flesh.

In Colloq. cum Tryphone.

Ignat. ad Philadel. aduer. he. lib. 5.

In 15. Math. Origen, who liued welnigh 1400. yéeres since, saith: *Ille cibus qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei, perque obsecrationem, iuxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, & in secessum ejicitur*: The meat which is sanctified by the word of God and by praier, as touching the materiall substance thereof goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the priuy. Certainly, vnlesse bread, in the substance & nature of bread did remaine in the Sacrament, these words were too horrible to be spoken. Dionysius saith: *Pontifex operturn panem aperit, & in frusta concidit*: The Bishop vncouereth the bread that was couered, and cutteth it in peeces. He noteth that the loafe of the Communion was of some bignesse, and that the Minister after Consecration diuided it, and gaue to euery man a portion.

Ecclc. Hierarc. cap. 3.

De vnctione Chrismatis. S. Cyprian writeth: *Dedit Dominus noster in mensa, in qua vltimum cum Apostolis participauit*

panis communium, &c. Our Lord at the Table, whereas he receiued his laſt Supper with his Diſciples, with his owne hands gaue (not his very body and verie blood really, but) bread and wine: but vpon the Croſſe, he gaue his owne body, by the hands of the ſouldiers to be wounded. He maketh a difference betweene that which Chriſt gaue vpon the Croſſe, and that which he gaue at the Table. At the Table he gaue bread and wine; vpon the Croſſe he gaue his body and blood. Againe, he calleth the bread after Conſecration: *Panem ex multorum granorum adunatione congeſtum*: Bread made (not of formes and accidents, but) of the ſubſtance, and moulding of many cornes. *Id. in erat. Determinatam.*

Ambroſe ſaith: *Quanto magis operatorius eſt ſermo Dei, vt ſint quæ erant, & in aliud commutentur?* How much more effectuall is the word of God, that the bread and wine may be (in ſubſtance and nature) the ſame that they were before, and yet be changed into another thing? They are changed into a Sacrament, which they were not before, and remain bread and wine, which they were before. *Lib. 4. cap. 4. de Sacram.*

Chryſoſtome ſaith: *In ſimilitudinem corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, panem & vinum ſecundum ordinem Melchiſedech, nobis oſtendit in Sacramento*: He ſhewed vs in a Sacrament bread and wine, after the order of Melchiſedech, to be the likenes of the body and blood of Chriſt. What ſhould I ſtand to trouble you with the reſt? As theſe ſay, ſo ſay the other: that the things which are ſeene in the Sacrament, are bread and wine. *In Pſal. 22.*

But, ſay they, it is called bread, becauſe it was bread, or becauſe it hath a likeneſſe of bread. A prety ſhift, but it will not helpe. For S. Auguſtine ſaith: *Quod videtis, panis eſt, & calix: quod vobis etiam oculi renunciant*: The thing that you ſee, is the bread and the cup: which thing your eies doe teſtifie. Gelaſius ſaith: *Non deſinit eſſe ſubſtantia panis, vel natura vini. Et certe imago vel ſimilitudo corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti in actione myſteriorum celebratur*: There leaueth not to be the ſubſtance of bread, or the nature of wine. And indeed, the image or repreſentation, and likeneſſe of the body and blood of Chriſt is publiſhed in the miniſtration of the myſteries. He ſaith, it leaueth not, it remaineth, it is ſtill, (not the forme or appearance, but) the ſubſtance and nature. *Aug. ad infant. Contra Eutich.*

Chryſoſtome ſaith: *Natura panis in Sacramento rèmanet*: The nature of bread remaineth in the Sacrament. And Theodoretus: *Signa myſtica poſt ſanctificationem non recedunt a natura ſua: manent enim in priori ſubſtantia, & figura, & forma*: The myſticall tokens or ſacraments after the Conſecration depart not from their own nature: for they remaine ſtill in their former ſubſtance, and forme, and figure. Not only in forme and figure, not only in ſhew, but it remaineth bread and wine in nature & ſubſtance. Likewiſe Cyrillus: *Chriſtus fragmenta panis dedit Diſcipulis*: Chriſt gaue fragments or peeces of bread to his Diſciples. It was very bread diuided into ſundrie peeces. And Rabanus ſaith: *Sacramentum ore percipitur, & in alimentum corporis redigitur*: The Sacrament is receiued with the mouth, and is turned into the nouriſhment of the body. *Ad Cæſar, dialog. 2. In Iob. lib. 4. cap. 14. Lib. 1. cap 31.*

Bertramus ſaith: *Secundum creaturarum ſubſtantiam, quod fuerunt ante conſecrationem, hoc & poſtea conſiſtunt*: Touching the ſubſtance of the creatures (of bread and wine) they abide the ſame after, as they were before the conſecration. Euen ſo ſaith Clemens, *Vinum eſſe illud quod benedictum eſt oſtendit, rurſus dicens, non bibam amplius ex hoc germine vitis.* Chriſt ſhewed that that was wine which was bleſſed, by ſaying againe, I will no more drinke of the fruit of the vine. I will bring forth no more witneſſes in this matter, you haue enough, and ſo many as may ſatisfie anie reaſonable man. You ſee the conſent of the old Doctors, I know not how anie thing may be more plainlie ſet downe and declared. *De corp. & ſang. Dom. In pædag. li. 2. cap. 2.*

Why, then ſay you, how came tranſubſtantiation into the Church? How it came in I cannot ſhew you. The huſbandman, that findeth his field ouergrowen with cockell, and ill weeds knoweth not how they come. They grow of themſelues, he ſoweth them not. But when, or ſince what time it hath been receiued and allowed of, I will tell you. It was firſt determined and enacted in the Councell of Laterane, vnder Pope Innocentius the third, in the time of King Iohn, King of England, and in the yeere of our Lord 1215. that is, 350. yeeres ago, and not before. Then was it firſt ſo named, and made a matter of faith, and neuer before. This I ſpeake not of my ſelfe, they that maintaine that errour confeſſe it, the moſt learned, and wiſeſt, and ageſt of them ſay it. And yet then was it no Catholike faith, for it was only receiued in the Church of Rome; the other Churches ouer all the world receiued it not, as appeareth by a Councell holden at Florence. Therefore, if tranſubſtantiation be a matter of faith, it is a new late found faith, and no old and Catholike faith. In the time of our great grandfathers it was not ſo taken. Afterward Pope Honorius 3. commanded, that it ſhould be kept vnder a canopie, and that the people ſhould worſhip the Sacrament. And after him Vrbanus 4. made a new holiday in honour of it, which he called *Corpus Chriſti* day. And all theſe things haue been done within theſe few yeeres. For before, in the times of Auguſtine, Ierome, Chryſoſtome, and the old Fathers, they *Anno 1226. Anno 1265.*

were

were neuer heard of. But to returne to that we haue in hand, whether the bread and wine in the Sacrament remaine in their proper nature: Yes verily, for ſo is it auouched by our Sauiour, by S. Paul, by Ignatius, Iuſtinus, Irenæus, Origen, Dionyſius, Cyprian, Ambroſe, Chryſoſtome, Auguſtine, Gelaſius, Theodoretus, Cyrillus, Bertramus, and Rabanus. By ſo many good and lawfull witneſſes it appeareth, that the bread and wine remaine in the ſame nature and ſubſtance as before.

I ſeeke not to aſtoniſh you by bringing in ſuch a heaps of Authors: nor yet to ſeeke mine owne glory thereby, God is my witneſſe, and his Chriſt. If I would ſeeke mine own commodity, I ſhould hold my peace, and not vnfold theſe errours, wherewith the Church of God hath beene diſquieted theſe late yeeres. As for glory, I haue none in theſe things: ſhame come vpon them, that ſeeke the glory and commendation of men: our glory is to diſcharge our conſcience, and to ſpeake the truth, that we may be blameleſſe in the day of our Lord.

And yet in ſpeaking thus of the ſacrament of the Lords ſupper, and denying the ſtrange and new learning of tranſubſtantiation, and making it known, that the bread and wine continue ſtill that they were before, we doe not conceiue baſely or vnreuerently of the ſacrament: we doe not make it a bare and naked token. Let no man be deceiued. We doe both thinke, and ſpeake ſoberly, and with reuerence of the holy myſteries. As we cannot call them more then they are: ſo may we not eſteeme them leſſe then they are by the ordinance and inſtitution of Chriſt.

We ſay, they are changed, that they haue a dignity and preeminence which they had not before; that they are not now common bread, or common wine, but the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt: a holy myſterie: a couenant betweene Chriſt and vs: a teſtimonie vnto our conſcience, that Chriſt is the lambe of God: a perfect ſeale, and ſufficient warrant of Gods promiſes, whereby God bindeth himſelfe to vs, and we ſtand likewiſe bounden vnto God, ſo as God is our God, and we are his people.

In baptiſme, the nature and ſubſtance of water doth remaine ſtill: and yet is not it bare water. It is changed, and made the ſacrament of our regeneration. It is water conſecrated, and made holie by the blood of Chriſt. They which are waſhed therein, are not waſhed with water, but in the blood of the vnſpotted Lambe. One thing is ſeene, and another vnderſtood. We ſee the water, but we vnderſtand the blood of Chriſt. Euen ſo we ſee the bread and wine, but with the eies of our vnderſtanding we looke beyond theſe creatures, we reach our ſpirituall ſenſes into heauen, and behold the ranſome and price of our ſaluation. We do behold in the Sacrament, not what it is, but what it doth ſignifie. When we receiue it with due reuerence and faith, we ſay, as ſaid Gregorius Nyſſenus; *De creat. hom. cap. 20.* *Ego aliam eſcam agnoſco, quæ, &c.* I know another kind of meat, bearing the likeneſſe and reſemblance of our bodily meat, the pleaſure and ſweetneſſe whereof paſſeth only into the ſoule. It goeth not into the mouth or bellie, but onlie into the ſoule, and it feedeth the mind inwardlie, as the other outwardlie feedeth the body.

In Pſal. 48. *Baſil. in Pſal. 33.* We ſay as S Auguſtine: *Ipſe eſt panis cordis noſtri*: Chriſt is the bread of our heart. And as S. Baſil: *Eſt ſpirituale os interioris hominis, quo nutritur recipiens verbum vitæ, quod verbum eſt panis qui deſcendit de cœlo*: There is a ſpirituall mouth of the inner man, by which he is nouriſhed by receiuing (Chriſt) the word of life, which is the bread that came from heauen. In this myſterie of the death of Chriſt, his death and paſſion is renued to our remembrance. We are ſo mooued to ſorrow for our ſinnes, which haue beene cauſe of his death; and to be thankfull for the great mercie of God, which by this meanes wrought our redemption, as if we did ſee him preſent before our faces hanging vpon the Croſſe. We know that Chriſt hath left his Sacraments to his Church, that they might be helpes to lift vs vp into Heauen. By them we are ioined with Chriſt, and made partakers of his paſſion.

Next, let vs conſider, how and after what ſort we eat the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament. And heere, I beſeech you, that you may take the comfort of the body and blood of Chriſt, to giue good eare. For of miſtaking this myſterie, grew the firſt error in the Church. When the Diſciples of Chriſt heard Chriſt ſpeake of this matter, and vnderſtood him not, they were offended, and ſhrunke backe, and departed. If we take the words of Chriſt in ſuch meaning as they did, we ſhall be deceiued and offended as they were.

This it is then which we haue to conſider, whether the body of Chriſt go into our mouth and our bodies, as other meats: or whether it be receiued ſpirituallie, as a ſpirituall meat, and ſo paſſe into, and nourith our ſoule. Hereof ſomewhat was ſaid before, by the way and ſhortlie. But for clearer vnderſtanding of the ſame, we haue to weigh and declare, that the eating of the bodie of Chriſt, is not groſſe or corporall, but ghoſtlie, and ſpirituall, as a peculiar worke of the minde.

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The truth hereof is founded in our Creed, and is an article of our Christian faith. We beleeue that Christ did rise againe from the dead, and ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right hand of God in glory. So saith S. Paul, If ye then be risen with Christ, seeke those things which are aboue, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. And againe: Our conuersation is in heauen, from whence we also looke for the Sauiour, euen the Lord Iesus Christ. Christ himselfe saith to his Disciples: It is expedient for you that I goe away. And: The poore alwaies ye haue with you, but me yee shal not haue alwaies. So S. Peter saith: Whom the heauen must containe, vntil the time that al things be restored, which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets since the world began. Coloss. 3. Phil. 3. Iohn 16. Iohn 12. Acts 3.

Which speeches haue occasioned the old ancient learned Fathers, to teach the people after this sort, touching the body of Christ. Vigilius, a godly Bishop and Martyr, saith: *Caro Christi cum esset in terra, non erat in cœlo: & nunc, quia est in cœlo, non est vtique in terra:* The flesh of Christ when it was in earth, was not in heauen: and now, because it is in heauen, doubtlesse it is not in earth. Ambrose saith: Seeke the things that bee aboue, and not the things that be vpon earth. Therefore we must seeke thee neither vpon the earth, nor in the earth, nor according to the flesh, if we list to find thee. *Contra Eutych. lib. 2.* *In Luc. lib. 10. cap. 24.*

S. Augustine saith: According to the flesh that the word receiued: according to that he was borne of the Virgin: according to that he was taken of the Iewes: according to that he was nailed to the Crosse: according to that he was taken downe, and lapt in a shrowd, and laid in the graue, and rose againe, and shewed himselfe in this respect, it is true that he said: Ye shal not euermore haue me with you. *Tract. 50. in Iob.*

And againe he said: *Donec seculum finiatur sursum est Dominus, &c.* Vntil the world be ended, the Lord is aboue: yet notwithstanding euen here is the truth of the Lord. For the body wherein he rose againe, must needs be in one place. So Cyrillus said: *Christus non poterat in carne versari cum Apostolis, postquam ascendisset ad patrem:* Christ could not be conuersant together with his Disciples in his flesh, after he had ascended vnto his father. *De consecrat. dist. 2.* *Cyril. in Iob. lib. 11. cap. 3.*

It would be tedious to allege al that might be said to like purpose. Thus Christ, and Paul, and Peter: thus Vigilius, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyril, and al the old Catholike fathers say; and we are taught to beleeue, that Christ is not corporally in the Church, but is ascended into heauen, and that he hath giuen to his body immortality, but hath not taken from the same the nature of a body. Vigilius hauing cause to proue this same article against Eutiches, shutteth vp the matter thus: *Hec est fides & professio catholica, quam Apostoli tradiderunt, martyres roborauerunt, & fideles huc vsque custodiunt:* This is the Catholike faith and profession, which the Apostles haue deliuered, the martyrs haue confirmed, and the faithful hitherto doe continue. *Vig. contra Eutych. lib. 1.*

The body then which we eat, is in heauen: aboue al Angels, and Archangels, and powers, and principalities. Our meat is in heauen on high, and we are here below on the earth. How may it be, that we may reach it, or taste, or eat it? Here let vs imagine, that there are two men in euery man, and that euery man is flesh and spirit, body and soule. This man thus doubled, must be furnished with double senses: bodily to serue the body: and spiritual, to serue the soule. He must haue eies of the body, and eies of the soule: eares of the body, and eares of the soule. Spiritual senses, are quicke, sharpe, and liuely. They pierce any thing, be it neuer so thicke: they reach any thing, be it neuer so far off. Christ saith of Abraham, Abraham reioiced to see my day: he saw it, and was glad. He saw it, not with his bodily eies, but with the inner eies of the soule. Iohn 8.

When we speake of the mystery of Christ, and of eating his body, we must shut vp and abandon al our bodily senses. And, as we cannot say, that we see him with our bodily eies, or heare him with our bodily eares, or touch him with bodily feeling: so likewise can we not and therfore may we not say, we taste him, or eat him with our bodily mouth. In this worke we must open al the inner and spiritual senses of our soule: so shal we not only see his body, but heare him, and feele him, and taste him, and eat him. This is the mouth, and the feeling of faith. By the hand of faith we reach vnto him, and by the mouth of faith we receiue his body.

Touching the eating of Christs body, Saint Augustine taught the people on this wise: *Crede, & manducasti. Credere in Christum, hoc est, manducare panem viuum:* Beleeue in Christ, and thou hast eaten Christ. For, beleeuing in Christ, is the eating of the bread of life. Beleeue that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sinnes of the world. Beleeue that there is no other name giuen vnto men, wherein we shal be saued, but the name of Iesus Christ. Beleeue that he hath paid the ransome for the sins of the whole world. Beleeue that he hath made peace between God and man. Beleeue, that it is he, which hath reconciled al things by his blood. Here is nothing to be done by the mouth of the body. Whosoeuer thus beleeueth, he eateth, he drinketh him. *Tract. 26. in Ioan.*

Clemens

In pæda. lib. 2. cap. 2. Clemens saith: *Hoc est bibere sanguinem Iesu, participem esse incorruptionis eius:* This is the drinking of the bloud of Iesus, to be made partaker of his immortality. Tertullian saith: He must be receiued in cause of life: he must be deuoured by hearing: he must be chewed by vnderstanding: hee must bee digested by faith. **Thus did Christ himselfe teach his Disciples to vnderstand him.** The words which I speake are spirit and life. S. Hierome *Ioh 6* therefore saith: *Quando audimus sermonem domini, caro Christi, & sanguis eius in aures nostras infunditur:* When wee heare the word of God, the flesh of Christ, and his bloud is powred into our eares. *In Psalm. 147.*

The Patriarchs and Prophets, and people of God, which liued before the birth of Christ, did by faith eat his flesh, and drinke his bloud. S. Paul saith: They did all eat the same spirituall meat, and did all drinke of the same spirituall drinke. **Whosoeuer beleeued in Christ, they were nourished by him then, as wee are now. They did not see Christ: he was not yet borne: hee had not yet a naturall body, yet did they eat his body: he had not yet any bloud, yet did they drinke his bloud. They beleeued that it was hee, in whom the promises should be fulfilled, that he should be that blessed seed, in whom all nations should be blessed. Thus they beleeued, thus they receiued, and did eat his body.** *1. Cor. 10.*

But say some, the fathers of the old law, were in darkenesse, in a shadow, and a figure: it was meet they should receiue the Sacrament spiritually, or the body of our Lord spiritually: but all otherwise with vs, vnto whose benefit, the sacraments of the new Testament worke the thing it selfe that they signifie: so that wee receiue Christ really, bodily, and with the mouth of our bodies.

S. Paul telleth vs, **the Fathers of the old Law did eat the same spirituall meat, that is to say, the same Christ, that we eat.** So saith S Augustine: *Sacramenta illa fuerunt, in signis diuersa: in rebus quæ significabantur, paria:* These things were Sacraments, in the outward tokens diuers, but in the things signified, all one with ours. **Likewise saith** Leo: *Mysteria pro temporum ratione variata sunt: quum fides, qua viuimus nulla fuerit ætate diuersa:* The Sacraments are altered according to the diuersity of times: but the faith whereby wee liue, was euer in all ages one. **If they did eat the same meat; if the things, that is, the matter of their Sacraments were all one with ours; if their faith was all one with our faith; what difference is there betweene their and our eating? As they did eat Christ by faith, and not by the mouth of the body: so we eat Christ by faith, and not by the mouth of our body.** *Tract. 26. in Iohan.* *De natiui. Dom. ser. 3.*

To make this somewhat more euident, let vs take the iudgement of the fathers. They teach vs plainly, that the spirituall eating of Christs body by faith, is the true eating: and that we doe not grossely, fleshly, really, or naturally eat him in the Sacrament. S. Cyprian saith, **the body of Christ** *est cibus mentis, non ventris:* It is meat for the minde, not for the belly: **Not for the teeth to chew, but for the soule to beleeue.** Cyrillus saith: *Sacramentum nostrum, hominis manducationem non asserit, mentes credentium ad crassas cogitationes irreligiose inducens:* Our Sacrament auoucheth not the eating of a man, leading the minds of the faithfull in vngodly maner to grosse (or fleshlie) cogitations. Athanasius saith: *Quot hominibus sufficisset corpus eius, &c.* Vnto how many men could Christs body haue sufficed, that he should be the food of all the world? Therefore he made mention of his ascension into heauen, that he might withdraw them from corporall and fleshly vnderstanding. **What thing may be spoken more plainly? It were vnpossible his naturall body naturally receiued, might suffice all the world: to let them see he had no such meaning, he speaketh of his going vp into heauen. Spiritually then, he is receiued of euery one, and is digested, and becommeth the nourishment of all the world.** *Cypr. de cœna Domini.* *Ad obie. Theodo. anath 11.* *In illud Euan. Quicunque dixerit verbum.*

S. Augustine **expounding these words of Christ:** Whoso eateth of this bread, shall not die, saith **thus:** *Quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile sacramentum. Qui manducat intus, non foris: qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente:* That pertaineth to the virtue and effect of the Sacrament, not that pertaineth to the visible sacrament He that eateth inwardly, and not he that eateth outwardly: that eateth with his heart, not that bruseth (**the Sacrament**) with his tooth. **Thus is Christs body receiued, as these holy fathers say: not to the filling our contentation of the body, not with mouth or teeth, but with spirit and faith, vnto the holinesse, and sanctification of the mind. After this sort wee eat his flesh, and drinke his bloud.** *Tract. 26. in Iohn.*

Therefore wicked men, and such as beleeue not, receiue not the body of Christ: they haue no portion in it. So saith Origen: *Est cibus verus, quem nemo malus potest edere, &c.* The body of Christ, is the true food, which no euill man can eat: For, if the euill man could eat the body of our Lord, it should not be written, he that eateth this bread shall liue for euer. *Orig. in 15. Matt.*

Ambrose saith: *Hunc panem qui manducauerit, non esuriet: est esca sanctorum: non morietur morte peccatoris, quia remissio peccatorum est:* He that eateth this bread, shal not hunger: it is the food of those that are holy. He shal not dy the death of a sinner: because it is the remis- *De bened. Patriarch. cap. 9.*

sion

sion of sinnes. S. Augustine saith: *Qui discordat à Christo, nec panem eius manducat, nec sanguinem bibit, &c.* Whoso disagreeth from Christ, neither eateth his bread, nor drinketh his blood: although he daily receiue the Sacrament of so great a thing without difference, to the iudgement of his presumption. And againe: *Qui in me non manet, &c.* Hee that abideth not in me, and in whom I do not abide, let him not say, or thinke, that he either eateth my bodie, or drinketh my blood. And againe: *Cæcus interius panem Christum non videt. Et beatus est? Hoc non dicet, nisi pariter cæcus:* He that is blind in his heart within, seeth not Christ, that is our bread. And is he blessed? No man will say so, vnlesse it be one as blind as he. *In Ioh. tra. 26. Aug. de ciuit. Dei lib. 21. cap. 5. Aug. in Psal. 57.*

Chrysostome saith: Where the carcasse is, there are Eagles: The carkasse is the bodie of Christ, in respect of his death. But he nameth Eagles, to shew, that who so will approach to this bodie, must mount aloft, and haue no dealing with the earth, nor be drawne, and creepe downward, but must euermore flee vp, and behold the Sun of iustice, and haue the eie of his mind quicke and sharpe. For this is a table of Eagles, (that flie on high,) not of layes (that creep beneath.) So saith S. Hierome: Let vs goe vp with the Lord (into heauen) into that great parlar, spread and cleane: and let vs receiue of him aboue, the cup of the new Testament. He saith, They that rise not vp by faith, receiue not the cup of Christ. So saith Hillarie: The bread that came downe from heauen, is not receiued, but of him that hath our Lord, and is the member of Christ. *Hom. 24. in ad Cor. Ier. ad Hedibiam quæst. 2. De trinit. lib. 8*

This is the vndoubted meaning of the old fathers, that the wicked are not partakers of the passion of Christ, because they lack faith, whereby only Christ is receiued of vs. As Augustine saith: How shall I hold Christ being absent? how shall I thrust my hand vp into heauen, that I may hold him sitting there? Send vp thy faith, and thou holdest him. **By this meanes we draw nigh to Christ, we hide our selues in his wounds, we sucke at his breast, we feed of his body, and comfortably lay vp in our minde, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our sakes.** *Tract. in Ioan. 50.*

Now let vs examine what difference is betweene the body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the body. It behoueth vs to take each part aright as it is, lest we be deceiued and take one for another. Origen saith: *Simpliciores nescientes distinguere, &c.* Simple men not being able to discerne what things in the Scriptures ought to be applied to the outward man, and what to the inner, being deceiued by the likenesse of words, haue turned themselues to a sort of peeuish fables, and vaine fantasies. Therefore saith Chrysostome: *Magnum crede mihi bonum est scire quid sit creatura & quid sit Creator, &c.* Beleeue me, it is a great matter to vnderstand what is the creature, and what is God the Creator; what are the works, and what is the workman. **The difference herein is this: A Sacrament is a figure or token: the body of Christ is figured or tokened. The Sacrament bread is bread, it is not the body of Christ. The body of Christ is flesh, it is no bread. The bread is beneath, the body is aboue. The bread is on the Table, the body is in heauen. The bread is in the mouth, the body in the heart. The bread feedeth the outward man, the body feedeth the inward man. The bread feedeth the body, the body feedeth the soule. The bread shall come to nothing: The body is immortall, and shall not perish. The bread is vile, the body of Christ glorious. Such a difference is there betweene the bread, which is a Sacrament of the body, and the body of Christ it selfe. The Sacrament is eaten as wel of the wicked, as of the faithful: the body is onely eaten of the faithfull. The Sacrament may be eaten vnto iudgement: the body cannot be eaten, but vnto saluation. Without the Sacrament we may be saued: but without the body of Christ, we haue no saluation, we cannot be saued.** As S. Augustine saith: *Qui non sumit carnem Christi, non habet vitam: & qui eam sumit, habet vtam, & eam vtique æternam:* He that receiueth not the flesh of Christ, hath not life: and he that receiueth the same, hath life, and that for euer. *De ieiunijs & lectione Gen. Tract. 26. in Iohan.*

Such a difference maketh Epiphanius: *Hoc est rotunda figura & insensibile, quantum ad potentiam, &c.* This thing (**that is, the Sacrament**) is of a ronnd forme, (**for it was a great thicke round Cake**) and touching any power that is in it, vtterly void of sense. But we know that our Lord is whole sense, whole sensible, whole God, whole mouing. **Againe** S. Augustine saith **for the difference of them:** The Sacrament (**of Christs body**) is receiued of some vnto life, of some vnto destruction: but the thing it selfe, (**that is, the flesh of Christ**) whereof this is a Sacrament, is receiued of all men vnto life, and of no man to destruction, whosoeuer shall be partaker of it. *Epipha. in Anchor. Tract. 26. in Iohan.*

Of the difference which is betweene a figure of any thing, and the thing it selfe, Chrysostom saith: *Audisti fuisse figuram, ne ergo mirare, neque omnia require in typo: neque enim typus esset, si omnia quæ veritati accidunt haberentur:* Ye haue heard that it was a figure, therefore maruell not, & being a figure, require not al things to agree: for otherwise it were no figure. *Hom. 35. in Gen.*

These and such like reasons no doubt moued the godly Father to say as wee haue learned to say: *Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud res sacramenti:* The Sacrament is one thing, and the *Tract. 26. in Iohan.*

matter of the Sacrament (which is Christs very body) is another thing. And therefore he
Aug. de trinit. lib. 3. cap. 10. saith: *Honorem, tanquam religiosa habere possunt: stuporem tanquam mira non possunt:* These things (speaking of the Sacrament of Christs body) may haue honour as things appointed to religion: but wonder, as things maruellous, they cannot haue. Thus are we plainely taught by the Catholike learned Fathers, to put a difference betwéen the Sacrament and the body of Christ: and that the one of them is not really lapped vp or shut within the other: that the one (as Epiphanius saith) is vtterly void of sense: the other whole sense, and whole sensible: that the one is receiued to destruction vnto some, as S. Augustine saith: the other is receiued of all men vnto life: That the one is a figure, as Chrysostome saith: the other a truth.

It remaineth, that we consider how we ought to prepare our hearts: and with what faith and reuerence we should resort to these holy mysteries. Wee may not come, as wee vse to doe to our vsuall meats. For here, in a mystery and Sacrament of bread, is set before vs the body of Christ our Sauiour: and his blood in the Sacrament of Wine. We sée one thing, we must conceiue another thing. Therefore we must in such maner be affected, as if we were present to behold his death vpon the Crosse, and the shedding of his blood for our sinnes.

Let vs set before our eies that dreadfull tragedy, and the causes and effects of his death: that so our hearts may be the rather moued to yéeld that allegeance, obedience, and reuerence, which is due. We were the children of wrath, the enemies of God, shut vp vnder sinne, and the heires of euerlasting damnation. In this case God so loued the world, that he gaue his only begotten Son, that whosoeuer beléeueth in him should not perish, but
Rom. 8. haue life euerlasting. And as Saint Paul saith: God sent his owne Sonne in the similitude of sinfull flesh, and by sinne condemned sinne in the flesh. There was no other thing in heauen or earth, which would be taken for our ransom. Therefore was the Sonne of God brought before the Iudge, and araigned as a théefe, and condemned, and scourged, and put to death: his side was opened with a speare, and the blood flowed out: and he said, It is finished: that is to say, the price for man is now paied. Thus, being in the forme of God, he
Philip. 2. thought it no robbery to be equall with God: but he made himselfe of no reputation, and tooke on him the forme of a seruant, and was made like vnto men, and was found in shape as a man. He humbled himselfe, and became obedient vnto the death, euen the death of the Crosse. He gaue his body to be crucified, and his blood to be shed for our sakes. There was no other sacrifice left for sinne: woe worth the sinne of man, that was the cause of the death of Christ.

What were the effects of his death? What followed? God hath highly exalted him,
Phil. 2. and giuen him a name aboue euery name, that at the name of Iesus should euery knee bow: and that euery tongue should confesse that Iesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father. God spake out of the heauens, and said: This is my beloued Son, in whom I am well pleased. He crowned him with glory and honour: he hath not only aduanced Christ,
Ephes. 2. but vs also together with him. And made vs sit together in heauenly places in Christ Iesus: He hath made vs like to the Image of his Son. Thus hath he made vs an acceptable people, and hath renewed the face of the earth: sée that now he saith not, as he did to Adam, thou art earth, and shalt returne to earth: but he saith, Thou art heauen: an immortal and vndefiled inheritance that fadeth not away is reserued in heauen for thée. This is the effect, and value of the death of Christ.

All these things are laid before vs in the holy table, if wée haue eies to sée and behold them. There may we sée the crucifying of his body, and the shedding of his blood, as it were in a glasse. Therefore Christ saith, doe this in remembrance of me: in remembrance of my benefit wrought for you: in remembrance of your saluation purchased by me. S. Paul
1. Cor. 11. saith: As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drinke this cup, ye shew the Lords death till he come.

In this supper lieth a hidden mystery. There is the horror of sinne, there is the death of our Lord for our sinne represented, how he was wounded for our sins, and tormented for our iniquities, and led as a Lamb to the slaughter. There may we sée the shame of the Crosse: the darknesse ouer the world: the earth to quake: the stones to cleaue asunder: the graues to open, and the dead to rise. These things may we sée in the Supper: this is the meaning of these holy mysteries.

Therfore let euery one examine himselfe, and search and weigh his own heart, whether hée bée the child of God, and a member of the body of Christ: and so let him eat of this bread, and drinke of this cup. The Sacrament of the Lords Supper, is a holy food, the seale of our faith, the assurance of Gods promises, and a couenant betwéen God and man. He that doth vnworthily thrust himselfe to this table, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation.

nation. When a ſicke man, of a weake and feeble ſtomacke, ſitteth downe to eat with them that are whole, whatſoeuer he eateth or drinketh, it doth increaſe his ſickneſſe. To them that periſh, the word of God is a ſauour of death vnto death. Whoſo diſagreeth from Chriſt, neither eateth his bread, nor drinketh his blood, as ſaith S. Auguſtine.

If any of vs come to the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt, and yet make our ſelues the members of the Diuell, we tread Chriſt vnder our feet, we regard not his body crucified, nor his blood ſhed for vs; we regard not the price of our ſaluation, we are guilty of his death, we betray the innocent blood, we are fallen from grace, and Chriſt hath died in vaine for vs.

Let vs remember Chriſt was forſaken, ſcorned, buffeted, crucified, and left vpon the Croſſe: he was a worme, and no man, a reproch among men. Nature it ſelfe yearned, & yeelded at the ſight hereof. The whole land grew darke, the earth did quake, the Sun loſt his light, the powers of heauen were moued, the rocks were clouen, the vaile of the Temple rent, the theefe repented, and ſaid, Lord remember me when thou commeſt into thy kingdome: the Centurion glorified God, and ſaid, of a ſurety this man was iuſt.

Where is the power of Chriſts death now? Where is the force and power of his word? By theſe meanes he ſpeaketh to thee, & calleth, ſaying; Behold, O man, thus haue I ſought thee: theſe things I ſuffer for thy ſake, that thou ſhouldſt eat my fleſh, and drinke my blood, and be made one with me: that thou mightſt come into me, and I into thee. I haue made thee a member of my body, bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh. Thou that walloweſt in thy ſins, thou Sodom, and Gomorrah, thou child of deſtruction, which haſt reioiced in my ſhame, and art not moued with the paines which I haue ſuffered, what might I do for thy ſake, to ſaue thee, that I haue not done? What might I ſuffer, and haue not endured it? O be a partner of my death, that thou maiſt haue part in my reſurrection.

Let vs die with Chriſt, let vs be crucified vnto the world. Let vs be holy Eagles, and ſoare aboue. Let vs goe vp into the great parlar, and receiue of our Lord the Cup of the new Teſtament. There let vs behold the body that was crucified for vs, & the blood which was ſhed for vs. There let vs ſay, this is the ranſome of the world: this was once offered, and hath made perfect for euer all them that beleeue: this entred once into the holy place, and obtained euerlaſting redemption for vs: this ſtandeth alwaies in the preſence of God, and maketh interceſſion for vs: this is the Lambe of God, that taketh away the ſins of the world: by this body I am now no more earth and aſhes: by this, I am now not a bondman, but made free. This body hath broken the gates of hell, and hath opened heauen. In this are all the treaſures of Gods mercy: by this the Prince of darkneſſe is caſt forth: in this body ſhall he come againe to iudge the quicke and the dead.

Let no vncleane or filthy perſon, no adulterer, no vſurer, no cruell extortioner, or deuourer of Gods people, offer himſelfe to the receiuing of this Sacrament. If any be ſuch a one, I require him by the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and by the iudge of the quicke and the dead, that he come not to the Lords table: that he betray not the Son of God. It were better he had neuer been borne, and that a millſtone were hanged about his necke, and he throwen into the ſea. Let vs not deceiue our ſelues: God will not be mocked. He receiueth damnation, that receiueth vnworthily.

Let vs fall downe before our Lord, and giue thanks vnto him: Let vs ſay, what ſhall I giue vnto the Lord, for all that he hath giuen vnto mee? I will take the Cup of ſaluation, and call vpon the name of the Lord. Let vs ſay, O Lord our Lord, how wonderfull is thy name in all the world? Let vs ſay, praiſe the Lord, O my ſoule, and all that is within me, praiſe his holy name. Let vs purpoſe, and promiſe amendment of our life: let vs goe out with Peter, and weep: let vs fall at Chriſts feet with Mary Magdalen, and with our teares waſh his feet: Let vs ſay with Dauid, I haue ſinned to thee Lord: Let vs ſay with the prodigall Son, Father, I haue ſinned againſt heauen and againſt thee, I am no more worthy to be called thy Son: Let vs ſay, Haue mercy on me O God, according to thy great mercie. Thou art my God. I am thy ſeruant. O ſaue me for thy mercies ſake. Let vs offer vp our bodies, a liuing, pure, holie, and acceptable ſacrifice to God. So ſhall we be partakers of the death of Chriſt, and of his reſurrection. Thus haue we briefly gone thorow the whole matter of the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and followed the ſame order which was ſet downe. Firſt that we do in the ſacrament truly eat the body of Chriſt. Secondly, what is the meaning of the words *Hoc eſt corpus meum*. Thirdly, whether the bread remaine in nature and ſubſtance. Fourthly, whether it be eaten with the mouth of the body, or by faith only. Fifthly, what difference is betweene the body of Chriſt, and the myſticall ſignes. Sixtly, how we muſt be prepared, and with what deuotion we ought to come to receiue this Sacrament.

Hauing thus treated of the Sacraments of the new Teſtament, and ſaid ſo much as is

nædfull for you to know of them both, as well of baptiſme, which is the ſacrament of our regeneration, as of our Lords ſupper, which is the Sacrament of our refection, or nouriſhment: I will now in few words ſpeake ſomething of confirmation, of matrimony, of eccleſiaſticall miniſtery, which ſome call holy orders, of repentance or penance, and of extreame vnction, which ſome of late yeres haue called Sacraments, and by ioining theſe to the other, haue made vp the number of ſeauen ſacraments, and ſo haue charged the Church with fiue Sacraments more then Chriſt did euer ordaine.

For theſe fiue, want either the word, or the element, or both: and therefore may not be taken for true Sacraments. Such as haue with all their ſkill ſhewed themſelues helpers and furtherers of our aduerſaries, yet haue plainly confeſſed that they are no ſacraments of Chriſts inſtitution. Alexander of Hales, ſaith of Confirmation. The ſacrament of confirmation, as it is a ſacrament, was not ordained either by Chriſt or by the Apoſtles, but afterward in the Councell of Melda: Which Councell was kept many yeres after Chriſt. And Durandus ſaith of matrimonie: Matrimony in due and proper kind of ſpeech, is no Sacrament. And Beſſarion a Cardinall, confeſſeth (as it was ſhewed before) that in due and right conſideration, none of theſe fiue may be called Sacraments: We read (ſaith he) that theſe two only ſacraments, were deliuered vs plainly in the Goſpell.

Firſt, of confirmation, which is ſo called becauſe that which was done on our behalfe in baptiſme, is ratified and confirmed: many parents had not ſuch due care as they ought in the godly bringing vp of their children: ſo that many children knew not whether they were baptized or no: many were neuer taught what couenant was made betwen them and God in their baptiſme: many ſwarued away from Chriſtian profeſſion, and caried themſelues to the fellowſhip of the heathens: and of the Sons of God, became the Sons of the Diuell. Vpon this occaſion, the Church of God laieth charge vpon the parents, and the witneſſes, of the baptizing of yong children, that they teach them the waies of the Lord, and to know the holy myſterie that they haue receiued, and what they haue promiſed and profeſſed in Baptiſme; that they put them in mind, how God hath called them out of the kingdome of darkneſſe, vnto his wonderfull light, and to the fellowſhip of the ſaints in light.

When the children of the Chriſtians were thus brought vp, and had learned the religion of Chriſt, and to walke in the waies of godlineſſe, they were brought to the Church, and by their parents preſented vnto the Biſhop: and yeelded a reaſon of their faith openly, before the whole congregation: they profeſſed they would ſo beléeue, that they would liue and die in that faith. Then the Biſhop and all the people fell downe on their knées, and praied vnto God, that he would continue the good thing he had begun, and the Biſhop laying his hand vpon them, commended them vnto God. This was the ratifying of the profeſſion which they made by others at their baptiſme, and for that cauſe called confirmation.

Now, whether it be a ſacrament: and, when I ſay a Sacrament, I meane a ceremony commanded by God in expreſſe words: For God only hath the authority to inſtitute a ſacrament. Sacraments are confirmations and ſeales of the promiſes of God, and are not of the earth, but from heauen. As Chriſt ſaith: The Baptiſme of Iohn whence was it? from
Math. 21. heauen or of men? Chryſoſtome ſaith; The myſtery were not of God, nor perfit, if thou ſhouldeſt put any thing to it. Marke, and iudge, and your ſelues ſhall ſée, whether this were a ſacrament inſtituted by Chriſt. Auguſtine ſaid: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, & fit ſacramentum:* Ioine the word to the creature, and it is made a ſacrament. This creature or element is viſible, as are water, bread and wine. The word which muſt be ioined, is the commandement, and inſtitution of Chriſt: without the word, and the commandement and inſtitution, it is no ſacrament.

I proteſt that the vſe and order of confirmation rightlie vſed, is profitable, and neceſſary in the Church, and no way to be broken. But all that is profitable, and neceſſary, is not a ſacrament. Chriſt did not command it, he ſpake no word of it. Looke, and read, if you doubt it. Chriſts words are written, and may be ſeen. You ſhall neuer find that he commanded Confirmation, or that he euer made anie ſpeciall promiſe to it. Therefore may you conclude, that it is no ſacrament. Otherwiſe, being rightlie vſed, it is a good ceremonie, and well ordained of our ancient Fathers.

The Apoſtles laid their hands on them, and confirmed them which were baptized of Iohn. But that proueth not this confirmation: that was extraordinary, it was a miracle. The holy Ghoſt came down vpon them, & lightned their hearts by this laying on of the Apoſtles hands. But it is not ſo now, the holy Ghoſt doth not now deſcend in viſible forme vpon thoſe which are confirmed: there is no ſuch miracle wrought. There is no need that it ſhould ſo be. There was no commandement, either to appoint it to the Church, or to con-

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tinue it vntil the comming of Christ, and the end of the world. Therfore it is no sacrament by the institution of Christ. Hitherto of the vse: now somewhat of the abuse.

Nothing so good and holy, but it may be abused. The word of God hath bene abused to heresies, to negromancy, to charmes, and sorcery, and witchcraft. The supper of the Lord was abused in the time of S. Paul. He telleth the Corinthians: This is not to eat the Lords Supper. Lesse maruell then, if this happen to a ceremony. Time rusteth and consumeth all things and maketh many a thing to proue naught in the end, which was first deuised for good. The brazen serpent, at the first was made by Moses, and set it vp for good purpose. But, afterward it was abused: The children of Israel did burne incense vnto it, and therefore Ezechias brake it in peces. 1.Cor.11.

The first abuse in confirmation was, that it was done in a strange tongue, that no man might vnderstand what was meant. Then, that they receiued to confirmation such children, and so yong, as were not able to make profession of their faith: so that the infant promised, he knew not what: and the Bishop ratified and confirmed, where there was nothing to be confirmed: he set to his seale where there was nothing to be sealed. These abuses were farre vnmet for the Church of God.

Besides these, there was great abuse in the maner of doing. For thus the Bishop said: *Consigno te signo crucis; & confirmo te chrismate salutis:* I signe thee with the signe of the crosse, and confirme thee with the oile of saluation. Thus they vsed to doe: these were their words, with the oile of saluation. They toke not this of Christ, nor of his Apostles, nor of the holy ancient Fathers. It agreeth not with our Christian faith, to giue the power of saluation vnto oyle. He that seeketh saluation in oyle, loseth his saluation in Christ and hath no part in the kingdom of God. Oyle for the belly, and for necessarie vses of life. It is no fit instrument without commandement or promise by the word, to worke saluation.

More they said, he was no pefect Christian that was not annointed by the Bishop with this holie oyle. This was another abuse. For, whosoeuer is baptised receiueth thereby the full name of a perfect Christian, and hath the ful and perfect couenant and assurance of saluation: he is perfitly buried with Christ; doth perfitly put on Christ, and is perfitly made partaker of his resurrection. Therfore they are deceiued, that say, no man is a perfit Christian, that is not marked with this oyle. Else the Apostles, and holy Martyrs were but halfe Christians, because they lacked this oyle. Else, what hope and comfort might the more Fathers haue? In what state shall he thinke to find his child if he die before confirmation, and passe without perfit Christendome? verily they write thus: *Sine oleo Chrismatis, nemo potest sisti ante tribunal Christi:* Without the oyle of Chrisme, no man can appeare before the Iudgement seat of Christ.

Againe, they say, confirmation is more honourable then baptisme: because any Priest may baptize, but confirmation is giuen onely by a Bishop, or a Suffragain. So doe they giue a greater preeminence to confimation, which is deuised by man, then to the holy sacrament of baptisme which Christ himselfe ordained. I need not speake more hereof, the error is so grosse, so thicke, so sensible and palpable.

Again, when they blessed, or hallowed their oyle, they vsed these words: *Fiat domine hoc oleum, te benedicente, vnctio spiritualis ad purificationem mentis & corporis:* O Lord, let this oyle by thy blessing, be made a spirituall ointment, to purifie both soule and body. O Christ Iesu, where was thy Crosse, where was thy blood, and the price of thy death and passion, when a drop of oyle was of power to worke remission of sins, to saue and defend against all the darts of the wicked spirits, and to refresh both body and soule? Yet so were wee taught, so were we led. I faine not these things: The words may be seene. Neither doe I speake this, to bring you to a misliking or loathing of our late fathers: but only that wee may humble our hearts, and giue thanks to God, that hath brought vs out of that darkenesse, and giuen vs better knowledge.

Now a word or two of the bringing vp of children, and preparing them to confirmation. Wherin I would God the old order were duly obserued, that they were instructed perfitly to know religon, and their duty to God: and so might be brought before the Congregation, and make an open profession of their faith, with promise, that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakednesse, nor fire, nor sword, nor life, nor death, shall euer make them denie their faith. Hereof might much be spoken but I wil be short.

The whole standeth in knowlsdge and in the feare of God: that they may know God, and walke before him in reuerence, and in feare: and serue him in holinesse, and righteousnesse, all the daies of their life. The Iewes are a miserable people: that liue in error, they die in their owne blood: yet haue they so much vnderstanding, that they bring vp their children in the knowledge of God, and that knowledge they teach out of the word of

Deut. 4. God. They remember what charge God gaue them: Thou ſhalt teach them thy ſons, and thy ſons ſons.

Therefore, a father muſt teach his child what God is: That he is our father, that he hath made vs, and doth fæd vs, and giueth vs all things needfull, both for body and ſoule: that he is our Lord, and therefore we muſt ſerue him, and obey him, and do nothing whereby he may be diſpleaſed: that he is our iudge, and ſhall come to iudge the quick and the dead, and that all men ſhall come before him, to receiue according as they haue done in the fleſh. He muſt put his child in mind of his baptiſm, and teach him that it is a couenant of Gods mercy to vs, & of our duty to God: that it is a myſtery of our ſaluation, that our ſoule is waſhed with the blood of Chriſt, as the water of baptiſme waſheth our body. So muſt he alſo teach his child the myſtery of the Lords ſupper: what & how he receiueth there to his comfort: that as the bread is broken, and the wine powred out, ſo the body of Chriſt was crucified, and his blod ſhed for the remiſſion of ſins: that if we beléue in Chriſt, we are through the promiſe of God, ſo certainly nouriſhed in our ſoules to euerlaſting life, by the paſſion of Chriſt Ieſus our Sauior, as our bodies are truly nouriſhed with the creatures of bread and wine. Thus Paul was brought vp at the feet of Gamaliel, and inſtructed according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers. Thus Timothy was brought vp to know the holy Scriptures of a child. How are we become ſo ſuperſtitious? Why haue we bén ſo delighted in darkeneſſe? why is it ſo hard a matter to remoue vs from the errors wherein we haue liued? Why had we rather fal downe before dumb things and worſhip them, and continue ſtill in ignorance, rather then hearken vnto the word of God? Why haue we plaied the part of the Iewes, and cried *Crucifige* vpon our deare friends, and kinſmen: vpon thoſe whom we could not iuſtly accuſe of any crime: who offended vs no waies, but in that they did point vs to Chriſt, and called vs to ſéek ſaluation only in him? Hereof there cannot any better cauſe be yélded, then this, that we were ignorantly bred vp, without knowledge of God, without vnderſtanding of his word. The wiſe man ſaith: Teach a childe the trade of his way, and when he is old he ſhall not depart from it. And againe: Who ſo awaketh vnto wiſdome betimes, ſhall haue no great trauell: for he ſhall finde her ſitting at her dores.

Acts 22. 2. Tim. 3. Prou. 22. Wiſd. 6.

Therefore wicked rulers, as Iulianus, Licinius, Maximinus, and ſuch others, haue forbidden that children ſhould be brought vp in the knowledge of God. They taught them to blaſpheme Chriſt, and holy men, and to ſpeake ill of them before they knew them. But let vs looke vpon our children as vpon the great bleſſings of God. They are the Lords veſſels ordained to honor, let vs kéepe them cleane: they are Chriſts Lambs and ſhéepe of his flock let vs lead them forth into wholſome paſture. They are the ſéed plot of heauen, let vs water them that God may giue the increaſe: their Angels behold the face of God, let vs not offend them: they are the Temples, and Tabernacles of the holy Ghoſt, let vs not ſuffer the foule ſpirit to poſſeſſe them, and dwell within them.

God ſaith, your children are my children. They are the ſons of God. They are borne anew, and are well ſhapen in beautifull proportion: make them not monſters. He is a monſter whoſoeuer knoweth not God. By you they are borne into the world, bee carefull alſo that by your meanes they may bee begotten vnto God: you are carefull to traine them in nurture and comely behauiour of the body; ſéek alſo to faſhion their minds vnto godlineſſe. You haue brought them to the fountaine of baptiſme to receiue the marks of Chriſt, bring them vp in knowledge, and watch ouer them that they be not loſt. So ſhall they be confirmed, and will keepe the promiſe they haue made, and will grow vnto perfect age in Chriſt.

Of mariage I ſhall néede ſay the leſſe, the matter is ſo known, and common. This fellowſhip was firſt ordained by God himſelfe in Paradiſe. God himſelfe ſaid: It is not good that man ſhould be himſelfe alone: I will make him an helper meet for him. God, which faſhioned man and breathed in him the breath of life, and knoweth his very heart and raines, ſaid; it is not good, it is not fit, that man ſhould be himſelfe alone. Although man were in Paradiſe, although he were in the perfection of vertue, yet ſaith God he hath need of a helper. Chriſt diſdained not to be at a Mariage, he honored it both by his preſence, and by the working of a miracle. S. Paul ſaith: Marriage is honourable in all men and the bed vndefiled. In all men, ſaith he, in the Patriarchs, in the Prophets, in the Apoſtles, in Martyrs, in Biſhops.

Gen. 2. Heb. 13.

That all the Apoſtles, S. Iohn only excepted, were married, appeareth by Ignatius, Clemens, and Euſebius. Spiridion was a married Biſhop, and yet he was thereby nothing hindred, neither to diſcharge his duty, nor to any other godly purpoſe. Tertullian was a Prieſt, and maried, as appeareth by his own book, written to his wife. Gregorie, S. Baſils brother, was Biſhop of Nyſſa, yet married. Another Gregorie was Biſhop of Nazianzum, yet married, and neuertheleſſe, a faithfull ſeruant and ſteward of the myſteries of God. Hillarie was Biſhop of Poitiers, yet maried. Al theſe were holy, and godly, and chaſte in body,

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and in spirit, and yet were married. Gregory Nazianzene saith: Marriage is worthy of praise, for the quietnesse and contentation that is in it. And Clemens Alexandrinus saith: As well marriage as also chastity, haue their peculiar offices pertaining to God. And Chrysostome saith: Mariage is void of fault, and is no hinderance to vertue. Again: So precious a thing is matrimony, that with the same thou maist be promoted euen to a Bishops chaire. *In funere Gorgonie.* *Strom. lib. 3.* *Hom. 57. ad Heb.*

What are they then that call mariage vncleannesse, filthinesse, a work of the flesh: that say it defileth a man, & therefore Gods ministers may not be maried? How can they thus speake that haue any knowledge of that which God hath spoken? May we not worthily say vnto such despisers of lawful matrimony, that which S Bernard in like case said? *Fingunt se amore castitatis ista dicere, cum ea magis causa turpitudinis foouenda, & multiplicanda adinuenerint:* They beare vs in hand that they speake these things for loue of chastity: whereas indeed they haue deuised the same, to the end to nourish, and to increase their filthinesse. Or, as Augustine sometime said to the Manichees: *Non concubitum, sed vtrumque ab Apostolo longe ante dictum est, vere nuptias prohibetis:* Ye forbid not copulation: but as it was long agofore spoken by the Apostle, indeed ye forbid very mariage. If you marke these few words which I deliuered, it will easily appeare, how reuerend an accompt is to be made of that state of life. For if you regard the necessity thereof, God found it good to giue man a wife: if the antiquity, it was ordained in the beginning of the world: if the place, in Paradise: if the time, in the innocency of man. If you regard any thing the rather, because of him that ordained it, God was the author of mariage: euen God which made heauen and earth, and which is the father of our Lord Iesus Christ. If you seeke the allowance, Christ approued it by his birth in mariage, and by his presence at mariage: if the dignity, it is honourable: if among whom, in all men of all estates, of all callings: in Prince, in subiect, in Minister, in Priest, and in people. It is honorable in Prophets, honorable in Apostles, in Martyrs, in Bishops. *Hom. 7. ad Heb.* *Bern. Sermon. 66. in cantica.* *August. de moribus Manich. lib. 2. cap. 18.*

Mariage is honorable in all men, but whoremongers and adulterers God will iudge. Their portion shal be with the infidels, they shal be cast into vtter darknesse, their worme shal neuer die, their fire shal neuer be quenched, they shall goe downe headlong into the fire that is prepared for the diuel and his Angels. Be not deceiued, (saith S. Paul) neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor wantons, nor buggerers, shal inherit the kingdom of God. 1. Cor. 6.

Now are we to speake in the next place of the ministery of the Church, which some haue called holy orders. Shal we account it a Sacrament? there is no reason so to doe. It is a heauenly office, a holy ministery or seruice. By such as haue this office, God lightneth our darknesse, he declareth his minde to vs, he gathereth together his scattered sheep, and publisheth vnto the world the glad tidings of saluation. The Patriarchs did beare this office. This was the office of the Prophets. God saith: I haue sent vnto you all my seruants, the Prophets, rising vp euery day, and sending them. Againe he saith: I haue put my words in thy mouth. Therefore when they taught the people of God, the Prophets signed their speech thus; The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it: The Lord hath said; The voice and the word of the Lord: Heare the word of the Lord. Ierem. 7. Esay 51.

But when the fulnesse of the time came, God sent his Son, and hath spoken vnto vs by him. He became our Prophet, to shew vs the wil of his Father. He saith: I haue not spoken of my selfe: but the Father which sent mee, he gaue me a commandement, what I should say, and what I should speake. Hereof S. Iohn saith: No man hath seene God at any time. He is inuisible, he is incomprehensible, no minde can conceiue him, no eie can see him; but, the only begotten Son, which is in the bosome of the Father, hee hath declared him. Of him the Father said: This is my beloued Son, in whom I am well pleased: heare him. Hearken vnto him, receiue his word, credit him, beleeue him. No doubt the Ministery of the Gospel is highly to be esteemed, seeing our Sauiour was not ashamed to publish the will of his Father in his owne person: yet it appeareth not, where euer he did ordaine it to be a Sacrament. John 12. John 1. Mat. 3.

He appointed that the comfort thereof should be carried into all nations, and gaue that charge vnto his Apostles, Goe teach all nations. Again, What I tell you in darknesse, that speake you in light: and what you heare in the eare, that preach you on the houses. He saw the people, and had compassion on them, he saw they were dispersed, and scattered abroad like sheepe without a shepheard, and that they perished, because they had no knowledge of the wil of God. Therefore he saith: Pray the Lord of the harueste, that he would send labourers into the haruest. Therefore he ordaineth them to this ministery, I will make you fishers of men. And sendeth them forth, as my Father sent mee, so send I you. And: Goe to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. He willed them to call the people to repentance, and to preach the kingdome of God. Mat. 28. Mat. 10. Mat. 9. Mat. 4. John 20. Mat. 10.

By this ministery, God hath gathered to himselfe an acceptable people, and hath

brought them to the obedience of the Gospel of Christ, and hath turned the hearts of the fathers vnto their children, and so made it to be the foundation of Religion. They that exercise this ministery are the eies of Christ, the pillers of the Church, the interpreters of Gods will, the watchmen of the Lords towre, the leaders of Christs sheep, the salt of the earth, the light of the world. Dan.12. Daniel saith: They that turne many to righteousnesse, shall shine as the Stars for euer and euer. Not that there is any so great wisdome, or eloquence in men: they are but weake, they are vnfit to do this seruice. Esay saith of himselfe: Esay 6. I am a man of polluted lips. And Ieremy saith: O Lord God, behold, I cannot speake, for I am a Ierem.1. child. So saith S. Paul: I haue planted, Apollo watered, but God gaue the increase. So then, 1.Cor.3. neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giueth the increase. So said Saint Iohn, that he was not Christ, nor that Prophet, but the voice of him that crieth in the wildernesse, and not worthy to vnlose the latchet of his shoe that should come after him.

The power, whereby they did conquer the world, was not in them, but in the word which they preached. It is the power of God to saluation to euery one that beleeueth. It is Rom.1. like a fire, and like a hammer that breaketh a stone. When ye receiued of vs the word of the Ierem.23. preaching of God (saith S. Paul to the Thessalonians) ye receiued it not as the word of 1.Thess.2. men, but as it is indeed the word of God, which also worketh in you that beleeue. The power of an earthly Prince is great. The wise man saith: The feare of a king, is like the Prou.20. roaring of a Lion. Yet is a Prince but mortal: and the Law of a Prince is but mortal; it hath no power to force the conscience. But the word GOD doth breake into the heart, it forceth a way into the conscience: it is sharper then any two edged sword: it entreth thorow, euen to the diuiding asunder of the soule and the spirit, because it is the word of God.

For, it is no man, but God that speaketh, as Christ telleth the Apostles: It is not ye that Mat.10. speake, but the spirit of your father, which speaketh in you. So saith the Prophet Zacha- Luke 1. ry: He spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets, which haue been since the world began. The Prophets, and Apostles, and holy men of God were but instruments. It was God which gaue his holy spirit, which gaue them tongues to speake, and words to vtter. Therfore said Christ: I wil giue you a mouth, and wisdome, where against all your aduersaries Luke 21. shall not be able to speake, nor resist. Though men be but simple, yet the word they deliuer, is mighty: though they be mortall, the word of the Lord endureth for euer.

Where this word is receiued, it is fire, and burneth: it is a hammer, and breaketh the hardnesse of the heart: it is mighty in operation: it cleanseth the inner man: it openeth the conscience: it is a sauor of life vnto life: it is the meanes of saluation. He that receiueth this word and beleeueth, shall be saued. This is the word of reconciliation. God hath committed it vnto vs.

If any hide this word, he slaieth the people: He is a dumb dog. Of such GOD saith: Ierem.23. Behold, I will come against the Prophets, that steale my word euery one from his neigh- Luke 11. bor. They are theeues and robbers. Woe be vnto you Interpreters of the Law: for ye haue taken away the key of knowledge (saith Christ) yee entred not in your selues, and them that came in, ye forbad.

Mat.23. And againe: Woe be vnto you Scribes, and Pharisies, hypocrites, because ye shut vp the kingdom of heauen before men: for ye your selues goe not in, neither suffer ye them that would enter, to come in. Of these, and against them God speaketh by the Prophet Ieremy: Woe be vnto the Pastors, that destroy, and scatter the sheep of my pasture. And by the Ierem.23. Prophet Zachary: O Idol shepheard that leaueth the flocke. Thou hast eares, and hearest Zach.11. not; thou hast eies, and seest not; thou hast a tongue, and speakest not; and a heart, but vnderstandest not; thou art an Idol; Christ said to thee, feed my Lambs, feed my sheep, but thou carest not for them. Thou hast the name of an Euangelist, and Pastor, and Teacher: but thou gatherest not the Saints together; thou doest not the worke of the ministery; thou buildest not vp the body of Christ. They shall perish in their wickednesse, but their blood will I require at thy hands.

Here note, this ministery of the Church was not ordained to offer sacrifice for forgiuenesse of sinnes. Whosoeuer taketh that office vpon him, he doth wrong and iniury to the death and passion of Christ. He only is called of God an high Priest after the order of Mel- Heb.5. chisedec. He only, by his own bloud entred in once into the holy place, and obtained eter- Heb.9. nal redemption for vs. He only, with one offering hath consecrated for euer them that are Heb.10. sanctified. He only hath said, *Consummatum est*: It is finished. The ransome or price for mans saluation, and for forgiuenelle of the sins of the world is paid in me, in my death vpon the Crosse. Of him alone, and only of him, hath it been spoken: This is my welbeloued Mat.3. Son, in whom I am well pleased. And by Esay: With his stripes only we are healed. It is he Esay 53.

only

only, which hath made of both one. It is he only, which did put out the hand writing of ordinances that was against vs: he euen tooke it out of the way, and fastned it vpon the Crosse. He alone is our high Priest, the Lambe of God, the Sacrifice for sinnes, the Altar, the Propitiation for sinnes, and redemer of the World. He only hath appeased the wrath of God. He only appeareth in the sight of God, to make intercession for our sinnes. All others whatsoeuer, Apostles, Prophets, Teachers and Pastors, are not in office to offer any propitiatorie Sacrifice: but are called to the ministery of the Saints, to the edification of the body of Christ, and to the repairing of the Church of God. Ephes. 2. Coloss. 2.

Thus much of the holy ministery of the Church, which standeth in the setting forth of the mystery of our saluation, both by the preaching of the word of God, and by the due and reuerend ministratiō of the Sacraments. The principallest part of this office is, to preach repentance, that sinne may be put out of our liues, and be conuerted vnto God. So Ioel the Prophet followeth his ministery, saying: Rent your hearts and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God, for he is gracious and merciful. So S. Paul teacheth, That true circumcision is by putting off the sinfull body of the flesh: that it is in mortifying our members that be on the earth, Fornication, vncleanesse, the inordinate affections, euil concupiscence, and couetousnesse, which is idolatry: that it is in putting away all these things, wrath, anger, maliciousnesse, cursed speaking, filthy speaking out of your mouth, in putting off the old man with his workes, and putting on the new, which is renued in knowledge after the image of him that created him. Ioel 2. Coloss. 2. Coloss. 3.

So Iohn Baptist said: Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hand. Prepare yee the waies of the Lord, and make his paths straight. So our Sauiour Christ, when he began to preach, said: Amend your liues, for the kingdome of God is at hand. Math. 3. Math. 4.

Therefore it wil not be amisse now, to speake of repentance, which some of late yeres haue changed into penance, and thereof haue also made a Sacrament. Verie it behoueth to rip vp the whole life of man. There is not any man that liueth, and sinneth not. God saith: The imagination of mans heart is euill from his youth. The Prophet Ieremy saith: The heart is deceitfull and wicked aboue all things, who can know it? S. Iohn therefore saith: If we say, that we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues, and truth is not in vs. Of himselfe S. Paul saith: I know that in me, that is, in my flesh dwelleth no good thing. Of himselfe the Prophet Dauid saith: There is nothing sound in my flesh, because of thine anger: neither is there rest in my bones, because of my sins. For mine iniquities are gone ouer mine head, and as a weighty burden they are too heauy for mee. He saith: If thou, O Lord, straitly markest iniquities, O Lord, who shall abide it? So saith the Wise man: A iust man falleth seuen times. Gen. 9. Iere. 17. 1. Iohn 1. Rom. 7. Psal. 38. Psal. 130. Pro. 24.

God is a righteous God, and the auenger of all them that offend. S. Paul saith: The wages of sinne is death. And the Prophet Ezechiel: The soule that sinneth shall die. For this cause then God ordained the ministery of his word, and appointed certaine to this office, that they should warne his people of their sinnes, and feare them by the terror of Gods assured displeasure, and heauy wrath. As is seene by that to Esay: Crie aloud, spare not: lift vp thy self like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of Iacob their sinnes. So S. Paul vnto Timothy: I charge thee before God, and the Lord Iesus Christ which shal iudge the quicke and dead at his appearing, and in his kingdome, preach the word: be instant in season and out of season: improoue, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine. Rom. 6. Ezech. 18. Esay 58. 1. Tim. 4.

So would God haue our filth laid open before our eies, that we might weigh and iudge our owne hearts, that euery man might make charge vpon himselfe, and say, I am an vnprofitable seruant, my righteousnesse is as a foule and stained cloth. My soule hath sinned, and hath deserued to die the death.

In this case, some fall into desperation, and say, as sometimes did Caine: My sinne is greater then can be pardoned. God withdraweth his mercy from me, I am vnworthy of it. I haue offended against the holy spirit of God: mine owne conscience accuseth me. I haue no part in the kingdome of God, and of Christ: there is no sacrifice left for my sins. Thus the wicked liue in trembling and agony, as did Caine: thus they leaue their life with horrour and misery: so haue they no grace to repent, no taste nor feeling of the mercy of God. Gen. 4.

But the children of God though they be wounded, yet they haue release in the certaine hope of Gods mercy. Though they say, I am a sinner, my sinnes are more in number then the haires of my head; I haue offended against heauen and earth; yet they know that Christ came to cal sinners to repentance, and that he healeth those that are sick: That he said; Come vnto me all ye that are wearie and laden, and I will ease you. For what laieth he on his shoulders with ioy? Is it not the lost sheepe? Wherefore doth the woman light a candle, Math. 11.

candle, and sweepe the house, and seeke diligently till she find it? Is it not for the peece of siluer, which she had lost? Ouer whom had the father compassion, and ran, and fell on his necke, and kissed him? Was not this done for him which was dead, but liued againe? and for him which was lost, but was found againe? The sonne of man came to saue that which was lost. And: There is ioy in the presence of the Angels of God, for one sinner that conuerteth.

Math. 18. Luke. 15.

God is mercifull, and his mercy endureth for euer. So saith the Prophet Dauid. Mercie is with the Lord. By the Prophet Ezechiel: I desire not the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God. It is the will of God that al men shall be saued, and come to the knowledge of the truth. By Esay the Prophet God saith: If your sinnes were as crimson, they shall be made as white as snow. For I, euen I am he that putteth away thine iniquities, for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sinnes. The children of God heare this, and are glad. They lift themselues vp in the faith of the mercy of God: they see the filthinesse of their sinne: they know though the wrath of God be kindled against sinne, yet he doth not vtterly destroy those that haue sinned, but such as continue in their sinnes without repentance: they know God will not despise an humble and contrite heart.

Psal. 130. Ezech. 18. 1. Tim. 2. Esay 1. Esay 43.

Therefore they say, Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, O Lord, for no flesh is righteous in thy sight. Take away the iniquity of thy seruant. They say, Why art thou heauie, O my soule, and why art thou vnquiet within me? Wait on God: for I will yet giue him thankes for the helpe of his presence. They say, there is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Iesus. Though I should walke through the valley of the shadow of death, I will feare no euill, because thou art with me. They say, If our heart condemne vs God is greater then our heart. Thus are we taught by the Office of the Ministry, and by the word of God, to see our selues, to know our weaknesse, to repent our sinnes, to beleeue the forgiuenesse of our sinnes, and to turne vnto God.

Psal. 143. 1. Iohn. 3.

We are taught to lay open and acknowledge our sinnes, not to hide them, but to make confession of them. This is done two waies: either in the secret thought of thy heart, before God, or else in the hearing and presence of men. Dauid made confession of his sinnes before God. I acknowledged my sinne before thee, neither hid I mine iniquitie. I said I will confesse against my selfe my wickednes vnto the Lord, and thou forgauest the punishment of my sinne.

Psal. 32.

And againe: I know mine iniquities, and my sinne is euer before me. Against thee, against thee only haue I sinned, and done euill in thy sight. Such a confession made Daniel: Wee haue sinned, and haue committed iniquity, and haue done wickedly: yea, we haue rebelled, and haue departed from thy precepts, and from thy iudgements. For we would not obey thy seruants the Prophets, which spake in thy name to our Kings, to our Princes, & to our Fathers, and to all the people of the land. Euen so the Prophet Esay: Behold thou art angrie for we haue sinned. We haue all been as an vncleane thing, and all our righteousnesse is as filthy clouts, and we all doe fade like a leafe, and our iniquities like the wind haue taken vs away. But now, O Lord, thou art our Father: we are the clay, and thou art our potter, and we all are the worke of thy hands. This is true and Christian Confession. We are required after this sort to examine our selues, and confesse our sinnes before God: who doth not so, he shall not find mercy and forgiuenesse of his sinnes.

Phal. 15. Dan. 9. Esay 64.

The other sort of confession made vnto men, I do not condemne. It may do much good, if it be well vsed. S Iames commendeth it among the faithfull: Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. He speaketh not of Priest or Minister, but of euery one of the faithfull. Euery Christian may doe this helpe vnto another, to take knowledge of the secret and inner griefe of the heart, to lok vpon the wound which sinne and wickednesse hath made, and by godly aduice and earnest praier for him, to recouer his brother. This is a priuate exhortation, and as it were a Catechizing or instructing in the faith, and a meanes to lead vs by familiar and speciall conference, to examine our conscience, and to espie wherein we haue offended God. The vse and practise hereof is not only to be allowed, but most needfull and requisite, if so the superstition, and necessity, and conscience, which many haue fondly vsed and put therein, be taken away.

Iacob. 5.

That the Priests should heare the priuate confessions of the people, and listen to their whisperings: that euery man should be bound to their auricular confession, it is no commandement or ordinance of God. It is deuised and established by men, and was lately confirmed by Innocentius the third. The Church of God in the time of our elder fathers, was not tied to any such necessity.

Hom. 2. in Psa. 50. Chrysostome saith: *Non dico, vt confitearis conseruo tuo peccata tua: dicito Deo, qui curet ea*: I will thee not to confesse thy sinnes to thy fellow-seruant (that is, to the Priest) confesse them vnto God, that may heale them. Againe he saith: *Cogitatione tua fiat delictorum exquisitio*

Hom. de pœnit. & confess.

exquisitio: sine teste sit hoc iudicium, solus Deus te confitentem videat: Examine thy sinnes in thy heart within thee: let this iudgement be without witnesse, let God only see thee making thy confession. And againe: *Non dico tibi, vt te prodas in publicum, neque vt te apud alios accuses: sed obedire te volo Prophetae dicenti, Revela Domino viam tuam. Apud Deum ergo, &c.* I say not to thee, that thou openly shew forth thy selfe, nor that thou accuse thy selfe in the presence of others: but I will haue thee obey God, which saith; Disclose thy waies vnto the Lord. Confesse thy sinnes therefore before God: declare thine offentes, and make thy praier for them before God, which is the true and righteous Iudge. Make thy confession not with the tongue, but in the record of thine owne conscience. *Hom. 31. ad Hebr. vel hom. 30. quare.*

Likewise S. Augustine: *Quid mihi est cum hominibus, vt audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? Curiosum genus ad inquirendam vitam alienam, desidiosum ad corrigendam suam*: What haue I to do with men, that they should heare my confessions, as if they could heale al my wounds or diseases? They be a curious sort, in searching out the life of others, and slothfull in correcting their owne life. S. Ambrose saith: *Lauat lachrima delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri*: The teare washeth away that offence, which shame would not suffer to confesse in speech. The Church of God in Græcia, neuer receiued it. And Erasmus witnesseth, it was not vsed in the time of S. Hierome. *Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum institutam fuisse secretam admissorum confessionem*: It appeareth that in the time of S. Hierome (which was foure hundred yéeres after Christ) secret confession of sins was not yet ordained. *De pœnit. Petri Sermo 46. In scho. in Epitaph. Fabiolæ.*

And Beatus Rhenanus, a man of great reading, saith: *Tertullianus de clanculariâ istâ confessione admissorum nihil loquitur, neque eam vsquam alim praeceptam legimus*: Tertullian speaketh nothing of this secret confession of sinnes: and we read not any where, that it was commanded in times past.

By these testimonies of Chrysostome, Augustine, Ambrose, and by the obseruation of Erasmus, and Rhenanus it may appeare, that this secret confession in the eare of the Priest, hath not bin taken to be necessary: and that it is not of Gods determinate appointment, but an ordinance of man. As the Glosse vpon the Decrees something plainly confesseth: *Melius dicitur confessionem institutam fuisse à quadam vniuersali Ecclesiæ traditione, potius quam ex noui vel veteris Testamenti authoritate*: It is better said, that confession was appointed by some tradition of the Vniuersall Church, then by any authority or commandement of the New or Old Testament. *De pœnit. dist. 5 in pœnit. in Glossa.*

Now in a word or two, I will somewhat speake of satisfaction or recompence for offences which we haue done, whereby we satisfie and make amends to the ful contentation of him that is offended. Such a recompence the Law required: An eie for an eie: a tooth for a tooth: a hand for a hand: a foot for a foot. Such amends for such harme: so much for so much; and this was accounted due and lawfull satisfaction. Exod. 21.

This is of two sorts; either that which is done vnto God, or that which is done vnto men. We are neuer able to satisfie and make amends vnto God. We must alwaies confesse, that we are vnprofitable seruants, and vnworthy to stand in his presence: and by no meanes able of our selues to make recompence for that we haue offended him. Our only and full satisfaction for our trespasses done against him, is the blud of our Sauiour Iesus Christ.

The Theefe vpon the Crosse, called vpon Iesus: Lord remember me when thou commest into thy kingdome. He knew he had offended God, but found not how he might make amends, otherwise then by the righteousnesse of Christ. Iesus answered him: Verily I say vnto thee, To day thou shalt be with me in Paradise. To day, that is, by and by. He refuseth him not, nor feareth him that God will refuse him, because he had done amisse, and made no recompence; but promiseth him, because he repented and beleeued that he shal be saued. Paul was throwne downe a persecutor, and raised vp a preacher. What amends might he make in so short time?

S. Cyprian saith; *Sanguis tuus, O Christe, non quærit vindictam*: Thy blood, O Christ, looketh not for any reuenge. And S. Ambrose: *Lachrimas Petri lego, satisfactionem non lego*: I read of Peters teares, but I read nothing of any satisfaction he made. For our whole life cannot sufficiently acquite vs from the guiltinesse of one sinne: much lesse is any man able to worke or deserue the forgiuenesse of all his sinnes. *Cypr. de passione Domini. De pœnit. Pet. Apost. Ser. 46.*

The only things that God requireth of vs when we haue sinned, are that we sorrow for our sinnes and amend our liues. So Iohn the Baptist spake to the Phariſies: Bring foorth fruit worthy amendment of life. So S. Paul calleth the Ephesians to make recompence for their former naughtinesse; Cast off lying, and speake euery man the truth to his neighbor. Let him that stole steale no more, but let him rather labour, and worke with his hands the thing that is good. Other recompence, God liketh not for at our hands. Matth. 3. Ephes. 4.

But

But when the godly haue taken offence at any our doings that are euill, we must giue all heed to content their mindes, and reconcile our selues againe vnto them. It hath bene an ancient order in the Church of God, that, if any had openly offended the congregation, he should come openly againe before them to satisfie them by amends. There he fel down on his knees, confessed his fault, wept, and lamented for it: praied the brethren that they would forgiue him, and would also pray vnto God to be mercifull vnto him. There the whole congregation fell downe before God: their hearts melted: their eies gushed out in teares: they held vp their hands: praied together for him, and gaue thankes to God, that their brother which had bene lost, was found againe. Such satisfaction was it which hath bene made to the Church of God.

The last of those which some haue of late misused, and counted one of the Sacraments of the Church, is Extreme vnction. And this they haue founded vpon the words of Saint
Iacob.5. Iames: Is any sicke among you? Let him call the Elders of the Church, and let them pray for him, and anoint him with oile in the name of the Lord, and the praier of faith shal saue the sicke, and the Lord shall raise him vp: and if hee haue committed sinne, it shal bee forgiuen him.

For the better vnderstanding of which words, consider that God is merciful to the sons of men, and sheweth forth his mercy at sundry times by sundry waies. And to leaue the examples of the Old Testament: in the time of the Gospel, he hath giuen to some the gift of tongues, and hath made them able being simple men, to speake the wonderful works of God in tongues which they neuer learned. To some he hath giuen the gift of power, and of the operation of great works. By this power, many signes & wonders were wrought
Act.5. by the hands of the Apostles. At the word of Peter, Ananias and Saphira his wife fel down
Act.13. dead. In this power Paul stroke Elimas the sorcerer with blindnesse.

To some he gaue the gift of healing. By this S. Peter healed a man which was a cripple
Act 3. from his mothers wombe, and said: In the name of Iesus Christ of Nazareth, rise vp and walke: and hee tooke him by the right hand, and lift him vp, and immediatly his feet and ancle bones receiued strength. They were able to make the blind see: the lame to walke: the leapers to be cleane: the dead to receiue life againe. For when he sent forth his Apo-
Math.10. stles to preach: Christ gaue them power against vncleane spirits, to cast them out, and to heale euery sicknesse, and euery disease.

These things they wrought, sometimes by their shadow, as many were healed by the shadow of Peter: sometimes with their word: sometimes with handkercheifs: sometimes by laying on of hands, and by touching: sometimes with oile, as is in the sixth of S. Mark:
Mark.10. They cast out many Diuels, and they anointed many that were sicke with oile, and healed them: euen as Christ also by many sundry waies healed many. He healed sometimes, though he were absent: sometimes by his word: sometimes by mourning and sorrowing: sometimes by touching: sometimes with spettle and dust; for at that time, the Church had the especial gift of working miracles.

Therefore S. Iames putteth them in mind, that they despise not to vse the meanes which God hath appointed: that whosoeuer falleth into sicknesse, he cal for the Elders, and that they vse their gift of healing, and anoint him with oile, because it hath pleased God therby to worke health. This was the maner and order of those times. Euen as Christ vsed dust and spettle: so S. Iames willeth them to vse oile for the restoring of health. As the Corinthians did abuse the gift of tongues, and were taught by S. Paul how to vse it better: so did many abuse the gift of healing, and were therefore warned by S. Iames how they should vse it better. As the gift of tongues was not to last for euer, but only for a time: so the gift of
Math.6. healing was not to continue euer, but for a time. Christ saith; When thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face. He doth not in these words giue an vniuersall commandement that must euer be kept in our fasting, that we vse the ceremony of anointing; but meaneth thereby, that in our fast we be fresh and merry. Euen so S. Iames, in saying, anoint him with oile, doth not set downe an order, whereunto he would haue the Church of God tied for euer; it is not an vniuersal commandement, that the after ages should do the like; but only a particular ordinance for the time, to vse the gift of healing. This is the meaning of his words.

Let vs marke what abuses haue growne by mistaking them. S. Iames speaketh of bare and simple oile; They vnderstand it of their oile, which they consecrate, and halow in vnaduised order. For these words the Bishop vseth when he consecrateth it. *Aue sanctum oleum, chrisma, balsamum* Haile O holy oile, and chrisme, and balsame. Againe: *Exorciso te immunde spiritus, in nomine patris & filij & spiritus sancti, vt recedas ab hoc oleo, vt possit esse unctio spiritualis, vt spiritus sanctus possit in eo habitare*: I adiure thee thou vncleane spirit, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, that thou depart from this

this oile, that it may be a spirituall ointment, & that the holy Ghost may dwell in it. Againe, *Emitte quesumus, sancte pater, spiritum sanctum paracletum tuum de calis in hanc pinguedinem olive, ad refectionem corporum, & sanationem animarum*: O holy Father, we beseech thee send downe thy holy spirit the comforter from heauen into this fatnesse of the oliue, to the refreshing of bodie and soule.

In like sort they are taught to pray ouer the sicke: *Per hanc sanctam unctionem, & suam pissimam misericordiam ignoscat tibi Deus, ut per hanc unctionem habeas remissionem omnium peccatorum*: By this holy annointing, and by his great mercy God pardon thee, that by this annointing, thou maist haue remission of all thy sinnes.

I deuise not these things, I imagine them not of my selfe, nor report them untruly. The Bishop in such words blesseth the oile: and with such words doth the Priest annoint the sicke with oile: in their bookes it is easie to be seene. Now iudge you, if this were S. Iames doctrine, or if this order were kept in the Church in the time of the Apostles. Would you thinke that S. Iames gaue curtesie by bowing his body, and saying *Ans* to the oile? did he speake words of coniuration to driue away the euill spirit? would he euer say that the oile doth heale both body and soule? or that remission of all sinnes is giuen by annointing? S. Iames knew that remission of sinnes is not giuen by any creature: that there is no name in heauen or earth, by which we are saued, but the name of Iesus onlie: that the holy Ghost resteth not, nor dwelleth in oile, but in the hearts of the faithfull: that God giueth health, not in respect of the corruptible creature but at the praiers of the Church, which are offered vp to him by his Sonne, our Sauiour. So great difference is there betweene the late meaning, and the meaning of S. Iames.

Such vse of the oile we haue not, neither doth the Church of God allow. Yet hold we the rule of the Apostle in visitation of the sicke. When any is sicke among vs, the Minister commeth vnto him, and discretlie instructeth him in what sort he should prepare himselfe to depart this life, and so leadeth him to comfort, and laboureth to make him strong in the certaine hope of euerlasting life.

Thus he saith: Brother, you are entring the way of all flesh. All the sonnes of Adam are heires of this sentence of God vpon Adam; Thou art dust, & to dust thou shalt returne. Man that is borne of woman, is of short continuance, and full of trouble. He shooteth forth as a floure, and is cut downe: he vanisheth also as a shadow and continueth not. Humble thy selfe vnder the mighty hand of God. He is our good father, and doth correct those children whom he loueth. Blessed is he, whom the Lord doth chastise and instruct in his waies.

Here is the proofe and triall of your patience and faith: remember the patience of Iob, in all his miseries he praised the name of the Lord. Although (said he) he should kill me, yet will I put my trust in God. Although my bowels be consumed within me, and my members of my body be rent asunder, and the pangues be neuer so great, yet can I not but trust in him. Loue not the world, nor the things that be in the world. The world 1. Ioh. 2.
passeth away, and the lust thereof. The wise man saith. I haue considered all the workes Eccle. 1.
that are done vnder the Sunne, and behold all is vanity and vexation of spirit. Againe, great Eccle. 40.
trauell is created for al men, and an heauie yoke vpon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mothers womb, til the day that they return to the mother of al things. Christ hath therefore willed vs to wake, and be readie, because we know not in what houre our maister will come. He saith, Behold, I come as a thiefe: blessed is he which wat- Reuel. 16.
cheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walke naked, and men see his filthinesse.

Examine your selfe, consider how, and in what things you haue offended God, make a true and humble confession of your sinnes: say with Dauid, I haue sinned against the Lord and I will confesse against my selfe my wickednesse vnto the Lord. Call to mind how you haue gotten your goods, how you haue vsed them, and whether you haue delighted in them, or put any confidence in them. Call to minde how you haue taken care for your children and seruants, if by your good meanes, they haue been nourtered in the feare of the Lord. In these, and such other parts of your life, lay open your sinnes, let them come forth before you, acknowledge them against your selfe vnto the Lord: say boldlie, because you may say it truly, I am an vnprofitable seruant: I haue not done that which I ought to haue done there is no good thing dwelling in me: the law in my members hath preuailed against the law of my mind. It cannot be, but God will cast his eies vpon you, and will heare you, and will pardon the wickednesse of your sinnes.

What wanteth in you to the fulnesse of righteousnesse, is already satisfied in the righteousnesse of Christ. God hath said, and sworne, As I liue saith the Lord God, I desire not the
death of the wicked, but that the wicked turne from his way, and liue. And againe, If the Ezech. 33.
wicked will returne from all his sins that he hath committed: all his transgressions that he Ezech. 18.
hath

hath committed, they ſhall not be mentioned vnto him. The Lord is full of compaſſion and mercy. For as high as the heauen is aboue the earth, ſo great is his mercy toward them that feare him: As farre as the eaſt is from the weſt, ſo farre hath he remoued our
Ioh. 3. ſinnes from vs. Chriſt himſelfe ſaith, God ſo loued the world, that he hath giuen his only begotten ſon, that whoſoeuer beleeueth in him, ſhould not periſh, but haue life euerlaſt-
Rom. 5. ing. And S. Paul: God ſetteth out his loue toward vs, ſeeing that while we were yet ſinners, Chriſt died for vs, much more then being iuſtified by his blood, we ſhall be ſaued from wrath through him. Thus in time of ſickneſſe are we put in mind to examine and view our ſinnes, and to ſolace our ſelues in that bloodſhedding of Chriſt.

Farther, he that is ſicke, is counſelled to call to mind, what any man hath treſpaſſed him, and to forgiue them: becauſe God is the God of loue: and if any man hate his brother, he abideth in death: and we are commanded to ſay, forgiue vs our treſpaſſes, as we forgiue them that treſpaſſe againſt vs: and if we doe forgiue men their treſpaſſes, our heauenlie father will alſo forgiue vs. But if we doe not forgiue men their treſpaſſes, no more will our heauenly father forgiue vs our treſpaſſes. That ſo, all we which are redeemed with one price, by the precious blood of the vnſpotted Lambe, may ioine together as partakers of one inheritance, and the children of one Father, and ſo go forward to one glory by one way, and become all one in Ieſus Chriſt our Lord.

In this caſe, the good Father calleth his ſonne vnto him, and exhorteth him in this maner. My ſonne hearken vnto mée: theſe be the laſt words which I ſhall ſpeake vnto thée. Thou ſeeſt in mée the weakeneſſe and decay of fleſh: thou ſhalt be, as I am now. One paſſeth before another, the world and the beautie thereof fade away, and come to an end. Truſt not the world, it will deceiue thée: walke aduiſedlie: know that thou ſhalt giue an
2. Cor. 5. accompt of thy doings. For we muſt all appeare before the iudgement ſeat of Chriſt. That euery man may receiue the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or euill.

Deceiue no man by wrongfull dealing: increaſe not thy goods by extortion, nor by vſurie: hée that giueth his money vnto vſurie, ſhall not enter into the Tabernacle of the Lord. Hée that taketh vſury of his neighbour, killeth him without a ſword. The Lord will auenge it: he will not bleſſe ill gotten goods: they cannot proſper: they will neuer continue, nor remaine vnto the third heire.

My ſonne, in all thy doings feare the Lord. If thou feare the Lord, thou ſhalt proſper: and in the day of thine end, thou ſhalt be bleſſed. Meddle not much with other mens buſineſſe, leſt thou be entangled with controuerſies: abhorre the ſlaunderer and doubletongued. Let my doings, which am thy father, be euer before thine eies. Thoſe few goods which I haue, were truelie gotten. I haue not gathered them of the teares, and heauineſſe, and vndoing, or hindering of anie. Be faithfull to thy wife, and beſides her, know none other. Helpe thy neighbour according to thy power: and turne not thy face from the poore and needie. Be mercifull after thy power, if thou haſt much, giue plentifullie: if thou haſt little, doe thy diligence gladlie to giue of that little. Be not ſlow to viſit the ſicke: whatſoeuer thou takeſt in hand, remember the end, and thou ſhalt neuer do amiſſe.

As for me, I haue paſſed the vanities and miſeries of this world. The Lord hath giuen, and the Lord taketh away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord. Hée is the Lord my God let him do with mée as it ſéemeth good vnto him. I know that this ſhall hasten my ſaluation: And that Chriſt ſhall be magnified in my bodie, whether it be by life, or by death. I haue not ſo liued, that I am aſhamed to liue: neither am I afraid to die, for we haue a gracious Lord. I know, that if my earthlie houſe of this tabernacle be deſtroied, I haue a building giuen of God, that is, an houſe not made with hands, but eternall in the heauens. They that die in the Lord are bleſſed, they ſhall reſt from their labours. Chriſt is vnto mée both in life, and in death, aduantage. In ſuch ſort doe the godlie prepare themſelues to their iournie out of this life.

Then the Miniſter prayeth, that he may be conſtant in this faith: he ſtrengtheneth him, and confirmeth him in it. He exhorteth the ſicke to commend himſelfe vnto God: he prayeth vnto God, that he will giue his Angels charge ouer him to kéepe him and defend him, that he fall not into temptation.

Hée teacheth him to ſay, O Lord, in thée haue I truſted, let me neuer be confounded. Come Lord Ieſus, come, and take mée vnto thée: Lord, let thy ſeruant depart in peace: thy kingdome come. I am thy ſonne, thine am I, O ſaue me: into thine hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit, thou haſt redéemed mée, O Lord God of truth. In this ſtate he dieth, and hath his eies alwaies faſtened vpon God, and ſo ſeth, how in déed, the dead are bleſſed which die in the Lord.

Thus

Thus doth the Church of God inſtruct all men to liue, and to die, and to bée in readi-
neſſe. Thus are the ſicke among vs anointed with the inner and inuiſible oile of the mercy
of God. Thus are they put in mind to haue the oile of faith and of a good conſcience, and
that their Lamps may euer bée burning, that ſo they may enter in with the bride-
grome: that the day ſpring from an high may viſit their hearts: and
that it may be ſaid vnto them, Come yée bleſſed of my
Father, inherit ye the kingdome prepared
for you from the foundations
of the world.

FINIS.